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FROM THE EDITORS

The Editorial Board of *Ilahiyat Studies* is pleased to announce the release of its first issue of the second volume. As stated in each issue, the journal "is dedicated to publishing original articles, essays, reports, and book reviews primarily within the fields of Islamic and Religious Studies."

This issue, like the previous ones, is a mixed collection of essays related to the field, representing various perspectives within the classical tradition of Islam. In his article Burhanettin Tatar treats the complex issue of the problem of the relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text in the classical ages, arguing that throughout these ages the prevalent understanding was one of taking time and space at the level of the signifier to be a kind of prison to be escaped. At the level of signified, however, as a moment and place of the self-presence of metaphysical truth. After analyzing the classical formulations of the problem, Tatar tries to "delineate a way of poetical thinking that tries to grasp time and space as a form of revelation of new opportunities (*kairos*) and potentialities, which interpreters can discover in front of the text as a realm of signifiers."

Afnan H. Fatani offers a sophisticated linguistic investigation of the two companion-prayers in the Qurʾān: *al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*. After diligently investigating into the ways in which these two sūras were configured, Fatani argues that there is a striking numerical difference in the configuration of the sūras, which lead us to believe that there is, in fact, "phonosymbolism or a correlation between phonological patterning and subject matter." Fatani argues that subjecting the phonological data contained in the two texts concerned to some statistical checks will prove that the observed patterns are statistically significant and cannot be attributed to chance variability.

Abdullah Aydınlı questions the authenticity of the *jawshan* prayer by analyzing the canonical sources of ḥadīth literature to determine whether this "prayer" can be traced back to the Prophet of Islam. After subjecting the *jawshan* to a chain (*sanad*) and text (*matn*) analy-

sis, Aydınlı concludes that there is neither a reliable source nor a valid set of academic criteria that would prove that the text concerned is attributable to the Prophet. Aydınlı speculates that this prayer, instead, might have appeared first within the "Shīʿī world" and only later was introduced to the "Sunnī world."

M. Lutfullah Karaman's article is a type of socio-historical account of one of the least known topics of the late Ottoman/early Modern Turkey and Yemeni relations of the twentieth century. Based upon a series of documents extant in the Republican Archives of the Turkish Prime Ministry, he narrates the plight of the civil servants, administrators, officers, pensioners, widowers and orphans, referring to them as Ottoman sons and daughters who were left to the mercy of the local administrators on the plains of Yemen. Despite a number of pleas for help directed to both Istanbul and Ankara governments, those who were left behind did not get any real answers from neither of them, which makes the story even more tragic.

In his essay Orhan Ş. Koloğlu presents a nuanced analysis of the multiple theories of creation in the Islamic theological tradition. Koloğlu argues that while a considerable number of atomist theologians establish the existence of God and the createdness of the world on the basis of atomism, the Muʿtazilī theologian al-Naẓẓām, among others, preferred the theory of latency (*kumūn*), which has two different versions: the comprehensive theory of latency and the limited theory of latency. The essay attempts to examine Ibn Ḥazm's views of the theory of latency in contrast to atomism and presents his thoughts on creation, concluding that although Ibn Ḥazm accepted some examples provided in support of the theory of latency, he nonetheless does not regard it as a theory of nature.

As the editors, we will continue to present the full range of approaches to Islamic studies as well as study of religion(s), and of religious traditions of the world in and through *Ilahiyat Studies*. To this end, we gladly welcome any work that would elaborate on and/or even take a critical stance towards any of the essays presented in any issue of the journal. We look forward to maintaining a commitment to this diversity of voices and welcome contributions from across the academic fields.

We are thankful to Professor Dr. Yaşar Aydınlı, the new Dean of the Faculty of Theology of Uludağ University, and his administration for their continuous support. We also would like to express our appreciation to all referees, whose efforts in peer review not only keep the standards of *IS* at a high level, but also help authors to improve the quality and readability of their articles. Last but not least, it would have been too difficult, if not impossible, to release any issue of *IS* if it were not for the all hard work and dedication of our associate and book review editors Kasım Küçükalp, Ulvi Murat Kılavuz, İsmail Güler, and Kadir Gömbeyaz. Thank you guys!

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THE PROBLEM OF THE RELEVANCE OF TIME AND SPACE TO THE QURʾĀNIC TEXT

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Abstract

In the classical ages of Islamic thought, the problem of the relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text was generally understood in terms of cosmology and ontology, which assumed a division between matter and intellect (soul), earth and heaven, the symbolic and the rational, and the signifier (expression) and the signified (concept). Most classical Muslim thinkers took time and space at the level of the signifier to be a kind of prison to be escaped and at the level of the signified as a moment and place of the self-presence of metaphysical truth. In our global age, constant changes in the semantics/creations of new times and spaces force us to view the problem of the relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text from a different perspective. This paper attempts to first analyze the classical formulations of the above problem, and then to briefly delineate a way of poetical thinking that tries to grasp time and space as a form of revelation of new opportunities (*kairos*) and potentialities, which interpreters can discover in front of the text as a realm of signifiers.

Key Words: Time and space, relevance, Qurʾānic text, Islamic theology, Islamic philosophy, Islamic Sufism, *logoi*, *kairos*

The relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text has been one of major problems of the tradition of Qurʾānic interpretation. This problem has been brought to light by different communities of inter-

preters, according to their handling of the notions of 'time' and 'space.'

The majority in the early Muslim community appears to have considered 'time' and 'space,' in their social and historical senses, as a sort of horizon or field where human desires, will, actions, and hopes take shape. Interpretation has the task of finding a point of relevance of the constantly changing social and historical aspects of time and space to the Qurʾānic text. The word 'relevance' signifies here a form of immediate address of the Qurʾānic text, as the early Muslim community received the Qurʾān as an immediate historical and social address (*khiṭāb*) of God. For the early Muslim community, the Qurʾān was a "phenomenon" in its fullest sense that 'speaks to/demands something from the people here and now.' In this context, interpretation is a kind of hearing/responding to the voice of the Qurʾān; specifically, it is a form of turning consciously toward the speaking phenomenon and receiving it in its immediate sense within the experienced time and space.

The development of Islamic theology looks to have radically changed the meaning of 'interpretation' by considering 'time' and 'space' in their theological sense. Islamic theology, as a 'discourse (*kalām*)' on the Qurʾānic text, has attempted to elevate/transfer 'time' and 'space' from their social and historical senses to a rationally elaborated conceptional sense. In this latter sense, they are fundamentally related to the universal life and laws of *logos* (ʿ*aql, kalām*). Put differently, Islamic theology has aimed to satisfy pure human rationality by disclosing the world of logical and metaphysical reason (*asbāb,* ʿ*illa*) behind the social and historical senses of the Qurʾānic text. Muslim theologians have hoped to show the perfect correspondence between pure human rationality/existence (*fiṭra*) and rationally explored Qurʾānic revelation.[1] Therefore, they created a closed circle between human reason and revelation in terms of their basic assumption of 'correspondence.'

Accordingly, time and space, in their theological sense, appear to be a horizon/field of the disclosure of reason (*asbāb,* ʿ*illa*) as the

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[1]   For general orientation on Islamic notion of *fiṭra*/'innate human primordial nature,' see Yasien Mohamed, "The Definition of *Fitrah*" at http://www. angelfire.com/al/islamicpsychology/fitrah/fitrah.html (10.03.2011).

'unsaid' in what is said in the Qurʾānic text. In other words, time and space gain their relevance to the Qurʾānic text as the moment and place of the satisfaction of human rationality regarding the revelation. From this perspective, time and space, in their social and historical senses, are empty to a certain degree simply because human rationality cannot be fulfilled there with appropriate logical and metaphysical meaning. The social and historical senses of time and space are semi-opaque, which prevents human reason from bringing the universally/theologically valid meaning of the Qurʾānic text into view.

Hence, Islamic theology has focused mostly on the 'spoken side' (rational content) of the Qurʾānic text by putting its 'speaking activity' to immediate social and historical time and space at a lower level. This change of view has resulted in the 'de-contextualization' of the Qurʾānic text so that it can be 're-contextualized' within a new horizon, to use the notions of Paul Ricoeur. This movement from 'de-contextualization' to 're-contextualization' was actually a transformation of the Qurʾānic text from 'being a *khiṭāb*' (*immediate address, speech, rhetoric*) to 'being a sign' (*āya*, signifier). In short, this movement was a 'categorical transformation' of the Qurʾānic text.

In this new category, the Qurʾānic text is not a 'phenomenon' in its full sense simply because it is a signifier that directs our attention beyond the text itself to something that is signified (the concept). That which is signified here (the concept) is a realm/kingdom of *logos* that discloses the rational structure of universe (*ʿālam*) and human destiny (*qadar*).[2] The Qurʾānic text as a signifier functions as a threshold (*dihlīz*)[3] that manifests itself by leading us toward the conceptual realm of *logos*. Accordingly, when reading the Qurʾān, human

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[2]   For detailed information on the classical theological and philosophical evaluation of 'certain knowledge' (logos, *ʿilm al-yaqīn*), see Alparslan Açıkgenç, "İslam'da Bilgi Nazariyesi [Epistemology in Islam]," in Bünyamin Erul (ed.), *İslam'a Giriş – Ana Konulara Yeni Yaklaşımlar – [Introduction to Islam – New Approaches to Fundamental Issues –]* (4th ed., Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2008), 11-30.

[3]   For this notion, see Toshihiko Izutsu, *Creation and Timeless Order of Things: Essays in Islamic Mystical Philosophy* (Ashland: White Cloud, 1994), 98-118; Ebrahim Moosa, *Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 45-49.

rationality encounters what is already most familiar to it. Human rationality moves from what is semi-strange and opaque to the most familiar and transparent.

This movement is nothing other than an elevation (ascension, *mi'rāj*) of human rationality from bodily, earthly, and symbolic senses of the Qur'ānic text to intellectually, heavenly, and conceptually organized levels of meaning. In a sense, it is a form of transcending locality toward universality.

The words 'elevation' and 'transcending' above show us how the meaning of 'space' related to the Qur'ānic text has changed immensely in its theological application. In this new meaning of space, time appears to be at a 'standstill.' To use Aristotelian words, 'time' within theological sense of 'space' lays open to view as a moment of truth, an end of movement due to the disclosure of *telos* (*fi'l*, *pure activity, energeia*).

However, the categorical transformation of the Qur'ānic text reflected in itself the divisions between 'earthly, symbolic sense and heavenly, conceptual sense,' 'signifier and signified,' 'locality and universality,' 'social/historical space-time and theological space-time,' mass (*'awāmm*), and eminent (*khawāṣṣ*), thus creating the problem of a nexus or watershed between these divisions. At a deeper level, this transformation gave rise to the problem of the status of the Qur'ān as a 'text.'

How is it possible to move from one side to another in these divisions? Is the latter side of these divisions a projection or implication of the former side? Alternatively, are they a construction of human rationality to be freed from the restriction of the locality of Qur'ānic speech? Because theological thought validates the movement from the former side to latter, it posits itself as a kind of mediation and translation between the divided realms. However, is the latter side a construction of a new text that satisfies the demands of human rationality more than the former?

What is the function of the Qur'ānic text when we move to/rest in the realm of the signified (the kingdom of *logos*)? Does not the Qur'ān lose its textual character in the sense of being a point of constant return in each moment of understanding when the conceptual realm is fixed and validated universally by theological thought? By

fixing the conceptual realm, does not theological thought assert itself as a meta-narrative of which the Qurʾān functions as a sub-narrative? Finally, does not theological thought approach the Qurʾān from the viewpoint of substitution (*iqāma*) theory in which the Qurʾān is taken to be a temporal substitution of rationally valid meaning, i.e., something sacrificed for the sake of the universal truth of Islam?

Ironically, Islamic Sufism seems to follow the same pattern of thought when severely criticizing Islamic theology. By replacing the theological sense of space and time with a spiritual and semi-mythic sense of space and time that moves from the external (physical) world to the internal (psychological) world without any discontinuance or interruption,[4] Islamic Sufism appears to be a form of the application of substitution (*iqāma*) theory. It also moves from the realm of signifier to the realm of signified (kingdom of love and spiritual experiences, union with God), and it aims to reach a world of meaning that satisfies the demands of human spirituality. Like Islamic theology, Islamic Sufism asserts itself as a mediation between social and historical space-time and spiritual and metaphysical space-time. Thus, it posits itself as a meta-narrative of the sub-narrative of the Qurʾānic text.

Islamic philosophy can be taken to be the third form of the same pattern of thought that was followed by theologians and Sufis. When Islamic philosophers conceptualized the Qurʾānic text as the revelation of metaphysical truth via symbols, they posited a philosophical endeavor to gain '*logos*' as a metaphor in its original sense of 'transfer' (*metaphora*).[5] In this experience of *metaphora*, human reason (*ʿaql*) moves from its potential (*hayūlānī*) state to an actual (*fiʿlī*) state, where it assumes the true form (*ṣūra*, being) of what is encountered.

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[4]   This continuity can be observed, for instance, in the Sufi narratives concerning authentication of some ḥadīths in terms of dreams where a Sufi directly asks Prophet Muḥammad if a given ḥadīth was spoken to by Himself.

[5]   Henry Corbin employs the Arabic term *taʾwīl* for meta-phora as 'transfer' in order to reveal that what is actually transferred/transformed is the 'being' of a philosopher at the time of receiving a *ṣūra* (concept). See, Henri Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (trans. from French by Willard R. Trask; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 28-35.

From this perspective, what is externally surrounding human reason (i.e., external world) is merely a signifier that functions as an element in the course of the preparation of human reason for gaining true forms (*ṣuwar*) from Active Intellect. For Islamic philosophy, human rationality reaches its satisfaction in the time-space of disclosure of the metaphysical structure (light, *nūr*) of being. Accordingly, the Qurʾānic text represents a threshold leading toward the kingdom of light. From this perspective, it represents space-time of the occurrence of twilight. In the final analysis, Islamic philosophy invites us to cross the border between the divided worlds so as to reach the metaphysical level by leaving the level of earthly and bodily sense behind.

The above narrative shows how Islamic philosophy has approached the Qurʾānic text in terms of substitution (*iqāma*) theory. The Qurʾānic text, as a symbolic expression of metaphysical truth, performs its role in social and historical time-space as a signifier (*ishāra*) to a signified concept (*ṣūra*, being). Therefore, the Qurʾānic text substitutes temporally and spatially for 'real meaning,' which can be gained by philosophical thinking. Accordingly, the Qurʾānic text exists in the category of 'one for the sake of another.' As articulated above, it represents the time-space of occurrence of twilight, and demands that we wait for the full, shining space and time of sunlight.

It should be noted that the levels of the former and latter time and space are categorically different: while the former belongs essentially to the faculty of imagination, the latter belongs to the faculty of human rationality. Thus, there is a change of horizon in the time-space of the full disclosure of form. Time-space functions as different horizons of experiencing the truth of beings at the imaginative and rational levels. The task of each intelligent person is to prepare himself/herself for the elevation/ascension (*miʿrāj*) from the former horizon of time-space to the latter horizon. In the final analysis, time and space receive their meaning according to the degree of occurrence of the truth of beings. Specifically, time-space at the imaginative (social and historical) level relates more to possibilities, whereas at the rational (ontological) level, it relates more to actualities.

Nevertheless, Islamic philosophy, like theology and Sufism, posits itself as a meta-narrative of the sub-narrative structure of the Qurʾānic text. Thus, Islamic philosophy constructs another 'grand discourse,' one that does not take the speaking activity (*khiṭāb*) of the Qurʾānic

text into account. Because the Qurʾānic text is not something that reveals conceptual truth here and now, it is merely a 'matter' of philosophical discourse that aims at disclosing its *telos* or 'actual meaning.' The essential character of the Qurʾānic text, in the eyes of the philosophers, is not a 'speaking activity,' but merely a 'showing' or 'indicating.' For that reason, 'actual space and time' cannot be related to the Qurʾānic text simply because time and space gain their actual sense in terms of the occurrence or happening of the truth of beings. Unless they are fulfilled with the self-presence of metaphysical truth, time and space can be considered in terms of possibilities.

We can draw the following conclusion from what has been explored above: Muslim theologians, Sufis, and philosophers have approached the Qurʾānic text in terms of their notion of cosmology, assuming a line of division between matter and reason, earth and heaven, imagination and rationality, the sensible and intelligible, locality and universality, the physical and metaphysical, and the signifier and signified. Due to their assumption of the hierarchy between these two levels, they preferred 'vertical thinking,' which struggles to move from the lower level to the higher level. Accordingly, the problem of the relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text has been taken to be a problem of the ascension of the human being from the expression of the Qurʾān to the truth of the Qurʾān. Transcending the expression of the Qurʾānic text for the sake of reaching its truth is a form of 'flight from *logoi*' (word, speech, argument, *logos*) in its Socratic sense.[6] Thus, at the level of expression, time and space are a problem of flight, i.e., something to be escaped, a kind of prison, something to be sacrificed, a moment of anxiety; whereas at the level of truth, time and space are something to rest in, a real home, a promised land, a terminal point, a moment of happiness.

If our above analysis is correct, then we can raise the following questions: Does the Qurʾān, as a text addressing the 'world of human being,' demand our flight from *logoi*? Alternatively, does it demand our flight into the *logoi*? In other words, does the truth of the Qurʾān reveal itself in front of or beyond its text? Moreover, when we wholly

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6   For a detailed discussion on the Greek word '*logoi*,' see P. Christopher Smith, *Hermeneutics and Human Finitude* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1991).

deny or reject the classical cosmological and ontological divisions as referred to above, what kind of relevance does time and space have regarding the Qurʾānic text?

Due to constant change in scientific, philosophical, and cultural views concerning matter, spirit, the universe, the physical world, history, and religious truth, among others, the problem of the relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text appears to have a different sense than that of its classical formulation. This different sense presents a new task for exploring new senses of time and space. Specifically, the course of globalization continually changes the semantics of the concepts 'time' and 'space' by creating new spaces and times. For this reason, the task above seems to be endless. We can propose some ideas only provisionally, tentatively, and sketchily.

In a sense, this new situation demands that we focus on the present time and, hence, the space we stand in. Constant global changes in the semantics of the concepts of time and space prevent us from formulating the problem of the relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text in a universal way, which is another way of saying that we cannot explore the full sense of the problem itself due to our limited and temporal reflectivity. Thus, in our contemporary period, the word 'relevance,' as stated above, would mean the temporal, semi-reflective relation between the Qurʾānic text and the present time-space. The semi-reflective character of the 'relation' indicates that we cannot take flight from the *logoi*. We are not able to witness the disclosure of Qurʾānic truth within universal and pure rational concepts due to the constant formation of our own concepts.

Therefore, time and space today are not something we relate to the Qurʾānic text in a fully conscious state. Rather, they continuously put our relation to the Qurʾānic text into question by temporalizing the 'relation' itself, that is, by destructing its metaphysical foundation, which the classical Muslim thinkers assumed paved the way to human relation to the Qurʾān. Briefly, we are in an age of temporal relation, deprived of a universal foundation. Thus, the problem of the relevance of time and space to the Qurʾānic text is not something we can neglect in the time-space of the self-presence of truth. Rather, as both a bridge and barrier between us and the Qurʾānic text, time and space establish themselves as a subject matter of constant thinking.

The temporality of our relation to the Qurʾānic text tears the schema of the classical division between signifier and signified and allows us to encounter it only with the realm of signifiers, which is a way of saying we can merely be in front of the text. Thus, the truth of the text can disclose itself not in a metaphysical conceptual time and space, but rather within our temporal relation to the text. Therefore, the truth of the Qurʾān is temporal and limited within the human world.

This new condition demands that we approach the problem of the relevance of space-time to the Qurʾānic text not from the viewpoint of conceptualizing/metaphysical thinking, but from the perspective of poetical thinking. By the term 'poetical thinking,' I mean the way of thinking oriented by the construction of poems. A poem has a special construction in which words have a unique relation to each other, so much so that human rationality is unable to apply its logical categories onto the poem. Accordingly, a poem displays unique and surprising relations between its words by which it reminds human thought that it is only a thought. Put differently, poems function as phenomena that force human thought to reflect on itself so that it cannot substitute anything other than itself. Therefore, poems perform an antagonistic role against substitution (*iqāma*) theory, which paves the way to representational thinking. Contrary to substitution theory, poems force human thought to experience signifiers in their unique relations. Finally, the poem indicates that human thought cannot substitute its concepts for beings or the truth of beings.

From this perspective, the relevance of space and time to the Qurʾānic text is not an epistemological problem; rather, it appears to be a problem of *kairos* in the sense of the revelation of time-space as the opportunity to say and do the right thing here and now. To understand the constantly changing times and spaces as a form of revelation of new opportunities would allow us, as interpreters, to discover new potentialities in front of the text. Hence, the word 'relevance' in this context would mean 'free space' for new discoveries, actions, and interpretations.

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A QUANTITATIVE AND STYLO-STATISTICAL APPROACH TO THE PHONO-SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF TWO COMPANION-PRAYERS OF THE QURʾĀN: *AL-FALAQ* AND *AL-NĀS*

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Abstract

This paper is a linguistic investigation of *al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*, two companion-prayers in the Qurʾān. Although both prayers exhibit a marked symmetry on both lexical and phonological levels, this symmetry has not been extensively studied by scholars due to the highly familiar nature of these two short prayers. Immediately noticeable on the phonological scale is the highly cacophonous and staccato rhythms of *al-Falaq*, which appear to be produced by a profusion of fricatives (/f/, /kh/) and plosives (/q/, /b/, /d/), combined with a scarcity of nasals and glides. In contrast, *al-Nās* has a much smoother sound patterning as a result of the profusion of nasals and sibilants. This striking numerical difference in the phonological configuration of these two companion-prayers leads us to suspect the presence of phonosymbolism or a correlation between phonological patterning and subject matter. In other words, this variation can be accounted for by shifts in subject matter from the dynamic process of "splitting" in *al-Falaq* to the movements of the Hisser (Satan) in *al-Nās*. Subjecting the phonological data in both texts to simple statistical checks will allow us to be sure that these observed patterns are indeed statistically significant and not attributed simply to chance variability. The perspective that I am adopting here is stylo-statistical, where the main purpose is to devise a measure that is not only statistically satisfactory but stylistically interesting as well.

1. Introduction

This paper is part of a larger linguistic investigation of *al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*, two companion-prayers in the Qurʾān that constitute chapters 113 and 114, respectively. Collectively, they are known as *al-muʿawwidhatān* (the two givers of refuge) and are considered to be highly familiar prayers, commonly recited by all Muslims and the first to be memorized by school children at a very early age. It is this very familiarity that somehow hinders us from perceiving the highly symmetrical patterning that is present in these companion prayers on both lexical and phonological levels. Immediately noticeable on the phonological scale is the highly cacophonous and staccato rhythms of *al-Falaq*, which appear to be produced by a profusion of fricatives (/f/, /kh/, /gh/) and plosives (/q/, /b/, /d/), combined with a scarcity of nasals and glides. In contrast, *al-Nās* has a much smoother sound patterning as a result of the profusion of nasals /n/, glides /w/ and sibilants /s/. My previous studies of these prayers focused on high-lighting the componential process needed to translate non-core lex-emes such as *falaq*, *waqab* and *waswās* and on revealing the pho-netic iconicity operative in the texts through the intricate use of frica-tives and plosives (Fatani, 2006; 2004; 2002a; 2002b). By mobilizing the results of these previous studies and by conducting an exhaustive quantitative analysis, this present contrastive investigation hopes to reveal the two-way phonological symmetry that binds both prayers together and to contribute to current research in language universals by providing new data on phonosymbolism from a non-Indo-European language, i.e., from the Arabic language system. (A rudi-mentary outline of this quantitative approach to the phonosymbolism of the prayers was first presented in 2005 at the Fifth Conference of Iconicity in Language & Literature in Krakow, Poland, where the sub-stantiation of this concept in medieval Arabic was received with en-thusiasm.) It must also be noted at the outset that the concept of phonetic iconicity (*dalālāt al-ṣawt* or *muḥākāt al-ṣawt li-l-maʿnā*) has been studied by many medieval scholars of the Qurʾān, such as Ibn Jinnī (d. 393/1002), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) and Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1355). The concept can also be found scattered in

fragmented form in various exegeses of individual chapters of the Qurʾān. Modern Arab commentators (al-ʿAbd, 1984; Bū ʿUmāma, 2002; Abū Mūsā, 1987; al-Rāfiʿī, 1990; Ḥassān, 1993; al-Ṣaghīr, 2002) have also contributed extensively to the domain. However, most studies focus on the phonosymbolical structures of individual iconic words. To date, no attempt has been made to reveal phonosymbolism in a whole sūra or to compare the phonosymbolism operative in two sūras or companion texts.

It is taken as axiomatic that semantic significance of various kinds underlies such variation in language use. Hence, this striking numerical difference in the phonological configuration of these two companion-prayers leads us to suspect a correlation between phonological patterning and subject matter. In other words, this variation in the way consonant types are used can be accounted for by shifts in subject matter from the dynamic process of "splitting" (*falaq*) in *al-Falaq* to the movements of the Hisser (*al-waswās*) in *al-Nās*. I contend that these two dynamic processes are mapped onto the phonological structures of the prayers, hence producing two texts that are quite similar in syntax but strikingly different in terms of phonological construction. In this paper, my main objective is to subject the observed phonological data in both texts to thorough quantitative analyses and simple statistical checks that will allow us to be sure that the observed phonological patterns prevalent in both texts are indeed statistically significant and not attributed simply to chance variability. In more technical terms, these statistical checks will allow us to reject the null hypothesis, which states that any variation between the observed numbers in groups and what one would expect is due to chance. If there is a significant difference, the variation is more than is expected by chance, which suggests that some other factor is involved. The perspective that I am adopting here is *stylo-statistical* (Crystal, 1997), where the main purpose is to devise a measure that is not only statistically satisfactory but stylistically interesting as well.

2. Primary Observations

Primary quantitative results reveal a significant difference between the data of obstruents (stops, fricatives and affricates) and sonorants (nasals, liquids and glides), reflecting a shift away from fricatives and stops in *al-Falaq* (Text 1) in favor of nasals, glides and liquids in *al-*

Nās (Text 2). By making use of statistics, I have attempted in this paper to substantiate the initial impression of word-position choices and to provide quantitative evidence to prove the presence of a pervasive fricative-plosive word patterning in Text 1 and a nasal-sibilant word patterning in Text 2. It is my hypothesis that the sequential ordering of phonemes in these two adjacent texts are meant to mimic and re-enact the external processes and experiences referred to on the lexical or semantic levels. Both prayers should therefore be perceived as *iconic diagrams* (Fischer & Nänny, 2001) in which the form iconically mirrors the content in the same way that charts, maps and graphs are motivated and governed by their real-world data. To test the validity of this phono-iconic structuring, a statistical comparison will be made between both adjacent texts. The striking numerical differences in their semantic and phonological configuration should sensitize us to the pivotal role that stylo-statistical studies can play in revealing layers of hidden meanings in Qurʾānic texts. Although this paper seeks to suggest that there are semantic constraints governing the use of obstruents and sonorants, no attempt will be made to provide an extensive analysis of the subject matter or the lexico-semantic structure of the texts; for that, the reader must look at the numerous exegeses of these highly familiar prayers.

3. Methodology

As Crystal (1997: 67) observes, stylo-statistics investigates matters of frequency and distribution in three main areas:

1. Formal characteristics that do not relate directly to the meaning of a text, such as parts of speech, and the length of words, sentences or lines.

2. Characteristics that relate directly to meaning, such as the size and diversity of an author's vocabulary.

3. The detailed study of single words, or small sets of words, such as *and*, or the use of *on* vs. *upon*.

This paper deals with the second area of investigation, that is, with characteristics that relate directly to meaning. However, the main focus is not on vocabulary but phonology. It is my contention that the consonantal structures of the content words (i.e., verbs, nouns and adjectives) in both texts, in particular the positional distribution of

plosives, fricatives and nasals in word-initial and word-final positions, function as an important instrument of disambiguation. Four basic steps are followed: (1) identifying the most-frequently occurring consonant types in content words, (2) devising a frequency and positional preference by counting all the instances of plosives, fricatives and sonorants and identifying the preferred position of each consonantal class, (3) placing these consonant classes in descending rank order of frequency and (4) comparing and contrasting the phonological structures of *al-Falaq* and *al-Nās* in terms of frequency, rank and preferred word-position of consonant types.

To check the reliability of the data, two simple statistical checks of significance known as the *preference test* and the *distinctiveness ratio* (DR) are used (Kenny, 1982: 69-72). These are extremely versatile techniques applied to many different kinds of quantitative work where the basic problem is to compare the scatter of scores. They are employed here to look at differences in the way the phoneme classes are distributed among the content words in both texts. The results show that there is in fact a real and reliable relationship between the patterning of obstruents and sonorants and the variation in subject matter. With this limited amount of linguistic features and with such a small language sample, the analysis should corroborate the motivated use of the fricative-plosive pattern in *al-Falaq* and the nasal-fricative pattern in *al-Nās*. Before presenting the texts, it is important to note from the outset that highlighting the interrelationship between form and subject matter necessitated a new translation of both prayers. Reliance on an existing English translation was not possible because no single published translation can answer the purposes of an article such as this. This is basically because most translators aim at rendering the communicative meaning of the text rather than the denotational meaning of individual lexemes. Crucial words to our analysis, such as 'splitting,' 'sputterers' and 'Hisser,' even though they represent a corresponding one-to-one equivalency, have not been incorporated into any existing translation to date.

4. Stylo-statistical Analysis of *al-Falaq* (T1)

4.1 The Text

1. Say I seek refuge with the Lord of the splitting
   qul aʿūdhᵘ bi-rabb al-falaq

2. From the evil of what (He) creates
   min sharr^i mā khalaq

3. And from the evil of a plunger when it flows
   wa-min sharr^i ghāsiq^{in} idhā waqab

4. And from the evil of the female-sputterers in the knots
   wa-min sharr al-naffāthāt fī l-ʿuqad

5. And from the evil of an envier when he envies
   wa-min sharr^i ḥāsid^{in} idhā ḥasad

4.2. Content Words and Function Words in *al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*

Content Word List		Function Word List	
qul	say	*bi-*	with
aʿūdh^u	i-seek-refuge	*al-*	the
rabb	lord	*min*	from
falaq	splitting	*mā*	what
sharr	evil	*wa*	and
khalaq	creates-3MS	*min*	from
sharr	evil	*idhā*	if
ghāsiq	plunger	*wa*	and
waqab	flows-3MS	*min*	from
sharr	evil	*al-*	the
naffāthāt	female-sputterers	*fī*	in
ʿuqad	knots	*al-*	the
sharr	evil	*wa*	and
ḥāsid	envier	*min*	from
ḥasad	envies-3MS	*idhā*	if

4.3. The Dynamic Process of "Splitting"

Although this paper deals exclusively with stylo-statistics and does not offer the reader an extensive semantic interpretation of the text, one specific semantic issue should be borne in mind when examining the companion-prayers. The title-word *al-Falaq* contains the central idea advanced by the text and is thus crucial to our analysis because it allows us to decode the prevalent iconicity of the text. A precise definition of the term is thus necessary from the outset of the study.

