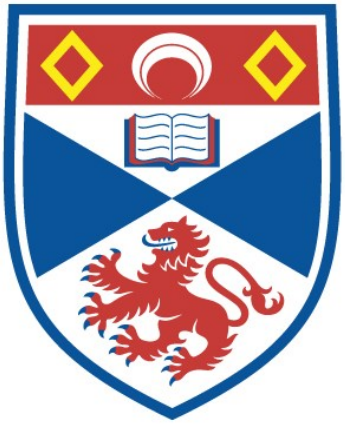
THE REINVENTION OF JIHĀD IN TWELFTH-CENTURY AL-SHĀM

Kenneth Alexander Goudie

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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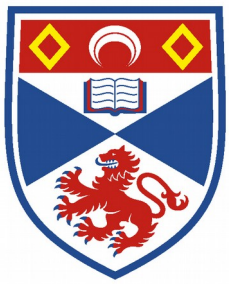

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Abstract

This thesis examines the reinvention of jihād ideology in twelfth-century al-Shām. In modern scholarship there is a tendency to speak of a revival of jihād in the twelfth century, but discussion of this revival has been dominated by study of the practice of jihād rather than of the ideology of jihād. This thesis addresses this imbalance by studying two twelfth-century Damascene works: the *Kitāb al-jihād* (*Book of Jihād*) of ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 500/1106), and the *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth ʿala al-jihād* (*Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihād*) of Abū al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176). Through discussion of these texts, this thesis sheds light on twelfth-century perceptions of jihād by asking what their authors meant when they referred to jihād, and how their perceptions of jihād related to the broader Islamic discourse on jihād. A holistic approach is taken to these works; they are discussed not only in the context of the 'master narrative' of jihād, wherein juristic sources have been privileged over other non-legal genres and corpora, but also in the context of the Sufi discourse of *jihād al-nafs*, and the earliest traditions on jihād which thrived from the eighth century onwards on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier. This thesis argues that both al-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAsākir integrated elements from these different traditions of jihād in order to create models of jihād suited to their own political contexts, and that it is only in the context of a more nuanced appreciation of jihād ideology that their attempts can be properly understood. At the same time, this thesis argues against the model of the 'counter-crusade', which holds that the revival of jihād began in earnest only in the middle of the twelfth century, by stressing that there was no delay between the arrival of the Franks and attempts to modify jihād ideology.

Acknowledgements

I owe so many debts of gratitude to so many people that my acknowledgements have proven to be one of the hardest parts of my thesis to write. I am indebted to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, whose generous financial support made it possible for me not only to carry out my research in St Andrews, but also to present at conferences around the world. In this regard, I would also like to thank the School of History at the University of St Andrews for their financial support.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Angus Stewart, for his unfailing support, encouragement, and insightful advice throughout my PhD. It is due to his constant guidance and incisive questions (not the least of which: 'Very interesting, but how does this relate to jihād in the twelfth century?') that I stayed on course and did not get too distracted by the tangents thrown up by my research.

I would also like to thank the wider academic community at the University of St Andrews. Special thanks go to Dr Tim Greenwood, my first tutor as an undergraduate, whose tutorials convinced me that mediæval history was the future; and to Dr James Palmer for introducing me to the end of the world, which set me on the long and circuitous path to my thesis topic. Additionally, I am grateful for the opportunities the School of History has given me, especially the opportunity to teach: in this regard, I would like to thank Dr Dimitri Kastritsis for all of his support.

Sincere thanks must go to all of my friends – both within and outwith the academic world – for putting up with my taking any and every opportunity to talk about jihād. I am grateful to my family for their encouragement and unfailing confidence in me: I cannot thank them enough.* Finally, I would like to thank Aya Van Renterghem for her love and unstinting support.

* A special mention must be made here of my dog, Mac, whose boundless enthusiasm for long walks ensured that I got away from my computer and out into the sunshine. I would be much paler without him.

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al-Arbaʿūn	Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥaththʿala al-jihād*, ed. Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay. In Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in The Crusader Period: Ibn ʿAsakir Of Damascus (1105-1176) and His Age, with an Edition and Translation Of Ibn 'Asakir's* The Forty Hadiths For Inciting Jihad (Leiden, 2013).
Christie, *The Book of the Jihad*	Niall Christie, *The Book of the Jihad of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami (d. 1106): Text, Translation and Commentary* (Farnham, 2015).
EI^{2}	*Encyclopædia of Islam, Second Edition.*
EI^{3}	*Encyclopædia of Islam, Third Edition.*
Ibn al-Mubārak	Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, ed. Nazīh Ḥammād (Jedda, n.d.).
Ibn al-Murajjā	Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri (Shfaram, 1995).
Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī	Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr li-l-Tirmidhī*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 6 vols. (Beirut, 1996).
Kitāb al-fitan	Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-fitan*, ed. Samīr b. Amīn Zuhayrī, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1991).
al-Muṣannaf	ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ayman Naṣr al-Dīn al-Azharī, 12 vols. (Beirut, 2000).
al-Rabaʿī	Al-Rabaʿī, *Kitāb faḍā'il al-Shām wa-Dimashq*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1950).
Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī	Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Damascus, 2002).
Saḥīḥ Muslim	Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Abū Qutayba Naẓr b. Muḥammad al-Fāryābī, 2 vols. (Riyadh, 2006).
Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ	Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ et al, 25 vols. (11th Edition; Beirut, 1996).
al-Sulamī	Al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-jihād,* ed. Niall Christie. In Niall Christie, *The Book of the Jihad of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami (d. 1106): Text, Translation and Commentary* (Farnham, 2015), pp.39-197.
Sunan Abī Dāwūd	Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ and Muḥammad Kāmil Qara Balilī, 7 vols. (Beirut, 2009).

Sunan al-Nasāʾī	Al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, 3 vols. (Riyadh, 1998).
Sunan Ibn Mājah	Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 6 vols. (Beirut, 1998).
Taʾrīkh Baghdād	Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād aw madīnat al-salām*, ed. Muṣṭafā Abd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 21 vols. (Beirut, 1997).
al-Ṭabarānī	Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, ed. Ḥamdī b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1996).
TMD	Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muhibb al-Dīn Abī Saʿīd ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī, 80 vols. (Beirut, 1995-2001).
al-Wāsiṭī	Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Isaac Hasson (Jerusalem, 1979).

A Note on Transliteration, Translation, and Dates

The transliteration system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* has been used throughout. Where there are well-accepted Anglicised versions of proper nouns or terms (e.g. Baghdad), these are used instead of strict transliterations, with the exception of personal names. All personal names have been transliterated in the nominative case, even when they appear in the genitive or accusative. Unless otherwise stated, I am the translator of all passages cited from the Arabic. The traditional blessings which are invoked after mention of Muḥammad and other pious Muslims (e.g., *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhī wa-sallam*) have not been translated each time they appear: instead, they are indicated with the first letter of the blessing (ṣ). Finally, all dates are rendered in accordance with both the hijra and common era calendars, in that order and separated by a stroke or slant.

Introduction

It is a truism in modern scholarship that both the practice and the ideology of jihād underwent a revival in the twelfth century due to the establishment of the crusader states in the Levant. Whilst study of this revival has a long pedigree (though not nearly as long as its sister discipline, the history of the crusades), there has been a tendency to focus more on the revival of the practice of jihād rather than on the ideology of jihād.[1] This is hardly a desideratum and, as Yaacov Lev states:

> The underlying difficulty in the study of Muslim holy war, in the context of twelfth-century Syria, is that we have only a vague idea of the contemporary perceptions of *jihād*, and what they meant when referring to it and invoking its spirit.[2]

The current study addresses this imbalance by discussing two twelfth-century works from Damascus: the *Kitāb al-jihād* (*Book of Jihād*) of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 500/1106), and the *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth ʿala al-jihād* (*Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihād*) of Abū al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176). By focusing primarily on these two works, the current study seeks to shed light upon contemporary perceptions of jihād by asking what these two scholars meant when they referred to jihād, and how their perceptions of jihād related to the broader Islamic discourse on jihād. The central question of this study is simple: how does the ideology of jihād in the twelfth century compare to earlier understandings of jihād?

The reason why study of the practice of jihād has proven more popular than the ideology of jihād is due in part to the nature of the sources. The evidence for the revival of the practice of jihād – reports of military victories in chronicles, the

1 For a thorough overview of modern study of the crusades, see Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester, 2011).

2 Yaacov Lev, 'The jihad of Sultan Nur al-Din of Syria (1146-74): History and Discourse', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 35 (2008), p.228.

poetry and monuments which celebrate these victories, etc. – is well-documented. The problem, however, is that such sources are ill-suited for revealing much about the ideology of jihād: for that, one must rely instead upon examples of jihād preaching.

Such examples are, however, few and far between. Aside from al-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAsākir, there are only a few examples: for instance, part of al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* was recited in 506/1113 by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ṣābir al-Sulamī (d. 511/1117) at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus.[3] By far the most commonly cited example of jihād preaching is that of the Aleppan qāḍī Abū al-Faḍl b. al-Khashshāb (d. 528/1133-4), who is described as preaching to the troops before the Battle of Balat in 513/1119:

> The qāḍī Abū al-Faḍl b. al-Khashshāb came close, rousing the people to fight, and he rode a mare and in his hand was a spear. One of the soldiers saw him and slighted him, saying: 'So, we have come from our lands to follow this turbaned man!' [Ibn al-Khashshāb] went to the people, and preached amongst the ranks an eloquent *khuṭba*, wherein he aroused their resolutions and sharpened their zeal. The people wept, and in their eyes was agony.[4]

Later examples of scholars taking to the battlefield include Yūsuf b. Dūnās al-Findalāwī (d. 543/1148) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥalḥūlī (d 543/1148), both of whom found martyrdom:[5] there is no evidence, however, that they preached jihād.

Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay have identified a number of displaced scholars who moved from various conquered cities to Damascus, and to whom Ibn ʿAsākir attributes certain jihād-related traditions in his *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh* (*Glossary of Teachers*). On this basis, they argue that these scholars were involved in jihād preaching, especially the transmission of *aḥādīth* about

3 *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.19, pp.423-424, no.246. Modern scholarship considers him to be a relative of al-Sulamī.

4 Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Khalīl Manṣūr (Beirut, 1996), p.271.

5 For al-Findalāwī, see *TMD,* vol.74, pp.234-236, no.10185; for al-Ḥalḥūlī, see al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ed. ʿUmar Tadmurī, 47 vols. (Beirut, 1987-1998), vol.37, p.149, no.154. Ibn ʿAsākir reports that al-Findalāwī went out to wage jihād against the Franks. The Muslim commander tried to discourage him due to his old age, whereupon al-Findalāwī said that he has 'sold and God has bought', a clear allusion to Q.9:111: 'Indeed, God has bought from the believers their souls and their wealth, [in exchange for which] the Garden will be theirs […].' See *TMD,* vol.74, p.235.

jihād. It is difficult to countenance the idea that these scholars 'enthusiastically and zealously called upon their fellow Sunnis in Damascus to rally to the cause of jihād' on the basis of a few *aḥādīth*, but they do indicate that interest in jihād existed amongst the scholarly elite.[6] Nevertheless, for the first eight decades of the twelfth century, al-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAsākir are the only examples of jihad preachers for whom a corresponding text survives: they are thus invaluable for the study of the ideology of jihād in the twelfth century.

The other major reason for the imbalance in modern scholarship is more invidious: the meaning of jihād itself. The narrative of the revival of jihād in the twelfth century draws heavily upon the dominant paradigm for understanding jihād, both in the popular and scholarly consciousnesses, which is founded upon the opinions and writings of the *ʿulamāʾ*, for which reason it will be described as the juristic model of jihād. It presents jihād as being an essentially stable idea, which is best encapsulated in the following terse summation provided by Emile Tyan in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: 'In law, according to general doctrine and in historical tradition, the djihād consists of military action with the object of the expansion of Islam and, if need be, of its defence.'[7] Taking this understanding as its basis, modern scholarship has generally considered the issue of jihād in the twelfth century settled.

This is of course not to say that there have been no attempts to understand what twelfth-century Muslims meant when they used the term 'jihād'. Indeed, the *Kitāb al-jihād* of al-Sulamī and the *Arbaʿūn* of Ibn ʿAsākir have both recently been discussed in precisely this context. In the last three years, both works have been re-edited and published alongside commentaries and English translations, al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* by Niall Christie, and Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* by Mourad and Lindsay.[8] The modern scholarship on both these works will be discussed in greater detail below, but suffice it to say for now that their discussion of how jihād

6 For their discussion of this, see Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in The Crusader Period: Ibn ʿAsakir Of Damascus (1105-1176) and His Age, with an Edition and Translation Of Ibn 'Asakir's* The Forty Hadiths For Inciting Jihad, (Leiden, 2013), pp.38-42.

7 Emile Tyan, 'Djihād' in *EI*^{2}.

8 Christie, *The Book of the Jihad*; and Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*.

in these works relates to the broader context of jihād, particularly in preceding centuries, is less than satisfactory. Al-Sulamī's understanding of jihād is considered to be the standard jihād doctrine of the period, at which point it is dismissed and the focus placed on his understanding of the origins of crusading, and the hortatory techniques he employs to encourage his audience to fight back against the Franks: it is telling that Christie does not suggest al-Sulamī's understanding of jihād as an avenue for future research.[9] In contrast, Ibn ʿAsākir is regarded by his modern commentators, Mourad and Lindsay, as 'reorienting' and 'intensifying' Sunnī jihād ideology in order to widen its scope to include both non-Muslim and Muslim enemies: they argue that this new direction for jihād ideology endured well into the Ottoman period, and has played a significant role in modern jihadist thought.[10] Mourad and Lindsay's study has much to commend it, but they give only a brief overview of jihād before the twelfth century,[11] focusing instead on showing how Ibn ʿAsākir breaks with tradition rather than how he drew upon or reworked pre-existing jihād ideology. The bulk of the present study will therefore be given over to studying how al-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAsākir's understandings of jihād fit into the broader discourse of jihād as it had developed from the early Islamic period through to the twelfth century.

These conclusions regarding the ideology of jihād of al-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAsākir are a product of the dominant model for understanding Muslim responses to the Franks in the twelfth and thirteenth century, which was first articulated in 1968 by Emmanuel Sivan in his foundational study, *L'Islam et la Croisade*.[12] This model is most commonly described as 'the counter-crusade' or the 'anti-Frankish jihād', terms which are used almost interchangeably,[13] and holds that the first half of the

9 Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, pp.30-34. Although Christie acknowledges that there are many potential avenues for future research, he singles out five in particular: al-Sulamī and the crusades; al-Sulamī and the legal tradition; al-Sulamī's use of poetry; al-Sulamī as grammarian; the *Kitāb al-jihād* as a script. The first is a curious suggestion, for it is the most intensely studied aspect of al-Sulamī's work.

10 For Ibn ʿAsākir's ideology of jihād, see in particular chapters four and five of Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, pp.47-81. For the subsequent influence of Ibn ʿAsākir's ideology of jihād, see chapters six and seven, pp.82-122.

11 *Ibid.*, pp.16-30.

12 Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade: Idéologie et Propagande dans les Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1968).

13 Alex Mallett argues that these terms should not be used interchangeably, suggesting that while all resistance to the Franks was part of the counter-crusade, not all of the counter-crusade was

twelfth century witnessed little enthusiasm for jihād. Only a few religious scholars and poets made any attempt to rally the populace-at-large under the banner of jihād, and those from the political elite who did draw upon the ideology of jihād, such as Najm al-Dīn Īlghāzī (d. 516/1122), deployed it only erratically. Even ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (d. 541/1146), whose conquest of Edessa in 539/1144 is seen as a significant turning point in Muslim fortunes, is presented as not being wholly motivated by jihād. Nevertheless, whilst the steps taken towards the revival of jihād in this period were only tentative, they were essential: Nikita Elisséeff argues that only when a 'psychological climate had been created, could the military Jihâd commence, and, therefore a certain time-lag was inevitable.'[14]

It was thus with Zangī's son, Nūr al-Dīn (d. 569/1174), whom Sivan refers to as 'la plaque tournante', that the revival of jihād became systematic. Whether his dedication to jihād was genuine or politic, Nūr al-Din allied himself with the religious scholars and gradually began to unify al-Shām and Egypt under the banner of jihād, with the reconquest of Jerusalem being the principal objective. Nūr al-Dīn died before this objective could be realised, and it was left to Saladin (d. 589/1193) to realise it. After asserting his control over the Zangid domains, Saladin launched a series of campaigns between 583/1187 and his death in 589/1193 wherein he not only reconquered Jerusalem but also most of the land which had been lost to the Franks. His successors, however, had little enthusiasm for jihād against the Franks, with his nephew al-Kāmil (d. 635/1238) even ceding Jerusalem to Frederick II, the Western Emperor, in 626/1229. It was only with the toppling of the Ayyūbid dynasty by their Mamlūks in 647/1249 that jihād against the Franks resumed in earnest: from the 1260s, the Mamlūks began to reconquer the remaining Frankish possessions in the Levant, which culminated with the conquest of Acre in 690/1291.

part of the anti-Frankish jihād. He proposes that one can only refer to the actions of Muslims as part of the anti-Frankish jihād if their motivations were religious and non-materialistic; if their motivations were materialistic (i.e. they were motivated by the acquisition of wealth), then they were merely fighting in the 'counter-crusade'. See: Alex Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions to the Franks in the Levant* (Farnham, 2014), p.60, p.89, and p.145 in particular.

14 Nikita Elisséeff, 'The Reaction of the Syrian Muslims after the Foundation of the first Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem' in Maya Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993), p.164.

According to this model, then, the twelfth century witnessed the gradual but inexorable revival of jihād, from the tentative steps of the first half of the century through to the reconquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187. This process occurred in lock-step with both the unification of al-Shām and Egypt under first the Zangid and then the Ayyūbid dynasties, and the deployment of a propaganda apparatus designed to identify Jerusalem as the ultimate goal of the counter-crusade. Implicit within this model is the idea that the twelfth century was a period of near-permanent confrontation between the Muslims and the Franks. This basic narrative of the twelfth century has proven decidedly enduring, and there have been few serious attempts to challenge its validity; it underpins most modern scholarship, which tends to adduce supporting evidence rather than attempt to challenge it. Sivan's model was refined and elaborated by Carole Hillenbrand, whose *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* remains essential reading for the study of Muslim responses to the Franks.[15]

That being said, the model has not been entirely without its critics. This criticism generally takes one of two forms: criticism of certain aspects, and criticism of the model entirely. The most frequently criticised aspect of the model is how it portrays Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin. Arabic historiography presents both of them, alongside Zangī, as genuine *mujāhidūn*: while Sivan was quick to point out that the image of Zangī as a *mujāhid* is a back-projection from the thirteenth century, he held that both Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin were motivated by genuine belief. Since then, the reputations of both Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin have been challenged. Regarding Saladin, Andrew Ehrenkreutz has suggested that if he had died from his serious illness in 581/1185-6, he would have been remembered for little more than his 'record of unscrupulous schemes and campaigns aimed at personal and family aggrandizement'.[16] He notes that the image of Saladin as a *mujāhid* is imposed by the structure of the biography written by his secretary Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shaddād (d. 632/1235), three quarters of which is dedicated to the last six years of his life after the conquest of Jerusalem.[17] P. M. Holt builds upon this conclusion by

15 Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999).
16 Andrew Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany, 1972), p.237.
17 *Ibid.*, p.237.

suggesting that Ibn Shaddād wrote his biography of Saladin in response to Ibn al-Athīr's eulogising of Nūr al-Dīn.[18] On this basis, Holt concludes that it was not only an encomium for his own patron, al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, but also an attempt to legitimise Saladin's usurpation of the Zangid patrimony and to legitimise Ayyūbid rule.[19] More recently, Lev has reiterated the point that the image of Nūr al-Dīn as a *mujāhid* is, like that of Zangī, a 'literary invention' of Ibn al-Athīr.[20] As Christie has noted, however, these figures cannot be reduced to one singular impulse, and that it is ultimately impossible to tell the extent to which they were influenced by jihād ideology or simply co-opted it for their political goals.[21]

More pressing criticism of the model has been levelled by Alex Mallett and Michael A. Köhler. Mallett has noted that the model is inherently focused on the politico-military elite reaction to the Franks, with the consequence that the reactions of the majority of the Muslim population are ignored. In his study, he identifies a number of modes of both resistance and non-resistance undertaken by the Muslim population of the Levant.[22] There is, however, some confusion in the work regarding jihād and resistance, with Mallett simultaneously arguing that jihād and resistance are not synonymous, while still treating them as such.[23] Nevertheless, his work is invaluable for demonstrating a hitherto unexploited approach to the source material.

