Transforming *Paradise Lost*: Translation and Reception of John Milton's Writing in the Arab-Muslim World

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A thesis submitted to the
University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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School of English, Drama and
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College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
October 2013

ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first full-length study of the reception of John Milton's writings in the Arab-Muslim world. It examines the responses of contemporary Arab-Muslim readers to Milton's works, and in particular, to his epic poem: *Paradise Lost*. It contributes to knowledge of the history, development, and ways in which Milton's writings are read and understood by Muslims, mapping the literary and more broadly cultural consequences of the censure, translation and abridgement of Milton's works in the Arab-Muslim world.

Chapter One provides an overview of the history of Arab-Muslim reception of Milton's writing to the present day. It also provides a detailed survey of the Arabic translations of Milton's works, analysing the publication, dissemination and distribution of the translated texts. Ensuing chapters examine Arab-Muslim receptions of the most important characters and concepts in *Paradise Lost*: namely, Satan, God the Son, God the Father, and Adam and Eve. Analyses assess the diverse ways in which Arab-Muslims read and understand a range of religious and literary aspects of Milton's writing, by examining and comparing cultural, theological, linguistic and translational issues, and drawing upon primary empirical data from fieldwork carried out at Egyptian universities, libraries and publishers.

This study finds that Milton occupies a surprisingly significant place in the intellectual life of the Middle East. It also finds that the Arab-Muslim reception of *Paradise Lost* is coloured in important ways by factors such as the prevailing socio-political climate, the overarching religious culture of readers, semantic shifts between Milton's original English text of *Paradise Lost* and Mohamed Enani's Arabic translation, and wider issues of publication and dissemination. Overall, the thesis breaks new ground in presenting a rich and multi-faceted picture of the potential attitudes and responses of twenty-first-century Arab-Muslims to the writings of Milton, epitomised by an unexpectedly reciprocal relationship between *Paradise Lost* and its Muslim reader.

To Baba…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My most heartfelt thanks are to my supervisor, Dr Hugh Adlington; words cannot describe my gratitude to Dr Adlington, who had faith in me and this project from the outset, guided the development of both, and was a supportive presence in every way possible. He taught me how my work should be confident but humble, assertive but balanced, personal but objective, and scholarly but readable. I am eternally grateful.

My thanks also go to Dr Mokhtar Ben Fredj for supervising and checking the Arabic in this thesis, as well as those who read various drafts: Dr Beverley Sherry, Professor Edward Jones, and the anonymous reader at *Studies in English Literature*. For their specialist help in Islamic theology, I thank Dr Ahmed Al-Dawoody and Ms Iman El-Sharkawy, and in Islamic philosophy and Arabic poetry, Dr Ahmed Issa.

Thanks, too, to organisers and participants of conferences in which I delivered parts of my research, such as the British Comparative Literature Association, the Early Modern Research Centre, the International Milton Symposium, and most of all, the British Milton Seminar, where Professor Tom Corns, Professor Gordon Campbell and Dr Robert Cockcroft have been a continuous source of encouragement.

I am also grateful to everyone who helped with my fieldwork research: the University of Birmingham's College of Arts and Law Research Support Fund, which funded two flights to Egypt, the interviewees, including Professor Mohamed Enani, Mr Hassan Hegazy, who also sent me his book, Dr Nabil Farouk, and the students of various Egyptian universities. I am also appreciative to Dr Nadya Chishty Mujahid for her assistance at the American University in Cairo, Dr Ferial Ghazoul for her advice, Mr Ahmed Abbas for his help during my stay in Cairo, and various librarians around Egypt. For invaluable help in acquiring books, I am indebted to Dr Omneya Abdelsalam, Mr Moaz Elsayed, and Mr Ahmad Matar.

For work opportunities which helped make timely completion of this thesis possible, my thanks go to Dr Lisa Alberici and Dr Kate Rumbold. I should also mention Mr Matthew Geary, for sharing his books and enduring many monologues over coffee, and Dr Saleh Issa, for his thoughtfulness.

I am grateful to my family, and in particular, Alaa, for her friendship. My final thanks are to my father for his continuous, all-embracing support and encouragement; I can only begin to show my appreciation by dedicating this work to him.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE[1]

1: Arabic Alphabet

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Roman	IPA
ا	ـا	ـا	ا	a	[ʔ], [aː], [ɑ][2]
بـ	ـبـ	ـب	ب	b	[b]
تـ	ـتـ	ـت	ت	t	[t][3]
ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	ث	th	[θ]
جـ	ـجـ	ـج	ج	j	[ʤ]
حـ	ـحـ	ـح	ح	ḥ	[ħ]
خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	خ	kh	[χ]
د	ـد	ـد	د	d	[d]
ذ	ـذ	ـذ	ذ	dh	[ð]
ر	ـر	ـر	ر	r	[r]
ز	ـز	ـز	ز	z	[z]
سـ	ـسـ	ـس	س	s	[s]
شـ	ـشـ	ـش	ش	sh	[ʃ]
صـ	ـصـ	ـص	ص	ṣ	[sˤ]
ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	ض	ḍ	[ɖˤ]
طـ	ـطـ	ـط	ط	ṭ	[ʈˤ]
ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	ظ	ẓ	[ðˤ]
عـ	ـعـ	ـع	ع	ʿ	[ʕ]
غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	غ	gh	[ɣ]
فـ	ـفـ	ـف	ف	f	[f]
قـ	ـقـ	ـق	ق	q	[q]
كـ	ـكـ	ـك	ك	k	[k]
لـ	ـلـ	ـل	ل	l	[l]
مـ	ـمـ	ـم	م	m	[m]
نـ	ـنـ	ـن	ن	n	[n]
هـ	ـهـ	ـه	ه	h	[h]
و	ـو	ـو	و	w	[w]
يـ	ـيـ	ـي	ي	y	[j], [iː][4]

[1] This entire section (all tables and methods) is my own work. For more, see Edward Odisho, *Techniques of Teaching Comparative Pronunciation in Arabic and English* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2005).
[2] Sound is [ʔ] if 'initial'. 'Medial' and 'final' vary; see 'Long vowels'.
[3] 'Final' can also be [ة] or [ۃ], transliterated as 'h' with [h] sound.
[4] If 'final', and excluding dots [ى], sound is [aː]; see 'Long Vowels'.

2: Vowels

Long Vowels

Alone	Roman	IPA	Example
ا	ā ā	[aː] [ɑ]	*insān* / إنسان [human] *qurrā'* / قراء [readers][5]
ي ى	ī ā	[iː] [aː]	*naʿīm* / نعيم [bliss] *ʿalā* / على [on]
و	ū	[uː]	*mafqūd* / مفقود [lost]

Short Vowels[6]

Name	Alone	Roman	IPA	Example
fatḥah	◌َ	a	[ɐ]	*dhahaba* / ذهب [he went]
kasrah	◌ِ	i	[I]	*min* / من [from]
ḍammah	◌ُ	u	[ʊ]	*kun* / كن [be]

Diphthongs

Alone	Roman	IPA	Example
◌َو	aw	[ʔ/ɐ/w]	*Al-Firdaws* / الفردوس [Paradise]
◌َي	ay	[ʔ/e/ɪ]	*bayn* / بين [between]

Other

Name	Alone	Roman	IPA	Example
hamzah[7]	ء	ʾ	[ʔ]	*al-samā'* / السماء [the sky]

[5] The [aː] sound is more common; when preceded by an emphatic or geminated consonant (see 'Notes and Exceptions'), the long vowel becomes an [ɑ] sound. Also note: the word 'Allah' / الله has an irregular spelling, transliterating as Allāh with [ɑ].

[6] The short vowels are not letters, but diacritics surrounding the letters. I do not display them in the Arabic type-font, but they are presented in transliteration.

[7] Not one of the twenty-eight letters; equivalent to the glottal stop; can act as a letter or combine with three of the letters to become a diacritic – [أ] or [ؤ] or [ئ]. In transliteration, I omit it from the beginning of any word as the transliterated vowel is sufficient.

3: Notes and Exceptions

- Some words contain a diacritical '*shaddah*' [ّ]: a gemination increasing the length and stress of the consonant. This is not displayed in the Arabic type-font, but presented in transliteration by doubling the consonant. For example, تكلم / *takallam* [spoke].
- Depending on the preceding letter, all letters can assume their 'initial' shapes as 'medial', when preceded by one of the six half-connecting letters (و ز ر ذ د ا). Depending on the preceding letter, 'alone' can also act as 'medial' or 'final'.
- The '*al-*' means 'the' but can also be '*il*' or '*ul*' depending on the preceding short vowel.
- When '*al*' [the] is followed by a '*shamsī*' word [literally, of the sun word, meaning feminine word], the 'l' becomes silent. For example, '*al-samā'*' is pronounced '*as-samā'*'. In order to keep the emphasis of the term '*al*' [the] clear for the reader, this silence is not represented in the transliterations.

Some words are exempted from the transliteration rules above, namely:

- Proper nouns which already have an official English spelling; for example, Al-Hayat Newspaper, Mohamed Enani, University of Hodeida.
- Terms which also exist in English; for example, Al-Ma'moon, Romeo, William Wordsworth.
- The following recurring words are spelt consistently as follows: Adam, Allah, Ḥadīth, Muhammad, Qur'ān.

SCHOLARLY CONVENTIONS

This thesis follows the MHRA referencing system,[1] with minor exceptions. References are made in footnote form; texts repeated after the first citation do not include short titles, but rather, the surname of the writer is followed by the year of publication. This is to avoid confusion as there are many non-English titles, and so that the time of the reception may be more apparent. Prose and verse are indented if over forty words or four lines respectively. Omissions are marked by ellipsis, and line divisions in verse indicated by spaced upright strokes. Transliterations of Arabic in Roman characters are italicised and followed by square bracketed translations into English. All translations from Arabic to English are my own; much of the Arabic in this thesis has been checked by Dr Mokhtar Ben Fredj (1999-2011: Language Coordinator for Arabic, Centre for Modern Languages, University of Birmingham; 2012-: Lecturer in Applied Linguistics, Misurata University, Libya).

Primary texts are cited and/or abbreviated as follows:

- *Paradise Lost*: parenthetically in text as *PL* followed by book and line number.[2]
- *Paradise Regained*: parenthetically in text as *PR* followed by book and line number.[3]
- *De Doctrina Christiana*: in footnotes as *DDC* followed by book, chapter and page number.[4]
- *Areopagitica*: in footnotes followed by page number.[5]
- *Comus*: in footnotes followed by line and page number.[6]

[1] *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, 2nd edn. (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2009).
[2] John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. and introd. Alastair Fowler, 2nd edn. (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007).
[3] John Milton, *The Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey, 2nd edn. (London: Longman, 2007).
[4] John Milton, 'Two Books of Investigations into Christian Doctrine Drawn From the Sacred Scriptures Alone', tr. John Carey, in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton: Volume VI ca. 1658-ca 1660*, ed. Maurice Kelley (London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 126-807.
[5] John Milton, *Areopagitica* (London, 1644).

- *The Doctrine & Discipline of Divorce*: in footnotes followed by page number, with spellings modernised.[7]
- *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* (the Arabic translation of *Paradise Lost*): parenthetically in text as *FM* followed by book and line number.[8] Quotations are transliterated in italicised Roman characters, followed by the Arabic text, then a square bracketed translation back to English. For example: '*ʼAdn*' / عدن [Eden]. Line separations are not included in the Arabic type-font.
- *The Qur'ān*: parenthetically in text as *Q* followed by chapter and verse number. Verse divisions are indicated by spaced upright strokes. Text is indented when fifty words or more. Parentheses may be added for clarification; square brackets are added if a word or meaning is implied (e.g. from the previous verse) but not specified. Ellipsis at the end of a quotation indicates that it does not include the full Qur'ānic verse to the end.[9]
- Ḥadīths: in footnotes as Ḥadīth number, Ḥadīth collector and page number, detailed at the first reference to each Ḥadīth collector.
- *The Bible* (English): parenthetically in text as book or gospel, followed by chapter and verse number. Verse divisions are indicated by spaced upright strokes and spellings modernised.[10]
- *The Bible* (Arabic): parenthetically in text as book or gospel, followed by chapter and verse number. Verse divisions are indicated by spaced upright strokes.[11]

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[6] John Milton, ed. Carey (2007).
[7] John Milton, *The Doctrine & Discipline of Divorce Restor'd to the Good of Both Sexes, From the Bondage of Canon Law, and Other Mistakes, to the True Meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel Compar'd* (London, 1645).
[8] John Milton, *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*, tr., ed. and introd. Mohamed Enani (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organisation, 2002). General Egyptian Book Organisation hereafter referred to as GEBO. This edition hereafter referred to as *FM* (2002).
[9] Translations are my own; see 'Introduction, 2.3: Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology'.
[10] *The Holy Bible: Quatercentenary Edition: King James Version*, ed. Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

All primary research with human subjects has been approved by the University of Birmingham's Ethical Review Process. Research at the American University in Cairo was also certified by its Institutional Review Board.

Parts of Chapter One and Chapter Two have been, or will be, published in two journals: *Milton Quarterly* and *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*.[12] As these are earlier drafts and outworks of this thesis, they are not referred to hereafter.

[11] *Al-Kitāb Al-Muqaddas [The Holy Book]*, 9th edn. (Cairo: The Bible Society of Egypt, 2011).
[12] Islam Issa, 'Fragmentation, Censorship and an Islamic Journal: A History of the Translations of Milton into Arabic', *Milton Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (2012), pp. 219-232; Islam Issa, 'Transforming Milton's *Paradise Lost* into Arabic', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* (forthcoming – January 2015).

INTRODUCTION

1: John Milton: 'Pious Muslim' and 'Inhumane Zionist'

The works of John Milton have not gone unnoticed in the Middle East. Louis Awad (1915-1990), one of the region's most celebrated literary critics, wrote:

> When we read *Paradise Lost*, we feel that Milton is a devout Muslim. This is reflected in his rejection of Prelates and their mediation between God and His creatures. You also find Milton as a lover of life on earth. He interprets the Bible in practical and personal ways. He advocates divorce and considers man superior to woman. He also hates the rituals of the church and the icons. He draws on the Old Testament, not the New Testament. For these reasons, I have already said that Milton was not a Christian, but rather a pious Muslim.[1]

On the other hand, renowned columnist Rajā' Al-Naqqāsh (1934-2009), described Milton in a very different way:

> There is another type of Western literature which supports the Jews; in fact, it supports Zionism and the establishment of Israel. This contradicts completely what we know about the views of Shakespeare, Dickens, Dostoyevsky, and other great writers who triggered a strong attack on the dark, aggressive aspects of the Jewish character. There are other famous Western writers who had a different stance, and in their literature, supported the Zionist dream of establishing Israel on the Palestinian land … These writers who support Zionism are, despite this, among the greatest

[1] Louis Awad, 'Al-Adab Al-Ingilīzi Adab ʿĀlamī' [English Literature is an International Literature], *Al-Hilāl [The Crescent]* (1 December 1967), pp. 219-222, cited in Eid Abdallah Dahiyat, *John Milton and the Arab-Islamic Culture* (Beirut: Dār El-Jil, 1991), pp. 67-68; of course, Awad's view here is not necessarily representative of pious Islam. On Awad, see Ahmed Hegāzy, Usāma Al-Bāz, Alfred Farag et al., *Louis 'Awad: Mufakiran wa Naqidan wa Mubdi'ā [Louis 'Awad: Thinker, Critic and Creative Writer]* (Cairo: GEBO, 1990).

> Western authors and poets, and as a result, they wound the heart with their positive views of Zionism, and their inhumane support for its aggressive goals … The English poet John Milton (1608-1674) says in his famous poem, *Paradise Lost*, that Israel will return.[2]

The extravagant and divergent views of these two highly educated, respected, and award-winning members of Egyptian intellectual society indicate how contentious Milton's works are in the Arab world. Despite the intended irony of the Coptic Awad's claim that Milton is 'a pious Muslim', such a facetious analysis still reflects that Milton potentially shares some common ground with several Islamic positions. Al-Naqqāsh's argument, almost as far-fetched as Awad's, though more serious and political, reflects the prejudices and misconceptions which exist in this region about Milton and other writers.

Despite their differences, these views give an indication of the perhaps surprisingly prominent position held by Milton in the contemporary intellectual life of the Middle East. Arabs and Muslims are not alone, of course, in attempting to claim Milton as their own. Nineteenth-century critic, R. W. Griswold, is one of numerous Americans who claim the poet for their country, stating that 'Milton is more emphatically American than any author who has lived in the United States'.[3] And contrary to Al-Naqqāsh's picture of the 'Zionist Milton', a recent study identified Milton as a key player in the history of anti-Semitism, claiming that Milton's works condemned the doctrines, practices, and values of Judaism,

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[2] Rajā' Al-Naqqāsh, 'Shuʿarā' Yajraḥūn Al-Qalb' [Poets Who Wound the Heart], *Al-Ahram Newspaper* (27 May 2001), <http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2001/5/27/WRIT1.HTM> [accessed 23 September 2010]; for Milton as supporter of Zionism, see also Reda Helal, *Al-Masīḥ al-Yahūdi Wa Nihāyat Al-'Ālam [The Jewish Messiah and the End of the World]* (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Shurūq Al-Dawliyah, 2004); again, Al-Naqqāsh's views are not necessarily representative of Muslim views and many would regard them as anti-Semitic.

[3] R. W. Griswold, cited in Kevin Van Anglen, *The New England Milton: Literary Reception and Cultural Authority in the Early Republic* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), p. 179; for Milton as an American, see John Martin Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: 'Paradise Lost' and the Discourse of Colonialism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), and William Spengemann, '*Paradise Lost*: Milton's American Poem', in *A New World of Words: Redefining Early American Literature*, ed. William Spengemann (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 94-117.

unlike those of William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe, which critiqued individual Jewish characters as part of the prevailing 'cultural myth' of their contemporary society.[4] Clearly, readers and critics of Milton are hardly impartial or unpartisan in their discussion of his life and work. In recognition of such tendencies, reception studies like this attempt to identify, map, and explain the ways in which each generation of readers or interpreters, to a greater or lesser degree, constructs a portrait of the author in its own way.

While it is true that scholars have shown an increasing interest in Milton and Islam in recent years,[5] existing studies shed light primarily on Milton's knowledge of and references to contemporary, seventeenth-century Islamic culture. But the question of how Milton's work has been received in Islamic culture has attracted little or no scholarly notice. To date, only one significant monograph-length study on the topic of Milton and the Arab-Muslim world has been written: Eid Abdallah Dahiyat's *John Milton and the Arab-Islamic Culture* (1987), which concentrates chiefly on Milton's knowledge of Islam and Arabic.[6] Dahiyat's monograph provides a pioneering survey of the academic reception of Milton in the Arab world, Milton's possible use of Arabic sources, and the influence of *Paradise Lost* on Arabic literature.[7] But it leaves important questions of Milton's reception unanswered: most importantly, how is the biblical epic understood, and to what extent is it accepted or

[4] Douglas Brooks, 'Introduction: Milton and the Jews: "A Project never so seasonable, and necessary, as now!"', in *Milton and the Jews*, ed. Douglas Brooks (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1-8; Matthew Biberman, 'T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and the Milton Controversy', in Brooks (2008), p. 124.
[5] For example, a panel entitled 'Milton and Islam' was held at the 9th International Milton Symposium, 2008, in London.
[6] Eid Abdallah Dahiyat, *John Milton and the Arab-Islamic Culture* (Beirut: Dār El-Jil, 1991) – first published 1987; republished as Eid Abdallah Dahiyat, *Once Upon the Orient Wave: Milton and the Arab Muslim World* (London: Hesperus Press, 2012); translated into Arabic though not widely available: Khalīl Al-Ḥaj, tr. *John Milton Wal-Thaqāfah Al-ʹArabiyyah Al-Islāmiyyah [John Milton and the Arab-Islamic Culture]*, by Eid Abdallah Dahiyat (Amman: Markaz Al-Kutub Al-Orduni, 1993); see also Eid Abdallah Dahiyat, 'Aspects of Milton in Arabic', *Milton Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1984), pp. 5-13 – this article forms the basis of the fourth chapter of Dahiyat's book.
[7] Dahiyat (1991), pp. 65-86.

rejected within the religious culture of the modern Arab-Muslim world?[8] Dahiyat's important study provides a useful basis for further research but is by no means the last word on the subject.

There are some essays relevant to the subject of Milton and Islam, namely those of Gerald Maclean and Jeffrey Einboden. Dahiyat is the main source of MacLean's contributions, which summarise some previous studies in the field, suggesting that despite some 'interest' in Milton, Muslims 'have so far had little to say about' him. Like Dahiyat, MacLean looks at Milton's knowledge of Islam, before comparing briefly Milton's Satan with the Islamic figure of *Iblīs*.[9] MacLean also reiterates that readers' responses to Milton's Satan have played a significant part in the ways Milton is read in the Muslim world.[10] The articles do not discuss, however, the extent to which Muslims encounter potential religious complexities, whether positive or negative, when reading Milton's works. Jeffrey Einboden's scholarly examination of an Arabic translation of *Paradise Lost* is more directly relevant to the subject of Milton's reception in the Arab world.[11] Einboden argues that Mohamed Enani's 1982 translation of Books 1 and 2 is imprecise, and that the editorial nature of the translation results in a 'Qur'ānic' version of the poem.[12] Einboden undertakes

[8] See, for comparison, Hiroko Sano's suggestions for ways to understand the nature of Milton's reception in Japan: Hiroko Sano, 'Milton Studies in Japan Now', in *Milton, Rights and Liberties*, ed. Christrophe Tournu and Neil Forsyth (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 493-499.

[9] '*Iblīs*' / ابليس is the proper noun for Satan in the Arabic language, as well as in Islamic tradition and scripture. Due to its frequent recurrence in the study, the term 'Iblīs' will not be italicised hereafter. See 'Section 2.1, n. 18'.

[10] Gerald MacLean, 'Milton, Islam and the Ottomans', in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 290, 293-298; see also Gerald MacLean, 'Milton among the Muslims', in *The Religions* of *the Book: Christian Perceptions, 1400-1660*, ed. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 180-194.

[11] Jeffrey Einboden, 'A Qur'ānic Milton: From Paradise to al-Firdaws', *Milton Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2009), pp. 183-194.

[12] Ibid., pp. 183-191; for full details about Enani and his translations of *Paradise Lost*, see 'Appendix 1' and 'Section 1.2.1'.

similar studies of Dante in Arabic, and Milton in Hebrew,[13] concluding in all three cases that the translation alters aspects of the text such as characterisation and structure. My thesis builds on Einboden's work, but also goes beyond it in exploring the precise nature of the adaptation of *Paradise Lost* through its translation into Arabic.

Further scholarship does not provide insight into the reception of Milton in the Muslim world, but rather, helps to shed light on Milton's views of the Muslim world. Landmark critical works on the representation of Islam in Western literature first appeared in the twentieth century;[14] later texts showed how Islam was presented in Milton's period.[15] The underlying problem in the majority of these works is their generalisation of Islam as 'the East' or 'the Orient'. Such a perception of Islam has been the subject of vivid deconstruction in the seminal works of Edward Said, and in Ahmad Gunny's recent studies.[16] There have been a few studies dealing specifically with Milton's depiction of Islam, surveying his scarce references to Muhammad, the Qur'ān, the Ottomans, and related geography.[17] Some studies discuss the extent of Milton's ideological and political

[13] Jeffrey Einboden, 'Voicing an Islamic Dante: The Problem of Translating the *Commedia* into Arabic', *Neophilologus*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (2008), pp. 77-91; Jeffrey Einboden, 'Towards a Judaic Milton: Translating *Samson Agonistes* into Hebrew', *Literature & Theology*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2008), pp. 135-150.
[14] Miguel Asin Palacios, *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (New York: Routledge, 2008) – first published in Spanish in 1919; Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937); Byron Porter Smith, *Islam in English Literature*, 2nd edn. (New York: Caravan Books, 1977) – 1st edn. 1939.
[15] Examples include: Orhan Burian, 'Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance', *Oriens*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1952), pp. 209-229; Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: the Renaissance Image of the Turk* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1967); Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Ahmad Gunny, *Perceptions of Islam in European Writings* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 2004); Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Bernadette Diane Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2007); Benedict Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Dimmock and Hadfield (2008); Ahmad Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad in French and English Literature 1650 to the Present* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 2010).
[16] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Gunny (2004); Gunny (2010).
[17] Gordon Campbell, '"To the shore of Tripoli": Milton, Islam, and the attacks on America and Spain', in *Fundamentalism and Literature*, ed. Catherine Pesso-Miquel and Klaus Stierstrorfer (New York: Palgrave

engagement with Islam, which remains, in many senses, inconclusive.[18] Given the biblical basis of *Paradise Lost*, and the common scriptural ground shared by parts of the Bible and Qur'ān, it is no surprise that Muslim readers may see parallels between Milton's poem and aspects of their own religious culture. Whether Milton himself was aware, to some degree, of these parallels, is not entirely relevant to this reception study.

The most recent point of discussion on the topic of Islam in Milton studies is terrorism. In 2001, Stanley Fish revived and developed Robert West's view of *Samson Agonistes* as a text centring on violent extremism.[19] After the events of 11 September 2001, many critical works have debated the relationship between 'Islamic extremism' and *Samson Agonistes*, to the extent that it is currently the main focal point in Islam-related Milton studies.[20] Some writers have also linked Satan's motives in *Paradise Lost* with terrorist psychology, including direct comparisons with Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden.[21] Such a focus has likely had a twofold effect on Milton's works in the Muslim world: it could both deter and intrigue readers in equal measure. On this topic, but outside of Milton

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Macmillan, 2007), pp. 7-19; MacLean (2008), pp. 184-192; Hossein Pirnamjuddin, 'Milton's "Dark Divan" in *Paradise Lost*', *The Explicator*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (2008), pp. 68-71; William Kenton III, *English Liberty and Turkish Tyranny: The Symbolic Function of the East in Milton's Poetry and Prose* (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 2005); papers at the 9th International Milton Symposium included: Mohamed Razul, 'Fearful Symmetries: Turkish-Islamic Anxieties in Milton's *Paradise Lost*'.

[18] Campbell (2007); MacLean (2008).

[19] Robert West, 'Samson's God: "Beastly Hebraism" and "Asinine Bigotry"', *Milton Studies*, Vol. 13 (1979), pp. 109-128; Stanley Fish, *How Milton Works* (London: Harvard University Press, 2001); for similar arguments see Thomas Kranidas, *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal* (Pittsburgh: Dusquesne University Press, 2005); Michael Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

[20] See, for example: John Carey, 'A Work in Praise of Terrorism?', *Times Literary Supplement* (6 September 2002), pp. 15-16; Neil Forsyth, 'Suicidal Revenge and Milton', *The Literary Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2005); Feisal Mohamed, 'Confronting Religious Violence: Milton's *Samson Agonistes*', *PMLA*, Vol. 120, No. 2 (2005), pp. 327-340; Dennis Brown, 'Moral Dilemma and Tragic Affect in *Samson Agonistes*', *Literature & Theology*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2006), pp. 91-106; Neil Forsyth, 'Suicide and Revenge', in Tournu and Forsyth (2007), pp. 317-331; Derek Wood, '"Gaza Mourns": Samson Agent of a God of Wrath', in Tournu and Forsyth (2007), pp. 333-344; Balachandra Rajan, '"Samson Hath Quit Himself / Like Samson"', *Milton Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2007), pp. 1-11.

[21] Lauri Mylroie, *Study of Revenge: The First World Trade Center Attack and Saddam Hussein's War Against America* (Washington: AEI Press, 2001); Fareed Zakaria, 'Why Do They Hate Us?', *Newsweek* (15 October 2001), pp. 22-25; see David Boocker, 'Milton after 9/11', in *Milton in Popular Culture*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers and Gregory Semenza (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 177-186.

studies, Andrew Rippin argues that though Samson is an Islamic figure,[22] Islamic scholarship has denied him a place in its scriptural tradition so as to distance itself from the rhetoric of terrorism.[23]

Recent reception studies of *Paradise Lost* show no interest in Arab-Muslim responses to the poem. These include Earl Miner et al.'s *'Paradise Lost' 1668-1968: Three Centuries of Commentary* (2004), which presents a range of criticism about each passage of the poem. The study does not note any critical opinion from the Arab world; its only references to Arabs or Muslims surround Milton's use of Arabic words, and Satan's relation to 'Turks'.[24] The most recent reception study is John Leonard's *Faithful Labourers: A Reception History of 'Paradise Lost', 1667-1970* (2013).[25] Despite the extensive range of material Leonard discusses, there remains an emphasis on mainstream Anglo-American responses to Milton, with little reference to critics from elsewhere, and no reference to Arab critics. This kind of disregard of non-Anglophone responses to Milton has been common in mainstream Milton studies over the years. Writing in 1991, Annemarie Voss observed, in particular, that 'excellent studies' about *Paradise Lost* in German are 'largely ignored by the English-speaking scholarly community'. In her own doctoral thesis, Voss surveys around 150 German-language responses to *Paradise Lost* from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, displaying multidimensional ways in which the poem has been analysed, particularly in Germany and Switzerland. Voss explains how specific landmark critical

[22] For details on Samson in Islamic tradition, see Liyakat Takim, 'Samson', in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, Vol. 4, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 525.
[23] Andrew Rippin, 'The Muslim Samson: medieval, modern and scholarly interpretations', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, No. 71 (2008), pp. 239-253; Rippin cites Abdal Hakim Murad who writes on 14th September 2001: 'Suicide bombing is so foreign to the Quranic ethos that the Prophet Samson is entirely absent from our scriptures', p. 246. See also Rippin for a general review of non-Miltonic work about Samson's relation with terrorism – with thanks to Professor Rippin for sending me his article.
[24] Earl Miner, William Moeck, and Steven Jablonski, ed., *'Paradise Lost' 1668-1968: Three Centuries of Commentary* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004), pp. 96, 348-349; for a discussion of Satan and the 'dark divan' (*PL* 10.457), see 'Section 2.2'; also Pirnamjuddin (2008).
[25] John Leonard, *Faithful Labourers: A Reception History of 'Paradise Lost', 1667-1970: Volume I: Style and Genre; Volume II: Interpretative Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

works might have benefited from the arguments of German-speaking counterparts, and concludes:

> These German-language studies … contribute valuable insights into the literary tradition in which Milton's epic stands and in which it has to be evaluated; they present structural and stylistic analyses that reveal new aspects of Milton's artistic skill and new ways of looking at the poem, and they suggest new interpretations of the meaning of the poem.[26]

The same could be said about Arabic-language reception of Milton.

Evidently, the question of how Milton's works have been received in Arab or Islamic culture remains overlooked. By contrast, studies on Shakespeare have already begun to concentrate on such reception. Shakespeare already holds a significant place in Middle-Eastern popular culture: his plays are performed regularly, their texts sold widely, and they are incorporated into film and song.[27] Some reception studies exist in Arabic,[28] and two academic journals in English recently devoted special issues to the topic of Shakespeare in the Middle East.[29] There are some emphases on reception in these issues, though there remains a preoccupation with topics such as terrorism.[30] While the editorial introduction to

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[26] Annemarie Voss, *John Milton's 'Paradise Lost' in Germany: Its Reception and German-Language Criticism* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bell State University, 1991) – with thanks to Dr Voss for sending her 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion' to me.

[27] For example, recent films such as *Elli Bāli Bālak* (2002) in which the lead actor humorously woos the lead actress from her balcony while she reads Mohamed Enani's 1993 translation of *Romeo and Juliet*. When he climbs up and falls repeatedly, he asks: 'Was this Romeo an idiot or something?' Also, songs such as Saber Al-Rebaï, *Aṭḥada Al-ʿĀlam [I Challenge the World]* (2004) which contains the lyrics 'with you, I am to be or not to be'; or Essam Karika, *Ya Romeo [Oh Romeo]* (2004), which uses Romeo as the Egyptian slang term for a philanderer, including the lyrics: 'I'm Romeo the lover, I can't let go. A girl said to me: "Romeo, you've charmed me"'.

[28] See Ramsīs ʿAwad, *Shakespeare Fī Miṣr [Shakespeare in Egypt]* (Cairo: GEBO, 1986); for an example of the growing interest in Shakespeare, see Margaret Litvin's blog: http://arabshakespeare.blogspot.com [accessed 14 December 2010].

[29] *Critical Survey*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2007); *Shakespeare*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2008).

[30] For example, Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey, '"Rudely Interrupted": Shakespeare and Terrorism', *Critical Survey*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2007), pp. 107-123.

one of these issues complains that the Arab-Muslim world remains unnoticed in the field of international reception and appropriation of Shakespeare,[31] this case of critical neglect is even more pronounced when it comes to Milton.

Overall, then, there has been a shift since 2001, from a critical emphasis on references to Islam in Milton, often generalised as 'the East', to a debate primarily concerned with the relation between Samson and 'Islamic extremism'. Studies which shed light on Milton's engagement with Islam also exist, as well as Dahiyat and Einboden's more distinctive, if provisional, contributions. Despite increasing interest, however, numerous issues remain to be addressed regarding reception of Milton in the contemporary Arab-Muslim world.

2: Scope

2.1: The Arab-Muslim World

Before discussing the methodologies and rationales for the thesis, it is important to consider the meaning of the 'Arab-Muslim world', which encompasses a large number and variety of countries, peoples, dialects, and cultures. Here, 'Arab' refers to countries in which Arabic is the first language; there are twenty-three such territories.[32] 'Muslim' refers to Muslim-majority countries; there are forty-nine worldwide.[33] The 'Arab-Muslim' world combines these two, and is centred in the Middle-East North-Africa [MENA] region.[34] This region has 'the highest percentage of Muslim-majority countries'; more than half have a

[31] Margaret Litvin, 'Editorial', *Critical Survey*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2007), pp. 1-5.
[32] All but the Western Sahara territory are members of the Arab League. See 'Profile: Arab League', *BBC*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/1550797.stm> [accessed 20 January 2011].
[33] See Pew Research Center, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population: Projections for 2010-2030* (Washington, 2011), <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Religious_Affiliation/Muslim/FutureGlobalMuslimPopulation-WebPDF-Feb10.pdf> [accessed 19 June 2013], p. 155.
[34] The MENA region consists of nineteen of the twenty-three Arab League states, plus Israel. In MENA, only Israel is non-Arab.

Muslim population of 95% or more, and all but one of the Arab countries is over 70% Muslim.[35]

This study concentrates its enquiry in just one part of that 'world', albeit an important and representative part: the orthodox Sunni Muslim population of Egypt. Egypt is the country with the highest population of Muslims in MENA and Africa. Around 5% of the world's Muslims, and one quarter of MENA's Muslims, are in Egypt.[36] The Sunni denomination is regarded as the mainstream of Islamic belief: Sunnis make up around 90% of the world's 1.6 billion Muslims. Over 99% of Egypt's Muslims are Sunnis.[37]

Egypt is also regarded as a political and cultural centre of the Arab-Muslim world, having spread its influence through popular culture, the arts and linguistics. It is regarded as the region's hub for literature and literary studies, boasting some of the most famous Arab writers, and the only Arab to have won the Nobel Prize in Literature.[38] In Cairo University, it holds one of the most renowned universities of the region. Al-Azhar University is the largest, oldest and most famous Islamic university in the world.[39] The Al-Azhar institution, separate from the university, is the world's most acknowledged Sunni authority. It advises the Egyptian government on religious issues, and includes a Committee for Research, Authorship and Publication. Much Arabic literature is published and printed in Egypt, including almost every Arabic version of *Paradise Lost* to date. Indeed, most Arabic

[35] Pew Research Center, *Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report of the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population* (Washington, 2009), <http://pewforum.org/uploadedfiles/Topics/Demographics/Muslimpopulation.pdf> [accessed 20 January 2011], pp. 8, 16; Pew Research Center (2011), p. 156; Lebanon is 59.7% Muslim (in 2010).
[36] Egypt has almost 80 million Muslims, forming approximately 94.7% of the population (in 2010). It has the fifth highest number of Muslims in the world, after Indonesia, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. See Pew Research Center (2009), pp. 16-17, 39; Pew Research Center (2011), p. 156.
[37] Sunnis also form 86-89% of Muslims in the MENA region; see Pew Research Center (2011), pp. 14, 153, 156.
[38] Naguib Mahfouz won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1988. In fact, until 2011, no Arabs born outside Egypt had won any Nobel Prize; see 'All Nobel Prizes in Literature', *The Official Website of the Nobel Prize*, <http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/> [accessed 20 January 2011].
[39] Daniel Crecelius, 'Al-Azhar in the Revolution', *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1966), p. 31.

translations of any of Milton's works are by Egyptians,[40] as are the majority of studies about Milton in Arabic. Sunni Egyptians, therefore, appear representative of an important group of Muslim Arabs in the reception of Milton's works. Nonetheless, this thesis does not treat Egypt blindly as a synecdoche for the region; there are, of course, other centres of Arab-Muslim culture. Rather, this study aims to narrow geographical coverage where possible, in order to increase analytical precision. Where relevant, reception in other Arab countries is addressed.[41]

2.2: The Arab-Muslim Reader

It is appreciated that the 'Muslim world' may appear an outmoded term; however, working towards this study's definition of the 'Arab-Muslim reader' helps to demonstrate the ways in which such an area exists in terms of religio-cultural belief and thought. In this study, the 'Arab' reader is regarded as an Arabic speaker, or a native of an Arabic-speaking country: in most cases, Egypt. Where individuals are interviewed, they are asked whether Arabic is their 'first language', thus helping identify Arab readers, many of whom are tackling the original English text as part of their studies.[42] The responses of the Arab reader are also gauged via the reference and exploration of works completed by Arabs, and in the main, in Arabic. These include literary criticisms, newspaper articles, paintings and songs, but most importantly, Arabic translations of Milton's works.

The 'Muslim' reader is specifically a Sunni for the reasons explained previously. *Ahl Al-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah* [People of the Sunnah and Consensus] are regarded as the traditional and orthodox Muslim branch. They follow, first and foremost, 'the spirit and

[40] See 'Appendix 1' and 'Section 1.2.1'.
[41] This thesis contains references to Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, UAE and Yemen.
[42] Such information is provided in the footnotes. Students are also asked: 'Would you call yourself a Muslim?'

intent of the Qur'ān', but also place importance on the *Sunnah*: 'the exemplary behaviour' of Muhammad.[43] The scriptural tradition of Sunnism is thus based on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. The Qur'ān is considered the divine, verbatim word of God;[44] it 'serves as both record and guide for the Muslim community, transcending time and space'.[45] Meanwhile, Ḥadīths are the recorded sayings or actions of Muhammad: the second authority after the Qur'ān.[46]

Aside from scriptural tradition, it is essential to note that in Sunnism, 'Islam is increasingly emphasised as a total way of life, encompassing both religious and worldly issues'.[47] The result is facets of Islamic culture based, to differing degrees, on scripture. The Pew Center's research exemplifies this: 75% of the Egyptian sample acknowledges that 'religion is important in their lives'.[48] 99% of Muslims in Egypt 'read Qur'ān', half doing so 'every day', and 85% have Qur'ānic verses 'displayed in their home'.[49] When it comes to themes related to *Paradise Lost*, aspects of Islamic belief are also significant. For example,

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[43] John Esposito, 'Sunnah' and 'Sunni Islam', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 305-306. Esposito defines 'Sunnah' as the 'established custom, normative precedent, conduct and cumulative tradition' of Muhammad. See also 'Hadith', p. 102: 'the body of authentic hadith reports is considered to embody the Sunnah'.

[44] See ʿUmar Al-Ashqar, *Al-ʿAqīdah Fillāh [The Doctrine in Allah]* (Cairo: Dar Al-Salām, 2005), pp. 216-217; Mannāʿ Al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith Fī ʿUlūm Al-Qur'ān [Investigations into the Science of the Qur'ān]*, 3rd edn. (Beirut: Resālah Publishers, 2000), p. 26; Abu Ammaar Qadhi, *An Introduction to the Sciences of the Qur'aan* (Birmingham: Al-Hidaayah, 1999), pp. 29-39.

[45] 'Quran', in Esposito (2003), p. 256.

[46] On levels of Ḥadīth authenticity, see 'Introduction, 2.3: Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology'. Note: there is also a subcategory named *Qudsi* [Sacred] Ḥadīths, in which 'the chain of transmission is traced back directly to God'; while the Qur'ān is revealed by God directly, these are quoted by Muhammad. See 'Hadith Qudsi', in Esposito (2003), p. 102.

[47] 'Sunni Islam', in Esposito (2003), pp. 306-307.

[48] Pew Research Center, *The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity* (Washington, 2012), <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Religious_Affiliation/Muslim/the-worlds-muslims-full-report.pdf> [accessed 19 June 2013], pp. 8, 40.
The Egyptian sample is based on face-to-face interviews with 2,000 adults in November-December 2011, with the sample design: 'stratified area probability sample of 24 of 29 governorates proportional to population size and urban/rural population. The five frontier provinces, containing 2% of the overall population, were excluded', and therefore 'nationally representative of 98% of the adult population'; see pp. 25, 122.

[49] Pew Research Center (2012), pp. 50, 79. The research states 'reading or listening to the Qur'an'; I assume 'read' also means 'recite', given that people read Qur'ān in daily prayers without the text, and Egypt's 28% illiteracy rate; literacy statistic from: UNICEF, 'Egypt: Statistics', *UNICEF website* (2013), <http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/egypt_statistics.html> [accessed 24 June 2013].

93% of Egyptian Muslims believe in 'fate', 97% believe in 'Heaven', 89% in 'Hell', 97% that 'angels exist', 69% that '*Jinn* exist',[50] and a surprising 39% 'expect Jesus to return in their lifetime'.[51] Some of these, such as belief in the existence of Heaven, Hell and angels, match facets of Milton's seventeenth-century religious culture and worldview.

Moreover, 78% of Egyptians 'believe there is only one interpretation of Islam'.[52] In this light, the Arab-Muslim reader is expected to accept the mainstream and orthodox Islamic texts, most notably, the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, as well as classical texts based on these, and modern texts grounded on the classics. Finally, as will become more apparent, the religious and educational culture surrounding these texts and beliefs is considered as part of this reader's make up.

2.3: Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology

This study incorporates both library-based and fieldwork research methods. Fieldwork research was carried out during two research trips in Egypt, and via email, telephone and the Internet. This kind of research included discussion with teachers and students of *Paradise Lost*, via focus groups, interviews, questionnaires and online surveys. The data gathered are from both private and public universities; the fullest set of results was from the American University in Cairo. Further primary research includes a face-to-face interview with Mohamed Enani, and discussions with other literary figures, either in person or online.[53] Publishing and sales statistics were obtained via communication with publishers

[50] 'Jinn', in Esposito (2003), p. 160: 'creatures … mentioned numerous times in the Quran, parallel to human beings but made out of fire rather than clay. Believed to be both less virtuous and less physical than humans, but like humans, endowed with the ability to choose between good and evil'.
[51] Pew Research Center (2012), pp. 59, 61-63, 66, 69.
[52] Ibid., p. 85.
[53] For example, with novelist Nabil Farouk, poet Hassan Hegazy, and artist Mohammed Hijji. For full details about Enani and his translations of *Paradise Lost*, see 'Appendix 1' and 'Section 1.2.1'.

or authors; online statistics were collected independently using various methods.[54] While I could not always obtain specific sales or borrowing records, I got a broad sense of the availability of Milton's works by visiting libraries, bookshops and bookstalls in Cairo and Alexandria, as well as the International Book Fairs of Cairo and Dubai, both in 2011.

The library-based research uses literary criticism and Islamic scholarship. I use studies by a range of Milton scholars in English, and ensure that seminal works are not overlooked. In the first chapter, I also summarise and translate criticism written in Arabic. Islamic literatures used are the most normative Sunni sources, primarily in Arabic. I give priority to the original language; even if works are translated into English, I use the original Arabic text. The works are by both classical and modern jurists, exegetes and commentators; original publication dates are always specified. Texts by Ibn Kathīr (1301-1373) are used often; over the last centuries, his Qur'ānic exegesis has been the most universally reputable among Sunnis, and makes valuable links between the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.

The Qur'ān and Ḥadīth are the most important Islamic texts used. Translations of both are my own. Prior to translating any Qur'ānic verse, I consult seven different translations, taking particular interest in two.[55] Ḥadīths have differing levels of authenticity: the highest is *ṣaḥīḥ* [correct/authentic], followed by *ḥasan* [good/sound] and finally *ḍa'īf* [weak]. Rejected Ḥadīths are *mawḍū'* [fabricated] or *bāṭil* [false]. Only *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḥasan* Ḥadīths can be used in doctrinal or legal matters. I have chosen to use *ṣaḥīḥ* Ḥadīths as the standard in this study; when others are used, their level of authenticity is specified. I rely on the two most respected Ḥadīth collectors: Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, though I also cite other

[54] Counters on websites, correspondence with file-hosting websites, correspondence with websites/persons providing the links, estimates based on visitor statistics where applicable. See 'Section 1.2.3, n. 156'.
[55] Ahmad Zaki Hammad, *The Gracious Quran: A Modern Phrased Interpretation in English - Arabic-English Parallel Edition* (Lisle: Lucent Interpretations, 2009); Saheeh International, *The Qur'ān: English Meanings Revised & Edited* (Riyadh: Al-Muntada Al-Islami, 2009).

authentic collectors.[56] As for bibles, I use the quatercentenary reproduction of the 1611 King James Version. For Arabic, I chose the Van Dyck Version because it is based on the KJV's textus, is accepted by the Coptic Orthodox Church, and was used by Enani when translating *Paradise Lost*. I use the Bible Society of Egypt edition because it is the most commonly available in Egypt.[57]

This thesis focuses the majority of its enquiry on *Paradise Lost*; the universality of the poem's subject matter makes it Milton's most important work – in the Middle East, as elsewhere – and the natural starting point when addressing reception of the poet. It is taught widely in the region, and exists in more translations and editions than any other of Milton's works. I use Alastair Fowler's 2007 Longman edition of the 1674 twelve-book *Paradise Lost*, because it is an acclaimed and authoritative work, and because Enani used Fowler's edition in translation.[58] Though the Syrian literary scholar Hanna Aboud has also translated *Paradise Lost*,[59] only Enani's translation is addressed here; Enani's numerous volumes and editions have been available for a longer period than any other translation, and have often been reprinted. Moreover, the General Egyptian Book Organisation is more renowned than its Syrian counterpart, and its publications are more widely distributed.[60] I use the translation of Books 1 to 12, from 2002; this has been chosen over later editions as it is the first translation of the entire poem, and has therefore had more time to be received. Of course, references are made throughout to other Miltonic works and translations.

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[56] See Esposito (2003), on 'Hadith', pp. 101-102, and on Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, p. 273. There are four other authentic collectors, three of which I cite in this study: Abū-Dāwūd, Al-Tirmidhi, and Ibn-Mājah.
[57] Known as 'the Egyptian Bible'; Enani used one published by ʿAntar in Cairo, 1966, also a Van Dyck version. Enani states so in *FM* (2002), p. 69.
[58] Enani used John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, in *The Poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London: Longman, 1968); Enani states so in *FM* (2002), p. 6.
[59] See 'Appendix 1' and 'Section 1.2.1'.
[60] Syria publishes 1,100 titles per year in comparison to Egypt's 7,600 (statistics for 2004); see Frankfurter Buchmesse, *Book Market: Syria* (May 2010), <http://www.book-fair.com/pdf/buchmesse/buchmarkt_syrien_e.pdf> [accessed 1 March 2013], and Frankfurter Buchmesse, *Book Market: Egypt* (May 2010), <http://www.buchmesse.de/pdf/buchmesse/buchmarkt_aegypten_e.pdf> [accessed 1 March 2013]. On distribution, see 'Section 1.2.1, n. 77'.

The overall methodology of this study is an unpacking of lexical, semantic, philological and cultural variations in the English and Arabic texts of *Paradise Lost*, in order to present a picture of the attitudes and responses of contemporary Arab-Muslims to the narrative drama and dramatised theology and morality of the poem. I undertake a close analysis of Milton's text, in its original English and in its recent Arabic translation, synthesising several factors, such as, on one hand, the poet's beliefs, Islamic creed, and Arab-Muslim culture; and on the other, research materials such as scholarly criticism, Islamic texts, fieldwork findings, and Arabic translations. In the process, I touch on a number of disciplines such as visual art, cultural studies, music, politics, sociology and theology.

3: Rationale

The literature review reveals a considerable gap in scholarship when it comes to the reception of Milton in the Arab-Muslim world. Although there is an intrinsic scholarly value in considering the Arab-Muslim reception of Milton's works, extrinsic factors also make this study a timely one. Recent world events have pushed relations between Islamic and non-Islamic cultures to the top of today's global political agenda. Literature plays an unquestionable part in the formation of cultural thought, and is a continuous proponent of cross-cultural exchange; Milton is taught as part of the English literary canon around the Middle East, and reading his works is a way in which Arabs may interconnect with English language, culture, and history. Occurrences like the Arab Spring, which began during the writing of this thesis, reflect significant upheaval in the political and religious landscape of the Middle East. These events also attest to the relevance of this region to discussions of how literary reception relates to dimensions of everyday life, whether sociological, political or theological. I recall, in September 2011, being late for my meeting with Enani because of

road closures in the areas surrounding ousted president Hosni Mubarak's historic trial, and some miles later, because of the police presence near the Israeli embassy, which protesters were attacking. More directly, the 2011 Egyptian Revolution resulted in fresh explorations of the arts, with an influx of post-revolution poetry, song, theatre, and art.[61] Yet the post-revolution climate possessed a paradox of freedom and fear, amidst claims that the hard-line of 'Islamist' politicians may have been impending. *Paradise Lost* possesses a similar paradox: it is a canonical Western text which may interest a new generation of revolutionaries looking beyond traditional boundaries, and is itself concerned with questions of religious and political rebellion and obedience, as well as literary daring and emulation. Simultaneously, though, *Paradise Lost* also represents a fictitious and thus erroneous version of a Qur'ānic story central to Islamic creed due to its explanations of humankind's relationship with Allah; as a result, many may take offence to Milton's poem.

An interesting example of Milton's potential relation to post-revolution Egypt is the street illustration of a serpent with the head of Suzanne Mubarak (Figure 1).[62] Mubarak was Egypt's First Lady for three decades; often perceived as the ruler behind the scenes, it is thought that she pushed for her son Gamal to succeed his father as president: one of the factors sparking the revolution.[63] The illustration is a reminder of the cultural significance of the serpent despite its nonexistence in the Qur'ānic temptation story; it also alludes to the idea of the serpent as demi-woman. The basic suggestion is that Suzanne Mubarak's

[61] See for example, Patrick Kingsley, 'Artistic Revolution Follows 2011 Uprising in Egypt'], *The Guardian* (22 April 2013), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/apr/22/artistic-revolution-2011-uprising-egypt> [accessed 22 April 2013]. On street art, see Mia Gröndahl, *Revolution Graffiti: Street Art of the New Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2013).

[62] 'Street Art on Mohamed Mahmoud', <http://suzeeinthecity.wordpress.com/2012/03/25/street-art-on-mohamed-mahmoud-photos/> [accessed 22 April 2013] – with thanks to the photographer for giving me permission to use the image.

[63] See for example, Suzy Hansen, 'Suzanne Mubarak: Egypt's Mean Queen', *Newsweek* (1 January 2012), <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2012/01/01/suzanne-mubarak-egypt-s-mean-queen.html> [accessed 18 June 2013]. Of course, old-fashioned misogyny may be a component of the opprobrium heaped on Suzanne Mubarak in Egypt.

Fig. 1: *Suzanne Mubarak as serpent's head; street art in Mohamed Mahmoud, Cairo* (2012)
(Photograph © suzeeinthecity.wordpress.com)

elegance is deceitful, and that her manipulation of Hosni Mubarak led to his fall. Interestingly, as First Lady, she started Egypt's annual 'Reading for All Festival', for which thousands of books were published. The second impression of Enani's translation of Books 1 and 2 – the best-selling of all the volumes – was published 'under the care of Suzanne Mubarak'. The back cover contains information about the festival, written by her, in addition to her photograph (Figure 2). The same is on the latest reprint of Enani's full translation, published for the January 2011 festival (Figure 3). That festival coincided with the revolution, so was postponed till September 2011, when books containing her photo were sold for reduced prices, many costing one Egyptian Pound (<10p), with the hardback translation priced at fifteen Egyptian Pounds (<£1.50); not surprisingly, sales were very

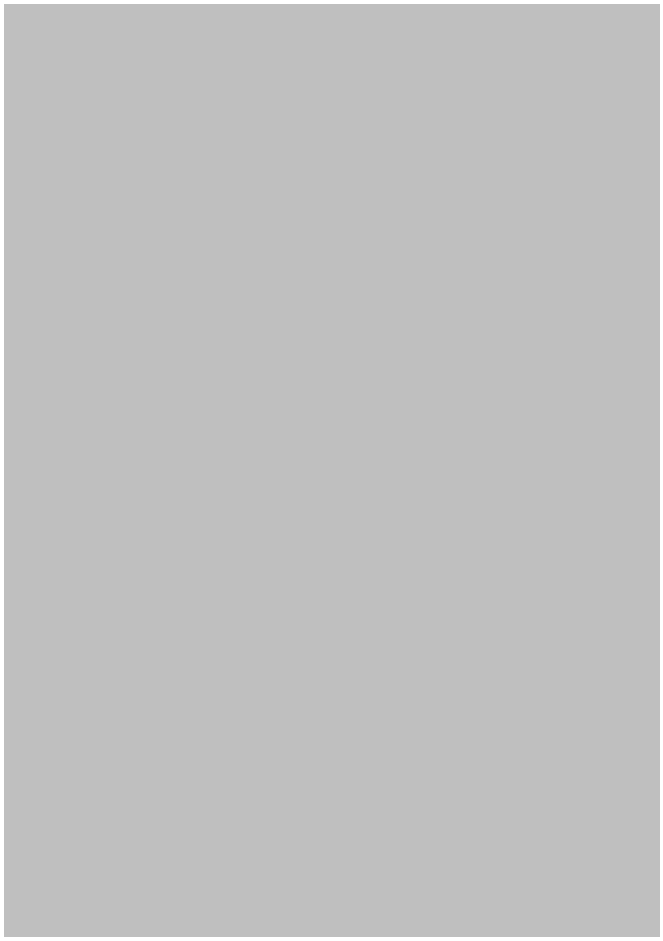

Fig. 2: *Back cover to Books 1-2* (2001).

Fig. 3: *Back cover to Books 1-12* (2010).

high. The intertwined complexities of post-revolution thought and artistic interest, in addition to the influence of the political and social state of affairs – whether at the time of writing in the seventeenth century, or the recent circumstances related to the publication of the translations – provide an entangled yet stimulating environment for the exploration of literary reception.

Social and cultural impacts of literature should be acknowledged; religiously controversial texts can receive mixed receptions in the Arab-Muslim world. One such example is Naguib Mahfouz's post-1952-revolution work, *Awlād Ḥāretna [Children of Our Alley]* (1959): the novel's characters symbolise figures such as God, Adam, Jesus and

Muhammad.[64] Publication caused uproar: scholars of the Al-Azhar institution 'condemned the work as blasphemous and demanded that it be banned'.[65] The new Egyptian president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, fearing tension, personally requested Mahfouz not to publish his book.[66] It was sold secretly until Mahfouz's 1988 Nobel Prize prompted serialised publication in *Al-Messa* newspaper, though Mahfouz requested they stop.[67] This was the year of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*; Mahfouz condemned Ayatollah Khomeini's *fatwa* against Rushdie, so was subject to similar *fatwas* himself. One cleric said: 'Salman Rushdie must be killed: had this sentence been passed on Naguib Mahfouz when he wrote *Awlād Ḥāretna*, it would have served as a lesson for Salman Rushdie'.[68] In 1994, Mahfouz was stabbed; in response, weekly newspaper *Al-Ahāli* published the novel as a supplement costing one Egyptian Pound, which rapidly sold out.[69] Only after Mahfouz's death in 2006 was the novel published openly and sold in Egypt like his other works; in 2012, the tenth reprint was published. The case of Mahfouz shows how divisive texts can prompt substantial readerships, but also how *Paradise Lost* could be regarded as a religiously taboo text, due to its fictitious narration of a Qur'ānic story and its portrayal of holy figures. In fact, the Arab world's best-selling novelist, Nabil Farouk, feels that 'the vast majority of the [Egyptian] nation, if they actually read *Paradise Lost*, could ask for it to be banned'.[70]

[64] Naguib Mahfouz, *Awlād Ḥāretna [Children of Our Alley]* (Cairo: Dar Al-Shuruq, 2012); Known in English as *Children of Gebelawi*. For example, Gebelāwi is a clear allegorical representation of Allah: the first person in the area, he owns everything in it, is physically strong but 'merciful on the weak', and has made ten rules which everyone must follow; despite people's attempts to look into his quarters, he cannot be seen.
[65] Mahfouz, cited in Samia Mehrez, 'Respected Sir', in *Naguib Mahfouz: From Regional Fame to Global Recognition*, ed. M. Beard and A. Haydar (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), p. 65.
[66] Fauzi Najjar, 'Islamic Fundamentalism and the Intellectuals: The Case of Naguib Mahfouz', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1998), p. 145.
[67] Mehrez (1993), p. 65-66.
[68] Omar Abdel-Rahman, cited in Mehrez (1993), pp. 67-68. Note: Al-Azhar opposed these *fatwas*; see Muhammad Tantawi, cited in Mehrez (1993), p. 68.
[69] Najjar (1998), pp. 139-140. Then less than 20p.
[70] Nabil Farouk (2011), personal interview.

Such situations signal the value of mapping responses to texts such as *Paradise Lost*, the content of which is both accommodated and contradicted by the capricious political, sociological and theological circumstances of the region. Globalisation is an indication, among other things, of how the English-speaking world has influenced regions such as the Middle East. As far as literature is concerned, canonical English works hold a global significance, which until today, we have often only theorised about. As a result of these social and cultural contexts, it has also become important to look beyond the English-speaking world to evaluate the full extent of the cultural reach and influence of English literature.

This thesis, then, aims to assess the response of Arab-Muslims to key aspects of *Paradise Lost*, taking into account the religious and cultural milieu which surrounds this reader, before, during, and after the reading process. Hans Robert Jauss explains that reader-response is shaped initially by the 'horizon of expectations', which includes the 'horizon of experience'.[71] In turn, as M. H. Abrams summarises:

> the response of a particular reader, which constitutes for that reader the meaning and aesthetic qualities of a text, is the joint product of the reader's own 'horizon of expectations' and the confirmations, disappointments, refutations and reformulations of these expectations when they are 'challenged' by the features of the text itself.[72]

The universal story of *Paradise Lost* is particularly striking for a Muslim reader, who possesses his or her own version of the plot as part of religion and culture: a version both confirmed and challenged by Milton. Furthermore, while reception is based traditionally on

[71] Hans Robert Jauss and Elizabeth Benzinger, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', *New Literary History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1970), pp. 7-37; see also Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, tr. Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester, 1982).
[72] M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 9th edn. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2009), p. 305.

historical change, as 'linguistic and aesthetic expectations … of readers change over the course of time',[73] it is also true that critical interpretation changes, not only with time, but as a result of factors such as culture and creed. By including the Arab-Muslim reader among the many and varied responses to the work, it is possible to bring to light previously unsuspected semantic and aesthetic 'potentialities' of the text,[74] in this case, adding to existing interpretations of Milton's works overall. In turn, 'the ever necessary retelling of literary history' can take place,[75] not by moving through time, as may be expected, but by traversing different cultures, faiths and traditions.

Interpretation of the reader – or translator – is affected by an inevitable and varying hermeneutic process. Yet hermeneutics are 'not an attempt to establish norms or rules for a correct interpretation, but an attempt simply to describe how we in fact succeed in understanding texts'.[76] In this sense, the understanding of an Arab-Muslim reader cannot be expected to be the same as that of the 'mainstream' reader of Milton, assumed in existing criticism and reception studies. Indeed, reader-response criticism is based on 'American and European' critical modes,[77] which can overlook other seemingly peripheral groups, despite their importance. In the case of *Paradise Lost,* Arab-Muslim readers are wholly relevant due to the socio-political contexts outlined and their religio-cultural belief in facets of Milton's subject matter. In the backdrop of the Arab Spring, Egyptians have sought democratisation at many levels, but have emphasised the importance of self-change and self-governance, rejecting visible external intervention, such as the allied-invasion force's toppling of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Similarly, canonical texts need to be interpreted at idiosyncratic

[73] Ibid.
[74] 'Potentialities' is a term used by Jauss.
[75] Jauss and Benzinger (1970), p. 9.
[76] Abrams (2009), p. 160; see Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, tr. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald Marshall, 2nd edn. (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 267-362.
[77] Abrams (2009), p. 299.

levels by specific readers, without literary critics – likely Anglo-American – deeming any sets of meanings or interpretations as universal. However, studies on Milton often focus criticism on an 'implied reader' of Milton's time or of today: a reader who abides by the 'response-inviting structures' of the text. I contend that rather than continuing to search for this 'implied reader', the Arab-Muslim is an important example of an 'actual reader',[78] one 'whose responses are inevitably coloured by his or her accumulated private experiences',[79] which differ from the mainstream reader: often an occidental, monolingual, and increasingly secular archetype.

The concept of 'intersectionality' can further explain the benefits of taking into account this Arab-Muslim readership. The theory developed as a means of investigating identity oppression, giving the example of the black woman's location at the intersection of both sexism and racism, and not just one or the other.[80] The key is that different identity categories coincide in order to form a more precise life experience, and that one change can be repercussive overall (see Figure 4). I believe that Milton studies have suffered from a kind of identity negligence, in which emphasis is

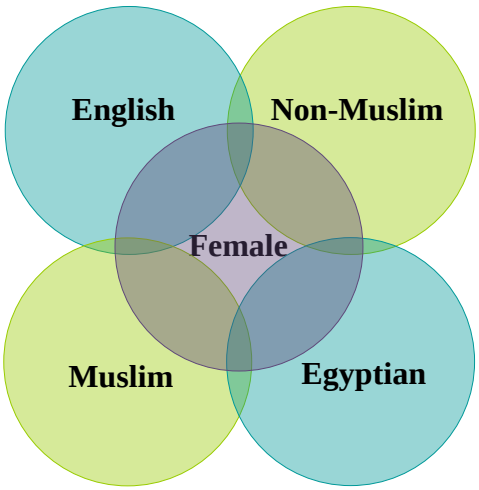

Fig. 4: As an example, an Egyptian-Muslim reader may differ from an English-non-Muslim reader, though both share the same gender.

[78] The terms 'implied reader', 'actual reader' and 'response-inviting structures' are used by Wolfgang Iser; see Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1974); Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (London: Routledge, 1978).
[79] Abrams (2009), p. 300.
[80] Kimberlé Crenshaw is attributed as the first to use the term in this way; see her work, 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989), pp. 139-167.

placed primarily on 'mainstream' readers despite their non-universality. Hence, this study aims to add to the matrix of analyses in the field of Milton criticism. Moreover, as opposed to assessing the Arab or Muslim reception, this study intersects two groups, creating the Arab-Muslim reader. And in order to complete a more accurate analysis, more intersections have been added, namely: this Arab-Muslim reader is Egyptian and Sunni.

This study is, in part, motivated by the interactions between literature and people's lives, appreciating that life experience funnels down, interacting with the discourses that inform our knowledge, which in turn, construct aspects of reception. To that end, the potential benefits of such studies are numerous. The Arab-Muslim readership, in the cultural, political, social, and theological contexts outlined, can benefit from an exploration of the ways in which a taboo text may in fact possess edifying values; such ideas can also influence the ways Milton is taught in the region. Furthermore, representation and incorporation of Arab-Muslim readers in the wider literary community – aside from references to extremism – can only be positive for dialogue between cultures. I perceive the primary benefit to be for Milton studies, because as Jauss states, 'different responses … do not reciprocally falsify one another, but rather, testify to the historically progressive concretisation of meaning in the struggle for interpretation'.[81] Consideration of intersections shows that by adding to the existing picture of Milton's reception, we also transform it.

4: Limitations

In addition to supporting the rationale, theories of intersectionality present a key limitation of this study: the inevitable generalisation of the Arab-Muslim reader. Reception is reliant on boundless collective and individual categories, such as age, gender, education,

[81] Jauss (1982), p. 185.

and life experience; some are impossible to measure in strictly sociological research, let alone a literary study. Another limitation of this thesis is that it is confined to the Arab-Muslim readership outlined. It does not include African-Muslims, who prompt interesting examples requiring independent research.[82] Other Muslim denominations, such as Shi'ite and Sufi, are also excluded from this study in general. The Sunni literature used does not include either liberal or extremist literature. Primary research at educational institutes, publishers and libraries has been carried out in Egypt alone; students interviewed are, on the whole, females, and limited to the American University in Cairo and Alexandria University. I did not conduct research at Islamic universities: plans to do so at Al-Azhar University proved a bureaucratic challenge. Research carried out at publishers, libraries and bookshops produced some interesting findings; the scope of the thesis, however, only allows me to mention findings directly relevant to the specifics of this study.

Ironically, the non-Arabic literary criticism used in this study is limited to works in English; this does, though, provide a representative summary of the prevailing Milton scholarship. Lastly, for reasons outlined, this study is concerned primarily with *Paradise Lost* and with Enani's translation.

5: Structure

Aside from the introduction and conclusion, this study consists of five chapters. Chapter One provides an overview of Milton's presence in the Arab world. The first section carries out a survey of the most important Arabic commentaries on Milton, and considers his potential influence on Arabic literature and culture. The second section provides a

[82] For example, notable poetic takes on Adam and Eve's story exist in the east-African Swahili language, thought to be from the eighteenth-century. These include, *The Epic of Adam and Eve*, and *The Life of Adam*. See Jan Knappert, *Traditional Swahili Poetry: An Investigation into the Concepts of East African Islam as Reflected in the Utenzi Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. 3, 64-138; Jan Knappert, *Myths and Legends of the Swahili* (London: Heinemann, 1978), pp. 22-32.

history of the translations of Milton's works into Arabic, as well as analyses of issues surrounding the timing, publication and online presence of *Paradise Lost* translations. Finally, I summarise Enani's translation theories and present a flavour of some of the textual, philological and conceptual points of discussion.

The following chapters shed light on how such cultural and translational issues shape the ways in which Arab-Muslim readers perceive and understand the characters and motifs of *Paradise Lost*. Chapter Two focuses on Satan and the fallen angels; Chapter Three on God the Son; Chapter Four on God the Father; and Chapter Five on Adam and Eve. Each chapter outlines how the figures are perceived in Milton scholarship, before exploring the ways in which they fit into the narrative drama and theology of the poem, and their position in Islamic creed and Arab-Muslim culture. Concurrently, the poem's subject matter is examined in detail by analysing and comparing these theological, cultural, linguistic and translational issues. Each of these chapters finishes with a conclusion, which not only summarises the patterns and potentialities of reception, but points towards the practical functions of the Arab-Muslim responses to the poem and their contribution to the formation of social ideas.

CHAPTER 1: JOHN MILTON AND THE ARAB-MUSLIM WORLD: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

1.1: Milton in the Arab-Muslim World

In the Arab-Muslim world, John Milton is not a household name like William Shakespeare or, perhaps surprisingly, Agatha Christie.[1] Where Milton is known in the region, it is chiefly as the blind poet who wrote *Paradise Lost.* But Dahiyat writes: 'The way Milton … has been handled in Arabic is a story of misunderstanding, of indiscriminate and undocumented repetitions of the ideas of other scholars, and of gross generalisations'.[2] Numerous recurring themes and perceptions characterise the reception of Milton in the Arab-Muslim world to date. These include a strong emphasis on biography – particularly Milton's blindness – as well as a focus on the character of Satan in *Paradise Lost*. The origins of Milton's Arab reception can be traced to a series of publications from the first half of the twentieth century. Notable and influential responses from this time include those of Khalīl Al-Ṭawāl and Maḥmūd Al-Khafīf, who wrote about Milton in *Al-Risālah [The Message]*, a weekly Egyptian intellectual and cultural magazine, which also published the first ever Arabic translation of *Paradise Lost*.[3] Al-Ṭawāl wrote three essays in 1937, following Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd's Arabic translation of the first 155 lines of *Paradise Lost* some months earlier. In the first article, Al-Ṭawāl gives a brief biography of Milton, and

[1] Christie, like Shakespeare, is a household name in the Arab world. Her novels, translated into Arabic, are sold widely in most bookshops. For an idea of her popularity, see for example, the following article, which states: 'It has been suggested that only the Bible and Shakespeare's canon have outsold an estimated 4 billion copies of her books' worldwide: Nico Hines, 'Agatha Christie's Secret Tapes Discovered', *The Times Newspaper* (15 September 2008), <http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/books/article4757737.ece> [accessed 9 February 2011].

[2] Dahiyat (1991), p. 65.

[3] For details about *Al-Risālah* magazine and Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd's 1937 translation, see 'Section 1.2.1'.

stresses that Milton used his works for political purposes.[4] In the second, Al-Ṭawāl surveys the views of Samuel Johnson, Thomas Macaulay and William Hazlitt about *Paradise Lost*, concluding that while the content and style of the poem cannot overcome 'the power of the mind, it has in it the warmth of emotion, which touches the heart'.[5] In the third essay, Al-Ṭawāl summarises the poem's story, only mentioning the Son at the very end.[6] He goes on to criticise Milton's writing as 'ambiguous in meaning and rugged in style'.[7] Whether these three essays were a response or follow-up to Maḥmūd's translation is not stated specifically, but seems likely.

From February to December 1946, Al-Khafīf, a poet, wrote thirty-five short essays in *Al-Risālah* examining Milton. The title of the series portrayed Milton as a heroic and almost angelic figure: 'Literature in the steps of its icons: Milton (the eternal harp which sung the most splendid psalms of beauty, freedom and imagination)'.[8] Al-Khafīf starts by writing that Milton joins 'the three endowed western poets, who are eternal, namely Homer, Dante and Shakespeare'.[9] Al-Khafīf's essays are essentially an extended biography of Milton, with emphasis on the latter's private life. He takes a largely historicist approach to Milton's works, emphasising the poet's Puritanism. It is not until the penultimate essay that Al-Khafīf addresses *Paradise Lost* in any substantial detail, marvelling at Milton's work:

> It is one's right to be astounded at how the poet creates from this story, simple as it is, a poem of this length, and there is not one image or idea in it which it would be

[4] Khalīl Al-Ṭawāl, 'Dirāsāt Fil-Adab Al-Ingilīzi: John Milton' [Studies in English Literature: John Milton], *Al-Risālah*, No. 225 (25/10/1937), p. 41.
[5] Khalīl Al-Ṭawāl, 'Dirāsāt Fil-Adab Al-Ingilīzi: John Milton' [Studies in English Literature: John Milton], *Al-Risālah*, No. 226 (1/11/1937), p. 52.
[6] Ibid., p. 47. On Qur'ānic terminology, see 'Section 1.2.5'.
[7] Khalīl Al-Ṭawāl, *Al-Risālah*, No. 227 (8/11/1937), p. 49.
[8] Maḥmūd Al-Khafīf, 'Al-Adab Fī Sayr Aʿlāmih: Milton (al-qithāra al-khālida alatī ghannat arwaʿ anāshīd al-jamāl wal-ḥuriyya wal-khayāl)' [Literature in the Steps of Its Icons: Milton (the eternal harp which sung the most splendid psalms of beauty, freedom and imagination)], *Al-Risālah*, No. 660 (25/2/1946) to No. 704 (30/12/1946). Hereafter, references to this series of essays will not include the title.
[9] Al-Khafīf, *Al-Risālah*, No. 660 (25/2/1946), p. 18.

> right to omit; neither does it contain even one topic which is weak or boring to the reader. Instead, it is all of high distinction and power … for one does not see in it anything but wonders, and that which instils a strong spiritual ecstasy, felt through the mystery of genius.[10]

In this essay, Al-Khafīf summarises the poem's main events in one paragraph, going into some detail about the first two Books, and using much Qur'ānic terminology.[11] In the next essay, he summarises Books 3 to 6, and comments on 'the philosophy' of the epic. He writes that Milton showed 'the wisdom of God and His will towards humankind' by portraying both 'religious views' and ideas about 'private life, public life, and the life of his people, both social and political'.[12] Though this thirty-fifth essay ends with the usual 'to be continued', two editions later, the final page of the magazine notes: 'There remain some words in the study of Professor Khafīf, on the poet Milton, which he postponed until this valuable study is published as a book, so it is not divided between the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Al-Risālah*'.[13] It is not clear if this book was ever published.

In the same vein as Al-Ṭawāl and Al-Khafīf, other writers may also have contributed to the current reputation of Milton in the Arab-Muslim world. Ahmed Khāki, another Egyptian, wrote two essays in 1939 entitled 'John Milton and his Poetry in the Light of Recent Psychological Research', in which he concludes that Milton's work is 'paradoxical', in its mixed portrayal of women, and its unresolved mixture of sexual desire and religious restriction.[14] Ḥassān Al-Manfalūṭi, meanwhile, symbolises Milton's life as a play of 'three acts': the first is a period of 'experiment', the second is 'war', and the third, in which he

[10] Al-Khafīf, *Al-Risālah*, No. 701 (9/12/1946), p. 24.
[11] Ibid., pp. 26-27. On Qur'ānic terminology, see 'Section 1.2.5'.
[12] Al-Khafīf, *Al-Risālah*, No. 702 (16/12/1946), pp. 23-27.
[13] *Al-Risālah*, No. 704 (30/12/1946), p. 48.
[14] Ahmed Khāki, 'John Milton and his Poetry in Light of Recent Psychological Research', *Al-Thaqāfah* (14/11/1939) and (21/11/1939).

writes *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*, is 'despair'.[15] Another striking though intentionally ironic reception of Milton is Louis Awad's claim, mentioned already, that 'when we read *Paradise Lost*, we feel that Milton is a devout Muslim'.[16] Omar Farrukh does not go this far, but claims that Milton was influenced by the portrayal of Iblīs in the Qur'ān, exemplifying how Milton's Satan and Iblīs have much in common.[17]

Indeed, the character of Satan looms large in the general Arab view of Milton today, particularly due to analyses by ʿAbbās Maḥmūd Al-ʿAqqād (1889-1964). Known as 'The Giant', Al-ʿAqqād is one of the most distinguished Arab writers of the modern period, writing books on religious, philosophical, bibliographical, political, social and literary topics, as well as poems and novels. He was well informed about world literature, particularly English; for example, in 1916, he translated poems by Shakespeare and Robert Burns.[18] Moreover, his friend, Al-Māzinī, read much English literature, and quoted Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* in his writings;[19] Al-Māzinī used to discuss poetry with Al-ʿAqqād.[20] Furthermore, Al-ʿAqqād was one of the most prolific writers for *Al-Risālah* during the period that it published the first ever Arabic translation of *Paradise Lost*, specifically, the first 155 lines. Al-ʿAqqād very likely read this translation. He also contributed to the 1 November 1937 edition, which contained one of Al-Ṭawāl's three consecutive essays about

[15] Al-Manfalūṭi (1948), cited in Dahiyat (1992), pp. 66-67.
[16] Awad (1967), cited in Dahiyat (1991), pp. 67-68.
[17] Omar Farrūkh, *Ḥakīm Al-Maʿarrah [The Wise of Al-Maʿarrah]*, 2nd edn. (Beirut: Dār Libnān, 1986) – 1st edn. 1944.
[18] In the anthology: ʿAbbās Maḥmūd Al-ʿAqqād, *Yaqaẓat Al-Ṣabāḥ [Morning Wake]* (Beirut: Dār Al-ʿAwdah, 1977).
[19] Dahiyat (1992), p. 80.
[20] Ḥamdi Al-Sakūt (1981), cited in Dahiyat (1992), p. 80.

Milton,[21] and wrote the front-page articles of tens of magazine issues in 1946, many of which included Al-Khafīf's essays about Milton.[22]

Al-ʿAqqād's 1944 book, entitled simply *Iblīs*, remains one of the few comprehensive studies of Satan in Arabic, and is likely the source of much common knowledge about Milton in the Arab-Muslim world. The chapter entitled 'The Devils of the Poets and Writers' indicates that 'the Devil which Milton portrayed is more important than the "poetic" Devils portrayed by those who preceded and followed him'. Al-ʿAqqād adds that 'Milton has turned the attention of readers to the Devil' by providing the character with an 'ample portion' of the epic in which he can 'highlight his actions and speeches', and justify his 'claims and positions'.[23] Al-ʿAqqād perceives Milton's Satan as a complex literary and political instrument, through which the poet provides himself with 'a chance to express the arguments and motives for revolution', as 'a tongue pronouncing the excuses of the rebels' and 'a ghost carrying the burdens of the tyrants'. In addition, he argues that Milton's Satan is symbolic of King Charles I through his 'malignance and abusiveness', and Oliver Cromwell through his 'boldness, courage and self-pride … requesting the first position in Hell and refusing the second position in Heaven'.[24]

Al-ʿAqqād also wrote two epic-length poems about Satan: *Tarjamatu Shayṭān [Biography of a Devil]* and *Sibāqul Shayāṭīn [Race of the Devils]*.[25] The first depicts a repenting devil; God accepts and grants him Heaven, before the devil realises he would rather be free outside of Heaven, and rebels, echoing the famous line: 'Better to reign in hell,

[21] ʿAbbās Maḥmūd Al-ʿAqqād. 'Falsafat Al-Asmā'' [The Philosophy of Names], *Al-Risālah*, No. 226 (1/11/1937), pp. 4-8. On *Al-Risālah* magazine and Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd's 1937 translation, see 'Section 1.2.1'.
[22] Al-ʿAqqād wrote the front-page article of *Al-Risālah* every two weeks (every odd numbered issue) from issue 661 (4/3/1946) to issue 791 (30/8/1948), with the exception of two issues (687 and 689).
[23] ʿAbbās Maḥmūd Al-ʿAqqād, *Iblīs [Satan]* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1985), pp. 172-173.
[24] Ibid., pp. 173-174.
[25] ʿAbbās Maḥmūd Al-ʿAqqād, *Dīwān min Dawāwīn: 11 [An Anthology Among Anthologies: 11]* (Cairo: Nahḍat Miṣr, 1996), pp. 180-193, 143-145.

than serve in heaven' (*PL* 1.263). In the second, Iblīs offers a prize to the devil who shows highest prowess in misguiding humans. Seven devils compete: those of Pride, Envy, Despair, Regret, Love, Sloth and Hypocrisy. The devil of Hypocrisy wins, but true to his name, rejects the competition and prize. Iblīs tells him in a striking stanza that he chose him knowing this would happen. The characters in both poems show remarkable similarities with Milton's Satan: Al-ʿAqqād's Iblīs is a complicated, intelligent, proud and emotionally driven figure. Indeed, Al-ʿAqqād admits that he wrote *Biography of a Devil* after reading 'many epics and legends of the West'.[26] Similarly, the short poem '*Iblīs Yantaḥir*' [Satan Commits Suicide] provides ideas about the Satanic character: Iblīs decides to kill himself as he cannot contemplate the thought of being free, as he is enslaved by God's wrath, and enslaves humans in sin. Al-ʿAqqād writes in the poem's notes: 'Enslavement is the air in which devils live … and Iblīs is scared to come out of it into the air of freedom, like a fish is scared to come out of the water'. [27] Another poem entitled '*ʿĪd Milād Fil-Jaḥīm*' [Birthday in Hell] has an undertone of *Paradise Lost*. A wrongdoer enters Hell; the inhabitants think he is a new-born, and one year on, he speaks to them.[28] The speaker proclaims that Hell is more beloved to him than the world which brought him nothing but 'disappointment', where 'good' was 'a mirage'. Such a view is similar to Satan's reference to Hell as 'A refuge from those wounds' (*PL* 2.168), with Al-ʿAqqād's speaker finding refuge from Earth in Hell.

