

Non Sola Scriptura

Essays on the Qur'an and Islam
in Honour of William A. Graham

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2 Qur'anic Anosmia

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Introduction

Drawing on such early pioneers as sociologists Georg Simmel and Norbert Elias and historians Michel Foucault and Alain Corbin,¹ over the last 30 years sensory studies have developed into a robust field of research in the humanities.² Not long ago, the efforts of sensory scholarship culminated in the towering, six-volume *A Cultural History of the Senses* (2014),³ a work that brings together many of the leading sensory historians from antiquity to the modern age. Strikingly, in the thorough index of *A Cultural History of the Senses*, the terms “Islam” and “Muslim/s” refer the reader to a mere two chapters (out of a total of 42), and in both these chapters the Muslim sensorium receives no more than a passing nod. Similarly, Islam figures marginally in the impressive *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice* (2014), only 4 of whose 37 chapters touch on Muslim phenomena.⁴

As Mark Smith has observed, the decades around the turn of the millennium have witnessed “an outpouring of historical work on the senses,” but there is “much more work” on the history of the senses in the West than in non-Western contexts.⁵ Today, this situation remains largely unchanged, certainly in regard to

1 Georg Simmel, “Soziologie der Sinne,” *Die Neue Rundschau* 18/9 (September 1907): 1025–1036; Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen* (Basel: Haus zum Falken, 1939); Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1975); Alain Corbin, *Le miasme et la jonquille. L'odorat et l'imaginaire social, XVIII^e-XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1982); idem, *Les cloches de la terre. Paysage sonore et culture sensible dans les campagnes au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994).

2 I gratefully acknowledge the support of the ERC Consolidator Grant “The senses of Islam” (2017–2022, project no. 724951) in the research for, and writing of, this chapter.

3 Constance Classen, gen. ed., *A Cultural History of the Senses*, 6 vols. (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

4 Sally M. Promey, ed., *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). See especially the chapter by Finbarr Barry Flood, “Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation, and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam,” 459–493.

5 Mark M. Smith, *Sensory History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 1.

the sensory history of the Islamic world. While in other fields of the humanities and social sciences a “sensorial revolution” seems well underway,⁶ scholars of Islam are only beginning to sketch the contours of a sensory history of Muslim societies. William Graham is one of the few Islamicists to have written about the sensory dimensions of Muslim piety in historical perspective. To celebrate his pioneering achievement, this chapter explores not the oral/aural dimension of the Qur’an, as Graham did,⁷ but another of the Qur’an’s senses: olfaction.⁸

Smell, in more than one respect, is “the first of our senses.”⁹ It connects us to the distant past of the human race, to a time when our self-preservation was ensured first and foremost by our olfactory organ.¹⁰ Smells are of great importance

6 David Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 39.

7 William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). This line of research has been continued by Navid Kermani (*Gott ist schön: Das ästhetische Erleben des Koran* [Munich: C.H. Beck, 1999]) and several other textually trained scholars, such as Michael Sells (*Approaching the Qur’an: The Early Revelations* [Ashland, OR: White Cloud Press, 1999]). There are also important studies of the Qur’an’s sonic dimensions by anthropologists and musicologists, see e.g., Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur’an* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1085); Anna Gade, *Perfection Makes Practice: Learning, Emotion, and the Recited Qur’an in Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004); Charles Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Lauren E. Osborne, “Textual and Paratextual Meaning in the Recited Qur’an: Analysis of a Performance of Surat al-Furqan by Sheikh Mishary bin Rashid al-Afasy,” in *Qur’anic Studies Today*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth and Michael Sells (New York: Routledge, 2016), 228–246. Recently, Ziad Fahmy has called upon scholars to extend this interest in sound to the historical study of the Islamic world more broadly speaking, highlighting “the importance of uncovering . . . soundscapes of the past.” See Fahmy, “Coming to Our Senses: Historicizing Sound and Noise in the Middle East,” *History Compass* 11/4 (2013): 305–315, at 306.

8 In addition to the sonic dimensions of the Qur’an (for which see the previous footnote), Qur’anic modes of seeing, and looking at images in particular, have been the object of noteworthy studies. To name a couple of the most relevant contributions, Alfred Guillaume, in “The Pictorial Background of the Qur’an,” *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 3 (1963): 39–59, explores Qur’anic visuality in relation to reports about the images inside the Ka’ba, as transmitted by al-Azraqī (d. ca. 251/865) in his *Kitāb akhbār Makkah*. Mathias Radscheit, “The Iconography of the Qur’an,” in *Crossings and Passages in Genre and Culture*, ed. Christian Szyska and Friederike Pannewick (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003), 167–184, argues for caution in drawing inferences about Qur’anic intermediality (image–text relation), a position elaborated by Hannelies Koloska, “Spätantikes Bildwissen im Koran: Die Relevanz ikonographischer Darstellungen für das Verständnis des Koran,” in *Episteme in Bewegung: Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte*, ed. Gyburg Uhlmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 432–444. However, there are very few studies in any of the Western languages, at least to my knowledge, of the proximal senses in the Qur’an. See, however, Thomas Hoffmann, “Taste My Punishment and My Warnings (Q. 54:39): Torments of Tantalus and Other Painful Metaphors of Taste in the Qur’an,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 21/1 (2019): 1–20; Kathryn Kueny, “Tasting Fire: Affective Turn in Qur’anic Depictions of Divine Punishment,” *Body and Religion* 3/1 (2020): 5–26.

9 Diane Ackerman, *A Natural History of the Senses* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 20.

10 See Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination* (first publ. 1982, London: MacMillan, 1996), 7: “[T]he sense of smell is an animal sense—and at the same time, and precisely because of this, the sense of self-preservation.”

for our emotional life and play a crucial role in the organization and stratification of human society.¹¹ However, olfaction remains one of the least-studied of the five senses. As many scholars of the senses have noted, Western modern culture is deeply suspicious of smell; it associates it with primitive stages of human evolution, with madness, lust, and savagery. As Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott point out in *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (1994), “[w]hile the high status of sight in the West makes it possible for studies of vision and visibility . . . to be taken seriously, any attempt to examine smell runs the risk of being brushed off as frivolous and irrelevant.”¹² In Islamic and Middle East Studies, to the exception of a number of works relating to the history of perfume in the Islamic world, smell has been almost completely ignored.¹³ Smell may be an ephemeral thing, but that does not mean it should be marginalized in scholarship. At the risk of sounding frivolous, I would politely like to submit that it is time to put smell right under the nose of Islamic and Middle East scholars.

When we begin to study the history of smell in Islam by turning our attention to the Qur'an, immediately we are in for a surprise. Smell is virtually absent from the Qur'an,¹⁴ in contrast to the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.¹⁵ The Qur'an celebrates God's giving human beings hearing and sight, but not olfaction: “We made him hearing, seeing” (Q 76:2: *fa-ja'alnāhu samī'an baṣīrān*). The most common Arabic trilateral root for smelling (*sh-m-m*) is not found in a single instance in the Qur'an. The nose (*anf*) only appears once, in the context of *lex talionis* (Q 5:45: *al-anf bi-l-anf*). Only once in its 29 occurrences is the word *rīḥ* (pl. *riyāḥ*) used in the sense of “scent;” the other instances all refer to (scentless) “winds.” Common terms indicating fragrance (*rā'iḥa*, *'arf*) or good smell (*tīb*, *'iṭr*, etc.) are nowhere to be detected,¹⁶ and the same holds true for bad smells (*naṭn*, *'aṭīn*,

11 Constance Classen, David Howes and Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: A Cultural History of Smell* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 3.

12 *Ibid.*, 5.

13 A remarkable exception to this “odor-blindness” of Middle East historians is Khaled Fahmy's article, “An Olfactory Tale of Two Cities: Cairo in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Historians in Cairo: Essays in Honor of George Scanlon*, ed. Jill Edwards (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 155–187. See also the fine essays collected in Julie Bonnéric, ed., *Histoire et anthropologie des odeurs en terre d'Islam à l'époque médiévale* (*Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 64) (2015). <https://doi.org/10.4000/beo.4692>.

