

Toward *Muzakkī* Inner Peace: A Semantic Analysis of *Sakan* in the Qur'anic Discourse on Zakat

Abdur Rofiq^{1*}, M. Fahmi Hidayat²

¹ Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia

² Badan Amil Zakat Nasional (BAZNAS) Jakarta, Indonesia

* abdur_rofiq24@mh.s.uinjkt.ac.id

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji konsep *sakan* dalam diskursus Al-Qur'an tentang zakat serta merumuskannya sebagai kerangka untuk memahami transformasi batin seorang muzaki. Kajian zakat yang berkembang selama ini cenderung menitikberatkan perhatian pada aspek kepatuhan hukum, kepercayaan terhadap lembaga, mekanisme pendistribusian, serta peningkatan kesejahteraan mustahik. Sementara itu, dimensi batin dan pengalaman spiritual muzaki sebagai pihak yang menunaikan zakat masih relatif kurang mendapat perhatian. Dengan menggunakan metode konseptual kualitatif, penelitian ini memadukan analisis semantik Al-Qur'an, penafsiran para mufasir klasik, rekonstruksi hermeneutik Fazlur Rahman, serta paradigma Islam sebagai ilmu yang dikembangkan oleh Kuntowijoyo. Hasil analisis semantik menunjukkan bahwa akar kata *سكن* berkaitan dengan makna kestabilan, ketetapan, dan meredanya kegelisahan atau gangguan dalam diri. Penafsiran klasik terhadap Surah al-Tawbah ayat 103 menunjukkan konsep *sakan* mengandung enam makna yang saling berkaitan, yaitu kedekatan kepada Allah (*qurb*), rahmat ilahi (*rahmah*), kewibawaan dan ketenangan sikap (*waqār*), keteguhan hati (*thabāt*), rasa aman (*amn*), serta ketenteraman batin (*tuma'ninah*). Melalui rekonstruksi hermeneutis, ayat tersebut dipahami sebagai gambaran mengenai zakat sebagai proses penyucian, pertumbuhan spiritual, dan penguatan rasa tenteram dalam diri muzaki. Penelitian ini mengusulkan konsep 'Muzakkī Inner Peace' sebagai konsep yang berlandaskan Al-Qur'an untuk menjelaskan proses terciptanya kestabilan spiritual dan psikologis dalam diri orang yang menunaikan zakat. Konsep ini memperluas cakupan kajian zakat dengan menempatkan transformasi batin muzaki sebagai dimensi yang sama pentingnya dengan fungsi sosial, ekonomi, dan distributif zakat.

Kata Kunci: Kedamaian batin; *sakan*; semantik; tafsiran Al-Qur'an; zakat

Abstract

This study examines the concept of sakan in the Qur'anic discourse on zakat and formulates it as a framework for understanding the inner transformation of the muzakkī. Existing zakat studies tend to emphasize legal compliance, institutional trust, distribution, and zakat

Submissions:

11-06-2026

Accepted:

27-07-2026

Published:

30-07-2026



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

recipient (mustahiq) welfare, while the inward condition of the zakat giver (Muzakkī) remains less explored. Using a qualitative conceptual method, this study combines Qur'anic semantic analysis, classical tafsir, Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic reconstruction, and Kuntowijoyo's paradigm of Islam as science. The semantic analysis shows that the root سَكَن is associated with stability, settledness, and the calming of disturbance. Classical tafsir on Surah al-Tawbah 9:103 interprets sakan through six interrelated meanings: nearness to God (qurb), divine mercy (rahmah), dignity or composure (waqār), steadfastness (thabāt), security (amn), and tranquility (ṭuma'ninah). Through hermeneutic reconstruction, the verse is understood as presenting zakat as a process of purification, spiritual growth, and inward reassurance. This study proposes Muzakkī Inner Peace as a Qur'anically grounded concept that describes the spiritual and psychological stabilization of the Zakat giver. The concept broadens zakat studies by positioning the inner transformation of the muzakkī alongside the social and distributive functions of zakat.

Keywords: Inner peace; Qur'anic exegesis; sakan; semantics; zakat

INTRODUCTION

Zakat is an obligatory pillar of Islam that functions at the confluence of religious devotion and socio-economic redistribution. In modern situations, zakat has grown more institutionalized and incorporated into national development initiatives, especially in Muslim-majority nations. Empirical data constantly indicates that zakat aids in poverty eradication and enhances the welfare of *mustahiq* (beneficiaries). Beik and Arsyianti (2016) demonstrate, via the CIBEST model, that zakat programs substantially alleviate both material and spiritual poverty in Indonesia. In a study of 50 OIC member countries, Riani & Indra (2026) was found zakat significantly reduce multidimensional poverty, with stronger effects in higher-income and Asian/ Arab countries compared to African nations. In Indonesia, the accumulation of zakat, *infaq*, and *sadaqah* has surpassed IDR 44,698 trillion in recent years (BAZNAS, 2025), indicating has been shown to reduce multidimensional poverty.

Notwithstanding these advancements, the prevailing academic emphasis continues to be predominantly on *mustahiq*-oriented results. A significant amount of research assesses zakat significantly addresses poverty, reduces unemployment and promotes income equality by redistributing wealth from the affluent to the needy (Rusydiana et al., 2025). Although these contributions are significant, they predominantly characterize zakat as a redistributive mechanism. This perspective neglects a crucial aspect inherent in the Qur'anic discourse: the transformational function of zakat for the *muzakkī* (payer). The Qur'an characterises zakat not solely as a wealth transfer, but as a process associated with cleansing, growth, and inner transformation (Rafiki, 2021). The scripture:

خُذْ مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ صَدَقَةً تُطَهِّرُهُمْ وَتُزَكِّيهِمْ بِهَا وَصَلِّ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ صَلَاتَكَ سَكَنٌ لَهُمْ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ

“Take from their wealth ‘O Prophet’ charity to purify and bless them, and pray for them – surely your prayer is a source of comfort for them. And Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.”

Surah al-Tawbah [9]: 103, clearly links zakat to moral cleansing and growth. The recurrent association of zakat with *salāt* (e.g., Qur’an 2:43; 9:71) indicates that zakat is integral to a comprehensive ethical and spiritual framework. In this context, zakat can be perceived as fostering an internal state marked by tranquillity and stability, frequently articulated in the Qur’an through the notion of *Sakan* (Rafiki, 2021). This language and conceptual connection suggest that zakat is both socially transforming and internally formative for the *muzakkī*.