Al-ʿAqqād's longer poem, '*Al-Shāʿir Al-ʿAʿmā*' [The Blind Poet], presents a poet who has been struck with blindness, and complains of his inability to see the beautiful imagery he wants to put on paper.[29] The poet may achieve greatness, but must call upon his heart to give him some of its light. Interestingly, the most famous edition places 'The Blind

[26] Al-ʿAqqād (1985), pp. 187-188.
[27] Al-ʿAqqād (1996), p. 166.
[28] Ibid., p. 178.
[29] Ibid., p. 266.

Poet' immediately before a poem entitled '*Tanāzuʿ Al-Firdaws*' [Dispute of Paradise], a poem which questions how people, who would not share their homes or belongings in this life, want others to enter Paradise with them. The title contains '*Al-Firdaws*', the Arabic word commonly used in the title of *Paradise Lost*, and its position immediately after 'The Blind Poet' suggests that both poems allude to Milton and his most famous poetic work.

Returning to Satan and Hell, other early twentieth-century Arabic literary works also show awareness of Milton's depictions in *Paradise Lost*. ʿAbdul-Raḥmān Shukrī, a friend of Al-ʿAqqād, indicates in the introduction to his prose work *Ḥadīth Iblīs [Satan's Speech]*[30] that the text's emphases are 'psychological', declaring: 'I have made Iblīs advise about what should be avoided'.[31] Shukrī feels that his creation of a complex Satanic character enables his text to become edifying for his readers. Another example of possible Miltonic influence on the Arabic literature of this period is the 1929 poem *Thawrat Ahl Al-Jaḥīm [Revolution of the People of Hell]*, by Jamīl Sidqi Al-Zahāwī,[32] a well-known Iraqi poet. The protagonist of the poem, also a poet, has just died, and goes through Heaven and Hell, meeting the likes of Dante and Shakespeare in Hell, though not Milton. Hell's inhabitants create weaponry, put out the fires of Hell and march with Satan to fight the angels and occupy Heaven; God's throne is shaken in the fighting. A number of clear similarities exist between *Paradise Lost* and this poem, such as the floral Heaven and the battle scenes.[33] Al-Zahāwī's poem was received with much hostility across the region for decades. Of course, there are further relevant examples of Milton's potential influence on Arabic literature.[34] The significance of those mentioned here is that they show that Al-ʿAqqād may have determined much of the

[30] ʿAbdul-Raḥmān Shukrī, *Ḥadīth Iblīs [Satan's Speech]* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Girgis ʿAzūzi, 1916).
[31] ʿAbdul-Raḥmān Shukrī, cited in Al-ʿAqqād (1985), p. 187.
[32] Jamīl Sidqi Al-Zahāwī, *Al-Aʿmāl Al-Shiʿriyyah Al-Kāmilah [The Complete Poetical Works]* (Beirut: Dār Al-ʿAwda, 2002).
[33] Khulūsi believes that Al-Zahāwī's battle was influenced by Book 6 of *Paradise Lost*; see Dahiyat (1992), p. 84.
[34] See 'Section 2.1'.

Arab reception of Milton to date, through his widely read views about Milton in *Iblīs*, as well as the generic shift in the presentation of Satan and Hell in his literary works. The potential influence of Milton on the Arab world can be seen through Al-ʿAqqād's poems about Satan, which alter the way the latter is portrayed in Arabic literary culture, and as in Shukrī's introduction, provide an example of how Milton can be edifying for an Arab-Muslim audience. These factors also increase significantly the importance of Maḥmūd's 1937 translation, which as suggested, Al-ʿAqqād almost certainly read. Finally, Al-Zahāwī's controversial poem is an example of how texts about sacred issues may be received with hostility by Muslims, and how in turn, *Paradise Lost* may be a taboo text due to its similarly unorthodox themes and the perception that it may have inspired further contentious texts.

On a political level, however, Satan may be inspiring for those who feel, like Al-Zahāwī, that they are living under autocracy and oppression. Al-Zahāwī's compatriot, Abduallah Ammer, wrote a short essay in 2011 entitled: 'Milton's Devil in *Paradise Lost*'. Ammer begins with a sweeping assumption that Satan is 'the legendary and warring hero of the poem' because he 'enters a struggle' despite the odds, and because 'his might and arrogance' are not affected by 'plights and losses'.[35] Significantly, Ammer wrote the essay for the literary section of *Mo'asasat Al-Hewar Al-Mutamadin [The Foundation for Modern Discussion]*, an Iraqi, non-governmental foundation, with an interest in minority rights, and many pro-Kurdish contributions. The foundation describes itself as 'left, secular, democratic'; its motto calls for 'social freedom and justice for all'.[36] Ammer's praise for Milton's Satan is far from apologetic: he cherishes the character's rebellion against obvious authority. Using examples from Enani's translation, he praises Satan's convincing rhetoric

[35] Abduallah Ammer, 'Shayṭān Milton Fil-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd' [Milton's Devil in *Paradise Lost*], *Mo'asasat Al-Hewar Al-Mutamadin* (29 June 2011), <http://www.ahewar.org/DEBAT/show.art.asp?aid=265281> [accessed 22 July 2012].
[36] *Mo'asasat Al-Hewar Al-Mutamadin*, <http://www.ahewar.org/> [accessed 22 July 2012].

to the fallen angels, concluding: 'the Devil announces what I call the Cold War on God', but is nonetheless 'a strategic commander motivated only by his revolutionary emotion, trying to turn God's good into evil'.[37] It is clear, then, as has long been known, that some socio-political conditions lead readers to admire the apparently revolutionary, anti-authoritarian character of Satan, however misguided this may come to seem upon closer inspection.

Al-ʿAqqād's influence on the reception of Milton seems to have had a lasting effect. With his contemporaries, Al-ʿAqqād compiled a list of the most important books in history, which they planned to write a series about. It never came into being, and so between 1990 and 1998, Egyptian writer Ahmed Al-Shenwāny took on the project: a nine-volume series entitled *Books that changed Human Thinking*.[38] Each volume discusses thirteen books; most are non-fiction. The choices have Arab and Islamic undertones, with emphasis on Arab input into human development and important Islamic texts. The first volume, which claims to contain the most significant books, includes ancient texts by Confucius, Plato and Euclid, the seminal writings of Ibn-Sina [Avicenna] and Ibn-Khaldun, along with René Descartes, Isaac Newton, Adam Smith, Charles Darwin, Karl Marx and Albert Einstein. *Paradise Lost* finds its place in the sixth volume (1997), alongside works as various as the ancient Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, the Babylonian *Code of Hammurabi*, the Zoroastrian *Avesta* and Aeschylus's ancient Greek tragedy *The Persians*. The volume also includes texts by some of the Middle East's most famous scholars, spanning from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, in addition to the works of nineteenth-century sociologist Emile Durkheim and the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud.[39] Of the 117 writers in the nine volumes, the only English

[37] Ammer (2011).
[38] Ahmed Al-Shenwāny, *Kutub Ghayarat Al-Fikr Al-Insāni [Books that changed Human Thinking]*, Vols. 1-9 (Cairo: GEBO, 1990-1998).
[39] Ahmed Al-Shenwāny, *Kutub Ghayarat Al-Fikr Al-Insāni [Books that changed Human Thinking]*, Vol. 6 (Cairo: GEBO, 1997). The volume also includes works by: Muhammad Al-Razi (9-10th century), Abū-Ḥayyān Al-Tawḥīdī (10th century), Abū al-ʿAlā' Al-Maʿarrī (10-11th century), Ibn Ḥazm (11th century), Ibn-Ṭufayl

poets, playwrights or novelists present are Milton, Shakespeare, Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift. It is notable that Milton is placed among such important names in history, be they writers who have undoubtedly added to their fields, or Arab-Muslim writers from the past who are now considered a pride of the region.

Despite his differences to these writers, Milton's text is still appreciated as one 'that changed human thinking', because it is a 'magnificent masterpiece' that has given its author 'global glory which continues to multiply over the centuries'. *Paradise Lost*, writes Al-Shenwāny, 'is a great image of the everlasting tragedy that revolves between the created and the Creator, and between the human and his destiny'. He adds that Milton 'had one main purpose … proof of Allah's justice and wisdom'.[40] After giving a brief biography of Milton, Al-Shenwāny separates the chapter into three stages: the first summarising Milton's pre-1639 poetry, and the second explaining briefly Milton's political and educational views in the works which followed in the next two decades.[41] Al-Shenwāny overlooks the possibility of Milton's political motives or metaphors in *Paradise Lost*, interpreting Milton's final stage, from 1660 until his death, as one in which 'the poet's political concerns faded with the return of the monarchy in England, so he parted to complete a wish he had long hoped for … eternal verse'. He continues: 'we want, now, to pause, a long pause, at *Paradise Lost*, because it is a pearl in the literatures of the world',[42] before summarising the main events of the poem by providing Maḥmūd's verse translation of the beginning of *Paradise Lost*, as well as a translation of further excerpts of the poem into Arabic prose, totalling around 145

(12th century), Yāqūt Al-Ḥamawi (12-13th century). It also includes John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Thomas Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population* and Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*.

[40] Al-Shenwāny (1997), pp. 171-172.

[41] Ibid., pp. 172-175.

[42] Ibid., p. 175.

lines. He does not credit Maḥmūd, nor does he reveal the source of the translated excerpts which follow.[43]

One Arab writer who finds an unquestionable place in Al-Shenwāny's series – *Books that changed Human Thinking* – and indeed in the same volume as Milton, is Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Al-Maʿarrī (973-1057). The argument that Milton borrowed from Al-Maʿarrī's *Risālat Al-Ghufrān [Epistle of Forgiveness]*[44] is a common theme in Arab studies of the English poet. Al-Maʿarrī had similar attributes to Milton: as Muhammad Badrān writes in the introduction to his translation of Macaulay's *Essays on Milton*, 'both were poets, prose writers, and philosophers, and both were blind'.[45] Al-Maʿarrī's *Epistle* was a response to Ibn Al-Qāriḥ's attack on poets and writers, in which they were depicted in Hell.[46] Ibn Al-Qāriḥ is its protagonist: he travels through Paradise, where he meets many Arab poets, historic and contemporary, as well as Adam. Due to the similarities between Al-Maʿarrī and Milton, and their works, many of today's educated Arabs immediately associate *Paradise Lost* with the *Epistle of Forgiveness*.[47] Dahiyat points out that as early as 1886, a magazine article claimed that Milton borrowed from the *Epistle*, a view supported by many.[48] However, there is no concrete evidence of Al-Maʿarrī's influence on Milton, so this opinion is no longer widely held among literary scholars in the Arab world, who have argued that despite the similarities, imitation cannot be proven.[49] Dahiyat explains that unlike Milton, Al-Maʿarrī uses Qur'ānic sources, and presents a more sensual Paradise and more impassive Satan. The

[43] Ibid., pp. 176-186; Maḥmūd's translation: pp. 176-178. See 'Appendix 1' and 'Section 1.2.1' for analysis.
[44] Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat Al-Ghufrān [The Epistle of Forgiveness]*, ed. and introd. Ā'isha ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān, 11th edn. (Cairo: Dār Al-Maʿārif, 2008).
[45] Muhammad Badrān, tr. and introd. *Essays on Milton*, by Thomas Macaulay (Cairo: Al-Khuniji Library, 1946), p. 1. For more details on Badrān and other Arabic translations of books about Milton, see 'Section 1.2.1'.
[46] Dahiyat (1992), p. 70.
[47] I have personally heard as much in numerous informal conversations in which I have mentioned *Paradise Lost*, only to receive a response about the *Epistle of Forgiveness*.
[48] *Al-Muqtaṭaf [The Selection]* (May 1886), pp. 440-456, cited in Dahiyat (1992), p. 71-72.
[49] ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān (2008), p. 325.

Epistle, Dahiyat asserts, 'exercised no influence whatsoever on *Paradise Lost* for Milton had not even heard of it'.[50] Nevertheless, such links with a renowned Arab writer show that Milton possesses a place in the minds of Arab intellectuals. Their opinions are at great variances, though, depending on the root of the knowledge.

Indeed, Anīs Al-Magdisī, an Arabic literature professor in Lebanon, claimed that Milton's lyric poems also borrowed from Al-Maʿarrī, suggesting that *Lycidas*, written on the death of Edward King, has parallels with an elegy Al-Maʿarrī wrote on the death of a friend: in both pieces, the poets call upon nature to mourn.[51] Dahiyat states that the poems possess no relation, as their genres differ: Milton's is a pastoral elegy, Al-Maʿarrī's has the '*ubi sunt* theme of the fickleness of life and the uncertainty of the human condition'.[52] Dahiyat concludes that Al-Magdisī's claim is typical of the way Milton has been handled by Arab critics: 'the problem of most of those writers seems to be their indiscriminate treatment of general human sentiments and visions in terms of correspondences, influences, and borrowings'.[53] It is true that many critics, whatever their background, tend to see intertexts for Milton where there may be none present.

Confirmation that Milton did not borrow from Al-Maʿarrī does not stop other types of comparisons from being made. As recently as 2011, Suʿād Makārim, a Syrian novelist, wrote an article in *Ad-Dad* journal,[54] which begins: 'I do not know why every time I read Abū al-ʿAlā' Al-Maʿarrī, I immediately think of the English poet John Milton'. Surprisingly, she does not mention *Paradise Lost*, but rather, praises the way the two authors dealt with their blindness, adding that in Milton's prose works such as *Of Education*, he set examples

[50] Dahiyat (1992), p. 72; for more differences, see Dahiyat (1992), pp. 72-75.
[51] Al-Magdisī (1967), cited in Dahiyat (1992), p. 75. Al-Maʿarrī's friend was Muhammad Al-Gubūlī.
[52] Dahiyat (1992), pp. 75-76.
[53] Ibid., p. 76.
[54] 'A monthly review of literature, science, arts and sociology'; see *Ad-Dad Online*, <www.addadonline.com/> [accessed 28th November 2012].

about education at both personal and institutional levels. Writing in the context of a war-torn Syria, she concludes that 'Milton has left' works which help one to have a 'complete and dignified upbringing, which prepare you to do private and public work, in peace and war, with precision, skill and honour'.[55]

Relating Milton to daily life, then, is quite plausible in the Arab-Muslim world. Indeed, Milton's reception is not confined only to academic journals or literary magazines. While in general, little has been written about Milton in the popular Arabic press, there have been scattered references to the poet. Egypt's most famous newspaper, *Al-Ahram*, featured an article about Milton on the 400th anniversary of his birth. In the title and first sentence, he is defined as 'the owner of *Paradise Lost*' and not named as John Milton, suggesting that his epic poem is likely more famous than his name. The article gives a brief biography of Milton, adding that in '1667, his masterpiece came out to the light and has become a part of world literature: the epic *Paradise Lost*, which narrates the story of Satan's rebellion and the exit of Adam and Eve from *al-jannah*'.[56] It concludes with a call for Enani's translations to be reprinted to commemorate the occasion.[57]

In 2010, a similar article was published in *Al-Hayat*, a pan-Arab newspaper most famous in Saudi Arabia. In the article, entitled '*Paradise Lost* of Milton: Wisdom with the Tongue of a Blind Poet', columnist Ibrahim Al-ʿArīs writes about Milton's blindness, and the emphasis placed on Satan in the epic, adding:

[55] Suʿād Makārim, 'John Milton: Al-Shāʿir Al-Faylasūf' [John Milton: The Philosopher Poet], *Ad-Dad*, Vol. 81 (12/2011), p. 17.
[56] '*Al-jannah*' is used to refer to Heaven many times in the Qur'ān, and literally means 'The Garden'. See also 'Section 1.2.5'.
[57] Rana Gawhar, 'Al-Yawm Al-Dhikri Al-400 Li Ṣāḥib *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*' [The 400th Memorial Day for the Owner of *Paradise Lost*], *Al-Ahram Newspaper* (9 December 2008), <http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2008/12/9/ARTS2.HTM> [accessed 23 September 2010].

> So, is it a tale of a human or a tale of a devil? It is difficult to reach an answer, but what is sure is that Milton was not far from his goal even in the first third of the work, because a tale of a devil is, for him, the tale of a human.[58]

For the writer, Milton's wisdom is in portraying Satan and mankind as one, because essentially, it is man who commits the disobedience freely. Al-ʿArīs's narration of the story of *Paradise Lost* fails to mention the Son. In the same newspaper, Lebanese poet and critic Abdo Wazen reviewed Enani's translation briefly in an article called '*Paradise Lost* as Mohamed Enani created it in Arabic'. He praises Enani's inclusion of information about the 'religious and political' contexts Milton lived through, adding that through these, we may understand the 'battle between the Creator and Iblīs', who 'is not only the hero of this epic, but the climax of his (Milton's) poetics'. He advocates that reading the Arabic version helps contextualise some of the moral issues Milton raises, illuminating its reader's understanding of human condition and strife: 'Enani found in *Paradise Lost* a mirror for his time: this turbulent time, our time, a modern time of disappointments and tragedies'.[59] Presumably, the writer could relate personally to the struggles of both Satan and Milton; in 1993, Wazen's published anthology was 'seized by the Lebanese Ministry of Interior on accusations of licentiousness'.[60]

Indeed, many Arab-Muslim writers see Satan's ambitions chiefly in political terms. The Syrian critic and translator, Hanna Aboud, in his monograph, *From the History of the Novel*, observed that, 'Milton's epic *Paradise Lost* … revolves around the expulsion of Iblīs

[58] Ibrahim Al-ʿArīs, '*Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* li Milton: Al-Ḥikma Bi Lisān Shāʿir Ḍārīr' [*Paradise Lost* of Milton: Wisdom with the Tongue of a Blind Poet], *Dār Al-Hayat* (18 May 2010), <http://www.Daralhayat.com/print/142365> [accessed 23 September 2010].
[59] Abdo Wazen, '*Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* Kamā Sanaʿahu Mohamed Enani Bel-ʿArabiyyah' [*Paradise Lost* as Mohamed Enani created it in Arabic', *Dār Al-Hayat* (6 April 2010), <http://www.Dāralhayat.com/print/142365> [accessed 22 July 2012].
[60] BANIPAL, 'Profile of Abdo Wazen', *BANIPAL,* <http://www.banipal.co.uk/contributors/192/abdo-wazen/> [accessed 2 December 2012].

from heaven because he demanded democracy and justice'. In trying to differentiate between the epic and novel genres, Aboud suggests that *Paradise Lost* 'presents a modern bourgeois conception of the world', as it deals with issues of democracy and justice.[61] Both of these issues are very topical in the Arab world, and it could be argued that it is Satan who spearheads them in the poem, explaining the importance Aboud gives him in his one-line description of the plot. Interestingly, Aboud went on to translate *Paradise Lost* in its entirety around a decade after the appearance of this book.[62] The General Syrian Book Organisation, which published this translation in 2011, used a similar rationale to highlight the book's importance. The Syrian Ministry of Culture's summary includes:

> We think that the starting point in understanding this epic is … the age in which Milton lived, and the isolation which he accepted after the destruction of everything after the death of Cromwell and the weakness which appeared on his son Richard. However, reaching this [understanding] is not easy, but requires the nearing of the [two][63] environments, climates, atmospheres or circumstances: the material, intellectual, psychological, temporal and spatial … and there are many [mutual] factors in religion, art, politics, economics, war, disorder and civil war.[64]

These words are striking, as this 2011 Syrian translation of *Paradise Lost* was funded and published by the government during an uprising against it. Here, the Syrian government proposes that Milton went through hardships which one must understand if the poem is to make sense. More importantly, like the Syrian people of today, Milton lived through

[61] Hanna Aboud, *Min Tārīkh Al-Riwāyah: Dirāsah [From the History of the Novel: A Study]* (Damascus: Ittiḥād Kitāb Al-ʿArab), p. 14.
[62] See 'Appendix 1' and 'Section 1.2.1'. Note: Aboud had a Christian upbringing.
[63] i.e. of seventeenth-century England, and Syria in 2011.
[64] Syrian Ministry of Culture, '*Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*' [*Paradise Lost*], *Syrian General Book Organisation website* (2011), <http://syrbook.gov.sy/content/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%81%D9%82%D9%88%D8%AF> [accessed 21 July 2012].

contexts of personal loss and countrywide tension, and in theory, these similarities suggest that this would be a suitable time for Syrians to read and understand the epic.

Clearly, Milton's life and works have been contextualised and adapted by their Arab readers; in fact, some fascinating articles emphasise how personal and political events may be analysed through use of the poet. Bāsim Sulaymān wrote an article in the ironically named *Al-Thawra [The Revolution]* newspaper, which belongs to the long-ruling Syrian Al-Baʿath party. He states that Milton composed an epic in which he asked important questions about the human condition, but reminds the reader that neither Satan nor the human pair won, and more directly states that 'the monarchy remained', and that splits occurred in both Christianity and in the New World.[65] In the same way, Sulaymān seems to suggest, the Syrian regime will overcome any people's revolution as the English monarchy did eventually, and the result will be only civil discord and tension.

Use of Milton in political debate certainly exists in the Arab world. Muhammad El-Sharqāwi's 1999 column in *Al-Ahram* newspaper, entitled: 'A political story', and subtitled 'Adam and Eve; and the route to Paradise', asserts that 'liberty, at the time of the magnificent British poet John Milton, was trying to escape from its chains and its captivity'.[66] Giving brief historical context, El-Sharqāwi argues that Milton struggled in order to win his political and personal freedoms, which were epitomised by the subject matter of his 'wonderful epic *Paradise Lost*'.[67] The column refers to Boris Yeltsin, the first president of the Russian Federation (1991-1999), who had resigned after storming out of a

[65] Bāsim Sulaymān, '*Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*: Malḥamat Al-Insān Al-Ḥadīth' [*Paradise Lost*: The Epic of the Modern Human], *Al-Thawra Newspaper* (4 January 2011), <http://thawra.alwehda.gov.sy/_print_veiw.asp?FileName=321275552201201032206 35> [accessed 22 July 2012).
[66] Mohammed El-Sharqāwi, 'Ḥikāya Siyāsiyyah' [A political story], *Al-Ahram Newspaper* (27 November 1999), <http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/1999/11/27/AMOD1.HTM> [accessed 23 September 2010].
[67] Ibid.

conference in which US President Bill Clinton criticised him for the war on Chechnya. According to El-Sharqāwi, Yeltsin 'played Cromwell's game': like Cromwell, he 'started as a defender of liberty, then fired his canons at parliament, the symbol of democracy', and 'now wears the sash of Charles II'. In *Paradise Lost,* adds El-Sharqāwi, we, 'the grandchildren of Adam and Eve', have a stark reminder of how our actions can change destiny for the worse, and how after being 'sent down to the earth and its blaze', we should search for 'the Paradise of justice and liberty'.[68]

A 2008 article referred to Milton in a very different way. The bigger Friday edition of *Al-Ahram* has a popular section named 'Ahram Post', which prints letters about personal relationship problems, which an expert answers with advice. The article entitled 'Half hour marriage' presents a lengthy letter by a young woman who had a romantic relationship with a married man, before entering into a secret marriage with him. They consummated the marriage 'for only half an hour in which I was the happiest human in existence', she writes, but she was immediately divorced and never heard from him again. Left with a child from the ordeal, she writes: 'Can you believe that he made me lose hope in Allah? … Allah has let me down and forsaken my hope in him'. The expert replies that she must renew her faith in God and take care of her son, assuring her that the man will be punished in the afterlife. In the final paragraph of his response, he writes:

> Do not hit your head on the wall, because only you will be hurt … Be satisfied with what you are in, for misery is not to be blind, but misery is failing to bear the

[68] Ibid.

> blindness, as the thinker and philosopher John Milton said. So search for the beautiful in your life. Be content with God's trial.[69]

Such a reference highlights the unexpected presence of Milton in Arab-Muslim socio-religious life. Milton's message is used to parallel and support the Islamic argument of the expert's response: have faith in the destiny God has written, and bear it to your advantage. Overall, then, as far as the Arabic printed news media is concerned, one can find calls for translations to be reprinted, indications of Milton's presence in social and political arguments, and suggestions about how his works provide wisdom about the human condition, such as free will, justice, liberty and patience. However, not all references to the poet in the press are positive, such as Al-Naqqāsh's previously mentioned article portraying Milton as a supporter of Zionism.[70]

Lastly, Milton may also have influenced Arab-Muslim culture beyond literature, academia and the press. One example is the term '*al-firdaws al-mafqūd*', or 'the lost Paradise', the Arabic translation of the phrase, '*Paradise Lost*'.[71] Like the English, the syntax of the term places 'Paradise' before 'lost', literally reading 'the Paradise the lost'. In historical studies, this Arabic term has been used very commonly to refer to the fall of the Islamic empire of Andalusia (*c*. 700-1500 A.D.). Accordingly, the term has found its way into histories, anthologies, media and educational courses about Andalusia. For Muslims in Europe, too, many relate Andalusia to the English term 'the lost paradise'.[72] Recently, the

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[69] 'Barīd Al-Ahrām: Niṣf Sāʿa Zawāj' [Ahram Post: Half Hour Marriage], *Al-Ahram Newspaper* (26 September 2008), <http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2008/9/26/POST1.HTM> [accessed 23 September 2010].

[70] Al-Naqqāsh (2001).

[71] '*Al-firdaws al-mafqūd*' is the Arabic term most generally used as a translation of '*Paradise Lost*'. It is also the title Enani chose for his translation of *Paradise Lost*.

[72] For example, see Josef Klaas, *Anāshīd Min Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd: Al-Andalus Wal-Andalusiyūn, Ḥukamā' Al-Andalus, Al-Mushiḥāt Al-Andalūsiyyah [Songs from Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd: Andalusia and the Andalusians, The Rules of Andalusia, Stanzas of Andalusia]* (Damascus: Dār-Talas, 2003); ʿEṣām Shibarū, *Al-Andalus: Min Al-Fatḥ Al-'Arabi Al-Marṣūd Ilal-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd [Andalusia: From the Predestined Arab*

term has also been used to refer to the occupation of Palestine. It is possible, though scarcely provable, that Milton's epic played a part in the creation of this term among present-day Muslims. Overall, then, this section has summarised the place Milton holds in the academic, literary and popular culture of the region. It is even more important, however, to analyse how reading the poet's works in Arabic affect perceptions of them. The next section provides a survey of Milton's works in Arabic, in addition to some important semantic issues which arise in the Arabic translation of *Paradise Lost*.

1.2: The Translations

1.2.1: Historical Survey

Previous accounts of the number and types of Arabic translations of *Paradise Lost* incorrectly state that only Books 1 and 2 have been translated into Arabic;[73] in fact, the entire epic has been translated. Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd (1905-1993) was first to translate any part of *Paradise Lost* into Arabic, publishing the first 155 lines in 1937 in *Al-Risālah*,[74] as well as in a book edited by his brother some years later.[75] Maḥmūd is the only person to have translated parts of *Paradise Lost* into Arabic verse. More significantly for this study, Mohamed Enani (1939–), Professor of English Literature at Cairo University, translated *Paradise Lost* into Arabic 'prose verse' in a series of volumes between 1982 and 2002.[76] In

Conquest to the Firdaws Al-Mafqūd] (Cairo: Dār Al-Nahḍa Al-ʿArabiyyah, 2002); ʿAfīf Ḥaṭūm, *Diwān [Anthology] Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* (Beirut: Dār-Ṣādir, 2000).

[73] Dahiyat (1991), p. 119; Einboden (2009), p. 183; and Christophe Tournu, 'Translations', in *Milton in Context*, ed. Stephen Dobranski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 175. Einboden and Tournu both rely for their information on Dahiyat. Dahiyat's book was first published in 1987; either Dahiyat missed the 1985 publication of Mohamed Enani's translation of Books 1-6, or his work went to press before this.

[74] Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd, 'Min *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*' [From *Paradise Lost*], *Al-Risālah*, No. 184 (11/1/1937), pp. 778-780.

[75] Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, *Fil-Adab Al-Ingilīzi [In English Literature]* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, *c*. 1950).

[76] Classical Arabic verse has very stringent rules, and relies on incorporating one of sixteen rigorous quantitative metres. Each of these metres has three *taf'ilas* [measuring unit for the metre, much like a syllable] per line. More recently, 'free verse' was introduced into Arabic, though this also possesses the same metres, only they are not used consistently line after line – the number of *taf'ilas* can change from one line to another.

1982, Enani's translation of Books 1 and 2 were published, and his translation of Books 3 to 6 appeared in 1985 and 1986. It was a decade and a half later, in 2001, when Books 7 to 9 were published, before the final three Books followed in 2002, shortly before the entire poem appeared in a single volume in the same year. From 1982 until 2002, all volumes of *Paradise Lost* were published by the public sector body, the General Egyptian Book Organisation.[77] In 1997, the same publisher released the sixth volume of the *Books that changed Human Thinking* series, in which the compiler Ahmed Al-Shenwāny included, but did not cite, Maḥmūd's translation. Al-Shenwāny also included a further fifteen excerpts of prose translations of *Paradise Lost*, but in no case did he specify the translator.[78] These excerpts are of varying length, from two to around thirty lines, and altogether total approximately 145 lines. They cover material from only four of the poem's Books: 3, 4, 6, and 9. The most translated events are Satan watching Adam and Eve in Book 4, and the eating of the fruit in Book 9; only twenty-six lines of Book 3 and eight lines of Book 6 are translated. Between these selections, though, are some brief summaries of other plot events which are not translated. Finally, the most recent Arabic rendition of *Paradise Lost* was in 2011, when the entire epic was translated by the Syrian literary scholar, Hanna Aboud (1937–). However, this latest translation has not been widely distributed due to the Syrian uprising which began at precisely the same time. Aboud's translation presents the epic in twelve Books, and includes an introduction and annotations.[79]

Enani does not use any of these metres, so his translation is in prose – I call it 'prose verse'. However, he generally keeps the same lineation as Milton throughout the twelve Books.

[77] See 'Appendix 1'. The GEBO is state-run and the biggest publisher in Egypt with '24 distribution centres in Egypt and 21 outside of the country'; see Frankfurter Buchmesse, *Book Market: Egypt* (May 2010), <http://www.book-fair.com/pdf/buchmesse/buchmarkt_aegypten_e.pdf> [accessed 30 May 2013], p. 4.

[78] Al-Shenwāny (1997), pp. 176-186. For further details about Al-Shenwāny's translated excerpts, see 'Appendix 1'. For the book's history and other content, see 'Section 1.1'.

[79] John Milton, *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* [*Paradise Lost*], tr., ed. and introd. Hanna Aboud (Damascus: General Syrian Book Organisation, 2011); see 'Appendix 1'.

Mohamed Enani also translated the only Arabic versions to date of *Paradise Regained*, *Areopagitica*, and the Preface to 'The Second Book' of *The Reason of Church-Government Urged Against Prelaty*, all published in 2009. *Paradise Regained* was published as a single edition,[80] while the other texts were included in the 2009 and 2010 editions of *Paradise Lost*.[81] The political messages of *Areopagitica* and the 'Preface' to 'The Second Book' of *The Reason of Church-Government* are both presented accurately in Enani's translations. There are, though, some differences in clause length and syntax; some words – particularly conjunctions and pronouns – are also added to make the text comprehensible to a contemporary Arabic reader. In *Areopagitica*, where Milton writes that 'the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing',[82] Enani translates this literally as 'the Turks',[83] not Muslims or Ottomans, as the meaning may suggest. *Paradise Regained*, which he began translating in 2007 from John Carey's 1968 edition,[84] tells the reader in its 'Preface' that 'this poem is of a unique literary type … an epic which uses religion as its topic'. Enani adds that he used the most reputable Arabic translations of the Bible in order to parallel Milton's biblical intertextuality. Over half of the edition is occupied by the 'Introduction' and 'Notes', in which Enani relies chiefly on Elizabeth Pope and Barbara Lewalski.[85] In the 'Introduction', Enani discusses Milton's religio-historical

[80] John Milton, *'Awdat Al-Firdaws [Return of Paradise]*, tr., ed. and introd. Mohamed Enani (Cairo: Egyptian-Lebanese House, 2009).
[81] John Milton, *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* [*Paradise Lost*], tr., ed. and introd. Mohamed Enani (Cairo: Egyptian-Lebanese House, 2009); John Milton, *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* [*Paradise Lost*], tr., ed. and introd. Mohamed Enani (Cairo: GEBO/Al-Usrah, 2010).
[82] *Areopagitica*, p. 29.
[83] *FM* (2009) – ref. number 12 in 'Appendix 1', p. 1009.
[84] Mohamed Enani (2011), personal interview; Carey and Fowler (1968).
[85] Elizabeth Pope, *'Paradise Regained': The Tradition and the Poem* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1947); Barbara Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning and Art of 'Paradise Regained'* (London: Brown University Press, 1966).

context and some linguistic issues of translation.[86] The annotations concentrate mainly on explaining classical and biblical allusions to the reader.[87]

Other translations of Milton's works are limited to selected poems: six were translated in verse by Egyptian journalist ʿAbdelhamīd Ḥamdi in 1930, in addition to a further two into prose by Ṭāha Al-Wakīl in 1936.[88] Ḥamdi's translations are notable as the first ever Arabic translations of any work by Milton, and for their opinionated titles.[89] Ḥamdi translates 'When I consider how my light is spent' as 'Milton Rebellious for losing his Sight' [*Milton Thā'iran Li-Faqd Baṣarih*], suggesting that Milton resists his blindness despite the poem's possible indication of the contrary.[90] Also, Ḥamdi uses the title 'Withered Flower' [*Zahrah Dhawat*] for 'On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of a Cough', and 'Elegy' [*Marthiyyah*] for the sonnet 'Methought I saw my late espoused Saint', shortening the titles in a manner characteristic of Arabic poetic style. As for the famous sonnet 'How soon hath time', Ḥamdi entitles it 'His Twenty-third Birthday' [*Mīlāduh Al-Thālith Wal-ʿIshrūn*], despite the poem's content pointing toward Milton's twenty-fourth birthday, though this remains a matter of debate.[91] In 1957, Iraqi academic Ṣafāʾ Khulūsi produced prose translations of *Lycidas*, the sonnet 'On the Late Massacre in Piedmont', and

[86] Enani, *ʿAwdat Al-Firdaws* (2009), pp. 25-28.
[87] A full and detailed census of the translations of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* into Arabic can be found in 'Appendix 1'.
[88] Ṭāha Al-Wakīl, 'Al-ʿAmā' [Blindness] / Sonnet: 'When I consider how my light is spent'; 'Ḥīnamā Kānat Al-Madīnah Maqsūda Bil Hujūm' [When the City was Intended for Attack] / Sonnet: 'When the assault was intended to the City'; in *Al-Siyāsa Al-Usbūʿiyyah [Weekly Politics],* Vol. 5, No. 224 (21/6/1936), p. 6.
[89] ʿAbdelhamīd Ḥamdi, 'Shakespeare' [Shakespeare] / 'On Shakespeare'; 'Milton Thā'iran Li-Faqd Baṣarih [Milton Rebellious for Losing his Sight] / Sonnet: 'When I consider how my light is spent'; 'Marthiyyah' [Elegy] / Sonnet: 'Methought I saw my late espoused Saint'; 'Al-Waqt [The Time] / 'On Time'; 'Zahrah Dhawat' [Withered Flower] stanza 1 / 'On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of Cough'; 'Mīlāduh Al-Thālith Wal-ʿIshrūn' [His Twenty-third Birthday] / Sonnet: 'How soon hath time'; all in *Al-Siyāsa Al-Usbūʿiyyah [Weekly Politics]*, Vol. 4, No. 201 (11/6/1930).
[90] Dahiyat (1991), p. 87.
[91] See John Gouws, 'The Date of Milton's "Sonnet VII"', *Notes and Queries* Vol. 57, No. 1 (2010), pp. 39-41.

part of 'L'Allegro'.[92] Ṣafā' Khulūsi's translations are an attempt at precise, literal rendering, and not necessarily at poetic effect.

For the next half century, there appear to have been no further published translations of Milton's shorter poems, until 2008 when Egyptian poet Hassan Hegazy translated 'When I consider how my light is spent'. The sonnet is of particular significance in the region as it is included in some high school and university syllabi in countries such as Egypt, Oman and Saudi Arabia. Hegazy includes it in a collection of translated extracts from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Philip Larkin, which he thought Arabic readers, including students, should enjoy in their own language.[93] Hegazy's book begins with an introduction entitled 'Why Do We Translate?' in which literary publisher Ibrahīm ʿAṭiyah states: 'The importance of translation comes in knowing the other, and knowing how he thinks, how he writes, what he reads and how he innovates, and therefore, how he looks at us'.[94] Hegazy provides very brief biographical summaries for each poet. He concentrates on Milton's private and religious life, highlighting Milton's marriage and relationship with first wife Mary Powell, as well as Milton's 'belief that he has a message in life and that there was some job that Allah, praises and exaltations upon Him, chose him to complete'. He also adds that Milton did not lose faith or ambition by losing his sight, 'because he thought that Allah had chosen him for a message' which he had to complete, and ended up doing so in 'his magnificent

[92] Ṣafā' Khulūsi, *Dirāsāt Fil-Adab Al-Muqāran Wal-Madhāhib Al-Adabiyyah [Studies in Comparative Literature and the Literary Schools]* (Baghdad: Al-Rābiṭah, 1957), pp. 118-125, 148-149, 157-158; Khulūsi's translation of *Lycidas* also appears in full as an example in his book *Fan Al-Tarjamah: Fī Ḍaw' Al-Dirāsāt Al-Muqārinah [The Art of Translation: In Light of Comparative Studies]* (Baghdad: Ministry of Culture and Media, 1982), pp. 41-43. Dahiyat was first to note that Ḥamdi, Al-Wakīl, Khulūsi and Maḥmūd translated sections of Milton's poetry (1991), pp. 85, 87-88. A useful list of translations up to 1976 is available in Muhammad ʿAbdul-Hai, 'A Bibliography of Arabic Translations of English and American Poetry' (1830-1970), *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1976), p. 137.

[93] Hassan Hegazy (2011), personal interview; Hassan Hegazy, *Sab'at A'mār Lil-Insān: Mukhtārāt Min Al-Shi'r Al-Ingilīzi [Seven Ages of Man: Selections from English Poetry]*, introd. Ibrahīm ʿAṭiyah (Al-Sharqiyah: Al-Agyāl, 2008), pp. 22-23.

[94] Ibrahīm ʿAṭiyah, 'Limādha Nutarjim?' [Why Do We Translate?], in Hegazy (2008), p. 5.

epics, such as *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*'.[95] Hegazy's praise is directed chiefly at Milton's strong religious faith, rather than his literary skill. Hegazy's effective translation portrays the poem's message clearly for the contemporary Arabic reader, but appears very much as an ode to Allah, as lexical and structural alterations, in particular the use of familiar Islamic phraseology, decrease the importance of the speaker in the sonnet and increase praise for God. Despite some alterations in emphasis from the original, Hegazy appears to understand the poem better than previous translators, particularly Ḥamdi. This is likely due to half a century of scholarly biographical material about Milton, to which Hegazy could refer. Hegazy's translation thus reflects an increased understanding in recent years of Milton's biographical context. Furthermore, though Hegazy and Ḥamdi's translations of the sonnet appear different because of the way the speaker is represented, both translations are occupied explicitly with Milton's faith and beliefs.

Though this study is primarily about published works, the increased use of the Internet in the Arab world has meant that some unpublished translations of Milton's sonnets have appeared online recently. For example, since 2009, students on online forums have shared Hegazy's translation of 'On His Blindness', in addition to another unpublished Arabic version, translated and posted online by an anonymous Palestinian female student. Her translation portrays the general message of the poem, but like Hegazy, she places added emphasis on God. In particular, in the final line of the poem, service of God is translated as seeking his 'forgiveness and mercy'.[96] In 2011, Libyan blogger Salīm Hābīl translated 'Methought I saw my late espoused Saint' on his website.[97] Unlike Ḥamdi's translation of

[95] Hegazy (2008), p. 22.
[96] Mazaj Café, 'Ḥawl ʿAmāh' [On His Blindness] / Sonnet: 'When I consider how my light is spent'. *Mazaj Café* (20 February 2009), <http://www.mazajcafe.com/vb/on-his-blindness-t36720.html> [accessed 20 July 2011].
[97] Salīm Hābīl, 'Al-Sonnet Raqam 23' [Sonnet Number 23] / Sonnet: 'Methought I saw my late espoused Saint'. *Madūnat Salīm* (2011),

the sonnet, which adds an introductory couplet and omits some lines from Milton's original,[98] Hābīl translates the poem with commendable accuracy. Hābīl's version is not entirely free of editorial intervention, however: in the poem's first line, he adds the word 'wife' to the noun phrase 'espoused Saint', and in his introductory paragraph he writes that the poem is about Milton's second wife Katherine Woodcock, not alerting his reader that the sonnet may in fact be about Milton's first wife, Mary Powell.[99] Moreover, Hābīl's translation of 'her face was veiled' has distinct cultural connotations, making the poem more comprehensible to its readers.

All Arabic translations of Milton's sonnets from 1930 until the present day, whether in print or online, are characterised by their interest in Milton's private life and personal beliefs. This biographical interest has resulted in the translation into Arabic of other relevant critical works about Milton, though not by him. These include Macaulay's *Essays on Milton* (1895), translated by Muhammad Badrān in 1946. In his 'Introduction', Badrān claims that Milton's works may be indebted to Arabian literature and philosophy.[100] More importantly, there exists one detailed, stand-alone biography of Milton in the Arabic language: Ḥassan Ḥussein Shukri's *John Milton: The Poet of 'Paradise Lost' (His Life and Character),* a translation of John Bailey's 1915 character study, *Milton.* Shukri's book has been published three times.[101] In his 'Introduction', Shukri writes that he 'went through the pains of translation' because 'the Arabic library does not contain a biography of this poet, barring scattered fragments in some books which do not allow the reader to pause at the details of

<http://salimha.maktoobblog.com/1508971/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D9%86%D8%AA-%D8%B1%D9%82%D9%85-23/> [accessed 21 July 2011].

[98] See Dahiyat (1991), p. 87.

[99] See Carey (2007), p. 347.

[100] Badrān (1946).

[101] Ḥassan Ḥussein Shukri, tr. and introd. *John Milton: Shā'ir 'Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd' (Ḥayātuh wa Shakhṣeyatuh) [John Milton: The Poet of 'Paradise Lost' (His Life and Character)]*, tr. of *Milton* by John Bailey (Cairo: GEBO/Al-Usrah, 1998). This is the 2nd impression, printed for the [Egypt] Reading for All Festival 1998. First published in 1986 (Cairo: GEBO); 3rd impression in 2000 (Cairo: Al-Usrah).

Milton's life and character'. He adds that '*Paradise Lost* is one of the greatest poems, and the most noble and distinct', and that Milton's 'genius' and 'intellect' rank him with Shakespeare and William Wordsworth as one of 'the three giants of English literature'. He continues:

> Milton is still, until our age today, regarded as one of the greatest characters in the world. He was brave at heart, good in spirit; he was in fact the single English writer who was a model in nobleness and grace. For his poetry is a high symphony, and his prose is a gentle song to the art of eloquence.[102]

Shukri's hagiographic style attempts to justify the importance of his subject, and also emphasises his Romantic interest in Milton's genius. After all, Bailey's original begins with quotations by Wordsworth and Lord Tennyson; the first words of the book are Wordsworth's: 'Milton! thou shouldst be living at this hour'.[103] Shukri's rapturous 'Introduction', which replaces the words of Wordsworth and Tennyson, is therefore not out of tune with the rest of the book. It seems that Shukri chose to translate Bailey's outdated biography of Milton, as opposed to David Masson's, precisely because Bailey's work possesses a Romantic angle. It is this angle which makes Shukri also think of Milton in literary terms, whereas most commentary about Milton in the Arab world tends to focus on his private and religious life. By identifying Milton's literary genius, Shukri is able to create a rationale for the discussion which follows in his translation: that we should know 'everything related to' this great poet's 'origins, education, travels and marriages'.[104]

There are further texts which shape views of Milton in the Arab-Muslim world, though these are not texts devoted to the poet, but rather, other prominent works which

[102] Shukri (1998), pp. 4-6.
[103] John Bailey, *Milton* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1915), p. 5.
[104] Shukri (1998), p. 6.

mention him. The most significant example is *The Story of Civilization* (1935-1975) by Will and Ariel Durant; its eighth volume – *The Age of Louis XIV* (1963) – deals with Milton's youth, political roles, private life and works, all in one chapter. The entire text of *The Story of Civilization* has been translated into Arabic by a group of scholars commissioned by the Arab Organisation for Culture and Science. The work is published in forty-seven hard-back volumes, with Muhammad Badrān translating almost half of them, and Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd translating the first six.[105] Volumes thirty-one to thirty-four contain what was originally the eighth volume; in the thirty-second volume, translated by Muhammad Abu-Darrah, are the three chapters on 'Cromwell', 'Milton' and 'The Restoration'.[106] Like the reprint of Books 1 and 2 of *Paradise Lost*, this volume was also republished by the governmental publisher, Al-Usrah, in 2001, and appeared in the same book festival that year.[107] All volumes have been scanned online, and one educational website includes the entire translation; the chapter on Milton appears alone on one webpage, essentially providing the most comprehensive online biography of the poet in Arabic.[108] The Durants's work is also translated by Syrian poet Ghāzi Ṭalīmāt in a series named *The Story of Civilization in Brief*; the equivalent to volume eight was published in 2000.[109]

There also exists a less specialist translated biography online: that of Egyptian schoolteacher Ahmed Samy. Introducing his translation, he claims that it is 'the first

[105] Will and Ariel Durant, *Qiṣat Al-Ḥaḍārah [The Story of Civilization]*, Vols. 1-47, tr. various scholars (Beirut: Dār Al-Jil, 1988).
[106] Will and Ariel Durant, *Qiṣat Al-Ḥaḍārah: 'Aṣr Louis XIV [The Story of Civilization: The Age of Louis XIV]*, Vol. 32, tr. Muhammad Abu-Darrah (Beirut: Dār Al-Jil, 1988). 'Milton' chapter is pp. 45-100. Note: Vols. 32 and 34 are translated by Abu-Darrah, Vols. 31 and 33 are translated by Fu'ād Andraws.
[107] Will and Ariel Durant, *Qisat Al-Ḥaḍārah: 'Aṣr Louis XIV [The Story of Civilization: The Age of Louis XIV]* tr. Muhammad Abu-Darrah (Cairo: GEBO/Al-Usrah, 2001).
[108] *Barāmig Ta'līmiyyah [Educational Programmes website]*, <http://www.edu-prog.com/folder10/22.htm> [accessed 22nd July 2012].
[109] Ghāzi Ṭalīmāt, *Al-Wahjiz Min Qisat Al-Ḥaḍārah: 'Aṣr Louis XIV [The Story of Civilization in Brief: The Age of Louis XIV]* (Damascus: Dār-Talas, 2000).

simplified and complete Arabic translation of the biography of the poet'.[110] His source is an English book about Milton's life and works, written by Professor Osama Madany, Head of English at Minufiya University, Egypt. Samy only published the translation on his personal website, which is an informative forum dealing with English language and literature; it has also found its way onto several other websites. The brief biography is less than 1,500 words, but surveys key moments of Milton's life and links them with his most important works. Of this translation, Samy says: 'I translated it because I admire Milton as a great poet and writer who amazingly defeated his blindness and became such a noble and talented poet'.[111] Both Samy's title and rationale indicate yet more interest in Milton's blindness. This specific interest is evident in Jorge Luis Borges's 1977 lecture on 'Blindness', published in the book *Seven Nights* (1980 in Spanish; 1984 in English),[112] and in 2003, translated by Iraqi poet Kareem Jawad and published on the website of another Iraqi poet, Ali Mizher.[113] In the essay, Borges praises Milton for his patience and persistence against hardship, referring to the subject of *Paradise Lost* as 'a theme that would interest all men', translated by Jawad as 'all humans'. The tone of the translation overtly sympathises with Milton: for instance, 'He spent a good part of his time alone' is changed to 'lonely'.[114] Of course, most of Borges's attention is placed on *Samson Agonistes* and 'On His Blindness'.[115]

Nevertheless, as is the case around the world, Milton is most famous in the Middle East for his epic poem *Paradise Lost.* As mentioned, the first Arabic rendition was by Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd, who translated part of Book 1. Maḥmūd is a respected Egyptian academic,

[110] Ahmed Samy, 'John Milton: Al-Aʿmā Ṣāḥib Al-Jannah Al-Mafqūdah' [John Milton: The Blind Owner of The Lost Jannah] (26 February 2008), <http://www.english2fun.com/forum/showthread.php?t=408> [accessed 22nd July 2012]. The page has been viewed over 600 times (accurate to the end of November 2012).
[111] Ahmed Samy (2012), personal interview.
[112] Jorge Luis Borges, 'Blindness', in *Seven Nights*, tr. Eliot Weinberger (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), pp. 107-121.
[113] Ali Mizher, 'Al-ʿAmā' [Blindness], *Ali Mizher's Website* (6 May 2003), <http://www.alimizher.com/n/2y/studeis2/criti2/blindness.htm> [accessed 22 July 2012].
[114] Borges (1986), p. 116; Mizher (2003).
[115] Borges (1986), pp. 116-117.

who taught philosophy in the Middle East and USA. He is regarded a key player in the 'renaissance of Arabic literature', due to his presentation of complex philosophical ideas for the 'common Arab reader'.[116] He developed an acquaintance with the renowned Egyptian cultural writer, Ahmed Ḥasan Al-Zayāt (1885-1968), who founded the intellectual magazine *Al-Risālah [The Message]* in 1932,[117] in which Maḥmūd would publish the first Arabic translations of *Paradise Lost.* Maḥmūd initially contributed philosophy articles, but literary critic Ahmed Amīn (1886-1954), who headed the Authorship, Translation and Publishing Committee, placed Maḥmūd in his team.[118] From this position, Maḥmūd was able to contribute regularly, and in 1937, his verse translation of the first 155 lines of *Paradise Lost* was published.

Al-Risālah is regarded one of 'the two major magazines in the history of Arab culture'.[119] Egyptian historian Ahmed Tamām notes that the foremost intellectuals of the region 'competed to write for it; it became the hope of every writer to see … his name on its pages, and when it was published … he became like someone rewarded by a university with a prestigious certificate, for he has become a writer of *Al-Risālah*'.[120] It is ironic, to say the least, that the first ever Arabic version of Milton's Christian epic poem was published in a magazine with a strong Islamic agenda. Al-Zayāt, the founder of *Al-Risālah*, was educated

[116] Ahmed Tamām, 'Zaki Najīb: Adīb Al-Falāsifa wa Faylasūf Al-Udabā'' [Zaki Najīb: The Writer of Philosophers and Philosopher of Writers], *Islam Online* (2001), <http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=ArticleA_C&cid=1178724086980&pagename=Zone-Arabic-ArtCulture%2FACALayout#***1> [accessed 3 February 2011].
[117] Ibid.
[118] Amīn and Maḥmūd went on to co-found the second of the major Arab cultural magazines, *Al-Thaqāfah [The Culture]* – Tamām (2001); Muṣṭafa ʿAshūr, 'Ahmed Amīn: Mu'arrikh Al-Fikr Al-Islāmi' [Ahmed Amīn: Historian of Islamic Thought], *Islam Online (*2002), <http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=ArticleA_C&cid=1178724226336&pagename=Zone-Arabic-ArtCulture%2FACALayout> [accessed 3 February 2011].
[119] ʿAshūr (2002); the magazine stopped publishing in 1953 after the Egyptian Revolution of 1952.
[120] Ahmed Tamām, 'Al-Zayāt: Ṣaḥib Al-Risālah' [Al-Zayāt: Owner of the Message], *Islam Online* (2007), <http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=ArticleA_C&pagename=Zone-Arabic-ArtCulture%2FACALayout&cid=1181062866283> [accessed 3 February 2011].

at Al-Azhar from age thirteen to twenty-three.[121] Many articles published in *Al-Risālah* were about Islamic creed, law and etiquettes. Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), a leading figure in the history of the Muslim Brotherhood, contributed regularly to the magazine, including in 1937,[122] the year the translation was published. Tamām writes on a leading Islamic website that the magazine openly disclosed its goals as 'linking East with West, attaching old with modern, regenerating the Islamic spirit, calling for the unity of the [Islamic] *ummah*,[123] reviving heritage, fighting myths'.[124] Besides *Al-Risālah*, Zaki Maḥmūd's translation of the opening of *Paradise Lost* is also present in a book by his brother, Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, entitled *Fil-Adab Al-Ingilīzi [In English Literature]*, which presents Arabic excerpts of renowned English texts. Under the opening lines of *Paradise Lost*, a footnote reads: 'these lines are translated by my brother, Zaki'.[125]

As stated, *Paradise Lost* has also been translated into Arabic in its entirety by two writers: Mohamed Enani, and Hanna Aboud. As discussed in my 'Introduction', as far as Milton's reception by Arab readers is concerned, Enani's translation is currently more important than Aboud's 2011 version.[126] Enani has written extensively on literary theory in both Arabic and English,[127] and is an established creative writer, having written poems,

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[121] Ibid.
[122] For example, Sayyid Qutb, ''Ibāda Jadīdah?!' [New Worship?!], *Al-Risālah*, No. 226 (1/11/1937), p. 60.
[123] The term '*ummah*' means one nation or community; its most common use means 'the Islamic nation'.
[124] Tamām (2007).
[125] Maḥmūd Maḥmūd (*c.* 1950).
[126] See 'Introduction, 2.3: Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology'.
[127] Enani has written a reputable bilingual glossary of literary terms: *Al-Mosṭalaḥāt Al-Adabiyyah Al-Ḥadīthah [Modern Literary Terms]* (Cairo: Longman, 2000) – first published 1996. Books in the field of literature include (all published by GEBO, Cairo, unless otherwise stated): *Al-Naqd Al-Taḥlīli [Analytical Criticism]*, 2nd edn. (1992) – 1st edn. 1963; *Fan Al-Comīdia [The Art of Comedy]* (Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 1980); *Al-Adab Wa Funūnuh [Literature and its Arts]* (1992) – first published 1984; *Al-Masraḥ Wal-Shi'r [Theatre and Poetry]* (Cairo: Gharīb House, 1986); *Fil-Adab Wal-Ḥayāh [In Literature and Life]* (1993); *Al-Masraḥ Al-Ingilīzi Al-Mu'āṣir [The Contemporary English Theatre]* (1994); *Al-Tayārāt Al-Mu'āthirah Fil-Thaqāfa Al-'Arabiyyah [Contemporary Currents in Arabic Culture]* (Cairo: Al-Usrah, 1994); *Qaḍāyā Al-Adab Al-Ḥadīth [Issues of Modern Literature]* (1995); *Al-Shi'r Al-Masraḥi: Ḥāḍiruh Wa Mustaqbaluh [Theatrical Poetry: Its Present and Future]* (Cairo: Al-Usrah, 2001). There are numerous other titles.
In English, his works include: *Dialectic of Memory: A Study of Wordsworth's Little Prelude* (1981); editing of William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads 1798 with an introduction* (1985);

novels,[128] and popular plays, some of which have been performed by Egyptian celebrities.[129] The plays are beginning to receive academic attention as pieces of postcolonial, colloquial Egyptian literature, often politically controversial.[130] Enani's greatest interest remains English literature and translation.[131] A significant number of his translations are of Shakespearean works,[132] in addition to other works of English literature,[133] including

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Varieties of Irony: An Essay on Modern English Poetry (1994) – first published 1985; Editing of *Naguib Mahfouz: Nobel 1988: A Collection of Critical Essays* (1989); *Prefaces to Arabic Literature* (1994); (with M. Farid) *The Comparative Tone: Essays in Comparative Literature* (1995); (with M. Farid) *Comparative Moments: Essays in Comparative Literature* (1996); and (ed. with M. El Komi and M. Farid) *The Comparative Impulse* (2001).

[128] For example, these include the long poem *Zawjat Ayūb: Qiṣṣah Shi'riyyah [The Wife of Job: A Poetic Story]* (Cairo: GEBO, 2004); the anthology *Ḥūriyat Atlas [Atlas' Nyphm]* (Cairo: GEBO, 2001); the novel *Al-Jazīra Al-Khaḍrā' [The Green Island]* (Cairo: GEBO/Al-Usrah, 2002).

[129] All of these plays are published by GEBO, Cairo. Most were published years after they were first played on stage: in the case of *The Western Shore*, it was published after twenty-two years on the stage (from 1963). Long plays: *Al-Bar Al-Gharbi [The Western Shore]* (1985), *Al-Majāzīb [The Metaphors]* (1985), *Al-Ghirbān [The Crows]* (1987), *Gāsūs Fī Qaṣr Al-Sulṭān [Spy at the Sultan's Palace]* (1990), *Al-Sādah Al-Ro'ā' [The Trashy Gentlemen]* (1993), *Al-Dārwīsh Wal-Ghāziyah [The Dervish and the Gas Turbine]* (1994), *Mīt Ḥalāwah [A Hundred Sweetnesses] (*1994).
One-Act plays: *Laylat Al-Dhahab [Night of Gold]* (1993), *Gih 'Aleih El-Dour [His Turn Has Come]* (1993), *Nihāyah [Ending]* (1993), *Wala Fi Amrīca [Not Even in America]* (1993) (published in one volume); *Ḥalāwit Yūnis [Sweetness of Jonah]* (1993), *Enta Fein Yābah [Where Are You Daddy]* (1993), *Qiṣat Manzil [Story of a House] (*1993), *Taḥt Al-Tashṭīb [Under Construction]* (1993) (published in one volume); *Al-Sagīn Wal-Suggān [The Jailbird and the Jailer]* (1994), *Al-Sadīqān [The Two Friends (masculine)]* (1994), *Al-Beḥeira [The Lake]* (1994), *Al-Sadīqatān [The Two Friends (feminine)]* (1994) (published in one volume).

[130] This has been argued in the following academic study of Enani's plays: Mahni Saleh, *Al-Wāqi' Al-Ijtimā'i Fī Masraḥ Mohamed Enani [Social Reality in the Theatre of Mohamed Enani]* (Cairo: GEBO, 2007).

[131] Enani is the Editing Supervisor of the Contemporary Arabic Literature in English series, which has published over fifty-five books. See Hishām Al-Shalawi, 'Liqā' Faḍl Al-Manāfi Bil-Doctor Mohamed Enani' [Faḍl Al-Manāfi's Meeting with Dr Mohamed Enani], *Jeel Media* (2009), <http://www.jeel-libya.net/show_article.php?id=18619&section=7> [accessed 4 November 2010]. Enani's autobiography was published in three volumes in 1999, 2001 and 2002, and reprinted for the [Egypt] Reading for All Festival 2002: Mohamed Enani, *Al-Sīrah Al-Dhātiyyah Al-Kāmilah: Wāḥāt Al-'Umr – Wāḥāt Al-Ghurbah – Wāḥāt Miṣriyyah [The Complete Autobiography*: *Life Oases – Foreign Oases – Egyptian Oases]* (Cairo: Al-Usrah, 2002).

[132] Enani's translations include (all published by GEBO, Cairo, unless otherwise stated) *Romeo and Juliet* – a stage musical (Cairo: Gharīb House, 1986); *The Merchant of Venice* (1988), *Julius Caesar* (1991), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1992), *Romeo and Juliet* – full verse translation (1993), *King Lear* – full verse translation (1996), *Henry VIII* (1998), *The Tragedy of King Richard II* (1998), *Hamlet* (2004), *Macbeth* (2005), *Othello* (2005), *The Tragedy of King Richard III* (2007), *Anthony and Cleopatra* (2007), *Twelfth Night* (2007), *All's Well That Ends Well* (2009), *Much Ado About Nothing* (2009), *As You Like It* (2010), *Troilus and Cressida* (2010), *The Winter's Tale* (2011). Enani also translated sonnets in *Shakespeare: Mokhtārāt Min Shi'rih [Shakespeare: Selections of His Poetry]* (Cairo: Al-Usrah, 2000) and *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (2008) – with ʿIsmat Wāli. He has also written scholarly works about Shakespeare, such as *William Shakespeare Wa Romeo Wa Juliet [William Shakespeare and Romeo and Juliet]* (1994).

[133] For example (with Magdi Wahba) *Dryden Wal-Shi'r Al-Masraḥi [Dryden and Theatrical Poetry]* (Cairo: GEBO, 1994) – first published 1963; *Thalāthat Nuṣūs Min Al-Masraḥ Al-Ingilīzi [Three Texts from the English Theatre]* (Cairo: GEBO, 1994); translation of Alex Haley, *A Different Kind of Christmas* (Cairo: Al-Ahram Centre for Translation and Publishing, 1989); translations with Fatima Nasr of three Karen Armstrong titles, *A Biography of the Prophet* (Cairo: Sotoor, 1998), *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths* (Cairo: Sotoor, 1998), and *The Battle for God* (Cairo: Sotoor, 2000); translation of selected poetry by William Wordsworth in

Paradise Lost.[134] He has also translated works from Arabic to English.[135] Enani's literary translations into Arabic pride themselves on accuracy, extensive introductions and detailed scholarly notes. Importantly, Enani has also written respected studies about translation theory, which have been influential in the field,[136] and which will be referred to in this study.[137]

In many ways, Enani's translation of *Paradise Lost* into Arabic symbolises a challenge to conformity, both at social and literary levels. Indeed, the character of and motivation for Enani's literary works may have been shaped by the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, in which the last King of Egypt, Farouk I, was overthrown by an army coup d'état. As Saleh notes:

> Enani is considered one of the children of this revolution, for it opened for him much freedom and democracy – as it did for many of the children of his generation – in writing drama and in expressing their opinions on many different issues.[138]

In addition, Enani, who had just become a teenager during the revolution, experienced a rare period of change and reform in Egypt; writers of the period supported the revolution, and Enani was raised having witnessed events which epitomised and substantiated the

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Mokhtārāt Min Al-Shi'r Al-Romansi Lil-Shā'ir Wordsworth [Selections from the Romantic Poetry of Wordsworth] (Cairo: GEBO, 2002).

[134] For a full census of Enani's published translations of *Paradise Lost*, see 'Appendix 1'.

[135] For example, poetry such as: *Modernist and Postmodernist Arabic Poetry in Egypt: A Selection with an Introduction* (Cairo: GEBO, 2002); more famously, Mostafa Mahmoud, *Understanding the Qur'an: A Contemporary Approach* (Beltsville: Amana, 2004) – first published 1985 (Cairo: Dār Al-Maʿārif).

[136] The following Arabic books are all published by Longman, Cairo. *Fan Al-Tarjamah [The Art of Translation]* (2004) – first published 1992, 8th impression; *Al-Tarjama Al-Adabiyyah: Baynal-Naẓariyya Wal-Taṭbīq [Literary Translation: Between Theory and Practice*] (2004) – first published 1997, 4th impression; *Murshid Al-Mutarjim* [*The Translator's Guide*] (2000), *Naẓariyāt Al-Tarjama Al-Ḥadīthah: Madkhal Ilā Mabḥath Dirāsāt Al-Tarjama [Theories of Modern Translation: An Entrance into the Research of Translation Studies]* (2003) – hereafter referred to in their English titles.
In English: *Graduated Exercises in Translation from Arabic into English* (Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 1998); *Dictionaries for the Translator* (Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 1999); *On Translating Arabic: A Cultural Approach* (Cairo: GEBO, 2000).

[137] See 'Section 1.2.4'.

[138] Saleh (2007), p. 24.

challenging of religious, social and political conformity. Indeed, in light of the current socio-political climate in the Middle East, similar parallels can now be drawn with his readers.

In some ways it is remarkable that *Paradise Lost* should have been translated into Arabic at all. First, Milton's text represents a challenge to Islamic doctrine, as well as to the social and cultural etiquettes associated with God and Qur'ānic figures. Second, translation was not always considered an essential activity in the Arab-Muslim world. Enani himself observes that until the twentieth century foreign texts were 'ignored' in the region.[139] At the time of the ninth-century Caliph, Al-Ma'moon (786-833), Greek and Latin literature was denounced as pagan.[140] In the nineteenth century, Arabs took great pride in their literature, and though other more scientific genres were translated, literature was not.[141] More significantly, due to the colonialism of the last two centuries, Arabs felt a need to learn, preserve and protect their identity through language and culture. Imperialism thus increased Arab pride in Arabic literary heritage, leading to delays in the translation of foreign literature. It was only in the twentieth century that Arabs 'began to ask questions' about Western literature. Due to the British occupation of Egypt (1882-1914), however, many Egyptians tried to avoid English literature and culture, leading mainly to translations of French literature in the opening years of the century. As the century progressed, English literature began to be translated more frequently, paving the way for a battle between the French and English cultures, with Al-ʿAqqād playing a key role in support of the latter.[142] Maḥmūd's 1937 translation of the beginning of *Paradise Lost* is therefore a product of this

[139] Enani, *Theories of Modern Translation* (2003), pp. 203-206.
[140] Ibid., p. 203.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid., pp. 203-204, 206. Note, though, that the first Arabic translation of Shakespeare appeared in 1898; see Sameh Hanna, 'Hamlet Lives Happily Ever After in Arabic: The Genesis of the Field of Drama Translation in Egypt', *The Translator*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2005), pp. 173-174.

resurgence of interest in Egypt in the knowledge of other cultures; it makes sense, therefore, to perceive Enani's translation as a continuation of this resurgence.

Today, there is a common and just observation that the West needs to take interest in translating what the Arab world has published, and not only the reverse. But quantitatively, translation into Arabic remains trivial compared with other languages. According to the United Nations *Arab Human Development Report*, 'the aggregate total of translated books from the Al-Ma'moon era to the present day amounts to 10,000 books – equivalent to what Spain translates in a single year'.[143] Just 330 books are translated into Arabic per year:[144] as there are almost 350 million Arabs in the MENA region,[145] less than one book is translated for every million Arabs per annum. Enani's translations, including *Paradise Lost* in its entirety, therefore represent an achievement against considerable odds, and reflect an ongoing evolution of thought and culture in the Arab region.

1.2.2: Analytical Overview

Until 1937, 270 years after *Paradise Lost* was first published, Arabic readers could only have encountered the poem in a foreign language, most likely the English original or a French translation.[146] This is likely to have resulted, first, in a significantly limited readership over those centuries. Second, parts of the poem are likely to have been misunderstood by readers. Third, and particularly before Enani's translations, Arabic readers may well have based their views on *Paradise Lost* on the seemingly credible writings about Milton available in Arabic, such as those of Al-ʿAqqād, and not on the text

[143] United Nations Development Programme, *Arab Human Development Report 2003: Building a Knowledge Society* (New York: United Nations Publications, 2003), <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regional/arabstates/RBAS_ahdr2003_EN.pdf> [accessed 17 February 2011], p. 67. Note: statistics from 2003.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Pew Research Center (2009), pp. 19-20.
[146] Numerous French translations were published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see Tournu (2009), p. 176.

itself; this reliance on such expositors may well have contributed to distinct and recognisable features of commonly held Arab perceptions of *Paradise Lost*, such as the dominant idea that Milton bestows a heroic status upon Satan in the poem.

Enani writes in the Preface to the first volume that the main reason he chose to publish the first two Books of *Paradise Lost* as a stand-alone volume was, 'the ease of receiving it in small parts which are moderate in price, enabling the regular reader to acquire and read it'.[147] He also states that the poem had to be published in segments initially, as this made it easier to 'convince' the publisher.[148] Indeed, the publishing statistics obtained to date show that of the 42,000 copies of *Paradise Lost* published in Arabic until 2009, exactly half are Books 1 and 2 in isolation (21,000 copies), in comparison to 11,000 copies of the complete epic. The initial 3,000 copies of Books 1 and 2, published in 1982, sold out completely, leading to the publication of 18,000 copies of the second impression in 2001, which have almost sold out, and a further impression published in Jordan in 2009. The volumes containing the first two Books have sold around twice as much as volumes of the full poem. Moreover, of these 42,000 copies, a total of 33,000 contain Books 1 and 2, whether in isolation or simply as the beginning of the poem. Issues of publication aside, though, Enani also adduced an artistic rationale for the translation and stand-alone publication of the opening two Books of *Paradise Lost*:

> The two Books represent an artistic unit in their own right, as Milton presents Iblīs and his devil acquaintances after Allah has expelled them from *al-jannah*, in a play-

[147] Enani, *FM* (1982), p. 9.
[148] Enani (2011), personal interview.

like scenario ... and they agree to try to seduce mankind, and that Iblīs alone undertakes this mission.[149]

As this statement hints, though, one important consequence of the single-volume publication of Books 1 and 2, was that the fall of Satan and the rebel angels became more central to Arabic readers' experience of the poem, than the fall of man. These Books emphasise the fall of Satan, and are the Books in which he proclaims for himself a heroic status, before this heroism becomes more complicated as the plot progresses. Moreover, many readers are likely to have read only the first two Books. As a result, the character of Satan in these two Books may be vital to their reception of, not only Satan, but of Milton's poem and works as a whole. This consequence is a crucial one in the story of the Arab-Muslim reception of Milton, and will be explored in more detail.[150]

In addition to taking this initial truncation into account, it is also important to consider the key features, principles and methods of Enani's translation throughout the twelve Books. First, Enani's theories of literary translation, published as separate scholarly works, are of significance. Second, the shifts which occur due to translation in *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* are vital; most notably, changes in vocabulary, religious or scriptural terminology, intertextual allusions, rhetoric and grammar. Such factors are the bases of the philological analyses in the chapters to follow, though some examples will be explored briefly in this section to provide an overview of the kinds of shifts in meaning taking place in the Arabic edition. Finally, Enani's editorial interventions – in the form of his annotational method – will be summarised. These kinds of concepts will then be expanded accordingly in the coming chapters. They will be considered alongside more detailed and

[149] Enani, *FM* (1982), p. 9.
[150] See 'Chapter 2: Satan', esp. 'Section 2.2'.

pertinent issues of reception affecting the Arab-Muslim reader, such as those deriving from religio-cultural contexts and beliefs.

1.2.3: Online Presence

Prior to exploring some issues of translation theory and analysis, it is worth noting briefly the online presence of *Paradise Lost*. First, it should be made clear that the English text can be viewed online by anybody with access to the Internet. Many Arab websites and forums provide links to the full text, and a simple search can suffice. However, because of the number of webpages providing the text, it would be difficult to obtain statistics about how many of the poem's online readers are from the Middle East, and impossible to find out how many are Muslims. It is easier to assess the online presence of Arabic translations of *Paradise Lost*. In 2012, Hanna Aboud's 2011 translation of *Paradise Lost* was made available for free online download through its publisher's official website.[151] More importantly, there exist tens of websites which provide links to Enani's entire translated poem as a free-of-charge downloadable file in Portable Document Format. These websites are usually online libraries, discussion forums about literature, or simply accounts on file-sharing websites. Most of these offer the 2002 edition, which was scanned from cover to cover in Egypt in 2010 by a website named 'Library for Arabs',[152] and has since found itself on numerous other webpages. The scan, 872 pages, contains every page of the edition, including the covers. One of the more amusing yet indicative responses to the downloadable book is on the English Department Forum of the University of Hodeida in Yemen, where a 20-year-old female student posted a download link; a 22-year-old male student responded with a tongue-in-cheek warning to his peers: 'Strengthen your hearts while you're reading

[151] General Syrian Book Organisation, <http://syrbook.gov.sy> [accessed 1 December 2012].
[152] Library for Arabs, <www.Library4Arab.com> [accessed 29 September 2011].

this because the Devil and his aides are over there – I'm being serious, I've warned you and it's up to you'.[153]

The 2009 edition was also uploaded for download by a website named *Sūr Al-Azbakiyyah* in September 2012;[154] it has since been made available by a number of others. It was scanned in Egypt by a website administrator. Ibrahim Maluli, an administrator from Morocco, who had the task of uploading it thereafter, explains that it was uploaded in order for *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* to be available in 'immaculate quality', as the 2002 scan was 'less neat'.[155] The document totals 1,149 pages as it includes the extra translated material, such as Milton's prose; only the back cover and blank pages are omitted. It also contains an electronic contents page providing quick access to the introductions, the twelve Books, the annotations, prose, and additional materials.

Though the scans of Enani's translations appear to breach copyright, it is important that they are not overlooked when assessing the reception of the translated texts. In fact, in the Middle East, online resources are plentiful and popular; most songs, movies, and television shows are available online, usually without license. As far as these electronic versions of Enani's translations are concerned, primary research helps to give an idea of the digital ownership and readership of *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*. Download statistics obtained independently indicate that the full text has been downloaded at least 2,300 times: the 2002 edition was downloaded at least 1,500 times in its first thirty-two months online, while the 2009 edition, in its first two months, was viewed approximately 2,500 times and

[153] University of Hodeida Forums, <http://eng-adab.7olm.org/t182-topic> [accessed 21 July 2012]. 'Strengthen your hearts' idiom means 'be brave' or 'do not be faint hearted'.
[154] *Sūr Al-Azbakiyyah* [Azbakiyyah Wall], <www.Books4All.net> [accessed 4 October 2012]; Azbakiyyah Wall, Cairo, is the most famous used book market in the Middle East containing hundreds of shops and stalls.
[155] Ibrahim Maluli, online correspondence (2012).

downloaded around 800.[156] These numbers are noteworthy, because technically, if added to the publishing numbers provided in 'Appendix 1', they increase the 5,000 published copies of the 2009 edition by over 15%, and the 3,000 published copies of the 2002 edition by a significant 50%. These download statistics are, nonetheless, lower in comparison to Arabic novels, political books, and religious books, though higher than most Arabic poetry anthologies.[157]

Of course, it is impossible to find out whether all of these downloads resulted in the poem actually being read. The fact that the downloaded text is free suggests that the downloader may be less likely to read it than the purchaser of a hard copy. Besides, many readers may not anticipate its size, and thus read only the first two Books, though this is mere speculation. On the other hand, though, the downloader of the book may pass it on to others via email or storage devices, and so in theory, there may well be a larger ownership of the electronic text than may appear initially. Either way, this computerised presence of Milton could be an area for further research, but in the context of this study, it is simply worth remembering that *Paradise Lost* has certainly been read or downloaded digitally by Arabs, whether in English or in translation.

[156] All statistics are accurate to the end of November 2012, and have been obtained independently using a number of methods (see 'Introduction, 2.3: Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology'). Download statistics for the 2002 volume, uploaded by Library4Arab, are primarily from two files hosted on MediaFire (via correspondence with MediaFire), five on 4Shared (via correspondence with uploaders; or based on visitor statistics), one on Arab Civilization (via counter). These were also linked by file-sharing websites such as DuckShare, FileTram and General-Files, and Arab websites such as Amly and ArabUprising. Download statistics for the 2009 volume, uploaded by Books4All, are from two files hosted on MediaFire (via correspondence with MediaFire, Books4All and Rashf) and one on Archive.org (via counter and via correspondence with Books4All). They are also linked on file-sharing websites and Arab websites such as Al-Maktabah. With thanks to the following for corresponding about download or visitor statistics: MediaFire, FileTram, Amly, Rashf, Ibrahim Maluli of Books4all, Hala Salka (independent uploader) and Shery Shukry (independent uploader). Note: these statistics do not include deleted links, exclusive websites, etc., and so represent a minimum number of downloads.

[157] Maluli (2012), online correspondence; Shery Shukry (2012), online correspondence. One of the most downloaded is author Nabil Farouk; for Farouk's comment on Milton, see 'Introduction, 3: Rationale'.

1.2.4: Enani's Theories of Translation

Returning to the text, it is important to consider Enani's theories of translation, which are based predominantly on his own extensive experience of English-Arabic literary translation. In these theories, Enani combines his perception of both the translator and the translation process. In general, he asserts that the translator has an impossible task: perfect translation is unachievable.[158] The literary translator, though, has a particular 'entrustment' to provide the reader with the same 'effect' the original text renders, such as similar 'feelings and emotions'. This 'effect' should be 'equivalent' to that which the reader of the original text feels, and where unachievable, should be an 'alternative effect'. 'Effect' is possible, Enani asserts, through the accurate translation of 'images', even if this results in deviation from rhetorical devices found in the original, or the use of more words, often inferential. The 'effect' is reached, first, through ensuring that the simple – and likely literal – translation is accomplished, often by using words which hold a similar significance in both languages, as well as similar techniques to the original text where possible. Second, the phrase's 'significance', or implications, should be indicated in translation. This should help lead to translation of the overall 'effect' of the phrase, achievable by making the 'spirit', 'tone' and 'style' of the translated text as close as possible to the original. This premise, which I have named Enani's 'Equivalent Effect Theory', is summarised in diagram form under 'Appendix 2'.[159]

The translator, meanwhile, should be conscious of, and utilise to his or her benefit, factors affecting the translation process, though these may be external, subconscious or unconditional. For instance, the translator has 'feelings' and 'traditions' which are expressed

[158] Enani, *The Art of Translation* (2004), pp. 4, 180.
[159] The theory is my summary of Enani's three works: *The Art of Translation* (2004), esp. pp. 173-177; *Literary Translation* (2004), esp. pp. 34-95; *Theories of Modern Translation* (2003), esp. pp. 63-77.

through his or her 'mother tongue' and 'culture'. The translator therefore relies inevitably on his or her own literary, linguistic, and cultural thoughts during the translation process. In translation, he or she should try to use Arabic literature, linguistics and culture, which are 'equivalent' to the original, to create a translation accessible to the Arab reader. For this reason, the translator should use his or her 'equivalent culture' approach to any theme. In effect, the translator must be a literary comparatist, in order to understand the relationships between the literatures, linguistics and cultures of the two languages, and to help determine the most suitable 'equivalents'. As comparative literature also depends on the comparatist's feelings, thoughts and traditions, whether literary, social or theological, these factors are the basis for Enani's theory that any translation is the 'individual interpretation' of its translator. However, this should not be interpreted solely as a limitation, as it could also be in favour of the target reader, who will be more likely to see the text through his or her own literary, linguistic and cultural lenses. This theory, Enani's 'Literary Translator as Individual Literary Comparatist', is also summarised in diagram form under 'Appendix 3'.[160]

Enani does summarise briefly, in the 'Preface' to the third volume of *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*, his approach to translating *Paradise Lost* in particular:

> It is, in short, an attempt at a faithful transfer of every meaning I have read in Milton's text … guided by the statements of critics and interpreters … and maintaining the original poetic images, and presenting them in as much detail as I could.[161]

Enani also writes that he tries 'to express this in a contemporary Arabic language … for I wish for the text to be read by the children of this era, and that they understand it – and this

[160] See *The Art of Translation* (2004); pp. 4-44, 111-144; *Literary Translation* (2004), pp. 206-243; *Theories of Modern Translation* (2003), pp. 87-93.
[161] *FM* (2001) – ref. number 7 in 'Appendix 1', p. 12.

is a licit wish'.[162] The varying accuracy of the translation, in addition to Enani's construction of a specific target reader, are both mutually important factors considered throughout this study: philological elements are likely to affect the Arab-Muslim reader's response to aspects of the translated poem, especially as Enani is purposely conscious of his reader's sensibilities.