Köhler's criticism is the more incisive. Not only does his study of the alliances and treaties between Muslim and Frankish rulers further undermine the portrayal of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin as being motivated by genuine dedication to jihād, it instead paints a more nuanced picture of Muslim-Frankish relations and undermines the implication in the model that the twelfth century was one of constant conflict. He argues that the model is based on a teleological appreciation of the twelfth century, which looks back from the end of the first Latin Kingdom of

18 P. M. Holt, 'The sultan as ideal ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk prototypes' in Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (eds.), *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age* (London, 2013), pp.122-137.
19 *Ibid.*, p.128.
20 Lev, 'The jihad of Sultan Nur al-Din, p.277
21 Niall Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's War in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Islamic Sources* (New York, 2014), p.40.
22 Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions*.
23 See for example above, p.4, n.13. See also Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions*, p.83, pp.144-145.

Jerusalem:

> Thus, conditions in the twelfth century became more or less clearly represented as the confrontation of blocs, Islam and Christendom, the course of which led to a union of the Muslim potential and thereby in the eyes of many authors necessarily to victory over the Christians.'[24]

This teleological appreciation of the twelfth century has ramifications for the study of the ideology of jihād.

The model of the counter-crusade emphasises the second half of the twelfth century as the period which witnessed the revival of jihād: although modern scholars do recognise that the first half of the century must have witnessed the revival of jihād (for it could not have occurred *ex nihilo* in Nūr al-Dīn's reign), the paucity of surviving sources is a significant obstacle in describing this period in anything but generalities.[25] Consequently, Muslim resistance to the Franks in the first half of the century is well-recognised, but the nature of the surviving sources has resulted in a reluctance to describe this as jihād and to advocate an earlier beginning for the revival of jihād. Due to the significant time-lag between his death and the revival in jihād enthusiasm, al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* is regarded as both precocious in his description of the arrival of the First Crusade and – ultimately – unimportant for the revival of jihād: he represents a dead-end with little relevance to the twelfth century. This, then, is why his *Kitāb al-jihād* has been studied primarily as an example of Muslim responses to crusading than as an expression of jihād ideology.

Contrarily, the upsurge in jihād enthusiasm in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn has had the opposite effect on the understanding of jihād expressed by Ibn ʿAsākir in his *Arbaʿūn*. There is an implicit assumption in the model that something must have changed to account for the realisation of the potentiality of jihād ideology in the second half of the twelfth century. Recent scholarship has questioned the original notion that this lay with the dedication of the political elite to jihad, and thus an

24 Michael A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-cultural Diplomacy in the period of the Crusades*, trans. Paul M. Holt and Konrad Hirschler (Leiden, 2013), p.60.

25 Carole Hillenbrand has suggested that the Battle of Balat in 1119, at which Īlghāzī defeated a crusader army led by Roger of Antioch, was an early marker of the increase in jihād enthusiasm. See Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, pp.108-110.

alternative explanation has been sought. Hence, Mourad and Lindsay have described Ibn ʿAsākir as placing jihād ideology on a new trajectory.

This study will step back from the model of the 'counter-crusade' and deal with the sources outwith the conceptual framework which has underpinned modern scholarship on the twelfth-century revival of jihād. The first two chapters will focus on the meaning of jihād. The first chapter will discuss both the above-mentioned juristic model of jihād, particularly as it had crystallised by the eve of the First Crusade, and an alternative discourse of jihād, described in this study as the Sufi model of jihad. This chapter will also suggest a third possible approach to jihād, the regional approach, which will be situated within the broader historiographical debate over regional differences more generally.

The second chapter will continue this discussion of regional differences by focusing on jihād in the eighth century, as presented in the *Muṣannaf* of the Yemeni scholar Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām (d. 211/827),[26] and the *Kitāb al-jihād* (*Book of Jihād*) of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak al-Marwazī (d. 181/797). The former is one of the earliest *ḥadīth* collections, and the latter is the earliest surviving independent work on jihād. Two questions will be asked of these texts: firstly, how do they present jihād; secondly, what do they reveal about regional variations in jihād? As the focus of this thesis is twelfth-century al-Shām, jihād in eighth-century al-Shām will be discussed in particular.

The third and fourth chapters will then turn to the *Kitāb al-jihād* of al-Sulamī and the *Arbaʿūn* of Ibn ʿAsākir respectively. Through close analysis, the understanding of jihād presented in each text will be discussed in detail, both on their own merits and in light of the discussions of jihād in the preceding chapters: chapters three and four will focus on the extent to which there was any continuity or discontinuity between the texts themselves, and between the texts and the juristic, Sufi, and regional approaches to jihād. Additionally, as Ibn ʿAsākir was the more prolific writer, the fourth chapter will also pay attention to Ibn ʿAsākir's other works, particularly his *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* (*The History of the City of*

26 '*Muṣannaf*' is a technical term denoting a collection of *ḥadīth* which is arranged by topic rather than by transmitter, and for which there is no concise English translation. See G. H. A. Juynboll, 'Muṣannaf' in *EI*[2].

Damascus), and whether they too can reveal anything about his understanding of jihād. In the conclusion to the thesis, attention will return to the model of the 'counter-crusade', which will be re-evaluated on the basis of the discussions in the preceding chapters.

Chapter One:

Defining Jihād

The word 'jihād' has no linguistic association with warfare: rather, it is the verbal noun of the third form of the root *j-h-d*, and has the basic meaning of striving or exerting oneself or one's energies against an object of disapprobation. In the Qurʾān, words based on this root appear thirty-five times in fifteen suras, four Meccan and eleven Medinan.[1] Nevertheless, only ten of these appearances can – on the basis of linguistic criteria alone and without any recourse to exegetical works – be unequivocally understood as signifying warfare.[2] Consequently, then, the number of potential activities which can and have been described as jihād is vast: the 'object of disapprobation' has been understood variously, and can be seen as deriving from such sources as a visible enemy, the devil, and aspects of one's self. Thus, jihād of the self (*jihād al-nafs*) denotes internalised struggle against one's baser inclinations, whilst jihād of the tongue (*jihād al-lisān*) is associated with the qurʾānic injunction to command good and forbid evil.[3] Jihād as military action is occasionally called *jihād al-sayf* ('jihād of the sword'), though this has less precedent in the sources than *jihād al-nafs* and *jihād al-lisān*: this serves only to underscore how thoroughly jihād became associated with warfare.

This association is fundamentally rooted in the opinions and writings of

1 For a discussion of jihād in the Qurʾān, see in the first instance Ella Landau-Tasseron, 'Jihād' in *Encyclopaedia of the Qu'rān*. See also M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, 'Qurʾanic jihād: A Linguistic and Contextual Analysis', *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 12 (2010), pp.147-166. Abdel Haleem interprets the verses which call for jihād in the context of the qurʾānic suras in which they appear, which has the consequence of limiting their broader applicability. He nonetheless acknowledges that this was not how they were interpreted by traditional Muslim scholars.

2 See Landau-Tasseron, 'Jihād'.

3 John Renard, '*al-Jihād al-Akbar*: Notes on a Theme in Islamic Spirituality', *The Muslim World* 78 (1988), p.229.

Muslim jurists, who discussed jihād within a legalistic framework. The influence of the resulting model spreads far beyond academic circles, and forms the backbone of the bulk of discussions in both political arenas and in the media. Essentially, this model holds that jihād principally and primarily denotes military action for the benefit of Islam. Before attention can be paid to how jihād ideology developed in twelfth-century al-Shām, it is necessary first of all to survey the development of jihād more broadly in the preceding centuries: only then can al-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAsākir's understandings of jihād be properly contextualised.

THE JURISTIC MODEL OF JIHĀD

The general contours of the development of the juristic model of jihād have been well-rehearsed and can be discussed here with brevity.[4] The origins of this model date from the eighth century, when jurists working under the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs began to consolidate the practice of jihād underneath the authority of their caliphal patrons. The circumscription of the term to denote military action arose through the development of three genres of writing in particular: *maghāzī*, *siyar*, and *faḍā'il al-jihād*.

The earliest of these three genres was *maghāzī*, and dates from the first half of the eighth century. Its concern was primarily historical, focusing on narrating the campaigns of the Prophet and the early Muslim community; nevertheless, these early campaigns and the practice of the Muslims therein were seen as sources for the proper rules of conduct in war.[5] The subsequent two genres developed contemporaneously in the second half of the century: both of them can be seen as elaborations of particular aspects of the *maghāzī* genre. For instance, the genre of

4 There is no shortage of works which discuss the development of the juristic model of jihād. See in the first instance: Abdulrahman Alsumaih, 'The Sunni Concept of Jihad in Classical Fiqh and Modern Islamic Thought' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Newcastle, 1998); David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (London, 2005); and Michael Bonner, *Jihad in History: Doctrines and Practice* (Princeton, 2006). For the development of jihād before the advent of crusading, see Roy Parviz Mottahedeh and Ridwan al-Sayyid, 'The idea of the *Jihād* in Islam before the Crusades', in Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), pp.23-29.

5 Notable (though now lost) examples of the genre were compiled by such figures as ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/714), Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741), and Mūsa b. ʿUqba (d. 141/758).

siyar was broadly concerned with the conduct of state, but works in this genre devoted considerable attention to discussing legal issues arising from warfare, such as who was obliged to perform jihād, who constituted licit targets in war, and how the spoils of war should be divided.[6] *Siyar*, then, was a natural outgrowth and development of the use of *maghāzī* as a source for rules concerning war. The final genre, *faḍā'il al-jihād*, developed the other facet of the *maghāzī* genre, its laudation of the early Muslim community's military campaigns, and focused on the supererogatory merit of their actions: the earliest extant example of this genre is the *Kitāb al-jihād* of Ibn al-Mubārak, which will be discussed in detail in the second chapter. The boundary between the genres of *siyar* and *faḍā'il al-jihād* were not, of course, absolute: *siyar* works would also discuss the merits of jihād, thereby affirming the association between warfare and jihād. More broadly, works like the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) and the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq combine traditions on the merits of jihād with *siyar* traditions.

Nevertheless, the juristic model of jihād privileged *siyar* over *faḍā'il al-jihād*, due to which concerns for its regulation came to dominate. Various explanations for this have been advanced, though it can hardly be a coincidence that it occurred in what Joseph Schacht describes as the 'creative period of Muhammadan law':[7] the juristic model of jihād is a natural outgrowth of the same desire to regulate which led to the compilation of the earliest *ḥadīth* collections and the development of jurisprudence more broadly.

Concerning jihād in particular, the failure of the Muslim conquests to become universal fundamentally influenced how jihād ideology developed. Essentially, the

6 Known examples from the eighth century include the lost work by Abū ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), extracts of which are preserved in the hostile *Kitāb al-radd ʿala siyar al-Awzāʿī* of the Ḥanafī scholar Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), and the extant books on *siyar* by Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī (d. 185/802) and al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805). See Abū Yusūf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Radd ʿala Siyar al-Awzāʿī*, ed. Abū al-Wafā al-Afghānī (Hyderabad, 1938); Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, *Kitāb al-siyar riwāyat Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī*, ed. Fārūq Ḥamāda (Beirut, 1987); and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *al-Qānūn al-dawlī al-Islāmī: Kitāb al-siyar lil-Shaybānī*, ed. Majid Khadduri (Beirut, 1975). The additional legal genre focusing on *kharāj* (land tax) and *amwāl* (public finances) also discusses the issue of warfare and jihad, the most famous eighth-century example of which was compiled by the above-mentioned Abū Yūsuf. For a discussion of jihād in this context, see M. J. Kister, 'Land Property and Jihād: A Discussion of Some Early Traditions', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34:4 (1991), pp.270-311.

7 Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (4th Edition; Oxford, 1967), p.2.

faltering of the Muslim conquests led to a state of equilibrium on the frontier, which necessitated the regulation of jihād. Paul L. Heck has argued that the equilibrium strengthened a frontier-culture of ascetic warriors, known as the *mutaṭawwiʿa*, who challenged caliphal authority over jihād: jurists thus sought to arrogate for the caliphate the religious prestige enjoyed by such ascetic warriors by insisting that jihād be conducted under the authority of the caliph.[8] This limited the scope and potential of jihād to violence: Heck argues that the unrestrained violence of the ascetic warriors was incompatible with ʿAbbāsid desire to 'define an international order' wherein

> [t]he border between states may have been demarcated, but the balance of power was kept by a combination of diplomatic missions and periodic excursions – a show of strength – into enemy territory. Boundaries were preserved by a permanent, if inactive, war between neighboring states.[9]

This equilibrium on the border saw the world divided into the *dār al-islām* ('House of Islam') and the *dār al-ḥarb* ('House of War'), that is, those lands which were under Muslim control and those lands which were not yet under Muslim control.[10] The latter became understood as the object of war, with the goal of bringing it into a state of conformity with the divine plan for humanity. As such, jihād in the juristic model was conceptualised aggressively, and constant warfare against the polytheists was mandated. No serious consideration was given to the possibility of defensive jihād against the contraction of the *dār al-islām*.

At the same time, the loss of momentum undermined the apocalyptic mentality of the early Muslim conquests. David Cook in particular has explored the relationship between jihād and apocalypticism, arguing that they were fundamentally linked: jihād was to be the livelihood of the Muslim community until

8 For a recent discussion of the development of the *mutaṭawwiʿa*, see Deborah Tor, *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the ʿAyyār Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World* (Würzburg, 2007), pp.37-82. The importance of controlling the impulse to jihād was undoubtedly influenced by the legacy of the Kharijites, whose unbridled use of violence against the Muslim community brought into sharp relief the danger of leaving this impulse outside of the control of both the jurists and the caliphs. For an exploration of Kharijite belief, see Paul L. Heck, 'Eschatological Scripturalism and the End of Community: The Case of Early Kharijism', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 7 (2005), pp.137-152.

9 Paul L. Heck, 'Jihad Revisited' in *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol.32, No. 1 (2004), p.111.

10 The *dār al-ʿaḥd* developed later to denote those lands with which Muslims had treaty relations, though it was not universally accepted. See Halil İnalcık, 'Dār al-ʿAhd' in *EI*[2].

the Day of Resurrection. He argues that '[*j*]*ihād* groups did not hesitate to make use of traditions in which the end of the world was prominent, and apocalyptic groups used the holy war as a means to express their essential ideological teachings.'[11] This overlap did not, however, survive the development of the juristic model of jihād: the apocalyptic dimension was excised because '[m]any members of religious establishments tend to be hostile to the uncontrolled nature of apocalyptic, and embarrassed by the idea of responsible people, especially their own intellectual predecessors, being involved in it'.[12] Roy Parviz Mottahedeh and Ridwan al-Sayyid have likewise suggested that the failure of the Muslim conquests to become universal led to jihād being reduced to an element of formalised piety: it was used '[...]in part to keep alive the momentum lost by the caliphate as an instrument of conquest and in part as an attempt to "spiritualize" a deferred apocalyptic event.'[13]

Regardless of the reason, the ongoing discussion of jihād in a legal context significantly redefined it, limiting its apocalyptic and ascetic potential within the broader context of Muslim society. Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid argue that

> […] the transition to a formal legal theory of war changed *jihād* from a theory primarily based on historical memories of the battles fought in the time of the Prophet and the early Islamic period to a more precisely defined and normative theory rooted in very specific events in the life of the Prophet and very specific interpretation of qurʾānic verses.[14]

In particular, there were attempts to organise the relevant verses chronologically so that the so-called 'Sword Verse',[15] which was interpreted as mandating war against the unbeliever in perpetuity, came last: consequently, it would abrogate those verses which would have facilitated the development of other legal theories.[16]

11 David Cook, 'Muslim Apocalyptic and *Jihād*', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), p.103.
12 *Ibid.*, p.68.
13 Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, 'The idea of the *Jihād* in Islam before the Crusades', p.29.
14 *Ibid.*, p.28.
15 Q.9:5: 'And when the sacred months have passed, then kill the polytheists wherever you find them, capture them, besiege them, and lie in wait for them in every place of ambush. If they repent, perform the prayer, and pay alms, then let them go on their way. Indeed, God is forgiving and merciful.'
16 For discussion of abrogation in the context of jihad, see Landau-Tasseron, 'Jihād', and Ahmed al-Dawoody, *The Islamic Law of War: Justifications and Regulations* (New York, 2011), pp.50-53.

Within the development of the juristic model of jihād, al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) is afforded a central role: he is credited with popularising the idea that 'jihad had for its intent the waging of war on unbelievers for their disbelief'.[17] At the same time, al-Shāfiʿī reformulated the obligatory nature of jihād. Where previously jihād was considered incumbent upon all able-bodied and free Muslim men, al-Shāfiʿī considered jihād a *farḍ kifāya* ('obligation of sufficiency') rather than a *farḍ ʿayn* ('obligation of the individual'). In his *Risāla*, al-Shāfiʿī states that the qurʾānic pronouncements on jihād imply that

> [...] jihād, and departure into battle in particular, is incumbent upon everyone who is able-bodied, none of whom are permitted to stay behind from it, just like prayer, pilgrimage, and paying alms. No person may go out to perform the duty on behalf of another, for in this regard the work of one does not fulfil it for another.[18]

Immediately following, however, he argues, on the basis of Q.4:95,[19] that

> [the qurʾānic verses] may also imply that that the concept of the duty of [jihād] is different from the concept of the duty of prayer, and that it might mean to say that it is a duty with the intent of sufficiency. So whosoever stands up in jihād in accordance with sufficiency and strives against the polytheists fulfils the duty and attains the supererogatory merit, and excuses he who remained behind from misdeed.[20]

Accordingly, al-Shāfiʿī considered the duty to perform jihād lifted from the community at large when there were sufficient numbers to undertake it. This conceptualisation of the obligation of jihād was accepted by the four Sunnī *madhāhib*. Majid Khadduri makes the invaluable observation that this transition from *farḍ ʿayn* to *farḍ kifāya* ensured that jihād would not be included amongst the

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Reuven Firestone also provides a thorough summary of the theory of abrogation, though he is ultimately arguing against its historicity: instead, he argues that the conflicting viewpoints on jihād represent different voices in the early Islamic community. For his summary of abrogation, see Firestone, *Jihād: The Origins of Holy war in Islam* (Oxford, 1999), pp.47-66. Aḥmad Al-Dawoody takes great exception to Firestone's work and provides a lengthy critique in his monograph; see: *Islamic Law*, pp.32-37.

17 Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Law of Nations: Shaybānī's* Siyar (Baltimore, 1966), p.58.

18 al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (2nd ed. Cairo, 1979), p.363.