Over the past five decades, zakat research has evolved into six major thematic clusters: Islamic social finance, institutional governance and performance, zakat management and distribution, charity and corporate social responsibility, socio-economic development, and demographic perspectives (Esa et al., 2026). Contemporary studies on *muzakkī*, however, have predominantly concentrated on behavioral and institutional dimensions, particularly compliance, trust, governance, and payment preferences (Khoiriyah & Hidayat, 2026). In addition, studies on the concept of *sakīnah* have primarily examined its semantic meaning, Qur’anic interpretation, and translation strategies. For example, one study analyzed the meaning of *sakīnah* through the exegeses of Ibn Kathīr and al-Qurṭubī and evaluated various English translation strategies, concluding that transliteration accompanied by explanation is the most appropriate approach for conveying this Qur’anic concept (Mahasneh, 2018). Nevertheless, the study is limited to linguistic and translation issues and does not explore the relevance of *sakīnah* within the context of zakat, particularly its relationship with *muzakkī* and their spiritual or psychological experience in fulfilling zakat obligations. This gap highlights the need for further research integrating the concept of *sakīnah* into the study of *muzakkī* in the context of zakat.

This study seeks to establish a conceptual comprehension of *Muzakkī Inner Peace* based on the Qur’anic discourse of zakat. The primary inquiry driving this research is: How can a semantic analysis of the concept of inner peace (*sakan*) in the Qur’anic discourse reconceptualize the notion of inner peace among *muzakkī*? This study redirects the analytical focus to the inner aspect of zakat by exploring the concept of *sakan* as a manifestation of inner serenity within the Qur’anic context.

This research utilizes a semantic method to examine the construction of *sakan* and its relationship to acts of giving, particularly zakat, rather than solely adopting a behavioural or economic perspective. This concept perceives zakat as both an external act of redistribution and a process that enhances the internal condition of the *muzakkī*.

The social and institutional role of zakat in this article may be strengthened by reading Surah al-Tawbah (9):103 not only as an ethical exhortation, but also as a basis for organized zakat governance. The command '*khudh*' (take it) in the verse indicates that zakat possesses an obligatory and institutional character, while the sequence of purification and growth shows that its implications extend to social tranquillity, security, harmony, economic growth, investment, and poverty alleviation (Al-Faizin et al., 2018).

At the same time, the inward dimension of zakat remains conceptually important because Islamic spiritual practices are repeatedly associated with emotional harmony and inner peace. Belief, worship, and giving charity are described as practices that calm the soul, draw human beings closer to God, and create harmony between the individual and the surrounding environment (Aydin, 2013). This supports the argument that zakat should not be reduced to financial redistribution, since giving also participates in the formation of the giver's inner condition.

This inward orientation is also supported by contemporary Muslim psychology. Peace of heart, or '*taṭmainn al-qulūb*', has been conceptualized as a Muslim-specific spiritual experience consisting of *al-sukūn* and *al-yaqīn*, and it is positively related to dhikr quality and Islamic positive religious coping while negatively related to perceived stress (Rusdi et al., 2022). In this regard, the study of *sakan* in the Qur'anic discourse on zakat can contribute to a more precise theological-psychological account of *muzakkī* interiority.

This study's significance is in its endeavour to reconceptualise zakat as a practice functioning concurrently at both outward and internal dimensions. In addition to its function in aiding *mustahiq*, zakat may also foster inner tranquillity, ethical consciousness, and significant involvement among *muzakkī*. This viewpoint offers a more thorough comprehension of zakat and enhances the wider discussion on Islamic social finance by emphasising its significance for both redistribution and human growth in the realm of inner life.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative conceptual approach by combining semantic analysis, tafsir reading, hermeneutic reconstruction, and philosophical objectification. The semantic stage is used to trace the root سکن and its derivative forms in the Qur'an so that the meaning of *sakan* is not read as an isolated word, but as part of a wider Qur'anic semantic field. This follows Izutsu's view that the meaning of a Qur'anic term is formed through its relational network and contextual use within the Qur'anic worldview (Izutsu,

2002). Classical Arabic lexicons are used to strengthen this stage by clarifying the basic meaning of the root and the development of its derivative meanings.

After the semantic mapping, the study turns to classical tafsir to examine how *sakan* in Surah al-Tawbah (9):103 is interpreted in relation to zakat, prophetic supplication, and the inner condition of the giver. The analysis then proceeds through Fazlur Rahman's *double movement* method, which reads the verse from its historical context and then draws its broader moral principle for contemporary conceptual reflection (Rahman, 1984). Finally, Kuntowijoyo's paradigm of *Islam as science* is used to objectify the Qur'anic meaning of *sakan* into a conceptual construct (Kuntowijoyo, 2006). At this stage, philosophical reflection is employed to clarify the ontological, epistemological, and axiological foundations of *Muzakkī Inner Peace* as a Qur'anically grounded concept in zakat studies.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As argued by Izutsu (2002), the meaning of a Qur'anic term cannot be adequately understood through an isolated lexical form, but must be examined through the broader semantic network constituted by its derivational and contextual relations within the Qur'anic corpus. Proceeding from this approach, an examination of all derivatives of the root سکن in the Qur'an identifies 69 occurrences distributed across various morphological forms and contextual usages. This distribution indicates that the root سکن is not employed exclusively to denote psychological tranquillity but also appears in contexts related to dwelling, settlement, and socio-economic vulnerability, as reflected in derivatives such as *Sakan*, *maskan*, and *miskīn*.

The cluster of tranquillity and reassurance may be further clarified through contemporary psychological discussions of inner peace. Inner peace has been defined as a calm and balanced mental disposition marked by healthy acceptance, the transcendence of excessive hedonism and materialism, and inner balance (Xi & Lee, 2021). This conceptualization helps illuminate why the Qur'anic use of *sakan* in the zakat verse is not merely affective calmness, but a deeper stabilization of the self in relation to wealth, moral responsibility, and divine acceptance.

The connection between *sakan*, spiritual practice, and psychological balance is also reinforced by studies on dhikr, meditation, and '*tazkiyah al-nafs*'. Dhikr and meditation in the Sufi tradition are described as practices that purify the self, deepen God-consciousness, and foster gratitude, emotional balance, and resilience (Afifi et al., 2025). Likewise, *tazkiyah al-nafs* integrates outward acts of worship, including zakat, with

inward formation such as patience, honesty, love, and moral discipline (Ibrahim et al., 2025).