As evident from the word "splitting," the English equivalent I have used, *al-Falaq* is derived from the verb *fa-la-qa* the primary sense of which is "to split," "to cleave," or "to break." Both the Arabic term and its English equivalent are commonly associated with physics and biology and are used to refer to the dynamic process of "fission" (Fatani, 2004: 174). The dynamic meaning of the word is all important to our analysis.

4.4. Frequency Distribution of Obstruents & Sonorants

There are 15 content words (nouns and verbs) and 15 function words (prepositions and conjunctions) in the text. Within content words, there are a total of 40 phonemes, 30 obstruents (fricatives and plosives) and 10 sonorants (trills, liquids, nasals and glides), distributed as follows:
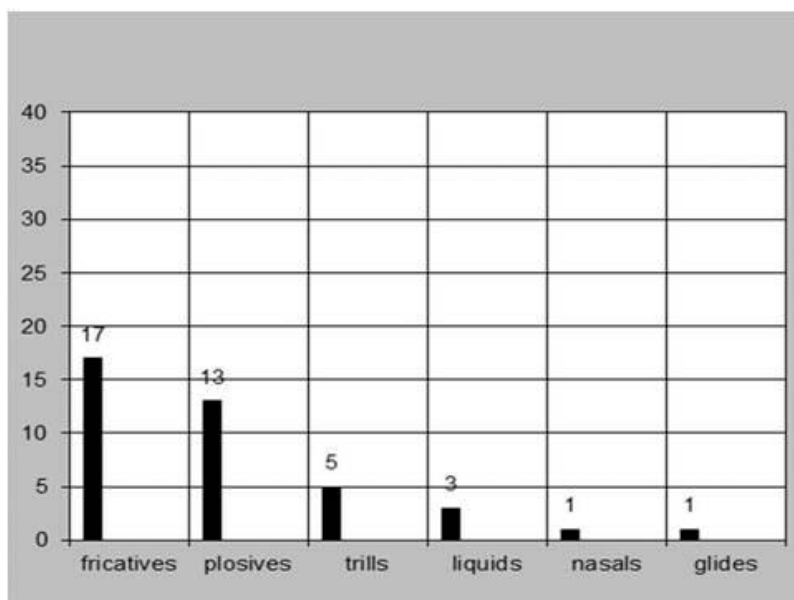
Fig. 1. Frequency of distribution of obstruents & sonorants in *al-Falaq*

From this chart, we can see that the most popular values on the X-axis are the fricatives and the plosives, i.e., the obstruents. Together, these two high-frequency consonant classes account for 75% of all consonants in the lexical category of words (or display a 0.75 rate of occurrence). In terms of consonantal distribution, the two high points

of frequency represented by the fricatives and plosives indicate the bimodal nature of the text. In contrast, the sonorants have an extremely low rate of distribution, making up only 25% of the consonants. The ratio of obstruents to sonorants is thus 3:1. It is important to note at this stage that the sonorants almost always occur in monosyllabic words like *qul*, *rabb*, and *sharr*, which have less communicative value than the polysyllabic words. Within the polysyllabic category, we find that nasals and glides have a statistically significantly low rate of occurrence because they occur only once in the corpus. They are thus *minus-words*, which mark genuinely discriminating phonological characteristics of the text. In other words, the sonorants are strikingly less prevalent but nevertheless quite significant statistically by virtue of the fact that both nasals and glides occur only once in the whole text. In terms of percentage, the obstruent/sonorant data are as follows:
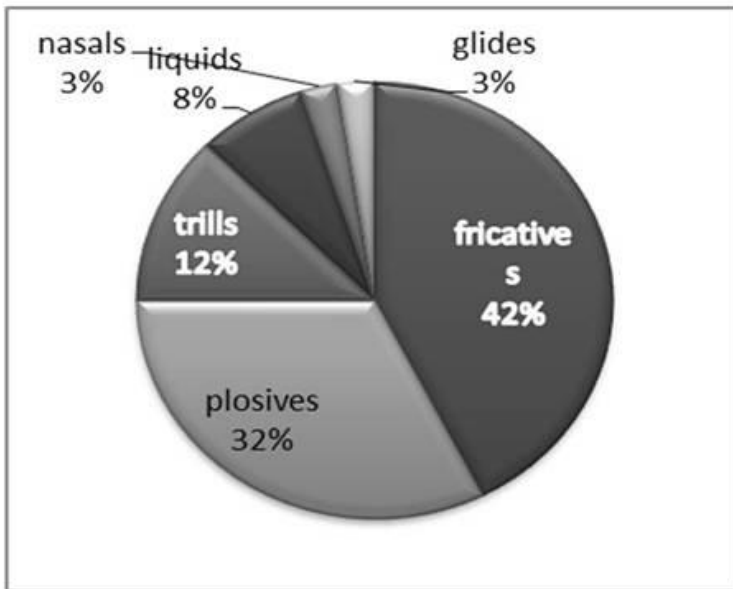
Fig. 2. Distribution of obstruents & sonorants by percentage

4.5. Positional Frequency of Obstruents and Sonorants

Obviously, the most crucial question to our study is what proportion of the text is made up of occurrences of the fricatives in word-initial position and plosives in word-final position. To use Lyons'

(1977: I, 43) terminology, what is the positional frequency of the occurrences of obstruents? The relevant data are as follows. Of the 17 fricatives, 10 are in word-initial position, 6 in word-medial and 1 in word-final position. Within the plosive category, 9 of the 13 plosives are in word-final position, 2 in word-medial and 2 in word-initial position. There are thus 10 words that have fricatives in word-initial position as opposed to 2 words that feature plosives. In word-final position, there is only one word that ends with a fricative as opposed to 9 words that end with plosives. Two words, *waqab* and *naffāthāt*, retain the final stops but substitute the fricatives with the approximates /w/ and /n/. Of the total number of content words (15), 6 start with fricatives and end in stops. Only one word reverses this phonological pattern, the matrix verb *aʿūdhu*, which starts with a plosive and ends with a fricative. The positional frequency of the occurrences (Lyons, 1977: I, 43) of obstruents and sonorants may be presented more clearly in graphical form:

	fricative	plosive	trill	liquid	nasal	glide
■ initial	10	2	1	0	1	1
▨ medial	6	2	0	2	0	0
■ final	1	9	4	1	0	0
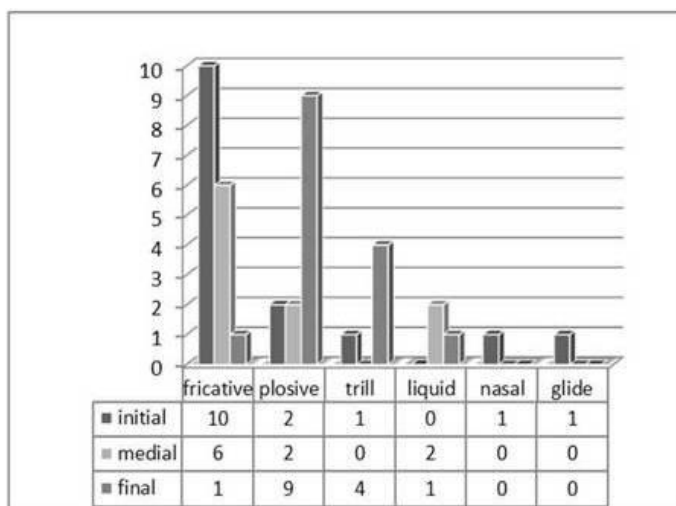
Fig. 3. Positional frequency of occurrence of obstruents & sonorants.

4.6. Positional Frequency of Occurrence in Polysyllabic Content Words (PCW)

If we exclude the 6 monosyllabic words *qul, rabb* and the 4-times repeated *sharr* and count only the 9 polysyllabic words, an even

more striking patterning is revealed. We find that the 28 phonemes that make up the polysyllabic category of words are divided into 13 fricatives, 11 plosives, 2 liquids, 0 trills, 1 nasal and 1 glide. Hence, the obstruents (24 occurrences) now control 85% of the words. The following chart outlines the positional frequency of occurrence of obstruents and sonorants in the polysyllabic category:

	fricative	plosive	trill	liquid	nasal	glide
■initial	6	1	0	0	1	1
▩medial	6	2	0	2	0	0
▣final	1	8	0	0	0	0
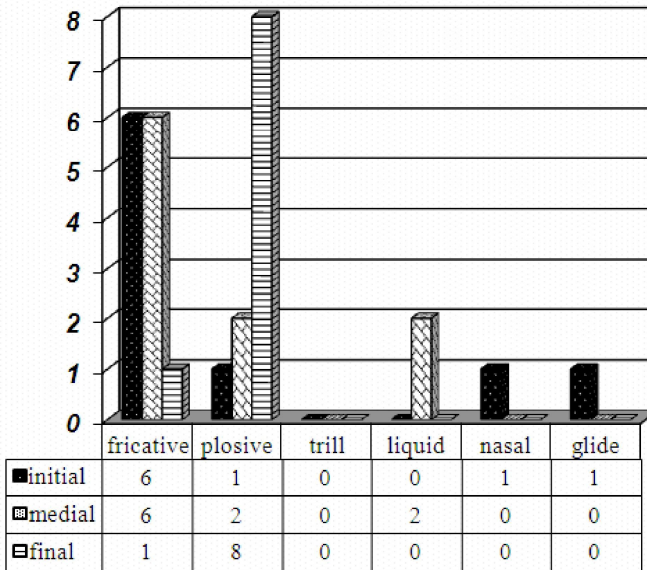
Fig. 4. Positional frequency of obstruents & sonorants in polysyllabic words

As is evident from the chart, plosives in the final position represent the highest category in the scale (8 occurrences), followed by fricatives (6 instances) in both the initial and medial positions. The fact that sonorants are now reduced almost to a minimum and totally blocked from word-final position is evident; the trill is reduced to zero instances. Hence, we can conclude that the preferred phonological pattern in the text is that of a fricative-fricative-plosive structure. The following pie chart highlights this striking phonemic distribution in terms of percentages.
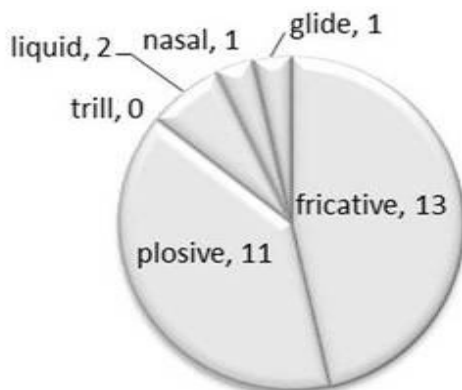
**Fig. 5. Percentage of obstruents & sonorants in
polysyllabic content words**

4.7. Phonemic Patterns of Combination

To highlight the prevalence of fricative and plosives in the text further, we examine 9 phonological features, all to do with plosives, fricatives and sonorants in polysyllabic content words (PCW). The results reveal 9 possible combinations of fricatives, plosives and sonorants in word-initial and word-final positions. The following table shows these phonemic combinations, the number of occurrences of each combination in the 9 polysyllabic words, their value in percentage and their rank.

	Number of occurrences	Percentage	Rank
Fricative-plosive	6	66 %	1
Fricative-sonorant	0	0 %	4
Fricative-fricative	0	0 %	4
Plosive-fricative	1	11 %	3
Plosive-sonorant	0	0 %	4
Plosive-plosive	0	0 %	4
Sonorant-fricative	0	0 %	4
Sonorant-plosive	2	22 %	2
Sonorant-sonorant	0	0 %	4

Fig. 6. Ranking of phonemic combinations

In terms of ranking, we find that the highest rank is allotted to (1) the fricative-plosive combination, followed by (2) the sonorant-plosive combination, (3) the plosive-fricative combination represented by the matrix verb *aᶜūdh^u* and finally (4) a group that includes 6 combinations that were never lexicalized in the text, i.e., zero percentage.

Equally important is the fact that all the polysyllabic words make use of three voiced plosives, /q/, /b/ and /d/, which can all be grouped under the Arabic *qalqala* group, a category of five consonants that includes all the voiced plosives, namely, /q/, /ṭ/, /b/, /d/ and /j/. Of these, the phoneme most frequently used is /q/, which appears in all three word-positions: word-initial (*qul*), word-final (*falaq-khalaq*) and word-medial (*waqab-ᶜuqad*). In terms of distribution, [q] alternates between 1 and 2 instances per line until its final reduction to vanishing point in line 5. In other words, /q/ is repeated in various phonological combinations in each of the rhyming words, except in the final word, where it is replaced by the fricative /s/ in *ḥasad*. It is also significant to note that /q/ is the strongest of the voiced plosives and has a phonological structure that consists of the following articulatory features: +voiced, +back and also +emphatic; it is the most powerful when placed in final position where it immediately acquires aspiration. As such, it functions as an important marker of dynamic action in the text and can be seen as a phonetic metaphor of the sheer energy involved in the process of splitting. Because the /q/ appears to migrate in a sequentially decreasing order from final to medial to zero position, we can safely assume that there is an attempt to decrease the acoustic intensity of the text. This phonological decrease is meant to accommodate a semantic shift to a new form of supplication in *al-Nās*, where the subject matter is not the kinetic turbulence of splitting but the continuant and slithering movements of the *waswās* (the Hisser) as he hisses and incites people to sin.

4.8. Word-position Preference & Distinctiveness Ratio (DR)

As researchers in stylometry explain, to study word-position-preferences, counting the number of occurrences of each of the word-positions is a sufficient substitute for counting the consonants in the entire text (Kenny: 68). A good place to start is by calculating the texts *preference* between fricatives in word-initial position A

(henceforth WIP) and fricatives in word-final position B (henceforth WFP). We can give numerical expression to the text's preference between word-position A and B by calculating the proportion as follows:

number of occurrences of A
_____
number of occurrences of A + number of occurrences of B

Obviously, if the text prefers A to B, then this proportion will be greater than 0.5; otherwise it will be equal to or less than 0.5. If we make use of this simple statistic, we find the following proportions.

10 (fricatives in WIP)
_____
10 (fricative in WIP) + 1 (fricatives in WFP)

The proportion of fricatives in initial position is 0.9, an extremely high rate of occurrence that reveals the text's preference for fricatives in WIP in comparison to WFP. If we define the proportion of fricatives from the point of view of WFP, we find that it is $1 \div (1 + 10) = 0.09$, an extraordinary low-frequency position that further emphasizes the fact that fricatives are more common in WIP, and that this preference is a distinctive characteristic of the text.

If we wish to calculate the text's preference between plosives in WFP and plosives in WIP, the proportion is as follows:

$$\frac{9 \text{ (plosives in WFP)}}{9 + 2 \text{ (plosives in WIP)}} = 0.8$$

The proportion of plosives in WFP is 0.8, again an extremely high rate of occurrence that is almost identical to the high-frequency distribution of fricatives in WIP. By contrast, the proportion of plosives in WIP is 0.1, an extraordinary low number.

We use proportions again to illustrate how essential these word-positions are for fricatives and plosives. For instance, we can compare the proportion of fricatives in initial position with the proportion of plosives in initial position by applying a simple statistic called the distinctiveness ratio (DR). If we have the rates of occurrence for both fricatives and plosives in WIP position, we can calculate the ratio:

$$\frac{0.9 \text{ (rate of occurrence of fricatives in WIP)}}{0.1 \text{ (rate of occurrence of plosives in WIP)}} = 9$$

The distinctiveness ratio of the fricatives in WIP is 9, a high DR that is indicative of the text's preference. (The consonants that have a DR greater than 1.05 are *plus-consonants*; those that have a DR less than 0.67 are *minus-consonants*.) To calculate the DR of plosives in WIP, we simply reverse the rate of occurrences. The calculation for this word-position is 0.1, an extremely rare occurrence for plosives:

$$\frac{0.1}{0.9} = 0.1$$

In terms of WFP, the ratio is as follows:

$$\frac{0.8 \text{ (rate of occurrence of plosives in WFP)}}{0.09 \text{ (rate of occurrence of fricatives in WFP)}} = 8.8$$

The DR of plosives in WFP compared to fricatives is an extraordinarily high 8.8, indicating a preferred position for plosives in the final position. If we reverse the rate of occurrences, we will find that fricatives in WFP are minus-consonants with a low DR of 0.09 ÷ 0.8 = 0.1. There is a significant difference between plosives in WFP and fricatives in WFP, indicating that the preferred position for positives is the final position and the preferred position for fricatives is the initial position. Subsequently, these phonological patterning figures do not represent chance variability.

5. Stylo-statistical Analysis of *al-Nās* (T2)

5.1. The Text

1.   Say I seek refuge with the Lord of the people
     qul aʿūdhᵘ bi-rabb al-nās

2.   the King of the people
     malik al-nās

3.   the God of the people
     ilāh al-nās

4.   from the evil of the retreating Hisser
     min sharr al-waswās al-khannās

5. who hisses in the hearts of the people
   alladhī yuwaswis^u fī ṣudūr al-nās

6. from among the Jinn and the people
   min al-jinnat^i wa-l-nās

5.2. Content Words & Function Words in *al-Nās*

Content Words		Function words	
qul	say	*bi-*	with
aʿūdh^u	i-seek-refuge	*al-*	the
rabb	lord	*al-*	the
nās	people	*al-*	the
malik	king	*min*	from
nās	people	*al-*	the
ilāh	god	*al-*	the
nās	people	*alladhī*	who
sharr	evil	*fī*	in
waswās	hisser	*al-*	the
khannās	retreating	*min*	from
yuwaswis^u	hisses-3ms	*al-*	the
ṣudūr	hearts	*wa*	and
nās	people	*al-*	the
jinnat^i	jinn		
nās	people		

5.3. The Dynamic Process of "Hissing"

In terms of semantics, *al-Nās* follows the same formulaic pattern used in *al-Falaq*: *Say: I seek refuge with the God of X from the evil of Y.* However, the supplicant here is seeking the protection of God not in His capacity as "lord of the splitting" but rather in His capacity as "lord of the people." In contrast to T1, the supplicant is not seeking the protection of God from a diversity of "evils" but rather from one major evil, namely the Hisser (*al-waswās*), a familiar and iconic epithet for Satan. This more or less subtle change in subject matter is accompanied by a dramatic change in the phonetic configuration of the text that mimics the basic activity referred to in the text, i.e., the incessant hissing of Satan in the hearts of man. Thus, the repetitive use in word-final position of the fricative /s/, a phoneme low in fre-

quency and high in susurration, comes close to being a direct transcription of the devil's repetitive and secret incitements to evil (for a comprehensive componential analysis of the verb *waswās* see Fatani, 2006: 662-664; 2002a: 51-70). There thus appears to be an attempt to introduce a new controlling phoneme, namely the /s/ versus the /q/, which figured so predominately in T1. The /s/ grapheme in Arabic /س/ is significantly an acrophonic sound (i.e., a picture of an object) that originally referred to a pillar or column. It thus corresponds closely with the text's classification of God's authority and power in ascending order, from the "Lord" of the people, to the "King" of the people and finally to the "God" of the people. This classification also implies a hierarchical division of people into "families," "nations" and "races." This iconic stacking image contrasts with the circular image predominant in T1 and curiously inherent in the Arabic /q/ or /ق/ grapheme, an acrophonic sound originally referring to a knot or cavity.

5.4. Frequency Distribution of Obstruents & Sonorants

As further evidence of the semantically motivated use of plosives and fricative in *al-Falaq*, a quick phonological analysis of its companion-prayer, *al-Nās*, is warranted in an attempt to confirm the pivotal roles that obstruents and sonorants play in the text and to validate the hypothesis that both texts must be viewed as complementary iconic diagrams. One must keep in mind that both prayers are companion-pieces or adjacent texts and that, therefore, any striking statistical deviation from the fricative-plosive pattern outlined in *al-Falaq* should be viewed as being motivated by constraints of subject matter.

If we compare both texts in word-list style, three facts become immediately clear. First, both texts are composed of 30 words, but the distribution of content words and function words in *al-Nās* is less symmetrical; there are now 16 content words and 14 function words. Second, *al-Nās* features the use of an adjective, *al-khannās* (*the retreating*), a word-class completely excluded from *al-Falaq*. Third, and most striking, the end-rhyme word *al-Nās* repeats except in line 4, where the word is embedded within the highlighted adjective *al-khannās*. This apparent phonological difference between both texts is highly significant to our study. Of particular importance is the difference between the data of obstruents and sonorants, which reflect a

shift away from the fricative-plosive combination in *al-Falaq* in favor of nasal-fricatives or glide-fricative combinations in *al-Nās*. There are a total number of 43 consonants within the category of content words. These are distributed as follows: 18 sonorants, 17 fricatives and 8 plosives. (Note that the affricate /j/ in *jinnat[i]* is classified as both a plosive and a fricative because the production of this sound involves both consonant types.) Collectively, the sonorants and the fricatives now make up 81% of the content words rather than the fricatives and plosives. The sonorants, which represented only 26 percent of the content words in T1, are now the highest ranking phoneme in T2 representing 41%. (Note that the phoneme /j/ in *yu-waswis[u]* is also classified as a glide.) By contrast, the plosives made up 32% of the content words in T1 but now ranks lowest among the consonants with only 8 occurrences (18%) placed most often in word-initial rather than in the emphatic word-final position. The /q/ featured prominently in T1 but now occurs only once in the monosyllabic verb *qul* that is shared by both texts. We also find that within the sonorants, the nasals that had only been used once in T1 in the word *naffāthāt* now total 7 in number and are placed in word-initial position in all of the rhyme words represented by the repetitive *al-nās*. This number is actually much larger because many of the nasals are doubled or duplicated in pronunciation (e.g., *khannās* and *al-nās*). T2 also has a high percentage of fricatives in the final position, whereas the reverse is the case in T1 with fricatives never occurring in word-final position, except in the shared matrix verb *aʿūdh[u]*. The following graph makes clear this variation between T1 and T2 in term of distribution of obstruents and sonorants.
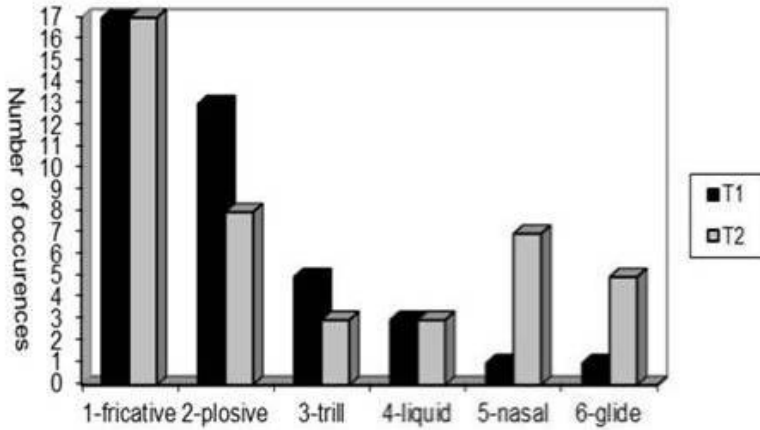
Fig. 7. Contrastive distribution of obstruents & sonorants in T1 & T2.

The above chart shows that the fricatives and the liquids represent constant variables in both language types; their numbers are fixed at 17 and 3, respectively. The plosives, nasals and glides succeed in bringing about this phonological variation between both texts. The above chart reveals the sudden rise of nasals and glides in T2 accompanied by the marked decrease in plosives. To further highlight the constant and variable elements in values, here is a XY chart of all 6 phonemic variables in both texts:

	fricative	plosive	trill	liquid	nasal	6-glide
T2	17	8	3	3	7	5
T1	17	13	5	3	1	1
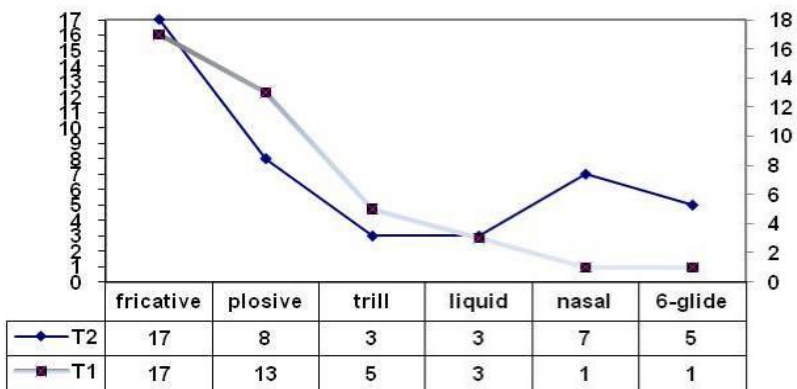
Fig. 8. XY chart of obstruents & sonorants in T1 & T2

As the preceding table reveals, the most striking variation occurs in the nasal category. Indeed, one of the defining criteria of T2 is its high frequency of nasals that occur 5 times more frequently than in T2. In turn, this nasal prominence succeeds in placing strong emphasis on the word *naffāthāt* in T1 and also sensitizes us to the crucial role that the /n/ phoneme plays in both texts. It is significant to note that nasals are acoustically the opposite of obstruents because they represent a radical rerouting of airflow from the oral cavity to the nasal cavity. The fact that this rerouting occurs as soon as the feminine principle is introduced could be seen as an iconic means of foregrounding a contrastive male/female principle operative in the text. Does the text use nasality as an index of femininity? An additional interesting observation is that, morphologically, *naffāthāt* represents a turning-point because it is the only word in T1 that is both structurally feminine (through the use of feminine plural morpheme –*āt*) and semantically feminine in terms of gender (i.e., female-sorcerers). For one thing, the nasals have universally been acknowledged as representing the maternal principle lexicalized by the word "mother" as opposed to the plosives /p/ or /b/, which are commonly used to lexicalize the paternal element. The use of the nasal might thus metaphorically be seen as an acoustic representation of the female gender.

As for the variation in plosive values in T1 and T2, the following chart of the number of plosives per verse-line better reveals this dramatic difference in frequency distribution:
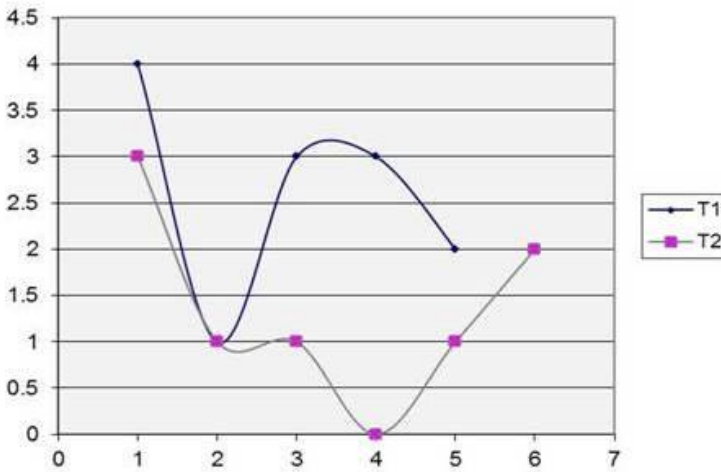
Fig. 9. Frequency distribution of plosives per line in T1 & T2

Line 4 stands out as representing both a relatively high score or peak in terms of plosives in T1 and the lowest point in T2, which means that the plosives in T1 correlate negatively with plosives in T2. We can conclude, therefore, that the plosives are meant to be seen as diametrically opposed values in T1 and T2.

5.5. Phonemic Combinations in *al-Nās*

A comparison of *al-Falaq* and *al-Nās* in terms of the distribution of fricatives, plosives and sonorants further augments the striking difference in the phonological configuration of both texts. There are a total of 37 consonants divided among 13 polysyllabic words in *al-Nās* compared to the 28 consonants and 9 polysyllabic words in *al-Falaq*. The following table provides a contrastive distribution of obstruents and sonorants in polysyllabic content words (PCW) in T1 and T2:
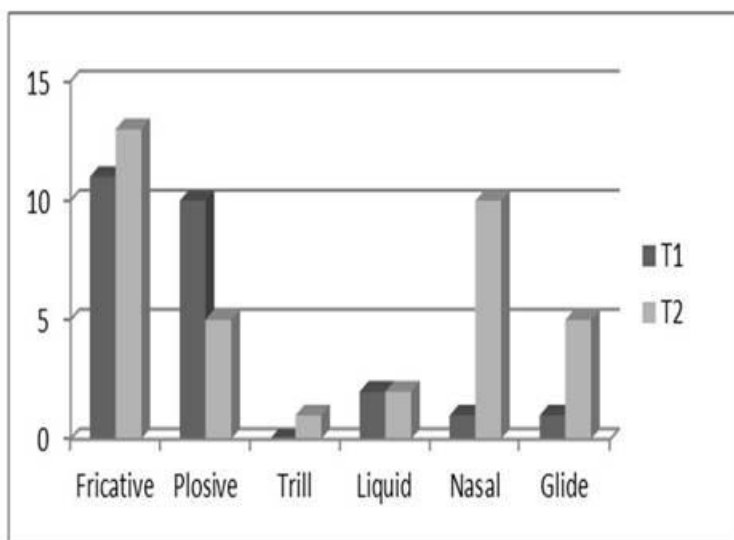
Fig. 10. Contrastive distribution of obstruents & sonorants in PCW in T1 & T2

As the preceding table reveals, both texts are bimodal because they are dominated by two high peaks represented by the fricatives and plosives in T1 and by fricatives and nasals in T2. In T2, the plosives now exhibit a low rate of occurrence, dropping from 10 occurrences to 5 occurrences, but there is a sudden rise in nasals from 1 single occurrence to 10 occurrences. The table below provides all possible consonantal combinations within the polysyllabic category in T2. The word *nās* is included within this category not only because of its semantic significance as a rhyming word but also due to its use of the long vowel /aa/, which compensates in length for any lack in consonants.

	Number of occurrences	Percentage	Rank
Fricative-plosive	0	0 %	4
Fricative-sonorant	1	7 %	3
Fricative-fricative	1	7 %	3
Plosive-fricative	2	15 %	2
Plosive-sonorant	0	0 %	4
Plosive-plosive	1	7 %	3
Sonorant-fricative	7	53 %	1
Sonorant-plosive	1	7 %	3
Sonorant-sonorant	0	0 %	4

Fig. 11. Consonantal combinations within polysyllabic category in T2

If we compare the above table with the corresponding one of *al-Falaq*, we can calculate how far the rank order of scores for each variable is similar to the rank order of scores in T2. The aim here is to measure how closely the rank order of these phonemic combinations match. A quick analysis reveals that the ranking is now completely reversed, with the highest ranking now allocated to the sonorant-fricatives that ranked last in *al-Falaq*. In addition, the plosive-fricative combination, which was number 1 in *al-Falaq*, is now relegated to final rank with zero percentage.

