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## TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

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### “AS IF THEY WERE JACINTHS AND CORAL” [1] — ADORNMENTS (*ḤILYA*, *ZĪNA*) IN THE QUR’ĀN

Clothing at large and all its articles in particular resulted from a centuries-old interaction between human being and natural and social environment. Usual attire is regarded as a complex set of a number of elements (style, colour and texture of a fabric, adornments, etc.). Adornments, including girdles, buckles, pendants, golden embroidery make up an important part of one's type of clothing, thus identifying its value and the status of its owner:

As they were riding the cavalry of the Messenger of Allāh fell in with them and seized him and killed his brother. Ukaydir was wearing a gown of brocade covered with gold (*qibā'un min dībājin mukḥawwašin bi-dhahabi*). Kḥālīd stripped him of this and sent it to the Messenger of Allāh before he brought him to him” [2].

According to al-Iṣfahānī, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, grandfather of Prophet Muḥammad, was buried in clothing embroidered with 1,000 *mithqāls* of gold [3].

An inalienable addition to one's attire is a rather standard set of jewellery. Thereupon, today adornments are to be examined in the light of the function of attire. The truth of this statement is confirmed, for instance, by the famous words of the prophet Isaiah (8th century BC):

Moreover the Lord saith, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet: Therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their secret parts. In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon, the chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings, the rings, and nose jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins, the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils [4].

The following words from *al-Sīra*, devoted to pagan customs of inhabitants of Najrān could serve as another confirmation of the statement concerning the close ties between adornments and the function of attire in relation to pre-Islamic Arabia:

At this time the people of Najrān followed the religion of the Arabs worshipping a great palm-tree there. Every year they had a festival when they hung on the tree any fine garment (*kulla thawbin ḥasanin*) they could find and women's jewels (*wa-ḥuliyi l-nisā'i*) [5].

Modern studies show that the Arabian jewellery was well developed in consequence of numerous contacts of the Peninsula inhabitants with neighbouring civilizations. Its antiquity is confirmed by the written sources reporting of precious gifts the Arabian chiefs brought to Mesopotamian and Assyrian rulers, and by the findings in the pre-Islamic tomb at ‘Ayn Jāwān (1952) [6] and at Qaryat al-Fāw (1979) [7], which also demonstrate that the style and techniques of modern Bedouin adornments have preserved the distinctive features of jewellery created by masters of long-vanished civilizations.

Artefacts from the ‘Ayn Jāwān tomb representing fine gold component parts of jewellery (silver ones have almost been lost) date back to the 1st—2nd centuries AD and suggest existing of the cultural links in between Arabia and India, Parthia and the Greco-Roman world. The discovery of numerous beads on the surface of the archaeological sites in ‘Ayn Jāwān is of great importance since a wide range of shapes and materials for their making serves as evidence of the intense commercial activities on the ancient Arabian trade routes and of preferences that existed in a certain period [8].

It was noticed that the ancient Egyptian amuletic forms had their influence on articles of jewellery widespread in Arabia. Nowadays the Arabians wear silver coiled serpent-like bracelets traced back to the tradition of ancient Egypt. When the Arabian trade routes were connected with the Great Silk Road in first centuries AD

the Chinese style of ornamentation, consisting in granulation of diamond patterns, began to be applied in the Arabian jewellery manufacturing. The Tibetan decorative accent was realized in Bedouin "buttons" and beads representing "roughly cut turquoise mounted in high relief" [9].

Bedouin necklaces often resemble Phoenician strung colourful glass beads of variable size, which regularly alternate with pendants. It is believed that neck-rings of twisted metal wires dating back to their Celtic prototypes appeared in Arabia due to the Phoenicians, who had established trade links between the Western Celts and the Middle East. However, it was Persians who exerted the most profound influence on the Arabian jewellery-manufacturing (especially in the North, South and East of the Peninsula). The Persian design becomes unmistakably apparent in elongated pendants, decorated with bells and stylized animal-head bracelet terminals [10].

If the Arabians adopted the technique of granulation from the Egyptians, better ways of its application came from the Greeks and Etruscans, or through the Greco-Roman culture in the Byzantine Empire. Such motif as the crescent shape appeared in jewellery during the Hellenistic period. The Byzantine style characterizes both the Arabian earrings of a wire hoop, having the shape of a nearly closed ring with an attached filigree cage, and an extensive use of wire for making chains and clasps [11].

Precious jewellery created by foreigners made up a significant portion of wealthy Arabians' belongings [12]. It is important to note that, for instance, one may still acquire cheap adornments made of copper from local Bedouins in Petra; these adornments do not differ much in their form from silver, gold and copper prototypes, which are being discovered in Arabia in archaeological excavations [13].

