***The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period : Ibn ʿAsākir of Damascus (1105-1176) and His Age, with an Edition and Translation of Ibn ʿAsākir's* The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad,** by Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay (Islamic History and Civilisation, Studies and Texts: 99) (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), xiv + 221 pp., ISBN: 978-90-04-23066-8, €96.00 / $133.00 (hb)

Jihād − striving or fighting "in the path of God" − and its aims, legitimation, and practices are topics that in the course of history occupied the minds of Muslims and non-Muslims time and again. The resurgence of *jihād* since the 1980s has again aroused broad interest in the topic and led to a wave of publications, including studies that deal with the historical aspects of the phenomenon.

The volume under review is such a historical study. Part one contains seven chapters that give an introduction to *jihād* in 128 pages; part two contains a 70-page edition and translation of Ibn ʿAsākir's small collection of *ḥadīth*s entitled *al-Arbaʿūna ḥadīth^{an} fī l-ḥathth ʿalā l-jihād* (The forty *ḥadīth*s dealing with inciting to *jihād*) and it also contains a bibliography and an index.

In the first chapter the authors address the life, career, and works of Ibn ʿAsākir. He is most famous for his monumental history of Damascus (*Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*), and he also acquired renown among Muslim scholars as a reviver of Sunnism and as an opponent of non-Sunnī Muslim groups.

Chapter two gives a summary of the history of *jihād* in early Islam. The authors define the term on the basis of Qurʾānic terminology as "warfare against the infidels." They point out that "violence in the name of religion" is a historical reality not only in Islam but also in Judaism and Christianity. In the Hebrew Bible, for instance, God orders and legitimizes warfare against the enemies of Israel, and in the Christian empires from the end of the 4th century rulers also fought against non-Christian communities inside and outside their empires with the consent of the Church. Against this background, it is not surprising that similar ideas are found in the Qurʾān, which, after all, contains many parallels with Jewish and Christian ideas. The authors use five Qurʾānic passages from *sūra* 9 (verses 111, 5, 29, 13-14 and

88) to demonstrate the basic principles of militant *jihād* that were current in later Muslim writings.

A few comments on this chapter are in order. The parallels between the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim views on fighting the adherents of other faiths are in principle correct but somewhat superficial. On the one hand the *differences* between the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim views are only adumbrated,[1] and on the other hand the choice of only those Qurʾānic passages on *jihād* which later Muslim scholars considered important prevents one gaining an impression of the overall Qurʾānic approach to *jihād*. Warfare against adherents of other faiths and apostates has many more facets than the verses from *sūra* 9 suggest. A complete picture of the Qurʾānic view on *jihād* is needed in order to assess the historical background and development of these many facets. Only then will the difference between earlier and later Qurʾānic concepts of *jihād* become clear.[2]

The second chapter concludes with a paragraph on *jihād* and warfare in the period from the death of Muḥammad until the beginning of the Crusader period. The authors sketch the development of classical medieval *jihād* ideology, which was inspired by Qurʾānic verses and *ḥadīth*s, and which was developed in detail by Muslim scholars in the course of the first four centuries of Islamic history.

Chapter three covers the issue of "jihad preaching in Damascus between the first and second Crusades." It starts with the presentation of ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī's (d. 1106) *Kitāb al-jihād,* which the Damascene author read in public several times after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. In a second paragraph the authors identify on the basis of Ibn ʿAsākir's *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh* a group of ten scholars who escaped from the Crusaders to Damascus, where they preached *jihād* against the invaders. Their preaching probably had an effect on

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[1]   See H. Motzki, "Leben mit Andersgläubigen: Lektionen aus der Frühgeschichte des Judentums, Christentums und Islams," Nijmegen 2011 (http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/simple-search?query=Motzki&submit=Go).

[2]   See H. Motzki, "Ist die Gewaltanwendung von Muslimen gegen Nichtmuslime religiös bedingt? Eine Studie der klassischen *ǧihād*-Konzeptionen," in Benjamin Jokisch, Ulrich Rebstock, and Lawrence I. Conrad (eds.), *Fremde, Feinde und Kurioses. Innen- und Außenansichten unseres muslimischen Nachbarn* (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 417-452, http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110217308.417 (first version in Dutch: "God en geweld: legitimatie en delegitimatie: Bronnen en geschiedenis in de islam," in Pim Valkenberg (red.), *God en geweld: legitimatie en delegitimatie* [Budel: Damon, 2002], 39-64).

Ibn ʿAsākir. The authors conclude from these facts that "the intensification and reorientation of *jihād* doctrine in mainstream Syrian Sunnī discourse" already started early in the 12ᵗʰ century, thus shortly after the Crusaders' invasion of Syria. This was already remarked on by E. Sivan in his *L'Islam et la croisade. Idéologie et Propagande dans les Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1968), 28-58, which the authors do not mention.

The fourth chapter is devoted to Ibn ʿAsākir's role in this process of intensification and reorientation of *jihād* doctrine. The authors first describe the close cooperation between Ibn ʿAsākir and Sultan Nūr al-Dīn, who took control of Damascus in 1154 after the Crusaders in the second Crusade had unsuccessfully tried to conquer the city. Nūr al-Dīn supported the Sunnī scholars of Damascus in general and Ibn ʿAsākir in particular by ordering the construction of schools and religious buildings, and he employed scholars as preachers in his army. The authors then dwell on Ibn ʿAsākir's role as a "propagandist of jihād," which began with his lectures on Ibn al-Mubārak's (d. 797) *Kitāb al-jihād*, one of the first books written on *jihād*, and led to Ibn ʿAsākir's own booklet entitled *al-Arbaʿūnᵃ ḥadīthᵃⁿ fī l-ḥathth ʿalā l-jihād* (The forty *ḥadīth*s for inciting *jihād*), which he composed at Nūr al-Dīn's request.

