

Pre-Canonical Reading: An Analysis to the Neuwirth's Chronological Order of Qur'ān

1st Muhammad Asy'war Saleh¹, 2nd Hamka Hasan², 3rd Rifqoh Qudsiah¹
{asywar.saleh14@mhs.uinjkt.ac.id¹, hamkahasan@uinjkt.ac.id²,
rifqoh.qudsiah14@mhs.uinjkt.ac.id¹}

UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Faculty of Ushuluddin¹, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Islamic Studies,
Department²

Abstract. This article aims to scrutinize about Neuwirth's assumptions in showing the similarity of the Qur'anic message in late antiquity sources. It is describing the chronological order of the surah and applying the intertextual method to the Qur'ān, especially the text that was spoken by the proclaimer (Prophet). By using new chronological order, Neuwirth makes the Qur'ān which was initially a text-referential then involved in the development of the community, that is, the hearers. In Abraham case, This research found that Abraham story was divided from the expulsion of his hometown, the sacrifice, the construction of the Ka'ba to an emergence of a new community, millah ibrahīm, provides a new perspective in understanding the chronology of the Qur'ān. This intertextual process also discovered the Qur'ān as a text that is not just a text that has been fixed canonized, but rather a text which involves the development of a community.

Keywords: late antiquity, canonization, meccan, medinan, Abraham.

1 Introduction

The Advancement of methodology had a significant impact on sacred texts. Qur'ān which has a unique structure, both in oral manifestation or *muṣḥaf*, codex, became a magnetic for scholars from various part or hemisphere in the world, either in the Eastern or Western, and try to allude and explore the significant meaning of the Qur'ān. The reading of Western scholars, however, is always 'Eurocentric' and locating the purpose of the Qur'ān cannot be expressed objectively and tends to assign an allegation without confirmation and evidence. A Hasty verdict attests that the Qur'ān is epigonal and excluded texts. Neuwirth stressed that the study of the Qur'ān would not be 'modern' just by putting historical, archaeological, or new codicological texts into a discussion forum. What is needed now is to re-embed the Qur'ān into the existing discourse of his time and, most importantly, to consider the hermeneutics that was prevalent at the time. Therefore, locating Qur'ān in the Late Antiquity, namely in terms of its historical chronology, is necessary to release from the history the prophet and provides an opportunity for the history of the emergence of the text itself as scripture that interprets itself.

Gustav Weil, as already indicated, for the first time, proposed a division of the suras into four periods: three in Mecca and one in Medina. He saw his chronology as a development (and an improvement) of that proposed by the Muslim tradition:

“Wir haben uns in unserm ‘Leben Mohameds’ damit begnügt, als allgemeine Leitung für den Koranleser, die Ordnung der Suren nach einem arabischen Autor anzugeben. In einer Einleitung zum Koran kann man aber mit Recht von uns fordern, dass wir auch unsere Ansicht darüber mittheilen und mehr ins Einzelne eingehen[1].”

For western orientalists like Weil, the Qur’ān must indeed be read by taking the journey of life of a Prophet Muhammad. This relation between the Qur’ān and Sira Muhammad has been proven from the many works of translation of the Qur’ān in the 17th and 18th centuries that adopted the biography of the Prophet. Some of these works such as the Latin translation in 1698 by Ludovico Marracci (1700), English in 1734 by George Sale (1698), and the French translation in 1783 by Claude Étienne Savary (1788). This research is the same as that carried out by Gustav Weil in the *Historische-criticalche Einleitung in den Koran* and Theodor Nöldeke in *Geschichte des Qorans* who also took Muhammad's biography as a benchmark in making the chronological order of the Koran[2]. This biographical reading of the Koran is also shared by Ernest Renan himself, who writes, “*The original legacy of the primitive history of Islam, namely the Koran, is absolutely indisputable, and would be sufficient alone, apart from the stories of historians, to reveal the image of a Muhammad*[3].

The same kind of presumption can be found on this point in the more recent writings of Angelika Neuwirth in the first edition of her *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*. She argues that Mary's presentation in Āli ‘Imrān (Q 3) reflects the rivalry of the Muslim community with the Jews of Medina (who traced their lineage to Abraham), while the story of Mary in Maryam (Q 19) does not yet show this voltage. In doing so, she relies on the chronology of Nöldeke who places (as Muslim tradition) Maryam in Mecca and Imran in Medina (although she suggests that Maryam was written in Medina). This scenario, it must be said, is plausible, but it remains far from proven[2].