Table 1. Semantic Distribution of Derivatives of the Root سكن in the Qur'an

Semantic Cluster	Frequency	Derivational Forms	Qur'anic Occurrences
Poverty/ Socio-economic Vulnerability	25	مسكين، مساكين، المسكنة	2:61, 2:83, 2:177, 2:184, 2:215; 3:112; 4:8, 4:36; 5:89, 5:95; 8:41; 9:60; 17:26; 18:79; 24:22; 30:38; 58:4; 59:7; 68:24; 69:34; 74:44; 76:8; 89:18; 90:16; 107:3
Dwelling / Residence / Habitation	15	مسكن، مساكن، مسكونة	9:24, 9:72; 14:45; 16:80; 20:128; 21:13; 24:29; 27:18; 28:58; 29:38; 32:26; 34:15; 46:25; 61:12
Settlement / Placement / Remaining / Stillness	19	سكن، اسكن، اسكنوا، أسكن، تسكن، يسكن	2:35; 6:13, 6:96; 7:19, 7:161; 10:67; 14:14, 14:37, 14:45; 17:104; 23:18; 27:86; 28:58, 28:72, 28:73; 40:61; 42:33; 65:6
Tranquility / Reassurance	9	سكينة، سكينة، سكن	2:248; 7:189; 9:26, 9:40, 9:103; 30:21; 48:4, 48:18, 48:26
Specialized Meaning (Knife)	1	سكينًا	12:31

Source: Author's analysis (2026)

Table 1 demonstrates that the Qur'anic semantic field of the root سكن extends across five distinct semantic clusters. The largest cluster relates to poverty and socio-economic vulnerability (25 occurrences), represented by derivatives such as *miskīn*, *masākīn*, and *maskanah*. A representative example appears in Surah al-Tawbah (9) verses 60:

إِنَّمَا الصَّدَقَتُ لِلْفُقَرَاءِ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْعَمِلِينَ عَلَيْهَا وَالْمُؤَلَّفَةِ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ وَالْغَرَمِينَ وَفِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ
وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ فَرِيضَةً مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ

“Alms-tax is only for the poor and the needy, for those employed to administer it, for those whose hearts are attracted ‘to the faith’, for ‘freeing’ slaves, for those in debt, for Allah’s cause, and for ‘needy’ travellers. ‘This is’ an obligation from Allah. And Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise.”.

Ibn Fāris traces the semantic origin of the root سكن to the notion of stillness and cessation of movement, thereby establishing immobilization as its primary semantic nucleus (Fāris, 1979). Building upon this semantic foundation, al-Zabīdī explains that *al-maskanah* (المسكنة) denotes a condition of weakness, abasement, or humiliation associated

with poverty, and notes that certain derivatives of the root develop toward meanings related to الذلة والفقر or lowness and destitution (al-Zabīdī, 2001). In the same lexical entry, he describes مسكين (*miskīn*) through the expression والضعف للضعف, portraying the poor as one whose movement and agency are restrained by weakness (al-Zabīdī, 2001).

The second largest cluster concerns settlement, placement, remaining, and stillness (19 occurrences), in which the root denotes residing, settling, or entering a state of repose. This usage appears in Surah al-Baqarah (2) verses 35:

وَقُلْنَا يَا آدَمُ اسْكُنْ أَنْتَ وَزَوْجُكَ الْجَنَّةَ وَكُلَا مِنْهَا رَغَدًا حَيْثُ شِئْتُمَا وَلَا تَقْرَبَا هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةَ فَتَكُونَا مِنَ
الظَّالِمِينَ

"We cautioned, "O Adam! Live with your wife in Paradise and eat as freely as you please, but do not approach this tree, or else you will be wrongdoers".

With respect to the semantic cluster of dwelling, residence, and habitation, classical lexicographers likewise derive this meaning from the root's primary notion of stillness and settledness. Ibn Fāris explains in *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah* that the root سكن fundamentally signifies the opposite of disturbance (*iḍṭirāb*) and movement, from which emerge derivatives such as السكنى and السكنى, denoting residence and habitation as states of settled occupancy (Fāris, 1979). Expanding this definition, al-Zabīdī states in *Tāj al-'Arūs* that السكنى refers to المقام في البيوت والديار "remaining in houses and dwellings" thereby emphasizing the notion of stable residence within a fixed place (al-Zabīdī, 2001). Accordingly, derivatives such as مسكن (*maskan*) and مساكن (*masākin*) function as direct lexical extensions of the root, referring to houses or dwellings as spaces of settled habitation and permanent residence.

Closely related to this is the cluster of dwelling and habitation (15 occurrences), where the root refers to houses or places of residence. One example is found in Surah al-Nahl (16) verses 80:

وَاللَّهُ جَعَلَ لَكُمْ مِنْ بُيُوتِكُمْ سَكَنًا وَجَعَلَ لَكُمْ مِنْ جُلُودِ الْأَنْعَامِ بُيُوتًا تَسْتَخِفُّونَهَا يَوْمَ ظَعْنِكُمْ وَيَوْمَ إِقَامَتِكُمْ
وَمِنْ أَصْوَابِهَا وَأَوْبَارِهَا وَأَشْعَارِهَا أَثَاثًا وَمَتَاعًا إِلَى حِينٍ

"And Allah has made your homes a place to rest, and has given you tents from the hide of animals, light to handle when you travel and when you camp. And out of their wool, fur, and hair He has given you furnishings and goods for a while".

The semantic cluster of settlement, placement, remaining, and stillness likewise reflects the root's most immediate lexical sense. In *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Ibn Fāris defines the root سكن through the expression ذهب حركته ("its movement has ceased"),

identifying the fundamental meaning of the root as stoppage, stillness, and calmness after motion (Fāris, 1979). From this basis, the verbal form سكن comes to signify “to remain,” “to settle,” or “to become still,” while the noun السكون denotes the direct opposite of movement. This semantic extension gives rise to usages describing states of remaining, resting, or becoming motionless, whether applied to human beings, natural phenomena, or temporal conditions such as night and wind. Reinforcing this interpretation, al-Zabīdī notes in *Tāj al-‘Arūs* that السكون signifies the cessation of movement again expressed through the phrase ذهب حركه and that verbal derivatives such as اسكن (*uskun*, “dwell/remain”) and لتسكنوا (*litaskunū*, “that you may rest”) derive from this same conceptual foundation (al-Zabīdī, 2001). In this respect, the cluster preserves the most direct and literal manifestation of the root’s semantic nucleus, namely the transition from motion into settled stillness.

