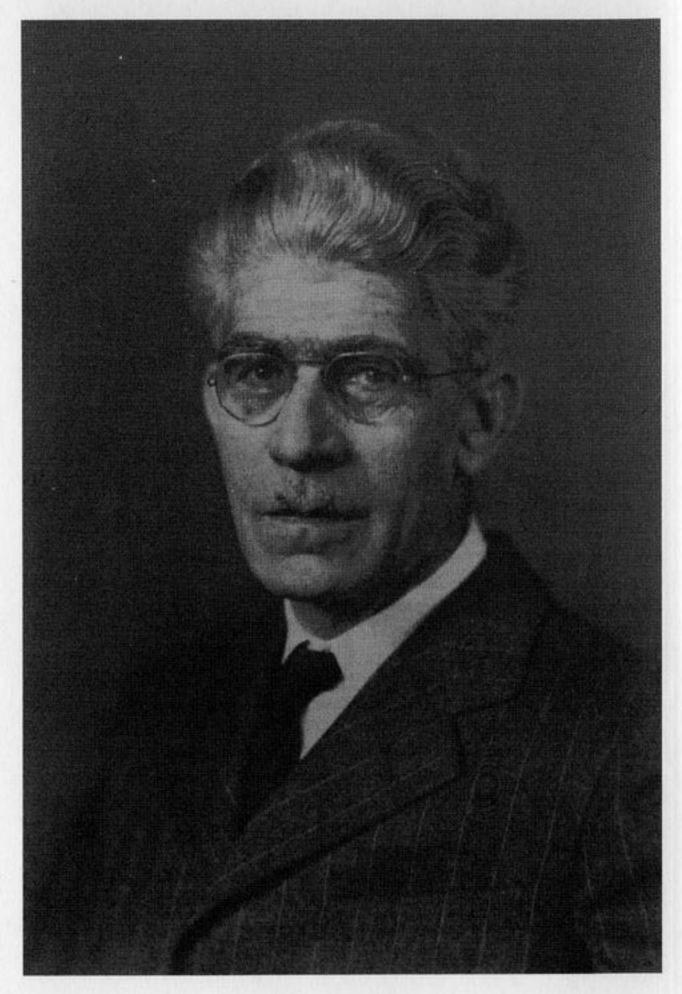FOURTEENTH
GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA
BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Religion and Culture
in Medieval Islam

EDITED BY
RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN
AND
GEORGES SABAGH

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Giorgio Levi Della Vida
1886–1967

Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam

George Makdisi has brought together six of the most distinguished scholars in the field to explore the religion and culture of medieval Islam. This promises to be an original and stimulating exchange. Makdisi's introductory chapter focuses on the interaction between religion and culture in classical Islam and Christendom, W. Montgomery Watt addresses the question of the future of Islam, posing a parallel with the Judaic reaction to Hellenistic culture, Merlin Swartz analyses the homilies of Ibn al-Jawzī, Irfan Shahīd considers the implications of the Arabic character of the Qur'ān, George Saliba assesses Ash'arite thought in astrology and astronomy, Roger Arnaldez reflects on the religious cultures of medieval Islam, and Mahmoud Ayoub concludes the volume by drawing together the common historic threads of Muslim–Jewish and Muslim–Christian popular worship.

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Gustave E. von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies
University of California, Los Angeles

FOURTEENTH CONFERENCE

Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam

May 7–9, 1993

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The Giorgio Levi Della Vida Medal of the Gustave E. von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, is awarded biennially to an outstanding scholar whose work has significantly and lastingly advanced the study of Islamic civilization. The scholar is selected by a committee appointed by the chancellor of the University of California, Los Angeles, meeting under the chairmanship of the director of the Gustave E. von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies.

The award carries with it a bronze medal and a prize of money, together with the obligation to present in person a formal lecture as part of a conference at the University of California, Los Angeles. The recipient of the award chooses the theme of the conference and selects the other participants. The proceedings of each conference are published in a special series, of which this volume is the fourteenth.

The first award was made in May 1967 to Professor Robert Brunschvig of the Sorbonne. Subsequent recipients have been Professors Joseph Schacht of Columbia University (1969), Francesco Gabrieli of the University of Rome (1971), Gustave E. von Grunebaum of the University of California, Los Angeles (1973, posthumously), Shlomo Dov Goitein of Princeton University (1975), Franz Rosenthal of Yale University (1977), Albert Hourani of the University of Oxford (1979), W. Montgomery Watt of the University of Edinburgh (1981), Fazlur Rahman of the University of Chicago (1983), Charles Issawi of Princeton University (1985), Annemarie Schimmel of Harvard University (1987), André Miquel of the Collège de France (1989), and Ehsan Yarshater of Columbia University (1991).

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Presentation of award to fourteenth recipient
GEORGE MAKDISI

GEORGES SABAGH
and
RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN
University of California, Los Angeles

Professor George Levi Makdisi is the distinguished recipient of the fourteenth prestigious Giorgio Levi Della Vida Award in Islamic Studies. This award is in recognition of his internationally celebrated contributions to the study of classical Islamic society and culture.

George Makdisi has been a professor of Arabic and Islamic Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania since 1961. He was also the Chair of the Department of Oriental Studies, 1975–78, and has served as a visiting professor at many prestigious academic institutions, including the Collège de France, the Sorbonne, and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. He has published extensively in Arabic, English, and French, not only on various aspects of classical Islamic society and culture but more recently on the Christian West as well.

The following are a few titles of his publications: *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIᵉ siècle* (1963); *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (1981); *L'Islam ḥanbalisant* (1983); *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (1990); *History and Politics in Eleventh Century Baghdad* (1990); and *Religion, Law and Learning in Classical Islam* (1991).

His presentation, "Religion and Culture in Classical Islam and the Christian West," is more than a brilliant and novel scholarly contribution. It points to a better understanding between Islam and the Christian West. How many academicians in the West are aware that the academic freedom that they cherish and the doctorate that they prize have their origins in Islamic scholastic methods and institutions? To quote Professor Makdisi, "the type of schools, their legal basis of perpetuity, the basic scholarly method, the doctorate as symbol of academic freedom and authoritative opinion, briefly, the very soul of professional higher learning" are "the legacy of classical Islam and classical Christendom . . . a legacy due of interaction of religion and culture."

Professor Makdisi has brought together a group of his long-time and very distinguished colleagues to explore various aspects of medieval Islamic literature, society, and culture. They include Merlin Swartz (Boston University) who presents an insightful analysis of the literary forms of the homily in the writings of Ibn al-Jawzī; Irfan Shahid (Georgetown) who unravels the complex literary implications of the main features of the Qur'ān, its Arabness and its incomparability; George Saliba (Columbia) who analyzes the evaluation of Ash'arite thought in astrology and astronomy; Roger Arnaldez (Institut de France) who reflects on the perspectives of medieval Islam on religious culture and on general culture; Mahmoud Ayoub (Temple University) who argues eloquently that the common worship of saints and shrines brought together Muslims and Jews in North Africa and Muslims and Christians in Syria–Palestine, but that political events have put an end to these practices; and W. Montgomery Watt (University of Edinburgh) who boldly projects the future of Islam, drawing an interesting parallel between the Judaic reaction to Hellenistic culture in the early Christian era and the Muslim reaction to western culture in recent times.

1 · Religion and culture in classical Islam and the Christian West

GEORGE MAKDISI
University of Pennsylvania

In the Middle Ages, the intimate relation between religion and culture was nowhere more intimate or interrelated than in a movement later named "scholasticism." This name, which was meant to be derogatory, was applied to the movement during the period of its decline, long after it had come into existence. With the passage of time, the name acquired several meanings, and since the nineteenth century, has come to designate scholastic philosophy. As such, it stands for the very antithesis of what the movement originally represented; that is, the exclusion of philosophy. Originating in Islam, the movement began in the second half of the ninth century, vigorously developed in the tenth, and reached its zenith in the eleventh. Some time in the first decades of the twelfth century, it appeared in the Christian West, where it followed two different lines of development: one in Bologna, the other in Paris. In classical Islam, its institution *par excellence* was the college; in the Christian West, the university.

The interest this movement has for us today is twofold: it is at the basis of our own system of higher learning; and it is a key to the understanding of certain developments in religious and cultural history in modern times, as well as in the Middle Ages. As such it has a claim on our attention at least as great as any other intellectual movement in history, for without it we would not have some of the most important institutions we have today. By inquiring into its origins, we are afforded a better understanding of certain religious and cultural developments in modern times.

Scholasticism: a movement and a method

For the present purpose, let us understand scholasticism as a *movement* and a *method*: a movement of conservative traditionalist religion and intellectual culture, and a method of professional higher

learning. It was legal science, not philosophy, that lay at the roots of this movement. As such, it found its way to the Christian West, to a law school in Bologna. The scholastic method it developed was applied first in Bologna, then in Paris, cities that were to become the homes of Europe's two original university models.

As movement and as method, scholasticism was shared by two medieval civilizations only, classical Islam and the Christian West, to the exclusion of the Christian East. Dom Jean Leclercq, who has written extensively on Christian monasticism, came to the conclusion, in one of his studies, that one could distinguish in the Christian West two Middle Ages, one monastic, the other, scholastic; that the monastic Middle Age was closer in its mental structure to that of eastern Christianity than it was to that of the scholastic Middle Age.[1] If such a statement could be made it is because the scholastic Middle Age was not originally a Christian product. Both Middle Ages, the monastic and the scholastic, had arisen in the East: the former, in Christianity; the latter, in Islam.

Christopher Dawson, a historian who has written extensively on the relation between religion and culture, has said that "in many respects the Christian culture of the past resembles the culture of Islam more than it resembles modern Western culture."[2] If such a statement could be made, it is because Islam and Christendom shared the scholastic movement's religious intellectual culture. There is good reason for considering, with Christopher Dawson, the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries as constituting the classical period of western Christendom;[3] for the twelfth was the formative century of scholasticism, and the thirteenth the period of its zenith. The formative period of Islamic scholasticism was that of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the zenith of its development the eleventh. Thus the classical periods of the worlds of Islam and Christianity coincide with their respective periods of scholasticism.

Scholasticism: a fitting name

All things considered, "scholasticism" was a fitting name for the movement; for its adherents established new types of schools, professionally organized for the first time in history and based on legal perpetuity. They created a legal science, a method of research and writing raised to an art and leading to a professional license to teach, in an autonomous scholarly system which we call today "academic freedom." If the name was meant to be derogatory, it is perhaps because the humanists who named it had their attention focused on

the period of its decline, when it had become a caricature of its former self; they themselves had no such schools, and tended to prize self-teaching. But their feelings toward the movement notwithstanding, the humanists eventually adopted the institutions of scholasticism.[4] The same is true of modern times, which have maintained the essential elements of the Islamic scholastic structure, a structure the classical Christian West successfully preserved in perpetuity.

Scholasticism is an excellent example of the two-way relation between religion and culture, in which each had its impact on the other throughout the course of their development in the Middle Ages. Its history in the land of its origin, the Islamic East, illustrates the influence of religion on culture; in the land of its adoption, the Christian West, its history illustrates the influence of culture on religion. For the first time in history, the interaction of religion and culture led to the professional higher learning which we continue to enjoy today. But modern western culture has for centuries considered itself so directly related to classical antiquity that the notion of relating it to religion and the classical period of Christendom must seem very far-fetched, let alone relating it to the classical period of Islam. Yet this is what I shall attempt to do here, especially with respect to the reception of scholasticism in Bologna.

The objective of the western scholar who studies Islam is to make it known to members of his own culture. During my student years, I had no idea that I would change my field from western to Islamic studies. Coming to Islamic studies at the level of the doctorate, and after three degrees in American and European political and cultural history, I was surprised to see that western scholars introduced their students to Islamic culture through the study of the Islamic religion. Many books were available on the subject of Islamic beliefs and institutions. This was for me a new experience; for in my introduction to western culture religion had had no place; it was as though it had no connection with western culture. In those first years after the Second World War, the mid-forties, fresh out of the American army from the European theatre of operations, and eager for university studies after two years of trudging through Europe, I applied for the "GI Bill" for university studies, to learn more about the Europe I had come to know during the war. The courses I took, in one of our great universities, included one that consisted in the works of five major authors: Plato, Lucretius, Descartes, George Berkeley, and William James, essentially works of philosophy and psychology.

Though I was later surprised at the difference in approach to the

two civilizations, it was some time before I came to realize the full significance of that difference. The course I took on western thought is a perfect example of the notion that modern western culture was directly linked to classical antiquity. One will readily notice, in that course of readings, the time gap between Lucretius and Descartes – a leap over fifteen centuries of medieval thought. In one fell swoop, the entire Middle Ages, keystone of western culture, including the patristic period, were made to disappear. Moreover, from classical antiquity Plato was chosen, not Aristotle, the favorite of the medieval schoolmen, to whom he was "*the* Philosopher."

Since this was the attitude toward our own Middle Ages, the corresponding period in Islam could hardly be expected to get a fair hearing. This attitude toward the Middle Ages reflects those of the Renaissance and of the Reformation, a cultural movement and a religious movement that sought to skip the Middle Ages altogether: the Reformation, to establish a direct connection with classical antiquity. To this end, they bypassed long centuries of religion and culture, of history and tradition, leaving as a legacy to modern times a prejudicial attitude toward the Middle Ages.

Fortunately, since the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, western historians of the Middle Ages have been hard at work redressing the wrong in historical writing against that period. Charles Homer Haskins challenged historians of the Italian Renaissance when he chose to entitle one of his books *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*.[5] Thanks to such scholarly efforts, medieval studies have been enjoying well-deserved success throughout our present century. But scholarship has yet a long way to go before bringing objectivity to all aspects of medieval studies. For while the medieval period of western intellectual history has found its advocates, the attitude of western historians toward religion, Islam as well as Christianity, has not quite shaken itself free of the legacy of the Renaissance and of the Reformation, further aggravated by the prejudice borne toward religion by the Enlightenment and the Revolution.

It was not until the third decade of study and research in Islam that I began to feel the need to turn back once again to western European studies. I had become aware of a kinship, in form and content, between the *summa* on law and theology by the eleventh-century Ibn 'Aqīl of Baghdad in eastern Islam, and the *summa* on theology and law by the thirteenth-century Thomas Aquinas, of Roccasecca and Naples in southern Italy.[6] The more I delved into the two intellectual cultures for background on these two religious intellectuals, the more

I was surprised to find that their cultures threw light on one another: each became, so to speak, a mirror in which the other could find its reflection. These two intellectuals had written their two works in the same spirit, following essentially the same method and the same structure. It was only a matter of time to discover that the institutions of learning, in which the training for such works was obtained, were fundamentally related.[7]

Unlike the fields of philosophy and science, where the evidence for their reception in the Christian West is based on translations from Arabic into Latin, the reception of Islamic scholasticism occurred chiefly through silent penetration. This reception is evident in the essential elements of the scholastic structure. The claim that the institutions of this scholastic structure were the result of a "natural and spontaneous development" ignores the nature of social institutions, which are the embodiment of antecedent traditions. The presence of institutions in a culture devoid of antecedents for them suggests their reception from another culture with the requisite antecedents. Such is the case, in my view, with respect to the presence of scholasticism in the Christian West, the antecedents for which are found nowhere but in the Islamic East.

Scholasticism in classical Islam was based on a law which the famous jurist Shāfi'ī had raised to a legal science. He made this legal science to serve as a juridical theology, in order to counter the Rationalist theology of his adversaries. With the rise of Islamic colleges in the tenth century, it was this legal science/juridical theology that constituted the scholasticism of the legal guilds, taught in the guilds' colleges.[8] It laid stress on the obligation of following the dictates of God's commands and prohibitions. Juridical theology consisted in the study of the "roots of law" (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), which were essentially the roots of obligation (*taklīf*). It did not speculate regarding the divine source of the law: God was not a subject of speculation; therefore, no philosophical theology. The advocates of juridical theology, the legal schoolmen, did not, could not, banish philosophical speculation from the minds of men; they simply excluded philosophical theology from the process of determining orthodoxy. Orthodoxy consisted in translating *knowledge* of the revealed law into the *practice* of obeying its dictates; it consisted in a positive correlation between knowledge (*'ilm*) and practice (*'amal*), applicable first of all to the Prophet himself, and to his heirs, the religious intellectuals. The ideal religious intellectual was one who practiced what he preached.[9]

Islamic scholasticism thus consisted in a traditionalist conservative legal science. While keeping the essential elements of the Islamic

structure, scholasticism developed in Bologna along the Traditional-ist lines of Islam, whereas in Paris it developed along the lines of Islamic Rationalism. Thus, what Islam had excluded from its guild schools was given *droit de cité* in the faculty of theology of the University of Paris. These two lines of development produced two types of universities: the University of Bologna, which served as the model for universities in southern Europe; and the University of Paris, the model for those of northern Europe.

Scholasticism in Bologna

The University of Bologna started as a center of studies in Roman law. This fact would seem to point to the absence of influence from Islam; but the development in Bologna was typical of Islamic legal scholasticism. It is therefore in the city of Bologna that the scholastic movement should be examined to find the reason for its reception there from classical Islam. But historians have generally concentrated on the origin of the university rather than on that of scholasticism,[10] and have been attracted to Abelard and Paris rather than to legal science and Bologna, as one can see in Hastings Rashdall's *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*.[11] The following headings are those of the first five chapters of that magisterial work: (1) "What is a University?"; (2) "Abelard and the Renaissance of the twelfth century"; (3) "Salerno"; (4) "Bologna"; and (5) "Paris."

These chapter headings reflect Rashdall's conception of the chronological development of the university movement. He gives precedence to Abelard and the twelfth century in Paris[12] because for him, as for other historians generally, scholasticism consisted of scholastic philosophy and scholastic theology, not of legal science. Yet he deals with Bologna before Paris, despite the fact that it taught legal science, to the exclusion of both philosophy and theology. Moreover, though he treats of Salerno before Bologna, Rashdall does not consider it to have been a university, and rightly so; but the fact that he treats it among universities, by way of introduction to them, has apparently prompted others to give it the status of a "proto-uni-versity."[13] The European university movement, like the Islamic college movement before it, owes its existence to the scholastic move-ment which created the phenomenon of the scholastic guild, pro-genitor of the European university, as of the Islamic college; and scholasticism was originally, and above all, a movement of guild schools for professional legal science. It would therefore be more in keeping with historical chronology to place Abelard after Bologna

and before Paris. As for Salerno, it may usefully be kept in the place assigned to it, after the chapter on "What is a University?", mainly to show what a university is not.

Rashdall accepted in the main the conclusions of his predecessor, Heinrich Denifle, on the origin of universities. These two great schol-ars on universities in medieval Europe tend to emphasize the impor-tance of the license to teach.[14] The Latin term for this license, *licentia docendi*, like so many other terms of scholasticism, is the literal trans-lation of the Arabic term *ijāzat at-tadrīs*. This license was at the basis of the motive within Traditionalist Islam to create the scholastic movement; that motive was to monopolize, by means of the license, the authority to determine religious orthodoxy. An analysis of the essential elements of the movement's structure would give us a defini-tion of the college and of the university. For such an analysis would point to the basic relation between them, through the same scholas-tic function they were created to perform.

Some misconceptions

Before proceeding to this analysis, however, some misconceptions of medievalist historians of the West should be clarified. These involve the college, the license to teach, and the science of law. To begin with, the fact that "the university, as a form of social organization, owes nothing to the West," as one author correctly quotes me, does not change the fact that both the Christian university and the Islamic college were scholastic guild institutions, and performed the same essential scholastic functions.[15] The college was the first institution of learning of the Islamic scholastic movement; it was as essential to Islamic scholasticism as the university was to scholasticism in the Christian West. The more permanent of the two was the college, because of its financial base, namely the endowment of the charitable trust, lacking in the university corporation. Without the college and its endowments, the university could not have survived. Endowments enabled the scholastic institution to function independently, and its scholars to be free of external pressures. The college, as a guild school rather than merely a hospice, was an Islamic creation, as the uni-versity was a creation of the Christian West. The Christian West pre-served and perpetuated the scholastic structure for posterity by adopting the Islamic scholastic guild and the Islamic charitable trust,[16] by incorporating them both, and by fusing the college and the university into one institution, and thus creating the college-university.[17]
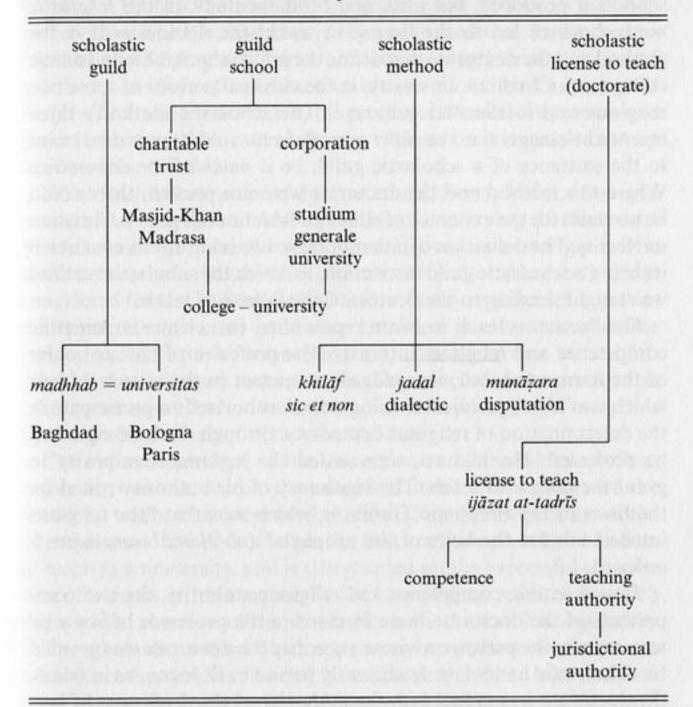
Second, the authority for granting the license to teach in classical Islam was always in the hands of the professors themselves; the same is true of the Christian West in the early period in Bologna, as well as elsewhere, as we shall have occasion to see. Moreover, the license to teach, like the college or the university, was a product of the scholastic movement. The license to teach was not simply a "teacher's certificate," as has been suggested;[18] it did not only give evidence of competence, but also of authority:[19] a religious authority qualifying its holder to participate in the determination of orthodox doctrine, and an intellectual authority qualifying the holder freely to profess original opinions, based on individual, personal research, and to make them public orally as well as in writing. That was its main purpose originally in Islam, and later in the Christian West, where the phenomenon of the Islamic license to teach, the doctorate, was eventually to become one of the factors leading to the Reformation, as will be seen presently.

And finally, legal science, believed to have been first developed in Bologna,[20] was achieved by Shāfiʿī in Baghdad, at the end of the second century of Islam (the eighth of our era), as has been made amply clear by Joseph Schacht.[21] After the abortive *miḥnah* inquisition, from which the Traditionalist victims emerged victorious, the teaching of legal science was professionalized in the colleges of the Traditionalist legal guilds, as a juridical theology opposed to the philosophical theology of the Rationalists.[22] In Bologna, it was the scholastic method of Islam that enabled the Italian jurists to develop their legal science, as will also be seen presently. Table 1.1 shows the institutional structure of the scholastic movement.

Scholasticism: the institutional structure

The structure of the scholastic movement may be analyzed into four essential elements: the guild, the school, the method, and the license. The first essential element, the *scholastic guild*, was, in classical Islam, designated by the term *madhhab*; and in the Christian West, by the term *universitas*. As common terms, *madhhab* meant a way or direction followed, a course adopted; and *universitas* meant an aggregate of persons, the totality of a group. Both common terms came to stand technically for a scholastic guild, an entity constituting the membership of the scholastic profession in a given city. *Madhhab*, as a guild, was confined to legal science; this means that the license to teach was granted in Islam in the field of law alone. In the Christian West, *universitas*, as a guild, was originally confined to law in Bologna, but as

Table 1.1. *Institutional structure of the scholastic movement*

scholastic guild	guild school	scholastic method	scholastic license to teach (doctorate)
	charitable trust	corporation	
	Masjid-Khan Madrasa	studium generale university	
	college – university		
madhhab = universitas		*khilāf* sic et non	*jadal* dialectic *munāzara* disputation
Baghdad Bologna Paris			license to teach *ijāzat at-tadrīs*
			competence teaching authority
			jurisdictional authority

it later included theology, medicine, and finally the liberal arts, the license to teach, granted first in law, was later granted also in the other disciplines.

The earliest guild schools, not only in classical Islam but also in the Christian West, were colleges based on the law of the charitable trust. In the Christian West alone the university was based on the law of the corporation, that is, on fictitious juristic personality. At a third stage of development, the college-university was based on both forms of legal perpetuity: the charitable trust and the corporation. The college in Islam was first the mosque-inn complex, then the *madrasa*; in the Christian West, the university was known at first as *studium generale*, and only later as "university," derived from *universitas*, the term coined for "guild."

The revolution in higher learning was not only in the types of schools it produced, but also, and fundamentally, in the *scholastic method*, which led to the license to teach: the doctorate. It is the method and the doctorate that define the guild school, be it an Islamic college or a Christian university, in the classical periods of these two religious and intellectual cultures.[23] The scholastic method's three essential elements (i.e. the *sic et non*, *dialectic*, and *disputation*) point to the existence of a scholastic guild, be it *madhhab* or *universitas*. Where this method and the doctorate were not present, there could be no claim for the existence of either an Islamic college or a Christian university. The definition of either of these two institutions consists in its being a scholastic guild institution, in which the scholastic method was taught, leading to the doctorate, the license to teach.

The license to teach in Islam represented two elements: scientific competence and religious authority. The professor of law, as holder of the license to teach, was judged competent in the science of law, which was also a juridical theology, and authorized to participate in the determination of religious orthodoxy, through the legal opinions he professed. He, in turn, represented the legitimate authority to grant the license to teach. The legitimacy of his authority rested on the basis of the Prophetic Tradition, which says that "the religious intellectuals are the heirs of the prophets" (*al-'ulamā' warathatu 'l-anbiya'*).

Thus scientific competence and religious authority, the two components of the doctorate, were invested in the professor of law who was, in turn, the person on whose authority the doctorate was granted to a successful candidate. In the early period in Bologna, as in Islam, the doctorate was granted on the authority of the professors of law; and in Paris, on the authority of the chancellor of the cathedral church. The Bologna professor's authority was based on scientific competence; that of the Parisian professor on religious authority. This anomalous situation led to different problems in Bologna and Paris, solutions to which were found later.

Rashdall treats these problems in the case of both universities. I shall quote only a few passages, with respect to Bologna and some other universities. He states that the Bologna masters "conferred in their own name the licence to teach and the student thus licensed became an actual doctor." He then goes on to say that "this unfettered liberty of the Bologna masters was, however, out of harmony with hierarchical ideas . . . it was contrary to the great University of Paris, where the *licentia docendi* had always been obtained from the chancellor of the cathedral church."[24] This practice was also that of

Montpellier, where the bishop alone had "the right of conferring the licence."[25] He had "control over the conferment of licences in canon and civil law which he had always enjoyed in medicine; he procured a royal brief enforcing his claims, and authorizing him to demand of graduates an oath of obedience to his see."[26] At the University of Angers, according to Rashdall, the professors "could even venture to grant licences on their own authority, without the sanction of bishop or chancellor."[27]

What Rashdall considered the "unfettered liberty" of the Bologna masters was simply the Islamic practice of conferring the doctorate. The scholastic guild functioned in the same way as a craft guild. The student became a doctor when the master under whom he studied considered that he had fulfilled all the necessary requirements, just as the apprentice in a craft-guild shop became a journeyman when the master under whom he learned his craft considered that he had fulfilled all the necessary requirements. These included the production of a "masterpiece," whether by the advanced apprentice of a craft or by the graduate-student doctoral candidate.

The supreme product of the university, as of the Islamic college before it, was the doctor, the scholastic intellectual, holder of the license to teach. The doctor today is still the supreme product of the university; and the doctorate, in the best tradition, is still the license to teach in a university, and is still granted on the successful completion of a thesis, a "masterpiece" based on original research in which the essential elements of the scholastic method are still recognizable.

The scholastic method which appears to be, on the face of it, a mere school exercise, was, for classical Islam, the only method used to determine religious orthodoxy; for, as I have often had occasion to remark, unlike Christianity, Islam had no ecclesiastical hierarchy to determine orthodoxy through councils and synods.[28] In the Christian West, however, the method played two different roles: first, in intellectual culture, it served as the method of scholarship in higher learning which led to the dignity of the doctorate; and second, in religion, where, in theology, it played the role of rival to the teaching authority already in place, i.e. the authority to teach orthodox doctrine, held by the pope in union with the bishops. Thus the license to teach was a far more potent institution in scholasticism than a mere modern teacher's certificate.[29]

As the earliest license to teach in the Christian West was, like that of classical Islam, granted on the authority of the professors of law in Bologna and elsewhere, so also the earliest scholastic guild was like that of Islam: a voluntary association, without incorporation. More

than that, the earliest type of guild school was of the same type as that of Islam: based on the charitable trust, without incorporation. The incorporation of the scholastic guild and of its school was not to come until later. Rashdall writes as follows regarding the earliest type of guild, in Bologna, before the year 1158, and therefore before the university:

The guild was already in existence, but was merely, so to speak, a customary society, which existed in fact, though not on paper. Such an inference is strongly supported by the analogy of Paris, where we have positive evidence of the existence of a customary guild of masters, some ten or twenty years later, though it was not till fifty years after that that a single written statute existed, and not till a still later period that the guild was sufficiently organized to elect officers or use a common seal.[30]

This early type of scholastic guild in Bologna, and later in Paris, was identical with the Islamic model. It was the only type of guild, without statutes, found in Islam where there were no corporations. Islamic law recognized juristic personality for a natural, physical person only, not for an abstract entity. Rashdall's statement thus confirms the existence of this type of Islamic scholastic guild in Bologna and Paris.