Consequently, analyzing Neuwirth’s method on reorganizing Quranic chronology by using late antiquity sources need to be considered. It should be defined what Late Antiquity is before further explanation. Peter Brown, in his book *Ancient World Age*, says that this age occurred between 250-750 AD[4]. However, Neuwirth said that late antiquity is not merely an epoch. Above all, it was an ‘epistemic space’ or a *Denkraum* where texts and related ones from ancient (Hellenic and Ancient Oriental) were reread under a new perspective religion or at least individualists. Notwithstanding, such a new reading in Arabic is not exclusively derived from the Qur'an, it does not have precedent in pre-Islamic poetry. Thus, the construction of ‘*Denkraum Late Antiquity*’ no longer views Jahiliyya, pre-Islamic culture, as something different than Islam, but rather as the Arabian province of a vast space of debate involving diverse cultures, a space out of which the Qur’ān and considerable other early Arabic literature emerged[5][6].

This following article will focus on the methodological order offered by Neuwirth as a radical reading and provide new insights into the Qur’ān’s chronology and its implication to the Quranic interpretation. Therefore, the analysis of his works related to the Qur’ān needs to be further explored and criticized.

2 Literature Review

The chronology of the Qur’ān is a noteworthy section of the Muslim tradition. Since the introduction of each surah, most of the Arabic editions of the Qur’ān present the title followed by adjective *makkiyya* (Mecca) or *madaniyya* (Medina). It must be understood that a proper

reading of the Qur'ān requires at least a knowledge of the period to which each surah belongs. Nevertheless, the identification of these two periods is found only in the *'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (The Science of the Qur'ān) or the introduction of the books, and never in the text itself. One wonders how the idea of the chronology of the Koran has played such a central role in the Muslim tradition.

From the early centuries of Islam, jurists and religious jurists (*fuqahā*) developed a special method to chronological inconsistencies that influenced various legal provisions in the Qur'ān. Seeing the differences and variations in the rules found in different verses of the Qur'ān, they then developed the theory of abrogation (*al-nāsikh wa al-mansūkh*), which compiled a list of abrogating and abrogated verses based on chronological order. For example, al-Mā'ida (Q 5: 90), which forbids the consumption of wine, abrogates al-Baqarah (Q 2: 219) and al-Nisā' (Q 4: 43) which allow it (on condition). [7].

Another group of Muslim scholars who were active in the Middle Ages then based their analysis on the qurānic chronology on the assumption that each sūra consisted of two parts, Mecca and Medinan, each based on whether they were descended before or after the hijra. This division became Mecca and Medinan sūra became the most powerful method of chronology analysis. The first attempt of this type is the list of Sūras associated with Ibn Abbas, the father of traditional quranic interpretation. Others, such as al-Zarkashī (794/1392), in *al-Burhan fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, and al-Suyūṭī (911/1505), in *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, with different traditions to establish a definite chronological framework of the Qur'ān. Both of them explain it in one chapter on *ma'rifah al-makkī wa al-madanī*, which is "understanding the Meccan and Medina revelation."

Centuries later, the latter became the main starting point for Western scholarship on the Qurānic chronology. However, Muslim scholars must overcome the fact that the exact chronological list of the Sūras has been debated since Qatāda and that the Qurānic scholars have not succeeded in agreeing whether a particular Sūra is Mecca or Medinan, thereby giving a list of 17 debated Sūras, namely (Q13; 47; 55; 57; 61; 64; 83; 95; 97; 98; 99; 100; 102; 107; 112; 113; 114). several other scholars added six more (Q 49; 62; 63; 77; 89; 92)[7]. However, the traditional chronological order attributed to Ibn Abbas became widely accepted and was generally adopted by the Egyptian standard edition of the Qur'an published in 1924. He mentioned 86 Meccan sūras and added titles to each sūra, which indicated its exact chronological locus in the tradition of the revelation order established by Muslim scientists.

A few centuries later, the goal of Weil and then of Nöldeke was practically the same. Like al-Suyūṭī, he accepts the principle, with some exceptions, that each sura was given as a whole. So, to find the chronological order of the Qur'an, it was essential to reorganize the suras. Like al-Suyūṭī, Nöldeke continues this investigation primarily with a "scientific" analysis of religious traditions[8]. The book was revised and developed by Friedrich Schwally (Leipzig 1909-19) and then continued by Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl (Leipzig 1938)[9]. Both of them adopted the chronological composition of traditional Muslim scholars but gave several subdivisions in the Mecca phase. This classic work of western Quran scholar became a guide in tracing the chronology of the Quran and was accepted by many western scholars. This work will also be added later by Régis Blachère with further refinements.