19 'Those believers who remain behind – except for those who are injured – are not equal to those who strive in the path of God [*al-mujāhidūn fī sabīl Allāh*] with their wealth and their lives. God gives preference to those who strive with their wealth and lives over those who remain behind, by degrees. And to both, God has promised the best things, and he has preferred those who strive over those who remain behind [by granting them] a mighty reward.' For al-Shāfiʿī's use of this, see al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla*, pp.363-364.

20 al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla*, p.363.

pillars of Islam, with the consequence that its direction was enjoined not on the individual but the community at large: this curtailed jihād and – theoretically – strengthened caliphal control over it.[21]

Two mid-eleventh century works, both of which bear the title *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (*Ordinances of Government*), attest to how the juristic model had crystallised before the arrival of the First Crusade. These works were compiled by the Shāfiʿite Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) and the Ḥanbalite Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066) respectively.[22] Eric J. Hanne argues that the two works were part of an attempt to establish the caliph's position amongst the scholars, rulers, and general populace in order to provide a basis for the further expansion of the power and authority of the caliphate.[23] In particular, they focus on how caliphal authority should be delegated: it is within this context that they treat jihād.

Al-Māwardī's work has received the most attention from modern scholars, and formed the basis for the concept of the 'classical theory of the Caliphate'.[24] Yet, as Hanne notes, '[t]he two works are strikingly similar in substance, in terms of mundane matters as well as exceptional situations […] in many cases, the wording is formulaic, and identical in the two texts.'[25] As a consequence of this similarity, modern scholarship has focused on establishing the relative chronology of the works, with most agreeing that al-Māwardī was the originator and Abū Yaʿlā the imitator.[26] What is more pertinent here, however, is that the two works were

21 Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore, 1955), pp.59-62.

22 al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya wa-l-wilāyāt al-dīniyya*, ed. Aḥmad Mubārak al-Baghdādī (Kuwait, 1989); Abū Yaʿlā, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Faqī (Beirut, 2000).

23 Eric J. Hanne, 'Abbasid Politics and the Classical Theory of the Caliphate' in Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow (eds.), *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times* (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp.49-71.

24 The term was coined by H. A. R. Gibb in his articles on al-Māwardī. See Gibb, 'Al-Mawardi's Theory of the Khilafah', *Islamic Culture* 11 (1937), pp.291-302; and idem, 'Some Considerations on the Sunni Theory of the Caliphate', *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental* 3 (1939), pp.401-410.

25 Hanne, 'Abbasid Politics', p.67.

26 Claude Cahen was the first to state that Abū Yaʿlā copied al-Māwardī's work verbatim save for replacing references to Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfiʾī with quotations from Ibn Ḥanbal. See Claude Cahen, 'The Body Politic', in G. E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization* (Chicago, 1955), p.151, Cahen's assumption has generally been accepted as fact, with scholars such as Hanna Mikhail stating that Abū Yaʿlā was prompted to write his book to make up for al-Māwardī's neglect of the Ḥanbalites. See Hanna Mikhail, *Politics and Revelation: Māwardī and After* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.59. As both Donald P. Little and Hanne have noted,

written almost simultaneously on the same topic and reached identical conclusions, and yet were compiled by two authors who held diametrically opposed views concerning government service: where al-Māwardī accepted it, Abū Yaʿlā displayed the typical reluctance of the *ʿulamāʾ*.[27] Even if one copied from the other, this nevertheless points towards the ubiquity of the ideas contained in their works.

Both al-Māwardī and Abū Yaʿlā open their works by discussing the appointment of the caliph (to whom they refer as the imām): after discussing the various physical and personal requirements, they assert that ten public duties are incumbent upon the caliph. These duties range from administrative (appointing counsellors, collecting taxes, making legal judgements, etc.) to religious (upholding the tenets of Islam, debating with dissenters, etc.); crucially, however, when al-Māwardī and Abū Yaʿlā categorise his military responsibilities, they distinguish between defending Islamic territory and performing jihād:

> Third, protecting the territory and defending the sacred precinct so that the people can move freely in life and spread out in travel safe from peril to their life or property.
>
> […]
>
> Fifth, the strengthening of the *thughūr* with deterring equipment and defensive strength until the enemy cannot triumph over what is unguarded, violate what is sacred or shed Muslim or *muʿāhid* blood.
>
> Sixth, jihād against those who deny Islam after being invited to embrace it until they convert or enter into protection, so that the truth of God Almighty prevails over all religion.[28]

Not only does this reaffirm the subordination of jihād to caliphal authority, it also conforms with the general understanding of jihād being applicable only in an offensive context.

The authority of the caliph over jihād is reiterated when the works move to

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however, the general conclusion rests primarily on the fact that Abū Yaʿlā was the younger of the two, and therefore must have copied his older contemporary. See Donald P. Little, 'A New Look at *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*', *The Muslim World* 64.1 (1974), pp.6-8; Hanne, 'Abbasid Politics', pp.55-57. Until a comparative study of the two works is completed, however, the possibility of indebtedness must remain unresolvable.

27 Hanne, 'Abbasid Politics', p.57.

28 al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, pp.22-23; Abū Yaʿlā, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, pp.27-28.

discuss the duties of the *amīr*, wherein al-Māwardī and Abū Yaʿlā state that if the *amīr* is placed in charge of a border province, he is charged with waging jihād against the neighbouring infidel.[29] They specify, however, that

> [...] if the country of this *amīr* is adjacent to a border, then he is not allowed to start the jihād of his people except with the permission of the caliph. He needs to wage war against them and repel them without permission if they attack because repelling them is part of the laws of protecting and in accordance with defending the sacred precincts.[30]

How the *amīr* should wage jihād is discussed in its own section, which focuses more on the proper conduct in war and the organisation of the army than it does jihād itself.[31] These works therefore espouse the juristic model of jihād in its normative form: not only do they frame jihād as an element of statecraft, the declaration of which is the prerogative of the caliph alone, they further reduce the religiosity of jihād by focusing primarily on the establishment of rules for conduct in war instead of the supererogatory merit of performing jihād. Studies of jihād in the twelfth century invariably operate from an understanding of jihād informed by this model. The model is not, however, without its critics.

The main criticism levelled at the juristic model of jihād is that it is the view from the centre: it is the 'master narrative' in which juristic sources have been privileged over other non-legal genres and corpora. Tyan's definition of jihād, which was quoted in the introduction, bears repeating: 'In law, according to general doctrine and in historical tradition, the d̲jihād consists of military action with the object of the expansion of Islam and, if need be, of its defence.'[32] This definition raises the obvious question: if jihād is defined thus within law, how is it defined outwith law? Tyan does not, however, explore this: instead, he focuses exclusively on the juristic understanding of jihād As Asma Afsaruddin notes, comprehensive studies of the concept of jihād outwith this juristic framework are rare, which

> [...] facilitates the discussion of *jihād* as a term with a nearly fixed, universal meaning divorced from the varying sociopolitical contexts in which it has been deployed through time. Recent scholarship has

29 al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, pp.40-41; Abū Yaʿlā, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, p.34
30 al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, p.44; Abū Yaʿlā, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, p.37.
31 al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, pp.47-73; Abū Yaʿlā, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, pp.39-51.
32 E. Tyan, 'D̲jihād' in *EI²*.

> continued to replicate these discussions, but now usually with an added study of the violent movements that invoke *jihād* in the contemporary period.[33]

The assumption that the concept of jihād universally and immutably denoted military action across not only the entire breadth of the Islamic world but across the centuries must be qualified: such an assumption is not merely ahistorical but unhistorical. Turning again to Afsaruddin:

> Without doubt, the historical reality was complex; master narratives woven together by official chroniclers and men of religion were contested and sometimes rewritten, usually on the margins of society. Counterposed to the predominant and better-known juridical and statist narratives of jihad was also what [Afsaruddin calls] the "dissenting literature," produced by amorphous groups that appear to have challenged the exclusively militarist interpretations of *jihād* and martyrdom.[34]

If the source material is expanded to include this 'dissenting literature', other understandings of jihād are revealed: that these understandings contradict the master narrative makes them no less valid an expression. By recognising this, the study of jihād as whole becomes more nuanced.

This holistic approach to jihād has been adopted most notably by Afsaruddin and Heck.[35] Afsaruddin approaches the concepts of jihād, *shahīd* (martyr), and their derivations through a diachronic survey of various works of *tafsīr*, *faḍā'il*, and *ḥadīth* in order to explore the 'shifting semantic trajectory' of these concepts: in this way, she seeks to retrieve early connotations of the terms in the formative period and to highlight the competing discourses which developed around them. She argues that the conceptualisations of these two ideas primarily as military action and military martyrdom are comparatively late, becoming prevalent only in the ninth century, but were nevertheless still contested. Similarly, Heck argues that

33 Asma Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God: Jihad and Martyrdom in Islamic Thought* (Oxford, 2013), p.1.

34 *Ibid.*, p.5

35 The works of Alfred Morabia and Richard Bonney are both surveys, with the latter relying almost exclusively on modern scholarship. Both take exception to the definition of jihād as military action, with Morabia positing 'sacred combat' as an alternative, and Bonney stressing that jihād 'signifies the extertion of one's power to the utmost of one's capacity in the cause of Allāh: it is thus the antonym to the word *qu'ād* (sitting) in the Qu'rān (Q.4:95).' See Richard Bonney *Jihād: From Qu'rān to Bin Laden* (New York, 2004), p.12; and Alfred Morabia, *Le Ǧihâd dans l'islam médiéval: le "combat sacré" des origines au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1993).

jihād as military action is only one aspect of the broader discourse on jihād, which also understood the concept of jihād in ascetic and philosophical contexts – amongst others – which were variously combined and construed throughout the early Islamic period.[36]

The most developed of these other understandings is jihād in its ascetic context, which is denoted by the term *jihād al-nafs*. The term *nafs* (either *anfus* or *nufūs* in the plural) is generally translated as 'soul' or 'self', though it is an ambiguous term. In early Arabic poetry it could mean both the self and the person. Beginning with the Qurʾān this original meaning was supplemented by the reading of the term as 'soul', though it found continuing reflexive use and was linked with the negative human trait of selfishness, against which the believer is warned. The Qurʾān states that the *nafs* must be fought and controlled if God is to be obeyed and paradise attained.[37] In this sense, predominant amongst Sufis, *nafs* can be understood as 'the locus of man's blameworthy qualities', with jihād against the *nafs* denoting spiritual and internal jihād.

JIHĀD AL-NAFS: THE SUFI MODEL OF JIHĀD

The origins of *jihād al-nafs* are typically dated to the ninth century with the writings of certain proto-Sufi scholars, such as Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/837) and Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894), who focused on moral self-examination. Al-Muḥāsibī in particular exerted considerable influence. He focused on the need to discipline the *nafs* by controlling its passions and desires by way of the *ʿaql* ('intellect'), through which one can use reason to overcome the *nafs*. He stresses the need to gain intimate knowledge of the *nafs* (*maʿrifat al-nafs*), without which it is especially difficult to identify and eliminate its desires.[38] His ideas are of fundamental importance to the writings of Abū Ḥāmid

36 Heck, '*Jihad* Revisited', pp. 95-128.

37 Q.79:40-1: 'As for him who feared the position of his Lord and prevented the *nafs* from desire, then indeed the garden will be the place of refuge.'

38 For a thorough examination of the life and works of al-Muḥāsibī, see Josef van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥāriṯ al-Muḥāsibī* (Bonn, 1961), and more recently Gavin Picken, *Spiritual Purification in Islam: the life and works of al-Muḥāsibī* (Abingdon, 2011).

al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), in whose *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (*The Revival of the Religious Sciences*) the idea of *jihād al-nafs* reached its mature form.

The *Iḥyāʾ* is a compendium of Islamic thought. It consists of forty books which are subdivided into four quarters, which deal with *ibādāt* ('cult practices'), *ʿādāt* ('social customs'), *muhlikāt* ('mortal vices'), and *munjiyāt* ('salvific virtues') respectively. The first and second quarters complement each other, being concerned with outer knowledge; the third and fourth quarters likewise complement each other by discussing inner knowledge. Thus, the voluminous work can be understood as a complete guide for the devout Muslim, offering as it does advice in all aspects of life: as Garden states, '[w]ith its 40 books, the *Revival* aims at a totalizing vision of a Muslim life oriented toward the attainment of otherworldly felicity.'[39] This felicity in the hereafter (*al-saʿāda al-ukhrawiyya*) is a reward beyond that granted to the ordinary believer.[40] *Jihād al-nafs* is not afforded its own discrete section in the *Iḥyāʾ*, but the twenty-first and twenty-second books are ultimately concerned with it: these sections emphasise the importance of the purification and protection of the heart from the base desires of human nature.

Al-Ghazālī dedicates the first chapter of the twenty-first book to the definition of the four terms which he will discuss in subsequent chapters, with the intention of forestalling any confusion.[41] Alongside the term *nafs*, he offers definitions for *qalb* ('heart'), *rūḥ* ('spirit'), and *ʿaql*, with each definition including two contrasting meanings, one of which is, to borrow Jules Janssens's phraseology, 'elementary and literal', the other 'subtle and simple'.[42] For the present discussion, only the definition of *nafs* is relevant, which al-Ghazālī defines thus:

> *Nafs* also has many meanings, two of which pertain to our purpose. By the first of them is denoted the meaning which includes both the faculty of anger and of desire in people, the explanation of which will come. This usage is the predominant amongst the Sufis [*ahl al-taṣawwuf*], for by *nafs* they mean the universal source of blameworthy qualities in man. Thus

39 Kenneth Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali and His Revival of the Religious Sciences* (New York, 2014), p.65.

40 See *ibid.* for a thorough exploration of this concept.

41 *Sharḥ ʿajāʾib al-qalb* (*The Explanation of the Marvels of the Heart*). Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 16 parts in 5 vols. (Cairo, 1937-38), vol.2, pp.1341-1424.

42 Jules Janssens, 'Al-Ġazālī between Philosophy (*Falsafa*) and Sufism (*Taṣawwuf*): His Complex Attitude in the *Marvels of the Heart* (*ʿAjāʾib al-Qalb*) of the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*', *The Muslim World* 101:4 (2011), pp.617-618.

> they say, 'Striving against the *nafs* [*mujāhidat al-nafs*] and the breaking of it is necessary.' The saying of the Prophet (ṣ) is a reference to this; 'Your worst enemy is your *nafs*, which is between your two sides.'
>
> The second meaning is that subtle tenuous substance, which is man in reality. It is the *nafs* of man and his essence. It is, however, described with different descriptives according to its differing states. When it has become still under the command, and disturbance has been vanquished by resisting desire, it is called the *nafs* at rest (*nafs al-muṭma'inna*). Of it, God said, 'O *nafs* at rest, return to your Lord, well-pleased and pleasing to Him.'[43] The *nafs* by the first meaning cannot be imagined as returning to God Almighty, for it is far from God and is of the party of Satan. When the *nafs* is not completely at rest, but strives against the desirous *nafs* and opposes it, it is called the reproaching *nafs* (*nafs al-luwwāma*), for it upbraids its owner whenever he falls short in worshipping his master. God Almighty said: 'And I swear by the reproaching soul.'[44]
>
> And if it leaves its opposition, submits and obeys the need of desire and the demands of Satan, it is called the *nafs* which commands to evil (*al-nafs al-amāra bi-'l-sū'*) God said, relating the words of Joseph or the wife of the prince, 'And I do not acquit myself. Indeed, the *nafs* commands to evil.'[45] It may be possible that what is desired by 'commands to evil' is the *nafs* by the first meaning, for the *nafs* by the first meaning is most blameworthy.[46]

Amongst the more salient points from the above quotation is the fact that, whilst al-Ghazālī states that he intends to provide only two of the multiple meanings of *nafs*, he actually provides three inter-related meanings. His first definition of the *nafs* as the locus of man's anger and desire ultimately collapses into the second: as he himself notes, this definition can be seen as identical to the '*nafs* which commands to evil'. Thus, the '*nafs* which commands to evil' is one aspect which in conjunction with the '*nafs* at rest' and the 'upbraiding *nafs*' form the three points of a central conception of *nafs*. This central conception of *nafs* is ultimately rooted in bodily appetites, for it is against such physical concerns that the three aspects of *nafs* are all defined: the '*nafs* at rest' has conquered the bodily appetites; the 'upbraiding *nafs'* fights them; the '*nafs* which commands to evil' has succumbed to them.

Within al-Ghazālī's conceptualisation of man's inner spiritual life, the *nafs* is

43 Q.89:27-28.
44 Q.75:2.
45 Q.12:53
46 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, vol.2, p.1345.

described as being in opposition with the *qalb*, the heart. For al-Ghazālī, the heart is the means by which the believer can know God:

> For it is the heart which knows God, draws near to God, works for God, and uncovers that which is in the presence of God. […] It is that which, if man knows it, then he knows himself; and if he knows himself then he knows his Lord.[47]

He presents the heart as a king which possesses two armies, one visible and the other invisible. The visible army comprises the bodily members, both the internal and the external, which act as the vehicle by which the heart interacts with the world. The visible army is subordinated to the invisible army, which comprises the appetites and the senses. The invisible army is divided into three: the army of anger, the army of desire, and the army of knowledge, wisdom, and reflection. These invisible armies are in turn divided into two categories. The armies of anger and desire can be either loyal or rebellious: in the latter case, they are described as being the 'party of Satan'. They are opposed by the army of knowledge, wisdom, and reflection, the 'party of God':

> If the heart neglects the help [of the army of knowledge, wisdom, and reflection] and gives mastery of itself to the army of anger and desire, it will undoubtedly perish and suffer a manifest loss. This is the condition of the majority of creation, for their intellects have become compelled by their desire to produce stratagems for the gratification of the desire; it used to be desirable that the desire should be compelled by their intellects for that which the intellect needs.[48]

Al-Ghazālī presents three examples in order to explain the relationship between the heart and its armies. Although he departs from the strict terminology he lays out, these examples are nevertheless instructive: the second in particular is a cogent explanation of *jihād al-nafs*.

In this example, it is the *ʿaql* rather than the *qalb* which is portrayed as the king of the body, which is described in al-Ghazālī's analogy as a city. The intellect is served by both the internal and external senses – its armies – and by the limbs – its subjects. The desirous *nafs*, the '*nafs* which commands to evil', is likened to an invading army, which lays siege to the body. The body thus becomes like a

47 *Ibid.*, p.1342.
48 *Ibid.*, p.1349.

battleground, in which is fought the battle for the ultimate fate of man:

> For if he strives against his enemy and puts him to flight and conquers him as he ought, his legacy will be praised when he is returned from the ground. As the Almighty said: 'Those who strive in the path of God with their wealth and their lives, God gives preference to those who strive with their wealth and lives over those who remain behind, by degrees.[49] And if he lets his frontier be destroyed, and neglects his consciousness, then his legacy will be blamed and vengeance taken against him in the presence of God. It will be said to him on the Day of Resurrection: 'O shepherd of evil, you ate meat and drank milk, and you did not bring back the lost nor restore the broken. Today I will take vengeance against you.' As it was recorded in the report. And to this struggle reference is made in His saying (ṣ): 'We have returned from the lesser jihād to the greater jihād.''[50]

The rest of the book continues to explore and explain this issue, and need not be discussed. Suffice it to say that *jihād al-nafs* is a central concern of the work and can be understood as a form of internalised eschatology, dealing as it does with the issue of man's ultimate fate. It is essentially a form of self-abnegation, in which the believer must exercise self-control and discipline lest he err and be condemned to Hell.