Besides the license to teach and the scholastic guild, we find in Bologna the Islamic type of law school. Unaware of the legal basis for this law school, Rashdall had doubts about it. Here is what he says: "A passage of the chronicler, Burchard of Ursperg, supplies us with an important clue towards the solution of the problem." The problem is in reference to the jurist Irnerius being the cause for the University of Bologna. Rashdall, who had a very high opinion of Abelard, had a rather low one of Irnerius, who he felt was of lesser intellectual rank. It was puzzling to him that Irnerius could be the whole "cause" for the origin of the University of Bologna, while Abelard was only "one of the causes" for the University of Paris.[31] Rashdall goes on to quote the chronicler, who writes as follows:

Dominus Irnerius at the request of the Countess Matilda renewed the books of the laws, *which had long been neglected*, and, in accordance with the manner in which they had been compiled by the Emperor Justinian of divine memory, arranged them in divisions, adding perchance between the lines a few words here and there.[32]

Rashdall then comments: "The notion that Matilda founded the School of Bologna, in the sense in which later emperors or kings founded universities, is of course on the face of it untenable."[33] Rashdall accepts the fact of the law school's existence, but not as a university, such as, for instance, Frederick II's University of Naples,

Table 1.2. *Guild law schools in Baghdad and Bologna*

Baghdad law school		Bologna law school
	founder of the charitable trust law school	
Nizām al-Mulk prime minister (d. 1092)		Matilda countess of Tuscany (d. 1115)
	law school founded specifically for	
Shīrāzī (d. 1083) professor of law		Irnerius (d. *c.*1125) professor of law
	for the purpose of	
teaching the scholastic method for the solution of conflicting legal opinions		teaching the scholastic method for the solution of conflicting legal opinions

founded in 1224. He considers that Countess Matilda's foundation was not a university, and he is right; it was not a corporation, it was a charitable trust. Such foundations in Islam were created by private individuals without the prior authorization of the sovereign. This early law school of Irnerius in Bologna follows the model of a *madrasa*-college in medieval Baghdad, as can be seen in Table 1.2.

Notice, in this table, that the first kind of guild school founded in Bologna was a law school based on the charitable trust, as in Baghdad; that the founder was a person of financial means; that this person founded the school for a particular professor named to the chair of law; and lastly, but most significantly, that the scholastic method was taught for the purpose of dealing with conflicting legal opinions.

The *Digest* of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*

Legal historians have recently pointed out that the law school founded for Irnerius was for the study of Roman law,[34] that is, the Justinian *Corpus Iuris Civilis* which had enjoyed an uninterrupted existence in Italy, contrary to the previous notion that it had only been discovered in the first half of the eleventh century. This means that the Justinian *Corpus* had been steadily used, except for one of its parts, the *Digest*, which had been neglected. This interest in studying

the *Digest*, after the neglect mentioned by the chronicler Burchard, has intrigued western historians, and the answers recently given have already been declared inadequate.[35] In this case, as in others, I believe that the Islamic scholastic method has an adequate answer.

The Justinian *Corpus Iuris Civilis* is composed of four parts: the *Code*, the *Novels*, the *Institutes*, and the *Digest*. The *Code* deals with laws under the emperors before Justinian, and the *Novels* with Justinian's laws. The *Institutes*, a textbook, was studied by beginners in Roman law. These three parts of the *Corpus* were readily usable. But the *Digest*, greater than the other parts put together, was neglected because it consisted, not of imperial decisions readily usable, but of legal opinions of Roman jurists often conflicting.
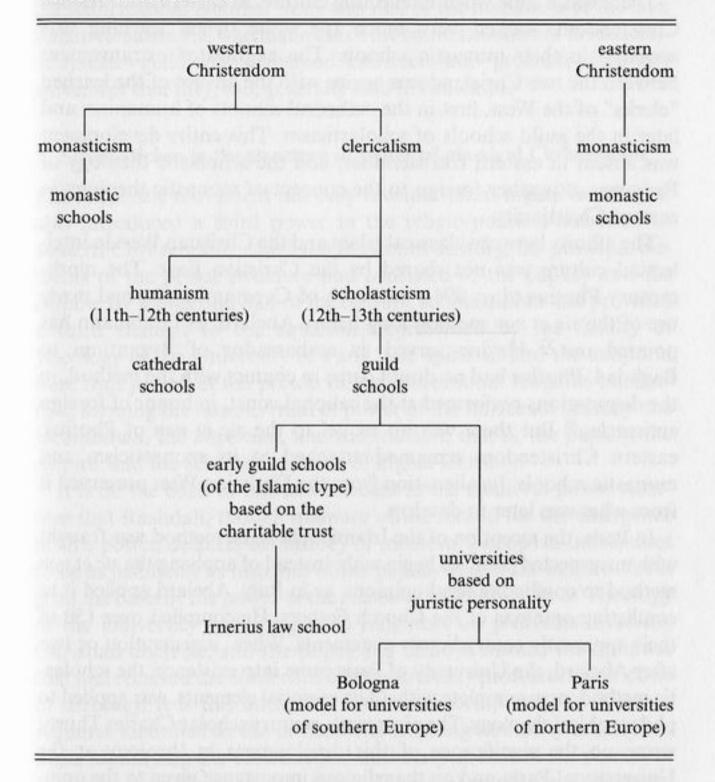
The awakening of the Italian jurists to the *Digest*, in my view, points to the reception of the Islamic scholastic method in Italy in the early twelfth century, for this method was specifically created to deal with conflicting legal opinions. In other words, the study of the *Digest* was made possible by the reception of the Islamic scholastic method in Bologna. What gave rise to the scholastic guild school in the Christian West was therefore not primarily a matter of personalities, whether that of Irnerius or of Abelard, but of the Islamic scholastic method and its application to conflicting opinions. This method was used in three types of such opinions: legal opinions in the Roman law of the *Digest*, in the law school of Irnerius; legal opinions in canon law, in Gratian's *Concordance of discordant canons*; and theological opinions in Abelard's *sic et non*.

Scholasticism in Paris

The use of the scholastic method in Bologna, remaining as it did in the field of law, secured it from the hidden danger in Paris, where the use of the method ventured into the realm of religion, creating a rivalry with ecclesiastical authority. For the reception of scholasticism, in Paris, was a mixed blessing. It was both for better, and for worse: for better, in the realm of intellectual culture; for worse, in the realm of religion. Besides Bologna, eastern Christendom also escaped the pitfall of Paris, each in its own way: Bologna confined scholasticism to legal science, while the Christian east simply avoided Islamic scholasticism. Table 1.3 shows the point at which the different directions in higher learning took place in eastern and western Christendom.

The day of the monastic schools was on the wane, and with its passing the existing estrangement between eastern and western Christendom was further aggravated. An important factor contrib-

Table 1.3. *Intellectual movements and their schools in eastern and western Christendom*

uting to this estrangement was the rise of clericalism in the western cathedral school system, followed by scholasticism, as pointed out by Dom Jean Leclercq.[36] Leadership in learning in the Christian West was passing from the monastic to the cathedral schools in the eleventh century, its beginnings having taken place in the previous century with Gerbert of Aurillac. He was the first teacher in the cathedral school system known to have come in contact with Islamic learning. Besides Reims, where Gerbert was the *scholasticus* or principal of the cathedral school, there were other cathedral schools, such as those of Liège, Chartres, Laon, Tournai, and Paris where Abelard made use

of one of the essential elements of the scholastic method, the *sic et non*, already put to use by the Italian jurists in Bologna.

There was a time when intellectual culture, in eastern and western Christendom, looked very much the same: when learning was acquired in their monastic schools. The aggravated estrangement between the two Christendoms begins with the advent of the learned "clerks" of the West, first in the cathedral schools of humanism and later in the guild schools of scholasticism. This entire development was absent in eastern Christendom; and the scholastic theology of Paris was altogether foreign to the concept of monastic theology in eastern Christianity.

The affinity between classical Islam and the Christian West in intellectual culture was not shared by the Christian East. The ninth-century Photius (d. *c.* 891), patriarch of Constantinople, had made use of the *sic et non* method long before Abelard, as Grabmann has pointed out.[37] Having served as ambassador of Byzantium to Baghdad, Photius had no doubt come in contact with the method, in the disputations performed at the caliphal court, in honor of foreign emissaries.[38] But there was no sequel to the *sic et non* of Photius: eastern Christendom remained attached to its monasticism and monastic schools. Its alienation from the Christian West preserved it from what was later to develop.

In Paris, the reception of the Islamic scholastic method was fraught with unsuspected peril. To begin with, instead of applying the *sic et non* method to conflicting legal opinions, as in Italy, Abelard applied it to conflicting opinions of the Church Fathers. He compiled over 150 of their apparently contradictory statements. When, a generation or two after Abelard, the University of Paris came into existence, the scholastic method, now complete with all its essential elements, was applied to philosophical theology. The nineteenth-century scholar Charles Thurot wrote on the significance of this development in theology at the University of Paris, and on the religious importance given to the opinions of the professors of the faculty of Theology.[39] As already mentioned, the doctorate in Islam represented not only competence but also religious authority, a jurisdictional authority to determine orthodoxy. It was not long before the doctorate in the Christian West recovered this religious teaching authority in the faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, eventually rivaling that of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. When finally Martin Luther came upon the scene, with his theological theses as doctor of theology, the ground had already been prepared for him by the Parisian faculty. It is ironic that the doctorate, the highest achievement of scholastic learning, a learning that Luther held in contempt

(except for the doctorate to which he attached great importance), should have been the scholastic element providing the spark to ignite the Reformation. Another irony was that of the humanists of the later Italian Renaissance, who made use of the entire structure of the scholastic system – guild, school, method, and doctorate – products of the very movement that they, too, generally held in contempt.

Scholasticism in the structure of power of classical Christendom

The scholastic movement not only revolutionized higher learning, it also introduced a third power in the religio-political structure of western Christendom. Until the thirteenth century, the principal elements of the power structure had consisted of the papacy and the empire. By the second half of the century, scholasticism had provided a third element to the equation, represented by the faculty of Theology of the University of Paris. The spiritual and the temporal were thus joined in the person of the professional religious intellectual, forming the famous triad of power of the thirteenth century: the *sacerdotium*, the *imperium*, and the *studium*; that is, the papacy, the empire, and the scholastic system of higher learning.

It is on the basis of this new element in the medieval power structure that Rashdall, though unaware of the reason for the emergence of this power, declares his history of medieval European universities to be as justifiable as histories of the papacy and of the empire. For it is on the basis of the power of the *studium* that the faculty of Theology of the University of Paris passed judgment on problems involving Christian doctrine, and the popes and bishops ratified the opinions that had received the consensus of the university professors as doctors of theology. It is this authority that the contemporary St. Thomas Aquinas identified as the professorial teaching authority in religion, while identifying the ecclesiastical authority as that of the pontiff or pastor. It is on the basis of this same doctoral-professorial authority that Luther, as doctor of theology, could justify his opinions as authoritative. This authority, which made its appearance in the Christian West in the thirteenth century, introduced the principle of individualism in the centuries-old hierarchical principle of Christianity, and its consequences remain with us today, in our modern Catholic universities, in the *ex cathedra* pronouncements of the professor-doctor occupying the chair of sacred theology.

To sum up: in this chapter I have attempted to show how the interactive relation of religion and culture in the Middle Ages gave rise to

the scholastic movement, source of our modern structure of professional higher learning. It began with the impact of classical antiquity's culture on Islam, causing the reaction of the Traditionalist jurisconsults to create an intellectual culture, which in turn had its impact on the intellectual culture of the Christian West, and this, in turn, on the Christian religion. Christopher Dawson was right in stating that "it is impossible to understand the culture unless we understand the religion that lies behind it."[40] The scholastic method was a product of the Islamic religious development, vital for the determination of Islamic orthodoxy; nothing in the Christian religion called for such a system.

There is no denying that classical antiquity informs much of our modern intellectual culture; but this culture is also undeniably related directly to medieval culture and religion. The fundamental structure and spirit of its higher learning are directly related to the classical periods of Islam and Christendom. We often think of our institutions of higher learning as products of our modern times, which, although they originated some time in the distant Middle Ages, have so changed as no longer to bear any fundamental relation to their origins. Yet when one analyzes the essential elements constituting the organization of higher learning, neither the intellectual movements of modern times nor the humanist movement of the Italian Renaissance have added anything essential to these constituent elements: the type of schools, their legal basis of perpetuity, the basic scholarly method, the doctorate as symbol of academic freedom and authoritative opinion, briefly, the very soul of professional higher learning. This is the legacy of classical Islam and classical Christendom to the modern world; a legacy of the interaction of religion and culture – a legacy the future of which depends on the preservation of their essential elements, particularly academic freedom.

In modern times, due credit for this legacy must also be given to the Supreme Court of the United States for preserving the rights of the incorporated charitable trust, as in the case of The Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward.[41] The majority opinion of the Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice John Marshall (in 1819), thus protected the private institutions of learning and, by preventing the individual states from appropriating those within their boundaries, gave impetus to the subsequent creation of state institutions of higher learning. At a time when Europe appears to be moving away from the principle of academic freedom and professorial tenure, the university community in America must once again be on its guard, as it was in the first decades of this century, when it created the American

Association of University Professors (AAUP), to protect the principle of academic freedom.

Notes

1 J. Leclercq, "Médiévisme et unionisme," *Irenikon*, 19 (1946), pp. 6–23, esp. pp. 21 ff.

2 C. Dawson, *The Historic Reality of Christian Culture: A Way of the Renewal of Human Life*, Religious Perspectives, ed. R. N. Anshen, 1 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 71.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

4 Cf. G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 53 ff.

5 Cf. C. W. Hollister, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969), p. 1.

6 G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Islamic Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), pp. 245 ff.

7 *Ibid.*; Makdisi, *Rise of Humanism*, part 1.

8 On legal guilds in classical Islam, see G. Makdisi, "La corporation à l'époque classique de l'Islam," in G. Makdisi, *Religion, Law and Learning* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), no. X; and G. Makdisi, "The Guilds of Law in Medieval Legal History: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Inns of Court," in *ibid.*, no. XI.

9 The Arabic phrase *al-'alim al-'amil* ("the practicing religious intellectual") finds its corresponding phrase in the medieval Latin *dicendi faciendique magister* and *loquendi faciendique magister*; see G. Makdisi, *Rise of Humanism*, index, s.v.

10 We owe the only comprehensive history of the scholastic method to Martin Grabmann, in his fundamental work, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909–11; photomechanical reprint, Graz, 1957).

11 H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936; New York: Clarendon Press, 1987).

12 *Ibid.*, vol. I, chap. 2.

13 Cf. A. B. Cobban, *Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization* (London: Methuen, 1975), p. 37.

14 Rashdall, *Universities*, vol. I, p. 20, the additional note by Rashdall's editors.

15 Quotation in A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500* (Aldershot: Scholars Press, 1988), p. 1, n. 2. What the university does owe to classical Islam is the scholastic structure of higher learning and the license to teach, the doctorate, to which it led.

16 On the charitable trust in Europe, see J. M. Bienvenu, "Fondations

charitables laiques au XIIe siècle: l'exemple de l'Anjou," in M. Mollet (ed.), *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté (moyen âge, XVIe siècle)*, Publications de la Sorbonne, série "Etudes," 12 vols. (Paris, 1974), vol. VIII; and M. N. Boyer, *Medieval French Bridges: A History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1976), esp. chap. 3, pp. 31 ff.

17 Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, p. 229.

18 C. H. Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957; originally published by Henry Holt & Company, 1923), p. 14.

19 Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, p. 272 and throughout; Makdisi, *Rise of Humanism*, s.v. "licence to teach," "*licentia docendi*."

20 H. J. Berman, unaware of Islamic legal science and scholasticism in higher learning, believes that legal science was first achieved in Bologna; see his *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 161 ff.

21 J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950).

22 G. Makdisi, "The Juridical Theology of Shafi'i: Origins and Significance of Usul al-Fiqh," *Studia Islamica*, 59 (1984), pp. 5–47.

23 On the classical age of Christendom, see Dawson, *Historic Reality*, p. 112.

24 Rashdall, *Universities*, vol. I, p. 221, considered Irnerius and his contemporaries as "private and unauthorized teachers" (*ibid.*, p. 143); but Irnerius was, in fact, a professor of law in a school of law founded for him by Countess Matilda, the same as his Islamic counterpart in a *madrasa*-college.

25 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 124.

26 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 129.

27 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 337 and n. 1: the licenses afterwards received an *ex post facto* validation by papal bull.

28 See, *inter alia*, Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, p. 106.

29 See Haskins, *Rise of Universities*, p. 14.

30 Rashdall, *Universities*, vol. I, p. 146.

31 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 115.

32 *Ibid.* (emphasis added).

33 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 116.

34 Berman, *Law and Revolution*, p. 127.

35 C. M. Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence: Pavia and Bologna 850–1150* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 181 ff.

36 See Leclercq, "Médiévisme et unionisme."

37 Grabmann, *Scholastischen Methode*, vol. I, p. 113; Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, p. 247.

38 Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, p. 259.

39 C. Thurot, *De l'organisation de l'enseignement dans l'Université de Paris au moyen âge* (Paris: Dezobry, E. Magdeleine et cie, 1850), p. 160.

40 Dawson, *Historic Reality*, p. 70.

41 See Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, pp. 230–7 (on p. 232, first line cited of Chief Justice Marshall's opinion, instead of "elementary," read "eleemosynary").

2 · The future of Islam

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I have recently come to realize more clearly that there are some parallels between the problems of the Jewish religion with Hellenistic culture in the time of Christ and the problems of Islam at the present time with western culture. Perhaps a consideration of the parallels may throw some light on the future prospects of Islam.

Judaism and Hellenistic culture

I shall first say something about Judaism and Hellenistic culture. In the wake of the conquests of Alexander that culture spread over the whole of the Fertile Crescent as well as many other regions. The Jews of Palestine were included in the colonialist empires headed by the successors of Alexander. As these empires became gradually more Hellenized, the Jews felt their religious identity more and more threatened. For a time even their continued existence as a community was in danger, for the Seleucids of Antioch used political means to prevent them practicing circumcision and observing the Sabbath. It was against this political threat that the Maccabees rebelled in 167 B.C.E., and they were eventually successful in repelling the threat and gaining a degree of autonomy. In 63 B.C.E., however, the Jews came under another colonialist power, that of Rome, and the process of Hellenization continued in its Roman form, perhaps even accelerating. There were few areas of life not affected by this culture, at least in the cities, and Jews had to make up their minds how they were going to respond to it.

Since the distant past there had been a tendency among the Hebrew people to try to make themselves an exclusive community which had no close contacts with non-Jews. After the first settlement in Palestine some of the Hebrew men married local women, and the authorities tried to forbid this. There were similar marriages after the return from exile in Babylon, and again these were forbidden. Later, to counteract the threats to their identity greater emphasis was placed on the exclusive character of the Jewish community. Jews were to have close contacts only with other Jews, and in this way they were to preserve the purity of the community worshiping God. In the time of Christ we see how the desire to keep the community exclusive affected different groups. There were those, such as the Essenes and the people of Qumran, who thought that the only way to keep the believing community pure was to live in isolation from the rest of the world. Another response, associated in the New Testament with the Pharisees, was to continue mixing with other people, but to have no close contacts, such as sharing meals, except with practicing Jews. Contact with non-Jews and even with Jewish tax-collectors and sinners was carefully avoided. This policy of social exclusiveness was further supported by the observance of rules for ritual purity.

A third response was that of the Zealots. These were Jews who were more concerned to purify the community by political independence than by exclusiveness, and for this they contemplated rebellion against Rome. As is well known, the rebellion eventually took place between 66 and 70 C.E. and ended in complete disaster for the Jews, including the destruction of the Temple.

Fourth, there was the high-priestly family and their supporters. These were prepared to compromise with the colonialists in return for certain privileges. They were allowed to maintain the public worship at the Temple, and they had a degree of jurisdiction over the Jewish people. The high priests seem to have been supported by the upper class in Jewish society, who are called Sadducees in the New Testament because of their conservative religious outlook.

Among the Jews of Palestine there must have been very different degrees of Hellenization. There was virtually none among the Essenes, and little among the Pharisees. On the other hand, there must have been many Jews who had become to a great extent Romanized or Hellenized. Such people are not specifically mentioned in the New Testament, but archaeology shows that many of the larger towns of Palestine had buildings such as a theatre, a stadium or a gymnasium. The existence of such facilities implies that they had support, and this must have come not merely from Roman expatriates but also from Jews. Such Jews presumably had little interest in their religion.

Besides these Romanizing Jews in Palestine there were Jewish synagogues in many of the chief cities of the Roman empire, especially the eastern half. The Jews in these cities were usually Greek speaking

and must have been partly Romanized; Paul, who came from such a milieu, had some knowledge of Greek literature. The religious attitude, however, of those who attended these synagogues was probably similar to that of the Pharisees, namely, that they had few intimate contacts except with other Jews. At the same time we learn from the New Testament that attached to these synagogues were groups of "those who feared God" or "God-fearers," that is, Gentiles attracted to some aspects of the Jewish religion. It is not clear why these persons did not become fully fledged Jews. Perhaps they objected to circumcision, or thought some parts of the Jewish law burdensome. Perhaps, though they were allowed to attend the synagogue by the Jewish community, they were not accepted as equals. Certainly even those Jews of the Diaspora seem to have regarded themselves as an exclusive community.

It has also to be noted that there were some Jews who largely accepted the Greek philosophy at the center of Hellenistic culture. About the time of Jesus there was Philo and a little later the historian Josephus. Although this strand continued to exist in the Jewish community and is exemplified by Maimonides in the twelfth century, philosophy has not had a central place in Jewish thinking, and the main body of practicing Jews may rather be said to have insulated themselves to some extent from the intellectual side of the surrounding Hellenistic culture and its successors.

In the fifth place mention must be made of those Jews who accepted the revised form of Judaism taught by Jesus and are now thought of as Christians. In the early years after the crucifixion their attitude to Hellenistic culture, especially if they spoke Hebrew or Aramaic, was probably not very different from that of the Pharisees; but Greek speakers such as the martyr Stephen may have been less rigid. The teaching of Jesus, however, included a severe critique of the idea of the exclusive community. He was ready to eat with sinners and tax-collectors. He praised the faith of a Roman centurion who was a "God-fearer," and spoke of many from east and west, that is non-Jews, joining Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in God's kingdom. After the resurrection his followers, even while holding firmly to the essentials of the Jewish religion as they understood them, completely abandoned the idea of the exclusive community. They had good news to share with all human beings, and so it was no longer necessary to place the emphasis on preserving the purity of the community of believers. This was the essential innovation in the years after the resurrection. It does not sound much, but in the end it made the followers of Jesus a community completely different in character and

culture from the traditional Jewish community, or even that of the Diaspora.

Through the work of Paul in particular great numbers of Gentiles, "God-fearers," and others joined the Jewish followers of Jesus. By the time of the Council of Nicaea in 325 C.E. the Gentile Christians greatly outnumbered those of Jewish descent, whether speakers of Greek or of Aramaic, and they had taken control of the community of Christians, now organized as the church. When the creed of the church was formulated, it was in mainly Hellenistic terms, and the biblical conception of the relation between humanity and divinity was abandoned for a Hellenistic one. At the same time the church may be said to have become an exclusive community on a Hellenistic basis. The purity of the community was to be maintained by insisting on orthodoxy as defined by the creed. Non-Christians were welcomed into the community if they accepted the creed, but those Christians who deviated from some points of the creed were labeled heretics and excluded from the church.

Islam and Hellenistic culture

The culture in which the Islamic religion originated was that of Arabia, and in particular of the town of Mecca. This had been only slightly affected by the surrounding Hellenistic and Christian culture, but a few biblical stories appear to have been known to some people in Mecca, as well as general ideas of prophethood, the divine creation of the world, and a judgment of human beings on the Last Day. The basis of Islam is the Qur'ān in which are collected what Muslims believe to be revelations from God to Muḥammad. My personal view is that Christians should be prepared to admit that Muḥammad was a prophet inspired by God in much the same way as the Old Testament prophets were. This is a somewhat different conception of prophethood from that of Traditionalist Muslims. A modern western scholar, while allowing that the essential religious teaching of the Qur'ān comes from God, will also insist that its messages are expressed not merely in the Arabic language but also in terms of the ideas about the world held by the people of Mecca, and these ideas include some mistaken ones, such as the belief of some heretical Christians that Jesus had not died on the cross.

Islam, unlike Judaism but like Christianity, was a missionary religion which welcomed all who accepted its teaching. In the wake of the amazing expansion of the Islamic state in its first hundred years there were many conversions to Islam, although this was in no

way compulsory. Many of these new Muslims came from the Fertile Crescent and Iran where there was a form of Hellenistic culture, and before long these were helping in the formation of the Islamic creed in much the same way as Christians from a Hellenistic background had shaped the Christian creed. In Islam this partly took the form of developing what came to be known as the discipline of *kalām* or philosophical theology. This discipline of *kalām* has continued until the present time, and there have been periods when its exponents gave the impression of being more interested in philosophy than in theology, since theological works in many volumes would devote more than half their space to philosophical preliminaries. Like the Hellenistic Christian theologians these practitioners of *kalām* declared heretical all deviations from what they regarded as standard Islamic doctrine. Among these heretics was a group of more whole-hearted believers in Greek philosophy from whom came the philosophers of world stature Avicenna and Averroes.

There were two important differences, however, between what happened in Christian theology and what happened in Islamic theology. The first difference is that there was nothing in Islam comparable to the ecumenical councils of Christianity. Islam did indeed come to have a powerful religious institution, as it may be called, but this consisted of jurists and not priests, and tended to be more interested in right conduct than in right belief, orthopraxy not orthodoxy. Moreover it operated largely through an informal consensus and not through precise formal judgments with organs to enforce them. This does not mean, however, that the Islamic religious institution is powerless. On the contrary, in predominantly Islamic countries it can be extremely powerful and, if it is conservative in outlook, can suppress practically any expression of liberal opinion.

The second difference is that the Hellenizing Islamic theologians met with much stiffer opposition than their Christian counterparts. This opposition is represented above all by the Ḥanbalites, the followers of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. These kept close to the letter of the Qurʾān and rejected any application of philosophical conceptions to its doctrines. They are represented today by the Wahhābite movement which has the backing of the rulers of Saudi Arabia. Many of the supporters of this anti-philosophical tendency were doubtless Arabs, as was Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal himself, but there were probably many others, descendants of the earlier inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent who, though superficially Hellenistic, retained something of an older culture. Part of the evidence for these older cultures is the existence in the period preceding Islam of the Christian heresies of Coptic

Monophysites in Egypt, Jacobite Monophysites in Syria, and Nestorians in Iraq. These theological movements are best understood as attempts to assert a cultural or national identity over against the form of Hellenistic culture found in the more truly Greek elements that dominated the official theology of the church.

While Islam had nothing comparable to excommunication from the church, it developed a new form of exclusiveness. By about the year 1000 C.E. the religious institution, which included both practitioners of *kalām* and their opponents, had reached a degree of consensus on the central doctrines of Islam and also, more generally, on an Islamic self-image, that is, a view of the place of Islam in world history. They insisted that Islam was the last word of God to the human race, and that it had taken up into itself all that was true in previous religious and philosophical systems, such as Judaism and Christianity. This meant further that Islam was entirely self-sufficient and had nothing to learn from these other systems. Moreover, by maintaining that there would be no prophet after Muḥammad, they were implying that at least in the fields of religion and morals Islam would continue to be fully self-sufficient as long as the human race existed.

Some of the details of this self-image were due to the fact that in its early days Islam had been subjected to criticism by Jews and Christians, mostly by Jews during Muḥammad's lifetime and mostly by Christians later. While the early Christians had had to meet criticisms from Jews, they had managed to deal with these. For Muslims, however, it was more difficult to meet hostile criticisms because of their assumption, based on the Qurʾān, that all previous prophets, including the biblical ones, had delivered a message from God identical in essentials with that revealed to Muḥammad. There were further difficulties due to references in the Qurʾān to biblical personages. The Qurʾān itself answered some of the Jewish criticisms in a fashion. A more comprehensive defense of Muslim positions was worked out in the first Islamic century on the basis of some Qurʾānic verses. This was the assertion that the Jewish and Christian communities had somehow corrupted their scriptures, so that in their existing form these were not the true revelation from God that had been received by Moses and Jesus. This assertion meant that, if Christians tried to argue from the Bible against some Muslim belief, they could be told that the texts they were using were false.

This is the background for the new form of exclusiveness adopted by the Muslims. By about 750 C.E. the Islamic state or caliphate had become an extensive empire. Non-Muslims were not excluded from

the empire, but those belonging to the Jews, the Christians, and other Peoples of the Book were accepted as protected minorities. What was excluded, however, was the circulation among the generality of Muslims of any intellectual material not fully in accordance with the Islamic doctrines and self-image. Muḥammad was reported to have said "Seek knowledge even from China," but many kinds of knowledge were wholly avoided by Muslim scholars. A few of these read bits of the Bible to find verses which they could claim foretold the coming of Muḥammad or to gain fuller accounts of stories briefly referred to in the Qur'ān, but there was no attempt to present even an outline of biblical history as a whole. Despite the interest in Greek philosophy and science there was no attempt to study Greek literature, and there was no attempt to give a balanced account of the history of the Greeks and Romans. An exception was made only for the early history of Persia because so many Iranians had become Muslims.

All this meant that the great majority of Muslims lived in an intellectual world from which everything had been excluded that was non-Islamic or thought to be contrary to Islam. Muslim scholars who were giving objective accounts of the views of heretical Islamic sects came under criticism from other scholars for giving publicity to false views, even though they also showed the falseness of these views. This intellectual exclusiveness, as it might be called, was fairly effectively enforced among Muslims by the religious institution, since until 1850 or later it had the backing of the rulers of Islamic states such as the Ottoman empire. At the same time members of the protected minorities were allowed only limited opportunities for religious discussion with Muslims.

Islam and western culture in recent times

An important date in the relations of the Christian world with the Islamic world is 1498 when Vasco da Gama discovered the route round the Cape of Good Hope to India and the East Indies. He was followed by members of various western European nations who were interested in the first place in the development of trade. In due course, however, the Europeans found it necessary to have treaties with some of the local rulers, then to send troops to protect their merchants, then to take over vast regions as colonies. To begin with there was very little mixing of Muslims and Christians on a basis of equality. The merchants, troops, and colonial administrators were comparatively few, and not many Muslims came to western Europe despite the fact that the Ottoman empire was ruling most of south-eastern Europe. A

change came about, however, with the development of European technology, especially the improvements in the means of communication – railways and steamships, the motor-car, and finally the airplane. Since the mid-twentieth century particularly there have been more Muslims coming to the West and, despite the end of political colonialism, there have been more Europeans and Americans working in Islamic countries. Consequently there have been far more contacts at various levels between Muslims and Christians and other westerners.