According to Neuwirth that European research, for several generations, has relied on this chronology to understanding the Qur'ān, especially in rebuilding the development of its proclaimer and message. Although Nöldeke's work remains bound to a number of prejudices, and although he treats the Koran as above all the writer's work rather than a reflection of the interaction between the speaker and the public, his *Geschichte des Qorans* forms the basis for

all further work on the formation and development of the Qur'anic message. Since then, it has been possible to improve the chronology he described in essential ways[10].

Concluding, the literature mentioned above provides clarity on the importance chronological order to gain new insight on Quranic studies. At the same time, this is the challenge for those who study the Qur'ān. Since the idea of the chronology of the Qur'ān is problematic, should it be considered as an appropriate methodology or a possible approach to history? However, regardless of whether the above chronology will provide a new light for the study of the Qur'ān, personally, those chronologies provide a diversity of content that is useful in obtaining various meanings of the Qur'ān. To overcome this problematic, reanalyzing and reviving study of chronology on Neuwirth's method that takes into account both late antiquity source and prophet story can provide a breakthrough for future research on Quranic studies.

3 Methods

The object of this research is Neuwirth's thought that developed in his magnum opus *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike: Ein europäischer Zugang*. The data sources of this study are: first, texts and written from Neuwirths' works; second, her commentary on Quran which founded as texts and written. The research data was collected by a literature study and review. The data analysis technique of this research uses content analysis thorough second sources and comparing it with a Muslim scholar thought. The content analysis technique is used in line with Islamic Based Research Methodology in Social Sciences. This analysis is used to discuss the content review and to describe it afterward descriptively.

4 Result and Finding

4.1 Late Antiquity as a Method

Late Antiquity is not an entirely new method because many Western and Islamic scholars have adopted this approach. Peter Brown's book, that is, *The World of Late Antiquity* is undoubtedly a successful work by making notes about the late and post-Roman decline. This book provides extensive knowledge by explaining not only an image of a particular period but also a remarkable explanation of its geography and chronology takes the reader to step into the great military and political upheaval. This sort of work was different about the period in the previous work, such as *The later Roman Empire* by A. H. M. Jones who also followed political history of the Empire. Jones focuses on the discussion of Rome, the Roman state and Roman politics. Still, Jones's book does not explicitly explain the date when the empire emerges and ended. [11] [12]

However, to avoid the euro-centric perspective, later Neuwirth gives a different definition from her predecessors. The approach requires that the Qur'an no longer be treated hagiographically, as part of the history of the prophet, *Sīra*, as is often the case with previous scholars until now, but instead historically as a "community formation" in "a sectarian milieu," a debate of arguments is fought between different groups namely Christians, Jews and pagans. Modern Qur'ān researchers refrain from giving the Qur'ān a creative process of its emergence and avoid giving the last dimension of meaning to the canon text which goes beyond verbal statements; above all, they did not want to recognize the Qur'ān as a communal historical document. Neuwirth says there are two mis reflections that often occur here (among

Western scholars) of the interpretation of the Qur'ān, that is, the teleology and the syndrome of epigonality.

4.2 A New Approach to the Chronology of Qur'ān

The chronology that has been organized and reformulated by Neuwirth, where the text is divided into four classifications namely early, middle and late Meccan and medina sura does not follow a sequence based on *tartīb muṣḥaf* (codex). Neuwirth uses the process of oral dissemination of the Qur'ān, which is understood by him as text exclusive, which depends on trial and error, between a messenger and his listeners.

This new approach to reconstructing the early history of the emerging community, in contrast to the general reading of the Qur'an as a fait accompli, assumes that the listeners who participated in the origins of the Qur'an are individuals who were educated in Late Antique knowledge, not yet committed to Islamic *Erwartungshorizont* (frame of expectations). In other words, the Qur'ān is communicated to listeners whose education consists of Biblical and post-Biblical lore. Consequently, this approach - which is very different from the revisionist view which uses *sīra* in composing the chronology of the Qur'ān and establishing Muhammad as the author of the Qur'ān - speaks of 'messengers' and 'listeners' as communicative partners in inclusive debates that underlie the emergence and development of the Qur'ān. (Neuwirth, 2019)

4.2.1 Early Meccan Sura

It is true that the Qur'ān, even today, is attempted by reading the Qur'anic text diachronically and without interruption of interpretive reading, as a chain of communication processes against the background of previous traditions, where one enters into the necessary compromises. However, the chronology built as a base of research, which has been done critically, depends on the data of the previous *Sira* tradition (e.g., the time spans of the proclamation, the two milieus of communal formation, the hijra), which causes a hypothetical on a certain level.