1.2.5: Lexical Substitution

Lexical substitution occurs inevitably as a result of the translation process. The most important substitutions arise through Enani's choice of a scriptural vocabulary, which Einboden names a 'Qur'ānic' terminology.[163] The terminology in *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* is indeed mostly Qur'ānic, but in general, it is Islamic. Islamic terminology consists of general Arabic vocabulary which can be linked with Islamic creed, as well as words and phrases associated with common Islamic culture and knowledge. The more specifically Qur'ānic terminology is recognisable through what is called Qur'ānic *ta'bīr*: the dictional expression, or articulation, of the terminology.[164] Moreover, Einboden recognises only examples of Qur'ānic *phraseology*, such as the use of Qur'ānic proper nouns. I would argue, however, that it is the Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* which defines the Qur'ānic aspects of the Arabic translation. Broadly speaking, this *ta'bīr* can exist through factors like the use of specific Qur'ānic phrases, the combination of specific words, and the utilisation of Qur'ānic syntactic structures. As will be shown, this Qur'ānic influence on the text is of considerable significance.

First, it is important to note that for Muslims, the Arabic language consists of three categories: poetry, prose and the Qur'ān, which is classed as neither poetry nor prose, and

[162] Ibid. – the word 'children' is not a reference to age.
[163] Einboden (2009), pp. 183-191.
[164] Fāḍil Al-Sāmirā'i, *Al-Ta'bīr Al-Qur'āni [The Qur'ānic Ta'bīr]* (Amman: Dār-ʿAmmār, 1998), pp. 7-21.

regarded as the direct word of God,[165] despite its use of all the prose styles and poetic metres of the Arabic language.[166] Second, Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* is an indispensable source in the construction of subsequent literature and terminology in Arabic, because at the first level the Qur'ān is a linguistically seminal text which created new expressions. This indispensability is also due to the meanings which certain examples of Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* render. Hence, as will be exemplified, the syntax or terminology of a Qur'ānic phrase may be used by an author in order to signify a similar deep meaning to that entailed in its sacred form: a meaning which would otherwise be harder to achieve. Moreover, the Qur'ān is universally available and many of its expressions are familiar to those living in the Arab-Muslim world. Its contents are known, can be related to, and can be researched easily. This familiarity with the text is something which many literary authors utilise when incorporating Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* in their texts, to enhance the reader's understanding of their work.[167] At the level of intertextuality, it is no surprise that the most common intertextual activity in Arabic occurs with the language's most significant text: the Qur'ān. Enani himself indicates that in the literary translation process, relevant intertextuality can be used to help the target reader feel more at ease with the translated text,[168] adding that the Qur'ān is an unavoidable source in translation to and from the Arabic language. Enani also writes that the translator faces a problem in having to translate one English word to one Arabic word, as an Arabic word can possess much 'deeper' cultural and religious connotations due its presence in the Qur'ān.[169]

[165] See Al-Qattān (2000), p. 26; Qadhi (1999), pp. 29-39.
[166] See for example, Muhammad Ḥussein Al-Saghīr, 'Muṣṭalaḥ Al-Fāṣilah Fil-Qur'ān' [The Term Al-Fāṣilah in the Qur'ān], *Islam Select* (no date), <http://www.islamselect.net/mat/8747> [accessed 11 March 2011].
[167] For the Qur'ān's effect on modern Arabic literature, see for example: Shiltāgh ʿAbbūd, *Athar Al-Qur'ān Fil-Shi'r Al-'Arabi Al-Ḥadīth [The Effect of the Qur'ān on Modern Arabic Poetry]* (Cairo: Arab Book House, 1983); Muhammad ʿAbdelḥamīd Ibrahīm, *Athar Al-Qiṣah Al-Qur'āniyyah Fil-Shi'r Al-'Arabi Fī Miṣr Fil-Niṣf Al-Awal Minal-Qarnil-'Ishrīn [The Effect of the Qur'ānic Story on Arabic Poetry in Egypt in the First Half of the Twentieth Century]* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Al-Azhar University, 2001).
[168] Enani, *Literary Translation* (2004), p. 40.
[169] Enani, *The Art of Translation* (2004), pp. 15-18, 25.

Enani explains that to translate *Paradise Lost*, he had to overcome two major hurdles: textual and conceptual. He describes his objectives as follows: 'first, to adjust the linguistic terminology to classical Arabic; the second, to adapt the conceptual basis to Islamic principles. And sometimes, they didn't converge'.[170] Enani used the textual challenge to his favour in the opening six Books, using it as a tool to confront the conceptual challenge. By choosing to 'rely heavily on the Qur'ānic idiom … This played a part, not an insignificant part, in urging an Arab reader on the epic; to accept it as an Arabic work, even as an Islamic work'.[171] Qur'ānic terminology, therefore, is an important aspect of the lexical substitution which occurs in the translation of *Paradise Lost* into Arabic, as it possesses a domesticating effect. Translation theorist Lawrence Venuti presented the term 'domestication' as a means through which the translator may 'minimise the strangeness of the foreign text for target language readers'.[172] Enani's domestication is therefore both linguistic and conceptual, and thus assimilates the foreign text to both the target 'language and culture'.[173]

For example, proper nouns are easily related to their Qur'ānic equivalents. For instance, Enani differentiates throughout between 'Heaven', 'Paradise', 'garden' and Eden', best exemplified by what Satan sees from atop the Tree of Life: 'yea more, | A heaven on earth: for blissful Paradise | Of God the garden was, by him in the east | Of Eden planted' (*PL* 4.207-210). The syntax changes in the Arabic, which translates as: '*Bal qul | ra'al-samā'a 'alal-arḍ! Kānat al-jannah hiya firdaws al-na'īm | aladhī khalaqahu Allah, wa qad gharasahā fī sharqi | 'adn*' / بل قل رأى السماء على الأرض! كانت الجنة هي فردوس النعيم الذى خلقه الله، وقد غرسها في شرق عدن [But say that | he saw *al-samā* [the sky] on *al-arḍ* [the earth]! *Al-jannah*

[170] Enani (2011), personal interview.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Wenfen Yang, 'Brief Study of Domestication and Foreignization in Translation', *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2010), p.77; see also Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[173] See Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998); Venuti (2004). In both, Venuti emphasises that domestication assimilates both 'language and culture'.

[The garden] was *firdaws al-naʿīm* [the Paradise of bliss] | which Allah created, and He had planted it in east | *ʿadn* [Eden]] (*FM* 4.207-210). Here, Enani uses Qur'ānic proper nouns associated with Paradise, translating 'Heaven' as '*al-samā'*' / السماء [sky], 'Paradise' as '*firdaws*' /فردوس, 'garden' as '*al-jannah*' / الجنة, and 'Eden' as '*ʿadn*' / عدن. This can be related to the Qur'ānic verse: 'And we said, "O Adam, dwell, you and your partner, in *al-jannah*…"' (*Q* 2.35). So, 'garden' is translated as the dwelling place of Adam and Eve, according to the Qur'ānic narration. *ʿAdn*, meanwhile, is also mentioned often in the Qur'ān, such as 'Allah has promised the believing men and the believing women *jannahs* beneath which rivers flow, wherein they abide eternally, and good dwellings in the *jannahs* of *'adn*' (*Q* 9.72). *ʿAdn* is therefore a place of dwelling within the gardens of *jannah*. Enani also adds another noun, *naʿīm*, in place of the adjective 'blissful'. *Naʿīm*, meaning pleasure, is usually associated with *jannah*, as in '*jannahs* of *naʿīm*' (e.g. *Q* 10.9), and is a further, less obligatory incorporation of a Qur'ānic term. As for *firdaws*, used to translate 'Paradise', it is also mentioned in the Qur'ān (*Q* 18.107; 23.11), but is perhaps better explained in a Ḥadīth in which Muhammad says:

> In *al-jannah* are one hundred levels, which Allah has prepared for those who struggle for His sake. What is between two levels is like that between *al-samā'* and *al-arḍ*, so if you ask Allah, then ask him for *al-firdaws*, for it is the middle of *al-jannah*, and the top of *al-jannah*, viewable above it is the throne of the Entirely Merciful.[174]

First, all of the terminology Enani uses, including *samā'* and *arḍ* for 'heaven' and 'earth', is present in this Ḥadīth. Second, *firdaws* [Paradise] is explained as a level of the *jannah*

[174] Ḥadīth 2790 in Muhammad Al-Bukhārī (810-870), *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī [The Correct Traditions of Al-Bukhārī]*, ed. Maḥmūd Naṣṣār, 6th edn. (Beirut: Dār Al-Kotob Al-ʿIlmyah, 2009), p. 515 – Ḥadīths narrated by Al-Bukhārī will hereafter only include Ḥadīth number and page number as follows: Ḥadīth number (p. number).

[gardens]. At a basic level, when the reader encounters such terminology in the translation, he or she may relate it to details of Islamic creed, creating a vivid portrayal of the settings of *Paradise Lost*, and on this occasion, of what Satan can see. The Arabic proper nouns Enani selects for his translation of the biblical lexis of the poem, are generally Islamic and most often Qur'ānic, and play an important role in the domesticating lexical substitution which occurs from one language to another.

Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* is also evident in the translation. For example, the Father says to Adam: 'for none I know | Second to me or like, equal much less' (*PL* 8.406-407). The Arabic translation uses a Qur'ānic articulation: '*idh lā a'rifu aḥadan | yalīnī fīl-manzilati aw yushbihunī, wa mā ab'ada an yakūna lī kufu'an aḥad*' / 'اذ لا أعرف أحدا يلينى في المنزلة أو يشبهنى، وما أبعد أن يكون لي كفؤا أحد' [for I know nobody who | follows me in status or who is like me, and how distant that *yakūna lī kufu'an aḥad* [I could have any equivalent]] (*FM* 8.406-407). The phrase '*kufu'an aḥad*' is an exclusively Qur'ānic phrase (*Q* 112.4), not used in non-religious Arabic speech. It also possesses Qur'ānic syntax, placing the noun, *aḥad*, after the adjective, *kufu'an*, whereas in Arabic speech, one would say *aḥadun kufu'*, with *aḥad* as the subject. In addition, it is one of the most famous Qur'ānic phrases, in one of the eminent *sūrahs* [Qur'ānic chapters], *Al-Ikhlās* [Sincerity] (*Q* 112), which is a short, four-verse declaration of monotheism. Moreover, Enani uses the verb '*takūn*' [to be], which is precisely the same verb used in the chapter for '*kufu'an aḥad*'. The verb makes the Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* fully clear.

This Qur'ānic chapter is vital in defining Allah as the one God.[175] Use of the phrase *kufu'an aḥad* to translate 'equal much less' therefore adds significant Islamic inference to the characterisation of God in the poem; in other words, the Father in the translation is

[175] Muḥammad reportedly stated that this Qur'ānic chapter alone is equivalent to one-third of the Qur'ān; see Ḥadīths 5013 and 5014 (p. 947) in Al-Bukhārī.

characterised clearly as the Islamic God: Allah. Moreover, the phrase links thematically with the content of the poem, as Adam is discussing with the Father the latter's lack of need for a mate. This Qur'ānic chapter was revealed when Muhammad was asked: 'describe to us your God, for Allah revealed his description in the Torah, so tell us from what is he made and of which sex…',[176] and its aim is to show that Allah is not anthropomorphic, and to state explicitly that he does not have or need a mate, as shown in the Qur'ānic verse immediately preceding *kufu'an aḥad*: 'He neither begets nor was begotten' (*Q* 112.3). The poem's translation therefore provides a further meaning to the words of the Father, as his phrase 'equal much less' is no longer part of a mere question to Adam about why he, as Lord, does not need a partner. In the translation, the Father's question to Adam possesses, in itself, an inherent answer: that he does not need a mate. The relevance of this theme becomes clear when Adam answers the Father that the latter does not need a partner because, 'Thou in thy self art perfect' (*PL* 8.415), and is subsequently told by the Father that he has succeeded in his first test: 'Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleased' (*PL* 8.437).

It is also worth noting Angelika Neuwirth's theory that the Qur'ānic chapter in question is a polemical riposte to Trinitarian theology, and specifically to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.[177] She argues that the Qur'ānic verse 'He neither begets nor was begotten' (*Q* 112.3) 'is a reverse echo of the Nicene Creed', which states: 'the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father'. As for '*kufu'an aḥad*', Neuwirth argues that this contradicts the Creed's statement that the Son is 'of one substance with the Father', and in

[176] Abil-Ḥassan Al-Wāḥidi Al-Nisābūri, *Asbāb Al-Nuzūl [The Reasons and Occasions of Revelation of the Holy Qur'ān]*, ed. Abil-Qāsim Abil-Naṣr, 2nd edn. (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyah, 2006), p. 242. Note: '*Asbāb Al-Nuzūl*' [Reasons for Revelation] is an important Qur'ānic discipline, which explains the contexts and reasons surrounding each Qur'ānic revelation.

[177] See Angelika Neuwirth, 'Two Faces of the Qur'ān: *Qur'ān* and *Muṣḥaf*', *Oral Tradition*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2010), pp. 150-153. The Nicene Creed is a fourth-century creed, currently 'the most commonly accepted creed among Christians'; see Gerald O'Collins and Edward Farrugia, *A Concise Dictionary of Theology* (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2004), p. 57.

turn, 'not only inverts the Nicene formula of Christ's being of one substance with God … but also forbids thinking of any being as equal in substance with God, let alone a son'.[178]

Hence, it is clear that incorporating this Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* has a number of ethnocentric effects on the translation; this ethnocentricity guides 'the foreign text to target-language cultural values'.[179] First, this results in a basic presentation of an Islamic God.[180] Second, there is a thematic expansion of the dialogue between the Father and Adam. Third, there is a clear distancing of the Son from this dialogue, thus showing the Father's uniquely divine nature while downplaying the Son's divinity.[181] Moreover, by having the Father use similar terms to Allah's in the Qur'ān, there is an inference that the translator agrees that, as the Qur'ān implies, God cannot be portrayed, increasing the Muslim reader's comfort – and perhaps the translator's too – in relation to the Father.

The result of these kinds of lexical substitutions, using Islamic and Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* and terminology, is a potential indication that *Paradise Lost* is suited to a modern Arab-Muslim readership, as they can find pertinent cultural and theological affinity with much of its content. In this light, it could be suggested that *Paradise Lost*, in its translated form, is more suited to a modern Muslim readership than a modern Christian readership, the former being more familiar with, and attached to, the Qur'ān than the latter is to the Old Testament. This idea is part of a justification for the more detailed reception study to follow in the next chapters, and is also an initial indication of the significance of the Arabic translation in this study.

[178] Neuwirth (2010), p. 153.
[179] Venuti (2004), p. 20.
[180] Discussed further in 'Chapter 4: God the Father'.
[181] Discussed further in 'Chapter 3: God the Son'.

1.2.6: Inaccuracies

While the inclusion of Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* may add further meanings or emphases to Milton's text, lexical substitution remains an inevitable part of translation. As a result of this substitution, some aspects of Milton's poetic method are lost in the translation process, and in turn, some shifts in semantic emphasis take place. For example, the production of multiple meanings is often lost in the process of translation. Satan's relationship with light is one such instance of this loss of semantic richness. The theme of light is relevant both to the biblical and Qur'ānic traditions. Satan's hatred of the sun in Book 4 of *Paradise Lost* corresponds closely to the biblical verse: 'For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved' (John 3.20), and Jesus has strong associations with light in the Gospel of John, and in Timothy in which he 'dwells in unapproachable light' (1 Timothy 6.14-16).[182] In the Qur'ān, God is described as 'the light of the heavens and the earth' (*Q* 24.35).[183] Light also represents guidance, as well as the Qur'ān itself, while darkness is associated with straying from the truth.[184]

Though the theme of light is obvious in the original text of *Paradise Lost*, it is a point of discrepancy in the Arabic translation. For example, in Satan's speech to the sun, he says 'O sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams | That bring to my remembrance from what state | I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere' (*PL* 4.37-39). Satan's negative feelings towards the sun, which remind him of his lost place in Paradise, can be associated with his hostility towards the Son, whom the Father preferred over him, and who will eventually

[182] See also John 1.4; 3.19; 8.12.
[183] Chapter 24 of the Qur'ān is entitled '*Al-Nūr*' [The Light]; see also *Q* 39.69: 'And [it will be that] the Earth shone with the light of its Lord'.
[184] ʿAbdel-Salām Hārūn, *Al-Majmaʿ Al-Wajīh Li-Alfāẓ Al-Qur'ān Al-Karīm [The Brief Dictionary of the Phrases of the Holy Qur'ān]* (Cairo: Dār Al-Nashr Lil-Jāmiʿāt, 1997), p. 133, 208. See also *Q* 13.16 and 24.40; also *Q* 5.44-46, which states that the Torah and the Gospel (of Jesus) possess 'guidance and light'.

triumph over him.[185] This double meaning does not work in the translation because there is no phonemic similarity; 'sun' is simply translated as '*shams*' / شمس , which has no association with the word '*ibn*' / ابن [son]. Second, in Arabic, 'sun' is a feminine word; in fact, feminine words are called '*shamsī*' [of the sun] words. In the Arabic translation, Satan's speech to the sun is therefore directed to a feminine recipient, making it less directly applicable to the Son. The following line contains three phrases which use the feminine mode, namely the words 'O' and 'you', and the phrase 'your rays': '*<u>ayatuhal</u> shams, li aqūla <u>laki</u> kam abghadu <u>ashi'atik</u>*' | ايتها الشمس، لأقول لك كم أبغض أشعتك [*O* sun, to tell *you* how much I loathe *your rays*] (*FM* 4.37).[186] Light is also involved when Satan is introduced. Milton writes: 'Darkened so, yet shone | Above them all the archangel' (*PL* 1.599-600), translated as: '*Wa raghm al-ẓalām aladhī kana yallif | ul-malāk al-akbar fa-qad fāqa ḍiyā'uhu kulla man ḥawlah*' / ورغم الظلام الذي كان يلف الملاك الأكبر فقد فاق ضياؤه كل من حوله [And despite the darkness which was surrounding | the chief angel, his light exceeded all those around him] (*FM* 1.599-600). As well as the longer nature of the translation, the syntax places Satan at the beginning of the second line, rather than at the end. This, in conjunction with the more specific meaning of the translation, means that we lose the multiple meanings of 'above them' in Milton's original. In the Arabic, Satan simply possesses a stronger light than the fallen angels: 'his light exceeded all those around him'. But as 'shone | Above them all' is not translated specifically, it does not connote, as the original does, that Satan may also be above these angels in rank, that he may be seated on his throne which is literally higher than them, or that he may be physically above them due to his size.

A similar effect occurs in the translation of Satan's journey in Book 3: 'From Chaos and the inroad of darkness old, | Satan alighted walks' (*PL* 3.421-422). A clear juxtaposition

[185] For further discussion of the 'sun' as 'Son', see John Leonard, *Naming in Paradise: Milton and the Language of Adam and Eve* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 102-103.
[186] Emphases added to signify feminine mode.

can be established between the word 'darkness' and the word 'light', present in 'alighted', indicating that Satan has brought light to the darkness of the setting. As the translation of 'alighted' – '*ḥaṭ*' / حط [landed] – aims to generate the literal meaning, no link with the word 'light' can be made. The loss of this juxtaposition diminishes the heroism evoked by the description of Satan's journey. Linking Satan with light is itself a controversial theme for the Muslim reader, as it is the infallible angels who are made out of light, while Satan, a *jinn*,[187] is made of fire.[188] It is worth noting that the etymological root of the word 'Lucifer' is the Latin adjective for 'light-bringer', as well as a 'proper noun of the morning star',[189] though this is not entirely relevant for Enani's reader due to its inexistence in Arabic.[190] The concept of Satanic light is pertinent in Book 4, when Satan says famously that he was created by God, 'In that bright eminence' (*PL* 4.44). Since relating Satan to light is controversial to Muslim readers, Enani translates this as '*imtiyāzan wa bahā'an*' / امتيازا وبهاءً [in excellence and glory] (*FM* 4.44), omitting any reference to brightness or eminence. It is worth noting that references to the word 'light' appear problematic for Enani on other occasions too. For example, as the angels move to throw 'mountains' (*PL* 6.649) during battle, they are described using repetition of 'light': 'Light as the lightning glimpse they ran' (*PL* 6.642). The literal translation simply cannot incorporate the same repetition: '*wa fī khiffatil lamḥil bāriqi 'adaw*' / وفي خفة اللمح البارق عدوا [And in the lightness of a lightning-like glimpse ran] (*FM* 6.642). Hence, as has been discussed, the consequence of lexical substitution, particularly literal substitution, is that rhetorical and grammatical features and

[187] For a definition of '*jinn*', see 'Introduction, 2.2: The Arab-Muslim World, n. 50'.
[188] Ḥadīth 2996 in Muslim Ibn Al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim [The Correct Traditions of Muslim]*, 5th edn. (Beirut: Dār Al-Kotob Al-ʿIlmiyah, 2008), p. 1143 – Ḥadīths narrated by Muslim will hereafter only include Ḥadīth number and page number as follows: Ḥadīth number (p. number): 'The angels were created from light, the *jīnn* were created from smokeless fire, and Adam was created from what has been described to you'. See also *Q* 7.12 and 38.76 – in both, Satan is quoted saying: 'I am better than him (Adam); you created me from fire and created him from clay'. See also *Q* 55.15.
[189] 'Lucifer, n.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <http://oed.com/view/Entry/110847?redirectedFrom=lucifer> [accessed 26th November 2012].
[190] 'Lucifer' is mentioned in the King James Version of Isaiah 14.12-14. However, 'Lucifer' is not mentioned in the Arabic Bible, but appears as 'Zuharah' [Venus], p. 750. See also Al-ʿAqqād (1985), pp. 30-31.

effects, such as multiple meanings, syntactic structures, juxtapositions and repetitions are lost. These losses, in addition to omissions in translation, can lead to a domesticated, yet skewed understanding of the text. A prime case of this distortion is the basic characterisation of Satan, which at times, lacks the grandeur of the original depiction, in terms of physique, surroundings and oratory, and whose relationships with the Father and the Son are altered.

1.2.7: Annotational Method

Enani's translation of *Paradise Lost* is based on Alastair Fowler's 1968 edition,[191] as are the majority of his copious scholarly notes, and large parts of his 'Preface' to the full edition. Most of this 'Preface' is a translation of the opening section of Fowler's 'Introduction', in which the poem's four stages of draft composition are outlined.[192] Enani's 'Introduction', however, is an academic essay in which the translator himself explores some important aspects of Milton and his works.[193] It consists of a contextual insight into seventeenth-century history and literary practice, a brief biography of Milton, with emphases on his writings, religious views and Puritanism, followed by a brief account of the epic genre, and a summary of E. M. W. Tillyard's descriptions of the setting of *Paradise Lost*.[194] The prefaces to the original individual volumes, though, are different to those in the full editions. Most notable are the third and fourth volumes, in which Enani assures his potentially religiously sensitive reader that 'the poetic epic is not a scientific book presenting truths or facts, but it is a systematic story presenting a certain vision from a

[191] Enani states as much in *FM* (2002), p. 6.
[192] Fowler (1968), pp. 419-423; *FM* (2002), pp. 6-12.
[193] The 'Introduction' is present in the editions containing Book 1 – i.e. *FM* [Books 1-2] (1982; 2001; 2009); *FM* [Books 1-6] (1986); *FM* [Books 1-12] (2002; 2009; 2010). See 'Appendix 1'.
[194] See E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Miltonic Setting: Past & Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938).

religious perspective'.[195] He also writes that the terminology of the poem is largely from the Bible, and 'is different to Arabic terminology, which is inextricably linked with Islamic creed', thus justifying what he argues is an inevitable use of Islamic terminology in translation. He adds, however, that 'with every term I see as controversial, I have attached an annotation to explain it'.[196]

The annotations form one-fifth of the pages of the complete *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd* volume. Their content is almost identical to Fowler's notes, though Enani frequently adds, edits or omits details. In general, Enani translates most notes explaining the meanings and origins of proper nouns; he also translates general explanations of the text, such as facts about the poem's time-scheme. The most consistently translated notes are textual allusions to the Bible, which form a significant portion of the Arabic annotations. Enani does not, however, translate Fowler's notes about textual history, such as differences between editions, or from manuscript. He also chooses not to translate more opinionated notes on events or characters, particularly Satan. For example, on Satan's speech during the journey towards Paradise, Fowler comments that 'Satan simulates an impeccable motive', and that 'Satan tries to find out if any creation is out of bounds to man'.[197] Here, Enani may be encouraging Arabic readers to make their own judgements about the events of the poem.

The annotations to the Arabic text also include a few explanations by Enani, most notably when Adam and Eve perform 'the rites | Mysterious of connubial love' (*PL* 4.742-743). Though Enani translates Fowler's annotations about the symbolism of Christ's relation with the Church, and the problems of prelapsarian copulation,[198] he first justifies his translation: '*sha'ā'ir al-ḥub al-ghāmiḍah bayn al-azwāj*' / شعائر الحب الغامضة بين الأزواج

[195] *FM* (2001) – ref. number 7 in 'Appendix 1', p. 10.
[196] *FM* (2002) – ref. number 8 in 'Appendix 1', p. 7.
[197] Fowler (2007), p. 210, on *PL* 3.662-663, 670.
[198] Fowler (2007), pp. 264-265.

[mysterious/ambiguous rites of love between married couples] (*FM* 4.743). In his notes, Enani explains that '*al-sha'ā'ir al-ghāmiḍah*' [mysterious/ambiguous rites] is a 'general translation' of the original, which would more accurately be translated as '*al-tuqūs al-siriyyah*' / الطقوس السرية [secret rituals], adding: 'and I avoided this latter meaning because of its insinuations which are undesirable in Arabic'.[199] Enani not only uses the annotation to explain his choice of terminology, but also to distance himself from a culturally contentious image in the poem. On this occasion, then, the translation is accommodated culturally for his Arab-Muslim reader. Furthermore, the annotation, which is aimed specifically at this reader, adds a further complexity to the domestic values of the translation, as it acknowledges divergence from the original.[200] The relationship of Adam and Eve will be discussed further in the final chapter. The following four chapters will examine and analyse in detail aspects of Enani's translations, as well as the wider religious and cultural issues which surround the reception of *Paradise Lost* in the Arab-Muslim world.

[199] *FM* (2002), p. 739.
[200] On signalling difference from the foreign text, see Venuti (2004), p. 192.

CHAPTER 2: SATAN

2.1: Satan's Centrality in *Paradise Lost* and the Arab-Muslim World

In 1727, French Enlightenment thinker Voltaire proposed that 'if God, if the angels, if Satan would speak, I believe they would speak as they do in Milton'.[1] As is amply documented, the striking character of Satan in *Paradise Lost* has attracted much attention and debate since the poem's first publication. Several seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century critics highlighted Milton's heroic presentation of Satan,[2] while Charles Leslie, in 1698, heavily condemning Satan's 'self-existing' nature as a deep theological blasphemy,[3] provided one of the earliest indications of the contentious figure that, for generations of readers and critics, Milton's Satan would become. The Romantics, on the whole, considered Satan as a 'prototype of revolutionary heroism',[4] and regarded him as the hero of *Paradise Lost*.[5] In the first half of the twentieth century, by contrast, some critics argued rather simplistically that Satan was a degraded fool undeserving of our sympathy.[6] In the second half of the century, scholarly emphasis shifted to the relation between Satan and God the Father, as well as Satan and human life. Some of the themes discussed by critics in this period are relevant to this study, as they coincide with aspects of the Arab-Muslim reception of Satan. These include William Empson's suggestion that Satan's battle with the Father is 'God's plan … intended to lead him into greater evil', making the Father responsible for

[1] Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), *An Essay Upon the Civil Wars of France: Extracted from curious Manuscripts. And Also Upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations from Homer Down to Milton* (London, 1727), p. 106.
[2] For example, Wentworth Dillon, Charles Gildon, John Dennis, John Dryden. See John Shawcross, ed. *Milton: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970); see also R. J. Werblowsky, *Lucifer and Prometheus: A Study of Milton's Satan* (London: Routledge, 1952).
[3] Charles Leslie, cited in Shawcross (1970), pp. 117-118.
[4] Neil Forsyth, *The Satanic Epic* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 6.
[5] For example, Robert Burns, William Blake, Percy Shelley, Lord Byron, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Walter Landor and Francois Chateaubriand. See Shawcross (1970); Leonard (2013), Vol. 2, pp. 410-422; Jonathan Shears, *The Romantic Legacy of 'Paradise Lost': Reading Against the Grain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Lucy Newlyn, *'Paradise Lost' and the Romantic Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[6] For example, C. S. Lewis, *A Preface to 'Paradise Lost'* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942); S. Musgrove, 'Is the Devil An Ass?', *The Review of English Studies* , Vol. 21, No. 84 (1945), pp. 302-315; see also Leonard (2013), Vol. 2, pp. 422-430.

manoeuvring the Satanic plot.[7] Dennis Danielson added that Satan acts as a 'theodical paradigm' showing that despite the existence of evil, God remains omniscient and omnipotent; in turn, Satan is used to justify God's ways.[8] Analyses of Milton's depiction of Satan led away from critical concern with theodicy towards interest in the responses of readers to his complex character. Stanley Fish, for instance, argued that Satan is presented in both heroic and foolish ways in order for the reader to explore his or her own morals, a view which became common, particularly in the USA.[9] John Carey added that Satan's state of mind is like our own, and it is this doubt in Satan's thinking which makes him more gripping to the reader and induces sympathy.[10] Roland Frye showed that Satan is an attractive hero, but that Milton made Satan appealing in order for the latter to represent 'the model for mankind'. To Frye, Satan represents 'the style of life that was most attractive to mankind but was also the root cause of human evil and misery'.[11]

Neil Forsyth summarises the reception of Milton's Satan to date, with an underpinning argument that Satan plays a significant role in the literary, philosophical and theological structures of the poem.[12] Yet in around three and a half centuries of considerable scholarly interest in Milton's Satan, there has been scarcely any mention of Satan's scriptural kinship with the Qur'ānic figure of Iblīs, and of the significance of this potential kinship or parallel to mainstream Milton studies. One rare example is a footnote in Forsyth's book, which, highlighting Christ as 'the second Adam', claims that in the Qur'ānic

[7] William Empson, *Milton's God* , 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) – 1st edn. 1961, pp. 39-42.
[8] Daniel Danielson, *Milton's Good God: A Study in Literary Theodicy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 104-126.
[9] Stanley Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in 'Paradise Lost'*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).
[10] John Carey, *Milton* (London: Evans Bros, 1969), pp. 89-90.
[11] Roland Frye, 'Satan', in *A Milton Encyclopedia*, Vol. 7, ed. W. B. Hunter Jr. (London: Associated University Press, 1979), pp. 166-167.
[12] Forsyth (2003).

narrations, Iblīs's hostility is a result of his 'refusal to worship Adam',[13] which is itself a dangerously inaccurate statement. It is true to say that the angels and Iblīs were asked to prostrate to Adam as 'obedience to Allah's command, and to honour and greet Adam', but it was certainly and explicitly 'not a prostration of worship',[14] as this would go against the fundamental monotheism of Islam. In summary, it is safe to state that despite the centrality of Satan in the poem, and the considerable attention devoted to his character in mainstream Milton studies, past and present, there remains a considerable opportunity for scholarship to identify and analyse the potential parallels and comparisons between Satan of *Paradise Lost* and Iblīs of Arab-Islamic creed and culture.

There are many viable links between Milton's Satan and Iblīs which could play a role in the way an Arab-Muslim reader approaches or reacts to *Paradise Lost*, whether reading in English or Arabic. As far as the Arabic translation is concerned, these links may also affect the translation process, as well as the theological and cultural intertextualities surrounding the reading process. Belief in Satan's existence is compulsory in Islam: the Pillars of Faith – believing in Allah, the Angels, the Holy Books, the Messengers, the Day of Resurrection, and Destiny – all require Satan's existence.[15] In particular, belief in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth implies acknowledgement of Satan's actuality.[16] In the Qur'ān, there are at least 130 relevant references, as '*Jinn*' / جن are mentioned thirty-two times,[17] '*shayāṭīn*' / شياطين [devils] eighteen times, '*Al-Shayṭān*' / الشيطان [The Devil] around seventy times,

[13] Ibid., p. 181.
[14] Manṣūr ʿAbdel-Ḥakīm, *Al-Shayṭān: Iblīs Wa-Ṣirā'uh Ma' Al-Insān [The Devil: Iblīs and His Conflict With the Human]* (Damascus: Dār Al-Kitāb Al-ʿArabi, 2008), p. 71.
[15] See 'Introduction, 2.2: The Arab-Muslim World': 93% of Egyptian Muslims believe in 'fate' and 69% believe that '*Jinn* exist'; see also *Q* 4.136; note: belief in Satan has likely not been stated as a Pillar of Faith as this would exalt him.
[16] See ʿUmar Al-Ashqar, *'Ālam Al-Jinn Wal-Shayāṭīn [The World of Jinn and Devils]* (Amman: Dar Al-Nafā'is, 2004) – 15th impression, pp. 13-19.
[17] ʿAbdel-Wahāb Al-Najār, *Qaṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' [Stories of the Prophets]*, 3rd edn. (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyah, no year), p. 39. For a definition of '*jinn*', see 'Introduction, 2.2: The Arab-Muslim World, n. 50'.

while the proper noun '*Iblīs*' / ابليس [Satan] is stated eleven times,[18] in addition to three references to him as '*al-gharūr*' / الغرور [the Deceiver] and one as '*safīh*' / سفيه [fool].[19] Muslims are also required to believe in '*al-ghayb*', which is the unknown, unseen, or what only Allah knows.[20] Belief in Satan can be placed in this category of faith. Muslims therefore believe that divine wisdom lies behind the creation of Satan.[21]

Essentially, in Islamic belief, the Devil is the damned creation who revolted against God's will, and tempts humankind as he tempted Adam and *Ḥawwā'* [Eve]. The story of Iblīs's fall can be split into two episodes: refusal to prostrate to Adam, followed by first eviction; temptation of Adam and Eve, followed by second eviction. The first episode is described in seven different chapters of the Qur'ān; in three of these, the second episode follows immediately,[22] indicating that the second was Iblīs's direct reaction to the first.

In the first episode, Allah commands the angels and Iblīs to prostrate to Adam, his newest creation. Iblīs refuses, arrogantly saying: 'I am better than him; You created me from fire and created him from clay' (Q 7.12). Iblīs is evicted from Heaven and from his high status, as indicated by Allah telling him to 'descend from it' (*Q* 7.13). Iblīs seeks respite immediately, which Allah grants him: Allah says, 'And my curse is on you until the Judgement Day', to which Iblīs replies, 'My Lord, then respite me until the day they are

[18] For purposes of accuracy, and to differentiate between the Qur'ānic Satan and Milton's Satan, '*Iblīs*' will not be translated hereafter. '*Al-Shayṭān*' will be translated as 'the Devil': the definite article '*al*' / ال [the] in '*Al-Shayṭān*' signifies reference to 'the Devil', i.e. Satan/Iblīs specifically, and not any 'devil' or devils in general. While '*Al-Shayṭān*' sounds like 'Satan', a '*shayṭān*' is a devil; hence, '*Al-Shayṭān*' means 'the Devil' and not 'Satan'. I believe that '*Iblīs*', as it is the proper noun for the adversary, is best translated as 'Satan'. Etymology of '*Iblīs*' is often thought to be the Greek '*diabolos*' [Devil], though this is refuted by Al-ʿAqqād in his book *Iblīs*. Al-ʿAqqād states that both words – '*Al-Shayṭān*' and '*Iblīs*' – derive from Arabic etymology referring to adversarial characteristics. On the meaning and etymology of these two names, see Al-ʿAqqād (1985), pp. 137-40.

[19] See ʿAbdel-Ḥakīm (2008), pp. 11-25. Interestingly, the term 'fool' has often been used in Milton studies to describe the character of Satan.

[20] For example, *Q* 2.2-3: 'This is the Book (the Qur'ān) about which there is no doubt, a guidance for the pious: Those who believe in *al-ghayb*…'

[21] Al-Ashqar (2004), pp. 199-206.

[22] *Q* 2.34-39; 7.11-27; 15.26-43; 17.61-65; 18.50; 20.115-123; 38.71-85. The temptation of Adam and Eve is in Chapters 2, 7 and 20 of the Qur'ān.

resurrected' (*Q* 38.77-80). First, it is noteworthy that Iblīs was present in God's company at Adam's initiation, and that he was given the same order as the angels. Iblīs was, according to some narrations, 'of the noblest angels', and 'chief angel of the first sky',[23] though most scholars suggest he was not an angel, but of the same level.[24] It is also possible that there are two types of angels, one of which is *jinn*.[25] However, more orthodox interpretations either state that all creations – angels and *jinn* – were ordered to prostrate,[26] or in some cases, go further by refusing the possibility of Iblīs's previously high rank altogether.[27] Such interpretations hint that Iblīs was created for evil, whereas Allah says in the Qur'ān: 'And I did not create *jinn* and humankind except to worship Me' (*Q* 51.56). Iblīs was created to serve God like any other creation, and importantly, given free will.[28] This freedom is indicated in his decision not to apologise to God after sinning, but instead, to seek respite. This action signifies his knowledge that mortality is the consequence of sinning in heaven, and more significantly, his immediate tactical prowess and ability to plan:[29] attributes also possessed by Milton's Satan. Allah's acceptance of this request is likely a test for humans,[30] though it may also be reward for Iblīs's previous good.[31] As soon as Iblīs is granted respite, he vows revenge over humankind:

> He (Allah) said: 'you are of the respited'. | He (Iblīs) said: 'Because you have put me in error, I will sit in wait for them on Your straight path. | Then I will come to

[23] Ibn-Jarīr, cited in Al-Ḥāfidh Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wal-Nihāyah [The Beginning and the End]*, Vol. 1, ed. Ahmed Gād (Cairo: Dār Al-Ḥadīth, 2004) – first published *c*. 1346, p. 69.
[24] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 70.
[25] Al-Najār (no year), p. 23.
[26] For example, Muhammad Bayūmi, *Qaṣaṣ Al-Qur'ān: Dūrūs Wa 'Ibar [Stories of the Qur'ān: Lessons and Morals]* (Mansoura: Maktabat Al-Īmān, 1999), p. 14.
[27] For example, Maḥmūd Al-Maṣry, *Qaṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' [Stories of the Prophets]* (Shubra El-Kheima: Dar Al-Taqwā, 2002), p. 26.
[28] See Al-Ashqar (2004), pp. 55-57.
[29] Abubakr Al-Jazā'iry, *Wiqāyat Al-Insān Min Al-Jinn Wal-Shayāṭīn [Protection of the Human from the Jinns and Devils]* (Cairo: Dār Al-Bashīr 1989), p. 122.
[30] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 73.
[31] Al-Ashqar (2004), p. 211.

them from between their hands, and from behind them, and from their rights, and from their lefts, and You will not find most of them thankful' (*Q* 7.15-17).

The second episode, in which Iblīs tempts Adam and Eve, shares similarities with Genesis. Adam and Eve are warned about Iblīs, and ordered not to 'go near' a specific 'tree' (*Q* 2.35). Iblīs 'swore to them: "I am to you a sincere adviser"' (*Q* 7.21):

> So we said, 'O Adam, this (Iblīs) is an enemy to you and your partner, so do not let him remove you [both][32] from *al-jannah*, so you suffer. | You have, in it, that you do not go hungry or naked. | And you do not go thirsty, in it, nor suffer from heat'. | So the Devil whispered to him, he said: 'O Adam, shall I direct you to the tree of immortality and possessions that will never deteriorate?' | So they ate from it, and their private parts became apparent to them, and they began to heap themselves with leaves of *al-jannah*. And Adam disobeyed his Lord and erred. | Then his Lord chose him and forgave him and guided him. | He said: 'descend from it, all of you, enemies to one another. If guidance comes to you from Me, then whoever follows My guidance will not go astray nor suffer' (*Q* 20.117-123).

A notable feature of the Qur'ānic story is that Iblīs appears to tempt Adam first, not Eve, and the eating of the fruit is described as though in unison. By not emphasising blame on either party, the Qur'ānic discourse provides a simple insinuation of gender equality.[33]

It is not apparent how Iblīs entered the dwelling of Adam and Eve after his initial eviction, nor what the exact method of temptation was. It is possible that his eviction did not make his entrance into *al-jannah* impossible, or that he entered disobediently.[34] There are

[32] Plural form of 'you'.
[33] Discussed in detail in 'Chapter 5: Adam and Eve', esp. 'Section 5.2'.
[34] Al-Najār (no year), p. 24.

also narrations that he disguised himself as a serpent,[35] though the source for these is Genesis, and though common, is rejected by many Islamic scholars.[36] Iblīs may also have tempted Adam and Eve when they were near the gates of *al-jannah*,[37] or from afar, using *wiswās*, which is the temptation of Satan to the human self.[38] But it is most likely that he entered their place of dwelling, as Allah says 'descend from it, all of you' (*Q* 20.123),[39] indicating that both the humans and Iblīs were present at the expulsion, and if taken literally, that they were in the heavens. There are numerous narrations of how Iblīs tempted the couple,[40] but it is safe to assume that he did so by saying what is quoted in the Qur'ān: 'shall I direct you to the tree of immortality and possessions that will never deteriorate?' (*Q* 20.120), which shares some similarity with the Miltonic version.

Muslims believe that Iblīs, who vowed revenge on humankind, started by tempting Adam and Eve, and will continue to tempt humans. However, it is important to believe that Iblīs 'does not harm and does not help', and by being so, represents an antithesis to the one deity: Allah.[41] Iblīs cannot, therefore, be used as a justification for wrongdoing by Muslims, though Forsyth argues that in *Paradise Lost*, 'it is Satan's presence that both causes and

[35] Aḥmad Al-Thaʿlabi, *Qaṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' Al-Musammā 'Arā'is Al-Majālis [Stories of the Prophets Entitled Brides of Gatherings]*, ed. ʿAbdul-Latīf ʿAbdul-Raḥmān, 3rd edn. (Beirut: Dar Al-Kotob Al-ʿIlmiyah, 2009) – first published *c.* 1020, pp. 30-31.
[36] For example, Al-Maṣry (2002), p. 36; see also Bayūmi (1999), pp. 29-30.
[37] Bayūmi (1999), p. 29
[38] The most common translation of *wiswās* is 'whisper'. As in *Q* 114: 'Say: I seek refuge from the God of humankind, | The King of humankind, | The Lord of humankind, | From the evil of the sneaky *waswās* [whisperer], | Who *waswisu* [whispers] in the chests of mankind, | From the *jinn* and mankind'; also, *Q* 23.96: 'And say: My Lord, I seek refuge in you from the *hamazāt* [incitements] of the devils'; see also Ḥadīth 764, in Abī-Dāwūd Al-Sijistāni, *Sunan Abī-Dāwūd [The Sunnan of Abī-Dāwūd]*, ed. International Ideas Home (Riyadh: International Ideas Home, 1998), p. 103, in which it is stated that Muhammad used to pray saying: 'I seek refuge in Allah, the All-Hearing the All-Seeing, from the rejected Satan; from his *hamz* [incitements], his *nafkh* [his blowing (of the human ego)] and his *nafth* [whispering].' 'Weak' Ḥadīth, though variations of it are 'authentic' according to some – Ḥadīths narrated by Abū-Dāwūd will hereafter only include Ḥadīth number and page number as follows: Ḥadīth number (p. number).
[39] See also *Q* 7.24: 'Descend enemies to one another'.
[40] See Al-Thaʿlabi (2009), p. 31. For example, there are rejected narrations that Iblīs cried to Adam and Eve that they will die separate from one another unless they eat, while a controversial story claims that Adam was made drunk by Eve. The sources are, for example, stories narrated by great grandchildren of Muhammad's companions.
[41] See *Q* 36.60: 'Did I not pledge to you, O children of Adam, that you do not worship the Devil? He is to you a clear enemy'.

excuses the fall of mankind'.[42] Such a view is not Islamic, as Allah states that the Devil has no power over believers,[43] and Iblīs himself will admit this.[44]

Belief in the day-to-day existence of Iblīs, though, remains a prevalent part of general and popular Arab-Muslim culture. These aspects of daily culture vary, from general beliefs, which some may regard as superstitions, to religious references which have been incorporated into everyday life. Many of these link the Devil with negative occurrences or actions, such as displeasure, anger and dishonesty.[45] Moreover, thoughts about sinning, or the sin itself, are often regarded a result of the Devil's *wiswās*, particularly as there is a common belief that each person has a *qarīn* [consort] from the *jinn* – a devil – assigned to them;[46] where this is not taken literally, it is understood as a metaphor for the ill-advising self. Further effects of *jinn* include possession and black magic, which remain a part of Arab-Muslim culture, and though based on religion,[47] occupy much cultural significance, particularly in rural areas. John Esposito explains these beliefs as 'folk religion',[48] which

[42] Forsyth (2003), p. 17.
[43] See *Q* 16.99: 'He (Iblīs) has no power over those who believe and rely upon their Lord'; in *Q* 15.42, Allah says to Iblīs: 'You have no authority over my servants, except those who follow you from among the depraved'; see also *Q* 34.21 in which Allah explains his wisdom behind the power Iblīs seems to possess: 'And he did not have any authority over them, except so We can distinguish who believes in the Hereafter from who is doubtful of it…'
[44] *Q* 14.22 quotes Iblīs at the end of time saying to his followers: '…And I did not have any authority over you except that I invited you and you responded to me, so do not blame me but blame yourselves…'
[45] A common phrase when one dislikes something or is angry: '*A'ūdhu billāhi min al-Shayṭān al-rajīm*' [I seek refuge in Allah from the damned Devil]; In Ḥadīth 3282 (p. 601) in Al-Bukhārī, two men are cursing one another in front of Muhammad, who says: 'I know a phrase, which if he said, what angers him will go: I seek refuge in Allah from the damned Devil'; A common maxim in the Arab world: '*Al-sākit 'an il-ḥaq Shayṭānun akhras*' [The one silent about the truth is a dumb devil].
[46] Ḥadīth 2814 (p. 1083) in Muslim: 'There is nobody among you that has not been assigned a consort of the *jinn*' – asked if he too (Muhammad) has one, he replied: 'And I, but Allah helped me overcome him so he converted, so does not order me except with that which is good'; Ḥadīth 2815 (p. 1083), is a dialogue between Muhammad and his wife Āʿisha, narrated by the latter, who was jealous when he left the house late. It includes: 'So he said: "Has your devil come to you?" I said, "O Messenger of Allah, is there a devil with me?" He said: "Yes". I said: "And with every human?" He said: "Yes"…'; Ḥadīth 2813 (p. 1083): 'The Devil sends his troops to tempt people; and the ones with greatest status to him are the greatest tempters'.
[47] For example, *Q* 113.4; see Al-Ḥāfidh Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān Al-'Aẓīm [Exegesis of the Magnificent Qur'ān]* (Beirut: Dār Ibn-Hazm, 2000) – first published *c*. 1370, p. 2054 – hereafter referred to as Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis* followed by page number.
[48] See 'Jinn', in Esposito (2003), p. 160: 'In folk religion, jinn are spirits invoked for magical purposes and are often held responsible for miraculous or unusual events and for a wide range of illnesses'.

comprises ‘views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion’.[49] To safeguard from *jinn*, specific daily prayers are read by many Muslims during different parts of the day.[50] Moreover, some individuals claim to have the ability to communicate with *jinn* and evict them from possessed humans, often using Qur’ānic verses as *ruqyā* [exorcism].[51] This fear of devils is significant in the Arab-Muslim world, as children are often raised to fear Iblīs’s evil, and his character is used as a method of both scaring and reminding people about societal and religious issues,[52] in the form of spoken stories and books, and now on television, the Internet and new media.[53]

Certain everyday actions are also linked with the Devil in one way or another, such as yawning,[54] eating,[55] copulation[56] and nightmares.[57] The latter three actions are of

[49] See Don Yoder, ‘Toward a Definition of Folk Religion’, *Western Folklore*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1974), p. 14.
[50] There are many prayers narrated in Ḥadīths, some which specifically seek refuge in Allah from the Devil or *jinn*, and some which Muhammad indicated are shields from the Devil, *jinn*, or evil in general. See ʿAbdel-Ḥakīm (2008), pp. 435-443 for examples.
[51] Note: 7% of Egyptian Muslims say they have ‘observed an exorcism’, 44% say they have ‘used a religious healer’; 25% ‘wear talismans’, and 29% have ‘objects to protect against evil eye’; see Pew Research Center (2012), pp. 77-82.
[52] Iblīs’s character is often moulded into a scaring or parenting tool, hence there is a potential danger in reading Milton’s Satan, as he is given a discursive platform, and can lead one to forming a different, unfrightening or sympathising image of the Devil to the cultural norm; *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female:* ‘I think people may have a problem with their children reading about Satan’.
[53] For example, in Arab popular culture, films such as *Al-Ins Wal-Jinn [Human and Jinn]* (1985), in which the Middle East’s leading actor, Adel Imam, plays the role of a *jinn* in human form and is only defeated when Qur’ānic verses are uttered at him. Also, the *sha‘bi* song, Mahmoud El-Husseiny, *El-ʿAbd Wel-Sheyṭān [The Servant and The Devil]* (2008), contains a dialogue between the common man and the Devil, in which the Devil tells him to play poker, drink alcohol, give bribes and take drugs. The lyrics follow: ‘the servant said to the Devil: “After I followed you I haven’t been able to live. You took me to the fire, and there you didn’t know me”’. ‘*Sha‘bi*’ music is a traditional, folk music, linked to the urban working class; see James Grippo, ‘What’s Not on Egyptian Television and Radio! Locating the “Popular” in Egyptian Sha’bi’, in *Music and Media in the Arab World*, ed. Michael Frishkopf (New York: The Egypt Press, 2010), pp. 144-162.
[54] It is quite common etiquette in Egypt to seek refuge from the Devil immediately after yawning. Although this is a cultural act, it is likely rooted in the following Ḥadīths: 3289 (p. 602) in Al-Bukhārī: ‘Yawning is from the Devil, so if one of you yawns then return it as much as possible, for if one of you says: ‘hā’, the Devil laughs’; 6626 (p. 1139) in Al-Bukhārī: ‘Allah likes sneezing and hates yawning … As for yawning, it is from the Devil…’; see also 6223 (p. 1139) in Al-Bukhārī.
[55] Ḥadīth 2018 (p. 803) in Muslim: ‘If one enters their house and mentions Allah when entering and when eating, the Devil says: “there is no lodging here for you [the devils] or dinner” … And if Allah is not remembered when he eats, he (the Devil) says: “you’ve realised lodging and dinner”’; Ḥadīth 2017 (p. 802) in Muslim: ‘The Devil considers lawful that food on which Allah’s name has not been mentioned…’; Ḥadīth

significance in *Paradise Lost*, as Adam and Eve experience each of these, and they play a part in the development of their characters, and importantly, of the plot. One such occasion is Eve's nightmare in Book 5, and the fall in Book 9 is characterised by these three actions: in quick succession, they eat, copulate and have nightmares. For an Arab-Muslim reader, Adam and Eve's three actions are potentially pre-associated with a possible Satanic interference, likely a result of Iblīs's link with these actions in everyday life, whether doctrinal or superstitious.

As a result of Iblīs's cultural presence, the character of Satan has been central to the Arab-Muslim reception of Milton to date. As identified in the opening chapter, the link between the literary culture surrounding Iblīs and the reception of Milton's Satan by the Arab-Muslim reader can be characterised as a reciprocal relationship: shifts in the representation of Iblīs in Arab literary culture may well derive in part from the influence of Milton's Satan upon that culture, while concurrently, the Arab-Muslim reader can see much of Iblīs in Milton's Satan.

2020 (p. 803) in Muslim: 'When any one of you eats, let him eat with his right hand, and when he drinks, let him drink with his right hand, because the Devil eats with his left hand and drinks with his left hand'; Ḥadīth 2032 (p. 807): 'The Devil is present with you in everything he does; he is even present when you eat; so if one of you drops a morsel then remove whatever harm is on it, then eat it, and do not leave it for the Devil…'

[56] Ḥadīth 3271 (p. 600) in Al-Bukhārī: 'As for if one of you wants to come to [copulate with] their kin, say: "In the name of Allah, O Allah, keep the Devil away from us and keep the Devil away from what you provide us with (offspring)"…'; see also 3283 (p. 601) and 6388 (p. 1167).

[57] Ḥadīth 3168 in Muhammad Ibn-Mājah (824-889), *Sunan Ibn-Mājah* [*The Sunnan of Ibn-Mājah*], ed. Muhammad Al-Bāqi, Vol. 3 (Riyadh: Dār Iḥyā' Al-Kutub Al-ʿArabiyah, 2000), p. 276: 'A dream is three: a tiding from the Especially Merciful, and a conversation of the self, and intimidation from the Devil' – Ḥadīths narrated by Ibn-Mājah will hereafter only include Ḥadīth number, volume number and page number as follows: Ḥadīth number (Vol. number, p. number); Ḥadīth 3169 (Vol. 3, p. 276) in Ibn-Mājah: 'A dream is three: among them falsities from the Devil, to make the Son of Adam sad with it'; Ḥadīth 6985 (p. 1269) in Al-Bukhārī: 'If one of you sees a dream they like, then it is but from Allah, so praise Allah for it, and talk about it. And if you see other than this of which you hate, then it is but from the Devil, so seek refuge from its evil, and do not mention it to anyone, for it does not harm'; Ḥadīth 3292 (p. 602) in Al-Bukhārī and 2261 (p. 891) in Muslim: 'A good vision is from Allah, and a dream is from the Devil, so if one of you dreams a dream which scares them, then spit to your left, and seek refuge in Allah from its evil, for it does not harm'; Ḥadīth 2261 (p. 892) in Muslim: 'The good vision is from Allah, and the evil vision is from the Devil…'; Ḥadīth 2268 (p. 894) in Muslim: 'If the Devil toys with one of you in his dream, do not tell it to people'; see also 2262 and 2263 (p. 892) in Muslim.

Coming at this reciprocal relationship from yet another angle, Lebanese philosopher Omar Farrūkh has suggested that Milton's depiction of Satan was influenced directly by the Qur'ānic character of Iblīs.[58] It is somewhat striking that despite the numerous similarities between the two characters, which will be discussed, Farrūkh is the only scholar to have made this statement, albeit in passing. It is indeed feasible, though not provable, that Milton read parts of the Qur'ān, as the first English translation was published in 1649,[59] the same year in which King Charles I was executed, and Milton, a public figure in his forties, was appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Commonwealth's Council of State.[60] Attributed traditionally to Alexander Ross, the English translation of the Qur'ān was itself translated from the 1647 French translation of Andrew Du Ryer.[61] The House of Commons issued a warrant for the sergeant-at-arms to 'search for the press where the Turkish Alcoran was being printed' and 'seize' its copies;[62] the printer would be imprisoned, Ross questioned by the Council of State, and as England had become a Commonwealth, the text was evaluated by the Commonwealth licensor.[63] This suppression occurred on 19 March

[58] Farrūkh (1986).
[59] *The Alcoran of Mahomet*, tr. Alexander Ross (London, 1649) – hereafter referred to as Ross (1649).
[60] Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 203.
[61] Note: I write, 'attributed traditionally', as recent criticism has discussed whether Alexander Ross was actually the translator. On Ross as translator, see Nabil Matar, 'Alexander Ross and the First English Translation of the Qur'ān', *The Muslim World*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (1998), pp. 81-92. For evidence that Ross was not the translator, see Mordechai Feingold, '"The Turkish Alcoran": New Light on the 1649 English Translation of the Koran', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (2012), pp. 475-501 (485-491); Noel Malcolm, 'The 1649 English Translation of the Koran: Its Origins and Significance', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 75 (2012), pp. 261-95. Incidentally, Milton was, after his death, accused of plagiarising from Ross by William Lauder; see John Douglas, *Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiarism: Brought against him by Mr. Lauder: and Mr. Lauder himself convicted of several forgeries and gross impositions on the public: in a letter humbly addressed to the Right Honorable the Earl of Bath* (London, 1751).
[62] Timothy Cunningham, comp. *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. 6 (London, 1785), p. 168; Mary Anne Everett Green, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Commonwealth: 1649-50*, Vol. 1 (London: H.M.S.O., 1878), p. 42, cited in Matar (1998), p. 83; on Anthony Weldon's role in alerting the House of Commons, see Feingold (2012), pp. 475-485.
[63] Matthew Birchwood, 'Confounding Babel: The Language of Religion in the English Revolution', in *The Religions of the Book: Christian Perceptions, 1400-1660*, ed. M. Dimmock and A. Hadfield (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 151; Matar (1998), p. 83; Feingold (2012), pp. 475-485.

1649, just four days after Milton was appointed in his secretarial role.[64] Milton would likely have been intrigued by the book's suppression. In *Areopagitica* (1644), he opposes prepublication censorship, and actually refers to the Qur'ān when arguing this, stating that 'the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing'.[65] The *Alcoran* was finally published in late April 1649, and 'the expectation of a commercial success was fully realised. A second edition was called for before the year was out'.[66] These events make it almost certain that Milton knew of the English translation of the Qur'ān, and moreover, suggest that he may have taken an interest in reading it. Should he have done so, it would have been quite difficult to miss the emphasis on Iblīs and the two episodes of his fall.

Aside from Farrūkh's suggestion, criticism about Milton's Satan in the Arab world has often interpreted Satan as the hero of *Paradise Lost*. Safā' Khulūsi disagreed with C. S. Lewis's argument that Satan is a fool, arguing that Milton 'wrapped Satan in the mantle of glory, greatness and majesty', and that 'Satan's folly … is heroic', as he does not give up fighting, even when victory seems impossible. He adds that Satan represents 'Milton himself, Milton the revolutionary', because through the character of Satan, the poet is able to say 'what he could not dare to say in public'.[67] The emphasis on Satan in Arab criticism of *Paradise Lost* is noticeable; Al-Khafīf's summary of the poem in *Al-Risālah* suggests that the character is the sole protagonist driving the plot:

[64] Dahiyat (1991), p. 40; see Feingold (2012), pp. 481-482.
[65] *Areopagitica*, p. 29.
[66] Feingold (2012), p. 485.
[67] Khulūsi (1957), pp. 98-103.

> It is possible to summarise the topic of the poem in a few words: it is the story of Iblīs after he debauched the command of his God, for this chief devil rebelled along with those evildoers who followed him, and dared to fight against the Creator.[68]

Al-Khafīf's interpretation of Satan and his actions as the most prominent aspects of the poem is not new; it resonates with the Romantics' readings, and on the whole, Arab critics have tended to echo Dryden's and Shelley's understandings of Satan.[69]

This critical emphasis on Satan reflects Shelley's influence on the Arab reception of Milton, visible through Al-ʿAqqād. More significantly, it prompts an enquiry into the consequences of the truncation of the Arabic translation of *Paradise Lost*. The previous chapter touched upon the key role played to date by Books 1 and 2 in the formation of the Arabic reader's experience of the poem.[70] Marjorie Hope Nicholson makes a fascinating suggestion that the Romantics themselves may not have read beyond the first two Books of *Paradise Lost*:

> When I discover tendencies towards "Satanism" among my students … I usually find that they have read no farther than Books I and II of *Paradise Lost*, the books usually excerpted in anthologies. Had Blake and Shelley and Byron, I wonder, read Book X?[71]

Nicholson's question is a witty hint at the flaws of assigning Satan an absolute heroic status. In a sense, the excerpts Nicholson speaks of are equivalent to the initial truncation of the Arabic translation and its subsequent reprints as a single edition.

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[68] Al-Khafīf, *Al-Risālah*, No. 701 (9/12/1946), p. 24.
[69] Dahiyat (1991), p. 78.
[70] See 'Section 1.2.2' and 'Appendix 1'.
[71] Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *A Reader's Guide to John Milton* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), p. 186.

Al-ʿAqqād, who was certainly aware of Shelley, perceived Milton's Satan as the poem's most important character, used by the poet as a literary and political tool.[72] Yet it is Al-ʿAqqād's outlook on the development of Satan in Arabic literature which is of interest here. Summarising Iblīs's presence in Arabic literature, he writes that Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Al-Maʿarrī's early eleventh-century *Epistle of Forgiveness* is the most prominent presentation of Iblīs in Arabic literature, going on to make an extraordinary statement that since the *Epistle,* 'nothing new occurred on this matter (the character of Iblīs) in Arabic literature until the start of the twentieth century'.[73] Al-ʿAqqād is arguing that there was a profound shift – a gap – in the presentation of Iblīs in Arabic literature over those centuries. This argument becomes even more intriguing if we are to consider the shift from Al-Maʿarrī's Iblīs to the twentieth-century Iblīs, as a shift from a pre-Miltonic Iblīs to a post-Miltonic Iblīs. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, then, may be a cause of the shift in the Arab presentation of Iblīs, through the epic's influence on the likes of Al-ʿAqqād.

Indeed, Al-ʿAqqād's literary works were a major cause of the generic shift in the presentation of Satan and Hell, as signified by his poems, as well as the works of Shukrī and Al-Zahāwī.[74] Also notable is Lebanese writer Shafīq Maʿlūfʾs *Malḥamat ʾAbqar [The Epic of 'Abqar]*: a series of poems, each about a son of Iblīs.[75] Tawfiq Al-Hakim, one of the most prominent Egyptian novelists and playwrights,[76] wrote a story entitled *ʾAḥd Al-Shayṭān [The Devil's Pact]*,[77] a shorter appropriation of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. More importantly, Al-Hakim's story, *Al-Shahīd [The Martyr]*, explores the nature of Iblīs and his

[72] Al-ʿAqqād (1985), pp. 172-174; see 'Section 1.1'.
[73] Al-ʿAqqād (1985), pp. 184-186. Parentheses added.
[74] For details about these works and their potential Miltonic influences, see 'Section 1.1'.
[75] Shafīq Maʿlūf, *ʾAbqar* (Nazareth: Maṭbaʿat Migallat Al-Sharq, 1936).
[76] See William Hutchins, *Tawfiq Al-Hakim: A Reader's Guide* (London: Lynne Reinner, 2003), which states: 'Al-Hakim … was one of the most influential writers of twentieth-century Egypt. Famed as the playwright who more than anyone else established Arabic drama's literary respectability'.
[77] Tawfiq Al-Hakim, '*ʾAhd Al-Shayṭān*' *[The Devil's Pact]* in *ʾAhd Al-Shayṭān [The Devil's Pact]* (Cairo: Dār Miṣr Lil-Ṭibāʿah, 1998) – first published 1938, pp. 12-35.

existence, and possesses similarities with *Paradise Lost*, hinting that aside from Milton's presence in Al-ʿAqqād's fictional and non-fictional writings, Milton may have had a more direct role in the formation or modification of views about Iblīs in Arab culture. In the story, Iblīs seeks repentance through the Pope, a chief rabbi, and the Grand Imām of Al-Azhar, who all reject him. Conversing with Gabriel, Iblīs attempts to justify his actions and show that he has repented, but after losing hope, he weeps, expressing the theodical conclusion of the story: 'My existence is necessary for good to exist … my dark self must remain like this to reflect the light of Allah', before screaming 'I am a martyr. I am a martyr'.[78] The character of Iblīs in the story is similar to Milton's Satan: he speaks in fine rhetoric and is the most poetic of the characters. He induces sympathy through the 'teardrops dripping' from his eyes,[79] with narrative emphasis on his facial features and expressions, as in Book 1 of *Paradise Lost* in which Satan has 'cruel' eyes (*PL* 1.604) 'that sparkling blazed' (*PL* 1.194) 'and care | Sat on his faded cheek' (*PL* 1.601-602). Al-Hakim's Iblīs also shows emotions otherwise not associated with the adversary, such as 'looking at the innocence of the children, his heart melting with affection',[80] not unlike Satan's thoughts about Eve when observing Eden in Book 4.

Al-Hakim's story is a prime example of the changing twentieth-century, post-Miltonic presentation of Satan in Arabic literature. *The Martyr* shows the potential influence of Milton on Arabic literature, and therefore on Arab culture in general. Whether this influence extends into the Islamic culture of the region is debatable. Al-Hakim's story has been criticised as blasphemy by a number of Islamic scholars, and is considered a taboo text by some Muslims. Islamic cleric Abu-Ishaq Al-Heweny, says in a speech about *The Martyr*:

[78] Tawfiq Al-Hakim, '*Al-Shahīd*' *[The Martyr]* in *Arini Allāh [Show Me Allah]* (Cairo: Dār Miṣr Lil-Ṭibāʿah, 1998) – first published 1953, pp. 15-31.
[79] Ibid., p. 30.
[80] Ibid., p. 25.

'I swear by God it would never cross the mind, at all, that this absolute *kufr* [disbelief] reaches this level, and that it gets published as a novel…', claiming that the text gives too much sympathy to Iblīs and goes against the Qur'ānic teachings about his cursed nature.[81] Such views show that while Iblīs has a vital presence in Arab-Muslim culture, and while Milton may even have had a role in shaping some of this culture, there remains much sensitivity surrounding the topic of Satan – let alone God or an Islamic prophet – making the reception of *Paradise Lost* in the Arab-Muslim world all the more intriguing.

2.2: Satan and the Fallen Angels in Books 1 and 2 of *Paradise Lost*

As established, much dramatic interest and thematic emphasis is placed on Satan in the opening two Books of *Paradise Lost*. The fact that a significant number of the Arabic editions contain only Book 1 and Book 2 makes it important to consider the effect of these Books on the Arab-Muslim reception of Satan's character, and of Milton's works as a whole.[82] It is clear that Enani's translations of the opening Books were undertaken with a greater willingness to accommodate the sensitivities of the Arab-Muslim readership than were his translation of the later Books. For instance, Enani tried initially to avoid referring to the concept of the 'Son of God', rejected by Islamic creed[83]:

> In the first part, I found a way out by referring to 'Jesus Christ' and avoiding the words 'Son of God', because it's sort of offensive to Islamic belief. In the latter

[81] For example, Abu-Ishaq Al-Heweny, *Youtube* (2009), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vbfz0Wc1BOA> [accessed 4 August 2011]. Al-Hakim is no stranger to controversy. His play, *Ahl Al-Kahf [The People of the Cave]* is based on Chapter 18 of the Qur'ān: 'The Cave'.
[82] See 'Section 1.2.2'.
[83] *Q* 4.171: 'Allah is but one God, too exalted is He to have a son', and *Q* 112.3: 'He (Allah) neither begets nor was begotten'.

Books, from 7 to 12, I took the liberty to be as literal as possible, and I did mention 'his son' and 'the Son' and everything.[84]

The Arabic translation presents Satan and his fallen angels in accord with Islamic creed: in the Qur'ān, Allah orders the 'children of Adam' not to 'worship the Devil' (*Q* 36.60). Hence, Satan is presented as a direct antithesis to the Father, who punishes him perpetually as a result. For instance, in the first description of Satan, Milton writes 'That with reiterated crimes he might | Heap on himself damnation' (*PL* 1.214-215), translated as '*fayaqtarif ul-jurum min ba'd il-jurum | fa tuṣībuhu al-la'nah min ba'd il-la'nah*' / فيقترف الجرم من بعد الجرم فتصيبه اللعنة من بعد اللعنة [So he commits offence after offence | so he is hit by curse after curse] (*FM* 1.214-215). While the original indicates that Satan's damnation is self-inflicted, the Arabic points clearly towards an external entity which 'hits' Satan with curses. This external entity can only be Allah, whom Muslims believe has full power over Satan, and who has placed an eternal curse on him: at his first eviction, Iblīs is told by Allah: 'And my curse is on you until the Judgement Day' (*Q* 15.42; 38.78). As a result, the Father already appears to be punishing Satan at this early stage of the poem, thus building a religiously orthodox hierarchy of characters for the Arab-Muslim reader. Moreover, the repetition in 'offence after offence' and 'curse after curse', using the adverb '*min ba'd*' – literally: 'from after' – tells the Arabic reader that Satan has already committed an offence before and has been cursed. The reader thus understands that Satan has rebelled previously, and has already been evicted from Heaven as a consequence, fitting neatly with the poem's *in media res* opening, and suggesting the two episodes of Iblīs's eviction: the first has already taken place, and the poem will convey the second. As well as aiding the structure, the parallel between Satan and Iblīs becomes immediately apparent.

[84] Enani (2011), personal interview; the presentation of the Son is discussed in detail in 'Chapter 3: God the Son'. Note: as discussed in the next chapter, Enani very often avoids the term 'Son' in the second half of the translation too.

In this light, the Arab-Muslim reader may establish, before other readers, the potential reason for Satan's expulsion. However, this results in some confusion due to the theological difference between the Qur'ānic account, in which Satan's expulsion is a result of not prostrating to Adam, and Milton's Christian narrative, in which Satan refuses to accept the Son's pre-eminence. But this is only revealed to the reader in Book 5, when Raphael narrates that the Father asked all to bow to the Son: 'And by my self have sworn to him shall bow | All knees in heaven' (*PL* 5.607-608). If the first two Books are read as a single volume, then this theological challenge will not be raised for the Arab-Muslim reader, who can assume that the first eviction of Satan is the same as the Qur'ānic version. However, if the reader continues beyond these Books, a potential shock can occur when he or she finds out that Satan was asked to bow to the Son, and not Adam. Enani tries to accommodate for this, translating 'to him shall bow | All knees' as '*an tanḥanī lahū* | *shatta al-ru'ūs*' / أن تنحني له شتى الرؤوس [that all heads | bow to him] (*FM* 5.607-608); by changing 'knees' to 'heads', Enani diminishes the obvious link to prostration.

Satan's presentation as the antithesis to God is also clear when he proclaims to Hell: 'Receive thy new possessor: one who brings | A mind not to be changed by time or place' (*PL* 1.252-253), translated as '*taqabalī rabaki al-jadīd: rabbun ya'ṭī ilayki bi dhihnin lā yatabaddalu* | *wa lā yanālu minhu makānun aw zamān*' / تقبلي ربك الجديد: رب يأتي اليك بذهن لا يتبدل ولا ينال منه مكان أو زمان [Accept your new Lord: a Lord who comes with a mind that does not change | and is not affected by place nor time] (*FM* 1.252-253). The word 'possessor', indicating ownership and control,[85] is translated as 'Lord', which is also used to translate 'one' in 'one who brings'. Making Satan repeatedly self-proclaim as 'Lord' presents a

[85] 'possessor, n.', *OED Online* (2011), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/148365?redirectedFrom=possessor#eid> [accessed 30th October 2011].

blaspheming character who commits one of the gravest sins in Islam.[86] Similarly, Satan's description as 'the author of all ill' (*PL* 2.381) becomes '*rabbil-sharri kullih*' / رب الشر كله [Lord of all evil] (*FM* 2.381), resulting in the same modifications to his character and presenting him as God's antithesis.

These modifications shape Satan's character and ambitions in the Arabic text. His 'God-like imitated state' (*PL* 2.511) turns into '*ma yoḥākī bihī 'arsh Allāh*' / ما يحاكى به عرش الله ! [what he simulates with the Throne of Allah!] (*FM* 2.511), adding further weight to Satan's sacrilegious character, as the Throne of God holds even more significance in Islam than in Christianity and Judaism. Allah's Throne, known as *al-'arsh*, is often mentioned in Qur'ānic verses relating to monotheistic belief, and is most notably related to *āyat al-kursi* [the verse of the footstool] (*Q* 2.255), possibly the most famous Qur'ānic verse in the world, due to its complete description of the oneness of Allah, in addition to the virtues that Muslims believe it has.[87] The verse mentions the *kursi* [footstool] of God, which 'extends over the heavens and the earth' (*Q* 2.255), and about which Muhammad says: 'the seven heavens in comparison to the *kursi* are but a [metal] ring in the wilderness'.[88] This footstool, despite its magnificent size, is insignificant in comparison to Allah's Throne: using the same analogy, Muhammad says that 'the *kursi* in comparison to the Throne, is but a metal ring thrown into the open wilderness of the earth'. Muhammad also explains that the 'worth' of the Throne 'cannot be comprehended except by Allah',[89] and in one narration, asked about where God was prior to the creation, answers: 'He was in *al-'amā'* – what is beneath it is air,

[86] *Q* 28.38 and 79.24-25: Allah punishes Pharaoh for claiming to be a God; see also *Q* 6.93.
[87] Muslims believe that the verse protects them from all evil, including from Iblīs himself, so it is commonly recited when one wakes up, or before sleeping. For example, Ḥadīth 2311 (p. 415) in Al-Bukhārī, Muhammad tells a companion to recite the verse before he sleeps so 'no devil will near you until you awake…'
[88] Ḥadīth cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 320.
[89] Ibid.

and what is above it is air – then he created the Throne after this'.[90] '*Al-ʿamā"* literally means blindness, but is the word used by Enani to translate 'chaos' throughout *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*. Aside from this link, the Throne is clearly significant: exegetes note that it is 'the finest of creations, the greatest and largest'.[91]

The Throne's existence is assumed Islamic knowledge as it is mentioned twenty times in the Qur'ān, mainly to exalt Allah's status. For example, in one Qur'ānic chapter, Allah questions humankind about who owns, is Lord of, and controls the universe, and in the process, asks: 'Who is the Lord of the seven heavens and Lord of the Great Throne?' (*Q* 23.84-89), indicating that the Throne takes similar importance to the heavens, and that Lordship of the Throne is evidence of Allah's exalted status.[92] Other Qur'ānic verses state: 'So, exalted is Allah, the King, the Truth, there is no God but Him, the Lord of the Noble Throne' (*Q* 23.116), and: 'Indeed, the force of your Lord is severe. | It is he who initiates and returns [creation]. | And he is the Forgiving, the Affectionate, | [Owner] Of the Throne, Glorious. | Doer of whatever He wills' (*Q* 85.12-16). The Throne is therefore linked with Allah's exclusive and divine attributes of kingship, truth, forgiveness, amiability, glory and the ability to create and effect whatever He intends. By having Satan attempt to simulate Allah's throne in the translation of *Paradise Lost*, the Muslim reader is presented with further evidence of Satan's blaspheming challenge to God: Satan wants to believe, and have the fallen angels around him believe, that he possesses his own attributes of kingship, truth, affection, glory and power.

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[90] Ibid., p. 949.

[91] ʿAbdul-Raḥmān Al-Saʿdi, *Taysīr Al-Karīm Al-Raḥmān Fī Tafsīr Kalām Al-Mannān [Al-Saʿdi's Exegesis]*, ed. ʿAbdullāh ʿAqīl and Muhammad Al-ʿUthaymayn (Beirut: Resalah 2002) – first published 1926, p. 356; Abu-ʿAbdullāh Al-Qurṭubi, *Al-Jāmiʿ Li-Aḥkām Al-Qur'ān [Al-Qurṭubi's Exegesis]*, Vol. 8 (Cairo: Dār Al-Kutub Al-Maṣriyyah, 1939) – first published 1273, pp. 302-303.

[92] In full, *Q* 23.84-89: 'Say, "To whom belongs the earth and whoever is in it, if you know?" | They will say: "To Allah"; Say, "Then will you not remember?" | Say, "Who is the Lord of the seven heavens and Lord of the Great Throne?" | They will say: "To Allah"; Say, "Then will you not be pious?" | Say, "In whose hand is the control of all things, and he protects but none can protect against him, if you know?" | They will say: "To Allah"; Say, "then how are you deluded?"'

Indeed, in Islamic tradition, Iblīs does have a throne, based on the narrations of Muhammad:

> Iblīs places his throne on the water, then sends his troops, and the greatest tempters are closest to him in council. One of them comes and says: '[I did] so and so', so he (Iblīs) says: 'You have not done anything'. Then one of them comes and says: 'I did not leave him till I separated between him and his wife'. So he (Iblīs) says: 'Yes, you', and embraces him.[93]

Iblīs's intent to cause discord between spouses is also explored in *Paradise Lost.* Satan deliberately causes tension between Adam and Eve: Adam disagrees with Eve's consumption of the fruit, before ironically trying to avoid further separation from her by joining in the act. Another link exists in a version of this Ḥadīth, in which 'closest to him in council' is closest in '*majlis*'. This word derives from '*julus*' [to sit], and hints that this devil will be honoured by sitting next to Iblīs literally. Here, first, there is a precise emphasis on Iblīs's act of sitting, thus increasing the throne's importance as a tangible object. Second, a modern meaning of '*majlis*' is 'divan', a phrase used by Milton in Book 10 when Satan returns heroically after completing his mission: the fallen angels 'Raised from their dark divan, and with like joy | Congratulant approached him' (*PL* 10.457-458). The allusion here is uncanny; in fact, it is established further through Enani's translation of the 'dark divan', in which the fallen angels are 'raised from their *majālis* in the dim divan': '*nāhiḍīna min majālisihim fil-dīwān il-mu'tam*' / ناهضين من مجالسهم في الديوان المعتم (*FM* 10.457). The plural of the same noun, *majlis*, is added by Enani to indicate that the fallen angels get up from the *seats* of their divan. This is because rising from the divan itself makes less sense to an Arab

[93] Ḥadīth 2813 (p. 1083) in Muslim; in other versions, 'Iblīs's throne is on the ocean', and 'I separated between him and his family'.

reader familiar with the structure of a traditional Middle-Eastern divan, still used as a living room in some parts of the region.

It is essential to note that Iblīs's throne is on water, because Allah's throne was also on water when the earth was created: 'And He is the one who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne was on the water' (*Q* 11.7). Prior to the creation of the heavens and the earth, only Allah existed; he created the Throne, and later, water;[94] the Throne was transferred to its position above Paradise after the creation of the universe.[95] Hence, Iblīs may have chosen to place his throne on water in order to imitate Allah: a concept which exists in the poem, as the Father tells the Son about Satan 'who intends to erect his throne | Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north' (*PL* 5.725-726). For Muslims, the imitation is of kind, and not of degree, as Iblīs's throne is a futile attempt to imitate God. Indeed, Satan's challenges against God in *Paradise Lost* often derive from naïve ambition: he declares in Book 1 that God had 'still his strength concealed, | Which tempted our attempt' (*PL* 1.641-642), and according to Raphael's account, Satan was confident ahead of the first battle: 'we style | The strife of glory: which we mean to win' (*PL* 6.289-290).[96] The fact Iblīs places his throne on water means that Satan's attempts to imitate God's 'state' in the poem (e.g. *PL* 2.511) possess a substantively resonant effect for the Muslim reader. This resonance is further augmented by the translator's lexical alteration, making Satan emulate 'the Throne of Allah' (*FM* 2.511) in particular, which aside from offering a more concrete example of irreligious imitation, is a significant Islamic object which imbues the character of Satan with further echoes of Iblīs.