The importance of this practice is emphasised in the twenty-second book,[51] particularly in the eighth chapter. In contrast to the majority of the book, which describes good and evil characters and how one may ameliorate one's own traits, the eighth chapter is given over to demonstrating the importance of striving against the *nafs*. For example:

> And he said (ṣ); 'The believer is between five hardships: a believer who envies him; a hypocrite who hates him; an unbeliever who fights against him; a devil who misleads him; and a *nafs* which contends with him. He then made clear that the *nafs* is an enemy which contends with one and against which one ought to strive.'[52]

The chapter concludes with the acknowledgement that the method for disciplining

49 Q.4:95. David Cook argues here that al-Ghazālī is creatively reinterpreting this verse to turn the focus away from its original intent. The ambiguity of the term *nafs* and the broader development of the Sufi discourse regarding it do not preclude the possibility that al-Ghazālī did understand the verse in this way. See Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, p.37.

50 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, vol.2, pp.1350-1351.

51 *Riyāḍat al-nafs wa-tahdhīb al-akhlāq wa-muʿālajat amrāḍ al-qalb* (*The Disciplining of the* Nafs*, Refining the Character and Curing the Sickness of the Heart*). Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, vol.2, pp.1426-1481.

52 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, vol.2, p.1456.

and subordinating the *nafs* will vary depending on the person, but will always be founded on the renunciation of those worldly things in which are to be found pleasure.

Modern discussion of *jihād al-nafs* is invariably tangled up with discussions of the doctrine of *jihād al-akbar* and *jihād al-asghar*, that is, greater jihād and lesser jihād. *Jihād al-nafs* is primarily understood as the 'greater' jihād, a designation which finds its impetus in variants of the following tradition:

> And our Prophet (ṣ) said to people who had returned from jihād: 'Welcome! You have returned from the lesser jihād to the greater jihād.' He was asked: 'O messenger of God, and what is the greater jihād?' He said: '*Jihād al-nafs*.'[53]

Various other actions, such as the above-mentioned *jihād al-lisān*, have been described as the greater jihād, though in each instance the term connotes if not spiritual and internal jihād, then at least non-violent jihād.[54] The idea of the greater jihād necessarily implies a lesser jihād, which is typically identified with the military form of jihād espoused by the juristic model.

It is this dichotomy which renders *jihād al-nafs* controversial. Cook argues that the primacy afforded to *jihād al-nafs* was nothing more than a theoretical, scholarly construct with little to no practical evidence:

> In reading Muslim literature – both contemporary and classical – one can see that the evidence for the primacy of spiritual jihad is negligible. Today it is certain that no Muslim, writing in a non-Western language (such as Arabic, Persian, Urdu), would ever make claims that jihad is primarily nonviolent or has been superseded by the spiritual jihad. Such claims are made solely by Western scholars, primarily those who study Sufism and/or work in interfaith dialogue, and by Muslim apologists who are trying to present Islam in the most innocuous manner possible.[55]

Concluding that the inner jihād was derivative, he suggests that its designation as the 'greater' jihād was perhaps little more than 'an attempt to arrogate to a purely spiritual activity the prestige that is usually accorded to fighting.'[56] Cook challenges those scholars dismissed in the above quotation to find evidence that the doctrine

53 *Ibid.* pp.1456-7.
54 Renard, 'al-Jihād al-Akbar', p.229.
55 Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, pp.165-166
56 *Ibid.*, p.47

of the greater jihād had any sort of reality outwith the Sufi textbooks, and that 'either a substantial minority or a majority of Muslims historically believed and acted upon it or that the spiritual jihad actually superseded the militant jihad.'[57]

Cook is arguing against one of the two dominant trends of modern study of jihād. This trend, particularly prominent in Western scholarship, argues that the primary signification of jihād was non-militant and pacifist, or at the very least wholly defensive.[58] Cook argues – justifiably so in some cases – that these are attempts to de-legitimise the beliefs of modern radical Muslims, but that they ultimately serve only to confuse Westerners who ask why, if this is the case, militant jihād is so influential in the Muslim world.[59]

The problem with Cook's argument is, however, that it goes too far. This is because the debate about *jihād al-nafs* is so often discussed wholly within the parameters of the tradition of the greater jihād, which is ultimately a question about the original meaning of the term. Cook himself asserts that

> "Warfare with spiritual significance" is the primary and root meaning of the term as it has been defined by classical Muslim jurists and legal scholars and as it was practiced by Muslims during the premodern period.[60]

This statement is problematic, not least of all because it reinforces the fallacy that the juristic model of jihād was the *sine qua non* of jihād, but because it also disregards the ambiguity in the Qur'ān regarding the meaning of jihād, most of which was only removed by later exegetes. The problem here is ultimately epistemological: how can one identify the practice of internal jihād? Cook finds the Sufi textbooks unsatisfactory as evidence, as he considers them wholly theoretical, but it is unwise to dismiss the textbooks in this way: they were as much a product of a reality in which these ideas circulated as they were attempts to create it.

57 *Ibid.*, pp.165-6

58 See for example Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, p.97: 'It should be emphasised that from the earliest period the notion of *jihad* (struggle) as a spiritual concept for individual Muslims was paramount. Two kinds of *jihad* were identified: the greater *jihad* (*al-jihad al-akbar*) and the lesser *jihad* (*al-jihad al-asghar*). The greater *jihad* is the struggle which man wages against his lower self and is, indeed, more meritorious than the military struggle conducted against infidels.'

59 Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, p.41

60 *Ibid.*, p.2.

The focus on the greater jihād leads to a false dichotomy, which in turns leads to the dismissal of *jihād al-nafs* as a valid part of the discourse of jihād. This approach to jihād is ultimately Orientalist: by asserting that jihād primarily denoted military action, and that any other interpretations are aberrations from this norm, this approach serves only to underscore the essentialising of jihād and to reinforce the perception of Islam as unchanging. Addressing the validity or otherwise of *jihād al-nafs* as a part of the broader discourse of jihād is beyond the parameters of this study, but it would be unwise to dismiss the possibility that it played a role in jihād ideology in twelfth-century al-Shām, particularly as it reached its mature form with al-Ghazālī at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Thus far, then, two understandings of jihād – the juristic model of jihād and the Sufi model of *jihād al-nafs* – have been identified, both of which had achieved a certain maturity by the turn of the twelfth century. It is not unreasonable that both of these understandings might have had some bearing upon twelfth-century jihād ideology. Implicit within the holistic approach to jihād is, however, the possibility that not only did jihād differ according to the intellectual context, but also that it differed regionally.

THE REGIONAL APPROACH TO JIHĀD

The existence of regional differences between Muslim scholars has long been recognised, though these differences are typically discussed within the broader context of the development of Islamic jurisprudence in the eighth century.[61] Regarding jihād in particular, it is neither controversial nor speculative to state that there were regional differences: this has been recognised by a number of scholars, most notably Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, Jacqueline Chabbi, and Michael Bonner.[62]

61 For a thorough overview of the corpus devoted to the development of Islamic jurisprudence, see Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan* Fiqh *before the Classical Schools*, trans. Marion H. Katz (Leiden, 2002), pp.1-49. Motzki's study is of course also invaluable for its contribution to the debate. For more recent studies of the importance of Medina, see Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law: The Qurʾan, the Muwaṭṭaʾ and Madinan ʿAmal* (Richmond, 1999) and idem, *Original Islam: Mālik and the madhhab of Madina* (London, 2007).

62 Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, 'The idea of the *Jihād* in Islam before the Crusades', pp.23-29; Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, pp.97-117; Jacqueline Chabbi, 'Ribāṭ', in *EI* [2];

The issue is, however, that modern scholarship has arrived at only a superficial understanding of these differences in jihād, and that this discussion has proceeded outwith the context of the broader historiographical debate on jurisprudential regional differences. Before discussing regional differences regarding jihād, therefore, it will be useful first of all to review the historiographical debate on regional differences more broadly.

With the publication in 1950 of his first foray into the debate, Schacht articulated a model wherein the classical schools of law, which constitute the well-known *madhhab* system, were preceded by 'ancient schools of law'.[63] His theory of the 'ancient schools of law' holds that their differences were conditioned by regional factors rather than allegiance to any particular master or fundamental disagreement over the principles of law.[64] As the classical schools were and are eponymous, Schacht argued that these ancient schools of law 'transformed themselves' into the later type of school;[65] his model has found continuing acceptance and has become almost paradigmatic.[66] It is not, however, without its problems.

Schacht states that the term 'ancient schools of law'

> [...] implies neither any definite organization nor a strict uniformity of doctrine within each school, nor any formal teaching, nor again any official status, nor even the existence of a body of law in the Western meaning of the term.[67]

This caveat raises the issue of what precisely the term means: if it implies none of the above, what does it imply and does it therefore have any value? Schacht does not explore the full implications of his terminology, instead eliding any such

63 Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. All of Schacht's subsequent outlines of Islamic law draw upon the arguments in this book. See for example: 'Pre-Islamic Background and Early Development of Jurisprudence' in M. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny (eds.), *Law in the Middle East, Vol.1: Origin and Development of Islamic Law* (Washington, 1955), pp.28-56; 'The Schools of Law and Later Developments of Jurisprudence' in Khadduri and Liebesny (eds.), *Law in the Middle East, Vol.1*, pp.57-84; *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964); 'Fiḳh' in *EI²*.

64 Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p.7; idem, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, p.28.

65 Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, p.57.

66 Christopher Melchert's explicitly acknowledges his reliance on Schacht's model at the beginning of his discussion of the transformation from regional to personal schools of law. See Christopher Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunnī Schools of Law: 9th-10th Centuries C.E.* (Leiden, 1997), p.32.

67 Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, p.28.

discussion entirely. This question of meaning raises the additional problem of what bound the scholars of these ancient schools together. According to Schacht, this was a 'living tradition' or *sunna*, that is the uninterrupted practice of the Muslim community going back to the Prophet:

> This ideal practice, which was presumed constant though it in fact developed as Islamic ideas were imposed on the legal subject-matter, was found in *the unanimous doctrine of the representative scholars of each centre*, in the teaching of 'those whom the people of each region recognized as their leading specialists in religious law, whose opinions they accepted, and to whose decisions they submitted.'[68]

If the 'living tradition' of a region was predicated upon the doctrine of the representative scholars of that region, how can Schacht uphold his contention that personality played no role in the ancient schools? There is tension between the concept of the ancient schools of law as amorphous almost non-entities, and the doctrinal homogeneity implied by his definition of the living tradition. Schacht's terminology is thus unhelpful and borders on the incoherent.

Additionally, Nimrod Hurvitz highlights that the terminology has been used inconsistently: modern scholars use the term 'ancient schools of law' to describe the practice of entire regions, for example Iraq, and also the practice of cities within these regions, such as Kufa or Basra. Consequently, this 'obfuscation of the schools' geographical boundaries makes it difficult to treat the 'ancient schools' as concrete historic entities', and using the terms interchangeably makes it impossible to know if the Kufan and Basran schools, for instance, had unique characteristics or together constituted a singular school.[69] Essentially, the term becomes meaningless.

Schacht's conceptualisation of the 'living tradition' is similarly problematic. He argues that the anonymous 'living tradition' of the ancient schools was gradually assigned to members of the *tābiʿūn*, after which it found itself placed under the aegis of the Companions and finally under the authority of the Prophet. Consequently, traditions of the Prophet are the latest, and traditions of the *tābiʿūn*

68 *Ibid.*, p30. My italics. Schacht does not provide a reference for his quotation.
69 Nimrod Hurvitz, 'Schools of Law and Historical Context: Re-examining the Formation of the Ḥanbalī *Madhhab*', *Islamic Law and Society* 7.1 (2000), p.43.

the earliest:[70] Schacht concludes that traditions of the Prophet and of the Companions should be considered inauthentic, and traditions of the *tabiʿūn* 'to a great extent fictitious'.[71]

These conclusions are, however, methodologically unsound. They are based on two observations. The first is that amongst Iraqi scholars, traditions of the Companions predominate in terms of quantity and were therefore regarded by these scholars as equally authoritative as those of the Prophet, if not more so. Schacht argues that traditions from the Companions were 'relegated to a subordinate place' by Iraqi scholars of the eighth century, and that '[w]e must conclude that reference to traditions from Companions is the older procedure'.[72] Secondly, he argues that traditions from the *tābiʿūn* were 'adduced by the Iraqians on the same level as traditions from Companions, and even more frequently by themselves alone.'[73] He concludes that references to the *tābiʿūn* precede references to the Companions, and that it was due to theoretical considerations that authority was transferred backwards from the *tābiʿūn* to the Companions and thence to the Prophet.[74] Quantity and age do not, however necessarily correlate, and the opposite could be the case: traditions of the *tābiʿūn* may predominate because the *tabiʿūn* outnumbered the Companions, who in turn outnumbered the Prophet.

The most strident critics of Schacht's theory are Hurvitz and Wael B. Hallaq. Hallaq takes particular umbrage with Schacht's position, which he systematically dismantles on the basis that it 'creates a detour in early Islamic legal history, a detour that is neither supported by common sense nor the evidence of the early sources.'[75] Addressing the issue of what united the members of these ancient schools, Hurvitz and Hallaq quote the same passage from al-Shāfiʿī, which Schacht used to indicate the profusion of regional schools. Schacht's translation is as follows:

> In Mecca there were some who hardly differed from ʿAṭāʾ, and others who

70 Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p.138.
71 *Ibid.*, pp.149, 150, 151, 176.
72 *Ibid.*, pp.29-30.
73 *Ibid.*, p.32.
74 *Ibid.*, p.33.
75 Wael B. Hallaq, 'From Regional to Personal Schools of Law? A reevaluation', *Islamic Law and Society* 8:1 (2001), p.5.

> preferred a different opinion to his; then came Zangī b. Khālid and gave legal opinions, and some preferred his doctrine, whereas others inclined towards the doctrine of Saʿīd b. Salīm, and the adherents of both exaggerated. In Medina people preferred Saʿīd b. Musayyib, then they abandoned some of his opinions, then in our own time Mālik came forward and many preferred him, whereas others attacked his opinions extravagantly [...] In Kufa I saw people incline towards Ibn Abī Laylā and attack the doctrines of Abū Yūsuf, whereas others followed Abū Yūsuf and disagreed with Ibn Abī Laylā and with his divergences from Abū Yūsuf and others again inclined towards the doctrine of Sufyān al-Thawrī and that of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ.[76]

As both Hurvitz and Hallaq indicate, this passage, far from supporting Shacht's argument, serves to contradict it:[77] the emphasis on individual voices and on disagreement hardly accords with the anonymous and collective doctrine mandated by Schacht's theory, thereby leaving uncertain what served as the unifying factor. Indeed, Hallaq suggests that the geographical labels used in the sources, upon which Schacht built his theory, were simply 'convenient ways to refer to a particular school of jurists who had little in common other than their presence in an unchanging geographical locale'.[78]

Regarding al-Shām in particular, Hallaq highlights the example of the Syrian scholar Abū ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774). Despite Schacht's attempts to paint al-Awzāʿī as the sole representative of a Syrian school,[79] the sources do not refer to a Syrian or Damascene school: instead, they focus on al-Awzāʿī as an individual and as the originator of his own school, the Awzāʿiyya *madhhab*, which survived in al-Shām until the end of the tenth century, and in North Africa and al-Andalus until the ninth century, when it was superseded by the *madhhab* of Mālik b. Anas.[80] As Hallaq notes, this indicates that 'Awzāʿī was held to be a jurist on his own accord, and that his *personal madhhab* was already in evidence before Shāfiʿī became a mature scholar.'[81]

76 Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p.7
77 Hurvitz, 'Schools of Law and Historical Context', p.44; Hallaq, 'From Regional to Personal Schools of Law?', p.10.
78 Hallaq, 'From Regional to Personal Schools of Law?', p.16.
79 Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp.10, 34, 48, 70, and passim.
80 For discussion of the Awzāʿiyya *madhhab*, see Gerhard Conrad, *Die Quḍāt Dimašq und der Maḏhab al-Auzāʿī: Materielien zur syrischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Beirut, 1994).
81 Hallaq, 'From Regional to Personal Schools of Law?', p.17.

Furthermore, Hallaq argues that the regional character of the later schools was much more pronounced than Schacht allows, citing the differences between Andalusian Mālikism, Transoxanian Ḥanafism, Syrian Shāfiʿism and their counterparts in Iraq, the Hijaz, and Egypt.[82] Hurvitz makes a similar point, arguing that

> […] the crux of the matter is not the shift from 'geographical' to 'personal schools' but rather, the other way around: when, how, and why did specific circles in each town come to dominate the legal scene of their town and become synonymous with their town's name? What happened in Kufa that led to the identification of this city with Abū Ḥanīfa and not one of the competing circles, such as Sufyān al-Thawrī?[83]

Both Hurvitz and Hallaq therefore arrive at the conclusion that Schacht's term has no particular significance, and in the face of their arguments it is difficult to accept the existence of ancient schools of law divided by regional factors. In their place, they point to the existence of looser groupings of scholars, called 'circles' by Hurvitz, which predominated: such circles consisted of a particular leading scholar and his followers, as evidenced by the above quotation from al-Shāfiʿī, and they evolved into the classical *madhāhib*.[84]

What, then, does this mean for regional differences in jihād: if there was no Syrian school, was there a distinct Syrian discourse? The non-existence of regional schools does not necessarily mean the non-existence of regional differences and trends: it is axiomatic that some degree of difference would have developed. The important point, as both Hallaq and Hurvitz note, is that regional differences do not imply distinct or systematic differences.[85] Harald Motzki offers a more recent definition of the term 'ancient schools of law', which he describes as 'the trends of legal scholarship which were prevalent in the Hijaz, Iraq and Syria in the second

82 *Ibid.*, p.18.

83 Hurvitz, 'Schools of Law and Historical Context', p.46. Hallaq too makes the point that the early 'schools', a term which he uses reluctantly, were entirely personal in nature. Hallaq, 'From Regional to Personal Schools of Law?', p.21.

84 Hurvitz, 'Schools of Law and Historical Context', p.43; Hallaq, 'From Regional to Personal Schools of Law?', p p.20-21; for Hallaq's account of their transformation, see *Ibid.*, pp.19-25. See also Hurvitz, 'From Scholarly Circles to Mass Movements: The Formation of Legal Communities in Islamic Societies', *The American Historical Review* 108:4 (2003), pp.985-1008.

85 Hallaq, 'From Regional to Personal Schools of Law?', p.19; Hurvitz, 'Schools of Law and Historical Context', p.44.

half of the second/eighth century'.[86] Motzki's definition is more suitable than Schacht's because it avoids implying more doctrinal homogeneity for the eighth century than is demonstrable from the sources, but also because it squares more readily with the looser groupings of scholars demonstrated in the sources. It is with Motzki's less prescriptive definition in mind that attention will now turn to jihād in eighth-century al-Shām.

86 Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp.18-19.

Chapter Two:

Jihād in Eighth-century al-Shām

Introduction

The most succinct description of the different regional discourses of jihād is provided by Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, who state:

> An analysis [...] allows us to understand how jihād as obligatory aggressive war came to be the prevalent opinion in the second half of the second/eighth century. ʿAbd al-Razzāq mentions a group of highly respected Ḥijāzī jurists in the circle of Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/762) [sic] who rejected the idea that jihād was obligatory for all; and they seem, moreover, to have given primacy to other religious acts.
>
> Yet the Syrian jurists quoted by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, perhaps reflecting the determination to make progress on the Byzantine frontier in the first half of the second Islamic century, were quite naturally attracted to the idea that aggressive warfare was obligatory.[1]

As Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid indicate, then, there was a circle of Syrian jurists in the eighth century who espoused a doctrine of military jihād; their Hijazi counterparts did not. Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid do not, however, explore this difference further.

Jacqueline Chabbi discusses the differences between two recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (*Smoothed Path*) of Mālik b. Anas, that of the Iraqi scholar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. (d. 189/805),[2] and that of the Cordovan scholar Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848).[3] She notes that the *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Shaybānī* appears to

1 Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, 'The idea of the *Jihād* in Islam before the Crusades', p.26.