This is the situation in which we must look closely at the results of what I have called Islamic intellectual exclusiveness. Until the beginning of the twentieth century the Islamic religious institution, consisting of the 'ulamā' or Traditionalist scholars, who believed that Islam was self-sufficient, made no attempt to understand the new intellectual movements in Europe, such as the philosophy of Descartes and Locke, and the various strands that went to make the European Enlightenment. The scholars of the Ottoman empire do not seem even to have formed a general idea of the historical and geographical facts about the western European nations with which the empire was having increasingly to deal. As late as 1770 they failed to realize that there was clear seaway through the North Sea and Bay of Biscay from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and they complained to the Venetians of allowing a Russian fleet to go through a supposed canal from the Baltic to the Adriatic. Consequently when more Muslims began to come to Europe as diplomats or merchants or later as students, the Traditionalist scholars could give them no help in coming to terms with the European intellectual outlook; and of course this outlook was something they could not entirely avoid.

It was Muslim statesmen who first realized the importance of knowing something about this European intellectual outlook. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī, who was virtually autonomous, decided to reform his army on the European model, and then saw that for the success of this reform it would be necessary for the officers to have some elements of European education; he therefore brought teachers from Europe for this purpose. From this beginning there were various extensions until by the early twentieth century there was in Egypt a complete system of European education stretching from primary school to university, and more and more young Egyptians were receiving this form of education and not a traditional Islamic one. The latter continued parallel to the European forms, but attracted a dwindling proportion of students. Something similar happened in the

Ottoman empire a little later, and also in other Islamic countries. In lands ruled by European colonialists, such as India, some European education was provided for the local people, since the colonialists wanted trained persons to occupy minor posts in the administration. In India at first proportionately more Hindus than Muslims accepted this form of education for their children, and as a result there were far more Hindus than Muslims in government posts. This was one of the causes of the great Indian Mutiny of 1857, in which most of the participants were Muslims. The final outcome of all these developments was that in the second half of the twentieth century nearly all Islamic countries had two systems of education, a predominantly European or western one and a traditional Islamic one; and most young people were being educated in the first system and only an ever smaller number of jurists in the latter, partly because owing to other changes there were fewer and fewer posts for traditional jurists.

These developments in education meant that the attempt of the traditional religious institution to maintain the intellectual exclusiveness of Islam had failed. Countless Muslims were now exposed to the forces in western culture, and some of these forces were critical of traditional religion, whether Christian or Islamic, or even hostile to it. Science was prominent in western thought, and science seemed to contradict the biblical and Qur'ānic idea that the world was created in six days. It also contradicted the belief that God could produce miracles by interfering with the natural course of events. A new historical methodology also had an important place in western thought, especially in the forms of historical and literary criticism, and these threw doubt on many points in the traditional Islamic self-image. Further difficulties were caused by the western belief in intellectual freedom inherited from the European Enlightenment. These aspects of western culture had also created problems for Christians, but many Christians had been coming to terms with them. Traditionalist Muslim scholars, however, because of the exclusion of all western thinking from their purview, were completely incapable of dealing with the problems raised by western science and historical methodology. All they could do was to try to deny some of the points contrary to their religious beliefs. Thus they denied that human beings had evolved from lower forms of life on the ground that biologists disagreed about this; but they failed to realize that the disagreement among biologists was not about the fact of such evolution, which all accepted, but about the precise manner in which it had come about. When westerners who had studied Islam threw doubt on some of the points in the self-image of Islam, there were Muslims who claimed

that such persons were in a conspiracy against Islam, headed by the colonialists.

At this point it is appropriate to compare Muslim reactions to modern western culture with Jewish reactions to the Hellenistic culture of the time of Christ. There are both parallels and differences. There is nothing in Islam similar to the Essene movement in Judaism which shut itself off completely from the surrounding culture. This is perhaps mainly because most Muslims want to benefit from the products of western technology. There are some Muslims, however, whose position is not far from that of the Zealots who wanted to get rid of the Romans by the use of military force. Among these would be numbered Saddam Hussein. Again there are many Muslim statesmen whose position is comparable to that of the Sadducees and the high-priestly party who made compromises in order to have a measure of autonomy under Roman rule. Here, however, there are also differences. Some of the Muslim statesmen, especially those with large oil revenues, are in a much stronger position than the Sadducees. Moreover, what they have to deal with is economic rather than political domination. Nowadays, too, there are international organizations such as the United Nations, which have a certain influence on events, and in which Muslim statesmen participate to some extent. Despite these differences the similarities between modern Muslim statesmen and the Sadducees are important.

The most interesting comparison is that between the Pharisees in Judaism and the modern Islamic fundamentalists or Traditionalists. Here it is important to realize that the New Testament picture of the Pharisees is one-sided, as Christians are coming increasingly to recognize. Some of the Pharisees doubtless had the faults described in the New Testament, but most Pharisees were good religious people, and it was owing to their grasp of their religion that Judaism was able to recover from the defeat of the Jewish rebellion in 70 C.E. and the destruction of the Temple. The Pharisees were trying to maintain the exclusiveness of Judaism by having no close relationships except with practicing Jews, according to their ideas of what this involved. This may be called a social exclusiveness. The Muslim Traditionalists are trying to maintain the exclusiveness of Islam, but in their case it is an intellectual exclusiveness, which is much more difficult to maintain in the conditions of today. In addition, however, some want Muslim communities to go back to the forms of law and practice in the age of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs; and this includes such measures as the amputation of a hand for theft, and stoning for adultery. To the outside observer it is obvious that, while such measures might

have been effective in a small town such as Muḥammad's Mecca, they would certainly not be effective in multi-million urban conglomerations such as modern Cairo and Karachi.

Those of whom I have spoken as Muslim Traditionalists are, of course, far from being a monolithic body, and some support more realistic political programs. There is a danger, however, that if Traditionalists come to power in any Islamic country, they will try to put their ideas into practice in an unrealistic form. In such a case the results will almost certainly be disastrous, including a fall in the standard of living and in the general quality of life. Countries cannot function as modern states unless there are many people with some degree of education of a western type. It will also be impossible for such countries to take much part in international affairs unless they abandon some of the Traditionalist ideas about the place of Islam in the world. It is conceivable that, if Traditionalism in an unrealistic form came to power in one or two countries, life would become so hard and unpleasant for most Muslims that there would be a widespread revulsion of feeling among ordinary Muslims both in these countries and elsewhere and that they would turn completely away from the Traditionalists. Whatever happens in the next few decades, the future of the Traditionalists looks very different from that of the Jewish Pharisees.

Finally, there are the Muslims who have been westernized in varying degrees. Some, like many of the Romanized Jews in Palestine, have probably only a slight interest in their religion. There are also many other Muslims, however, who are trying to restate their faith in a way that does not exclude western science and historical methodology. These are commonly spoken of as "liberals" and have some important achievements to their credit, despite the fact that in countries where the Traditionalist religious institution is strong they are prevented from publishing any books. So far, however, none has managed to gain a wide following. In some ways they are comparable to the early Christians from a non-Jewish background who began to formulate their faith in terms borrowed from Hellenistic culture. These Christians, of course, were in the fortunate position of having at the center of their beliefs a message of good news to share with other people. So far the liberal Muslims have nothing of this kind, and this makes their task more difficult. In the great upheavals of the world at the present time, however, it is not impossible that God will inspire a Muslim with some encouraging new message, and that this will make possible a fresh presentation of the Islamic religion which will be widely accepted by Muslims. All persons of good will should

certainly be hoping and praying that Muslims will be able to find an appropriate place for their religion in this one world dominated by western culture, and will be able to make important contributions to the welfare of humanity as a whole.

3 · Arabic rhetoric and the art of the homily in medieval Islam

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The study of the homily

It is fair to say that among the various categories of medieval Arabic literature, the homily has probably been studied least. Indeed, no serious effort to date has been made even to survey, let alone to analyze and interpret, this body of literature. This is particularly surprising since a number of leading scholars have devoted considerable effort to the study of Arabic rhetoric over the past century and a half.[1]

This neglect of the homily raises the inevitable question: Why this failure to devote serious study to an obvious example of Arabic rhetoric? There is probably no single or simple answer to this question. This inattention may reflect a perception, shaped perhaps by the influence of classical rhetoric and literary theory, that the medieval homily does not represent a level of achievement sufficiently significant either in form or content to merit serious study. Because the homily represents a body of literature that has been given very little attention by any branch of orientalism and because what has survived of this medieval genre is still largely unpublished, its existence and potential significance may simply have escaped the attention of those scholars drawn to the study of rhetoric. Whether these considerations explain the fate of the homily or whether there are other more subtle and less tangible influences at work here remains to be determined.[2] It is my view, however, that the homily ought to have been one of the primary specimens selected by the students of Arabic rhetoric, since rhetoric both in its ancient and medieval varieties was concerned with the art of persuasion, and since the homily, as much as any genre of medieval Arabic literature, was devoted to the cultivation of this art. It goes without saying that most forms of discourse aim at persuasion in one way or another, but in the case of the homily persuasion constituted its very *raison d'être*.[3] Whatever other objectives the preacher

and the composer of homilies might have had, such as entertainment, education, etc., these too in their own way were concerned with the art of persuasion.

Because so little has been done on the medieval Arabic homily, critical studies for some time to come will have to deal with the most preliminary and basic sorts of questions. Since no systematic surveys of the homily exist, we do not know precisely the original scope of this literary corpus, how much of what was originally produced is presently extant,[4] or the relationship of this literary form to other genres in the history of Arabic literature. In addition, there are the equally difficult theoretical questions of method and approach as well as questions regarding the assumptions that underlie preaching and the homily in medieval Islam. Since the homily in medieval Islam took persuasion as its principal task, certain questions do suggest themselves: (1) How was the art of persuasion understood by medieval preachers? Did their understanding of this art differ from that of the classical theoreticians, and, if so, how? (2) By what means did the homilist seek to move his readers and ultimately the audiences before whom his homilies were delivered? (3) What were the social and psychological assumptions that the homily took as its point of departure and upon which it was constructed? A careful analysis of this literature will undoubtedly lead to other equally crucial questions. Although, at present, our answers to these questions will necessarily be somewhat speculative in nature, the time has come to begin a serious and systematic study of the homily; it is only on the basis of careful textual and historical analysis that it will be possible to answer the important questions.[5]

In light of the present situation, I have chosen to focus this study on one particular figure in the history of this literary genre rather than cast my net more widely and delve into the larger and, in some ways perhaps, more interesting questions to which I referred above. The figure on whose work I will concentrate my remarks is ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Abūʾl-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, known to his contemporaries simply as Ibn al-Jawzī. His life, which spanned almost the whole of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.),[6] belonged to a particularly critical period in the history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The century during which he lived appears to have been one of the most productive and interesting periods in the history of Islamic preaching. Judging from the work of Brockelmann, the homiletical output of this century would appear to have exceeded that of any of the preceding centuries and most of those that were to follow. The sixth century (twelfth century A.D.) therefore stands as a particularly significant period in the

history of Islamic preaching, not unlike the twelfth century A.D. in the history of preaching in the Latin west.[7]

Ibn al-Jawzī and his writings on the art of the homily

Ibn al-Jawzī was a remarkably prolific author. Several medieval sources place the number of his writings at nearly a thousand.[8] While this may be a somewhat inflated figure,[9] it is worth noting that Brockelmann in his *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, completed in 1949,[10] recorded 140 separate titles from the pen of Ibn al-Jawzī as being extant, the majority still unpublished at the time Brockelmann completed his work.[11] It is clear from the titles given by Brockelmann that Ibn al-Jawzī's writings ranged across virtually the entire spectrum of medieval Islamic disciplines excepting, of course, philosophy and science.[12] What is of particular interest here is the extent of his output in the field of homiletical writing or what in the medieval biographical sources is generally referred to as the category of *waʿẓ*. Using all of the medieval and modern sources available to me, I have compiled a list of 114 titles of homiletical works by Ibn al-Jawzī.[13] Of these, seventy-one are or appear to be extant. The number of extant titles, however, is likely to be larger, for a number of titles once thought to be lost have been discovered since the appearance of Brockelmann's work.[14] It is not unreasonable to expect that in the coming years other titles will be found to be extant. What is abundantly clear is that Ibn al-Jawzī's literary production in the area of *waʿẓ* was very significant indeed.[15]

For the purposes of this study I have chosen to focus special attention on two of his works, the *Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr fī'l-Khuṭab wa'l-Muḥāḍarāt wa'l-Waʿẓ wa't-Tadhakkur* and the *Kitāb al-Mudhish*, although I have drawn on several other works by Ibn al-Jawzī for particular sections of this study.[16] The organization and content of the two works make it clear that they were written as manuals to be studied by those who wished to become masters of the art of preaching. As Ibn al-Jawzī himself indicates in the introduction to his *Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr*, this work is an abridged and somewhat reworked version of his much longer *Kitāb al-Mudhish* and aimed to make the substance of this latter more easily accessible to a wider circle of preachers.[17] *Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr* appears to have been written some time during the latter part of his life, perhaps shortly after his return to Baghdad from Wasit where he had lived under house arrest from 589 to 595 (1193–98).[18] In any case, coming as it does toward the end of Ibn al-Jawzī's life, *Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr* may be seen as summing up a lifetime of

experience as a preacher and an author of homiletical works. Given its place in the literary œuvre of Ibn al-Jawzī it merits special attention, for it expresses views and perspectives that had been tested over many years in the public arena. The work, furthermore, has not so far been the subject of investigation by modern scholarship. In its printed form (Cairo, 1332/1914), it consists of sixty-one pages in fairly fine print plus a title page and a table of contents added at the end of the work.[19]

Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr[20] consists of four rather lengthy chapters organized as follows: chapter 1 is a selection of thirty-one *khuṭbas* (or what for the present I shall term "hymns of praise"), all composed in a compact form of rhymed prose (*sajʿ*). Chapter 2 deals with those grammatical and rhetorical features of the Arabic language to which preachers and composers of homiletical works ought to give careful attention (section 1 of this chapter for example, discusses figures of speech, allusions and metaphors).[21] Chapter 3 is a collection of miscellaneous "information" which Ibn al-Jawzī believed should be at the fingertips of the preacher – details pertaining to such matters as scripture, tradition, history, geography, astronomy, biology, etc.[22] The fourth and last chapter is divided into two parts: the first part is a collection of admonitions or exhortations (*waʿẓ*) that were intended to be taken as models for younger, inexperienced preachers, and part 2 consists of a series of stories of important prophetic figures and men of faith, all, with one or two exceptions, taken from the pre-Islamic period.

Ibn al-Jawzī's conception of the homily as reflected in his writings

Before proceeding to discuss the organization and general content of the homily as it appears in his *Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr* and *Kitāb al-Mudhish* it is necessary to describe briefly some of the theoretical foundations that underpin the Jawzian homily.

1 The homily as the product of a multidisciplinary perspective

In his discussion of the qualifications of preachers and homilists, Ibn al-Jawzī insisted repeatedly that preachers be well grounded in all of the major contemporary religious and literary disciplines.[23] As a good Muslim and a dedicated Ḥanbalite, he naturally emphasized the importance of the standard religious disciplines such as Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), the study of the traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and so forth. He also, however, insisted on the necessity of being well versed in a number of profane disciplines such as Arabic grammar (*naḥw, lugha*), rhetoric (*balāgha*), literature (*adab*)

and especially poetry, and history.[24] In addition to these he, at least implicitly, encouraged homilists to have some familiarity with the sciences, especially with medicine and astronomy.[25] It is clear from his introduction to *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* that he saw important parallels between the practice of medicine and the preacher's art. Both professions were devoted to the cure of souls and the cultivation of sound health. Further, in his homilies Ibn al-Jawzī frequently made use of metaphors and illustrations taken from the practice of medicine.[26] He also had a keen interest in astronomy and drew extensively from contemporary astronomy and astronomical lore in his homilies.[27] The only disciplines he actively discouraged preachers from pursuing were philosophy (*falsafa*) and dialectical theology (*kalām*).[28]

It is this multidisciplinary perspective that Ibn al-Jawzī makes a central emphasis in his theory of the homily that justifies the application of the term humanist to him and to those of his persuasion.[29] The Jawzian homily in some sense, therefore, represents an attempt at the integration of a range of orientations and concerns drawn from a variety of sources. The challenge facing the homilist, as Ibn al-Jawzī saw it, is to carry out this integration and synthesis in a manner consistent with the spirit of the Qur'ān and the Sunna and, at the same time, to do so in ways that might command the respect and attract the interest of the listening public.

It is not merely the fact that Ibn al-Jawzī insisted on a multidisciplinary orientation for the homilist that qualifies him to be regarded as a humanist of the medieval variety; it is also a question of the character and content of the disciplines he included within this cluster. It is significant that the disciplines whose importance he emphasized fall into five broad categories: religion, literature,[30] grammar, moral philosophy,[31] and history.[32] Beyond the question of the multiplicity of disciplines, it is the content of the disciplines on which the Jawzian homily was based that qualifies that homily to be regarded as humanist[33] in its inspiration.[34] It was the use of these disciplines in the construction of the homily that formed the basis for what was of supreme importance to Ibn al-Jawzī: the possibility of an articulate and informed piety united with a love of wisdom and beauty. It was an outlook that understood the importance of eloquence, of simplicity, clarity, and vigor in human discourse, and one that was on the whole impatient with the obfuscations of the scholastic theologians, the so called *mutakallimūn*.

2 The range of literary forms that comprise the medieval homily
It would be quite wrong to imagine that the sermon or homily in medieval Islam was a unitary composition as I take it to have been in

medieval Europe. The medieval Arabic homily, particularly as it appears in the works of Ibn al-Jawzī, consisted of four quite distinct forms (or sub-genres), each of which had its own specific content and served a particular purpose within the context of the homily as a whole. Three of the four forms (the *khuṭba*, the *qiṣṣa*, and the *wa'ẓ*) were composed in a prose style and thus shared the same general stylistic features, although only one (the *khuṭba*) made consistent use of end rhyme or *saj'*. As we shall see below, the fourth and last element of the Arabic sermon, the *khawātīm* or concluding verses of poetry, stood quite apart in terms of both its form and its content.

Chapters 1 and 4 of *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* provide us with numerous examples of the first three sub-genres that make up the homily: the *khuṭba* (hymn of praise), the *qiṣṣa* (pious story), and the *wa'ẓ* or *tadhkīr* (admonition). Although specimens of the fourth are found in *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* and *al-Mudhish*, for a fuller account of it we shall have to look at another of his works recently discussed in a lengthy study by Angelika Hartmann.[35] The discussion that follows is not intended as a full treatment of the forms that make up the Jawzian homily, but rather a general sketch. The subject is large and demands a good deal more space than is available here. In what follows I shall attempt to identify what appear to me to be the significant and distinctive features of the elements that make up the Jawzian homily.

The *khuṭba*

The term *khuṭba* as I use it here and as it appears in *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* must be carefully distinguished from the Friday sermon which was also called a *khuṭba*.[36] The term *khuṭba* in the sense in which it appears in *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* (which is our only interest here) was used by Ibn al-Jawzī to refer to the introductory portion of the homily and, as such, had as its principal function the exaltation and praise of God. It is clear from the examples given in *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* that the Jawzian *khuṭba* does not intend primarily to admonish, instruct, censure, or reprove. It is rather an invitation to worship and a celebration of God's greatness.

The *khuṭbas* found in *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* are without exception highly stylized constructions, each following essentially the same pattern.

1 They all begin with the same introductory formula (*al-ḥamdu lillāh*/praise be unto God), followed by an active participle and a nominal sentence, or a relative pronoun and a verbal sentence.

2 All thirty-one *khutbas*, with one exception, conclude with a verse or verse fragment from the Qur'ān, the last word of which matches the *khutba*'s rhyme scheme.

3 Each of the *khutbas* is composed in a consistent rhymed prose or *saj'* style, and the end rhyme remains constant throughout the whole of each of the *khutbas*. Since the Qur'ān verse or verse fragment always fits the rhyme scheme of the *khutba*, it is tempting to speculate that the verse and general theme of each *khutba* were selected in advance and that it was the verse ending that determined the particular end rhyme used. Clearly the movement of thought and feeling in each of the *khutbas* reaches its climax in the Qur'ānic verse.

4 Although the *khutbas* in our work do assume the existence of an audience (or a reader), the audience is never addressed directly.

As even a quick perusal of chapter 1 of the *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* reveals, the Jawzian *khutba* is very frequently a moving and powerful composition. It is almost always short, its style is crisp, and its metaphors and figures of speech are often quite striking. Many of the metaphors and figures of speech employed by Ibn al-Jawzī in his *khutbas* are taken from nature or have to do in some way with natural phenomena. In the seventh *khutba*, for example, he speaks of the spring as a time when "gardens smile like the smiling of the beloved when the absent lover returns."[37] In another *khutba* he speaks of vegetation throwing off its shroud as springtime arrives and new life bursts forth – an interesting juxtaposing of the themes of death and resurrection.[38] In the many nature metaphors and in the frequent allusions to nature found in these *khutbas* one can detect a genuine fascination with nature, and a special love for springtime as the best of all possible times, as a harbinger of the resurrection and the final banishment of death for the faithful.[39]

The *khutbas* make it quite clear that the God whom Ibn al-Jawzī sees in nature is not only a being of infinite power and wisdom but also one who cares for all of his creatures, not just for his human creatures (in the first *khutba*, for example, he marvels at how God provides for the tiny ants).[40] Although the God of these *khutbas* "stands beyond the celestial spheres,"[41] he is frequently portrayed as a "being" who regards his creatures, even the most humble, with affection and tenderness.[42]

Finally, it needs to be emphasized that the Jawzian *khutba* is not a thematic unity in the strict sense of the term. In so far as the individual *khutba* does possess unity, it is largely a function of the rhyme

scheme[43] – that is, it is a unity of form rather than one of substance, as the following rather typical *khutba* will show:[44]

Praise be unto God who raised aloft the heavens . . . who preserves them from fissure (*futūr*)[45] and deviation (*fujūr*), and who adorns them with stars like a necklace (*'iqd*) . . . more beautiful than a gilded fabric studded with pearls. He it is who placed the earth upon turbulent waters, who established it firmly with mountains[46] as a place of refuge . . . and divided its open terrain between the level plains (*qī'ān*) and the grass-covered steppe (*murūj*). He provides for its well-being by apportioning heat and cold [summer and winter]. He covers [the earth] with rain from the celestial chalice (*ka's al-qatr*), and suddenly new life[47] springs forth; the spring breezes spread [across the land] like the aroma of perfume and aloes. But then after having burst forth (from the earth), he decrees for its "inhabitants" a return.[48] Arabs and Persians, Greeks and Africans he makes equal in death. The forces of evil (Ya'jūj) will not triumph from behind "the barrier" (*sadd*),[49] nor will they escape by the might of the forearm in which the wicked take delight. Surely [God's] mill-stone will crush the evil horde with a relentless and stubborn crushing. Then will the trumpet sound with a force exceeding that of a mighty scorching wind.[50] "On that day they shall hear the Cry in truth; that is the day of coming forth."[51]

It is the *khutba* that sets the tone for the remainder of the sermon and leads directly to the next element of the Jawzian homily.

The *qissa*

The *qissa* (pl. qisas) or "story,"[52] which follows the *khutba* in Ibn al-Jawzī's arrangement of the homily, was devoted to the relating of events of the past of special religious significance, particularly those events having to do with the lives of the prophets and the history of revelation.[53] In contrast to the highly stylized form of the *khutba*, the *qissa* is composed in a relatively straightforward prose style, frequently interspersed with lines of poetry.[54] The importance of these stories (*qisas*) taken collectively resides in the fact that they set forth, often in dramatic detail, the Islamic conception of history or, one might say, the Islamic *Heilsgeschichte*, as viewed by orthodox Muslims. It was these *qisas*, pieced together in the mind of the listener, that provided the believer with an organized and credible conception of time from the moment of creation to the present. It was these *qisas* that made it possible for the ordinary, uneducated Muslim to understand Islam's place, and hence his place, in the temporal scheme of things. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the *qissa* as a part of the homily. Although it harks back to a past that is beyond retrieval, it also projects a future. In doing so these pious narratives provided the

believer with an orientation in time, a sense of rootedness in a divinely ordained past but also a sense of direction or movement toward a future that is equally ordained. It was the *qiṣṣa* that provided the throngs of uneducated believers who occasioned to hear the homilies of the medieval preachers with a distinctively Islamic sense of history.

The *waʿẓ (mawʿiza)* or *tadhkīr*

The *waʿẓ* or admonition (sometimes also designated a *tadhkīr*), which formed the third element in the Jawzian homily, took as its primary focus the moral or ethical content of revelation.[55] The importance of the admonition in the medieval homily derives from Islam's character as a religion of law (*sharīʿa*). The sermon without a *waʿẓ* or *tadhkīr* is as inconceivable for Ibn al-Jawzī as an Islam without the *sharīʿa*. Its primary concern was to encourage the fullest compliance with the *sharīʿa* and to warn of the consequences of failure to submit to its requirements. Because the admonition or *waʿẓ* is concerned with the category of the "ought" it is closely linked to eschatological themes in the homilies of Ibn al-Jawzī and most other medieval Sunnī homilists. Islam knew from its very inception the power of fear as an inducement to compliance with God's precepts.[56] The transient nature of human existence, the illusory character of the attractions of material possessions, and the emptiness of the life devoted to the pursuit of pleasure are themes that Ibn al-Jawzī touches on frequently in the admonitions (*waʿẓ*) of the *Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr*.

Like the narrative portions of the homily, the admonition too is composed in a simple though generally compact prose style, with very little trace of rhythmical patterns. Like the *qiṣṣa*, the admonition is frequently interspersed with lines of poetry taken over from a variety of sources. Much of this poetry is drawn from that large pool of ascetic verse (*zuhdiyyāt*) that appeared in the early ʿAbbāsid period and came to be used widely among the preachers from the tenth century on.[57] In some of the poetry used by Ibn al-Jawzī one can find clear traces of Ṣūfī influences.[58] In keeping with its content and its function, the distinctive stylistic feature of the *waʿẓ*, aside from its prose character, is its frequent use of the imperative and a variety of forms of direct address. Among the admonitions included in the *waʿẓ* section of *Kitāb al-Mudhish* one finds on almost every page expressions such as: *yā ikhwānī* (O my brothers!), *yā banī Adam* (O sons of Adam!), *yā nās* (O people!), *yā ayyuhāʾl-ʿabd* (O creature!), *yā man nasiya* (O you who are prone to forgetfulness!), and so forth.[59]

In contrast to the *khuṭba*, the admonition explicitly acknowledges

the presence of an audience through the liberal use of such rhetorical devices. It is the open acknowledgment of the listener in this penultimate stage of the homily that prepares the way for the concluding section.

The *maqāṭiʿ* or *khawātīm*

The words *maqāṭiʿ* and *khawātīm*[60] are technical terms used by Ibn al-Jawzī to refer to the concluding section of his sermon, which consisted of the recitation of verses of poetry. The poetry to which these terms refer is not to be confused with the lines of poetry frequently found scattered throughout the pious stories or the admonitions.[61] Rather they refer specifically to the verses of poetry, almost entirely of the amorous sort, used to conclude the sermon. Although I drew attention to Ibn al-Jawzī's use of this sort of poetry already some years ago in my study of his *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, it was Angelika Hartmann who followed up that observation in a detailed and important study of Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*.[62]

The poetry used by Ibn al-Jawzī in the concluding section of the sermon appears at times to have been composed by Ibn al-Jawzī himself,[63] probably with the needs of specific sermons or homilies in mind. At other times he clearly borrowed from the works of other poets, often without explicit acknowledgment.[64] What is interesting about this borrowed poetry is that it was often in its original form love poetry of a purely secular or quasi-secular sort.[65] Frequently Ibn al-Jawzī takes it over and introduces it into his homilies without modification. What gives this poetry its religious character in the hands of Ibn al-Jawzī is nothing other than the new context in which it is set.[66] There are times, however, when Ibn al-Jawzī does not hesitate to modify the text of the poetry he takes over so as to render it suitable to its new context, though generally the changes he introduces are of a subtle sort.[67]

The amorous poetry used by Ibn al-Jawzī in the final section of the homily expresses the whole gamut of conflicting emotions associated with human love: the attraction (*maḥabba*) of lovers, the arousal of ardent desire (*ʿishq*),[68] the pain of inevitable farewells, the torment of separation, and the overpowering ecstasy (*wajd*) of reunion (*wiṣāl*). Ibn al-Jawzī's use of this poetry indicates that virtually every aspect of these amorous themes was familiar to him[69] and he uses them with considerable skill. Given the character of this poetry and its evocative power, it is not difficult to see how its use could have swept his audiences off their feet, so to speak. The three examples cited below were

chosen somewhat randomly from a large body of amorous poetry preserved in Ibn al-Jawzī's homiletical works, especially his *Kitāb al-Mudhish*. The first of these was composed by Ibn al-Muʿtazz and is to be found in his *dīwān*.[70]

> O my beloved, for whose [love] my sleeplessness
>> Is like sleep[71] itself or sweeter still,
> I desire only what my beloved wishes for me.
>> If he were to give me poison to drink, I would not refuse.
> I know not whether the night is long or short.
>> How can he know who burns with love?
> Whether the night be short or long, surely lovers
>> Are too preoccupied to sleep.
> If my thoughts were to dwell on the night's length,
>> Or I should spend it watching the stars, I would surely be abandoned.
> But the ardent desire of my heart, though you be far,
>> Has not diminished in its love for you. God forbid![72]

The following is a poem that appears in several of Ibn al-Jawzī's works, and in several manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Mudhish* is attributed to Ibn al-Jawzī himself:[73]

> O where is my mind (*fuʾād*) which [the pain of] separation has consumed?
>> Where is my heart (*qalb*)? Has it still not recovered?
> Its cameleer recalls the precious carnelian in his plaintive song;
>> And [my heart], overcome by desire, takes flight with him.
> In Baghdad there is a body without a soul,
>> And somewhere in the Najd a soul [without a body].
> My heart, which knows no respite from torment,
>> is ravished incessantly [by love].
> O my life, whose companion I would [gladly] have been,
>> If only one day which has passed might return!
> In the evening I go forth with my love for you, but O the pain!
>> And in the morning when I return, my complaint is always the same.
> All my life I lament the reflux (*jazr*) of reunion.
>> Why does the [ebbing] tide never return?
> O Saʿd, fan the flames of my love and speak of it to them!
>> O Saʿd, say to me: "I am your ransom!"
> Speak to them of the fire concealed in my heart.
>> And tell [them] of the love between us![74]
> Say: I have seen the prisoner in anguish,
>> And he said to me: I am forbidden to others, for I have taken an oath.
> Then submit yourself, for the matter is in their hands,
>> For when a master speaks the servant is silent.[75]

The following lines are cited by Ibn al-Jawzī in both his *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*[76] and his *al-Mudhish*:[77]

> My life comes from you in the joy of [re]union;
>> To renounce you is to do the impossible.
> How can I renounce you? How can the one dying of thirst
>> Turn away from cool sparkling water?
> Men may play with anything,
>> But love (*ḥabb*) plays with men.