As was the case virtually everywhere, the first adornments in Arabia were amulets and charms. Archaeological data reveals that amulets, widespread in the Syro-Palestinian region in the bronze and iron ages, easily penetrated into inner Arabia. The tradition continued its journey through the centuries: among archaeological artefacts, discovered during the excavations in Qaryat al-Fāw, of particular interest is the rich faience amulet with "Egyptian roots", adorned with gold and ruby [14].

Arabian charm-cases, worn as pendants go back to the characteristic samples that were worn in Persia in the second and third centuries AD. These charms are hung on children to protect them from danger and disease. According to popular beliefs green stones help fight postnatal infections, white stones promote lactation, blue stones are supposed to be a talisman against the evil eye, while inflammation and bleeding can be healed by red stones. In ancient times the triangle itself was considered a talisman, triangle-shaped patterns are typical to the Arabian handicraft design in whole [15].

Arabia was renowned for its gold since times immemorial. The famous "King Solomon's Mines", development of which began back in three thousand years BC, today are identified with the deposit of Maḥd al-Dḥahab

in Hijāz. It is also believed that these exact mines are mentioned in the Book of Genesis:

And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium [16] and the onyx stone (2:10—12) [17].

Less affluent mining sites were also found in Yamāma, Najd and 'Aqīq al-'Alā [18].

Basing on analysis of medieval Arabic geographies and chronicles as well as contemporary archaeological data Gene W. Heck indicates that precious metals mining activities played an important role in pre-Islamic Arabia and gold was found in various forms. According to al-Hamdānī's report,

gold nuggets at large as six ounces were not uncommon, and that pure grains of gold were often interlaced with the earthen ore brought up from the mining pit [19].

In his description of operations at the *banū* Sulaym mine al-Ḥarbī speaks of "the earth being mixed with gold" [20]. After washing in wooden troughs and manual sifting the placer gold was further refined by the process of amalgamation. Diodorus Siculus argues that "Arabian gold was so pure that no smelting was necessary" [21]. If microscopic particles of gold occur in the obtained raw ore in combination with other minerals the concentration was achieved through ore smelting in the process of combustion in kilns arranged in a special way.

Silver, that was found comparatively rare, was also highly valued in Arabia [22]. Al-Hamdānī claims that the Sasānīds organized the production of silver in Najd and Yemen for subsequent transportation to Persia via terrestrial route through Central Arabia. Early Muslim sources simultaneously contain both quite incredible claims of widespread availability of precious metals and more reliable documented information that attests a brisk commerce in the region. Thus,

seventy Makkān prisoners captured by Companions of the Prophet at the "Battle of Badr" reportedly ransomed themselves by paying for... a total of 280,000 *dirhams*. The Makkāns financed their campaign against the Muslims at the "Battle of Uhud" at a cost of 50,000 gold *dīnārs*. Al-Waqīdī describes a Ḥijāzī commercial caravan bound for Syria... carrying 4,000 *mithqāls* of gold [23].

According to reports of al-Waqīdī, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Hishām, and al-Balādhurī, in a raid on a very rich Makkān caravan led by Abū Sufyān at al-Qarada Muslim troops managed to seize over 300 *mithqāls* of gold and silver [24].

Considerable production and circulation of precious metals favour the development of jewellery-making and decorative crafts throughout Arabia. "Al-Samḥūdī indicates that there were more than three hundred jewellery smiths in the Medinese suburb of al-Zuhra alone" [25].

Al-Azraqī and al-Fāsī give an account that in pre-Islamic times at the behest of Quraysh tribal chieftains the Ka'ba were embellished with elaborate gold and silver overlay and such practice has continued in existence to the modern era [26].

It is known for certain that sea shells were one of the earliest materials used in Arabia for adornment-making — bracelets and necklaces [27]. Both century ago and now, women in Arabia wear round plates of nacre (*aṣḍāf*, sing. *ṣadaḥ*) suspended from the breast and adorn their wimples with glittering shards of nacre shells [28].

Since earliest times, the Persian Gulf has been famed for its abundance of pearls [29]. The extraction of black corals continues in this region as well. The pre-Islamic poetry often describes pearl divers and all the perils of their labour. In words of al-Muḥabbal, a pearl diver is as thin-boned as an arrow (*shakhtu l-'izāmi ka-anna-hu saḥmu*), and when he returns to the surface with a pearl, he spits out oil from his mouth (*bi-labāni-hi zaytun wa-akhraja-hā*) [30]. Abū Zu'ayb speaks of a diver's emaciation and compares him to a featherless refined arrow (*fa-jā'a bi-hā ba'da l-kalāli ka-anna-hu // mina l-ayni mihrasun afadhdhu saḥīju*) [31]. Since the ancient times, the pearl hunting has been linked to otherworldly powers:

So We subjected to him [Sulaymān] the wind, that ran at his commandment, softly, wherever he might light on, and the Satans, every builder and diver (*ghawwās*) and others also, coupled in fetters (38:36—38);

...and of the Satans some dived for him and did other work besides (21:82).