In this case, Neuwirth classifies the early meccan sura into several phases. The opening part of the early Meccan *suras* is the consolation of the Prophet and the Assurance of Providence which formulated in a text which is mostly back to the psalm model. But in the same period of the *sura*, other texts have reflected expertise in the predictions of the proclaimer, which was given to him as a task to commemorate the existence of final judgment, the occurrence of doomsday with the loss of the cosmos and judgment in the last days. The early Mecca text-oriented itself into something important for individual pious embedded in a proclaimer, quickly becoming an inventory of liturgy for large numbers of community members, who were continuously reading the text in their religious ceremonies and rituals. [10]

Mecca suras mostly do not involve the communal sphere but focus on the conversation between God and the exemplary pious man used as a guide for Muslims. The beginning of the mecca suras opens with what is called the 'suras of consolation' which is reflected in the Q 93, 94 and 108. The word of an oath to the *duha* 'the Bright Day' time in the first verse Q 93 is not understood as purely time but rather represents the liturgical praxis. Then proceed with the evening worship as the second phase listed in Q 73:1– 4, and Q 92:1– 2, 91:1.4, 89:1.4, 81:17– 18, 74:33– 34. The similarity in the prayer at the dawn and night is also relevant in the Ps 119:55 ("I have remembered thy name at night"), Ps 119:62 ("At midnight I rise to praise you") and Ps 119:147 ("Already at dawn I rise and call"). Neuwirth assumed that without this kind of opening this scripture would become a monologue of a pious or proclaimer, but with

the word oath implanted, it indicated a sacred text that forms a virtual connection to the community[10]. In the early Mecca suras, assurance of providence in Q 105 and 106 are also illuminated in this section. The incident regarding the attack of the elephant army led by Abraha was not just an event that was only reported in sura, but there was a new interpretation in this case. This is indicated by the inclusion of God into the central role of a narrated story. The local tradition in this story is transformed into a history of salvation that proves Gods omnipotence[14].

4.2.2 Middle and Late Meccan Sura

As explained earlier, that Late Mecca sura has a similarity in the prayer praxis of the two older religions and the traces of theology that have been explored by Syro-Aramaic theologians, it should not be impossible that the discourse that develops further will have a close connection with the biblical tradition and post-biblical, even to the level of constituting counter-history to the former legends of the community. Middle Meccan Sura can be said as a milestone to step into the successors of Israelites, which recognises itself as a new creature of God who stands in the Mosaic tradition and claims that they participated in the salvific history. There are two fundamental reforms to the creation of a new self-understanding from the community: an amalgamation of a proclamation of the Qur'ān with two other monotheistic religious scriptures and simultaneously adopting the *topographia sacra* of the previous religions[10].

In the middle Mecca sura, there is a self-construction of a community as a new people of God, through another path to biblical and post-biblical traditions and, bound by this, liturgical innovation in the development of structured worship. That progress in this communal formation led to an exegetical process of exclusion and replacement of the central traditions, namely demythologization and the establishment of new myths, became very clear in sura 19, "Mary," where the complex Christian traditions of Mary and Jesus are discussed again. As a third middle Meccan discourse, it will also be explained anti-pagan polemic contained in the same sura[15].

In middle and late Mecca sura a new spatial framing of the message has been formed and can be seen more clearly. The text shown reveals many biblical stories, broadening the scope of the listener in terms of groups with different backgrounds to the audience, which separates themselves from their local environment into a distant landscape, that is, the Holy Land[16], "The land that we have blessed" (Q. 21:71), known as the historical background of the "spiritual ancestors" of the community, the Israelites. In Q 17: 2-8 describes an example of the story of the temple of Israel, where almost no mention of the holy sites of Mecca in the middle and late Mecca sura. The assumption of the direction of prayer toward Jerusalem is reflected in the verses of the Qur'an (Q 17: 1), which describe the Prophet's "night journey" to farthest position, *al-masjid al-aqṣā*[14].