It is clear that the amorous poetry Ibn al-Jawzī used in the concluding portion of the homily lent itself exceptionally well to the purposes that were uppermost in his mind: the moving of audiences, persuasion if you will, but of course this was not persuasion of an intellectual or rational sort. It was the emotive force of this poetry, with its subliminal associations and its appeal to the imagination, that made it so well suited to the needs of the preacher. It addressed universal human sentiments and emotions, and did not require a cultivated intellect to appreciate or comprehend.[78] It was precisely the power of this amorous poetry to move individuals and masses that dictated the time and place of its introduction into the sermon, that is, at the very end, when the climax was being reached and the preacher wished his sermon to have its most powerful impact on the audience.[79] Thus it was not only the form and content of this poetry that mattered, but also the timing of its introduction into the sermon.[80]

If the *waʿz* is distinguished from the earlier sections of the homily by a deliberate turn to the audience and its use of direct address, in the concluding section of the homily the focus on the audience is not only sustained but actually intensified, for this poetry is direct and personal in its appeal. It would seem from the numerous specimens of this sort of poetry preserved in Ibn al-Jawzī's homiletical writings that its use in the conclusion of the sermon was intended precisely to evoke a sense of personal crisis and to dramatize the need for decision as a precondition for resolution.[81]

The character of the Jawzian homily

As we have seen, the homily as it appears in the work of Ibn al-Jawzī consists of four distinct genres or sub-genres. One of the most obvious features of the Jawzian homily is the discrete character of the individual parts of which it was constructed. Because of its composite character or "molecular" structure the Jawzian homily lacks the thematic and stylistic unity that have tended to be common features of the medieval Latin sermon. It would be wrong to assume, however, that because it lacks these particular elements it is therefore devoid of unifying and integrating elements.[82] I should like to suggest that the

unity of the Jawzian homily consists of two features, both somewhat more subtle than the substantive forms of unity found in the Latin homily but not necessarily less real. On one level, the unity of the Jawzian homily derives from the nature and the mood of the occasion on which the homily was delivered before a live audience. Here the person of the preacher himself was an important factor. His personality, his bearing, dress, gestures, voice modulation, etc. helped to shape the mood of the occasion and to give it a specific character.[83] Judging from the eyewitness accounts of medieval Muslim preaching that have come down to us, we may conclude that such occasions were often dramatic and highly charged.[84]

As regards the homily itself, it may be said that its unity was a function of movement rather than substance. It is precisely the composite character of the Jawzian homily that created the possibility of movement. Beginning with an affirmation of the unity and transcendence of God (in the *khuṭba*), the homily moves on (in the *qiṣṣa*) to a recitation of, and sober reflection on, God's mighty acts in history from Adam to Muḥammad, and from there (in the *waʿẓ*) to an insistence on the absolute necessity of moral rectitude, and a posture of vigilance and fear in light of the approaching judgment and, finally, to the climax of the sermon represented by a call to decision (in the *khawātīm* or amorous poetry). Running through this conception of the homily from beginning to end is a preoccupation with individual decision as the non-negotiable precondition for salvation. In this, however, Ibn al-Jawzī stood entirely within the tradition of Baghdādī Ḥanbalism. In the final analysis, then, the unity of the Jawzian homily must be seen in relationship to, and as a function of, the goal toward which the movement described above proceeds. In the language of Ṣūfism, with which Ibn al-Jawzī was thoroughly conversant, it is a "unity of intention" and, therefore, like the Ṣūfī path, with its successive phases, it is a progressive movement necessarily cumulative and dynamic in character.[85] Whether the path that leads from the *khuṭba* to the *khawātīm* owes any of its inspiration and conception to the Ṣūfī notion of the path (the *ṭarīqa*) that leads to God remains to be explored further. The parallels, however, are worth contemplation. As in the case of the Ṣūfī path, it is only at the end that the goal of the homily is finally achieved. Ibn al-Jawzī's passion for poetry rests on the same spiritual and esthetic base as does the well-known Ṣūfī predilection for that medium.

Before concluding, something must be said regarding the relationship of form (or style) to content in the ideal homily as Ibn al-Jawzī understands it. Clearly both form and content are important to him,

but his views on the nature of the relationship of the two seem to reflect a degree of ambivalence. On the theoretical level there is no question for Ibn al-Jawzī but that content takes precedence over style. The primary purpose of the homily is to inform, to educate, to convince or persuade, and in doing so to promote the reform of both the individual and society. For Ibn al-Jawzī it is not sufficient simply to have something to say. The preacher must know how to present what he has to say. Stylistic refinement and eloquence are, therefore, important, but they are important because they enhance the attractiveness of the content; they render it more persuasive, more compelling. Beauty of form is the servant of content and as such must not become an end in itself.[86]

On the level of practice, however, the issues cannot be described so easily. Here the distinction between content and style is drawn less clearly, and one gets the impression from contemporary eyewitness accounts of Ibn al-Jawzī's preaching, as well as from an analysis of his sermons, that style may even at times have taken precedence in practice. Master of the language that he was, Ibn al-Jawzī must have been particularly vulnerable to the temptation to resort to stylistic and related (rhetorical) devices to achieve the kind of audience response that he thought appropriate to the occasion. As far as I am aware Ibn al-Jawzī nowhere takes up a systematic discussion of this general topic. We are left to extrapolate his position on this question from his practice and the homilies he left behind.

Summary and conclusions

As we have seen, the written works of Ibn al-Jawzī range across most of the religious and literary disciplines of his day. He was clearly one of the most prolific and versatile authors of his century and perhaps of the Arabic Middle Ages. Among the various genres in which he expressed himself none is broader in the range of its content and outlook than that of the homily and at the same time more expressive of the personality of its author or of his point of view on a multiplicity of questions. It is the multidimensional character of the Jawzian homily and the breadth of vision expressed by it that makes it a genuinely creative venture, in my view, and justifies its characterization as a humanist undertaking.

Since work on the homily in medieval Islam has only just begun, it is still too early to say to what extent these features of the Jawzian homily were present in the work of other medieval Muslim preachers and homilists, or to define the precise relationship of Ibn al-Jawzī's

work in this area to that of other preachers both before and after his time. It would appear, on the basis of my reading of the sources, that while Ibn al-Jawzī was in many ways reflective of broader trends in the evolution of the medieval tradition of Muslim preaching, he was also an innovator who introduced into the medieval homily new themes and new approaches. It is quite possible that in other respects, too, Ibn al-Jawzī charted new paths for the homilist and made a significant contribution to further evolution of the art of sermon composition and delivery within medieval Islam.[87]

But it is also important to emphasize that in fundamental ways Ibn al-Jawzī built on and carried forward a tradition of medieval preaching that can be traced back, in some form, to the early centuries of Islam. If Ibn al-Jawzī played a significant role in shaping the cultural and intellectual contours of twelfth-century Baghdad through his preaching, his teaching of the preacher's art, and his work as a composer of homiletical works, he was not alone in these efforts. The medieval chronicles are full of references to the activities of the preachers. Indeed, they played a crucial role as educators, reformers, and above all as mediators between the formal religious institutions, on the one hand, and the larger public, on the other. It is unfortunate that modern scholarship has paid so little attention to the tradition of the medieval preacher. George Makdisi deserves special mention in this connection, for he more than anyone since Goldziher has repeatedly called attention to the place of preaching in medieval Islam and emphasized the importance of research in this area. His scholarship has opened up new lines of inquiry and served to lay the groundwork for future research.

Notes

I wish to express my thanks, in particular, to George Makdisi, Irfan Shahid, Mahmoud Ayoub, Michael Morony, and David Reisman whose observations and critical comments on an earlier draft of this study were helpful to me in the clarification of a number of issues related to the study of the homily in medieval Islam.

1 Among the more prominent researchers in this field, one might mention the following: A. F. Mehren, Garcin de Tassy, S. Rückert, I. Goldziher, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, I. Kratchkovsky, G. E. von Grunebaum, S. A. Bonebakker, W. Heinrichs, and others. Thanks to their work, the history of rhetoric as a medieval science and the study of its impact on Arabic literature have made impressive strides. Although F. Gladwin published a study on Persian rhetoric in 1801, the first work to deal systematically with Arabic rhetoric specifically was A. F. Mehren's *Rhetorik der Araber*,

published in 1853. In the years that followed the publication of Mehren's work a number of studies on Arabic rhetoric appeared: Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman* (Paris, 1873); Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, ed. W. Pertsch (Gotha, 1874); Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leiden, 1896–99), vol. I, pp. 122–76; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, "al-Bayān al-'Arabī min al-Jāḥiz ilā 'Abd al-Qāhir", in the introduction to his edition of Qudāma's *Naqd an-Nathr* (Cairo, 1933, 1938), and its summary in "Le rapport entre la rhétorique arabe et la rhétorique grecque," *Actes du XVIII* congrès international des orientalistes* (Leiden, 1931), pp. 241 ff.; Kratchkovsky, "Die arabischen Poetik im IX Jahrhundert," *Le monde oriental*, 23 (1929), pp. 24 ff.; G. E. von Grunebaum, "Arabic Literary Criticism in the 10th Century A.D.," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 61 (1941), pp. 51–57; his *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism* (Chicago, 1950); Bonebakker's critical edition of Qudāma b. Ja'far's *Naqd ash-Shi'r* (Leiden, 1956), including an important introduction to the work; and A. Trabulsi, *La Critique poétique des Arabes jusqu'au V* siècle de J.-C.* (Damascus, 1955). For a fuller survey of work done up to the mid-1960s, see S. A. Bonebakker, "Aspects of the History of Literary Rhetoric and Poetics in Arabic Literature," in *Viator, Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1970), pp. 75 ff., as well as the following articles in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: "*Badī*" (vol. I, pp. 857–58(E12)); "*Balāgha*" (vol. I, pp. 981–83); and "*Bayān*" (vol. I, pp. 1114–16). Among the more recent contributions to the field of rhetoric, the following deserve special mention: W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik* (Wiesbaden, 1969), and his *The Hand of the Northwind* (Wiesbaden, 1977); Iḥsān 'Abbās, *Tārīkh an-Naqd al-Adabī 'inda al-'Arab* (Beirut, 1971; new ed. Amman, 1993); and K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's Theory of Poetic Imagery* (Warminster, 1979). For the impact of Greek rhetoric on medieval philosophy, see the important work by D. Black, *Logic and Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetics in Medieval Arabic Philosophy* (Leiden, 1990).

2 These remarks are not meant to minimize the significance of the work that has been done in the field of classical Arabic rhetoric. Important advances have been made and some of the research, especially in the last several decades, has contributed a number of seminal studies to the field.

3 Perhaps it would be more accurate to say "penultimate objective," since for most homilists persuasion itself was a means to a still higher end, that is, the moral transformation of society through the reform of individuals.

4 Enough information is available to indicate that the extent of the existing corpus is very considerable indeed. A scanning of C. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (*GAL*) and F. Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* will be sufficient to

provide some indication of its magnitude. As to the amount of homiletical material produced during the Middle Ages, the chronicles and especially the biographical dictionaries are particularly helpful. Such works as Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfiʿīya*, al-Khaṭīb's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, and Ibn Rajab's *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, to name only a few, attest to the existence of a very substantial body of homiletical literature. The survival of a substantial portion of this corpus also provides some indication of the value that was attached to it by Muslims who copied it and saw to it that it was preserved for subsequent generations. Historians of the Latin West have for a number of decades had available to them the kind of basic bibliographic resources, which are so sorely needed in the field of Islamic studies, in such works as H. Caplan's *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi*, 2 vols. (Ithaca, 1934–36); T. M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi* (Paris and Ottawa, 1936); and M. M. Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230–31* (Paris, 1931).

5 Even though our present knowledge is woefully inadequate, several things are clear, namely, 1, that the medieval homily presupposed a particular understanding of human nature (what is referred to in Arabic by the terms *nafs* and *rūḥ*); 2, that the means of persuasion employed in the homily followed from this understanding (regardless of whether the understanding was explicit or only implicit); and 3, that the homily implied also a certain understanding of society, in particular the nature of the good society to whose realization the homily was dedicated.

6 He was born around 510 A.H. (A.D. 1116) and died on the seventh day of Ramadan 597 (June 11, 1201). A convenient listing of the chief sources on Ibn al-Jawzī's life can be found in ʿUmar Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Iḥyāʾ, w.d.), vols. V–VI, pp. 157–58. For a brief but valuable account of his life, see the article on him by H. Laoust in *EI²*, vol. III, pp. 751–52, as well as his remarks in "Le Ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Baghdad," *Revue des études islamiques*, 27 (1959), pp. 67–128; for a more detailed treatment, see my *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ* (Beirut, 1971), pp. 15–38. Since the publication of these studies a number of new studies on various facets of his life and work have appeared, among them Nājiya ʿAbd Allāh Ibrāhīm's introduction to her critical edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-Muḍīʾ* (Baghdad, 1397/1976), pp. 17–39; and the important study by A. Hartmann, "Les ambivalences d'un sermonnaire ḥanbalite," *Annales Islamologiques*, 22 (1986), esp. pp. 52 ff. For a somewhat more popular treatment, see the short but interesting work by Ḥasan I. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm entitled *Ibn al-Jawzī* (Baghdad, 1988).

7 For a convenient account of developments in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1974), pp. 303–30; and H. Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," *Classical*

Philology, 28 (1933), pp. 73–96 (reprinted in *Of Eloquence: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Rhetoric by H. Caplan* [Ithaca and London, 1970], pp. 105–34).

8 According to Ibn Rajab, Ibn Taymīya (d. 728/1328) reported in his *Egyptian Responses* (*fī Ajwibatihi al-Miṣrīya*) that he had seen more than a thousand works by Ibn al-Jawzī and that there were others that he had still not seen at the time of his report (*Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* [Cairo, 1372/1952–3], vol. I, p. 415, lines 21–23).

9 Ibn al-Jawzī's grandson, Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, who visited his grandfather's personal library on more than one occasion, placed the number at more than two hundred and fifteen (*Mirʾāt* [Hyderabad, 1951], pp. 437–38); the seventh-century historian of Baghdad, Ibn al-Buzūrī, concluded that the number was approximately three hundred and forty. Ibn Khallikān was inclined to place the figure somewhat lower (*Wafayāt*, vol. II, p. 321 [Cairo, 1960], Eng. trans. [Beirut, 1970], vol. II, p. 96).

10 Second edition, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1943–49); *Supplement*, 3 vols. (1937–1942).

11 Although a number of his writings have since been published, particularly in the last ten years, the majority of his writings remain in manuscript form scattered in various libraries of the Muslim world, Europe, and the United States.

12 See Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 413, where Ibn al-Buzūrī, is quoted as saying that there was not a discipline in which he did not write. What he most probably had in mind were the standard religious and literary disciplines. In the introduction to his *Ṭibb ar-Rūḥānī* (Damascus, 1928, p. 3), Ibn al-Jawzī tells us that he had written a work on medicine somewhat earlier, though he does not give us its title. From other sources, however, we know it was his *Laqat al-Manāfiʿ*. Although the work is extant it has yet to be published. For an account of the surviving manuscripts of the work, see ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd alʿ ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Jawzī* (Baghdad, 1385 [1965]), pp. 154–55.

13 Although most of these are still in manuscript form I have examined a number of them; the majority of these are collections of homilies, sometimes devoted to particular themes, sometimes designed for use on particular occasions.

14 See for example Muhammad Alwan, "al-Mustadrak ʿalā' Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Jawzī," *Mawrid*, 1 (1971), pp. 181–90; and Nājiya ʿAbd Allāh Ibrāhīm, "Ibn al-Jawzī, *Fihrist* Kutubihi," *Mujallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī*, 31 (1980), pp. 193–200. Although ʿAlwajī's work (*Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Jawzī*) is now somewhat out of date, it remains an important source of information on the writings of Ibn al-Jawzī.

15 The fact that such a large number of his homiletical works have survived indicates that his writings in this area were read and valued.

16 Especially his *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ waʾl-Mudhakkirīn* (Beirut, 1971) and his *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*. For more information on this latter work, see A. Hartmann, "Les ambivalences d'un sermonnaire ḥanbalite, Ibn

al-Gawzī (m. en 597/1201), sa carrière et son ouvrage autographe, le *Kitāb al-Hawātīm*," *Annales Islamologiques*, 22 (1986), pp. 51–115 (plus plates).

17 *Kitāb al-Mudhish* is a large work of approximately 550 pages in the Beirut edition and consists of five chapters arranged as follows: (1) the sciences concerned with the study of the Qur'ān; (2) Arabic grammar and philology; (3) the sciences that pertain to prophetic traditions; (4) the study of history; and (5) moral and religious exhortations. The last chapter is divided into two parts: the first is a collection of didactic narratives that deal for the most part with the pre-Islamic prophets; the second is a series of exhortations intended to be delivered before audiences on various public occasions. The Beirut edition prepared by Marwān Qabbānī and issued by the Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīya Press is unfortunately not a critical edition. For the most part it is based on the Baghdad edition of 1348/1929. Because the notes added to the Beirut edition contain much useful historical and bibliographic information it is particularly useful.

18 This date is based on the assumption that *Ru'ūs* is an abridgement of the longer of the two versions of *Kitāb al-Mudhish*, both of which were in circulation during the author's lifetime. If, as seems likely from the author's introduction, *Ru'ūs* is an abridgement of the longer version of *Kitāb al-Mudhish*, which is dated in the year 591/1194, we can safely assume that *Ru'ūs* was written during Ibn al-Jawzī's last years. However, until a detailed analysis of these works is completed, the date of *Ru'ūs* cannot be definitively asserted.

19 This is the only printed edition known to me. It was prepared by Amīn 'Abd al-'Azīz of Cairo, but is not in any sense a critical edition. In reality it is no more than a reduplication of a modern handwritten copy based in turn on a manuscript reportedly bearing the date 22 Sha'bān 645 (December 22, 1247). The editor does not identify this manuscript. For more on other manuscripts of the work, see the following note.

20 Apparently only a few manuscript copies of the work are extant. There is one in Cairo which I have examined (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, *Ma'ālim Taymūr*, no. 43). A. Hartmann reports that a manuscript of the work, copied by the author's own son in the year 600 (1203), three years after Ibn al-Jawzī's death, is to be found in the Hüseyin Çelebi collection in Bursa (see her "Les ambivalences," p. 84, n. 230, for more on the manuscript). It is clearly an important manuscript of *Ru'ūs* and deserves careful study. 'Alwajī reports the existence of a manuscript in Hyderabad, but it is of very recent vintage and not likely to be of any great significance (*Mu'allafāt Ibn al-Jawzī*, 106, no. 155; see also Brockelmann, *Suppl*, vol. I, p. 919). Brockelmann also reports the existence of what appears to be an abridgement of this work in Berlin under the title *Muntakhab az-Zīr 'an Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr fī'l-Mawā'iz wa't-Tadhkīr* (*GAL*, vol. I, p. 505, no. 51).

21 Among the rhetorical devices discussed in this chapter are *isti'āra* (the

metaphor), *tamthīl* (analogy), *qalb* (inversion), *taqdīm wa-ta'khīr* (hysteron proteron), *hadhf* (ellipsis), *takrār* (anaphora), *ishāra* (allusion), *kināya* (metonymy), *tashbīh* (simile), *tajnīs* (paronomasia), *muṭābaqa* (antithesis), and *itā'* (alliteration). Other topics such as the nature of tropical language (*tajawwuzāt*), the range and suppleness of the Arabic language, the nature of synonyms and their divisions, the use of proverbs (*amthāl*), etc. are taken up in this chapter. Indeed, chapter 2 might be described as a discussion of those elements of Arabic rhetoric important to the effective execution of the homily. In his *Sayyid al-Khāṭir* (Beirut, 1987) Ibn al-Jawzī observes that expertise in rhetoric (*balāgha*) is among the most important skills the preacher can acquire (144). In his *Kitāb al-Mudhis* (487), Ibn al-Jawzī states: "Rhetorical expressions (*'ibārāt*) are good for the soul (*ḥazz an-nufūs*) and allusions (*ishārāt*) are nourishment for the heart (*qūt al-qulūb*)." Works such as *Ru'ūs* and *Mudhish* (with their chapters on rhetoric) were part of Ibn al-Jawzī's larger effort to ground preaching on the long-established principles of rhetoric employed by respectable composers of prose and poetry and, in the process, to win for it respectability and acceptance among the recognized disciplines of the day. This "rhetoricization" of the language on which the homily was based was an attempt to do for the homily what the "moderns" (*muḥadathūn*) of the ninth century had attempted to do for Arabic poetry through the introduction of the *badī'* style (for more on this literary development, see G. Schoeler's study of early 'Abbāsid poetry in *'Abbāsid belles-lettres* [Cambridge, 1990], pp. 285 ff.).

22 This chapter provides us with some notion of what Ibn al-Jawzī believed ought to be the proper scope of the preacher's education. What is particularly striking about this chapter is the fact that much of the "information" provided for the preacher's benefit would be termed "secular" in modern parlance. It is clear from the content of this chapter that Ibn al-Jawzī was not of the view that all the preacher needed to know were the religious disciplines. These latter were important in his view, but they were not by themselves sufficient.

23 He is emphatic on this point in the introduction to *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* (p. 3); see also *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, chap. 12 (Arabic text, pp. 136–47), as well as *Talbīs Iblīs* (pp. 123–25), and numerous places in *Ṣayd al-Khāṭir* (e.g., p. 144).

24 In *al-Mudhish* he includes a separate chapter on history. It was in effect a summary of the historical information that he believed every preacher should have at his command.

25 The science of the homily (*wa'ẓ*) was not the only discipline that emphasized the importance of a multidisciplinary perspective. Jurisprudence (*fiqh*), for example, routinely made use of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, Arabic grammar, and philology in the elaboration of solutions to legal questions (for a general discussion of the interdisciplinary nature of the religious sciences in medieval Islam, see H. Daiber, "Anfänge und

Entstehung der Wissenschaft im Islam," *Saeculum*, 29 [1978],
pp. 356–66). What was distinctive of *waʿz* was rather the range of
disciplines from which it drew the materials with which it worked.

26 The association of the art of preaching with medicine is reflected in the
titles of a number of Ibn al-Jawzī's extant works: among them *aṭ-Ṭibb
ar-Rūḥānī* or "Medicine for the Soul" (Damascus, 1348/1929); *Diryāq
adh-Dhunūb wa-Dawāʾ al-ʿUyūb* or "The Antidote for Sins and the
Remedy for Faults" (Asad National Library, no. 10018); *Diryāq adh-
Dhunūb fīʾl-Waʿz* or "Antidotes for Sins to be Found in Admonitions"
(Asad National Library, no. 7152) (in the introduction to this work sins
are said to be like poisons and homilies or exhortations the only
effective antidote); as well as *Ruʾūs al-Qawārīr* ("The Best of the Vials"),
whose introduction is replete with medical terms and references to
medical procedures. The word *qawārīr* (pl. of *qārūra*) is a technical term
used in medieval Arabic medicine to refer to the flasks or vials used by
physicians to prepare medicines (compound remedies as opposed to the
materia medica) prior to their application. Used here in the title the
term was meant to indicate that the art of the homilist is one in which
elements drawn from a variety of different sources are mixed together to
form a "solution" that would when administered bring health to the
patient. On this and related titles see ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Jawzī*, p.
9. See Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 305, where the author
notes that preachers in the Latin West also commonly made use of
analogies between medicine and preaching.

27 This can be seen in the frequent reference in the *khuṭbas* of *Ruʾūs al-
Qawārīr* to the heavens and to various sorts of celestial phenomena.
Judging from his *khuṭbas*, Ibn al-Jawzī clearly stood in awe of the
heavens, and he did so in part because of what they were in and of
themselves, but also because he viewed them as the handiwork (*ayāt*) of
an all-powerful and all-wise creator.

28 Ibn al-Jawzī's position on *kalām* is a complicated matter. In a number of
his writings, particularly those intended for preachers, he condemns the
discussion of *kalām* in unequivocal terms. But this anti-*kalām* rhetoric,
if taken in isolation from the larger body of his writings, can lead to a
misunderstanding of Ibn al-Jawzī's true position. He is known to have
studied *kalām* and to have written on the subject. In his *Dafʿ Shubhāt
at-Tashbīh* (Damascus, 1345/1926) and *Kitāb Akhbār aṣ-Ṣifāt* (ms. in the
Sehid Ali Pasha, Istanbul, no. 1561) he discourses at length on matters
pertaining to *kalām* and, indeed, advocates a point of view that was in
conflict with the general view of the Ḥanbalite school. In his *Kitāb
Akhbār aṣ-Ṣifāt* he argues that much of the language of the Qurʾān and
the *ḥadīth* is figurative and must be interpreted in a metaphorical
fashion (i.e., by a method which he terms *taʾwīl*). Not surprisingly, some
of his fellow Ḥanbalites went so far as to accuse him of being a crypto-
Muʿtazilite (see, e.g., Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 205–11, where the
case against Ibn al-Jawzī is detailed by Abūʾl-Faḍl al-ʿAlthī [d.

634/1236], a younger contemporary). Ibn al-Jawzī's position on *kalām* is
in some ways analogous to his view on the use of love poetry (*ghazal*) in
the homily. On the one hand he condemns its use by preachers; on the
other, he himself is known to have made considerable use of it in his
preaching, as will be seen in the later part of this study. A. Hartmann
characterizes his position on the question of love poetry as one of
"ambivalence" (see her "Les ambivalences"). Unfortunately it is not
possible, given the relatively small number of his writings to have been
studied systematically, to provide an adequate explanation to this
seemingly contradictory side of his thought. A great deal more research,
encompassing a wider range of his writings, will need to be done before
a properly nuanced account of this aspect of his thought can be given.

29 I use "humanist" in this essay in its historical sense as a designation for
a particular cultural movement which, in its European form, had its
beginning in twelfth-century Italy. My use of the term owes much to the
scholarship of P. O. Kristeller and George Makdisi. For a clear
statement of Kristeller's views, see especially "The Medieval
Antecedents of Renaissance Humanism," in his *Eight Philosophers of
the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, 1964), pp. 147–165. Thanks to the
extensive research of George Makdisi, it is now possible not only to
speak of an authentic humanist tradition in medieval Islam, but of the
genuine possibility of Islam's contribution to the beginnings of the
humanist tradition in the Latin west. For a detailed statement of his
argument and the evidence on which it is based, see *The Rise of
Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West, With Special
Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburgh, 1990), and the somewhat more
condensed statement in his "Scholasticism and Humanism in Classical
Islam and the Christian West," *Journal of the American Oriental
Society*, 109 (1989), pp. 175–82.

30 I use "literature" here in the broadest sense of the term to include not
only the *belles lettres* but also writings that deal with the study of
language and the analysis of texts.

31 By "moral philosophy" I refer to the ethical content of such works as
Ibn al-Jawzī's *Ṣayd al-Khāṭir*, *Dhamm al-Hawā*, *Kitāb al-Mudhish* (esp.
chap. 5) and his other homiletical works. Alongside his appeal to the
authority of revelation one also finds in these writings a persistent
appeal to reason and to the wisdom of lived experience. Although Ibn
al-Jawzī was not a professional philosopher or a systematic thinker in
the strict sense of the term, his writings do reflect a rather strong
interest in philosophical questions – but the kind of philosophical
questions associated with the Near Eastern wisdom tradition rather
than that of the peripatetic philosophers.

32 These categories are clearly not mutually exclusive, but they do indicate
orientations that can be thought of as distinct. Running through all of
these was an implicit theory of esthetics. This is an aspect of the thought
of Ibn al-Jawzī that still remains to be studied. I am convinced that an

understanding of his conception of beauty as it relates to language is essential to a fuller understanding of the homily and the art of preaching in the thought of Ibn al-Jawzī.

33 The identity and range of the disciplines underscored by Ibn al-Jawzī bring to mind the *studia humanitatis* of the Latin and Greek Middle Ages (see esp. Kristeller, "Medieval Antecedents," pp. 150 ff.).

34 It is worth noting that Ibn al-Jawzī does not appear to have been the only preacher in medieval Islam to hold this view of the character of the preacher's art. The views that he expressed on this point were reflective of a broader trend in medieval Muslim religious culture. And to the extent that he was a mirror of religio-cultural trends, the term "humanist" thus has a broader application.

35 I refer to his *Kitāb al-Khawātīm* to which Hartmann devotes a large part of her "Les ambivalences."

36 The term was also, of course, used for other purposes. For a useful discussion of the term and its various uses, see Wensinck's article in *EI²*, vol. V, pp. 74–75, as well as the article by Pedersen on the *khatīb* in *EI²*, vol. IV, pp. 1109–11.

37 *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr*, p. 6.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

39 Ibn al-Jawzī's fascination with nature was in no sense original with him; rather, it represents the continuation of a long-standing tradition in Arabic poetry. For a penetrating study of the place of nature themes in Arabic literature, see G. Schoeler's *Arabische Naturdichtung. Die Zahrīyāt, Rabī'īyāt und Raudīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanaubarī. Eine gatungs-, motiv- und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Beirut, 1974).

40 *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr*, p. 3.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 16, etc.

43 Both verbs and nouns are used as rhyme words, sometimes within a single *khutba*; in general, however, nouns figure more prominently as rhyme words. These latter not only carry the rhyme scheme, they are generally the key words on which the meaning of the sentence turns.

44 The sixth *khutba* in his *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* (pp. 5–6).

45 An allusion to S. 67:3: "Do you see any fissure [in the heavens]?" Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī's *Zād al-Masīr fī 'Ilm at-Tafsīr* (Beirut and Damascus, 1967), vol. VIII, pp. 319–20, where *fujūr* (whose root has the double sense of fissure and deviation from a norm) and *sudū'* (scattering, dispersal, separating) are given as synonyms.