[94] Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 949.
[95] Ḥadīths 5013 and 5014 (p. 974) in Al-Bukhārī; *Q* 40.7 and 69.17.
[96] For a discussion of Satan's understanding of the Father's power, see Empson (1981), pp. 42-70, and Forsyth (2003), pp. 70-71.

Representation of Satan as Iblīs occurs frequently. In terms of motive, Satan and his fallen angels echo Iblīs, though there are examples of important resonances based on mutual themes that *Paradise Lost* shares with aspects of Islamic tradition, as opposed to translational issues. These solely Islamic issues are of added significance for the English language readership: essentially, those studying the text in higher education English literature classes, and who form a significant number of readers in the Arab-Muslim world. Placing the translation aside briefly, then, we see that the Qur'ān presents Iblīs's jealousy as the cause of his first eviction, as he does not acknowledge Allah's new creation, before planning to cause its downfall:

> And when we said to the angels prostrate to Adam, so they prostrated, except Iblīs, who said 'Shall I prostrate to what you created from clay?' | He said: 'See this whom you have honoured above me? If You give me respite until the Judgement Day, I will destroy his descendants, but a few'. | He (Allah) said: 'Go, for whoever of them follows you, then Hell is your punishment, an ample punishment. | And incite whoever of them you can with your voice, and assault them with your horses and infantry, and be a partner to them in their wealth and their children, and promise them'. But the Devil only promises them in delusion (*Q* 17.61-64).[97]

The Qur'ānic extract demonstrates the shared characteristics of Satan's followers and Iblīs. A further example is Beelzebub's speech in Book 2, in which he sets out the initial motives of the rebel angels:

> Of some new race called Man, about this time
> To be created like to us, though less

[97] See also *Q* 7.12 and 38.75-76.

In power and excellence, but favoured more

Of him who rules above …

Some advantageous act may be achieved

By sudden onset, either with hell fire

To waste his whole creation, or possess

All as our own, and drive as we were driven,

The puny habitants, or if not drive,

Seduce them to our party, that their God

May prove their foe (*PL* 2.348-351; 363-369).

The themes of the speech are strikingly similar to those of Iblīs. The first is the motive of jealousy and vengeance: annoyed with the Father, Satan's followers vow to 'waste his whole creation' (*PL* 2.365). They aim to cause the downfall of the 'new race called Man' (*PL* 2.348), and throughout the poem, Satan is driven, first, by jealousy of the Son's exaltation and of the new creation, and second, by vengeance against the Father. Likewise, in this Qur'ānic account, Iblīs refuses to prostrate, indicating jealousy that this new creation has been 'honoured above' him (*Q* 17.62). He channels this jealousy into vengeance, and by addressing Allah directly, both challenges and threatens Him: 'See this whom you have honoured above me? … I will destroy his descendants' (*Q* 17.62); the motive of vengeance here is by no means subtle. Likewise, the fallen angels in *Paradise Lost* also find it difficult to comprehend, what to them, appears an unfair hierarchy: 'created like us, though less | In power and excellence, but favoured more | Of him who rules above' (*PL* 2.349-351). In fact, in Islam, the creation of Adam caused concern for the angels: 'And when your Lord said to the angels: "I am making a *khalīfah*[98] on earth", they said: "Will

[98] The term connotes successor, but also steward and viceroy.

You make in it one who will corrupt in it and shed blood, while we praise Your glory and sanctify You?" He said: "I know what you do not know"' (*Q* 2.30).[99] Beelzebub's statement that the creation 'shook heaven's whole circumference' (*PL* 2.353) is, in a crude sense, indicative of the reaction of the angels in the Qur'ān.

The outcome the fallen angels desire from their retaliation against God can be summarised as: 'To waste his whole creation, or possess | All as our own' (*PL* 2.365-366). The first part of this aim is reminiscent of Iblīs's vow to 'destroy his (Adam's) descendants, but a few' (*Q* 17.62). The second is also included in the term 'destroy', which in Arabic, is '*aḥtanik*'.[100] Twelfth-century exegete, Abī-Muhammad Al-Baghawi, explains that in classical Arabic, this term implies three meanings, all of which can lead to the destruction of humankind. The first is 'eradication': in this case, Iblīs 'will eradicate [humans] by perverting them', though this eradication could symbolise loss of morals, and so on. Another meaning is to 'seize them, via seduction'. Intriguingly, the third meaning makes Iblīs proclaim, 'I will lead them as I please', as the verb '*aḥtanik*' derives from '*ḥunuk*', or the palate, which is where rope would be tied to animals so they may be led.[101] The word '*aḥtanik*' does not only signify a destructive aftermath, then, but also relates to the fallen angels seeking to 'possess | All as our own' (*PL* 2.365-366), because to 'seize' and 'lead' humans is to do precisely that.

[99] Angels in Islam do not possess human-like free will, so are not showing objection by asking Allah this question. In fact, in the next two verses, after Allah teaches Adam 'all the names' (*Q* 2.31), the angels say: 'Exalted are You, we have no knowledge except what You have taught us. Indeed, it is You who is the All Knowing, the Wise' (*Q* 2.32).

[100] Here, 'destruction' is a general consequence or aftermath which Iblīs wants to inflict on humankind; Saheeh International's translation of the Qur'ān (2009), p. 270, also interprets '*aḥtanik*' as 'destroy'.

[101] Abī-Muhammad Al-Baghawi, *Tafsīr Al-Baghawi: Ma'ālim Al-Tanzīl [Al-Baghawi's Exegesis: Landmarks of Revelation]* (Beirut: Dār Ibn-Hazm, 2002) – first published 1122, p. 747 – hereafter referred to as Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis* followed by page number.

According to Al-Baghawi, this seizure is completed via 'seduction';[102] in the Qur'ānic extract, Iblīs 'incite[s]' people (*Q* 17.64), fitting with Satan's seductive character throughout *Paradise Lost,* not least the empathy he creates for himself, and the methods with which he sways Eve. Milton uses this terminology from the outset, asking 'Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?' (*PL* 1.33). Forsyth notes that Satan's seduction is imposed on the other characters, the narrator, as well as the reader.[103] It also links with the fallen angels' will to 'Seduce them to our party' (*PL* 2.368). The Qur'ān, in a sense, acknowledges such a party: in this extract, Allah warns 'whoever … follows' the Devil, and tells Iblīs to 'be a partner to them in their wealth and their children' (*Q* 17.63-64). There are also clearer examples in which the Qur'ānic text states the specific term, 'party of the Devil', such as: 'the Devil has acquired them, so he made them forget the remembrance of Allah. Those are the party of the Devil; truly, the party of the Devil are indeed the losers' (*Q* 58.19). In contrast, 'truly, the party of Allah are indeed the winners' (*Q* 58.22).[104] The term 'party of the Devil' [*Ḥizb Al-Shayṭān*] is both catchy and well-known, particularly as it is an opposition to the term 'party of Allah' [*Ḥizb Allāh*], used today by political group Hezbollah. The parallelism of the terms further indicates the antithetical relationship of Allah and the Devil. Additionally, those who have read further about Iblīs may also believe that his party has a highly political structure: Mansūr ʿAbdel-Ḥakīm claims that there is evidence in Islamic texts that Iblīs's state consists of himself as 'head', underneath which are 'seven kings, each of whom has a prime minister'.[105] Milton's fallen angels also appear to have structure: 'Beelzebub perceived, than whom, | Satan except, none higher sat' (*PL* 2.299-300). In short, the concept of the fallen angels having a 'party', and trying to lure humans into it, is not new to many Muslim readers.

[102] Ibid.
[103] Forsyth (2003), p. 7.
[104] The term 'party of Allah' is also stated in *Q* 5.56.
[105] ʿAbdel-Ḥakīm (2008), pp. 145-153.

The combination of 'our party' and 'all as our own' (*PL* 2.366; 368) also links to the Islamic concept of *wilāyah*: a complex Qur'ānic term, best explained as a mixture of ally, friend, supporter and patron, and used as a differentiation between believers and disbelievers. For example, 'Allah is the *waliy* of those who believe; he takes them out of the darkness into the light…' (*Q* 2.257), and 'Truly, [for] the *awliyā'* of Allah, there is no fear, nor any grief' (*Q* 10.62). On the contrary, 'whoever takes the Devil as a *waliy* instead of Allah has indeed lost a clear loss' (*Q* 4.119), indicating Iblīs's antithetical association with God, and confirming the adversary's aim of seducing humans to his party, 'that their God | May prove their foe' (*PL* 2.368-369). This is backed further by a Qur'ānic verse relating directly to the very story *Paradise Lost* explores:

> And when we said to the angels prostrate to Adam, so they prostrated, except Iblīs, he was of the *jinn*, and debauched the command of his Lord. So do you take him and his race as *awliyā'* instead of Me (Allah), when they are enemies to you? (*Q* 18.50).

This verse argues that the very fact Iblīs committed this first sin is enough reason for humankind to avoid his guidance, and points towards a general distinction between following God and following the Devil: those who follow the latter are indirectly making God their foe.[106]

But as well as stating their aims in Book 2, the fallen angels also consider the mechanisms they will use to achieve them. Beelzebub wants to know the 'weakness' of the new creation, 'how attempted best, | By force or subtlety' (*PL* 2.357-358). Qur'ānic verses suggest that Iblīs does use fear and force to bring people to his party: 'It is but the Devil who frightens his *awliyā'*, so do not fear him but fear Me (Allah), if you are believers' (*Q*

[106] See Ibn-Taymiyyah, *Al-Furqān Bayn Awliyā' Al-Raḥmān Wa Awliyā' Al-Shayṭān [The Difference Between The Awliyā' of the Merciful and the Awliyā' of The Devil]*, ed. Abu-al-Wafā' Darwīsh (Riyadh: Maṭābiʿ Al-Riyadh, 1956) – first published *c*. 1326, pp. 4-12. The text has been translated into English.

3.175). Satan and the fallen angels are no strangers to battle or violence, as evident in Book 6. In the Qur'ān, God says to the Devil: 'and assault them with your cavalry and your infantry' (*Q* 17.64), indicating that Iblīs does have 'forceful' ways of inciting humans. Another element to this 'force' in Milton's text is Beelzebub's idea of using 'hell fire | To waste' God's 'whole creation' (*PL* 2.364-365), and Satan tells Adam and Eve when he first sees them that 'hell shall unfold, | To entertain you two' (*PL* 4.381-382), presenting a curious inversion of Hell's role as God's punishment. After all, Hell is a mechanism which shows God's power and knowledge, and the fact that it is ready for the fallen angels shows a 'foresight' which 'rules out any inadvertency on his part'.[107] In the Qur'ān, Allah threatens Iblīs and those who follow him with Hell as punishment on many occasions, not least after Iblīs's two evictions: 'Go, for whoever of them follows you, then Hell is your punishment, an ample punishment' (*Q* 17.63).[108] Iblīs, then, knows that Allah will use Hell to punish those who follow him, yet is not deterred; both he and Satan wish for humans to suffer in Hell. Nonetheless, ownership of Hell, and who has dominion over it, is one aspect of the poem which could create complexities for Arab-Muslim readers, because the fallen angels seem to claim Hell as their own, whereas in Islam, Hell is very much a personified entity which worships and obeys Allah entirely.[109]

Meanwhile, 'subtlety', as opposed to 'force', is also crucial, and relates to Iblīs's 'incitements' (*Q* 17.64) and *wiswās*. In *Paradise Lost,* one of Satan's subtle mechanisms is his oratorical power. Milton provided Satan with the most splendid rhetoric in the poem: a

[107] Dennis Burden, *The Logical Epic: A Study of the Argument of 'Paradise Lost'* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), pp. 22-23.
[108] See also *Q* 7.18 and 15.42-43.
[109] For example, *Q* 50.30: 'On the day We will say to Hell: "Are you filled?" and it will say: "Are there any more?"'; also, Ḥadīth 2574 in Muhammad Al-Tirmidhi (824-892), *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan Al-Tirmidhi [The Correct Traditions of Al-Tirmidhi]*, Vol. 2, ed. Muhammad Al-Albāni (Riyadh: Maktabat Al-Maʿārif, 2000), p. 580: 'A neck will stretch from Hell on the Day of Resurrection, with two eyes to see, two ears to hear, and a tongue to speak', and it speaks in the first person – Ḥadīths narrated by Al-Tirmidhi will hereafter only include Ḥadīth number, volume number and page number as follows: Ḥadīth number (Vol. number, p. number).

central tool in his 'seductive' character.[110] Oratorical skills appear important within his dominion; Belial, too, 'pleased the ear … with persuasive accent' (*PL* 2.117-118). In the Qur'ān, Iblīs is told: 'incite whoever you can of them with your voice' (*Q* 17.64), suggesting that the devils, and particularly Iblīs, have a pleasing and persuasive eloquence in their speech. In fact, the ability to speak is itself a tactic Satan employs during the temptation: Eve's shock that the serpent can talk – 'What may this mean? Language of man pronounced | By tongue of brute?' (*PL* 9.553-554) – instead of making her more aware of his threat, is manoeuvred by Satan in his favour, as he attributes his ability to speak to the act of eating the fruit.[111] At numerous levels, then, Satan's speech is deceitful, as summarised in the final words of the Qur'ānic extract in question: 'But the Devil only promises them in delusion' (*Q* 17.64). Likewise, as Frye notes, Satan 'lies … with superb skill and persuasiveness',[112] and while the first two Books proclaim this skill, knowledge of Iblīs strengthens the unworthiness of its motives.

While several mutual themes may arise for the Arab-Muslim reader as a result of links between *Paradise Lost* and Islamic tradition, Enani's translation is itself sufficient in transforming aspects of Satan's character. Often, these reduce Satan's magnificence; for example, modifications in lexis, word class, and syntax cause numerous complications to his heroic entrance in Book 2: 'Satan exalted sat, by merit raised | To that bad eminence; and from despair | Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires | Beyond thus high' (*PL* 2.5-8) is translated as: '*jalasa Iblīs! Rafaʿahu qadruhu ilā | asmā makānah fil shar, wa rafaʿahu ya'suhu | ḥattā tajāwaz al-amal, fa aṣbaḥa yaṭmaʿu fī mā | huwa aʿlā*' / جلس إبليس ! رفعه قدره إلى أسمى مكانة في الشر، ورفعه يأسه حتى تجاوز الأمل، فأصبح يطمع فيما هو أعلى [Iblīs sat! His status

[110] Forsyth (2003), p. 7.
[111] John Leonard, 'Language and Knowledge in *Paradise Lost*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed. Dennis Danielson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 108.
[112] Frye (1979), p. 167.

raised him to | the most supreme rank of evil, and his despair raised him | until he passed hope, so he came to covet what | is higher] (*FM* 2.5-8). The first alteration is simply the omission of 'exalted'. While on the one hand, this reduces the grandeur of Satan's action, it is also worth noting that the clause 'Satan sat' is separated entirely from the remainder of the descriptions using an exclamation mark, thus adding significance and poignancy to the moment of sitting, reminding the reader of the throne. But the omission diminishes the initial association between exaltation and the elevation of 'by merit raised', as well as the link with 'high uplifted' and 'thus high'. This lexical group is vital in the description of Milton's Satan, because despite the negatives it draws out, it also paints him in a glorious and lofty manner. Hence, 'from despair | Thus high uplifted beyond hope', becomes, in Enani's translation, 'despair raised him | until he passed hope'. This does not reflect the original lexical group, exchanging the three terms – 'high', 'up', and 'lifted' – with 'raised' and 'passed', thus decreasing Satan's splendour, and ceasing to associate him with Allah's renowned name: the Most High.[113]

Moreover, 'aspires | Beyond thus high' is translated as 'so he came to covet | what is higher'. While 'aspiration' may be interpreted as a commendable trait, the choice of the verb '*yaṭma'u*' to translate 'aspires' has negative connotations. In Arabic, the adjective form of this word, '*ṭammā'*', means 'greedy', or 'coveter', suggesting that Satan wants something he neither deserves nor has a right to: in this case, an authority which only God should possess. The term 'covet' could signify 'culpable desire',[114] and in English, is associated strongly with the tenth Commandment, in which God orders humans not to covet what is

[113] *Q* 87 is named 'The Most High', and its first verse states: 'Highly exalt the name of your Lord, The Most High'.
[114] 'covet, v.', *OED Online* (2011), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/43388?redirectedFrom=covet> [accessed 22nd November 2011].

not rightfully theirs.[115] Another such alteration to Satan's character is the translation of 'by merit raised | To that bad eminence' (*PL* 2.5-6), which becomes: 'His status raised him to the most supreme rank of evil'. Again, there is an evocative alteration to the representation of Satan, as 'bad eminence' is portrayed as the more superlative phrase, 'most supreme rank of evil'. The change from 'that' to 'the', a definite article, also removes the feeling of an onlooking narrator describing Satan and makes the character's malevolence appear more factual and absolute. Such alterations to Satan's character indicate that Enani's translation may at times be inflected hermeneutically, quite possibly because he is accommodating the religious sensitivities of his readership, but also potentially as a result of factors which affect interpretation, such as the translator's native tradition and culture.[116]

At another level, 'merit' becoming 'status' loses the contrast Milton intends between Satan and the Son, who also 'by right of merit reigns' (*PL* 6.43). Enani translates 'merit' differently on each occasion, so the verbal parallel is lost. In the original, this link also helps establish further contrasts between Satan and the Son; for instance, both are raised to their respective thrones 'by merit'.[117] In Book 6, though, Enani translates the Son's merit as '*wa howa aladhī yaḥkumu li'anahu ḥariyun bil-ḥukm*' / وهو الذي يحكم لأنه حرى بالحكم [and he is the one who rules because he is apt to rule] (*PL* 6.43). Here, due to inconsistency in the translation of a specific word – 'merit' – this instance of Satan's contrast to the Son is not demonstrated, and affects further contrasts which rely upon it. While there are obvious adversarial links between Satan and the Father in the translation, such links are not always

[115] 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's' (Exodus 20.17).
[116] Enani consciously points these out in the 'Literary Translator as Individual Literary Comparatist Theory'; see 'Appendix 3'.
[117] Fowler (2007), p. 91.

established between Satan and the Son, likely as a result of Muslim refutations of the Son's status as a divine being.[118]

But despite the translations which seem to reduce Satan's splendour, it is also worth considering that the possible links between Satan and Iblīs, Satan's fallen angels and Islamic devils, and the escalation of Satan's blasphemies and challenges to God in the Arabic text, could be read as magnification of the character's courage. This enrichment of Satan's heroism is especially clear when considering the translation of the opening two Books as a discrete work in its own right, as more structural issues become significant, not least the ending of Book 2. As far as the Arabic texts are concerned, this ending is the conclusion of an exclusive work in its own right: Milton's first significant work in Arabic, and one which, for many Arabic readers, is not necessarily connected to the remainder of *Paradise Lost*.

In the ending to Book 2, after receiving guidance on the geography of the region from Chaos, 'Satan stayed not to reply' and 'glad that now his sea should find a shore … Springs upward like a pyramid of fire' to complete his journey (*PL* 2.1010-1013). Book 2 then ends with the two lines: 'Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge, | Accursed, and in a cursed hour he hies' (*PL* 2.1054-1055). Milton here makes the final two lines of the Book a separate sentence from the text preceding them, something he only does one other time, at the end of Book 8. He also describes Satan's flight using repetition and numerous alliterative sounds, particularly in the final three words. The translation attempts to incorporate these features, and in fact, adds to them by giving the final two lines an emblematic quality. Even for a non-Arabic reader, reading the transliteration aloud gives a sense of the Arabic ending's phonic effect: '*wa ilā hunāk, muf'am al-nafsi bi shurūr il-tha'r, | mal'ūnan fī sā'atin mal'ūnah, ahra'a Iblīs*' / وإلى هناك، مفعم النفس بشرور الثأر، ملعونا في ساعة

[118] On the Son and Satan, see 'Section 3.3'.

ملعونة، أهرع إبليس [And to there, fraught in the self with evils of revenge, | cursed in a cursed hour, Iblīs rushed] (*FM* 2.1054-1055). Enani also follows Milton by making the final two lines a separate sentence to those preceding them. As for the repetition of 'accursed' and 'cursed', this is kept as a polyptoton in '*mal'ūnan*' and '*mal'ūnah*'. However, there is a neat rhetorical enhancement to this polyptoton in the Arabic, as the words begin and end the clause, thus adding an epanaleptic structure to the repetition. Moreover, the two words read and sound exactly the same as one another until the final phoneme, where the difference occurs. Aside from the phonological quality this possesses, this final letter acts as a declension, modifying the gender of the second word to feminine, whereas the first is masculine, thus juxtaposing the first and last parts of the clause in an effective manner, and emphasising the neatness of the epanalepsis. There are also two further effects here: first, there is an added prominence to the 'h' sound at the end of the clause, which emphasises the alliteration with the next word, '*ahra'a*'. Second, this clause paves the way for the final two words of the Book to stand separately as an individual clause, thus increasing their dramatic impact as the finale of the Book.

In terms of alliteration, the original provides 'full fraught' and 'he hies', while the Arabic translation establishes a number of alliterative sounds throughout these final two lines. First, there is the assonance in '*ilā hunāk*' [to there], followed by the consonance of the 'f' sounds in '*muf'am al-nafsi*' [fraught in the self], and of 'r', three times, in '*shurūr il-tha'r*' [evils of revenge]. The repetition in '*mal'ūnan*' and '*mal'ūnah*' presents assonances: the '*al*' [əl] sound is repeated twice, as is the '*na*' [nə] sound. Also, in the middle syllable of each word, there is assonance in the '*ū*' [uː] sound. The most effective alliterative technique links those two words with the final two words, '*ahra'a Iblīs*'. As specified, the 'h' sound in '*ahra'a*' alliterates with the final sound of the word preceding it: '*mal'ūnah*', but it is the

powerful parachesis of '‘' [ʕ], or the letter *'ayin*, a voiced pharyngeal fricative letter,[119] repeated in four of the first five words of the final line, as well as in three consecutive words, which has the most substantial alliterative effect: '*mal'ūnan fī sā'atin mal'ūnah, ahra'a Iblīs*' [cursed in a cursed hour, Iblīs rushed]. In addition to alliterating two of the same words as Milton – 'hour' and 'hies' – Enani also provides a third consecutively alliterative word. But the letter being repeated in the Arabic is a harsh and serious sound which comes out of the pharyngeal muscles under the mouth, and which is actually unpronounceable by most native Western-language speakers. Ending the book with repetition of such a sound gives it a stark feeling, and allows the final word to be dedicated to Satan himself, as the conclusion is '*ahra'a Iblīs*' [Iblīs rushed]. In Arabic, this places the proper noun 'Iblīs' as the final word of the Book, which also proclaims his character as the final lasting image of the most popular edition of the Arabic translation, in two Books that are already very much concerned with his character. As well as adding to the importance of Satan's character, there is a reassertion, of sorts, that this character is none other than Iblīs: the theological, cultural, and contemporarily existent version of Milton's Satan.

2.3: Satan's Psychology and Tactics

Despite the importance of the opening two Books in the general reception of Satan – particularly in the Arab-Muslim world – the remainder of the poem provides insight into Milton's representation of the deeper thoughts and beliefs of Satan, in addition to vital aspects of his eventual temptation of Adam and Eve, and the tactics he employs in order to succeed in this task. Many of these are present in Book 4, in which he soliloquises, observes Eden and the human pair, transforms into different creatures, disturbs Eve's dream, and

[119] Odisho (2005), p. xii.

encounters Gabriel. In the Arabic version, Satan is still very much presented as Iblīs here, as the translated Argument to the Book sets out.

For example, in the Argument, Satan is 'at the ear of Eve, tempting', translated using the term '*yuwaswis*' / يوسوس : the common Arab-Islamic term for Iblīs's whispering temptations. Eve's nightmare is also pivotal to the characterisation of Satan for the Arab-Muslim reader. As noted earlier, nightmares are linked very commonly with Iblīs, and though this is a result of several Ḥadīths, it is a common cultural belief independent of its religious origin. The Ḥadīths make it absolutely clear that nightmares are from Iblīs, and moreover, state Iblīs's aims in causing nightmares, namely: to 'intimidate', to 'scare', 'to make the son of Adam sad' and to 'toy with' him or her. [120] The Arab-Muslim reader is therefore likely to associate the nightmare Eve narrates in Book 5 directly with Iblīs, making Satan's character all the more tactical: he is very much working his plan in advance by causing this nightmare, before eventually tempting Eve. This enhances the tactical consciousness of Satan's character for this reader, who has prior knowledge that this is the kind of tactic the Devil employs, and due to such links, Satan becomes Iblīs once more. As well as affecting the plot and Satan's representation, the nightmare also impacts the characterisation of Eve. The Ḥadīths alert us that nightmares can be 'evil' and can 'harm'; to avoid the 'evil', one should seek refuge in Allah, and to avoid the 'harm', the nightmare should not be narrated to others.[121] Eve goes against these religio-cultural standards by narrating her nightmare, and by seeking refuge in Adam, not God, using terms which raise Adam to an almost divine level: 'sole in whom my thoughts find all repose, | My glory, my perfection' (*PL* 5.28-29). Eve's reaction carries a further though less apparent foresight for

[120] See the Ḥadīths in 'n. 57' of this chapter.
[121] Ibid.; best examples are Ḥadīth 6985 and 3292 (pp. 1269, 602) in Al-Bukhārī, and Ḥadīth 2261 (p. 891) in Muslim.

the Muslim reader: she has, in a way, activated the 'harmful evil' of the nightmare, and the reader may well be expecting her downfall as a result.

As well as using similar strategies to Iblīs, in the Arabic translation, Satan also echoes Iblīs's discourse. Again in the Argument to Book 4, Satan 'thereon intends to found his temptation, by seducing them to transgress'. Here, both 'temptation' and 'transgress' are translated using forms of the term '*ighwā*" / اغواء [to mislead]: the same verb Iblīs uses when speaking to Allah at his first eviction, according to two Qur'ānic accounts: 'My Lord, because you have *aghwaytanī*, I will make [disobedience] attractive to them on earth, and *la-ughwiyannahom* all' (*Q* 15.39), or in other words, because Allah 'misled' him, Iblīs will 'mislead' humans.[122] These dispositional links with Iblīs continue throughout the Book, shedding light on Satan's psychology and state of mind.

For instance, Satan begins to express regret, and questions his motives for revenge. He comprehends that 'pride and worse ambition threw me down | Warring in heaven against heaven's matchless king: | Ah wherefore!' (*PL* 4.40-42). In Islamic tradition, Iblīs is similarly regretful. Two particular narrations emphasise this. The first is Muhammad's statement that: 'If the Son of Adam reads *Al-Sajdah*[123] and prostrates, the Devil retreats, crying, and says: "O woe, the Son of Adam was ordered to prostrate so prostrated, so for him is *al-jannah*, and I was ordered to prostrate and I refused, so for me is Hell"'.[124] The second is a narration that Iblīs cried when the following verse was revealed:[125]

> And those who, when they commit an immorality or wrong themselves, remember Allah and seek forgiveness for their sins – and who forgives sins but Allah? – and do

[122] Also: 'Then by Your might, *la-ughwiyannahom* all' (*Q* 38.82).
[123] A chapter in the Qur'ān named 'The Prostration'.
[124] Ḥadīth 81 (p. 51) in Muslim.
[125] ʿAbdel-Ḥakīm (2008), p. 111.

> not persist in what they have done while they know. | Those, their reward is forgiveness from their Lord and *jannahs* beneath which rivers flow, abiding in it eternally, and bountiful is the reward for those who work (*Q* 3.135-136).

Iblīs's regret appears to be based on his refusal to prostrate to Adam, but he shares similarities with Milton's Satan, as both appear regretful for not asking God for forgiveness: 'is there no place | Left for repentance, none for pardon left? | None left but by submission' (*PL* 4.79-81). Moreover, Iblīs regrets that he will not enjoy Paradise, but instead, suffer in Hell, or as Milton's Satan expresses it: 'this mournful gloom | For that celestial light?' (*PL* 1.244-245). Iblīs knows that he is wrong and that Allah is omnipotent, yet stubbornly pursues his goals of attracting followers:

> And the Devil said when the matter was decided: 'Indeed, Allah promised you the promise of truth, and I promised you and broke it, and I had no control over you except that I invited you and you obeyed me, so do not blame me but blame yourselves. I cannot aid your cries, nor can you aid my cries. I disbelieve/deny your association of me [with Allah]. Indeed, for the wrongdoers there is a painful punishment' (*Q* 14.22).

Milton's Satan, too, knows he cannot 'subdue | The omnipotent' and sighs about his followers: 'Ay me, they little know | How dearly I abide that boast so vain' (*PL* 4.85-87). It is this stubbornness and persistence of a lost cause that elucidates his fundamental and underpinning statement: 'Which way I fly is hell; my self am hell' (*PL* 4.75).

The clear regret – though self-denied – is combined with Satan's seemingly strong certainty of God's power: Satan appreciates God's status and even appears to believe in

Him. In the Qur'ān, he says 'My Lord' often, including at his first eviction,[126] he swears by God's divine attributes,[127] and admits that he has always feared Allah.[128] Satan's acknowledgment of God, therefore, is not distant from the Islamic view of Iblīs. This has an astounding effect in parts of the Arabic text. Satan's statement, 'Warring in heaven against heaven's matchless king' (*PL* 4.41), is translated as: '*ba'd al-ḥarbi fil-samā' ḍida malīk il-samā' – wa laysa ka-mithlihī shay'*!' / بعد الحرب في السماء ضد مليك السماء - وليس كمثله شيء! [After war in the heavens against the Sovereign of the heavens – and there is nothing that is like Him!] (*FM* 4.41). Here, God's description as 'matchless' is moved to the end of the clause, and significantly, altered into a precise Qur'ānic phrase: 'and there is nothing that is like Him'.[129] The phrase alludes clearly to its original usage in the following Qur'ānic verse: '[Allah is] the Creator of the heavens and the earth. He has made for you pairs from among yourselves, and pairs among the cattle; he multiplies you thereby. There is nothing that is like Him, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing' (*Q* 42.11). The allusion to this verse in the translation has a significant effect on the characterisation of Satan. First, the verse links clearly the exaltation of Allah with his creation of the heavens and the earth, much as Milton's Satan links the Father's 'matchless' state with the status of 'heaven's … king'; the word 'matchless' is placed directly between 'heaven' and 'king'. In the Qur'ānic verse, Allah's matchless status, expressed using the same phrase, is related directly with His status as 'Sovereign of the heavens', creating an immediate and neat parallel between the poem and the Qur'ānic text.

But the verse also relates to the miracle of divine pairing: each human, and even animal, is able to find a person or kin with whom they can partner in serenity. Elsewhere in

[126] For example, *Q* 15.39 and 38.80.
[127] For example, *Q* 38.82.
[128] In *Q* 8.48, Satan says to those who have followed him: 'I am innocent of you; indeed, I can see what you do not see. I fear Allah, and Allah is severe in punishment'.
[129] On this description in relation to the Father, see 'Section 4.2'.

the Qur'ān, this pairing is expressed as a sign of God's existence and magnitude, and related to the creation of the heavens and the earth.[130] In his exegesis of the verse containing the phrase (*Q* 42.11), Ibn Kathīr writes that Allah's matchless status is a result of his creation of pairs, adding that 'there is nothing like the One who creates all pairs'.[131] Satan's reference to God's matchless status in Enani's translation creates a further, more impressionistic, meaning for the reader, by alerting him or her to the miracle of pairing. This association, when taken into account with other developments in the poem, suggests that Satan's jealousy of Adam and Eve later in Book 4 has already been foreshadowed virtually by his use of this Qur'ānic phrase. When Adam and Eve visibly show their pairing by kissing, 'aside the devil turned | For envy, yet with jealous leer malign | Eyed them askance', before uttering: 'Sight hateful, sight tormenting!' (*PL* 4.502-505). Hence, as a result of the thematic links and connotations presented by a familiar Qur'ānic phrase, Satan becomes a character who suffers from emotional and sexual deprivation. His absence of a partner accrues aggression due to an inability to carry forth libidinal and emotional cathexis. His libido, or 'energy attached to sexual instincts' and 'the ego',[132] becomes charged towards seeking vengeance on the happy couple, as well as on the Father, who has not granted him his mate. This is supported by Raphael's explanation to Adam that Satan aims to 'disturb | Conjugal love', as 'no bliss | Enjoyed by us excites his envy more' (*PL* 9.262-264). This is directly comparable to Iblīs's wish to separate couples, recalling the Ḥadīth in which the devil who says, 'I did not leave him till I separated between him and his wife', is considered 'the closest' and most beloved to Iblīs.[133] In this light, Satan's inability to consummate his own emotional and physical love is a key driving force in seeking the downfall of humankind,

[130] See *Q* 30.20-27, esp. verse 21: 'And among His signs is that he created for you partners that you may be tranquil in them, and He placed between you affection and mercy. Indeed, in that are signs for people who reflect'.
[131] Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 1665.
[132] Charles Rycroft, *A Critical Dictionary of Psychoanalysis* (Reading: Penguin, 1986), pp. 83-84.
[133] Ḥadīth 2813 (p. 1083) in Muslim. See 'Section 2.2' for full Ḥadīth.

and continuing his war against the Father. Though he had second thoughts about vengeance in the first half of Book 4, seeing Adam and Eve gratifying one another emotionally and sexually reinitiates his desire for revenge. This rather substantial enhancement to Satan's characterisation and motivation becomes more evident as a result of the translation of one word – 'matchless' – into a significant Qur'ānic phrase.

Satan's motives, stemming from jealousy and vengeance, are elaborated further in Book 9, in which numerous themes coincide with Islamic belief. For example, Satan is jealous of humanity as a race, and not only Adam and Eve. Islamic teaching emphasises that Iblīs vowed to destroy humanity, and would no doubt start with Adam, who was the cause of his demise:

> And when we said to the angels prostrate to Adam, so they prostrated, except Iblīs, who said 'Shall I prostrate to what you created from clay?' | He said: 'See this whom you have honoured above me? If You give me respite until the Judgement Day, I will destroy his descendants, but a few' (*Q* 17.61-62).

Milton's Satan possesses an identical jealousy, targeting 'The only two of mankind, but in them | The whole included race, his purposed prey' (*PL* 9.415-416). In addition, Satan's soliloquy in Book 9 indicates the same traits of jealousy as Iblīs, as he talks of being replaced by 'a creature formed of earth … man he made, and for him built this world, and earth his seat, | Him lord pronounced, and, O indignity!' (*PL* 9.151-154). Satan does not accept the seemingly unfair hierarchy; the Father has 'honoured' the new creation above the old, causing Satan to rethink his pride.

The concept of humankind's honour and stewardship is present in Islam too, as Allah forms Adam and his race as the '*khalīfah* on earth' (*Q* 2.30), and notably, Adam is

created for the earth – 'his seat' – not heaven. Allah's preference of humans over other creations is based on the fact He created Adam using His own hand,[134] and blew His own spirit into him, as ordering the angels to prostrate shows: 'So when I have fashioned him, and breathed into him of My soul, then fall to him in prostration' (*Q* 15.29; 38.72). Here, there is a similarity with Adam's creation in *Paradise Lost*: 'he formed thee … and in thy nostrils breathed | The breath of life' (*PL* 7.524-526). Indeed, just before disguising himself as a serpent, Satan confirms that his reason for revenge is that the human 'provokes my envy, this new favourite | Of heaven, this man of clay, son of despite, | Whom us the more to spite his maker raised | From dust: spite then with spite is best repaid' (*PL* 9.175-178). Satan is envious of the human form, and it is the 'earth', 'clay' and 'dust' of this form which seem to give birth to his 'spite', striking vivid parallels with Iblīs's jealousy and refusal to prostrate, motivated by his failure to accept the material with which Adam was created. In four of the seven Qur'ānic accounts of his first eviction, Iblīs explains his reason for not prostrating as: 'I am better than him; You created me from fire and created him from clay' (*Q* 7.12; 38.76).[135] Moreover, Iblīs's throne may be on water because 'he hates the earth and its dust, with which Adam was created'.[136] For the Arab-Muslim reader, Iblīs's jealousy of the human form is the only clear motivation he states for refusing Allah's order of prostration. Hence, when Milton's Satan mentions the same theme in explaining his 'spite', any prior knowledge on this reader's part not only confirms Satan's jealousy of Adam, but also portrays Satan as an increasingly arrogant character. Like Iblīs, Milton's Satan suffers from what appear to be traits of xenophobia.

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[134] Ḥadīth cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 1128: 'The angels said to Allah: "O our Lord, You gave to the children of Adam the life of the world (on earth), they eat in it and drink and clothe, while we praise Your glory, and do not eat or drink or have amusement, so as you made for them the life of the world, then make for us the afterlife". He (Allah) said: "I do not make the righteous of the progeny of the one I created with My hand, like the one I said to, 'be', so was"'. On God's Hand, see 'Section 3.2'; on preference of humans, see also 'Section 5.1'.

[135] Also, *Q* 15.33: 'I am not one to prostrate to a human You created from clay from moulded mud', and *Q* 17.61: 'Should I prostrate to one you created from clay?'

[136] ʿAbdel-Ḥakīm (2008), p. 316.

Satan's negative view of the 'other' is not limited to humans as such: he has a curious relationship with angels in both *Paradise Lost* and Islamic tradition. When he meets Gabriel in Book 4, they exchange hostile words, Satan claiming that he has withstood Gabriel's previous attacks, and when threatened, 'Satan to no threats | Gave heed, but waxing more in rage replied' (*PL* 4.968-969). But when an attack on Satan becomes imminent, Gabriel makes the striking assertion: 'Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine' (*PL* 4.1006), indicating that they met in battle at the initial rebellion of the fallen angels. In Islamic tradition, *Jibrīl* [Gabriel] is the greatest of the angels;[137] he is also regarded a magnificent warrior, who led an army of angels in a number of the battles in which Muhammad fought.[138] Muhammad describes that 'the greatness of his (*Jibrīl*'s) creation filled all the space between heaven and earth', and that he possesses 'six hundred wings, each wing had filled the horizon'.[139] In the Qur'ān, *Jibrīl* is mentioned as a strong and highly respected angel: 'Endued with power, [of] substantial [position] with the Owner of the Throne (Allah). | One who is obeyed, and trustworthy' (*Q* 81.20-21). Another verse, about the revelation of the Qur'ān, states that it was 'Taught to him (Muhammad) by one of awesome power (*Jibrīl*); | One of soundness…' (*Q* 53.5-6), where 'soundness' indicates both physical and mental power.[140]

The name Gabriel means 'strength of God',[141] and Milton's Gabriel fulfils this name; he is even referred to as 'chief of the angelic guards' (*PL* 4.550), 'the warlike angel' (*PL* 4.902) and 'the warrior angel' (*PL* 4.964). But biblical tradition presents Gabriel as a

[137] *Jibrīl*'s name is often followed by 'peace be upon him', like any prophet. He is the envoy of God to all prophets, was sent to inform Mary of her pregnancy, was sent down with the verses of the Qur'ān to Muhammad, and taught Muhammad how to ablute and pray, something which Muslims still do today. See ʿAbdul-Ḥamid Kishk, *The World of the Angels*, tr. Aisha Bewley (London: Dar Al-Taqwa, 1994), pp. 14, 44-58; see also ʿUmar Al-Ashqar, *'Ālam Al-Malā'ikah Al-Abrār [The World of the Righteous Angels]* (Kuwait City: Maktabat Al-Falāḥ, 1983); for ablution, see Ḥadīth 349 (pp. 81-82) in Al-Bukhārī.
[138] Kishk (1994), pp. 58-64.
[139] Ḥadīth cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 1779.
[140] Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 1776.
[141] Fowler (2007), p. 227.

peaceful bearer of glad tidings.[142] Milton does not abide by the Bible's somewhat calmer character of Gabriel, but rather, presents him as a mighty warrior. This is even more relevant if one is to consider the relationship of *Jibrīl* and Iblīs in Islamic tradition. One encounter is during Iblīs's temptations of Jesus:

> Jesus, son of Mary, met Iblīs, who said to him: 'O Jesus, son of Mary, whose Lordship is so great to the extent that you spoke in the cradle as an infant, and nobody spoke in it before you'.[143] He (Jesus) said: 'Lordship is but for the God, who made me utter, then will cause my death, then my resurrection'. He (Iblīs) said: 'Then you are the one whose Lordship is so great that you resurrect the dead'. He (Jesus) said: 'Lordship is but for Allah who gives life and causes death to whoever I resurrect and gives them life [again]'. He (Iblīs) said: 'By Allah, you are a God in the heavens and a God on the earth', so *Jibrīl* hit him, a hit with his wings, so he went high by the horns of the sun, then he hit him again with his wings, so he went high by the muddy spring (where the sun sets), then he hit him another, so he entered into the seventh oceans which he sank into.[144]

In Islamic tradition, then, *Jibrīl*'s power is emphasised, and he fights Iblīs specifically, protecting Jesus from him; similarly, Milton's Gabriel fights Satan and the

[142] In the New Testament, Gabriel tells Zacharias that his barren wife, Elizabeth, will give birth to John the Baptist (Luke 1.10-20), as well as delivering to Mary news of her pregnancy (Luke 1.26-38). In the Old Testament, he gives Daniel a number of prophecies (Daniel 8-10).

[143] The Qur'ān states that Jesus miraculously spoke as a baby to defend his mother from the accusations she faced when she returned with him in her arms: 'So she came to her people, carrying him. They said: "O Mary, you have committed a sublime evil. | O sister of Aaron, neither was your father a man of wrong, nor was your mother unchaste". | So she pointed at him; they said: "how can we speak to an infant in a cradle?" | He (baby Jesus) said: "I am a servant of Allah; He has given me the scripture, and made me a prophet. | And he made me blessed wherever I am, and enjoined on me prayer and charity, as long as I remain alive. | And kind to my mother, and has not made me overbearing, wrongdoing. | And peace is upon me on the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I get raised alive". | That is Jesus, son of Mary, the word of truth about which they differ' (*Q* 19.27-34).

[144] Al-Ḥāfidh Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wal-Nihāyah [The Beginning and the End]*, Vol. 2, ed. Ahmed Gād (Cairo: Dār Al-Ḥadīth, 2004) – first published *c*. 1346, pp. 89-90. The narration is by an exegete, Sufyān Ibn-ʿUyaynah (725-815), so cannot be classed as 'authentic'.

fallen angels, and protects the heavens and Adam from their intrusion. Excluding *Jibrīl*'s intervention, the story above possesses clear similarities, in structure and dialogue, to the temptations of Christ in the New Testament,[145] reworked by Milton in *Paradise Regained*. Had Gabriel appeared in *Paradise Regained*, however, the Son's centrality might have been affected, and one of the thematic conclusions of *Paradise Lost* would have been invalidated: that the Son should single-handedly 'bruise the head of Satan' (*PL* 12.430) to avenge the fall of humankind. The story above is in itself a reminder that for Muslims, Jesus is not in any way divine; in another narration of it, 'Jesus appeals for help and screams a severe cry', resulting in *Jibrīl* coming to his aid.[146] For a Muslim reader, an increase in Gabriel's power and influence has the important theological consequence of reducing those of the Son. More importantly, though, Milton's shift away from the more peaceful, biblical presentation of Gabriel is actually a shift to a presentation which the Arab-Muslim reader can easily recognise, due to his or her keen awareness of Gabriel's role and prowess in Islamic scripture and tradition. In these terms, it is also notable that Satan's role – both action and dialogue – does not only characterise him, but expands to an explication of others around him, such as Gabriel. Such a presentation also signifies the Arab-Muslim reader's possession of prior assumptions about Satan's character; on this occasion, the reader may already assume, for example, Satan's fragility in comparison with Gabriel.

Another character affected by Satan's intrusion is Uriel; their relationship develops details in both of their characterisations. When Uriel arrives to reprimand Satan, he does so 'gliding … swift as a shooting star | In autumn thwarts the night' (*PL* 4.555-556). In Islamic tradition, shooting stars are ascribed a specific role of stopping devils from moving freely in the skies. The term '*shihāb*' is used in the Qur'ān; it connotes literally a 'burning flame',

[145] Matthew 4.1-11; Mark 1.12-13; Luke 4.1-13.
[146] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 2, pp. 89-90.

and is the modern term for the words 'shooting star' and 'meteorite'. The Qur'ān states, for instance:

> We have adorned the lowest heaven with the adornment of stars. | And as protection from every rebellious devil, | So they do not listen to the exalted assembly and are pelted from every side. | Repelled, and for them is a constant punishment. | Except one who snatches [some words], so is pursued by a piercing shooting star (*Q* 37.6-10).[147]

It is narrated that the devils used to eavesdrop on the conversations of the sky and pass them on to magicians.[148] When Jesus was born, Allah placed shooting stars in three of the seven skies to stop the eavesdropping, and when Muhammad was born, shooting stars spread to all seven skies, in order for the Qur'ān's divine revelations not to be heard or obscured by the devils.[149] The devils therefore expressed their confusion during Muhammad's time, saying: 'And we reached the heaven but found it had been filled with strong guards and meteors. | And we used to sit there in positions to listen; but whoever listens now finds a shooting star awaiting him' (*Q* 72.8-9).[150] The prevalence of shooting stars makes the simile describing Uriel's arrival more relevant to the Arab-Muslim reader, particularly as Enani incorporates the same terms as the Qur'ān in his translation: '*ka'anahū shihābun thāqib | yashuqqul-samā'*' / كأنه شهاب ثاقب يشق السماء [like he is a piercing shooting star | cutting the heavens] (*FM* 4.556-557). Aside from using the same phrase for 'shooting star' as all of the Qur'ānic verses, Enani makes two unforced additions to Milton's original. First, he incorporates the

[147] See also *Q* 67.5: 'And We have adorned the lowest heaven with lamps, and made them projectiles against the devils…'
[148] Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis*, p. 693.
[149] Ibid.; Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, pp. 1925-1926.
[150] Also, *Q* 15.16-18: 'And We have placed in the heaven great stars, and adorned it for the observers. | And We have protected it from every rejected devil. | Except one who steals a hearing and is pursued by a clear shooting star'.

phrase '*shihābun thāqib*' in his translation, adding the adjective '*thāqib*' [piercing] to the shooting star, thus forming the exact same phrase as that used in the thirty-seventh chapter of the Qur'ān. Second, he extends the metaphor further by including a new detail: 'cutting the heavens'. The term added in the translation, '*al-samā'*', is the same word used for 'heaven' in all four of the Qur'ānic verses, and always accompanies references to shooting stars in the Qur'ān. The connotations of shooting stars in Islamic tradition, encouraged by Enani's translation, result in confirmation of Uriel's characterisation as an angel who guards the heavens, and more importantly, confirms Satan as an evildoer, attempting to commit actions or enter territories not permitted to him. Moreover, it indicates that Satan has no power against God and the angels, which both belittles him as an overambitious character and emphasises his courage. Furthermore, as shooting stars are associated with eavesdropping devils, Satan is confirmed as an eavesdropper, thus connecting the end of Book 4 with its beginning, when he eavesdrops on Adam and Eve to devise his tactics of temptation.

Satan's actions and thoughts throughout the poem eventually lead him to the temptation of the human pair. He enters the serpent's body in order to carry out his plan, and while it is the serpent who tempts Eve in the Old Testament (Genesis 3), the Qur'ān does not mention the serpent, though the image is not unusual to Arab-Muslim readers.[151] Al-Thaʿlabi suggests that Iblīs could not enter the gates of *jannah* due to his eviction, and was stopped by guards at his first attempt; Iblīs may have been 'a friend' of the serpent, which allowed him to enter through its mouth, or he may have told the peacock that its beauty would fade unless it ate from the tree, so the peacock convinced the serpent to let Iblīs enter

[151] In fact, Muhammad states that devils can live in snakes; Ḥadīth 2236 (p. 883) in Muslim: '…so whoever sees [a snake] like this, warn it three times, and if it appears to you again, then kill it, for it is a devil'. The warning is to ask it by Allah's name to leave. If it does not, it is a disbelieving *jinn*, i.e. a devil.

it.[152] Though there is no substantial support for these claims, it is interesting that Iblīs uses similar methods to Satan in these narrations, by disguising as a serpent, and by flattering the peacock's beauty, thus appealing to the narcissistic aspect of his ego, which he certainly does when tempting Eve, and 'Into the heart of Eve his words made way' (*PL* 9.550).

The serpent's words, though, do not necessarily have the same effect in translation. First, whenever Satan tells Eve that she will be like a 'god', Enani translates this as '*malāk*' / ملاك [angel], such as 'And what are gods that man may not become | As they' (PL 9.716-717), or 'by putting off | Human, to put on gods' (*PL* 9.713-4), translated as '*bi khal'i athwāb | il-bashar, wartidā'i athwāb il-malā'ikah*' / بخلع أثواب البشر، وارتداء أثواب الملائكة [by taking off the garments of | humans, and wearing the garments of angels] (*FM* 9.714-5). This is not inaccurate as such: in the majority of cases in the poem, 'gods' refer to 'angelic beings'.[153] However, Enani's omissions of the plural term 'gods' alter the characterisation of Satan. He loses some of his irreligious traits, as portraying the plural term would increase Satan's blasphemy for a Muslim reader, to whom the word 'gods' defies the concept of Allah's oneness, the most pivotal Islamic belief. Additionally, Satan's semantic tactics are weakened: it is notable that in the original poem, Satan does not use the plural as often before this temptation. According to John Leonard, Satan even prepares Eve for the transformation from 'God' to 'gods' by pluralising 'causes' and 'highest agents' in his euphemistic speech (*PL* 9.679-685).[154] The term's omission, though it downplays the irreverence in the translation, causes Satan's character to appear less blasphemous and less tactical than the Arab-Muslim reader would expect.

[152] Al-Thaʿlabi (2009), pp. 30-31. Narrations not based on Muhammad's statements, so not classed as 'authentic'.
[153] Theodore Banks, 'The Meaning of "Gods" in *Paradise Lost*', *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 54, No. 6 (1939), pp. 450-454.
[154] Leonard (1989), pp. 106-107.

As a result of this difference in translation, Eve is also not as directly sacrilegious: she does not aspire to be like a 'god', but like angels. Plurals are also of interest elsewhere in the temptation, when Satan poses questions to Eve – and answers them – using numerous personal pronouns: 'ye shall not die; | How should ye?' (*PL* 9.685-686), and 'God therefore cannot hurt ye' (*PL* 9.700). The term, 'ye', most likely suggests a second person plural.[155] Enani's translation emphasises the plural clearly, even translating 'you' as a plural pronoun. This emphasis alters both Satan and Eve, because in translation, Eve is no longer committing a downright individualistic act, but rather, is constantly made to think of Adam throughout. On Satan's part, the forethought within his tactics becomes clearer, as he appeals to Eve's partnership with Adam through his consistent and obvious use of plurals, something which he understood from eavesdropping, when Eve says to Adam: 'O thou … without whom [I] am to no end' (*PL* 4.440-442). The Arabic Satan certainly uses Eve's love for Adam as a destructive tool, and seems to have analysed their characters astutely, predicting that Adam will do the same; indeed, Adam says to Eve, 'from thy state | Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe' (*PL* 9.915-916).[156]

Satan's appreciation of the importance of love in his tactical method shows his intelligence, and its importance in the temptation is likely to be spotted by a Muslim reader. Allah tells humankind to assess their love for him, and in turn, follow his message.[157] On the contrary, loving anything more than Allah is considered improper, and the concept of sinning in Islam is often related to 'desire': when love of a desire exceeds love of God, sin is more likely. Satan realises that he needs to bring love into his interactions with Eve: 'Hate

[155] 'ye, pron.', *OED Online* (2011), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/231466?rskey=7mkAWu&result=3&isAdvanced=false> [accessed 1st December 2011]. It can also connote a rhetorical addressee, such as the modern use of the term 'one', and could be a singular pronoun in formal register. See Terttu Nevalainen, *An Introduction to Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 90.
[156] For more discussion on plurals in the temptation, see 'Section 5.2'.
[157] *Q* 3.31: 'Say, if you love Allah, follow me – Allah will love you and forgive you your sins, and Allah is the Forgiving, the Most Merciful'.

stronger, under show of love well feigned, | The way which to her ruin now I tend' (*PL* 9.492-493). This makes it more likely for her to accept his message: one which itself attempts to appeal to Eve's love of Adam, and prioritise her desires over her love for God.

Among Satan's tactics in the temptation is also his disguise as a serpent, characterised by a number of literary devices, some of which Enani incorporates in translation. First, Satan attracts Eve's attention by 'the sound | Of rustling leaves' (*PL* 9.518-519). The onomatopoeic adjective describing the sound is not lost in the Arabic – '*khashkhashat ul-awrāq*' / خشخشة الاوراق [rustling of the leaves] (*FM* 9.519) – the word '*khashkhashat*' creates an effective sound of leaves rustling. The serpent is also described using sibilance, such as 'So talked the spirited sly snake' (*PL* 9.613), which is translated as: '*wa faragh al-thu'bān ul-khabīthu min ḥadīthih*' / وفرغ الثعبان الخبيث من حديثه [and the sly snake finished his speech], which has an equivalent assonance on the 'th' [θ] sound, repeated on three occasions in quick succession. This sound is the first letter of the word '*thu'bān*' [snake] and is therefore the equivalent of the 's' sound in this context, and though an alternative sound, creates the equivalent effect of sibilance.[158] But Enani does not keep one of the most renowned techniques of the original, namely the acrostic spelling out 'Satan' (*PL* 9.510-514). About this, he says: 'I tried to reproduce as much as I could, but Arabic is different and it didn't always lend me the equivalent effects'.[159]

2.4: Conclusion

In the last three and a half centuries of mainstream scholarly interest in Milton's Satan, nothing has been said about the Islamic reception of the character, nor comparisons and parallels with Iblīs – and there are many. Meanwhile, though Al-ʿAqqād infers the

[158] This conforms to the 'Equivalent Effect Theory'; see 'Appendix 2'.
[159] Enani (2011), personal interview.

possibility indirectly, no attention has been paid to the potential effect that Milton's Satan may have had on the presentation of Iblīs in Arab literary culture. Analysing the Arab-Muslim reception of Milton's Satan reveals previously unnoticed examples of how specific groups of readers are able to relate Milton's characters and plot details to their everyday life, culture and belief systems, which in turn, alter both their readings of the poem, and the effect the poem has on them. The Arab-Muslim reception also supports a number of previous interpretations of the character. For instance, Empson's general notion of God's role in manoeuvring the plot shares thematic similarities with the antithetical relationship of Allah and Iblīs. Similarly, Danielson's view of Satan's role in showing God's power is comparable to Allah's wisdom in creating an adversary.[160] Moreover, Fish and Frye had suggested, in different ways, that Milton created his Satan in the way that he did to make readers analyse themselves and human nature.[161] Given Iblīs's significance in Arab-Muslim culture, such as the belief that he can affect everyday actions, there is little doubt that for many readers, understanding his character can lead to this kind of self-analysis, as this conclusion clarifies.

It has also been established that the opening two Books are of particular importance to the Arab-Muslim reception of the poem and of Satan, especially. These Books provide the epitome of Satan's representation in translation, which is based on the creation of a hierarchy of characters; as the overtly sacrilegious antithesis to God, Satan is punished perpetually by the Father. As a result, and through various allusions to the character of Iblīs, Satan becomes thematically and characteristically similar to Iblīs in his aims and methods. Accordingly, the Arab-Muslim reader possesses pivotal prior knowledge of both the

[160] See Empson (1981); Danielson (1982). Of course, the Islamic viewpoint does not support Empson's anti-religious readings. Also note that Empson's and Danielson's views oppose each other in their understandings of beneficence and divine motivation.
[161] Fish (1997); Frye (1979).

character and the events he affects. Additionally, the translation of the first two Books poses questions about, first, Enani's accommodation of his target readership, and second, the hermeneutic impulses which begin to diminish in the latter Books. Indeed, Enani admits: 'In the first six Books, I tried to establish a kind of common ground for the story' by trying to 'adapt the conceptual basis to Islamic principles', which 'played a part … in urging an Arab reader on the epic'.[162] The Arabic translation, then, often reduces the grandeur of Satan, and presents his malevolence as a given fact. Simultaneously, as he is more sacrilegious, he often appears more courageous. As the ending to Book 2 in Arabic effectively acts as the ending for an individual work, it finishes with a dramatic and heroic presentation of Satan. Ironically, the effect here is due to a non-Miltonic factor, but rather a structural matter stemming from a commercial issue, as publishing the first two Books separately helped Enani to 'convince' the Egyptian publishers to support the project in the first place.[163]

In the Books which follow, the Arab-Muslim reader's prior knowledge becomes even more significant, allowing the reader to predict certain events. Due to parallels with Iblīs, in addition to translations incorporating Qur'ānic *ta'bir*, Satan's character and tactics are deepened and elaborated. For instance, his psychological motives become rooted in sexual and xenophobic jealousies. Importantly, Satan also has a role in enhancing the reader's understanding of other characters in the poem, not least the Father, who sits at the top of the hierarchy. The Son's divine status, though, is diminished somewhat, because he loses some indicative adversarial links to Satan. Adam and Eve are also characterised through Satan, who has himself analysed their characters. Eve does not respond correctly to her nightmare, and Satan uses aspects of the couple's relationship as a destructive tool in his

[162] Enani (2011), personal interview. See 'Section 1.2.5'.
[163] Ibid.

temptation. The characterisations of Gabriel and Uriel are also advanced through Satan, and in turn, they characterise him as an overambitious transgressor.

These alterations are a result both of translation and the Arab-Muslim's cultural milieu of Islamic creed, scripture and tradition. Some of the issues raised are purely translational transformations which can potentially alter an Arab-Muslim reader's reception of the poem. Other issues are translational, but work only in conjunction with Islamic belief or culture; these are often the most striking features of the potential reception. Finally, there are matters which are solely Islamic and do not necessarily need translational transformations in order to affect the reader. These are often references which the Arab-Muslim reader may make, but are not present outside of Islamic tradition, such as the example of the 'shooting star' simile. All three of these issues affect the reader of the Arabic text, but the solely Islamic factors are of added significance for the English language readership, which consists generally of higher education students of English literature.

It is these Arab-Muslim students who express some of the most stimulating views on Satan. A significant number observe his ability to express emotions and his similarity to humans. 'Satan is interesting for he is similar to humankind in regards to temptation, sin, lust, revenge and cruelty', says one student,[164] while another adds that 'reading about Satan was strange … he was given a character; his feelings were also conveyed, as if to allow sympathy'.[165] As far as Arab-Islamic culture is concerned, one of the biggest controversies of Milton's epic is that it gives Satan space to express his arguments, let alone win the reader's sympathy. The presence of a discursive platform for Satan remains a taboo which risks changing the cultural norms, images and usages associated with the Devil. The intriguing comment from the student who fears her parents would not approve of her

[164] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[165] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic not first language / Female.*

studying *Paradise Lost* is a good example: 'I think people may have a problem with their children reading about Satan'.[166] But I would contend that the Devil's widespread presence in Islamic creed and Arab-Islamic culture makes him even more relevant to the Arab-Muslim reader. A number of the students interviewed confirmed indirectly that the reason they are happy to study Satan's seemingly controversial character in the poem is because he is a reality in their lives.[167] One cannot forget that, as Nancy Rosenfeld asserts, 'for Milton and his readers Satan existed as an actual being';[168] he still exists in this way for Muslims today. And because Satan is similar to Iblīs, reading about him can be beneficial: 'He has wicked schemes, [and is] smart, which is what he really is', says one student,[169] with another stating that 'it was good reading about Satan because it helped me understand his mischievous ways'.[170]

But the problem of cultural taboos is difficult to manage. One student makes a fascinating claim that '*Paradise Lost* gave Satan a multidimensional aspect that most religions destroy'.[171] As should be quite clear from the references to Iblīs in this chapter, Islam, in the form of its creed and scripture, does anything but destroy Satan. He is not silenced; on the contrary, he is required as the antithesis to Allah, Who created him knowing that he would rebel and Who has divine wisdom in doing so. Satan's presence allows Allah to know who is a true believer: 'And he (Iblīs) did not have any authority over them, except so We can distinguish who believes in the Hereafter from who is doubtful of it…' (*Q* 34.21),

[166] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[167] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female*: 'It is ok with me since all of us, whether Muslim or Christian, believe that Satan is always there'.
[168] Nancy Rosenfeld, *The Human Satan in Seventeenth-Century English Literature: From Milton to Rochester* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 5.
[169] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[170] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[171] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*

and he is a test to humankind.[172] It is, though, Arab-Islamic culture, including some overly orthodox understandings of Islam, which has inhibited new analyses of his character, and sometimes tried to mute him, though the Qur'ān does not. Islamic belief highlights that eventually, the truth will be victorious, and in turn, Iblīs will be muted at the end of time: the Day of Truth.[173] He and his followers will be punished, and Allah, one of Whose names is The Truth,[174] will grant victory to his faith. In a parallel manner, Satan does not need to be silenced in *Paradise Lost,* because as the conclusion prophesies, he will be muted in *Paradise Regained*,[175] when 'the truth'[176] will prevail: 'So spake Israel's true King, and to the Fiend | Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles. | So fares it when with truth falsehood contends' (*PR* 3.441-443).

Satan is not mentioned in the Book of Genesis, and that in itself is evidence of his greater importance to the Arab-Muslim reader, who finds a vast range of references to him in Islamic tradition and in the region's culture. Voltaire had proposed that 'if God, if the angels, if Satan would speak, I believe they would speak as they do in Milton'.[177] To Muslims, Iblīs is real, and he does speak in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, which are regarded as divine and semi-divine accounts. In the Arabic translations, Milton's Satan is presented as Iblīs due to the numerous underpinning religious intertextualities. And in general, Milton's Satan, through his motives, psychologies, tactics, and speeches, is very much like the Qur'ānic Iblīs. Voltaire's observation suddenly makes strikingly more sense.

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[172] For example, *Q* 29.2: 'Do people think that they will be left to say "we believe", and they will not be tested?'
[173] *Q* 78.39: 'That is the Day of Truth'.
[174] For example, *Q* 23.116: 'So exalted is Allah, the King, the Truth'. See Ḥadīth 6410 (p. 1171) in Al-Bukhārī and 2677 (p. 1033) in Muslim, in which Muhammad states that Allah has ninety-nine names; see *Q* 7.180; 17.110; 20.8; 59.24, which state that Allah has 'the [most] beautiful names'.
[175] See Steven Goldsmith, 'The Muting of Satan: Language and Redemption in *Paradise Regained*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1987), pp. 125-140.
[176] John 14.6: 'Jesus said unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life'.
[177] Voltaire (1727), p. 106.

CHAPTER 3: GOD THE SON

3.1: The Son, Jesus and the Challenges of Reception

In order to analyse the Arab-Muslim reception of the Son in *Paradise Lost* it is important to understand the position of Jesus in Arab-Muslim culture and belief. While exploring the character of Satan often led to thinking about aspects of popular culture and superstition, analysing the Son is different because general and cultural perceptions of Jesus in the Arab-Muslim world are based almost solely on theology and creed. *ʾĪsā*, or Jesus, is mentioned fifty-nine times in the Qur'ān, and belief in his divinely ordained status is compulsory.[1] He is a miracle worker,[2] and one of the five most revered Prophets: the Qur'ān names Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad as the '*ulū al-ʾazm* [resolute] Messengers' (*Q* 33.7).[3] He is a special type of Prophet – a Messenger – because Allah chose him to reveal new laws.[4] Unlike Satan, Jesus has no manifestations in popular Arab-Muslim culture, but rather, is treated as a sacred figure, who cannot be depicted in art or fiction.[5] Moreover, he does not have any substantial role in daily life; that role is taken by Muhammad, whom Muslims believe is the greatest Prophet, who completed Jesus's message.

The Christian Trinitarian supposition that the Father is God and the Son is Jesus is the basis for much of the hostile reception by Muslim readers to the character of the Son in *Paradise Lost*. The majority of Muslim pupils studying *Paradise Lost* in Egypt, when asked

[1] Al-Najār (no year), pp. 498-500.
[2] Some of Jesus's miracles are stated in *Q* 5.110, in which Allah says: 'O Jesus, son of Mary, remember my grace upon you and upon your mother, when … you spoke to the people in the cradle … and when you formed out of mud a bird-like figure, with My permission, then you breathed into it and it became a bird, with My permission; and you healed the blind and the leper, with my Permission; and when you brought forth the dead, with My permission…'
[3] Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, pp. 1190, 1483.
[4] See, for example, *Q* 2.136 and 4.150-152.
[5] Islam prohibits visual depictions of Allah and the Prophets. On figurative art in Islam, see 'Section 5.2'.

about their reaction to the Son, note one of the following: either that they do not believe in God having a Son, or that Milton's depiction of the Son is representative of how Christ is perceived in Christianity. Most of the students also indicate that the Son's very being is controversial because of their faith, in which God cannot possibly have a son and Jesus cannot be divine. When asked to note the aspect of the text that would be most offensive to Arab-Muslim readers, almost half of the students' answers included comment on the presentation of the Son.[6]

There is certainly an unavoidable link between the Son and Jesus in the minds of most Arab-Muslim readers of *Paradise Lost*, who consciously or subconsciously relate the Son to the figure of Jesus. The Son's figure in the poem is divine; he is also not Christ. *Paradise Lost* is set in a pre-Christian world and describes how Adam and Eve's errors are to be redeemed through the Son's undertaking of the Messianic task of self-sacrifice. Milton's poem, then, provides some immediate theological challenges for the Muslim reader. First, most readers automatically associate the Son with their cultural representation of Jesus: for a Muslim, this is the general and respectful perception of the sacred but earthly Jesus, deriving from Islamic creed and culture. Misidentifying the Son is a challenge faced by almost any modern reader, and can have both positive and negative consequences on how the epic character is perceived. In the West, for instance, the reader's perception of the Son may be influenced or coloured by the characterisation of Jesus in the gospels, visual art, or in dramatic portrayals on film and television.

The second challenge for the Muslim reader is the Son's divinity and relationship with the Father, which assumes knowledge of Trinitarian theology, if not belief in it. The

[6] Primary research; quotations from student interviews are provided in this chapter where relevant.

Qur'ān clearly refutes the Trinity and states that Jesus's rank, as human, cannot compare with God's:

> O People of the Scripture, do not exceed the bounds of your religion, nor say about Allah except the truth. Indeed, the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is but a Messenger of Allah, and His word, which he cast to Mary, and a spirit from Him. So believe in Allah and His Messengers, and do not say 'three'. Stop, it is better for you. Allah is but one God, too exalted is He to have a son. To Him belongs whatever is in the Heavens and whatever is in the Earth, and Allah is sufficient as a guardian (*Q* 4.171).

The Qur'ān could hardly make its antitrinitarian stance clearer, reminding its reader that Jesus is only a human and Messenger. The third challenge stems from the underlying Messianic theology behind the Son's character, including his role in Heaven and his eventual redemption of humankind. As this chapter will show, these challenges lead to a multidimensional reception of the Son's character. Often, the figure of the Son conflicts with Islamic beliefs about Jesus, thus also raising concerns about the presentation of the Father. But through relating aspects of the Son to Islamic beliefs about Jesus, the Muslim reader can also accommodate his or her reading of the character, or indeed the poem as a whole, to Islamic beliefs. All of these challenges in reception, however, are ingrained in aspects of theology. Knowledge of this theology – both Christian and Islamic – plays a vital role in understanding how Milton's depiction of the Son may be received in the Arab-Muslim world.

In particular, the theological debate over the relations of the persons of the Trinity has long been discussed by Milton scholars when analysing the Son's character. This commentary changed drastically after the discovery of Milton's prose treatise, *De Doctrina*

Christiana, in 1823. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, critics such as Wentworth Dillon, Joseph Addison and Leonard Welsted emphasised the Son's pre-eminent prowess and divinity.[7] Blaise Pascal even interpreted the simplicity of the Son's speeches as pointers to his divinity; John Dennis agreed that 'our Saviour, who was God', spoke of 'the Glories of the Kingdom of Heaven … unconcern'd', or in a plain manner, while ''tis impossible for Man to think of them (the Glories) without being ravish'd'.[8] And to understand the Arab-Muslim response to Milton's theology, it is useful to understand the ways in which Milton's views have been interpreted in general; first, so we may compare Arab-Muslim perceptions of the poet's theology with the ways in which the theology has already been analysed in Western criticism; and second, so we may distinguish and demonstrate the additional elements, such as the Qur'ān, which an Arab-Muslim consciously or subconsciously brings to his or her reading of *Paradise Lost*. It is clear that much of the Western critical opinion on the matter diverged after the discovery of *De Doctrina*. Critics who applied the treatise directly to their reading of *Paradise Lost* began to argue for Milton's Arianism,[9] which downplays the Son's divinity, because the essence of God's true divinity is that he is 'unique and unbegotten' – *agenetos*.[10] However, more recently, critics have reinterpreted Milton's Arianism as subordinationism: the notion that the Son derives his subservient divinity from the ultimately divine Father.[11] This, in turn,

[7] Wentworth Dillon, Joseph Addison, Leonard Welsted, all cited in Shawcross (1970), pp. 92-93, 105-106, 222.
[8] John Dennis, cited in Shawcross (1970), p. 133. Blaise Pascal is cited by Dennis. Parentheses added.
[9] See Maurice Kelley, *This Great Argument: A Study of Milton's 'De Doctrina Christiana' as a Gloss Upon 'Paradise Lost'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941); J. H. Adamson, 'Milton's Arianism', *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (1960), pp. 269-276; Maurice Kelley, 'Milton's Arianism Again Considered', *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (1961), pp. 195-205; Maurice Kelley, 'Milton and the Trinity', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (1970), pp. 315-320; Michael Bauman, *Milton's Arianism* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987); John Rumrich, 'Milton's Arianism: Why It Matters', in *Milton and Heresy*, ed. Stephen Dobranski and John Rumrich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 75-92.
[10] Robert Cregg, 'Arianism', in *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Alan Richardson and John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 2002), pp. 40-41; O'Collins and Farrugia (2004), p. 18; Rumrich (1998), pp. 79-80.
[11] Frances Young, 'Subordinationism', in Richardson and Bowden (2002), pp. 553-554.

inevitably challenges belief in a coequal, coeval Trinity, leading to interpretations of Milton as an antitrinitarian: a view suggesting that evidence for the Trinity is largely equivocal.[12] In *De Doctrina*, Milton suggests that the Son was made of the *substantia* of the Father, but does not share his *essentia*, so while the Son possesses the Father's divine substance, he is subordinate in status.[13]

It could be argued that the increasing willingness in the past century to perceive Milton as an antitrinitarian is itself concurrent, broadly speaking, with a general decrease in religious orthodoxy in Western academic culture. Peter Herman has suggested that critics of *Paradise Lost* abide by a paradigm in which they must 'make the poem cohere' despite its less decisive elements,[14] and this desire for coherence is affected inevitably by the critic's intellectual and religious orientation. Just as scholars have claimed Milton as their own,[15] critical bias plays a significant role in how any scholar approaches – or indeed translates – Milton. Prime examples of tendencies towards subjective interpretation are present in responses to the poet's theology. C. S. Lewis refused to accept that Milton could present God negatively, writing: 'Many of those who say they dislike Milton's God only mean that they dislike God',[16] while William Empson, an anti-Christian, 'wore his atheism on his sleeve' so 'found it impossible to imagine a Milton who did not feel about God as he did'.[17]

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[12] Gordon Campbell, Thomas Corns, John Hale and Fiona Tweedie, *Milton and the Manuscript of 'De Doctrina Christiana'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 98-99. For Milton's subordinationism and antitrinitarianism, see William Hunter, 'Milton's Arianism Reconsidered', *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (1959), pp. 9-35; William Hunter, C. A. Patrides and J. H. Adamson, *Bright Essence: Studies in Milton's Theology* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971).

[13] Campbell et al. (2007), p. 107; Roland Frye, 'Son, The', in *A Milton Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8, ed. W. B. Hunter Jr. (London: Associated University Press, 1980), p. 15.

[14] Peter Herman, 'Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Found: The New Milton Criticism', *Literature Compass*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2005), pp. 1-2.

[15] See 'Introduction, 1: John Milton: "Pious Muslim" and "Inhumane Zionist"'.

[16] C. S. Lewis (1942), p. 130.

[17] Michael Bryson, *The Tyranny of Heaven: Milton's Rejection of God as King* (London: Associated University Presses, 2004), p. 18; see also Leonard (2013), Vol. 2, pp. 524-525; John Morris, 'Empson's Milton', *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (1962), pp. 673-677; John Haffenden, *William Empson: Volume II: Against the Christians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 432-453. For Empson's observations on Christian critics, see Empson (1981), pp. 9-35.

It is no surprise, then, that the Son's relationship with the Father finds its way into most commentaries of *Paradise Lost*, as it links directly with the theologies of the poem, the poet, and indeed the reader. For an Arab-Muslim, this theologically based hierarchy of characters in the poem is vital, because in Islam, God is greater than Jesus and Trinitarian theology is unsound.

In *Paradise Lost*, the Son's relationship with the Father is central to many of the poem's events and motifs, and also helps to shape other characters. As an initial example, one can consider how the Son represents and resembles the Father. For instance, 'on his Son with rays direct | Shone full, he all his Father full expressed' (*PL* 6.719-720), and 'in him all his Father shone | Substantially expressed' (*PL* 3.139-140).[18] Such 'expression' of the Father's being need not only be interpreted as physical; the Son is expressing the Father's will, mediating his message,[19] and as Roland Frye notes, one of the Son's responsibilities is to make 'comprehensible what otherwise remains beyond definition and understanding'.[20] It could be argued that the fact the Son expresses the Father's will can be reassuring for the Muslim reader. This reader believes that Jesus was ordained by God to express the divine message to humankind, and indeed, to show them signs of God's existence which are otherwise unseen. This fits with the poem's indication that the Son represents the Father 'whom else no creature can behold' (*PL* 3.387). In a sense, the Father in the poem is neither viewable nor describable, except through the manifestation the Son provides. Much of their relationship is therefore based on light: the Son makes the Father visible to those lower than him in status: 'in him all his Father shone' (*PL* 3.139).[21] This is further emphasised via paradox, as the Father's appearance is invisible 'through the cloud', while the Son is

[18] Also, *PL* 6.681-682; 10.65-67.
[19] William Riggs, *The Christian Poet in 'Paradise Lost'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 145, 151.
[20] Frye (1980), p. 16.
[21] Also, 'and all his Father in him shone' (*PL* 7.195).

'without cloud | Made visible' (*PL* 3.378; 385-386).[22] For a Muslim, a Prophet or Messenger represents proof of Allah's existence by bringing divine signs, whether in the form of instruction or miracle. This divine instruction is often referred to in the Qur'ān as 'light' [*nūr* / نور], such as: 'O humankind, truly proof has come to you from your Lord, and We have sent down to you a manifest light' (*Q* 4.174). Here, proof and light represent guidance, in the form of the Qur'ān, or God's Messenger, or both.[23] These act as a form of 'accommodation', by revealing God to human understanding.[24]

To the Muslim reader of *Paradise Lost*, then, the Son's 'expression' of the Father's will, and his reflection of the Father's light for humankind, fulfil an accommodation of divine Deity, but one which has Islamic elements, as the Son can be seen to play Jesus's Islamic role, in proving and revealing God. Traditionally, critics of *Paradise Lost* have argued that accommodation within the poem depends on anthropomorphic depictions of the Father, particularly due to Milton's reliance on the Old Testament, and because God must present himself in ways that humans may understand.[25] However, for a Muslim reader, the accommodation of the Father through the Son's reflection of God's metaphoric light can be read without any reliance on notions of the Father's anthropomorphism. In this form of accommodation, the Father remains invisible and indefinable in accordance with Islamic belief. The Muslim reader, then, through his or her Qur'ānic understanding of the nature and role of the Son, is able to accept, to some extent, Milton's depiction both of the Father's person, and the Son's divinity.

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[22] Fowler (2007), p. 165.
[23] Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 566; Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis*, p. 353.
[24] On 'accommodation', see Justo Gonzalez, *Essential Theological Terms* (Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), p. 1.
[25] See C. A. Patrides, '*Paradise Lost* and the Theory of Accommodation', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1963), pp. 58-63; Neil Graves, 'Milton and the Theory of Accommodation', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (2001), pp. 251-272; Murray Rae, 'Anthropomorphism', in *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. Kevin Vanhoozer, Craig Bartholomew and Daniel Treier (Michigan: Baker, 2005), pp. 48-49. For detailed discussion of the Father's anthropomorphism and anthropopathism, see 'Section 4.1' and 'Section 4.3'.

As will be explored, the Son's character possesses an intriguing mix of earned and unearned glory, as well as a combination of power and compassion. In addition, despite being a striking and authoritative figure, he is relegated to a secondary poetic status behind other more eloquent characters, such as Satan and Raphael. In Book 6, his aptitude as a charioteer at battle is perhaps equally problematic for a Christian reader as for a Muslim reader. And while he is famously compassionate in both Christianity and Islam, his intercession for Adam and Eve in Book 11 raises specific concerns for a Muslim reader, because only Muhammad has the right to intercede for humans to God. What is safe to assert is that the Son provides a potentially stimulating character for any reader of *Paradise Lost*, regardless of religion. The Muslim reader's respectful belief in Jesus as a Prophet, though, makes the Son a particularly complex character: both enthralling and problematic.

3.2: The Subordination of the Son

As outlined, the relationship of the Son and the Father plays an important role in the poem. It is little surprise that Milton's discussions about the relationship of God and Christ in *De Doctrina* find their way into much criticism about the Father and the Son in *Paradise Lost*: Russell Hillier asserts that Milton's treatise is 'the primary witness' to Milton's theology.[26] This chapter proposes that a critical reading of Milton's personal theology relies to a large extent on *De Doctrina*, which should not be ignored. However, it is also essential to consider *Paradise Lost* as a work in its own right, and that reading the two works alongside one another is not necessarily fruitful. Gordon Campbell et al. observe that in *De Doctrina*, Milton takes 'minority positions at odds with his other writings', but concurrently, some theological thought, like that concerning the Trinity, 'spills into *Paradise Lost*'.[27]

[26] Russell Hillier, *Milton's Messiah: The Son of God in the Works of John Milton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 4-7.
[27] Campbell et al. (2007), pp. 92, 99-100.

Where it is necessary to recall Milton's theology, then, *De Doctrina* will be addressed. But at the same time, and importantly, it must be noted that scarcely any Arab-Muslim readers of *Paradise Lost* will have read the treatise, so including it in all analyses of reception is not entirely appropriate.[28]

The relationship of the Father and the Son often drives the plot of *Paradise Lost*: the Father's elevation of the Son in Book 5 is 'unfair' and 'starts all the trouble' by making Satan vengeful:[29] 'Grieving to see his glory, at the sight | Took envy' (*PL* 6.792-793). This creates a hierarchical and complex relationship between the various characters of the poem: not only the Son and Father, but also the Son and Satan, and the Son and Adam and Eve. These hierarchies reverberate throughout the poem, and can be a problematic aspect of the reading process for many Arab-Muslims.