There is a significant transformation in the previous sura, in late Mecca sura, which was initially structured with the implementation of worship, into intricate parts, where the individual sections recall sermon this is marked by a likeness/parable. Research on the parable that has a relationship with the Gospel text, despite extensive reference, is still not receiving much attention. Besides, their position in the Qur'ān as a new hermeneutic element has not yet been clearly explained. Illustrative stories, which are similar to likeness or parables but are not called *mathal*, have occurred in one of the early Meccan surahs, and at many points in the middle Mecca surah. On the other hand, the parable narrative, which was intended explicitly as a *mathal*, developed first at the end of the Mecca period and remained a striking characteristic of the Qur'anic speech throughout the Medinan period. [10]

4.2.3 Medina Sura

The essential developments that occur in Medina suras are the new relationship between the scriptures and the proclamation, in which the Qur'ān and *kitāb* become very difficult to distinguish in Medina suras. Proclaimer and his community, before an event of *hijra* to Medina which was marked by the beginning of the calendar of the Islamic calendar, their status was only an *object*: victims, those who wanted to change history but they are powerless. Their position becomes *subject* when doing *hijra* and can formulate their specific standards in the environment around them, which will ultimately take on the dimension of world history. The transition from what was originally full of sermons (kerygmatic), to activities that are full of politics, even touches the military realm as depicted in *sira*, and is also reflected in the text of the Qur'ān itself. However, the events of the Muslim *hijra* are still somewhat vague in the Qur'ān and do not get real news[10].

This silence about *hijra* may be based on the fact that it is an act of turning away (*hijra*) from their enemies, forcing the followers of the prophet to be in conflict with one another and perhaps in a despicable state at all not predicting the paradigmatic events of the world history for later generations. *Hijra* is not a symbol of victory, however, it is a new situation where the community enters through this event: the scenario of interaction of medina society is evident, through programmed political declarations and legally binding instructions from the context of Mecca, where the law is relatively strict and has special rules that were not necessary for its time. Even family relationship is also regulated in the community for the first time in the medina (Q 4: 24-25, 35, and 65: 6)[10].

Various tribal, religious, and personal enemies conflicts are faced by the proclaimer and his community when performing *hijra*. That engagement, in several cases, was triggered to carry out violence which was largely dominated during the ministry of the proclaimer in the medina. Interaction scenarios also become more complex: since *qasida* poetry, it has become something important that represents the public in tribal society. Thus, this poetry goes into the debate, of course, outside the context of the Qur'ān, and this new public speaker is placed on the same stage as the anchor. Conflicts that occur between preachers and poets also cannot always be resolved peacefully, but sometimes violence arises in them.

Some poetical texts have roles in the reconstruction of events which are merely mentioned in the Qur'ān such as the poetry of Labīd ibn Rabī'a, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Ka'b ibn Zuhayr, and Ka'b ibn Mālik. They offer a new picture of God and an understanding of society, which is different from other poets, having a relationship to the gradual development of religion in the circle of proclaimer.

The fundamental element contained in the surah medina is a report describing contemporary events, especially military confrontations involving the community and triggering wars such as the Battle of Badr, 2/624 (Q 3: 123; 8: 41-44), the Battle of Uḥud , 3/625 (Q3: 155-174), the expulsion of the Banū Naḍīr, 3/625 (Q 59: 2-5), the siege of Khaybar, 7/628 (Q 48:15), and the expedition to Tabūk, 9/630 (Q 9: 29-35). However, the news is not an illustration of a great historical moment, but an isolated collection of verses that stands on a broad paraenetic and polemical context. However, in one case, the battle of Badr, this gave rise to an event similar to the exodus of the Israelites. However, events in the Qur'ān have not been able to be united with events from the salvific history of Jewish and Christians[10].

It is not only the thematization colouring the medina sura, but also the structure and strategy of the text have marked this sura. Suras in the medina take the form of a new literary structure; like individual sura models such as 'oratory sura,' they have unique structural

characteristics, which show the political role of the proclaimer. Above all, a new polyphony also evolves in this suras, for the first time making a plural society as an audience. Thus, the text clearly shows that the news also involved the presence of Jewish hearers. This sura reveals a new thematic horizon in dealing with questions raised by pluricultural publics, which now includes intellectual Jewish hearers[10].

The existence of the previous challenges will not only find the problematic implications of the last story, but a new perspective for a proclaimer will be seen, both related to the earlier scriptures and with hermeneutic valence, that is, some questions about their clarity and ambiguity. Thus, the proclamation achieves a new self-reflection. In addition, new challenges will also emerge that originate from aspects of theology whose topic of discussion has not yet existed: Christology. Without ignoring the Qur'anic discourse, Christology becomes a spur to reflections on the ambiguity inherent in the expressed speech, even including the recognition of the possibility of paradox in the word of God.