14 I am not the first to note this. See Muḥammad Ṭālib Madlūl, *al-Hawāss al-insāniyya fī l-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1971), 138; EQ, s.v. Odors and smells (M. Marin), III, 573a–574a, at 573a; EQ, s.v. Smell (D. Stewart), V, 62a–63a, at 62a.

15 See Yael Avrahami, *The Senses of Scripture: Sensory Perception in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012), 103–106; Deborah A. Green, *The Aroma of Righteousness: Scent and Seduction in Rabbinic Life and Literature* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011); Dominika Kurek-Chomyczyk, “Making Scents of Revelation: The Significance of Cultic Scents in Ancient Judaism as the Backdrop of Saint Paul's Olfactory Metaphor in 2 Cor 2:14–17” (PhD, Catholic University Leuven, 2008).

16 As noted by Edward Lane, the author of *Tāj al-'arūs* relates that some read, in Qur'an 77:1, *al-mursalāt 'arfān* (“by the winds that are sent forth with a fragrance”), rather than *al-mursalāt 'urfān* (“by the winds sent forth in gusts”). See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. *'arf*. Fragrant winds, however, do not fit the cataclysmic tone of this apocalyptic passage.

Table 2.1 The five senses in the Qur'an: finite verbs and names of sensory organs

	<i>Seeing</i>	<i>Hearing</i>	<i>Tasting</i>	<i>Touching</i>	<i>Smelling</i>
Finite verbal forms	r ⁻ -y: 315x	s-m-': 198x	dh-w-q: 58x	m-s-s: 27x	sh-m-m: 0x
Names of sensory organs	'ayn 'eye': 39x	udhun 'ear': 18x	lisān 'tongue': 25x	jild 'skin': 11x	anf 'nose': 2x

etc.). Translators sometimes choose to include adjectives like “fetid,” “foul,” or “putrid” in their translations of the terms *ṣadīd* (“fetid water,” Q 14:16), *ghislīn* (“foul pus,” Q 69:36), and *ḥamīm* (“putrid water,” Q 56:42), but it deserves to be emphasized that none of these hellish substances, whatever their exact nature, are ascribed a smell in the Qur'an. *Ṣadīd*, *ghislīn*, and *ḥamīm* are not smell words. Not even *zaqqūm*, a plant that grows at the bottom of hell, sprouting fruit “like the heads of demons” (Q 37:62, 37:64, 44:43, 56:52), is attributed a smell in the Qur'an.¹⁷

The point is easily brought home when comparing the Qur'anic terminology of sensation across the five sensory organs. Table 2.1, in row one, shows instances of finite verbal forms (that is, not including participles or *maṣḍars*) of the trilateral roots most commonly used to indicate the five types of sensory perception. Row two shows the number of times the most common names of the sensory organs (in their singular, dual, and plural forms) occur in the Qur'an.¹⁸

The table invites discussion on several levels, as it provides only a rough impression of the Qur'anic sensorium, which awaits further study. However, the table demonstrates in a sufficiently clear way what concerns us here, namely, that the Qur'an is a curiously odourless text.

Smelling backwards, smelling forwards

Before delving into the reasons for this strange case of anosmia, let us note two exceptions to the Qur'an's disinterest in olfaction. While these two exceptions are noteworthy, they cannot cast doubt on the fundamental fact that the Qur'an is deeply indifferent to the mundane operation of smell. For when the Qur'an *does* speak of olfaction, it is not interested in people's noses or in smelly substances, but in something else entirely. From the perspective of the Qur'an, as I shall argue, smells belong to the mythical past and the eschatological future, not to life in the here and now. Fragrances, in the Qur'an, are treated in an analogical fashion to

17 This is notwithstanding the fact the commentators usually declare it to be evil smelling. See EI2, s.v. *Zaqqūm* (C.E. Bosworth), XI, 425b-426a, at 425b; EQ, s.v. *Zaqqūm* (Salwa M. S. El-Awa), V, 571a-572b, at 571a.

18 The table is based on Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qur'ān al-karīm*.

wine: they are purged from this world (*al-dunyā*), though they are tolerated, and to a certain degree embraced, in the otherworld (*al-ākhirā*).

The first Qur'anic instance of olfaction is that of the prophet Jacob smelling the shirt of Joseph. The Qur'anic Joseph story is well known and has often been studied, although not many scholars have focused on the incident involving Joseph's wonderfully fragrant shirt.¹⁹ Jacob, in grief over the supposed death of his beloved son, turns blind. Having risen to wealth and fame in Egypt, Joseph instructs his visiting brothers to return with their caravan to Canaan and drape Joseph's shirt over their father's face to make him regain his sight. When the caravan approaches, Jacob catches a whiff of the son he had thought lost. "Call me demented," he says, "but I smell the scent of Joseph" (Q 12:94: *la-ajidu rīḥa Yūsuf law-lā an tufannidūnī*).²⁰ When the caravan finally arrives and when Joseph's shirt is cast on Jacob's face, Jacob becomes seeing again (*fa-rtadda baṣīran*, Q 12:96).

The commentators usually underline the miraculous character of the story, explaining that Jacob's nose was no ordinary nose. Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) states that "none of that which is related about the acuity of smell (*ṣidq al-ḥiss fī l-shamm*) of certain people, ostriches, beasts of prey, mice, small ants, and certain insects is of the order of what the glorious Qur'an relates about Jacob and Joseph." Jacob, al-Jāḥiẓ continues, was given

a sign that appeared especially to him (*'alāma zaharat lahu khāṣṣatan*), for usually humans do not smell the smell of their offspring when they are far away from their noses. It is beyond the power of stallions to smell the mare over a distance of more than two or three bowshots. So how could someone who is in Syria sense the smell of his son by way of his shirt, at the moment

19 See, e.g., F. V. Greifenhagen, "Clothes Encounters: Yūsuf's Shirt in Qur'an 12," *Studies in Religion* 39/1 (2010): 47–56; Stephen D. Ricks, "The Garment of Adam in Jewish, Muslim, and Christian Tradition," in *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication, and Interaction*, ed. Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes, and Fred Astren (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 204–224.

20 It is beyond the purview of the present investigation to inquire into the origin of this Qur'anic motif. In Genesis 45, the biblical passage in which Joseph makes himself known to his brothers and his father, there is no mention of a garment playing a role in the delivery of the good news to Jacob. Abraham Geiger stated that the motif of Joseph's shirt making Jacob see again was "probably derived from a legend unknown to me." See Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1902), 150. More recently, Joseph Witztum has suggested that Syriac sources provide the background to the Qur'anic version, noting that a Syriac liturgical poem has Joseph send Benjamin to Jacob with his scented shirt so that his father may smell the scent of "the one who died but came back to life." See Witztum, "The Syriac Milieu of the Quran: The Recasting of Biblical Narratives" (PhD, Princeton University, 2011), 235 n173. For the poem, see Sebastian Brock, *Soghyatha Mgabbyatha* (Glane: St. Ephrem Monastery, 1982), 16 (stanzas 19–20). Louis Ginzberg relates that Joseph's "body emitted a pleasant smell, so agreeable and pervasive that the road along which he travelled was redolent thereof," without, however, mentioning Jacob in this context. See Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews. Vol. 2: Bible Times and Characters from Joseph to the Exodus* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1910), 19.

when it is carried out of Egypt? This is why he [Jacob] says [Q 12:96]: “Did I not tell you that, by God, I know what you do not know?”²¹

Also emphasizing the miraculous nature of the event, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and later commentators relate that Jacob smelled Joseph’s scent over a distance of 80 parasangs, after having been separated from Joseph for 30 or more years.²² They also report that the wind asked for God’s permission to carry the scent of Joseph to Jacob.²³ Only Jacob smelled the scent, not the people who were with him, and “this was one of God’s signs (*āya min āyāt Allāh*).”²⁴

In other words, in the eyes of the commentators, Jacob’s nose was very special indeed, not one that others could possibly aspire to. Also, Joseph’s shirt was anything but a mundane piece of clothing. As al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) relates, “some exegetes say that the shirt was woven from the Kiswa in paradise.”²⁵ Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220) explains that the shirt was woven in paradise “with the light of God’s beauty.”²⁶ Abraham received this heavenly shirt from Gabriel (together with a *ṭinfisa*, a small rug) when Nimrod was about to cast him into fire. Gabriel sat down with Abraham on the rug, in the middle of the fire, and talked to him. Abraham later passed the shirt on to Isaac, from where it reached Jacob and, finally, Joseph. Joseph kept it in a silver tube that hung from his neck. He had it with him when his brothers threw him into the pit.²⁷ Although the Qur’an speaks of the “scent of Joseph” (*rīḥ Yūsuf*), commentators occasionally stress that it was the scent of paradise, not that of Joseph, that stuck to the shirt.²⁸ The two notions, however, could be combined: like the shirt, Joseph *himself* smelled of paradise. Joseph’s beauty, so glowingly praised in Islamic literature, was not only a function of his looks, but also of his scent. Or at least that is how it appeared to Jacob, as it tends to appear to other parents as well. “The scent of a child is from paradise” (*rīḥ al-walad min al-janna*), it is stated in a hadith.²⁹

21 Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhīz, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1998), III, 469–470 (# 1227).