The authors discuss the question of why Ibn ʿAsākir did not compose a detailed compendium of the religious and legal aspects of *jihād* but merely a collection of *ḥadīth*s on the subject, that is, sayings transmitted from the Prophet. Finally they refer to authors and scholars who lived at the same time as Ibn ʿAsākir but in other places, and whose writings exhibit similar tendencies of "intensification and reorientation of Sunnī jihād ideology and propaganda." In this context, I miss a reference to Michael A. Köhler's study *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient: Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), which provides evidence of the fact that Muslim rulers in Syria such as Nūr al-Dīn and later Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn also used *jihād* propaganda in order to legitimize their rule and increase their power.

Chapter five presents the manuscript of Ibn ʿAsākir's *al-Arbaʿūnᵃ ḥadīthᵃⁿ fī l-ḥathth ʿalā l-jihād*. Its characteristics are described and the teachers from whom Ibn ʿAsākir learned the *ḥadīth*s in question

are listed. The chapter also indicates the four principal topics to which the narrations can be assigned and, in conclusion, it discusses the role of the Qurʾānic verses quoted in the *ḥadīth*s.

The next chapter is devoted to the manuscript's colophons and to the question of what can be learned from these colophons about *jihād* propaganda in Damascus in the 13ᵗʰ century. Colophons are manuscript notes indicating when and where a manuscript's content was taught, the names of the teachers and students present during the lectures, the owner of the manuscript, and other such matters.

In chapter 7, the authors deal with the "legacy of the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology" that arose during the 12ᵗʰ century in reaction to the Crusades and the schisms within Islam, especially between Sunnites and Shīʿites. They also elaborate on the role played by the scholar Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) in this respect.

To summarize, the first part of the book confirms a proposition that has already been put forward in the past, namely that the concept of *jihād* changed in the course of history, as Islam itself adapted to changing historical circumstances. Such changes could already be seen during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad, and they recurred later. The Crusades and the religious and political situation of the Islamic world during the 12ᵗʰ and 13ᵗʰ centuries gave rise to new Sunnite *jihād* concepts. Like earlier *jihād* concepts, they were based on the Qurʾān and Sunna of the Prophet, but they emphasized other passages of these two sources.[3] The authors rightly stress that the concept of *jihād* that emerged during the Crusades developed into a lasting legacy in mainstream Sunnī scholarship.

The edition and translation of the Arabic text of Ibn ʿAsākir's *al-Arbaʿūnᵃ ḥadīthᵃⁿ fī l-ḥathth ʿalā l-jihād* in the second part of the book is of a high quality and it is a welcome addition to the sources available on *jihād*. However, the transcription of a few Arabic words and several proper names is not correct:

p. 125: *miʾa* (instead of *māʾa*), p. 135 (ḥadīth 1): Ibn al-Musayyib (not Abū al-Musayyib), p. 137 (ḥadīth 3): Abū Isḥāq (not Abū Isḥaq), p. 139 (ḥadīth 5): Abū Yūsuf etc. al-Missīsī (not al-Mīssīsī), p. 145 (ḥadīth 8): Dhakwān (not Dhikwān), p. 147 (ḥadīth 9): Abū al-Zinād (not Abū al-Zanād), (ḥadīth 10): Jarīr - ʿUmāra (not JarīrʿUmāra), p.

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3   See Motzki, op. cit., note 2.

149 (ḥadīth 12): Abū al-Qāsim (not Abū al-Qasim), Yūnus ibn Muḥammad (not Yūnis b. Muḥammad), ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār (not ʿAṭaʾ ibn Yasār), p. 159 (ḥadīth 21): ʿAmr b. Mālik (not ʿAmr b. Malik), p. 167 (ḥadīth 27): Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Isbahānī (not al-Asbahānī), Saʿīd al-Maqburī (not al-Miqbarī), (ḥadīth 28): Abū Musʿab (not Abū Misʿab), p. 169 (ḥadīth 28): al-Qaʿnabī (not al-Quʿnubī), p. 171 (ḥadīth 30): ʿAṭāʾ ibn al-Sāʾib (not al-Sāyib), p. 173 (ḥadīth 32): Ṣaʿṣaʿa ibn Muʿāwiya (not Muʿāwiyā), p. 177 (ḥadīth 36): al-Isbahānī (not Asbahānī) and Abū ʿAwwām (not Abū ʿAwām), p. 185 (colophon 1): Zayn al-Quḍāt (not Zayn al-Qaḍāt), p. 187 (colophon 2): ʿUthmān ibn Ilyās (not Alyās), p. 189 (colophon 4): Abū Ṭāhir and Ibn Ṭāhir (not Tāhir) and ʿAbd al-Sayyid (not Sayīd), p. 191 (colophon 5): Ibn Ilyās (not Alyās), Ibn Iyās (not Ayās), (colophon 6): ʿAbd al-Sayyid (not Sayīd), p. 193: Ibn Sunqur (not Sanqar), Ibn Ilyās (not Alyās), Abū Zakarīyā (not Zakarīya), Baktamur (not Baktamir), Ibn Ṭāhir al-Khayyāṭ (not Khayyāt), p. 195 (colophon 8): ʿAbd al-Sayyid ibn Sayyiduhum (not Sayīd), p. 197 (colophon 8): al-Numayrī (not al-Namīrī), Abū al-Ḥayāt al-Khiḍr (not Abū al-Ḥayat al-Khuḍr), p. 199: al-Tilimsānī (not Talmasānī), Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ruʿaynī (not Raʿīnī). A few transcription errors of proper names are also found in part one of the book; p. 37: Abū al-Qāsim Ẓāhir (not Zāhir), p. 42: Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Sulamī (not Salamī).

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