Without claiming to present all relevant discourse, which might have moved the Medina community, in this case, discussion of five problem areas is receiving little attention by scholars today. They manifest themselves in the Medina period for the first time, where the problem occupies a prominent position so that their significance for community establishment: the Jewish theologoumenon of God's wrath; the perception of a possible ambiguity of the word of God, which is suggested by the paradoxes of Christology; the reflection on two central genealogies, the Abrahamic and the Aaronite, the latter including the "Holy Family"; the construction of a new centrality for Mecca; and, finally, the relation of the community of beliefs to struggle and martyrdom[10].

5 An Application of Neuwirth's Method and Its Implications

Offering new methodologies that are constantly evolving, particularly in the scope of the study of the Qur'an, produce colourful and varied interpretations. By exploring Qur'an, it should be considered to adopt the chronological approach in order to gain an apparent historical process of Qur'an. In what follows, I will primarily rely on the Neuwirth's attempt in reconstructing the chronological sequence of the Qur'an, which have a significant impact on the world of interpretation. Moreover, pre-canonical reading involving the scriptures of the two previous religions certainly provides a different interpretation in understanding the text of canonisation.

This paper takes the story of Abraham as an example of the application of Neuwirth's chronological method due to Abraham is a universal figure of three monotheistic religions, especially in modern interreligious discourse. In accordance with these endeavors, focus on Abraham story will be chronologically ordered as follows: Q I 53:37 (early Meccan); Q II 37:83– 98, II 19:41– 50, II 21:51– 73, II 26:69– 86 (all middle Meccan); Q 11, Q 29, and Q III 29:16– 27, III 43:26– 27, III 6:74– 84, III 14 (all late Meccan); and Q M 60:4 (Medinese). Certainly, This sort of chronologically follows the sequence of Noldeke's theory but what distinguishes it is the thematization and the intertextual approach it does to the House of Abraham. [17] Several themes are explained based on Neuwirth chronology, that is, *Genealogical Paternity versus Transcendent Bond, Abraham as Cult Founder Not "Father of Peoples"; "Paragon of Humanity", The Synergetically Erected Shrine: Ishmael instead of Isaac, Mecca Inherits Jerusalem, The Abrahamic Covenant, and Abraham as "Righteous among the Peoples."* [10]

Little is known Abraham as the founder of ‘original monotheism’ in Islam. This sort of notion is based on the news delivered by the Qur'an at the early Mecca sura which was initially only mentioned by name (Q I 87: 19). From the beginning, in Nehemiah 9: 7-8: loyalty, Abraham was associated with acts of kindness, as well as in Q I 53:37, “and Abraham, who preserved loyalty.” In Genesis 12: 1-5, Abraham did not leave his people and his hometown without cause but by the command of God. In the Qur'ān, Abraham has a history of the past in his land of residence. There, he faced idol worshipers, explained in detail in the Book of Jubilees and Testament of Abraham. [18] Abraham destroyed his father's idols and succeeded in doing so (Q III 6: 74–84, II 19: 41–50, II 21: 57–58, II 26: 16–27, II 37:93). Trying, as he did in Midrash, shows the nullity rationally. Then because of his actions, Abraham was punished, but the death sentence was thwarted against Abraham through divine intervention (Q II 21:68–69, II 37:97–98, III 6:74–84, III 29:24). Based on this incident, namely the destruction of his father's idols, causing Abraham to move from his hometown. His father's order to leave him (*uhjurnī*, "Leave me," Q II 19:46), who refused because he did not worship his idols, he then performed the *hijra*, separated from his father and his hometown, to meet God in a new land, where he aimed to establish a new community (Q II 19: 48–49, II 21:71, III 29:26). In Q II 37: 99–109.

Abraham's turning away from his father and turning towards the call of God (I will go forth to my lord [rabbī], he will guide me,” Q II 37:99) made him break down a genealogical paradigm into a religious thing. As a result, in the middle Mecca period, the Qur'an community carried out the same movement and exchanged the rules of ancestral genealogy for its spiritual predecessors. This development is strengthened in the late Meccan sura when some even have to leave their genetic relatives (Q III 29: 8). Although Abraham's substantial emigration was not related to later emigration from society, it formed a model for the behaviour desired by believers in situations of religious oppression by unbelievers, a behaviour that could extend to leaving one's tribe. In the Qur'an, the destruction of older tradition by Abraham is a prerequisite for the establishment of a new one. The annihilation of idols, was already familiar from Midrash, elevating Abraham as a cultural revolution. [19]

