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13. "Claiming Our Bodies and Ou[r] Rights: Exploring Female Circumcision as an Act of Violence," quoted in Toubia, *Female Genital Mutilation*, p. 30.
14. Toubia, *Female Genital Mutilation*, p. 31. More recent Western scholarship tends to repeat this dismissal of any relationship between Islam and FGC. For example, one recent introductory text declares "Female circumcision is neither an Islamic practice nor is it widespread among Muslims. Rather, it appears to be an African tradition that remains in practice in countries like the Sudan and Egypt, among Muslims and non-Muslims alike." Esposito, *What Everyone Needs to Know about Islam*, p. 102.
15. Berkey discusses the Shi'a on p. 26. For one example of a matter-of-fact reference to female circumcision in another context, see Ruxton, *Maliki Law*, p. 155.
16. Berkey, "Circumcision Circumscribed," p. 25.
17. On al-Ghazali, see Roald, *Women in Islam*, p. 241, and chapter 11, "Female Circumcision," pp. 237–53 more broadly; see also her brief discussion in the conclusion, p. 299.
18. Toubia, *Female Genital Mutilation*, p. 43.
19. Abou El Fadl, *Speaking in God's Name*, pp. 144–5; 62–3.
20. Even Shaikh Muhammad al-Tantawi of Al-Azhar, who has opposed female circumcision, makes this point. The Qur'an itself does not say anything about circumcision, of males or females. However, it is universally acknowledged that male circumcision is an Islamic custom – virtually all Muslim males are circumcised – and it is attributed to the covenant between God and Abraham. According to Gollaher, "when a retired Libyan judge, Mustafa Kamal al-Mahdawi, published a book that questioned the legitimacy of the ritual [of male circumcision], he came under furious attacks from the clergy and the press." A swift response from a prominent Saudi cleric accused him of apostasy for rejecting the consensus view that circumcision of males was obligatory. *Circumcision*, pp. 51–2. See also Abu-Sahlieh, "Jehovah, His Cousin Allah, and Sexual Mutilations," p. 47. Gollaher bases his discussion of this case on Abu-Sahlieh's "To Mutilate in the Name of Jehovah or Allah." See also Barlas, "Believing Women" in Islam, p. 65.
21. Berkey, "Circumcision Circumscribed," p. 30: "[T]he few medieval sources which discuss female excision in any detail routinely direct their primary attention to the question of sexuality, and in particular women's sexuality and its control."
22. Kassamali, "When Modernity Confronts Traditional Practices," claims that Qur'an 4:1 grants Muslim women "the right to sexual satisfaction within the context of a marriage" as well as the right "to initiate sexual intercourse." (This famous verse recounting the creation of humanity does not actually mention sex at all, except in its reference to the creation of "many men and women" from the original pair.)

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