The complex of traditional Arabian jewellery certainly includes a necklace made of silver or colourful beads different in colour and size. A typical necklace is large adornment that consists of several parts, for instance, of pendants which usually bedecked with some traditionally red material that may be carnelian, garnet, coral or glass [32]. Silver relief beads reaching 8 cm in diameter are made by the embossing technique. Another kind of silver bead presents a drilled solid piece of metal. Some richly embroidered Bedouin attires of South-Western and Western Arabia are strewn with tiny silver beads. In Central and North Arabia sleeve cuffs are often decorated with silver hollow balls [33].

H. C. Ross also mentions the completely unique adornment in the Arabian tradition (*lazm*), which is worn along the chinline and attached to the headgear near the earlobes. She describes the *lazm* as “constructed from embellished hollow segments which support strands of belled chains” A quite similar piece was found at 'Ayn Jāwān and dated AD 100 [34].

Armllets, bracelets and anklets are always worn in pairs. They can be solid and therefore very heavy as well as hollow and light. Bells are frequently attached to bracelets, anklets, waistbands and rings. Similar but bronze ones from archaeological sites at Qaryat al-Fāw were believed to drive away evil spirits. Sometimes peb-

bles are enclosed within the cavity of an adornment, rattling at movement of the wearer [35].

Unfortunately the character of our sources does not provide us with opportunities to carry out an *all-round* culturological and semiotic analysis of women's and men's jewellery of the times of the Prophet, their “material objectness” and “symbolism”, their aesthetic or economic meaningfulness (for instance, women's savings for “an evil day”), the complex of embedded sacral and magical senses, the semiotics of ornaments, the interaction with rituals, the functions of “social ethno-differentiating and ethno-integrating function within the framework of the “one's own and alien” opposition [36]. The ancient Arabian jewellery-making has undoubtedly preserved their key characteristics varying in each region of the Peninsula, although the sources give rather contradictory accounts on the issue. The terms for articles of jewellery may also differ greatly even within the same region [37].

It is a well-known fact that traditional adornments act as markers of property, age-specific and territorial differences. Their nature changed with age and status of women. Here we are unable to expose the entire set of their functional relation to everyday life and its most significant events. At the same time, though, the Qur'anic material as well as the texts by pre-Islamic poets place at our disposal a number of “puzzle” elements, which as a whole remains inaccessible at the current level of research development.

Female population of Arabia at all times enjoyed jewellery and willingly put them up for show [38]. On the threshold of Islam's emergence, a set of expensive jewellery was an indispensable part of a wealthy woman [39]. Rumours of such adornments would spread all over Arabia:

Then Khwayla bint Ḥakīm b. Umayya..., wife of 'Uthman b. Maz'ūn said “O the Messenger of Allāh! If God give you victory over al-Ṭā'if, give me the jewellery (*hulīyy*) of Bādiya bint Ghaylān b. Salama, or the jewellery (*hulīyy*) of al-Fāri'a bint 'Aqīl”, for they were the best jewelled women of Ṭhaqīf (*wa-kānatā min ahlā nisā'in ṭhaqīfin*) [40].

As today, in those times the standard set of women's adornments included necklaces, earrings, anklets and bracelets:

Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr... from al-Zubayr said: “I found myself looking at anklets (*khadam*) of Hind bint 'Utba and her companions, tucking up their garments as they fled (*mushammirāt*)” [41].

[Hind] gave her anklets (*khadam*), collars (*qalā'id*) and pendants (*qirā'a*) to Waḥshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im [42].

The key terms for identifying adornments in the Qur'an are *hilya* (collect., sing. *haly*, pl. *hulīyy*) and *zīna*. The word *hilya* (from the root *hā-lām-yā* with the basic meaning “to assign to the woman ornaments”) is a ge-

neric notion. It includes pearls and corals (16:14: "It is He who subjected to you the sea, that you may eat of it fresh flesh, and bring forth out of it ornaments (*hilya*) for you to wear"), and jeweller's products as well (13:17: "And out of that [ore] over which they kindle fire, being desirous of ornament (*hilya*) or ware (*matā'*), out of that rises a scum the like of it"). Famous poet and contemporary of the Prophet Jarwal b. Aws al-Absī (ca. 600—679), known under the nickname of al-Ḥuṭay'a ("Shorty"), described a woman, soaked in incense and wearing expensive adornments, saffron-dyed dress and shawls (*zayyana jīda-hā ma'a l-ḥalyi wa-l-ṭibi l-majāsīdu wa-l-khumur*) [43].