The most important events were Aqeedah [16], which “bound” (Genesis 22: 1–19), Abraham's sacrifice [20] made (Q II 37: 99-135), and which was only avoided at the last moment by divine intervention. This event, however, did not occur in the Holy Land, but around Mecca or in the Mecca shrine, which according to recent research was associated with Abraham at the time of the Qur'an's appearance. This sacrifice remains closely related to Abraham and Mecca in post-Qur'anic Islamic worship as well. Such a sacrifice is practised in *Ka'ba* to this day in the form of annual pilgrimages, which are etiologically based on this Qur'anic story. This story of sacrifice also contributed significantly to the importance of patrilineal ties, as explained by M. Elaine Combs-Schilling. [21]

Furthermore, a middle Mecca text has opened the way for Abraham's relationship with the practice of pilgrimage, through the contextualization of sacrificial events with Arabic culture known as ‘circumambulation’ (Q II 37: 102; see pp. 392 - 393), which is considered to have been become a common habit of ancient society at that time. Abraham was instructed to invite people to make a pilgrimage, made explicit in Medina (Q. 22: 26-27), laying the foundation for the reinterpretation of the pilgrimage as a whole as an act of imitating Abraham, which can be seen already in early Islam. Abraham was instructed to invite people to make a pilgrimage, made explicit in Medina (Q. 22: 26-27), laying the foundation for a reinterpretation of the pilgrimage as a whole as an act of imitating Abraham, which can be seen already in early Islam. Following Abraham's example, pilgrims complete their sacrifice. Based on the

sacrifices made by Abraham, the representation of slaughtering sacrificial animals, *aḍḥā*, has become an obligation for every congregation in Mecca every year[22].

For the first time, the political role of Abraham's religion was communicated in late Mecca sura (Q III 14: 35-41). Abraham made Mecca a land for his descendants and prayed that history and his descendants would avoid worshipping idols. Although this text indicates the transfer of the Holy Hold to the Arabian peninsula[23], where Ishmael also took part in being marginalised in the Jewish tradition, this text does not indicate a polemic bias towards the heirs and representatives of the older traditions. Based on this, Tilman Nagel[24] said, the assumption that the traditions of Abraham that were widespread on the peninsula before Islam needed to be considered. No polemic can be read in Abraham's relationship with Mecca. Only later in the Medinan text, Abraham (QM 2: 124-130), not only did Abraham-Ishmael's lineage enter the foreground, but the privileges of Abraham's descendants through Isaac were also explicitly denied[10].

At the beginning of this verse, God's promise to make Abraham a leader for humankind, having passed the test that was willing to sacrifice his son, but here is also simultaneously a rejection of the offspring of Isaac given in the Jewish tradition based on *zekhut avot*, by virtue of genealogical descent. In Q M 2: 124, the appointment of Abraham's status as a universal priest is clearly seen. The same thing is also found in the Jewish tradition also by using a reinterpretation of the book of Gen 22:12, "*Now I know that you fear God,*" into the causative "*Now I have made it known to all [that you have a fear of God],*" which is in the book of Jubilees, and further discussion is also found in the rabbinic tradition.

According to the Sinai, in the Qur'ānic version, Abraham's deeds are only individual achievements. According to the rabbinic conception, it produced a collective salvation effect where Medinan Jews could maintain their superiority over the Qur'anic community. If God's forgiveness is guaranteed for Abraham despite his rebellious offspring, and if Jews become Abraham's offspring, then there is no need to recognise God's revelation for fear of God's wrath[25]. In Witztum's research on the construction of the holy shrine, he said that this text is a post-biblical reflection, especially Genesis 22. Contextualization of the activities of two religions and prayers that are uttered by the rabbinic and Christian traditions. When the Qur'ān discusses the construction of the holy shrine, in the previous tradition, the focus of the discussion was the construction of an altar which later was used by Josephus to sacrifice Isaac[26].

6 Conclusions

The intertextual approach becomes research that continues to develop, but the integration of this kind of science into the study of the Qur'ān is still relatively less, especially Indonesian scholar. Research into Angelika Neuwirth's intertextual method is dominant in the discussion of applying the method to the verses of the Qur'ān. On the one hand, those precedence researches provide new insights related to Angelika Neuwirth's new findings, but it does not provide critical analysis of the effects brought about by the novelty of the approach.

This article makes a new contribution by providing two inventions. Firstly, there was a shift in the community interest, which at first, the community tended to be a cultural concern towards social politics. Another point to consider is that Neuwirth's chronological order provides a new perspective on the story of Abraham in the Qur'ān through an intertextual approach and

sources of late antiquity. The story of Abraham leaving from Mecca was a turning point in his struggle against his father for idolatry.