22 Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl āy al-Qur‘ān*, ed. Muḥammad Shākir Ḥaristānī and ‘Alī ‘Āshūr (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī [2011?]), XIII, 72; Abū Maṣū‘ Muḥammad al-Māturīdī, *Ta’wīlāt al-Qur‘ān*, ed. Ahmet Vanlioğlu et al. (Istanbul: Mizan Yayınevi, 2005–11), VII, 358; Abū Ishāq Aḥmad al-Tha’labī, *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, ed. Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1425/2004), III, 409; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1429/2008), VI, 507.

23 Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān*, XIII, 70; Tha’labī, *Kashf*, III, 409; Ismā‘īl Ḥaqqī al-Burūsawī, *Rūḥ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2009), IV, 333.

24 Māturīdī, *Ta’wīlāt*, VII, 358.

25 Ibid.

26 Burūsawī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, IV, 332.

27 Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 507; Burūsawī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, IV, 332.

28 Burūsawī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, IV, 334.

29 ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā‘īl al-Nābulūsī, *Ahl al-janna wa-ahl al-nār* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2002), 51.

The heavenly connotations of the story of Joseph's shirt bring us to the second Qur'anic context in which olfaction plays a role: paradise. According to the Qur'an, the blessed enjoy the scent of musk-topped wine (*khitāmuhu misk*, 83:26), camphor (*kāfir*, 76:5), and fragrant herbs (*rayḥān*, 56:89).³⁰ It is noteworthy that the commentators debate whether the word *rayḥān* refers to something that is smelled (*mā yushammu*) or to something else. Opinions are divided. Interpretations of *rayḥān* as "fragrant herb" occur most prominently in the notion that the souls of "those who are brought near" (*al-muqarrabūn*, see Q 56:88), when they leave their bodies at death, are surrounded by the smell of *rayḥān*. This *rayḥān* is brought to them from paradise³¹ in the form of two twigs (*ghuṣṣayn*) with which the souls are picked up and lifted heavenwards.³² Less aromatic interpretations include the view, supported by al-Ṭabarī, that *rayḥān* means nourishment (*riẓq*), "that is, the grains (*ḥabb*) from which we eat."³³ Ibn 'Abbās (d. ca. 68/687–688) is reported to have taught that "all *rayḥān* in the Qur'an refers to nourishment."³⁴ Further, there are many suggestions for a metaphorical meaning of *rayḥān*: "respite,"³⁵ "honour and high rank,"³⁶ "divine mercy,"³⁷ "divine satisfaction,"³⁸ "eternity,"³⁹ or simply "paradise."⁴⁰ Commentators also seek to eliminate traces of earthly smells in paradise in other Qur'anic contexts. For example, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) states that the wine in paradise does not have the loathsome smell of earthly wine because it is not made "from grape trodden upon by the feet of man."⁴¹

Notwithstanding the exegetes' occasional attempts to expunge smell from paradise, the Qur'an speaks quite plainly, though not in an extravagant way, of the

30 The many studies of the Qur'anic paradise include Joseph Horowitz, "Das koranische Paradies," *Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecae Hierosolymitanarum* 6 (1923): 1–16, reprinted in *Der Koran*, ed. Rudi Paret (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975), 53–75; Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy, *Eschatological Themes in the Qur'ān* (Manila: Cardinal Bea Institute, Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1986); Soubhi El-Saleh, *La vie future selon le Coran* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1971), esp. 15–27; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Paradise and Nature in the Qur'ān and in Pre-Islamic Poetry," in *Roads to Paradise: Eschatology and Concepts of the Hereafter in Islam*, ed. Sebastian Günther and Todd Lawson (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 136–161; Angelika Neuwirth, "Paradise as Quranic Discourse: Late Antique Foundations and Early Qur'anic Developments," in Günther and Lawson, eds., *Roads to Paradise*, 67–92; Christian Lange, *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 37–70 and *passim*. None of these studies focuses on the issue of smell in particular.

31 Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XXVIII, 248.

32 Tha'labī, *Kashf*, VI, 100.

33 Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XXVIII, 143.

34 Tha'labī, *Kashf*, VI, 51.

35 Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XXVIII, 247.

36 Māturīdī, *Ta'wīlāt*, XIV, 328.

37 Tha'labī, *Kashf*, VI, 100.

38 Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, X, 438. See also Burūsawī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, IX, 340.

39 Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, X, 438.

40 Tha'labī, *Kashf*, VI, 100.

41 Quoted in EQ, s.v. Food and drink (D. Waines), II, 216b–223b, at 218a, without page number.

existence of heavenly aromas. However, just like in the case of Joseph's shirt, these heavenly smells serve a function that has little to do with olfactory events in ordinary human life. As regards the shirt of Joseph, it might be suggested that Jacob's olfaction, just like the vision that follows (*fa-rtadda baṣīran*), is a cognitive metaphor. As Andrew Rippin notes, "the metaphor of sight as 'insight' is well-entrenched in Arabic and the Qur'an,"⁴² *al-baṣīr* being one of the common epithets of God. Similarly, we should reckon with a metaphorical meaning of olfaction as "recollection." One of the Arabic words for scent, *ʿarf*, derives from the same root (*ʿ-r-f*) that denotes the semantic field of "experiential knowing, understanding." Indeed, "nothing is more memorable than a smell."⁴³ When Jacob smells, he *remembers* his son. When, as a consequence, he becomes *baṣīr*, or "seeing," it is by way of *visualizing*, of bringing back to his inner eye, the image of his son. Both olfaction and vision are part of the same mnemonic process of reaching back in time and eliding the past into the present.

In the case of heavenly aromas, the process works the other way round, towards the future. Smell provides a proleptic whiff of eschatological bliss. Both the scent of Joseph's shirt and the scent of paradise divert attention away from the here and now, cutting through time in two directions: Jacob smells back, recalling an ideal past and thereby re-enacting his beloved son's presence; the paradise passages smell forward, gesturing towards eschatological bliss in the perfumed garden of paradise. Smell is invoked in both instances, not to draw attention to the scent of the present but to exploit smell's ability to cross boundaries, to transcend space and time, and to effect transition in the scenting subject.⁴⁴ In sum, the point of the story of Joseph's shirt and the presence of heavenly aromas in the Qur'an is not to "add religious prestige" or to "give a heightened status" to certain earthly fragrances,⁴⁵ but rather to remove smell to a safe distance, by anchoring it in the mythical past and projecting it to the sacred time of the afterlife.

De-odorization

Arguably, thus, the Qur'an de-odorizes the world of the here and now. This triggers the question to what extent the world into which the Qur'an was born was in fact odorized. More generally speaking, we may ask to what extent it is possible to inscribe the Qur'an's attitude towards smell in the history of the Qur'an's coming-about, and in that of the budding Muslim community. This history, as decades of research on the question of Islamic origins have shown, is elusive, just like smell. In what follows, I therefore do not pretend to present a clear-cut chronology of

42 EQ, s.v. Seeing and hearing (Andrew Rippin), IV, 573b-576a, at 574b.

43 Ackerman, *A Natural History of the Senses*, 5. Trygg Engen, one of the founders of the psychological study of olfaction, speaks of "the Proustian hypothesis of odor memory." See Engen, *The Perception of Odors* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 98.