The cluster of tranquillity and reassurance comprises nine occurrences and includes the most spiritually charged uses of the root. A representative example appears in Surah al-Faṭḥ (48) verses 4:

هُوَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ السَّكِينَةَ فِي قُلُوبِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لِيَزْدَادُوا إِيمَانًا مَعَ إِيمَانِهِمْ ۚ وَلِلَّهِ جُنُودُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ ۚ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا حَكِيمًا

“He is the One who sent down tranquillity into the hearts of the believers, so that they might increase in faith upon their (existing) faith. To Allah belong the hosts of the heavens and the earth, and Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise” “He is the One Who sent down serenity upon the hearts of the believers so that they may increase even more in their faith. To Allah ‘alone’ belong the forces of the heavens and the earth. And Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise”.

Cluster of tranquility and reassurance represents the inward and affective extension of the root’s broader logic of stabilization. In *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Ibn Manẓūr explains that سكن does not merely denote physical stillness, but is also used to describe the calming of the heart and the subsiding of inner disturbance, thereby extending the root into the domain of emotional and psychological repose (Manẓūr, 1993). More specifically, the derivative السكينة (*al-Sakīnah*) is understood to signify inward tranquillity, serenity, and a form of calming mercy bestowed upon the heart. Likewise, Ibn Fāris notes in *Mu‘jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah* the expression سكن الشيء, referring to a thing becoming calm or settled, thus preserving the same semantic nucleus of disturbance giving way to stillness (Ibn Fāris, 1979, 3:88). In a similar vein, al-Zabīdī in *Tāj al-‘Arūs* equates سكن with سكينه, treating both as expressions of calmness, repose, and inward settledness (al-Zabīdī, 2001).

A final and isolated occurrence appears in the form سَكِينًا (“knife”) in Surah Yūsuf (12) verses 31:

فَلَمَّا سَمِعَتْ بِمَكْرِهِنَّ أَرْسَلَتْ إِلَيْهِنَّ وَأَعْتَدَتْ لَهُنَّ مُتَّكَأً وَآتَتْ كُلَّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِّنْهُنَّ سِكِّينًا وَقَالَتِ اخْرُجْ عَلَيْهِنَّ فَلَمَّا رَأَيْنَهُ أَكْبَرْنَهُ وَقَطَّعْنَ أَيْدِيَهُنَّ وَقُلْنَ حَاشَ لِلَّهِ مَا هَذَا بَشَرًا إِنْ هَذَا إِلَّا مَلَكٌ كَرِيمٌ

“When she heard about their gossip,¹ she invited them and set a banquet for them. She gave each one a knife, then said ‘to Joseph’, “Come out before them.” When they saw him, they were so stunned ‘by his beauty’ that they cut their hands,² and exclaimed, “Good God! This cannot be human; this must be a noble angel!”.

Even the seemingly specialized derivative السَّكِين (al-sikkīn, “knife”) is interpreted by classical lexicographers through the same semantic logic of stabilization. In *Muʿjam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Ibn Fāris notes that some linguists classify the term as a derivative of the root سَكَن on the grounds that it “stills the movement of the slaughtered animal” (لأنَّه (يسكِّن حركة المذبوح به), thereby connecting the knife metaphorically to the act of bringing motion to cessation (Fāris, 1979). In the same passage, he further includes السَّكِينَة within this semantic family and defines it as الوَقَار (composure or dignified tranquility), while also explaining that the rudder of a ship (sukkān al-safīnah) is so named because it stabilizes the vessel against disturbance (لأنَّه يُسَكِّنُهَا عَنِ الاضطراب).

The Interpretation of *Sakan* in Classical Tafsir: A Study of Zakat Verses

Among the Qurʾanic verses concerning zakat, Q.S. al-Tawbah 9:103 occupies a distinctive position for explicitly linking the Prophet’s supplication to the spiritual experience of zakat-givers (*muzakkī*). The phrase إِنَّ صَلَاتَكَ سَكَنٌ لَهُمْ (“Indeed, your prayer is *sakan* for them”) has therefore attracted considerable attention in the classical tafsir tradition, particularly due to its implication the act of giving zakat may be accompanied by spiritual and psychological effects mediated through prophetic prayer (Alim, 2023).

Table 2. Comparative Mapping of *Sakan* Interpretations in QS. al-Tawbah: 103

Classical Tafsir Source	قرب (Nearness)	رحمة (Mercy)	وقار (Dignity)	ثبات (Steadfastness)	أمن (Security)	طمأنينة (Tranquility)
Al-Nukat wa al-ʿUyūn – Al-Māwardī	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Tafsīr Ibn Abi Ḥatīm – Ibn Abi Hatīm	✓	✓	✓		✓	

Al-Durr al-Manthūr – Al-Suyuti	✓	✓	✓	✓
Al-Basīṭ – Al-Wahidi		✓	✓	✓
Tafsīr al-Jalālayn – Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli / Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti		✓		✓
Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz – Ibn Atiyya		✓	✓	
Al-Jāmi‘ li Aḥkām al-Qur’ān – Al-Qurṭubī			✓	✓
Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr – Ibn Kathīr		✓	✓	
Ma‘ālim al-Tanzīl – Al-Baghawi		✓		✓
Jāmi‘ al-Bayān fī Ta’wīl al-Qur’ān – Al-Ṭabarī		✓	✓	✓*
Primary Riwayah / Origin of Meaning	Ibn ‘Abbās via al-Ḍaḥḥāk	Ibn ‘Abbās via ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥah	Ibn Qutaybah, Abū ‘Ubaydah	Lughawī al-Kalbī

Source: Author’s analysis (2026)

Table 2 demonstrates that classical exegetes literature demonstrates that the term *sakan* was not understood monolithically; rather, exegetes developed a broad semantic spectrum through transmitted reports (*riwāyāt*), linguistic elaboration, and semantic interpretation. Across the tafsir corpus examined, *sakan* is interpreted through six principal meanings: *qurbah* (closeness), *raḥmah* (mercy), *waqār* (dignified tranquility), *ṭhabāt* (steadfastness), *amn* (security), and *ṭuma’nīnah* (inner tranquility).