Pattern	Ranking T1	Ranking T2
Fricative-plosive	1- 66%	4- 0%
Fricative-sonorant	4- 0%	3- 7%
Fricative-fricative	4- 0%	3- 7%
Plosive-fricative	3- 11%	2- 15%
Plosive-sonorant	4- 0%	4- 0%
Plosive-plosive	4- 0%	3- 7%
Sonorant-fricative	4- 0%	1- 53%
Sonorant-plosive	2- 22%	3- 7%
Sonorant-sonorant	4- 0%	4- 0%

Fig. 12. Comparison of ranking order of phonemic combinations in T1 & T2

A contrastive analysis of T1 and T2 in terms of consonantal word-positions (WIP and WFP) in polysyllabic content words provides us with the following results for the 4 major consonantal classes, fricatives (WIP and WFP), plosives (WIP and WFP), nasals (WIP) and glides (WIP):
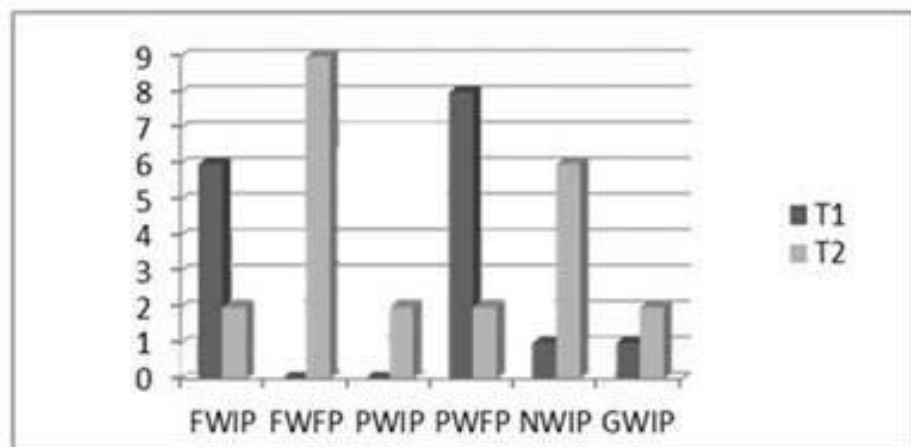
Fig. 13. Contrastive analysis of T1 and T2 in terms of consonantal WIP & WFP in PCW

The preceding phonemic combinations and word-position chart points to a significant degree of phonological modification taking place in T2. Foremost is the shift away from the plosive-fricative pattern that is prevalent in T1 to a nasal-fricative pattern. Additionally, we notice the following phonological restructuring:

•   A decrease in plosives in word-final position (WFP),

•   The devoicing of plosives in WFP (*malik - jinnat*),

•   The introduction of /j/ as a phonological unit representing the merging of fricatives and plosives,

•   The absence of /q/,

•   A rise in the number of occurrences of /s/ in all positions, especially WFP,

•   A shift in fricatives to word-final position,

•   The prevalence of nasals and sonorants as opposed to obstruents, and

• The mobilization of the words /*waqab*/ and /*naffāthāt*/, which represent the only occurrences of sonorants in word-initial position in T1, to foreshadow the strikingly new phonological configuration in T2.

5.6. Word-position Preference & Distinctiveness Ratio (DR) in *al-Nās*

If we look at the word-position preferences of content words in T2, we find that the fricatives have a low proportion in WIP (0.2) and a high proportion in WFP (0.7), suggesting that T2 prefers fricatives in word-final position. The plosives in WIP and WFP have nearly equal proportions because there are 4 instances in WIP (0.57) and 3 instances in WFP (0.42). The nasals only occur in word-initial position (6 occurrences) with zero instances in word-final position. They thus have a high 1.0 proportion in WIP and a zero proportion in WFP. Using the above proportions, we can calculate the DR of fricatives, plosives and nasals, keeping in mind that a plus ratio is greater than DR 1.05 and a minus ratio is less than DR 0.67. For fricatives, the DR in WIP is a minus 0.4 :

$$\frac{0.2 \text{ rate of occurrence of fricatives in WIP}}{0.5 \text{ rate of occurrence of plosives in WIP}}$$

In WFP, the DR of fricatives is a plus 1.4 (0.7 ÷ 0.5 = 1.4).

For plosives, because of the low number of occurrences of fricatives in the initial position, we need to calculate using the ratio of both fricatives and nasals. Thus, the DR of plosives in WIP is 0.6 (0.5÷ 0.2 (rate of fricatives) + 0.6 (rate of nasals) = 0.6). In WFP, the DR of plosives is a low 0.6 (0.42 ÷ 0.7 (rate of fricatives) = 0.6). For nasals, the DR in WIP is a plus rate of DR 2.0 (0.6 ÷ 0.2 (rate of fricatives) = 3.0. The following table provides a comparison of the DR for T1 and T2:

	DR of T1	DR of T2
Fricatives in WIP	2.02	0.4
Fricatives in WFP	0.1	1.4
Plosives in WIP	0.1	0.6
Plosives in WFP	8.8	0.6
Nasals in WIP	0.1	3.0

Fig. 14. Comparison of DR for T1 and T2:

6. Conclusion

By making use of statistics, I have attempted to substantiate the initial impression of word-position choices and to provide quantitative evidence to prove the presence of a pervasive fricative-plosive patterning in T1 and a nasal-fricative patterning in T2. The fact remains significant that, of the 9 polysyllabic words in *al-Falaq* that constitute the so-called materials of the argument, 6 follow the fricative-plosive pattern (a high proportion rate of $6 \div 8 = 0.75$). The two occasions of unfulfilled patterning, *waqab* and *naffāthāt* (both of which retain final plosives but substitute sonorants for fricatives), are highly significant variations because they are statistically mobilized to foreshadow the strikingly new phonological configuration in *al-Nās*, where there is a marked increase in nasals and glides. The comparison of scores would suggest that there is a motivated attempt to alter the phonological configuration of *al-Nās* so as to correspond to the new subject matter.

To summarize, when we compare the frequency of obstruents and sonorants in T1 with that of T2, four facts become immediately clear. First, the variables show a shift away from plosives in end-position, a patterning that appears to be obligated by the subject matter of T2. Second, this shift also includes an absence of the /q/ phoneme that was an integral part of the phonetic configuration of T1. Third, the fricative scores show a striking uniformity in terms of frequency of occurrence; they seem equally at home in T1 and T2. This result suggests that it is the plosives and sonorant classes that feature instances of variability. However, these fricative scores also point to a shift to word-initial position combined with a prevalence of the /s/ phoneme. Fourth, the distribution of nasals rises significantly in T2, again reflecting the shift away from the fricative-plosive pattern in favor of a nasal-fricative pattern. The differences in the scores of T1 and T2 for the plosives and the nasals lead us to conclude that plosives function as important markers of the splitting process in T1, just as nasals and the strident /s/ function as markers of the movements of the Hisser. The application of the preference and DR tests to both texts indicates the extremely low probability of the fricative-plosive pattern and the nasal-strident pattern occurring as a result of chance. There seems therefore to be a real and reliable relationship between these phonological scores and the subject matter of each text. In addition, be-

cause the phoneme /q/ is used at higher levels than other plosives, it can be seen as the most dominant phoneme in T1. The clear tendency for the level of /s/ in T2 to increase with the introduction of *waswās*, the Hisser, is equally important. The variable /s/, occurring 11 times in all, emerges as the dominate phoneme of T2 correlating with the hissing of Satan.

In the final analysis, it is important to note that these statistical tests confirm the validity of our impressions; they do not tell us why the pattern should occur. To find motivation or reasons behind these contrasting phonetic prominences, we need to link these results to the controlling image of both texts. As linguists have indicated, sound prominence alone is not sufficient, which poses the interesting question if T1 would be just as iconic and powerful if the fricative-plosive sequence appeared in the reverse order or if it would lose much of its force and mimetic quality. I think we may have concluded that "splitting" was a less turbulent and violent activity if it had started with a sudden eruption of plosives that dwindled into friction or a smoother continuant flow. Similarly, T2 would have lost much of its iconic dynamism had it not been saturated with the hissing phoneme in word-final position and the smooth gliding movements of the Hisser represented by the sonorants /n/ and /w/ strategically placed in word-initial position.

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THE PRAYER OF *JAWSHAN*

– A Study of Its Sources –

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Abstract

This essay attempts to question the authenticity of the so called *Jaw-shan* by analyzing the canonical sources of ḥadīth literature to determine whether it can be traced back to the Prophet of Islam. After subjecting the *Jawshan* to a careful analysis of chain (*sanad*) and text (*matn*), the essay concludes that there is neither a reliable source nor a valid set of academic criteria that would prove that the text concerned is attributable to the Prophet of Islam. The results of our source analysis, the literature survey, and certain other historical data lead us to believe that this prayer, *Jawshan*, may have first appeared within the "Shīʿī world" in the prayer books by Ibrāhīm al-Kafʿamī, and only later was introduced to the "Sunnī world" through *Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb*, the collection of prayers by al-Gumushkhānawī, and gained wide circulation among certain groups.

Key Words: Jawshan prayer, Shīʿa, al-Gumushkhānawī, *Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb*, Bediuzzaman

Introduction

The word *jawshan* means "chest," "the front part of the chest," "battle armor," "the head of something" or "a part of something."[1] The word is stated to enter Arabic from the Persian language. This word does not appear in the famous work by Ibn Fāris, *Muʿjam*, in which he identifies the root meaning for a number of words.

Many believe that the prayer of *jawshan* protects the person who reads it or carries it on his person, like a shield.[2] This prayer has two versions: *al-jawshan al-kabīr* (the great *jawshan*) and *al-jawshan al-ṣaghīr* (the lesser *jawshan*). Many people believe that the great *jawshan* prayer was sent to the Prophet Muḥammad by Allah via the Archangel Gabriel. According to the Shīʿa, the lesser *jawshan* is a prayer that was invoked by Abū l-Ḥasan Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799), seventh of the twelve imāms.[3]

The importance and value given to the great *jawshan* certainly stem from its attribution to the Prophet himself.

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[1] See Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2003), I, 243 (*j-sh-n*); Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn ʿAlī Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (eds. Amīn Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq al-ʿUbaydī; Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1999), II, 291 (*j-sh-n*); Abū l-Fayḍ Murtaḍā Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs min jawāhir al-Qāmūs* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Khayriyya, 1306 H.), IX, 161 (*j-sh-n*). There was a companion of the Prophet called Dhū l-jawshan. It is said that he was given this nickname because he was the first Arab to wear a *jawshan* or because he had a barrel-chest, or perhaps that the Kisra had given him a *jawshan* as a present. See Abū l-Faḍl Ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* (ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bījāwī; Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1972), II, 411.

[2] Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī says that he "overcame the danger of a poison" that was extremely potent, and that "he had maybe overcome death twenty times with the merits" of this prayer; see *Emirdağ Lâhikası* (Istanbul: Nesil Matbaacılık, 2004), 186, 195.

[3] See Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār al-jāmiʿa li-durar akhbār al-aʾimma al-aṭhār* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Wafāʾ, 1984); LXXVIII, 331; Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil wa-mustanbaṭ al-masāʾil* (Qum: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1987-1988), II, 234; cf. al-Sayyid ʿAlī ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥillī, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt* (Qum: Dār al-Dhakhāʾir, 1990), 220.

1. The Sources of the Prayer and Its *Sanad*

The lesser *jawshan* first appeared in written literature in *Muhaj al-daʿawāt* of al-Sayyid ʿAlī ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥillī (d. 664/1265), a Shīʿī author. According to a report narrated with a *sanad* (chain of narrators) that dates to al-Imām Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar (d. 183/799), he learned that the ʿAbbāsī caliph of the time, Mūsā al-Hādī ibn Muḥammad al-Mahdī (d. 170/786), was planning to have the Imām killed. The Imām assembled his followers to discuss the situation. When his followers told him to go and hide, the Imām smiled and narrated the following story: After he completed his prayers in his usual prayer area, his eyes became heavy with sleep, and he saw the Prophet in his dream. He complained to the Prophet about the Caliph, told him what the Caliph had done to *ahl al-bayt* (people from the Prophet's lineage) and also told the Prophet that he feared the Caliph. The Prophet told the Imām not to worry because Allah would protect him from the Caliph for Allah destroys his enemies. The Prophet ordered Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar to show appropriate gratitude. After he told this story, Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar turned towards the *qibla* and recited a long prayer. This prayer, which starts with "*Allāhumma, kam min ʿaduww^{in} intaḍā ʿalayya sayf^{u} ʿadāwatih^{ī} ...* (O Lord, there are many enemies that have swords of enmity drawn out against me ... which I have eliminated with your help. For this ... I am thankful to you)" is known as "the *jawshan* prayer from the prayers of Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar al-Kāẓim."[4] After narrating the prayer, Abū Ṭālib ibn Rajab, the copyist of *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, stated that he found the *jawshan* prayer and the story above as it preceded the prayer with a different narration in one of the books belonging to his grandfather, Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan (ibn ʿAlī) ibn Dāwūd (alive in the second half of the 7th/13th century),[5] and added another story that refers to the Prophet as the source of the prayer. The story which the first part of its *sanad* is missing begins as follows:

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[4]   Al-Ḥillī, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, 217-227. Muḥsin Muʿīnī refers to this prayer as *jawshan-i ṣaghīr* and says that Mūsā al-Kāẓim narrated it from the Prophet himself; see his "Jawshan-i kabīr," *Dānishnāma-i Jihān-i Islām*, XI, 368.

[5]   This person is sometimes mentioned in connection to the grandfather, al-Ḥasan ibn Dāwūd.

It is narrated from our friend and teacher, Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar (may Allah be pleased with him), he from his father Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, he from his father, he from his grandfather and he from his father, *amīr al-muʾminīn*, al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (may Allah be pleased with them all), he (al-Ḥusayn) said: "My father, *amīr al-muʾminīn* (may Allah be pleased with him) said: 'My child! Shall I teach you something from the secrets of Allah. The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) taught this to me and it is a secret that no one knows.' I said, 'Yes, please teach me father.' He said: '*Al-rūḥ al-amīn Jabrāʾīl* came to the Prophet (pbuh) on the day of Battle of Uḥud. It was a terribly hot day. The Prophet was wearing armor (jawshan), which he had difficulty carrying due to the heat of the day and the heat of the armor. The Prophet (pbuh) said: 'I turned my face to the heavens and prayed to Lord Almighty. I saw the doors of the heaven open. Jabrāʾīl, who was surrounded with light, came down next to me and said: Peace be unto you, O the Messenger of Allah! … The Exalted sends his *salām* (greetings) to you. He tells you to take off your armor and read this prayer …'

Following this statement, the virtue of the prayer was explained, but the prayer itself was not recorded.[6] Thus, this prayer must be that of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, which came to be known as *al-jawshan al-ṣaghīr* afterwards, and whose first part was given above.[7] However, the great *jawshan* is significantly not included in this book. When Ibrāhīm al-Kafʿamī (d. 905/1499) reported the prayer referenced above, calling it 'the *jawshan* prayer narrated by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq,'[8] he also recorded the famous great *jawshan* prayer,[9] under the title "the prayer of *al-jawshan al-kabīr* narrated from Prophet Muḥammad (pbuh)." Al-Kafʿamī recorded the *sanad* of the great *jawshan* as a notation on the margin of his work *Junnat al-amān*, as follows:

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[6]   See al-Ḥillī, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, 227-232; the discussion of the merits of this prayer will be given below, in the section concerned with al-Gumushkhānawī. Cf. al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, LXXVIII, 331-332; XCI, 397.

[7]   Al-Majlisī noted that this section, which was added by the copyist and which is concerned with the merits of the *jawshan* could have been for both prayers of *jawshan*, but that it seems the copyist confused them; *Biḥār al-anwār*, XCI, 327.

[8]   Al-Kafʿamī, Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī, *al-Balad al-amīn wa-l-dirʿ al-ḥaṣīn* (Tehran: Muʾassasa-i Taḥqīqāt wa-Nashr-i Maʿārif-i Ahl-al-Bayt, 1963), 326.

[9]   *Ibid.*, 401; id., *al-Miṣbāḥ (Miṣbāḥ al-Kafʿamī)* (2ⁿᵈ ed., Qum: Intishārāt-i Raḍī, 1405), 336.

"From *al-Sajjād* (i.e., *Zayn al-ʿābidīn*), he from his father, he from his grandfather,[10] and he from the Prophet (pbuh) himself."[11]

The *jawshan* prayer attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq has been referred to as the lesser *jawshan* from this point forward.[12]

The prayer of great *jawshan* first appeared in the Sunnī Muslim world in *Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb*, the compilation of prayers by Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Gumushkhānawī (d. 1311/1893). In this book, the text of the prayer is identified in the text as "the prayer of *al-jawshan al-kabīr* narrated by Zayn al-ʿābidīn (may Allah be pleased with him)," whereas the *sanad* and information related to its virtue are given on the margin of the page under the title "the *isnād* of the *jawshan* prayer." This section could be translated as follows:

1. My father narrated from Umāma, he from Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, he from his father, and he from his grandfather, al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib – *karrama llāhu wajhahū* – that he said: "Son! Shall I teach you a secret from the secrets of Lord Almighty, who is the only god and whose blessings are for everyone and whose glory is supreme? The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) taught this to me." I replied, "Yes! Please do!" He continued: "The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) said: 'Once I was walking towards Uḥud. It was a very hot day in addition

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[10] Al-Majlisī says this grandfather was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; see *Biḥār al-anwār*, XCI, 382.

[11] Al-Kafʿamī, *Junnat al-amān al-wāqiya wa-jannat al-aymān al-bāqiya* (n.p., n.d.), 246 etc. In this narration, which mentions the merits and contains similar narrations to those found in al-Gumushkhānawī, which is mentioned below, the name of the battle is not stated and the phrase "in one of the battles" is used. We should note that *Junna* and *al-Miṣbāḥ* are the same books. The difference between them is the notes on the margins of the pages in *Junna*; cf. Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, LXXVIII, 331; XCI, 382; al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, II, 232 etc.

[12] Mehmet Toprak says that ʿAlī ibn Mūsā ibn Ṭāwūs refers to this prayer as *al-jawshan al-ṣaghīr* on the margin of a page of his *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, and presumes that the distinction between *ṣaghīr* and *kabīr* started with Ibn Ṭāwūs (Mehmet Toprak, "Cevşen [Jawshan]," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* [*Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam*], VII, 464). But there is no such record in the mentioned work. Also, two *jawshan* prayers cannot be found in the aforementioned book. Furthermore, considering his bibliography, Mehmet Toprak does not seem to use this book.

to the heaviness[13] of the armor (jawshan). I gazed at the sky and prayed to Allah Almighty. Whereupon I saw the gates of heaven open. Surrounded with light, Jibrīl came down next to me, and said: 'The Exalted Lord Almighty has sent you his greetings and blessings and said, 'Take off this armor and read this prayer. When you read this and carry it on you, it will provide greater protection for you."

2. I said: "O Jibrīl, my brother, is this only for me or is it for my entire community?" He replied: "This prayer is a gift to you and to your community from Lord Almighty. Only He knows its reward. There is no servant of Allah who carries this prayer on him and reads it in the morning before he leaves his house or in the evening when he comes home, whom Allah will not direct to the best of deeds!

3. It is as if this person has read Tawrāt, Injīl, Zabūr and Furqān. For each letter, Lord Almighty will give him two houris, will build a home for him in Paradise, He will give him the *thawāb* (reward) in amount of the letters of Tawrāt, Injīl, Zabūr, Furqān, and the books of Abraham, Moses, as well as the same *thawāb* of Abraham the Loyal Friend, Moses the Interlocutor, Jesus the Spirit of God, and Muḥammad (pbuh) the Last Prophet. He will leave an *al-arḍ al-bayḍāʾ* (the white blessed land) in the West. Here, there are people who worship Allah Almighty and who do not rebel against Him. The flesh of their faces is torn from crying due to the fear of Allah's wrath. They do not eat or drink. Allah will give the *thawāb* of these pious servants to the person who reads this prayer.

4. There is a house that is called *al-bayt al-maʿmūr* in the fourth heaven. Everyday, seventy thousand angels enter and exit from here, and they will not return until the Day of Judgment. Lord Almighty will give the person who reads this prayer the same *thawāb* given to these angels.

5. For whoever reads this prayer at home, no thief will ever enter that place nor will fire burn it down. Allah will give health to the ill person if he writes this prayer down in a clean bowl, then washes it with the water of rain and saffron, and drink it on an empty stomach. If this

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[13]   Here, the word *thiql/thiqal* (heaviness) was written as *naql* due to an error in copying.

prayer is read in a night, Allah will turn towards that person with His kindness and give him whatever he wishes."

6. Then, I said, "O brother Jibrīl, tell me more!" to which he replied: "I swear on Allah who has sent you as a prophet that I asked Archangel Isrāfīl*, and he said: 'The Mighty and Exalted Allah has said that I swear on My glory, might, generosity, kindness and the highness of My place, whoever believes in Me, and O Muḥammad, whoever attests to your prophethood, will attest to this prayer. And I will provide that person with plenty of possessions. I am the One Who will not decrease His treasures by giving thus.

7. O Muḥammad, if one of my servants reads this prayer with good intentions and a sincere heart in front of everyone seventy times, he will find a cure from albinism, leprosy and lunacy. If he writes this prayer in a bowl with camphor and musk, then washes it and sprays it onto the shroud of a person who has just died, a hundred thousand lights will descend onto that person's grave and Allah will remove the fear of the angels who will come to question him, thus relieving the person from the torments of the grave. Allah will send seventy thousand angels to the grave. Each angel will be carrying a cover made of light. They will spread these on the person and give him the good news of his entrance to Paradise.

8. I heard the Exalted and Mighty Creator say that: 'This prayer was written on the wall of the highest heaven five thousand years before I created the world. Whichever of my servants makes an undoubting and sincere supplication to Me with this prayer at the beginning of Ramaḍān, or at the end, or each Friday night or day, Allah Almighty will show him the night of *al-qadr*.

9. Allah Almighty created the night of *al-qadr* while there were seventy thousand angels within, seventy thousand angels in each heaven, seventy thousand angels in Mecca, seventy thousand angels in Medina, seventy thousand angels in the East and seventy thousand angels in the West. Each angel has twenty thousand heads, each head has twenty thousand mouths and each mouth has twenty thousand tongues. These praise Allah in various languages and give the *thawāb* to the person who makes a supplication with the prayer.

10. There is no (longer) a curtain between Allah and the person who makes the prayer. Allah gives him everything he wants. Whoever

makes this prayer three times, even at once, Allah keeps his body away from the hellfire and makes his entrance to Paradise obligatory. Allah appoints for this person two angels who protect him from sins. They praise Allah for him, and save him from all ills, and open the doors of paradise for him.

11. This prayer is a treasure among treasures of Allah. It is known by a thousand and one names. Allah has made it a shelter and security for those who pray with it against all ills and calamities of this world. Also, Allah gives that person a share from the benefits and happiness of this world."

12. The Prophet (pbuh) continued his speech and said: "O ʿAlī! Jibrīl has informed me the following about the merits of this prayer. ʿAnd Allah created the air. He also created an overflowing sea. He created the air above the sea. He created the angels that he made agents for each raindrop.

13. He made these angels agents for the raindrops. Now, neither a raindrop can overtake rain, nor can angels can overtake a raindrop. Both of these are different creatures.

14. The names of the angels that are the agents of the raindrops are: Mīkāʾil, Saʿdāʾil, Damkhāyīl, Kafkāʾīl and Zamzayīl. When the keeper of the raindrop and mercy – one of these angels – wishes to help the person who has made this prayer, comes down from the pulpit of glory, takes off his crown, prostrates before Allah, helps the person in all their deeds, protecting him against all ills and calamities, from in front and behind.

15. (Allah) has created a thousand angels on an angel. These are keepers of the gates of heavens. The names of the angels that are the keepers of the first heaven are Hawqīl and Hamqīl. The names of the angels that are the keepers of the second heaven are Kazqīl, Kaʿīl, Kahīl, Dābiḥ, Saʿīdīl, Baryīl, Samīl, Maʿīl, Bawsil, Baʿīl, Arqaṭaqīl, Aṣrāfīl, Hāhīl, Awqīl, Baryanānīl and Ismaʿīl. Their highest is Karqīl.

Those who are the keepers of the third heaven are called Miqyāʾīl, Suṭūnyāyīl, ʿArāfīl and Maʿbūsāʾil. The names of the keepers of the fourth heaven are Ḥarqīl, Qabāyil, Ṭarqayāsil and Aḥyāyāsil. The names of the keepers of the fifth level are Ṭawṭīl, Ṭarfīl, Arqīl, Sāḥīl, Māsil and Samhīl. The names of the keepers of the sixth heaven are

Bāsil, Bāhīl, Farqīl, Rajʿīl and Farsīl. The names of the keepers of the seventh heaven are Ismaʿīl, Awyāsīl, Alratbāʾīl and Aṣfaṭriyāʾīl.

16. When each of these angels looks at the person who makes the prayer, they come down from their seat, prostrate to Allah Almighty, help the person in all their important deeds and all their needs. They help him to continue his prayer, maintain his health and fulfill his needs. They say: 'O, the One Who opens doors! Open the doors of Your blessings to this servant of Yours, protect him with Your eye that never becomes weary, remove all problems, discomforts and illness from him. O, the Most Merciful of the merciful, remove all kinds of calamities that this person has faced in this world and in the hereafter. Save this person who carries this prayer on him from all calamities and from treacherous Satan. Bestow him with Your secret blessings; protect him with Your powerful protection. Because You are the most forgiving and most beneficent.'

17. The names of the angels that are mentioned in the *muḥkam* verses of the holy book: Allah has said: 'And we are verily ranged in ranks (for service). And we are verily those who declare (Allah's) glory.'[14] They are twelve tribes. Each tribe has a billion soldiers, a million brigades, and each brigade has a thousand ranks of angels. When these angels look at the person who makes this prayer they come down from their seat of honor, take off their crowns, prostrate to their Lord and become intercessors for him. They say: 'You are the light of the heaven and earth. We glorify You. You are the most powerful (*jabbār*) of the powerful, the ruler of the ruler. Protect the person who makes this prayer from all kinds of calamity, disaster and poverty. This is very easy for You. You are the owner of everything, the One Who ruins the rulers, feeds the babies with His mercy, O the most merciful of the merciful.'

18. The names of the angels that are the keepers of the curtain of sublimity are Sarāṭīl and Saqāṭīl. These are the chiefs of every angel. These have a chieftain and every chieftain has one million eight hundred ranks of angels; each one has a brigade, each brigade has seventy thousand wings and each wing has one million seven hundred thousand angels. These do not rebel against Allah, not even for a sec-

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[14] Q 37:165-166.

ond, and they do what they are ordered. These also yield when they look at the person who is making this prayer, take off their crowns and prostrate to their Lord. While prostrating they say: 'O Lord, we glorify you and we praise you. All praise is unto you. There is no Lord but you, and you are *al-Ḥannān* (the most Merciful), *al-Mannān* (the Bestower), *Badīʿ al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ* (the Creator of the heavens and the earth). O *Dhū l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām* (the Lord of majesty and bounty); protect your servant, protect him from all kinds of worry, sorrow and difficulty. Take him under Your protection with your mercy, O the most merciful! Treat him with Your kindness and beneficence, O the most beneficent!

19. This prayer has firm bases and there is much more to be said for it. It is the prayer that is known as *jawshan*.[15]

In the contemporary Sunnī Muslim world, the *jawshan* prayer is only well-known in Turkey.[16] Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī (d. 1960) made this prayer famous[17] in Turkey, particularly in his own circles.

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[15] Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Gumushkhānawī, *Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb* (n.p., n.d.), I, 231-240 (in the margins of the page; the numbers of paragraphs was put by us). There are omissions of the narrators in the suspended (*muʿallaq*) chain of the report here; these probably occurred during copying. The report should be a *musnad ḥadīth* from ʿAlī, and ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿābidīn should be mentioned after al-Ḥusayn in the *sanad*. For similar but more detailed narrations, see al-Ḥillī, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, 227-232; al-Kafʿamī, *Junnat al-amān*, 246-248 (in the margins); al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, XCI, 382-384, 397-402 (quoted from *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*).

[16] It is seen that this prayer has begun to become popular in other Sunnī countries among whom are in contact with the members of the Risāla-i nūr community through the schools they opened there.

[17] The following reports are mentioned alongside the sound recordings and written publications (books, articles, internet sites, etc.), which have almost become a trade sector in themselves, displaying the popularity of this prayer: "The sūra of Yāsīn, *jawshan* and other prayers were recited at the grave of Ahmet Feyzi Kul, a student of Bediuzzaman" (*Zaman* [a Turkish daily newspaper], 26.10.2007); "The Muftī of Reyhanlı, Ali Yazıcı, provided advice about reciting the Qurʾān and *jawshan*, making extra prayers on the night of *barāʾa* (*Zaman*, 26.10.2007); "It is reported that the previous Istanbul envoy of the Vatican, George Marovich, who is staying in a room decorated by the Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı [The Journalists and Writers Foundation] at the Italian Poorhouse, can't put *jawshan* down and he said that "I read a section from the *jawshan* every day and will continue to do so. I'm in love with *jawshan*." (*Zaman Cumartesi*, 16.05.2009, 15; reported by Bün-

As stated by an author, "this unparalleled prayer, which comes immediately after the Qurʾān as it too is a revelation, was made known in this century by Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī."[18] Bediuzzaman mentioned the importance of this prayer in many of his works,[19] and he claimed that the prayer's attribution to Prophet Muḥammad was sound and even *mutawātir*.[20] Although he staunchly believed that the prayer was valid and significant, he provided no information on its source. Bediuzzaman explained his personal history with the prayer:

> The special tutor of the "new" Saʿīd, al-Imām al-Rabbānī, al-Ghawth al-aʿẓam, al-Imām al-Ghazzālī and Zayn al-ʿābidīn (may Allah be pleased with them), I studied especially the prayer of the great *jawshan* from these two imāms. During the thirty years of my spiritual lessons from al-Ḥusayn (may Allah be pleased with him) and ʿAlī – *karrama llāhu wajhaḥ* –, particularly during my spiritual connection with them concerning the great *jawshan*, I learned the truth about the past and the spirit which has come to us from *Risāla-i Nūr*.[21]

The two imāms mentioned here are likely the same two mentioned at the end, al-Imām al-Ghazzālī and Zayn al-ʿābidīn. The name Zayn al-ʿābidīn appears in some of the suspended (*muʿallaq*) chains of narration. We do not have any information that compellingly connects Zayn al-ʿābidīn with this prayer, although tradition holds that he

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yamin Köseli). Also, two professors have shown great interest in the *jawshan*; this has led them to the publication of the following books: Davut Aydüz, *Hizbu Envâri'l-Hakâiki'n-Nûriyye: Büyük Cevşen ve Meali* [*Ḥizb anwār al-ḥaqāʾiq al-nūriyya: The Great Jawshan and Its Turkish Translation*] (Istanbul: Define Yayınları, 2010), 468 pp.; Abdülaziz Hatip, *Kurʾan ve Hikmet Işığında Cevşen Şerhi* [*The Commentary of* Jawshan *in the Light of the Qurʾān and Ḥikma*] (Istanbul: Nesil Yayınları, 2009), 584 pp.