44 See David Howes, "Olfaction and Transition: An Essay on the Ritual Uses of Smell," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 24/3 (1987): 398-416.

45 *Pace* EQ, s.v. Odor and smells (M. Marin), III, 573b.

aromatic events in and around the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad. Sniffing around the olfactory history of early Islam, I attempt to disentangle a multiplicity of overlapping, and often admittedly faint, traces of smell and to insert them into a tentative diachronic framework.

Important clues about ancient Arabic olfactory culture are provided in poetry. Imru' al-Qays (d. ca. 540 CE), in what is “surely the most famous Arabic poem of all times,”⁴⁶ evokes the memory of lovers by noting that “when they stood up [from their beds], the scent of musk wafted from them like breath of the east wind bearing the fragrance of cloves.”⁴⁷ In another poem, he associates rich, beautiful women with aloeswood, ben oil, camphor, and incense. As noted by Anya King, the preeminent historian of perfume in the Islamic world, Imru' al-Qays uses perfume, and musk imagery in particular, in a habitual, “formulaic” way.⁴⁸ Likewise, Imru' al-Qays' rival 'Alqama b. 'Abada, a poet chronicling the court culture of the Ghassanids and Lakhmids, speaks of the 'abīr perfume used by women.⁴⁹ 'Antara (sixth c. CE), the warrior-poet of central Arabia, mentions “a merchant's musk in a perfume box.”⁵⁰

Later pre-Islamic and *mukhaḍram* poets who weave olfactory references into their poetry include 'Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ (*fl.* first half sixth c. CE), al-'Adī b. Rabī'a al-Muhalhil (*fl.* middle sixth c. CE), al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī (*fl.* 570–600 CE), Qays b. al-Khaṭīm (early seventh c. CE), Shammākh b. Ḍirār (d. ca. 30/650), Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. ca. 40/659), and al-Marrār b. Munqidh (late first/seventh c.). They mention perfumes such as *ūqūq* (al-Muhalhil), 'abīr ('Abīd, Ḥassān b. Thābit) and *nadd* ('Abīd), next to aromatic substances such as musk ('Abīd, al-Nābigha, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, Ḥassān b. Thābit, al-Marrār), ambergris (al-Nābigha, al-Marrār, al-Shammākh), saffron (al-Shammākh, al-Marrār), and aloeswood.⁵¹ The verses of the blind Christian poet al-A'shā b. Qays (d. ca. 625 CE), a contemporary of the Prophet, are scented particularly lavishly, with musk, saffron, and aromatic flowers (jasmine, narcissus, lily, rose), but also with essential oils (*zanbaq*) and different kinds of perfumed wine (*qindīd*, *ṭilā*).⁵²

46 Geert J. H. van Gelder, “Four Perfumes of Arabia: A Translation of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Maqāma al-Miskiyya*,” in *Parfums d'Orient*, ed. Rika Gyselen (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'étude de la civilisation du moyen-orient, 1998), 203.

47 Trans. Alan Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry. II: Select Odes* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1996), 59.

48 Anya King, “The Importance of Imported Aromatics in Arabic Culture: Illustrations from Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67/3 (2008): 184.

49 Ibid., 186.

50 Ibid.

51 For all these poets to the exception of al-Marrār, see the verses compiled in 'Alī Shalāq, ed., *Al-shamm fī l-shi'r al-'arabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1404/1984), 5–15. For al-Marrār, see Van Gelder, “Four Perfumes,” 203. For aloeswood, attested in pre-Islamic poetry under the names of *yalanjūj* and *kibā*, see Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 75, quoting Georg Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin: Maier & Müller, 1897), 12.

52 See Shalāq, ed., *Al-shamm*, 12–14; Rudolf Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte von al-A'shā*, 2 vols. (Vienna 1905/1919), I, 70, II, 1, 84, 131, 215. See also Jacob, *Beduinenleben*, 11–12: “Arabien ist . . . reich

The “preeminent aromatics of the Arabic poet,” states King, are musk and ambergris.⁵³ A latecomer to the aromascape of Late Antiquity, musk, imported from eastern Asia, was traded in the Sassanian and Byzantine Empire,⁵⁴ and from there, into Arabian lands. Ambergris, a residue of the digestive system of the sperm whale, was found on the southern shore of Arabia and of other lands abutting the Indian ocean.⁵⁵ In addition to the more expensive, and therefore prized, imports of musk, ambergris, camphor, aloeswood, and saffron, Arab merchants also dealt in indigenous aromatics, such as South Arabian frankincense and myrrh.⁵⁶

However, did they do so in Mecca, the birthplace of the prophet Muhammad? It seems so. Quraysh, after all, were successful dealers in aromatics.⁵⁷ As noted by Patricia Crone,

‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib sold Yemeni perfume at Minā and elsewhere in the pilgrim season. . . . Abū Ṭālib is also said to have traded in *‘itr*, presumably Yemeni. Of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ we are told that he used to sell leather goods and perfume in Egypt. . . . Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Āṣ once went to Ḥīra for the sale of perfume; and after the conquests, *ḥīb* was among the gifts sent by ‘Umar’s wife to the wife of Heraclius. Perfume was thus a commodity for which the Meccans had a market not only in the Ḥijāz, but also outside Arabia.⁵⁸

Crone qualifies this picture by stating that the Arab trade in perfume remained largely confined to the southern, Arab regions of the Byzantine realm. Quraysh cannot be said to have been “large-scale suppliers of perfume to the Byzantine and Persian empires.”⁵⁹ However, it seems certain that perfumes, though a luxury, were not rare in the context in which the Qur’an was first declaimed.⁶⁰ Why, then, the Qur’an’s indifference to olfaction?

Muḥammad Ṭālib Madlūl, the author of one of the few studies of the Qur’anic sensorium, suggests that the Qur’an pays little attention to smell because olfaction

an würzig duftenden Pflanzen, namentlich Südarabien . . . ein Strom von Wohlgerüchen entstieg den aromatischen Kräutern des Thals und erfüllte die gereinigte Atmosphäre.”

53 King, “Importance of Imported Aromatics,” 188.

54 See Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, trans. J. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 43–54.

55 Anya King, *Scent from the Garden of Paradise* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 61–62. On medieval Arab attitudes towards ambergris, see Thierry Buquet, “De la pestilence à la fragrance. L’origine de l’ambre gris selon les auteurs arabes,” in *Histoire et anthropologie des odeurs en terre d’Islam à l’époque médiévale*, ed. Julie Bonnéric (*Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 64) (2015), 113–133, <https://doi.org/10.4000/beo.4692>

56 See EQ, s.v. South Arabia, Religions in pre-Islamic (Ch. Robin), V, 84b-94a, at 90a.

57 Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 95–97. On perfumes in pre-Islamic Arabia, see also the articles in Alessandra Avanzini, ed., *Profumi di Arabia: Atti del Convegno* (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1997).

58 Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 96.

59 *Ibid.*

60 Pace Ailin Qian, “Delight in Paradise: A Comparative Survey of Heavenly Food and Drink in the Quran,” in Günther and Lawson, eds., *Roads to Paradise*, 257.

is an inconsequential human sense, much less important than the other senses. He further states that attention to smell is something the Qur'an can do without, seeing that in the revealed law, there are so few commands and prohibitions regarding the nose.⁶¹ Madlūl's first argument jars with current scholarly assessments of the importance of smell, as well as the other "lower" senses, in the study of human culture and society.⁶² His second argument is based on the normative assumption that the Qur'an coincides with the Sharia. Here, I wish to present other, more fully embodied and more strictly historical reasons for Qur'anic anosmia.