This finding has implications for further research on the chronology of Angelika Neuwirth, that is, the results of this study indicate that the stories in the Qur'ān can reveal broad meaning if the chronological order is rearranged by referring to other late antiquity texts. However, the search for Neuwirth's chronological order would not be complete without referring to important Islamic sources such as the interpretations (*Tafsīr*) and traditions of the prophet (*ḥadīth*). Jon Hoover emphasized that Western academics who study the Koran quite often use Muslim interpretations as to their basic frame of reference in understanding texts. This suggests that further research is needed to know explicitly the difference between the results of their interpretation and Muslim interpreters who have used the intertext approach in their interpretation first.

Acknowledgements. This research supported by The Graduate School of Islamic Studies UIN Syarif Hidayatullah.

References

- [1] G. Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*. 1878.
- [2] G. Said Reynolds, "Le problème de la chronologie du Coran 1," *Arabica*, vol. 58, pp. 477–502, 2011, doi: 10.1163/157005811X587903.
- [3] E. Renan, "Mahomet et les origines de l'islamisme," 2018.
- [4] P. Brown, *The world of late antiquity: AD 150-750*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.
- [5] C. Bakhos and M. Cook, *Islam and Its Past: Jahiliyya, Late Antiquity, and the Qur'an*. 2017.
- [6] A. Neuwirth, "Locating the Qur'an in the Epistemic Space of Late Antiquity," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Derg.*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 189–203, 2013, doi: 10.1501/İlh fak_0000001396.
- [7] J. McAuliffe, "Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān (Volume One: AD)," 2001.
- [8] "Geschichte des Qorans - Google Scholar." [Online]. Available: https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=Geschichte+des+Qorans&btnG=. [Accessed: 06-Nov-2019].
- [9] G. Bergsträßer, T. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, and O. Pretzl, *The History of the Qur'ān*. 2013.
- [10] A. Neuwirth, *The Qur'an and Late Antiquity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- [11] A. Jones, *The later Roman Empire, 284-602: a social economic and administrative survey*. 1986.
- [12] B. Ward-Perkins, "The making of late antiquity," *Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.*, vol. 50, no. S91, pp. 9–16, 2007, doi: 10.1111/j.2041-5370.2007.tb02371.x.
- [13] A. Neuwirth, "A 'Religious Transformation in Late Antiquity,'" in *The Qur'an's Reformation of Judaism and Christianity*, H. M. Zellentin, Ed. Routledge, 2019.
- [14] A. Neuwirth, "A 'Religious Transformation in Late Antiquity,'" in *The Qur'an's Reformation of Judaism and Christianity*, Routledge, 2019, pp. 63–92.
- [15] A. Neuwirth, "Mary and Jesus, Counterbalancing the Biblical Patriarchs: a Re-Reading of Surat Maryam in Surat al Imran," 2005.
- [16] R. Firestone, *Journeys in holy lands: The evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael legends in Islamic exegesis*. 1990.
- [17] A. Neuwirth, "The House of Abraham and the House of Amram: Genealogy, Patriarchal Authority, and Exegetical Professionalism," in *The Quran in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Quranic Milieu*, Brill, 2009, pp. 439–531.
- [18] J. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001.
- [19] H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*. Georg Olms Verlag, 1971.
- [20] J. D. Levenson, *Inheriting Abraham: The legacy of the patriarch in Judaism, Christianity, and*

Islam. Princeton University Press, 2014.

- [21] M. Combs-Schilling, "Sacred performances: Islam, sexuality, and sacrifice," 1989.
- [22] G. G. Stroumsa and G. A. Stroumsa, *The end of sacrifice: Religious transformations in late antiquity*. University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- [23] A. Neuwirth, "The spiritual meaning of Jerusalem in Islam," in *City of the Great King – Jerusalem from David to the Present*, N. Rosovsky, Ed. Harvard University Press, 1996.
- [24] N. Tilman, "Der erste Muslim. Abraham in Mekka," in *Abraham, unser Vater": die gemeinsamen Wurzeln von Judentum, Christentum und Islam*, R. G. Kratz and T. Nagel, Eds. Wallstein, 2003.
- [25] N. Sinai, *Fortschreibung und Auslegung: Studien zur frühen Koraninterpretation*. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009.
- [26] J. Witztum, "The Foundations of the House (Q 2: 127)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, vol. 72. Cambridge University Press School of Oriental and African Studies, pp. 25–40, 2009, doi: 10.2307/40378843.