46 Cf. S. 13:3; 21:31; 31:10, etc. S. 31:10 reads: "He created the heavens without pillars that you can see, and he cast on the earth firm mountains (*rawāsī*), lest it shake with you . . ."

47 *Badhr*: grain or seed that is sown; but also plants that have just sprung forth from the earth.

48 Taken in the context of what follows, "inhabitants" here may be taken

to refer to all life that appears on earth – vegetable and animal. All life will finally meet the same fate.

49 An eschatological reference whose background is given in S. 18:93 ff. (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-Masīr*, vol. V, pp. 188–91). Cf. also S. 21:96. On Ya'jūj, see *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 637.

50 There are numerous references in the Qur'ān to the blowing of the trumpet, e.g., S. 6:73 (cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-Masīr*, vol. III, pp. 68–69); see also S. 18:99; 20:102; 99:13, etc.

51 Surah 50:42 (cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-Masīr*, vol. VIII, p. 25).

52 For a discussion of the semantic range of this term and the place of the *qissa* in medieval Arabic literature, see the important article by C. Pellat, *EI²*, vol. V, pp. 185–87; see also the very useful introduction by W. M. Thackston, Jr., to his translation of al-Kisā'ī's *Qisas al-Anbiyā'* under the title *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i* (Boston, 1978), pp. ix–xxxiv.

53 The prophets whose lives are recounted in the *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* are the following: Adam, Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham, Lot, Joseph, Job, Shu'ayb, Moses, Balaam, Korah, David, Solomon, Jesus, John the Baptist, and Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-Mudhish* contains twenty-six *qisas*; apart from the last two stories which concern Muḥammad and the men who fought in the battle of Badr, the *qisas* of this work all belong to the pre-Islamic period. It is necessary to distinguish the *qissa* from the *hikāya* which also seems to have played a role in medieval Islamic preaching. Ibn al-Jawzī, at least, reserves the term *hikāya* for the stories of Muslim saints and other devout individuals who played a central role in the history of Islam. His *Kitāb Multaqat al-Ḥikāyāt* (Cairo, 1357/1938) is devoted exclusively to the recounting of their lives (among the persons treated in this work are such figures as Ibrāhīm at-Taymī, Abū'd-Dardā', Sufyān ath-Thawrī, Fudayl b. 'Iyād, 'Alī, 'Umar, Mālik b. Dinār, Dhū'n-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Rābi'a al-'Adawīya, Abū Ḥamza aṣ-Ṣūfī, and Sarī as-Saqaṭī). Ibn al-Jawzī also composed other works of this type (e.g., his *'Uyūn al-Ḥikāyāt* [*GAL*, vol. I, p. 503 (no. 12)] which is a much longer work). Whether the *hikāya* was ever used in the Jawzian homily is a question that remains to be explored further. It is clear from *Kitāb al-Qussāṣ* (§ 337–38) that Ibn al-Jawzī regarded the study of the *hikāya* as important in the education of the preacher.

54 Whether the events related in these stories are historical or legendary, as viewed from a modern, critical perspective, is irrelevant to the concerns of this study. What is important is that they were regarded as true both by their authors and by those who heard or read them.

55 The term *wa'z* was used by Ibn al-Jawzī in both a general and a restricted sense. In its general sense the term could be applied to the homily as a whole; when used in the narrow sense, it referred to one particular part of the homily. It is in the latter sense, of course, that the term is used here.

56 As is well known, Islam is not the only religion to make use of the

eschatological sanction. From its beginning Christianity found it necessary, as Zoroastrianism and Judaism had done in an earlier age. To judge from the history of religion, it would appear that eschatology is closely linked (though perhaps not exclusively) to a monotheistic conception of reality. While acknowledging the role played by fear of punishment in the Jawzian homily, it would be wrong to imagine, as earlier orientalists sometimes suggested, that fear was the primary mood or emotional state evoked by the preaching of Ibn al-Jawzī. Since he wrote works of a humorous nature (e.g., his *Kitāb al-Ḥamqā wa'l-Mughaffalīn*) and frequently made use of humor in other writings, it is difficult to imagine that he did not make use of the humorous anecdote in his preaching (see Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. I, p. 412, lines 22–23, where Ibn al-Jawzī's skill as a humorist is alluded to; see also Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, vol. IV, 1347 [Hyderabad, 1375/1955]). If his audiences wept on occasion, they must also at times have been moved to laughter. Although Ibn al-Jawzī was severely critical of those preachers who devoted the better part of their energies to entertainment rather than the admonition of their audiences, it is possible to believe that Ibn al-Jawzī regarded entertainment as entirely appropriate for the preacher as long as it did not divert from the primary purpose of the homily.

57 For more on this sub-genre of Arabic poetry, see the study by A. Hamori ("Ascetic Poetry") in *'Abbāsid belles-lettres*, pp. 265–74.

58 Ascetic and mystical themes figure prominently in the *wa'z* compositions found in *Kitāb al-Mudhish* (esp. pp. 145ff.). In fact, the outlook of the Jawzian homily generally is more sympathetic to ascetic and mystical concerns than modern scholarship would lead one to believe. The older view (influenced largely by the work of Goldziher) rested on a narrow textual base, primarily his *Talbīs Iblīs*, an important work, but one that can give rise to mistaken impressions of Ibn al-Jawzī's fundamental position if it is read in isolation from the larger Jawzian corpus. Fortunately the research of the last several decades (especially by G. Makdisi, H. Laoust, A. Hartmann, S. Leder, and others) has done much to place Ibn al-Jawzī's views in a wider context and highlight the need for a more nuanced interpretation. *Talbīs Iblīs*, we now know, was written in response to certain developments in Baghdad in the mid 570s (*c.* 1176–80) and must be seen as a reflection of the author's outlook at a particular stage in his intellectual evolution (see my study of his *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ* [Beirut, 1971], pp. 33 and 44 f.).

59 Ibn al-Jawzī also makes use of longer forms of direct address, as for example: *yā maṭrūdan 'an ṣuhbat aṣ-ṣāliḥīn* (O you who are banished from the company of the pious!) and *Ismaʿ yā man qad ḍayyaqa 'alā nafsihi al-khanāqa fī fiʿliʾl-maʿāṣī* (Hear me, you who have tightened the noose around your necks by your transgressions). Examples of such expressions can be found on virtually every page of *Kitāb al-Mudhish* (ed. Marwāh Qabbānī, Beirut, w.d.), especially in the *wa'z* section

(pp. 150–542). See also his *al-Yawāqīt al-Jawzīya fīʾl-Mawāʿiz* (Cairo, 1357/1938), pp. 1–28.

60 Plurals of *maqtaʿ* and *khātima*, respectively.

61 This poetry was generally of the *zuhdiyyāt* sort; it emphasized themes having to do with the brevity of life, the emptiness of the pursuit of wealth and pleasure, and the inevitability of death.

62 See her "Les ambivalences," esp. pp. 70 ff., where the technical meaning of the terms *maqāṭiʿ* and *khawātīm* is discussed. It is interesting that Ibn al-Jawzī composed a work entitled *Kitāb al-Maqāṭiʿ* which, although not extant, is mentioned in his *Kitāb al-Khawātīm* and is noted by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī in his list of Ibn al-Jawzī's writings (*Miʾrāt az-Zamān*, 488). In *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*, a portion of whose introduction is reproduced by Hartmann, Ibn al-Jawzī states explicitly that the *Kitāb al-Maqāṭiʿ* had originally been intended as a collection of poems (without commentary) designed for use in the concluding part of the sermon. In his introduction to *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*, Ibn al-Jawzī states:

> Since the end of the homily ought to be especially impassioned and emotional, I composed a book which I called *al-Maqāṭiʿ* (concluding poems) in which I presented a selection of delightful poems suited for use at the end of the sermon (*waḍaʿtu kitāban sammaytuhu al-maqāṭiʿ tanaqqaytu fīhi ashʿāran laṭīfatan taṣluhu li-khitāmiʾl-majlis*). Later I came to realize that it would be preferable to provide (prose) introductions appropriate to these poems so that they not remain isolated texts and without meaning. I have written some books on this subject, but I have now decided to select from them the most impassioned of the verses (*min aqwā al-kulli harāratan*) and to arrange them [in a volume entitled *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*] in such a manner that the number of intoxicating cups (*kuʾūs musakkira*) might increase so that, after the departure of the "travellers" (the listeners), [these verses] might leave the person intoxicated with ecstasy thrown to the ground in his house (*fa-tukhallifu sakrānaʾl-wajd ṭarīhan fiʾd-dāri baʿda rahīliʾs-safar*).

With Hartmann, I take the words *ṭarīhan fīʾd-dāri* as a metaphorical reference to the condition of ecstasy in which the individual becomes oblivious of his surroundings ("Les ambivalences," p. 71 and n. 153). In this interesting passage Ibn al-Jawzī sets forth in clear and unmistakable terms his own understanding of the homily and the function of the *khawātīm* or concluding verses. *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*, on which Hartmann's study is based, has survived in an autograph manuscript in the Hüseyn Çelebi Collection (Bursa), no. 435. In addition to the citation by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, the work is also mentioned by Ibn Rajab (*Dhayl*, vol. I, 420) and by Dhahabī (*Tārīkh al-Islam*, fol. 74b).

63 It is a fact well established in the sources that Ibn al-Jawzī was a connoisseur of poetry and himself composed poetry on different occasions. No fewer than twelve poems in *Kitāb al-Mudhish* have been

identified as Ibn al-Jawzī's (pp. 153, 196, 202, 225, 333, 362, 366, 406, 404, 422, 425, and 513). Ibn Rajab cites a *dīwān* by him under the title *Mā Qultuhu min al-Ashʿār* (*Dhayl*, vol. I, p. 419); the work appears to be no longer extant (cf. ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Jawzī*, p. 155, no. 332; also Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 71). His poetry was well regarded by a number of authorities: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (vol. II, p. 97, Eng. trans.); ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr* (Baghdad, 1396/1976), pp. 260–65; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* (Cairo, 1931, vol. IV, p. 329). The period of his exile in Wasit, though a difficult one, was especially productive in the composition of poetry (Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 71, n. 154).

64 The editor of *Kitāb al-Mudhish*, Marwān Qabbānī, has identified no fewer than thirty poets cited by Ibn al-Jawzī in the *waʿz* sections of the work. It is interesting that the two poets cited most often, al-Mihyār and Abū'l-Ḥasan ar-Riḍā, were Shīʿites. Two other men whose poetry figures prominently in *Kitāb al-Mudhish* are Ṣurr-Durr (Abū Manṣūr b. Faḍl [d. 465/1037]) and al-Mutanabbī.

65 In addition to the poets mentioned in the preceding note, Ibn al-Jawzī cites the verses of a large number of poets whose compositions were largely of the profane sort, among them Abū Nuwās, al-Buḥturī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Abū Tammām, and al-Maʿarrī (to mention but a few).

66 Ibn al-Jawzī's use of this profane poetry is based on the assumption that love between human beings can serve by way of analogy as the basis for an understanding of the love of human beings for God and he for them. In short, human love is a metaphor for divine love.

67 It should be noted, however, that a good deal of the poetry taken over by Ibn al-Jawzī comes from mystical poets and is explicitly religious in its character. Among the Ṣūfī poets cited by Ibn al-Jawzī are such names as Abū Sulaymān ad-Darānī (d. 215/830), Aḥmad b. Abī'l-Hawārī (d. 230/845), and Shiblī (d. 334/946). See Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 73.

68 Indeed, the almost total helplessness of lovers in the face of *ʿishq*, even when it leads to suffering (*qalaq*) and trial (*balwā*), resulting from the spurning of love or the separation of lovers.

69 Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 73.

70 *Kitāb al-Mudhish* (Beirut ed.), p. 222 (p. 223 in the Baghdad ed.); these lines also appear in *Kitāb al-Khawātīm* (see Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 76).

71 Lit. "Is like the taste of sleep."

72 The prose text that precedes this poem and which is composed in a *waʿz* style reads: "The people emptied their hearts of distractions, and within them pavilions were erected to the beloved. They raised their eyes, standing on guard at times and watering the earth [with their tears] at others. O how easy sleeplessness is for watchmen when they know their voices are within earshot of the king!"

73 *Kitāb al-Mudhish* (Beirut ed.), p. 153 (cf. Baghdad ed., pp. 149–50; and

Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla* [Beirut 1981], p. 178, where several lines of this poem are cited). See Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 78, where this poem is cited with variant readings based on *Kitāb al-Khawātīm*.

74 Lit. "Speak and inform [them] of what has appeared [between us]."

75 See Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 110, n. 183, for a slightly different reading of this last line. In the absence of a critical edition of this poem, the reading of this last line remains open to question. In *al-Mudhish* where these lines are also found the poem is prefaced by a prose text which makes it clear that something quite other than profane love was intended. The preface reads as follows: "O you who are companions on the road of rejection (*safar aṭ-ṭard*), alight without delay to lament your state and weep the perfume of the places of reunion. Call for help against the withering sun of abandonment, for perhaps your grief will turn into a cloud giving shade to the burning pain of despair."

76 Hartmann, "Les ambivalences," p. 74 and n. 171.

77 *Al-Mudhish*, p. 224 (Baghdad ed.); pp. 222–23 (Beirut ed.).

78 For more on the use of erotic poetry by medieval preachers, see the following note.

79 It has been suggested that this poetry was used by preachers more for purposes of embellishment (or as a means of keeping the audience's attention) than for reasons that were central to the concerns of the preacher (see, e.g., L. A. Giffen, "Love Poetry and Love Theory in Medieval Arabic Literature," in G. E. von Grunebaum [ed.], *Arabic Poetry, Theory and Development* [Wiesbaden, 1973], 115). This may have been true of some of the preachers of the medieval period, but it was hardly the case with Ibn al-Jawzī. For him the use of amorous poetry was anything but artificial and, in his mind at least, did not clash with the moral elements of the sermon. In his emphasis on the religious value of love poetry, Ibn al-Jawzī certainly did not stand alone. The theme of love (both profane and religious) attracted the attention of an impressive line of Traditionalist thinkers from Ibn Dāʾūd (d. 868) and al-Kharāʾiṭī (d. 937) to Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya (d. 1350), among others. The considerable literature generated by Traditionalist thinkers on this subject is witness to the seriousness of their interest in love poetry (and the theme of love more generally), and this interest should not be seen as reflecting a failure on their part to understand a supposed conflict between love poetry, on the one hand, and the moral premises of traditionalist Islam, on the other. For a detailed elaboration of Ibn al-Jawzī's views on love, see his *Dhamm al-Hawā* (Cairo, 1381/1962), and S. Leder's *Ibn al-Gauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft* (Beirut, 1984). J. N. Bell's *Love Theory in Later Ḥanbalite Islam* (Albany, 1979), as the title indicates, is a survey of leading Ḥanbalite thinkers on the question of love, beginning with Ibn al-Jawzī. An important earlier review of the literature on profane and mystical love can be found in H. Ritter's

"Philologika: VIII. Arabische und persische Schriften über die profane und die mystische Liebe," *Der Islam*, 21 (1933), pp. 84–109. For a new and valuable discussion of love poetry and preaching in medieval Islam, see T. Emil Homerin's "Preaching Poetry: The Forgotten Verse of Ibn al-Shahrazūrī," *Arabica*, 38 (1991), pp. 87–101.

80　It is the element of timing that gives to the preaching of Ibn al-Jawzī a genuinely dramatic quality. A study of Ibn al-Jawzī's homiletical works suggests that timing itself ought to be considered as an essential of rhetoric alongside those elements traditionally regarded as important in classical rhetoric.

81　Much of the love poetry used by Ibn al-Jawzī was a poetry that reflected the pain of suffering and personal crisis. It is abundantly clear from Ibn al-Jawzī's own account of his preaching that audience response was ultimately the standard by which he measured the success of his efforts as a preacher. In numerous references scattered throughout vol. X of his *Kitāb al-Muntaẓam* and in his *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ* (esp. § 337) he cites actual figures giving the number of persons (especially Jews and Christians) who were converted to Islam through his preaching. For more details on this matter, see my study in G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel, and J. Sourdel-Thomine (eds.), *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Age. Islam, Byzance, Occident* (Paris, 1983), pp. 223–39, esp. pp. 230 ff.

82　For Ibn al-Jawzī, the homily did constitute a unity, as he indicates in his use of an interesting analogy drawn from medicine. The homily, with its parts, is like compound drugs (*adwiya murakkaba*) administered by physicians (*Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr*, p. 3; for more on compound drugs, as opposed to the *materia medica* of medieval medicine, see the article "Adwiya," *EI²*, vol. I, pp. 212–14).

83　Admittedly, the same possibility existed for the Latin sermon.

84　In the case of Ibn al-Jawzī we have the accounts of the renowned medieval traveler Ibn Jubayr, preserved for us in his *Riḥla* (Beirut, 1981), pp. 173–81. Over a period of two weeks (in the month of Ṣafar 580 [May 1184]), he attended three assemblies in which Ibn al-Jawzī delivered his homilies and reports in detail what he witnessed along with his impressions.

85　Despite his criticism of certain forms of Ṣūfism, it is clear that Ibn al-Jawzī was profoundly influenced by mystical Islam. The extent of his indebtedness to Ṣūfism can be seen in virtually all of his *wa'ẓ* works, including *Ru'ūs al-Qawārīr* and *Kitāb al-Mudhish*. For a discussion of the place of Ṣūfism within the Ḥanbalī school, see the excellent study by George Makdisi, "Ḥanbalite Islam," in M. Swartz (ed. and trans.), *Studies on Islam* (New York and Oxford, 1981), esp. pp. 240–51. A much fuller examination of his relationship to Ṣūfism would be necessary in a full-length treatment of the Jawzian homily. It is clear that his *Talbīs Iblīs*, on which Ibn al-Jawzī's reputation in the west has largely been based, is only one of the works to be considered in the study of this important question.

86　See the introduction to his *Kitāb at-Tabṣira* (Cairo, 1390/1970) for example, where he accuses Persian authors of homiletical works of pursuing stylistic beauty and eloquence at the expense of content.

87　As an example one might point to his *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa'l-Mudhakkirīn* (Beirut, 1971), one of the first, if not the first, manuals on the art of preaching to appear in medieval Islam.

4 · Medieval Islam: the literary–cultural dimension

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Medieval Islamic civilization is an impressive edifice that rightly boasts of many a luminous facet such as philosophy, theology, science, arts, and architecture. Yet impressive as these facets are, they are all dwarfed by literature, *adab*, which holds a centrality in that edifice. In the classification of sciences, the *marātib al-ʿulūm* of medieval Islamic times, the Arabo-Islamic ones were much more important than the so-called foreign sciences (mainly Greek), and the latter were not only less important but were often not tolerated. Philosophy, for instance, remained under a cloud in Islam and its practitioners were viewed with suspicion. The first and the last of the four big names in the discipline, al-Kindī and Ibn Rushd, fell into disfavor toward the end of their lives while philosophy itself never became an integral element in orthodox Islamic thought as it became in Christianity with Platonism in St. Augustine and Aristotelianism in St. Thomas Aquinas. And so it remained peripheral, important as it was *per se* as philosophy. Not so literature and all that pertains to it, which had an early start and an advantage over all the other facets. It remained privileged throughout medieval Islamic times, within the Arabo-Islamic disciplines, and has not lost its paramountcy even in the modern period. It is a unique spectacle in the panorama of the history of the three Semitic monotheistic religions and the civilizations to which they gave rise. This chapter will explain how and why this came about, and it will also pay special attention to the tension that one aspect of this literary facet has created in Islam, and what is more, a tension that has not yet been resolved.

I

The problem begins with the Qurʾān itself and the three dogmas that pertain to it, all of which are peculiar to the Qurʾān and Islam, and make Islam's Holy Book unique among the Scriptures of the three monotheistic religions. The two relevant dogmas stated in the Qurʾān itself are its Arabness and its incomparability. The Qurʾān is Arabic and *muʿjiz* (miraculous). These two dogmas had far-reaching consequences in the history of Islam as a religion and as a medieval civilization. Another feature relevant to this discussion, also peculiar to the Qurʾān, is the belief that while the Old and the New Testaments were written by inspired human beings, except for a few passages, the Qurʾān from beginning to end is the actual word of God, his *logos* in the literal sense of this mysterious and untranslatable term (which appears in the first verse of the gospel of St. John), delivered in the plural of majesty, and human beings have no share in it other than the fact that it was revealed to one of them, the prophet Muḥammad, who thus became only the recipient and the transmitter of the word of God. It is no wonder then that the Qurʾān holds a place in the life of the Muslim community much more central than that of the Old Testament and the New in the lives of the Jews and the Christians, of whose Holy Book none of the preceding three features of the Qurʾān are usually predicated. That attractive Qurʾānic phrase *ahl al-Kitāb*, "the People of the Book, the scripturalists," applied in the Qurʾān to the Jews and the Christians, is, in fact, more applicable to the Muslims themselves, who are the true *ahl al-Kitāb*, while the term *Kitāb*, with the definite article, which has been usurped by grammarians as the title of Sībawayh's work, can with more justification be applied to the Qurʾān itself as *the* Book of Islam and the Arabs *par excellence*. Medieval Islam thus became a truly Qurʾāno-centric civilization and the Muslims around their Qurʾān became a *Kitāb*-centered community.

A book of this description naturally affected the course of Arabic and Islamic life and culture in its entirety. What concerns us here is only Islamic literary art and its linguistic medium, the Arabic language; and how interest in them was stimulated and encouraged by the Qurʾān.

The incomparability (*iʿjāz*) of the Qurʾān was understood by the overwhelming majority of Qurʾānic scholars in *literary* terms. Hence pious Muslims read the Qurʾān and studied it in this light as sacred literature. The implication of this acceptance of the term *iʿjāz* is that God himself chose to address erring humanity through this medium, the literary medium, and not through some other one. As far as the Prophet himself is concerned who, unlike Moses and Jesus, was not a miracle worker as is clearly stated in the Qurʾān, the doctrine of the *iʿjāz* became also his miracle, and so it followed that belief in the true

prophethood of Muḥammad related to belief in the *i'jāz*. Thus from the very beginning of the Islamic movement, the community was faced with a Holy Book that was considered a literary masterpiece, whose reading and contemplation was part of Muslim piety and faith; and this assured literature within Muslim society of an advantage and subsequently of a paramountcy that has endured throughout the ages.

The linguistic medium of the Incomparable Qur'ān was the Arabic language, al-'Arabiyya, and this was also privileged in Qur'ānic thought by being one of the three principal dogmas of the Qur'ān. The dogmas of incomparability and the Arabic language were inseparably linked, since the literary acceptation of the term *i'jāz* entails contemplating it through its linguistic medium. The dogma of the Arabic Qur'ān, related to that of the Incomparable Qur'ān, contributed substantially to the early rise of two sets of sciences, *'ulūm*, in Islam, the religious and the linguistic, *al'ulūm ad-dīniyya* and *'al-'ulūm al-lughawiyya'*, revolving around the Qur'ān, both Arabic and Incomparable, *'Arabī* and *mu'jiz*, related to the linguistic medium and the ideal of literary excellence. All early Muslim scholarly endeavors turned around the book and its language, the *'Arabiyya*. The Arabs were already disposed to view literature, especially poetry, as their *forte* even before the rise of Islam, but the revelation of the Qur'ān enhanced this and introduced a new element in their veneration for the spoken word and literature when, with the revelation of the Qur'ān, Arabic immediately became a sacred language, that of God himself, who chose Arabic for the delivery of His message.

The dogma of the Qur'ān's Arabness also worked in a most curious and dramatic way, serving the cause of Arabic, the Arabs, and the paramountcy of literature in the non-Arab sector of medieval Islamic society – in the vast belt of the globe in which the far-flung Arab Muslim empire extended from India to Spain. Christianity encouraged the translation of the Bible into the vernaculars of the peoples to whom it was preached. Hence the fascinating spectacle of scripts and national literatures rising in quick succession, one after the other with the translation of the Bible into Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, Nubian, Ethiopic, not to speak of the Slavic world, after Cyril and Methodius worked out for it its Cyrillic alphabet. In the case of Islam, the opposite happened. The dogma of the Arabic Qur'ān made it imperative for non-Arab Muslims to read the Qur'ān in the original. For them this entailed their involvement with language, and a foreign language at that, and so they had to be Arabic scholars in order to read the holy book of their faith and understand its *i'jāz*.

Consequently what these two dogmas did was to spread the gospel of literature and literary excellence among peoples of the most varied ethnic origins who, unlike the Arabs, had no particular predilection for literature and the spoken word. Hence the vast number of non-Arabs who wrote those works on the Arabic language and the *i'jāz*, perhaps because they were not Arabs and had to learn Arabic the hard way as a foreign language. Thus from the one end of the Islamic world to the other, literature both in the restricted sense of *belles-lettres* and in the larger sense became the most important constituent in medieval Islamic society.

With this came also the perfection in the physical sense of all that pertained to literature and the spoken word, beginning, of course, with the Qur'ān itself. It was not accidental that the rapid refinement and perfection of the Arabic script, the visual dimension of the spoken word, were related to the Qur'ān, to producing a perfect written text of the word of God, as were the other related arts of book-making and book-binding. The earliest specimens of the Arabic book in its perfect form were Qur'āns and so it has been until the present day. Such endeavors were blessed and hallowed by references in the Qur'ān itself to tools and instruments that made this possible, such as the pen, *qalam*, ink, *midād*, papyrus, *qirṭās*, and parchment, *raqq*, not to speak of the fact that God swears by the pen, in the Qur'ān in Surah 68, called the Surah of the Pen.

The paramountcy that literature and language acquired in Islamic society was also enhanced by Islam's attitude to art in general, especially the other arts.

This is a controversial topic but this much is beyond the pale of controversy. Although the Qur'ān is silent on representational art and music, it may be safely inferred from the Tradition and from the fact that neither painting nor sculpture nor music is represented in the mosque, that orthodox Islam had no place for these arts in the sphere of religion or the expression of its religious art. Appeal is often made to Persian art where a brilliant painting tradition grew, which seems to contradict this rule, but it is only the exception that proves it. In this sector of the Islamic world, there are exciting miniatures but they are mainly secular paintings pertaining to the glorious pre-Islamic past of Iran, Achaemenid and Sassanid, but there is also the sequence that illustrates the Prophet's Ascension Journey, the *mi'rāj* to heaven. All this, however, is presented not independently as a contribution to painting as an art, but as ancillary to another art, that of literature and its physical manifestation, namely the Book. These miniatures form part of book painting, illustrations of

such manuscripts as the *Shāhnāme*, Rashīd ad-Dīn's *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh*, the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, and the *Mi'rāgnāme*. So the conclusion may be safely drawn that these three arts of painting, sculpture, and music have no place, or real place, in Islam – especially in the Muslim place of worship, the mosque. No mosque has any of these arts represented while by contrast the Christian cathedral has all of them represented. Christianity quite early enlisted all the arts in its service: witness the vast repertoire of Christian paintings, sculptures, and compositions of sacred music.

The disappearance of these three arts from the Islamic religious scene had clear implications for literature and the spoken word, namely its continued paramountcy. Muslim artistic talents that might have flowed in these channels were siphoned off to serve the art of the spoken word and its manifestation in literature. Thus, the artistic scene in Islamic times duplicated that in pre-Islamic Arabia, the cradle of Islam, when Arab artistic temperament found its expression in the spoken word, especially poetry to the exclusion of the other artistic outlets, since climatic, economic, and social conditions prevented the development of the other arts. The paramountcy of literature in Islamic times is thus another instance of the persistence of the Arab heritage as a substrate in the structure of Islamic civilization.

If the Muslim mosque is free of these three arts, it is richly served by another art, namely calligraphy, which is truly Islamic, much more so than architecture, examples of which adorn Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, Cordoba, Istanbul, Isfahan, and Agra in India. Calligraphy is the Islamic art *par excellence*, the most Islamic of all the arts and is closely related to this discussion on the paramountcy of literature. As is well known the Arabic script before Islam existed but was not developed. It was only with the rise of Islam that it was perfected as far as precision is concerned with the employment of diacritical marks, related to the natural desire on the part of Muslims to have an accurate graphic representation of what God said. More important artistically is the next development: from precision and accuracy to beauty of graphic representation. Again just as precision in the script was related to the Qur'ān so was calligraphy. It was only natural that the Qur'ānic text (which was haunted by the two facts – its divine provenance and its incomparable nature as a literary masterpiece) should also be represented graphically by a script that was esthetically satisfying just as its spoken word was both perfect and divine. Hence the birth of the art of calligraphy and its astounding development throughout the ages, and the many styles that were elaborated.[1] With

the perfection of Arabic calligraphy Islam now had an art that could be employed in its service in two ways:

1. The Holy Book, Arabic and Incomparable, was now written in a script that was esthetically satisfying and worthy of the Qur'ān, divinely inspired and incomparably styled. Thus the Holy Book when presented in this fashion became in this sense an artifact, and its physically artistic qualities were enhanced later with the development of book-binding as an art, and it was not an accident that the earliest examples of the Arabic book to be perfect in these two features, calligraphy and book-binding, were Qur'āns, and indeed have remained so throughout the ages.[2]

2. In another sense, calligraphy moved quickly in another area of Muslim life and worship, into the mosque and its artistic ambience. While paintings and sculptures adorn the walls of Christian cathedrals, the Arabic script, calligraphically rendered, adorns the walls of the mosque representing Muslim architecture, and thus performs the function of the representational arts in the Christian cathedral in filling the empty space of the mosque wall, and is distinguished by its concentration on the divine word of God. Only Qur'ānic verses are tolerated in mosques and this is conducive to total concentration on the word of God in mosque worship, with both the auditory dimension of their recitation by *imam* and worshipers, and the visual dimension provided by calligraphy, in a structure, the mosque, whose architecture is sanctioned and glorified by the Qur'ānic verse *fī buyūtin adhina Allāhu an turfa'a wa-yudhkara fīha ismuh*.[3]

Thus arose calligraphy, ancillary as a religious art to the text of the Qur'ān, the word of God, divine and incomparable, but later emancipated as an art in itself for secular purposes, too.