There are three avenues for thinking about the Qur'an's attitude to smell and olfaction. The first concerns the intimate connection between perfume and pre-Islamic kingship. In the centuries before the rise of Islam, the combination of musk and ambergris, in particular, was associated with rulers. Kings like the Persian vassal Sayf b. Dhī Yazan of Yemen (r. second half seventh c. CE) and the Ghassanid king Jabala (early seventh c. CE) are described in the sources as having been daubed in musk and ambergris, in an ostentatious show of the "languid luxury" they enjoyed.⁶³ Also in pre-Islamic Mecca local chiefs put on perfume, or dipped their hands in it, to proclaim bonds of authority and loyalty. The most famous case concerns the leaders of five Meccan clans, including the Prophet's own clan of the Banū Hāshim, who swore allegiance to each other in a ritual, supposedly witnessed by a teenaged Muhammad, that involved the use of fragrant substances.⁶⁴ "In order to make binding the oath, a vessel full of perfume was brought into the Ka'ba, and the participants dipped their hands in it and then dried them on the walls of the shrine."⁶⁵ Accordingly, the members of this confederation became known as the *muṭayyabūn*, the "Perfumed Ones," as opposed to the rival faction of the *ahlāf*, the "Confederates." The Perfumed Ones overlapped, to a significant degree, with Quraysh al-Biṭāh, the clans who inhabited the central areas of Mecca and dominated trade in valuable goods and substances such as perfumes.⁶⁶ It is not far-fetched, therefore, to see in the Qur'an's disinterest in olfaction a sign of Muhammad's break with the Perfumed Ones, the powerful and

61 Madlūl, *al-Hawāss al-insāniyya*, 138.

62 Classen et al., *Aroma*. See also the literature mentioned earlier, in the introduction to this chapter.

For a recent overview, see Candau, "L'anthropologie des odeurs: un état des lieux," in Julie Bon-
néric (éd.), *Histoire et anthropologie des odeurs en terre d'Islam à l'époque médiévale (Bulletin
d'Études Orientales 64)* (2015), 43–61. <https://doi.org/10.4000/beo.4692>. See also Susan Ash-
brook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 2006), 4: "For the study of antiquity, an exploration of the 'lesser'
senses is required if we are to grasp more fully how the ancients understood the body as a whole
body, and bodily experience as a necessary component of religion, and indeed, of human life."

63 See King, "Importance of Imported Aromatics," 180, 183.

64 Van Gelder, "Four Perfumes," 203.

65 EI2, "La'akat al-dam" (Ch. Pellat), V, 581a-581b, at 581a.

66 For a recent, insightful analysis of the relationship between the *muṭayyabūn* and the *ahlāf*, see
Marije Coster, "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Alliance and Authority in the Poetical Discourse
of Muḥammad's Lifetime" (PhD, Groningen, 2019), at 59, 110, 181, 244.

rich Meccan traders who persecuted him and his followers and drove them away from their home town.

In general, as noted by Devin Stewart, the “moral tenor” of the Qur’an is opposed to the culture of the Perfumed Ones. Not only does the Qur’an eschew “references to women and their perfume which occur frequently in pre-Islamic poetry,”⁶⁷ it also promotes sensory deprivation in a more general sense, celebrating the pious practice of holding night vigils, that is, praying to God in those quiet nocturnal moments when all sense impressions, whether visual, aural, or olfactory, fade away.⁶⁸ “By the night when it covers” (Q 92:1; see also 91:4), the Qur’anic oath formula goes, and “By the night when it grows quiet” (Q 93:2).⁶⁹

The Perfumed Ones, as noted, had wiped their hands off the walls of the Ka’ba. This directs our attention to a possible second cause underlying Qur’anic anosmia: the pre-Islamic custom of perfuming the Ka’ba. In Late Antique South Arabia, the burning of incense (often a mixture of frankincense and myrrh) was a common ritual,⁷⁰ and there is good reason to believe that incense was ritually used in pre-Islamic times in and around the Ka’ba, too. In fact, the aloeswood called *mijmar* is said to have caused one of the conflagrations of the Ka’ba during the Prophet’s youth.⁷¹ To quote Stewart again,

[m]issing [from the Qur’an] are passages reminiscent of Biblical references to the pleasant odor of burnt offerings, presumably because it would not be in keeping with the Qur’anic portrayal of God to suggest that he was delighted by sacrifices and felt hunger or need for them.⁷²

Indeed, as the Qur’an states, “only your religious devotion (*taqwā minkum*) will reach God,” but not “the flesh or the blood” of sacrificial animals (Q 22:37). *A fortiori*, the odour of burnt sacrifices will not reach Him, either. God needs neither food nor fragrance. In two Qur’anic verses (22:26 and 2:125), God is said to have instructed Abraham to “purify My house” (*tahhir baytī*). This injunction has mostly been understood to refer to the removal of images and idols from the Ka’ba. However, perhaps we should also contemplate the possibility that these

67 EQ, s.v. Smell (D. Stewart), V, 62b-63a.

68 I borrow the notion of the Qur’an’s “sensory deprivation” from Nora Schmid, “The Word Innermost: Late Antique Ascetic Knowledge and its Poetics in the Qur’an and Kharijite Thought” (PhD, Berlin, 2017), 133.

69 Schmid puts it aptly when stating that “[t]he Qur’an may not be an ascetic text per se, but ascetic knowledge pervades it.” See *ibid.*, 46.

70 See EQ, s.v. South Arabia, Religions in pre-Islamic (Ch. Robin), V, 90a.

71 See Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azraqī, *K. Akhbār Makka wa-mā jā’a fihā min al-āthār*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1859), 176. Further on this conflagration, see Maurice Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke. Étude d’histoire religieuse* (Paris: Geuthner, 1923), 33. The use of a *mijmara* in the Ka’ba sanctuary is also attested around the time of the *hijra*. See ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *K. Sirat rasūl Allāh*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1858–59), 430.

72 EQ, s.v. Smell (D. Stewart), V, 62b-63a.

two verses are a call to eliminate smells from the Ka'ba, in a reversal of the old practice of wiping hands dripping with perfume against it or dousing it in incense.

Scenting sacred spaces was a custom not only of the pagan Arabs but also of other religious communities, in particular the Christians. This brings us to the third possible reason why the Qur'an sniffs at olfaction. Late Antique Christianity, as Susan Ashbrook Harvey has shown, bestowed central importance to smell. From the fourth century onwards, the use of incense was gradually incorporated into Christian ritual, such that "[b]y the late fifth century, incense was a staple of Christian prayer practice, public and private, wherever the church was found."⁷³ Churches in the Near East continued to be filled with incense also after the Islamic conquest. Interpretations of sacred scent were nuanced and multilayered. Incense—sweet-smelling, effusive, and rising heavenwards—served both as a sensorial substrate of Christian liturgy and as a powerful metaphor for Christian devotion. While Augustine of Hippo (d. 430 CE) described the Lord's Prayer as "the daily incense . . . offered to God on the altar of the heart,"⁷⁴ Ephrem of Nisibis (d. 373 CE) imagined "the death of Christ as the true sacrificial incense offering, which Christians were called to imitate."⁷⁵

Scholars have studied Ephrem's relationship with the Qur'an first and foremost in terms of his *Hymns of Paradise*, which, as many believe, resonate deeply with the many Qur'anic paradise passages.⁷⁶ According to Harvey, Ephrem's *Hymns of Paradise* are an "olfactory *tour de force*,"⁷⁷ in fact, as she asserts, "[o]lfactory sensation is the most prevalent image by which Ephrem characterizes paradise in this cycle of hymns."⁷⁸ It should be noted, however, that despite the "enhanced olfactory piety" of Ephrem's Christian surroundings,⁷⁹ Ephrem mentions few *specific* scents in his hymns, and no perfumes at all.⁸⁰ In certain corners, in fact, there was strong Christian prejudice against perfumes. For example, John Chrysostom (d. 407 CE) denounced perfume as being typical of prostitutes, actors, and dancers. "Who will expect anything noble and good from one who smells of perfume? . . . Let your soul breathe a spiritual fragrance," he warned.⁸¹

Here we encounter a difference with the Qur'an's description of paradise, which is filled with musk, camphor, and fragrant herbs, next to other luxury items, such

73 Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 77. See also Classen et al., *Aroma*, 52.