The first meaning attributed to *sakan* is قُرْبَةً (*qurbah*), signifying spiritual closeness or nearness (Al-Suyūṭī, 1993; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1997; Māwardī, 2012). This interpretation is attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās through the transmission of al-Ḍaḥḥāk and is recorded in Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥātim and later reproduced in Al-Durr al-Manthūr. The wording employed is قُرْبَةً لَهُمْ (“a means of nearness for them”). The same interpretation is explicitly included by Al-Māwardī in Al-Nukat wa al-‘Uyūn as one of the five principal interpretations of *sakan*. Under this reading, the Prophet’s prayer is understood as a means through which the

muzakkī attains greater proximity to God, thus positioning *sakan* as a marker of elevated spiritual status rather than merely emotional reassurance.

The second and most dominant meaning in the tafsir tradition is رَحْمَةً (*rahmah*), or divine mercy (al-Baghawī, 1997; al-Maḥallī & al-Suyūṭī, 2001; al-Māwardī, 2012; al-Suyūṭī, 1993; al-Ṭabarī, 2000; al-Wāḥidī, 2009; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1997; Ibn Kathīr, 1999; Ibn ‘Aṭīyyah, 2001). This interpretation is attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās through ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah and appears as the primary explanation in Jāmi‘ al-Bayān fī Ta’wīl al-Qur’ān by Al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘Aẓīm by Ibn Kathīr, and Tafsīr al-Jalālayn. The consistent formulation is رَحْمَةً لَهُمْ (“mercy for them”). This meaning is likewise retained in exegetical works such as Al-Basīṭ, Ma‘ālim al-Tanzīl, and Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz. The predominance of this interpretation suggests that the earliest and most widespread understanding of *sakan* viewed the Prophet’s prayer as a conduit of divine mercy and acceptance.

A third major meaning is وَقَارٌ (*waqār*), attributed to Qatādah and widely transmitted in the tafsir tradition. It appears in Jāmi‘ al-Bayān fī Ta’wīl al-Qur’ān, Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Al-Nukat wa al-‘Uyūn, Al-Jāmi‘ li Aḥkām al-Qur’ān, and Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘Aẓīm in the form وَقَارٌ لَهُمْ (“dignified tranquility for them”). In Arabic usage, *waqār* denotes not merely calmness but tranquility accompanied by dignity, honor, and reverence (al-Māwardī, 2012; al-Qurṭubī, 2006; al-Suyūṭī, 1993; al-Ṭabarī, 2000; al-Wāḥidī, 2009; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 1997; Ibn Kathīr, 1999; Ibn ‘Aṭīyyah, 2001). Accordingly, this interpretation presents the Prophet’s supplication as conferring a sense of spiritual esteem and honor upon the *muzakkī*, thereby framing *sakan* as reassurance intertwined with dignity and religious recognition.

The fourth meaning is ثَبَاتٌ (*thabāt*), or steadfastness and spiritual stability (al-Baghawī, 1997; al-Māwardī, 2012). This interpretation is less widespread but is explicitly mentioned by Al-Māwardī, who records the phrase ثَبَاتٌ لَهُمْ and attributes it to Ibn Qutaybah. A related expression appears in Ma‘ālim al-Tanzīl by Al-Baghawī, who employs the phrase تَثْبِيثٌ لِقُلُوبِهِمْ (“a strengthening of their hearts”). Under this reading, *sakan* refers to the stabilizing and fortifying effect of the Prophet’s prayer upon the believer’s heart, emphasizing spiritual reinforcement rather than temporary emotional calm.

The fifth meaning is أَمْنٌ (*amn*), meaning security or safety (al-Māwardī, 2012; al-Suyūṭī, 1993; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 1997). This interpretation is found in the riwāyah corpus collected by Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥātim, reproduced in Al-Durr al-Manthūr, and explicitly systematized by Al-Māwardī in the expression أَمْنٌ لَهُمْ (“security for them”). Al-Māwardī supports this reading through linguistic reasoning and poetic citation from

Arabic usage. Here, *sakan* signifies the removal of anxiety and the attainment of spiritual security particularly assurance that one's charity and repentance have been accepted by God.

The sixth meaning is *ṭumʾānīyah* (*ṭuma 'nīnah*), or inner tranquility (al-Baghawī, 1997; al-Qurṭubī, 2006; al-Suyūṭī, 1993; al-Ṭabarī, 2000; al-Wāḥidī, 2009). This interpretation emerges more prominently in exegetical works that elaborate on the experiential dimension of the verse. In al-Basīṭ and Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl, *sakan* is directly glossed as *ṭumʾānīyah* (*ṭumʾānīyah* "inner tranquility for them"). Similarly, Tafsīr al-Jalālayn interprets it as *rahmah* (*rahmah* "mercy and tranquility for them through the acceptance of their repentance"). Meanwhile, Al-Qurṭubī expresses the same concept descriptively with the phrase *tasakun* (*tasakun* "through it souls become tranquil"). This reading emphasizes the subjective psychological state produced by the Prophet's supplication, namely a heart that becomes settled, calm, and inwardly reassured.

Conceptualizing Muzakkī Inner Peace through the Hermeneutic Reconstruction

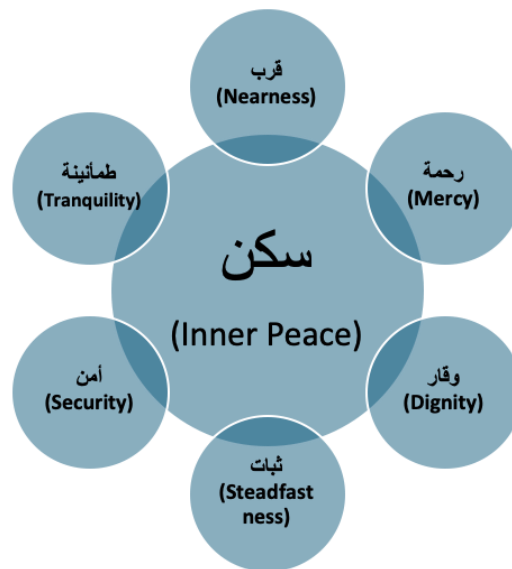
The root *saka* in the Qur'an centers upon the ideas of stability, settledness, and the cessation of disturbance. Within the context of the zakat verse, this semantic field develops into a multidimensional spiritual condition reflecting inner stabilization, as evidenced by exegetical interpretations linking *sakan* to six interrelated dimensions as illustrated in Figure 1: nearness to God (*qurb*), divine mercy (*rahmah*), dignity or composure (*waqār*), steadfastness (*thabāt*), security (*amn*), and tranquility (*ṭuma 'nīnah*).