In Islam, Jesus was created by Allah through the latter's divine will. According to the Qur'ānic account, Mary asks *Jibrīl* how she can be pregnant, 'when no human has touched me', and is answered: 'Such is Allah, He creates what He wills; if He decrees something, He just says to it "be" and it is' (*Q* 3.47). In *Paradise Lost*, one important aspect of the Son's character is self-sacrifice, but the Son can only offer himself to redeem humankind through the Father, who says: 'all power | I give thee' (*PL* 3.317-318). The fact that the Son derives his power and authority from the Father's gift indicates the Son's subordination, and fits with Milton's statements in *De Doctrina* that the Son was only created through the Father's will and decree.[30] In Book 3, the Son's presence at the 'right hand' of the Father (*PL* 3.279) also indicates the Father's superiority. Nonetheless, this position still proclaims an exalted status for the Son. Culturally speaking, the term 'right

[28] Note that *De Doctrina* has not been translated into Arabic. Enani has translated *Areopagitica* and the Preface to 'The Second Book' of *The Reason of Church-Government*, but not *De Doctrina*. See 'Section 1.2.1'.
[29] Carey (1969), p. 81.
[30] *DDC* 1.5, pp. 209, 261.

hand' indicates trust and deputyship; in the Arab world, a '*dhirāʿ yamīn*' [right arm], or 'right-hand man', is one upon whom the superior relies, and who is often heir-apparent. The Arab-Muslim reader is more likely to pick up on the role of the Son as the Father's exclusively chosen deputy than on the Son's subordination. In turn, this reader will perceive some blasphemy in the Son's position, due to its implication that the Father needs the Son.

Moreover, though the phrase 'right hand' could simply refer to the Son's presence at the Father's right side, the Arab-Muslim reader may also form a more literal understanding of the term due to its contentious presence in the Qur'ān, as well as the way Enani translates it, wherein the Father's words become '*yadī al-yumnā*' / يدي اليمنى [my right hand] (*FM* 3.279). The translation uses the same word for 'hand' [*yad*] as the Qur'ān does when describing God. The concept of God's hand is a specifically controversial issue in Islamic theology, originating from certain Qur'ānic verses. One verse refers to Muhammad's receipt of oaths of allegiance from his followers, who would shake hands with him. In doing so, they were also swearing an oath of fidelity to Allah:[31] 'Those who swear allegiance to you are but swearing allegiance to Allah; Allah's Hand is above their hands…' (*Q* 48.10). As they were swearing fealty, Allah was 'above' them in 'His skies', and 'above them in rank'.[32] However, Allah's Hand is interpreted metaphorically, representing 'loyalty through the good He promises' the believers in return for their oath,[33] and the 'blessings' He gives them, such as 'guidance'.[34] Another reference to Allah's Hands states: 'Nay, His Hands are spread; He bestows as He wishes…' (*Q* 5.64), and according to exegetes, was revealed in response to claims that 'Allah's Hands are tied' (*Q* 5.64), meaning that God is ungenerous.[35]

[31] Ibn Al-Qayyim Al-Jawziyya, *Mukhtaṣar Al-Ṣawāʿiq Al-Mursalah [Summary of the Sent Lightning]*, ed. Al-Ḥasan Al-ʿAlawi, Vol. 1 (Riyadh: Aḍwā', 2004) – first published *c*. 1330, pp. 73-82.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibn-ʿAbbās, cited in Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis*, p. 1203.
[34] Al-Kalbi, cited in Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis*, p. 1203.
[35] Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis*, p. 387; Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, pp. 633-634.

Again, Allah's Hand is interpreted metaphorically, this time indicating that He gives blessings to whoever He wishes. But the Hand also appears to be literal, as suggested at Iblīs's first eviction, in which '[Allah] said: "O Iblīs, what has prevented you from prostrating to what I created with My Hand"' (*Q* 38.75), in addition to the statement that on the Judgement Day, 'the heavens shall be rolled up in His Right Hand' (*Q* 39.67). Essentially, though, the key factor is that Allah's seemingly physical description cannot be understood in human terms. As the Qur'ān says, 'There is nothing that is like Him' (*Q* 42.11). His description in this way could be interpreted as an accommodation of His characteristics for the human mind. Milton writes of a similar concept in *De Doctrina*:

> It is safest for us to form an image of God in our minds which corresponds to his representation and description of himself in the sacred writings. Admittedly, God is always described or outlined not as he really is but in such a way as will make him conceivable to us. Nevertheless, we ought to form just such a mental image of him as he, in bringing himself within the limits of our understanding, wishes us to form.[36]

In Islam, humans are not expected to comprehend specific depictions of Allah, as confirmed by the reaction of Sunni commentators to the Qur'ān's description of Allah as creator: 'Indeed, your Lord is Allah Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then established/straightened Himself on the Throne' (*Q* 7.54).[37] The image of Allah settling on the Throne has been interpreted in various ways, but the most collectively accepted summary is that of Imām Mālik, whose views form one of the four main schools of Sunni jurisprudence: 'The establishing/straightening is known, and the how is unknown, and belief

[36] *DDC* 1.2, p. 133.
[37] This verse is echoed elsewhere: 'The All-Merciful established/straightened on the Throne' (*Q* 20.5); 'It is He (Allah) who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then established/straightened Himself on the Throne…' (*Q* 57.4).

in it is obligatory, and asking about it is [unlawful] innovation'.[38] In Islam, representations of God are more metaphoric than literal, and though some descriptions exist, there is no clear view of Allah, who cannot be seen.[39]

The Son's representation, then, plays an important and often neglected part in the depiction of the Father's character and status. As regards the Son, his presence at the right hand of the Father, along with his self-sacrificial role, confirms him as the Father's mediator. This role is possible because 'Milton believes the Son … is by nature subordinate to the Father, not one in essence with him'.[40] A Muslim reader can comprehend God's decision to delegate mediation to his subordinates, as Prophets and Messengers have mediatory roles in that they deliver Allah's message to humans. However, the way in which mediation occurs in *Paradise Lost* causes complications. The Father says to the Son: 'I spare | Thee from my bosom and right, to save, | By losing thee awhile, the whole race lost' (*PL* 3.278-280), confirming that the Son existed before the creation of the universe, and prior to Adam and Eve. For a Muslim reader, however, who believes that Jesus is fully human and not divine, the idea that the Son preceded the creation of the first human, Adam, makes little sense. If the reader is to understand that the Son is not human, but rather, will be incarnated 'to save' the human 'race', an even more challenging concept is presented. Here, there are two main intertwined problems: the first is the specific timing of the Son's existence; the second is that while it may be acceptable for the Son to mediate the Father's message, the fact he shares the divine substance of the Father is blasphemous in Islamic belief.

In Milton's poem, the Son exists at creation, as confirmed by the Father's words: 'begotten Son, by thee | This I perform' (*PL* 7.163-164). The fact the creation occurs only

[38] Imām Mālik, cited in Al-Ashqar (2005), p. 206.
[39] On the Father's anthropomorphism, see 'Section 4.1' and 'Section 4.3'.
[40] Hugh MacCallum, *Milton and the Sons of God: The Divine Image in Milton's Epic Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 107.

through the Father's will is in line with the fundamental Islamic belief that Allah is the sole creator: 'It is He (Allah) who created the heavens and the earth in six days' (*Q* 57.4). However, the idea of the Son, as *Logos*, playing a role in creation, is not part of Islamic belief and is blasphemous in that it associates other entities with God's divine characteristic: 'the Creator'.[41] To a Muslim reader, it also joins Jesus in an exclusively divine act, while the Qur'ān advises specifically against this:

> Indeed they have disbelieved who say: 'Allah Himself is the Messiah, son of Mary'. Say, who, then, would be able to do anything against Allah if He willed to destroy the Messiah, son of Mary, and his mother, and everyone on the earth together? For to Allah belongs all dominion over the heavens and the earth, and all that is between them. He creates what He wishes, for Allah is able to do all things (*Q* 5.17).

Interestingly, the clearest refutation of Jesus's divinity in the Qur'ān is correlated directly with Allah's divine act of creation. The first part of the verse says, in clear terms, that Jesus is not divine; the second backs this up using the notion of creation. The verse alerts the reader that only Allah is divine and has exclusive dominion over the universe: he can singlehandedly create and effect whatever He desires, and has power over all creations, including Jesus.[42] Creation is the strongest evidence, because no other beings existed when it occurred.

While the Son's existence and input in the creation process are both controversial, the Arabic translation of the poem attempts to regulate the potential blasphemy. The original words of the Father are altered significantly. 'And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee | This I perform, speak thou, and be it done' (*PL* 7.163-164) becomes '*wa anta yā kalimatī,*

[41] 'The Creator' is one of Allah's ninety-nine names.
[42] See Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis*, p. 367.

ayuhal-masīḥ! Bi kalimatin minnī | hiya anta sawfa unjizul-'amala qā'ilan kun fa yakūn'/ وأنت يا كلمتي، أيها المسيح! بكلمة مني هي أنت سوف أنجز العمل قائلا كن فيكون [And you O my word, O Messiah! With a word from me, | which is you, I will complete the work, saying 'be' and it is] (*FM* 7.163-164). First, it is unproblematic to translate the Father's reference to the Son as 'my word', since this is similar to the Qur'ānic reference: 'Jesus, son of Mary, is but a Messenger of Allah, and His word…' (*Q* 4.171). The more problematic reference is 'begotten Son', which is translated as 'Messiah'. Here, Enani evades translating 'begotten Son' because it is doubly problematic: not only is the presence of a son of God unacceptable to Islamic belief, but emphasising a son's role in such a pivotal moment as creation adds to the blasphemy.

The Arabic translation is different in that the Father completes the act of creation alone. He performs creation by his own word and not by the Son: 'With a word from me'. Though this 'word' is the Messiah, it still belongs to the Father, giving the Father full credit for the act of creation, including creation of the 'word' itself. In the translation, the Father is clearly the one who carries out creation – 'I will complete the work' – but this work is not through *logos*, but rather, through the Father's tangible utterance of the words: '*kun fa yakūn*' ['be' and it is]. These significant words are said by the Father, and not by the Son, whereas in the original, the Father says 'speak thou' to the Son. Moreover, the phrase '*kun fa yakūn*' is a striking and famous phrase found only in the Qur'ān, and is exclusively descriptive of Allah's ability to say 'be' to something for it to occur instantaneously. The phrase is the Islamic answer to the mystery of creation. By using this exact expression, the translation provides a clear statement and stance: the creation is only occurring through the Father's divine will, and in no other way.

The phrase '*kun fa yakūn*' *is* mentioned eight times in the Qur'ān and always refers to one of two things: either creation, or the status of Jesus. As mentioned, when Mary asks how she can be pregnant, she is told that if Allah 'decrees something, He just says to it "*kun*" *fa yakūn* ["be" and it is]' (*Q* 3.47). On two other occasions, the phrase refers to Allah's relationship with Jesus: 'It is not for God to beget a son. Highly exalted is He, when He decrees a matter, He just says to it "*kun*" *fa yakūn*' (*Q* 19.35). The other verse indicates that in Islamic belief, Adam and Jesus are both mortal humans: 'Indeed, the similitude of Jesus with Allah is like that of Adam: He created him out of dust then said to him "*kun*" *fa yakūn* ["be" and he was]' (*Q* 3.59). The remaining five usages of this phrase are an indication of Allah's ability to create and do as He wills. For instance, '[He is] the Originator of the heavens and the earth, so if He decrees a matter, He just says "*kun*" *fa yakūn*' (*Q* 2.117), or: 'And it is He who created the heavens and the earth with truth, and on the Day [of Resurrection] says "*kun*" *fa yakūn*. His word is the truth…' (*Q* 6.73).[43] Enani's use of this phrase, then, should be considered intertextually, in relation to its original source, thus serving as an obvious reminder that, first, the Son is not equal in status to the Father, and second, that the act of creation is fully exclusive to the Father. After all, creation occurs through the divine word: a word the Qur'ān so often stresses is 'the truth'.

But the very fact that in Milton's epic the Son exists prior to creation also causes complexities for the Arab-Muslim reader. This is because it allows the Son's status to contend with that of the Father. For instance, sharing the Father's divine substance is controversial for the Muslim reader, as shown by reference to the Son as the 'filial godhead' (*PL* 6.722; 7.175). Both the adjective and noun are contentious to a Muslim reader: the former gives God a son, and the latter gives the Son a divine status. At creation, 'So spake

[43] For the other references to the phrase, see *Q* 16.40; 36.82; 40.68.

the almighty, and to what he spake | His Word, the filial Godhead, gave effect' (*PL* 7.174-175). In translation, both terms are evaded: '*hākadhā takallama dhul-jabarūt, wa mā takallama bihi | anfazat-hu kalimatuhū 'alal-fawr, wal-masīḥu kalimatun minh*' / هكذا تكلم ذو الجبروت، وما تكلم به أنفذته كلمته على الفور، والمسيح كلمة منه [So spoke the One Who has might, and what he spoke with | was effected by his word immediately, and the Messiah is a word from him] (*FM* 7.174-175). Here, the concept of the 'filial godhead' is non-existent, but rather, the Father is praised at the expense of the Son. 'Almighty' is translated as '*dhul-jabarūt*' [the One Who has might], a description which is exclusive to Allah, was used in prayer by Muhammad,[44] and derives from Allah's name: *al-jabbār* [The Most Mighty].

The Arabic translation severs any familial connection between Son and Father by the omission of the term 'filial godhead'. It also does so by means of grammar: 'a word' refers here to the Son, but is translated in its feminine mode, because the verb 'effected' is feminine. In the Arabic Bible, where 'the word' refers to Christ, it is altered to the masculine mode, despite the fact that this is grammatically incorrect. For example, John's Gospel in Arabic reads: '*Fil-bid' kān al-kalimah, wal-kalimatu kāna 'ind Allāh, wa kān al-kalimatu Allāh*' /في البدء كان الكلمه، والكلمة كان عند الله، وكان الكلمة الله [In the beginning was the word, and the word was with Allah, and the word was Allah] (*Yuḥannah* [John] 1.1). The word 'was', on all three occasions, is the masculine '*kān*', instead of the feminine '*kānat*'; this alteration makes 'the word' masculine. In *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*, then, keeping 'the word' as feminine distances the Son from the act of creation and divinity. Instead, it is the Father's word that gives effect immediately to the Son's wishes, much like the example of '*kun fa yakūn*'. Moreover, instead of 'filial godhead', we read: 'and the Messiah is a word from him', again emphasising that 'the Messiah' is God's 'word', as he is in the Qur'ān,

[44] According to Ḥadīth 873 in Abu-Dāwūd (p. 114), during prayer, Muhammad would say 'Exalted is *dhul-jabarūt* [the One Who has might], and kingdom and glory'. See also Muhammad Al-Albāni, *Ṣifat Ṣalāt Al-Nabiy [The Characteristic of the Prophet's Prayer]* (Riyadh: Maktabat Al-Maʿārif, 1996), p. 146.

though on this occasion the translator replaces a contentious term with one which does not exist in the original text.

Reading the text through an Islamic lens or in Arabic translation shifts some of the grandeur of the Son to the Father, showing a clearer subordinationist hierarchy. To the Arabic reader, the Son's role might be regarded as more ambiguous and less valiant than it might appear to a reader of Milton's English text. The poem does not explicitly deny that the fall was decreed by the Father in advance; consequently, the Son is only cast as the redeemer because the Father wills it so. If there was no fall, no redeemer would be required, so the fall itself in *Paradise Lost* appears designed by the Father to enable the Son to fulfil the role of saviour of mankind. As the thirteenth-century theologian Duns Scotus suggests, it is not 'likely that the highest good in the whole creation is something that merely chanced to take place'.[45] If this theodical perspective is taken, then Milton's Father appears, again, to be manoeuvring both the good and wicked events of the plot; the Son's destiny as saviour becomes, in a paradoxical way, both a consequence and cause of the fall. Such a concept is not plausible for a Muslim reader on many levels, because essentially it is God alone who decreed Adam and Eve's mistake. Giving the Son a role as redeemer, which to be fulfilled, must affect all of humanity, is another over-exaltation. In addition, Muslims believe that despite God's decree, Adam and Eve act on their own free will and on the advice of Iblīs, serving as a reminder for their descendants for the rest of time.

These problems stem from the idea of the Son's existence prior to the fall, but particularly problematic is the concept of the Son's anointment by the Father. When Michael narrates the future to Adam in the final Book, he tells him that 'the true | Anointed king Messiah might be born' as redeemer (*PL* 12.358-359). Dennis Danielson correctly

[45] Duns Scotus, cited in Danielson (1982), p. 216. For Scotus's ideas in Milton, see Danielson (1982), pp. 214-218.

points out that this redeemer who is yet to be born is 'clearly' shown to be king and Messiah 'already'.[46] The translation appears to address this problematic perception by altering the sentence structure as follows: '*wa dhālika ḥattā | yūlad al-masīḥ ul-ṣādiq, al-malik aladhī musiḥa 'alā ra'sihī bil zaytil-qudsi*' / وذلك حتى يولد المسيح الصادق، الملك الذي مسح على رأسه بالزيت القدسي [And that is until | the true/truthful Messiah is born, the king who was anointed on his head with the sacred oil] (*FM* 12.358-359). In the Arabic, the phrase 'anointed king Messiah' is disconnected, so while the Messiah will be born, as indeed Jesus is, it is not asserted directly that the 'King' will be born. Furthermore, in translation, though the Messiah will be 'born', he is not 'anointed' directly. In the original, linking the anointment with the Son is obvious due to earlier events, most notably when the Son is first 'Anointed universal king' (*PL* 3.317). But in the Arabic, this anointment is omitted: '*wa tutuwija malikan 'alal-'ālam*' / وتتوج ملكا على العالم [and be crowned king over the world] (*FM* 3.317). The omission in Book 3 reduces the connection with Book 12, making the anointment of the Son in Michael's account less clear. It is also worth noting that the future tense is more apparent in the Arabic, which states 'until' he 'is born', weakening the link with the current pre-incarnated state of the Son. Another such alteration is that the word 'true' preceding 'Anointed king Messiah' is translated as '*sādiq*'. Though this word could also mean 'true', it is certainly more likely to imply the characteristic of 'truthfulness', making the Messiah in the passage not the 'true … Messiah', but 'the truthful Messiah'. As Jesus and all Prophets are truthful, such a translation is more befitting of Islamic expectations. The more accurate translation would be '*al-masīḥ ul-ḥaq*' [the true Messiah], but using this term would be

[46] Danielson (1982), p. 222.

problematic because '*al-ḥaq*' is one of Allah's ninety-nine names: 'the Truth'.[47] In this case, the translation not only avoids this allusion, but also adds more human qualities to the Son.

However, when the poem implies directly that the Father and Son are equals, further complications are inevitable. For example, the Father tells the Son that he is 'throned in highest bliss | Equal to God' (*PL* 3.305-306). Although Enani consistently translates 'God' as 'Allah' and 'Lord' as '*al-rab*', he uses the latter on this occasion, so the translation is '*wa tasāwīka ma' al-rab*' / وتساويك مع الرب [and your equality with the Lord] (*FM* 3.306), allowing him to avoid writing that something is equal to the proper noun 'Allah'. Moreover, in translation, 'equal' loses its adjectival and trochaic qualities, again decreasing emphasis on the Son's divine status.

As well as being described as equals, the Father and the Son also possess a joint authority which the angels recognise: 'lowly reverent | Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground | With solemn adoration down they cast' (*PL* 3.349-351). Placing the Father's throne alongside the Son's indicates that they have a similar status, using an important concept for the Muslim reader: God's Throne.[48] The translation, though, does not reduce the controversy of the image: '*wa fī khushu'in wa khuḍu' | raka'at qibālat al-'arshayn, wa alqat ilal-arḍ | fī salātin yuzayyinuhal-waqār*' / وفي خشوع وخضوع ركعت قبالة العرشين، وألقت إلى الأرض في صلاة يزينها الوقار [And in reverence and submission | knelt in front of the two thrones, and threw to the ground | in a prayer decorated with veneration] (*FM* 3.349-351). The translation indicates that there are two thrones, and even adds terminology associated strictly with prayer, such as *ṣalāh* [prayer], the word used for obligatory prayer in Islam and

[47] As mentioned in 'Section 2.2' and 'Section 2.4', 'The Truth' is one of Allah's names in the Qur'ān. For example, 'So exalted is Allah, the King, the Truth, there is no God but Him, the Lord of the Noble Throne' (*Q* 23.116).
[48] For the importance of Allah's throne, see 'Section 2.2'.

the second of the Five Pillars of the religion,[49] as well as '*raka'at*' [knelt], a term referring to one of the actions completed during prayer. Moreover, terminology such as '*khuḍu'*' [submission] and '*waqār*' [veneration] is strongly associated with the worship of Allah. Because the Father mentions 'Adore him … Adore the Son' (*PL* 3.342-343) a few lines earlier, Enani would be too unfaithful to the text by not mentioning the two thrones. Interestingly, then, Enani does not avoid potentially blasphemous references on this occasion, but adds to them by using overtly religious terminology. This presents an image of obeying and worshipping angels, which matches their role in Islamic thought. In this instance, Enani is most likely intending to create the same effect as the original text, something he emphasises in his theories of literary translation.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, however, the Qur'ān asks who is Lord of the heavens, the earth and 'the Great Throne', and who holds 'kingdom of all things' (*Q* 23.84-88). The answer immediately follows: 'They will say: to Allah; say: how, then, are you deluded? | Rather, We have brought them the truth, and they are indeed liars. | Allah has not begotten any son, nor has there ever been any God with him…' (*Q* 23.89-91). The verses indicate that Allah's Lordship of the Throne is a sign of 'the truth': that there is no deity besides Allah and that He is too great to have a son. It could be argued that in a similar sense, the Son in *Paradise Lost* uses the idea of the throne to express the Father's superiority: 'O Father, O supreme of heavenly thrones, | First, highest, holiest, best' (*PL* 6.723-724). When the Son then goes to battle, we read that 'under his burning wheels | The steadfast empyrean shook throughout, | All but the throne it self of God' (*PL* 6.832-834). The image contrasts with Satan's claim to have shaken the throne of the Father: 'In dubious

[49] The Five Pillars of Islam are the five obligatory duties of every Muslim, namely: *shahādah* [profession of faith], *ṣalāh* [prayer], *zakāh* [charity], *ṣawm* [fasting] and *ḥajj* [pilgrimage].

battle on the plains of heaven, | And shook his throne' (*PL* 1.104-105).[50] It is worth noting, though, that on the face of it, only the Father's throne is unshaken, meaning that the Son's throne is subordinate. However, the theological complexity lies in the term 'God', used instead of 'Father', because God could refer to both the Father and Son. However, this is not clear for the Arab-Muslim reader, who understands 'the throne it self of God' as the Father's, first due to his or her antitrintarian theological belief, and second because the Qur'ān clearly praises Allah's Throne, and as exemplified, uses it to distance Allah from having a son or partner in power. Moreover, in translation, we read '*fī mā 'adā 'arsh Allah*' / فيما عدا عرش الله [all except the Throne of Allah] (*FM* 6.834): 'God' quite simply becomes 'Allah', making the unshakable throne belong solely to the Father and not the Son. The concept of the throne, then, in the original and more so in Enani's translation, diminishes the joint authority of the two characters. It increases the Father's authority, as confirmed at the Son's intercession for Adam and Eve in Book 11: 'By their great intercessor, came in sight | Before the Father's throne: them the glad Son | Presenting, thus to intercede began' (*PL* 11.19-21). Here, the setting is dominated by the Father's throne, and the subordinate Son seeks the superior Father's approval for the couple's forgiveness, reasserting the Father's powerful, decision-making position at the top of the heavenly hierarchy. This hierarchy is made significant for Arab-Muslim readers through aspects of general belief, creed, scripture or translation; these are encountered consciously or subconsciously by the Arab-Muslim reader and ensure the Son's general subordination in relation to the Father.

3.3: The Son's Missions

For the Arab-Muslim reader of *Paradise Lost*, religious beliefs about Jesus and shifts in Enani's translation both relegate the status of the Son, and in turn, exalt the Father. The

[50] Fowler (2007), p. 351.

Son's relationships with other characters, on the other hand, often highlight the Son's splendour. For instance, while the Son's intercession for Adam and Eve shows the Father's superiority as the ultimate authority, it also elevates the Son to such an extent that it is controversial for a Muslim reader. A famous and lengthier Ḥadīth narrates that on the Judgement Day, people will seek the *shafāʿah* [intercession] of the Prophets, but only Muhammad will agree to intercede:

> The believers will gather on the Day of Resurrection and say: 'if [only] we could get an intercession with our Lord', so they come to Adam and say: 'You are the father of all humans, Allah created you with His Hand, and prostrated the angels for you, and taught you the names of all things, so intercede for us with your Lord so He may relieve us from this place of ours'. So he says: 'I am not [fit] for this', and he remembers his sin and becomes ashamed. 'Go to Noah, for he was the first Messenger Allah sent to the inhabitants of the earth'.

Noah points the people to Abraham, before they go to Moses, who tells them:

> 'Go to Jesus, the servant of Allah and His Messenger, and the word of Allah and His spirit'. So he (Jesus) says: 'I am not [fit] for this. Go to Muhammad peace and blessings of Allah upon him, a servant whom Allah has forgiven the past and future sins of'. So they will come to me (Muhammad) … and when I see my Lord I will fall in prostration, and He will leave me so as [long as] He wishes, then I will be told: 'Raise your head, and ask, you will be given; and say, you will be heard; and intercede, you will be interceded'. So I will raise my head and praise Him ... then I will intercede, and a limit [of intercessions] will be made for me, and I will get them into *al-jannah*. Then I will return to Him, and when I see my Lord, the same [will

> happen], then I will intercede, and a limit will be made for me, and I will get them into *al-jannah*. Then I will return a third time; then I will return a fourth time, and say: 'Whoever remains in Hell, except those whom the Qur'ān has imprisoned [in Hell] and must [stay there] eternally'.[51]

The Ḥadīth points towards the hierarchy of Prophets in Islam, in which Jesus is respected greatly, but is clearly second to Muhammad, who possesses an exclusive status. Adam cannot intercede because of his guilt, and Jesus, described by Moses as the 'word' and 'spirit' of Allah, refuses to intercede out of humility to Muhammad, confirming that the latter is the only human who has the right to make such an intercession. The image of the Son's intercession in *Paradise Lost*, then, could be regarded as erroneous because it appears to give Muhammad's role to the Son, who in the minds of many Arab-Muslim readers represents Jesus.

This is more so the case if one is to consider the dispute over petitioning Muhammad in his role as a mediator, or *tawassul*. This is something rejected by Sunni scholars, who believe it to be a potential association of other deities with God, but it is a notion preached by the more overtly mystical minority group, the Sufis.[52] Muhammad, most Sunni scholars agree, cannot be asked to intercede in this life because he is not alive, and in Islam, there should be no intermediary between the human and Allah. One controversial Ḥadīth, sometimes referred to in this topic, narrates how Adam, upon eating from the forbidden tree, used Muhammad to ask for Allah's forgiveness:

[51] Ḥadīth 4476 (pp. 805-806) in Al-Bukhāri; almost identical are Ḥadīths 322 and 326 (pp. 94-95) in Muslim. The implication is that Muhammad shall intercede for all humans, including those in Hell, except those whom Allah has damned eternally.
[52] See 'Intercession', in Esposito (2003), pp. 138-139.

> When Adam committed the mistake, he said: 'O Lord, I ask You for the sake of Muhammad to forgive me'. So Allah said: 'O Adam, and how did you know Muhammad when I have not created him?' He said: 'O Lord, because when You created me with Your Hand and breathed in me from Your Spirit, I raised my head and saw written on the heights of the Throne: 'There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah',[53] so I knew that you did not add next to Your Name except the most beloved creation to You. So Allah said: 'You are correct, Adam, he is the most beloved of creations to Me. Invoke Me by his sake for I have forgiven you, and were it not for Muhammad, I would not have created you'.[54]

This Ḥadīth, which has some fame in general Islamic culture, is only 'authentic' according to a few scholars,[55] and is not approved by the most prominent Sunni scholars. Most notably, both Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Taymiyyah assert that it is 'weak', the latter adding that 'making this kind of Ḥadīth authentic is something which has been denied by the scholars of Ḥadīth science'.[56] Either way, the Ḥadīth does not legitimise *tawassul* to Muhammad, because it appears to narrate a special case, and one in which Muhammad, who was not alive, did not intercede or mediate as such, but rather, Adam simply used his name. Importantly, the Ḥadīth, regardless of its authenticity, points us towards the controversy of the Son's intercession in *Paradise Lost*. If the reader believes this Ḥadīth, then there is another clear indication that Muhammad is at the top of the hierarchy of Prophets. This is because Allah forgives Adam for Muhammad's sake, and even says that He created Adam because of Muhammad, which to some extent echoes the role of the Son in the Father's creation

[53] These are the words of the First Pillar of Islam, the *shahādah* [profession of faith], through which one becomes a Muslim.
[54] Ḥadīth cited in Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 103.
[55] Namely, Al-Ḥākim and Ibn-ʿAsākir; see Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 103.
[56] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 103; Ibn-Taymiyyah, *Qa'ida Jalīlah Fil-Tawasul Wal-Wasīlah [Great Principle in Supplication and Intermediary]*, ed. Rabīʿ Al-Madkhali, accessed on the *Ibn-Taymiyyah Website*, <http://ibntaimiah.com> [accessed 12th April 2012], pp. 135-141. On levels of Ḥadīth authenticity, see 'Introduction, 2.3: Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology'.

process. In *Paradise Lost*, the Son's identical roles to Muhammad are potentially challenging to this hierarchy. Even if, as is likely, this Ḥadīth is not 'authentic', the debate surrounding it shows quite clearly the sensitivity of the topic, in Islamic theological culture, of present and prehistoric intercession. The controversy of the Son's intercession in Book 11 is therefore very clear.

But not all aspects of the Son's intercession are controversial. In Islamic thought, it is God alone who actualises any intercession and has power to accept or reject it. It makes sense, then, that the Son comes humbly 'before the Father's throne' (*PL* 11.20) and speaks to him with great respect. In the Ḥadīth referring to the Judgement Day, it is clear that Muhammad will approach his majestic Lord modestly to intercede, and that any intercession will be granted solely through Allah's will and mercy. Similarly, it is the Father who controls the mercy in *Paradise Lost*, with the Son playing a facilitating role; as Hugh MacCallum writes, the son is a 'spokesman for mercy'.[57] This similarity in how intercession is realised means that at this late and crucial stage of the plot, the Muslim reader is able to reaffirm the Father's position at the top of the hierarchy of characters.

The hierarchy of Prophets, though, remains an issue, because the Son shows direct mercy to Adam and Eve. One such example is in Book 11, when 'pitying how they stood | Before him naked … As father of his family he clad | Their nakedness' (*PL* 10.211-212; 216-217). Taking on this role shows his superiority over Adam and Eve, particularly as in the Qur'ānic account, they cover themselves: 'So they ate from it, and their private parts became apparent to them, and they began to heap themselves with leaves of *al-jannah*. And Adam disobeyed his Lord and erred. | Then his Lord chose him and forgave him and guided him' (*Q* 20.121-122). This is also different to Genesis, in which it is the Lord who walks

[57] MacCallum (1986), p. 106.

through the garden after the transgression, before Adam says: 'I heard thy voice in the garden: and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself' (Genesis 3. 10). Despite the poem's deviation from Genesis, this hierarchy, which places the Son above Adam, is not necessarily unacceptable for the Muslim reader, because as mentioned, Jesus is one of the five '*ulū al-ʿazm* [resolute] Messengers' (*Q* 33.7), and therefore has a higher status than other Prophets, including Adam.[58] The problem lies in the more divine representation of the Son in this scene. Milton's deviation from the biblical text, which displays the Son as a more merciful equivalent to the strict, sentencing God of Genesis, is of little significance to the Arab-Muslim reader. For this reader, God is not undermined by this representation of the Son, though he may be for a Christian reader. The problem for the Muslim reader is that the Son shares God's divine roles; for example, the Son possesses a status of 'judge and saviour' (*PL* 10.209). In the Qur'ān, it is clearly Allah who 'forgave him (Adam) and guided him' (*Q* 20.122); in other terms, it is Allah who judged and saved the couple.

For this reason, Enani attempts to underplay the divine aspects of the Son. For instance, after the Son covers Adam and Eve, in 'his Father's sight. | To him with swift ascent he up returned' (*PL* 10.223-224). The translation is: '*fī naẓar Allāh.* | *Wa ʿādat kalimat Allāh ṣāʿidatan musriʿatan ilayh*' / في نظر الله. وعادت كلمة الله صاعدة مسرعة إليه [In the sight of Allah. | And the word of Allah returned, rising speedily to him] (*FM* 10.223-224). Here, the 'Father' is 'Allah' on two occasions, and the pronoun 'he', referring to the Son, is 'the word of Allah'. The Son is altered to be 'the word', again in the feminine mode, and the paternal reference to the 'Father' is lost.

In this particular passage of the poem, the Son is also linked clearly with his incarnated persona of Jesus, as indicated by the reference to washing 'his servants' feet' (*PL*

[58] The five are Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad. See Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, pp. 1190, 1483.

10.215), alluding to the Last Supper in John's Gospel (John 13), which may be recognised by the Arab-Muslim reader. The translation emphasises that the Son represents Jesus as a human figure, not a divine one. For example, when in Book 10 the Messiah is said to assume 'the form of servant' (*PL* 10.214), Enani translates this as '*hay'at al-ʿabd*' / هيئة العبد [the form of the servant/slave] (*FM* 10.214). The word '*ʿabd*' translates literally as 'slave', but can also refer to the higher status role of 'servant'. '*ʿAbd*' indicates a relationship in which the servant is dependent upon the one he serves, and is also the term from which '*ʿibādah*', the Arabic and Qur'ānic word for 'worship' of God, derives. The literal word for servant in Arabic is '*khādim*': a more temporal term meaning one who serves. The word '*ʿabd*', though, is used to describe humans in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, and is usually followed by 'Allah', thus reading as '*ʿabd-Allah*' [slave/servant of Allah].[59] On numerous occasions, it is used to describe Jesus, asserting that, like all other humans, he serves Allah and is not divine. For example, the Qur'ānic verse: 'The Messiah would never decline to be *ʿabdan* [a servant] of Allah' (*Q* 4.172), and the Qur'ānic narration that as a baby, Jesus uttered the words: 'I am *ʿabd* [a servant] of Allah; He has given me the scripture and made me a Prophet' (*Q* 30.30).[60] The annotation Enani provides for his translation of 'servant' shows consciousness of his choice to use '*ʿabd*' instead of '*khādim*'. Enani writes, 'It is clear that the English word 'servant' means, in this context, *al-ʿabd* (*ʿabd-Allah*), i.e. the human; it means *khādim* in other contexts'.[61] Using '*ʿabd*' in translation identifies the Son as the human figure of Jesus. But in order to maintain the consistency within the original text, a few lines later, Enani also translates 'servants' in 'As when he washed his servants' feet'

[59] This is a common Muslim forename, as are other names beginning with the term '*ʿabd*' followed by one of Allah's names.
[60] The term is also used following the Qur'ān's most dramatic refutation of God having a son, in the chapter named '*Maryam*' [Mary], *Q* 19.88-93: 'And they say: the Most Merciful has taken a son. | Truly, you have come with something abominable. | From it, the heavens almost burst and the earth [almost] splits open, and the mountains [almost] collapse in ruins: | That they ascribe to the Most Merciful a son, | and it is not befitting for the Most Merciful that He take a son. | Indeed, every being in the heavens and the earth but comes to the Most Merciful as a *ʿabd*'. For the full narration of Jesus speaking as a baby, see 'Section 2.3, n. 143'.
[61] *FM* (2002), p. 810.

(*PL* 10.215) using the same word: '*'abd*'. He justifies this use in annotation, writing that 'the idea is difficult for those unfamiliar with Christian creed'.[62] The translation, therefore, makes direct inferences that the Son is Jesus, reducing his divinity, while also using annotation to explain more contentious elements. As mentioned, however, this plays a part in highlighting a hierarchy of Prophet figures in the poem, though Jesus's superiority over Adam is not wholly problematic for the Muslim reader.

However, the Son's mercy also raises questions about concepts of redemptive theology. Hillier points out that the Son's role as servant 'apprises the reader that the work of salvation has already begun'.[63] This Christian notion of redemption through Christ presents theological challenges for Muslim readers. Redemptive theology exists in *Paradise Lost*, and spills fittingly into the opening induction of *Paradise Regained*, in which we are also reminded of precisely how significant this theme is to *Paradise Lost*: 'how Man fell, | Degraded by himself, on grace depending' (*PR* 4.311-312). For Muslims, though, the concept of redemption through Christ is non-existent. Rather, salvation of the soul and body is possible both in this life and the hereafter, and occurs solely through Allah's will and mercy, while remaining a direct result of one's faith, actions and intentions.[64] Numerous Qur'ānic verses exemplify this; for instance, in reference to salvation in this life: 'And We saved those who believed and were pious' (*Q* 41.18). With regard to the next life, salvation is entrance into Heaven: 'Then We will save those who were pious, and leave the wrongdoers in it (Hell) on [their] knees' (*Q* 19.72). The most essential aspect in Islamic salvation is belief in the oneness of Allah. Muhammad says, 'The one who says "There is no

[62] Ibid.
[63] Hillier (2011), p. 46.
[64] See Muhammad Abul Quasem, *Salvation of the Soul and Islamic Devotions* (London: Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 19-21.

God but Allah" and has in his heart a barley grain's worth of good, goes out of Hell'.[65] The key difference between salvation in Islam and in Christianity is that in Islam, it is only attainable through God, while in Christianity, it is through Christ's sacrifice. In the New Testament, Jesus says: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me' (John 14.6), and 'except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God' (John 3.5). But Muhammad says to his companions that 'Nobody will be saved by their actions', and when asked if this includes him, replies: 'Not even me, except if Allah covers me with mercy'.[66] In Islam, then, the task of God's Prophets was to show this route to salvation. For example, in the Qur'ān Moses says: 'And my people, how is it that I call you to salvation while you call me to Hell?' (*Q* 40.41). Hence, for Muslims, the role of Jesus was to deliver the message of salvation and the means by which humans can be saved, but it was not to deliver salvation itself. Muhammad then completed this message by finalising the religious doctrines and practices associated with salvation in the Muslim faith.

Differences between the Islamic and Christian approaches to soteriology remind us that, as discussed, the Son's very nature and role in *Paradise Lost* are often distant from the Muslim reader's beliefs. From the very beginning of the poem, the Son's redemptive role is apparent: 'till one greater man | Restore us, and regain the blissful seat' (*PL* 1.4-5). The theme of his future incarnation as 'flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed | By wondrous birth' (*PL* 3.284-285) cannot be avoided by the reader; nor, in fact, by Enani, who translates it accurately. However, Enani renders 'the Son, | Destined restorer of mankind' (*PL* 10.645-646) as '*kalimat Allāh* | *alatī quddira lahā an tu'īd al-insān ilal-na'īm*' / كلمة الله التي قدر لها أن تعيد الإنسان إلى النعيم [the word of Allah | which had destined for it to return the human to bliss]

[65] Muhammad then repeats this with 'an atom's worth of good'; Ḥadīth 44 (p. 24) in Al-Bukhāri.
[66] Ḥadīth 2816 (p. 1084) in Muslim; also 2817 (pp. 1084-1085), in which Muhammad says: 'Nobody will enter *al-jannah* by their actions, or be refuged from Hell...'

(*FM* 10.645-646). Again, 'the Son' is translated as 'the word of Allah' and in the feminine mode, but more importantly, the indication here is that it is 'Allah' who has placed this destiny on the Son. This raises questions about the voluntary nature of the Son's obedience to the Father.

In Book 3, the Son offers himself as ransom for humankind (*PL* 3.234-241), and though this is apparent to the Arab-Muslim reader, many other extracts in the translation soften this theme of voluntary redemption by emphasising the Father's degree of control. At first sight, this emphasis appears to contradict Milton's belief that Christ consciously volunteered to redeem humankind:

> REDEMPTION IS THAT ACT BY WHICH CHRIST, SENT IN THE FULNESS OF TIME, REDEEMED ALL BELIEVERS AT THE PRICE OF HIS OWN BLOOD, WHICH HE PAID VOLUNTARILY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ETERNAL PLAN AND GRACE OF GOD THE FATHER.[67]

However, as is clear here, Milton also believes that all of Christ's actions are part of God's 'eternal plan', so it is not entirely incorrect to suggest, as Enani's translation intimates, that in *Paradise Lost* the Son has his destiny decreed for him. After all, when the Son offers himself, the Father says that 'All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all | As my eternal purpose hath decreed' (*PL* 3.171-172), and in Book 11, the Father declares: 'All thy request for man, accepted Son, | Obtain, all thy request was my decree' (*PL* 11.46-47). When these words are translated into Arabic, the Father says: '*ūtīta su'ulaka kulahū min ajlil-insān, yā kalimati al-maqbūlah, | fa kulu mā ṭalabtahū kuntu qad qaḍaytu bih*' / أوتيت سؤلك كله من أجل الإنسان، يا كلمتي المقبولة، فكل ما طلبته كنت قد قضيت به [You have been granted your request for the

[67] *DDC* 1.14, pp. 415-416.

sake of the human, O my accepted word, | For all that you requested I had already decreed for] (*FM* 11.46-47). As well as omitting reference to 'Son' again, Enani chooses a Qur'ānic phrase to translate 'all thy request … accepted', namely '*ūtīta su'ulaka*' [you have been granted your request]. This renowned Qur'ānic phrase is the reply Allah utters to Moses when he asks God to help him confront Pharaoh and allow his brother Aaron to accompany him (*Q* 20.25-37). By associating this event with the Son's requests, Enani's translation reminds us again that the Father is in full control. Additionally, the subject matter echoes the most noteworthy conversation between Allah and Jesus recorded in the Qur'ān (*Q* 5.117-120). In this dialogue, Jesus speaks to Allah with 'great politeness in speech and response'.[68] Allah asks him whether he told people to revere him and his mother instead, to which Jesus replies: 'If I said it, then You would know it. You know what is in my mind and I do not know what is in Your Mind. Indeed, You are the Knower of the unknown. | I did not say to them except what You ordered me…' (*Q* 5.116-117). Jesus recognises that Allah knows everything he says or thinks, and that whatever he utters is decreed for him by divine instruction. This parallel, which is particularly heightened by the Qur'ānic inflections of the translation, elevates the Father again, and presents the Son as a character whom the Father has decreed shall be willingly obedient.

The Son is obedient both in his pledge to redeem humankind and in his general actions, all of which form part of the Father's overall plan. John Rumrich argues that it is only the Son's 'voluntary obedience' that elevates his status above the other characters. Indeed, the Son's readiness to follow the Father's demands works 'as a striking counterexample to the decisions of Satan and Adam', both of whom rebel against the Father.[69] Hence, any downplaying of this obedience risks decreasing the number of links

[68] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 2, p. 82.
[69] Rumrich (1998), pp. 85-86.

which can be made between the Son and other characters. The Son's relationship with the Father has been discussed, but another important connection in the poem is also affected: that between the Son and Satan. One theme which connects the Son and Satan is redemption: Satan volunteers to redeem his followers, much as the Son volunteers to redeem humankind. While this kind of comparison is difficult to miss, other connections are diminished as a result of the translation's diminution of the Son's independence.

For instance, both Satan and the Son are linked with light.[70] The Son's relation with light, though, is constantly portrayed as the Father's work and not the Son's. We read that 'in him all his Father shone' (*PL* 3.139), and 'So spake the Father, and unfolding bright | Toward the right hand his glory' (*PL* 10.63-64). In Enani's translation, the Father's sovereignty over the Son is also clear as the Father obviously carries out the action of bestowing the light, as opposed to being embodied in the occurrence: '*hakādhā takallam Allāh thuma basaṭa bahā'ah ul-waḍḍā'* | *wa sanā' al-majdi naḥwa yadihil-yumnā*' / هكذا تكلم الله ثم بسط بهائه الوضاء وسناء المجد نحو يده اليمنى [Thus Allah spoke, then he spread his bright radiance | and eminence of glory towards his right hand] (*FM* 10.63-64). It could be argued that the Son's light is more magnificent than Satan's, because it is actually the Father's. But it could also be contended that descriptions of Satan's light – for instance, 'Darkened so, yet shone | Above them all the archangel' (*PL* 1.599-600) – is a more factual description of the setting, while the light of the Son is merely enforced upon him involuntarily. This increases the Father's eminence, as he is able to spread his vast light in a way similar to Qur'ānic descriptions of Allah.[71] As an epic character, though, the Son possesses here a more passive eminence in comparison with Satan's self-raised eminence, and consequently, the dependent nature of the Son's light makes it less magnificent than that of Satan.

[70] See 'Section 1.2.6'.
[71] For example, *Q* 24.35: 'Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth', and *Q* 39.69: 'And [it will be that] the Earth shone with the light of its Lord'. See 'Section 1.2.6'.

This being said, most connections between the Son and Satan are not lost in translation and are present thematically. For example, as Roland Frye points out, the Son 'renounces … power' for the sake of 'love', while Satan does the opposite. And when Satan sympathises with Adam and Eve before tempting them, he remains 'hateful'; on the contrary, when the Son is 'angry' after their fall, he remains 'merciful'.[72] Such antithetical links between the two characters should not be difficult to comprehend for a Muslim reader, as it makes sense for the Son to have different and opposing traits to Satan. In Islam, Iblīs is presented as having no power over Jesus, and this is even reflected in aspects of Arab-Muslim culture. As the previous chapter mentioned, according to Islamic tradition, shooting stars were placed in the skies to stop devils from eavesdropping when Jesus was born.[73] Another relevant belief in Arab-Muslim culture is that when a baby cries, many people relate this to Iblīs. One particular Ḥadīth forms the basis of this belief: 'Not a new-born is born except that the Devil touches him when he is born, so he begins screaming from the Devil touching him, except Mary and her son'.[74] This Ḥadīth confirms that Jesus and his mother possess a special status not granted to the rest of humanity. Moreover, the fact this belief is incorporated into some people's everyday thinking nowadays shows the effect of the Ḥadīth, and in turn, indicates that Iblīs's enmity to Jesus is already acknowledged by many Arab-Muslims. The Qur'ān, too, states that Jesus has been protected divinely from Iblīs: at Mary's birth, her mother prays to Allah, saying: '… I have named her Mary, and I seek refuge in You for her and her offspring from the damned Devil. | So her Lord accepted her with fine acceptance…' (*Q* 3.36-37). The antithetical relationship of Satan and the Son, then, shares conceptual parallels with the way in which Arab-Muslims understand the

[72] Frye (1980), p. 15.
[73] See 'Section 2.3'.
[74] Ḥadīth 4548 (p. 820) in Al-Bukhāri; also 2366 (p. 924) Muslim: 'Every child of Adam is touched by the Devil on the day his mother bore him, except Mary and her son'; also 2658 (p. 1025) in Muslim: 'Every human born by his mother is poked by the Devil in his bosom, except Mary and her son'.

relationship of Iblīs and Jesus. This similarity allows the reader to anticipate the pivotal opposition of the two characters, which becomes a clear theme by the end of *Paradise Lost* and spills into *Paradise Regained.*

Perhaps the most significant confrontation between the Son and Satan in *Paradise Lost* is on the third day of the battle in heaven, in Book 6, when the Son triumphantly defeats the fallen angels. Milton's depiction of the Son as a charioteering warrior differs from the portrayal of Christ's merciful character in the New Testament, and is also alien to most Arab-Muslim understandings of Jesus. As has already been mentioned, the Son's mercy, and particularly the extent of its autonomy and the process of its actualisation, raises some issues for the Arab-Muslim reader in regard to character hierarchy and redemptive theology. For many readers, though, the events of Book 6 are a challenging display of the Son's merciless seriousness in battle. The Son's declaration, 'whom thou hatest, I hate, and can put on | Thy terrors' (*PL* 6.734-735), differs hugely from Luke's account of the crucifixion, in which Jesus cries out: 'Father, forgive them for they know not what they do' (Luke 23.34). Milton's descriptions that the Son 'pursued | With terrors, and with furies' (*PL* 6.858-859), and 'into terror changed | His countenance too severe to be beheld | And full of wrath' (*PL* 6.824-826), are strikingly unlike anything in the gospels. In the Arabic translation, 'Thy terrors' is '*bi-ahwālik*' / بأهوالك [with your horrors] (*FM* 6.735), and 'With terrors, and with furies' is '*bi-alwān il-ruʿbi wal-niqmah*' / بألوان الرعب والنقمة [with the colours of horror and indignation] (*FM* 6.859). But 'into terror changed' is translated as '*iktasā bil-ruʿbi wal-rahbah*' / اكتسى بالرعب والرهبة [dressed in horror and dread] (*FM* 6.824). On this occasion, Enani uses the term '*rahbah*', literally meaning 'dread' or 'fear', but now infamously taken out of context by media and extremists alike as the alleged Qur'ānic justification of 'terror'. It stems from the verse: 'So prepare for them what you can of

power[75] and tethers of horses, *turhibūn* (to put *rahbah*) in the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them whom you do not know, Allah knows them…' (*Q* 8.60).[76] According to a number of exegetes, one Ḥadīth, and Muhammad's companion Hudhayfa Ibn-Yamān, the 'others besides them' mentioned in this Qur'ānic verse refers to 'devils'.[77] It could be argued crudely that the actions of the Son towards the 'devils', or in the poem's context, the fallen angels, are therefore acceptable. However, it is more pivotal here to note that use of the term '*rahbah*' to translate 'terror' is possibly incorrect, as the Qur'ānic term does not signify offence, as much as defence via deterrence.[78] Using the term is problematic for the Arab-Muslim reader, particularly in the current socio-political climate, as it appears to condone the fallacious rhetoric that this Qur'ānic word signifies and even justifies 'terror'. In *Paradise Lost*, using this term in translation could be uncomfortable for the Arab-Muslim reader as it associates the characters of the Father and the Son with the sensationalised, twenty-first-century definition of 'terror'.

Like Christians, Muslims also perceive Jesus to be merciful and loving. In his dialogue with Allah, Jesus praises Allah's forgiving nature: 'If You punish them, they are Your servants; and if You forgive them, then indeed You are the Almighty, the Wise' (*Q* 5.118). Here, Jesus inverts the anticipated discourse, which would be that Allah could forgive people as they are His servants, and could punish them as He is the Almighty. Muhammad also gave accounts about Jesus to this effect, such as: 'Jesus, son of Mary, saw

[75] Note: the type of power is not specified as physical or warfare. For example, it can be power of knowledge or wisdom.
[76] The subject of 'terrorism' is too complex an issue to be discussed here. For a systematic and timely examination, see Ahmed Al-Dawoody, *The Islamic Law of War: Justifications and Regulations* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), esp. pp. 170-196.
[77] For example, Muhammad Al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr Al-Ṭabari [Exegesis of Al-Ṭabari]*, Vol. 14 (Cairo: Dār Al-Maʿārif, 1969) – first published *c*. 990, pp. 36-37; hereafter Al-Ṭabari's *Exegesis*; Hudhayfa Ibn-Yamān, cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 851; Ḥadīth, not classified as 'authentic', narrated by Abu-Ḥātim Al-Rāzi, cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 851.
[78] Ahmed Al-Dawoody (2012), personal interview; see Hammad's translation of the Qur'ān (2009), p. 304, in which he translates *Q* 8.60 as: 'So prepare for them in deterrence…'

a man stealing, so said to him: "Did you steal?" He said: "No, [I swear] by the One Whom there is no Lord besides". So Jesus said: "I believe in Allah, and I disbelieve myself"'.[79] In addition to its insinuation about Jesus's inferiority to Allah, the Ḥadīth is an example of the mercy and compassion Jesus possesses in Islamic tradition; Ibn Kathīr writes that the story exemplifies Jesus's 'pure nature'.[80] The Son's combatant nature in *Paradise Lost*, then, is generally an unfamiliar one to the Muslim reader.

But it is not the ruthless nature of the Son, per se, that raises questions for the Muslim reader. Rather, the Son's attack on the fallen angels is challenging in that it 'presages the ultimate destruction of evil in the Last Judgement',[81] thus confirming his Messianic role in accordance with apocalyptic Christian doctrine. In Book 6, Milton describes how the rebellious angels 'as a herd | Of goats or timorous flock together thronged', are attacked by the Son, who 'Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued | With terrors, and with furies' (*PL* 6.856-859). In the New Testament, we see a similar, though less violent image of the Son's role as the final judge of the evildoers:

> When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: | And before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. | And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left … Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels (Matthew 25.31-33, 41).[82]

[79] Ḥadīth 2368 (p. 924) in Muslim; also, Ḥadīth 3444 (p. 634) in Al-Bukhāri, with a slight variation in what Jesus says: 'I believe in Allah, and I disbelieve my eyes'.
[80] Al-Ḥāfidh Ibn Kathīr, *Qaṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' [Stories of the Prophets]*, ed. Muhammad ʿAbdel-ʿAzīz, 4th edn. (Amman: Maktabat Dār Al-Thaqāfa, 1995) – first published *c*. 1350, p. 538.
[81] Frye (1980), p. 15.
[82] Christ also shows fury, though not apocalyptic, in the cleansing of the temple (Mark 11.15-19; Matthew 21.12-13; Luke 19.45-46; John 2.13-16).

As shown in my earlier discussion of intercession, the role of Jesus is not greatly significant in the Islamic view of the Day of Resurrection; rather, Allah is the only judge and Muhammad has a major role as intercessor and leader. The Son's Messianic role in the poem can serve as a reminder of the different nature of Jesus's mission in Islamic theology. In Book 12, Michael tells Adam that 'the true | Anointed king Messiah might be born' (*PL* 12.358-359), and through him, redemption shall be gained. This is only possible through the Messianic role of the Son, whom Michael explains 'shall endure by coming in the flesh | To a reproachful life and cursèd death' (*PL* 12.404-406). Michael explains that 'In sin for ever lost from life; this act | Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength | Defeating Sin and Death' (*PL* 12.429-431). The Son will 'Then enter into glory, and resume | His seat at God's right hand, exalted high | Above all names in heaven' and will 'judge' all humans, and 'then the earth | Shall all be paradise' (*PL* 12.456-464). The Son, then, is presented as both judge and Messianic redeemer to the everlasting kingdom.

Assigning divine roles to the Son within this Messianic mission, such as the acts of judging, saving and damning on the Judgement Day, could be regarded as blasphemous by Muslim readers. In Islamic belief, these tasks are performed solely by Allah.[83] But some common ground does exist, as Muslims believe that Jesus was raised by Allah before crucifixion,[84] and shall therefore return at the end of time in an earthly Messianic role. In fact, it is thought that four out of ten Egyptian Muslims 'expect Jesus to return in their lifetime'.[85] Muhammad's sayings are the basis for such views; for instance:

[83] For example, *Q* 18.26: '…and He (Allah) does not share His judgements/decisions with anyone'.
[84] The main source for this is *Q* 4.157: 'And for their saying: "Indeed, we killed the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, Messenger of Allah". But they did not kill him, nor did they crucify him; rather, it was made to appear to them as so. And those who dispute regarding him are in doubt about it; they have no knowledge of it, except following conjecture. And with certainty, they did not kill him'.
[85] Pew Research Center (2012), p. 66.

> … I am the most deserving of people to Jesus, son of Mary, because there shall be no Prophet between me and him. And he is descending, so if you see him, a man of moderate height, red or whitish, between two garments of light yellow, his head is as though it is dripping though it is not wet. He will break the cross, kill the swine, place the *jizyah*,[86] and call people to Islam. In his time, Allah will destroy all denominations except Islam, and in his time, Allah will destroy the Antichrist the liar,[87] and peace will prevail on the earth that lions wander with camels and tigers with cows and wolves with sheep, and children will play with serpents without hurting each other. And he will stay on the earth as long as Allah wills, then die, and the Muslims will pray at his funeral and bury him.[88]

In addition, other Ḥadīths narrate that 'the Day of Resurrection will not come until Jesus, son of Mary, ascends as a fair judge and just leader … and money floods [so much] that nobody will accept it'.[89] Muhammad also says that 'the earth will be told to bring forth its fruit and restore its blessing, and at that time, a group [of people] will eat from a

[86] See 'Jizyah', in Esposito (2003), p. 161: '[the] poll tax levied on non-Muslims as a form of tribute and in exchange for an exemption from military service'.
[87] The Antichrist, or *Al-Masīḥ Al-Dajjāl* [The False/Deceiving Messiah], is one of the final signs before the Judgement Day. Muhammad said that 'not one Prophet has not warned his people' about the Antichrist (Ḥadīth 2933 in Muslim, p. 1122). The Antichrist will 'appear during the age of injustice preceding the end of the world, causing corruption and oppression' (Esposito 2003, p. 21) and claim to be God by performing many miracles using black magic (Ḥadīth 2938 in Muslim, pp. 1124-1125). He will be worshipped by many before Jesus puts an end to his oppression and brings peace to the world by killing him (Ḥadīth 2940 in Muslim, p. 1126). Based on Muhammad's advice, many Muslims today pray in their daily prayers that they are not afflicted by the Antichrist.
[88] Ḥadīth narrated by Ibn-Ḥabbān, cited in Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 2, p. 110; other versions, such as Ḥadīth 4324 in Abū-Dāwūd (p. 472) state that Jesus 'will stay on the earth for forty years, then die'. For explanation, see Bayūmi (1999), p. 409.
[89] Ḥadīth 3312 (Vol. 2, p. 338) in Ibn Mājah; similarly, see also: Ḥadīth 155 (p. 74) in Muslim, and Ḥadīths 2222, 2476, 3448 (pp. 396, 448, 635) in Al-Bukhāri.

pomegranate and it will fill them, and they will take shade under its skin',[90] and other narrations specify that 'the land … will sprout its plants like at the time of Adam'.[91]

Clearly, the mission of Christ in Islam is to deliver bliss and perfection in both life and faith, much as Michael tells Adam that the Messiah will result in 'New heavens, new earth, ages of endless date | Founded in righteousness and peace and love, | To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss' (*PL* 12.549-551). The new earth which Muslims believe Jesus will help to bring into being clearly possesses 'peace and love', and is indeed 'founded in righteousness'. In his prophecy, Michael hints that this 'righteousness' is a result of destroying evil through the bruising of the serpent. Notably, in the prophetic Ḥadīth about Jesus's return, we are presented with a fascinating image of serpents being tamed so that they no longer possess any threat to humans or even children. The idea of Satan disguising himself as a serpent is common in Arab-Muslim culture despite its absence from Islamic versions of the temptation story. Nonetheless, the image in this Ḥadīth is of evil being overcome and of devils being defeated, as Muhammad said that devils can live in snakes.[92] Moreover, just as evil is defeated in Michael's vision, Sunni Muslims believe that it is Jesus who will personally 'kill' the Antichrist with his 'spear' in a final encounter which shows Jesus's unexpected prowess in physical combat, much like the Son's.[93] The killing of the Antichrist helps to explain the establishment of righteousness in Muhammad's prophecy:

[90] Ḥadīth 2937 (pp. 1123-1124) in Muslim; Ḥadīth 3310 (Vol. 2, pp. 335-337) in Ibn Mājah. In some narrations, a grape. For more examples, see Harun Yahya, *The Glad Tidings of the Messiah* (Istanbul: Global Publishing, 2004), pp. 162-179.
[91] Ḥadīth 7875 in Muhammad Al-Albāni, *Ṣaḥīḥ Wa Ḍa'īf Al-Jāmi' Al-Saghīr Wa Ziyādatuh [The Complete Authentic and Weak and More]*, Vol. 2 (Cairo: Al-Mostafa Online Library, no year), p. 991.
[92] Ḥadīth 2236 (p. 883) in Muslim: '…so whoever sees [a snake] like this, warn it three times, and if it appears to you again, then kill it, for it is a devil'. See 'Section 2.3, n. 151'.
[93] Ḥadīth cited in Ibn-Taymiyyah, *Al-Jawāb Al-Saḥī Li-Man Baddal Dīn Al-Masīḥ [The Correct Answer for Whoever Changed The Religion of the Messiah]*, ed. ʿAli Nāṣir, ʿAbdel-ʿAzīz Al-ʿAskar and Muhammad Al-Ḥamdān, Vol.5 (Riyadh: Dār Al-ʿĀṣimah, 1999), p. 252. See also Ḥadīths cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 557; Ḥadīth 2940 (p. 1126) in Muslim, though this does not state the 'spear'. Note: Shi'ites do not believe that Jesus will kill the Antichrist.

righteousness will become achievable through ending impiety and defeating an Antichrist who embodies Satan's desecrations and challenges to divine power and decree.[94]

By keeping in mind the Islamic view of Jesus's second coming, one is able to see a number of common concepts shared by the poem and the apocalyptic tradition within Islam. Initially, the role of the Son as saviour, judge and fighter may seem far-fetched for the Muslim reader. However, the notion of Jesus as an earthly saviour from human strife, a judge who will restore justice and a fighting leader who will defeat evil, makes much sense to the Muslim reader, particularly as Jesus is presented as doing so through the power of Allah and the message of Islam. Indeed, the Muslim reader may face numerous difficulties in comprehending the Son's divine status. But this is not necessarily the case when he or she considers carefully the types of roles the Son possesses. Furthermore, it becomes clearer that the differences relating to the Son's Messianic mission are often a result of variances between Islamic and Christian doctrines, based on their respective beliefs and scriptures, and not necessarily between Islamic theology and the theology of *Paradise Lost*, which often share common ground. This suggests that there may be more doctrinal convergence between Milton's theology in the poem and Islamic creed and culture, than between orthodox Christianity and Islamic belief. This study of the Arab-Muslim reception of the Son, then, appears to support the finding of scholars such as Michael Lieb that *Paradise Lost* is, in many ways, a doctrinally unorthodox text.[95]

[94] Symbolism of the Antichrist representing impiety and disbelief is also present in Christianity, in the Epistles of John: 'even now are there many Antichrists … he is Antichrist, that denyeth the Father, and the Son' (1 John 2.18, 22).
[95] See Michael Lieb, *Theological Milton: Deity, Discourse and Heresy in the Miltonic Canon* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2006).

3.4: Conclusion

This chapter has shown that analysing the reception of the Son in the Arab-Muslim world reveals inevitable associations between the Son and the figure of Jesus represented in both the New Testament and Islamic scripture. It also points towards the importance of comprehending these links in any reception study of this Miltonic character. These links force us to think about the theological doctrines presented in the poem, most notably Trinitarianism and Messianism. It is vital to have an awareness of the ways in which these doctrines shape the Muslim reader's response to the Son's presentation in the poem. This is because the Arab-Muslim reader believes in neither the Trinity, nor in the absolute redemptive nature of the Messiah, and may possess only limited knowledge of them. Instead, he or she brings an array of conscious and subconscious cultural perceptions of Jesus, based predominantly on credal beliefs and standpoints from the Qur'ānic scripture and Ḥadīth tradition, but not necessarily from the Bible. The non-divine nature of Jesus in Islam means that many of these perceptions relate to Allah's status as the sole originator and Lord, who 'neither begets nor was begotten' (*Q* 112.3), and who stands above and apart from all other natural and supernatural entities. If this hierarchy is altered, basic Islamic belief is contradicted. If this non-equality is to be established in the poem, then, the Father must be elevated over the Son. There are two intertwined ways in which this takes place. The first is the belief system with which the Muslim reader approaches the text, which intuitively makes him or her interpret the Father as superior to all other characters. The second is the presence in the Arabic translation of subtle and less subtle shifts in emphasis.

Accordingly, when the Son manifests, expresses or mediates the Father's divine nature, will or message, the Muslim reader is able to equate the Son's role with that of Jesus: the Prophet and Messenger. However, when the Son's representation implies equal status

with the Father, complexities arise for the Muslim reader. It is in these situations that the Arabic translation emphasises the Father's superiority while downplaying the Son's authority. This is achieved by diminishing certain thematic aspects of the Son's mission, like his role in creation, the voluntariness of his redemption, the autonomy of his mercy, and the extent to which he can ratify intercession. Moreover, the translation makes intricate modifications to aspects of the text, like terminology and grammar. For instance, Enani repeatedly adds the term 'Allah', replaces 'Son' with the more acceptable feminine phrase, 'the word', and makes alterations to imply that the Son represents the human figure of Jesus. As a result, the Father's degree of control is augmented and strengthened at the expense of the Son.

The previous chapter highlighted how for the Arab-Muslim reader, Milton's Satan is presented as an antithesis to the Father. In a sense, this chapter has intimated that the Son, too, shares a kind of antithetical relationship with the Father, albeit more subtle and undeclared. This antithetical relationship is not of good against evil; it is of an independent absoluteness against a dependent passivity. Much as a Muslim reader cannot accept Satan's claim to be 'God-like' (*PL* 2.511), it is also difficult to accept the Son as one 'throned in highest bliss | Equal to God' (*PL* 3.305-306). It should be recalled that the antithetical relationship with Satan in Islam is a result of the severity of giving the Devil authority or worship.[96] Bearing this in mind, the Qur'ān conveys a quite direct connection between this act of revering Satan, and the act of associating a son or equal with God: 'And they made for Allah equals/associates of *jinn*, though He created them; and they impute for Him sons and daughters without knowledge. Exalted is He and Most High above what they ascribe' (*Q* 6.100). This verse shows that attributing a hallowed son figure to God is similarly

[96] *Q* 36.60: 'Did I not pledge to you, O children of Adam, that you do not worship the Devil? He is to you a clear enemy'. See 'Section 2.1'.

problematic to deifying Satan. The problems encountered by Muslims in their reception of the Son are therefore similar, conceptually, to those noted about Satan in the previous chapter.

The presentation of the Son in *Paradise Lost* also raises concerns for the Muslim reader about the status of Muhammad, which is sacred and exclusive. When the Son shares some of Muhammad's roles, as he appears to do in the poem, this hierarchy is also challenged. One of the most interesting elements of the Arab-Muslim reading process is highlighted here: it is the capacity to bring new characters and events, and not just beliefs, to the perimeter of the epic. Muhammad does not exist in Milton's poem. However, analysing the reception of the Son shows that his presence in the reading process for Muslims is almost inevitable, particularly when it comes to more challenging aspects of the narrative, such as intercession and salvation.

The notion of salvation is also an example of the new direction in which the Arab-Muslim reader can take the Son's character. As established in the conclusion to the previous chapter, there are three key types of issues in the Arab-Muslim reception of literature: solely translational, translational in conjunction with Islamic culture, and solely Islamic.[97] Islamic concepts of salvation are based on creed and scripture, so reception of this topic does not rely as much on the translation as on Islamic tradition. The Son's Messianic role shows the differences between the apocalyptic and Messianic traditions in both Christianity and Islam. Muslims can read the Son's mission in conjunction with Jesus's second coming in Islamic belief, in which he will destroy evil and restore bliss. The outcomes of this mission are similar to the prophecies which Michael relates to Adam, not least the defeat of evil, which is central thematically to both this poem and its sequel. Muslim readers are therefore able to

[97] See 'Section 2.4'.

bring a new dimension to the Messianic mission of the Son: one which is more acceptable to them and does not undermine the Father's authority. For the Arab-Muslim reader, the biblical basis of Milton's Son does not loom large; instead, the reader equates the Son to the figure of Jesus presented in Islamic scripture. Though on the face of it, perceiving the Son as the Islamic figure of Jesus appears unorthodox and problematic, it can accommodate the reader's beliefs to the text, as well as strengthen his or her understanding of the Son's otherwise offensive nature and mission.

Stepping back, however, the truth of the matter is that one of the few fundamental discrepancies between the Islamic and Christian faiths is that surrounding the figure of Jesus. In this sense – and this chapter has tried not to overlook this simple point – the Son's very presence in the heavenly narrative in *Paradise Lost*, and even his designation in the poem as 'the Son', provide a wholly Christian and non-Islamic emphasis to the text. For a Muslim, the story of Adam and Eve is fact: it took place in Eden, was decreed by God, and it was none other than the fallen Satan who tempted the couple. Likewise, aspects of the poem's ending are familiar to the Muslim reader, as are the majority of Michael's prophecies, which are present in the Qur'ān as the stories of the Prophets. As the five Pillars of Faith include belief in the Qur'ān and in the Messengers, a Muslim is obliged to believe in these narrations.[98] Hence, the chief difference between the Islamic account of the temptation of Adam and Eve, and its Miltonic counterpart, is the presence of the Son. Likewise, the only substantial variance between Michael's prophecies and their respective Islamic narrations is the role of the Son.

[98] See also *Q* 2.285 and 4.136.

The fact there is an Islamic version of the events in Eden, which the Son's presence deviates from, is as much a reason for controversy as it is for mutuality. Enani says that it is important:

> to avoid calling *Paradise Lost* a fiction, or a myth, or a parable, or a legend, nothing of the sort. It's truth and the whole truth. It did happen: there was a garden and God created Adam out of clay and created Eve and so on, as narrated by the Bible and by the Qur'ān. This is accepted as gospel truth; it is gospel.[99]

Paradise Lost is certainly not 'the whole truth', but the basic components of its narrative, which Enani outlines, are indeed truths to many people. Approaching *Paradise Lost* with this in mind, as many Muslims no doubt do, allows religious and scriptural common ground to be appreciated. However, it also underlines the substantial differences between Islamic narratives and Milton's poem; the Son's presence and nature is the most significant of these. Enani was all too aware of this, admitting that at times, he 'avoided the words "Son of God"', because it is 'offensive to Islamic belief'.[100] The Son was specifically problematic for Enani when he was translating the first two Books of the epic, which he did while working in Saudi Arabia. He recalls:

> Teaching *Paradise Lost* with Christ being called the Son of God would be difficult in Saudi Arabia. And mind you, I was in Saudi Arabia at the time … and I faced no end of questions concerning religion. And I had to tell them that this is a Christian poem addressed to Christians. It's not your poem. [They reply], 'yes, yes, we know, we know Jesus Christ, he's a great prophet' and this sort of thing.[101]

[99] Enani (2011), personal interview.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

Clearly, it became vital for Enani to emphasise the common ground Islam shares with the poem, while also distancing the work, in its original form, as a specifically Christian text with its own version of Jesus as double-natured, human and divine.

In this light, it is no surprise that such a high proportion of literature students in Egypt simply equate the Son with Jesus Christ's depiction in Christianity. 'I think the role of the Son helped me understand Christianity', says one,[102] another adding: 'I know this (the presentation of the Son) is part of the Christian faith'.[103] By assuming that the portrayal of the Son is simply 'Christian', the Muslim reader is able to create a kind of safe zone, distancing him or herself from the content, and allowing the work to belong to a different group. The other option is to perceive the text as a fiction, as some students do. This makes accepting the content easier, but is still problematic because for Muslims, the story of Adam and Eve is a factual occurrence mentioned in the Qur'ān. Reading the text as an absolute fiction or as a fundamentally Christian poem, are both flawed approaches, to some extent. A middle ground enables the Muslim reader to realise that the text may be similar to its Qur'ānic equivalent, but is indeed based on the Bible, as well as Milton's literary, political and religious poetic imagination.

Though the majority of Muslim students find the Son controversial because of their faith, those who fail to take the poem either as a Christian text or as an imaginative text appear to be the most troubled by Milton's character. One non-Arab, Muslim student in Egypt, who read the poem in English, said that she felt 'insulted … the Son is completely disgusting. God is God. He cannot turn into a being he created'.[104] Here, it is the complexity of the Son's divine yet created nature that is problematic, particularly as the weighted

[102] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[103] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.* Parentheses added.
[104] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic not first language / Female.*

emphases of the translation could not come to the aid of this non-Arab reader. It is evident that the Son's nature and role, combined with a strong Islamic belief and a limited knowledge of both Christian and Miltonic theologies, can produce an insulted reader. The Son's nature also demonstrates the paradox of the Muslim reader's basic reception process: he or she should not call the poem a 'fiction', but at the same time, must certainly call it so. Perhaps this is how Milton may have wanted his biblical epic to be read; by choosing this genre, he was adding new elements to a scriptural story he and his contemporary readers no doubt believed in. Parts of this thesis have indeed shown that the Muslim reader shares a similar mental terrain with Milton's contemporary reader, primarily because both believe that there are true elements to the story. However, the doctrinal difference surrounding the Son complicates the role of fiction. As far as the character of Satan is concerned, the Muslim reader has little evidence that Milton's innovations about Satan are untrue. But when it comes to the Son, any fictitious aspect of the story is a falsity for the Muslim reader. Milton, on the other hand, would regard any imaginative elements of his epic as potential truths, which at least serve the truth. The second paradox of the way a Muslim reads *Paradise Lost*, then, is that it both complements and undermines the semi-fictitious nature of the biblical epic.

In addition, it is the Son's underlying and vital relationship with the Father which highlights some of the doctrinal stances in *Paradise Lost*, several of which share parallels with aspects of the Muslim reader's belief systems. Much as the Arab-Muslim reader approaches Milton's Satan with a set of cultural and religious assumptions and expectations, it is somewhat appropriate that he or she should bring their innately antitrinitarian and subordinationist beliefs to the reading process.[105] Islam shows clear respect for Christianity,

[105] Of course, while Muslims believe that Jesus is subordinate to God, they do not believe in the same subordinationism involving the Trinity.

but refutes its Trinitarianism.[106] The Muslim reader therefore approaches the poem with an antitrinitarian lens, and the Arabic translation further emphasises a subordinationist hierarchy between the Father and the Son. The Muslim reader denies completely both the trinity and the Son's divinity, so his or her theological views are not the same as Milton's. Nevertheless, Islamic belief shares conceptual similarities with Milton's belief. In a sense, the Muslim reader, despite never reading or even hearing of *De Doctrina Christiana*, brings to his or her reading of *Paradise Lost* some notions of religious hierarchy that are closer to Milton's subordinationism than to orthodox Christian Trinitarianism. In the fifth chapter of *De Doctrina*'s opening Book, Milton asserts the following: the Son is created through the Father's decree, the Father did not need to create him,[107] the Father is his God,[108] the Son himself admits that the Father is greater,[109] he prays to the Father and calls us to do the same, he performs miracles only through the Father, and is also raised by the Father.[110] If we replace the 'Father' with 'Allah' and the 'Son' with 'Jesus', a Muslim reader could be forgiven for thinking he or she was reading Milton's 'Islamic' doctrine. The Muslim reader is, in this sense at least, very prepared to delve into *Paradise Lost*. But it is also vital to note that like the antithetical representation of Satan in the poem, the increased subordination of the Son magnifies the importance of the divine figure that is the Father. To the Arab-Muslim reader, though, portraying God is integrally controversial, and moves us on to even more fragile and volatile issues of reception.

[106] *Q* 5.82: 'And you will find the closest in affection to those who believe are those who say: "We are Christians"'; *Q* 4.171: 'So believe in Allah and His Messengers, and do not say "three". Stop, it is better for you'.
[107] *DDC* 1.5, pp. 209, 261.
[108] Ibid., pp. 214-215.
[109] Ibid., pp. 220, 227, 275.
[110] Ibid., pp. 228-232.

CHAPTER 4: GOD THE FATHER

4.1: The Father and the Paradox of Depiction

Marjorie Hope Nicholson states: 'Of all the characters in the epic God has been most seriously attacked'.[1] For instance, Harold Bloom wrote that 'God's failure as a literary character is the only blemish on an otherwise sublime work'.[2] Others have criticised the inconsistent characterisation of the Father, John Peter calling him 'a heterogeneous complex of ingredients, part man, part spirit, part attested biblical Presence and part dogma'.[3] Some of the Romantics, in addition to critics such as Sir Walter Raleigh, William Empson and A. J. A. Waldock, have also stressed numerous negative traits and inconsistencies in what they perceive to be the Father's overtly tyrannical character.[4] Michael Lieb argues that the God of *Paradise Lost* is full of 'hatred', and as a result, the reader is 'encouraged to … hate like God'.[5]

John Shawcross, however, asserts that since the twentieth century, critics have begun to think about 'the subject of God's Providence', as opposed to the defects of the Father's character.[6] The Father is constantly related to our understandings of the divine; for example, when C. S. Lewis writes that 'those who say they dislike Milton's God only mean that they dislike God',[7] it is because Lewis himself believes in God's 'eternal providence' (*PL* 1.25). Contrastingly, Empson argues that Milton's will to 'assert' (*PL* 1.25) this providence is

[1] Nicholson (1964), p. 223.
[2] Harold Bloom, cited in Lieb (2006), p. 8.
[3] John Peter, *A Critique of 'Paradise Lost'* (London: Longmans, 1960), p. 15; see also pp. 9-30.
[4] Sir Walter Raleigh, *Milton* (London: Edward Arnold, 1922), pp. 129-132; Empson (1981) – first published 1961; A. J. A. Waldock, *'Paradise Lost' and its Critics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 97-118. See also Leonard (2013), Vol. 2, pp. 480-495.
[5] Lieb (2006), p. 8.
[6] Shawcross (1970), p. 31.
[7] Lewis (1942), p. 130.

proof that the poet himself is 'struggling to make God appear less wicked',[8] indicating a difficulty many face in coming to terms with some of the Father's character traits in the epic. Dennis Danielson is correct, then, when he stresses that 'Milton's God is especially controversial', because 'to believe or not believe in this God is such a fundamental thing that one cannot realistically join the conversation created by *Paradise Lost* and expect one's belief or unbelief to go unaddressed'.[9] Yet it is Milton's belief in the unquestionable perfection of God that makes it difficult for readers to take a human interest in the Father's seemingly less amiable character; the Father's role often means that he 'can neither degenerate nor develop but must remain static'.[10]

Clearly, both the way the Father is portrayed, and the concepts he represents, must be considered if one is to understand how his character is received. Moreover, much like critical opinion about Milton's theology, it appears that a critic's intellectual and religious orientation can affect significantly his or her perception of the Father. Belief in God is a complex issue, which can be personal, experiential, philosophical, cultural, inherited, or a mixture of these. Accordingly, the combination of these factors, which form one's belief system about the divine, may affect the reception of the Father in ways that do not necessarily impinge upon the reception of other characters in *Paradise Lost*.

For a Muslim reader, the first problem to be overcome is the very fact of the depiction of the Father. In 1731, educational reformist John Clarke showed that readers may object less to the specific details of the Father's portrayal by Milton, than to the very fact of depicting the divine – 'an unpardonable Boldness' on Milton's part:

[8] Empson (1981), p. 11.
[9] Dennis Danielson, 'The Fall of Man and Milton's Theodicy', in Danielson (1989), p. 113.
[10] Nicholson (1964), p. 223.

> But shall a Man, a poor short-sighted Creature, dare to bring down the most High into a Scene of Diversion, and assign him his Part of Acting and Speaking, as if he was a proper Judge of what is fit for him to do, and to say…[11]

As Clarke exemplifies, there exist objections to the literary presentation of the Father, as well as to the Father's characteristics, and the concepts he represents. In particular, for the reader who believes in God, any human, literary depiction of the Father may fail to do God's actions justice. As Waldock states, 'perfection, quite strictly, is unportrayable';[12] as will be shown, this is the most basic difficulty for a Muslim reading about the Father. In this light, it is vital to understand the way this reader may perceive the literary depiction of the Father's physical and psychological characteristics. The most obvious challenge presented by the text to the Father's physical portrayal is anthropomorphism, while his psychology places weight on concepts such as free will, predestination, trial and judgement, all emphasised persistently during the poem.