74 Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 82.

75 *Ibid.*, 79.

76 For a state of the art of the question, see Sidney Griffith, "St. Ephrem the Syrian, the Quran, and the Grapevines of Paradise," in Günther and Lawson, eds., *Roads to Paradise*, 781–805.

77 Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 235.

78 *Ibid.*, 309 n169.

79 *Ibid.*, 81.

80 Cf. P. J. Botha, "The Significance of the Senses in St. Ephrem's Description of Paradise," *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 5/1 (1994): 28–37.

81 Quoted in Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 206. See also Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215 CE), quoted in Classen et al., *Aroma*, 51: "Attention to sweet scents is a bait which draws us into sensual lusts."

as precious textiles and furniture.⁸² The Qur'an appears to invert the Christian paradigm, by de-odorizing rituals of worship on earth but allowing for the existence of perfume and other Eastern and "pagan" luxuries in paradise. However, it is unclear whether the Qur'an can be said to have come about in the vicinity of incense-filled Christian churches and thus should be understood to react against Christian odorizing practices. It is not my aim, anyway, to derive the Qur'an's disinterest in smell from a single source. The Christian and Rabbinic aromascape of Late Antiquity no doubt contributed to the Qur'an's attitude towards olfaction.⁸³ But we should also, primarily even, see Qur'anic anosmia as a symptom of the break with the Perfumed Ones of Mecca and with the pagan olfactory rites centred in and around the Ka'ba.

Whatever the reasons, under the new Qur'anic sensory regime, the Ka'ba became "purified" (*muṭahhar*), like the *muṭahharūn* in heaven, the odourless angels. (The devil, by contrast, stinks, and is responsible for foul smells. In one particularly graphic hadith he is said to blow into the backsides of people, thus causing flatulence.⁸⁴ "Garlic, onions, and leek," one reads in another, seemingly late tradition, "are the devil's perfume.")⁸⁵ If we are willing to accept the traditional account that has the Prophet, after his return to Mecca, go to the Ka'ba to empty it of images and statues,⁸⁶ we should also countenance that this prophetic reduction of visual stimuli in the Ka'ba was accompanied by prophetic osmo-clasm, that is, ridding the Ka'ba of smells. Odoriferous rituals at the Ka'ba, at any rate, appear to have been abandoned. No instances of perfuming the Ka'ba are known from the time of the Prophet and the rightly guided first four caliphs, the *rāshidūn*.⁸⁷

Moreover, scenting *oneself* when in the vicinity of the Ka'ba was placed under restrictions. According to a report related by the Meccan pilgrimage expert 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 115/733), the Prophet was once approached by a man with *khalūq* perfume sprinkled all over himself. The man asked what he was to do before embarking on the minor pilgrimage, the *umra*. "Wash off all traces of your perfume," the Prophet reportedly answered, after thinking for a while,

82 See Neuwirth, "Paradise as Quranic Discourse," 83.

83 See note 15.

84 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *Al-Muṣannaḥ fī l-ḥadīth*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Rahmān al-A'zamī, 11 vols. (Beirut: Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970), I, 141.

85 Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥamdī b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī, 20 vols. (Mosul: Maktabat al-'Ulūm wa-l-Ḥikam, 1983/1404), VIII, 282; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḡhīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), II, 54. See the commentary by al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1415/1994), no. 3570.

86 Suliman Bashear, rather conclusively to my mind, has disputed the historicity of the accounts of the Prophet's iconoclastic intervention at the Ka'ba, presenting them as the result of a second-century controversy about images in Islam. See Bashear, "The Images of Mecca: A Case-Study in Early Muslim Iconography," *Le Muséon: Revue d'Études Orientales* 105/1–2 (1992): 361–377.

87 Julie Bonnéric, "Réflexions sur l'usage des produits odoriférants dans les mosquées de l'époque classique au Proche-Orient," in Julie Bonnéric (éd.), *Histoire et anthropologie des odeurs en terre d'Islam à l'époque médiévale* (*Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 64) (2015), 293–317, at 304. <https://doi.org/10.4000/beo.4692>.

“and then proceed in your ‘umra as you would have done embarking on a *hajj*.”⁸⁸ According to another tradition, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644) rebuked Mu‘āwiyā b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41–80/661–680) for wearing perfume during the *hajj* and ordered him to wash it off.⁸⁹ In the later *fiqh* tradition, perfuming while in a state of consecration during the pilgrimage came to be categorically forbidden.⁹⁰ A number of hadiths, which I deem particularly revealing, indicate that the Prophet was indifferent towards body odours, especially when resulting from an ascetic lifestyle, in which case they could even acquire a positive connotation. Thus, the Prophet is alleged to have declared that the breath of a person who fasts smells better than musk, the perfume of paradise.⁹¹ In another report, a companion of the Prophet recalls that all the companions of the Prophet used to smell of sheep because they were dressed in simple garments of wool.⁹²

Re-odorization

At the same time, the Prophet is said in more than one tradition to have disapproved of strong body smells. In contrast to his supposed approval of the foul breath of those fasting, Muslim scholars relate that “the thing that most troubled the messenger of God was that a [bad] smell should come from him (*an yūjada minhu rīḥ shay’in*).”⁹³ In particular, the Prophet is reported to have loathed halitosis.⁹⁴ Conversely, he is said to have loved perfume. “Musk is a delicious perfume,”

88 See G.H.A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Hadīth* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 139b.

89 Mālik b. Anas, *K. al-Muwatta’a*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A‘zamī, 8 vols. (Abu Dhabi: Mu‘assasat Zāyid b. Sulṭān Āl Nahyān, 1425/2004), III, 475.

90 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jazīrī, *K. al-Fiqh ‘alā l-madhāhib al-arba’a*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1422/2002), 545–546. The schools of law, to different degrees, see no harm if pilgrims smell of perfume because they visited a perfumery or bought perfume, or even because they put on perfume before entering the state of consecration. See Nadā Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣawwān, *Aḥkām al-ḥawāss al-khams, dirāsa fiqhiyya muqārana mu‘āshira* (Damascus-Beirut: Dār al-Nawādir, 1433/2012), 244–245.

91 Muḥammad b. ‘Isā al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Muḥammad Fu‘ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī, and Ibrāhīm ‘Aṭwa ‘Iwaḍ, 5 vols. (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1356–95/1937–75), *k. al-īmān* 8 (*b. mā jā’a fī faḍl al-ṣawm*), III, 136 (# 764). See Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 117, 366, 371.

92 Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Al-Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥy al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols. (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, n.d.), IV, 44.

93 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols. (Cairo: Mu‘assasat Qurṭuba, n.d.), VI, 59; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, n.d.), XXVI, 208.

94 According to a story related by Ibn Sa‘d, the Prophet was greatly alarmed when told by two of his wives, albeit incorrectly, that his breath smelled of the ill-smelling *maghfūr* gum. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), VIII, 170. As for garlic, there are plenty of prophetic traditions condemning it, although a number of “dispensations” (*rukhas*) are also given. See, for the *locus classicus* (“Those who eat garlic and onions, whether out of hunger or not, must not approach our place of worship”), al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muṣṭafā Dīb al-Bughā, 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1407/1987), I, 291. On halitosis and garlic, see also Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 155 n1, 213, 501, 620, 663.

he is alleged to have commented in describing a certain Jewish woman.⁹⁵ And, most famously, it was related that he had declared that “it is women and perfume that have become especially dear to me, but my solace lies in prayer.”⁹⁶ According to several traditions, the Prophet even used perfume while in a state of consecration during the pilgrimage. This is most strikingly recorded in a first-person narrative related from his wife ‘Ā’isha. When a companion exclaimed that “I would rather cover myself in tar (*qaṭrān*) than use perfume while in the state of *iḥrām*,” ‘Ā’isha told him that “I used to perfume the Prophet and then he would pass by his wives, and then he would wake up in the morning, still in a state of consecration, with perfume sprinkled all over himself.”⁹⁷