This then is the story of the rise and development of literature as the principal constituent in medieval Islamic civilization. It began with the Muslim scripture itself and its two dogmas of the Arabic and the Incomparable Qur'ān – elevating literary excellence to the summit of artistic excellence, while the Arabness of the Qur'ān entailed the supremacy of the Arabic language in Islamic religious and secular endeavors in an empire that was Arab and Islamic and the transference of this ideal to the many non-Arab ethnic groups within the length and breadth of the far-flung empire. Medieval Islam can thus be justifiably called the Civilization of the Book in many senses of the word: both in its being Qur'āno-centric, and in being a civilization in which the book as the physical manifestation

of language and literature rather than other forms of art had the lion's share in Muslim cultural endeavors. And it was only appropriate for a people who, as has been suggested earlier, deserve the appellation "the People of the Book" even more than those to whom the phrase is applied in the Qur'ān. Perhaps the most eloquent illustration of the truth of this statement is the fact that no other civilization can boast a number of extant manuscripts comparable to the number of Arabic manuscripts. One estimate suggests a quarter of a million, and this number may even be a conservative one.

II

The same doctrine, or dogma, the *i'jāz*, the incomparability of the Qur'ān, which has contributed so substantially to the emergence of literature and its linguistic medium, the spoken word, as the principal constituent in medieval Islamic civilization, contributed at the same time to the rise of one of the tensions, the cultural tension, that made itself felt in medieval Islamic society and has endured for a long time. The Arabic term *i'jāz* is translatable into English only by means of a paraphrase, as it entails three operations, namely that a challenge – a *tahaddī* – was flung, that the challenge was accepted and taken up, and that those who chose this course failed in their endeavors. Hence the verb *a'jaza* in this context expresses the defeat of the other party that took up the challenge and was consequently reduced to the status of *'ājizūn*, that is, impotent. This is the genesis of the dogma of the *i'jāz* in the Qur'ān, a confrontation in three stages between Muḥammad, the recipient of the divine revelation, and the pagan Meccans who incredulously rejected the divinity of the Qur'ānic text as the revealed word of God.

Just as the dogma itself is unique and peculiar to Islam, so is the story of how the Muslim society reacted to it through the ages: and this reaction went through two phases: during the lifetime of the Prophet; and subsequently in later Islamic times.

A

During the lifetime of the Prophet, especially in the Meccan period, when the Prophet and the early Muslims were a persecuted minority, the Meccan opposition rejected Muḥammad's prophethood on various grounds, one of which related to the incomparability of the Qur'ān. Naturally it was the poets of Mecca who felt called upon by the challenge to produce something like the Qur'ān if they could. The

details of what happened in this battle of books are lost along with many significant details of Muḥammad's life in Mecca, but echoes of this battle have survived in the *Sīra*, and as I have argued in an article that appeared in 1983 in the *Journal of Arabic Literature*,[4] one of the echoes has been preserved in the opening verses of a Surah, entitled "The Dawn," in which the Qur'ān ridicules the attempt of the Meccan opposition to imitate the Qur'ān by the production of a similar work:

By the Dawn, by Ten Nights, by the Even and the Odd, and by the Night when it departs, is there in that an oath to a man of understanding?[5]

The Surah of the Poets in the Qur'ān also recorded echoes of this battle or contest with its crisp denunciation of the poets on various grounds, one of which was their impiety in taking up the challenge and their failure to produce anything like the Qur'ān. I have also argued that the famous verse *wannahum yaqūlūna mā lā yaf'alūna*, "and they say that which they do not do," refers to the *i'jāz*, and have interpreted it to mean not simply that the poets are liars, which is not the normal way of expressing that concept in Arabic, but that poets failed to do (*yaf'alūna*) what they said they would do (*yaqūlūna*); hence they committed a lie in the *restricted* sense, pertaining to their inability to produce a work similar in its excellence to the Qur'ān, the word of God.[6] Whatever the truth about the interpretation of these verses is, there is no doubt about the reality of the struggle between Muḥammad and the poets in which the problem of *i'jāz* figured prominently.[7] And it may even have spilled over to eastern Arabia where Musaylima, the pseudo-prophet, produced passages in rhymed prose in which he attempted to rival the Qur'ānic discourse expressed in that manner stylistically. With the emigration of the Prophet to Medina and the final triumph of Islam, the problem of *i'jāz* receded into the background somewhat, while the fortunes of poetry, crisply denounced in three Qur'ānic verses, took a turn for the better in Medina. Muḥammad was now the head of the Islamic state, while the poets of Mecca continued to write satire and lampoon him and Islam. Hence the Prophet found it necessary to surround himself not with one but with three poets who composed on behalf of Islam and defended the Prophet in various ways. Chief among them was Ḥassān ibn Thābit, the poet laureate of the Prophet. The final verse of *Sūrat ash-Shu'arā'* was revealed, with the exceptive verse in which the sanction on the composition of poetry was lifted, and such poetry as was consonant with the teaching of Islam was permitted.[8] This verse had far-reaching cultural consequences;

poetry was the only art that the Arabs had perfected before the rise of Islam, and the ban on poetry, which had Qurʾānic sanction in *Sūrat ash-Shuʿarāʾ*, would have created a preposterous situation within the ranks of Muslim society if that ban had remained in force unconditionally. Even with the lifting of the ban, many poets such as Labīd gave up composing poetry in favor of reciting the Qurʾān. This exceptive verse then turned out to be one of the most important Qurʾānic verses in the history of Arabic culture. Simply and briefly stated, it legitimized the status of poetry and its place in Islamic society. From the date of its revelation in Medina may be dated the rise of a new type of poetry, namely Islamic religious poetry, starting with the defense of Islam, and with the Muḥammadan Panegyric, and it came about as a result of this tension within early Islamic society occasioned ultimately by the *iʿjāz* problem. The flowering of Islamic religious poetry throughout the last fourteen centuries forms a significant segment of the literary dimension of medieval Islam, the theme of this chapter, and I should like to draw attention to only one matter that pertains to it before I return to the discussion of tension caused by the *iʿjāz* in the post-Muḥammadan period, in ʿAbbāsid times.

Within this poetic genre, special reference should be made to the Muḥammadan Panegyrics, *al-madāʾiḥ an-nabawiyyah*, a series of long poems in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, which started with those of his poet, Ḥassān ibn Thābit. But it was an ode by another poet, Kaʿb ibn Zuhair, the so-called "*Burda*" or "Mantle Ode," that generated a whole series of poems in subsequent Islamic history written in the same meter and sometimes in the same rhyme. The Mantle Odes received their final form in the thirteenth century at the hand of al-Buṣīrī, who kept the meter of Kaʿb but switched the rhyme from the letter *lām* to that of *mīm*, and so these odes have remained composed in this rhyme until the present day. These poems testify to the enduring presence of the Prophet Muḥammad in the life and thought of Muslim society throughout the ages – through the medium of literary art. It is noteworthy that these poems are called *al-madāʾiḥ* and not *al-marāthī*, the elegies, although they are written about one who died some fourteen centuries ago. They are testimony to the fact that the Prophet has remained alive in the consciousness of Muslim society even after this long period. Since his death, one of these *madāʾiḥ*, the one by Buṣīrī, had the distinction of being inscribed inside some mosques, a rare distinction since nothing but Qurʾānic verses are usually allowed to be inscribed within a mosque. It was also fitting: the two arts of poetry and calligraphy are united in the inscription of the *Burda* within the mosque for the greater glory of the Prophet, who thus imbues with his presence the mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Cairo (at least for connoisseurs of Arabic poetry), in much the same way that the presence of Christ enraptures the Christian worshippers in cathedrals that have the figure of Christ Pantocrator painted in their domes.

B

If little has survived of the battle that raged between the Prophet and the poets around the problem of the *iʿjāz*, much has survived in later Islamic times, when the *iʿjāz* continued to create tension within Muslim society. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, the complex term *iʿjāz* implied three operations, the first of which was the challenge, the challenge to produce something like the Qurʾān, which remained open, expressed in various Surahs in the Qurʾān. It was this that was taken up by various Muslims in medieval Islamic times, and those who took up the challenge may be divided into two groups.

The first group is represented by certain thinkers in early Islam who were Persians or mostly Persians. Thus their position may have been inspired by their *shuʿūbiyya*, the anti-Arab sentiment that prevailed in Islamic society, nursed by those who were non-Arabs, especially the Persians.[9] They may be enumerated as follows:

1 Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ of *Kalīla and Dimna* fame, whose devotion to the old Zoroastrian religion is well known in spite of his adoption of Islam, and to whom is ascribed the work entitled *ad-Durrat al-Yatīma*.[10]

2 Ibn ar-Rāwandī, who wrote a number of books in which he parodied the Qurʾān and squarely attacked the concept of *iʿjāz*; examples are *al-Farīd* and *at-Tāj*.[11]

3 Close to Ibn ar-Rāwandī in time and origin was another, who also rejected the *iʿjāz* of the Qurʾān and was equally explicit in refuting it, none other than Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī, the famous physician and philosopher of Medieval Islam.[12]

Needless to say, orthodox Islam did not take kindly to all these dissenters, and naturally branded them as heretics.

The second group is represented by Arabs rather than Persians, by figures who were not philosophers and scientists as were ar-Rāzī and Ibn ar-Rāwandī, but literary artists, who rather than write against the *iʿjāz* actually composed works in Arabic that purported to be

successful imitations of the Qur'ān. These are represented by two
figures: the tenth-century poet al-Mutanabbī; and the prose writer
Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, of the eleventh century. The latter wrote a
book entitled *al-Fuṣūl wa al-Ghāyāt fī Mujārat as-Suwar wa al-Āyāt*.
There is much controversy about the authenticity of the book, little
of which has survived. However, the balance is in favor of its
authenticity, since one who should know, namely al-Bākharzī, who
composed the celebrated anthology *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*, preserved an
excerpt of Maʿarrī's *al-Fuṣūl wa al-Ghāyāt* in his work.[13]
Furthermore, Maʿarrī composed many a plainly blasphemous verse,
also noted by his contemporaries, where at worst he appears as a
downright atheist, and at best as an agnostic.

What has survived in its entirety is the work of the first figure, al-
Mutanabbī, who within this group, noted for its irreverence and
impiety, is the outstanding representative. Much has been written on
Mutanabbī, but to my knowledge, no one has done justice to the fact
that he took this sobriquet seriously, and that he considered himself
not a would-be prophet, a *mutanabbī*, the pejorative term applied to
him, but a *nabī* of some sort. His early escapades as a young man are
not taken seriously and reference to them is usually dismissive while
his *Dīwān* is thought to be full of intolerable bombast, vanity, and
self-promotion. This had been my impression of it before, but it is not
now. I have recently re-read the *Dīwān* in its entirety from this one
point of view,[14] i.e. his self-image as one possessed by extraordinary,
almost supernatural powers of expression, on which he now
depended to prove his claims, after renouncing non-literary endeavors
which had led the authorities to put him behind bars in Ḥimṣ in
his youth. In addition to the *ʿibar* which he composed in imitation of
the Surahs of the Qur'ān and which significantly he limited to 114,
the number of the Qur'ānic Surahs, he composed the poems that con-
stitute the massive *Dīwān*, verses of a mantic poet who considered his
verses a successful *muʿāraḍa* of the Holy Scripture of Islam. This nat-
urally led him to confrontation with the Prophet himself, the recipi-
ent of the Koranic revelation, and this is expressed in verse that
sometimes smacks of impiety and sometimes fiercely reflects it. His
image as a *muʿāriḍ-mutaḥaddī* and as a mantic poet is expressed in the
Dīwān in various ways: first, in his glorification of the South Arabs,
the Qaḥṭānis, to whom the Prophet did not belong, at the expense of
the ʿAdnānis, the North Arabs, to whom the Prophet did belong; but
more decisively in verses that reflect sheer insolence toward the
person of the Prophet. Such is the verse that addresses one of his
mamdūḥs and tells him that:

Wa'abharu āyāti at-Tihāmiyyi annahū
abūka wa' jdā ma lakum min manāqibi[15]

This image is also maintained in verses that express self-glorification,
attributing to himself powers and achievements that clearly recall
descriptions of those of God in the Qur'ān, such as *ka'nnī daḥawtu
al-arḍa*[16] paraphrasing an *āya* in *Sūrat an-Nāziʿāt: wal arḍa baʿda
dhālika daḥāhā*.[17] He clinches his claim to having successfully
accepted the *taḥaddī* when he addresses one of his *mamdūḥs* by saying:
"You know best what we have of discourse and you are a better guide
to its incomparability." In this verse he uses term *iʿjaz* itself in describ-
ing his achievement:

Anta adrā bima ladaynā mina l-qawli
wa'ahdā fīhi ila al-Iʿjāzi[18]

This represents the climax of Mutanabbī's claim to poetic excellence;
he had accepted the *taḥaddī*, undertook the *muʿāraḍa*, and produced
what in his opinion was a discourse to which the coveted term *iʿjāz*
can be applied. That kindred spirit, his incorrigible admirer, Abū-al-
ʿAlāʾ, who rowed with him in the boat of *zandaqa*, and on whom, too,
the problem of *iʿjāz* worked its fascination, understood what his pre-
decessor had wanted and had considered he had achieved when he
entitled his commentary on Mutanabbī's *"Dīwān Muʿjiz Aḥmad"*;
muʿjiz here may be translated "miracle," which it can mean as a liter-
ary locution, but more accurately and literally, it is here the technical
term that involves the whole problem of Qur'ānic *taḥaddī* and *iʿjāz* of
four centuries earlier, which Mutanabbī revived and took on, and
thus Maʿarrī's title reflected both Mutanabbī's self-image and
Maʿarrī's own perception of it.

The issue is still alive and hotly debated,[19] and has been so since the
death of Mutanabbī, a sure sign that the problem of *iʿjāz* has proved
to be the most enduring of Qur'ānic issues throughout the ages and
one that has created a cultural tension within Muslim society, as that
society reacted to one of the cardinal articles of faith in Islam, the
iʿjāz. Muslim society is still asking the same question that has been
asked for the last fourteen centuries: what does the *iʿjāz* consist in?

Notes

This text is substantially the same as the paper delivered at the
conference; certain features peculiar to oral delivery have been altered
for its publication in written form.

1 The most recent work on calligraphy with a full bibliography is

Annemarie Schimmel's *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1984).

2 For the latest on this, see David James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks* (London: Alexandra Press, 1988).

3 *Sūrat an-Nūr* 24: 36.

4 See "Another Contribution to Koranic Exegesis: the *Sūra* of the Poets," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 14 (1983), pp. 1–21.

5 *Sūrat al-Fajr* 8: 1–5.

6 See Shahid, "Another Contribution," pp. 6–12.

7 Recent scholarship on the question of Islam and poetry is discussed at length in a forthcoming book based on recent scholarship.

8 Surah 26: 227.

9 A most useful work that brings all these thinkers together and includes articles by such eminent Orientalists as F. Gabrieli, C. A. Nallino, and P. Kraus is 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī (ed.), *Min Tārīkh al-Ilḥād fi al-Islām* (Cairo, 1945). It is therefore convenient to cite this work when referring to them.

10 Badawī (ed.), *Min Tārīkh al-Ilḥād*, pp. 40–71.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 75–188; this article by P. Kraus concentrates on Ibn ar-Rāwandī's book, *az-Zumurrud*.

12 Badawī (ed.), *Min Tārīkh al-Ilḥād*, pp. 198–228 esp. pp. 216–25.

13 As did Yāqūt. For al-Bākharzī, see Adam Metz, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. S. Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1937), p. 341; for Yāqūt, see *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* (Dār al-Ma'mūn), vol. III, p. 40.

14 Inspired by W. Heinrich's article on him in "The Meaning of Mutanabbī" in James L. Kugel (ed.), *Poetry and Prophecy* (Ithaca, 1990), pp. 120–39.

15 The *Dīwān* with a commentary by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Barqūqī (Cairo, 1930), vol. I, p. 111 and n. 3. In this note, the commentator quotes Ibn-Jinnī on this verse, which the latter describes as *shanī' az-zāhir*.

   It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Muqaffa' derogatively used the epithet "at-Tihāmī," applied to the Prophet Muḥammad, and al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm in his *ar-Radd* answered him. This was translated into Italian with a commentary by M. Guidi, *La Lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo. Un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffa' contro il Corano confutato da al-Qasim b. Ibrahim* (Rome, 1927): on the altercation over "at-Tihāmī" between Ibn al-Muqaffa' and al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, see pp. 66–68 and Guidi's n. 3 on p.66.

16 *Dīwān*, vol. II, p. 324.

17 *Sūrat an-Nāzi'āt* 79: 30.

18 *Dīwān*, vol. II, p. 377.

19 Ṭāha Ḥusayn discussed it in *Mir'āt al-Islām* and there are two massive volumes by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb: *I'jāz al-Qur'an* (Cairo, 1964).

5 · The Ash'arites and the science of the stars

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Introduction

On a different occasion, while explaining the conflict in medieval times between Islam as a dogma and Greek philosophy,[1] I emphasized in a very general way the role played by astrology in that conflict when astrology was understood to be part and parcel of Greek philosophy and science. I summarily described astrology then as the main culprit of Greek philosophy, because I claimed that the primary issues, which were supposed to be the subject matter of astrology, were at the same time considered to be within the domain of religion. In specific, I was thinking of issues such as human destiny, free will, eternity of the world, etc.

In this chapter I intend to look at the same problem from a slightly different angle, namely that of Aristotelian natural philosophy. What I want to do is to consider the Aristotelian theory of change in the sublunar region, taken throughout medieval times as the scientific explanation of natural phenomena, and then to explain the reception of this theory within Islamic thought. The thesis that I would like to propose is that this scientific theory of nature was seen to be identical with that of the astrologers, and thus could not be accepted within the framework of Islamic dogma.

To illustrate this, I will develop this connection between the theory of change and astrology in the works of the early Ash'arite al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), who according to Ibn 'Asākir was a second-generation Ash'arite,[2] and according to Ibn Taymīya "the best of the Ash'arite *mutakallimūn*,"[3] and then pursue the status of astrology in the works of Ghazzālī (d. 1111), the most famous Ash'arite who could distinguish clearly between astronomy and astrology, and Sayf ad-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 1233), the author of the most sophisticated Ash'arite attack against astrology.[4]

The reason I chose these representatives of the Ash'arite school is because, in my opinion, it was this school that had set the tone for the image of Greek science within orthodox Islam.

Bāqillānī's *Kitāb at-Tamhīd*

In order to understand the development of Bāqillānī's thought, and thus the direction of the Ash'arite school in its confrontation with Greek science, I need only mention the place occupied by the Aristotelian theories of change in the general scheme of Ash'arite thought. In Bāqillānī's major work, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, the Aristotelian theories of change were given the highest priority. After three general introductory chapters, one on the nature of *'ilm* (*scientia*) and the various divisions of the sciences, one on the known and existent things (*al-ma'lūmāt wa-l-mawjūdāt*), and one on the existence of God and his attributes, Bāqillānī devotes the remainder of his book, in a very general sense, to a critique of the various theories of change and coming-to-be known to him.

Of these theories, the first two are obviously Aristotelian and as such are the ones that concern us here. The first, chapter 4 of *at-Tamhīd*, is devoted to a refutation of the action of the Aristotelian qualities (here called *tabā'i'*=natures) and is thus a denial of the Aristotelian concept of causality.[5] The second (chapter 5) is devoted to a refutation of the astrologers (*al-munajjimūn*). Within the general scheme of the book, these two chapters treat two alternative theories of change and coming-to-be, which can be directly related to Greek philosophy, and can then be understood as representing Bāqillānī's critique of Greek scientific thought. The astrological doctrines occupy a similar position in the work of Āmidī, as we shall soon see.

The refutation of causality (chapter 4)

The main argument in this chapter is directed against those who believed that change and coming-to-be in this world are caused by the action of the "natures" (*tabā'i'*). Those natures, as used by Bāqillānī, are to be understood sometimes as the Aristotelian four qualities: hot, cold, wet, and dry, while at other times as principles imparted to certain bodies in which they seem to have a cause-and-effect relationship; for example, food seems to produce satiation, and watering seems to produce plant growth.[6]

While both of these interpretations of the term "nature" (*tab'*) could easily be documented within the Aristotelian *corpus*, it is not

quite as easy to identify, within Islamic thought, the persons or the doctrines using this term, and thus to isolate the ones intended in Bāqillānī's attack. After a careful review of the various Islamic doctrines, which were known to Bāqillānī, the two thinkers who emerge as excellent candidates for such views are Mu'ammar Ibn 'Abbād (d. 830) and his contemporary Ibrāhīm an-Naẓẓām (d. 835/45), both associated in one way or another with the Mu'tazilites.[7]

In brief, what Mu'ammar and Naẓẓām seem to have said is that there are certain actions that are not created directly by God, but are produced in a deterministic sense by the nature of certain bodies. Fire, for example, will always burn cotton, and does not need God to interfere in the burning. Their main proof is that we always see this phenomenon take place when cotton is brought near a fire. Similarly, they say, whenever one drinks (alcohol) one is seen to get drunk, by the effect of the alcohol, so to speak, and not by the action of God. Such relationships between cause and effect (*'illa wa-ma'lūl*) are necessary, and are produced by this ill-defined "principle" inherent in certain bodies and referred to as "nature."

In response Bāqillānī argues, on sheer logical grounds, that such "natures" could not possibly be responsible for bringing anything into being. For these natures themselves are either existent entities (*ma'nan mawjūd*) or non-existent ones (*ma'dūma*). He dismisses the non-existent ones for they cannot cause anything, and argues that even the existent ones cannot do so either. For they themselves are either eternal (*qadīma*) or created (*muḥdatha*). If they are eternal, then the world would have issued from them necessarily – for there is nothing to stop the deterministic process – and it itself would be eternal too – contrary to what he had already proved in chapter 3. If they are created, then they are either created by another nature or by something other than a nature. If by natures, then the chain of creation is either infinite – and no world can come into being from an infinite chain that cannot be actualized – or else interrupted by an agent, which he would call God, after a lengthy argument. But if they were created by other than natures, then the opponent would have admitted that creation could possibly take place by other than nature – which was the wanted proof.

The next argument is directed at those who interpret "natures" to mean the Aristotelian qualities. To those Bāqillānī says that these qualities could not be brought together into the same body to create it, for they are contradictory, and the coming-to-be of heat, for example, can take place only when cold has been removed. Then the opponent has to admit that either another quality – other than the

four – could force them to mix in the same body, or that there is another agent that can do so, whom Bāqillānī would call God in the end. The option of another quality will lead to the infinite chain again.

After several arguments of this nature, which I will not reproduce here, he finally attacks the problem of the deterministic bond between the cause and the effect as judged by observation. To that he says that it is true that we see fire burning cotton, and alcohol producing drunkenness, but what we really see is the change in the condition of the body (*taghayyur ḥāl al-jism*), and we neither see, nor feel, the agent that causes the body to change, for that must be comprehended, not seen or felt. In order to prove that the agent is not readily felt or seen he gives a list of various opinions about the nature of that agent. He then asks: "How could one comprehend by the senses alone the truth of something upon which there has been so much difference of opinion?"[8] At this point, someone like Ghazzālī, a fifth-generation Ash'arite, would approve of the remark, and would develop his own theory of custom (*'āda*) to explain the observable succession of events that looks like cause-and-effect chains.

In the concluding section of this chapter, Bāqillānī questions the whole Aristotelian dogma of the main division between earthly and heavenly things on the basis of the kind of motion observed in these two realms, by saying: "Who informed you that it is impossible for the heavenly sphere to stop one day, or that it is impossible for it to move in one of the six linear directions, despite the fact that you had not seen this before?"[9]

Taken as a unit, therefore, this chapter attempts to dispel the notion that the world, or anything that comes-to-be in it, could be brought into existence by anything other than a knowing, capable, and intending agent (*'ālim, qādir, qāṣid*), which Bāqillānī would like to call God.

Refutation of the astrologers (chapter 5)

In this chapter, Bāqillānī uses the term *munajjimūn* to designate the astrologers, a term that could also include the astronomers as well during this period. But from the contents of the chapter we can determine with certainty that he intended the astrologers only.[10]

At this point astrology, as a means of explaining events in this world, is taken by Bāqillānī to be another alternative theory for explaining what comes-to-be, and he attacks it at that level only, unlike the Church Fathers and other Muslim writers, who saw in it, among other things, an interference in the destiny of man and his

freedom of choice.[11] As a physical theory, astrology could be used to explain generation and corruption in this world as a direct result of the influence of the celestial spheres.[12]

Bāqillānī begins chapter 5 by rejecting the concept that the seven spheres and their planets could be responsible for the creation of this world, because they are themselves created. Next he argues that irrespective of whether these spheres and planets were eternal or created, they could not cause the events in this world because they cannot be capable (*qādira*) of doing so. For if they were capable, then each of the planets would have its own will, and it could come into conflict with the other planets. Moreover, any astrologer who claims that these planets were created, but that they were alive, capable, and willful (*ḥayya, qādira, qāṣida*),[13] is to be told that he only has his own claim as a proof of that and nothing else.

If they say that we know that the movements of man are due to his actions, and so must be the movements of the planets, then they should be told that not all of man's movements are by his own volition or knowledge, such as when he is pushed or when he moves under the influence of fever. By the persistence of custom (*'alā waḍ' al-'āda*) we can only tell of the courage of the courageous and the cowardice of the coward when they perform certain acts – these are not the causes of courage and cowardice – by a necessary knowledge, which we derive from our ability to speculate that we would be capable of being courageous or cowardly if we did the same acts. But there is no necessary knowledge that informs us about the ability of the planets, and thus they (i.e. the astrologers) have no way of knowing that the planets are alive and capable. And it would be better to agree with those who assert the role of natures (*aṣḥāb aṭ-ṭibā'*) and say that the influence of the planets is not any different from the influence of fire or ice to heat or cool, for they seem to follow only one course in their motion and could not have any volition.

As for those who claim life for the greatest sphere on account of its brightness and magnificence, they ought to be told that the size of a body is no indication of its life, as in the case of the flea and the ant. One should also reject the claim of those who say that heat and cold are produced in this world by the action of the sun, in the same way one rejects the claim of those who assert the role of natures by saying that fire causes heat and ice causes cold.

The proof that these planets have no influence on earthly events is derived from the fact that they must do so either by themselves, or by the fact of their being in a specific zodiacal sign. If they exercise that effect by themselves, then they should do that as bodies, wherever they

are, and there should not be any difference between one planet and another. Similarly, earthly bodies could then produce the same effect as celestial bodies. If, on the other hand, they produce these effects by virtue of their being in specific zodiacal signs, then the presence of any planet – as a body – in that sign should produce that effect. Since none of that is claimed by them, their claim is then false.

Some of them claim that these events are related to the planets in the same manner that an assertion (hukm) is related to its cause ('illa), as in the case of a knowledgeable man who is related to knowledge or when a moving object is related to motion, not as products of action (fi'l) or nature (tab'). They should be told that their claim is false, because the assertion is itself the cause. The assertion "a knowledge-able man" or "a moving object" does not mean anything more than the existence of knowledge and motion. That would mean then that earthly events have identical significance to the planets or to the sig-nificance of their position in the zodiac, which is totally absurd. Moreover, the assertion should never be separated from its cause, nor from the essence in which the cause is found. Therefore, motion could not necessarily exist in other than the moving body. And the planets, therefore, could not cause any events except in themselves, which is not what the astrologers claim.

If they say that actions could exist without being in their doers, they should then be told that although justice exists – and it is not in God who acts justly – that only means that justice exists.

If, on the other hand, any one of them says that these earthly events are related to the planets in the same way acts are related to their causes by "generation" (tawallud),[14] then he should be told that his claim is false for several reasons, for example: "We do not believe in generation"; "These events are either generated by the planets them-selves or by their positions in the zodiac." If they are generated by the planets themselves, then it is contrary to the common belief that bodies do not generate things by themselves. If, on the other hand, they are generated by virtue of their position in the zodiac, then the sun, the moon, etc. would generate the same events when they are in that position, which is not their claim. Moreover, any agent that acts upon another by virtue of generation does so through contact or by being in touch with another object that is in contact. And since no such thing happens here, the planets could not therefore be the cause of earthly events.

Finally, there are those who believe in Islam, and claim that the planets are created, but they believe that God has created them as signs (dalālāt) for the times of the events that take place in this world.

This opinion too is sheer folly. For the sign that indicates something must be clearly related to the object that it indicates, as in the case when writing indicates the existence of a writer. And since there is no clear indication about the relationship between these signs – if they are to be taken as such – and the events that take place in the world, be it rain, growth, depletion, rise in prices, the spilling of blood, the subsidence of tumult and corruption, the knowledge of what people keep secret, or the awareness of their intentions, then these signs do not indicate anything.

The chapter then concludes with Qur'ānic statements to the effect that God only knows the unknown (ghaib), and by the repetition of the prophetic tradition, which affirms that "anyone who believes a diviner (kāhin), a soothsayer ('arrāf) – and according to some an astrologer (munajjim) – he would then be denying what had been revealed unto the heart of Muḥammad."

Ghazzālī and the science of the stars

Ghazzālī was quite aware of the complex nature of the science of the stars. He knew that 'ilm an-nujūm was in fact of two parts: one dealt with astronomy proper, while the other dealt with astrology. In Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn,[15] and while discussing why a certain science would be blameworthy, he draws the distinction between astronomy and astrol-ogy in the following terms:

Secondly, that the science would be harmful to its seeker in general such as the science of the stars. In itself this science is not blameworthy, for it is divided into two parts, a computational (ḥisābī) one, and in that regard the Qur'ān has stated that the motion of the sun and the moon is computed for the Exalted and the Mighty has said "the sun and the moon are computed" and He said may he be exalted "As for the moon we have appointed mansions till she returns like an old shriveled palm-leaf" [Yā Sīn, 39]. The second is that of the decrees (aḥkām) which in short amounts to deductions regarding the events based on causes, and it is similar to the deductions of the physician regarding the future of the disease from the pulse. It is also the knowledge of God's custom and habit (sunnat allāh wa-'ādatihi) with respect to his creation. But the canonical law (shar') has disapproved of it.

He goes on to say that "astrology is pure guessing."

It is clear that Ghazzālī saw nothing wrong with astronomy. But as far as astrology was concerned, he apparently held the ambivalent position that although it had some kind of validity, similar to that of medicine, it was legally disapproved of. Of greater significance is his statement regarding astrology as indicating God's custom and habit.

I take it to mean that Ghazzālī was of the opinion that physical sciences like medicine and astrology could be studied as exhibiting God's custom, where that custom could be interpreted as natural laws.