Milton explores the Father's character, but does not question his existence.[13] On the face of it, this makes *Paradise Lost* suitable reading for Muslims, because certainty of God's existence is the most fundamental Islamic belief. But the issue of belief can also be problematic, since Milton's faith also means that he 'never presents *his* God as if he is not really God'.[14] The Muslim reader's belief in God, then, can present obstacles to his or her reception of Milton's Father for two main reasons. First, the epic presents a God who is often, though not always, very different from Allah. As Nicholson explains, the reader who 'believes in God … has even more difficulty, since he starts off with specific prejudices *pro*

[11] John Clarke, cited in Shawcross (1970), pp. 263-264.
[12] Waldock (1962), p. 97.
[13] Danielson (1989), p. 113; *DDC* 1.2, pp. 130-152.
[14] Danielson (1989), p. 113.

and *con* the positions God goes out of His way to expound'.[15] The second reason is that we are told that Milton's God needs justification, and as a result, also needs to be depicted. This challenges two key Islamic beliefs about Allah: His unquestionable perfection, and the incomprehensible nature of His magnificence. Numerous paradoxes begin to develop: for the Muslim reader, only Allah can possess divine attributes, so Milton's literary portrayal of the Father as the divine character of the epic means that the Muslim reader must correlate the Father to Allah. Simultaneously, Allah does not need justification, cannot be portrayed, and is beyond human imagination. The irony of this tangled reading process echoes Nicholson's observation that 'in spite of the fact that we are told that we cannot see Him, Milton gives us no alternative to visualising Him'.[16] In fact, it is fair to say that the Father even 'denies Milton's own premises',[17] and in so doing, places Muslim readers in a similarly ambiguous position to Milton. On the whole, there are two major hurdles the Muslim reader must overcome: Milton's claim to justify God's way to humankind, and his literary depiction of God.

In the Arab-Muslim world, both credal and cultural prohibitions apply to the depiction of God, and to questioning his ways. Hence, this chapter must consider how the Arab-Muslim reader's response to *Paradise Lost* is shaped by his or her religio-cultural assumptions and sensibilities, and how these compare with the poem's stance on both God's being and God's behaviours. For Muslim readers, it appears that the most contentious aspects of the Father's depiction are its potential anthropomorphism and anthropopathism.[18] Additionally, the poem provides much food for thought about the tools the Father uses in his

[15] Nicholson (1964), p. 225.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Anthropomorphism: 'ascription of human form and attributes' to the Deity. Anthropopathism: 'ascription of human feelings and passions' to the Deity. See 'anthropomorphism, n,' and 'anthropopathy, n.', *OED Online* (2011), <http://oed.com/view/Entry/8449?redirectedFrom=anthropomorphism#eid> and <http://oed.com/view/Entry/8471#eid1809816> [accessed 11th October 2012].

divine plan – or mystery – such as the provision of free will, and how these coincide with his divine decree and prescience. Indeed, the poem's exploration of the divine can be wholly problematic, even if it is regarded as an imaginative text. Lieb writes:

> *Paradise Lost* is not the Bible, and Milton's God does not possess the same authorised presence as he does in the Bible. As far as Milton is concerned, however, his poem is the most authoritative re-enactment of what happens in the Bible as one can possibly imagine.[19]

Again, we are faced with a key challenge posed to Muslim readers: the question of whether *Paradise Lost* should be read as a fiction, a blasphemy, or even a truth. In this light, how the Muslim reader responds to the character of the Father can help establish how he or she reads the poem as a whole. But to analyse the reception of the Muslim reader, it is important to understand the relation of Milton's portrayal of the Father to basic Islamic beliefs about God.

Islamic doctrine is based on the oneness of God: a Muslim must believe that 'there is no God but Allah' in order to fulfil the first and most fundamental Pillar of Islam: the *shahādah* [profession of faith]. The last two chapters both showed that it is impossible for the Muslim reader to consider the characters of Satan and the Son in *Paradise Lost* apart from a consideration of the character of the Father. Both Satan and the Son raise theological concerns for the Muslim reader; according to Islamic scholars, the first condition of believing in God is to 'disbelieve' in the *ṭāghūt*, which is the association of exclusively divine attributes to non-divine entities.[20] The Qur'ān makes it clear that associating deities with God – *shirk* – is the one grave sin: 'Indeed, Allah does not forgive associating [anything] with Him, but He forgives anything less than this, for whoever He wills' (*Q*

[19] Lieb (2006), p. 162.
[20] ʿAli Al-Ṣallābi, *Al-Īman Billāh [Belief in Allah]* (Beirut: Dar Al-Maʿrefah, 2009), p. 142.

4.116). When the Qur'ān warns about associations with Allah more specifically, it very often refers to Satan or Jesus. For example: 'Did I not pledge to you, O children of Adam, that you do not worship the Devil?' (*Q* 36.60), and 'Indeed, they have disbelieved who say: "Allah Himself is the Messiah, son of Mary"' (*Q* 5.17). In *Paradise Lost*, then, both Satan and the Son present basic problems for the Muslim reader: they challenge the Father's absolute authority, whether by rebelling against him, or by sharing aspects of his divinity. However, as has been shown, the characters of Satan and the Son may also be less problematic for the Muslim reader than expected. With regard to Satan, the reader's prior assumptions and knowledge, in addition to Enani's translation, both relate Milton's character to the Islamic figure of Iblīs. This makes Satan's challenge to the Father more conventional for the Muslim reader; in fact, as Satan is the Father's antithesis, the Father is elevated. In the case of the Son, Arab-Muslim readers relate him to the human figure of the Prophet Jesus, thus diminishing his divinity and elevating the Father at his expense. The Son's more passive character in the Arabic translation also emphasises the Father's contrasting divinity and power. The result, then, is that religious, cultural and translational factors form links in the characters of Satan and the Son, and create antithetical relationships for these characters with the Father. In turn, the Father's divinity appears absolute, and his matchless superiority becomes apparent for Muslim readers.

As a result, the Arab-Muslim reader can relate the deified Father of the poem – the 'First, highest, holiest, best' (*PL* 6.724) – to the sole Islamic deity: Allah. On one hand, this is welcome to Arab-Muslim readers, as it allows the deity to possess exclusivity and power, but on the other, it forms a depiction of Allah: something forbidden in Islam. This study has already introduced the difficulties of addressing religious ideas in literature in the Arab-Muslim world; portraying Allah is particularly and uniquely problematic. Islamic scholars

assert that innovation is not welcome on the topic of Allah; one of 'the foundations upon which oneness' of God exists is that 'Allah's names and attributes are final, so we do not assign [anything] to Allah Almighty, or deny anything, except with evidence from the Qur'ān or the Sunnah, and there is no other way to reach this (portrayal of Allah) except through them'.[21]

As for the concept of God's providence, this causes interesting complexities in the Arab-Muslim reception throughout the poem. Arab-Muslim writers, like some Milton critics, may assume that Milton's beliefs about the Father do not contest their own. Writing in *Al-Risālah*, Maḥmūd Al-Khafīf explained that Milton's epic showed 'the wisdom of God and His will towards humankind'.[22] This, in short, is Al-Khafīf's interpretation of 'eternal providence' (*PL* 1.25). When Hassan Hegazy translated 'On His Blindness' into Arabic in 2008, he introduced it by writing that Milton believed 'that there was some job that Allah, praises and exaltations upon Him, chose him to complete', adding:

> The major calamity was when he became blind at the peak of his power, but because he thought that Allah had chosen him for a message, he did not lose faith and found himself arguing that Allah had tested him with this disability.[23]

Hegazy believes that Milton defended God's modes of testing humankind, not only in 'On His Blindness', but also in 'his magnificent epics'.[24] *Paradise Lost* is therefore perceived as an argument about the wisdom of God's tests for humankind. This, then, would be an example of Hegazy's understanding of how Milton is able to 'justify the ways of God to men' (*PL* 1.26).

[21] Ibid., p. 54. Parentheses added.
[22] Al-Khafīf, *Al-Risālah*, No. 702 (16/12/1946), p. 27.
[23] Hegazy (2008), p. 22.
[24] Ibid.

The claim of the invocation in Book 1 that the epic will do so provides an early – and potentially controversial – indication about the poem's position regarding God. In Islam, God's perfection means that all His decrees and actions do not need any justification: 'He is not questioned about what He does, but they (his creations) are questioned' (*Q* 21.23). For this reason, Enani's translation of this part of the invocation alters the original to '*shāriḥan ḥikmata mā yaf'aluhu Allāh bil-insān*' / شارحا حكمة ما يفعله الله بالإنسان [explaining the wisdom of what Allah does with humans] (*FM* 1.26). The translation modifies justification to explanation, and 'the ways of God' to 'the wisdom' of God. Moreover, this explanation of God's ways is not addressed to humankind as may be the case in the original text.[25] Rather, the phrase 'to men' is translated to affirm that humans are the objects of God's wise and explicable actions. In Milton's original, the possibility that justification is for human understanding suggests that humans actually need God's ways to be justified, and that they have a 'right or ability to arrive at judgements concerning God's nature and character'.[26] This is a controversial supposition for a Muslim reader, so at this early stage of the poem, a literal translation undermining God's perfection would be too contentious. Rather than questioning God, the translation indicates that there is no reason for God to even need defence. This example provides a fine indication of the kinds of conceptual problems which an Arab-Muslim reader may face with regard to God's sovereignty in the poem. It also highlights the kinds of shifts which Enani can formulate in order to accommodate his reader's theological beliefs.

[25] Anne Ferry states: 'the word "men" includes us, the readers … and it is to us that the narrator is to explain God's ways'. But critical opinion has differed about *PL* 1.26. As Waldock asks: 'Is it "justifie to men the wayes of God" or "justifie the wayes-of-God-to-men"?' (1962), p. 136 ; see Anne Ferry, *The Narrator in 'Paradise Lost'* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 24; Stanley Fish, 'One More Time', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1980), pp. 749-751.

[26] Danielson (1989), pp. 113, 115; see also Jason Rosenblatt, *Torah and Law in 'Paradise Lost'* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 69-70.

To most readers, the Father is a complex and often controversial character; for Muslim readers, this is even more so the case. However, because the Muslim reader brings numerous theological and cultural beliefs about God's pre-eminence to the reading process, he or she is likely to regard Milton's depiction of the Father more positively than is often the case in non-Muslim readings of the poem. As the previous two chapters displayed, these theological and cultural convictions, as well as the Arabic translation, result in the creation of a literary character, the Father, who is so great that all other characters are made to depend upon him for their own characterisations. In any case, God's centrality to Islamic belief makes reading *Paradise Lost* an intricate and convoluted issue for the Muslim reader.

4.2: The Father and Free Will

Clearly, a Muslim reader's response to the nature and character of the Father in *Paradise Lost* is coloured by religious and cultural beliefs, precepts and expectations. This is also true of the writer: as the previous chapter highlighted, Milton's views in *De Doctrina Christiana* help shed light on the poet's personal theology, and how his beliefs fit with those of Muslim readers. When it comes to the subject of God, there are many fundamental similarities between Milton's belief and Islamic belief. Muslims believe, like Milton, that 'God is ONE'.[27] Both agree that God possesses perfect attributes and is 'OMNISCIENT', 'PRESENT EVERYWHERE' and 'OMNIPOTENT'.[28] In *Paradise Lost*, these aspects of the Father's perfection are declared frequently: 'Thee Father first they sung omnipotent, | Immutable, immortal, infinite, | Eternal king; thee author of all being, | Fountain of light' (*PL* 3.372-375).[29] These characteristics are true of Allah: among his ninety-nine names are *al-qawy* [The Powerful], *al-ḥay* [The Ever-Living], *al-bāqī* [The Everlasting], *al-malik* [The

[27] *DDC* 1.2, p. 145.
[28] Ibid., pp. 140-145, 149-152.
[29] See also *PL* 7.192-220; for omnipresence, *PL* 7.588-901.

King], *al-khāliq* [The Creator], and *al-nūr* [The Light]. His omniscience is also clear through attributes such as *al-ʿalīm* [The All-Knowing], *al-samīʿ* [The All-Hearing], and *al-baṣīr* [The All-Seeing].

But the hymn which the angels sing in Book 3 continues by describing the Father as 'invisible':

> Fountain of light, thy self invisible
> Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sit'st
> Throned inaccessible, but when thou shadest
> The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
> Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
> Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
> Yet dazzle heaven, that brightest seraphim
> Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes (*PL* 3.375-382).

Here, though Milton uses light imagery from Christian mysticism,[30] he both faces and presents a paradox of an incomprehensible deity who cannot be imagined or seen, but due to the description and plot, must be pictured. But the specific notion that God cannot be seen by human sight is a conventional belief in Sunni Islam,[31] so the passage above matches an important aspect of Islamic belief about Allah. To add to this, Enani's translation gives the passage a further Islamic emphasis by omitting any reference to the term 'invisibility' and translating 'thy self invisible' as: '*dhātaka lā tudrikuha al-abṣār*' / ذاتك لا تدركها الأبصار [Vision cannot perceive thee] (*FM* 3.375). Here, Enani utilises an unmistakably Qur'ānic phrase concerning Allah: 'Vision cannot perceive Him, but He perceives [all] vision, and He

[30] On light in Christian mysticism, see Urban Holmes III, *A History of Christian Spirituality: An Analytical Introduction* (Harrisburg: Church Publishing, 2002), pp. 15-20.
[31] Al-Ashqar (2005), p. 220.

is the Subtle-One, the All-Aware' (*Q* 6.103). Enani's use of the exact phrase in the Arabic translation provides the reader with confirmation that the divine figure in the poem is unimaginable. The suggestion is that the vision of the other characters cannot perceive the Father. The Arabic reader can also infer that while the Father cannot be perceived, he perceives everything around him; in turn, within the world of the poem, the Father is able to determine the actions of the other characters in the plot.

The idea that the Father plays a leading role in determining the events of the plot raises issues about free will, to be discussed shortly. With regard to Milton's depiction of the Father, however, some sense of *via negativa* is present. This philosophical approach suggests that God transcends finite human concepts, so can only be described in negative terms.[32] Most Sunni scholars reject apophatic approaches to Allah, because His attributes and characteristics are described in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, and even if incomprehensible, remain real.[33] Nonetheless, the Qur'ān does state that: 'There is nothing that is like Him, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing' (*Q* 42.11), as well as: 'equivalent to Him, there is none' (*Q* 112.4). In a sense, some apophatic description is inevitable given that God must remain incomprehensible to humans.

Sunni scholars believe that Allah's characteristics can be placed into two categories: what 'the human mind is unable to understand' and what 'the mind is able to infer'.[34] Unlike mainstream Sunni scholars,[35] the *mutakallimīn* [dialectic Islamic theologians] place some

[32] 'The approach to God in which his nature is held to transcend man's understanding that no positive statements can be made about it', see '*via negativa*, n.', *OED Online* (2013), <http:// oed.com/view/Entry/223012?redirectedFrom=via+negativa&> [accessed 23rd September 2013].
[33] See Ibn Al-Qayyim (2004), pp. 73-82.
[34] Al-Ashqar (2005), pp. 186-187.
[35] See Muhammad Harrās, *Bā'ith Al-Nahḍa Al-Islāmiyyah Ibn Taymiyyah Al-Salafi: Naqdih Li-Masālik Al-Mutakallimīn Wal-Falāsifah Fil-Ilāhiyāt [The Emitter of the Islamic Renaissance Ibn Taymiyyah The Salafi: His Criticism of the Pathways of the Mutakallimīn and Philosophers in Divine Issues]* (Tanta: Maktabat Al-Saḥābah, 1985).

emphasis on apophatic representations of God,[36] dividing His attributes into six types: psychological, sensory, abstract, active, negative and all-encompassing.[37] For them, apophatic attributes are 'intended to make negative that which is unbefitting of Allah … without indicating a precise existential meaning' in its place.[38] In both views, seemingly apophatic Qur'ānic verses appear to address the limitations of human comprehension directly: Islamic scholars consent that knowing the true nature of God is 'impossible' for any 'human mind',[39] as witnessed by the Qur'ān: 'they cannot comprehend Him (Allah) with [their] knowledge' (*Q* 20.110). As the previous chapter mentioned, then, describing God in familiar terms, like establishing Himself on the Throne (*Q* 7.54), could be an accommodation of His characteristics so humans may understand them. Milton's views were similar: 'We know God, in so far as we are permitted to know him, from either his nature or his efficiency … God, as he really is, is far beyond man's imagination, let alone his understanding'.[40] In short, then, Sunnis believe that the limited knowledge that humans have about Allah is what He has enabled them to know. For example, Allah's attributes or features, such as His Hands, may sound like our own, but in actuality, are beyond our comprehension. Again, Imām Mālik's seminal statement about God's characteristics and actions helps to summarise Sunni belief neatly: 'the how is unknown, and belief in it is obligatory'.[41]

A danger of *Paradise Lost* is that it opens the way for the reader to challenge his or her own beliefs, in this case, about God's divine, non-human characteristics. This is because

[36] '*Mutakallimīn*' [Speakers] is the term given to dialectic Islamic theologians who study the philosophy of '*Kalām*' [Speech]. This philosophical discipline developed as a contradistinction to '*fiqh*' [jurisprudence], in order to discuss articles of faith, such as the attributes of God. For a discussion of the term, see Harry Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 1-8.
[37] Al-Ashqar (2005), p. 246.
[38] Muhammad Al-Shinqīti, cited in Al-Ashqar (2005), p. 250.
[39] Al-Ashqar (2005), pp. 240-242.
[40] *DDC* 1.2, p. 133.
[41] Imām Mālik, cited in Al-Ashqar (2005), p. 206. See 'Section 3.2'.

the Father is portrayed, thus forcing the reader to imagine him. Resultantly, the reader inevitably 'translates' what he or she reads into 'terms of limitation and imperfection'.[42] For a Muslim reader, this is particularly problematic, and is a reason why the Qur'ān distances God's literal attributes from their human equivalents and from full human understanding: 'There is nothing that is like Him' (*Q* 42.11).

Depicting God is also problematic for Muslims because seeing Allah is regarded as the greatest reward in the afterlife.[43] In the Qur'ān, it is stated that: 'For those who have done good, there shall be good [reward], and more' (*Q* 10.26).[44] Here, 'more' refers to the specific act of seeing Allah.[45] This act will be literal, as Muhammad says: 'You shall see your Lord visibly',[46] and compares seeing God to the clarity of a 'full moon'.[47] On the other hand, those who have rejected God 'shall indeed, from their Lord, on that day be veiled' (*Q* 83.15). Islamic doctrine differentiates between this life and the next, and between reward and punishment, by considering who shall see God and when. This concept of reward also confirms God's existence as a tangible entity which can be seen, though under specific conditions. For the Muslim reader of *Paradise Lost*, a more specific effect of these beliefs is the intimation that one of Adam and Eve's most severe punishments for disobedience is that they may no longer see God. The regret contained in 'They looking back' (*PL* 12.641) is as much due to losing sight of the Father as losing sight of Eden.

[42] Waldock (1962), p. 97.
[43] Al-Ashqar (2005), p. 220. Al-Ashqar says that seeing Allah is the single greatest reward, adding that it is so great that even Muhammad never had this privilege during his life. See Ḥadīth 181 (p. 87) in Muslim: in Heaven, 'When the people of Heaven enter … Allah will say: "Do you want anything extra?" … Then He will remove the Veil. And they (Heaven's occupants) will not have been given anything more beloved to them than looking at their Lord'; see also Ḥadīth 177 (pp. 85-86) in Muslim in which Muhammad's wife ʿĀ'ishah denies that he saw Allah.
[44] Also, *Q* 50.35: 'For them, therein, shall be whatever they wish for, and We have more'.
[45] Ḥadīth 181 (p. 87) in Muslim.
[46] Ḥadīth 7435 (p. 1343) in Al-Bukhāri.
[47] Ḥadīth 182 (pp. 87-88) in Muslim; Ḥadīths 7434, 7436 and 7437 (pp. 1343-1344) in Al-Bukhāri.

In Islam, the concept of seeing God also helps to define one's faith, based on Muhammad's definition of *iḥsān*.[48] In a key Ḥadīth, *Jibrīl* comes to Muhammad and his companions in human form, and asks Muhammad to define '*īmān*' [faith], 'Islam', and '*iḥsān*', to which Muhammad replies that 'faith' is: 'To believe in Allah, His angels, holy books, messengers, and the Final Day, and to believe in destiny, its good and its bad'. When asked about 'Islam', he replies: 'To worship Allah and not associate anything with Him, to establish prayer, to give mandatory charity, and to fast Ramadan'. Muhammad then defines '*iḥsān*': 'To worship Allah as though you can see Him, for if you cannot see Him, then indeed He sees you'.[49] *Iḥsān* is thus imperative for Muslims: it is 'the third element in the canonical definition of Islam', especially as Muhammad's responses point towards 'belief', 'practice' and 'virtue' respectively.[50] Allah is at the core of each of these elements: a Muslim should first believe in Him (faith) and then worship Him (Islam); these beliefs and observances should be culminated and perfected (*iḥsān*) through the feeling of being able to see Allah, and through an awareness of being seen by Him.

The story of *Paradise Lost* shares a neat affinity within this 'canonical definition of Islam'. For Muslims, knowing that God can see you – *iḥsān* – leads to 'virtue' in actions. In the poem, it is clear that Adam and Eve both believe in God. They also worship him; 'adoring' and 'serving' the Father (*PL* 4.89; 4.943) are translated by Enani as '*'ibādah*' / عبادة [worship] (*FM* 4.89; 4.943), and on occasions as the Islamic term for prayer, '*ṣālāh*' / صلاة (*FM* 4.721). However, Milton presents a couple who overlook the Father's omnipresence. Even after the fall, they do not understand it fully: Eve wonders 'but what if

[48] '*Iḥsān*' refers to excellence and perfection in acts of worship and beneficence.
[49] Ḥadīths 50 and 4777 (pp. 25, 884-885) in Al-Bukhāri; Ḥadīths 1 and 7 (pp. 27-28) in Muslim. The Ḥadīths differ very slightly. In Al-Bukhāri, after *Jibrīl* leaves, Muhammad tells his companions: 'This is *Jibrīl*; he came to teach humanity their religion'. In Muslim: 'This is *Jibrīl*; he came to teach you your religion', and 'This is *Jibrīl*; he wanted to teach you since you did not ask'.
[50] Cyril Glassé, 'Ihsān', in *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3rd edn. (California: Rowman Altamira, 2003), p. 208.

God have seen' (*PL* 9.826), and Adam tells the Father, 'I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice | Afraid, being naked, hid myself', before saying: 'hide me from the face | Of God' (*PL* 10.116-117; 723-724). Milton shows that by not feeling God's omnipresence, Adam and Eve were not able to perfect their devotions or observances. By relating this crucial Ḥadīth about *iḥsān* to the poem, the Muslim reader can see where Adam and Eve erred. In Book 9, for instance, Eve forgets the Father's presence due to temptations of the senses: 'fruit divine, | Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste' (*PL* 9.776-777). Adam is also tempted, as he 'scrupled not to eat | Against his better knowledge, not deceived, | But fondly overcome with female charm' (*PL* 9.997-999), neglecting that the Father is watching. This was Adam's own choice; Milton writes in *Areopagitica*:

> when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial *Adam*, such an *Adam* as he is in the motions. We our selves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue?[51]

Milton indicates here that the outcome of belief and worship through avoiding temptation is none other than 'virtue': the same term that describes the outcome of *iḥsān*.[52] The Qur'ān, too, stresses that the pleasures which form 'the very ingredients of virtue', can also provide the biggest tests for humans. For example: 'Know that your wealth and your children are a temptation, and with Allah is a [more] magnificent reward' (*Q* 8.28), and 'Every soul shall taste death, and We test you with evil and good as a trial, and to Us you shall return' (*Q*

[51] *Areopagitica*, p. 17.
[52] Similar to *Areopagitica*, p. 12: 'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue'.

21.35). The Muslim reader may relate these verses to the nature of the Father's tests for Adam and Eve, which involve both good and evil, as well as the nature of his punishments, which turn pleasures into toils: 'Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply | By thy conception' (*PL* 10.193-194), and 'thou in sorrow | Shalt eat thereof all days of thy life' (*PL* 10.201-202). Failure to realise the Father's presence also results, ultimately, in mortality for Adam and Eve's progeny: 'For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return' (*PL* 10.208).

Finally, the Muslim reader will also know, as Chapter Two observed, that these temptations are a result of Satan: 'Thus, He (Allah) makes whatever Iblīs casts, a trial…' (*Q* 22.53). But he or she should also remember that Iblīs does not have 'any authority over' humans, 'except so We can distinguish who believes in the Hereafter from who is doubtful of it…' (*Q* 34.21). On the whole, then, it makes sense to the Muslim reader that Adam and Eve committed the error because they forgot or overlooked that the Father could see them at all times. It also fits with Islamic belief that the Father uses Satan as tempter, and pleasures such as love and food as temptations. Accordingly, Muslim readers can benefit from this reading of the poem, by realising that they, in their own lives, should remember that Allah is watching them, that Iblīs is tempting them, and that they are tested through good, and not only evil.

These aspects in God's relationship with humans point to God's role in the fall, including his establishment of free will, predestination, and temptation. The Islamic viewpoint on God's part in the fall shares multifarious connections with *Paradise Lost*. However, the differences are also significant: Milton uses a biblical source, and as Karen Armstrong writes, 'we cannot treat the Bible as a holy encyclopaedia where we can look up

information about the divine, because we are likely to find contradictory data'.[53] Muslims, on the other hand, believe that the Qur'ān is the faultless word of God, and that mysteries about God should be interpreted as wisdoms. The Qur'ān testifies to its own perfection, in addition to its clarity on divine issues. For example, 'No falsehood can reach it, [neither] before it nor after it. It is [a revelation] sent down from a Wise, All-Praised [God]' (*Q* 41.42), or: 'And Allah makes clear to you the verses, and Allah is the All-Knowing, the Wise' (*Q* 24.18). In *Paradise Lost*, divine mystery is an essential facet of the Father's character. Raphael tells Adam that he may ask him anything 'not surpassing human measure' (*PL* 7.640), and advises him by saying: 'Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid, | Leave them to God above, him serve and fear' (*PL* 8.167-168).

While Muslims believe in divine wisdoms, as opposed to mysteries, the Qur'ān does present some matters as beyond human comprehension. For instance, 'People ask you about the Hour [of Judgement]. Say: indeed, its knowledge is only with Allah' (*Q* 33.63),[54] or: 'And they ask you about the soul. Say: the soul is an affair of my Lord. And you (humankind) have not been given of knowledge except a little' (*Q* 17.85). The timespan of creation and the soul are both concepts which surpass human measure, evidenced by the fact that other concepts are answered without restriction. For example: 'And they ask you about the mountains' (*Q* 20.105), or 'about menstruation' (*Q* 2.222), 'orphans' (*Q* 2.220), 'intoxicants and gambling' (*Q* 2.219), and so on. However, while Raphael tells Adam to avoid asking some questions, the Qur'ānic text makes no such instruction. Instead, it simply asks humans to understand their limited knowledge, as Ibn Kathīr explains regarding the soul: 'He (Allah) has not shared with you but little of His knowledge, for nobody can

[53] Karen Armstrong, *In the Beginning: A New Interpretation of Genesis* (London: Vintage, 2011), p. 19.
[54] There are many other verses with the same meaning, such as: 'They ask you about the Hour [of Judgement], when its arrival shall be. Say: indeed, its knowledge is solely with my Lord' (*Q* 7.187).

comprehend any of His knowledge except as He wills'.[55] In this light, the divine mysteries of the Father's ways in *Paradise Lost* make sense to the Muslim reader, though they are perhaps more strongly emphasised in Raphael's explanation of how God chose 'to remove his ways from human sense' (*PL* 8.119).

One of the more curious divine wisdoms in both Christianity and Islam is Adam and Eve's act of eating from the forbidden tree. Milton writes about this wisdom in *De Doctrina*:

> I affirm that, strictly speaking, the divine plan depends only upon God's own wisdom. By this wisdom he had perfect foreknowledge of all things in his own mind, and knew what they would be like and what their consequence would be when it eventually occurred.[56]

There exist two important terms in Islamic belief, *al-qaḍā'* [fate] and *al-qadar* [destiny]: the former is 'the prior knowledge that Allah determined',[57] while the latter is 'the incidence when the creation carries out the *res judicata*'.[58] Allah's prior knowledge is possible due to His transcendence of space and time, but does not cause the human action, which only the human can decide. Hence, the Muslim reader of *Paradise Lost* will already believe that Adam and Eve ate from the tree of their own accord, but that God's divine prescience meant that he knew it would happen certainly. In the Qur'ān, Adam is warned about Iblīs and the practical consequences of eating from the tree (*Q* 20.117-119), yet still chooses to eat (*Q* 20.121). The extent to which the Father imbues his creations with the ability and responsibility to choose freely, and the level of divine necessity in the occurrence of the fall,

[55] Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 1136.
[56] *DDC* 1.2, pp. 160-161.
[57] At creation, Allah decreed everything that would occur thereafter. See Ḥadīth 2155 (p. 487) in Al-Tirmidhi: The first thing that Allah created was the Pen, and He said to it: "write". It said: "what shall I write?" He said: "write fate: what was and what shall be until eternity"'.
[58] Muhammad Al-ʿAli, *Ḍarūrat Ta'allum Masā'il Al-Qadar Wal-Nahiy 'An Al-Khawḍ Fīh [The Necessity of Learning Matters of Fate and the Prohibition of Dwelling In It]* (Riyadh: Dar Ṭayiba, 2010), p. 10. The Pew Research Center states that 93% of Egyptian Muslims believe in 'fate'; see Pew Research Center (2012), p. 61.

are both factors which Muslim readers are likely to have considered already when reflecting on the equivalent story of Adam and Eve as part of their own faith. As for Milton, he appears to believe in an infralapsarianism that is in many senses similar to the Islamic view outlined above. Infralapsarianism pertains to Reformed doctrine on predestination, and suggests that in the chronology of divine 'decrees', 'election' and 'reprobation' succeeded, not preceded, decree of the fall.[59] For Muslims and for Milton, then, God knew that Adam and Eve would transgress, but left the decision and implementation to the humans. Milton writes:

> A thing which is going to happen quite freely in the course of events is not then produced as a result of God's foreknowledge, but arises from the free action of its own causes, and God knows in what direction these will, of their own accord, tend. In this way he knew that Adam would, of his own accord, fall. Thus it was certain that he would fall, but it was not necessary, because he fell of his own accord and that is irreconcilable with necessity.[60]

For Muslims, as for Milton, then, God's certain knowledge does not directly affect human decision-making. Human virtue, therefore, is dependent upon the exercise of free will. In Islam, however, God's judgement of human behaviour is sensitive to the *freedom* with which free will is exercised. One of the most important Sunni scholars of the modern era, Muhammad Mitwalli Al-Shaʿrāwi,[61] writes that free will operates through 'the mind and thought' of the individual, because other human 'elements' are 'inanimate' or 'vegetative', so humans have no choice in them. He adds that as free will is a vital

[59] See Robert Benedetto and Donald McKim, 'Infralapsarianism', in *Historical Dictionary of Reformed Churches*, 2nd edn. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2009), p. 229.
[60] *DDC* 1.2, p. 165.
[61] Al-Shaʿrāwi (1915-1998) was Egypt's Minister of Endowments (1976-1978) and according to Tarek Osman, *Egypt on the Brink: From Nasser to Mubarak* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 77, was 'one of the most prominent symbols of popular Egyptian culture' in the late twentieth century.

determiner of Allah's justice system, God does not punish someone who commits an action they are 'forced to do', nor somebody with serious 'mental illness'.[62]

In Book 9, Adam and Eve's rationales for transgression are neither enforced on them nor impinged by irrationality. First, Eve admits subconsciously that it is her mind and thought which guide her decision to eat the fruit, stating: 'God so commanded, and left that command | Sole daughter of his voice; the rest, we live | Law to our selves, our reason is our law' (*PL* 9.652-654). The Arabic translation emphasises this further: 'our reason is our law' becomes '*wa ʾaqlunā sharīʿatunā*' / وعقلنا شريعتنا [And our mind is our *sharīʿah*] (*FM* 9.654). Enani's lexical choices are notable here: '*ʾaqlunā*' [our mind] is the same term used by scholars such as Al-Shaʿrāwi, and more importantly, Islamic jurists, when referring to the extent of free will. '*ʾAql*' is the mind, and a person who is *ʾāqil* [of a sane mind] will have their actions assessed by God, whereas someone who is not *ʾāqil* will not.[63] Enani's use of this term indicates to the Arab-Muslim reader that Eve was entirely mindful when making her choice and is therefore responsible for it. The term '*sharīʿah*' is also used in the translation, and refers to 'Islamic law', and specifically to 'God's divine law', ordained in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.[64] Humans have a right to adjust laws which have not been ordained divinely, and may rework '*fiqh*': the 'human endeavour' in which there are 'scholarly efforts of jurists to elaborate the details of shariah through investigation and debate'. Humans are not entitled, however, to modify *sharīʿah*, which is 'divine law' understood 'to be an unchanging revelation'.[65] By using the religious term '*sharīʿah'*, as opposed to the standard term for 'law', Enani's Eve challenges the Father very directly, proclaiming that the thoughts of her mind can replace the divine laws set out by the Father, not least the

[62] Muhammad Mitwalli Al-Shaʿrāwi, *Al-Qaḍā' Wal-Qadar [Destiny and Fate]*, ed. Ahmed Farrāg (Cairo: Dār Al-Shurūq, 1975), pp. 42-43, 52.
[63] Ibid., p. 42.
[64] See Esposito, 'Islamic Law' (2003), pp. 148-149.
[65] Ibid., p. 148.

prohibition against eating of the Tree of Knowledge: 'God hath said, Ye shall not eat | Thereof, nor shall ye touch it (*PL* 9.662-663).

Second, as Al-Shaʿrāwi outlines, God does not punish those who are forced to do something. Eve is clearly not forced to eat, but tempted, and Adam knows that Eve has 'yielded to transgress | The strict forbiddance' (*PL* 9.902-903). He nonetheless chooses to 'freely taste' (*PL* 9.988), and 'of choice to incur | Divine displeasure for her sake' (*PL* 9.992-993). Adam's decision is not forced upon him, but rather, he decides freely to prioritise Eve's pleasure over the Father's. In this case, then, the respective actions of both Eve and Adam fall under the categories of free will as defined by Islamic scholars, and are therefore actions which may result in God's punishment, and which require repentance. For the Muslim reader, then, the Father's decision to punish the couple is therefore justified, and the couple's repentance to him in Book 11 is required.

In a sense, the Muslim reader should welcome the Father's emphasis on free will, because at its simplest level the story of Adam and Eve is an indication that one should follow God's instruction and reject Satan's. In the Qur'ān, God disassociates Himself from evildoers: 'Allah does not guide the disbelieving people' (*Q* 5.108), nor does he 'guide the unjust' (*Q* 2.258), the 'disbelieving liar' (*Q* 39.3), and so on. In order for God to help an individual, he or she must, of their own accord, 'listen to Him (Allah), worship Him, and accept His ways'; if a person's will is to do wrong, Allah cannot be held responsible for his or her actions.[66] But we also read that 'had Allah willed, He would have made you one people, but He leaves to stray whoever He wills, and He guides whoever He wills. And you will surely be questioned about what you used to do' (*Q* 16.93). Despite having knowledge of their actions in advance, Allah leaves humans to do good or evil, and His knowledge does

[66] Al-Shaʿrāwi (1975), pp. 50-51.

not affect the particular instances of human thought or action. Moreover, without free will, divine judgement would make little sense. In *Paradise Lost*, the Father's explanation of the couple's deed matches the Islamic viewpoint to a large extent: 'They themselves decreed | Their own revolt, not I: if I foreknew, | Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault' (*PL* 3.116-118). The Father takes no responsibility for Adam and Eve's actions, asserting that his foreknowledge was irrelevant because humans are 'authors to themselves in all | Both what they judge and what they choose; for so | I formed them free, and free they must remain' (*PL* 3.122-124). The Father does not deny the existence of predestination or predetermination, but still makes it clear that Adam and Eve are the 'authors' of their own fate, and freely choose to fall. As Milton writes:

> though future events will certainly happen, because divine foreknowledge cannot be mistaken, they will not happen necessarily, because foreknowledge, since it exists only in the mind of the foreknower, has no effect on its object.[67]

The Islamic perspective is similar, as there is a distinction between divine certainty and necessity. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton allows the Father's decree and prescience to have no direct effect on the occurrence, confirming that it is free human decision that affects the way we live. By demonstrating this in the poem, Milton presents several valuable morals for the Muslim reader. First, though God knows our actions, he does not enforce them upon us. Furthermore, because the Father created humans 'Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall' (*PL* 3.99), Milton shows the 'postlapsarian reader, that giving in to Satan's temptations is not necessary'.[68] As Allah says to Iblīs: 'You have no authority over my servants, except those who follow you from among the depraved' (*Q* 15.42). In addition, the Muslim reader learns that in the poem, the Father is able to 'praise' (*PL* 3.106) humans who do good, only

[67] *DDC* 1.3, p. 165.
[68] Danielson (1982), p. 111.

because they do so of their own accord. If they were to have no choice in their actions, the Father asks, 'What pleasure' would he get 'from such obedience' (*PL* 3.107), and 'Not free, what proof could they have given sincere | Of true allegiance, constant faith or love' (*PL* 3.103-104)? This provides a further moral lesson for the Muslim reader: that human virtue depends on proper exercise of free will. This is in line with Qur'ānic teachings, in which Allah tells each person to act as he or she wishes, so He may reward accordingly: 'Say: Let each one work in accordance with his own way, for your Lord is most knowing of who is best guided to the way' (*Q* 17.84).

Obedience to God is therefore a desired outcome of free will, and leads inevitably to judgement; as judgement can result in forgiveness, forgiveness too is a consequence of free will. In Book 3, the Father shows foreknowledge that Adam and Eve will fall, and expects 'prayer, repentance, and obedience' (*PL* 3.191). However, he asserts that his 'eternal purpose hath decreed: | Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will, | Yet not of will in him, but grace in me | Freely vouchsafed' (*PL* 3.172-175). While free will is the cause of the fall, which removes the Father's responsibility, it is he who has predestined it, and therefore compensates by taking credit for the salvation that will follow it. It is notable that forgiveness does not occur as a result of human repentance, but rather, as a result of God's 'grace'. Such a concept is highly prevalent in Islam, as exemplified by the Ḥadīth in which Muhammad says: 'Nobody will be saved by their actions … Not even me, except if Allah covers me with mercy'.[69] Milton's representation shows that forgiveness is solely through the Father, highlighting the character's power and elevating his status.

Milton's emphasis on divine grace also participates in the significant theological debates of his time. The poet's stance on grace, consistent with his emphasis on free will, is

[69] Ḥadīth 2816 (p. 1084) in Muslim.

often deemed by Milton scholars to be closer to Arminianism than Calvinism.[70] The parallels shared between Milton's ideas about grace and Islamic beliefs point towards the fact that Milton has his own systematic theology, which is neither Calvinist nor fully Arminian. Calvinists believe in 'absolute predestination',[71] that God had already decreed who was saved and damned before creation, and that in turn, election and reprobation are 'particular and irresistible'.[72] But Milton stresses the Arminian view that though predestination occurred before the fall, grace takes place after it. To Milton, election is 'resistible',[73] and therefore 'not a part of predestination'.[74] Milton adds that reprobation is the responsibility of the individual human: 'reprobation is no part of divine predestination' and 'lies not so much in God's will as in their own obstinate minds; and is not so much God's decree as theirs, resulting from their refusal to repent while they have an opportunity'.[75] As Danielson summarises, then, for Milton, 'grace is absolutely necessary for salvation but does not overrule the human will'.[76] In Islam, the biggest indication of human responsibility is that there are two types of *qaḍā'* [fate]: *mubarram* [irrevocable] and *mu'allaq* [pending].[77] It is possible for the latter to be affected by human actions; for example, Muhammad says: 'Nothing can change fate except supplication, and nothing increases age except righteousness'.[78] In Islam, then, human responsibility is perhaps even more substantial than it is in Milton's view, which itself placed more emphasis on the human role than the mainstream of English Arminianism, typified by William Laud.[79]

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[70] See Maurice Kelley, 'The Theological Dogma of *Paradise Lost*, III, 173-202', *PMLA*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (1937), p. 75.
[71] Campbell et al. (2007), p. 114.
[72] William Poole, 'Theology', in Dobranski (2010), p. 477.
[73] Ibid.
[74] *DDC* 1.4, p. 173.
[75] *DDC* 1.4, pp. 173, 195; see Campbell et al. (2007), p. 117.
[76] Danielson (1982), p. 86.
[77] Bilal Elhallak, 'Al-Qaḍā' wal Qadar' [Fate and Destiny], *Shaykh Bilal Elhallak Website* (2010), <http://www.shaykhbilal.info> [accessed 28 September 2013].
[78] Ḥadīth 2139 (p. 483) in Al-Tirmidhi.
[79] See Campbell et al. (2007), p. 117.

There are numerous parallels between Milton's thoughts on grace and Islamic belief. First, God's certain knowledge does not affect human decision, and the individual has a key role in attaining grace: 'The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warned | Their sinful state, and to appease betimes | The incensed Deity, while offered grace | Invites' (*PL* 3.185-188). In the Qur'ān, Allah invites humankind to salvation and continuously reminds them of his 'grace' [*faḍl*], 'but those who disbelieve turn away from what they are warned' (*Q* 46.3). Those who reject grace clearly do so themselves. At judgement, they will be told: 'You led yourselves into temptation, and you hindered, and you doubted [faith], and fancies deluded you, until the command of Allah came, and the Deceiver deceived you with regard to Allah' (*Q* 57.14). Interestingly, 'the Deceiver' refers to Iblīs;[80] though he does not remove the burden from those who reject guidance, he is a factor in their demise. In addition, though Allah has the ability to save everyone, he does not enforce salvation because he knows that some people reject it: 'Had Allah known good in them, He would have made them hear. But had He made them hear, they would still turn away, refusing' (*Q* 8.23). On the other hand, 'Those who accept guidance, He increases them in guidance and gives them piety' (*Q* 47.17). Indeed, this human choice is made clear in *Paradise Lost* when Michael tells Adam 'of grace, wherein thou mayst repent' (*PL* 11.255), as opposed to 'shall repent'. In Islam, Allah is ready to forgive but the obligation is on the human to seek repentance; a famous Ḥadīth states that 'every night … Allah says … Is there anyone seeking forgiveness so I can forgive him?'.[81] The offer is open to all, and just as Milton believed that God 'undoubtedly bestows grace on all',[82] so the Qur'ān affirms: 'And your Lord is not unjust to anyone' (*Q* 18.49), and explains that evildoers were also 'guided, but they preferred blindness over guidance…' (*Q* 41.17). Finally, as detailed, the Father in *Paradise Lost* shows that

[80] Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 1828; Al-Baghawi's *Exegesis*, p. 1278.
[81] Ḥadīths 1145, 6321 and 7494 (pp. 213-214, 11571354) in Al-Bukhārī; Ḥadīth 758 (pp. 274-275) in Muslim; some variations in the Ḥadīths, including one in which Allah asks: 'Any repenters?'
[82] *DDC* 1.4, p. 192.

ultimately, nobody is saved without God's grace, much as Islamic teachings assert that salvation is only possible through God's mercy. These theological emphases on grace in Milton's work were certainly more significant for readers of *Paradise Lost* in the seventeenth century than today. However, the Muslim reader of the poem, despite being unaware of the importance of the historical contexts of such doctrinal debates, may still benefit from the moral lessons stemming from the theological parallels Milton's poem shares with Islamic doctrine.

As far as the character of the Father is concerned, the key outcome of his decree that the human pair possess free will and that they commit their fatal error is the reiteration of his superiority. In the poem, the Father constructs free will in such a way that the burden of responsibility is on his creations to choose to worship, obey and love him, and should they transgress, he expects to receive thanks, prayers and repentance. In fact, free will enables the Father to take the role of judge, so he may punish, and of course, utilise his exclusive power to forgive. In this way, the entire plot of *Paradise Lost* begins to fit together in terms of the Father's motives; Milton gives the Father full control of the events in the poem, both despite and because of the existence of free will. After all, the Father declares: 'and what I will is fate' (*PL* 7.173). By decreeing the events around him, the Father is also pronouncing his power over all creations, and notably, paving way for the grace he will offer. Similarly, the Qur'ān states: 'Highly exalt the name of your Lord, The Most High'. | Who created and gave form. | And who destined, then guided' (*Q* 87.1-3).[83] Muslims believe, then, that Allah destined everything for his creations, so they may then be guided, and for this, He deserves exaltation. As Milton writes in *De Doctrina*, the ultimate 'aim' of 'predestination' is 'the

[83] See also Ḥadīth 2749 (p. 1055) in Muslim: 'If you did not sin, Allah would do away with you and bring a people who do sin then seek Allah's forgiveness, and He would forgive them'.

salvation … of believers'.[84] Finally, through the provision of a clear moral that one should follow God's commands, and not Satan's, the Father makes full use of his antithetical relationship with Satan – discussed in previous chapters – to further elevate his own status.[85] All of these factors help to make a more acceptable reading experience for the Muslim reader, who finds the Father in control of the events and other characters. The Muslim reader also sees many key theological similarities with Islamic belief, in terms of the deity's absolute authority and wisdom, as well as the delivery of predestination and free will.

In summary, the Islamic concepts surrounding the role of the Father create new ways of reading the fall in *Paradise Lost*. These readings emphasise the Father's centrality in the plot's development, and reiterate the hierarchy of characters in the poem. For the Muslim reader in particular, the Father's centrality brings numerous concepts to the fore. These present the Muslim reader with moral lessons consistent with Islamic belief, which can be utilised in everyday life. For example, the importance of *iḥsān* is emphasised in *Paradise Lost*: one should try to perfect one's actions by remembering that God can see everything. One should also avoid bad advice, such as the serpent's, and remember that God tests humans using good, such as love, and not only evil. However, one should prioritise love and obedience of God ahead of love and obedience of anything or anyone else. In addition, three main factors result in the Arab-Muslim reader's perception of the incomprehensible and omniscient natures of the character of the Father, namely: Milton's original representation of the Father, the reader's intellectual and cultural formation, and the semantic shifts in Enani's Arabic translation. Though on the face of it, literary depiction of the Father appears to be an insuperable problem for the Muslim reader, this is not necessarily the case. While Islam prohibits the depiction of God, the Muslim reader finds little that is unorthodox in

[84] *DDC* 1.4, p. 173.
[85] On the divine wisdom of creating Satan as antithesis, see 'Section 2.4'.

Milton's divine depiction of the Father: the Father is incomprehensible, inexplicable, omniscient, omnipresent and wise. Moreover, the concepts which stem from the Father's divine traits, such as predestination, free will, submission, trial, judgement, punishment, forgiveness, and in fact *iḥsān*, are all concepts which Islamic creed does not deny, but endorses. Nonetheless, Muslim readers face recurring paradoxes of their own when encountering the Father in *Paradise Lost*. For a Muslim, Milton's Father, being divine, must be understood as the figure equivalent to Allah. In this case, though, the Father threatens central tenets of a Muslim's belief, because Allah cannot be portrayed or imagined, and of course, does not need justification. So long as these paradoxes exist, the Father's more specific characteristics remain a potential cause for concern, as the next section demonstrates.

4.3: The Father and Anthropomorphism

Milton presents the Father in three main ways. The most basic of these are general descriptions by other characters or the narrator of his status, often praising him. There are then more specific attributes, such as physical characteristics. In addition, much of what we know about the Father derives from his own speeches and dialogues. As far as general descriptions of the Father are concerned, it was indicated briefly in the first chapter that the Arabic translator's lexical choices present the Father as Allah repeatedly.[86] Indeed, in his Arabic descriptions of the Father, Enani relies on the ninety-nine names of Allah. For instance, in Book 6 alone, we see numerous examples: the narrator's view of the Father as 'the sovereign voice' (*PL* 6.56) is translated as '*al-malik'* / الملك [The King] (*FM* 6.56). Abdiel's descriptions of the Father as 'the highest' (*PL* 6.114) and 'omnipotent' (*PL* 6.136) are translated respectively as '*al-a'lā*' / الأعلى [The Most High] (*FM* 6.114) and '*al-qahhār*' /

[86] See 'Section 1.2.5'.

القهار [The All-Dominating] (*PL* 6.136). Enani uses Allah's names regardless of the speaker, thus weaving a Qur'ānic pattern throughout the text, rendering the Father as Allah. Moreover, in the Arabic translation, Allah's names play an antonomastic role, thus keeping a rhetorical device important to the epic genre. Preserving the antonomasia also means that the proper noun 'Father' can be avoided. Indeed, Enani generally omits references to paternity, using Allah's names to evade Trinitarian allusions. For example, 'his great father' (*PL* 7.588) is translated simply as '*al-jabbār*' / الجبار [The Compeller] (*FM* 7.588), and 'paternal glory' (*PL* 7.214) as '*al-jalāl al-ilāhi al-ʿaẓīm*' / الجلال الإلهي العظيم [the magnificent divine majesty] (*FM* 7.214), using two of Allah's names, 'Magnificent' and 'Majestic'.

Other descriptions surrounding the Father are also translated using Islamic terminology related to Allah. For example, 'shall high extol | Thy praises' (*PL* 3.146-147) becomes '*tusabbiḥāni* | *bi ḥamdik*' / تسبحان بحمدك [exalt | with your praise] (*FM* 3.146-147), which is a Qur'ānic phrase usually used to advise humans that they should praise Allah, and on three occasions in the Qur'ān, used to describe the angels' actions of adoring Him.[87] Moreover, as early as Book 1, when Satan says that God is 'of force … almighty' (*PL* 1.144), Enani translates this as '*ʿalā kuli shayʾin qadīr*' / على كل شيء قدير [has power over all things] (*FM* 1.144). Again, this is a famous Qur'ānic phrase used to describe God exclusively on over thirty occasions in the Qur'ān.[88] Often, the word 'omnipotent' is also translated using this phrase, such as when the Father mentions 'our omnipotence' to the Son (*PL* 5.722), wherein the first-person plural pronoun conveys the three-personned nature of God. In the Arabic translation, however, the Father speaks not in the first-person plural but rather in the first-person singular: '*annanī* | *ʿalā kuli shayʾin qadīr*' / أنني على كل شيء قدير [that I | have power over all things] (*FM* 5.721-722), thereby eliminating the Son's presence

[87] See *Q* 15.98; 32.15; 39.75; 40.7; 40.55; 42.5; 50.39; 52.48; 110.3.
[88] *Q* 2.20; 2.106; 2.148; 2.259; 2.284; 3.26; 3.29; 3.165; 3.189; 5.17; 5.19; 5.40; 5.120; 6.17; 8.41; 9.39; 11.4; 16.77; 22.6; 24.45; 29.20; 30.50; 35.1; 41.39; 42.9; 46.33; 57.2; 59.6; 64.1; 65.12; 66.8; 67.1.

through the use of this Qur'ānic phrase. Again, the Qur'ānic rendering of Milton's Father provides the Muslim reader with a dilemma. One the one hand, Milton's portrayal of the Father's divine pre-eminence means that it is inevitable that a Muslim reader will associate the Father with Allah. On the other, however, Enani's translation, by identifying the Father with Allah, runs perilously close to breaching Islamic injunctions against depicting the divine.

Such an accommodation – making the Father appear like Allah – may have a contrary or unaccommodating consequence. Even if we discount the issue of translation, some Muslim pupils studying *Paradise Lost* in English find the general depiction of God fundamentally worrying: 'The characterisation of God made me uncomfortable … because it made him "too human"', says one.[89] 'It made me uncomfortable', explains another, 'it portrays GOD as a "character", it made him feel more human. GOD has always been "unimagined"'.[90] This student, who even capitalises the word 'God', turns some of the notions considered in the first section of this chapter concerning the depiction of God into a practical difficulty: she does not feel that God should be characterised, because this forces her – possibly for the first time – to create an image of him.

This student response is a reminder of how controversial it is in Islamic culture to portray God as a dramatic character, possessing physical and emotional features. It could be argued that Milton personifies all the non-human characters of the poem to some extent, not least in their ability to speak. As far as Milton's description of the Father is concerned, some sense of anthropomorphism and anthropopathism is evident. For the Muslim reader, physical descriptions of God are not entirely literal, but can be metaphoric. But by

[89] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic not first language / Female.*
[90] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic not first language / Female.*

acknowledging God's features, such as his 'hand', Muslims are able to understand divine entities in human terms.[91]

Anthropomorphism is rejected in Islam, because it potentially reduces God's status by representing him in merely human terms. Nonetheless, Allah possesses physical abilities or attributes which, even if incomprehensible, at least sound the same as our own. On dozens of occasions, the Qur'ān tells us that Allah can see and hear everything, with verses often ending 'and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing'.[92] However, there is no mention of ears or eyes. So, when the Father's 'ear' and 'eye' are mentioned in *Paradise Lost*, this may result in some initial unease for the Muslim reader. But these references to 'ear' and 'eye' occur in contexts which make them less problematic. For instance, God's 'eye' is mentioned when Raphael tells Adam that at 'night … roseate dews disposed | All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest' (*PL* 5.645-647). Here, reference to the Father's eyes signifies that unlike his creations, he does not sleep. In one of the most important verses of the Qur'ān, *āyat al-kursi*,[93] it is made clear that God does not sleep: 'Allah, there is no God but Him, the All-Living, the Self-Subsisting. Slumber does not overtake Him, nor does sleep' (*Q* 2.255), and one Ḥadīth states: 'Allah the Almighty does not sleep, and it does not befit Him to sleep'.[94] Thus, reference to the Father's eye serves as a reminder that God is All-Seeing. Moreover, Raphael mentions this while narrating the first revolt to Adam; the fact the Father could see Satan's conspiracy with his 'unsleeping eyes' is further indication of his divine prescience, and that he gave the fallen angels free will while knowing what they would do. Another reference to the Father's 'eye' is at the start of Book 10, when we are told that Adam and Eve's action 'Was known in heaven; for what can scape the eye | Of God all-

[91] See 'Section 3.2' for a discussion on the Qur'ān's representation of the 'hand' of Allah, and His 'establishing/straightening Himself on the Throne'; discussion is in reference to *PL* 3.279.
[92] See *Q* 17.1; 40.20; 40.56; 42.11.
[93] See 'Section 2.2'.
[94] Ḥadīth 179 (p. 86) in Muslim.

seeing' (*PL* 10.5-6). Again, the eye is mentioned to show God's perfection and power, and not to describe a physical feature as such. In fact, when translating this, Enani writes: '*fa-mādhā 'asāhu an yaflita min 'ayn | Illah il-baṣīr il-khabīr*' / فماذا عساه أن يفلت من عين الله البصير الخبير [For what is going to escape the eye of | Allah, the All-Seeing, the All-Aware] (*FM* 10.5-6). The translator adds two of Allah's names; the first matches the original – '*al-baṣīr*' [The All-Seeing] – but the second is an addition: '*al-khabīr*' [The All-Aware]. Adding this second attribute makes it even clearer to the reader that the 'eye' of the Father is a reference to his ability to see and know everything, and not to the organ itself.

References to God's 'ear' in Milton's poem have similar emphases. In the Qur'ān, Allah clearly hears His creations directly: He hears their dialogues,[95] their prayers,[96] and self-proclaims this ability to 'hear'.[97] Moreover, the Qur'ān repeatedly refers to Allah using the phrase: 'the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing',[98] indicating that His hearing is related directly to His knowledge. In *Paradise Lost*, the Father is presented generally as all-hearing, and when his 'ear' is mentioned in Book 5, it is a response to the 'harmony' of praise he receives from the angels, which is so 'charming … that God's own ear | Listens delighted' (*PL* 5.625-627). On this occasion, the Father's 'ear' represents his appreciation for the admiration he receives. However, if one is to consider God's omniscience through his ability to hear – as the Qur'ān emphasises – the Father's 'ear' becomes an intimation of his divine prescience. Moments before the 'ear' is mentioned, the Father had declared that the

[95] An important example is *Q* 58.1, which confirms that Allah listened to a woman complaining to Muhammad about her husband. Allah reveals the Qur'ānic verse to give His verdict on her issue. The key verse is: 'Truly, Allah has heard the statement of she who disputes before you (O Muhammad) concerning her husband, and complains to Allah. For Allah hears your dialogue; indeed, Allah is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing'. See also *Q* 3.181: 'Truly, Allah has heard the statement of those who said "Allah is poor and we are rich"…'
[96] For example, *Q* 3.38: 'Then and there, Zechariah called upon his Lord, saying: "My Lord, grant me from You a good offspring; indeed, you are the Hearer of Prayer"'. Also, *Q* 2.186: 'And when My servants ask you about Me, then, indeed, I am near. I answer the call of the caller when he calls on Me'.
[97] For example, in *Q* 20.46 Allah says to Moses and Aaron, 'Fear not; indeed, I am with you both, I hear and I see'.
[98] *Q* 2.127; 2.137; 3.35; 5.76; 6.13; 6.115; 8.61; 10.65; 12.34; 21.4; 26.220; 29.5; 29.60; 41.36; 44.6.

Son shall be 'head' and that 'to him shall bow | All knees in heaven' (*PL* 5.606-608), leading to these songs which please his ear. However, we also read that not everyone was happy: 'with his words | All seemed well pleased, all seemed, but were not all' (*PL* 5.616-617). The Father's hearing, which is mentioned shortly after these lines, serves as a vivid reminder of his prescience. This prescience confirms that the Father has full knowledge of Satan's jealous reaction to the anointment of the Son from the first moment.

It appears, then, that Milton's Father does not have to be interpreted anthropomorphically; in fact, for the Muslim reader, human-like characteristics may paradoxically be interpreted as indications of divine omnipresence and omniscience. In addition to the issue of anthropomorphism, some matters are raised through the Father's anthropopathism. Anthropopathism poses questions about whether the Father is passible or impassible; that is, whether he suffers from feeling human emotion or not.[99] In *De Doctrina*, Milton dismisses anthropopathic presentations of God, stating:

> In my opinion, then, theologians do not need to employ anthropopathy, or the ascription of human feelings to God. This is a rhetorical device thought up by grammarians to explain the nonsense poets write about Jove. Sufficient care has been taken, without any doubt, to ensure that the holy scriptures contain nothing unfitting to God or unworthy of him. This applies equally to those passages in scripture where God speaks about his own nature. So it is better not to think about God or form an image of him in anthropopathetic terms, for to do so would be to follow the example of men…[100]

[99] See 'passible, adj.' and 'impassible, adj.', *OED Online* (2011), <http://oed.com/view/Entry/138493?redirectedFrom=passible#eid> and <http://oed.com/view/Entry/92130?redirectedFrom=impassible#eid> [accessed 11th October 2012].
[100] *DDC* 1.2, p. 134.

Such a view is interesting considering Milton's belief in scripture, and the biblical source of his poem. As Lieb writes, 'attributing passions to God … is precisely what the Bible does'.[101] Hence, it is viable that Milton, while dismissing generally the existence of anthropopathic aspects in God, still believed in a specifically passible deity like that of the Bible. This passibility, however, whether in the Bible or in *Paradise Lost*, must also be described in human-like terminology.

In general, Milton's views on the divine stemmed from his understanding of scripture. His strong belief in scripture could be related to the Muslim reader's belief in the Qur'ān being the word of God. To a Muslim, Allah's self-descriptions may be accommodating, but are certainly flawless and ultimately incomprehensible. It is essential to note that in the same way that a Muslim perceives the Qur'ān to be the source of human understanding of God, so Milton believed that scriptural 'meaning flows from author (God) to reader (humans) and not the other way around'.[102] In turn, anthropopatheia loses its importance as a device used to describe God, and instead, becomes part of the more substantial message about life and faith which God is trying to send to humans. This helps explain the reading experience of the Arab-Muslim reader of *Paradise Lost*: this reader is immersed in a religious tradition and culture which places emphasis on both God's word and his ineffable nature. Descriptions of what appear to be God's feelings in the Qur'ān, such as happiness or anger, are not important in themselves: they should inspire the Muslim to lead a better life by aspiring to earn God's rewards and fearing his punishments. In the Qur'ān, Allah shows that descriptions of His power are a clear warning to humankind, yet also reminds them that He is benevolent: 'And Allah warns you of Himself, and Allah is

[101] Lieb (2006), p. 131.
[102] Ibid., p. 146.

compassionate to [His] servants' (*Q* 3.30).[103] Thus, for Muslims, descriptions of Allah display His nature in a way humans may recognise, in addition to instructing contemplation and action from the individual. Essentially, then, descriptions of Allah in Islamic scripture accommodate God to human understanding, and by presenting divine guidance about how to lead one's life, could also be classed as theopathic.[104]

If this is taken into account, any emotions God reveals can be interpreted as feelings or characteristics accommodated for human understanding, so that the human may contemplate and learn about the divine, and in turn, offer more devotion to God. On tens of occasions in the Qur'ān, we read that Allah 'loves' some things,[105] and 'does not love' others.[106] These things which Allah loves or hates act as an index of human behaviour, indicating what Allah deems to be good and bad deeds, as opposed to His specific ability to love or to hate. Hence, as far as characterisation in *Paradise Lost* is concerned, the Father's self-revealed passibility makes the other characters worship and fear him, and shows that the human pair and the fallen angels fail to understand the Father's desires. As for the Muslim reader, any passible aspects the Father possesses could serve as a reminder of God's ability to show happiness and anger, pointing towards the doctrine of reward and punishment, which should lead to further contemplation and devotion. This could well be

[103] Also, *Q* 3.28: 'And Allah warns you of Himself, and to Allah is the [final] destination'.
[104] Theopathy: 'Sympathetic passive feeling excited by the contemplation of God; susceptibility to this feeling; sensitiveness or responsiveness to divine influence; pious sentiment'. See 'theopathy, n.', *OED Online* (2011), <http://oed.com/view/Entry/200400?redirectedFrom=theopathy#eid> [accessed 11th October 2012].
[105] 'Allah loves the pious' (*Q* 3.76; 9.4; 9.7); 'Allah loves those who do good' (*Q* 2.195; 3.148; 5.13); 'Allah loves those who are patient' (*Q* 3.146); 'Allah loves those who are penitent and those who purify themselves' (*Q* 2.222); 'Allah loves those who are just' (*Q* 5.42; 49.9; 60.8); 'Allah loves those who rely [only] on Him' (*Q* 3.159); 'Allah loves those who fight in His cause in a [unified] structure' (*Q* 61.4).
[106] 'Allah does not love aggressors' (*Q* 2.190); 'Allah does not love every unbelieving sinner' (*Q* 2.76); 'Allah does not love the disbelievers' (*Q* 3.32); 'Allah does not love the unjust' (*Q* 3.140; 42.40); 'Allah does not love anyone who is self-deluded and boastful' (*Q* 4.36; 31.18); 'Allah does not love one who is treacherous and sinful' (*Q* 4.107); 'Allah does not love the public mention of evil except by one who has been wronged' (*Q* 4.148); 'Allah does not love those who are mischievous' (*Q* 5.64; 28.77); 'Allah does not love transgressors' (*Q* 5.87); 'Allah does not love traitors' (*Q* 8.58); 'Allah does not love those who are arrogant' (*Q* 16.23); 'Allah does not love the treacherous disbeliever' (*Q* 22.38); 'Allah does not love the exultant' (*Q* 28.76).

the way in which Milton wanted *Paradise Lost* to be read: Lieb argues that Milton's Father should be read 'theopathetically rather than anthropopathetically'.[107] If this is the case, the Muslim reader of the epic may already be one step ahead of other modern readers.

While a theopathic reading of the Father could be the answer to the Muslim reader's discomfort surrounding the Father's depiction, it does lead to a potential problem: namely, the issue of theomorphism, the biblical and theological notion of *imago dei*: that God created humans in his own image (Genesis 1.26-27).[108] Though Sufi Muslims believe in this, Sunni Muslims do not, because God cannot be compared remotely with any of his creations. However, there are some Ḥadīths which suggest some theomorphism in Islam; the most famous of these states that 'Allah, praises and exaltations upon Him, created Adam in his image'.[109] However, this Ḥadīth is not interpreted by the most prominent Ḥadīth exegetes as indicating theomorphism. Instead, they assert that 'the pronoun in "his image"' refers to Adam himself. In other words, when Allah first created Adam in heaven, He created him in the same form that he would be when evicted, while on earth and at the time of his death.[110] Other Ḥadīths instruct about the sanctity of the human face in Islam: 'If one of you fights with his brother, then avoid the face, for Allah created Adam in his image',[111] and: 'Do not say "May Allah curse your face" … for Allah created Adam, peace and blessings upon him, in his image'.[112] Most scholars believe that the pronoun now refers to the person being hit or

[107] Lieb (2006), p. 154; see also pp. 143-162.
[108] On Milton's theomorphic beliefs via theopathy, see Neil Graves, '"The whole fulness of Godhead dwells in him bodily": The Materiality of Milton's God', *Christianity and Literature*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (2003), pp. 497-522.
[109] Ḥadīth 2841 (p. 1091) in Muslim; Ḥadīth 6227 (p. 1140) in Al-Bukhāri.
[110] Abu-Zakaria Al-Nawawi, *Al-Minhāj Fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Ibn Al-Ḥajjāj [The Curriculum for the Explanation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Ibn Al-Ḥajjāj]* (Amman: Bayt Al-Afkār Al-Dawliyyah, 2000) – first published *c*. 1260, p. 1657; Ibn-Ḥajar Al-ʿAsqalāni, *Fatḥ Al-Bāri Bi-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhāri [Grant of the Creator for the Explanation of Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhāri]* (Amman: Bayt Al-Afkār Al-Dawliyyah, 2000) – first published 1428, p. 2719.
[111] Ḥadīth 2612 (p. 1009) in Muslim.
[112] Ḥadīth cited in Abu-Bakr Ibn-Khazīmah, *Kitāb Al-Tawḥīd: Wa Ithbat Ṣfāt Al-Rab ʿAza-wa-Jal [The Book of Oneness: Demonstration of the Attributes of the Lord]*, ed. ʿAbdel-ʿAzīz Al-Shahwān (Riyadh: Dār Al-Rashd, 1988) – first published *c*. 900, p. 82.

cursed, because his face has been created in the same image as Adam, who was created with the hands of God, so should be respected.[113] However, there are also Ḥadīths which are less ambiguous about the pronoun, stating: 'Adam was created in the image of the Most Beneficent'.[114] Ibn-Hajar, the most renowned commentator on Bukhāri, asserts that these Ḥadīths should not be classed as evidence of theomorphism, but rather, 'image' refers to 'attributes': 'Allah created him with His own attributes of knowledge, life, hearing, sight, and so on, though there is nothing like the attributes of Allah'.[115]

Islamic scholar Zaghloul El Naggar says that these Ḥadīths have resulted in 'much controversy' because of 'the similar account' in the Old Testament.[116] In Genesis, 'God said: Let us make man in our Image, after our likeness … So God created man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him' (Genesis 1.26-27). Milton's biblical source obviously allows a theomorphic presence in the poem. However, for a Muslim, theomorphism appears to contradict the credal notion that there is nothing like God, in addition to intimating anthropomorphism. While there appear to be theomorphic elements in some Ḥadīths, Sunni scholars reject this concept unanimously.[117] Hence, the Muslim reader will be wary of such a notion when reading Milton's work. It is worth noting, then, that even if the initial controversy concerning the Father's physical and emotional depiction may be overcome in

[113] Al-Nawawi (2008), p. 1556.
[114] Ḥadīth cited as 'authentic' by a number of scholars, such as Abu-Bakr Ibn-Al-ʿArabi, *Al-ʿAwāṣim Min Al-Qawāṣim Fī Taḥqīq Mawāqif Al-Ṣaḥābah Baʿda Wafāt Al-Nabiy [Defence Against Disaster: Authenticating the Situations of the Companions After the Death of the Prophet]*, ed. Muḥib Al-Dīn Al-Khaṭīb (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Sunnah, 1991) – first published *c.* 1140, p. 210; also, 'Do not curse the face, for the Son of Adam was created in the image of the Most Beneficent', cited in Ibn-Khazīmah (1988), pp. 85-86; 'Most Beneficent' is one of Allah's names.
[115] Ibn-Ḥajar (2000), p. 2719.
[116] Zaghloul El Naggar, 'Khalq Adam ʿAlā Ṣūratih' [The Creation Adam in His Image], *Youtube* (2010), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=frmj0vClUmI> [accessed 31 October 2012].
[117] For a fuller discussion on the rejection of theomorphism in Sunni creed, see Ibn-Taymiyyah, *Sharḥ Al-ʿAqīda Al-Wasiṭiyyah [Explanation of the Central Creed]*, Vol. 1, ed. Muhammad Al-ʿUthaymīn (Jeddah: Dār Ibn Al-Jūzi, 2000), pp. 107-113, 291-293.

different ways by the Muslim reader, he or she must still approach concepts which help overcome it, such as theopathy, with due caution.

4.4: Conclusion

It is beyond doubt that the character of the Father presents numerous intriguing complexities for the Arab-Muslim reader. Many Arab readers come from a society in which there is an exceedingly religious culture, and in which sanctity of the divine results in both cultural and credal prohibitions of the most minor kinds of blasphemy. Assessing the Arab-Muslim reception of the Father, then, presents us with a vivid example of how an individual's belief systems can affect the way that person interprets or reads a literary character, and how societal expectations can affect the way a text is taught. A student in Tunisia recalls that, prior even to beginning *Paradise Lost*, the lecturer told all students that because the poem portrays God, it is 'haram'.[118] The Arab-Muslim reception of the character of the Father in *Paradise Lost* not only indicates how the reader's beliefs affect reception, but how the personal orientations of critics and scholars also affect their perceptions of Milton's works.

As a result, a reader often needs to devise particular reading strategies in order to reconcile his or her beliefs with the act of reading a text that contains potentially blasphemous material. One key complexity for the Muslim reader of *Paradise Lost* is the literary portrayal of the divine. Milton seems to advocate an unimaginable God, yet the reader is forced to imagine the Father with specific physical and psychological attributes. The Muslim reader, while relieved that Milton's portrayal of the Father appears to correspond in a number of ways with the Islamic depiction of Allah, may still be forced to

[118] *Primary Research: Tunisia / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Male.* 'Haram' is the 'legal term for what is forbidden or inviolable under Islamic law'; see Esposito, 'Haram' (2003), p. 109.

interpret the text as a fiction in order to accept the depiction. However, this solution, noted in the previous chapter in relation to the Son, is not as viable in relation to the Father, because of the Islamic prohibition against the portrayal of God, even if the work is a fiction: God is too perfect and incomprehensible for human imagination. Hence, even when students enjoy Milton's poem, the fact that they are forced to imagine God in their own limited ways does not go unnoticed. One student comments: 'I respect *Paradise Lost* as a canonical work; I also respect it for its poetic elements. However, God is far more great and divine than in *Paradise Lost*'.[119]

Overcoming this basic problem of depiction is not easy for the Arab-Muslim reader. However, this chapter has revealed that the constant elevation of the Father's importance in the poem often provides a seemingly intuitive solution. The increased prominence of the Father in Enani's translation has already been affirmed in the two preceding chapters, which displayed how the blasphemous challenges of Satan and the human-like passivity of the Son both emphasise the Father's divinity and pre-eminence in the poem. This chapter has continued this argument, adding that the Arabic translation and the Muslim reader's religio-cultural formation play a part in further elevating the Father to the extent that all other characters depend upon him for their own characterisations. The Father also has a vital role of elucidating the conceptual and theological themes of the poem, many of which are relevant for the Muslim reader. Among these themes is the role of humankind, which Milton's characterisation of the Father helps to manifest. For instance, the Father shows that humans are tested through both good and evil, that Satan's temptations should be avoided, and that by disregarding divine omnipresence, faith cannot be perfected (*iḥsān*). Furthermore, the Father shows that humans should prioritise God; when Adam and Eve

[119] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*

prioritised other things over him, they fell. When they fell, judgement became necessary, so the Father's exclusive ability to forgive could be displayed. Of course, both Enani's translation and Arab-Islamic culture affect the way an Arab-Muslim reads the character of the Father. Nonetheless, the manner of Milton's original presentation of the Father, which initially seems wholly controversial, actually proves to be largely acceptable to, and even appropriate for, the Muslim reader.

One of the more controversial elements in Milton's portrayal of the deity is that he is assigned human-like characteristics. As a result, some elements of anthropomorphism are present in descriptions of the Father, such as references to his 'ear' and 'eye'. However, these kinds of descriptions are also present in the Qur'ān, and serve a specific purpose of indicating God's divine nature. For the Muslim reader, descriptions of the Father in *Paradise Lost* possess the same role, and in turn, highlight the Father's omniscience and omnipresence, as opposed to his anthropomorphism. When it comes to anthropopathism, the Father's passibilities can be better interpreted by Muslim readers as theopathic indications of his happiness and anger, and in turn, his reward and punishment. Hence, the reader should notice that reference to the Father's eyes and ears are a means of revealing his prescience of the entire plot: most notably, Satan's initial jealousy and the actions of Adam and Eve. In addition, the Father's feelings reveal the ways in which he expects his creations to conduct themselves: they should appreciate his transcendence by worshipping and fearing him. Once more, Satan, Adam and Eve fail to understand this, thus showing that any tragic events in the plot are not the Father's fault, but theirs. Anthropomorphism aside, these are important lessons about God's power and expectations, which could benefit the Muslim reader.

Throughout the poem, the Father's pronouncements are made mostly through his speech. In Islam, Allah certainly speaks: 'And their Lord called them: "Did I not forbid you from that tree, and tell you that the Devil is to you a clear enemy"' (*Q* 7.22).[120] Allah also presents Himself through scripture: Muslims believe that the Qur'ān is the verbatim word of God,[121] and *Qudsi* Ḥadīths are also regarded as God's words.[122] Even regular *Nabawi* [Prophetic] Ḥadīths could be regarded as indirect messages from God, because 'He (Muhammad) does not speak of his own desire' (*Q* 53.3). The Father's speech in *Paradise Lost* shares features with Allah's in Islamic tradition: both are expressed in human language and presented as spoken or written discourse. However, Allah's speech is like no other and should not be related to fictional accounts of his dialogue: 'He speaks when He wishes and as He wishes; His speech is not like the speech of creations'.[123] Besides, the Qur'ān indicates that His words possess a different dimension to any speech humans may know: 'Say, if the sea were a supply for the words of my Lord, the sea would run out before the words of my Lord run out, even if We brought the like of it as supplement' (*Q* 18.109).[124] Hence, for a Muslim reader, Allah's speech cannot be regarded as remotely similar to that of Milton's character. This is an example of a more intricate problem of depiction: though the messages of the Father and Allah may appear comparable, it is in many senses blasphemous to even argue that they are so. This provides a neat summary for much of what this chapter has exemplified: the Muslim reader cannot claim to understand God directly through the Father's character, because to do so degrades divine matter. It is, however, viable that the reader may be able to do so indirectly, while appreciating that God is indescribably greater than the Father.

[120] For examples of Allah's speech in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, see Al-Ashqar (2005), pp. 214-216.
[121] Al-Ashqar (2005), pp. 216-217.
[122] On *Qudsi* Ḥadīths, see 'Introduction, 2.2: The Arab-Muslim World, n. 46'.
[123] Al-Ashqar (2005), p. 214.
[124] The word *midād* [supply] is interpreted by many as 'ink', making the meaning: 'if the sea were ink for the words of my Lord…'

Nonetheless, the tasks the Father undertakes through his speech demonstrate that understanding his character can help reveal aspects of other characters. For example, in Book 3, the Father says of Adam: 'he had of me | All he could have' (*PL* 3.97-98). Carey notes that the Father gave Adam 'all he could have' and not 'all I could give him', otherwise Adam would be perfect like God.[125] Such a precise difference proves that the Father's speech is meticulously crafted. In Enani's translation, the Father states: '*laqad ātaytuhū | kulla mā yaqdiru 'alayh*' / لقد اتيته كل ما يقدر عليه [I have given to him | all that he is capable of] (*FM* 3.97-98). Here, the Father shows that there are limits to human power and knowledge, which he made impossible for Adam to surpass. The Father also makes a vital assertion that Adam has taken nothing of him, as 'had of me' is omitted. Hence, the Father's speech is altered in the Arabic translation in order to further emphasise that he is superior to his creations, and in turn, to elevate him at the expense of the other characters. In this example, the meticulous nature of the Father's words confirms two Qur'ānic revelations: 'there is nothing that is like Him (God)' (*Q* 42.11), and 'you (humankind) have not been given of knowledge except a little' (*Q* 17.85).

On the whole, the divine concepts and abilities which the Father embodies place him at the centre of the plot and elevate him over the other characters. Importantly, they do not always appear to contradict Islamic beliefs about God, and when they do, the fact that he is elevated in these ways provides some respite for the problem of his depiction. Moreover, the concepts the Father represents lead to some potentially constructive moral lessons for the Arab-Muslim reader, particularly in relation to Adam and Eve, who are likely to be the characters the reader identifies with most. In order for these moral lessons to be actuated, though, the reader must not flinch because Milton is depicting the deity, but rather, delve

[125] Carey (1969), p. 78.

into the poem's interior. For Muslims, of course, there is a fundamental and unavoidable problem with God being portrayed. Once the Muslim reader overcomes or overlooks this, however, Milton's portrayal of the Father and the devices the character uses not only match many Islamic beliefs, but also have the potential to turn the Muslim's reading experience of *Paradise Lost* into a richly illuminating one.

CHAPTER 5: ADAM AND EVE

5.1: Adam, Eve and [Im]Perfection

The transgression of Adam and Eve is narrated three times in the Qur'ān;[1] it is a universal story in the Muslim world. At the same time, readers of *Paradise Lost* have long been fascinated by the human pair: their nature, knowledge, relationship and sexuality. Milton scholars have discussed these issues in detail; this chapter does not intend to repeat such material, but rather, to advance understandings of Milton's characters by considering how a Muslim readership perceives and responds to their presentation.

Ādam and *Ḥawwā'* [Adam and Eve] are respected greatly in Islam; after their names, Muslims often add 'peace be upon them', as is conventional for prophets. This is particularly striking as unlike her husband, Eve is not regarded as a prophet.[2] While there is a general supposition among Muslims that prophets are infallible, the Qur'ān shows that Adam made a clear mistake: 'Adam disobeyed his Lord and erred' (*Q* 20.121). Explaining this, ʿUmar Al-Ashqar writes that 'infallibility does not accompany [prophets] in all their issues', as they 'are not infallible from minor sins'. They possess 'infallibility' specifically in relation to 'carrying out their message'; 'human nature does not contradict infallibility' in issues relating to their missions, and the difference between prophets and others is that when prophets blunder, 'Allah alerts them of their mistake, and aids them to repent'.[3] Hence, Muslims perceive Adam as a perfect deliverer of his message; his transgression, then, might be understood by Muslims as an integral part of his message of humility and repentance.

[1] *Q* 2.34-39; 7.11-27; 20.115-123.
[2] Only one other woman's name, *Maryam* [Mary], is usually followed by 'peace be upon her'. The names of Muhammad's wives are the next level, usually followed by 'may Allah be pleased with them'.
[3] ʿUmar Al-Ashqar, *Al-Rusul Wal-Risālāt [The Messengers and the Messages]* (Kuwait City: Maktabat Al-Falāḥ, 1989), pp. 97, 99, 107, 112.