2 Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imām Mālik riwāyat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (Beirut, 1979). Hereafter referred to as *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Shaybānī*.

3 Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imām Mālik riwāyat Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī al-Andalusī*, ed.

lack any endorsement of warfare on the frontier in the context of jihād: the chapter concerning the merits of jihād comprises a mere two traditions,[4] whilst a third tradition pertaining to jihād can be found in the chapter concerning prayer and the merits of mosques.[5] In contrast, the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā* provides a much more detailed discussion of jihād: the *Kitāb al-jihād* contained therein comprises twenty-one chapters and sixty-seven traditions, including those contained in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Shaybānī*.[6] The majority of these traditions are given over to the discussion of various *siyar* topics, though three chapters focus on the issue of martyrdom, and two chapters on the exhortation to jihād: there are no distinct chapters concerning the merits of jihād or the *mujāhid*, though such material is present in the hortatory chapters.

These differences led Chabbi to wonder

> whether these traditions do not allow the supposition of a conflict of representation between traditionists at the end of the 2nd/8th century. These indications could permit the fixing of the time when the ideology of *jihād*, professed by circles yet to be identified, began to stress the meritorious aspect of military service on the frontier, while in other circles there was manifest opposition to this new point of view (possibly from the peoples of Arabia, i.e. of ʿIrāq, against the Syrians, the Khurāsānians and the westerners, Maghribīs and Spaniards [...]). If such was the case, it could be said that this conflict would, as if symbolically, have divided those who, of quietist tendency, aspired to make *mujāwara* [living close to the Kaʿba], from those who aspired to make *ribāṭ* (the *murābiṭūn*, to be understood in the new sense would be "those who dwell on the frontier"). The latter would have professed a new type of activism.[7]

This is very much the conclusion made by Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, who note in connection to this difference the *Mudawwana* (*Body of Laws*), another foundational text for the Mālikī school compiled by Saḥnūn (d. 240/854-5). In the *Mudawwana*, Mālik is cautious about the legitimacy of Muslims fighting in border warfare led by the Umayyads: '[for Mālik,] fighting the *jihād* with the Syrian Umayyads was in no sense a duty of a Muslim, only a permissible act that was to some degree

Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 2 Vols. (Beirut, 1997). Hereafter referred to as *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā*.

4 *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Shaybānī*, p.107, nos.300-301.

5 *Ibid.*, p.56, no.95.

6 *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā*, pp.571-604.

7 Jacqueline Chabbi, 'Ribāṭ', in *EI²*.

meritorious, especially because of the general danger to Islamic territory.[8]

Bonner argues that the inclusion in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā* of jihād material absent from the *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Shaybānī* suggests two possibilities: the Medinan jurists of the mid-eighth century were unaware or unfamiliar with the idea of jihād as expressed in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā*, or Iraqi jurists such as al-Shaybānī disapproved of this idea and consequently excised it from their version of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*.[9] Neither of these possibilities precludes the other, for as Yasin Dutton notes the *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Shaybānī* shows the most marked differences in comparison to the eight other extant recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, whilst the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* itself was used by Mālik as a teaching document over the course of some thirty years: it is not unreasonable for him to have added material to it as his attitude towards jihād evolved.[10]

The problem of Mālik's attitude towards jihād is, however, more complicated: even a cursory comparison of the jihād material in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā* with the jihād material in a third recension of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, that of the Medinan Abū Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī (d. 242/856-7) shows a great deal of similarity.[11] These recensions relate the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* as it existed at the end of Mālik's life. Dutton notes that they accord also with fragments of the earliest transmission, that of ʿAlī b. Ziyād (d. 183/799), which must have been transmitted from Mālik before the return of the former to Tunis in 150/767.[12] Unfortunately, the extant fragments of ʿAlī b. Ziyād's transmission do not include any material concerning jihād, so it is impossible to know whether the jihād material was always present, or whether it was gradually added to the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* over the course of Mālik's lifetime. Whatever the case may

8 Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, 'The idea of the *Jihād* in Islam before the Crusades', p.26.

9 Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, p.103. See also, idem, 'Some Observations concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier', pp.24-25.

10 Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law*, pp. 22-26. Dutton suggests that al-Shaybānī's recension is a heavily edited version, wherein Mālik is trusted as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*, but the *fiqh* is Kufan as opposed to Medinan.

11 Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ li-imām dār al-ḥijra Malik b. Anas riwāyat Abī Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī al-Madanī*, ed. Bashshar ʿAwwād Maʿrūf and Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khalīl, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1991), vol.1, pp.345-381. Hereafter referred to as the *Muwaṭṭa riwāyat Abī Muṣʿab*. The *Kitāb al-jihād* contained within the *Muwaṭṭa Abī Muṣʿab* is longer than that in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā*: it comprises seventy-two traditions divided between twenty-five chapters.

12 Dutton notes that with the exception of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Shaybānī*, all the other extant recensions show a remarkable similarity in their basic content. See Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law*, pp. 22-25.

be, even this brief comparison of three recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* necessitates the qualification of Chabbi's conclusion. Given that the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Abī Muṣʿab* is Medinan and very similar to the Andalusian *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā*, the opposition to the view of jihād they espouse cannot be characterised as Arabian: their similarity blurs any regional differences, and suggests that it was Iraq that was the outlier, not al-Shām and other border regions. Nevertheless, this is still a regional difference, albeit not of the sort posited by Chabbi.

Bonner's work on jihād is the most thorough discussion of regional differences in jihād. He focuses in particular on jihād in eighth century al-Shām, which is part of his broader concern with the development of the Muslim-Byzantine frontier in the eighth century.[13] Bonner argues that al-Shām and the Muslim-Byzantine frontier – being the most prestigious of the frontier zones – first witnessed the manifestation to any appreciable degree of the phenomenon of scholars emigrating to the frontier to fight, which gained momentum in the aftermath of the Umayyad collapse and the establishment of the ʿAbbāsids.[14]

To explore this, Bonner discusses three scholars who were closely associated with al-Shām, and whom he considers emblematic of three different modes of approaching jihād on the frontier: Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī (d. 185/802), Ibn Adhām (d. 161/777-78), and Ibn al-Mubārak. According to Bonner, al-Fazārī stresses the importance of imitating the Prophet by studying both the norms of warfare and the history of the community, and also by taking up arms;[15] Ibn Adham represents a radical, other-worldly asceticism;[16] and Ibn al-Mubārak recreates the community in the here-and-now through the internalisation of the norm by each individual.[17] All three scholars show little interest in obedience to the caliph, whose role each of

13 See Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, pp.97-117. This chapter draws upon his earlier work, especially his PhD thesis, published as *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, 1996); for his discussion of al-Fazārī, Ibn al-Mubārak, and Ibn Adham, see pp.107-134. See also idem, 'Some Observations concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier', *Studia Islamic* 75 (1992), pp.5-31. This article is essentially the chapter from *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, minus the discussion of Ibn Adham.

14 Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, pp.98-99. See also, Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy war*, pp.43-106.

15 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy war*, p.119.

16 *Ibid.*, p.130.

17 *Ibid.*, p.125.

them mitigates to varying degrees.[18]

Bonner's discussion of al-Fazārī focuses on his *Kitāb al-siyar*, which he regards as original within the context of the *siyar* genre on the basis of its intermingling of *maghāzī* material alongside the terse statements found in the *siyar* of scholars such as the above-mentioned al-Awzāʿī, Abū Yūsuf, and al-Shaybānī.[19] As previously noted, the relationship between *siyar* and jihād is not *a priori*, instead being a product of the juristic model of jihād. The *siyar* works mentioned by Bonner, including al-Fazārī's, make little mention of themes like the merits of jihād and the divine rewards of the fighters; moreover, al-Fazārī does not make any meaningful reference to jihād and to *ribāṭ*, both of which appear infrequently.[20] It is thus, at least from an eighth-century perspective, anachronistic to discuss al-Fazārī's *Kitāb al-siyar* as a jihād text: one should only discuss *siyar* and jihād in relation to each other if such a connection is made by the author of the text. The inherent problem in this is unrecognised by Bonner, which is particularly striking considering that he makes a similar point: he states that it is only through the inclusion of hortatory *ḥadīth*, by which he means traditions regarding the merits of jihād, the rewards of the *mujāhid*, etc., that a work of *siyar* becomes a work of *jihād*.[21]

Of Bonner's three scholars, no writings of Ibn Adhām have survived: consequently his relevance to jihād is founded primarily on later biographical notices, which describe him as taking part in military campaigns.[22] Bonner notes that these accounts 'may well be largely legendary',[23] but does make the valuable point that this legacy, historical or not, inspired later generations of radical ascetics on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier: 'the traits which had come to define that milieu were applied retroactively to Ibn Adham.'[24] Consequently, then, al-Fazārī and Ibn Adham are relevant to discussing jihād in eighth-century al-Shām only on the basis

18 Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, pp.100-101. See also *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, pp.115-119, 124-125, 130.
19 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, pp.113-119; idem, *Jihad in Islamic History*, p.99.
20 Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, p.100.
21 Bonner, 'Some Observations concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier', p.25.
22 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, pp.125-130; idem, *Jihād in Islamic History*, p.101.
23 Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, p.101.
24 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, p.127

of later developments in jihād ideology.

Bonner's discussion of Ibn al-Mubārak, whose *Kitāb al-jihād* is the earliest surviving work dedicated to jihād, warrants greater analysis. Although Bonner acknowledges that the work recounts traditions about martyrdom, the importance of intention, and volunteering,[25] he instead focuses on the issue of companionship within the *Kitāb al-jihād*.

He conceives Ibn al-Mubārak as representing 'a this-worldly asceticism, which does not turn inward and away, but which rather builds and maintains the community, through the concepts of companionship and reward.'[26] In support of this, Bonner draws upon a series of traditions quoted by Ibn al-Mubārak wherein the importance of companionship is stressed.[27] For instance:

> Ibrāhīm reported to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Shuʿba from ʿImrān b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿImrān, he said: 'I heard Mujāhid say: 'I became a companion of Ibn ʿUmar in order to serve him, but then he served me.'[28]

Bonner precedes these traditions with an anecdote from the *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa (The Qualities of the Elite*) of Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) wherein al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad notes that the companions of Ibn al-Mubārak would do everything with him, from praying to fighting.[29] The main point of the anecdote is to highlight why Ibn al-Mubārak was more meritorious than his companions: while they were sitting in darkness, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad realises that – where he had been considering Ibn al-Mubārak's merit – Ibn al-Mubārak had spent the time contemplating the Day of Judgement. Companionship is incidental to the anecdote, though undeniably present.

This discussion, however, actually prefaces Bonner's analysis of the *Kitāb al-jihād* proper, which is brief and superficial.[30] Bonner argues that the traditions in the *Kitāb al-jihād* can be divided into three categories, which are – in his terminology: *ḥadīth* of the Successors concerned with reward; *ḥadīth* of Successors

25 Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, p.100.
26 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, p.125.
27 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.151, no.157; pp.177-178, nos.205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211.
28 *Ibid.*, p.177, no.208.
29 Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ed. Khālid Muṣṭafa Ṭarṭūsī (Beirut, 2012), p.774.
30 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, pp.122-125.

and Companions, concentrating on the warrior's intention; *ḥadīth* of the Prophet concerning merit and reward. He suggests that this order

> [...] need not be considered a scheme of chronological development, although from a Schachtian perspective one could argue that the third category, that of prophetical hadith, does come last, and coincides with the composition and circulation of Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*.[31]

Aside from invoking Schacht, Bonner makes no convincing effort to explain why the prophetical *aḥādīth* should be understood as younger.[32]

More problematic, however, is that for each of his three categories, Bonner does not rely primarily on the *Kitāb al-jihād*: for the first category, Bonner does not cite the *Kitāb al-jihād* once, instead adducing his examples from al-Fazārī's *Kitāb al-siyar*. Indeed, throughout the rather short discussion, Bonner cites the *Kitāb al-jihād* a mere four times: the *Kitāb al-jihād*, then, is almost something of an afterthought to Bonner's discussion of Ibn al-Mubārak and his involvement in jihād. That being said, Bonner's comments about the 'internalization of norms' are interesting. He argues that the *Kitāb al-jihād* bears witness to a process whereby the individual's understanding of jihād develops to such an extent that it precludes the necessity of any intermediate authority between himself and God.[33]

Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* has been discussed elsewhere. For example, Heck discusses it in passing, arguing that it presents the mindset of the ascetic warrior for whom dying in the path of God is the ultimate demonstration of his faith.[34] More recently, Feryal Salem discusses the *Kitāb al-jihād* in her monograph on Ibn al-Mubārak.[35] She considers Ibn al-Mubārak a key proponent in the emergence of a proto-Sunnī perspective in the eighth century, arguing that Ibn al-Mubārak was a major *ḥadīth* transmitter 'who was a pioneer in his advocacy of writing hadiths rather than solely relying on memory for their preservation'.[36] For

31 *Ibid.*, p.123.
32 Bonner goes further in his 1992 article, suggesting that the lack of such hortatory traditions in comparative works points to their being later developments unknown by earlier authors, such as Mālik b. Anas. See: Bonner, 'Some Observations concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier', pp.23-25.
33 *Ibid.*, p.124.
34 Heck, *'Jihad* Revisited', p.101.
35 Feryal Salem, *The Emergence of Early Sufi Piety and Sunnī Scholasticism: ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak and the Formation of Sunnī Identity in the Second Islamic Century* (Leiden, 2016).
36 *Ibid.*, p.139.

Salem, however, the *Kitāb al-jihād* is more important as a source to be mined for the evidence it can supply for the emergence of this proto-Sunnī perspective than as a work on jihād ideology: jihād is only a minor concern.[37]

Finally, Deborah Tor has also discussed Ibn al-Mubārak in the context of the development of the *ʿayyārūn*, one of the most prominent paramilitary groups of the eastern Islamic world. She argues that the *ʿayyārūn* developed out of the *mutaṭawwiʿa*, volunteer warriors for the faith. For Tor, Ibn al-Mubārak is one of a number of figures who were indicative of a broader process whereby devout Sunnīs and proto-Sunnīs from the eastern Islamic world migrated to the Muslim-Byzantine frontier to 'uphold the Jihad and pursue the spiritual life generally'.[38] This had the consequence that they 'snatched the moral and religious highground from the Caliphate', and seized control over jihād.[39] This argument obviously runs counter to the juristic model of jihād outlined earlier and indicates the development of an alternative frontier culture of jihād in the eighth century, a point which will be discussed in the conclusion to this chapter.

Tor thus approaches Ibn al-Mubārak from a similar perspective as Salem: namely, they both consider Ibn al-Mubārak emblematic of the proto-Sunnī movement in the eighth century. For Tor, Ibn al-Mubārak represents the militant arm of the proto-Sunnī traditionists, who in concert with the ascetic arm of the proto-Sunnīs – represented by the noted ascetic Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 187/803) – succeeded in wresting religious authority from the caliphs.[40] Tor does not, however, discuss Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* in any great detail. Instead, much like Salem, she focuses upon later anecdotes from the biographical sources to underscore Ibn al-Mubārak's proto-Sunnī credentials: these anecdotes raise their own methodological problems, which will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Afsaruddin alone has focused on Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād,

37 *Ibid.*, pp.92-104.
38 Tor, *Violent Order*, p.40.
39 *Ibid.*
40 Tor elaborates upon this in her study of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ. See Deborah Tor, 'God's Cleric: al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ and the Transition from Caliphal to Prophetic Sunna' in Behnam Sadeghi, Asad Q. Ahmed, Adam Silverstein, and Robert Hoyland (eds.), *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honor of Professor Patricia Crone* (Leiden, 2014), pp.195-228.

though this is within the broader context of her exploration of the changing significations of jihād and *shahīd* from the early Islamic period through to the present day. She notes that Ibn al-Mubārak emphasises the importance of right intention when engaging in jihād, the merit of performing jihād (particularly jihād at sea), and defines martyrdom broadly and outwith a purely military context.[41] Where relevant, her observations will be discussed in more detail below.

With the notable exception of Afsaruddin's work, then, there has thus been a tendency in the study of Ibn al-Mubārak to focus more on how he was perceived by later generations and on his importance to the development of the Sunnī position than on his contribution to jihād ideology. The *Kitāb al-jihād* has not been subjected to any serious analysis, and it remains stubbornly opaque: this is perhaps because the *Kitāb al-jihād* is fundamentally a *ḥadīth* collection, which – by their very nature – hold their points close and present them not through direct lines of argument, but by sheer weight of traditions, the types of traditions, and their internal organisation.

This chapter consists of two parts. The first will analyse the traditions contained within the *Kitāb al-jihād* in order to identify more fully the key elements of Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād. This will be preceded, however, by a more thorough discussion of jihād in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, which provided the evidence for Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid's brief statement regarding regional differences. The second will then turn to the issue of transmission. Beginning again with the *Muṣannaf* and moving to the *Kitāb al-jihād*, this chapter will subject the *asānīd* to further analysis in order to better understand the differences between al-Shām and other regions: by ascertaining the geographical origins of the transmitters, a more detailed picture of the correlation between geography and understanding of jihād will emerge.[42]

41 See Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God*, pp.149-157.

42 Najam Haider's article on the basmalah take a similar methodological approach to the issue of regional variations in the recitation of the basmalah. See Najam Haider, 'To Basmalah or not to Basmalah?: A Social History through a Legal-Prosopographical Methodology' in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford, 2007), pp.459-498.

Jihād according to ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn al-Mubārak

The *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq

ʿAbd al-Razzāq, whose full name was Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām b. Nāfiʿ, was born in Yemen in 126/744. His most important teachers were the Basran Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770), the Kufan Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/777-8), the Meccan Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767), and the Medinan Ibn ʿUyayna (d. 198/813-4). His most prominent students were Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), and Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (d. 233/847). His reputation rests primarily on his works, though as Motzki points out he was already controversial in his own lifetime due to inaccuracies in his oral transmission, the loss of his eyesight in later life, and his sympathy for the Shīʿa.[43]

His *Muṣannaf*, like the *Kitāb al-jihād* of Ibn al-Mubārak, is a *ḥadīth* collection, though ʿAbd al-Razzāq's work is much larger in scope. The term *muṣannaf* refers to a specific kind of *ḥadīth* work, wherein the *ḥadīth* are organised by subject into chapters: the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* are considered exemplars of the genre.[44] Accordingly, the genre is considered primarily to consist of collections of *ḥadīth* of the Prophet; as Harald Motzki indicates, however, earlier examples of the genre – such as the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq – are broader in scope and include traditions of all previous generations, not merely of the Prophet. In this, the *Muṣannaf* is better compared to the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas.[45] Such texts are of particular use for the study of the development of Islamic jurisprudence: the value of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* in this context has been recognised most strikingly by Motzki. Motzki notes that this usefulness is dependent upon solving the problem of 'whether and to what extent one can lend credence to the statements about their provenance in the chains of transmitters.'[46] Motzki's study therefore ties directly into the debate over the *isnād*, the chain of transmission.

43 For a fuller discussion of his biography, see Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp.62-71.

44 See Ignác Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern, trans C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, 2 vols. (London, 1967-1971), Vol.2, pp.231-234, 261. Muhammad Zubayr Siddīqī, *Ḥadīth Literature: Its Origins, Development and Special Features*, ed. Abdal Hakim Murad (Cambridge, 1993), p.16.

45 There is a degree of overlap concerning jihād material between the *Muṣannaf* and the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Yaḥyā* and the *Muwaṭṭaʾ Abī Muṣʿab*.