In *al-Munqidh min aḍ-Ḍalāl*,[16] Ghazzālī gives a brief description of the sciences, and under philosophy he says of the mathematical sciences the following:

As for the mathematical sciences, they involve the sciences of arithmetic, geometry and astronomy (*'ilm hay' at al-'ālam*), and none of them has anything to do with the religious sciences, either to support or to deny them. Rather they are demonstrated matters (*umūr burhānīya*) that could not be denied once they were known and understood. However, they generate two mishaps (*āfa*).[17]

The first concerns the danger that one may admire all the philosophical sciences on account of the demonstrative powers of the mathematical sciences. Thus one may think that the metaphysics of the ancients which was always guesswork was as solid as the demonstrative science of geometry, for example.

The second mishap has greater importance for our purposes, for in it he says:

This second is due to an ignorant friend of Islam, who thinks that religion should be supported by the denial of all the sciences attributed to them [i.e. the mathematical sciences]. He would then deny all of their sciences and would claim their ignorance so much so that he would even deny their statements regarding solar and lunar eclipses. He would claim that their statements are contrary to religious law. When such statements reach the one who knows these matters with indelible proof, he would not doubt his own proof, rather he would believe that Islam is based on ignorance and the denial of indelible proofs. His love for philosophy and his hatred for Islam would then increase. Anyone who claims that Islam can be supported by denying these sciences commits a greater crime towards religion. There is nothing in religious law that confirms or denies these sciences, nor is there anything in these sciences that confirms or denies religious matters. And when may peace and prayers be upon him he says: "The sun and the moon are two of god's signs, they are not eclipsed for the death of anyone nor for his life, and when you see them rush to mention god and to pray," that does not mean that one should deny the science of arithmetic which leads to the knowledge of the motions of the sun and the moon, their conjunction and their opposition in particular.[18]

This position of Ghazzālī is not only important for its insistence on including astronomy, but not astrology, among the mathematical sciences, but in its defense of astronomy against the ignorant, and its

insistence that the mathematical sciences – in the medieval sense of mathematical sciences – were indeed neutral vis à vis religion.

Sayf ad-Dīn al-Āmidī

The last Ash'arite[19] I wish to consider here has left us at least two works on *kalām*: one is an apparently very voluminous unedited work known as *Abkār al-Afkār*, and the other is an abridgment of the first, called *Ghāyat al-Murām fī 'ilm al-Kalām*.[20] I only have access to the second work.

In this work Āmidī too attacks the astrologers, but his argument is slightly different from those of the earlier Ash'arites. In fact he says that his earlier friends (*aṣḥābuna*) were soft on the subject, and their attacks were more like children's play. In the context of discussing the actions of the necessary existence (*wājib al-wuyūd*) he approaches the argument under three main sections. The first section, which he calls rule (*qā'ida*), asserts that there is no creator besides God. He says that this rule was held by the Muslims, and the only ones who differed with them in its regard are some of the metaphysicists (*ilāhiyyīn*), some of the dualists and the Mu'tazilites, and the astrologers. I will only discuss his attack against the astrologers.

In the presentation of the opinions of the astrologers, he characterizes them as "those who hold that the stars and the planets are the creators and that there is no creator other than them." His response is to state that those planets and spheres are either of necessary existence, or are only possible, or some are necessary and some are possible. If they are necessary then their mere multiplicity would argue against them, for the metaphysicists have already demonstrated that you could not have more than one necessary existence. Moreover, if one were to assume the non-existence of the necessary existence then a contradiction would ensue in regard to it. But it is obvious that if a reasonable man were to assume the non-existence of the planets and the spheres, that assumption by itself would not produce a contradiction in his mind. In the same way, such a contradiction would not arise if one were to assume the existence of another planet or another sphere. How could anything that is in this fashion be of necessary existence in itself?

Moreover, if they were necessary, then all that would share with them the essence (*ma'nā*) of substance would also be necessary. Accordingly it would be impossible to deny the createdness of the substances of fixed forms pertaining to the bodies of the elements (*imtinā' al-qawl bi-hadath al-jawāhir aṣ-ṣuwārīya ath-thābita li-l-ajrām al-'unṣurīya*). That would lead to a contradiction.

In this fashion he demonstrates that it is not possible that some of them should be necessary and some possible, rather they should all be possible. If that were so, then there must be something outside them that would enhance their possibility and it is not possible that they would not have a beginning.

He goes on to say that the astrologers have no way of proving that the planets cause the events in the sublunar region even when they admit that God has created those planets. It could very well be that God would set his custom that such events would follow each other.

This text of Āmidī not only brings to mind the doctrine espoused by Ghazzālī in regard to God's custom, but challenges the astrologers in a manner that, as far as I can tell, has never been done before. It is no longer relevant to attack the astrologers on the grounds that their discipline is difficult to achieve, because their discipline has no basis even if they could achieve all the precision they so desired. Āmidī denies even the possibility that such planets and spheres could by themselves influence the events in this world, no matter how well we know their positions. This is in fact the height of the Ash'arite doctrinal attack against the astrologers.

Another remark made by Āmidī should be highlighted at this point. When denying the necessary existence for the planets and the spheres, Āmidī states that there would not be a contradiction if we assumed their non-existence, in the same fashion that there would not be a contradiction when we assume an additional planet or sphere. The assumption of an additional planet or sphere as a general statement can also be taken to refer to the practice of the reformers of Ptolemaic astronomy when they assume the existence of additional epicycles, which are by definition additional spheres. If Āmidī had this in mind then it would demonstrate the extent to which the practices of the reformers of Ptolemaic astronomy were known outside their circles.

In any case, I would like to stress that of the three Ash'arites considered here, Āmidī was by far the most sophisticated in his attack against the astrologers. Unfortunately, I do not know his account of astronomy in any detail, and I can only hope that if his work *Abkār al-Afkār* ever becomes available, it would contain an equally brilliant account of astronomy.

Conclusion

In this brief account we have seen the evolution of the Ash'arite position on causality, and its implication for the theory connecting the

heavenly spheres and earthly events. The theory of God's custom ('āda), on the other hand, better known in its final form from the works of Ghazzālī, seems to have been developed in stages. We first encounter it in the work of Bāqillānī in a marginal argument against the astrologers, where he refers to it as persistence of custom ('alā waḍ' al-'āda). Later, with Ghazzālī, it was developed into a theory fully capable of explaining the regularity of recurring sequences that looked like cause-and-effect sequences. With Āmidī it was taken for granted as a possible explanation of such events.

During the time of Bāqillānī, the Ash'arite position was still at a confrontational level with the Mu'tazilites such as Mu'ammar and Naẓẓām, and the main concern was to assert that the world was not mechanistically created by some "nature" or other, but that it was created by the volition of God alone.

As for astrology, this review of the successive Ash'arite attempts to refute it should make it very clear that there was no monolithic Ash'arite position as such. While both Bāqillānī and Āmidī argued against astrology with a vengeance, we have noted that Ghazzālī was more ambivalent about it. I cannot go into the reasons for Ghazzālī's position here, and will discuss them at a different occasion.

What I would like to stress once more is that the physical Greek theories, by which Aristotle could explain earthly events, were very clearly understood as the Achilles' heel of the general Aristotelian philosophical system. When this system was pushed to its extremes it was perceived to entail a belief in astrology, but more importantly it also seemed to entail a belief that the stars were not only alive, capable, and endowed with volition, but that they were divine as well. In a separate article, I argue that the Ash'arite negative position vis à vis such ideas may have even been inherited from the Mu'tazilites themselves.[21]

As for the long-time conflict between astrology and religion as such, that had already been noted from very early Christian times. But it had never before been realized that the conflict was not only on the level of man's freedom of choice or his destiny, but that astrology was inconsistent with the accepted Greek philosophical principles themselves, as Āmidī tried to demonstrate. Hence the Ash'arite refutation of astrology is not, like almost all other attacks, directed at the difficulty of obtaining predictions through the planetary positions; rather they argued that the entire premise of astrology is invalid. As such, this attack is therefore the first of its kind to address the basic dogma of astrology.

Elsewhere I have argued that this new understanding of the relationship between astrology and Greek science, championed by the

Ash'arites, did not hinder the growth of science in medieval Islam; on the contrary, it forced the scientists to redefine their disciplines and to attempt to achieve the consistency that they perceived to have been lacking in the Greek legacy.[22] That new reconstruction had very positive effects on the making of what later became a truly Islamic science. But that is the subject of another article.

Notes

1 See G. Saliba, "The Development of Astronomy in Medieval Islamic Society," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 4 (1982), pp. 211–25.

2 Abū al-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī fī mā Nusiba ilā al-Imām al-Ash'arī*, trans. in R. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash'arī* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953), p. 178.

3 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb at-Tamhīd*, ed. Richard McCarthy (Beirut: Librairie Orientale, 1957), p. 12.

4 I am also aware of the attack against astrology by another Ash'arite, Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 1210), but as we shall see his attack is, in essence, the same as that of Bāqillānī, and rests on the claim that astrology could not be true because it assigns the influence either to the planet itself or to the zodiacal sign or to the planet in a zodiacal sign. The first two possibilities lead to contradiction because then the planet or the sign will always have the same effect at all times, which is not claimed by the astrologers. The last possibility will lead to a contradiction as well because it would imply that the signs themselves are different in nature in order to allow the planet to have different influences when it falls in the different signs. This contradicts the principle of the homogeneity of the celestial element, which is assumed and accepted by the astrologers and the philosophers. For the details of Rāzī's argument see, *Munāzarāt Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī fī Bilād mā Warā' an-Nahr*, ed. Fatḥallah Kholeif (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1966), ninth question, pp. 32–38.

5 See, for example, the Aristotelian distinction between nature (*physis*), as taking place always, and custom (*ethos*) as that which is often (*Rhetoric* I, 11, 1370a, 8–9). Then consider his statement concerning "that which is 'of necessity' is at the same time 'always'" (*Generation and Corruption*, II, 11, 337b, 35). Moreover, the use of "nature" as a "cause" can be further illustrated in the Aristotelian works, as in the *Physics* II, 1, 192b, 9–23, where he says that "nature is a source or cause of being moved and of being at rest in that to which it belongs primarily, in virtue of itself and not in virtue of a concomitant attribute." The fact that the Aristotelian concept of "nature" was understood to mean a statement on causality can be documented in the works of the two Mu'tazilites Mu'ammar (d. 830) and Naẓẓām (d. 845), and, as Wolfson put it: "According to both of them, there is a nature in every body, and this

nature is the cause of all the changing events in it" (H. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976], p. 565). Add to that the Aristotelian statement about "nature," as used in the *Metaphysics*, VII, 7, 1032a, 12, "of things that come to be, some come to be by nature" and in *Meteorologica*, IV, 1, 379a, 1–2: "When the hot and the cold are masters of the matter they generate a thing."

6 For this sense of nature see the previous note.

7 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), vol. III, p. 62.

8 *Tamhīd*, p. 43.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

10 Such a distinction between the astronomers and the astrologers was even clear to Cicero, when he attacked the astrologers (*De Divinatione*, II, iii, 10, II, vi, 17–vii, 18) and not the astronomers. As we shall also see, Ghazzālī had nothing against astronomy (see, for example, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, fourth introduction, ed. S. Dunya [Cairo: Ma'ārif ed., 6th printing, 1980], p. 84), but had little faith in astrological practices.

11 For a general review of the attacks on astrology, see Saliba, "The Development of Astronomy," and G. Saliba, "Astrology/Astronomy, Islamic," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1982), vol. I, pp. 616–24, where further literature is cited.

12 See, for example, Aristotle's *Generation and Corruption*, II, 10, 336a, 15–336b, 25, where the sun is held as the efficient cause of all coming-to-be and passing-away, and *De Caelo*, II, 77b, 16–778a, 10, where generation of things including animal generation is "controlled by the movements of these heavenly bodies," and finally, *Meteorologica*, I, 2 339a, 22–25, where he says: "This region [meaning the whole terrestrial region] must be continuous with the motions of the heavens, which therefore regulate its whole capacity for movement: for the celestial element as source of all motion must be regarded as first cause."

13 The reference is probably to something like the following Aristotelian statement: "The fact is that we are inclined to think of the stars as mere bodies or units, occurring in a certain order but completely lifeless; whereas we ought to think of them as partaking of life and initiative" (*De Caelo*, II, 12, 292a, 19–20).

14 This concept of *tawallud* as it was advanced by the Mu'tazilites is fully refuted by Bāqillānī in a separate chapter of the *Tamhīd*, chap. 26, pp. 296 ff.

15 See Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* (Cairo: al-Maktaba at-Tijārīya), vol. I, p. 29.

16 Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, *al-Munqidh min aḍ-Ḍalāl*, ed. and trans. into French, Farid Jabre (Beirut: Librairie Orientale, 1969).

17 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

19 Although as with Ghazzālī, the identification of Āmidī as an Ash'arite

may be open to question, his defense of *kalām* and his affiliation with the Shāfiʿite school of law make him a primary candidate for consideration as an Ashʿarite. At least he was so designated by Ḥasan Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, the editor of his major work on *kalām* (see below). For the affiliation of the Ashʿarites with the Shāfiʿites see George Makdisi, "Ashʿari and the Ashʿarites in Islamic Religious History," *Studia Islamica*, 17 (1962), pp. 37–80, and *Studia Islamica*, 18 (1963), pp. 19–39; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 42, 266, and throughout.

20 Sayf ad-Dīn al-Āmidī, *Ghāyat al-Murām fī ʿilm al-Kalām*, ed. Ḥasan Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (Cairo: al-Majlis al-Aʿlā li-sh-Shuʾūn al-Islāmīya, 1971), pp. 203, 206, 210–12.

21 "The Muʿtazilites and Greek Astrology," forthcoming.

22 See Saliba, "Development of Astronomy."

6 · Religion, religious culture, and culture

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The definitions of man as a rational, political, or religious animal are based on specific differences, all of which distinguish man from other living creatures. However, these differences are not only ideas or purely logical concepts; they express living realities within man, tendencies that drive him to live differently from the animals. Thus humankind is not only characterized by a nature innate from birth, instinctual and immutable, but also by a tendency toward a combined physical, intellectual, and moral development, which is the origin of culture. This has led to a distinction between nature and culture. Man can tame and train animals, while at the same time developing a culture of his own. Animals, confined to their instincts, do not.

But what do we know about the origin of culture? We may know at least part of its history; but, obviously, history can only reach already established, if not already very developed, cultures. It is a fact that man is naturally inclined to produce a culture; but what form does this culture take on its first appearance? This remains inaccessible to any direct investigation but can, however, be inferred from certain facts: according to anthropologists studying prehistoric cultures, the first men buried their dead and lived according to certain rites derived from activities related to the basic needs of life. Wherever they can be traced, these rites are for us the first witnesses to the existence of a culture, which seems to have had a religious character even where no established religion appears. But religions, associated sometimes with magic, have kept and sacralized those rites.

Wilhelm von Humbold has showed how man, while becoming conscious of his own specific place in the universe, conceived another world to which he was closely linked, a world inhabited by gods, with whom he could enter into a relationship through those rites, which distinguish his own life from that of the animals. In his novel *The Island of Dr. Moreau* H. G. Wells presents a society in which animals

that have been transformed into people by a horrific process subscribe to a law obliging them to cease behaving as animals. This contains a very interesting idea which enables us to understand what "divine law" originally meant. When men deepened their relations with the gods, and later with the one God, they conceived the idea that they had been created with a status different from that of the animals, and that God's will gave them a law to enable them to rule their lives in a purely human manner. It is consequently at the level of already religiously organized societies that history clearly seizes the oldest form of culture, by then a religious culture. Modern conceptions of religion have difficulty in coming to terms with the idea that human culture moved from a very vague form of religiousness to the various forms it later assumed, from the religions that are considered primitive to the monotheistic religions. Vilfredo Pareto has showed that very ancient rites remain in use in a society long after its members have forgotten what they originally represented. This is probably what happened when monotheistic religions transformed ancient practices into a law of God.

Religious culture, in its most simple form, consists of conduct related to man's physical and even physiological life, such as food, clothing, sexuality, and death. Practices in these areas are closely related to social life, especially to birth, marriage, and burial ceremonies, and also seasonal feasts and so on. The religious culture then spreads progressively over a variety of other areas of human life to become a general culture and, in some cases, a secular one. We will now investigate what medieval Islam teaches us on those various points.

The Qur'ān itself cites only a few of these ancient traditions as God's commands, mainly dietary and purification rules, the latter particularly with respect to purification rituals for women after menstruation. God says: "They ask thee concerning women's courses. Say: They are a hurt, a pollution: So keep away from women in their courses and do not approach them until they are clean. But when they have purified themselves, ye may approach them" (2:222). God prescribes ablutions, especially for men who are soiled by sexual pollution, or after sexual intercourse: "Ye who believe! When ye prepare for prayer, wash your faces and your hands [and arms] to the elbows, rub your heads [with water]; and [wash] your feet to the ankles. If ye are in a state of ceremonial impurity [from sexual pollution: *junub*] bathe your whole body" (5:7). God recalls how he helped the believers in the battle of Badr; he says: "Remember . . . He caused rain to

descend on you from heaven, to clean you therewith, to remove of you the stain (*rijz*) of Satan" (8:11). Fakhr ad-Dīn ar Rāzī and the Jalālayn, among other commentators, have explained that the meaning of this verse is the order to purify ourselves from sexual pollution (*ihtilām*), from the flow of sperm (*ihdath*), and sexual intercourse (*janābāt*). The notion of impurity applies also to food. God says: "Forbidden to you [for food] are dead meat, blood, the flesh of swine and that on which has been invoked a name other than that of God" (5:3).

These brief instructions on ritual purity (*ṭahāra*) have been considerably developed by scholars from the *hadīth*. In fact, the Qur'ān teaches that one must obey God and his Messenger. Since the words, the acts, and even the silences of the Prophet had been devoutly collected, it was normal for the believers to treat them as models of conduct prescribed by God. Nowadays it is obvious that the life and the words of the Prophet reflected many customs and beliefs the origins of which are lost in the mists of time. As a consequence, the *hadīths* contain a large number of archaisms that have become legislation presented as the law of God. It will be sufficient to recall two forms of archaism: the first concerns the notion of purity, with reference to the *Kitāb al-Muhallā* of Ibn Ḥazm; and the second deals with the correct forms related to eating and drinking from the *Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* of Ghazzālī.

We refer to Ibn Ḥazm because he devoted about 400 pages of his work to the notion of purity, including a great many archaic customs and beliefs, sacralized by references to the *hadīths* and the Qur'ān. Similarly, the above-mentioned chapters of the *Ihyā'* are altogether typical of the importance of this kind of custom, and it must be noted that they present these customs as *ādāb*. This term is central to the cultural history of Islam. It has many meanings, but all of them boil down to the idea of an education, a training geared toward the acquisition of correct know-how. There is an *ādāb* for teachers, an *ādāb* for pupils, an *ādāb* for reading the Qur'ān, etc. It can be said that this term finally came to express the whole religious culture, including the culture based on theoretical or practical knowledge in direct or indirect relationship with the religion and the religious life of the Prophet's community. With this in mind, Ibn Qutayba wrote a book on how to be a perfect secretary, *Adāb al-Kātib*, in which he insists more on the moral and religious training of young men learning to be secretaries than on its purely technical aspect. He warns against false sciences, which are either fashionable or derived from the misunderstood influence of Aristotle's thought.

There are, on the other hand, other kinds of archaisms in Islam

associated with some more developed religious practices, although their origins remain unclear. The most notorious case concerns the rituals associated with the pilgrimage. Historians such as Gaudefroy-Demombynes[1] attempted to discover the nature of the hajj before Islam.[2] The Islamic hajj has kept many of its ancient rites, and many of them have been reinterpreted by Muslims according to the Qur'ānic history of Abraham, Agar, and Ishmael – Abraham, the "friend of God," being presented in the Qur'ān as the founder of the Ka'ba. Many other rites are difficult to understand, and Ghazzālī, in the chapter of the *Iḥyā'* dealing with the pilgrimage, explains the reasons why God imposes them, although believers are unable to grasp their meaning: God wants to test their unconditional obedience without rational justification of any kind. Therefore archaisms are either reactualized in a more recent Islamic context or presented as the witnesses of God's inscrutable legislative will. As such they are part of a living religious culture.

Obedience to the law by pure submission to the divine authority is essential in Islam. The rules of the cult, the *'ibādāt*, prescribe in the believer's life privileged times, *awqāt*, during which he isolates himself from the world in a bid to enter into a relationship with his creator. These are, in particular, the times set for the five daily prayers. This is the reason why the Ṣūfīs, while meditating on these discontinuous periods of time, in which the worshipers receive the gifts of God freely and without any effort (*ijtihād*) of their own, have assimilated the notion of *waqt* (pl. *awqāt*) with the notion of *ḥāl* (pl. *aḥwāl*), i.e. a mystical state purely given by the One who is preeminently the grantor, *al-Wahhāb*. Nevertheless, Muslim mystics do not dismiss the effort made to observe the law. This effort is spread over a continuous period of time (*az-zamān*) which is the time of the soul or self-consciousness. But if this time is necessary for the observance of the divine commands it may, however, bear in itself the seed of a dreadful evil, which stretches a veil between man and God. This evil is the *riyā'* which (etymologically from *ra'ā*, to see) consists in watching oneself act, in being self-satisfied and self-indulgent. This is why the soul that makes itself guilty of such evil must be crushed: one must fight against it (*mujāhadat an-nafs*) and oppose it (*mukhālafat an-nafs*). It is what the Qur'ān (12:53) calls "the human soul prone to evil" (*inna'n-nafs la-ammāra bi'l-sū'*). With this in mind the masters of Ṣūfism such as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī urge the believer to remain constantly turned toward God during the whole *zamān* and outside the privileged *awqāt*, thanks to what they call the *dhikr*, the remembrance of God and the mention of his name. Makkī in fact stresses

that it is possible to think about God even while taking care of one's daily business. This is why pious Muslims are often heard saying *bismi'Llāh* ("in the name of God"), *al-hamdu li'Llāh* ("praise be to God"), *in shā'a'Llāh* ("so please God") as recommended in the Qur'ān (18, 23, 24) for a believer at the beginning of a project: "Nor say of anything, I shall be sure to do so and so tomorrow – without adding 'So please God!'"

Consequently an authentic religious culture, close to a spiritual humanism, develops from a teaching that reveals that man is different from the animals. Indeed, the Qur'ānic revelation on this subject is very important. No doubt God, in various verses, insists on man's deficiencies. He created him weak (4:28), unjust (34:33, 72), impatient (70:19), and inclined to transgress all boundaries (96:6). He is not, in this aspect, superior to animals – far from that in fact, since all his defects humble him. But they are the proof that man, called to serve God, needs God's help to fulfill his function (*wazifa*). Indeed, God created men and jinns just for them to serve him (51:56); not that he needs their service, but because the service of God is man's destiny. As far as man is concerned, this vocation distinguishes him clearly from the animals. That is why several commentators, including Rāzī, think that the misbeliever who refuses to obey the commands reduces himself to the level of a beast. Not only are the animals put at the disposal of man (16:5–8), but God made the whole world subject (*sakhkhra*) to man. This is why man has been created, molded in the most beautiful shape (40:64; 64:3), with a capacity for thinking and understanding. But God may suspend these distinctive faculties, and certainly does suspend them for misbelievers. Man thus enjoys a high destiny desired by God, but is not obliged to achieve his aim without the help of God. That was well understood by the mystics. They considered the law a guide of good conduct (*hudā*), and an effort must be made to observe it. But, as observed by Rāzī, this conduct can only achieve its aim (*ihtidā'*) thanks to free gifts given by God which are the "mystical states" (*ahwāl*). Muslim mysticism is very rich. In it, one can say, the living religious culture of Islam reaches perfection. However, this religious culture, before reaching its spiritual peaks, has, to some extent, transformed itself into a profane culture.

The mystical culture is a living culture and flourishes alongside a culture based on the development of intelligence, ideas, and tastes. It exists in Islam, although in this case its birth raises a delicate problem. Indeed, the Qur'ānic revelation is considered a descent (*tanzīl*) upon the Prophet of God's own word, which for some

scholars is eternal and for others created. Many of them, conse-
quently, have tended to consider that the text of the Qur'ān contains
everything man needs to know; the creation of a speculative theology
therefore appears useless and should be condemned. This is clearly
expressed in the creed of Ibn Batta the Ḥanbalite (tenth century of
the Hegira) in which the influence of any thought foreign to Islam is
strongly denounced. The problems linked to the birth of *kalām* have
been studied and brought forward in detail by Josef van Ess in the
introduction to his book on Ijī.[3] He insists on the intellectual prob-
lems connected with political situations. We refer to these works
without further comment.

It is interesting for our purposes to refer to a passage of Ibn
Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* in which this famous historian and sociologist
discusses the reasons for the weakening of Muslim power. At the
outset, he says, the Qur'ān was a book that inspired believers to a way
of life at once religious, political, and warlike. Moved by God's com-
mands and the strength of the divine word, the first Muslims con-
quered part of the world. But their decline started when they took
their revealed book as an object of study rather than as the source of
life. We can see there the path leading from a purely religious culture
to what will progressively become a profane culture. We could con-
sider thereby that the seed of culture, in the general meaning of this
term, develops from a knowledge acquired from books transmitted
along the generations. Indeed, by fixing, conceptualizing, and
abstracting ideas, writings permit a universal spreading of ideas,
while words are pronounced *hic et nunc*. This way of passing from a
religious culture to a general culture can be traced in all developed
religions, but it is particularly true in Islam. The reader, while reading
the Qur'ān, no longer listens to God's word to print it in his heart, the
opposite of the desire Ghazzālī expressed in the chapter of the *Iḥyā'*
entitled *Adāb qira'at al-Qur'ān* ("of the right manner for reading the
Qur'ān") for reaching the spiritual life and the "savory" experience
(*dhawq*) of the mystics. He reads the Qur'ān in a bid to acquire the
knowledge of God's existence, of his attributes, of his creation of the
world as *khāliq*, and of his providential action in the ruling of the uni-
verse as *rāziq*. This theology, already built up from philosophical
notions, will quickly lead the reader to philosophy proper.
Philosophy, in turn, will open his mind to all the profane knowledges
and sciences that originated in Greece.

It is worth noting that the praising of a culture closely linked to
life's conditions, as opposed to a culture acquired from books, is
present in a fictitious dialogue presented by Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī

in his works on the pleasures brought by conversation (*Kitāb al-Imtā
wa'l-Mu'ānasa*). Several people in a garden are discussing which
nation has the highest civilization. They successively consider the
Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Turks, and the Africans
without reaching a conclusion. Then one of them brings forward an
opinion which he attributes to Ibn al-Muqaffa': the people that is
superior to all others is the Arab people, for the bedus do not set their
life from the learning of books, but must instead, each one for himself,
look daily for the means to survive in an unfruitful environment.
Through the praise of these Arabs, Ibn al-Muqaffa' probably had the
first Muslims in mind.

It is true that Islam has been characterized as the religion of the
book. Indeed, the second Surah starts with two words which have
been the object of various interpretations: *Dhālika'l-Kitāb*. Without
going into the details that are found, for instance, in Rāzī's com-
mentary, it seems that the most interesting signification must lead to
the following literal translation: "That one is the book." In other
words, the book that has often been mentioned, which descended
from God (*min 'indi'Llāh*) and is inscribed in the "Tablet Preserved"
(85:22). But nowhere, either in the Qur'ān or the Tradition, is there
any mention of the revelation of any writing that would have been
given to the Prophet to read. It has even been said that he was
"*Ummī*," that he did not know how to read, which is a distinct pos-
sibility. The beginning of the first revealed verse, *Iqrā' bismi Rabbika*
(96:1), must therefore be translated not as "Read in the name of thy
Lord" but as "Proclaim in the name of thy Lord," giving thus to the
verb *qara'a* the meaning of its Semitic root, which is also found in
Hebrew.

On the other hand, the revelation was transmitted by oral means,
by the Prophet's preaching. Its interpretation was given in a lively
manner by the words he used in his speech and by his behavior. It was
only after his death, in the time of the first caliphs, that the revelation
was recorded in writing. As observed by the Traditionist Kulyanī
(fourth century of the Hegira) in his *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, the Prophet, in his
lifetime, used to give further explanations of how to apply the law in
specific cases whenever they occurred. His words reflected the ordi-
nary conditions of the believers' lives. After his death these traditions
were gathered and put together in books which were added to the
Qur'ān. The Sunnites, according to Kulyanī, have only, therefore, at
their disposal written texts which they study and over which they
quarrel. Conversely, the Shī'ites have *imams* who are inspired to
explain the law and its practical application to the conditions of their

time. Unfortunately, they did not agree on the recognition of their *imams*, all of whose admitted lineages, for the Imāmites or Twelvers as well as for the Ismailians or Seveners, ended with a concealed *imam*. Thus, from this viewpoint, their situation is not basically different from that of the Sunnites. They had their own theology and theosophy, as Henry Corbin said, and developed a separate and original school of philosophical thought, which is characterized by its esoteric aspect and constitutes a culture of its own, closely related to the neo-Platonic gnosis.

Evidence of the transformation of the religious culture into a general culture can be found in the evolution of the meaning of the word *'ilm* (science), and in the use that was made of the word *fiqh*, the root of which is the Qur'ānic verb *faqiha* and has the general meaning of understanding and, more precisely, of understanding God's word.

The Qur'ānic use of the word *'ilm* undoubtedly applies to the science of religious truths. We thus read in the Qur'ān (2:32): "Glory to Thee: of knowledge, we have none, save what Thou hast taught us" (*lā 'ilma lanā mā āllamtanā*). Besides, the Qur'ān warns against everything a man who did not receive this science has to say. God says (3:66): "But why dispute ye in matters of which ye have no knowledge?" (*fa-limā tuhājjūna fīmā laysa lakum bihi 'ilm*). The Qur'ān also distinguishes science from conjecture (4:157): "And those who differ therein are full of doubts, with no knowledge but only conjecture to follow" (*mā lahum bihi min 'ilm, illā ittibā'a 'z-zann*). In this sense, the attitude of someone such as Ibn Batta is fully understandable. Yet we see an extension of the notion of *'ilm* which appears from the first chapter of Ghazzālī's *Ihyā'*. Indeed, among the "praiseworthy sciences" (*al-'ulūm al-mahmūda*), Ghazzālī lists a number of sciences such as calculus, grammar, etc. which may be considered auxiliary sciences of religious science and useful to believers.