Renaissance commentaries on Genesis discussed the extent of Adam and Eve's initial 'perfection'.[4] In Book 3 of *Paradise Lost*, the Father says that he created Adam and Eve 'just and right' (*PL* 3.98). However, as Milton scholars have pointed out, the existence of a fall precludes absolute perfection, leading to the critical hypothesis that Adam and Eve possess a limited perfection, or what George Musacchio calls a 'fallible perfection'.[5] This idea fits with Muslim belief that fallibility is an essential part of human nature, as indicated by two well-known Ḥadīths: 'Every son of Adam is a sinner, and the best of those who sin are those who repent';[6] and 'if you did not sin, Allah would do away with you and bring a people who do sin then seek Allah's forgiveness, and He would forgive them'.[7] Aside from the emphasis on human repentance and divine mercy, these Ḥadīths show that perfection is not expected of humans. In fact, in general Arab culture, the word for 'human' – *insān* – denotes imperfection. Muhammad's companion, Ibn-ʿAbbās, has a famous saying in which he proposes that a human is called '*insān*' because 'he was entrusted but forgot'.[8] The word '*nasiya*' [forgot] derives from the same etymological root as *insān* [human], and the two words possess a phonetic similarity. Interestingly, this idea of forgetting is linked directly with religio-cultural presentations of Adam, which stem from Islamic scripture: in one Ḥadīth, prelapsarian Adam is shown his entire progeny and the number of years they each will live. He decides to give David forty of his own years, but when the Angel of Death comes to take Adam's life, Adam protests that the angel is early, before being reminded of his gift to David, which he denies. The Ḥadīth concludes: 'Adam denied, so his progeny

[4] See Philip Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 33-64; Millicent Bell, 'The Fallacy of the Fall in *Paradise Lost*', *PMLA*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (1953), p. 874.
[5] See George Musacchio, *Milton's Adam and Eve: Fallible Perfection* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 1-10; Bell (1953), p. 863.
[6] Ḥadīth 2499 (p. 563) in Al-Tirmidhi.
[7] Ḥadīth 2749 (p. 1055) in Muslim.
[8] Ḥadīth 13388 in Nūr-Al-Dīn Al-Haythami (1335-1404), *Majma' Al-Zawā'id Wa Manba' Al-Fawā'id [The Collection of Additions and The Source of Benefits]*, Vol. 8 (accessed on *Al-Eman website*), <http://www.al-eman.com> [accessed 19th March 2013], p. 111. Note: this is a 'weak' Ḥadīth. It is also a '*mawqūf*' Ḥadīth, which refers to a saying or action of Muhammad's companions, as opposed to Muhammad himself.

denied; he forgot, so his progeny forgot; and he erred, so his progeny erred'.[9] One Qur'ānic verse has a similar theme: 'And We made a covenant with Adam before, but he forgot, and We did not find in him [due] resolve' (*Q* 20.115). It is apparent, then, that Islam does not propagate the idea of a perfect human, and moreover, that Adam is to some extent an exemplar of human fallibility. Such a view helps explain a basic moral of Adam and Eve's story in Islam: 'that the human, no matter how much dignity is given to him, has weakness in his nature'.[10]

Muslims believe that despite these inescapable imperfections, humans remain among the most privileged creations.[11] One reason is that they are created perfectly by God: 'We have certainly created the human in the best stature/form' (*Q* 95.4). Similarly, Milton's human pair are described as having 'excellent form' (*PL* 4.A). Enani utilises the Qur'ānic description when translating how the Father 'created all | Such to perfection' (*PL* 5.471-472), turning it into: '*fa laqad a'ṭā kula shay'in khalqah, | wa fī aḥsani ṣūratin rakkabah*' / فلقد أعطى كل شيء خلقه، وفي أحسن صورة ركبه [For he has given everything its form, | and in the best form assembled him] (*FM* 5.471-472). Here, Enani makes allusions to two Qur'ānic verses: the first is Moses' reply to Pharaoh's question of 'Who then is your Lord?' to which the answer is: 'Our Lord is the One who gave everything its form and then guided it' (*Q* 20.49-50). The second is the Qur'ān's question to its reader: 'O humankind, what has deluded you about your Lord, the All-Gracious, | the One who created you, fashioned you, and proportioned you? | In what a wondrous form has He willed to assemble you' (*Q* 82.6-8). Enani uses the exact phraseology of these verses in his translation, signifying that the Father has created the human pair in perfect form, but reminding us of their fallibility. The

[9] Ḥadīth 3076 (p. 689) in Al-Tirmidhi; for other versions, see Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, pp. 109-112.
[10] Al-Najār (no year), p. 41.
[11] See *Q* 17.70: 'We have truly honoured the Children of Adam … and We have preferred them over much of what We have created with [true] preference'. See 'Section 2.3'.

first Qur'ānic verse in question shows that despite the perfection of human form, divine guidance is needed ultimately, while the second verses indicate that the human is unappreciative and will forget the bounty of form through arrogant disobedience. In Book 7 of *Paradise Lost*, Milton's retelling of Creation, the description of humans is wholly relevant to the sentiments of these verses:

> There wanted yet the master work, the end
> Of all yet done; a creature who not prone
> And brute as other creatures, but endued
> With sanctity of reason, might erect
> His stature, and upright with front serene
> Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence
> Magnanimous to correspond with heaven,
> But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
> Descends, thither with heart and voice and eyes
> Directed in devotion, to adore
> And worship God supreme, who made him chief
> Of all his works (*PL* 7.505-516).

There exists a motif of physical form in this description of 'the master work' of creation, evident via the lexical group: 'erect … stature … upright front'. In the Qur'ānic description, the human is 'created … fashioned … proportioned' (*Q* 82.7), and rather than being 'brute', the human is refined. Concurrently, human deficiency in *Paradise Lost* is portrayed through the fact that humans are expected to have 'magnanimous' – 'great-souled' –[12] correspondence with 'heaven'. In doing so, humans should be able to understand their

[12] Fowler (2007), p. 388.

position above animals but below God. The Qur'ān, however, confirms that humans become 'deluded' about their inferiority to God, and rather than being magnanimous, forget to repay God for His magnanimity to them (*Q* 82.6). Milton's Father also indicates that humans should seek his guidance through worship and obedience; it is no coincidence, though, that this 'devotion' is shown via the 'heart and voice and eyes', themselves aspects of the human form the Father wants Adam, Eve and their progeny to appreciate (*PL* 7.513-514).

But the even greater privilege humans possess is a result of their role as God's viceroys, whom the Father says will 'rule … over all the earth' (*PL* 7.520-522). The story of Adam's creation in the Qur'ān also conveys and elaborates this notion of humans as God's representatives on earth:

> Behold when your Lord said to the angels: 'I am making a *khalīfah*[13] on earth', they said: 'Will You make in it one who will corrupt in it and shed blood, while we praise Your glory and sanctify You?' He said: 'I know what you do not know' | And He taught Adam the names, all of them. Then He showed them to the angels and said, 'Tell me their names, if you are right'. | They (the angels) said: 'Exalted are You, we have no knowledge except what You have taught us; indeed, it is You who is the All-Knowing, the All-Wise'. | He (Allah) said: 'O Adam, tell them the names of these', and when he had informed them of their names, He (Allah) said, 'Did I not tell you that I know the unseen of the heavens and the earth, and I know what you reveal and what you conceal?' | And when We said to the angels, 'prostrate before Adam', so they prostrated except for Iblīs. He refused and was arrogant and was a disbeliever (*Q* 2.30-34).

[13] The term connotes successor, but also steward and viceroy.

This narration indicates Adam's privileged status, as God ordered the angels to prostrate to him.[14] Furthermore, the passage informs Islamic belief that humans are God's viceroys on earth. This role of stewardship is directly connected with specifically human abilities; Islamic sociologist Mahmoud Dhaoudi states that we are presented in these verses with 'a divine action that had predisposed man with a unique capacity for learning', and it is this knowledge which 'is the key to man's distinct place in the order of Nature'.[15]

In order to analyse the Arab-Muslim reception of Adam and Eve's fall in *Paradise Lost*, it is important to consider what Muslims believe about the extent and nature of the human pair's knowledge. Muslims do not believe that Adam was taught all knowledge, but rather, taught all 'names'. Islamic historian ʿAbdel-Wahāb Al-Najār writes that this was done 'to practically reveal to the angels what they had missed' about God's wisdom in creating humans, adding that 'some people exaggerate and claim that Allah taught Adam everything that was and will be, and displayed images of these things … and this is an unacceptable exaggeration'.[16] From a Muslim point of view, this would make Adam hearing Michael's prophecies in the final two Books a certain innovation on Milton's part. But more importantly, a Muslim reader of *Paradise Lost* does not expect an Adam who possesses complete knowledge. He or she will see Adam much as he self-professes – one who is given the ability to know names: 'I … readily could name | What e'er I saw' (*PL* 8.271-273). In his translation, Enani does not waste the opportunity of presenting Adam as the Muslim reader already knows him. He keeps the meaning of the original text, but accommodates it further by using the same *taʿbīr* – terminology and syntax – as the Qur'ānic version (*Q* 2.31):

[14] On the prostration to Adam, see 'Chapter 2: Satan'.
[15] Mahmoud Dhaoudi, 'The Quranic View on the Cultural Divine Breath and the Human Distinctiveness', *Islam Arastirmalari Dergisi*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2001), pp. 45-46; also, Al-ʿAqqād writes that Adam's knowledge is 'what distinguished him above all other creations', see ʿAbbās Maḥmūd Al-ʿAqqād, *Al-Insān Fil-Qur'ān [The Human in the Qur'ān]* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 2009), pp. 11, 47.
[16] Al-Najār (no year), p. 20.

‘*wajadtu annanī 'ullimtul-asmā'a kullahā*’ / وجدت أنني علمت الأسماء كلها [I found that I was taught the names, all of them] (*FM* 8.272). On occasions, though, the Arabic translation cannot avoid that Milton’s Adam does name the inhabitants of Eden (*PL* 6.75-76; 7.493). Though this may appear blasphemous for a Muslim reader, it is not the case entirely: while Muslims believe that Adam did not name items, he may have been inspired by God to know the names of previously unnamed things.[17]

The more pressing issue is the potential consequence of Adam’s knowledge. Adam and Eve are unsatisfied with the knowledge they are given initially. Adam even admits that Raphael has not entirely, but ‘largely … allayed | The thirst I had of knowledge’ (*PL* 8.7-8). In order for Milton’s human characters to eat from the ‘Tree of Knowledge’ (*PL* 4.221), he makes them desire further knowledge consistently. Islamic belief, as outlined, confirms that Adam had knowledge of names, but not perfect knowledge; in this sense, he is unavoidably defective.[18] Milton makes full use of this deficiency, making desire for both permissible and forbidden knowledge a central rationale in Adam and Eve’s transgression.

One part of Adam and Eve’s knowledge is the warning not to eat from the tree by the Father in *Paradise Lost*, and by Allah in the Qur’ān.[19] This knowledge is present when Adam eats from the tree: Milton writes that he does so ‘Against his better knowledge’ (*PL* 9.998). Modern psychoanalytical critics may interpret this knowledge as Adam’s superego, defined as ‘the internalisation of … prohibitions’ which acts as ‘an agency embodying a law and prohibiting its transgression’.[20] This is not entirely out of step with Renaissance psychology, which emphasised the idea of the ‘conscience’. Adam, then, is at the very least

[17] Ibid.; on naming Eve, see ‘Section 5.2’ of this chapter.
[18] Such a view differs from how some critics in the first half of the twentieth century, such as C. S. Lewis, perceived Milton’s Adam as having perfect knowledge. For these opinions, see Waldock (1947), p. 27.
[19] For more discussion of the warnings, see ‘Section 5.3’ of this chapter.
[20] Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, ‘Super-Ego’, in *The Language of Psychoanalysis* (London: Karnac, 2012), pp. 435-437.

intuitively aware of both the Father's warning and the consequence of his action. However, when he reflects, this gives way to his desire for further knowledge, largely due to his misunderstanding of the Father's omnipresence.[21] By including the comparative adjective 'better', rather than writing simply 'against his knowledge', Milton is alerting us that there are two types of knowledge in competition: the knowledge Adam is given, and the knowledge he seeks to acquire. While it is generally thought that Adam ate out of uxoriousness, Milton shows that Adam also transgressed due to excessive curiosity, which shares a parallel with Islamic belief. The Qur'ānic account says nothing about Adam acting out of love for Eve, but rather, he too is deceived by Satan: 'O Adam, shall I direct you to the tree of immortality and possessions that will never deteriorate?' (*Q* 20.120).

Here, numerous lessons may be learnt which fit closely with Islamic teachings. First, one must acknowledge the limits of human knowledge: 'And you (humankind) have not been given of knowledge except a little' (*Q* 17.85). Second, arrogance should be avoided, as it is what drives egotism: 'No one will enter *al-jannah* in whose heart there is an atom's weight of arrogance'.[22] Third, one must respond to Allah's warnings and remember His omnipresence, because as the Qur'ān repeats: 'He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing'.[23] Furthermore, one should make use of knowledge, even if limited; a renowned maxim the Arab reader will almost certainly be aware of is: 'if you did not know, then that is a disaster, but if you did know, then the disaster is even greater'.[24] Finally, one must be aware of suitable methods of ascension. Adam and Eve tried to 'ascend', and that is a virtuous thing

[21] Eve: 'but what if God have seen' (*PL* 9.826); Adam: 'I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice | Afraid, being naked, hid myself', and 'hide me from the face | Of God' (*PL* 10.116-117; 723-724). On the Father's omnipresence, see 'Section 4.2'.
[22] Ḥadīth 91 (p. 54) in Muslim; also narrated as 'a mustard seed's weight of arrogance'.
[23] For examples, see 'Section 4.3'.
[24] Most Arabs today are likely to know this proverb; a famous usage of it is in the early fourteenth-century poem 'Mīmiyyah' by Ibn Al-Qayyim Al-Jawziyya, in *Ḥādi Al-Arwāḥ Ilā Bilād Al-Afrāḥ [Spurring Souls to the Realms of Joy]* (Mecca: Dār ʿĀlam Al-Fu'ād, 2007), p. 15; prose usages include the thirteenth/fourteenth-century scholar Ibn Taymiyyah, *Al-Ṣafdiyyah [The People of Safed]*, accessed on the *Ibn-Taymiyyah Website,* <http://ibntaimiah.com> [accessed 9th April 2013], p. 198.

(*PL* 8.591-592). Seeking knowledge is not what stopped their elevation; rather, they did not learn how to ascend,[25] as one cannot 'achieve godly ends by godless means'.[26] In the Qur'ān, as soon as they descend, they are not only allowed to re-ascend, but are actually expected to do so: 'He (Allah) said: "descend from it, all of you, enemies to one another. If guidance comes to you from Me, then whoever follows My guidance will not go astray nor suffer"' (*Q* 20.123).[27] Here, re-ascension relates to matters of both life and afterlife: Adam, Eve and humanity shall not 'go astray' in issues of life on earth, nor 'suffer' in the afterlife.[28] In one Ḥadīth, too, Muhammad reports that Adam said to God just before eviction: 'Do you think, O Lord, that if I repent and return to you, that I can return to *al-jannah*?' to which Allah replies positively.[29] For the Muslim reader, then, the basic presentations of Adam and Eve's nature and knowledge in *Paradise Lost* offer valuable explanations of human privilege and responsibility, but also of limitations and imperfections which can only be overcome by seeking divine guidance.

In *Paradise Lost*, emphasis on this guidance, and on the imperfect human pair's reliance on the Father, has a number of effects. First, in line with the ideas of the previous chapter, such an emphasis elevates the Father's status. Furthermore, Adam's knowledge of the Father's perfection, and in turn, of his own imperfection, plays a part in elucidating to the reader Adam's advanced understanding of certain issues, such as gender relations. In Book 8, Adam makes constant requests for a mate (*PL* 8.357-367; 379-397; 415-433). When he is then asked about whether the Father needs a mate, Adam replies 'Thou in thy self art perfect', showing understanding of the Father's perfection. In so doing, Adam also

[25] Bell (1953), p. 879.
[26] Diane McColley, *Milton's Eve* (London: University of Illinois Press, 1983), p. 209.
[27] In another narration of the eviction, Allah says 'descend from it, all of you. If guidance comes to you from Me, then whoever follows My guidance, there shall be no fear upon them, nor shall they ever grieve' (*Q* 2.38).
[28] Ibn ʿAbbās, cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 1228; also p. 121.
[29] Ḥadīth cited in Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 103, and in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 120. A 'weak' Ḥadīth due to a missing link in the narration chain.

admits his own imperfection: 'not so is man' (*PL* 8.415-416).[30] First, it could be argued that Adam's knowledge of his own limitations is what instils his desire for a mate. Second, Adam appreciates that the Father cannot have a mate because nothing can be equal to the Father, who says: 'for none I know | Second to me or like, equal much less' (*PL* 8.406-407). Hence, Adam's request for a mate in this precise context confirms his knowledge that his prospective mate must be equal to him. Third, Adam's justification for needing a mate is his need for an equal in Eden; he only possesses the company of the superior Father and the inferior creatures: 'Among unequals what society | Can sort, what harmony or true delight? | Which must be mutual, in proportion due | Given and received' (*PL* 8.383-386). Adam's visualisation of a mate is therefore, in simple terms, of an equal: an equal to 'man' specifically (*PL* 8.416) and not just 'human', thus linking astutely with his gender, not just his species.

This section has contended that there are valuable correspondences in Muslim thought and Milton's presentation of Adam and Eve, which, if considered, may help to advance our understanding of Milton's characters. Explorations of Adam's privileges and limitations, knowledge and ignorance, understanding and obliviousness, all help to reinforce the evident hierarchy of characters in the poem. Furthermore, these explorations present ideas on matters such as the human pair's rationales for transgression, which offer valuable lessons for the Muslim reader. Such exploration also offers insight into Adam's initial understanding of gender equality, which as will be shown, is a key factor in understanding Milton's human characters. While this section has had more to say about a Muslim reader's perception of Adam than Eve, the next sections discuss Eve in more detail by expanding

[30] For discussion of the Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* in the translation of this passage, see 'Section 1.2.5'.

these initial ideas about their relationship, discussing issues of equality, matrimony, sexuality, nakedness and visual representation.

5.2: The Relationship of Adam and Eve

Scholars and critics have long debated how to read Milton's presentation of Adam and Eve's relationship and continue to do so to this day. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, 'masculinist' Milton criticism regarded and often endorsed *Paradise Lost* as a bluntly patriarchal text.[31] These interpretations were countered by feminist readings of the poem, which interpreted Milton's Eve as a complex and independent character.[32] But even critics who self-define as feminists have themselves been in disagreement: some have argued that Milton presented 'the First Feminist',[33] while many have continued to read gender discrimination in his presentation of Eve.[34] Suffice to say, that though some critics have suggested that 'Milton was not just an ally of feminists but their early sponsor',[35] others have claimed that the poet promotes noticeable 'patriarchal misogyny'[36] at conceptual, contextual and theological levels.[37] This section of the chapter will not

[31] 'Masculinist' criticism is the phrase used by Diane McColley to describe critics who 'thought that Milton conformed to a traditional reading of the biblical Eve as inherently, trivial, vain, and inclined to fall'; see Diane McColley, 'Milton and the Sexes', in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed. Dennis Danielson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 175. This criticism spans over a long period; significant examples include: James Paterson, *A Complete Commentary with Etymological, Explanatory, Critical and Classical Notes on Milton's 'Paradise Lost'* (London, 1744); Henry John Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, Vols. 1-6, 3rd edn. (London: R. Gilbert, 1826) – first published 1801; Douglas Bush, *'Paradise Lost' in Our Time: Some Comments* (Gloucester: P. Smith, 1957); Bernard Wright, *Milton's 'Paradise Lost'* (London: Methuen, 1962).

[32] For example, David Aers and Bob Hodge, 'Rational Burning: Milton on Sex and Marriage', *Milton Studies*, Vol. 13 (1979), pp. 3-33; McColley (1983); Joseph Wittreich, *Feminist Milton* (London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[33] Nicholson (1964), p. 287.

[34] For example, Marcia Landy, 'Kinship and the Role of Women in *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1972), pp. 3-18; Sandra Gilbert, 'Patriarchal Poetry and Women Readers: Reflections on Milton's Bogey', *PMLA*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (1978), pp. 368-382. Most examples are in the 1970s and 1980s, though these ideas are also in more recent commentaries such as Maria Den Ouden, *A Seventeenth-Century Portrayal of Woman: The Role of Milton's Eve in the Light of the Epic and Biblical Traditions* (Gouda: The Author, 1998).

[35] Wittreich (1987), p. ix.

[36] Katharine Rogers, cited in Wittreich (1987), p. 11.

[37] Gilbert (1978).

regurgitate nor summarise these criticisms further;[38] instead, it will analyse the relationship of Adam and Eve from a fresh perspective – that of the Arab-Muslim reader – highlighting the new insights this brings to the poem.

It is essential to note that in the three narrations of Adam and Eve's story in the Qur'ān, the human pair commit the transgression together in unison; Eve does not precede nor tempt Adam in any way. When they eat from the tree, the action is always in the plural and never singles out Adam or Eve. The consequences of eating are always in the plural, and two warnings are directed at both of them, though all three narrations begin with the address of 'O Adam'. The one warning directed at Adam alone still mentions Eve: 'O Adam, indeed this (Iblīs) is an enemy to you and your partner, so do not let him remove you [both] from *al-jannah* so you suffer' (*Q* 20.117). Twice, Iblīs's temptation is aimed at both of them, and once only at Adam. Allah's reproach after they eat is also directed at both on two occasions, and once at Adam. The eviction is always in the plural. The table below displays how the three Qur'ānic narrations present the transgression:

	Warning from Allah	**Temptation of Iblīs**	**Action of eating**	**Reproach of Allah**	**Repentance to Allah**	**Eviction by Allah**
Q 2 35-38	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam	Adam and Eve
Q 7 19-25	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve
Q 20 115-123	Adam (about both)	Adam	Adam and Eve	Adam	Adam	Adam and Eve

The fact that the action is committed in plural form in every Qur'ānic version of this story is clear evidence that Muslims do not believe that Eve ate first. Muslim religious scholars who

[38] For concise summaries of critical debate on the issue, see Janet Halley, 'Female Autonomy in Milton's Sexual Politics', in *Milton and the Idea of Woman*, ed. Julia Walker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 230-231; Joseph Wittreich, 'Milton's Transgressive Maneuvers: Receptions (then and now) and the sexual politics of *Paradise Lost*', in Dobranski and Rumrich (1998), pp. 244-247; McColley (2003), p. 175; Leonard (2013), Vol. 2, pp. 650-704.

disregard this fact are discounting the evidence of the Qur'ān, the single most important source in their faith, and are actually referring unwittingly to Genesis.[39] In the main, though, many Muslims perceive the story of Adam and Eve in the Qur'ān to be a reflection of fundamental, self-proclaimed gender equality that lies at the heart of Islamic social belief. Even some Muslim children's books take pride in pointing out that Eve did not eat first:

> Contrary to the teachings of the Bible, the Qur'an places the same blame on Adam and Hawwaa for their mistake. It does not say that Hawwaa tempted Adam to eat from the tree or even that she had eaten before him. Hawwaa in the Qur'an is not a 'deceiver'. They both committed a sin and then asked Allah for forgiveness and He forgave them both.[40]

In Genesis, the serpent tempts 'the woman', who then 'took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat' (3.1-6). When reprimanded, Adam says: 'The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat' (3.12). Among the consequences for Eve is that her 'husband shall rule over' her (3.16).[41] This, however, is certainly not the case in the Qur'ān. Such important differences between the Qur'ān and Genesis must be noted when considering the Muslim reader's reception of *Paradise Lost*. In Islam, Adam and Eve's entire ordeal is experienced in unison: this is a detail that is at the heart of the Muslim faith and its scripture, even if – as will be discussed – this is not reflected completely in Islamic culture.

[39] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 99, writes that Eve ate first in other versions of the story, citing Genesis as his source. Later scholarship has then used Ibn Kathīr's text (*c*. 1346) as a seminal source, ignoring that his source was Genesis: for example, Al-Thaʿlabi (2009), p. 31; Bayūmi (1999), pp. 28-32.
[40] Al-Arabee Ben Razzouq, 'Adam', in *A Concise Children's Encyclopedia of Islam* (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007), p. 10.
[41] See Genesis 3.1-24.

In some ways, this notion – that Adam and Eve are one – is also present in *Paradise Lost*. For instance, when the transgression becomes known at the beginning of Book 10 (*PL* 10.1-84), the Father places blame on both Adam and Eve. Significantly, the plural pronoun 'ye' is often used in the serpent's temptation of Eve (*PL* 9.679-732). As outlined in Chapter Two, this is retained overtly by Enani, who also translates 'you' in plural form on every occasion in this speech.[42] In Arabic, the plural is phonetically recognisable: it adds a clear syllable – ā [æ] – a near-open, front, unrounded vowel sound, at the end of the verb. Enani adds these plurals wherever possible; for example, when the serpent says, 'in the day | Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear, | Yet are but dim' (*PL* 9.705-707), Enani places a number of plural verbs in just one line: '*annahū yawma | ta'kulāni min al-shajarati sa-tudrikāni anna a'yunakumā, wa antumā tatawahhamāni annahā mubṣirah*' / أنه يوم تأكلان من الشجرة ستدركان أن أعينكم، وانتما تتوهمان أنها مبصرة [that the day | *you eat* from the tree, *you will realise* that *your eyes*, and *you* are *both disillusioned* that they are wide open]' (*FM* 9.705-706), and so forth.[43] There are, then, correspondences between Milton's version of the story and the Qur'ānic version, in that Adam and Eve are united in the temptation and blame. These similarities are made even clearer in Enani's translation.

This unity of the human couple is significant for the Muslim reader, and plays a part in depicting Milton's characters as equals in many ways. Adam's first words in the entire poem are 'Sole partner' (*PL* 4.411), which themselves suggest a sense of equality. In the Arabic translation, while the pun on 'soul' is lost, Adam's utterance is noteworthy: '*sharīkatī al-waḥīdah*' / شريكتي الوحيدة [my only partner] (*FM* 4.411). Word for word, this is: 'partner [feminine] - my - the - only'. Significantly, Adam's first word of the translated epic

[42] See 'Section 2.3'.
[43] Emphases added to signify plural form. Note: in 'your eyes', the plural is not only on 'eyes', but also on 'your': i.e. two pairs of eyes.

is in the feminine mode, and is a noun referring directly to Eve. The word '*sharīk*' also suggests a formal partnership: that they are partners, or collaborators, in the transgression.

While critics such as John Peter have dubbed Adam's first speech as 'less than adequate',[44] this speech plays a vital role in explaining the character's love and respect for Eve. It is no coincidence that Eve's first words are likewise devoted to love and respect for her partner: 'O thou for whom | And from whom I was formed' (*PL* 4.440-441); in Arabic, her first word is '*Anta*' / أنت [You] (*FM* 4.440). Their speeches and actions are awash with romance, particularly in the translation: 'Dearer thyself than all' (*PL* 4.412) becomes the passionate '*innaki la-aqrabu ilā nafsī minhā*' / إنك لأقرب إلى نفسي منها [Indeed you are closer to myself than it] (*FM* 4.412), and 'hand in hand' (*PL* 4.321) becomes '*tashābakat aydiyahumā*' / تشابكت أيديهما [their hands locked] (*FM* 4.321). But despite this somewhat ideal first presentation of the couple, the issue of equality is also raised some lines earlier in Book 4:

> though both
> Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed;
> For contemplation he and valour formed,
> For softness she and sweet attractive grace,
> He for God only, she for God in him (*PL* 4.295-299).

I propose that the significance of this passage for a Muslim reader be considered through an analysis synthesising three different emphases: first, Satan's role in it, second, the implications of the words 'sex' and 'seemed', and third, the effect of the Arabic translation.

[44] Peter (1960), p. 93.

As Michael Wilding notes, the 'first description of Adam and Eve is problematical' because 'it is presented through Satan's perceptions';[45] consequently, one cannot trust this subjective description entirely. In the earlier discussion of 'Satan's Psychology and Tactics', I argue that Milton's Satan – as a result of both parallels with Iblīs and shifts in the Arabic translation – appears to a Muslim reader as a character driven by sexual jealousy. When Satan sees Adam and Eve interacting physically, his desire for revenge is revitalised.[46] Accordingly, when Satan says 'their sex not equal seemed', his obsession with exterior appearances should not be overlooked; in fact, it informs most of what he says when he first lays eyes on Eden. 'Sex', then, is likely a reference to physical attributes, or more precisely, sexual organs. When Adam sees 'each bird and beast behold | Approaching two and two' (*PL* 8.349-350), he does not spot sexual differences, but simply sees pairs. But the differences are easier to spot in the human anatomy, so when he first sees Eve moments later, Adam comments that she is 'Manlike, but different sex, so lovely fair' (*PL* 8.471). Having neither interacted with her nor been instructed about her, Adam realises that Eve is of 'different sex' on the evidence of her physical appearance only, confirmed by the addition of 'so lovely fair'. The word 'sex', then, signifies physiological distinction. Indeed, 'gender', both 'the word and the concept', was 'available to Milton', so he could have used it instead of 'sex' had he wished to.[47]

The Arabic translation supports this indication about the implication of the term 'sex' by altering the word 'seemed' in 'their sex not equal seemed'. Ironically, the verb 'seemed' has been upheld by numerous critics as evidence that what Satan is seeing is

[45] Michael Wilding, '"Thir Sex Not Equal Seem'd": Equality in *Paradise Lost*', in *Of Poetry and Politics: New Essays on Milton and His World,* ed. P. G. Stanwood (New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), p. 173. Also discussed by: Helen Gardner, *A Reading of 'Paradise Lost'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 81; Aers and Hodge (1979), p. 22; McColley (1983), p. 40. This view is not accepted in Catherine Gimelli Martin, *The Ruins of Allegory: 'Paradise Lost' and the Metamorphosis of Epic Convention* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 248.
[46] See 'Section 2.3'.
[47] Donald Friedman, 'Divisions on a Ground: "Sex" in *Paradise Lost*', in Stanwood (1995), pp. 210-211.

uncertain.[48] The word is repeated when Milton writes that Adam and Eve 'seemed lords of all | And worthy seemed' (*PL* 4.290-291), as well as 'shows of seeming pure' (*PL* 4.316). Enani translates the first two of these using the expected verb: '*yabduwān*' / يبدوان [they seemed] and '*badā*' / بدا [seemed] (*FM* 4.290-291), and the latter as: '*maẓhar ul-ṭuhr il-kādhib*' / مظهر الطهر الكاذب [the false appearance of purity] (*FM* 4.316). In these examples, Enani keeps the uncertainty of 'seemed', so it means that something 'appear[s] to be'.[49] However, when he translates 'their sex not equal seemed', he writes: '*kān al-ikhtilāfu baynal-jinsayni bayyinan*' / كان الاختلاف بين الجنسين بينا [the difference between the sexes was evident] (*FM* 4.296). Here, Enani changes 'seemed' to the more certain 'was evident'. The 'evident' difference between Adam and Eve is unmistakably their physical form; Satan refuses to see anything else. Indeed, aside from 'contemplation', the descriptions of the human pair in these five lines all link to their appearance: the 'valour' of Adam's 'broad' (*PL* 4.303) naked figure and phallus, and the 'softness and sweet attractive grace' of Eve's body, to which Satan is no doubt attracted. Enani's translation of 'seemed' as 'was evident' embeds the notion that 'sex' here indicates physical difference. Furthermore, the word 'seemed' is not a verb of uncertainty showing Satan's inaccuracy, but is one of complete certainty relating specifically to physical appearance. This is because Milton's use of 'seemed' is not what the *OED* defines as the 'modern use' meaning 'probably'; the meaning of 'seemed is 'to have a semblance or appearance'.[50] 'Semblance' is the 'outward aspect of a person', and 'the form … of a person … considered in regard to another that is similar'.[51] Hence, 'their sex not equal seemed' is a reference to the obvious differences in the physical and sexual anatomy Satan observes, but no other dissimilarity. Analysing Enani's

[48] For example, Wittreich (1987), pp. 85-86; Wilding (1995), pp. 172-174.
[49] See 'seem, v2.', *OED Online* (2013), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/174812> [accessed 1st April 2013].
[50] Ibid.
[51] See 'semblance, n.', *OED Online* (2013), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/175558> [accessed 1st April 2013].

translation therefore brings to light how some critics have inflated the significance of the word ‘seemed’ in order to support their arguments, while others have ignored that ‘seemed’ refers to appearance.

This leaves another contentious line which is vital to understanding the Arab-Muslim reading of gender relations in the poem: ‘He for God only, she for God in him’. Enani translates this as: ‘*khuliqa howa lillāhi waḥdah, wa khuliqat hiya lillāhi min-khilālih*’ / خلق هو لله وحده وخلقت هي لله من خلاله [He was created for Allah alone and she was created for Allah through him] (*FM* 4.299). Here, Enani ensures that Eve is ‘created for Allah’ first and foremost: there is no God ‘in’ Adam, because it would be blasphemous to present divinity in any creation. Moreover, by adding the word ‘created’ twice, and considering the emphases of the previous lines discussed above, there is an indication that this refers to physical creation. God created Adam, but created Eve via Adam, or ‘through him’. Here, Enani presents the clauses ‘He for God only, she for God in him’ as continuations of the main verb, ‘formed’, present two lines prior, so as to say that they were ‘formed for God’, again suggesting physical formation. Another modification in translation is that the adjective ‘alone’ – in ‘He was created for Allah alone’ – could also be read as Adam being ‘created alone’. In this case, Eve’s ‘creation through him’ refers to her conception and not her role. On the other hand, one cannot limit the phrase ‘through him’ as a reference to creation solely, because the original does not denote this meaning in ‘she for God in him’. There are some Ḥadīths which suggest that a woman can please God through her husband; Muhammad is reported to have told one woman seeking his advice: ‘He (your husband) is your heaven and your hell’,[52] meaning that she will be rewarded and punished for her actions to or with him. Getting closer to God via relations with others, particularly the

[52] Ḥadīth 2389 in Muhammad Al-Albāni, *Ṣaḥīḥ Wa Ḍa'īf Al-Jāmi' Al-Saghīr Wa Ziyādatuh [The Complete Authentic and Weak and More]*, Vol. 1 (Cairo: Al-Mostafa Online Library, no year), p. 309; classed as ‘good/sound’ [*ḥasan*], not ‘authentic’.

husband, is a common idea in Arab culture,[53] and would therefore be meaningful for a Muslim reader.

The lines from Book 4 discussed above suggest that Satan himself deconstructs what the Father has established as the human pair's relationship; at Eve's creation, they are equal: 'Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self' (*PL* 8.450). However, the creation of Eve in *Paradise Lost* can generate some complexities if compared with the Islamic version. The first factor is the timing of Eve's creation. Islamic scholars assert that the Qur'ānic discourse indicates her creation was before Adam's entry to Eden. The evidence is that after Iblīs's first eviction, when Allah introduces Adam to his abode, He says: 'O Adam, dwell you and your partner in *al-jannah*…' (*Q* 7.19).[54] This difference from both Genesis and *Paradise Lost* implies that, first, Eve is not a creation of Eden, and in turn, is not an object of desire, and second, that she is not created for Adam as such. In Milton's poem, when Eve is created, Adam is most excited about the first thing he notices in her: physical beauty – 'so lovely fair, | That what seemed fair in all the world, seemed now | Mean' (*PL* 8.471-473). Moreover, Milton's Eve is created for Adam, to some extent upon his request, and with the promise that her creation would 'please' him (*PL* 8.449). On the face of it, Milton's Adam appears to have ownership of Eve, but one way of analysing, and indeed contesting this, is by considering issues of nomenclature which surround her.

Milton does not always adhere thematically to his biblical source. But Maria Den Ouden overstates the case when she claims that 'the poet adds so much to the Genesis

[53] See, for example, the best-selling Muslim marriage companion book: Maḥmūd Al-Isṭanbūli, *Tuḥfat Al-ʾArūs: Aw Al-Zawāj Al-Islāmi Al-Saʿīd [The Bride's Masterpiece: Or the Happy Islamic Marriage]* (Riyadh: Maktabat Al-Maʿārif, 2001), pp. 202-210. On its cover, the book claims that it 'includes everything the couple needs to achieve a happy and constructive life'.

[54] See Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 94; Ibn Kathīr (1995), p. 13: he says that 'Eve's creation before Adam's entrance into *al-jannah* … is apparent in the verse'. He also cites ninth-century scholar Ibrahim Al-Ramādi.

account and goes so far in his depreciation of women, that he is nearly impious'.[55] As we will see, Milton's deviations from his source are subtle and become easier to spot if compared with equivalent aspects of nomenclature in Islamic tradition. Unlike Den Ouden, Leonard says that 'the dignity of Eve's name and nature are nowhere more celebrated than in *Paradise Lost*',[56] which is certainly a relevant statement to this examination. First, it is worth noting that Eve is mentioned by her proper name over one hundred times in the poem.[57] She is also mentioned in Genesis, though most commentaries agree that Eve was only named after the fall, prior to which she was 'the woman'.[58] She appears to be named immediately after God's rebuke: 'For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. | And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living' (Genesis 3.19-20). Meanwhile, the Arabic name *Ḥawwā'* appears in numerous Ḥadīths, but not in the Qur'ān, in which she is referred to as '*zawj*' [partner].[59] But Islamic exegetes such as Ibn Kathīr and Muhammad Ibn Jarīr quote the companions of Muhammad narrating the following dialogue between Adam and the angels as soon as Eve was created:

> The angels said to him – trying to see the extent of his knowledge – 'what is her name, O Adam?' He said: '*Ḥawwā"*. They said, 'Why was she [named] *Ḥawwā"*? He said: 'Because she was created from a living thing'.[60]

There are three general matters to note here. First, *Paradise Lost* appears to be closer to Islamic tradition than to Genesis when it comes to the timing of Eve's naming, which in both cases, appears to be before the fall. As a result, Eve's name in *Paradise Lost* does not

[55] Den Ouden (1998), p. 150.
[56] Leonard (1990), p. 37.
[57] I make it around 110 times, eighteen of which are in the 'Arguments' to the Books.
[58] Leonard (1990), p. 35.
[59] '*Zawj*' is also translated as 'mate', and in modern Arabic can mean 'spouse'. She is mentioned as so in the story of Adam and Eve, three times: *Q* 2.35; 7.19; 20.117; also in general verses referring to Adam and Eve – about God creating humankind from a single soul, and creating from it its '*zawj*', see *Q* 4.1; 7.189; 39.6.
[60] Cited in Ibn Kathīr's *Exegesis*, p. 118.

possess connotations of sin or postlapsarianism. Leonard notes that around Milton's time, 'most commentators' of Genesis 'associated the name "Eve" with sorrow and sin' because of its timing, adding that by referring to her as 'Eve' before the fall, Milton 'departs from tradition'.[61] This departure from Genesis represents an accord with the Muslim reader's outlook and a greater respect for Eve.

Second, in Islamic tradition, the character's name is *Ḥawwā'* because she was created from 'a living thing' [*shay'un ḥay*]. This disregards the maternal and sexual role her name potentially assigns to her in Genesis as 'the mother of all living'. Commenting on the biblical version, Catholic theologian Tina Beattie writes that 'the name he (Adam) gives her incorporates her fertility, and by implication her sexuality'.[62] Milton's contemporary commentators claimed that Eve was named 'life' as a reminder that she had sentenced humans to mortality, or because her progeny would 'live' in grief.[63] Leonard notes that in *Paradise Lost*, the first time Adam says 'Eve' (*PL* 4.481), he both voices her name and elucidates its meaning by adding 'I lent … to thee … Substantial life' (*PL* 4.483-485). This, Leonard says, 'declares her own life, her origin in Adam, and the life which is to pass through her'.[64] The Muslim emphases on life are similar; one famous Qur'ānic verse, usually mentioned weekly in Friday sermons, highlights these emphases: 'O humankind, be pious to your Lord who created you from a single soul, and created from it its partner, and dispersed from both of them many men and women' (*Q* 4.1). This verse indicates that one soul was created from another – Eve from Adam – but that they are equal 'partners' who possess separate lives. Moreover, offspring is a result of not one, but 'both of them', and their children will be men and women in order for life to continue.

[61] Leonard (1990), pp. 21, 35-39.
[62] Tina Beattie, *God's Mother, Eve's Advocate* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 180.
[63] See Leonard (1990), pp. 35-36.
[64] Ibid., p. 38.

This Islamic and Miltonic emphasis on Eve's ownership of her life, in addition to giving life, works well in the Arabic translation of the phrase 'Substantial life': '*ḥayātun nābiḍah*' / حياة نابضة [pulsating life] (*FM* 4.485). The translation adds emphasis to Adam's preceding line, 'nearest my heart' (*PL* 4.484) by immediately following it with the phrase 'pulsating life', thus creating a direct and intimate link between Adam and Eve's hearts. Furthermore, the translation advances the emphasis on Eve's name and its meaning, because the Arabic word for 'Eve' – '*Ḥawwā"* – is phonetically similar to the word 'life' – '*ḥayāh*'. This is due to the Semitic etymology of *Ḥawwā"*s name, which is the same in Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, and relates to the verb root, 'to live', in all three languages.[65] Such a connection does not exist in the original text because the Late Latin word 'Eve' does not link to the word 'life'. As a result, the Arabic translation neatly associates her name (*PL* 4.481) with its meaning (*PL* 4.485), further stressing that Eve or *Ḥawwā'* possesses her name prior to the fall, and consolidating Leonard's assertion that because 'this is a moment of unprecedented recognition, Milton has Adam call Eve by the meaning as well as the name'.[66] What is more, while the words 'Eve' and 'life' juxtapose in Arabic, there is no link in Arabic between the words 'Eve' and 'evil' in Book 9, when 'her rash hand in evil hour' picks the fruit (*PL* 9.780), or when Adam says: 'O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear | To that false worm' (*PL* 9.1067-1068). Christopher Ricks writes that Adam's 'cry proclaims that the word evil is derived from Eve, and that evil derives from her'; Leonard considers this Adam's opinion, not Milton's.[67] There is no such insinuation in Adam's words in Arabic, because 'evil' is translated as '*shar*' / شر [evil] (*FM* 9.781; 1067), which has no link

[65] See 'Eve, n.', *Online Etymology Dictionary* (Douglas Harper, 2012), <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=Eve> [accessed 5th April 2013]; Robert Alter, *The Five Books of Moses: A Translation with Commentary* (New York: Norton, 2004), p. 27.
[66] Leonard (1990), p. 38.
[67] Christopher Ricks, *Milton's Grand Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 103; Leonard (1990), p. 36.

with the word *Ḥawwā'*. In the Arabic translation, Adam's reproach is aimed solely at the action Eve commits, and not at her nature.

Returning to Book 4 and the first time that Adam says the word 'Eve', it is worth noticing that it is in general dialogue between the two characters, therefore not providing any evidence that Adam is the one who named her. This leads to the third point regarding Eve's name: in Islam, the action of naming Eve is different to Genesis in that it is not carried out by Adam. In the Islamic narration above, the angels do not ask Adam to name *Ḥawwā'*, but are, crucially, 'trying to see the extent of his knowledge' of something already named. Indeed, as discussed in the previous section, Muslims believe that Adam was taught all names, but did not assign them. Once more, Milton appears closer to Islamic tradition than to Genesis, as he does not make it obvious whether Adam names Eve or not; Milton's Adam does say that 'woman is her name' (*PL* 8.496) as a way of identifying the new being, but his first utterance of 'Eve' is simply in conversation (*PL* 4.481). This is noteworthy because traditionally, naming has implications of power and possession.[68] Eve's naming is not a prerogative activity in Islamic tradition, nor in *Paradise Lost*, and so the idea of Adam's ownership of Eve is not established as it is in Genesis.

Overall, then, an analysis of the nomenclatural and onomatological activities surrounding the proper noun 'Eve' – timing, meaning, and execution – illustrates some of the ways in which Milton's poem is often closer conceptually and thematically to Islamic tradition than to its biblical source in Genesis. As a result, a Muslim reading Milton's poem

[68] On colonial and postcolonial naming, particularly toponymic, see studies such as: Catherine Fowler and Nancy Turner, 'Ecological/cosmological knowledge and land management among hunter-gatherers', in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*, ed. Richard Lee and Richard Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 424; Lawrence Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho, ed. *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Paul Cater, 'Naming Place', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 402-406. Also, Shannon Miller, 'Family and Commonwealth in the Writings of Lucy Hutchinson', in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature & the English Revolution*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 676.

is likely to find that *Paradise Lost* endorses his or her belief that Eve is a dignified figure, and perhaps even confirms for this reader that Islam does dignify her.

5.3: The Nudity and Sexuality of Adam and Eve

One aspect which a Muslim reader may find undignified, however, is Adam and Eve's nudity. The common Muslim view is that the first man and woman did not dwell in Eden naked, but only became so as a result of their transgression. The Qur'ān notes: 'And when they tasted of the tree, their private parts became apparent to them, and they began to heap themselves with leaves of *al-jannah*' (*Q* 7.22).[69] This could suggest, like Genesis and *Paradise Lost*, that they were naked but did not know shame; seventh-century scholar Wahb Ibn-Manbah believed that 'their clothing' in the Qur'ān refers to 'light on his and her private parts'.[70] But Adam and Eve's story in this Qur'ānic chapter (*Q* 7.19-25) is immediately followed by two verses referring to nudity specifically:

> O children of Adam, we have bestowed upon you clothing to conceal your private parts and as adornment. But the clothing of righteousness: that is best. This is [one] of the signs of Allah, that they may remember. | O children of Adam, let not the Devil tempt you, as he expelled your parents from *al-jannah*, stripping them of their clothing to show them their private parts… (*Q* 7.26-27).

Ibn Kathīr sees this as certain evidence that Adam and Eve were clothed before they sinned, a view most Muslims accept.[71] In these verses, covering oneself could be interpreted to represent chastity and beauty; when Adam and Eve ate from the tree, they lost their purity as well as the attractive blessings of Eden. But the verse also adds that 'righteousness' is the

[69] Also, *Q* 20.121: 'So they ate from it, and their private parts became apparent to them, and they began to heap themselves with leaves of *al-jannah*. And Adam disobeyed his Lord and erred'.
[70] Wahb Ibn-Manbah, cited in Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 99.
[71] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 99.

greatest cover; when the human pair listened to Satan, they ceased to wear this most important garment. In *Paradise Lost*, postlapsarian nudity has similar connotations to the Qur'ānic verse: Adam and Eve lose their 'purity' (*PL* 9.1075), their naked 'glory', representative of Eden's prelapsarian beauty (*PL* 9.1115), and their 'native righteousness' (*PL* 9.1056). In this sense, the tenor of the Qur'ān's account of Adam and Eve's nakedness corresponds with that of *Paradise Lost*'s depiction, as confirmed by the lexical group surrounding nudity in Book 9, which is not as much about physical shame as about moral loss of 'confidence … righteousness … honour' (*PL* 9.1056-1057). Adam and Eve are aware of this, saying that the fruit 'leaves us naked thus, of honour void, | Of innocence, of faith, of purity' (*PL* 9.1074-1075). Enani adds additional emphasis by altering Adam's phrase – 'leaves us naked thus, of honour void' – to '*fa-na'rā min al-sharaf*' / فنعرى من الشرف [so we become naked of honour] (*FM* 9.1074). In the Arabic version, Adam is even less concerned with his physical nudity; the nakedness refers specifically to his loss of 'honour'. A Ḥadīth in Muslim illustrates these concepts: 'Allah does not look at your figures or outward appearances, but looks at your hearts'.[72] The fact that Milton's characters were naked previously becomes somewhat irrelevant to the Muslim reader: after all, Milton reminds us that though Adam 'covered' himself, 'but his robe | Uncovered more' (*PL* 9.1058-1059).

While postlapsarian nakedness is not as problematic for a Muslim reader, then, as it may first appear, there is no escaping that Milton's human characters are naked throughout their prelapsarian state. Such a presentation can be controversial for the Muslim reader: Adam and Eve are revered in Islam, and like Jesus, cannot be depicted in art or fiction. This differs from Christian culture, which over the ages has not only shown Adam and Eve in

[72] Ḥadīth 2564 (p. 995) in Muslim; in another narration, 'your hearts and actions'.

visual art, but has usually presented them naked. Even when visual art from the Muslim world has defied the aniconistic proscriptions of Islam[73] – something which occurred mostly in the medieval period but is not as common today – it has not ordinarily dared to depict a prophet naked.[74] Nonetheless, two indicative examples of such pictures follow, both from the sixteenth century: the first portrays Adam and Eve standing at the Tree wearing Ottoman-style clothing with their future progeny around them (Figure 5),[75] and the second shows the Devil, vilified as a black figure,[76] refusing to prostrate to an Adam wearing luxurious attire (Figure 6).[77] In both images, Adam and Eve are haloed with flames, representing their sanctity.

[73] The term 'aniconism' is used by Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (London: Yale University Press, 1987), to refer to the proscription against the use of figural images in Islam. For definitions of the term, see Ismail Soganci, 'Islamic Aniconism: Making Sense of a Messy Literature', *Marilyn Zurmuehlen Working Papers in Art Education*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2004), article 4. See also Terry Allen, 'Aniconism and Figural Representation in Islamic Art', *Sebastopol* (1988), pp. 17-37. Allen concludes by saying there is a 'dearth of religious figural art' in Islam, though at times such as the Umayyad Caliphate (661-750), secular art from the Muslim world has included some figures.

[74] See Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928), pp. 103-104. Arnold writes that 'Christian painters … have for centuries been accustomed to representing Adam and Eve naked, having scriptural warrant for … breach of the conventional demands of modesty … but respect for a Prophet of Allah would stand in the way of a Muslim painter in a similar manner outraging orthodox sentiment'.

[75] 'Adam and Eve with their twin children', in the illustrated manuscript *Zubdat Al-Tawārīkh [Cream of the Histories]* (Turkey, 1583). The manuscript contained fifty-five such miniatures portraying Islamic stories, with calligraphy by Sayyid Loqman and illustration by Al-Sayyed Lutfi, Mulla Qasim and Ustad Osman. Held at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul. For more information, see Gunsel Renda, 'The Miniatures of the Zubdat Al-Tawarikh', *Turkish Treasures, Culture/Art/Tourism Magazine* (1978), accessed on *Bilikent University website*, <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/Ext/Zubdat.html> [accessed 14th April 2013]. Also, Sevgi Kutluay, 'Zubdat al-Tawarikh ("Cream of Histories")', *Discover Islamic Art* (Museum With No Frontiers, 2013), <www.discoverislamicart.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL;tr;Mus01;35;en> [accessed 15th April 2013). Note: despite its nonexistence in the Qur'ānic temptation story, a serpent appears to be approaching Adam and Eve in the picture.

[76] The drawing of Adam and the angels is itself disapproved of in Islam; the depiction of Iblīs as a black figure is certainly not Islamic, but racist. It does show, however, Iblīs's vilification and differentiation from the angels.

[77] 'Adam and the Angels', in an illustrated manuscript of Aḥmad Al-Thaʿlabi's *Qaṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' [Stories of the Prophets]* (Turkey, possibly Iran, *c.* 1570). Held at the Department of Islamic Art, Louvre Museum, Paris. See 'Adam et les anges', *The Louvre website*, <http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=28121> [accessed 14th April 2013]: the Louvre description specifies that 'this painting seems to come from an illustrated manuscript of "Stories of the Qur'an" or "Stories of the Prophets and Kings of the Past", by Ishaq Nichapouri, a text there have been many versions of since the eleventh century'. It is worth noting that Ishaq Nichapouri is a reference to Abu-Isḥāq Aḥmad Thaʿlabi Al-Nīshābūri, most famous as Aḥmad Al-Thaʿlabi. This thesis has cited Al-Thaʿlabi's book, first published *c.* 1020, but actually entitled *Qaṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' Al-Musammā 'Arā'is Al-Majālis [Stories of the Prophets Entitled Brides of Gatherings]*, numerous times.

Fig. 5: *Adam and Eve with their twin children* (1583)
(© Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul)

Fig. 6: *Adam and the Angels* (*c.* 1570)
(© 2010 Musée du Louvre / Raphaël Chipaul)

As mentioned in the previous two chapters, Islam prohibits general depictions of Allah and the Prophets. Indeed, Sunni Islam consistently practices aniconism: figurative art depicting living beings is culturally frowned upon – even more so when it concerns holy figures. However, contrary to some Arab-Muslim cultural beliefs, not all figural images are forbidden. Key nineteenth-century Islamic modernist Muhammad Abduh specified that at the time of Muhammad, 'figural representations were used for … diversion and … to seek blessing from the righteous figure being portrayed'; 'when these two obstacles are

Note: at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, there is a similar image – 'Angels Bow Before Adam and Eve in Paradise' (Iran, *c*. 1555) – which emphasises some equality as the angels hallow and serve both Adam and Eve, who are seated together at the same level, as a grey-faced figure of Iblīs watches on. See John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Macon: Mercier University Press, 1999), pp. xii, 121.

removed … figural representations become like drawing plants or trees'.[78] Today's most prominent Sunni scholar, Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, explains that 'no general ruling is possible' concerning visual art: it depends on what 'the picture depicts', its 'place', 'use' and 'purpose'.[79] Pictures not intended for 'sanctification', 'glorification', or 'emulation of Allah's creation', have 'no prohibition'.[80] Indeed, Abduh acknowledges that 'Islamic law is far from prohibiting one of the best means of knowledge, after ensuring that it has no danger to the religion, in terms of creed and action'.[81] While figural representations are not necessarily prohibited, a fundamental origin of the taboo is the link with idolatry and reverence. As a result, representations of holy figures are forbidden: Al-Qaradawi states that 'it is prohibited to make or acquire portraits of individuals who are religiously revered', before specifying 'pictures of the Prophets, the angels and the righteous, such as Abraham, Isaac, Moses, Mary, Gabriel, and the like'.[82]

In light of the general complexities surrounding figurative art in Islam – particularly concerning holy figures – the two images displayed above are quite unrepresentative of Islamic art and culture as a whole.[83] Moreover, they do not represent all Islamic art surrounding Adam and Eve. What they do exemplify, however, is that a painting from the Muslim world which presents the human pair even 'semi-nude', would be 'an isolated example'.[84] Furthermore, they demonstrate the huge gulf between Islamic and Christian traditions when it comes to representations of Adam and Eve. Christian tradition is

[78] Muhammad Abduh, cited in Ahmad Issa, *Al-Taṣāwīr Fil-Islām: Baynal-Taḥrim Wal-Karāhiyah [Painting in Islam: Between Prohibition and Aversion]* (Istanbul: ISAR, 1996), p. 29. Arabic version used and translated.
[79] Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, *Al-Ḥalāl Wal-Ḥarām Fil-Islām [The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam]*, 15th edn. (Cairo: Wahbah, 1997), p. 96. This book, first published 1960, is the most widespread book on Islamic rulings. This 15th edition is the 23rd reprint. It has been translated into most languages, but I have used and translated the original Arabic, as opposed to using the English translation, which has itself been published numerous times by different publishers.
[80] Ibid., pp. 90-97. For discussion and evidence based on Ḥadīths, see pp. 97-102.
[81] Abduh, cited in A. Issa (1996), p. 30.
[82] Al-Qaradawi (1997), p. 97.
[83] On Islamic art, see Grabar (1987).
[84] Arnold (1928), p. 104.

characterised by a visual interest in the human pair, whether in the form of sculptures or stained glass in churches worldwide. And there are many famous paintings, including fully naked representations by early Renaissance artists.[85] A significant proportion of the Western reception and cultural prominence of *Paradise Lost* has been visual: famous illustrations of the poem include those by John Medina, William Blake, John Martin, Gustave Doré and William Strang.[86] Even some stained glass in churches has been inspired by *Paradise Lost*, most notably the Milton window in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, which contains a number of images of both the poet, and naked Adam and Eve.[87] By contrast, there are no renowned pictorial renditions of *Paradise Lost* in the Arab-Muslim world. The consequence is that creative representations of Adam and Eve – let alone nude ones – are foreign to the Muslim reader's culture, even today. In contrast, a secular or Christian reader will have come to accept, or even internalise, the naked and often sensual portrayals of Adam and Eve, as a result of their recurrence in visual art.

There are no famous images of Adam and Eve in the Arab-Muslim world, and few attempts have been made to depict the couple. However, Enani's translation of *Paradise Lost* has actually resulted in the first illustrations of Milton's poem in the region. Egyptian artist Gamāl Qutb (1930–) illustrated covers for the General Egyptian Book Organisation's third and fourth volumes of Enani's translation, also adding some illustrations inside the

[85] For example, Masaccio and Hieronymus Bosch. Other famous works include those of Michelangelo, and well-known renderings by Titian and Albrecht Dürer.

[86] See Beverley Sherry, 'Approaches to Milton via the Visual Arts', *AUMLA*, No. 57 (1982), pp. 31-39, in which Sherry writes that 'no poet has inspired artists to the extent that Milton has' (p. 34). See also Marcia Pointon, *Milton and English Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); Diane McColley, *A Gust for Paradise: Milton's Eden and the Visual Arts* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Robert Woof, Howard Henley and Stephen Hebron, *'Paradise Lost': The Poem and its Illustrators* (Grasmere: Wordsworth Trust, 2004).

[87] Made by the leading London firm of Clayton & Bell and installed 1888. With thanks to Dr Beverley Sherry for sharing her expertise on the presence of Adam and Eve – as well as Milton – in visual art, and particularly on stained glass, and for sending me her article. A fascinating example of Adam and Eve on stained glass is 'The Fall of Adam and Eve' in St. David's Cathedral Hobart, Tasmania: see Beverley Sherry, *Australia's Historic Stained Glass* (Sydney: Murray Child, 1991), p. 97.

third volume.[88] Qutb is known for drawing the front covers of Egypt's most famous fictions for GEBO, like those of Naguib Mahfouz. His distinctive illustrations typically depict eye-catching women in vibrant colours, and frequently making erotic gestures; they are sometimes naked though not below the waist, with surreal, oriental backgrounds. The cover artist explains: 'My artistic role requires transferring the writer's vision. The literature and the art in the book must be parallel and not contradictory; I am a translator of literary works into pictures'.[89] Qutb therefore chose to translate Milton's vision of Adam and Eve into his cover illustration despite its deviance from Arab-Muslim culture.

In his painting (Figure 7), figures representing Adam and Eve walk out of a colourful Eden, with a large, eerie tree to the right. Eve cries as Adam comforts her by wrapping his arms around her. They are covered by leaves only around their loins. Despite this depiction of Adam and Eve, Qutb commits two acts of self-censorship. The first is that Milton does not describe Adam and Eve in this state when they are leaving Eden; rather, they are 'hand in hand' (*PL* 12.648) and a sense of optimism may be felt. By making Eve cry, Qutb ensures that nothing but an arm and hair can be seen above the waist; the breasts and face are covered completely by her arm and hand respectively. Likewise, one cannot make out any of Adam's facial features nor see his chest. Second, in order to fulfil Milton's description of the couple, Qutb appears to have put thought into the most suitable occasion in the poem for his illustration. Had he drawn Adam and Eve at an earlier point in the narrative, they would not have known shame and would thus have been fully naked, which would certainly not sit well with the cultural sensibilities of the Arab-Muslim reader.

[88] Some illustrations are present on the cover and inside the third volume of the fragmented translations (ref. number 7 in 'Appendix 1'), and one on the cover of the fourth volume (ref. number 8 in 'Appendix 1').
[89] Marwah Majdi, 'Gamāl Qutb Lil-Sharq Alawṣaṭ: Mahfouz Lam Yatadakhal Fī Rusumātī, Wa Kunnā Zamīlay ʿAmal Jamīlayn' [Gamāl Qutb to Asharq Alawsat: Mahfouz Did Not Interfere In My Drawings, And We Were Lovely Work Colleagues], *Asharq Alawsat Newspaper* (6 September 2006), <http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=9896&article=381400#.UXR9X5NOSSo> [accessed 18th April 2013].

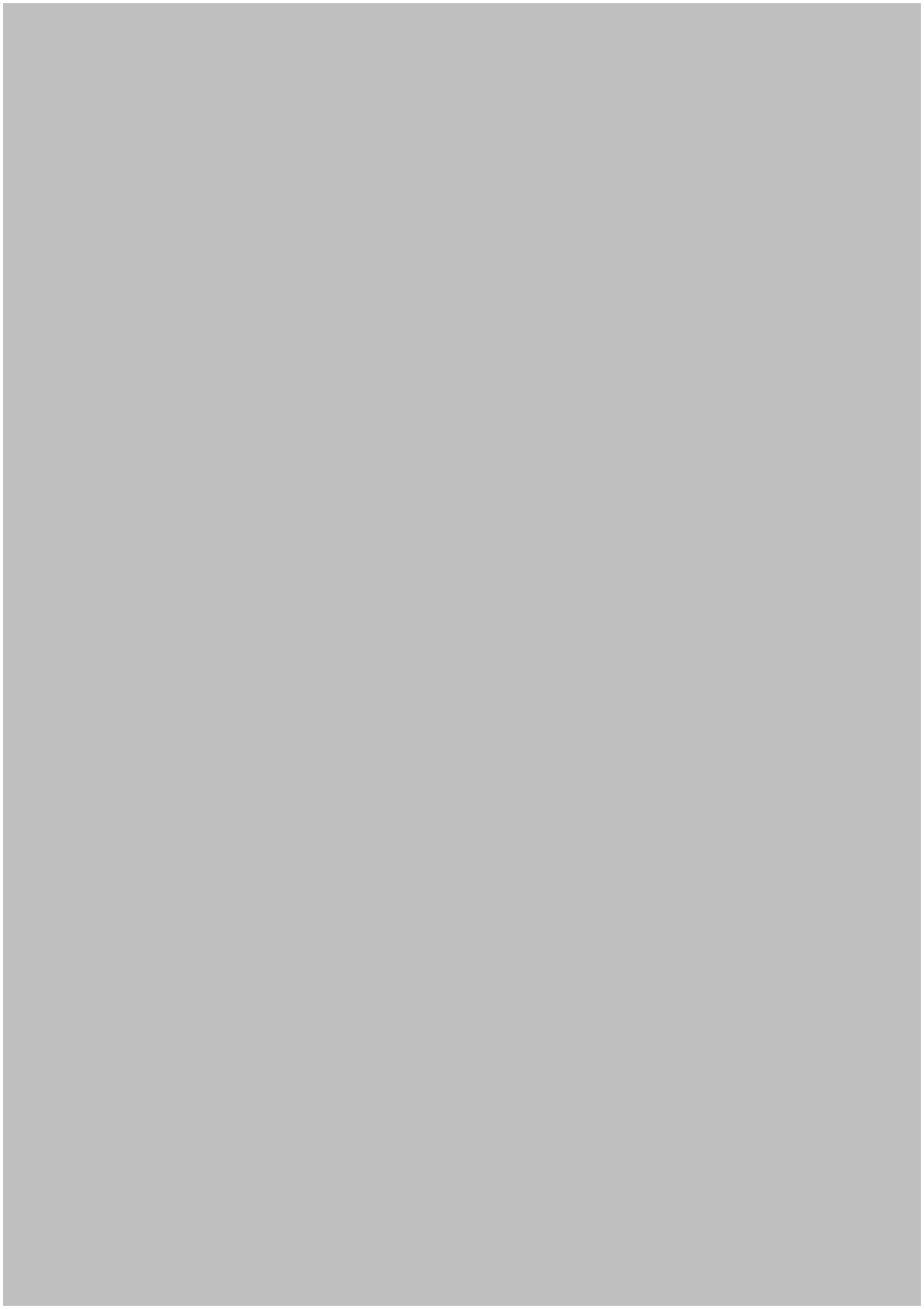


Fig. 7: Cover to *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*
Vol. 4, ref. no. 8 (2002)

Moreover, as Muslims believe that Adam and Eve only became naked after their transgression, any earlier depiction of nakedness would not correspond with the Islamic version of the story. Qutb, then, compromises between the Miltonic perspective and the reader's viewpoint, though the act of depiction itself remains controversial. Of course, it is notable that the first two volumes were not illustrated, but had plain covers containing text only. Two factors could have led to the illustration of the latter two volumes. First, that they were published a decade and a half after the initial volumes,[90] and second, the positive reception of Enani's translation of the first half of the epic, without controversy, may have given GEBO the confidence to seek illustrations for the latter volumes. Enani himself admits that he avoided self-censorship in the second half of the translation:

> In the latter Books, from 7 to 12, I took the liberty to be as literal as possible … The first six Books did the job in my mind. For me, that was my major battle; my major battle was won. From Book 7 to the end, I began to stick rather meticulously to the English phraseology whenever possible.[91]

However, the cover to the third volume (Figure 8) is clearly censored: either self-censorship by the artist, or censorship by the publishers. It appears to portray the Father, but as there is a risk involved in depicting his face, it looks as though the bottom half of the illustration was kept, but the picture was cropped so that the face cannot be seen. The sword the figure is holding – perhaps signifying tyranny in the Father – extends beyond the cut-off point, thus suggesting that there was more to the picture. On the top half, we see the title, '*Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*', the name of the author 'John Milton', as well as a portrait that the designers must have thought was a likeness of the poet, but which actually looks more like

[90] Vol. 2 (Books 3-6) published 1986; Vol. 3 (Books 7-9) published 2001; Vol. 4 (Books 10-12) published 2002. See 'Appendix 1'.
[91] Enani (2011), personal interview. Note: this is not entirely evident in the second half of the translation; this comment does highlight, however, the development of Enani's intentions in the translation process.

Oliver Cromwell. Interestingly, the figure is more refined than Cromwell or Milton; his face and body language are stern, suggesting power and stoicism. This cover presents a definitive example of how Milton's works, even indirectly, are liable to censorship in the Arab-Muslim world because they depict holy figures.[92] Second, the portrait displays a naivety in Arab-Muslim literary culture surrounding Milton, as well as a fascination in oversimplifications about his life and character, exemplified by the stark seriousness of the figure, and the large puritan ruff and cuffs which occupy much of the image.

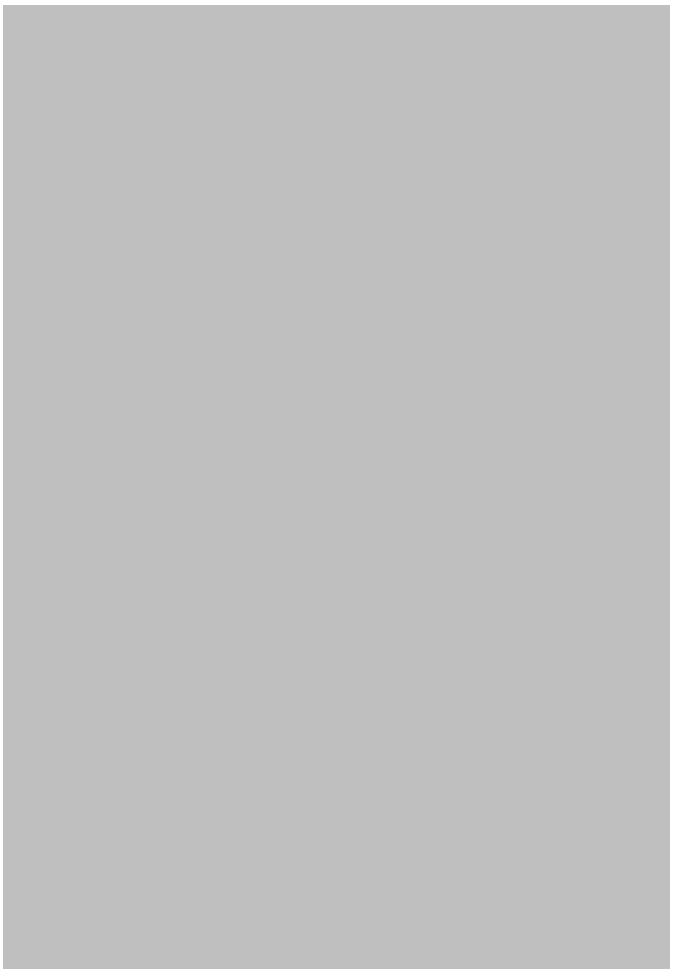


Fig. 8: Cover to *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*
Vol. 3, ref. no. 7 (2001)

[92] Enani also faced some degree of censorship in 2008 when his full translation of *Paradise Lost* (ref. number 12 in 'Appendix 1') was being reprinted by Kalima. Enani (2011), personal interview: 'the objection … came from an overzealous Muslim Arabist working at the publishers in Cairo … He said: "I have come across certain points which are not in total conformity with *sharī'ah*." I said: "What's *sharī'ah* got to do with this? *Sharī'ah* is Islamic law, and we're talking about Adam, Eve, and Christ."' … 'They (the project leaders in the UAE) said, "Are you sure we won't be attacked by the extremist Islamic faction?" I said: "I assure you none of them will ever approach it"'.

Returning to portrayals of Adam and Eve, illustrations to Enani's translation shed light on the nature of their pictorial depictions in the Arab-Muslim world. There are seven sketched illustrations by Qutb inside the third of the four initial volumes of *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd.* Each illustration takes a full page alongside the eighteen lines of translation on the next or previous page. There is one picture of Adam and two of Eve; the remainder vary between landscapes, patterns, and the 'tawny lion' of Book 7 (*PL* 7.464). The illustration of

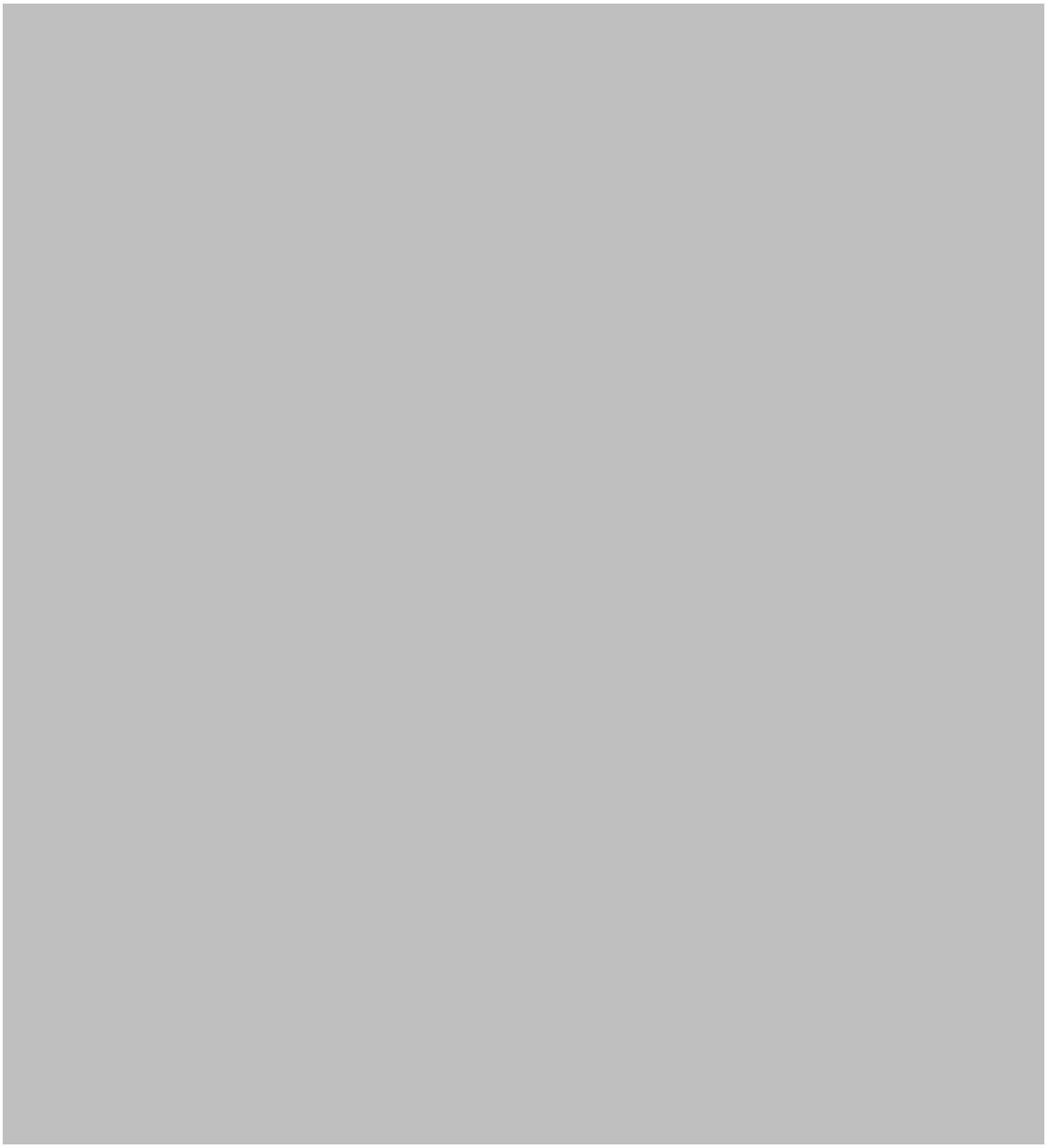


Fig. 9.
Gamāl Qutb (2001); in *FM* ref. no. 7, p. 70.

Adam (Figure 9) is present in Book 8 and looks like Qutb's interpretation of lines 260 to 269, in which Adam recalls that he 'ran' (*PL* 8.268) through the 'Hill, dale and shady woods, and sunny plains' (*PL* 8.262) as he saw 'Birds on the branches' (*PL* 8.265). Qutb presents Adam as a figure with no features: his face is sun-like, a circle with rays around it and perhaps a beard; he is not naked but wearing long clothes. Eve, on the other hand, can be differentiated by her long hair, though she, too, has no facial features (Figure 10). Eve also

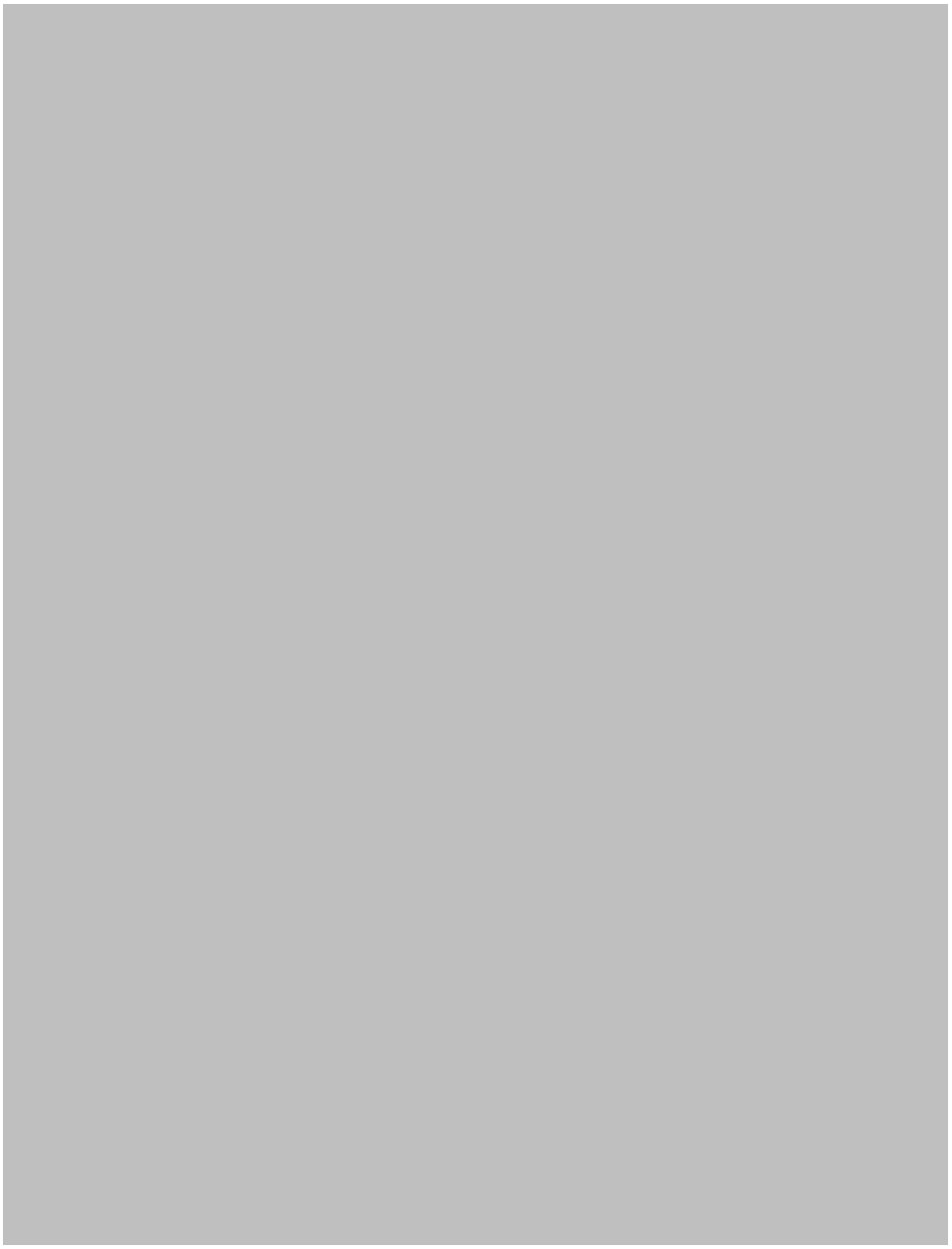


Fig. 10.
Gamāl Qutb (2001); in *FM* ref. no. 7, p. 76.

lacks any bodily shape but is perhaps wearing a long dress, which swivels into the air in a surreal, dream-like fashion. It appears that the image represents the matrimony of Adam and Eve after her creation, from lines 510 to 520. The dress may represent the 'nuptial bower' (*PL* 8.510), with the bottom half of the picture showing how 'the earth | Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill; | Joyous the birds' (*PL* 8.513-515). The left-hand side appears to show the 'bird of night', with 'the evening star' at the bottom right (*PL* 8.518-519). In both pictures, the creatures look more realistic than the human-like figures. The final such illustration is placed next to lines 408 to 425 of Book 9 (Figure 11). Here, Eve, once again faceless and represented only via hair, is at the Tree of Knowledge where the serpent can be

Fig. 11.
Gamāl Qutb (2001); in *FM* ref. no. 7, p. 121.

seen above her. The texture of the serpent's body is similar to Eve's hair, so at first sight, it looks as though the serpent is emerging from her. Such an illustration, though it respects Eve by not presenting her features, does have connotations of the serpent as demi-woman, despite Milton's words, a 'Meer serpent in appearance' (*PL* 9.413), appearing to the right of the picture in this edition. Fowler comments that Milton chose to 'exclude the half-humanised serpent common in Gothic paintings of the temptation',[93] though Enani does not translate this annotation because such views of the Devil as feminine do not exist in the Arab-Muslim world; in fact, in the Muslim story, there is no serpent.