46 Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, p.52.

The *isnād*, which had enjoyed general acceptance amongst Muslim scholars, did not find itself under scrutiny until the work of such scholars as Ignác Goldziher and Schacht. In particular, Schacht's criticism of the *isnād* and his theory of its development has, much like the model of the 'ancient schools of law' proved singularly enduring. In light of his argument about the gradual transferral of authority backwards from an anonymous 'living tradition' to the Prophet via the *tābiʿūn* and the Companions, Schacht considers the *asānīd* attached to these traditions to be wholly or partially fabricated. He argues that the *asānīd* were originally rudimentary and were gradually improved, achieving their unbroken and complete form only in the classical collections of the ninth century.[47] The *isnād* is thus an arbitrary constructions with little relevance to the veracity of a given tradition.

Motzki counters this argument by analysing the transmission of the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. He notes that its content was transmitted to ʿAbd al-Razzāq primarily by three people: Maʿmar b. Rāshid, Ibn Jurayj, and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Exceptions are the books of *al-maghāzī* and *al-jāmaʿ*, which are primarily from Maʿmar b. Rāshid, and the *Kitāb al-buyūʿ,* wherein traditions from Ibn Jurayj are rare.[48] Motzki worked from a representative sample of 3,810 traditions drawn from all the books of the *Muṣannaf*, bar these three atypical books, and arrived at a more accurate picture of the transmission: thirty-two percent was transmitted from Maʿmar b. Rāshid, twenty-nine percent from Ibn Jurayj, twenty-two percent from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Ibn ʿUyayna accounts for four percent, with the remaining thirteen percent being transmitted by some ninety different persons.[49]

Motzki argues on this basis that the *Muṣannaf* can be seen as deriving principally from three large sources, and that on the basis of their contrasting transmission profiles, they were likely genuine sources: he considers it unlikely that a forger would create groups of traditions which have such disparate structures of transmission.[50] In connection with this, he notes that the scholars

47 Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp.163-165.
48 Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, p.58.
49 *Ibid.*
50 *Ibid.*, pp.59-61.

from whom ʿAbd al-Razzāq received the bulk of his material are all known as authors of works which have been considered lost: he suggests that these sources may be recoverable in the *Muṣannaf*.[51] Motzki therefore makes the compelling argument that truthful transmission from the turn of the eighth century onwards can, in certain cases, be demonstrated.

The *Muṣannaf* comprises thirty-three books (*kutub*), one of which is dedicated to jihād: this *Kitāb al-jihād* consists of some 446 traditions divided between fifty-seven chapters.[52] The bulk of the *Muṣannaf* is primarily concerned with *siyar* topics, with the notable exception of chapters on the merits of jihād, *ribāṭ*, martyrdom, and fighting at sea; where applicable, these will be discussed in conjunction with the *Kitāb al-jihād* of Ibn al-Mubārak. The first chapter of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Kitāb al-jihād* deserves special attention because the above-mentioned scholars have all relied upon it in their formulation of the regional differences between al-Shām and the Hijaz: they have not, however, paid it any great attention.

The first chapter is entitled 'The obligation of *ghazw* [raiding]': its concern is thus whether military action is an obligatory aspect of jihād.[53] Given that this is the first chapter of the *Kitāb al-jihād* contained within the *Muṣannaf*, it may be that ʿAbd al-Razzāq considered the issue of fighting in jihād particularly pressing. The chapter comprises thirteen traditions from eight different sources; one of these sources is anonymous.[54] Ibn Jurayj transmitted three outright,[55] as too did Sufyān al-Thawrī,[56] with Sufyān al-Thawrī transmitting a fourth in conjunction with Maʿmar b. Rāshid.[57] Maʿmar b. Rāshid transmits only one outright,[58] as do also Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh (n.d.),[59] Ibn Taymī (n.d),[60] Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d.

51 *Ibid.*, p.73.
52 *al-Muṣannaf*, vol.5, pp.118-209.
53 *Ibid.*, pp.118-120.
54 *Ibid.,* pp.119-120, no.9344. There is ambiguity in the text of the tradition. The final sentence indicates that ʿAbd al-Razzāq said that al-Awzāʿī was his source, though the *isnād* itself refers to 'a man' as the transmitter.
55 *Ibid.,* pp.118-119, nos.9334, 9335, 9337.
56 *Ibid.*, pp.119-120, nos.9340, 9345, 9346.
57 *Ibid.*, p.119, no.9343.
58 *Ibid.*, p.118, no.9336.
59 *Ibid.*, p.119, no.9339.
60 *Ibid.*, p.119, no.9342.

167/783-4),[61] and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (n.d.).[62] These thirteen traditions can be divided into two categories: those which consider *ghazw* necessary, and those which do not. There are five traditions which consider *ghazw* necessary,[63] and eight which do not.[64]

Dealing first with the eight which do not consider *ghazw* a necessary aspect of jihād, it should be noted that these traditions do not necessarily condemn or otherwise criticise *ghazw*. Rather, they express ambivalence regarding its being incumbent upon the Muslim Faithful at large: that is, to borrow anachronistic language, they were reluctant to consider *ghazw* as a *farḍ ʿayn*. The first tradition demonstrates this succinctly:

> Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. Bishr reported to us, he said: 'Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dubrā narrated to us, he said: 'ʿAbd al-Razzāq reported to us from Ibn Jurayj, he said: 'I asked ʿAṭāʾ: 'Is ghazw obligatory for everyone?' So he and ʿAmr b. Dīnār said: 'We do not know.''[65]

Likewise, this reluctance is expressed in the second tradition, wherein Dāwūd b. Abī ʿĀsim (n.d.) refuses to answer Ibn Jurayj when he asks him the same question.[66]

This idea that fighting was not a necessary aspect of jihād finds support in three traditions of the Prophet, all of which appear to be variants of each other, and which express consensus that jihād without fighting is pilgrimage, either the hajj or the ʿumra:[67] two of them explicitly state that this is the jihād for the coward:

> ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Maʿmar from ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jazarī, he said: 'A man came to the Prophet (ṣ), he said: 'I am a cowardly man; I cannot meet the enemy.' So he [The Prophet] said: 'Shall I not guide you to jihād, wherein there is no fighting?' So he said: 'Yes, O Messenger of God.' He said: 'Upon you is the hajj and the ʿumra.''[68]

What is particularly interesting about these traditions is the equation of jihād and pilgrimage, which are seemingly understood respectively as the militaristic and

61 *Ibid.*, pp.118-119, no.9338.
62 *Ibid.*, p.119, no.9341.
63 *Ibid.*, pp.118-120, nos. 9338, 9339, 9340, 9341, 9344.
64 *Ibid.*, pp.118-120, nos. 9334, 9335, 9336, 9337, 9342, 9343, 9345, 9346.
65 *Ibid.*, p.118, no. 9334.
66 *Ibid.*, p.118, no. 9335.
67 *Ibid.*, no.9346.
68 *Ibid.*, p.119, no.9336. No.9337 is variant of this tradition, with Ibn Jurayj transmitting to ʿAbd al-Razzāq instead of Maʿmar b. Rāshid.

pacifistic expressions of the same desire. A fourth tradition makes this explicit, stating that jihād and the hajj were equally meritorious: ''ʿAbd al-Razzāq from al-Thawrī from al-Aʿmash from Ibrāhīm from ʿĀbbas b. Rabīʿa from ʿUmar, he said: 'When you unburden your saddles, then they set out on the hajj. For indeed he is one of those who perform jihād.''[69] In this way, these traditions offer additional evidence in support of Chabbi's argument that the recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* indicates the existence of a conflict between those who aspired to live on the frontiers and those who aspired to reside near the goals of pilgrimage.[70]

The final two traditions are particularly fascinating in this context. Not only do they deny the obligatory nature of jihād, one goes so far as to exclude jihād without qualification as essential in any way, regarding it instead as a voluntary deed:

> ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Ibn Taymī from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, he said: 'al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād narrated to me, he said: 'I was sitting with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, then came to him a young man, who said: 'Why do you not perform jihād?' I remained silent and he turned away from him. Ibn ʿUmar said: 'Verily, the Islam of the people has four foundations: performing prayer, the giving of zakāt, not distinguishing between the two, fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, the hajj to the House by whoever can bear the way. Verily, jihād and *ṣadaqa* are amongst good works.''[71]

The final tradition, which is similarly structured to the above quotation, goes even further: not only does it not count jihād as one of the eight supports of Islam,[72] it does not mention jihād at all. Taken together, these two traditions speak of a much more vocal opposition towards jihād as fighting, considering it inferior to pilgrimage. The very phrasing of the young man's question supports the notion that the idea of jihād as fighting was becoming more prevalent (perhaps amongst the younger generations?) and that older scholars sought to counteract this development, sometimes quite vigorously. Consequently, one can see in these traditions three key themes: reluctance to consider *ghazw* obligatory; equation of

69 *Ibid.*, p.120, no.9345.

70 This point has also been made by Bonner, though he does not mention the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* in relation to it. See Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, p.105. To my knowledge, it has not been discussed in any great detail.

71 *al-Muṣannaf*, vol.5, p.119, no.9342.

72 *Ibid.*, p.119, no.9343. The text of the tradition as it survives only mentions seven of the eighth supports.

jihād as fighting with pilgrimage; and opposition to the importance of jihād as fighting.

Turning to the five traditions which consider *ghazw* an obligatory aspect of jihād, they can be further divided into two categories. The first category contains two traditions which state that jihād and pilgrimage are both incumbent upon all Muslims. For example:

> ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh from Ibn ʿAwn from Isḥāq b. Suwayd from Ḥarīth, he said: 'I heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saying: 'Three journeys are urged upon you: the hajj and the ʿumra are urged upon you, jihād in the path of God.' Verily, the man desires with the surplus of his wealth, spending and dues, he said: 'Upon you is the hajj, the ʿumra, and the jihād.'[73]

In this way, they conform with the suggestion above that jihād and pilgrimage were understood as being equally meritorious, the militaristic and pacific expressions of the same desire. It is particularly notable, however, that no attempt is made to suggest that either may be a substitute for the other. Moreover, on the grounds that the hajj is obligatory on all who are capable, these traditions suggest a similar consideration of jihād.

The remaining three are more interesting. Included within them are the only two traditions which make explicit the obligation to fight as an aspect of jihād:

> ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: 'I heard Makḥūl, he said: 'The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'If no one from the people of the household goes out raiding, or prepares to go raiding, or designates someone as such, then God will afflict them with catastrophe before death.'[74]

> ʿAbd al-Razzāq from a man from Makḥūl that he was before the Qibla, then he swore ten oaths that the ghazw was obligatory on all, then he said; 'If you wished, you could do more.' ʿAbd al-Razzāq said: 'I heard from al-Awzāʿī (or: 'I reported from him') that he heard it from Makḥūl.'[75]

The third tradition is less clear about the relationship between fighting and jihād, but nevertheless confirms that jihād – whatever that may entail – is obligatory to all:

> ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith from Makḥūl

73 *Ibid.*, p.119, no.9339. See also no.9340.
74 *Ibid.*, pp.118-119, no. 9338
75 *Ibid.*, pp.119-120, no.9344.

> from Abū Umāma that the Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'Incumbent upon you is jihād in the path of God, for indeed it is a gate to the Garden: God destroys with it deceit and distress.'[76]

As Afsaruddin notes, the stridency of Makḥūl al-Dimashqī (d. 112×119/730×737), indicates the contested nature of the meaning of jihād in this period.[77] In order to explore regional differences in the *Muṣannaf*, the chains of transmission of all thirteen traditions will be analysed below. Before doing so, Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād will be discussed.

THE *KITĀB AL-JIHĀD* OF IBN AL-MUBĀRAK

Ibn al-Mubārak, whose full name was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak b. Wādiḥ, was born in Merv in 118/736 and died in 181/797 whilst returning from raiding Byzantium. Amongst his teachers and students were some of the most prominent eighth- and ninth-century figures, including for instance the likes of al-Awzāʿī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), ʿAbd al-Razzāq, and Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād (d. 228/843). His biographers agree that he was well-travelled and respected both intellectually as a poet and scholar, and religiously as a practitioner of *zuhd* (asceticism) and of jihād.[78] Although numerous works on a variety of topics are ascribed to him, he is most known for his *Kitāb al-jihād*. This brief sketch of Ibn al-Mubārak's life is culled from his biographical tradition, which comprises a great many biographical notices from the ninth century onwards. The majority of notices compiled before the turn of the eleventh century are short, formulaic statements of the barest biographical information. Consequently, as the current discussion is focused on the eighth century, it is not pertinent to discuss these notices here: they will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* survives in one manuscript,[79] the first edition of which was published in 1971. The manuscript consists of forty pages (folios 2r–40v), each of roughly 21 to 23 lines, which are divided into two parts: these are

76 *Ibid.*, p.119, no. 9341.
77 Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God*, p.119.
78 Ibn Ṣaʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, 11 vols. (Cairo, 2001), vol.9, p.376, no.4471.
79 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, *MS Vollers 0320-01*.

prosaically titled 'Part One of the *Kitāb al-jihād*' and 'Part Two of the *Kitāb al-jihād*' respectively, with these titles being written on the first page of each part. The text follows a loose chronological organisation: references to events during the Prophet's lifetime occur more frequently in the first part of the work, whilst references to the *ṣaḥāba* and the *tabiʿūn* occur more frequently in the second.

The editor of the work, Nazīh Ḥammād, dates the manuscript to before the turn of the fifth Islamic century on the basis of the three statements of audition attached to it: two give the date 462/1070, the third 463/1071.[80] Additionally, the *isnād* for the first tradition in each part states that the scribe, Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī, heard Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Abanūsī al-Ṣayrafī recite it in Baghdad in *jumāda al-ūlā* 455/May 1063.[81] It should also be noted that each tradition provides its own *isnād*, in which Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī states how the tradition made its way to his teacher from Ibn al-Mubārak, and also how it reached Ibn al-Mubārak in the first place. About Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī, little is preserved.[82] His full name was Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Dulafī, and he was known by the additional *nisab* 'al-Maqdisī' and 'al-Baghdādī': what his connection with Jerusalem was, the sources do not say. Instead, they state that he lived in Karkh in Baghdad, where he was one of the pre-eminent jurists until his death in 484/1091.

Ḥammād counts some 262 traditions in the *Kitāb al-jihād*, with 121 in the first part and 141 in the second. The second part of the *Kitāb al-jihād* itself consists of two parts: the final traditions, from number 239 to 262, are listed under the title 'Chapter concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf* [the fear prayer]'.[83] This is the only subheading in the work, and it is interestingly the only point at which Ibn al-Mubārak shows any real interest in regulation, giving as he does advice on how the Muslim army should perform the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in various situations. Otherwise, Ibn al-Mubārak is more concerned with the merits of jihād than the practicalities of performing it: *siyar* topics are noticeably absent. This does, of

80 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.45-6.
81 *Ibid.*, p.59; p.126.
82 See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥilū and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Tannāḥī, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1964), vol.4, pp.366-367, no.396; ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī, a*l-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAmr al-Bārūdī (Beirut, 1988), vol.2, p.489.
83 *Ibid.*, p.192.

course, reveal something about Ibn al-Mubārak's purposes: his work was never intended to be didactic in a practical sense, but rather in a hortatory sense.

Following on from this, although the text does borrow from the works of *maghāzī*, narrative is very much an absent feature in the *Kitāb al-jihād*: when context is given for a particular tradition, it is limited to simple statements like 'on the Day of Uḥud';[84] the *Kitāb al-jihād* is thus of little use for reconstructing the history of the early Islamic community, which only reconfirms the sense one gets of Ibn al-Mubārak's intentions. To borrow Bonner's borrowing of Wansborough, '*exemplum* now predominates over *narratio*.'[85] What, then, are the *exempla* which Ibn al-Mubārak sought to impress upon his audience?

The bulk of the *Kitāb al-jihād* is given over to the exploration of three main themes: firstly, that jihād is the most meritorious act one can perform; secondly, that the merit of jihād is dictated by the intentions of the *mujāhid*; and thirdly, that jihād culminates with martyrdom. Before these can be discussed, however, it is necessary first to understand what Ibn al-Mubārak means by jihād.

(i) Ibn al-Mubārak's Understanding of Jihād

Ibn al-Mubārak offers no definition of jihād, which – although the word itself does occur – is frequently denoted instead with the phrase '*fī sabīl Allāh*' ('in the path of God'), which is often qualified with some reference either to fighting, performing *ghazw* or *ribāṭ*, or dying. The absence of any definition is hardly surprising, particularly given his disinterest in narrative and *siyar*, and suggests moreover that he and his audience shared a common understanding of jihād. The lack of a clear definition is compounded by the lack of a structured argument, which makes recovering how Ibn al-Mubārak – and his audience – understood jihād vexing.

At its simplest, Ibn al-Mubārak regards jihād as a duty from God,[86] which is enshrined in both the Qurʾān and the example of the prophets:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I

84 *Ibid.*, p.102, no.85.
85 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, p.122.
86 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.96, no.73.

> heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Jaʿfar b. Ḥibbān and al-Mubārak from al-Ḥasan concerning the saying 'How many a prophet fought and with him [fought] many religious scholars'.[87] Jaʿfar said: 'The *ʿulamāʾ* endured.' Ibn al-Mubārak said: 'The God-fearing endured.'[88]

Moreover, the Prophet himself is reported as saying that military action was essential to his prophetic mission:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn al-Mubārak narrated to us from al-Awzāʿī, he said: 'Saʿid b. Jabala narrated to us, he said: 'Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī narrated to me that the Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'Verily, God sent me with a sword in my hand [at] the Hour, and placed my livelihood beneath the shadow of my spear, and has enjoined humiliation and abasement upon whosoever opposes me, and whosoever imitates a people is one of them.'[89]

As the above-quoted traditions indicate, the primary signification of jihād – insofar as Ibn al-Mubārak was concerned – was military action. Where ʿAbd al-Razzāq must devote his first chapter to whether fighting is an integral part of jihād, Ibn al-Mubārak has no need to do so. This is unsurprising, for the work circulated on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier, and it was only after the Byzantine reconquest of much of the *thughūr* in the second half of the tenth century that the work – insofar as the historical record reveals – moved from the frontier and became known in the interior of the *dār al-islām*.[90]

On top of this, there are frequent descriptions of fighting, focusing in particular on military valour and prowess, which need not be recounted in any great detail. Two examples will suffice:

> Ibrāhīm reported to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Masʿar, he said: 'I heard ʿAwn b. ʿAbd Allāh narrate that he passed by a man on the Day of Qādisiyya whose intestines had been spilt. He said to those who passed him: 'Tie up that which spills from me, for I would apply myself to recording a spear or two in the path of God Almighty.' He said: 'I went to him and he applied himself to recording a spear or two.'[91]

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I

87 Q:3.146
88 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.124, no.119.
89 *Ibid.*, p.116, no.105.
90 See below, pp.90-92.
91 *Ibid.*, p.132, no.131.

> heard Ibn al-Mubārak, he said: 'And he [Muḥammad b. Isḥāq] reported to me also, he said: 'Muḥammad b. Saʿd reported to me that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣaʿṣa said: 'The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'Who will find out what has happened to Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ?' A man from the Anṣār said: 'Me, O Messenger of God.' He said: 'He went, going about amongst the slain until he found a wounded Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, and acknowledged he was at his last breath. So he said: 'O Saʿd, verily the Messenger of God (ṣ) commanded me to find out if you were safely amongst the living, or amongst the dead.' He said: 'I am amongst the dead. Give to the Messenger of God (ṣ) greetings from me, and tell him that Saʿd says to you: 'God rewarded you with a goodness, a prophet from his community!' Give to your people greetings, and say to them that Saʿd says to you that there is no excuse before God if your Prophet is finished, and amongst you there is a watching eye.[92]

Additionally, the first three traditions in the *Kitāb al-jihād* all revolve around the revelation of *sūrat al-Ṣaf*. In each, a group of believers wonders which deed is most beloved of God: the *sūra* is then revealed, wherein they are encouraged to fight in the path of God,[93] and to strive with their wealth and their *anfus*.[94] This *sūra*, in conjunction with the prophetic exemplar, acts as the theological lynch-pin for Ibn al-Mubārak.