The specifics of using of the term *zīna* — "adornment" — is primarily linked to the meaning of the root *zayn-yā-nān* "to adorn", "to embellish", "to grace":

Wealth and sons are the adornment (*zīna*) of the present world (18:46);

Know that the present life is but a sport (*la'ib*) and a diversion (*lahw*), an adornment (*zīna*) and a cause for boasting (*tafājūr*) among you, and a rivalry (*takāthūr*) in wealth and children (57:20);

Such women as are past child-bearing and have no hope of marriage — there is no fault in them that they put off their clothes, so be it that they flaunt no ornament (*ghayra mutabarrijati bi-zīnatin*) (24:60) (see also 24:31, 33:28, 16:7).

In accordance with the Qur'ān the notion of *zīna* includes all "delights" of earthly life: sons and "horses, and mules, and asses" (16:7), and riches, and adornments proper, women's as well as men's — "So he [Qārūn] went forth unto his people in his adornment (*zīna*)" (28:79).

Both terms may be used "in parallel", for instance, to designate adornments given to make "the golden calf" (cf. 7:146 and 20:87), while *hilya* identifies "adornment granted as a gift", and *zīna* — "adornment, which one boasts of and shows off".

According to the Qur'ān, girls wear adornments since their childhood, they are "reared amid ornaments" (*hilya*, cf. 43:18). The Qur'ān reproaches one's inclination for foppishness, and women are encouraged to look more modest: "...and reveal not their adornment (*zīna*) save such as is outward... nor let them stamp their feet, so that their hidden ornament (*zīna*) may be known" (24:31); "Remain in your houses; and display not your finery (*lā tabarrajna tabarruja*) [44], as did the pagans of old" (33:33). A number of sources indicate that of peculiar beauty was considered the manner of wearing anklets so closely to the wearer's body that they would not clank or bump against each other [45]. On the other hand, as mentioned above, it was Arabia that saw the spread of adornments that make "protective" sounds [46].

In *al-Sīra* one can find a number of really vivid stories, related to women's necklaces (*qilāda*, from the root *qāf-lām-dāl* "to twist", "to writhe"). Thus, for instance, the necklace (*'iqd*) with onyx (*jaz'*) from the city of

Zafār slipped down from the neck of 'Ā'isha, according to the tradition, became the reason for accusing her of adultery and it was also the backbone of the revelation acquitting her received by the Prophet (see 24:11) [47].

It was passed down from the words of 'Ā'isha that after the battle of Badr

When the Meccans sent to ransom their prisoners, Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, also sent the money for Abū-l-'Āṣ b. ar-Rabī'; with it she sent a necklace (*qilāda*) which Khadīja had given her on her marriage to Abū-l-'Āṣ. When the Messenger of Allāh saw it his feelings overcame him and he said: "If you would like to let her have her captive husband back and return her money to her, do so". And they said: "We will, O Messenger of Allāh!" And they let him go and sent her money back [48].

In another place, words of a very young woman are given, who, among other women, volunteered to accompany Muslims in their campaign. After the conquest of Khaybar the Prophet gave them a part of the booty: "He took this necklace (*al-qilāda*), which you see on my neck and gave it to me and hung it round my neck with his own hand and by God it will never leave me" [49]. The woman was buried with this necklace on her neck. There is also a remarkable story of a silver collar (*tawqun min warqin*), torn off from the neck of Abū Qahāfa's young daughter at the taking of Mecca by Muslims [50].

The Qur'ān also uses the term *qilāda* to mean a special collar (for sheep — made of silver or iron, that imitate seeds of barley, and for camels — made of other materials), which were put on an animal, intended to be sacrificed [51]:

God has appointed the Ka'ba, the Holy House, as an establishment for men, and the holy month; the offering, and the necklaces (*al-qalā'id*) [by which they are identified] (5:97, see also 5:2).

In the Qur'ān, bracelets of gold are an imaginary symbol of supreme authority, where one may undoubtedly see the relation to relevant traditions of their neighbours (it refers to Mūsā, 43:51—53):

And Fir'awn proclaimed among his people: "O my people, do I not possess the kingdom of Egypt, and these rivers flowing beneath me? What, do you not see? Or am I better than this man, who is contemptible and scarcely makes things clear? Why then have bracelets of gold (*aswiratun min dhahabin*) not been cast on him, or angels not come with him conjoined?"

In *al-Sīra* such bracelets are mentioned in the story of two false prophets, who were active at the time of Muḥammad:

Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayt told me... from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, saying: "I heard the Messenger of Allāh as he was addressing the people from his *minbar* say: 'O people! I saw the night of *al-qadr*, and then I was made to forget it; and I saw on my arms two bracelets made of gold (*siwārayni min dhahabin*), which I disliked so I blew on

them and they flew away. I interpreted it to mean these two liars, the man from al-Yaman, and the man from al-Yamāma” [52].

These are the kind of golden and silver bracelets *siwār* (*asāwir*, pl. *aswira*) that will be worn by men and women in the afterlife:

God shall surely admit those who believe and do righteous deeds into gardens underneath which rivers flow; therein they shall be adorned with bracelets of gold and with pearls, and their apparel there shall be of silk (22:23, see also 18:30, 35:30, 76:21).