The conceptual movement from historical meaning to contemporary meaning may also be supported by Islamic mindfulness literature. Islamic mindfulness practices such as *muraqabah*, *dhikr*, *salah*, and *niyyah* are theorized to cultivate self-regulation, intentionality, ethical attention, and reduced materialism (Sadiq & Ahmad, 2026). In the context of zakat, this means that the act of giving can be understood as a spiritually attentive practice that reorients the muzakkī from possessiveness toward God-conscious responsibility.

To elevate these findings from textual description into a conceptual construct, this study situates them within a contextual reading of the Qur'an. Drawing upon Fazlur Rahman's logic of Double Movement, the historical meaning of the verse is first understood in its original context (Rahman, 1984). Within Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutical framework, classical exegetical sources this verse consistently relate to the repentance of several Muslims who failed to participate in the expedition of Tabuk and subsequently

sought expiation by offering part of their wealth in charity. Al-Ṭabarī records reports identifying the verse with Abū Lubābah and his companions, who, after acknowledging their moral lapse, requested that the Prophet accept their charity as a sign of repentance (al-Ṭabarī, 2000). The same historical context is preserved in Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥātim, reproduced by al-Suyūṭī in *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*, and reaffirmed by Ibn Kathīr, all of whom interpret the verse within the narrative of post-Tabuk repentance and spiritual restoration (al-Suyūṭī, 1993; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 1997; Ibn Kathīr, 1999).

Figure 1. Muzakkī Inner Peace Dimensions



Source: Author's Conceptualization

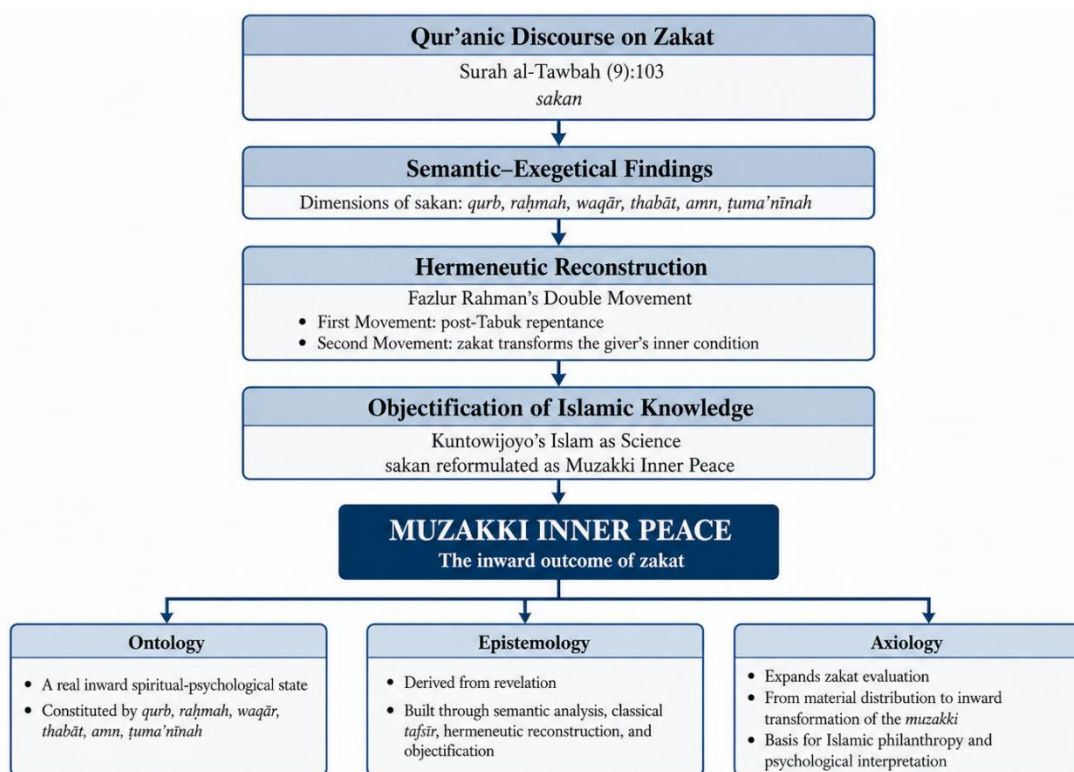
Taken together, these exegetical reports establish several historically grounded features of the verse's original context. First, the recipients of the Prophet's supplication were repentant believers seeking restoration after moral failure rather than ordinary zakat payers engaged in routine financial compliance. Second, the wealth they presented functioned in the tafsir tradition as a concrete sign of repentance and purification, offered as part of their attempt to expiate wrongdoing and demonstrate sincerity before God. Third, the Prophet's supplication is consistently portrayed as generating *sakan* within the donors, whether understood by the exegetes as mercy, forgiveness, reassurance, or the settling of the heart. Collectively, these historical data indicate that the verse originally situates zakat within a broader spiritual process of repentance, purification, and inward reassurance. Through Rahman's second movement, the historically specific setting of the verse may then be abstracted into a broader moral principle extending beyond the post-Tabuk episode. Read in this way, Surah al-Tawbah (9):103 conveys that zakat in the Qur'anic worldview is linked not merely to the transfer of wealth, but to a transformative spiritual process affecting the giver's inner condition. The Qur'anic sequence of

purification (*tutahhiruhum*), spiritual cultivation (*tuzakkīhim*), and *sakan* suggests that zakat is designed to produce moral cleansing, spiritual development, and inward stabilization within the believer. The post-Tabuk narrative therefore functions not solely as a historical incident, but as the contextual manifestation of a wider Qur'anic moral pattern regarding the transformative purpose of zakat.