18   Ümit Şimşek, *Risâle-i Nûr Işığında Cevşen Meâli* [*The Translation of* Jawshan *in the Light of* Risāla-i Nūr] (Istanbul: Zafer Yayınları, 1994), XII.

19   See Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī, *Şuâlar* [*The Rays*] (Istanbul: Çeltüt Matbaası, 1960), 87, 108, 525; id., *Sözler* [*The Words*] (Istanbul: Sinan Matbaası, 1958), 322, 445; id., *Mesnevî-i Nûriye (Türkçe Çeviri)* [*Mathnawī-i Nūriyya (Turkish Translation)*] (trans. Abdülmecid Nursi; Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1958), 161.

20   See Abdülkadir Badıllı, *Risale-i Nûrʾun Kudsî Kaynakları* [*The Divine Sources of* Risāla-i Nūr] (Istanbul: Envar Neşriyat, 1992), 341.

21   Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī, *Emirdağ Lâhikası*, 271.

read this prayer, and he even wrote a commentary on it.[22] However, no sources confirm this report. Thus, Bediuzzaman's statement that he took lessons from "these two imāms" must be examined. In addition, we can reasonably assume that Bediuzzaman took this prayer from the work of al-Gumushkhānawī.[23]

Thus, Bediuzzaman considered the narration about the merits of the *jawshan* prayer to be sound,[24] but he did not approve of writing it down or duplicating it. In his reply to a letter from Naẓīf Chalabī of İnebolu, in which the latter asks for Bediuzzaman's opinion on including the report about the merits of the great *jawshan* in the introductory section of it while duplicating,[25] Nūrsī said:

> Making duplications of the *jawshan* is a great deed. I congratulate you with deepest affection. But do not write down the part you have translated about the merits of the prayer, because the reports about such merits are ambiguous. Their actual nature is not known. Ungodly people or philosophers who will object to it will have doubts about it, taking it as exaggeration or superstition – *we seek refuge in Allah from this* ... For this reason the section I have marked[26] should not be recorded. This is so that no harm will come to the great prayer

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[22] "Fasıldan Fasıla - Cevşen," *Zaman*, 20.04.1994, 7. The information on the page, which seems to belong to Fethullah Gülen, has been later given in the same newspaper and Gülen's books many times.

[23] On the page 9 of the photocopy of a handwritten document of Bediuzzaman in the research file of "Cevşen [Jawshan]" (in the Library of Turkish Religious Foundation Centre for Islamic Studies [İSAM] in Istanbul) prepared as a source for the entry on "Cevşen [Jawshan]" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* [*Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam*], we found the phrase "a part of the translation concerning the special place and merits of the great *jawshan* on the margins of *Majmū'at al-aḥzāb.*"

[24] See Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī, *Emirdağ Lâhikası*, 212-214.

[25] A partial translation of the lenghty narration about the merits of the *jawshan* prayer has been placed in the beginning of a mimeograph edition of *al-Jawshan al-kabīr* published in İnebolu. See Muhsin Demirel, *Evrâd-ı Nuriye* (Istanbul: İn-şirah İslamî Araştırmalar Merkezi, 1997), 9.

[26] In the photocopy of the handwritten translation of the lengthy narration about the merits of the prayer in the later parts of Bediuzzaman's letter, the paragraphs numbered above as 3, 4, 9, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 18 are omitted. This might be a result of omitting the "parts marked out" by Bediuzzaman.

and no criticism will come to the conservative issues of the Nurcus, which are strong as iron.[27]

He mentioned this subject in another letter as well:

In order to do a good service Naẓīf has mimeographed the *jawshan* prayer, which is very important for Nurcus. He wrote to me about adding the part about the merits of this great prayer that was derived from wonderful but ambiguous ḥadīths in its margins. I said "Although I have read *jawshan* every day for the last thirty-five years, I have not read that section more than three or four times. Thus, it is not suitable to duplicate it exactly. This is so that unbelievers and the like should not accuse us of anything.[28]

Although it is stated that Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Shādhilī also "confirmed" the *jawshan* prayer,[29] there is no document to prove that. Through the conversations we had with some of the sheikhs from the order of Shādhiliyya in Damascus, such as Muḥammad Abū l-Hudā al-Yaʿqūbī, we learned that this prayer is not included in their prayers. Also, the *jawshan* prayer is not mentioned in recent works on the Shādhilī prayers.[30] Moreover, although some

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[27]   Badıllı, *Bediüzzaman Said-i Nursî Tarihçe-i Hayatı* [*Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī: His Biography*] (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 1990), III, 1640. Here, the letter is given under the title, "The reply of *al-Ustādh* to our question exactly as it was written." In this version of the letter there are small variations from the version in the abovementioned research file (see note 23). There is no record, however, in the latter version about the person to whom the letter was addressed.

[28]   Bediuzzaman Saʿīd Nūrsī, *Emirdağ Lâhikası*, 406. Some contemporary scholars who believe in the authenticity of the prayer invalidate the narrations about the merits of it, stating that they "belong to Shīʿī sources" and are not acceptable "according to Sunnī principles." See Ahmet Kurucan, "Dua İkliminde Cevşen III [Jawshan in the Climate of Prayer III]," *Zaman*, 04.08.1996, 2; Davut Aydüz, "Cevşen Üzerine [On the Jawshan]," *Yeni Ümit* 13/51 (Jan.-Feb.-March 2001), 33. Nevertheless, these authors followed Bediuzzaman who interpreted reports about the merits of the prayer by stating that these are ambiguous.

[29]   "Ebced ve Cevşen [Abjad and Jawshan]," *Zaman*, 01.09.1992, 10.

[30]   See, for example, Maʾmūn Gharīb, *Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī: Ḥayātuhū, taṣawwufuhū, talāmīdhuhū wa-awrāduhū* (Cairo: Dār Gharīb, 2000), 119 et al.

claim that al-Ghazzālī wrote a commentary for this prayer,[31] no document confirming this has been found to date.

The most interesting claim on this subject is that this prayer was included in the main Shīʿī ḥadīth books, *al-Kutub al-arbaʿa*.[32] The more astonishing point here is that, the encyclopedia entry referred to by who maintains this claim as the source for his claim states the opposite: no such prayer can be found in these books![33]

A similar claim was made earlier in an attempt to associate the prayer with Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). Two printed works, *Duʿāʾ al-jawshan al-kabīr* (Lucknow, 1288 H., with a Persian interlinear translation) and *Duʿāʾ al-jawshan al-ṣaghīr* (Lucknow, 1288 H., with an Urdu translation), were attributed to this author, who is one of the authors of *al-Kutub al-arbaʿa*.[34] However, the list of his works provided by himself in his *al-Fihrist* includes no mention of any book that could be related to the *jawshan* prayer.[35] Furthermore, none of the detailed researches on the life and works of al-Ṭūsī refer to these works.[36] Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi notes that attribution of these works to al-Ṭūsī is incorrect and they were most likely derived from the work of al-Kafʿamī.[37]

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[31] See M. Fethullah Gülen, *Prizma I* [*Prism I*] (Istanbul: Nil Yayınları, 1997), 151.

[32] See Aydüz, "Cevşen Üzerine," 33. The author later reprinted this article in the beginning of his translation of the great *jawshan*. See Aydüz, *Hizbu Envâri'l-Hakâiki'n-Nûriyye*. For this claim see p. i.

[33] See Toprak, "Cevşen," VII, 463.

[34] See M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, "al-Ṭūsī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī Abū Jaʿfar," *Urdū Dāʾira-i Maʿārif-i Islāmiyya*, XII, 573-574.

[35] See Abū Jaʿfar Shaykh al-ṭāʾifa Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿa* (eds. Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq et al.; Calcutta: n.p., 1853), 285-288.

[36] See, for example, S. Waheed Akhtar, *Early Shīʿite Imāmiyyah Thinkers* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1988). In the section "Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifah al-Ṭūsī: Life and Works," fifty works of al-Ṭūsī are introduced. There is no work related to the *jawshan* prayer.

[37] Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, "al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Abū Djaʿfar," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, X, 746. Although Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī attributed a work called *al-Jawshan al-kabīr* to al-Kafʿamī (Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* [Beirut: n.p., n.d.], V, 25), he does not mention such a work for al-Ṭūsī.

In addition, the claim that this prayer "was received from the Prophet by a saintly man through spiritual insight (*kashf*) in later centuries"[38] has some vague points such as when and to whom this *kashf* occurred, and what the source of information about the occurrence of this *kashf* is, a second *kashf* or a written document, etc., aside from the problem of the authenticity of a ḥadīth acquired through *kashf*.[39]

2. Criticism of the Narration of the Great *Jawshan* Prayer

a. The *Sanad*

As our research indicates, the *jawshan* prayer was first recorded in the prayer book, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, of the Shīʿī author ʿAlī ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥillī, who died in 664/1265. However, this is not identical with the famous prayer of the great *jawshan*, although the reason of occurrence for both is the same according to another report. The great *jawshan* can be first seen in a prayer book by another Shīʿī author, al-Kafʿamī, who died in 905/1499. Later, the prayer appears in a Sunnī scholar's, al-Gumushkhānawī's, book. Thus, we can say that the great *jawshan* appeared after al-Ḥillī.

The *sanad* of the prayer mentioned in the books by al-Kafʿamī and al-Gumushkhānawī ends near the beginning or middle of the second/eighth century. This indicates a time gap of almost seven cen-

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[38] "Fasıldan Fasıla - Cevşen," 7; Gülen, *Prizma I*, 150.

[39] Sufis believe that knowledge gained through *kashf* is valid. But, sometimes this knowledge can be contradictory; this alone shows that this means of knowledge cannot be accurate. However, the following incident of al-Imām al-Rabbānī is given as an important basis to establish the accuracy of this method: It is said that al-Imām al-Rabbānī had doubts that *muʿawwidhatayn* (the sūras of *al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*) were actually part of the Qurʾān and stopped reciting them in his prayers; he later attained through *kashf* that they were from the Qurʾān and stopped this practice. (See "Fasıldan Fasıla - Cevşen," 7; Gülen, *Prizma I*, 149). This incident, while trying to establish *kashf*, is of a nature that casts a shadow on the Qurʾān's being wholly and exactly *mutawātir*. For this reason, even if there is such an incident, narrating it as a proof is extremely serious. About the value of knowledge attained by *kashf*, see Süleyman Uludağ, "Keşf [Kashf]," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* [*Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam*], XXV, 315-316; Seyit Avcı, *Sûfîlerin Hadis Anlayışı – Bursevî Örneği* – [*Sufis' Understanding of Ḥadīth – The Case of al-Būrsawī* –] (Istanbul: Ensar Yayıncılık, 2004), 137-171.

turies between the last narrator in the chain and its first appearance in a written document. In this case, this suspended chain of narration should have no scientific value for both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. Therefore, stating that this prayer "has come to us through the Shīʿī imāms" would be inaccurate[40] given this chain of narration.[41] In other words, the problem is not that this prayer came through the Shīʿī imāms but rather that it did not.[42] If the prayer's coming through the Shīʿī imāms was definite, then its validity would not be a problem because the imāms of *Ahl al-bayt*, in particular those mentioned in the *sanad* of this prayer, Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799)[43], Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765)[44] and ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿābidīn (d. 94/712),[45] are

[40]   See Toprak, "Cevşen," 463; Gülen, *Prizma I*, 149; Kurucan, "Dua İkliminde Cevşen I," *Zaman*, 02.08.1996, 2; Aydüz, "Cevşen Üzerine," 33.

[41]   Dr. Najafqūlī Ḥabībī, a Shīʿī scholar, says that there is no need to investigate the *sanad* of the *jawshan* because the *jawshan* consists of some Qurʾānic verses, as well as reports and prayers whose authenticity was approved; Najafqūlī Ḥabībī, "Muqaddimat al-Muṣaḥḥiḥ [Editor's Introduction]," in Mullā Asrār Hādī ibn Mahdī Sabzawārī, *Sharḥ al-asmāʾ (Sharḥ duʿāʾ al-jawshan al-kabīr)* (ed. Najafqūlī Ḥabībī; Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Ṭahrān, 1993), 7.

[42]   During our research on Shīʿī literature, we found the book, *Kasr al-ṣanam* of Āyat Allāh al-Barqaʿī who is a Shīʿī scholar, but has some criticisms against the Shīʿa and who is known to have caused heated discussions with his books. In this book, the author criticizes some of the ḥadīths found in one of the most trusted Shīʿī ḥadīth books, *al-Kāfī* of al-Kulaynī. One of these criticisms is about the narration of the *jawshan* prayer; see Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Abū l-Faḍl ibn al-Riḍā al-Barqaʿī, *Kasr al-ṣanam* (trans. from Persian to Arabic ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Mullāzāda al-Ballūshī; Beirut: Dār al-Bayāriq, 1998), 113. Furthermore, in some Shīʿī *fatwā* books, it is stated in response to questions about the *jawshan* prayer that it is unfounded.

[43]   He is "trustworthy, devout person," whose ḥadīth reports are included in *Sunan*s of al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja; see Abū l-Faḍl Ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb* (eds. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf et al.; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1975), II, 282.

[44]   He is "trustworthy, *faqīh*, imām" whose reports are included in al-Bukhārī's *al-Adab al-mufrad*, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and the four *Sunan*s; see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, I, 132.

[45]   He is "trustworthy, *faqīh*, respected, famous" person, whose reports are included in all the six renowned ḥadīth books; see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, II, 5.

scholars whose narrations are included in the Sunnī books and who are respected by the Sunnīs.

b. The Text

The text of this narration consists of two sections: the merits of the prayer and the prayer itself. We have provided the translation of the initial section above. Overly exaggerated expressions can be seen in this section. In essence, these reveal the actual nature of the prayer, which overshadows even the merits of the great holy books, Prophets and angels.

As for the text of the prayer, it consists of one hundred sections, each including ten names and attributes of Allah, and so, of the demand to be saved from Hell through the recitation of one thousand names and attributes. The text is almost identical in both Sunnī and Shīʿī literature, with only minor variations.

Based on the narration mentioned above, some state that the prayer is a revelation[46] from Allah and not a human invention. Others claim that it is "full of prophetic statements as a truth that does not remain hidden to those who are talented in recognizing the words and statements of the Prophet himself."[47]

When the text of the prayer is compared to the verses of the Qurʾān, especially the ones including prayers, the stark difference between the two can be detected immediately. The expressions of the prayers in the Qurʾān are clear, short and without a rhymed style, whereas the statements in the *jawshan* are long, complicated and of a rhymed style. The comparison between their contents also reveals many differences. While in the *jawshan* prayer, the only wanted thing by reciting the names of Allah is to be saved from hellfire, the prayers in the Qurʾān have also desires regarding this world as well as hereafter such as paradise of *al-naʿīm*,[48] paradises of *ʿadn*,[49] a mansion from the paradise,[50] bounty,[51] being united with the right-

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[46] Şimşek, *Risâle-i Nûr Işığında Cevşen Meâli*, X.

[47] "Fasıldan Fasıla - Cevşen," 7; Gülen, *Prizma I*, 148.

[48] Q 26:85.

[49] Q 40:8.

[50] Q 66:11.

eous people[52] etc. Accordingly, it is hard to explain how reading this prayer which is only devoted to be saved from hell can equal reading all four of the holy books?

The same conclusion can be reached when a comparison is made between this prayer and the prayers of the Prophet in respected ḥadīth books. The Prophet did not favor florid expressions in his prayers. In the same context, it is narrated that the Prophet did not like such these florid rhymed statements, and his companions avoided them.[53] Furthermore, some scholars contend that the "people who transgress in their prayers"[54] described in some ḥadīths are the ones who strive to make prayers in such a fashion.[55]

The subject should be also examined from a historical standpoint. According to the narrations, the prayer is connected to a historical event and is a gift for all Muslims in the difficult times. If so, the Muslims who have encountered similar occasions in the course of time should have commonly used this prayer. However during these events the prayer has never been a topic of discussion, and all Muslims, no matter whether they are Sunnī or Shīʿī, have not been aware of this prayer.[56] Such a situation seems almost impossible to happen.

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[51]   Q 2:201; Q 7:156.

[52]   Q 12:101; Q 26:83.

[53]   al-Bukhārī, "Daʿawāt," 20. During the pre-Islamic period, the Arabs made such prayers of rhymed style and believed that these would most probably be accepted (Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Qalʿajī; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1985), I, 96-97.

[54]   Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, I, 172, 183; Abū Dāwūd, "Ṭahāra," 45, "Witr," 23; Ibn Māja, "Duʿāʾ," 12.

[55]   Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ibn Tāj al-ʿārifīn al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, 1938), IV, 130; Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: n.p., 1957), I, 308. Al-Ghazzālī narrates such an interpretation but adds that it is better to interpret this as one that goes beyond the known prayers.

[56]   Ümit Şimşek says that: "it is unfortunately not possible to say that the *jawshan* has received the attention it deserves by Muslims since the Prophet's time, despite its great value and importance;" see his *Risâle-i Nûr Işığında Cevşen Meâli*, XII. But it would be more accurate to say that this prayer "has not received any attention" rather than saying "it has not received the attention it deserves."

It could be noted here that this prayer includes a sense of human "composition." The rich prayer tradition found in the Shīʿī circles has such many long examples with rhymed style.[57]

Conclusion

Beyond those who "believe" in the prayer's authenticity, it could be said that the prayer has no connection to the Prophet. This prayer likely appeared first in Shīʿī circles. Over time, it was associated with the Prophet, and then introduced to the Sunnī world. This prayer seems to be an attempt for fabrication of ḥadīth (*waḍʿ*) as the probably longest example in Islamic history. The great *jawshan* which appeared for the first time in the book of a 9th/15th century Shīʿī author in Islam's lenghty history, has been unknown to thousands of scholars of tafsīr, ḥadīth, fiqh, kalām, as well as Sufis and historians except for two late scholars, al-Gumushkhānawī and Bediuzzaman who most likely took it from the former, in the Sunnī world. Therefore, great caution must be employed when attributing to the Prophet himself such a prayer on which a premium has been put in later times.

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[57] For examples see al-Ḥillī's *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*.

_____ *Hizbu Envâri'l-Hakâiki'n-Nûriyye: Büyük Cevşen ve Meali* [*Ḥizb anwār al-ḥaqāʾiq al-nūriyya: The Great Jawshan and Its Turkish Translation*] (Istanbul: Define Yayınları, 2010).

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REMARKS ON SOME CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ANKARA AND YEMEN CONCERNING THE LAST OTTOMANS AT YEMEN IN THE EARLY 1920s

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Abstract

As is historically known well, the part and parcel of Yemen, albeit so remote, has come and been under Ottoman control and/or influence for some 400 years. It was such a continual presence that, though intermittently, persisted from somewhere in the 16th century till the early decades of the 20th century. It was such a presence, again, during which many Ottoman citizens resided in Yemen and served as incumbents, of civilian or military background. It needs, accordingly, to be emphasized that although formally administrative relations may have ceased with the obvious defeat and de facto end of the Ottoman political power, after the termination of the First World War, the relations would be far from over in yet another aspect, that is, for the human element: those numerous civilians and military officials of Ottoman-Turkish stock who had remained behind, fortunately still surviving. Accordingly, its focus being on that specified human aspect, this paper will attempt to reopen a scarcely explored leaf in history, within the multi-faceted outline of Yemeni history under the Ottoman governance, with the special aid of a series of documents found (as untouched and thus unknown for the public till the attempt of making them open by this paper) in the Republican Archives of the Turkish Prime Ministry, pertaining to the fate of the remnants of Ottomans

stranded there in the aftermath of the First World War and during the subsequent period of the National Struggle, a time when while the Ottoman Empire vanishes and ultimately relinquishes control of Yemen, a totally new, different Turkey appears on the same stage of the worldsubject matter.

Key Words: the (last) Ottomans at Yemen, Imām Yaḥyā, Maḥmūd Nadīm, Governor(ate) of Yemen, Turkish National Assembly

Historically it is the fact that, as far as the case of Yemen within the context of Ottoman-Turkish governance and their reciprocal relations are concerned, a history can be adduced extending to the outset of the War of Independence. We concurrently know that the Northern Yemen (prior to its unification with the Southern one in 1990), cardinally identified with the Ottoman Yemen, had effectively come under Ottoman suzerainty and influence midway through the 16th century, marking the incipience of a somewhat intermittent though overall continual presence that persisted till the dawn of the 20th century, during which many Ottoman citizens, of civilian or military background, served and resided in. It needs, accordingly, to be emphasized that although formally administrative relations may have ceased with the encroachment of the War of Independence inasmuch as the Turkish government was concerned, the relations would be far from over in human perspective for a bulk of Yemenis, more notably for the numerous civilians and military officials of Ottoman-Turkish stock who had remained behind. Hence, within the multi-faceted outline of Yemeni history under the Ottoman governance, this paper will attempt to reopen a scarcely explored leaf in history, with the special aid of a series of documents extant in the Republican Archives of the Turkish Prime Ministry, pertaining to the fate of the remnants of Ottomans stranded there in the aftermath of the First World War during the aforementioned period when Ottomans effectively relinquished control of Yemen, as indeed a specific humane aspect of the unfolding of that particular history.

Before focusing on that specified aspect, it would be appropriate to recap the cornerstones of Yemeni history under Ottoman suzerainty, so as to place it well within its peculiar historical context and/or backdrop. In essence, the earliest sign of Ottoman interest in Yemen coincides with growing Portuguese colonial desire in the

area, in the early decades of the 16ᵗʰ century. The first steps of Otto-
man reign within this milieu were taken during Yemen's spell under
Mamluke rule, in line with the process culminating in the annexing of
Egypt in Ottoman favor by Selīm I (1517), with the subsequent move
by Iskender, a local chieftain dominant in the greater part of Yemen,
who declared his allegiance to the Sultan, by concomitantly com-
mencing the Friday sermons by the Sultan's name. Afterwards, upon
minor insurgences by some locals under political pretexts coupled by
the escalating need to defy the mounting Portuguese challenge, an
Ottoman fleet under the command of Khādim Suleymān Pasha en-
joyed success in seizing the entire area known as Yemen, including
Aden, in 1538 (Uzunçarşılı, 1983: II, 391-397). To additionally note, a
further campaign under Sinān Pasha's command during the era of
Suleymān I, and a subsequent administrative settlement with local
chieftains would mark defining moments during that first period of
Ottoman control (Uzunçarşılı, 1983: III/1, 26-30). However, insurgen-
ces led by locally powerful Zaydī imāms, also catalyzed by some ad-
ministrative inadequacies of early Ottoman governors, were to follow
shortly thereafter. Thus, from the 1630s, especially following Imām
Qāsim's 40 year-revolt, Yemen has been abandoned to the charge of
local imāms dominant throughout various parts of the region. It ap-
peared to be a status undeterred until 1849, in which the Ottomans,
during the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿMajīd, reentered the region with forces
led by Tawfīq Pasha, but more importantly until 1872, when Ghāzī
Aḥmad Pasha reinstated Ottoman control in the area coinciding with
the sultanate of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Hourani, 1991: 228, 251).

Yemen, temporarily administered as a *sanjaq* of the *eyālet* of
Abyssinia following the restoration of Ottoman control (Karal, 1983:
VI, 128), gained, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, more formally
"the status of a *wilāyet* subject directly to the capital, comprising the
sanjaqs of Şanʿāʾ, al-Ḥudayda, ʿAsīr and Taʿizz," with the exception of
Aden (Karal, 1983: VIII, 341; Mehmet Tevfik, 1993: 278-279), adminis-
tered by the governors dispatched from the capital, under a singular
system of taxation. Concurrently, the recognition of imāms as popular
leaders subsisted. During the pertinent period in which Ottoman su-
premacy had been restored to endure a long time to come, the area
encompassing Yemen had still not yet relinquished its vital position
on the threshold of world trade routes. Inspired by the enormity of

such revenue awaiting collection, the region witnessed an inexhaustible effort by European powers, first through missions, and afterwards through military expeditions, to gain footing on her soil. At this point, without denying the influence of inadequacies and errors perpetrated by Ottoman internal politics and governors, one must reiterate the indisputable influence of English activities seeking fulfillment of colonial desires, conducive toward deteriorating the already weakened Ottoman hold on Yemen, on the incessant local upheavals idiosyncratic to Yemen under the Ottoman rule throughout the second half of the 19th century, particularly escalating after the invasion of Aden in 1839, prompted by an unremitting encouragement of Yemeni imāms toward revolting against the central administration (for more detail on those internal revolts and particularly their external causes, see Sırma, 1994: 59-90).

Despite the taking of amendatory steps to cover particular flaws in administration especially during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, in the face of the upheavals, the situation had nevertheless started, after a certain phase, to resemble a lost cause. In fact the unremitting insurgencies culminated in 1904 with the first major uprising of the 20th century, initiated first by the declaration of *jihād* and the subsequent revolt of Imām Yaḥyā, who had previously assumed the title of imām following the death of his father and was to sustain it for 44 years until his tragic death upon the raid of his Ṣanʿāʾ Palace (Ehiloğlu, 2001: 176). The import of the pertinent revolt lies in its settlement only through a truce in 1905, and the ensuing abandonment of Ṣanʿāʾ and adjoining regions to the Imām's authoritative influence. Discontented with the loss of the region under such particular circumstances, however, the Ottomans were to soon deploy fresh troops, recapturing Ṣanʿāʾ after a series of bloody battles, in spite of which, however, in the long run Imām Yaḥyā's regional dominance was to hold sway.

Concomitant with the ascendancy of the Union and Progress Party to control in the Empire's capital, the period beginning with 1910 produced a recuperated revolt once again of Yaḥyā on the one hand, and on the other a second uprising by a novel figure, Sayyid Idrīsī, another rebel who procured influence in the region of ʿAsīr, under British auspices. Upon such developments, the Union and Progress government, prompted by their ascription to the rule under

strong centralization, entrusted Aḥmad ʿIzzet Pasha with the task of quelling the revolts; soon embarking with the famous cruiser *Ḥamīdiye* replete with a sizeable force on 18 February 1911, he then managed to first reopen the path to Ṣanʿāʾ with a swift operation in April, followed by the routing of Idrīsī in July. (It should be paren-thetically noted that the troops arriving in Yemen included Maḥmūd Nadīm, who would later be officially the last governor of Yemen, as attested by the documents to be referred to hereof). Occasioned by the significant influence exercised by Imām Yaḥyā over Yemen and her population, what this time the Ottoman capital followed was the adoption of a more sensible policy, acquiring a permanent character with the agreement of Daʿān on the 13th of October, concluded by a series of negotiations between Maḥmūd Nadīm on behalf of Aḥmad ʿIzzet and the Imām, the gist of which compelled the Imām to re-nounce all claims to emirate, in return for opulent privileges over the area he presided (Ehiloğlu, 2001: 134-135; for the text see Bayur, 1983: II/1, 45-47). To an enormous extent it was thanks to this treaty that, in the ensuing years, while struggle persisted between the cen-tral administration and Idrīsī, whose British allegiance set to become more intimate with the outbreak of the Great War, Imām Yaḥyā avoided partaking in an anti-Ottoman rebellion, contrarily lending aid, "both logistically and with the tribal forces under his command, to the Ottoman 7th Army Corps stationed in Ṣanʿāʾ, against the British base in Aden as well as for the strike against the troops of Idrīsī in ʿAsīr" (Seyhun, 1997:3).

During the First World War Yemen was to become a subordinate military zone. As had been the case with other fronts in the Arabian Peninsula, the Ottomans would face the British, who managed to exert pressure on the coast with their hit-and-run strikes, aided by their navy, with the succinct objective of frustrating Turkish military force in the area and intimidating civilians residing in the shores of the peninsula. As the immediate outcome of the war relating to the region, neither could the Ottomans recapture Aden, nor would the British relinquish it (for greater detail regarding military develop-ments see Gn.Kur., 1978: 413-626; for a greater emphasis on the hu-mane aspect, refer to Seyhun, 1997: 10-37). Once news of armistice reached Yemen in 1918, a meeting by Governor Maḥmūd Nadīm and Commander-in-Chief Aḥmad Tawfīq Pasha with the Imām followed

suit. In principle, Yaḥyā was not opposing the surrender of the Corps to the British, except that he wished to withhold a portion of their weapons and ammunition for use against possible attacks targeting him afterward. Further details to one side, finally, the concluding days of December saw the delegates of the 7th Corps and Yaḥyā convene with the British. Debates were to no avail, hence the internal status quo between the Ottoman corps and the forces of Idrīsī and the British prevailed; in the interim, a quantity of the weapons were conceded to the Imām, while the rest were sold to the tribes, the revenue of which was handed to the soldiers and marines unable to receive payment for months-on-end. Consequently, the 7th Corps dismantled itself, simultaneously taking to task the reinforcement of the Imām's continuing resistance against the British penetrating inner Yemen (Ehiloğlu, 2001: 191-98).

Thus the end of the Great War, portending an overwhelming Ottoman defeat, equally meant the end of Ottoman rule over Yemen, and the abandonment of region to the governance of Yaḥyā marked the swansong of the Ottoman administration's Yemeni adventure, the culprit of the colossal bloodshed of innumerable unknown sons of the Empire. Inasmuch as the factual human aspect was concerned however, their fate was far from being sealed. What remained therein, in barren reality, were soldiers, as the remnants of the army despite its dissolution, unable in one way to return home, beside with a small number of officials and their families, now constituting the last Ottomans at Yemen. Accordingly, within the historical background delineated above, and in the light of the pertinent documents as divulged at the start, this paper will attempt to offer a critical analysis with respect to the fate of the just referred Ottoman sons and daughters ostensibly deserted to local administrators on the plains of Yemen, following the Ottoman-Turkish ceding of the pertinent territory, in the wake of the Great War and during the years epitomized by the struggle for national independence at home.