Pearl (*lu'lu'*) is another important part of paradise adornments. Pearl was mostly valued for its glitter. There are many examples of how poets compare women's beauty to the shining of a pearl. This is how 'Antara describes his beloved: “With her excessive beauty she is like an idol of pearls (*min kulli fā'iqati l-jamāli ka-dumyatin min lu'lu'in*)” [53]. Or: “She smiled, and pearl radiance of her teeth became visible (*basamat fa-lāha diyā'u lu'lu'i thaghri-hā*)” [54]. He also mentions “necklaces of pearl and chrysolite (*qalā'idin min lu'lu'in wa-zabarjadi*)” [55]. Al-Ḥuṭay'a describes “a full-bosomed virgin, wearing pearls and earrings (*ka'ābun 'alay-hā lu'lu'un wa-shunūfu*)” [56]. Following this tradition, the Qur'ān compares perfect-looking wide-eyed houris (56:23) and youths among the righteous in paradise (52:24) to hidden pearls (*lu'lu'un mahnūnun*). In another passage it speaks of these youths thus: “...when thou seest them, thou supposest them scattered pearls (*hasibta-hum lu'lu'an man-thūran*)” (76:19).

The red coral (*Corallium rubrum*), extracted from sea depths, was also used for the manufacture of jewellery. Besides, it was also ascribed healing properties. The term *marjān* [57] occur twice in the Qur'ān. And in both cases it speaks of gifts of Allāh — of jewellery and beauty of paradisiacal houris — in this life and the life thereafter:

He let forth the two seas that meet together, between them a barrier they do not overpass. O which of your Lord's bounties will you and you deny? From them come forth the pearl and the coral (*yakhruju min-humā l-lu'lu'u wa-l-marjānu*) (55:19—22);

...herein maidens restraining their glances, untouched before them by any man or jinn — O which of your Lord's bounties will you and you deny? — As if they were jacinths\*56] and coral (*ka-anna-hunna l-yāqūtu wa-l-marjānu*) (55:56—58).

The Qur'ānic *yāqūt* is a transparent jacinth [59], where the colour of the mineral varies from yellow-red to reddish-brown. Ibn Hiṣhām reports that kings of Yemen wore jacinth gems between their eyes as the symbol of their authority:

When the men were drawn up in their ranks Wahriz said, “Show me their king!” They said, “Do you see a man

on an elephant with a crown on his head and a red jacinth on his forehead (*bayna 'aynay-hi yāqūtu-hu hamrā'u*)?” “Yes, I do”, he replied. They said, “That is their king” [60].

Comparing paradisiacal virgins with a scattering of rich jewels undoubtedly relates to the ideal of a woman celebrated in poetry. Labīd describes beautiful women in the following way:

And they put on single and double necklaces with strands of silver beads and corals, winding around their joints, and into their pierced earlobes they insert heavy pearls, although otherwise their necks would not remain unadorned

*'ālayna maḍ'ufan wa-fardan sumūtu-hū //  
jumānun wa-marjānun yashuddu l-mafāsilā //  
yaruḍna si'āba l-durri fī-kulli ḥijjatin // wa-law lam takun  
a'nāqu-hunna 'awāṭilā* [61].

Noble women, according to al-Muraqqish al-Akbar,

have decked themselves out with jacinths and golden beads between and large balls of melted gold, and onyx from Ṣafār and paired pearls

*taḥallayna yāqūtan wa-shadhḥran wa-ṣīghatan //  
wa-jaz'an ṣafāriyyan wa-durran tawā'imā* [62].

If we were to remember “the necklace with onyx of the city of Ṣafār”, which belonged to 'Ā'isha (see above), then we can assume that this wealthy south Arabic commercial city, located 130 km to the south-east of Ṣana'ā [63], was the main supplier of such “brand” adornments.

In earthly life “heaped-up heaps of gold and silver” (3:14) and houses with roofs of silver and ornaments of gold (43:33—34) are unambiguously reproached (3:91):

Surely those who disbelieve, and die disbelieving, there shall not be accepted from any one of them the whole earth full of gold, if he would ransom himself thereby; for them awaits a painful chastisement, and they shall have no helpers.

Gold (*dhahab*) (18:31; 22:23; 35:33; 43:71) and silver (*fiḍḍa*) (76:15—16, 21) of paradise, as well as silk and wine, relate to the category of items that do not assist one in obtaining paradise in the course of one's earthly life, but they are an important part of a pious one's reward in the other world. The grandeur of the starry sky over Arabia will serve as an eternal reminder of this. Imru' al-Qays exclaimed:

When the Pleiades appeared in the heavens like the folds of a silken sash embroidered with alternating gems

*idhā mā l-thurayyā fī l-samā'i ta'arraḍat //  
ta'arraḍa athnā'i l-wiṣḥāhi l-mufaṣṣali* [64].