Is it conceivable that, against the anosmic attitude of the Qur’an, the generations following the Prophet posthumously re-odorized him and thereby refitted Islamic culture with temporarily lost layers of scent? Such a dynamic seems captured with remarkable precision in the following anecdote. In a memorable scene, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (r. 35–40/656–661), when washing the corpse of the Prophet, is said to have exclaimed: “How sweet is your smell, alive and dead!”⁹⁸ In fact, the corpse of the Prophet seems to have been made sweet smelling not only in ‘Alī’s imagination but in actual practice. As is recorded in al-Ḥassān b. Thābit’s verse:

a-lā dafantum rasūla llāhi fī safaṭin
 / *min al-uluwwati wa-l-kāfūri mandūdi*
 Did you not bury the Messenger of God in a basket
 / of layered [palm-leaves smelling of] aloeswood and camphor?⁹⁹

The fumigation of the dead with fragrant substances was common in pre-Islamic Medina, but it appears that, against what al-Ḥassān b. Thābit related about the Prophet’s burial, in early Islamic times the practice was condemned. The Prophet himself condoned putting no more than “a little camphor” (*shay’ min kāfūr*) on the washed corpse of his daughter, presumably for sanitary reasons.¹⁰⁰ Several

95 Ibid., 509. This is in contrast to the hadith that women should only wear perfume that is not noticeable in public (see note 130). Shī’ite jurists, as Juynboll notes, referring to al-Nawawī’s commentary on Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, declared musk forbidden altogether.

96 Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ghaḥfār al-Bundārī and Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan, 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, n.d.), V, 280 (*ḥubbiba ilayya l-nisā’ wa-l-ṭīb wa-ju’ilat qurratu ‘aynī fī l-salāt*).

97 Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, II, 340; Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4 vols. (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1390/1970), IV, 157. See Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 562, 389.

98 Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1019. Hela Ouardi has argued that we should see in this and similar traditions the “awkward attempt” of later authors to dissimulate the “embarrassing” fact that the Prophet was left unburied for several days after his death. See Ouardi, *Les derniers jours de Muhammad* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2016), ch. 17, at n20–25.

99 *Dīwān Ḥassān b. Thābit*, ed. ‘Abd A. Muḥannā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, n.d.), 67. The verse is not included in the elegies on the Prophet’s death quoted in Ibn Hishām’s *Sīra*, 1022–1026. Elsewhere in Ḥassān’s corpus, a censer is mentioned. See Shalaq, ed., *al-Shamm*, 15.

100 Mālik, *Muwatta’*, II, 311. The tradition does not specify which daughter’s burial is meant.

testaments by early Muslims, which we find quoted in Ibn Sa'd's (d. 230/845) *Ṭabaqāt*, prohibit the perfuming of corpses altogether.¹⁰¹

However, qualms to apply perfume, whether to the living or the dead, did not survive long, and only in certain quarters. Perhaps, as the case of the Prophet's scented burial indicates, they were already on the wane during Muhammad's lifetime. Ignaz Goldziher stated that "we simply have to accept the steadily increasing sensualism of Muhammad as a fact."¹⁰² It is clear, at any rate, that the members of the political and religious elite did not hesitate, even a generation after the Prophet, to douse themselves in perfume. Goldziher considered it "telling" that the biographies contained in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* give us plenty of information about "how these holy people used to perfume themselves, how they dyed their beards and hair, how they decorated themselves in their clothes." Perfumery in particular, "against which the prayer devotees (*Betbrüder*), as sworn enemies of the cosmetic arts, agitate, is given a salient role."¹⁰³ 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallāh remembered how, as a child, he was struck by the strong perfume that Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678) and his friends exuded.¹⁰⁴ 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar (d. 74/693), 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Khaṭṭāb's son, is said to have been concerned greatly with matters of fashion and to have lavishly oiled and perfumed himself before going to prayer.¹⁰⁵ Ibn 'Abbās (d. ca. 68/687–688) allegedly put on so much *ghāliya* perfume when entering *iḥrām* that his bald head looked as if it was covered in rashes.¹⁰⁶ "Did Ibn 'Abbās just pass by," people wondered, "or [a cloud of] musk?"¹⁰⁷

An analogous process of re-odorization appears to have unfolded in and around the sacred spaces of early Islam, such as the two mosques in Mecca and Medina. The companion 'Uthmān b. Maz'un (d. 3/625), in the early years of the Prophet's sojourn in Medina, is said to have been the first person to apply *khalūq* to the *qibla* of the Prophet's mosque.¹⁰⁸ The Prophet himself, according to a report transmitted in Ibn Abī Shayba's (d. 235/849) *Muṣannaḥ*, wiped away mucus from the *qibla* of his mosque and covered the spot with *khalūq*.¹⁰⁹ There are also reports about a

101 Jean-Charles Ducène, "Des parfums et des fumées. Les parfums à brûler en Islam médiéval," in *Histoire et anthropologie des odeurs en terre d'Islam à l'époque médiévale*, ed. Julie Bonnéric (*Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 64) (2015), 160, <https://doi.org/10.4000/beo.4692>, referring to Michael Jan De Goeje, "L'encensement des morts chez les anciens Arabes," *Actes XIVe congrès international d'orientalisme* (Algiers 1905): 3–7. In later *fiqh*, opinions on this issue were divided.

102 Ignaz Goldziher, "Asketismus und Sūfismus," in *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), 139–200, at 146–147.

103 *Ibid.*, 147–148.

104 *Ibid.*, 148, quoting Ibn Sa'd, *K. al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Eduard Sachau (Leiden: Brill, 1904–1940), III, part 2, 103.

105 Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 11. Also Ibn Mas'ūd went to prayer strongly perfumed. See Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akḥbār*, ed. Carl Brockelmann (Strassburg: Trübner, 1906), III, 353 (*b. al-ṭīb*).

106 *Ibid.*, 353–354.

107 *Ibid.*, 354.

108 Ducène, "Des parfums et des fumées," 160.

109 Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, ed. Ḥamad b. 'Abdallāh al-Jum'a and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Laḥīdān (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1425/2004), III, 693. I owe this reference to Adam Bursi.

figurative censer in the Medina mosque in the first/seventh century,¹¹⁰ allegedly brought there from Syria by a client of the caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a man called ‘Abdallāh the Fumigator (*al-mujmir*).¹¹¹ As Henri Lammens wrote, “a little more and *tajmīr* [fumigation] would have become a function of Islamic liturgy, like the use of incense among Christians.”¹¹²

Medina, at one time, was known for the stench of its wells. The foul-smelling well of Buḍā‘a, in particular, was a cause of concern among the emigrants to the oasis because they were unsure whether its water was fit for ritual ablution.¹¹³ At first, the Prophet reportedly declared, in line with his indifference towards smell, that the stench of Buḍā‘a was no impediment to using its water for ritual ablution.¹¹⁴ Then, however, the Prophet saw “a black woman moving her head in agitation and leaving Medina, to settle in Mahay‘a,” a vision he interpreted to mean that “the infestation of Medina (*wabā’ al-Madīna*) had been moved to Mahay‘a.”¹¹⁵ In another report, the Prophet is supposed to have spat into the well of Buḍā‘a, thereby eliminating its foul odour.¹¹⁶ Medina came to be known as “the Sweet-Smelling One” (*al-Ṭayba*).¹¹⁷ From this new, fragrant Medina, blessed with sacred smell, the practice of perfuming holy sites appears to have spread back to Mecca.

The Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiya b. Sufyān is said to have been the first to perfume the Ka‘ba, after a hiatus of some decades. It is related that he perfumed (*ṭayyaba*) the interior of the Ka‘ba with *khalūq* and aloeswood (*mijmar*).¹¹⁸ The ritual use of aloeswood and musk at the Ka‘ba is also attested for the time of the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr (r. 61–73/681–692).¹¹⁹ A generation later, ‘Umar II (r. 99–101/717–720) ordered that only the *qibla* wall of the Prophet’s mosque in Medina should be washed and treated with *khalūq*, but no other mosques.¹²⁰ He must have done so in order to rein in a proliferating practice. We are told, in fact,

110 Ibn Rusta (d. after 290/903), *Kitāb al-a‘lāq al-nāfisa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1891), repr. 1967, 66 (trans. Gaston Wiet, *Les atours précieux* [Cairo: Publication de la Société de Géographie d’Égypte, 1955], 70).