Grounding Muzakkī Inner Peace in the Qur'anic Discourse of Zakat

The universal moral principle reconstructed from Qur'an 9:103 through Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement hermeneutic is further elaborated through Kuntowijoyo's concepts of objectification and the integration of revelation and science (Kuntowijoyo, 2006). For Kuntowijoyo, revelation should not remain confined to normative religious discourse but should be objectified into analytical categories that are publicly accessible and scientifically examinable. At the same time, the integration of revelation and science enables Qur'anic ethical values to inform empirical inquiry without reducing them to purely theological claims. Within this framework, the Qur'anic sequence of *tutahhiruhum* (purification), *tuzakkīhim* (spiritual growth), and *sakan* (inner tranquillity) is conceptualized as a transformative process whose psychological and spiritual outcomes can be investigated scientifically. Accordingly, the inner peace (*sakīnah*) of the *muzakkī* is treated as an empirically observable manifestation of the Qur'anic objective of self-purification through *zakat*.

On this basis, the present study proposes *Muzakkī Inner Peace* as the conceptual construct through which the Qur'anic meaning of *sakan* in the discourse of zakat may be articulated in analytical terms. Derived from the semantic and exegetical findings of this study, *Muzakkī Inner Peace* refers to a state *Muzakkī* of zakat's purificatory and developmental functions. This state is not conceived as generic emotional calmness, but as a multidimensional inward condition constituted by the six semantic-exegetical dimensions identified in the tafsir tradition: nearness to God (*qurb*), confidence in divine mercy (*rahmah*), dignified composure (*waqār*), spiritual steadfastness (*thabāt*), existential security (*amn*), and tranquility of the soul (*tuma'nīnah*). These dimensions collectively indicate that the Qur'anic conception of *sakan* transcends affective serenity in a narrow psychological sense and instead reflects a holistic stabilization of the believer's inner life encompassing theological, moral, emotional, and existential domains. In this formulation, *Muzakkī Inner Peace* represents the ideal inward state in which the spiritual objectives of zakat have been existentially realized within the giver.

Figure 2. Philosophical Framework of *Muzakkī* Inner Peace

Source: Author's Conceptualization

As illustrated in Figure 2, *Muzakkī* Inner Peace is grounded in three philosophical dimensions: ontology, epistemology, and axiology. Ontologically, it refers to a real and irreducible dimension of Muslim interiority, namely an inward psycho-spiritual state that emerges through transformative acts of worship and becomes part of the lived structure of religious experience (Bagis et al., 2024; Khan et al., 2025; Sulphey, 2023). In this sense, *sakan* is not reducible to metaphorical language or rhetorical embellishment; it designates a substantive reality of the soul presupposed by the Qur'anic discourse on zakat. Epistemologically, the construct is derived through semantic-exegetical reasoning from revelation, positioning the Qur'an as an epistemic source for theorizing the internal dimensions of Islamic philanthropic behaviour (Turner, 2022). This approach expands zakat studies beyond their dominant emphasis on compliance, governance, institutional trust, and beneficiary welfare by introducing a revelation-based conceptualization of donor interiority. Axiologically, *Muzakkī* Inner Peace broadens the evaluative horizon of zakat by placing the inward transformation of the *muzakki* within the assessment of zakat's success. In this framework, zakat regulates the circulation of wealth while shaping the structure of the human interior, and *sakan* is proposed as a Qur'anic marker of the

psycho-spiritual outcome toward which the transformative process of zakat is directed (Kashif et al., 2018).

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that *sakan* in the Qur'anic discourse on zakat represents an inward state of stability experienced by the *muzakkī* after zakat is internalized as an act of purification and spiritual growth. The semantic analysis shows that the root سکن is consistently related to stability, settledness, and the calming of disturbance, while the classical tafsir tradition on Surah al-Tawbah 9:103 expands this meaning into six interrelated dimensions; nearness to God (*qurb*), divine mercy (*rahmah*), dignity or composure (*waqār*), steadfastness (*thabāt*), security (*amn*), and tranquility (*ṭuma'nīnah*). Through Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic reconstruction, the historical context of the verse is read as part of a broader Qur'anic moral pattern in which zakat functions as a means of moral restoration and inner reassurance. Kuntowijoyo's paradigm of Islam as science then allows this Qur'anic meaning to be objectified into the concept of *Muzakkī Inner Peace*, a spiritual and psychological condition that reflects the inward transformation of the zakat giver. Ontologically, this concept refers to a real dimension of Muslim interiority; epistemologically, it is derived from revelation through semantic and exegetical reasoning; and axiologically, it broadens the study of zakat by placing the transformation of the *muzakkī* alongside its social, distributive, and institutional dimensions. Thus, zakat is a Qur'anic process for shaping a calmer, steadier, and spiritually grounded giver.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors sincerely thank Dr. Ali Fitriana Rahmat, M.Ag. for providing valuable references and academic insights in the field of Qur'anic exegesis, the Graduate School of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta for its constructive feedback through the ICIS Conference, and the *muzakkī* whose contributions through the BAZNAS Philanthropy Scholarship supported the authors' academic journey and the completion of this study.

REFERENCES

- Afifi, M., Fattah, A., Mareta, M., & Fakhri, M. (2025). Dzikr And Meditation In Tashawwuf: Spiritual Disciplines, Psychological Benefits, and Their Contemporary Relevance. *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 49(2), 400. <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v49i2.1485>