A similar image is also found in the Qur'ān: “We have adorned the lower heaven with the adornment (*zīna*) of the stars” (37:6). Whoever saw the unbelievable scattering of stars over the Arabian Desert will undoubtedly feel the power and precision of this word picture.

## Notes

1. For the English translation of the Qur'ānic passages we have used *Koran Interpreted* by A. J. Arberry with the exception of the case marked with an asterisk.
2. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya li Ibn Hishām* (Beirut, 1990), iv, p. 167. Here and below we have taken as a basis for translation that of A. Guillaume. See: *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh with Introduction and Notes by A. Guillaume* (Karachi, 2004), p. 607.
3. G. W. Heck, "Gold mining in Arabia and the rise of the Islamic state", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XLII/3 (1999), p. 371. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3632396>. Accessed: 17/09/2014 05:32.
4. Isaiah, 3:16—24.
5. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, i, p. 47; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 15.
6. For details see: *Roads of Arabia. The Archaeological Treasures of Saudi Arabia*, ed. by U. Franke, A. Al-Ghabban, J. Gierlich and S. Weber (Berlin, 2011), pp. 176—9.
7. For details see: *ibid.*, pp. 150—67.
8. H. C. Ross, *The Art of Bedouin Jewellery. A Saudi Arabian Profile* (New York, 1994), p. 16.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 17—8.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 21—2.
12. R. Hawley, *Silver in the Traditional Art of Oman* (London, 2000), pp. 13—4. See also: *Moi, Zénobie reine de Palmyre*, sous la direction de J. Charles-Gaffiot, H. Lavagne, J.-M. Hofman (Paris, 2001), pp. 204—5, 314; *Roads of Arabia*, p. 165. Compare with: Necklace. Tomb of 'Ayn Jāwān, 2nd century AD. Gold, pearls, carnelian, agate, amethyst, diam. 9.0—15.0 cm. National Museum, Riyadh, call No. 1309. Source: *Roads of Arabia*, p. 177.
13. Bracelet. Selme, 1300—300 BC. Copper. Source: *Oman*, ed. by B. Boelens, L. Mols (Amsterdam, 2009), p. 54.
14. Amulet. Qaryat al-Faw, 1st millennium BC. Faience, gold, stone (ruby), 3.8×1.5 cm. Department of Archaeology Museum, King Saud University, Riyadh, call No. 35F8. Source: *Roads of Arabia*, p. 154. See also: Hawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 24—6. An amulet of fox jawbone set in silver to be worn on a chain. Source: *ibid.*, p. 26. Amulet of a four-winged genius, perhaps Shams. The suspension ring is perhaps a later antique addition. Yemen, 8th—7th century BC. Gold, height 2.2 cm. Source: P. Yule, *Himyar. Late Antique Yemen* (Düsseldorf, 2007), S. 136.
15. Sh. Weir, *The Bedouin* (London, 1976), pp. 32—3.
16. In one interpretation it is a genus of incense resin, of the same name, and in another — it was believed to be a pearl or some other rare gem.
17. Pison River today is identified as wādī Bāṭīn. See: J. A. Sauer, "The river runs dry", *Biblical Archaeology Review* XXII/4 (1996), pp. 52—4, 57, 64; R. W. Luce, A. Bagdady, R. J. Roberts, "Geology and ore deposits of the Mahd adh Dhahab district, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia", *USGS Open-File Report 76-865* (1976).
18. H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire* (Beyrouth, 1924), pp. 290, 295; Heck, *op. cit.*, pp. 364—95.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 367.
22. A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens als Grundlage der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Semitismus* (Bern, 1875), S. 58. In regards to the time that is of interest to us, silver was particularly mined to the north of Ṣana'ā' in al-Radhradh. For more details see: Yule, *op. cit.*, S. 61—2 (fig. 29).
23. Heck, *op. cit.*, p. 368.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 371. For more details on Jewish masters of the banū Qaynuqā' see, for example: *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, iii, p. 10; *The Translation of the Meanings of Saḥīh al-Bukhārī*. Arabic — English, trans. by Dr. M. M. Khan (Riyadh, 1997), iii (34, 28, 2089); iii (42, 13, 2375); v (64, 13, 4003).
26. Heck, *op. cit.*, p. 372.
27. Necklace with pendants made of shells. Ra's al-Ḥamrā, 4th millennium BC. Source: *Oman*, p. 51. Rings. Ra's al-Jinz, 3rd millennium BC. Shell. Source: *ibid.* Bracelet. Ra's al-Ḥamrā, 4th millennium BC. Shell. Source: *ibid.* Bracelets. Tayma', Sana'iye, first half to mid — 1st millennium BC. Shell, diam. 6.0—9.0 cm. National Museum, Riyadh, call No. 21386. Source: *Roads of Arabia*, pp. 122—3. Necklace or bracelet. Tayma', Sana'iye, first half to mid — 1st millennium BC. Shell and mother-of-pearl. National Museum, Riyadh, call. No. 1514. Source: *ibid.* Necklace or bracelet. Tayma', Sana'iye, first half to mid — 1st millennium BC. Shell, carnelian, vitreous material or stone. National Museum, Riyadh, call No. 1508. Source: *ibid.*
28. Ch. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (London — Boston, 1921), i, pp. 148—9.
29. V. Charpentier, C. S. Phillips, S. Méry, "Pearl fishing in the ancient world: 7500 BP", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* XXIII/1 (2012), pp. 1—6.
30. *The Mufaḍḍaliyāt. An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes*, ed. by Ch. J. Lyall (Oxford, 1921), i, p. 213 (XXI, 14—15).