Yet that being said, there is more to the *Kitāb al-jihād* than merely being a repository of tales of derring-do and bravado, and Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād is more nuanced than simply being bellicose. He does not go so far as to deem other types of jihād aberrations from the norm, but rather he stresses the pre-eminence of military action:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Jarīr b. Ḥizām, he said: 'ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr narrated to me, he said: 'It was said: 'O Messenger of God, which jihād is the best?' He said: 'The one in which the horse is wounded, and the blood is shed.'[95]

Nevertheless, this military action must be undertaken in a religious context:

> Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Saʿīd b. Raḥma narrated to

92 *Ibid.*, pp.108-109, no.94.

93 Q.61:2-4: 'O you who have believed, why do you say what you do not do? Great is hatred with God that you say what you do not do. Indeed, God loves those who fight in His path in a row as if they were firmly-joined structure.'

94 Q.61:10-11: 'O you who have believed, shall I guide you to a transaction which will save you from a grievous punishment? Believe in God and his Messenger, and strive in the path of God with your wealth and your *anfus*. That is best for you, if you knew.'

95 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p. 87, no.51.

> us, he said: 'I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he said: 'Rabīʾa b. Yazīd narrated to me – or Ibn Ḥalbus – that Abū al-Dardāʾ said: 'Do good deeds before the *ghazw*, for indeed you fight with your deeds.'[96]

Likewise, he does not deny any spiritual component to jihād: the idea of *jihād al-nafs*, albeit unmentioned by any specific term, appears in an inchoate form:

> Ibrāhīm narrated to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Ḥaywa from Abū Hānaʾ from ʿAmr b. Mālik from Fuḍāla, he said: 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ) say: 'The mujāhid is he who strives against his *nafs* with his *nafs*.'[97]

It should be remembered that Ibn al-Mubārak is equally famous as the author of a work on *zuhd* as he is for the *Kitāb al-jihād*, in connection to which Ibn al-Mubārak narrates the following:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl from Muʿāwiya b. Qurra, he said: 'He used to say that each community has its monasticism (*rahabāniyya*), and the monasticism of this community is jihād in the path of God.'[98]

The term translated here as 'monasticism' is '*rahabāniyya*', which might also be translated as 'asceticism' or more generically 'excess in religion to the extent of detaching oneself from the world.'[99]

In this, it coincides with a number of traditions which encourage the renunciation of the world:

> He [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd al-Ḥubulī] said: 'I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr [b. al-ʿĀs] say: 'A goodness which I do today is more dear to me than a similar goodness in the past, because then we were with the Messenger of God and our ambition was the hereafter: we cared not for the world. Yet today, the world has overthrown us.'[100]

According to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, it was easier to do good deeds in the time of the Prophet simply because of his presence: without his presence, good deeds were harder to perform and – accordingly – more valuable when performed. Similarly,

96 *Ibid.*, p.61, no.5.
97 *Ibid.*, p.162, no.175.
98 *Ibid.*, p.67, no.15. No.16 is the same tradition transmitted from Anas b. Mālik.
99 Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1968), vol.3, p.1168.
100 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.181, no.216/2.

there is a tradition wherein Ibn Qasḥim throws away the dates in his hand and exclaims 'The world is devoid of food!' before leaving and fighting until he was killed.[101]

It is in this context that the chapter concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf* should be understood. The traditions related in this section all explain how prayer should be performed in the face of the enemy, and emphasise that there is no time at which prayer might be disregarded: it may be performed on foot or whilst riding,[102] but it must be performed. As Afazalur Rahman notes:

> It is essential for the preservation of this spirit of *jihād* that prayer should not be ignored, as far as possible, even under very hard battle conditions. It will remind every *mujahid* of the reality that, as far as our objective is concerned, rows on the battlefield are no different from rows in prayer.[103]

Thus, Ibn al-Mubārak considers jihād to be both militaristic and spiritual: only by ordering one's *nafs* and by practising prayer could one be sure of success in jihād.

Yet even within the militaristic signification of jihād, there is further refinement: he considers the military jihād to comprise not only fighting in the path of God generically, but also more specifically the performance of *ribāṭ*:

> Ibrāhīm narrated to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from al-Mubārak b. Fuḍāla from al-Ḥasan that he heard him say in relation to the saying of God Almighty 'O you who have believed, persevere and endure and remain stationed,'[104] he said: 'They are commanded to persevere in their religion, and to leave it neither for severity, nor for comfort, nor for prosperity, nor adversity. They are commanded to endure the *kuffār*, and to remain stationed against the polytheists.'[105]
>
> Ibrāhīm narrated to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Maʿmar from Qatāda that he used to say: 'Vie patiently with the polytheists, and remain stationed in the path of God.'[106]

Both of these traditions draw upon the Qurʾān to stress the importance of remaining stationed (*rābiṭa*) against the non-believers, and Ibn al-Mubārak uses

101 *Ibid.*, pp.98-99, no.77.
102 See for example, *Ibid.*, pp.195-196, no.235.
103 Afzalur Rahman, *Prayer: Its Significance and Benefits* (London, 1979), p.150.
104 Q.3:200
105 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.159-160, no.170.
106 *Ibid.*, p.160, no.171.

them as something of an introduction to a series of traditions which discuss *ribāṭ* and the importance of the *murābiṭūn*.

The importance of *ribāṭ* is described by the Prophet, to whom the following is attributed:

> Ibrāhīm narrated to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Ḥaywa b. Sharīḥ, he said: 'Nāfiʿ b. Sulaymān narrated to me from Yazīd al-ʿAlakī that it was narrated to him that the Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'Verily, there will be in my community a group by whom the *thughūr* will be secured. Rights will be taken from them, and they will not be given their rights. Those ones are from me and I from them; those ones are from me and I from them!'[107]

Whilst the root *r-b-ṭ* does not appear in the tradition, its position in the midst of traditions which do explicitly discuss *ribāṭ* makes clear that Ibn al-Mubārak intends the Prophet's words be understood as encouraging *ribāṭ*.

Ibn al-Mubārak stresses the importance of *ribāṭ* to such an extent that the term becomes near synonymous with jihād: the tradition stressing the merit of the *murābiṭ* are markedly similar to some of the traditions stressing the merit of the *mujāhid*. This emphasis on *ribāṭ* within the *Kitāb al-jihād* supports Chabbi's suggestion that the second half of the eighth century saw the increasing articulation of a viewpoint which emphasised the importance of military service on the frontier. Further, it suggests that the difference between the two terms – insofar as Ibn al-Mubārak and his audience were concerned – was so slight as to be essentially meaningless: to all intents and purposes, the *mujāhid* is the *murābiṭ*. Furthermore, as was indicated earlier, Ibn al-Mubārak considers martyrdom the culmination of jihād: thus, the *mujāhid*/*murābiṭ* is the precursor to the *shahīd*.

(ii) The Merit of Performing Jihād

Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* was transmitted in al-Andalus under the title *Kitāb faḍl al-jihād* (*Book of the Merit of Jihād*). Although this transmission does not survive, its title gives a more accurate description of the contents: the merit of jihād is undoubtedly the most prominent theme of the work.[108] The simplest statement

107 *Ibid.*, p.167, no.185.
108 See Miklos Muryani, 'Das Kitāb al-Siyar von Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī. Das Manuskript der

of the merit of jihād, attributed to the Prophet, states only that '[a] night or a day in the path of God is better than the world and what is in it.'[109] Or more poetically: '[a] day or night in the path of God is better than everything upon which the sun rises and sets.'[110]

The simple message at the core of both these unequivocal statements lies at the heart of all traditions dealing with the merit of performing jihād, though it does not appear elsewhere as baldly as it does here. Instead, this basic message finds itself re-articulated and elaborated. Thus:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Masʿūdī from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān from ʿĪsā b. Ṭalḥa from Abū Hurayra, he said: 'The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'Dust from the path of God will never be combined with the smoke of hell in the nostrils of a Muslim.'[111]

Frequently, the acts of pilgrimage, praying, and fasting are compared to the act of jihād – and found wanting. In the case of hajj, it is noted that whilst performing pilgrimage before the *ghazwa* is better than performing ten *ghazwāt*, the *ghazwa* performed after pilgrimage is better than performing eighty pilgrimages.[112] Likewise, Ibn ʿUmar is reported as saying that: '[…] travel in the path of God Almighty is more meritorious than fifty *hijja*.'[113] Finally:

> Ibrāhīm reported to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Sufyān from Yaḥya b. ʿAmr b. Salama from his father from Ibn Masʿūd, he said: 'That I donate a whip in the path of God is more dear to me than one *hijja* after another.'[114]

The comparison of jihād to pilgrimage, with the latter being found most definitively wanting, recalls the point made earlier that the traditions contained within the *Muṣannaf* suggested that jihād and pilgrimage were seemingly understood as

Qarawiyyīn-Bibliothek zu Fās', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 6 (1985), pp.70-71.

109 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.69, no.18. No.19 is the same tradition transmitted through a different *isnād*.

110 *Ibid.*, p.185, no.224.

111 *Ibid.*, p.76, no.30. This is followed by three related traditions concerning dust, which all stress that anyone whose feet become covered with dust in the path of God will be saved from hell. See *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.76-78, nos.31, 32, 33, 34. For related traditions, see also: *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukharī*, p.696, no.2811; *Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, vol.2, pp.374-375, no.3116; *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, vol.3, pp.270-271, no.1632.

112 *Ibid.*, p.187, no.228/3.

113 *Ibid.*, p.186, no.225.

114 *Ibid.*, p.186, no.226.

militaristic and pacifistic counterparts. It was noted then that the equality afforded to both acts suggested recognition on the part of the pacifistic transmitters that the importance of *ghazw* to jihād was gaining traction. Here, however, is the other side of the coin: it points to the advocates of a militaristic jihād becoming more boisterous and secure in their position. Afsaruddin makes the incisive point that these traditions which extol the superiority of military jihād over other devotional acts are absent from ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhārī: she argues that this implies the more limited circulation of these reports, and that they were deemed too unreliable to be included in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections.[115]

Perhaps the strongest tradition in support of this position is attributed to the Prophet himself, wherein he chides a certain Ibn Rawāḥa for placing prayer before his duty to the army:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣabīḥ from al-Ḥasan that the Messenger of God (ṣ) dispatched an army with which was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. When the army departed in the morning, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa remained in order to attend the prayer with the Messenger of God (ṣ). When the Prophet (ṣ) finished his prayer, he said: 'O Ibn Rawāḥa, are you not with the army?' He said: 'Yes, o Messenger of God, but I desired to attend prayer with you, and I know where they are going; I will leave in the evening and catch up with them.' He said: 'By Him in whose hands is my *nafs*, if you spend everything in earth, you will not reach the merit of their departure.'[116]

More commonly, however, the focus is placed on the merit of the *mujāhid* than on the merit of jihād itself. Again, the comparison is made to praying and fasting:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Maʿmar from al-Zuhrī, he said: Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib reported to me that Abū Hurayra said he heard the Messenger of God (ṣ) say: 'Verily, the appearance of the *mujāhid* in the path of God – and God knows best who strives in his path – is like the appearance of the one who prays, fasts, humbles himself, bows, and prostrates.[117]

Variants of this tradition occur frequently in the *Kitāb al-jihād*, the *Muṣannaf*, and

115 Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God*, p.151.
116 *Ibn al-Mubārak.*, pp.66-67, no.14.
117 *Ibid.*, p.65, no.11.

the *Kutub al-Sitta*.[118] The *murābiṭ*, too, is compared favourably:

> […] I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ) say: '*Ribāṭ* for a day and a night – or for a day or a night – is like praying and fasting for a month, and he who dies as a *murābiṭ* is rewarded with the like of that [i.e. the reward for praying and fasting for a month], and is rewarded with blessings, and is saved from the torments of the grave.' Read, if you want from 'And those who emigrated for the cause of God and then were killed or died, God will surely provide for them a good provision' until the second aya.[119]

Variants of this tradition can be found in the *Kitāb al-jihād*, the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, and in some of the *Kutub al-Sitta*.[120] Often, the context is minimised, thereby emphasising the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet which forms the core. Mention is made of the *mujāhid* who is wounded whilst practising jihād:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Ibn Lahīʿa, he said: 'al-Aʿraj narrated to me from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (ṣ), he said: 'By Him in whose hands is Muhammad's *nafs*, no one suffers a wound in the path of God – and God knows best who suffers a wound in his path – except that it comes on the Day of Resurrection as it appeared [then], the colour the colour of blood, the smell the smell of musk.'[121]

Similarly, one tradition states that if one's hair turns grey in the path of God, it will be a light to him on *yawm al-qiyāma*, the Day of Resurrection.[122]

There are traditions which also recall the favourable comparison between jihād and other religious acts, and which stress that the smallest action of the *mujāhid* far outstrips the most dedicated person who fasts or prays:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Ḥaywa b. Sharīḥ, he said: 'Bakīr b. ʿAmr narrated to me that Ṣafwān b. Sulaym narrated to him that Abū Hurayra said: 'Can one of you pray without cease and fast without cease whilst he lives?' It was said to him: 'O Abū Hurayra, who can do this?' So he said: 'By Him in whose hand is my *nafs*, verily one day of the *mujāhid* in the path of

118 See *Ibid.*, p.66, no.13; pp.75-76, no.29; pp.79-80, no.37. Likewise, see *al-Muṣannaf,* pp.171-172, no.9593; *Sunan al-Nasaʿī*, vol.2, p.377, no.3124; and *al-Bukharī*, p.690, no.2787.

119 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.160-161, no.172. The addendum references Q.22:58-59.

120 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.165, no.182; *al-Muṣannaf*, pp.190-192, nos.9680, 9681, 9682, 9683, 9685; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.2, p.923, no.1913; *Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, vol.2, p.395, no.3169; *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, vol.3, pp.294-295, no.1665.

121 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.80, no.38. No.40 is a variant of this tradition, which can also be found in *al-Muṣannaf,* p.171, no.9591. Nos. 9594, 9597, 9602 in the same text are also variants.

122 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.183, no.220.

God is better than it!'[123]

Likewise:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAbla, he said: 'Abū al-ʿUbayd, the chamberlain of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Hilāl al-Sulamī, he said: 'ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān said to his people: 'It has become clear – by God – that I have kept you busy from jihād, and it is an obligation upon me and you. So whosoever desires to betake himself to al-Shām, let him do so. Whosoever desires to betake himself to Iraq, let him do so. Whosoever desires to betake himself to Egypt, let him do so. Verily the day of the *mujāhid* in the path of God is as one thousand days of unceasing fasting and unceasing prayer.'[124]

Again, these traditions point towards the existence of a contest over the definition of jihād. Additionally, this tradition gives some indication about the regions wherein jihād was to be performed, though interestingly it is the only tradition in the *Kitāb al-jihād* to make mention of any region aside from al-Shām: this point will be returned to below. A final cluster of traditions states that the best person is the *mujāhid* who strives in the path of God until he is killed,[125] whilst another discusses the merits of guarding in the path of God.[126]

(iii) Intentions of the Mujāhid

The merit of performing jihād is, however, contingent upon the intentions of the *mujāhid*: the only intention which is 'proper', and by which fighting might rightfully be called jihād, is intrinsically religious:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Saʿīd b. Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Shuʿba from al-Saddī from Murra, he said: 'A people who fight in the path of God were mentioned in the presence of ʿAbd Allāh, so he said: 'It is not what you think and see. Indeed, when two armies meet, the angels descend, and the people are recorded in accordance with their degrees: so-and-so fought for the world; so-and-so fought for wealth; so-and-so fought for fame, and so on. And so-and-so fought desiring the face of God. Whosoever fought desiring the pleasure of God, that one is in the Garden.'[127]

123 *Ibid.*, p.95, no.70.
124 *Ibid.*, pp.95-96, no.71. No.72 is another variant.
125 *Ibid.*, pp.157-159, nos.165, 166, 167, 168, 169.
126 *Ibid.*, pp.167-168, nos.186, 187. 188.
127 *Ibid.*, p.64, no.9. No.10 makes a similar point.

The proper intention for jihād is the same intention which lies behind any other religious act: improper intention renders the act of fighting mundane, not religious, and thus not jihād. There is a clear emphasis on the importance of religiosity to jihād. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the following tradition, attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Saʿīd b. Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir from al-Ḥārith b. Yumjid [Yumḥid?], he narrated to him from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, he said: 'The people of the *ghazw* are divided into two. One group sets out praising God greatly and full of remembrance of Him. They avoid corruption in their journey, give generously to companions, spend the best of their wealth, for they are more pleased with spending their wealth than they are with profiting from their possessions. When they are in the land of combat, they are ashamed before God in that land if misgivings or failures of the Muslims overtake their hearts. If they are in a position to commit misconduct, they cleanse their hearts and their actions from it. *Shaiṭān* cannot tempt them nor speak to their hearts. Through them does God make mighty His religion and abase His enemies. As for the other group, they do not set out praising God greatly, nor are they full of remembrance of Him. They do not avoid corruption, nor give generously to companions, and spending their wealth is hateful to them: what they spend from their wealth is [considered] a loss. By this does *Shaiṭān* make them aggrieved. When they are in the land of combat, they are amongst the lowest of the low, and the most forsaking of the forsaking. They seek refuge on the peaks of mountains and watch what the people do. If God gives an opening to the Muslims, they are the most vocal in speaking lies. If they are in a position to commit misconduct, they have the audacity to do it against God, and *Shaiṭān* tells them it is booty. If ease falls upon them they are prideful and seduced by *Shaiṭān* with booty. To them is no part of the reward of the believers. Even though their bodies are amongst their bodies, their path with their path, their world and actions are separated until God gather them on the Day of Resurrection and then He distinguishes between them.[128]

A similar tradition divides those killed into three categories: the pure martyr, who strove in the path of God with his *nafs* and his wealth; the purified martyr, who redeemed his earlier sins by striving in the path of God; and the hypocrite, whose hypocrisy condemns him to hell.[129] Both traditions make clear that the only proper

128 *Ibid.*, pp.63-64, no.8.

129 *Ibid.*, pp.62-63, no.7. The idea of purifying oneself through martyrdom occurs elsewhere in the *Kitāb al-jihād*. In no.54 ʿIkrama b. Abī Jahl fights until he is killed in order to atone for his and his father's past opposition to the Prophet. See *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.88.

intention is religious. Even when the *mujāhid* might be rewarded in this world, true belief must be his motivation:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak from Ibn Lahīʿa from al-Aʿraj from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (ṣ), he said: 'God provides for whosoever leaves his home to strive in the path of God, being compelled by nothing but jihād in His path and belief in His word. Indeed, He will admit to the Garden or return him to the place from whence he came, with his reward or booty.'[130]

In another tradition, the Prophet insists, despite the people repeatedly asking him, that anyone who fights for the intention of gaining worldly goods will not receive any divine reward.[131]

What is particularly striking about the traditions in the *Kitāb al-jihād* is the extent to which worldly authority is de-emphasised. It has already been noted by Bonner and Heck that Ibn al-Mubārak has little interest in caliphal authority on the frontier. Bonner contextualises this within the framework of the 'internalization of norms'. He argues that the chronological progression of the traditions in the *Kitāb al-jihād* points to the internalisation of the norms of jihād by the individual:

> [t]his has the result of removing the conduct of war away from the jurisdiction of the imam and his representatives […] the concentration on intention also tends to remove the conduct of war away from the purview of the "clerical elite". For the religious scholar may surmise our intentions more accurately than the magistrate, but finally these are known only to God.[132]

Even if one discards the Schachtian perspective central to Bonner's idea, his final point is still applicable to the *Kitāb al-jihād*: the only being qualified to judge the propriety or purity of the *mujāhid's* intent is God. In this regard, one may return to the long tradition attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, quoted above. As Bonner notes,[133] it can be seen as a direct rebuttal to another tradition contained within the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* – and entirely absent from the *Kitāb al-jihād* – wherein two types of *ghazw* are described:

> From Muʿādh b. Jabal, that he said: 'The *ghazw* is of two kinds. There is one

130 *Ibid.*, p.81, no.39.
131 *Ibid.*, pp.186-187, no.227.
132 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, p.124.
133 *Ibid.*, p.124, n.83.