Upon observation of the mentioned documents, one will find that the bulk is comprised of various correspondences between Yemen and Ankara during the first half of the 1920s, the specific and overriding theme of which involves the hardship and helplessness encroaching upon the remaining Ottoman-Turks and their concomitant plea for support and care. An aspect within this context calls for specific

emphasis: Although those remaining in Yemen were officials and their families still formally subject to the Ottoman administration of Istanbul, devoid of functionality owing to the then emergent Allied control, official applications and requests reflected via these documents, preponderantly signed under the seal of the Governorate of Yemen, were directed not to the by-then nominal government of Istanbul, but to the nascent assembly of Ankara (TBMM), steady on its way towards assuming de facto power. At this very point, if we bear in mind the staunch attitude to be espoused by Ankara in undertaking a conscious split with its Ottoman history subsequent to the War of Independence, not many clouds would hover for us so as to prefigure the twist such a saga was set to take for the last Ottomans at Yemen, with the help of the relevant historical documents, which indeed attest the *abandonment of those remainders in Yemen to their destinies.*

Beneath the arch of the matter elucidated above, the enormity of the plight besieging the Ottomans stranded in Yemen and, interrelatedly, of their nurtured expectations of adoption by the government of Ankara to whom they perhaps pragmatically resorted in hope, can be clearly exposed once the mentioned documents are taken into scrutiny, as it is a conspicuous issue frequently raised in the numerous letters alluded to. As a paragon example, among the many with similar context, it is of much worth to recall the very letter of request, dated 8 July 1922 and sent to the Turkish National Assembly government, carrying the signature, like many others, of Governor Maḥmūd Nadīm, in articulation of the dire need to rally to the aid of the deserted in Yemen crippled by the exigencies of the circumstances (TC. BCA-030/10/260/750/22):

> To the Honorable Presidency of the Committee of Executive Ministries of the Turkish National Assembly,
>
> As raised and enunciated whenever circumstances permit and trustworthy channels present themselves, the destitution and privation of civil servants and administrators, officers, pensioners, widowers and orphans, under the guardianship of thou servant, has exceeded well beyond the tolerable limit, the previously unimaginable sufferings they have been coerced to undergo as a corollary of hunger and lack of clothing have surpassed the boundaries of endurance. Compelling

these Turkish sons to flee with their family and subjects as an escape from destitution, of such sons who have sacrificed, as befits an Ottoman-Turk, all of what they had, including their families, in protection and defense of religion and the Motherland, who, forbearing unthinkable shortages and catastrophes, have performed their duties, day and night, seems absolutely irreconcilable with the glorious reputation and justice of our Exalted Government.

I assure your Excellency by bearing witness Allah the Almighty, that nurturing compassion and benevolence to the sons and daughters of this nation, ineffective in even eliciting a paucity of aid from our Lofty Empire's Capital despite numerous pleas by myself since the outbreak of the Great War, who remain powerless in procuring a meager daily bread, a yard of clothing for cover, a piece of sack for shelter, a drop of lamp oil for emancipation from darkness, is an imperative of the honor, glory and justice of our Government.

Although it remains evident that the denial of assistance by our Exalted Government, which otherwise is illustrious for mobilizing all means for the smallest issue bearing upon the interest of the Motherland, to these unfortunate souls has no doubt stemmed from known circumstances and lack of trustworthy channels, praise be to Allah, that providentially by virtue of the current marvelous policies exerted by our (Ottoman) government and our Grand National Assembly, at the expense of leaving the world in awe, and the boundless valiance and nobility of our National Forces, an accord has been reached, of late, with the governments, adjoining Yemen, of France and Italy, through which remittance to either the French Bank of Djibouti or the Bank of Rome in Masu, or the transfer of money thereto through a proxy under the liability of either of these countries has become possible; thus as previously submitted in the petition sent on 29 May 1338 (1922), I solemnly implore your Excellency, with utmost sincerity and supplication, for the immediate dispatch, for the time being, of a few thousand gold *aqce*s specifically to be used to assuage the predicaments aforementioned. Under all conditions, the edict belongs truly to your highness.

Examining the contents of this document, juxtaposed with those bearing an immense resemblance, one may adduce the following points for further elucidation: a) that, even before this exemplary letter of request, there had already been a number of all but unan-

swered pleas for help, directed to the governments of both Istanbul and Ankara; b) by the cultivation of the themes of religious and patriotic sacrifice and a vivid description of the distress, undoubtedly enormous by the attestation of the letter, the request is pervaded with a genre, imparting the perception of the Ottoman-Islam totality, which directly addresses the conscience of the government; c) a glowing though erroneous optimism in hope that the expected help would arrive now that there had been established peace with the major powers surrounding Yemen, ironically vindicating the twist of fate that had previously preempted their former requests of assistance (this is an evaluation specially corroborated upon investigation of later documents revealing no such help had been made).

At this point, as further and salient confirmation of the desertion of those in Yemen to their destinies, reflected by the just quoted document, it will be of great interest to make a short reference to another document in the form of an internal correspondence of the Ankara Government, dated 15 October 1922, by the Foreign Ministry addressing the Presidency of the Executive Committee, which essentially informs about another letter of request sent from Yemen (TC. BCA-030/10/260/750/27). The pertinent content of the letter, apparently confining the former broader requests to simply asking an aid for at least those who had become disabled in the defense of Yemen to return home, as such unequivocally manifesting the extent of torment they had been inflicted with, may also be regarded as attesting their unfortunate state of being thrown into disrepute, more so when contrasted with later documents evidencing a lack of concrete response to their heartfelt calls.

As previously expounded, more documents can be adduced to justify a connection between Ankara's aloofness in offering tangible assistance to its nationals, with its deliberate disowning of its Ottoman past, unambiguous following the War of Independence, during which it had not been evident. A noteworthy example is a letter of request sent by an official from Yemen to the Foreign Ministry, dated 9 December 1922, expressing grievances regarding a lack of confirmation, affirmative or negative, whether they had received the official documents of the Governorate of Yemen supposedly dispatched six months ago (TC. BCA-030/10/260/ 750/28). In support of the same fact within a distinct context, perhaps the subsequent point is worth

reminding: As far as can be traced from the documents, falling again on deaf ears was a similar request made by the Governor of Yemen, on 9 September 1922, to the Turkish National Assembly, of mobilizing military help for Imām Yaḥyā, on grounds of his active opposition, in solemn Ottoman allegiance, against the British supported Idrīsī since the incipience of the armistice, highlighting the massive imbalance of power in the favor of Idrīsī (TC. BCA-030/10/260/750/26).

Keeping in mind the earlier accentuated political inclination, embraced prospectively by the new Turkish ruling elites, of eschewing or at best leaving aside its Ottoman-Islamic heritage, it is perhaps appropriate, by virtue of taking recourse to a series of documents, to further elucidate the nature in which we have reached our previously propounded argument, namely the virtual abandonment of the remaining Ottomans in Yemen to their destinies. A folder of documents at hand, beacon like inasmuch as this case is concerned, comprises a series of correspondences preponderantly between the National Defense Ministry and Presidency of the Turkish National Assembly during the opening phases of 1923 (TC. BCA-30/10/260/750/31). Imbued directly with the overriding incentive of those who had remained in Yemen following the Great War and armistice and with applicable decisions in relation, additionally revealing the data relating to their classified population as well as to the fulfillment of their demands, the pertinent correspondences conclude with the edict decreed by the Committee of Executive Ministries that no such funding for their cause can be allocated, predicated upon a pretext that they are no longer attached to the Turkish Army. It appears to be also a decision ultimately precipitated upon the presentation of an ostensible list of those who had remained either voluntarily or with the request of the Imam. Even though a minor part of the list comprised by the documents is composed of voluntary residents; when taking the dates of those correspondences into particular consideration, coinciding with the milieu wherein the Sultanate had only just been abolished, they can ultimately be read and certainly be evaluated as a crystallization of the central policy of the nascent Turkish regime, that is, precisely a lust to shrug off its Ottoman political past, even in its human dimension. The following directly related pieces are worth mentioning:

To the Honorable Presidency of the Committee of Executive Ministries,

Presented to your excellence is the letter sent by the Istanbul Commandership, dating 17 January 1923 with the number 1746/1847, and its attachment, in unison, as regards whether or not appropriations are to be disbursed, in accordance with the applicable ruling, to those who departed from Yemen following the armistice, and those who remained in Yemen on whose behalf their relatives in Istanbul have applied for ...

<div align="right">Representative of National Defense (signature)</div>

To the Honorable Presidency of the Committee of Executive Ministries,

<div align="right">25.3.39 (1923)</div>

This is the response to the decision, dating 19.2.39, made by your exalted office of presidency. Hereby attached is the list of officers and officials who have remained in Yemen voluntarily or with the order of the honorable Imām. Sir, I implore you for an immediate decision and pertinent permission for our subsequent notification with regard to the procedure pertaining to their appropriations.

<div align="right">Representative of National Defense (signature)</div>

To the Ministry of National Defense

<div align="right">Ankara/31.3.39 (1923)</div>

In consequence of the Committee of Executive Ministries' due appraisal, during their meeting, of your respectable petition dating 25.3.39, with the Office of Accounts number 5236, which appeals for a decisive clarification of the ambiguity besetting the requested allocations for those officers and officials remaining in Yemen and Ṣanʿāʾ voluntarily or with the order of the honorable Imām, it has been decided that no such appropriations will be given, on grounds of the cessation of their relations with the Turkish Army.

<div align="right">Chairman of the Committee of Executive Ministries (signature)</div>

In corroboration of our evaluation made above within the exact context, there exists another letter (to be found again in the same

folder of documents, referred to just above), sent to the Governorate of Yemen under the signature of the Presidency of the Ankara Government, which is too striking to ignore, insofar as it constitutes the final answer to the recurring campaign for assistance to those remaining in Yemen, made under the signature of the Governor of Yemen, in compensative assuagement of the entailed torment acquired through what they resolutely believed had been a struggle and sacrifice in defense of a greater interest. While from one vantage point the letter praises the loyalties and altruism of its Yemeni correspondents, locals and Turkish officials alike, from another, it expresses their inability to respond to the expected financial assistance, citing internal adversities and privations encountered by the government itself, thus culminating with an advice/request to make do with their own resources. Although the cited pretext may suffice for their acquittal up to a certain extent, embarking from the general impression reflected by several other documents, related and partially referred to in this paper, there exists overwhelming reason to believe that the pertinent response of Ankara is a manifest extension of its political direction of severing all bonds subsequent to the War of Independence, which therefore can once again be regarded as a concluding manifestation of the expressed theme of this paper, namely the abandonment of the last Ottomans in Yemen to their precarious destinies by the new, Republican Turks that had gained administrative supremacy in Turkey:

Turkish National Assembly Presidency of the Executive Committee of Ministries

19.4.39 (1923)

To Maḥmūd Nadīm Beg, the Governor of Yemen,

The stern determination and valiance exerted by the altruistic folk of Yemen as well as officials, officers, and soldiers stayed there, in defiance of the most horrendous kinds of deprivation and lack of communication with the Capital, and their reinforcement of ties with the Motherland at every given opportunity, deserves the gratification and indebtedness of our National Government. Your excellence, you may rest assured that our National Government will incessantly cherish, in particular, your resolution to remain in your post, for which you were compelled to offer physical and mental sacrifices of excessive caliber, despite constant pressure and threats made by Grand Vizier Damad

Farīd and cohorts. Lamentably, however, encumbered by current financial exigencies, our Government is currently unable to execute your demands of assistance, sincerely desired by all, hence, Sir we beseech you to manage, to the best of your power, with local revenues.

<div align="right">Chairman of the Executive Committee of Delegates</div>

By way of conclusion, when evaluated from within the context of Ottoman-Yemen relations extending, including interims, to 400 years, the human element, which, as divulged by the vernacular of the documents referred to in this paper, all the way appears to have been extravagantly manipulated, or stated more pungently, dissipated, became in the end incorporated into the ranks of the first to be "forgotten," rather than the first to be "saved," once separation befell; thus consequently, from the human perspective, the incumbent politics of Turkey for centuries turned Yemen in the eyes of the ordinary Turks to be almost invariably recalled as a "grave to the Turk," such a conception transforming in time to a "forgotten place," in concordance with the increasingly introvertive policy of alienation by the Republican governments from its Ottoman past at large. On a more poignant note, while for a long time, as the saying goes, coffee had come from Yemen to appease its Ottoman addicts, then, occasioned by an opulence of blood spilled in the name of maintaining centralized control over the region from the beginning of the era of Constitutional Monarchy, the taste of the coffee has come to render forever bitter, reflecting perhaps the exact incentive behind the remembrance of Ottoman Yemen as an agony-inspiring land, as alluded to so sensitively in a chant murmured for generations repetitiously by parents who had their sons perish in the frontiers:

No cloud hovers in the sky, what smoke is this?
No death roams in the quarters, whose wail is this?
That land of Yemen, how cruel 'tis,

Alas … it is that Yemen, whose rose is cumin
Whoever arrives returns not, who knows why is this?

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KUMŪN, ISTIḤĀLA, AND *KHALQ*
Three Concepts in Ibn Ḥazm's Cosmology

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Abstract

The Kalām's cosmology essentially depends on the theory of atomism which suggests that everything in the world is composed of atoms and accidents inherent in atoms, all created by God. Atomism is, however, not the only theory of nature in kalām to support creationism. An alternative theory to it is the theory of latency, *kumūn*, which is formulated in the two different versions, the comprehensive and the limited one, and is mostly attributed to Muʿtazilī theologian al-Naẓẓām. Nevertheless this theory is not accepted by all opponents of atomism like Ibn Ḥazm. The present article attempts to examine Ibn Ḥazm's views on the theory of latency in particular, and on the creation in general with a comparison to al-Naẓẓām's ideas, and also to seek Ibn Ḥazm's cosmology in the three key concepts: latency (*kumūn*), transformation (*istiḥāla*), and creation (*khalq*). The article points out that although Ibn Ḥazm gives some examples in accordance with the theory of latency, it does not mean that he approves the theory attributed to al-Naẓẓām as a whole with its theoretical background.

Key Words: Ibn Ḥazm, al-Naẓẓām, theory of latency (*kumūn*), transformation (*istiḥāla*), creation (*khalq*)

The kalām's cosmology essentially depends on the theory of atomism, which suggests that the world is composed of indivisible parts,

jawāhir, and accidents inherent in atoms, *a'rāḍ*. Maintaining this theory, Muslim theologians attempted both to prove the existence of God and to explain the creation of the universe. In this respect, atomism is also a kind of creation theory.[1] Surely, the great majority of Muslim thinkers, especially theologians, hold that creation came from nothing. This means that the universe was brought into being by God's command, "Be!" Yet, the question of how this act of creation took place remains. The Muslim theologians aimed to provide a theoretical explanation for this phenomenon via atomism. As they understand it, God brought things into being, creating the atoms and accidents, and afterwards, putting them together. Theologians observed such phenomena as the continuous occurrence of new things in the universe and constant changes in the appearance of beings, and the fact that these beings can be perceived only through the sensually observable (i.e., through accidents). Such observations led theologians to believe that accidents are continuously recreated. This fact indicates one of the main characteristics of creation theory based on atomism: *continuity*. In this respect, we can say that the kalām's creation theory based on atomism has two main propositions: creation comes from nothing, and it is continuous.

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[1]   For the kalām atomism, see Shlomo Pines, *Madhhab al-dharra 'inda l-Muslimīn* (translated into Arabic by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hādī Abū Rīda; Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1946). This work can be viewed as the first comprehensive study of the subject and addresses the basic concepts and examines the theories about the origins of atomism. In addition, it provides information about Abū Bakr Zakariyyā al-Rāzī's (d. 313/925) theory of atomism. It includes as an appendix the Arabic translation of the classic article by Otto Pretzl, "Die Frühislamische Atomenlehre." In his *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, Harry A. Wolfson examines the relationship between kalām atomism and Greek atomism. He also addresses antiatomist arguments (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 1976), 466-517. Another study that is entirely dedicated to the atomism of the Mu'tazila is Alnoor Dhanani's *The Physical Theory of Kalām: Atoms, Space, and Void in Basrian Mu'tazilī Cosmology* (Leiden, New York & Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994). Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī's *Binyat al-'aql al-'Arabī* provides information about the fundamental concepts of kalām atomism and analyzes several issues surrounding it (6th ed., Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiyya, 2000), 175-205. Richard M. Frank's "Bodies and Atoms: The Ash'arite Analysis" elaborates the Ash'arī account of the notions related to the theory in Michael E. Marmura's (ed.) *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 39-53, 287-293.

Nevertheless, atomism is not the only theory of nature in support of creationism. Some theologians reject atomism, although they are not many in number. Among them, the most prominent is the Muʿtazilī theologian al-Naẓẓām (d. 220-230/835-844?). Similar to other theologians, he believes in creation *ex nihilo*, but he explains it through the theory of latency (*kumūn*) instead of through atomism. In other words, while the atomist theologians establish the existence of God and the createdness of the world on the basis of atomism, al-Naẓẓām explains them through the theory of latency. Thus, the theory of latency may be seen as an alternative explanation to atomism.[2]

It should be noted, however, that even if this theory was set forth as an alternative to atomism, it is far from accepted by all who have rejected atomism. For example, the critical thinker Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) is known to be a strong opponent of atomism, and he rejects it because of its incompatibility with the natural phenomena (outward appearance of things, *ẓāhir*) and with religious teachings (the literal/apparent meaning, *ẓāhir*, of religious texts).[3] His criticism implicates alternative explanation models because his denial of atomism does not advocate another theory; that is to say, he does not intend to propose another theory to replace atomism. This article attempts to examine Ibn Ḥazm's views of the most important theory, i.e., the theory of latency, in contrast to atomism, and it presents his thoughts on creation. Therefore, it would be appropriate to provide a general outline of the theory of latency.

As mentioned above, the theory of latency identified with al-Naẓẓām could be defined as "the potential existence of some body or quality in another body" and points to the creation of beings all at one time and as a whole.[4] Thus, the views ascribed to al-Naẓẓām by

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[2] In Islamic thought, a third conception of the world is the concept of "matter and form (*hayūlā* and *ṣūra*)" which is especially accepted by the peripatetic philosophers in the Islamic philosophical tradition. This concept inherited from Aristotle excludes creation *ex-nihilo* as it asserts that the eternal matter is the substratum of all that exist. Consequently, it was severely repudiated by theologians.

[3] See Orhan Şener Koloğlu, "İbn Hazm'ın Atomculuğu Reddi [Ibn Ḥazm's Refutation of Atomism]," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* [*The Review of the Faculty of Theology, Uludağ University*] 16/2 (2007), 169-194.

[4] cf. Josef van Ess, *The Flowering of Muslim Theology* (trans. Jane Marie Todd; Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 95.

ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037-38), who provides one of the earliest comprehensive accounts of the theory, are in accordance with the definition of that concept.

> The fourteenth of his [al-Naẓẓām] infamies is his claim that God created men, beasts and other animals, all sorts of plants and minerals at one time. [Therefore] the creation of Adam did not precede that of his children, as well as the creation of mothers did not precede that of their children. He asserted that God created them all at one time; however, most of beings were in the others [i.e., some of the beings were hidden in the others], so that priority and posteriority are in appearance (*ẓuhūr*) of those things from their places.[5]

The information given by al-Shahrastānī largely conforms to al-Baghdādī's account:

> The eighth [of al-Naẓẓām's views] is that God created all creatures (*mawjūdāt*), either minerals, plants and animals, or men, as they are now and at one time (*dafʿatᵃⁿ wāḥidatᵃⁿ*). [Therefore] the creation of Adam was not before that of his descendants. Nevertheless, God has hidden some of them in others (*akmana*), so that priority and posteriority are in appearance (*ẓuhūr*) of those things from their places, not in their creation (*ḥudūth*) and coming into existence (*wujūd*).[6]

These nearly duplicate passages present the main points of the theory: beings were created as they are now, at one time and as a whole. These created beings are hidden in each other, and those hidden things come into view when the time is ripe. It should be noted here that extending the theory to include all beings, these accounts point to a comprehensive theory of latency.

It is questionable, however, whether the theory could be ascribed to al-Naẓẓām in its above-mentioned form. One of the earliest sources, *al-Intiṣār* of al-Khayyāṭ, uses nearly the same expressions

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[5]   Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Qāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna l-firaq* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1993), 142.

[6]   Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* (eds. Amīr ʿAlī Mahnā and ʿAlī Ḥasan Fāʿūr; 5th ed., Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1996), I, 70.

with al-Baghdādī and al-Shahrastānī on the theory.[7] However, al-Khayyāṭ states that this account was based on information given by Ibn al-Rāwandī and that what has been ascribed to al-Naẓẓām is malicious slander. According to him, what al-Naẓẓām suggested was that "God created the world as a whole."[8] In this respect, al-Khayyāṭ does not agree with al-Baghdādī and al-Shahrastānī in attributing a comprehensive theory of latency to al-Naẓẓām. The only common point in all of these accounts is that "the world was created as a whole." In fact, the creation of the world as a whole implies that it was created at one time, as well.[9]

However, al-Ashʿarī's account is largely consistent with that of al-Khayyāṭ. Without providing a detailed description of latency, he reports that al-Naẓẓām said, "oil is hidden in an olive and ointment in a sesame and fire in a stone"[10] and "God created beings at one time."[11]

The information derived from the earliest sources, al-Khayyāṭ and al-Ashʿarī, makes it questionable whether al-Naẓẓām held a comprehensive theory of latency as recorded in later sources, such as al-

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[7]   "Then [Ibn al-Rāwandī] said that [al-Naẓẓām] claimed that God created men, beasts and other animals, non-animal substances (*jamād*) and plants all at one time (*fī waqt^{in} wāḥid^{in}*). [Therefore] the creation of Adam did not precede that of his children, as well as the creation of mothers did not precede that of their children. God, however, has hidden (*akmana*) certain things in others so that priority and posteriority are in appearance (*ẓuhūr*) of those things from their places, not in their creation and production (*khalq wa-ikhtirāʿ*)." See Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭ, *Kitāb al-intiṣār wa-l-radd ʿalā Ibn al-Rāwandī al-mulḥid* (ed. Albert Naṣrī Nādir; Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlīkiyya, 1957), 44.

[8]   *Ibid.* See also Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, 498-499. The author uses the account of al-Khayyāṭ but without considering the distinction made by al-Khayyāṭ between al-Naẓẓām's own words and that of Ibn al-Rāwandī. He ascribes all of the statements in the account to al-Naẓẓām through al-Khayyāṭ.

[9]   See also Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda, *Min shuyūkh al-Muʿtazila Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār al-Naẓẓām wa-ārāʾuh^ū l-kalāmiyya al-falsafiyya* (2nd ed., Cairo: Dār al-Nadīm, 1989), 141. He says that the only point that the sources agreed upon is the creation of all beings as a whole and at one time.

[10]   Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-khtilāf al-muṣallīn* (ed. Hellmut Ritter; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963), II, 329.

[11]   *Ibid.*, II, 404. He adds here, however, that al-Naẓẓām said that "beings are created at every single time (*anna l-jism fī kull^{i} waqt^{in} yukhlaq^{u}*)."

Baghdādī and al-Shahrastānī. Furthermore, al-Khayyāṭ's describing the comprehensive theory of latency as slanderous of Ibn al-Rāwandī raises doubts about the attribution of the theory to al-Naẓẓām. Although the aim of this article is not to discuss the extent to which al-Naẓẓām accepted the theory of latency, we should note here that there are not clear texts that justify the attribution of the comprehensive theory of latency to al-Naẓẓām.[12] However, he was certainly known in Muslim circles as a harsh proponent of the theory as a whole.[13]

Although the theory of latency was identified with the name of al-Naẓẓām, it was adopted in to varying degrees by different thinkers. According to al-Ashʿarī's account, Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr said: "Of things some are hidden and some are not hidden. As for those which are hidden, they are oil in an olive, and ointment in a sesame and juice in a grape."[14] Al-Ashʿarī also reports that Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād, Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and Bishr ibn al-Muʿtamir said: "Oil is hidden (*kāmin*) in an olive and ointment in a sesame and fire in a stone."[15] He further adds, "most of people of speculation (*ahl al-naẓar*) said that fire is hidden in a stone."[16] These remarks of al-Ashʿarī show that the theory was accepted to different degrees by thinkers such as Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr, who is a strict opponent

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[12] Abū Rīda notes that in al-Jāḥiẓ's most comprehensive account about the theory of latency, there is no quotation from al-Naẓẓām as he says "the man is hidden in a drop of sperm and the palm in a date-stone." See Abū Rīda, *Min shuyūkh al-Muʿtazila*, 149.

[13] This is probably because al-Naẓẓām holds the idea of creation of the world at one time and as a whole. This view on which almost all sources agreed means, even implicitly, all beings (including the specific examples mentioned by al-Baghdādī and al-Shahrastānī) were created all together. It caused the theory (with its all dimensions) to be identified with the name of al-Naẓẓām in the later period. Consequently, the commonly known examples of the comprehensive theory of latency were attributed to the most prominent proponent of the theory, i.e., al-Naẓẓām, even if he did not accept them or did not express them directly.

[14] Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, II, 328.

[15] *Ibid*., II, 329.

[16] *Ibid*., II, 328. Al-Ashʿarī mentions the Muʿtazilī theologian Abū Jaʿfar al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854) by name.

of the theory,[17] and Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, who proposed a different conception of world. It is evident from the above that two different theories of latency were formulated and recognized in intellectual circles in the beginning. One of theories is the comprehensive theory of latency, which affirms the latency of all creatures and was attributed to al-Naẓẓām. The other is the limited theory of latency that was held by nearly all prominent thinkers of early kalām.[18] Whereas the first theory suggests the creation of all beings at one time, the other says that some beings are composed of elements contradictory to each other. Despite this contradiction, those elements would exist in a single body.[19]

When we analyze the examples given for the limited theory of latency, we can see that all are marked by two outstanding characteristics: first, they emerge from other things through some human act. For example, a person squeezes juice out of a grape or oil out of an olive and strikes a hard object on a stone to create a fire. Second, their presence in the substances out of which they emerge is felt even before they emerge by a human act. Thus, the presence of the juice in the grape and the oil in the olive may be felt even before it emerges. Similarly, the presence of the fire in the stone may be felt as the stone gradually warms up while being struck by iron.[20] These examples are based on simple observations and, consequently, are almost obliga-

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[17]   Especially in al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr is illustrated as a representative of *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāḍ* and as the leading opponent of the theory of latency; see Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn; Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1988), V, 10.

[18]   The distinction was made by Wolfson and seems quite accurate. See Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, 501.

[19]   M. Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad al-Sayyid, *Abū Jaʿfar al-Iskāfī wa-ārāʾuhū l-kalāmiyya wa-l-falsafiyya* (Cairo: Dār Qubāʾ, 1998), 154-155.

[20]   See Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, 501. These remarks can be observed to be true in general. Especially regarding the second characteristic mentioned above, however, there is an uncertainty about the presence of oil in the olive and that of fire in a piece of wood. According to the opponents of latency, the presence of fire in a piece of wood, etc., is quite controversial. Being aware of this, Wolfson notes that the presence of fire is felt by the gradual warming of the piece of wood or stone.

tory to be approved on this empirical basis. In this regard, they should be accepted.[21]

This point relating to the theory of latency in kalām was echoed in Ibn Ḥazm's approach. First of all, we should say that Ibn Ḥazm appears to accept some of the implications of the theory. Thus, he targets the implacable opponents of the theory, the Ashʿarīs, especially al-Bāqillānī, and harshly criticizes their view that there is no heat in fire, no cold in snow, no oil in an olive, no juice in a grape and no blood in a man.[22] According to Ibn Ḥazm, among the observable things around us, some are hidden, such as blood in a man, juice in a grape and oil in an olive. The evidence for this is that when the hidden things emerge from the visible objects, the residuals crumple, become smaller and lose weight because of the emergence of what was hidden. Seemingly, Ibn Ḥazm accepts the examples proposed as part of the theory of latency. What led him to accept these examples, however, is that they are obviously perceived and indubitably verified by the senses. Thus, it can be seen that when we squeeze the grape, the juices emerge, and the resulting residue is different from the grape. It would be absurd to deny this obvious fact. Ibn Ḥazm

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[21]   cf. Josef van Ess, "Kumūn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, V, 384. Van Ess refers here to the starting point of the theory as he says "the concept was derived from simple observations."

[22]   Ibn Ḥazm's criticism seems to be accurate because some of al-Bāqillānī's views could be construed in this way. These views, however, were presented in regard to the issue of *ṭabʿ* (natures of things) rather than being related to latency. What al-Bāqillānī tried to prove is that to satiate, to quench thirst, to inebriate, to heat, to chill, etc., are not the intrinsic characteristics of beings. According to him, if these were intrinsic characteristics of things due to their natures, satiation, quenched thirst and drunkenness would also occur when other substances were eaten or drunk. Likewise, there would be heat and cold when something came close to anything else because all things are similar to each other. Therefore, if an object necessarily causes an effect, a similar object should cause a similar effect. Thus, when someone eats pebbles or soil, for example, he should be satiated. Likewise, when he drinks vinegar, his thirst should be quenched because these substances are of the same kind as things that are eaten or drunk; see Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb al-tamhīd* (ed. Richard J. McCarthy; Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Sharqiyya, 1957), 40. Consequently, to assert that burning and inebriety result from the heat of a fire or the strength of wine is absolute ignorance; the truth is that these are acts of God (*Ibid.*, 43).

regards such a denial as madness and as opposition to reason and sense data.[23] He consequently accepts the examples of latency that can be verified by the senses.

However, he considers such latency as compatible with the Qurʾān and refers to some Qurʾānic verses as evidence. One of the verses states that "We said, 'O Fire! Be thou cool and (a means of) safety for Abraham!" If the fire was not blazing with heat, Ibn Ḥazm suggests, God would not give such an order. Another verse says, "and from the fruit of the date-palm and the vine, ye get out wholesome drink and food." According to Ibn Ḥazm, this verse denotes that juice is found in those fruits.[24] Consequently, he accepts the theory of latency, to some extent, because of its consistency with the two main bases of his thought, i.e., the sense data and the apparent or literal (*ẓāhir*) meaning of expressions in the Qurʾān.

Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥazm does not go beyond these examples in terms of latency. Neither does he accept the controversial example of fire in a stone or iron.[25] For him, there is such power in the flint or steel that when compressed, the air within them emerges and is trans-

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[23]   Ibn Ḥazm states that the Ashʿarīs have no arguments to support their view be-yond saying that God creates heat in the fire and cold in the snow when we touch them. He creates, too, the oil in an olive and the juice in a grape when we squeeze them. He creates the blood at the time of cutting or chopping. See Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1975), V, 63; henceforth *Faṣl*. Certainly, Ibn Ḥazm is right in his critique. However, although the Ashʿarīs could be criticized in their rejec-tion of visible phenomena, their view seems to be internally consistent. Because they deny the theory of latency as a whole, they reject all ideas it includes. How-ever, it is not possible for them to deny the existence of heat in fire; they had no choice but to say that God creates the heat when we touch the fire.

[24]   *Faṣl*, V, 63. Similar to Ibn Ḥazm, al-Naẓẓām refers to Qurʾānic verses to prove the latency. Al-Jāḥiẓ quotes the following verses: "See ye the fire which ye kindle? Is it ye who grow the tree which feeds the fire, or do We grow it?" (Q 56:71-72) and "the same Who produces for you fire out of the green tree, when behold, ye kin-dle therewith (your own fires)!" (Q 36:80). According to al-Naẓẓām, these indicate that fire is hidden in the wood; see al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, V, 92-93.