31. Abū Saʿīd as-Sukkarī, *Kitāb sharḥ ashʿār al-Hudhaylīyīn* (A Commentary on the Poems of al-Hudhayl Tribe), ed. by A. A. Farrāj and M. M. Shākir (Cairo, 1965), i, p. 134 (11, 21). See also: Lyall, “The Pearl-diver of al-Aʿsha”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (New Series)* XLIV/2 (1912), pp. 499—502.
32. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—7.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 51—2.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 70—1.
36. S. V. Nikiforova, *Simvolika zhenskikh ukrasheniĭ v traditsionnoĭ kulʹture iakutov* (The Symbolism of Women's Adornments in Traditional Culture of the Yakuts), PhD thesis (St. Petersburg, 2003); A. I. Mambetova, *Semiotika iuvelirnykh ukrasheniĭ v traditsionnoĭ kulʹture Kazakhstana* (Semiotics of Jewellery in the Traditional Culture of Kazakhstan), PhD thesis (St. Petersburg, 2005); N. M. Kalashnikova, *Narodnyĭ kostium (semioticheskie funktsii)* (Folk Costume (Semiotic Functions)) (Moscow, 2002); E. Rezvan, M. Rezvan, “‘Chtoby proklatiia ostalis’ snaruzhi’ ili ‘plat’e-obereg’ (zhenshchina i eĭ odezhdā v magicheskom prostranstve Centralnoĭ Azii) (“‘So the curse remains on the outside’ or the ‘protective dress’ (woman and her clothes in magical space of Central Asia)”), *Oriental Dreams. Russian Avant-Guard and Silks of Bukhara* (St. Petersburg, 2006), pp. 14—20.
37. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
38. Doughty, *op. cit.*, i, p. 340; A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), p. 24; idem, *Arabia Petraea* (Wien, 1908), iii, S. 170.
39. Female statuette. Qaryat al-Faw. 1st century BC (?). Painted limestone, 27.0×7.0 cm. Department of Archaeology Museum, King Saud University, Riyadh, call No. 1F23/155F9. Source: *Roads of Arabia*, p. 164.
40. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, iv, p. 123; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 590.
41. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, iii, p. 41; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 379.
42. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, p. 53—4; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 385.
43. *Dīwān al-Ḥuṭayʿa bi-sharḥ Ibn al-Sakīṭ wa al-Sukkarī wa al-Sijistānī* (The Dīwān of al-Ḥuṭayʿa with Commentary by Ibn al-Sakīṭ, al-Sukkarī and al-Sijistānī), ed. by N. Amīn Ṭaha (Cairo, 1958), ii, p. 300 (77, 3). See also Abū Ḥayy: “Like a full-bosomed beauty, adorned with jewellery, spoilt with food and care (*ka-anna kāʿibun ḥasnāʿu zakhrāfa-hā // ḥalyun wa-atrafa-hā ṭuʿmun wa-iṣlāḥun*) (Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī, *op. cit.*, i, p. 166 (16:9)). Poetry testifies that the term *ḥilya* could be used in the broadest and most neutral sense, as, for instance, in the poem of Qays b. Zuhayr: “I, together with my brothers, killed the chiefs (*sayyids*) of our tribe, and to us they became the adornment of the time” (*qatalu b-ikhwat-ī sādāti qawm-ī // wa-qad kānū la-nā ḥalya l-zamāni*) (ʿĀ. J. al-Bayātī, *Shiʿr Qays b. Zuhayr* (Poems by Qays b. Zuhayr) (Najaf, 1972), p. 49 (15, 3).
44. From *bā-rā-jim* “to be evident, obvious” → V “to dress up (of women)”; “to show off one’s adornments, attire”, cf. above: 24:60.
45. *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, v (63, 18, 3811); *Labīd* (Der Dīwān des Labīd), ed. by al-Chālīdī (Wien, 1880), S. 132 (18, 17)); al-Marrār b. Munqidh, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, i, p. 157 (XVI, 77).
46. Cf. Isaiah, 3:16—21 (see above). Round anklet with jingling bells, probably from the Batinah. Hollow embossed silver Batinah bracelet with small stones inside to rattle with the wearer’s movement; probably worn on the upper arm. Source: Hawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 25—6. Twisted bracelets. Qaryat al-Faw, ca. 1st — 2nd century AD. Silver, diam. 6.0—7.4 cm. Department of Archaeology Museum, King Saud University, Riyadh, call Nos. 21F16 and 72F12. Source: *Roads of Arabia*, p. 165.
47. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, iii, p. 244; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 494.
48. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, ii, pp. 294—5; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 314.
49. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, iii, p. 291; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 518.
50. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, iv, p. 47; *The Life of Muhammad*, pp. 548—9.
51. T. Fahd, “Consecration of animals”, *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʿān*, ed. by J. D. McAuliffe (Leiden — Boston — Köln, 2001—2006), i, p. 401.
52. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, iv, p. 242; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 648.
53. *Dīwān ʿAntara b. Shaddād al-Absī* (Beirut, 1893), p. 19.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
56. *Dīwān al-Ḥuṭayʿa*, p. 256 (57, 11).
57. Sometimes the word *marjān* is understood to mean not only a red organogenic gem, but also a much smaller (in comparison with *luʿluʿ*) pearl. According to Jeffrey, who considers *marjān* precisely as a small pearl, this term of middle Persian origin came to Arabic language in its Aramaic form (A. Jeffrey, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʿān* (Baroda, 1938), p. 261).
58. In many cases the term is translated as “ruby”, but we are following the analysis of E. Haeuptner in *Koranische Hinweise auf die materielle Kultur der alten Araber*. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades einer Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen (Tübingen, 1966).
59. A precious gem, mined mainly in Ethiopia. Jeffrey believes that the word *yāqūt* is of Greek origin and has come to Arabic from Syrian language (see Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, p. 289); it occurs in pre-Islamic poetry, see, for instance, Imruʿ al-Qays (129, 1) and al-Nābigha (167, 2) (*Six Early Arab Poets. New Edition and Concordance*, ed. by A. Arazi and S. Masalha (Jerusalem, 1999), pp. 77, 100).
60. *Al-sīrat al-nabawiyya*, i, p. 78; *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 31.
61. *Die Gedichte des Labīd, aus dem Nachlasse des Dr. A. Huber*, herausgegeben von C. Brockehmann (Leiden, 1891), S. 22 (40, 43—44).