- al- Māwardī, A. al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn M. (2012). *Al-Nukat wa-al-‘Uyūn*. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah.
- al-Baghawī, A. M. al-Ḥusayn ibn M. (1997). *Ma‘ālim al-Tanzīl fī Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (4th ed.). Dār Ṭaybah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘.
- Al-Faizin, A. W., Insani, T. D., & Herianingrum, S. (2018). Zakat: Concept And Implications To Social And Economic (Economic Tafsīr Of Al-Tawbah:103). *Journal of Islamic Monetary Economics and Finance*, 4(1), 117–132. <https://doi.org/10.21098/jimf.v4i1.780>
- Alim, H. N. (2023). Analisis Makna Zakat Dalam Al-Quran: Kajian Teks dan Konteks. *AKADEMIK: Jurnal Mahasiswa Humanis*, 3(3), 161–169. <https://doi.org/10.37481/jmh.v3i3.617>
- al-Maḥallī, J. al-D. M. ibn A., & al-Suyūṭī, J. al-D. ‘Abd al-R. ibn A. B. (2001). *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (1st ed.). Dār al-Ḥadīth.
- al-Qurṭubī, A. ‘Abd A. M. ibn A. al-Anṣārī. (2006). *Al-Jāmi‘ li-Aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (1st ed.). Mu‘assasat al-Risālah.
- al-Suyūṭī, J. al-D. ‘Abd al-R. ibn A. B. (1993). *Al-Durr al-Manthūr fī al-Tafsīr bi-al-Ma‘thūr*. Dār al-Fikr.
- al-Ṭabarī, A. J. M. ibn J. (2000). *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān fī Ta’wīl al-Qur’ān* (1st ed.). Mu‘assasat al-Risālah.
- al-Wāhidī, A. al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn A. (2009). *Al-Tafsīr al-Basīṭ* (1st ed.). ‘Imādat al-Baḥth al-‘Ilmī, Jāmi‘at al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa‘ūd al-Islāmiyyah.
- al-Zabīdī, M. (2001). *Tāj al-‘arūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs: IV*. Dār maktabat al-ḥayāt. https://archive.org/details/b31364998_0004
- Aydin, H. (2013). Positive Effects of Believing, Prayer and Spending in Charity on the Inner Peace of Believers. *Global Journal Al Thaqafah*, 3(2), 37–43. <https://doi.org/10.7187/GJAT412013.03.02>
- Bagis, F., Adawiyah, W. R., Purnomo, R., & Sudjadi, A. (2024). Exploring Islamic Spiritual Well-Being: Conceptualization and Validation of a Measurement Scale. *Islamic Guidance and Counseling Journal*, 7(2). <https://doi.org/10.25217/0020247473500>
- BAZNAS. (2025). *LPZN Akhir Tahun 2025*. BAZNAS
- Beik, I. S., & Arsyianti, L. D. (2016). Measuring Zakat Impact On Poverty And Welfare Using Cibest Model. *Journal of Islamic Monetary Economics and Finance*, 1(2), 141–160. <https://doi.org/10.21098/jimf.v1i2.524>
- Esa, M. S. M., Wahid, H., Yaacob, S. E., & Masri, F. A. (2026). Zakat worldwide: A 50-year bibliometric analysis and research agenda. *Multidisciplinary Science Journal*, 8(12), 2026813. <https://doi.org/10.31893/multiscience.2026813>

- Fāris, I. (1979). *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah* (Vol. 1, p. 88). (https://archive.org/details/maktabah2000_gmail_20150716_2027/page/n1165/mode/2up).
- Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad. (1997). *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* (Vol. 6). Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz.
- Ibn 'Aṭīyyah al-Andalusī, A. M. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn G. (2001). *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz fī Tafsīr al-Kitāb al-'Azīz* (1st ed.). Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Ibn Kathīr, A. al-F. I. ibn 'Umar. (1999). *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* (2nd ed.). Dār Ṭaybah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī'.
- Ibrahim, M., Rijal, S., Mawardi, M., Miswari, M., & Sihotang, B. (2025). Implementing Tazkiyah Al-Nafs In The Development Of Student Character. *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 49(1), 162. <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v49i1.1398>
- Izutsu, T. (2002). *God and man in the Qur'an: Semantics of the Qur'anic weltanschauung* (Vol. 1). Islamic Book Trust.
- Kashif, M., Faisal Jamal, K., & Abdur Rehman, M. (2018). The dynamics of Zakat donation experience among Muslims: A phenomenological inquiry. *Journal of Islamic Accounting and Business Research*, 9(1), 45–58. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIABR-01-2016-0006>
- Khan, I., Dean, S., Ridge, D., & Souvlakis, N. (2025). The Integration of Islamic Psychology with Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT). *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*, 49(4), 1067–1086. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11013-025-09924-5>
- Khoiriyah, F. R., & Hidayat, M. F. (2026). Zakat Fundraising in Indonesia: Continuity, Legal Framework, and Digital Transformation. *Al-Iqtishad: Jurnal Ilmu Ekonomi Syariah*, 17(2), 235–260. <https://doi.org/10.15408/aiq.v17i2.50032>
- Kuntowijoyo. (2006). *Islam Sebagai Ilmu: Epistemologi, Metodologi, dan Etika*. Tiara Wacana.
- Mahasneh, A. A. (2018). The translation of the denotative and connotative meaning of (Sakinah) in the Holy Qur'an: An empirical study. *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences*, 45(2), 303–314.
- Manzūr, I. (1993). *Lisān al-'Arab* (1979., Vol. 13). Dār Ṣādir.
- Rafiki, A. (2021). The Impact of Zakat to the Economy, Organization, and Moral and Social: In A. Sarea (Ed.), *Advances in Electronic Government, Digital Divide, and Regional Development* (pp. 139–158). IGI Global. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-7998-3452-6.ch010>
- Rahman, F. (1984). *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Riani, R., & Indra, I. (2026). Revisiting Poverty Alleviation in Muslim Economies: The Impact of Zakat and Islamic Human Development. *International Journal of Islamic*

- and Middle Eastern Finance and Management*, 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IMEFM-10-2025-0797>
- Rusdi, A., Rumiani, R., Afsari, N., & Latifa, R. (2022). Measuring Peace of Heart: The Development and Validation of Taṭmainn al-Qulūb Scale (TQS). *JP3I (Jurnal Pengukuran Psikologi Dan Pendidikan Indonesia)*, 11(1), 64–83. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jp3i.v11i1.23661>
- Rusydiana, A. S., Prakoso, M. F. D., Aslan, H., & Riani, R. (2025). Unveiling the effects of zakat toward socioeconomic empowerment in OIC countries. *International Journal of Ethics and Systems*. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJOES-10-2024-0331>
- Sadiq, & Ahmad, M. S. (2026). Islamic mindfulness as cultural mindfulness: A conceptual framework for decision-making and well-being. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 17, 1715750. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2026.1715750>
- Sulphey, M. M. (2023). An Islamic perspective of workplace rectitude. *Asian Journal of Business Ethics*, 12(2), 323–346. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13520-023-00176-3>
- Turner, J. B. (2022). Ibn Taymiyya on theistic signs and knowledge of God. *Religious Studies*, 58(3), 583–597. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034412521000159>
- Xi, J., & Lee, M. T. (2021). Inner Peace as a Contribution to Human Flourishing: A New Scale Developed from Ancient Wisdom. In M. T. Lee, L. D. Kubzansky, & T. J. VanderWeele (Eds.), *Measuring Well-Being* (1st ed., pp. 435–481). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197512531.003.0016>