[25]   In addition to these two examples, another common example that has been used in debates is wood. In fact, the question of whether the fire is hidden in the wood is a more frequent example than the others. It is strange for Ibn Ḥazm not to refer to wood while mentioning stone and iron.

formed into fire. Likewise, the moisture in all burnable materials is transformed first into fire, then into smoke and eventually into air. There is in the nature of fire, he says, the ability to draw out the flammable constituents of things and to evaporate the moisture contained therein, such that all flammable constituents and the moisture vanish, and there remains only noncombustible and nonflammable ash. In this ash, there is neither fire nor moisture to evaporate. Ibn Ḥazm supports this assertion with the example of lamp oil. Lamp oil is quintessentially flammable. Once it is ignited by fire, however, the few liquid elements in it are transformed into smoke, then the burnable constituents emerge and, ultimately, the oil's flammability is extinguished.[26]

Because he does not accept this example of latency accepted even by scholars who oppose the theory (e.g., Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād, Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, Bishr ibn al-Muʿtamir, and in fact, "most of people of speculation, *ahl al-naẓar*" in al-Ashʿarī's words), it is unreasonable to expect that Ibn Ḥazm would approve of the more extreme cases of latency. He does not accept radical examples which are given to support the theory and do not limit it to the cases that are not easily perceived by the senses, but extend to every being in the world, such as the existence of a stately palm within a small date-stone and a man perfectly shaped within a paltry drop of sperm. According to Ibn Ḥazm, such ideas are in irrational opposition to sense data. Undoubtedly, a palm emerges from a date-stone and a man from a drop of sperm, but it is because God created date-stones and sperm to have this nature. God created in the date-stone the power to absorb the moisture contained in water, dung and soil. The date-stone that absorbs moisture is transformed (*tuḥīlʿ*) into the sapling, leaf, blossom and fruit. Likewise, the created nature of the blood in a drop of seed (*nutfa*) is transformed into flesh, blood, bones, nerves, veins, cartilage, skin, nails and hair. All of these occur by the creation of God.[27] That is to say, a palm proceeds from the date-stone and a man from sperm, yet this does not mean that the palm and man were already hidden in them. It simply indi-

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[26] *Faṣl*, V, 62. See also, Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* (eds. Muḥammad ʿĀṭif al-ʿIrāqī et al.; Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabiyya, 1978), II, 311.

[27] *Faṣl*, V, 62. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, II, 311. Here, he gives only the example of the date-stone and palm.

cates that God has created date-stones and sperm to be capable of transforming into a palm and a man. He constantly intervenes in this process of transformation with a new act of creation.

Based on the above, we can categorize the examples of latency into three groups: the first group consists of simple and limited examples, such as the presence of oil in an olive and juice in a grape. This kind of latency based on simple sensory observations is accepted by nearly all theologians. According to Ibn Ḥazm's account, only the Ashʿarīs (he mentions al-Bāqillānī by name) do not approve of it. The second group includes comprehensive examples, such as a man hiding within a drop of sperm and a palm in a date-stone. This theory, which is strongly opposed by Ibn Ḥazm, is only attributed to al-Naẓẓām. It is likely not held by any Muslim theologian except for his followers, such as al-Jāḥiẓ. The third group of examples finds its place between the other two examples and includes the hiding of fire in firewood, stone or iron. This is the most controversial group of examples among the theologians. According to al-Ashʿarī, most of the early theologians, especially the Muʿtazilīs, accepted this type of latency. Regarding the information provided by Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī and Ibn Mattawayh, the Muʿtazila of Baṣra later approved of this version of the theory while the Muʿtazila of Baghdād, which was led by Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, did not accept it.[28] This controversy is because of the intermediary position of this type of latency between the other two types with regard to sensual verification. This type of latency can neither be directly experienced through the senses (as the first type can) nor is almost entirely deprived of the support of sensory perception (as the second type is). Thus, those who say that fire is not hidden in firewood insist that, if the fire were hidden in firewood, it would be felt when someone touched the firewood or would be seen

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[28] See Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Masāʾil fī l-khilāf bayna l-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādiyyīn* (eds. Maʿn Ziyāda and Riḍwān al-Sayyid; Beirut: Maʿhad al-Inmāʾ al-ʿArabī, 1979), 56; Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh al-Najrānī, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ* (eds. Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf and Fayṣal Budayr ʿAwn; Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1975), 146.

when the firewood were smashed.[29] This example explains why some theologians do not accept that fire may be hidden in firewood, whereas they approve of the presence of oil in an olive. The presence of oil in an olive is clearly visible because when we squeeze an olive, oil emerges out of it. When we touch firewood or stone, however, we can not feel the fire at that moment.[30]

As can be seen, Ibn Ḥazm accepts only the first version of the theory of latency that had already been accepted by most of the theologians, i.e., the simple cases that could be verified by the senses. There is no fire, in his opinion, in a stone or iron, and no palm in a date-stone. The fire or palm, he says, comes into existence as a consequence of a transformation that occurs in the matter (stone, iron or date-stone, for example) under specific circumstances. This assertion introduces a new concept: *istiḥāla* (transformation),[31] which refers to a slow and gradual change in essence or qualities of an object.[32]

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[29] See, for example, Abū Rashīd, *Masāʾil*, 57; Ibn Mattawayh, *Tadhkira*, 146-147. Thus, van Ess says, this is one of three main arguments that was brought forth against the theory. See van Ess, "Kumūn," 385.

[30] It should be remembered here that we have some reservations about Wolfson's view on the issue. As mentioned above, he regards the presence of oil in an olive and fire in a stone as similar and puts these two kinds of latency under the same category.

[31] Occasionally, the term *inqilāb* (change, alteration) is used instead of *istiḥāla*. See, for example, al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, V, 16; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿ fatāwā Sheikh al-islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya* (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-ʿĀṣimī al-Najdī; Riyāḍ: Maṭābiʿ al-Riyāḍ, 1381 H.), XVII, 264.

[32] See Abū l-Ḥasan Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Āmidī, *al-Mubīn fī sharḥ maʿānī alfāẓ al-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn* (ed. Ḥasan Maḥmūd al-Shāfiʿī; Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1993), 100; "… *wa-ammā l-istiḥāla fa-ʿibāratᵘⁿ ʿan istib-dāl al-shayʾ fī dhātihⁱ aw ṣifatⁱⁿ min ṣifātihⁱ lā dafʿatⁿ wāḥidatⁿ bal yasīrᵃⁿ yasīrᵃⁿ*." As seen from the definition, the main emphasis is on the slowness of transformation. Al-Tahānawī's definition supports this point: "[The transformation (*istiḥāla*)] is a gradual transition (*intiqāl*) from one situation to another." See Muḥammad Aʿlā ibn ʿAlī al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn* (eds. Mawlawī Muḥammad Wajīh et al.; Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1862), I, 322. Al-Tabrīzī gives a simpler definition: "The alteration (*taghayyur*) occurred in terms of quality." See Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Tabrīzī, *al-Muqaddimāt al-khams wa-l-ʿishrūn min Dilālat al-ḥāʾirīn* (ed. Muḥammad Zā-

As understood from the sources, *istiḥāla* is a term used by those who do not accept the comprehensive theory of latency to explain the transformation of bodies.[33] The most debated example of this term is the presence of fire in a stone or in firewood.[34] Those who rejected the idea that fire is hidden in these objects instead believed that fire's presence is associated with air. Quoting from the words of al-Naẓẓām, al-Jāḥiẓ summarizes the theory of such men, called *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāḍ*, as follows:

> … The fire is not hidden in the firewood. How can it be, while the fire is larger than the firewood? But when one piece of wood is rubbed with another the both get considerably heated. Then, the particles of the air surrounding the pieces of wood and, in turn, the air that touches the former gets warm. When completely became heated, this air thins down and consequently flames up. Therefore the fire is transformed air (*hawāʾun istaḥāla*). Because of its quintessence, the air is a matter which is hot, fine, weak, capable to quickly accommodate with anything (*jayyid al-qabūl*), and easy to transform. The fire that seems larger than the wood[35] is just the air which was transformed (*al-hawāʾ al-mustaḥīl*).[36]

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hid al-Kawtharī; Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-Turāth, 1993), 50. Al-Khwārazmī offers another definition that maintains an emphasis on change: "Something's gaining of a new appearance by giving off its own appearance." See Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī; 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1989), 161.

[33] Both the terms of *kumūn* and *istiḥāla* imply the emergence of a new being as a result of transformation. The proponents of *kumūn* (who uphold the theory of latency) maintain that this new being was already in existence, while the supporters of *istiḥāla* assert that it adventitiously came into being. Thus, both of the terms seem to be two different explanations of the same fact. Al-Tahānawī says that whoever does not accept *istiḥāla* maintains that the facts explained through *istiḥāla* are in fact the examples of *kumūn*. See al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, I, 322.

[34] See, for example, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-najāt fī l-ḥikma al-manṭiqiyya wa-l-ṭabīʿiyya wa-l-ilāhiyya* (ed. Mājid Fakhrī; Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1985), 183.

[35] The expression "the fire that seems larger than the wood (*wa-l-nār allatī tarāhā aktharᵃ min al-ḥaṭab*)" points to one of the main arguments against the theory of latency. The objection becomes clearer at the beginning of the passage. According to the opponents of *kumūn*, the fact that the theory suggests that something can exist within something smaller than itself indicates the erroneousness of the

The opponents of latency assign the key role to the air because it is an irrefutable fact that when the wood burns, fire emerges. Given that the fire was not hidden in the wood, it must have come from the outside.[37] Because the fire could not be seen before, however, it is necessary to ascribe its existence to something that was already there. This "something" is the air. It becomes heated as a result of certain circumstances (such as rubbing, etc.) and eventually is transformed into fire.

Ibn Taymiyya, who accepts the concept of *istiḥāla*, has a similar approach. According to him, when two objects are joined, there exists another object between them, and the transformation occurs. In this context, the fire emerges from two things joined together (e.g., two pieces of wood, a piece of stone and iron, or two pieces of flint) as a result of the transformation of the matter (the air) between them. When we strike a stone with iron or rub one piece of wood with another (in the text, the trees of *markh* and *ʿafār*[38]), they lose some of their component particles due to the pressure from striking or rub-

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theory. As mentioned above, the theory suggests that the fire that is bigger than wood can occur within it. See van Ess, "Kumūn," 385. He considers the objection in question to be one of the main three criticisms of the theory.

36 See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, V, 15.

37 The proponents of *kumūn* do not accept this. According to them, there is no fire that came from the outside and acted in wood, stone, etc.; see al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, V, 20.

38 The trees of *markh* and *ʿafār* are quite common examples used in debates on whether fire was hidden in the wood. See, for example, al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, V, 82. It is based on the verse Q 36:80: "The same Who produces for you out of the green tree, when behold, ye kindle therewith (your own fires)!" The commentators say that the expression "green tree (*al-shajar al-akhḍar*)" refers to the trees of *markh* and *ʿafār*. See, for example, Abū l-Qāsim Jār Allāh Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʾwīl* (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Shāhīn; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1995), IV, 30; Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1967), XV, 59-60. Consequently, this verse that specifies that fire emerges from wood (together with the above-mentioned trees) is always inserted into the discussion.

bing. Then, some of these lost particles are transformed, the air between the two becomes warm and, consequently, fire emerges.[39]

As mentioned above, Ibn Ḥazm utilizes the concept of *istiḥāla* to explain the examples given in the latter two categories of latency. He approves, in principle, of the presence of transformation in the world. According to him, most things in the world are transformed into each other.[40] The examples in his *Faṣl*, however, that he provides to prove the occurrence of transformation are quite curious. Indeed, the discussion here seems to occur in a legal context rather than a theological one. His main opponents are not theologians or philosophers who accept comprehensive latency but rather the Ḥanafīs. He targets their claims that a small amount of urine or wine in the water is not transformed into water and that these are absolutely present in the water, although their amounts are too small to be perceived by the senses.[41]

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[39] See Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿ fatāwā*, XVII, 264. We should note here, however, that Ibn Taymiyya refers to a lost material. According to him, the existence of hot air itself is not enough for fire to emerge. To transform the air into fire, there must be a trigger, such as rubbing or striking. The matter that emerged as a result of rubbing (or, in other words, the decreasing material in the rubbed matter because of rubbing) heats up the air and eventually transforms it into fire. Of course, rubbing is not sufficient to cause a fire in and of itself. Both the emerging matter and the air surrounding the bodies that are rubbed together cause the fire to come into existence. See *ibid*., XVII, 261.

[40] *Faṣl*, V, 64; "... *kullᵘ shayʾⁱⁿ fī l-ʿālam fa-aktharuhᵘ yastaḥīlᵘ baʿḍuhᵘ ilā baʿḍⁱⁿ*".

[41] Ḥanafī jurists expressed their opinions about the pureness of water in their juridical books, especially in the chapters on purification (*ṭahāra*). They differentiated between the two kinds of things mixed in water, i.e. between the one that impairs the purity of water and denatures it and the other that does not remove its features. This is another issue for discussion; however, we can infer from these statements that they regard that anything mixed in water remains there without being transformed into it. See, for example, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maḥmūd ibn Mawdūd al-Mawṣilī, *al-Ikhtiyār li-taʿlīl al-Mukhtār* (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1984), I, 13-16; Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya sharḥ Bidāyat al-mubtadiʾ* (Istanbul: Kahraman Yayınları, 1986), I, 17-21. Therefore, the views attributed to the Ḥanafī jurists by Ibn Ḥazm correspond to what they said. However, Ibn Ḥazm tries to show that these scholars consider such water to be impure in an absolute manner; however, it is not true. According to the Ḥanafīs, a drop of wine that fell into one liter of water remains there without being trans-

Ibn Ḥazm responds to this claim by pointing to our naming of objects: the objects around us are different due to the dissimilarity of their natures and qualities. Furthermore, their names and definitions differ from one another based on dissimilarity in their natures and qualities. For example, water has a nature and certain characteristics, and whatever possesses this nature and characteristic, we call "water." If an object does not have the nature and characteristic that makes it "water," it would not be "water," and consequently, we would not call it "water." Therefore, it is not possible for the water to be present in wine or honey as it is – by preserving its own definition, nature, and characteristics.[42]

In this way, Ibn Ḥazm makes a simple inference against the Ḥanafīs who insist upon the impossibility of transformation. An object is identical to what we call it; if we call it "water," it is water. Thus, calling it water means that we confirm the absence of wine within it. If we thought that wine was present therein, then we would not call it "water." That we call it "water" indicates that we accept that water has transformed wine into water and that it is no longer present in the water. It also indicates our approval of this transformation. If the amount of wine poured into the water were greater than the amount of water, then the wine would transform the water into wine. Wine is defined by its nature and characteristics, and if this definition corresponds entirely with an object, that object will also be defined as wine.

According to Ibn Ḥazm, the transformation of natural beings occurs in favor of the dominant objects. Therefore, he puts forth the general principle that when two things meet, the dominant one compels the other object to transform. For example, air transforms water into air (i.e., through evaporation). However, when the air transformed from the water becomes a large amount, the transformation process is reversed, and the air is transformed into water (rain). All of these examples can be understood through the senses and reason

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formed and makes it impure; in contrast, a drop of wine which fell into sea remains there without trasforming into water as well, but it does not contaminate it.

[42]   *Faṣl*, V, 64.

(*awāʾil al-ʿuqūl wa-l-ḥawāss*). To oppose them would be to go be-yond the limits of reason.[43]

We should notice, however, that Ibn Ḥazm does not reason here in a theological way; perhaps, he could not perceive the concept of transformation discussed in the natural philosophy of kalām. He rather addresses the concept within a legal framework. As seen in the examples of latency provided above, one object is completely trans-formed into another, as in the transformation of air into fire. Before the air has been transformed into fire, there was no fire but only air. Air is transformed into fire under certain circumstances, fire emerges, and the air completely disappears. In the examples of Ibn Ḥazm, two different elements exist together, and the dominant one causes the other to transform. Due to its greater quantity, water transforms the drop of wine.[44] The examples Ibn Ḥazm provides to prove the occur-rence of transformation do not conform to the commonly offered examples of latency. Despite this, however, he clearly accepts the occurrence of transformation in nature and uses it to explain what proponents of latency explain through their theory.

There is no doubt that his approval of some examples of latency (such as the presence of oil in an olive) and the rejection of others (such as the hiding of palm in a date-stone) is based on him consider-ing observable facts. We clearly see the presence of oil in an olive; moreover, we squeeze it to remove its oil. These are irrefutable facts.

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[43] *Ibid*.

[44] The other examples given by Ibn Ḥazm against the Ḥanafīs proceed in the same way. For example, the chicken eats carrion and blood, and the ram drinks wine. However, all of these (i.e., carrion, blood, wine, etc.) lost their natures and were transformed into chicken and mutton. Therefore, the Ḥanafīs accept the chicken and mutton as *ḥalāl*. This acceptance means that the nature of the chicken or ram transforms what they eat or drink. If chicken and rams excessively ate or drank these things, their nature would become insufficient to transform them, and these impure things would become dominant in their natures. Thus, eating them would be *ḥarām*. Likewise, the legume and fruits absorb impure materials from the soil, but they transform them and become *ḥalāl*. See *ibid*.

It should be noted here that such examples of transformation (*istiḥāla*) have not been used only by Ibn Ḥazm. Al-Khwārazmī, for example, considers the trans-formation of what a ram eats into mutton as an example of *istiḥāla*; see al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 161.

However, the hidden presence of palm in a date-stone cannot be verified by the senses. The most we can say is that the date-stone will be transformed into a palm. Consequently, Ibn Ḥazm's approval of some examples of latency relates more to the fact that these examples conform to data derived from observable facts rather than his acceptance the theory of latency. That he included in his system the concept of transformation, which is consistently avoided by the proponents of latency, shows that he remained distant from this theory.

Ibn Ḥazm fiercely opposes the most important premise of the theory, i.e., that two different bodies could be present in the same place at the same time (*mudākhala*).[45] Every object maintains a space as large as itself. If another object is added to it, a space as large as the added object would need to exist. Therefore, it is not possible to say that two different bodies could be in the same place at the same time, unless there is a new space with the same width as the added body. Just as a single body could not be in two different places at the same time, two different bodies could not be present in the same place at the same time.[46] In this way, Ibn Ḥazm rejects one of the main propositions that justifies the theory of latency.

Accordingly, Ibn Ḥazm's acceptance of the examples of latency does not refer to the approval of such a conception of the world. Although Ibn Ḥazm and other theologians accepted these examples, they did not base a theory of the universe upon them. They accepted them because they are easily observable.

We can now proceed to examine the views of Ibn Ḥazm regarding creation and compare them with those of al-Naẓẓām. We mentioned above that ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī said that al-Naẓẓām asserted

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[45]   That is one of the main criticisms against the theory from both Sunnī and Muʿtazilī theologians. According to these theologians, in addition to the theory of latency's other fallacies, it is faulty because it requires the presence of two different bodies to be in the same place at the same time.

[46]   *Faṣl*, V, 61. Ibn Ḥazm states that two bodies could not exist together by way of *mudākhala* but only by way of *mujāwara* (to be in two places side by side). According to him, *mudākhala* can occur between an accident and a body or between an accident and another because the accidents do not occupy space. Accordingly, the accidents, such as the color, taste, heat, cold or rest, could occur within bodies or penetrate each others. See *Faṣl*, V, 61, 86.

the creation of beings occurred at one time (*fī waqt^{in} wāḥid^{in}*), while al-Shahrastānī refers to this notion by the term *daf'at^{an} wāḥidat^{an}*. These statements indicate that he considered creation to be an act that occurred at one time and all at once. This belief conforms to the theory of latency.

We also mentioned, however, that in parallel with the accounts of al-Baghdādī and al-Shahrastānī, al-Ash'arī says that al-Naẓẓām accepted the creation of things both at one time and at all times. Thus, al-Ash'arī's account contains, at first glance, two paradoxical statements: the creation of beings at one time and the continuity of creation at all times. In al-Khayyāṭ, we can find a similar account that emphasizes the continuity of creation. He states that al-Naẓẓām said that the world was created as a whole. He then quotes Ibn al-Rāwandī as saying, "al-Naẓẓām believes that God creates the world and everything in it at every time and at every point without annihilating them and constantly renews the creation." Al-Khayyāṭ does not accept, however, this report as true. He records that this opinion was ascribed to al-Naẓẓām by al-Jāḥiẓ and that no one else made such an assertion except him; moreover, followers of al-Naẓẓām insisted that he did not hold such a view.[47] If al-Khayyāṭ's denial of this assertion is true, al-Naẓẓām does not, in fact, make contradictory statements.

Even if we assume that both reports provided by al-Ash'arī are true, it is still possible to reconcile them. Thus, the creation of objects all at one time could be regarded as latency (*kumūn*), whereas the continuity of creation at all times could be regarded as appearance (*ẓuhūr*). According to this model, all beings were created at one time, but they emerge from their hidden places when the time is ripe in what can be understood as the continuity of creation.[48] Consequently, because we accept that al-Naẓẓām believed in the latency and creation of beings all at one time, it would be appropriate to construe the information regarding the continuity of creation as indicator of the second part of the theory, i.e. appearance (*ẓuhūr*).

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[47] See al-Khayyāṭ, *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, 44.

[48] cf. Husam Muhi Eldin al-Alousi, *The Problem of Creation in Islamic Thought: Qurʾān, Hadīth, Commentaries, and Kalām* (Cambridge: The National Printing and Publishing Co., 1965), 288.

As he denied the theory of latency, Ibn Ḥazm did not consider creation to be an act that occurred at one time. To him, creation is continuous. He explains that God's creating something means to bring it into existence out of non-existence, i.e., to generate (produce, *ījād*). Thus, as long as it continues to exist, it is created by God. To say that God is not creating/is continuing to create something that exists now means that it is existent, but God is no longer the creator of it. God constantly creates anything that exists at every time, unless He annihilated it.[49] It seems here that Ibn Ḥazm regards the endurance of a being as its continuous creation by God.

The discussion is related, at least in the eye of Ibn Ḥazm, to debates on "creation and what is created" regarding whether creation is identical with what is created or not. Ibn Ḥazm regards the two as identical.[50] Because the created thing is identical to the creation, the creation will continue to occur as long as the created being exists. Consequently, creation will be continuous.[51] In Ibn Ḥazm's remarks at the beginning of the chapter on the continuity of creation, we find a hint of his view about the issue when he says, "when we have demonstrated that the creation of anything is identical with it (*inna khalq al-shayʾ huwa l-shayʾ nafsuhⁱⁱ*) and that God's creating anything will continue to occur as long as this being exists…"[52]

Another point that led him to this idea is the literal reading of the Scripture on which his system is based. As proof, he refers to the verse "it is We Who created you and gave you shape; then We bade the angels bow down to Adam…" According to Ibn Ḥazm, this verse indicates that God created the soil and water, then Adam and his sons were nourished by what was transformed from the soil and water (*bi-mā istaḥāla ʿanhumā*). Consequently, blood came into being as a transformed product of soil and water. Finally, God transformed (*aḥāla*) this blood into semen. Ibn Ḥazm also refers to the verses "... then We developed out of it another creature (man, *khalqᵃⁿ ākharᵃ*)" and "He makes you, in the wombs of your mothers, in stages, one

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[49] See *Faṣl*, V, 55.

[50] See *Faṣl*, V, 40.

[51] See also Duncan Black Macdonald, "Continuous re-Creation and Atomic Time in Muslim Scholastic Theology," *Isis* 9 (1927), 338.

[52] See *Faṣl*, V, 55.

after another, (*khalq^{an} min baʿd^{i} khalq^{in}*) in three veils of darkness." All of these verses show, he says, that God transforms His creatures at all times.[53]

As demonstrated, based on the concept of transformation (*istiḥāla*), Ibn Ḥazm tries to show that beings are in a continuous process of change. He interprets the transformation of beings as the continuity of creation. According to this theory, the object is recreated by God without being annihilated. That is what he calls "new creation (*khalq jadīd*)."[54]

Here, we should point to Ibn Ḥazm's view about al-Naẓẓām's idea of creation. He notes that al-Naẓẓām maintained that God created everything all at one time without annihilating it and that his view was criticized by certain unnamed theologians.[55] Ibn Ḥazm regards this statement as true, but although he approved of al-Naẓẓām's opinion, Ibn Ḥazm does not necessarily think theoretically in the same way as al-Naẓẓām on the issue of creation. As mentioned above, he does not agree with al-Naẓẓām on latency.[56]

An important point to consider is the meaning of the statement, "to create something without annihilating it." One of the possible interpretations is that it refers to creation theories in classical Islamic theology. We should briefly describe these theories.

Alousi categorizes these theories under two broad headings: i) theories of continuous creation and ii) theories of continuous re-creation. According to Alousi, the principal points that differentiate the two categories are the endurance of the accidents and the acceptance of the natural laws of causality. The main representatives of the theory of continuous creation are the Muʿtazilīs, who assert the en-

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[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid.* The notion is mentioned in the Qurʾān: "They say 'What! When we are reduced to bones and dust, should we really be raised up (to be) a new creation (*khalq^{an} jadīd^{an}*)?" (Q 17:49 and 98).

[55] See *Faṣl*, V, 54.

[56] We should note here that the view attributed by Ibn Ḥazm to al-Naẓẓām is to be treated with caution. As already mentioned, al-Khayyāṭ does not accept this report as true; moreover, he says that this opinion was attributed to al-Naẓẓām by Ibn al-Rāwandī and that nobody agreed with him on such an assertion aside from al-Jāḥiẓ.

durance of the accidents and accept the operation of natural laws of causality in beings. Those who support the other theory are the Ashʿarīs, who deny the endurance of accidents and natural causality.[57]

The central question here is the endurance of accidents. Namely, can the accidents, or the visible characteristics of things, persist within a substance when they were created once? Or, are they annihilated and then re-created again? According to the Muʿtazila, the accidents endure except for those that, by their nature, cannot. This means that when an accident was created once in a substrate, it remains there. It is annihilated only when its contrary is created. According to the Ashʿariyya, as well as the Māturīdiyya, the accidents do not endure. When the accident was created, it does not remain at rest more than an instant before it is annihilated. God recreates that accident, however, in the same substrate, and it continues in this manner (*tajaddud al-amthāl*, literally, the regeneration of the similars). Thus, the proponents of the second trend believe, in opposition to the Muʿtazilīs, that the accidents are continuously recreated by God rather than created all at once.[58]

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[57] For more information, see al-Alousi, *The Problem of Creation*, 278-297. When classifying these theories, the author does not consider whether the existence of atoms was accepted. Consequently, the Muʿtazilīs who accept the existence of atoms, theologians who deny it, such as al-Naẓẓām and Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, and a Muslim philosopher, al-Kindī, who rejected atomism and held the concept of "matter and form," are categorized as adherents of the same theory, i.e., that of continuous creation. Al-Alousi states that "the main distinction between them being the belief of one group in the idea of the atom, and its rejection by the other." However, he regards the Ashʿarīs, who maintain a similar concept of the atom to the Muʿtazilīs, as the adherents of the theory of continuous re-creation.

For a brief analysis of these theories, see Pines, *Madhhab al-dharra*, 33-34.

[58] As al-Alousi pointed out, the different approaches of the schools to the issue of causality partially shaped their views on the endurance of accidents. Thus, because the Ashʿarīs rejected the natural causality and accepted the absolute intervention of God, they came to the opinion that the accidents must be created by God in every instance. However, because they accept the natural causality to some extent, the Muʿtazilīs held that an accident could endure. Therefore, we can consider the endurance of accidents to be the basis for the classification of these approaches.

That is what gives us the reason why theologians held different creation theories. Because the Ashʿarīs believe that accidents are continuously annihilated and recreated, we can label their theory "the theory of continuous recreation." Because they believe in the endurance of accidents, the Muʿtazilīs do not need to accept continuous recreation. Consequently, with respect to the existence of accidents, the world is continuously annihilated and recreated in the view of the Ashʿarīs. According to the Muʿtazilīs, the world is not annihilated, and when it once was brought into existence, it remains in existence until it is annihilated by God.[59]

It could be argued that the statement ascribed to al-Naẓẓām by Ibn Ḥazm that "God created everything that He created all at one time without annihilating it" refers to the endurance of accidents. Of course, it is quite possible that the unnamed theologians Ibn Ḥazm mentions as being critical of al-Naẓẓām are the Ashʿarīs, who do not approve of the endurance of accidents. To verify this judgment, however, it should be proven that al-Naẓẓām accepted the endurance of accidents; however, this view is quite controversial. M. ʿA. Abū Rīda says, for example, that al-Naẓẓām does not accept this theory of en-

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[59] The difference between these two approaches to the issue of creation is explained in relation to the qualities of accidents. Accordingly, that the accidents do not have endurance and that they are re-created at every time is the starting point for the idea of continuous re-creation. This idea appears to be consistent by itself. Because the accidents are constanly re-created, the creation becomes a continuous act. For another explanation, i.e., that of continuous creation, the idea of the re-creation of accidents does not exist; on the contrary, the accident remains in existence because it was once created. Consequently, at first sight, creation was over and done with, because there is nothing which is continuously re-created.

Such an impression is essentially caused by looking at the issue from the perspective of the endurance of accidents. It should be remembered here, however, that the atomist view supposes the continuity of creation. Because at every time something is created in the world, and these created beings are composed of atoms and accidents. Therefore, the term continuous creation should be addressed in a more comprehensive manner. The term continuous re-creation is applied to more specific examples in the scope of continuous creation. Namely, it specifically refers to the continuous re-creation of some components of created beings, i.e., accidents. This particular emphasis distinguishes it from the more general idea of continuous creation. In this regard, the concept of continuous re-creation denotes a special approach under the concept of continuous creation.

durance.[60] Moreover, when he summarizes the theologians' views on the endurance of accidents, al-Ashʿarī does not mention al-Naẓẓām by name among those who denied the endurance of accidents. Rather al-Ashʿarī places him in a distinct category. Accordingly, al-Naẓẓām accepts only one accident, *movement*, and he asserts that it does not have endurance.[61] Therefore, the problem lies at the very core of the issue. Al-Naẓẓām does not regard as accidents much of what other theologians consider to be accidents. Thus, the explanation appears to be quite problematic because it attempts to describe a theory of the world through the notions that belong to another theory. Furthermore, the only accident whose presence was accepted by al-Naẓẓām does not have endurance. Even if this explanation were approved despite its potential inconsistencies and difficulties, this simply indicates that al-Naẓẓām thinks in a different way from the Ashʿarīs and not that he shares Ibn Ḥazm's perspective.