111 See Henri Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omeyyad Mo‘awiya Ier* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1906), 367 n8, quoting from a MS of Abū Bakr al-Marāghī’s (d. 816/1414), *Tahqīq al-nuṣra ilā ma‘ālim dār al-hijra*.

112 Lammens, *Études*, 367: “Encore un peu et le *tajmīr* serait devenu une fonction de la liturgie Islamite, comme l’encensement chez les chrétiens.”

113 Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 61–62.

114 Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, n.d.), I, 24.

115 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, VI, 2580. The locality, or region, of Mahay‘a is identified by a number of commentators with al-Juḥfa, one of the five *mīqāt* of the pilgrimage, a locality situated some 180 km northwest of Mecca, near the Red Sea coast.

116 Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, I, part 2, 184. I owe this reference to Adam Bursi.

117 See, e.g., al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 666 (= Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 506).

118 See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1885), 20 (from Qatāda, d. 117/735).

119 See Azraqī, *Makka*, 179 (aloeswood); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, III, 693 (musk).

120 ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-wafā’ bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṣafā’,* ed. Qāsim al-Sāmarrā’ī, 5 vols. (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2001), II, 449. See the discussion in Bonnéric, “Réflexions,” 300.

that under the reign of 'Umar II's predecessor al-Walīd (r. 86–96/705–715), the rock in the Jerusalem sanctuary was perfumed with *khalūq*:

Every Monday and Thursday, they had saffron crushed and made into powder. Then, at dusk, they mixed it with musk, ambergris, rose water and the *jūrī* spice, and let it sit during the night. In the morning . . . they took the *khalūq*, carried it to the Rock, and generously rubbed it with it until it was entirely covered. . . . Then they mounted the Rock to rub in everything that was left.¹²¹

In sum, it seems that the old practices of using incense in houses of worship, rubbing scented oil on holy stones, columns, and walls, and collecting the oil that dripped from them into small devotional jugs¹²² was continued in the first generations of Islam. This re-odorization not only ensured continuity with pre-Islamic practices, it chimed with the gradual—albeit contested—edenification of Islam's central sanctuaries, a process by which these places became symbolically and physically connected with paradise.¹²³

Conclusions

Taking inspiration from the “sensory turn” in history and anthropology, I have attempted to show in this chapter that the smellscapes of the Qur'an and of early Islam (and indeed of later periods of Islamic history as well) deserve serious study. The post-Qur'anic developments discussed in the preceding section, I hasten to add, are not my central concern here. They warrant separate investigation, and in fact have already been studied in more detail by others.¹²⁴ The focus of this chapter has been the strange phenomenon of Qur'anic anosmia. First of all, I established that the Qur'an is a remarkably odorless text, a fact that in the past did not totally elude scholars but triggered little reflection. Secondly, I examined the two Qur'anic instances of olfaction, concluding that both these instances do not detract from the fundamentally smell-averse character of the Qur'an. Thirdly, I discussed several possible reasons for Qur'anic anosmia, arguing that it came

121 Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, *Uns al-jalīl bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, trans. Henri Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Abraham jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle de J.-C.* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876), 52–54 (my translation is from the French of Sauvaire).

122 On this practice, see Julian Raby, “In Vitro Veritas. Glass Pilgrim Vessels from 7th-Century Jerusalem,” in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 113–190.

123 On the edenification of the sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, and elsewhere, see Lange, *Paradise and Hell*, 245–266.

124 See Adam Bursi, “Scents of Space: Early Islamic Pilgrimage, Perfume, and Paradise,” *Arabica* 67 (2020): 1–34. Separate studies of the group of hadiths relating to perfumes, in particular, are a desideratum. Cf. the related case of early Muslim hair dyeing, recently studied by Ahmed El Shamsy, “The Curious Case of Early Muslim Hair Dyeing,” in *Islam at 250: Studies in Memory of G.H.A. Juynboll*, ed. Petra M. Sijpesteijn and Camilla Adang (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 187–206.

about in reaction, first and foremost, to the pagan Arab aromascape in which the Qur'an emerged and, secondly, to Christian smell-related devotional attitudes and practices.

Rather than suggesting, as others have done, that the importance of smell is uninterrupted from Zoroastrian to Late Antique Christian literature and all the way to Islamic literature,¹²⁵ in this chapter I have argued that the Qur'an attempts to disrupt smell and introduce a new olfactory regime. The Qur'an, I propose, debunks the widespread understanding in Late Antique culture that olfactory experiences "carried effective power for good and for ill in physical, social, and political terms," as well as "cosmological significance, ordering human life within the cosmos."¹²⁶ Instead, the Qur'an promotes an attitude of anosmia, dismissing smell as physically, socially, politically, and cosmically irrelevant, by making room for smell only in the sense of an elusive and imaginary connection with the mythical past and the eschatological future. Some isolated reports, to which I attach special significance, indicate that the Prophet was, on occasion, not only indifferent towards foul odours but also critical of the alleged link between fragrance and piety.

Admittedly, the Qur'an's and the Prophet's de-odorizing intervention was unsuccessful. The Qur'anic disregard for smell, I hypothesize, was covered up by layers of later tradition. This is evident in the many reports dating to the formative period of Islam that attribute a love of perfume not only to the companions of the Prophet but to Muhammad himself, a notion that fed into the decidedly rich olfactory culture and perfumery of medieval Islam. The practice of perfuming holy spaces continued from pre-Islamic to later times, to various degrees across the centuries and territory of Islam.¹²⁷ For clarity, let me restate that I do not wish to suggest that the olfactory history of Islam progressed in a neat linear sequence, in the sense that Qur'anic anosmia and prophetic osmoclastm created a temporary aromatic vacuum in the budding Muslim community, and that in all other periods of Islamic history, olfaction was paramount. The move from odorization to de-odorization and re-odorization is unlikely to have been as clear cut as the previous, schematic sketch suggests. Rather, smell aversity and smell affinity vied with each other, each claiming pre-eminence in certain historical and spatial contexts, and neither ever completely disappearing from the palette of Islamic sensory styles.

However, Qur'anic anosmia did not fail completely to bring about long-term effects—at least in certain, religiously charged spaces and contexts. A theology

125 Mary Thurlkill, *Sacred Scents in Early Christianity and Islam* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), 1; King, *Scent from the Garden of Paradise*, 124; Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014): 70–97, at 71–72.

126 Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 1.

127 For the richly scented early modern smellscape of Ottoman mosques, see Ergin, "Fragrance of the Divine." For scent in the poetry and horticulture of Muslim India, see Ali Akbar Husain, *Scent in the Islamic Garden: A Study of Literary Sources in Persian and Urdu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

of smell, one that is as elaborate as what one encounters in certain strands of Christian and Rabbinic thought, did not come about in Islam.¹²⁸ The devotees of renunciation (*zuhd*), a major undercurrent of Muslim piety over the centuries, expressed scruples about, or even ridiculed, the enjoyment of pleasant fragrances.¹²⁹ Similarly, Islamic law imposes certain restrictions on the use of perfume, particularly that of women.¹³⁰ The use of perfume during the pilgrimage came to be categorically condemned. And ritual fumigation was never fully incorporated into Muslim liturgy, such that mosques, unlike churches, remain, to this day, largely incense-free spaces.

128 One should note, however, the role played by perfume in certain Sufi cosmologies. See, for example, Cyrus Ali Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn 'Arabi and 'Iraqi* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 50–51, 67, 69–70.

129 In an anecdote, the Baghdad renunciant al-Shiblī (d. 334/946) buys an expensive perfume made of musk and ambergris, only to rub it under the tail of a donkey standing in front of him. See Hellmut Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, trans. John O'Kane and Berndt Radtke, *The Ocean of the Soul: Men, the World and God in the Stories of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 90.

130 In the hadith it is stipulated that women should only wear discrete-smelling perfumes (*mā ṣahara lawnuhu wa-khafiya riḥuhu*). See Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. al-Ghaffār al-Bundārī and Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan, 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), V, 428; Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, 353. See, however, note 95.