Likewise, we can refer to the beginning of Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī's commentary in which this great theologist and philosopher tries to show that the understanding of the least Qur'ānic verse requires "ten thousand questions or more" (*tashtamilu 'alā 'ashra ālāf mas'ala al-azyad*), all deriving from general culture. But if Ghazzālī remains a theologist and if science, in its broadest sense, has, in his eyes, no value except with reference to religious science, the sole source of all truth; if Rāzī, as a commentator of the Qur'ān, keeps on thinking in the light of revelation, it is Averroes who set free from all theology the philosophy, on one hand, and with it, on the other, all the other sciences of nature (*tabī'iyāt*) and of the mind (*rūhāniyyāt*). As Aristotle's real

disciple, he believed that genuine knowledge must be founded on the demonstration of proof (*burhān*), and wherever it can come up with such a proof, philosophy is the sole guarantor of the truth. Admittedly, Averroes based himself in the *Faṣl al-Maqāl* on a Qur'ānic verse (3:7) concerning allegorical verses, to justify his trust in science as he conceived it. But this verse can be understood in two different ways: either "But no one knows its hidden meanings except God, and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say: We believe in the book" or "But no one knows its hidden meanings except God and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge; they say: We believe in the book." It is a question of punctuation. Thus, according to Averroes, who follows the second reading of the verse, scholars are in possession of a science answering the questions raised by humanity and acquire thereby the very truth known by God. Evidently this is not the right way to read this verse if we compare it to a similar verse (4:162): "But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge and the Believers believe in what hath been revealed to thee . . . and believe in God and the Last Day: to them shall we soon give a great reward." It seems obvious that the term "science" here has the meaning "religious science." The difference of reading and interpretation that we have outlined shows how a religious concept can slide toward a general scientific conception of culture.

A similar observation could be made with regard to the word *fiqh*. It was first limited to the idea of a knowledge of the revealed law. In this sense it was to remain very close to the more or less literal understanding of the Qur'ānic texts enriched with further explanations and information drawn from the Prophetic Tradition. But, due to the new socio-political conditions that arose soon after the conquests with the extension of the Prophet's community, and generally to the contacts made first at the administrative level (the language of which had for long been Greek), then at the level of the knowledge of foreign codes (Roman, Byzantine, Persian, and even rabbinical), *fiqh* became a full legal science in the same way as the original *kalām* had grown into a speculative theology. This process was facilitated and accelerated by increasing borrowings from non-Muslim civilizations. As a consequence, although a simple secularization of the culture did not occur, for the Qur'ān did not cease to exert its influence, the development of a general culture, i.e. a genuine humanism, appeared instead thanks to which Muslim thought was able in the Middle Ages to enter a relationship with the Jewish and Christian civilizations, which were both equally marked by the common influence of Greece.

Notes

1 *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke* (Paris, 1923).
2 On this whole question we can refer to the article by A. J. Wensinck,
  J. Jomier, and B. Lewis in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (New
  York, 1993), with an abundant bibliography.
3 *Die Ernkenntnislehre des 'Adudaddīn al-Icī* (Wiesbaden, 1966).

7 · Cult and culture: common saints and shrines in Middle Eastern popular piety

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Introductory remarks

In a souk crowded with poor fruit and vegetable vendors in the center
of Beirut once stood a tiny church called an-Nūrīyah, dedicated to the
Virgin Mary. Like many such popular shrine-churches, the Church of
our Lady of an-Nūrīyah represents a spot sacralized by the alleged
appearance of the Virgin. The souk with its tiny church was named
after an obscure, or more likely legendary, female saint. "An-
Nūrīyah" means either a poor gypsy or a luminous woman. Muslims,
Christians, and Jews, vendors and buyers alike came into the quiet
church to light candles and place coins on a glass surface to see if their
wishes would come true. If the coin sticks to the glass, it was said, the
prayers of the supplicant will be answered and his/her wish granted.

Human history, from the Stone Age to the Jet Age, may be viewed
as a long quest for sacralized existence in an otherwise profane world.
The quest may be fulfilled in many different ways: in an archaic myth
ritually reenacting the creation of the world by God or the gods in pri-
mordial time, by building a sacred house of worship in the center of
a settlement, village, or town, or by making a pilgrimage to a sacred
shrine. The aim of these and other devotional acts is to give order and
meaning to human life by centering it around sacred space and time,
represented by a holy place or a sacred festival.

To return to our souk, its profane character may be seen in the noisy
bustle of human activity around a sacred center, the quiet church. The
church represents a hierophany,[1] and as such a source of fulfillment,
blessing, and healing. For our purpose, it also represents a common
object of interreligious devotion, and thus a source of interfaith
harmony. The fact that both the church and its souk were destroyed
by the fifteen-year-long Lebanese civil strife signifies the victory of
chaos and disorder over cosmos and order in a multireligious society.

The story of this church, moreover, provides a typical example of the modern worldwide phenomenon of the desacralization of the world, and hence of human existence.

The world of religious people, be they members of primitive or archaic cults or of communities of the higher religious traditions, is dominated by the sacred. For such men and women the sacred is a power which may be personally encountered in any ordinary place and object in the world around them. In contrast, secular people live in a profane world devoid of meaning or value beyond itself. The absence of the sacred in modern technologized society has led to alienation and loneliness in a hostile and valueless world.

Between the "primitive" or "archaic" societies of Asia, Africa, Australia, and America and the professional theologian – priest, minister, rabbi, and jurist – stand the masses, guided by the holy life-examples of hermits, Ṣūfī shaykhs, and saints, living or dead. It is this phenomenon of popular piety in the three monotheistic religious traditions of the Middle East that will concern us in this chapter. More precisely, we shall examine the interaction of popular religion with culture in the Arabic-speaking societies of North Africa and the Levant.

The theme of this collection could not be more relevant to today's world. I trust that this modest contribution will underscore the importance of this theme and my own personal appreciation of its significance for the cultural and religious history of the Middle East.

Middle Eastern religions are the product not of the theological academies of Babylonia, Rome, Byzantium, and Cairo, but of the encounter with the sacred in the bush of Moses, the transfigured Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the cave on Mount Ḥirāʾ in which Muḥammad received his prophetic mission. Furthermore, the framework of Middle Eastern piety is not doctrinal statements or metaphysical ideas but holy miracles and other supernatural phenomena.[2]

Holy men and women have from time immemorial been venerated by the pious of all three religions. They have been sought out not so much for their learning, but for the healing power and blessing they possess. This power tended to increase greatly in mystery, and hence efficacy, after their death. Veneration of such persons always transcended religious differences – although not political realities, as will be amply demonstrated in this study.

Cults of *tsaddiqs* and *walīs* in North Africa

Pious Jews and Muslims have for centuries shared the grace or blessing (*barakah*) of holy men and women through pilgrimages to their

tombs. Such devotional visits have always persisted – to the dismay of the religious authorities of the two communities. As early as the ninth century such visits were described by Muslim *ʿulamāʾ* as "Jewish abuse," and not long afterwards, a Karaite rabbi called them "an idolatrous practice which Jews have borrowed from Muslims."[3] The fact, however, is that these pilgrimages are an essential part of popular religion and go back to ancient times, long before the emergence of both communities.

For centuries, Jews and Arabs in North Africa shared, as they did elsewhere, a rich culture and many common popular religious beliefs and practices. The framework of this shared culture and popular piety was the mystical tradition of the two communities. The spread of Ṣūfism in North Africa with its emphasis on the *karāmāt*, or miracles of the *awlīyāʾ* (friends of God) deeply influenced the growth of devotional pilgrimages to the tombs of holy persons.

Among the Jewish holy men venerated by Muslims was Amram bin Dayyan, a rabbi from Hebron who traveled with his son to North Africa. The youth fell seriously ill, and the rabbi prayed that the life of his son be spared and that his life be taken instead. His prayer was answered, and pilgrimages to his tomb were until recently made by Jews and Muslims for its healing power.[4]

Amram was a righteous man, a *tsaddiq* who possessed a special "blessing" (*berakah*; Arabic *barakah*) on account of his status with God. The Jewish *tsaddiq* is the Muslim *ṣiddīq*: both mean "a truthful or righteous man." The function of the *tsaddiq* in Jewish mystical piety, however, is more closely akin to that of the Islamic *walī*. The saintly qualities of the *tsaddiqim* could therefore be discerned by Muslims, as they corresponded to the qualities of their *walīs*.

The Ṣūfī concept of the *walī* may be traced back to the Qurʾān and early tradition.[5] The concept of the *tsaddiq* in its mystical sense originated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Palestine among mystical Jewish communities. Soon well-known Talmudic rabbis, Hasidic and Qabbalistic sages in whose circles this idea developed, came to be regarded as *tsaddiqim*. Their tombs became places of pilgrimage both for their blessing and as acts of private devotion by the pious, especially on the anniversary of the *tsaddiq*'s death.[6]

The same custom developed earlier in Islamic Ṣūfism. The anniversary of a shaykh's death is celebrated as his *ʿurs* or wedding, signifying the reunion of his soul, the lover, with the beloved, God. However different the concepts behind this pious act may be, its form and, to a large extent, contents are the same in the three Middle Eastern religious traditions.

There is in North Africa a common piety of the Muslim marabout and Jewish *tsaddiq*. In both communities these are popular saints, real or legendary, who continued to appear well into the twentieth century, in spite of the radical secular and political changes in North African society. Among the hundreds of shrines in Morocco, for example, dozens are venerated equally by Jews and Muslims.[7]

In some cases such common saints have both a Muslim and a Jewish name and career. Muslims often claim, as for example in the case of Sidi Muḥammad Sharīf, that the saint was a Jew, but converted to Islam before his death. One day the *muqaddam* (caretaker) decided to bar Jews from the shrine. No sooner had he made this decision than he was struck dumb. The saint appeared to him in a dream bidding him to allow all his devotees to come to him. The caretaker, it is told, regained the power of speech as soon as he acquiesced to the saint's command. Sidi Muḥammad Sharīf is most probably legendary, but he is a typical example of many such common popular saints.[8]

Another legendary Jewish *tsaddiq* who, Muslims also assert, converted to Islam before his death has a shrine dedicated to him in a cave from which issues a spring of water. This legendary saint is a miracle worker. The water of his cave grants fertility to barren women, and he helps young women to find husbands. Legend has it that in ancient times a seven-headed jinni who demanded a virgin every year lived in the cave, until a certain "Malik Sayf"[9] killed him with his sword. The parallel of this legend with that of St. George and the dragon is striking.[10]

In spite of the occasional tensions arising from the conflicting Jewish and Muslim claims to a common tsaddiq or *walī*, relations between the two communities in North Africa were on the whole good. This, in our view, was largely because the popular piety the two communities shared was one, regardless of the religious label attached to it. As we shall soon see, this has not been the case in Palestine where the official theologies and religious beliefs of the three traditions and the claims based on them led more often than not to intercommunal tension and disharmony.

Let us, before leaving North Africa, look at another example of the power of popular piety to transcend all social and religious distinctions. The Jewish community of Jerba in Tunisia honors a young female hermit who is said to have possessed some sacred scrolls from Palestine. Annually, a month after Passover, a large procession to her grave is organized in which Jews and Muslims take part. This annual festival is of unknown origin, but testimonials describing it go back to the second half of the nineteenth century.

On this festive occasion Jewish and Muslim merchants display their wares, and beggars come from far and wide to avail themselves of religiously motivated generosity. Jewish and Muslim pilgrims together circumambulate the holy tomb and perform other traditional religious ceremonies. In these devotions men and women, Jews and Muslims, local inhabitants and foreigners intermingle. Class distinctions, otherwise strictly observed by Jerban Jews, as well as interreligious distinctions, are relaxed on this occasion.[11]

Prophets, saints, and *walīs* in Syro-Palestinian popular piety

Palestine, the original home of Judaism and Christianity and of much Muslim popular piety, is the site of numerous shrines associated with biblical personages and the other common saints. Because of the prominence of Palestine as a locus of the sacred history of the three communities, history and hagiography often merge in a rich common popular piety.

An interesting example of the confluence of sacred history with popular piety is a subterranean spring outside the eastern gate of Acre in Palestine called 'Ayn al-Baqar (the Cattle Spring). Veneration of this spring by pious Jews, Christians, and Muslims was reported as early as the eleventh century by the great Persian philosopher–poet–traveler Nāṣir-i Khusraw.[12] Legend has it that Adam discovered this spring at which he watered his cattle, hence the name 'Ayn al-Baqar.

Perhaps on account of its subterranean location, and therefore mysterious character, the spring was considered to possess special sacred powers. Its legendary link to Adam, the father of humanity and first prophet of Islam, gave it its needed link to sacred history. Muslims built a mosque on the sacred site which they dedicated to 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib, who is often presented in Shī'ite piety as an aquatic hero akin to St. George or al-Khiḍr, who will be discussed below.

Beside the mosque that gave this sacred spring its special significance in Muslim piety, the crusaders who occupied the city in 1104 and remained for nearly two centuries also built a church. Through the figures of Adam and 'Alī, this spring was connected to primordial time and Muslim and Christian piety. Through the mosque and church which were erected on the sacred spot by two warring communities, the spring came to symbolize an age-old religious, political, and military struggle for hegemony. This, it must be added, has been a common phenomenon throughout Middle Eastern history, particularly in the Holy Land.

In contrast with the shrine of the female saint of Jerba, we shall now briefly look at the history of the tomb of Rachel in Palestine which provides an even more vivid illustration of the phenomenon just discussed. This shrine is important for the adherents of the three religions, but particularly for Jews and Muslims. The tomb of Rachel is an ancient commemorative shrine, perhaps going back to the patriarchal age. It lies outside the city of Bethlehem, and is believed to have been built by Jacob for his wife Rachel, who died in childbirth while on a journey. The present shrine and dome over the tomb were built by the Ottoman authorities, and until 1882 the shrine was a Muslim *waqf*. The Jews were then allowed to visit the tomb for an annual fee which they paid to the *waqf* authorities.[13] The Jews have based their claim to the shrine on an Ottoman *firman* of 1615 which gave them access to it, and on the fact that they restored the shrine in 1848.[14]

Rachel is remembered as a mother. It is therefore not surprising that her shrine has been especially popular among women, particularly those praying for children. Until the 1930s Rachel's tomb remained a minor shrine, albeit venerated by the people of the three religions. In the 1940s, and with the increasing intensity of Jewish guerrilla activities in Palestine, the shrine gained in popularity among underground fighters. With the establishment of the state of Israel, Rachel's tomb became a virtually exclusively Jewish national shrine with growing popularity.[15]

In the Middle East, religion is often mixed with politics and politics always has religious ramifications. A largely political shrine honored by Muslims in Palestine is the fictitious grave of the prophet Moses (*Nabī Mūsā*). Although the book of Deuteronomy (34:6) asserts that no one knows the location of the grave of Moses, in 1269 the Mamlūk sultan Baybars built a mosque enclosing the alleged tomb of the ancient prophet. The mosque lies on the old pilgrimage road at a point from which the pilgrims could view the biblical Mount Nebo, from which Moses is reported to have gazed at the Holy Land just before his death.

What may have begun as a pilgrimage provision or rest station soon developed into a social and political strategy intended to ensure a large Muslim presence in Jerusalem during the eastern Christian Easter celebrations. The *Nabī Mūsā* festivities were arranged so as to last one week coinciding with the Holy Week of the eastern churches. The festivities begin with a colorful procession from the Aqsa mosque after the Friday prayers to the tomb of *Nabī Mūsā*, and conclude with a similar procession back to Jerusalem.[16]

The *Nabī Mūsā* celebrations have to this day retained a distinct

political character. After the rise of Zionism, the *Nabī Mūsā* festival became an occasion for clashes between Arabs and Jews. Consequently, after the 1936 Arab revolt against British rule the celebrations were banned. While the West Bank remained part of Jordan, the *Nabī Mūsā* festivities were discouraged and nearly forgotten. In 1987 the shrine was repaired and all three communities participated in the revival of the old pilgrimage. In spite of its continued political significance, pilgrimage to the grave of *Nabī Mūsā* is again a pious act for Muslims and Christians.[17]

Because prophets and other biblical personages, whom Islam for the most part regards as prophets, belong to the official establishments of the three religions, they have been the object of much theological debate and exclusive claims and counter-claims. Thus shrines belonging to prophets such as Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus, and others, while being objects of common veneration, have also been a source of interreligious discord and disharmony.

A striking exception is St. George, who is renowned throughout the Middle East, from Egypt to Asia Minor, as both saint and prophet. His importance for the popular piety of Jews, Christians, and Muslims lies in the fact that he has a composite personality combining several biblical, Qur'ānic, and even more ancient mythical heroes.

According to local tradition, St. George was a Cappadocian martyr from Lyddah. A church over his tomb in his native city is recorded as early as the fifth century. The great Muslim geographer al-Muqaddasī, writing in the tenth century, mentions the magnificent church of St. George in Lyddah to which Christians and Muslims flocked for blessing and healing. This historic church still bears the clear marks of crusader architecture, additions, and restorations. After the crusades, the church of St. George was taken over by Muslims and converted into a mosque. Muqaddasī reports a tradition which asserts that at the great gate of this church, Jesus will slay the Antichrist, *ad-Dajjāl*.[18]

St. George has also many other churches and shrines throughout Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. In some he is venerated as the prophet Elijah, or Mar Elias, in others as St. George or Mar Jirjus, and in still others as al-Khiḍr. This last epithet, meaning the "green prophet," is common to both Christian and Muslim folk piety.

The original legend of St. George goes back to Babylonian mythology. He is heir to Marduk, the Babylonian god who killed the sea monster Tyamat and thus saved the world from her wrath. He is also heir to Gilgamesh, the great hero who traversed the ocean of death in search of the plant of eternal life.

St. George is said to have killed a dragon which terrorized the inhabitants of the sea coast near Beirut. Many of his shrines were built on spots where he is said to have appeared and performed miracles. These appearances no doubt echo the Islamic legend of al-Khiḍr who, like Gilgamesh, found the source of eternal life, and lives on as a wandering prophet to assist those in danger and initiate Ṣūfīs into his mysterious order. His identification with Elijah is indicated by an artificial cave on Mount Carmel said to be the place where the ancient prophet hid from Ahab, the wicked king of Israel, and which is also visited as the shrine of al-Khiḍr.[19]

Samuel Curtiss, who visited the cave in 1901, reports that childless Muslim women used to visit the shrine to pray for children. The author relates this practice to the ancient folk beliefs that water spirits could impregnate women, and that a saint could be like a husband to a barren woman. St. George, or al-Khiḍr, is apparently in one of his aspects another manifestation of this aquatic mythical hero.[20]

Tradition has it that St. George was brought to the place of his martyrdom in chains. Therefore the sick, and particularly those with mental illness, are chained by the priest to the church of St. George overnight or longer for healing. In fact St. George specialized in driving out evil spirits. This particular cure is sought from him and from the Christian priests who are his agents by Muslims and Christians alike.[21]

The world of traditional societies is populated with good and evil spirits. In the Middle East these spirits are often associated with shrines of holy persons, prophets, Ṣūfī shaykhs, and even mad or highly eccentric men and women who live at or near a shrine or sacred spot. Such sacred spots may be buildings, trees, a heap of stones, or a rock or spring. Often the ruins of a church or mosque may in time become a sacred site.

Sanctity is recognized by the pious not only in nature and inanimate objects, but also in real or imaginary holy men and women, called in Arabic ṣullāḥ (pious people). These holy persons who at one time lived (or are believed to have lived) at the outskirts of a village in time become saints or walīs. Hence saintship is an ongoing process of making the world sacred by sacralizing time and space. There is hardly a village or town that does not honor one or more saint or walī as its patron or protecting spirit.

Because these spirits are everywhere – near wells or streams, the sea or river, in desert places and even at the threshold of a house – their permission must be secured before approaching their domain. It is also possible to hurt a spirit of the jinn who may live at the spot where

hot water is poured out, or a fire put out by water. Thus for every ordinary household activity, as well as for entering a sacred shrine, some courteous formula must be uttered asking the saint or spirit for permission. Such formulas may also include prayers for help in a conflict or difficult situation.[22]

Walīs, saints, and spirits are intimately involved in the daily lives of the pious men and women of the Middle East. Their shrines and dwelling places are little confessionals in which they confess their failings and courts to which they bring their complaints for vindication. Through solemn oaths, vows, and promises of material offerings (including animal sacrifices) saints and spirits are invoked, placated, or even bribed. In this way they are brought directly into the social conflicts, hopes, and aspirations of their devotees.

Folk rituals are often used to complement, and at times even supplant, official worship. The shrines of saints or *walīs* are circumambulated by pilgrims seven times as the Ka'bah is circumambulated by the ḥajj pilgrims. Circumambulating a sacred object, tomb, or building is an ancient and widespread rite. Its purpose is to acquire some of the *barakah* or healing power of the shrine or object circumambulated.[23]

Another common act of devotion to saints and *walīs* is making a vow for the alleviation of a hardship or averting a calamity. Vow offerings are not made only to prophets and saints, but also to sacred trees, stones and even the sea.[24] Vows are also made to seemingly mad or eccentric men and women. Such "wise fools" are believed to be in contact with the spirit world and thus able to foretell future events or heal the sick. The link of this pious act to ancient religions and cultures is obvious.

The Middle East as a whole, and Palestine in particular, is heir to ancient religious and political ideas and structures. In ancient times, including the biblical age, each city, village, or settlement had its own patron deity. The god in fact ruled the city, which was his personal property, through the ruler and the temple priesthood. In contemporary Christian, Jewish, and Muslim societies the prophet, saint, or *walī* has assumed the place of the ancient god, his shrine the ancient temple, and the caretaker, priest, or shaykh that of the ancient priest. Although there may be several saints in a town or district, only one of them is regarded as its true patron.

Like the ancient gods, moreover, the saints may act together for the good or ill of society. Like them, therefore, they must be obeyed, served, and appeased to persuade them to do the will of their devotees. This is achieved through individual or collective ritual

offerings, pilgrimages, and celebrations of the saints' days or special festivals.[25]

An age-old problem in the Middle East is the scanty and unpredictable rainfall. Thus the prayer for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisqā'*) is a ritual observed by all three communities. Lack of rain is often blamed on the lack of true piety. This belief is powerfully expressed in the folk adage: "Because of our lack of right-guidance, our summer has become our winter."[26]

The prayer for rain is a collective ritual in which everyone – men, women and children – participates. It is often preceded by a solemn procession to the shrine of one or more saint or *walī*. It is believed that if one saint or *walī* is unable, or unwilling, to help, then surely the other one will.

On such processions in Palestine, a crude, cross-shaped wooden doll dressed in female attire is carried by the young men of the community. This feminine sacred symbol is appropriately called *Umm al-Ghayth* (Mother of Rain). It may at one time have symbolized the Virgin Mary, but only a vague representation of this sacred symbol has remained.[27] On the way to the shrine, children chant prayers for rain, blaming the sins of the adults for the heaven withholding its blessings.

Praying for rain is an ancient rite. It is vividly described by the prophet Jeremiah thus:

Judah mourns and her gates languish; they lie in gloom on the ground, and the cry of Jerusalem goes up. Her nobles send their servants for water; they come to the cisterns, they find no water, they return with their vessels empty. They are ashamed and dismayed and cover their heads, because the ground is cracked. Because there has been no rain on the land the farmers are dismayed; they cover their heads. Even the doe in the field forsakes her newborn fawn because there is no grass. The wild asses stand on the bare heights, they pant for air like jackals; their eyes fail because there is no herbage.[28]

In Islam, the Prophet is said to have led the faithful in processions to the open country outside Medina in the *istisqā'* prayer. After him, the second caliph, 'Umar, led a similar procession and prayed: "O God, we used to beseech you through your Prophet and you gave us rain. Now we beseech you through the Prophet's uncle [al-'Abbās], so grant us rain."[29] In modern Middle Eastern piety, St. Nicholas and al-Khiḍr are especially efficacious rain makers.[30]

The common phenomenon of shared Jewish, Christian, and Muslim piety is not limited to the Middle East and North Africa. Rather, it may be observed wherever members of the three faith communities live together and share a common culture and destiny. The

rites, rituals, and popular devotions examined in this study have been observed from Asia Minor to the Balkans.[31]

Human beings are not only rational and speaking, but also believing creatures. The need to believe is an essential element of human society. However, science and reason as the bases of belief systems are fast replacing traditional folk piety. To be sure, science has brought many benefits to the modern world, but it has deprived the world of its mystery, and hence of its sacredness.

The familiarity with nature brought about by modern science and technology has reduced it to a dead machine which may be manipulated and even destroyed at will. The results have been the ecological disasters that threaten life on this planet with apocalyptic consequences.

This collection, however, is concerned not with science and religion, but with the interaction of religion and culture. Let us therefore end where we began, in Lebanon as a good example of the success and failure of the interaction of popular culture with established religion.

In 1950 the head of a monastery in Annaya, a small village in Mount Lebanon, discovered – according to hagiographical accounts – a saint who died over half a century earlier and was buried in a cave over which the monastery was built. The discovery itself was reported to have been a miracle. St. Sharbel appeared to a priest nearby and ordered him to open his tomb. The saint's coffin appeared to be corroded by the blood and sweat that dripped continuously from his intact body.

News of the miracle of the incorruptible state of the saint's body after half a century in the grave led many to his tomb. From the cave of Sharbel's tomb a spring of healing water gushed forth after his public miracles began in 1950. Eye diseases were cured with drops of this holy water, and holy oil from his altar healed many who were crippled with paralysis. Between April 22 and the end of August 1950, 350 cures were recorded. Of these, 20 were actually Muslims.[32]

St. Sharbel was born in 1830 in Annaya and grew up as a simple shepherd. He entered the monastery at an early age, and after a period of strict asceticism became a hermit. In 1853 he entered the order of St. Maroun, taking the name Sharbel who was one of the first martyrs of the Maronite church of Antioch. He died on December 24, 1898.[33]

Until the civil war of 1975, Sharbel was "a saint of Lebanon." Then in the middle of this civil and religious disaster the Vatican canonized him. With this he became no longer an interreligious saint of Lebanon, but the property, in effect, of the Catholic church. Many

Muslims who may once have gone on pilgrimage to the shrine of "Mar Sharbil" had now to speak for the establishment, and thus repudiate sainthood altogether as a Christian error.

Thus Mar Sharbil, the saint of shared popular piety who brought Lebanese Christians and Muslims together, became a symbol of the separation of the two communities. Once a living force for inter-communal cordiality, he became a dead name confined to the sacred calendar of the Catholic church.

The sacred world of popular piety was the cradle of human civilization. It created and nourished the highest achievements of the human spirit. The mythologies of the ancient world on which Greek philosophy and literature, the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Qur'ān were nourished are only a few instances of the manifestation of the sacred in human society. Will the new religion of science and technology find its own ways to the sacred? Only time can tell, and God knows best.

Notes

1 A Hierophany is the manifestation of the sacred in any object – a stone, tree, mountain, or spring. For a discussion of this term see Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1959), pp. 20 ff.

2 For two biblical examples of such encounters with the sacred, see the stories of Elijah's encounter with the widow of Zarephath (1 Kings 17:9 ff.) and his successor Elisha's miracle of healing Naaman, the leprous captain of the host of the king of Syria (2 Kings 5).

3 Shlomo D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs. Their Contacts through the Ages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1959), p. 188.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 188–89.

5 For the Qur'ānic usage of this term, see 10:62 and 41:31.

6 Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 220–21.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 223–24. See also L. Voinot, *Pèlerinages judéo-musulmans du Maroc* (Paris: Editions Larose, 1948), pp. 17 ff.

8 Voinot, *Pèlerinages*, pp. 17–18.

9 This may be a reference to the legendary king Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan, the last of the Jewish kings of Ḥimyar of the Yaman before Islam. This well-known figure has been incorporated into the legend.

10 Voinot, *Pèlerinages*, pp. 27–28.

11 Abraham L. Udovitch and Lucette Valensi, *The Last Arab Jews: The Communities of Jerba, Tunisia* (London: Harwood Publishers, 1983), pp. 125–28.

12 John Wurzurg, *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, from documents published in London, 1887–97 (New York: A.N.S. Press, 1971), vol. IV, p. 13.

13 Christopher Hollis and Ronald Browning, *Holy Places: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Monuments in the Holy Land* (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 14. See also Maḥmūd al-ʿĀbidī, *Al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah fī Filasṭīn wa-al-Urdun* (Amman, n.p., 1973), p. 133.

14 Bernardin Collin, *Pour une solution au problème des lieux saints* (Paris: J. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1974), pp. 62–63.

15 Susan Starr Sered, "Rachel's Tomb: Societal Liminality and the Revitalization of a Shrine," *Religion*, 19 (1989), pp. 27–40.

16 Hollis and Browning, *Holy Places*, p. 216. For a fuller description of these festivities see *Palestine Exploration Fund: Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine* (1915), p. 175.

17 Abraham E. Millgram, *Jerusalem Curiosities* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), p. 209.

18 Hollis and Browning, *Holy Places*, p. 215.

19 For the dramatic confrontation of the illusive prophet with the king of Israel, see 1 Kings 21:17 ff. See also Samuel Ives Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902), pp. 83–84 and 95.

20 It is interesting in this connection to see that in the Qur'ān (18:60 ff.) the figure identified by tradition as al-Khiḍr is met by Moses at the conjunction of "the two seas."

21 See Toufik Canaan, *Muhammadan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, facsimile of the book reprinted by the Ariel Publishing House from articles in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (1927), pp. 114 ff.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 85 ff.

23 For a description of this rite and its purpose among the Muslims and Christians of Palestine, see *ibid.*, p. 114.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 135–36.

25 See *ibid.*, pp. 218 ff.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

27 *Ibid.*

28 Jeremiah 14:2–6, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

29 *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhari* (offset reproduction of the old Istanbul edition; Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), vol. II, p. 16.

30 Canaan, *Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 232.

31 See F. W. and Margaret M. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (New York: Octagon Books, 1973), vol. I, pp. 63 ff.

32 Jean-Pierre Haddad, *Charbel, un saint du Liban* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1978), p. 158.

33 Michael Hayek, *Le Père Charbel ou la voix de silence* (Paris: Edition du Vieux Colombier, 1956), pp. 37–49.

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