Another possible explanation is that the opinion attributed to al-Naẓẓām refers direcly to the theory of latency, which seems to be a more reasonable conclusion because the main thesis of the theory, i.e., the creation of beings all at one time, implies that the beings are not annihilated.[62] Seemingly, Ibn Ḥazm considered only the portion of the theory that is compatible with his views, not the whole. Consequently, that Ibn Ḥazm regards the view of al-Naẓẓām as true does not mean that there is an absolute agreement between the two. At first sight, their views seem to be identical: the object is created without being annihilated. However, they reach the same conclusion from different starting points, i.e., from different views on creation. Al-Naẓẓām's conclusion is based on the connotations of the theory of latency, while that of Ibn Ḥazm is based on the visible appearance of beings and on the presupposition that God continuously intervenes in the world through His power. As has been demonstrated, Ibn

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[60]   See Abū Rīda, *Min shuyūkh al-Muʿtazila*, 117-118.

[61]   See al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, II, 358; see also ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif fī ʿilm al-kalām* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Mutanabbī, n.d.), 101. He mentions here al-Naẓẓām together with Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, who was referred to by al-Ashʿarī as one who absolutely rejects the endurance of accidents.

[62]   Accordingly, al-Alousi refers to the theory of latency as a separate trend among the theories of continuous creation. See al-Alousi, *The Problem of Creation*, 283 ff.

Ḥazm approves of the view of al-Naẓẓām when solely considering the similarity in conclusions reached without paying attention to its theoretical background or without comprehending it completely.

In conclusion, we can say that although Ibn Ḥazm accepted some examples provided in support of the theory of latency, he does not regard it as a theory of nature. This approval does not mean more than that he found these examples to be compatible with his methodology, which is based on the visible facts (i.e. visible appearance of beings). Accordingly, he rejects the theory of latency just as he rejects atomism. Thus, he explains the creation neither within the framework of these theories nor through their concepts. Certainly, he believes that creation is continuous, and in this respect, he concurs with many of the creation theories. This agreement, however, occurs only at the literal level and not in terms of the theoretical background.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Adam Gaiser

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The Qurʾan: Its Biblical Subtext, by Gabriel Said Reynolds, (Routledge Studies in the Qurʾan: 10), (London & New York: Routledge, 2010), xi + 304 pp., ISBN: 978-0-415-77893-0, £80 (hardback)

Gabriel Said Reynolds' painstaking study is a welcome addition to the swelling corpus of Qurʾān studies. The central arguments are neither complex nor entirely new. The Qurʾān is best understood as a homily upon Jewish and Christian traditions. More specifically, the Qurʾān alludes to anti-Jewish Christian homilies on biblical themes. The supposition that the intended audience for the Qurʾān's preaching would have been familiar with the narrative and its attendant morals, so that allusion would suffice, is one of the insights that Reynolds owes to the late John Wansbrough. However, what was so well known to the original audience of the Qurʾān was not at all familiar to the huge *umma* that developed over the succeeding centuries. Reynolds adds that it was the deliberate decision of the Muslim *mufassirūn* to distance their holy writ from the traditions of rival – by now, subdued and despised (*dhimmī*) – faiths. Hence, even when the *mufassirūn* had access to a Jewish or Christian tradition, they would not exploit it for the clarification of difficult Qurʾānic passages. Therefore, academic scholars should not rely on *tafsīr* for the elucidation of difficult passages.

Reynolds has closely studied the old and new literature, not only Qurʾānic studies proper but allied fields as well. More precisely, he strongly emphasizes biblical studies, which he cogently affirms are on the right methodological track, one that Qurʾānic studies ought to take as well. James Kugel's highly acclaimed *In Potiphar's House* is cited as a prime example. Towards the end of the book, Reynolds aligns himself with the approach taken by Max Grünbaum in his *Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* in 1893; I would not be surprised if I were not the only one not to have read that paragon of academic study. Despite the occasional snide remark about some scholarship, Reynolds' tone is almost always respectful. Note in particular that he does not voice any snobbish scorn for the work of Christopher Luxenberg, though he, like everyone else that I know, ultimately rejects Luxenberg's suggestions.

Special praise goes to Reynolds for his courage to criticize the current academic reticence toward any hint of criticism of the Qurʾān and to "celebrate" what seem to be literary problems rather than to investigate them dispassionately. In my view, this approach was begotten from the trauma of post-9/11 Islamophobia as well the horror of being suspected of any form of "Orientalism." Reynolds' words deserve to be quoted in full: "Yet neither is the method of the present work the sort of apology for the canonical text that is increasingly seen in recent publications, according to which any literary peculiarity – such as the repetition of accounts – necessarily redounds to the Qurʾān's literary brilliance." (pp. 237-238)

The book is divided into four parts. The first, relatively brief, section is a fairly exhaustive survey of the "scholarly conflict over the Qurʾān." I will not review this section here, except to point out that Reynolds' synopses of the earliest phases of Qurʾān research, most of which was written in German, is itself a service to a generation whose reading knowledge of European languages cannot be taken for granted. The second part comprises thirteen case studies, which I shall briefly summarize. The third and fourth parts, "Qurʾān and tafsīr" and "Reading the Qurʾān as homily," present Reynolds' conclusions and suggestions concerning the proper direction for Qurʾānic studies. I have already discussed the salient points; some additional remarks will follow the discussion of the case studies.

The method of the case studies is as follows. Reynolds first sets up the problem, displaying the problematic Qurʾānic passage or passages and indicating the difficulties. Next, he reviews the solutions of the *mufassirūn*, which invariably prove unsatisfactory. Five have been selected, offering a wide range of exegetical approaches and doctrinal allegiances but falling short, as Reynolds freely admits, of full coverage. They are (1) Muqātil; (2) al-Qummī; (3) al-Ṭabarī; (4) al-Zamakhsharī; and (5) Ibn Kathīr. Finally, Reynolds suggests several biblical subtexts that, when brought into the discussion, allow him to arrive at, or at least approximate, a solution. In each case, a wide range of scholarly literature is addressed as well; often, Reynolds' solution is similar or identical to an idea found therein. The treatment of each case is quite good, and any one of them could, and perhaps should, be used as a unit in a survey course of the Qurʾān. There is, however, one important stricture: given the nature of this enterprise,

the solution must be found in textual sources. When Reynolds presents his own original solution, it seems to be an ill-advised guess.

Let us now review the case studies. Because the proof of the pudding is in the eating, we can best appreciate Reynolds' approach by seeing how he deals with some of the knottier problems in Qurʾānic interpretation. His success or failure in these ventures will be the best measure of the cogency of his theoretical deliberations. The first case concerns the prostration of the angels before Adam, described in Q 2:30 and elsewhere. The obvious question is, why should God command the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam? Most plausibly, this divine command indicates Adam's high stature and is likely connected to his designation as God's *khalīfa*. How do the *mufassirūn* handle this? To avoid the theological problems inherent in granting divine stature to Adam, most choose to gloss *khalīfa* as "successor" rather than "representative." In turn, this raises the question: successor to what? The generally accepted answer is that Adam succeeds the *jinn* who were previously given the run of the earth. As for the question of prostration, this is either a token of respect or a command given only to expose the pride of Iblīs, who refused to bow. If taken as an act of worship, then Adam is merely serving as *qibla*, indicating the direction toward which the angels should prostrate themselves before God. These interpretations seem to be dictated by theological worries that developed only later in Islam.

Is there a Judeo-Christian subtext, and can it help us to understand the Qurʾānic narrative? In early Jewish traditions, the angels are so overwhelmed by Adam's countenance that they consider him a divine being. In Christian tradition, Adam prefigures Christ and so is divine. The command given to the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam occurs repeatedly in the Qurʾān and must have some significant meaning for the story of mankind. Angels prostrate themselves before Adam because God dwells within Adam. This solution is lost to *tafsīr*, which offers only forced and unsatisfying explanations, but it emerges clearly from the Adam-Christ typology of the subtext.

The second case concerns the well-known phrase *al-shayṭān al-rajīm*. What does *rajīm* mean? Why is it applied only to Shayṭān (on earth), not to Iblīs (in heaven)? Is it related to the word *rujūm*, which is found elsewhere in the Qurʾān, and, if so, how? Inspection of *tafsīr* reveals that *rajīm* is usually taken to mean "cursed" or "insulted" and

is thus not related to *rujūm*. Consideration of the subtext, says Reynolds, indicates that *rajīm*, in this context, does not derive from the root (in Arabic and other Semitic languages) that means to cast stones or to curse. Instead, it is "semantically connected" to *burūj* (Q 15:16), "towers." The subtext involves cosmic geography, which views heaven as fortified by towers (*burūj*) that are there to ensure that those cast out cannot return. In brief, *rajīm* means "banished from heaven." The full Qurʾānic story of the creation of Adam and his early history continues the trend in Jewish and Christian exegesis of identifying the biblical "serpent" with the devil and "Eden" with the heavenly paradise. Reynolds' approach delivers good results in these first two cases.

The third case study is different. It examines the *hapax legemenon* in Q 7:25, where Allah announces to the children of Adam that he sent down "clothing to cover your shameful parts and *rīsh*, yet the clothing of piety is better." *Rīsh* literally means "feathers," but this does not seem to fit the context at all. Hence, the *mufassirūn* understood it metaphorically, as clothing of some sort. Al-Ṭabarī connects it to the Quraysh practice of circumambulating the Kaʿba naked. Hence, "children of Adam" is synonymous with "people;" it does not refer specifically to Adam. Al-Zamakhsharī takes the verse to refer to two types of clothing, basic covering and more decorative vestments (*rīsh*), even drawing the legal inference that the Qurʾān sanctions decorative clothing.

According to Reynolds, the subtext here is the story of Adam, especially the vestments God made for him (Hebrew *kotnot or*) and their interpretation in Jewish and Christian sources. Reynolds calls attention to the Babylonian Talmud's statement (Sanhedrin 59[b]) that Adam was a vegetarian, expanding this to mean that no blood could be spilled before Noah's time. Thus, the best that could be done to make garments of "skin" would be to pluck feathers from a bird, provided that the bird could survive the experience! Reynolds has saved the literal meaning of the text, to be sure, but in doing so, he has overreached the mandate of his method. There is no textual source for the claim that spilling blood in any way was forbidden to Adam, nor is there any source for his being covered by feathers. Creativity has its place in research of this sort, but one should not create traditions that do not exist.

The treatment of the fourth case, "Abraham the Gentile Monotheist," the Qurʾānic account of Abraham's spiritual biography, is more successful, though it is not without its difficulties. Reynolds examines various stories in the Bible and apocrypha. He does not always interpret them properly, to my mind, especially confusing astrolatry with astrology. However, he reserves his attention mainly for the difficult term *ḥanīf*, one of the most debated words in Qurʾānic studies. After a thorough review of the literature, Reynolds settles on the idea that *ḥanīf* correlates with *ummī*, which means "gentile," neither a Jew nor a Christian. *Ḥanīf* is thus an ethnic label (indeed, Payne-Smith lists *ethnicus* as one of the definitions of *ḥanpe*) rather than a religious one.

Case 5 is Sarah's laughter, the reason for which is not explained in the Qurʾān. The subtext is the "Sarah/Mary typology," with the Qurʾān conflating the announcements of the births of Isaac and Jesus. This explanation is necessary because the etymological connection in the Hebrew Bible between the word for laughter and the name Isaac (both from the same Hebrew root) does not work in Syriac or Arabic. Sarah's laughter actually anticipates the announcement made to Mary. Case 6 asks who Hāmān is, whom the Qurʾān consistently connects with Pharaoh. Traditional exegetes make no effort to identify him beyond what can be deduced from the Qurʾānic context. One exception is Muqātil, who uses two Persian words to describe Hāmān's office. According to Reynolds, this is only because Muqātil was a native speaker of that language; Muqātil does not know that Hāmān is found in the Book of Esther as the vizier of the Persian king. The subtext is that the Qurʾān is here integrating a number of biblical personalities, all of whom have in common an uncommon arrogance.

In this connection, Reynolds remarks (p. 105), "The argument that the Qurʾān is somehow wrong or confused by placing Hāmān in Egypt (or, for that matter, that the Talmud is wrong by placing Jethro, Balaam, and Job there) seems to me essentially irrelevant. The Qurʾān's concern is not simply to record Biblical information but to shape that information for its own purposes. The more interesting question is therefore *why* the Qurʾān connects Hāmān and Qorah with the story of Pharaoh. The answer, it seems, is that the Pharaoh story is to the Qurʾān a central trope about human conceit and rebelliousness, on the one hand, and divine punishment, on the other."

True enough, but against whom is he arguing? Who, in this day and age, would criticize the Qurʾān or Talmud for "confusing" historical (at least, biblical history) facts? Tellingly, Reynolds refers to Geiger, Wensinck, and Vajda. To this reviewer, it seems that all of the contemporary scholars – and Reynolds knows their work well, relying, in this case, on a study by Adam Silverstein – approach the scriptural narratives as literature rather than history. Reynolds appears to be beating a dead horse.

Case 7 involves a number of verses from different chapters of the Qurʾān that speak of a Sabbath-observing people – presumably Jews, though they are never called this by name – who, in one way or another, violate the Sabbath by fishing and are cursed to become (or, alternatively, are made by God into) apes or pigs. Some modern translators strain to see the transformation as metaphorical, suggesting that this group ought to be despised like apes, or something of the sort. All of the *mufassirūn*, save al-Zamakhsharī, take the transformation literally. The subtext is a combination of the motif of the transformation into animals as a form of divine punishment and the Biblical idea that obedience to God is tested by the observance of the Sabbath.

The eighth case is the story of Jonah, called Yūnus or Dhū l-nūn ("the person of the fish") in the Qurʾān. Stories about this prophet are found in several places in the Qurʾān, but there are some gaps, and the narrative is not as smooth as it is in the biblical book. Reynolds finds that the Qurʾānic story is in conversation mainly with Christian understandings. In the New Testament, like the Qurʾān but unlike the Hebrew Bible, Jonah is a major prophet. In both later scriptures, the moral of the story clearly contrasts the repentance of the citizens of Nineveh with the stubbornness of the Jews. "Thus the Qurʾān's references to the story of Jonah reflect the content of the Old Testament Book, but the homiletic interpretation of the New Testament." (p. 129)

Case 9 addresses the textual and doctrinal questions raised by the Qurʾān's account of Mary. Among the former are her designation as "sister of Aaron," suggesting confusion with Miriam, sister of Moses; the *miḥrāb* where Mary is harbored; and the "casting of pens (*aqlām*)" to determine who would be Mary's guardian. The doctrinal question is posed by the statement in Q 3:42 that Mary was chosen to

be "above the women of the worlds." In what way was she superior? Here again, the *mufassirūn* avail themselves of a variety of ḥadīths, and some personal ingenuity, to resolve the issues. The problems are largely removed once we identify the subtext: the *Protoevangelium* of James, a very popular apocryphon that tells the story of Mary in some detail. Thus, for example, we can now see that the *miḥrāb* refers to the *koiton* or sanctuary where Anne ensconced her daughter Mary until she was old enough to be presented to the Temple, and the *aqlām* are not pens used to decide who would be Mary's guardian, but rods used to determine who would be her groom. Not all of the difficulties are removed by appealing to this early Christian text, but the remaining issues can be resolved by acknowledging some recent research on Qurʾānic modes of expression. For example, "sister," as in "sister of Aaron," need not denote a precise familial relationship but rather indicates "general tribal/national relationships or religious bonds" (pp. 144-145, citing Suleiman Mourad). In general – and this is another major theme – the story in the Qurʾān reflects a literary typology (adopted or established by the Qurʾān) rather than an attempt at history or chronology.

The tenth case is "The Jews' Uncircumcised Hearts." In two chapters of the Qurʾān, reference is made to the Jews' admission, "Our hearts are *ghulf*;" the context is a rebuke of the Jews. *Ghulf* can be understood in a number of senses. Among the *mufassirūn*, al-Zamakhsharī comes closest when he remarks that the word may mean "uncircumcised," but it is to be understood metaphorically. Surprisingly, nearly all of the modern translators miss the mark as well, even though the subtext here – the biblical metaphor of the uncircumcised heart – should be quite obvious. Once again, the Qurʾān echoes a Christian exploitation of the biblical reprimand to the Jews. In discussing this case, Reynolds offers another generalization that is central to his argument, and should be cited here:

That the Qurʾān makes no effort to explain the metaphor of the uncircumcised (*ghulf*) hearts implies that at the time of the Qurʾān's composition/proclamation it was well-known. That this metaphor was so mysterious to the *mufassirūn*, on the other hand, shows how much had been forgotten. This point has been made in previous case studies. Here, however, it is even more evident. (p. 152)

One small remark: we find here (page 153 note 507) one of the frequent references to the Hebrew midrash *Pirqe de-Rebbe Eliezer*; but this work, or at least large portions of it, is now considered to be post-Islamic. Hence, its value in establishing the sought-after subtext is questionable.

Case 11 involves the reward of martyrs. Verses from different chapters indicate that martyrs enter "the garden" immediately. Their reward is greater than that of mere "believers;" they do not have to await judgment day, but instead receive both bodily and spiritual reward immediately. The *mufassirūn*, as is their wont, interpret the verses in light of ḥadīth. Reynolds points again to a Christian, specifically Jacobite and East Syrian, subtext here. Whereas ancient Jewish eschatology has little, if anything, to say about the afterlife, Christian tradition has much to say, especially about the reward enjoyed by martyrs. Nonetheless, for Christians, the redemptive sacrifice of martyrs is closely connected to the crucifixion; the redemptive value of Jesus' suffering is not found in the Qurʾān.

The twelfth case is the Seven Sleepers, or "The Companions of the Cave." Reynolds acknowledges immediately, "Other scholars have analyzed the Qurʾānic version of this narrative at great length. Here I will approach the account [...] only inasmuch as it illustrates the theme of the present work: the Qurʾān's homily on Biblical literature." (p. 167) He further allows that his own treatment owes much to the recent article by Sidney Griffith, "Christian Lore and the Arabic Qurʾān," as well as to the monograph of Michael Huber published over a century ago, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern*. The homily here, *tout court*, is bodily resurrection.

For his final case study, Reynolds treads extremely dangerous ground: is Muḥammad the name of an actual historical person, the "founder" of Islam, or is it, rather, an epithet? Indeed, the name Muḥammad appears only four times in the Qurʾān; earlier prophets are named much more frequently, Moses topping the chart with 136 appearances. We encounter the term messenger (*rasūl*) or prophet (*nabī*) hundreds of times; why so few mentions of Muḥammad? Moreover, in the four verses where the word appears, it is not entirely clear that a proper name is intended. In a fifth verse, ʿĪsā (Jesus) announces that a prophet will come after him, whose name is Aḥmad. All five occurrences could be readily understood to describe the

prophet as praiseworthy, using different forms of the verb *ḥamada*, rather than disclosing his proper name. Modern translators, almost without exception, treat both Muḥammad and Aḥmad as proper names. Some *mufassirūn* report traditions that the prophet had several epithets; Ibn al-Jawzī relays a tradition that the prophet had twenty-three names!

Modern academic studies on this issue are copious, and Reynolds reviews them with his usual diligence and critical insight. Whereas earlier scholarship, beginning with Sprenger, debated whether Muḥammad was used as a proper name by the pre-Islamic Arabs, more recent scholarship, beginning with the book *Crossroads to Islam* by Yehuda Nevo and Judith Koren, looks outside Islamic traditions. Much of this body of work makes the name Muḥammad more or less equivalent with Muṣṭafā, "the chosen one," but this work also contends that it refers not to the Prophet of Islam, but to Jesus! Reynolds sides with those who do not take Muḥammad to be a personal name. The Qurʾān, as a rule, does not show much interest in the proper names of people and places; *muḥammad* as an adjective is a perfectly valid form in Arabic, and religious figures, notably several of the apostles, are given new names (that is, epithets) when they receive their calling. Reynolds concludes, "The Qurʾān … is not interested in the proper names of its historical context. It should not be a great surprise, then, that the Qurʾān never provides the proper name of its own Prophet." (p. 199)

The *mufassirūn* shaped the Qurʾān in light of their particular concerns, be they haggadic (Muqātil [?], al-Qummī), sectarian (al-Qummī), literalist (al-Ṭabarī), rationalist (al-Zamakhsharī), or fundamentalist (Ibn Kathīr). *Tafsīr* is much less a historical record stretching back to the time of the Qurʾān's origins and much more the product of individual scholars and the (historically removed) context in which they worked. Reynolds might have phrased this in terms both stronger and more universal: commentary on the Qurʾān is generically and essentially the same as commentaries on other writings. It informs us as much (or maybe more) about the commentator as it does about the text that s/he proposes to elucidate.

Though Jeffrey pointed out long ago that *sīra* and *ḥadīth* (the two main sources of *tafsīr*) are not of much use in clarifying difficult points in the Qurʾān, Reynolds finds that some trained scholars – in-

cluding the avowedly critical translations of Fakhry and Abdul Haleem – rely on those traditional sources. Here, I must raise a small objection: isn't translation, especially a translation aimed at a general audience, a different cup of tea? The reader dependent upon an English Qur'ān will likely be unwilling or unable to sort through all of the traditional commentaries and scholarly literature on a given verse and will form an impression of Islam directly and exclusively from the plain English translation. Hence, in an age when many worry that Islam has acquired an image of violent militancy, it is understandable that a translator would mollify the text at the expense of academic depth or precision (see the critique of Abdul Haleem on page 229, note 142).

"Qur'ānic discourse" is thus most profitably viewed as a homily on biblical tradition, especially Christian tradition. What is homily? Reynolds embraces the characterization formulated by Angelika Neuwirth, only to be rejected by her: a homily "expresses a truth that has already been announced and attempts to urge that truth upon the listener." Because this truth has already been "announced," the Qur'ān need do no more than allude to the story by means of a few key words that stimulate the audience to recall (*dhikr*) a biblical story. This explains the many gaps in Qur'ānic narrative and the alleged confusion (alleged only by those who look for historical accuracy) of characters, such as placing Hāmān at Pharaoh's court. As noted, Reynolds finds the most satisfaction in the treatment of the Qur'ān in the work of biblical scholars. The book ends with a call to graduate students interested in pursuing research on the Qur'ān to study Hebrew, Aramaic, and the other languages of the pre-Qur'ānic Judeo-Christian tradition. To sum up, this is a work of very impressive scholarship. All scholars may benefit from the review of scholarly literature and the revisiting of long-standing controversies, whether or not they accept Reynolds' solutions. The book is also very valuable as an aid to those who teach the Qur'ān at the university level.

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The Qurʾān: Modern Muslim Interpretations, by Massimo Campanini, (translated by Caroline Higgitt; London & New York: Routledge, 2011), 149 pp., ISBN: 978-0-41555830-3, £18.99 (pb)

This is the second book of Professor Campanini that has been translated into English. His first book, *The Qurʾan: The Basics* (also published by Routledge, 2007) was very favourably reviewed and received. These translations into English are a very welcomed development for they make available the scholarship of Italian scholars which is not usually known in the Anglo-American sphere. Professor Campanini's work joins now the work of his Italian compatriot Professor Roberto Tottoli which has been available in English for a while. Actually the current book under review grew out of the last chapter of his book *The Qurʾan: The Basics.*

The Qurʾan: Modern Muslim Interpretations is a timely book that surveys the modern developments in the Islamic world regarding the Qurʾān. Campanini starts his book by a profound insight into the peculiar repositioning of the Qurʾān as the most central feature of modern Islam, a development that he compares to the beginning of Islam "we have seen in modern times a period of intense activity, comparable to that of the Middle Ages, in the field of the study and interpretation of the Qurʾān in the Islamic world." (p. 1) I happen to agree with this insight and I think it actually helps us understand many of the characteristics of the modern Islamic religious landscape.

The book is divided into four chapters each surveys a certain aspect of the modern approaches to the Qurʾān. Chapter 1, "Traditional commentary", covers three trends in Qurʾān commentary: the Salafī, the Traditionalist, and the "Scientific." The author uses the term Salafī in this work to refer to the reformist movement of the 19th century which attempted to an "Islamisation of modernity" and which espoused the notion that Islam and rationality are compatible. (p. 9) Campanini gives a detailed analysis of the ideological make up of this movement (p. 12) and its main protagonists. Campanini sums up the approach of this movement to the Qurʾān by stating that "the Salafī approach was to *construct* the Qurʾān, in other words to use it as an underpinning for thought, as a source of theological and moral teach-

ings that would be useful in helping the Islamic peoples know how to come to terms with modernity." (p. 13) The main Qurʾān commentary of this current was *Tafsīr al-Manār* of Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935). Campanini believes that the notion that the Qurʾān was rational text was the inspiring premise of this work. (p. 14) What I find instructive about the work of Campanini is that he has enlarged the scope of our understanding of this movement by introducing us to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ben Bādīs and his Qurʾān commentary. (pp. 18-20) Ben Bādīs was noted for his call to making the study of the Qurʾān "come before all other traditional religious sciences." (p. 19)

The second current is that of Traditionalist commentary; Campanini discusses four major Qurʾān commentators in this section: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī (1903-1983), Ṭāhir Ibn ʿĀshūr (1879-1973), Maḥmūd Shaltūt (1893-1963), and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (1916-1996). Campanini is to be commended for grouping here Sunnī and Shīʿī scholars on the same footing; the unspoken argument is that in modern developments the division that divides the two hermeneutical traditions in Sunnism and Shīʿism is much less significant than in the classical period. (p. 24) Campanini highlights a fascinating contradiction in this trend in Qurʾān commentary, its admixture of traditional and modernist principles at the same time. (p. 28) Campanini to his credit bases much of his analysis on the work of Ḥ'mīda Ennaifer who has summed up the characteristics of these two groups (the Salafī and the Traditionalist) in his monograph on modern approaches to the Qurʾān. (p. 34) What I find fascinating about Campanini's dependence on Ennaifer is the complex trajectory that his scholarly utilization of an underutilized Arabic work has to traverse before it reached English. Ennaifer wrote his work originally in Arabic, thanks to the effort of the Pontifical Institute of Arabic Studies the work was translated into French in 1998 (see p. 132 note 76 for reference to the French translation). Campanini wrote this book under review in Italian and it has now appeared in English. It is sobering that Arabic scholarly works on the Qurʾān (and on many fields for that matter) are haphazardly picked up in the European and North American scholarly circles. We lack any systematic scholarly following or connection to the scholarly works being published in the Islamic world. Ennaifer's work is a first rate study of modern *tafsīr* and the position of the Qurʾān in the Arab world. The decision of the Pon-

tifical Institute to translate the work is indicative of the insights of the European Christian institutions that study Islam and its profound insights – in *tafsīr* of course we have the towering figure of Claude Gilliot. Yet, apart from few examples Arabic secondary literature in *tafsīr* has little or no effect on the scholarly debates in European languages – Campanini being a notable exception. If we add to this the scholarly literature being produced in Turkish universities – especially the PhD dissertations in the Ilahiyat departments, we realize the magnitude of the rupture and gap between the various scholarly worlds. Apart from the intrinsic merit of the work of Professor Campanini I think his heavy drawing on Arabic scholarly works on the Qurʾān and *tafsīr* is perhaps the most important aspect of his work, since it enriches our understanding of modern Islam through a continuous refinement of our collective scholarly collaborations.

The final current discussed in Chapter One is the "Scientific" commentary tradition. Here Professor Campanini covers the major figures in this trend but also their opponents in the Islamic world, making this section a fascinating read and a window onto the complexity of the position of scriptural authority in the age of science.

Chapter 2 titled "The Qurʾan as text, discourse and structure" is an extensive survey of modern – and by that I mean modernist approaches to the Qurʾān, from literary approaches to philosophical. This is the most interesting chapter of the book and it covers a large number of scholars and works which makes this chapter a reference to the Qurʾān in the modern period. In addition to Khalafallāh (1916-1998), al-Khūlī and Bint al-Shāṭiʾ (d. 1998), Campanini discusses Arkoun's work as well as Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd. These are the usual names one would expect to find in such a chapter, Campanini however also includes ʿAbdullah Saeed, a Professor at the University of Melbourne, who uses Gadamer's insights into hermeneutics, as well as Mālik Bennabī and Muḥammad Ṭalbī. (p. 65)

These are not however the only scholars discussed in this chapter. Campanini also discusses the works of the Iranian scholar Muḥammad Mujtahid Shabestārī, the Sudanese Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, the Egyptian Ḥasan Ḥanafī and the Pakistani-American Fazlur Raḥmān. Finally, Campanini discusses the Egyptian-UK professor Muḥammad ʿAbdel Ḥaleem, a Professor of Islamic studies at SOAS, and the founder of the *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies*, the leading aca-

demic journal on the Qurʾān in the world now. As a final effort at comprehensibility, Campanini discusses the works of Abū l-Aʿlā al-Mawdūdī (1903-1979), that of Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (1907-1997) and the Syrian writer Muḥammad Shaḥrūr. This is definitely one of the most extensive surveys of modern Muslim scholars who have written on the Qurʾān. This chapter on its own has enough material to be enlarged into an extensive monograph. The succinct analysis of Campanini is a welcomed introduction to these scholars, and now we have in English a very serious survey of the Qurʾān in the modern period.

Chapter 3, the shortest in the book is dedicated to the Radical hermeneutics of Sayyid Quṭb. Once more what I find inspiring about the approach of Campanini is his intimate engagement with previous scholarship, both utilizing it and building on its insights. In the case of Quṭb, Campanini relies on the work of O. Carré (for reference for his work see p. 139, note 12).

Chapter 4 entitled "The Qurʾan and the hermeneutics of liberation" brings the book to its final conclusion. This chapter covers what has become the equivalent of liberation theology in modern Islam and the feminist approaches to scriptures. This chapter is more of a quick survey of this trend, starting with the ideologues of the Iranian revolution. Campanini then covers the thought of the South African activist and scholar Farid Esack as well as the feminist scholars Margot Badran and Fatima Mernissi. This chapter ends with a detailed survey of the thought of the African American Muslim scholar Amina Wadud. Finally, Campanini attempts to give a brief look at the situation in Indonesia and Turkey in an Appendix at the end of the book.

This is an impressive survey of the topic of the Qurʾān and its interpretation in the modern period. Despite its 150 pages this work is daunting in the amount of details that it offers and the range of authors covered. The only regret is that the book does not have a bibliography at the end to make it easier to refer to works. But that is a minor complaint. Professor's Campanini's work deserves to be widely read and its appearance in English is a very welcomed addition to our understanding of the Qurʾān in the modern period.

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Spiritual Purification in Islam: The Life and Works of al-Muḥāsibī, by Gavin Picken, (Routledge Sufi Series, 11), (Abingdon, Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2011), xii + 248 pp., ISBN: 978-0-415-54822-9, £75.00 (hardback)

Ḥārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) has not been the subject of a comprehensive study for half a century; the present book therefore arouses high expectations. The question of where to situate al-Muḥāsibī in the intellectual history of the third/ninth century is anything but settled; a new approach might be in order. But the reader is ultimately disappointed. The author has delved deeply into al-Muḥāsibī's works, but he presents the results of his investigation in a rather apodictic way and largely omits engaging in a dialogue with previous research.