The only other artist to have drawn Milton's Adam and Eve is Mohammed Hijji (1940–), who painted a cover for Kalima's 2009 edition of *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*. Hijji – whose works use bright colours and are usually political – also portrays Adam and Eve without any discernible features (Figure 12). They are also not naked, but camouflaged in the backdrop of trees; doves surround them and Eve is presenting one to Adam. Hijji appears simply to have drawn a picture which gives an abstract Edenic setting, but not one which relies on Miltonic details. The artist has since painted Qur'ānic stories, including the story of Noah in twenty-three pictures. He states on his website: 'This series of pictures is the story of Noah, peace be upon him (and he does not appear in the pictures)'.[94] Despite this, the Al-Azhar institution banned Hijji's pictures of the Qur'ānic stories in Egypt.[95] Clearly then, to avoid portraying holy figures, Hijji's illustration was intended to evoke the themes of nature and love in general, rather than the figures of Adam and Eve in particular.

Such illustrations are stimulating because they show prominent Egyptian artists'

[93] Fowler (2007), p. 462.
[94] 'The Story of Noah' album, *Mohammed Hijji Artworks on Facebook* (13 February 2012), <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.368257739858974.94478.201018846582865&type=1> [accessed 18 April 2013].
[95] Mohammed Hijji, personal interview (2013).

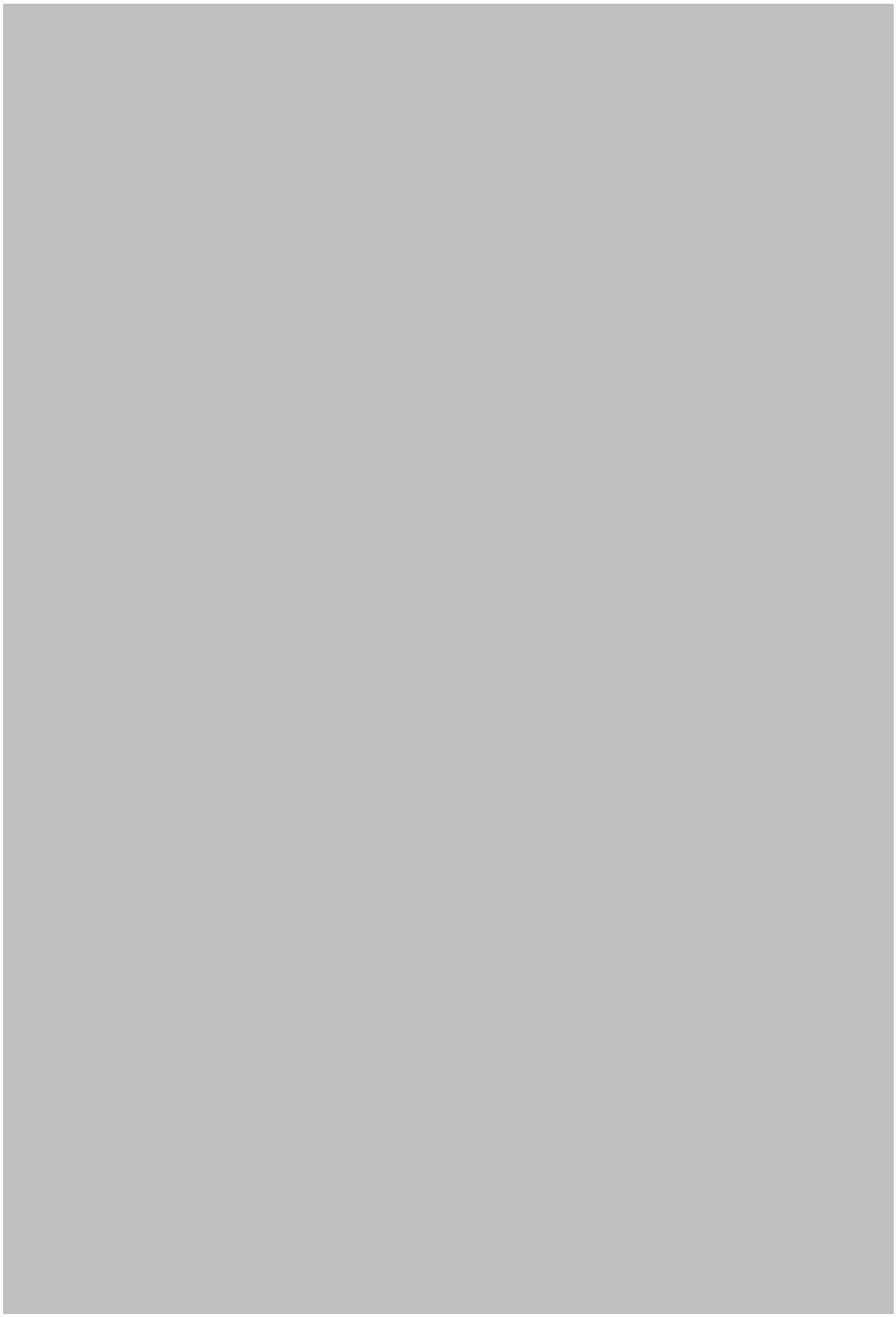


Fig. 12: Cover to *Al-Firdaws Al-Mafqūd*, ref. no. 12
(2009)

interpretations – and indeed receptions – of *Paradise Lost*. While these illustrations remain few and far between, they nonetheless demonstrate how Milton's subject matter moved Qutb to subvert cultural norms regarding portrayals of Adam and Eve, particularly in the cover to the fourth volume. At the same time, however, Qutb did accommodate Arab-Muslim sensibilities partially, by avoiding complete nudity, facial features and so on. Hijji's figures in the 2009 edition also lack distinctive identifying features. It is perhaps indicative of the contentious nature of these illustrations, though, that after the third volume in 2001, no GEBO publications of Enani's translations included illustrations accompanying the text, and after the fourth volume in 2002, no publication featured such figurative illustrations on the cover.[96] Clearly, we have much to learn from the history of pictorial responses to or interpretations of *Paradise Lost* in the Arab-Muslim world; yet this area of research remains almost wholly uncharted territory in Milton scholarship, and is, therefore, eminently worthy of more extensive study.

Adam and Eve's nudity in Milton's poem is not free of complexities for the Muslim reader, and their sexual relationship is certainly no different. One question posed to Muslim students in Egypt was how they felt reading about Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost*. Numerous students answered this vague question by highlighting immediately their discomfort with the human pair's sexuality. One student commented: 'I felt they were a bit frivolous, and the romance was too much'.[97] Another stressed that 'details pertaining to lust and sensual intimacy should not be portrayed'.[98] But as with the presentation of the Father, controversy surrounding Adam and Eve's sexuality is not limited to the Arab-Muslim world. C. S. Lewis comments: 'Milton dared to represent Paradisal sexuality. I cannot make up my

[96] The 2011 translation of Hanna Aboud, published in Syria, is an exception, as it includes Gustave Doré's plates throughout.
[97] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic not first language / Female.*
[98] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*

mind whether he was wise'.[99] Characteristically, though, William Empson, finds it 'a splendid bit of nerve' by Milton.[100]

Islam neither rejects nor confirms prelapsarian sex,[101] but commentators' narrations about Adam and Eve's sexuality are rejected generally. One example is an exegete's claim that when they arrived on earth, 'Adam and Eve cried about what they missed from the bliss of *al-jannah* for 200 years, and they did not eat and did not drink for forty years, and Adam did not get near Eve for one hundred years'.[102] This account should not be taken literally, but is metaphoric of their regret at being exiled from *al-jannah* to earth. The narration could suggest, however, the common assumption among both Muslims and non-Muslims that Adam and Eve had prelapsarian sexual relations, because the three things that they miss after their expulsion from Eden are food, drink and sex. Another dubious narration is a 'weak' Ḥadīth in which Adam and Eve sleep separately after their eviction. *Jibrīl* 'ordered him to approach his wife, and taught him how to approach her, and when he did, *Jibrīl* came and asked him: "how did you find your wife?" He said: "righteous"'.[103] Ibn Kathīr regards this Ḥadīth as 'weak' in both its chain of narration and content, stating that it is '*gharīb*' [strange] because at stages of the narration chain, it is only reported by one person, and that it is '*munkar jidan*' – literally meaning 'very denounced' – due to its weak chain and contradiction of other 'authentic' narrations or teachings.[104] While such narrations lack validity, they signify how Adam and Eve's sexuality is a restricted topic of discussion in Islamic tradition. Moreover, they show that Islamic scriptures and commentaries present ambiguous evidence about whether prelapsarian copulation occurred. For example, if the

[99] Lewis (1942), p. 118.
[100] Empson (1981), p. 164.
[101] For discussion on whether Adam and Eve had children in Eden, see Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 116.
[102] Ibn-ʿAbbās, cited in Al-Thaʿlabi (2009), p. 34.
[103] Cited in Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 102.
[104] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 102. Al-Bukhāri also states that this is a 'denounced Ḥadīth'.

word ‘righteous’ in the Ḥadīth above is taken to refer to Eve’s virginity, it may be inferred that prelapsarian sex has not in fact taken place. However, since prelapsarian sex may not actually have affected earthly virginity, this line of reasoning is open to doubt. More broadly, then, all that can be said is that these kinds of narrations confirm that the subject of the pair’s sexuality is not explicated in Islamic tradition as such, and has in fact not greatly interested Islamic scholars and commentators.

In this light, as far as the Muslim reader of Milton is concerned, it is important to appreciate that the poet’s presentation of Adam and Eve’s sexual relationship plays a wider thematic role in the text. For instance, it creates a contrast between prelapsarian and postlapsarian states, which not only aids structure and characterisation, but also provides valuable moral guidance for the Muslim reader. Initially, Adam and Eve’s relationship is ‘sacred and sequestered’ (*PL* 4.706) out of their own pious choice. Intercourse in Book 4 is preceded by them ‘talking hand in hand’ (*PL* 4.689),[105] whereas in Book 9, it is preceded or initiated by the more male-controlled, violent phrase: ‘Her hand he seized’ (*PL* 9.1037). Before the fall, Adam and Eve are in a ‘blissful’ and ‘shady bower’ (*PL* 4.690; 705), their nudity concealed by nature: ‘on either side | Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub | Fenced up the verdant wall’ (*PL* 4.695-697). Even after intercourse, they are covered: ‘lulled by nightingales embracing slept, | And on their naked limbs the flowery roof | Showered roses’ (*PL* 4.771-773). Postlapsarian copulation is very different: they go to ‘a shady bank’ (*PL* 9.1037), which juxtaposed with ‘shady bower’, suggests that though still ‘shady’, they are now higher up and therefore more exposed. Moreover, the definite article in ‘their blissful bower’ (*PL* 4.690) is replaced with an indefinite article – ‘a shady bank’ –

[105] On the importance of interaction in marriage, note Milton’s comment in *The Doctrine & Discipline of Divorce*: ‘whereof who misses by chancing on a mute and spiritless mate, remains more alone than before’, p. 12.

suggesting that they 'now copulate casually, wherever they happen to be'.[106] Instead of 'embracing' as they sleep, the postlapsarian, post-coital couple find that 'dewy sleep | Oppressed them' (*PL* 9.1044-1045). The 'purity and … innocence' (*PL* 4.745) they previously had is 'gone' (*PL* 9.1055); their 'No happier state' (*PL* 4.775) turns into 'their minds | How darkened' (*PL* 9.1043-1044). Furthermore, prelapsarian copulation was preceded by their 'adoration' of God (*PL* 4.721-722; 736) and an appreciation of their relationship of 'mutual help | And mutual love' (*PL* 4.727-728). In Book 9, they praise the fruit, not the Father, and far from being 'mutual' in 'help' or 'love', they end up in 'mutual accusation' (*PL* 9.1187).

Such clear contrasts surrounding pre- and postlapsarian copulation are symbolic of pre- and postlapsarian states, namely: bliss turning to toil, innocence to experience, beauty to ugliness, awareness of God to obliviousness, mutuality to individualism, and ultimately, immortality to mortality. Indeed, Milton makes an 'unprecedented investment in prelapsarian sexuality' in the poem, even by his contemporaries' standards,[107] let alone Islamic ones. However, it could be argued that the contrasts discussed above are a primary reason for Milton's portrayal of this sexuality: to explain the consequences of the fall, as well as reasons why the human psyche values and aspires to notions such as bliss, innocence, beauty, love of God, equality, and immortality. For a Muslim reader, these qualities can only be achieved through good deeds, which will result in Adam and Eve's progeny returning to Eden:

> Indeed, those who have believed and done righteous deeds, it is these who are the best of all creatures. | Their reward with their Lord [shall be] *jannahs* of Eden

[106] Fowler (2007), p. 498.
[107] James Turner, *One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 299.

> beneath which rivers flow, wherein they shall abide forever, Allah being pleased with them and they pleased with Him. That is [the reward] for whoever fears his Lord (*Q* 98.7-8).

In this latter verse, we see equality via the plural addressee, bliss, beauty, immortality and reciprocated divine love. For the Muslim reader, then, faith and good actions make these aspirations achievable in the afterlife. As one Ḥadīth points out, bliss, innocence, beauty and immortality are all aspects of Eden: 'Whoever is pious towards Allah enters *al-jannah*: [where he/she] will live in bliss, will never be miserable, will live and not die, his/her youth will never fade, and his/her clothes will never wear'.[108] Of course, as the conclusion to this chapter notes, the Muslim reader does face difficulties accommodating Milton's depiction of sex into his or her ethical standpoint. But at the same time, the contrasts between pre- and postlapsarian sex in *Paradise Lost* help explain to this reader that good actions are required if humans are to return to the Edenic state they desire: a state of perfection symbolised by the idealised prelapsarian sexuality of Adam and Eve.

In addition to presenting a contrast with the postlapsarian state, prelapsarian sexuality in *Paradise Lost* is also significant due to its very timing. The Genesis account of Cain's birth has long been an issue of discussion among interpreters,[109] and in Islam it is assumed that his conception was on earth, though this is never confirmed fully.[110] In Milton's time, a common view was that Adam and Eve did not consummate their relationship until they fell.[111] James Turner argues that the Augustinian view was also

[108] Ḥadīth cited in Abī-Naʿīm Al-Aṣbahāni, *Ṣifat Al-Jannah [The Attribtues of Al-Jannah]*, Vol. 1, ed. ʿAli Riḍā, 2nd edn. (Damascus: Dār Al-Ma'mūn, 1995), p. 129; similarly, Ḥadīth 2836 (p. 1090) in Muslim.
[109] For discussion on Cain's father, see John Byron, *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition: Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the First Sibling Rivalry* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 11-20. The debate over whether Adam was Cain's father is not present in Islamic tradition at all; the Qur'ān unequivocally states that *Qābīl* and *Hābīl* [Cain and Abel] were 'the two sons of Adam' (*Q* 5.27).
[110] Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 116.
[111] McColley (1983), p. 31.

widely held in the period, that 'foreknowledge of the fall made God suspend intercourse until it was needed to repair mortality by offspring', meaning Eve's 'help' was her ability to procreate.[112] Some modern commentators have argued that such interpretations linking original sin with sexuality have 'irreversibly corrupted our experience of sexuality',[113] and it is significant that Islamic tradition attempts to distance itself from such views. The Qur'ān encourages sexual relations between spouses: 'So now lie with them, and seek what Allah has prescribed for you…' (*Q* 2.187); it also refers to the marital relationship as one of Allah's greatest 'signs' (*Q* 30.21). While there is not sufficient scope here to detail Islamic views on marital sexuality, Islamic sociologist Abdelwahab Bouhdiba's noteworthy work summarises Islam's notions on the subject. He states that as far as Adam and Eve's sexuality is concerned, 'the notions of guilt and sin in the Christian sense are non-existent' in Islam. On human sexuality in general, he proclaims that 'the Qur'anic view of sexuality is total and totalising. The cosmic and the sociological, the psychological and the social rest on the union of the sexes',[114] adding:

> Love is a mimicry of the creative act of God. The Qur'an, therefore, abounds in verses describing the genesis of life based on copulation and physical love. This is because sexual relations are relations both of complementarity and pleasure.[115]

By presenting prelapsarian copulation, Milton celebrates this aspect of marital life by refusing to limit it to procreation or to the negative consequence of postlapsarian sex, which

[112] Turner (1993), p. 99. Turner states this is the Augustinian view. But Augustine also believed that Adam and Eve had sex in Eden: see Beattie (2002), p. 180.
[113] See Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve and the Serpent: Sex and Politics in Early Christianity* (London: Vintage, 1989), xxvi.
[114] Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *Sexuality in Islam*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 10-12. This work, first published 1975, has also been translated into Arabic in 1986 and 2001: Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *Al-Islām Wal-Jins [Islam and Sex]*. tr. Hālah Al-'Ūri (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes, 2001). See also Ibrahīm Mahmūd, *Al-Jins Fil-Qur'ān [Sex in the Qur'ān]* (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes, 1998).
[115] Bouhdiba (2008), p. 8

is Cain.[116] Milton goes even further, by showing that Adam and Eve's sexual relations will help them in their life on earth, not burden them. Their 'hand in hand' before prelapsarian sex (*PL* 4.689) corresponds with their exit from Eden, also 'hand in hand' (*PL* 12.648): an indication that their finest prelapsarian sentiments – symbolised through their sexuality in Eden – can indeed continue on earth if they join forces.

The sexuality of Milton's human characters can provide some moral instruction for the Muslim reader, and in particular, insight into aspects of life on earth and reward in the afterlife. That is not to say, however, that the very presentation of Adam and Eve's sexuality is not controversial. One student, asked about the part she found most offensive in the poem, answered simply: 'Adam and Eve engaging in sex'.[117] While Islam celebrates marital sexual relations, and while Muhammad's often overt teachings provide the foundations of sexual etiquette in Islamic culture, depicting or visualising holy figures in the act remains out of bounds. This is likely the reason for some of the Muslim students' aversions: not because they deny that Adam and Eve, or other holy figures, had sex, but because this topic is traditionally forbidden ground. Even students who were offended by Adam and Eve's sexuality still commented that they felt the couple were 'accurately depicted',[118] that their 'image' was 'well done',[119] and that Milton 'depicts generally what happened'.[120] Others also felt that they were educated about the human pair through the poem: 'I enjoyed [reading about Adam and Eve] because I always had questions about how they were',

[116] Milton also praises marital sex in *The Doctrine & Discipline of Divorce*, naming it the 'intimate communion of body', p. 20.
[117] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[118] Same student as 'n. 97': *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[119] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Male.*
[120] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*

commented one student;[121] another admitted that 'it made me learn more about the story of Adam and Eve'.[122]

Perhaps this is what *Paradise Lost* can offer: a variation on traditional Islamic views about Adam and Eve which can help expand perceptions of how they may have lived their lives. One student says that 'Milton did a good job of describing them as humans',[123] while another says that the thing that intrigued her most in the entire poem was 'the romance between Adam and Eve, which has never been known'.[124] It could be argued that Adam and Eve's sexuality provides a human side to their characters not present elsewhere. Such findings offer a response to Samuel Johnson's famous complaint about *Paradise Lost*, that 'the want of human interest is always felt'.[125] The human elements also result in sympathy for Adam and Eve, and in turn, help to antagonise the character of Satan: a significant detail considering that much discussion in this and previous chapters has shown how Satan plays a part in the characterisation of others in the poem. Indeed, a number of students felt that Satan's villainy became apparent when they read about Adam and Eve: 'I feel sorry for them because they aren't left alone in peace – always targeted, especially by Satan', remarked one.[126]

Enani himself believes that the sexuality Milton depicts possesses some truth, stating: 'I believe, just as Milton did, and just as I believe Islam does: Adam had a full sexual relationship with Eve'.[127] Despite this, as discussed in the first chapter, Enani does not translate 'the rites | Mysterious of connubial love' (*PL* 4.742-743) as accurately as he could,

[121] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[122] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[123] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic not first language / Female.*
[124] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic not first language / Female.*
[125] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the English Poets* (London: Jones & Company, 1825), p. 50.
[126] *Primary Research: Egypt / Student / Muslim / Arabic first language / Female.*
[127] Enani (2011), personal interview.

writing ‘mysterious/ambiguous rites of love between married couples’ (*FM* 4.743).[128] This is a very significant example because of the annotation which accompanies it, in which Enani does provide a more literally precise Arabic translation of ‘the rites | Mysterious of connubial love’, adding: ‘I avoided this latter meaning because of its insinuations which are undesirable in Arabic’.[129] Asked about this note, Enani deemed his translation to be an act of accommodation, not censorship: ‘Using the word censor, perhaps, would be too much, too strong. But you [do] have to be careful not to touch an area in Arabic consciousness regarded as irreverence’.[130] He goes on to explain that sensibilities are ever-changing, and admits that today he would have translated the sexuality in *Paradise Lost* differently:

> Recently, I did Bernard Shaw’s *Pygmalion* into Arabic, and he used ‘make love to’ in the very modern sense of having sexual intercourse, and I had no hesitation in translating it as such. Things have changed in the Arab world: over the last twenty, twenty-odd years, things have changed. The media has contributed to making sex sort of acceptable. People watch TV, listen to the radio, read, browse the Internet; they’re addicted to the Internet. And there, all the old, what shall I call them, restrictions, seem to be not just relaxed, but almost on the way out. Now, today, if I were to do this again, I think I might have changed it.[131]

Enani’s comments about changing attitudes also hold true, of course, for changing attitudes towards Milton’s poem in the English-speaking world, where, today, his subject matter causes little offence. Undoubtedly, the Arab-Muslim world is constantly undergoing cultural and social change, as symbolised by the Arab Spring. Timelessness can rarely be a characteristic of cultural reception, yet one can safely assert that the translation of Milton’s

[128] See ‘Section 1.2.7’.
[129] *FM* (2002), p. 739.
[130] Enani (2011), personal interview.
[131] Ibid.

Paradise Lost into Arabic has resulted in some defiance of cultural norms; for instance, through Qutb's art. At the same time, though, while the nudity and sexuality of Adam and Eve in the poem create certain problems for Arab-Muslim sensibilities, they also elucidate new aspects and emphases in this important story, and in turn, provide direct and less direct moral lessons for the Muslim reader.

5.4: Conclusion

The responses of feminist critics to mainstream patriarchal interpretations of Milton's Adam and Eve increased the breadth of Milton studies. By the same token, it is important to analyse Adam and Eve from a cultural perspective that has not been shaped by the consequences of Genesaic, Pauline,[132] and Augustinian interpretations, nor by a history of pictorial depictions of Adam and Eve in their nakedness. The Islamic perspective on Adam and Eve, which is scarcely mentioned in Milton criticism, deserves attention because Adam and Eve's story has a significant presence in the religious and cultural beliefs of Muslims even today.

It is inevitable that a Muslim reader will link the human pair of *Paradise Lost* to the revered Adam and Eve of Islamic scripture and tradition. This is no doubt a consequence of the universal story which Milton chose for his subject. But the poet's imaginative take on the topic and its holy figures creates clear religious and cultural challenges for the Muslim reader because many plot details have no basis in Islamic tradition. However, these imaginative aspects also demonstrate Milton's deviation from his biblical source; often, this coincides neatly with features of Islamic belief, such as the respected nature of Eve. There is also a further aspect to the multi-layered relationship of the Muslim reader with Milton's

[132] For example, 'And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression' (1 Timothy 2.14).

Adam and Eve: on the one hand, the reader may learn from the experiences of the characters, much as Milton may have intended.[133] On the other, Arab-Muslim explorations of Adam and Eve's natures, thoughts and actions all shed new light on the characters. These characterisations in *Paradise Lost* provide potentially new ideas for Muslim readers about how the real human pair may have existed, which can help shed further light on their symbolic significance.

Milton's Adam and Eve present moral exemplars for the Muslim reader through factors such as their responsibility, fallibility, knowledge and aspiration. They show that humans are privileged but must not be arrogant, that fallibility is an inevitable part of human nature, that despite the gift of human knowledge, it remains limited, that ascension must be completed through means instructed by God, and that after sin, repentance becomes necessary. All of these factors require divine guidance, thus highlighting the eminence of Allah, and in turn, of the Father's status in the poem. Indeed, Adam and Eve's repentance and worship of God in *Paradise Lost* possess Islamic elements, emphasised further via Enani's translation. They wonder 'How much more, if we pray him, will his ear | Be open' (*PL* 10.1060-1061), which Enani translates as '*fa-ilā ayi madan ab'ada yujību da'wat al-dā'ī ithā da'āh'* / فإلى أي مدى أبعد يجيب دعوة الداعي إذا دعاه [So how far more does He answer the call of the caller when he calls upon Him] (*FM* 10.1060). Enani uses a famous Qur'ānic phrase from a verse in which Allah says: 'And if My servants ask you about Me, then indeed I am near. I answer the call of the caller when he calls upon Me. So let them respond to Me and believe in Me, so that they may be guided' (*Q* 2.186). As a result of this translation, Adam and Eve's question contains the answer: God is always ready to respond

[133] In *The Doctrine & Discipline of Divorce*, Milton himself uses aspects of Adam and Eve's biblical story to draw comparisons with contemporary life. For instance, 'if it were so needful before the fall, when man was much more perfect in himself, how much more is it needful now against all the sorrows and casualties of this life to have an intimate and speaking help', pp. 11-12.

to his creations. Adam and Eve must call upon God for forgiveness, but they must also obey and believe in Him so they may be guided. Similarly, Adam says to Eve: 'For since I sought | By prayer the offended Deity to appease … peace returned | Home to my breast' (*PL* 11.148-149, 153-154). This idea of prayer resulting in peace of mind is also present in Islam, and Enani ensures that the link is clear, translating 'prayer' as '*ṣālāh*' / صلاة [prayer] (*FM* 11.149) and adding '*fa 'ādat al-ṭima'nīnatu | ilā maqarrihā fī ṣadrī*' / فعادت الطمأنينة إلى مقرها في صدري [so rest returned | to its place in my heart] (*FM* 11.153-154). The Qur'ān praises 'Those who have believed and whose hearts find rest in the remembrance of Allah', before adding 'Most assuredly, it is by remembrance of Allah that hearts find rest' (*Q* 13.28). Again, Adam and Eve's actions in *Paradise Lost* echo Muslim beliefs and provide valuable reminders for the Muslim reader about how to live one's life now, and how to prepare it for the afterlife.

As Milton shows, however, Adam could be interpreted as a somewhat flawed prophet. To mitigate this kind of reading, Muhammad reminds Muslims that Adam deserves utmost respect. In one narration he calls Adam 'the best prophet', and in another refers to Adam as his father.[134] Muhammad also narrates how he saw Adam on his night journey to heaven, meaning that Adam has been restored there. He presents Adam as a caring father, saying that he saw 'a man seated with parties on his right and parties on his left. When he looked to his right, he laughed, and when he looked to his left, he wept'. Adam welcomes Muhammad as 'the righteous prophet and the righteous son', before *Jibrīl* explains that those on the right are Adam's descendants who have done good, and those on the left are those who have done evil.[135] Adam is also presented as humble and regretful: Muhammad says that when the righteous are about to enter heaven, 'they will come to Adam and say:

[134] Ḥadīths cited in Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 103. 'Weak' Ḥadīths, according to some.
[135] Ḥadīth 3342 (p. 610) in Al-Bukhārī; Ḥadīth 163 (p. 80) in Muslim.

"Our father, open *al-jannah* for us", and he will say: "And did anything evict you from *al-jannah* except the sin of your father?"'[136] Finally, unlike other prophets, in Islamic tradition, Adam is a poet who utters rhyming verse after the death of Abel.[137] Adam could not actually have said this verse; Al-Thaʿlabi deems the poem 'obelised' or spurious, and Ibn Kathīr says that Adam 'may have said similar words of sorrow'.[138] Nevertheless, what it does denote is the emotional and poetic character associated with Adam in Islamic tradition, which in some ways, is also present in Milton's Adam.

As discussed, then, aspects of Adam and Eve's relationship in *Paradise Lost* appear in some ways closer to Islamic belief than to Milton's biblical source. In particular, issues of nomenclature and onomatology surrounding the word 'Eve' indicate conceptual and thematic resonances with Islam, and dignify the character of Eve. These factors establish some sense of equality between Adam and Eve, thus altering dynamics of characterisation and transgression, as Adam is no longer as Turner describes him: 'chivalrous … to the highest levels or princely love-romance'.[139] Instead, 'the marriage presented in the poem has moral, dramatic, and symbolic value'.[140] For instance, while nudity appears to be a problem for the Muslim reader, its relation to the Qur'ānic story indicates that the greatest cover is that of 'righteousness', and so postlapsarian nakedness possesses a primarily symbolic value.

Nevertheless, Milton uses Satan to complicate issues of gender and sexuality. The discussion of Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve supports Chapter Two's conclusion that Satan plays a central role in characterising others in the poem; in this case, shedding light on

[136] Ḥadīth 195 (p. 97) in Muslim.
[137] For the poem, see Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 119; Ibn Kathīr (1995), p. 42; Al-Thaʿlabi (2009), pp. 43-44.
[138] Al-Thaʿlabi (2009), p. 44; Ibn Kathīr (2004), Vol. 1, p. 119. The term 'obelised': 'Of a portion of text: marked with an obelus or obelisk; adjudged to be spurious, corrupt, or doubtful'. See 'obelized, adj.', *OED Online* (2013), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/257476> [accessed 1st May 2013].
[139] Turner (1993), p. 297.
[140] John Halkett, *Milton and the Idea of Matrimony: A Study of the Divorce Tracts and 'Paradise Lost'* (London: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 98.

Adam and Eve. To some extent, Joseph Wittreich is right in noting that it is none other than Satan's 'demonic perspective' which creates 'patriarchal attitudes before the fall'.[141] But inequality itself 'is a part of the fallen world' which 'Eve only expresses … when she is fallen'.[142] Inequality is part of the 'system' Satan introduces, one which 'institutionalises privilege, power and inequality'.[143] However, I have argued that Satan's deconstructive views may, in a way, be reconstructed in order to show that his primary focus is on physical inequality. In turn, Satan also introduces new perceptions of sexuality and the human body which create lasting complexities of reception. By sexualising Adam and Eve when he lays eyes on them, Satan paves the path for the postlapsarian sexualisation of the naked body, evidenced by Adam and Eve's reaction to one another's nudity after they eat: not shame, at the first instance, but erotic stimulation. This complicates responses to pictorial depictions of Adam and Eve in general because the prelapsarian nudity of the human pair represents an incomprehensible state we can only try to understand. In Islam, Allah says: 'I have prepared for my righteous servants what no eye has seen, and no ear has heard, and has never occurred to a human heart';[144] human comprehension of the Edenic state, therefore, will always be limited. When it comes to pictorial depictions of Adam and Eve, then, we see a prelapsarian setting through our perceptions of postlapsarian nudity and sexuality. In this sense, the general absence in Arab-Muslim art of depictions of the naked bodies of Adam and Eve may be a positive factor for Muslim readers of Milton, who have not normalised a recurrent image of Adam, Eve or Eden. This lack of naked depictions also reduces the emphasis on human form, which as explained, Muslims believe is a perfect divine creation, the imperfection of which only appears when the cover of righteousness is lost.

[141] Wittreich (1987), pp. 94, 99.
[142] Wilding (1995), p. 180.
[143] Ibid., p. 178; see also Lewis (1942), pp. 72-79.
[144] Ḥadīths 4779 and 4780 (p. 885) in Al-Bukhārī – a *Qudsi* Ḥadīth in which Muhammad quotes Allah directly. See also Ḥadīth 2825 (p. 1087) in Muslim, which is not *Qudsi*. On *Qudsi* Ḥadīths, see 'Introduction, 2.2: The Arab-Muslim World, n. 46'.

Such comparisons between Milton's epic poem and Islamic belief also shed light upon issues like gender equality in *Paradise Lost*, and show that Samuel Johnson is mistaken about both Milton and Islam when he says that Milton's work has 'a Turkish contempt of females'.[145] Such topics require new forms of analysis because Milton may have been purposely ambiguous about them. As Wilding notes, 'the assertion of women's equality was [as] contentious in the seventeenth century as it is today',[146] and Christopher Hill reminds us that 'Milton wrote under censorship, and was himself a marked man … So he had to be very careful how he said things he wanted to say'.[147] An analysis of these issues from the Arab-Muslim standpoint is highly appropriate, not least because the precautions Milton may have taken are echoed to some extent in the Arab-Muslim world today, where clerics exercise great care when talking about gender so not to upset the status quo. Despite the numerous messages of equality in the Muslim story of Adam and Eve, Islamic culture – often unrepresentative of the faith – remains inclined to the belief that men are in many ways superior to women. This may be due in part to the fact that the vast majority of Islamic scholars are male, which could mean that 'classical, and also much of post-classical, interpretation (of religious scripture) was based on men's experiences, male-centered questions, and the overall influence of the patriarchal societies in which they lived'.[148] It may also be due to the presence of a conservative religious tradition, which tends to preserve traditional social and domestic customs and hierarchies. As mentioned previously, most Egyptians 'believe there is only one interpretation of Islam', which, in theory and practice, works to restrict the flexibility or modification of religious tradition.[149]

[145] Johnson (1825), p. 43.
[146] Wilding (1995), p. 184.
[147] Christopher Hill (1985), cited in Wilding (1995), pp. 184-185.
[148] See Margot Badran, 'Islamic Feminism: What's in a Name?', *Ahram Weekly* (17-23 January 2002), <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2002/569/cu1.htm> [accessed 4 May 2013]. Parentheses added.
[149] 78% of Pew Research Center's Egyptian sample believes so; see Pew Research Center (2012), p. 85.

But in the Arab-Muslim world, Adam and Eve cannot take the blame for the existence of gender inequality. In the West, the inequality present in the mainstream, culturally prominent version of Adam and Eve's story – based on Genesis – is often used to explain, and sometimes justify, patriarchal society in its many forms. The subordination and sexualisation of women are obvious examples, but Adam and Eve's relationship also appears as an explanation for the development of other less predictable aspects of society. One such example is female genital mutilation (FGM),[150] which has, perhaps surprisingly, been linked back to Adam and Eve.[151] Where FGM is practiced, it is more often encouraged by males than females, and its aim is allegedly to increase female modesty, decrease libido, and limit sexual activity to procreation.[152] Linking these factors to Adam and Eve, Sharmon Monagan claims that Genesis

> confirms woman as a sexual being; having been seduced by the serpent and then seducing Adam into disobeying God. Thus a woman's sexuality presents the dichotomy of being enticing and yet so powerfully destructive that it needs to be controlled. Eve's punishment for eating the forbidden fruit defines woman in terms of her reproductive nature.[153]

As this chapter has discussed, such aspects of the story – Adam's ownership of Eve, her blame for succumbing to temptation, her seduction of Adam, her punishment relating to childbirth, and so on – are non-existent in Islam. In this light, the Grand Mufti of Egypt's

[150] According to the World Health Organisation, 'female genital mutilation (FGM) comprises all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons'; see World Health Organisation, 'Factsheet 241: Female Genital Mutilation, Key Facts', *World Health Organisation website* (World Health Organisation Media Centre, 2013), <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs241/en/index.html> [accessed 3 May 2013].
[151] Reference to Adam's rule over Eve in a discussion on FGM is present in Sharmon Monagan, 'Patriarchy: Perpetuating the Practice of Female Genital Mutilation', *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2010), pp. 160-181.
[152] World Health Organisation (2013).
[153] Monagan (2010), pp. 163-164.

decree outlawing FGM stresses concepts of equality. He states: 'Islam … is a religion which recognises the equal status of men and women in the eyes of God … The most fundamental aspect of this status is the unity of the human spirit in which both genders share'.[154] He rules that FGM 'is a practice totally banned by Islam'.[155] Despite this, FGM is thought to be more widespread among Muslims than any other religious group,[156] and is particularly prevalent in Egypt.[157] Put crudely, the moral teachings of Adam and Eve's story may exist in theory, but are not necessarily put into practice.

To end, it is important to remember that Milton's subject matter treads inevitably on what in the Arab-Muslim world is dangerous religious ground, as the previous chapters also indicated. In the early twentieth century, a man in Egypt denied that Adam was a prophet and ended up in court. After a first hearing in which he was found guilty of apostasy, he said in a second hearing that he did not find any precise assertion in the Qur'ān that Adam is a prophet, and was subsequently declared innocent.[158] While this occurred a century ago, it nonetheless highlights that Adam remains a sacred figure, and that any expansion or denial of religio-cultural norms can result in disapprobation. Once more, the Muslim reader is faced with the challenge of how to read a text which presents innovations about a Qur'ānic story and a holy prophet. *Paradise Lost* is a fiction, but that does not stop it from providing new ideas and moral lessons, or from illuminating aspects and essences of the Muslim faith which have been undervalued or ignored. Adam and Eve's story in the Qur'ān is vital to a

[154] Ali Gomaa, 'The Islamic View of Female Circumcision', *Ali Gomaa: Grand Mufti of Egypt Website* (2013), <http://www.ali-gomaa.com/?page=scholary-output&so_details=22> [accessed 3 May 2013].
[155] See also Middle East Online, 'Egypt Clerics: Female Circumcision Un-Islamic', *Middle East Online, (*4 July 2007), <http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=21307> [accessed 3 May 2013].
[156] UNICEF, *Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: A Statistical Exploration 2005* (New York: UNICEF, 2005), <http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/FGM-C_final_10_October.pdf> [accessed 3 May 2013], pp. 10-11; Alison Slack 'Female Circumcision: A Critical Appraisal', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1988), p. 446.
[157] UNICEF (2005), pp. 4-5.
[158] Al-Najār (no year), p. 27.

Muslim's understanding of the human condition, but also leaves doors open so humans may work out their own messages. Al-ʿAqqād appreciates this, writing:

> It is one of the stories of creation and formation, and in all of these stories are issues of the unseen, which are part of belief. Yet in it are issues of human life which the mind may understand and accept, and which accord with the faith. These are knowledge of life's values, and of the Supreme values which exist in our lives.[159]

Adam and Eve's significance in Milton's poem allows us to appreciate that their role is not limited to theology. They have a significant presence in most people's cultural thought, not least in the creation of patriarchal norms, as well as in literature, music, and the like; recent studies of Western culture have shown that they also appear in the most bizarre places in daily life.[160] As one study notes: 'Adam and Eve pop up everywhere' because 'they represent all that is right and good about being human'.[161] Yet they also represent human fallibility, so serve as versatile symbols of what it is to be human, both good and bad. In the Arab-Muslim world, Adam and Eve's presence is not as visual, and they tend to epitomise the blissful, Edenic state humans aspire to, rather than the fallen state often emphasised in Western culture. This stress on Adam and Eve's positive state is important in Islam, which emphasises that a key motivation in life is to work towards redeeming paradisal ideals at an individual level: 'Or is it that he (the human) has not been told … | That there is nothing for a person except that for which he strives. | And that his striving is going to be seen. | Then he will be rewarded for it with the fullest reward' (*Q* 53.36, 39-41). As William Riggs notes: 'In Milton's mind, seekers of the paradise within had much to

[159] Al-ʿAqqād (2009), p. 48.
[160] See Theresa Sanders, *Approaching Eden: Adam and Eve in Popular Culture* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009); Linda Schearing and Valarie Ziegler, *Enticed by Eden: How Western Culture Uses, Confuses (and Sometimes Abuses) Adam and Eve* (Texas: Baylor University Press, 2013).
[161] Schearing and Ziegler (2013), p. 1.

learn from Adam whose control of a physical garden in *Paradise Lost* mirrors more than his own moral life; it mirrors theirs'.[162] This can certainly be the case for the Muslim reader. Of course, this reader may have a different version of the story to believe in, and a different idea about how the first humans looked and interacted. Yet the sentiments of the story and its characters are universal. The consequence for the Muslim reading of the poem is that the hierarchy of characters discussed in the previous chapters remains intact. The Father's sovereignty concurs with what Al-ʿAqqād deems the main moral of the Qur'ānic story: God's wisdom that 'Supreme virtue is [free] will and experience'.[163] Satan, meanwhile, tries his best to deconstruct these wisdoms. As for Adam and Eve: as the first humans, they possess a unique, symbolic significance in people's lives. The numerous issues discussed in this chapter touch on aspects of daily life – theology, sociology, gender, culture, and so on – confirming Barbara Lewalski's general assertion that 'Milton's … canonised' poem 'can both abide of new questions generation after generation, and can also speak to some of our enduring concerns'.[164] Indeed, the Arab-Muslim reception of the epic confirms that the nature, relationship and sexuality of Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost* all touch on issues relevant to both societies and individuals, in whatever religious culture they may be found.

[162] Riggs (1972), p. 51.
[163] Al-ʿAqqād (2009), p. 48; on free will as a virtue, see 'Section 4.2'.
[164] Barbara Lewalski, 'Milton on Women – Yet Again', in *Problems for Feminist Criticism*, ed. Sally Minogue (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 50.

CONCLUSION

This study has shed light on the ways in which Milton's works, particularly *Paradise Lost*, have been and can be read by Arab-Muslim readers. On the whole, Milton studies have long concentrated on Anglo-American responses to the poet and his works; references to Islam are limited chiefly to observations about Milton's literary allusions to 'the east', or the relevance of some of his work to modern instances of political or religious extremism. I have argued that critical interpretation is shaped, coloured and altered by culture and creed, and not only by time, and that current socio-political factors and religio-cultural contexts point to the importance of considering the responses of Arab-Muslim readers in particular. As Wittreich notes, 'Milton's last poems' are of added interest 'for anyone troubled by collapsing hierarchies and by subversive maneuvers, or by notions of oppressive traditions and political transformations'.[1] Such 'hierarchies', 'maneuvers', and 'notions' have long been definitive aspects of the Arab-Muslim world.

In this light, this thesis has investigated and assessed the responses of Arab-Muslim readers to Milton's life and works. I have done this, first, by presenting what I believe are the most significant commentaries on Milton in the region, and second, by surveying all translations of Milton's works into Arabic to date. Mohamed Enani's Arabic translation of *Paradise Lost* plays an important role in revealing how Arab-Muslims encounter and respond to the poem in their own language. My analyses show that, in general, Enani's translation is accurate, despite some ethnocentric domestication, as discussed.[2] On the other hand, using Lawrence Venuti's translation studies terminology, the very act of translating *Paradise Lost* could be described as an example of a bold 'ethnodeviant' translation,

[1] Wittreich (1998), p. 259.
[2] See 'Section 1.2.5'.

brimming with 'foreignisation'. 'Enthnodeviance' is characterised by one's willingness to evaluate other peoples and cultures through *their* own lens of belief and cultural sensibility, not through one's own, so that 'the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text' is registered, 'sending the reader abroad'.[3] Foreignisation signifies a text that 'deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original'.[4] Enani's translation shows that foreignisation and domestication are not necessarily 'opposing poles on the axis of cultural distance':[5] they can coincide in the practice of translation. However, controversy has surrounded *Paradise Lost* in the Muslim world due to its portrayals and alterations of Islamic characters and doctrines. This has led to acts of censorship, and indeed, self-censorship on the translator's part, who sought to accommodate Milton's biblical themes and concepts to his Muslim readers' sensibilities, often relying on Islamic motifs and Qur'ānic *ta'bīr* to do so. Moreover, part of the controversy has stemmed from the disproportionate role played by Milton's Satan in the Arab-Muslim view of *Paradise Lost*; the wider availability of the Arabic translation of Books 1 and 2, compared to translations of the whole of the poem, has only increased the magnitude of Satan's role for the Arab-Muslim reader.

This study began by showing how Milton possesses an interesting and somewhat unforeseen place in the intellectual life of the Middle East. Reception of the poet in the region has often stressed his blindness and religious belief, though *Paradise Lost* has cemented his place as a famous writer and thinker, alongside Arab and non-Arab names alike. Moreover, popular interest in the character of Satan brings Milton's potential influence in the region into daily life: this includes an impact on representations of the

[3] Venuti (2004), p. 20.
[4] Yang (2010), p. 77.
[5] Kaisa Koskinen, 'Domestication, Foreignization and the Modulation of Affect', in *Domestication and Foreignization in Translation Studies*, ed. Hannu Kempanen, Marja Janis and Alexandra Belikova (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2012), p. 13.

adversary in Arabic literature, as well as curiosity about Satan's character, particularly in light of socio-political contexts of oppression and democratisation. Indeed, Satan's character has loomed large in criticism of *Paradise Lost*, yet Milton scholarship has not benefited from exploring the links the character shares with Iblīs, who remains an important part of Arab-Islamic culture today. Satan is presented in the Arabic translation as the antithesis to the Father, both through Enani's use of Qur'ānic *ta'bīr*, and the Islamic themes, objects and strategies present in the plot, which create resonant effects for the Muslim reader. In turn, these deepen Satan's character, rooting his psychological motives in sexual and xenophobic jealousies. Similarly, through intricate modifications to terminology and grammar, the Son also possesses a kind of antithetical relationship with the Father in Enani's translation. This brings to light for Muslim readers the inevitable associations between the Son and Jesus, and emphasises the subordinationist, antitrinitarian and Arian aspects of the text, which are not too distant from the Muslim reader's own outlook. In turn, other aspects of the Son, like his Messianic mission, may be compared with Islamic belief, adding new dimensions to the character's role, and showing that the poem frequently shares as much common ground with Islamic tradition as with its biblical sources, especially when read in Arabic translation. But for the Arab-Muslim reader, relating the Son to Jesus – due to both religious belief and Enani's translation – means that the Son poses challenges to Muhammad's exclusive status. Interestingly, then, as part of the reading process, the Muslim reader inevitably brings new characters and events – not only beliefs – to the perimeter of the epic.

However, if the Muslim reader is going to accept the guide to moral behaviour provided through Milton's presentation of the Father, such as how to perfect daily actions, he or she must delve into the poem's interior. This is because the very fact of the Father's depiction can stall the iconographic controversies from the outset. Of course, reception of

the Father is intriguing to critics because theological and cultural inclinations are of direct relevance. Importantly, then, for the Arab-Muslim reader, Milton's presentations of Satan and the Son do not undermine the Father's authority, but increase it. Despite the blasphemies associated with depicting the deity, the constant elevation of the Father places him at the centre of the plot and leads to some solutions to the Muslim reader's problems. The themes the Father elucidates, like the requirement to exercise free will, help to substantiate and advance the moral dimensions of the plot, in turn justifying key concepts like reward and punishment, developing divine mysteries into divine wisdoms, and making the Father's character unexpectedly illuminating for the Arab-Muslim reader. The moral lessons that the Muslim reader infers from the Father's character and the dialogues of the Father and the Son are particularly relevant to Adam and Eve. Of course, Adam and Eve are particularly important, because their characters and experiences are the ones most applicable to the reader's own life. The critical history of the human pair, much as it moved from patriarchal interpretations to broader readings, benefits from analysing the characters through a culture not shaped by Genesaic, Pauline, and Augustinian interpretations, nor by a visual art tradition which so often portrays Adam and Eve naked. Aspects of Adam and Eve's relationship in *Paradise Lost* also echo Islamic belief; for instance, issues of nomenclature and onomatology point to conceptual and thematic resonances in the presentation of Eve, emphasising the position of humans in the universal hierarchy and illuminating hidden aspects of gender equality in the poem. Adam and Eve thus present moral exemplars for the Muslim reader, despite Milton's use of Satan to complicate issues of gender and sexuality.

In light of these findings, the potential beneficiaries of this study are numerous, beginning with reception studies in general, and Milton studies more specifically. The wider

reception of canonical English writers and texts is a developing area of research: this thesis has supported the importance of such studies, providing a detailed case study of how one group of readers responds to Milton's works. Literary scholars may also benefit from understanding the socio-political contexts and religio-cultural beliefs of the Arab-Muslim reader, and how these affect literary interpretation in general. The Arab-Muslim readership may also benefit, first, by being presented possibly for the first time in the international literary community via this thesis. Second, this readership may also profit by understanding the ways in which their own contexts and beliefs shape their reading experience and understanding of literature. This could be advanced practically by assessing the ways in which canonical English literature is taught in the Arab world, and by addressing common misconceptions about writers such as Milton in the region.

Furthermore, much as the composition and reading of Arabic translations of *Paradise Lost* were driven by a partial desire to understand 'the other', this study helps Arab-Muslims understand how such literature can actually relate to them specifically. As the title of one of Al-ʿAqqād's books states, 'thinking is an Islamic obligation'. In this text, Al-ʿAqqād explains that Muslims should embrace 'fine arts' such as 'poetry', as they provide an understanding of both the self and the other.[6] In fact, this thesis has shown that reading *Paradise Lost* can at times prove edifying and educational for the Arab-Muslim reader, not just in relation to understanding early modern or contemporary English history and culture, but also regarding issues central to the reader's understanding of his or her own faith and culture. For instance, the reader can consider Iblīs's possible tactics or the significances of the form of God, such as the association of God's limbs and organs of sense with omniscience. Learning about Islam using non-Islamic texts is viable: just as the

[6] ʿAbbās Maḥmūd Al-ʿAqqād, *Al-Tafkīr Farīḍah Islāmiyyah [Thinking is an Islamic Obligation]* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 2010), pp. 63-72.

Muslim reader of Milton may encounter different problems to other readers, he or she may also find different ways of benefitting from the epic. Indeed, one of the most famous Muslim figures of the twentieth century, Malcolm X, indicates that reading *Paradise Lost* in prison helped him reach his eventual understanding of Islam.[7] I am also reminded of the respected Islamic modernist Muhammad Abduh, who 'strove to emancipate Muslims from [the] mentality of *taqlid* (adherence to tradition)', advocating 'the need to revive the spirit of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning)'.[8] Upon returning from France in 1888, Abduh had summarised how Muslims might benefit from others, remarking: 'I went to the West and saw Islam, but no Muslims; I got back to the East and saw Muslims, but not Islam'.[9]

This study has shown how an unexpectedly reciprocal relationship emerges between Milton's text and its Muslim reader: the text is regarded as part of the Western literary canon but is in some ways more germane for the Muslim reader – who finds pertinent cultural and theological links with much of its content – than the secularised Western reader. Muslims may benefit from reading *Paradise Lost* as a result of both the similarities and the differences they encounter. Simultaneously, these similarities and differences illuminate the text in new ways, by advancing, altering or even sparking interest in certain themes or characters. The outcome is a dialectical relationship in which the text and reader change reciprocally as a result of the new, divergent insights and hermeneutics which each brings to the other. Consequently, a revitalisation of Milton and *Paradise Lost* can take place, showing the writer's continued applicability to contemporary readership and scholarship, as well as the universality of his subject. Awareness of both the common ground and

[7] Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine, 1999), p. 189. See also Reginald Wilburn, 'Malcolm X and African-American Literary Appropriations of *Paradise Lost*', in Knoppers and Semenza (2006), pp. 199-210.
[8] See 'Abduh, Muhammad' and 'Tawhid', in Esposito (2003), pp. 2, 317 – italicised.
[9] Muhammad Abduh, cited in Ahmed Hassan, 'Democracy, Religion and Moral Values: A Road Map Toward Political Transformation in Egypt', *Foreign Policy Journal website* (2 July 2011).

differences points towards the potentially wider impact of this reception study: its encouragement of cross-cultural relations and interfaith understanding, particularly in the field of literature. Indeed, the exploration of an English, biblically-based text through the eyes of the Arab-Muslim reader can help critics develop a pluralistic outlook on literary criticism. Interfaith specialist Eboo Patel notes:

> Religious pluralism is neither mere coexistence nor forced consensus. It is a form of proactive cooperation that affirms the identity of the constituent communities while emphasizing that the well-being of each and all depends on the health of the whole. It is the belief that the common good is best served when each community has a chance to make its unique contribution.[10]

In the same way, my reception study focuses on Arab-Muslim readers not simply to show how they share common ground with readers from other cultural traditions. Rather, this study has also sought to demonstrate this readership's particular identity and contribution to the literary interpretation of Milton's works; this demonstration can enrich existing literary scholarship, and, at a symbolic level, enhance intercultural relations in everyday society.

I also hope that this study will lead to further research into the reception of Milton's works in a variety of cultures and languages. One example of such research is a forthcoming essay collection entitled *Milton in Translation*, which aims to demonstrate the breadth of Milton's international reception by collecting, in one volume, studies on the translation of Milton's works, in over twenty different countries.[11] Further research is also needed on the Arab reception of other works by Milton. The sonnet, 'When I consider how my light is spent', holds a notable place in the imagination of Arab-Muslim readers, and having been

[10] Eboo Patel, *Acts of Faith: The Story of an American Muslim, the Struggle for the Soul of a Generation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), p. xv.
[11] I am in the process of editing this volume with Angelica Duran and Jonathan Olson.

taught and translated repeatedly, is an area I seek to address. At the same time, there are other texts in the region which are overlooked by criticism, such as *Paradise Regained*; the fact its story is not narrated in the Qur'ān leads to a different kind of enquiry. Additionally, visual renditions of *Paradise Lost* in the Arab-Muslim world had received no scholarly attention prior to this thesis, and would benefit from a separate study. There also remains scope to research the specifically linguistic side of the translations: for example, the technicalities of accommodating biblical lexis to its Qur'ānic counterpart, and the ways in which English literary form and metre may be adapted linguistically in Arabic translation. Indeed, such linguistic analyses can be carried out with other literary works of the early modern period and beyond. There are many subjects with interesting parallels, such as the potential relation between early modern English metaphysical poetry and Islamic mysticism, which itself has a strong poetic tradition. More generally, this thesis raises questions about the specific boundaries between reception studies, translation studies and comparative studies.

To end, while exploring parallels between Milton and Islam, I have often found that concrete, thematic links present themselves where we are not necessarily searching for them. One example of the practical controversies surrounding literary texts emerged when an acquaintance was shipping a significant quantity of books from Egypt, and I requested three titles. The staff sending the books by cargo called my acquaintance to say that there were two books they would not be sending because 'they are not suitable'. These were Al-Maʿarrī's *Risālat Al-Ghufrān* and Naguib Mahfouz's *Awlād Ḥāretna*.[12] The third book was the Arabic translation of the Bible, with which they had no issues. From this, I understood that respect for other faiths is an intact part of Arab-Muslim society, but that some people

[12] On Al-Maʿarrī, see 'Section 1.1' and 'Section 2.1'. On Mahfouz, see 'Introduction, 3: Rationale'.

still have concerns about religiously controversial fictional works, which almost certainly, they have not read. I was reminded of Enani's 'Preface', in which he assures readers that 'the poetic epic is not … presenting truths or facts', but a 'story presenting a certain vision from a religious perspective'.[13] Similarly, defending *Awlād Ḥāretna*, Mahfouz stated that it was intended as a literary work, never as a religious treatise: 'Since the beginning, the problem with *Awlād Hāretna* is that I wrote it as a novel, and some people read it as a book; a novel is a literary composition which contains both truth and symbol, both reality and imagination'.[14] Mahfouz also provided a fine summary of literary controversy by differentiating between Islam – which in its true form promotes creative thinking – and other narrow-minded views:

> Islam has been treated unjustly. For the real Islam is that which produced people like Taha Husayn, al-ʿAqqad, and Tawfiq Al-Hakim with all their daring positions and opinions. The mufti of Al-Azhar has responded to the *fatwa* of my death. This is the Islamic point of view. But the fundamentalists do not want to listen. And in the West they ignore what the mufti has said, and they use what has been said by the fundamentalists to abuse Islam.[15]

In this poignant statement, Mahfouz refers to three writers, two of whom I have argued echo aspects of *Paradise Lost* in their own works: Al-ʿAqqād and Al-Hakim.[16] Here, we see a fine line which can be drawn in the reception of Milton in the Muslim world: a line which not only separates but creates opposites. Just as Milton is seen by some as 'a pious Muslim' and by others as 'an inhumane Zionist', controversial literary works can be regarded, as

[13] *FM* (2001) – ref. number 7 in 'Appendix 1', p. 10.
[14] Mahfouz, cited in Ahmed Abul-Majd, 'Ḥawl *Awlād Hāretna*' [Concerning *Awlād Hāretna*], *Al-Ahram Newspaper* (29 December 1994), in Mahfouz (2012), p. 587.
[15] Mahfouz, cited in Samia Mehrez (1993), p. 68; Taha Husayn (1889-1973) is a famous Egyptian novelist; a 'mufti' is an Islamic legal scholar.
[16] On Al-ʿAqqad, see 'Section 1.1' and 'Section 2.1'. On Al-Hakim, see 'Section 2.1',

Mahfouz phrases it, 'real Islam', or as others claim, 'absolute *kufr* [disbelief]'.[17] In a similar paradox, the content of *Paradise Lost* contradicts Islamic dogmas, such as depicting the divine, but complements aspects of Islamic belief, such as the importance of obeying God. Despite the discomfort the Muslim reader may face when reading Milton's poem, he or she may also relate to, and benefit from, many aspects of *Paradise Lost* which are alien to other, non-Muslim readers today.

But as I have found controversies, I have also found concurrences. When I picked up a 1909 Everyman English translation of the Qur'ān, I was only expecting another Orientalist translation of the Muslim holy book. The introduction shows that misconceptions can exist habitually when it comes to texts from other cultures: the Qur'ān is described as a poetic work of Muhammad because it is 'difficult to find another case in which there is such a complete identity between the literary work and the mind of the man who produced it'.[18] The translator, Reverend J. M. Rodwell, writes that it 'deserves the highest praise for its conceptions of the Divine nature, in reference to the attributes of Power, Knowledge, and universal Providence and Unity', adding that it helps explain how sixth-century Arabs, 'whose poverty was only equalled by their ignorance', managed to increase their power.[19] Nonetheless, this particular copy of the Qur'ān astonished me, partially because of an annotation which refers to Milton in a way no literary scholar has done. The sound of Hell in the Qur'ān – '*shahīqan*' [gasping] (*Q* 67.7) – is translated by Rodwell as 'braying', and he justifies this translation in a footnote, by quoting Milton's phrase 'brayed / Horrible discord' (*PL* 6.209-210).[20] Ironically, just as the Muslim reader approaches Milton with

[17] This phrase was used to describe Al-Hakim's work by Al-Heweny (2009). See 'Section 2.1'.
[18] George Margoliouth, 'Introduction', in *The Koran: Translated from the Arabic*, tr. Rev. J. M. Rodwell (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1911) – first published 1909, p. vii.
[19] Rodwell, 'Preface', in Rodwell (1911), p. 15. Muslims consider the Qur'ān to be the word of God, and the Arabs were neither poor nor ignorant.
[20] Rodwell (1911), p. 143.

knowledge of the Qur'ān, Rodwell's understanding of the Qur'ān is shaped by his knowledge of Milton. Moreover, Rodwell's preface echoes some of the interests revealed by Muslim readers of *Paradise Lost*: discovery of other cultures and appreciation of divine philosophy.

Astoundingly, the first words of this edition of the Qur'ān belong to none other than Milton: 'How charming is divine philosophy'.[21] Milton's unexpected presence on the frontispiece of this Qur'ān, sharing the same frame as its title page (Figure 13), provided me with confirmation that there are cultural and literary connections in unsuspected places. What is more, even if differences appear obvious, such as those between Milton and Islam, these should not result in tension: appreciation of differing viewpoints paves paths to mutual respect and benefit. Indeed, this study set out to make two seemingly distant things encounter one another; at times, this distance was undeniable, but more often than not, it proved the path to proximity.

[21] From *Comus*, line 475, p. 204.

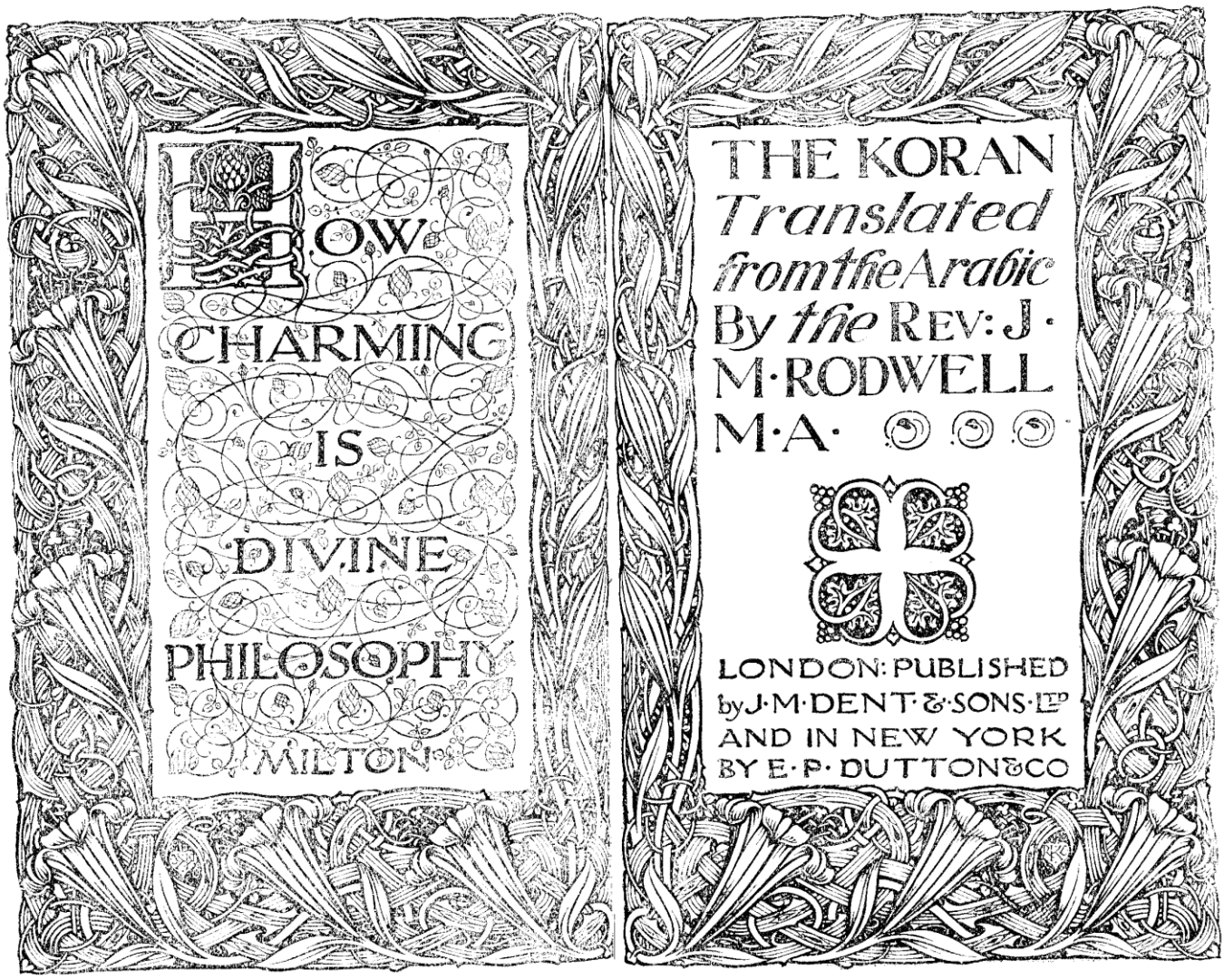


Fig. 13: *Frontispiece and cover page of translated Qur'ān* (1911)

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: *Census: editions of Paradise Lost translated into Arabic*

Reference number	Year published	Books of *Paradise Lost*	Translator	City and Publisher	Copies Published	Other information
1	1937	Book 1: Lines 1-155.	Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd (1905-1993)	Cairo: *Al-Risālah*, No. 184 (11/1/1937).	Statistics not available	Title: 'From *Paradise Lost*'
	Unknown (*c*. 1950)			Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr		Included in Zaki Najīb Maḥmūd's brother's book: Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, *Fil-Adab Al-Ingilīzi [In English Literature]*.
	1997			Cairo: GEBO		Included, but not sourced, in Ahmed Al-Shenwāny, *Kutub Ghayarat Al-Fikr Al-Insāni* [Books that changed Human Thinking], Vol. 6 (see ref. number 5).
2	1982	Books 1-2	Mohamed Enani (1939–)	Cairo: GEBO	3,000	Part of GEBO's 'global innovation: poetry' category; 'global innovation: poetry' written above the title on cover; foreword; detailed introduction; paperback; illustrated cover; blurb on back cover.
3	1985	Books 1-6	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO	1,000	Translation completed in 1984, but published in 1985; title: *Paradise Lost* (not Books 1-6); foreword to both volumes; foreword to second volume written in 1984; detailed

						introduction (identical to ref. number 2's introduction); part of GEBO's 'global innovation: poetry' category; cover page to second volume; blank cover; gold coloured writing on spine.[1]
4	1986	Books 3-6	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO	3,000	Translation completed in 1984, but published in 1986; part of GEBO's 'global innovation: poetry' category; 'global innovation: poetry' written above the title on cover; foreword; paperback; illustrated cover; blurb on back cover.
5	1997	Excerpts of Books 3, 4, 6, 9, totalling around 145 lines.[2]	Not stated	Cairo: GEBO	Statistics not available	Translation is not sourced or dated, but the book is published in 1997. Follows Maḥmūd's translation (ref. number 1), though this too is not sourced or dated. In addition to the translations, there are brief one/two sentence summaries between these excerpts.[3] Book is part of the [Egypt] Reading for All Festival 1997. Nothing on the outside of the book states or hints that there is a translation inside. On the book's history and other content, see 'Section 1.1'.

[1] *Details on the copy I have obtained (purchased from an online bookstore and advertised as new)*: black hardback; leather binding – a rebinding, most likely to be a library edition (cover page contains light pencil annotations saying 'black leather' and indicating, with numbers, the words and order of the contents of the spine); pages have some light wear and tear; a handwritten note in blue ink under Enani's dedication (p. 7) stating that the dedication is grammatically incorrect – the person (probably an intellectual) who wrote this seems to be extremely well-informed on Arabic grammar to spot the slight mistake in the dedication and to want to comment about it in writing.

[2] There are twenty-six lines from Book 3, around fifty lines from Book 4, eight lines from Book 6 and around sixty lines from Book 9. There are no line numbers in the translation; I have pinpointed the following lines of the [original] *PL* text as having been translated: Book 3: lines 1-11, 23-34, 41-46, 236-243, 667-669, 724-726, 733-734. Book 4: lines 73-75, 288-292, 297-298, 321-324, 488-490, 598-603, 641-658, 661-662, 675-680. Book 6: lines 835-839, 864-866. Book 9: lines 684-693, 700-701, 732-734, 764-769, 776-786, 811-818, 826-833, 839-840, 928, 938-940, 952-954, 1134-1136, 1160-1161.

[3] These brief summaries are: the end of Book 1 (Satan volunteers for task) part of Book 2 (Satan voyages and meets Sin and Death), end of Book 4 (Gabriel orders search and Satan flees), part of Book 5 (Raphael tells Adam Satan's history), part of Book 7 (Raphael warns Adam about death), beginning of Book 9 (Eve leaves alone, meets the serpent), beginning of Book 10 (Son sent to judge Adam and Eve), part of Book 11 (Father accepts repentance), end of Book 12 (looking back and leaving hand in hand).

6	2001	Books 1-2	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO/Al-Usrah	18,000	2nd impression of ref. number 2; reprinted for the [Egypt] Reading for All Festival 2001; published 'under the care of' Mrs Suzanne Mubarak (then First Lady of Egypt); printed in association with six ministries (e.g. culture, education); printed by Al-Usrah; part of 'mother of books' category; pocket-sized; brief preface (not by Enani) about importance of reading; foreword from 1982; detailed introduction (identical to ref. number 2's introduction); paperback; illustrated cover; blurb on back cover by S. Mubarak about the festival; photo of S. Mubarak on back cover.
7	2001	Books 7-9	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO	3,000	Foreword; paperback; illustrated cover (by Gamāl Qutb); some illustrations inside (by Gamāl Qutb); blurb on back cover.
8	2002	Books 10-12	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO	3,000	Foreword; paperback; illustrated cover (Gamāl Qutb); some pictures of Milton inside; blurb on back cover.
9	2002	Books 1-12 (in 4 separate volumes)	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO	3,000	Four separate volumes sold together; hardback; scarlet leather binding; no writing on cover or spine; the contents of each volume are an exact copy of ref. numbers 2, 4, 7 and 8 respectively.
10	2002	Books 1-12	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO	3,000	Foreword; detailed introduction (almost identical to ref. number 2's introduction); paperback; illustrated cover.

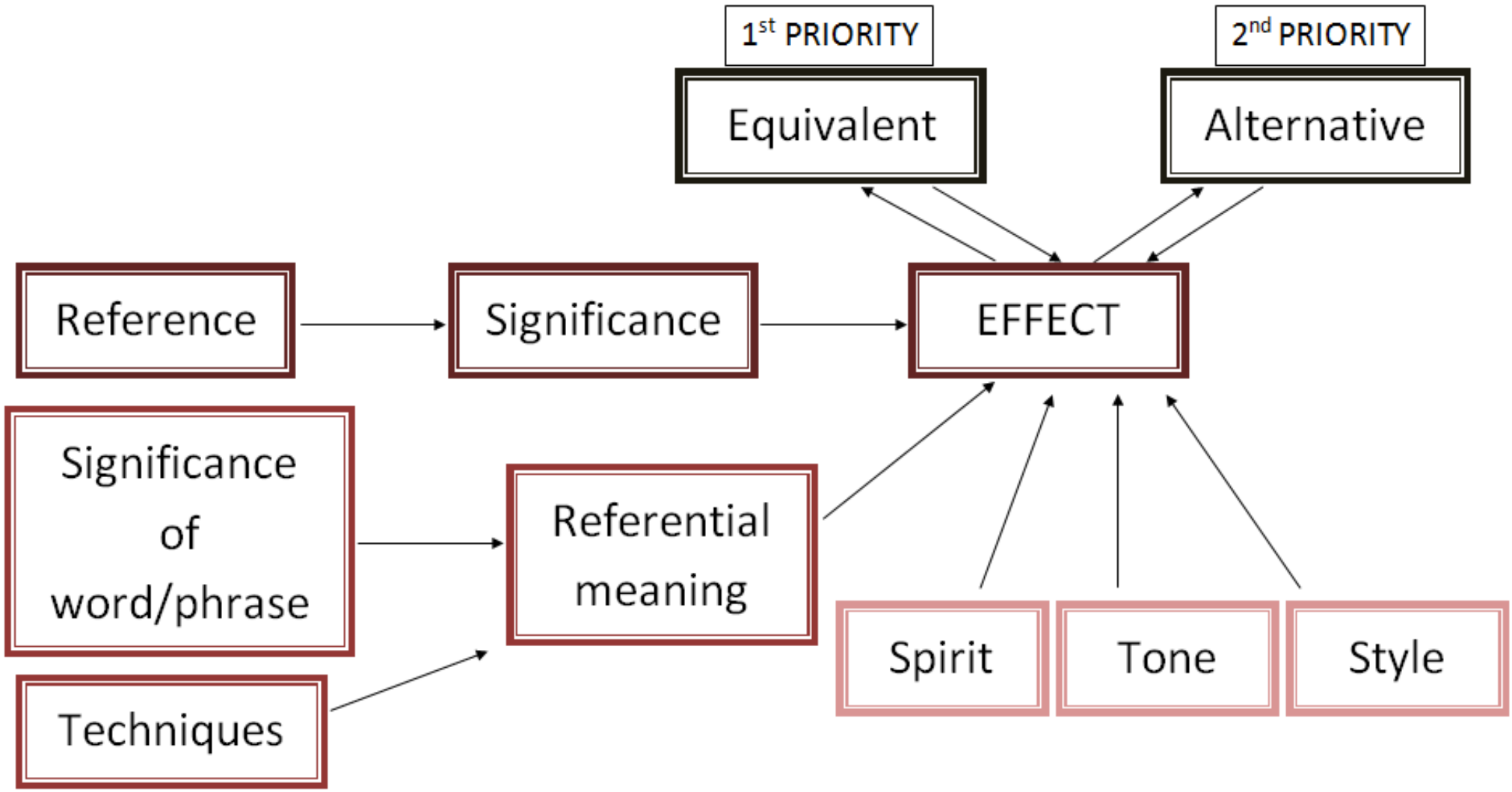
11	2009	Books 1-2	Mohamed Enani	Amman: Jordanian Al-Usrah	Statistics not available	3rd impression of ref. number 2; reprinted for the [Jordan] Reading for All Festival 2009; published in association with the Jordanian Ministry of Culture; part of Jordanian Al-Usrah's 'worldwide literature' category; detailed introduction (identical to ref. number 2's introduction); paperback.
12	2009	Books 1-12	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: Egyptian-Lebanese House (funded by Abu Dhabi: Kalima Translation)	5,000	Part of the 'Literature' series of translations; foreword from 2009; detailed introduction (identical to ref. number 10's introduction); hardback; dust jacket; illustrated cover. Also contains: 1) selections from the 1966 edition of *Al-Kitāb Al-Muqaddas [The Holy Book]*, i.e. *The Bible*,[4] 2) translation of the 'Preface' to 'The Second Book' of *The Reason of Church-Government Urged Against Prelaty*, 3) translation of *Areopagitica*, 4) translation of 'Selections of Classical Criticism of *Paradise Lost*',[5] 5) 'Glossary of the names present in the Arabic text of *Paradise Lost*'.
13	2009	*Paradise Regained* (complete)	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: Egyptian-Lebanese House (funded by	5,000	Part of the 'Literature' series of translations; foreword from 2009; detailed introduction; hardback; dust jacket; illustrated cover.

[4] Enani chooses to include Genesis 1-3, 11, 12; Exodus 14; Psalms 104, 114, 148; selections of Isaiah 6, 9, 40; Ezekiel 1; selections of Mark 13; selections of Acts 13; Corinthians 15; Revelations 12, 20, 21, 22.

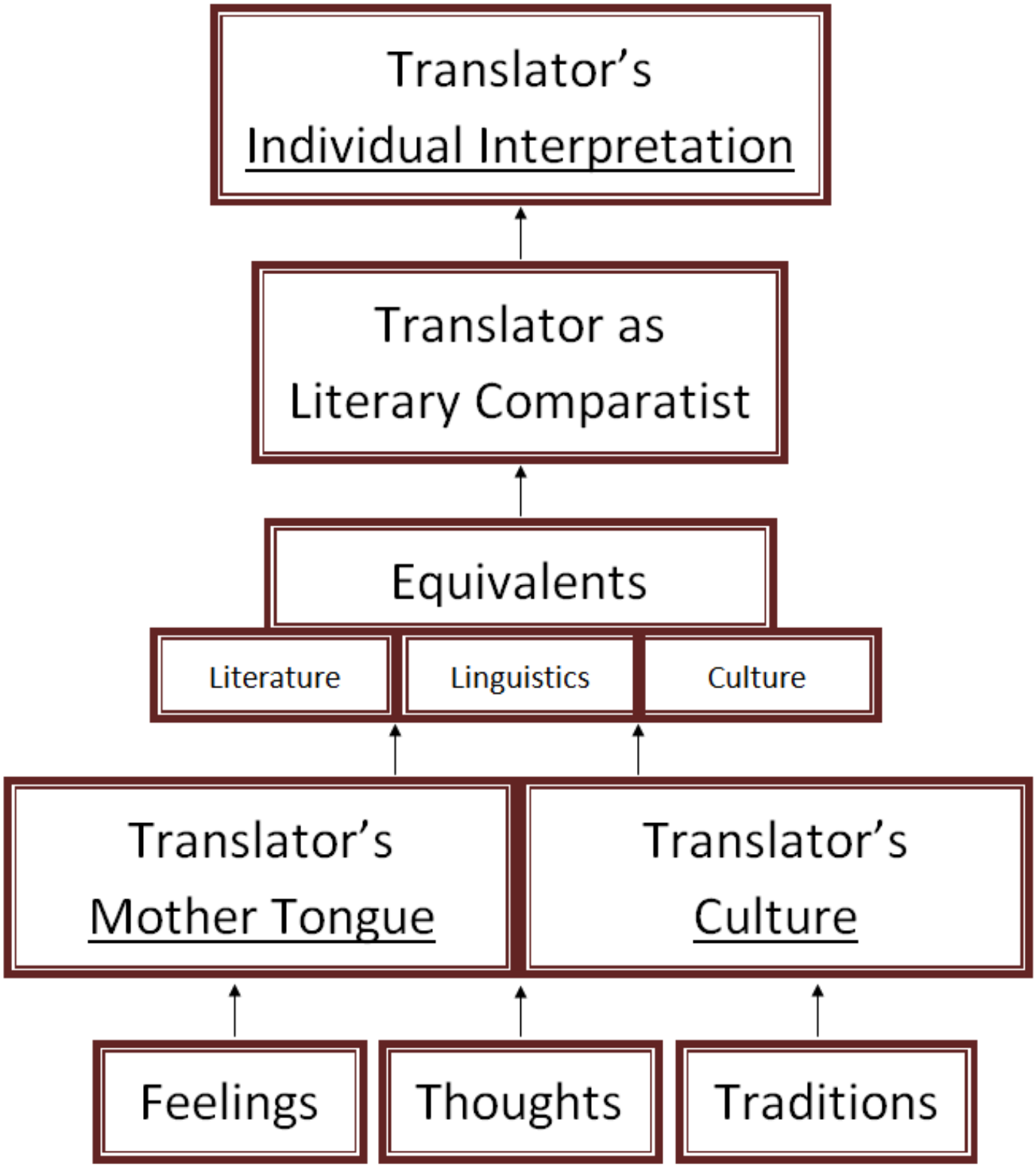
[5] Similarly to Shawcross (1970), Enani selects and translates a number of famous responses to Milton, namely Andrew Marvell's *On Paradise Lost*, John Dryden's *Epigram*, selections of two of Joseph Addison's papers, selections of Voltaire's criticism, selections of Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets*, part of 'The Voice of the Devil'('Plate 5 and Plate 6') of William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, William Wordsworth's sonnet *Milton*, selections of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's lectures on Milton, and selections from the criticism of George Jordan, Lord Byron, Walter Landor, Victor Hugo, Lord Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, A. E. Housman and T. S. Eliot.

				Abu Dhabi: Kalima Translation)		
14	2010	Books 1-12	Mohamed Enani	Cairo: GEBO/Al-Usrah	Statistics not available	2nd edition of ref. number 10; 2nd impression of ref. number 12 (with permission of Kalima Translation); printed in 2010 for the [Egypt] Reading for All Festival 2011; part of the 'Literature' series; foreword from 2008; detailed introduction (identical to ref. number 10's introduction); hardback; illustrated cover; published 'under the care of' Mrs Suzanne Mubarak (then First Lady of Egypt); blurb on back cover by S. Mubarak about the festival; photo of S. Mubarak on back cover. Festival postponed due to Egyptian Revolution; book sold in late 2011 and 2012 at subsidised price of 15 L.E. (<£1.50). Also contains: same contents as ref. number 12.
15	2011	Books 1-12	Hanna Aboud (1937–)	Damascus: General Syrian Book Organisation	Statistics not available	Same Arabic title is used as Maḥmūd and Enani; foreword; cover is portrait of young Milton; introduction; Gustave Doré's illustrations throughout; printed in association with the Syrian Ministry of Culture; book now sold at price of 380 S.Y.P. (<£5).

<u>Appendix 2</u>: ***Enani's 'Equivalent Effect Theory'***



Appendix 3: ***Enani's 'Literary Translator as Individual Literary Comparatist Theory'***



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