62. *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, i, p. 501 (LVI, 9); cf. Ṭarafa (55, 2); ‘Alqama (108, 10) (*Six Early Arab Poets*, pp. 32, 65). See also: Separator beads. Qaryat al-Faw, ca. 1st—3rd century AD. Gold, height ca. 0.5 cm. Department of Archaeology Museum, King Saud University, Riyadh, call No. 82 F 12. Disc-shaped beads with a cloisonné décor of rosette motifs. Qaryat al-Faw, ca. 1st—3rd century AD. Gold, glass paste, diam. ca. 1.0 cm. Department of Archaeology Museum, King Saud University, Riyadh, call No. 63 F 10. Source: *Roads of Arabia*, p. 165.

63. P. Yule et al., *Ḥaḍramūt, Capital of Himyar, Ibb Province, Yemen*. 1st Preliminary Report (1998, 2000); 2nd Preliminary Report (2002); 3rd Preliminary Report (2003), 4th Preliminary Report (2004), *Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen XI* (Mainz 2007 [2008]), S. 479—547. See also: “Archaeological findings in the mountain sanctuary on the Jebel al-Awd. Yemen. 3rd century AD”, Yule, *op. cit.*, S. 58 (fig. 25).

64. *Die sieben Mu'allakāt*. Text, vollständiges Wörterverzeichnis, deutscher und arabischer Commentar bearbeitet von L. Abel (Berlin, 1891), S. 2 (Imru' al-Qays, 20).

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The interpretation. Of cultures. Selected essays. 41 Religion As a Cultural System 51 Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of. Sacred Symbols. 61 Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese. 4 the interpretation of cultures. tations are brought more into balance with its actual uses, and its excessive popularity is ended. A few zealots persist in the old key-to-the-universe view of it; but less driven thinkers settle down after a while to the problems the idea has really generated. Interpretation is related to the issues of cultural translation and (un)translatability in cultural terms, necessitating a clutch of interpretative modes prior to the effective formulation of appropriate translation strategies. Temporal and cultural gaps tend to create difficulties in interpretation, and cultural pluralism may lead to multiple, hence different, interpretations. Principally because of translation, we have progressed into the age of multiculturalism, and it is not just that the necessity of acculturation seems to be diminishing, but there is a real desire to spurn it. Foreigniza