In principle, the double title correctly describes what the author wants to accomplish. He treats the life and works of al-Muḥāsibī in chapters 2 and 3, and he deals with "spiritual purification" in chapters 4 and 5. However, he does not tell us how al-Muḥāsibī practiced this purification and why he became so famous for the technique he used, the *muḥāsaba*, after which he was named. The author misses al-Muḥāsibī's individuality completely, and he is not interested in putting him into a historical context. In chapters 4 and 5, "spiritual purification" turns out to be the translation for *tazkiyat al-nafs*; this is the Arabic term on the author's mind. However, this word did not belong to al-Muḥāsibī's vocabulary. *Tazkiyat al-nafs* is a modern expression derived from the Qurʾān (Q 91:7 ff.) that dominates contemporary parenetic literature published in Egypt and elsewhere. It is true that, in a separate chapter (pp. 186 ff.), the author enumerates the expressions used by al-Muḥāsibī himself (i.e., *muḥāsaba, mujāhadat al-nafs, dhamm al-nafs, maʿrifat al-nafs*), but he does not analyze these expressions with sufficient philological discipline. Their discussion remains merely a verbal exercise; we do not hear a word about their application, al-Muḥāsibī's dialogical style or his "Socratic" way of penetrating the depth of the human soul. Phenomena such as hypocrisy or "eye-service" (*riyāʾ*), self-complacency (*ʿujb*), haughtiness (*kibr*) and envy (*ḥasad*), all those hidden vices that became the object of subtle case-studies in al-Muḥāsibī's *al-Riʿāya li-ḥuqūq Al-*

lāh, are more or less eliminated from the picture. Not only is the author insensible to history, but he also shuns any contact with psychology.

Why did he write this book at all? He obviously wants the reader to believe that al-Muḥāsibī was in complete agreement with a kind of conservative Islam that is well known in our own time. Al-Muḥāsibī's thinking was, he suggests, firmly based in the "two revelatory sources" of Islam, namely the Qurʾān and ḥadīth (p. 149, 183 etc.) – ḥadīth, of course, only insofar as it is "rigorously authenticated" (p. 143, with regard to a prophetic tradition found in Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*). Calling al-Muḥāsibī a "mystic" would therefore not be appropriate because this would make him a Sufi, a person who deviated from the general line. Rather, the framework for al-Muḥāsibī's mental state should be "spirituality" (p. 216 ff.). In the bibliography the author refers to two previous articles of his one of which is also briefly quoted in the text (p. 167, n. 132): "Tazkiyat al-nafs: The Qurʾanic Paradigm" (in *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* VII/2 [2005], 101-127) and "Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Muḥāsibī: A Study of Early Conflicting Scholarly Methodologies" (in *Arabica* LV/3-4 [2008], 337-361). This gives us a clue. In the present book, the Qurʾān receives high priority because the triad of *al-nafs al-ammāra bi-l-sūʾ*, *al-nafs al-lawwāma*, and *al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinna* is supposed to have been behind al-Muḥāsibī's thinking (p. 179 ff.), in spite of the fact that combining these three Qurʾānic expressions into an independent literary scheme is a later phenomenon, and al-Muḥāsibī only used the first of them (cf. p. 104, n. 73d, where *ammāra* must be read instead of *amāra*). Consequently, Ibn Ḥanbal, who is known for having criticized al-Muḥāsibī (and whose correct understanding of the Qurʾān is taken for granted), cannot really have wanted to attack or persecute him, as suggested by the Ḥanbalī sources, but simply followed a different "method." Ultimately, the author's intention is irenic, but in pursuing it, he ends up completely flattening al-Muḥāsibī's personality. The conflict with Ibn Ḥanbal arose from al-Muḥāsibī's meddling with *ʿilm al-kalām*, but this aspect is only touched upon in the *Arabica* article and not in the present book. Nor do the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* enter the scene here. In principle, al-Muḥāsibī had nothing against ḥadīth; he quotes prophetic traditions all the time. However, he was not concerned with *al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, and he did not apply the criteria of authenticity

used later in the "canonical" collections (and neglected by Ibn Ḥanbal as well). Al-Muḥāsibī's profile should be seen against the position of the earlier *zuhhād*, the "renunciants," as Christopher Melchert has called them. However, the author does not use *zuhd* as a term, and he is not interested in determining its scope (cf., for instance, Melchert, "Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's Book of Renunciation," *Der Islam* LXXXV/2 [2011], 345-359). Instead, he speaks of the "first" and the "second ascetic school in Baṣra" (p. 24 ff.). He does not raise the question of whether his "spirituality" included some aspects of asceticism or whether al-Muḥāsibī took his own stand with regard to it. In a famous passage quoted by al-Ghazzālī and Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muḥāsibī treats the problem of how certain companions of the Prophet who owned great wealth (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf being the main example) nevertheless retained the purity of their heart (*al-qalb*) and their disdain for the "world" (*al-dunyā*). This has a personal flavor; al-Muḥāsibī seems to have been wealthy himself. This would mean that his concept of *zuhd* was "inner-worldly," as Max Weber used to say. For the author, however, he seems simply to have been a "good Muslim."

So much for the main part of the book. In contrast, the first chapters (1-3) are concerned with preliminaries. Chapter 1, on the "historical background to al-Muḥāsibī's life" and the "ʿAbbāsid crucible" (p. 14 ff.), is the kind of general introduction that is meant to help the non-specialized reader. The ʿAbbāsids enter the scene one by one, from al-Manṣūr to al-Mutawakkil, without an overall characterization of their reign, and Charlemagne comes in as a "French king" (p. 16). Baṣra and Baghdād receive special attention as the two towns where al-Muḥāsibī grew up and spent most of his life. Kūfa, however, where, according to some reports, he withdrew after the clash with Ibn Ḥanbal, does not play a part of its own. In chapter 2 ("The life of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī"), the author struggles with the scarcity and unevenness of the biographical material. To fill the gaps, he constantly mixes statements found in medieval sources with those made by modern (especially Arab) researchers. Strangely enough, he ignores the autobiographical passages in al-Muḥāsibī's *Kitāb al-naṣāʾiḥ* and in *Kitāb al-khalwa*, although they are the oldest specimens of this literary genre in Islam. He tries to find something positive even in the latest account (see, for instance, p. 103 n. 72, where he draws

biographical conclusions from a story told in al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, in the sixteenth century – 700 years after al-Muḥāsibī's death). In disregarding the chronology of the sources, he forgets to explain who is speaking and sometimes even gets the names wrong. "Ibn Ẓafr al-Saqlī," for instance (p. 47), must be read as Ibn Ẓafar al-Siqillī. This man, who was born in Sicily and who died in 565/1170 (cf. "Ibn Ẓafar," *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, III, 970), mentions in his *Anbāʾ* (i.e., *Anbāʾ nujabāʾ al-abnāʾ*) two reports of certain precocious remarks allegedly made by al-Muḥāsibī when he was a child. In contrast to what the author derives from them, they do not tell us anything about al-Muḥāsibī's real life; rather, they give us an idea of al-Muḥāsibī's high reputation in the Maghrib during Ibn Ẓafar's time, a phenomenon that can be documented by other testimonies from the same period (cf. my *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, IV, 198).

Chapter 3 contains a list of al-Muḥāsibī's published and unpublished works (p. 67 ff.), which must be read together with the account of the secondary literature in the introduction (pp. 2-13). The author has done his best to collect everything, but the material has not been sufficiently digested. The secondary literature is more or less complete, and only Hüseyin Aydın's *Muhasibî'nin Tasavvuf Felsefesi* (Ankara, 1976) seems to be lacking. But what is ultimately put to use from this material in the author's argumentation is restricted to studies produced in Arabic or English. Even ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd's PhD thesis, which was submitted in Paris (under Massignon) when French was still the language spoken by cultivated people in the Near East (1940), is quoted in a later Arabic adaptation (*Ustādh al-sāʾirīn*, Cairo, 1973; incidentally, a title that seems to have become the model for "Master of the wayfarers" in the main heading of chapters 2 and 3).

As for al-Muḥāsibī's own works, the presentation is rather clumsy. For a first glimpse, it might be safer to have recourse to Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 640-642 (which is quoted by the author only in its Arabic translation). When the author comes to the text on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf's richness, he subsumes it under the "works surviving in manuscript" (p. 87, nr. 8) and refers to two copies "located in al-Istāna, Istanbul under numbers 3706/20 and 701/1." However, only after consulting Sezgin, from where he seems to have obtained this infor-

mation, does one realize that the first manuscript is part of the Laleli collection (now in Süleymaniye Library, a *majmūʿa* numbered 3706, part 20 of which is the text in question) and that the second one is not found in Istanbul at all, but in Çorum. Moreover, "al-Istāna, Istanbul" is a tautology; al-Istāna or al-Āsitāna, the Persian word for "the threshold," is not the name of a library but simply means the "Sublime Porte" = Constantinople = Istanbul. The lengthy quotations in al-Ghazzālī (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*) and Ibn al-Jawzī (*Talbīs Iblīs*) are not mentioned at all. In fact, the Laleli manuscript is only an extract from al-Ghazzālī.

In addition to such inaccuracies, the way the author organizes his material is not altogether reader-friendly. In a first step, the books and treatises are simply described (p. 67 ff.); then we are offered, in the endnotes, the bibliographical details (p. 94 ff.), with no distinction between manuscripts (or the catalogues where these are mentioned) and editions (or any remarks made in their introduction). Therefore, it is rather difficult to determine when we are simply dealing with duplicates. Finally, the editions are addressed again in the bibliography (pp. 226-228), but under the letter A (because the author does not disregard the Arabic article and places Muḥāsibī under "Al-Muḥāsibī," like all other authors whose main name is a *nisba*), and in chronological rather than alphabetical order. Texts are sometimes referred to in different ways. *Al-Riʿāya*, for instance, is normally quoted according to the edition of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Barr (Manṣūra, 1999), but on p. 213 (n. 197), it is quoted according to the Beirut edition of ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ, and never according to Margaret Smith's original edition (London, 1940), (the deficiencies of which were pointed out for posterity in Hellmut Ritter's review, *Oriens* I/2 [1948], 352-353). *Kitāb al-ghayba* (p. 88, nr. 4) must be read *Kitāb al-ghība*; it is a collection of *aḥādīth* about slandering or "evil speech" and not a "book of the unseen" (whatever that means; in any case, the "unseen" would have to be *al-ghayb* and not *al-ghayba*). Nor is the book lost, as the author pretends; it is preserved in the manuscript Princeton, Garrett Collection, *majmūʿ* no. 2053, fols. 155[b]-162[b] (cf. my *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, VI, 420, nr. 28). It has merely never been printed.

Questions of authenticity are not given much attention. The discussions found in older secondary literature are generally not fol-

lowed up. Under the heading of "works attributed to al-Muḥāsibī" (p. 85), the author mentions only two cases, which are not of the same kind. Nr. 1, the *Kitāb al-baʿth wa-l-nushūr*, has been printed (not only by Muḥammad ʿĪsā Riḍwān, 1986, as is said on p. 116 n. 154, but also by Ḥusayn Quwwatlī in *al-Fikr al-islāmī* IV/3 [1393], p. 87 ff.). Concerning its authenticity, the author mainly repeats the doubts formulated by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, supplementing them with a few additional remarks (p. 116 n. 156). This is not sufficient. What we need for such a far-reaching conclusion is a thorough stylistic comparison. Al-Muḥāsibī treated the same topic in his *Kitāb al-tawahhum*, and there (p. 72 ff.) the author has no misgivings, in spite of the fact that this text also exhibits a rather individual style that differs from al-Muḥāsibī's other works. Moreover, al-Ghazzālī quotes *Kitāb al-baʿth* in his *al-Durra al-fākhira* (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 641, nr. 16), and the book is counted among al-Muḥāsibī's works by Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179) in his *Fahrasa*.

In contrast to this, nr. 2, the *Kitāb dawāʾ dāʾ al-qulūb*, can no longer be verified. The book was attributed to al-Muḥāsibī by Aloys Sprenger when he examined the unique manuscript in 1856, but this was a mere hypothesis; in the text itself, Aḥmad ibn ʿĀṣim al-Anṭākī, an elder contemporary of al-Muḥāsibī, appears as the author. Unfortunately, the manuscript has disappeared, so the problem can no longer be solved. However, al-Anṭākī has become a serious alternative since then; in the meantime, two excerpts from another book attributed to al-Muḥāsibī, namely *Kitāb al-khalwa wa-l-tanaqqul fī l-ʿibāda*, have shown up in al-Anṭākī's biography in Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. I noted this fact more than half a century ago ("Muhâsibî", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, VIII, 510a). In the present book, *Kitāb al-khalwa* is considered, without any further ado, as authentic (p. 83 ff.), and al-Anṭākī only enters the scene in a different context, namely in connection with al-Muḥāsibī's *Kitāb al-ḥubb li-llāh* (p. 120 n. 214). This text is listed under "lost works" (p. 90, nr. 7), and the complete version of *Kitāb al-ḥubb* has not been found. However, a few fragments are preserved in Abū Nuʿaym's biography of al-Muḥāsibī (*Ḥilya*, X, 76 ff.). The author now suggests that these fragments should be credited to al-Anṭākī. He pretends that "many researchers" preceded him in this opinion, but he does not mention any names. The hypothesis is not entirely improbable, but it should be proven first in a more satisfactory way; otherwise, the author cannot

be acquitted from the suspicion of having advanced it only because, without discarding *Kitāb al-ḥubb*, he would not be able to maintain that al-Muḥāsibī had only a "spirituality" and was not a "mystic" (like al-Ḥallāj or Ibn ʿArabī, as he says with a certain horror, p. 218). For the moment, we are not yet beyond circular reasoning. Ibn Khayr mentions *Kitāb al-ḥubb* among al-Muḥāsibī's works, as he does with the *Kitāb al-baʿth wa-l-nushūr*.

More professional experience would have helped to avoid this confusion. The book is obviously the reproduction of the author's PhD thesis, which he submitted at Leeds in 2005 under the title of *The Concept of* Tazkiyat al-Nafs *in Islam in the Light of the Works of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī*. The text seems not to have undergone much polishing since (less, at least, than the article in *Arabica*). He is now teaching at the American University of Sharja, and he certainly has a sufficient knowledge of Arabic but the way he reproduces Arabic text in Latin transcription is somewhat erratic. He writes *Kitāb al-mustarshadīn* instead of *Kitāb al-mustarshidīn* and *yataqarrub* instead of *yataqarrab* (p. 110, n. 108.2), *Riḥlat al-insān ilā ʿālim* (instead of *ʿālam*) *al-ākhira* (p. 99, n. 48; p. 100, n. 49.7; also in the bibliography, p. 228), *rajjāʾ* instead of *rajāʾ* (p. 187), *thiqqa* instead of *thiqa* (p. 192), *zakkī* instead of *zakī, zakkat* instead of *zakat* (p. 169), *Tamūz* instead of *Tammūz* (everywhere in the references to *Kitāb al-khalwa*), *mujāniba* instead of *mujānaba* (p. 176) and so on. And what should one do with *murāqabatika rabbika, muḥāsabatika nafsika*, and *mudhākaratika dhanbika* (p. 191, instead of *murāqabatika rabbaka, muḥāsabatika nafsaka*, and *mudhākaratika dhanbaka*)? P. 113, n. 131 read *wa-rḥamnī* instead of *warḥamanī* and ib., n. 132.2b "Edirne" instead of "Erdine." Carl Brockelmann appears as "Brockleman" and as "Brocklemann" (p. 225 and 233, both times in the bibliography, but once under the "Arabic sources" and once under the "Non-Arabic sources"). The fifteen meanings of the word *nafs* (p. 114 ff.) are mere fancies of Arab lexicographers; they do not help in explaining what al-Muḥāsibī meant by this word. The author evidently lacks philological training, and his argumentation makes sense only before the horizon of a specific audience. The book is not entirely without merits, but it should not be consulted without caution.

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Teaching Islam: Islamic Religious Education in Sweden, by
Jenny Berglund, (Religious Diversity and Education in Europe, vol.
17), (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2010), 253 pp., ISBN 978-3-8309-
2277-3, €29.90 (paperback)

Teaching Islam is the seventeenth volume in a series on Religious
Diversity and Education in Europe. The inside of the front cover
states, "The publishing policy of the series is to focus on the impor-
tance of strengthening pluralist democracies through stimulating the
development of active citizenship and fostering greater mutual un-
derstanding through intercultural education. It pays special attention
to the educational challenges of religious diversity and conflicting
value systems in schools and in society in general." This book ap-
pears at a time when religious education, in general, and Islamic edu-
cation, specifically, has become one of the most significant chal-
lenges in the multi-religious world, especially in Europe. To my
knowledge, this is the first study to present field research findings on
Islamic religious education in Sweden and in Europe. Therefore, the
book fills a niche in the field of religious studies.

The book explores the teaching of Islam as a minority religion
embedded in a secular Christian society. Berglund raises a fundamen-
tal question: How is Islamic religious education formed within the
framework and under the jurisdiction of the Swedish school system?
To answer this question and to gather data, three Muslim schools
have been selected. To examine the problem, Berglund poses five
questions: What is the content of the Islamic religious education of-
fered in each of the selected schools? What are the similarities and
differences in content between these schools, and how are these
similarities and differences to be understood? What meanings do the
selected teachers ascribe to Islamic religious education? How do the
teachers account for their selection of Islamic religious education
content? What is the nature of the educational choices involved in
creating the type of Islamic religious education offered in each
school? In pursuing the answers to these questions, Berglund uses
various ethnographic research methods, such as observation, inter-
views and the study of relevant teaching materials, as evidenced in
the bibliography and appendix sections, primarily from anthropo-

logical and sociological perspectives. The author aims to increase our understanding of Islamic religious education as a lived classroom experience by examining the formation of its content in relation to the various Islamic traditions and understandings of Islam in a Swedish context (p. 15).

The book consists of seven chapters, apart in addition to reference and appendix sections. The first chapter introduces the subject, presents the background of the research, and provides information about religious education in the Swedish school system, the establishment of Muslim schools in Sweden, and the state of religious education research, pointing out the scarcity of studies. This chapter also provides a review of relevant research to give the reader an indication of where this work is situated among the other academic disciplines. In the second chapter, the theoretical framework guiding the study and the methodological considerations are presented.

The following three chapters (3, 4, 5), "Teaching the Words of God," "Using the Past to Orient in the Present," and "Teaching Islam with Songs," are empirical in nature and comprise the main body of the work. These chapters address the role of the Qurʾān in religious education, how Islamic history is utilized to orient the present, and how song, music and celebration are employed. The inclusion of extensive accounts in these three chapters is intended both to demonstrate the approach used in the interpretation of the material and to provide a tangible sense of the classroom situation. "These chapters," Berglund hopes, "will literally bring the reader into the IRE (Islamic Religious Education) classroom and familiarise her or him with the material that is taught, the manner in which it is presented and the reasoning that lies behind the educational choices these teachers have made; it is also hoped that they will make evident those elements that simply have been taken for granted" (p. 16).

The sixth chapter, "Conclusions," provides a concise summary of the answers to the five questions raised in the introduction, all of which are contained within the findings of the three empirical chapters, and it highlights certain conclusions.

The major findings of the study are as follows. While the three schools' local syllabi reflect some fundamental differences in the formation of the teaching of the Qurʾān, teachers themselves generally

appear to have similar teaching aims, although differences in style are evident in their classroom interactions with pupils (p. 103). The author notes that there are no clear-cut divisions between teachers despite the fact that their selection of narratives indicates that they belong to different theological traditions (p. 157). In teaching Islam with songs, sound-art expression plays an important role in the Islamic religious education of all three schools. However, each teacher uses different genres in different ways and for different purposes (p. 190). At all three schools, Islamic religious education is viewed as a subject that guides pupils into Islam by showing them the best possible way to live their lives as Muslims (p. 197).

The book also indicates specific content variations and different approaches by teachers in each school to teaching the Qurʾān (such as prioritizing "recitation now understanding later" or "understanding now recitation later"), choosing musical genres, and interpreting Islam, which influence the teachers' ideas about teaching and education and their perceptions of their pupils' situation in Sweden. These and many other differences show that "teaching of Islamic Religious Education in the studied schools is not simply a matter of one generation sending a fixed religious content to the next; rather, it is a matter of contextualizing, negotiating and adapting in order to make Islam understandable, relevant and useful to Muslim children living in a contemporary Western milieu" (p. 206). Hence, defining Islamic religious education as a *transmission* of Islam to the younger generation is inaccurate. The term *transmission* ignores the wide range of diversity and the importance of context in determining the outcomes of education, and it suggests Islam as a religion of insulated concepts that is capable of being passed from one generation to the next without change. Berglund suggests, "This sort of process, which involves no less than the reconstituting of tradition, would be more accurately described as *translation* rather than *transmission*" (p. 206).

In summary, although the representativeness of the research findings for Islamic religious education in all Muslim schools is technically arguable, as the author justly notes, it can readily be said that the book generally reflects the classroom realities of "Islamic" schools in Europe. This book, the product of a commendable effort by the author, is a fine contribution that will help non-Muslims, in particular, to understand how Islam is mediated within the particular environment

of a secular school system, in accordance with the author's aims as stated in the Introduction (p. 33). It is also a fine contribution to the Religious Diversity and Education in Europe series. Anyone who is curious about and unfamiliar with Islamic religious education practices from different perspectives in school settings would be well advised to read this book.

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Early Ibāḍī Literature: Abu l-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb *Kitāb al-Raṣf fī l-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Muḥāraba and Sīra*, introduced and edited by Abdulrahman al-Salimi and Wilferd Madelung, (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2011), xi + 80 pp., ISBN: 9783447064354, €19.80 (paperback)

Scholars of Islamic studies have increasingly come to recognize the importance of the Ibāḍiyya as a group that preserves a unique perspective on Islam: as the only surviving sectarian relatives of the Khārijites, the Ibāḍiyya offer important non-Sunnī and non-Shīʿī views on early Islamic history, theology and law. Contemporary Ibāḍīs of North Africa and Oman possess a remarkable corpus of texts, some of which date back to the early medieval period of Islamic history. Large collections of Ibāḍī manuscripts can also be found in Egypt and Tanzania (specifically in Zanzibar). Many important Ibāḍī works have become available to researchers in recent decades, due in part to the efforts of individual Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī scholars, but especially to the Omani Ministry of National Heritage and Culture (*Wizārat al-turāth al-qawmī wa-l-thaqāfa*). Nevertheless, and despite these welcome strides forward, much Ibāḍī material remains in manuscript form. In the work under review, Drs. Madelung and al-Salimi present in critical Arabic edition three heretofore unpublished early Ibāḍī works by Abū l-Mundhir Bashīr ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥbūb (d. ca. 290/908): the *Kitāb al-raṣf fī l-tawḥīd* (Book of Paving about Divine Unity), *Kitāb al-muḥāraba* (Book of Warfare) and the *Sīra* (Epistle). In addition, the authors supply a short five page introduction, in English, discussing the author, the texts and manuscripts consulted for the edition, as well as a list of works cited (in Arabic).

Abū l-Mundhir was an important scholar of the late 3rd/9th century. He was the grandson of the last Baṣran Ibāḍī leader, Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb ibn al-Raḥīl (or al-Ruḥayl), who relocated the family from Baṣra to Ṣuḥār near the start of the Omani Ibāḍī Imām ʿAbd al-Mālik

ibn Ḥumayd's reign (i.e., ca. 207/823).[1] His father, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Maḥbūb, was an important scholar in his time, a participant in the Damā debate (after 230-31/844-45) over the created/uncreated nature of the Qurʾān (which nearly got him ejected from Oman), and *qāḍī* of Ṣuḥār from 249/863 until his death there in 268/881-82.[2] His sons, ʿAbd Allāh and Bashīr, became scholars in their own right, and ʿAbd Allāh's son (Abū l-Mundhir's nephew), Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh, became Imām in 320/932 during the restoration of the Imāmate at Nizwā. Abū l-Mundhir is said to have written several works during his lifetime, many of which are no longer extant: the *Kitāb al-bustān*, *Kitāb aḥkām al-Qurʾān wa-l-sunna*, *Kitāb al-imāma*, *Kitāb asmāʾ al-dār wa-aḥkāmihā*, and the *Kitāb al-khizāna*.[3] The three works collected in *Early Ibāḍī Literature* constitute what survives of Abū l-Mundhir's work (in fact, the editors note that until recently, the *Kitāb al-raṣf* and the *Kitāb al-muḥāraba* were considered lost) (p. vii).

The *Kitāb al-raṣf fī l-tawḥīd* is a theological tract that discusses various points of Ibāḍī *kalām*: substance and accidents, God's unity, knowledge (the basis of which is sense perception and rational analogy), the Promise and the Threat, the Qurʾān, the Imāmate and the names and rules of the Abode (i.e., the *dār*, "where unbelief or grave immorality prevails and the conditions under which the believer may visit or stay in such lands") (p. viii). Against the traditionalist tendencies of earlier Omani Ibāḍī theology, Abū l-Mundhir's theological stances betray a resonance with Muʿtazilī thought – the editors compare him with his contemporary al-Jubbāʾī, a Muʿtazilī, though they are careful to note that there is no evidence that the two ever met (p. vii).

The *Kitāb al-muḥāraba* is a work dealing with proper conduct in warfare, though the author also provides a "rational proof for the origination of the world" (p. viii) and the truthfulness of the Prophets.

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[1]   John C. Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 269.

[2]   *id.*, 296.

[3]   Martin H. Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya: A Bibliography* (Maastricht: Universitaire Pers, 2006), I, 318-319.

The first section of this work analyzes the Qurʾānic verses pertaining to warfare, taking care to distinguish the differing rules of warfare which pertain to idolaters, unbelievers from the *ahl al-kitāb* and apostates. The second section addresses the rules of warfare that can be derived from the *sunna*,[4] followed by a chapter on commanding good and forbidding evil. The tract ends with a discussion of the proper rules regarding the treatment of rebels (*ahl al-baghy*), including proper Ibāḍī conduct with unjust Imāms. The editors date the work to the end of the Imām al-Ṣalt ibn Mālik's reign (i.e., before 272/886).

The third tract is an epistle (*sīra*) that gives Abū l-Mundhir's legal opinion on the forced deposition of the Imām al-Ṣalt ibn Mālik al-Kharūsī in 272/886, an event which ultimately caused the dissolution of the first substantial Imāmate in Oman. Abū l-Mundhir refutes the positions of the jurist Mūsā ibn Mūsā, who was the driving force behind al-Ṣalt's deposition and who also effected the installation of his replacement, the Imām Rāshid ibn al-Naẓar al-Fajḥī. Abū l-Mundhir argues that an imām can only be deposed if he is unable to perform the duties of the Imāmate, merits a *ḥadd* punishment, or has refused to repent of a serious offence. Abū l-Mundhir finds that none of these conditions were met with al-Ṣalt, making his deposition unwarranted and placing Mūsā ibn Mūsā, the Imām Rāshid and their supporters in a state of formal dissociation (*barāʾa*). References to subsequent events surrounding this conflict in Abū l-Mundhir's *sīra* allow the editors to date it to between 278-280/891-893.

The value of primary sources can hardly be understated, and it is hoped that the editors will continue their work. For those with an interest in the Ibāḍiyya, or who appreciate the importance of non-Sunnī/non-Shīʿī perspectives, the tracts contained in *Early Ibāḍī Literature* present a fascinating array of theological, juridical and historical materials from an important early Ibāḍī intellectual, and offer

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4   The term *sunna* in this chapter seems to imply the accumulated actions of the Ibāḍī community as well as the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad (as is common in early Ibāḍī literature, ḥadīths are given without *isnād*s), a usage that accords with Wilkinson's estimation of how early Ibāḍīs were using the concept of *sunna*. See Wilkinson, 126-128, 373-378, 386-388.

significant opportunities to deepen our knowledge of early Ibāḍī thought. As more and more scholars come to appreciate the value of Ibāḍī materials to the study of Islam, collections of edited primary texts like this become all the more necessary.

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The papers submitted to *Ilahiyat Studies* should make some noticeable contribution to Islamic and religious studies. The papers will be held to imply that it contains original unpublished work and is not being submitted for publication elsewhere.

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All submissions are assessed by referees, but the Editorial board reserves the right to decide what articles will be published.

Unsolicited book reviews may not be published.

Full name(s) of author(s) must be listed, along with university or professional affiliation, address, city, state, country, phone/fax number(s), and email address where you can be reached. Provide a two-sentence biography that we can use in your article. Current information only.

All papers must include an abstract of no more 150 words.

It is strongly advised that the length of the article should not exceed 8000 words. Book reviews and conference reports must not exceed 1000 words. All pages should be numbered consecutively.

All papers should have an introductory section in which the objectives and methodology of the article are explained and a final section, which summarizes the main points, discussed and the conclusions reached.

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced on one side of the A4 only. Tables, graphs and figures should be on separate pages. All submissions should be in MS-Word (97-2003, 2007 or higher) format. Leave margins of at least 4 cm on top, bottom, and sides.

A reference list must be included at the end of the manuscript in the following style:

Journal Article & *Entry*

Eichner, Heidrun, "Dissolving the Unity of Metaphysics: From Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī to Mullā Ṣadrā al-Shīrāzī", *Medioevo* 32 (2007), 139-197.

Buckley, J. Jacobsen and Albrile, Ezio, "Mandaean Religion", (trans. from Italian by Paul Ellis), *Encyclopedia of Religion: Second Edition*, (editor in chief: Lindsay Jones; USA: Thomson Gale, 2005), VIII, 5634-5640.

Book

Kātib Chalabī, Ḥājī Khalīfa Muṣṭafā ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, 2 vols., (eds. M. Şerefeddin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge; Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941-1943).

Michot, Yahya M., *Ibn Sīnā: Lettre au Vizir Abū Saʿd: Editio princeps d'après le manuscrit de Bursa, traduction de l'arabe, introduction, notes et lexique* (Beirut: al-Burāq, 2000).

Book Chapter

Janssens, Jules, "The Reception of Avicenna's *Physics* in the Latin Middle Ages" in I. Vrolijk and J. P. Hogendijk (eds.), *O ye Gentlemen*: *Arabic Studies on Science and Literary Culture in honour of Remke Kruk* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2007), 55-64.

Online Citation

Rudolph, Kurt, "Mandaeans: ii. The Mandaean Religion", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Online Edition, 20 January 2010, available at www.iranica.com/articles/mandaeans-2-religion

Page references to works referred to in the text should take the following form: (Touraine, 1995: 9-10). The verses of the Qurʾān should be referred to as follows: Q 2:23; Q 17:108; the references from the Old and New Testament should carry chapter name and number, and verse number.

Text and references must follow the format outlined in The Chicago Manual of Style, 15th edition.

Arabic words should be transliterated according the style used by the Library of Congress.

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