> *ghazw* wherein valuables are spent, and things are made easy for the participant, and those having authority are obeyed, and corruption is avoided. That *ghazw* is entirely good. And there is the *ghazw* wherein valuables are not spent, things are not made easy for the participant, those having authority are not obeyed, and corruption is not avoided. The follower of that *ghazw* returns without reward.[134]

The *Kitāb al-jihād* is itself a direct refutation of this perspective, and of the importance of the ruler. Indeed, only one tradition mentions a ruler other than the Prophet or one of the *rashīdūn*: ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Mālik (d. 131/748-9). The son of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (d. 86/705) and governor of Egypt, he is reported as fleeing from plague, whereupon he is chastised by Abū ʿAnbah al-Khawlanī, who states that: 'Indeed, if plague descends amongst [your brothers], they would not leave until God decreed upon them what He decreed.'[135] For Ibn al-Mubārak and his audience, therefore, there is no place for worldly authority within the practice of jihād, for – axiomatically – only God can determine if one is performing jihād.[136]

The purity of intention is taken to its logical extreme with a series of traditions wherein the true martyr desires multiple martyrdom, often choosing it in place of his heavenly rewards:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl from Anas b. Mālik, he said: 'The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'There is no soul which dies in a good position with God which would return to the world, having the world and all which is in it, except the martyr who, on seeing the merits of martyrdom, wishes to return so that he might be killed again.'[137]

There are a further two variants of this tradition in the *Kitāb al-jihād*, one of which is transmitted by Abū Hurayra who states that he would desire nothing more than to be martyred three times;[138] the other – attributed to the Prophet – increases the number of desired martyrdoms to ten.[139] For Ibn al-Mubārak and his audience, then, the only way by which one could be certain of the propriety of one's

134 *Muwaṭṭaʾ riwāyat Yaḥyā*, p.600, no,1340.
135 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.128, no.131.
136 Likewise the focus on the reports of the battles of the Prophet and his Companions, representing as they do 'pristine' Islam, can be seen as a direct refutation of all those who have ruled since that time.
137 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.74, no.26.
138 *Ibid.*, p.75, no.27.
139 *Ibid.*, p.75, no.28.

intentions was the willingness to embrace martyrdom: the willingness to embrace multiple martyrdom only increases the propriety of one's intention.

(iv) Martyrdom as the culmination of jihād

Martyrdom is, therefore, the culmination of jihād, the very process which confirms the intentions of the *mujāhid* and through which fighting becomes bona fide jihād. This is expressed explicitly in some traditions. Anas b. Mālik (d. 93/712) notes that, after his uncle was stabbed on the Day of Biʿr Maʿūna, his uncle 'sprinkled [his blood] on his face and head, then said: 'I have succeeded, by the Lord of the Kaʿba.'[140] Likewise, Anas b. Mālik states that he passed another uncle on the Day of Yamāma who was preparing for burial before battle: after putting on his armour he charged the enemy and fought until he was killed.[141] Finally, Hishām b. al-ʿĀs (d. 12/634) – brother of the conqueror of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs (d. c. 43/664) – was described, after his martyrdom, as having found what he was seeking.[142] Aside from the quantity of traditions which conclude with some reference to fighting until death, there are those traditions which might best be described as 'martyr stories': that is, traditions which encompass the entire experience of martyrdom, from first inspiration through to its realisation.

Before discussing these, it should be noted that whilst jihād culminates with martyrdom, martyrdom is not the sole preserve of the *mujāhid*. According to one tradition, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644) asks a group how they prepare for martyrdom. They reply that they perform *ghazw* in the path of God, whereupon ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb tells them that many already do that, but the martyr is he who sacrifices himself.[143] Likewise, the Prophet states that God rewards everyone in accordance with their intention, informing a group that dying in the path of God is only one way of attaining martyrdom.[144] Other deaths which make one a martyr include drowning, dying in a fire, dying in a collapsing building, dying from a

140 *Ibid.*, p.100, no.80.
141 *Ibid.*, p.125, no.121.
142 *Ibid.*, pp.119-120, no.113.
143 *Ibid.*, p.132, no.129.
144 *Ibid.*, p.94, no.67.

stomach complaint or from plague, and dying during childbirth.[145] As a further tradition states, the martyr is whoever 'dies a natural death'.[146] Proper intention, more than fighting, makes one a martyr:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Sulaymān al-Maghīra from Thābit from Anas, he said: 'Ḥāritha, the son of my aunt al-Rubbayiʿ, set out as an observer on the day of Badr because he could not fight. He was struck with an arrow and killed. My aunt – his mother – went to the Prophet (ṣ) and said: 'O Messenger of God, verily if my son Ḥāritha is in the Garden I will be patient and hope, if not you will see what I do!' So he said: 'O Umm Ḥāritha there are many gardens, and indeed, Ḥāritha is in *al-Firdaws*, the highest.'[147]

Thus, Ḥāritha b. Surāqa (d. 2/624), a non-combatant, is rewarded as a martyr for his desire to observe the army.

Yet the focus in the *Kitāb al-jihād* is of course on martyrdom during fighting. Indeed, one tradition describes the martyrs as 'the holders of swords',[148] others that the martyrs are those killed on their horses,[149] whilst another states:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from al-Awzāʿī from Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr, he said: 'The Messenger of God (ṣ): 'The best martyrs with God are those who stood in rank, and did not turn their faces until they were killed. These ones will rejoice in the highest rooms of the Garden, and their Lord will laugh to them. Indeed, if your Lord laughs to a people, then to them there is no reckoning.'[150]

The seeking of death is, in one instance, taken to an extreme:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna from ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib, he said: 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh said on the day of Uḥud: 'By God, I swear to you that we will meet the enemy, and if we do meet the enemy, that they will kill me, then cut open my stomach, then mutilate me. If I meet You, You will ask me: 'Why did this happen?' So I will say: 'For You!'. So he met the enemy and was killed, and they did that to him.' Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib said: 'I hope that God honours the second part of his oath as He did the first.'[151]

145 See for example: *Ibid.*, pp.94-95, nos.68 and 69; p.173, no.198. See also pp.137-138, no.141,
146 *Ibid.*, p.93, no.67. For discussion of the process whereby military martyrdom came to predominate, see Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God*, passim, and in particular pp.95-115.
147 *Ibid.*, pp.101-102, no.83.
148 *Ibid.*, p.83, no.45.
149 *Ibid.*, pp.87-88, nos.52 and 53.
150 *Ibid.*, p.85, no.48. No.49 is a variant.
151 *Ibid.*, pp.102-103, no.85.

The implication is that accepting and enduring a painful death is even more meritorious than simply embracing death. Similarly, one tradition records Abū ʿUbayd, having had his hands and feet cut off, reciting the sixty-ninth aya of *sūrat al-Nisāʾ*: '[And whoever obeys God and the Messenger – those ones are] with those upon whom God bestows favour, the prophets, the companions, the martyrs, and the righteous. Excellent are those companions!'[152]

The martyr stories underscore the importance of martyrdom to Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād. These traditions tend to follow a similar formula: a vision or dream of the hereafter, particularly the rewards for which one might hope, encourages the *mujāhid* to fight for martyrdom in this world. The following is a typical example:

> Ibrāhīm reported to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā from Thābit al-Banānī that a boy took part in a raid seeking martyrdom, but he was unsuccessful. His heart told him, so he said: 'By God, nothing was shown to me apart from that if I return to my people, then I will marry.' Then he said: 'He napped in the pavilion. His companions woke him for the prayer of *al-Ẓuhr*. He cried until his companions feared that something had happened to him. When he saw that, he said: 'Nothing is wrong with me. Rather, a man came to me in my dream and said: 'Go to your doe-eyed wife.' Then he said: 'I went with him and he took me to a white and pure land. We arrived at a garden, and I had never seen a garden as beautiful, and in it were ten young women, the likes of whom I had never seen before. I hoped that she would be one of them. So I said: 'Is the doe-eyed one amongst you?' They said: 'She is near us, and we are her handmaidens.' So I continued with my companion to another garden more beautiful than the first, and within it were twenty young women, more beautiful than those which I had just left. I hoped that she would be one of them. So I said: 'Is the doe-eyed one amongst you?' They said: 'She is near us, and we are her handmaidens.' He continued reporting until [he reached] thirty women. Then he said: 'Then I arrived at a hollow dome of red rubies surrounded by light. My companion told me to enter, so I entered and there was a woman. The light of the dome did not compete with her. I sat and spoke for an hour, and she began to speak to me. My companion said: 'Get up and leave!' I could not disobey him, so I rose. She seized the edge of my robe and said: 'Break your fast with us tonight!' When they [my companions] woke me, I beheld that it was a dream, thus I cried.' It did not take long before the call was made to mount. The people rode and did not stop attacking until the sun set, the breaking of the fast of the fasting one. He was smote that hour, and he had been fasting. I thought

152 *Ibid.*, p.133, no.133.

> that he was from the Anṣār, and steadfast, and he was known by that nisba.'[153]

Where willingness to die is the means by which the propriety of one's intentions can be understood in this world, reward in the hereafter is the ultimate vindication. The heavenly rewards of the *mujāhid*, having achieved martyrdom, have already been discussed in part: for instance, his actions in this world count for more in the hereafter, far outstripping his co-religionists who did not perform jihād. The rewards for which the martyr might hope are many, ranging from the absolution of one's sins,[154] closeness to the throne of God,[155] women, and – more generally – ease:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, he said: 'Ismāʿīl b. Umayya from Abū al-Zubayr al-Makkī and others from Ibn ʿAbbās, he said: 'The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'When your brothers were smote at Uḥud, God placed their souls in the insides of green birds, which go down the rivers of paradise, eat its fruit, and seek refuge in lamps of gold in the shade of the throne. When they experienced the pleasantness of their food, and saw the goodness of their final destiny, they said: 'If only our brothers knew how God honours us and that we are with him, lest they abstain from jihād and recoil from war!' So God said: 'I shall tell them of you.' So God Almighty revealed: 'And do not consider those who have been killed in the path of God...'[156]

Even within the martyrs, however, there are degrees: the amount of one's own blood that is shed in the path of God determines how high a position will be enjoyed in the afterlife:[157] the above-quoted tradition wherein a gruesome death is sought can be understood in this context. That being said, reward is more often implied than stated: it hovers on the edge of perception. This perhaps suggests that the true *mujāhid,* unmotivated by this-worldly reward, must also be unmotivated by heavenly reward.

The *Kitāb al-jihād*, then, is the earliest extant expression of a mindset wherein the demonstration of devotion to God and to Islam is enacted through

153 *Ibid.*, pp.144-145, no.149. See also, nos. 135, 140, 143, and 150.
154 *Ibid.*, pp.61-62, no.6. See also, *al-Muṣannaf,* p.172.
155 *Ibid.*, p.83, no.45; p.90, no.59.
156 *Ibid.*, p.91, no.62. No.200 is a variant, pp.174-175.
157 *Ibid.*, pp.128-130, nos.125, 126, 127.

military action and necessarily culminates with martyrdom: martyrdom was the confirmation of one's righteousness before God. In this regard should be mentioned ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs, who considers the fact that his brother achieved martyrdom and that he did not – although both sought it – a sign of his brother's superiority.[158] Jihād becomes, in a sense, 'ritualized martyrdom',[159] and insofar as Ibn al-Mubārak and his audience were concerned, it was itself unconcerned with the political or territorial goals of Muslim rulers: the *mujāhidūn* of the frontier were outwith the control of the caliph, and even religious scholars had a minimal role to play. For Ibn al-Mubārak and his companions on the frontier, jihād was a personal endeavour fundamental to one's personal eschatology. Whether this attitude was particular to al-Shām, however, remains to be seen.

PATTERNS OF TRANSMISSION

Turning now to the transmission of the traditions contained in both the *Muṣannaf* and the *Kitāb al-jihād*, the *asānīd* will be subjected to analysis on the basis of the geographical origins and affiliations of the transmitters. The guiding principle here is that if sequential transmitters are associated with the same region, it points to a measure of 'entrenchment' on the part of the ideas contained in the traditions they transmit. By analysing the transmission in this way, it will be possible to make tentative statements about the extent to which differences in understanding of jihād were informed by region.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *KITĀB AL-JIHĀD* IN THE *MUṢANNAF*

As stated above, the *Kitāb al-jihād* contained within ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* consists of 446 traditions spread across fifty-seven chapters. Eight of these were transmitted jointly: six by Maʿmar b. Rāshid and Sufyān al-Thawrī,[160] one by Sufyān al-Thawrī and Isrāʾīl b. Yūnus (d. 160/776-7),[161] and one by Ibn

158 *Ibid.*, pp.120-121, no.114.
159 Heck, *'Jihad* Revisited', p.101.
160 *al-Muṣannaf,* nos. 9343, 9488, 9491, 9530, 9578, 9735.
161 *Ibid.,* no.9459.

ʿUyayna and ʿUthmān b. Maṭr (n.d.).[162] An examination of those transmitting to ʿAbd al-Razzāq within the *Kitāb al-jihād* confirms Motzki's observation concerning the principal teachers of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.[163] Table I lists the top ten most prolific transmitters within the *Kitāb al-jihād* in descending order, alongside the place (or places) with which they are most associated. The only notable difference with Motzki's findings is the inversion of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Ibn Jurayj. The remaining ten percent of the traditions are divided amongst thirty-seven individuals, none of whom contribute more than one percent of the total. Of them, biographical information survives for thirteen. The Iraqi cities of Basra, Baghdad and Kufa occur most frequently, with the Hijazi cities of Medina and Mecca in second place, followed by al-Shām and the cities of Homs and Damascus. Consequently, if one looks at the geographical origins of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's teachers, one finds a preponderance of scholars based in the Hijaz and in Iraq: in comparison, al-Shām is under-represented.

Name	***Place***	***No. of Transmissions***	***Percentage of Total***
Maʿmar b. Rāshid	Basra; Medina	132	29.60%
Sufyān al-Thawrī	Kufa	100	22.42%
Ibn Jurayj	Mecca	95	21.30%
Ibn ʿUyayna	Mecca	36	8.07%
Jaʿfar b Sulaymān	Basra	7	1.57%
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar	Medina	7	1.57%
Isrāʿīl b. Yūnus	Kufa; Hamadān	6	1.35%
Muḥammad b. Rāshid	Damascus; Basra	6	1.35%
Ibrāhīm	Unknown	6	1.35%
ʿAbd al-Quddūs	Unknown	5	1.12%
Total		***400***	***89.69%***

Table I: ʿAbd al-Razzāq's Teachers.

This picture can be refined by considering the geographical origins of those

162 *Ibid.,* no.9425.
163 See above, pp.45-46.

transmitting to ʿAbd al-Razzāq's teachers. The Basran scholar Maʿmar b. Rāshid received the bulk of his transmissions (seventy traditions) from three men: thirty-five traditions from the Meccan scholar Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741-2); twenty-two from the Basran scholar Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (d. 131/748-9); and thirteen from the Basran Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Qatāda (d. c. 117/735). Of the remaining transmitters, biographical material survives for twenty-one: again, the Hijazi (primarily Medinan) and Iraqi scholars (evenly split between Basra and Kufa) are responsible for the majority of the remaining traditions. Only one tradition was transmitted by a Damascene scholar, Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir (d. 134/751-2); six traditions came from Yemeni scholars, reflecting perhaps a later stage of transmission during Maʿmar b. Rāshid's period of residency in Sanaʿa.

Sufyān al-Thawrī did not transmit more than six traditions from any one person. Of his transmitters, biographical material survives for forty-one: scholars associated with his native Kufa, such as Sulaymān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765), Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. c. 132/749), and Layth b. Abī Sulaym (d. c. 148/765), account for forty-seven of his transmissions. Another three were transmitted by Basrans. Seventeen were transmitted by Hijazi scholars, the bulk of whom were Medinan. Only four traditions came from Damascene scholars.

Of the Meccan scholar Ibn Jurayj's ninety-five transmissions, seventeen come from his Meccan teacher ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732-3) and eleven from the Damascene scholar Sulaymān b. Mūsā (d. 115×119/733×737). Of the remaining transmitters, biographical material survives for twenty-four: they are overwhelmingly Medinan, closely followed by Meccan. Only six traditions from the remaining sixty-two were transmitted by scholars not associated with the Hijaz. As such, the transmissions from Ibn Jurayj can be seen as representing an essentially Medinan perception of jihād.

Dealing quickly with the remaining seven scholars from the above table, the Meccan Ibn ʿUyayna's main sources were primarily Meccan and Medinan: of his thirty-six transmissions, only eight were from scholars with no association with the Hijaz. Biographical information survives for only one of the six who transmitted to Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān (d. 178/794), the Kufan Layth b. Abī Sulaym. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar

(n.d.) transmitted all seven of his traditions from the Medinan scholar Nāfiʿ (d. 117×119/735×737). Likewise, Muḥammad b. Rāshid (d. after 160/776) had only one teacher, the Syrian Makḥūl al-Dimashqī. Biographical information survives for only two of the five transmitters to Isrāʾīl b. Yūnus, both of whom were associated with his native Kufa. Biographical information is similarly scant for those who transmitted to Ibrāhīm (n.d.): it survives for only two of his six transmitters, both of whom were associated with Medina. Finally, biographical information survives for two of the three transmitters to ʿAbd al-Quddūs (n.d.), the above-mentioned Makḥūl al-Dimashqī and ʿAlqama b. Shihāb (n.d.): both were Syrian.

No. of transmissions per city							
	Basra	*Damascus*	*Kufa*	*Mecca*	*Medina*	*Other*	*Unknown*
Maʿmar b. Rāshid	43	2	8	36	6	10	2
Sufyān al-Thawrī	5	4	49	3	13	2	21
Ibn Jurayj	-	11	2	37	18	2	25
Ibn ʿUyayna	1	1	7	14	5	-	8
Jaʿfar b Sulaymān	-	-	1	-	-	-	6
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
Isrāʿīl b. Yūnus	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
Muḥammad b. Rāshid	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Ibrāhīm	-	-	-	-	2	-	4
ʿAbd al-Quddūs	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
Total	***49***	***26***	***69***	***90***	***51***	***14***	***73***

Table II: Geographical Distribution of the Kitāb al-jihād *in the* Muṣannaf.

Table II shows the geographical distribution of the *Kitāb al-jihād* based on the number of traditions each of the top ten transmitters above received from particular cities: Maʿmar b. Rāshid and Sufyān al-Thawrī's own dicta are not included. The easiest way to represent this is visually by plotting the geographical locations onto a map, the results of which can be seen in Figure I. The size of each city directly correlates to the number of traditions originating there. As the map

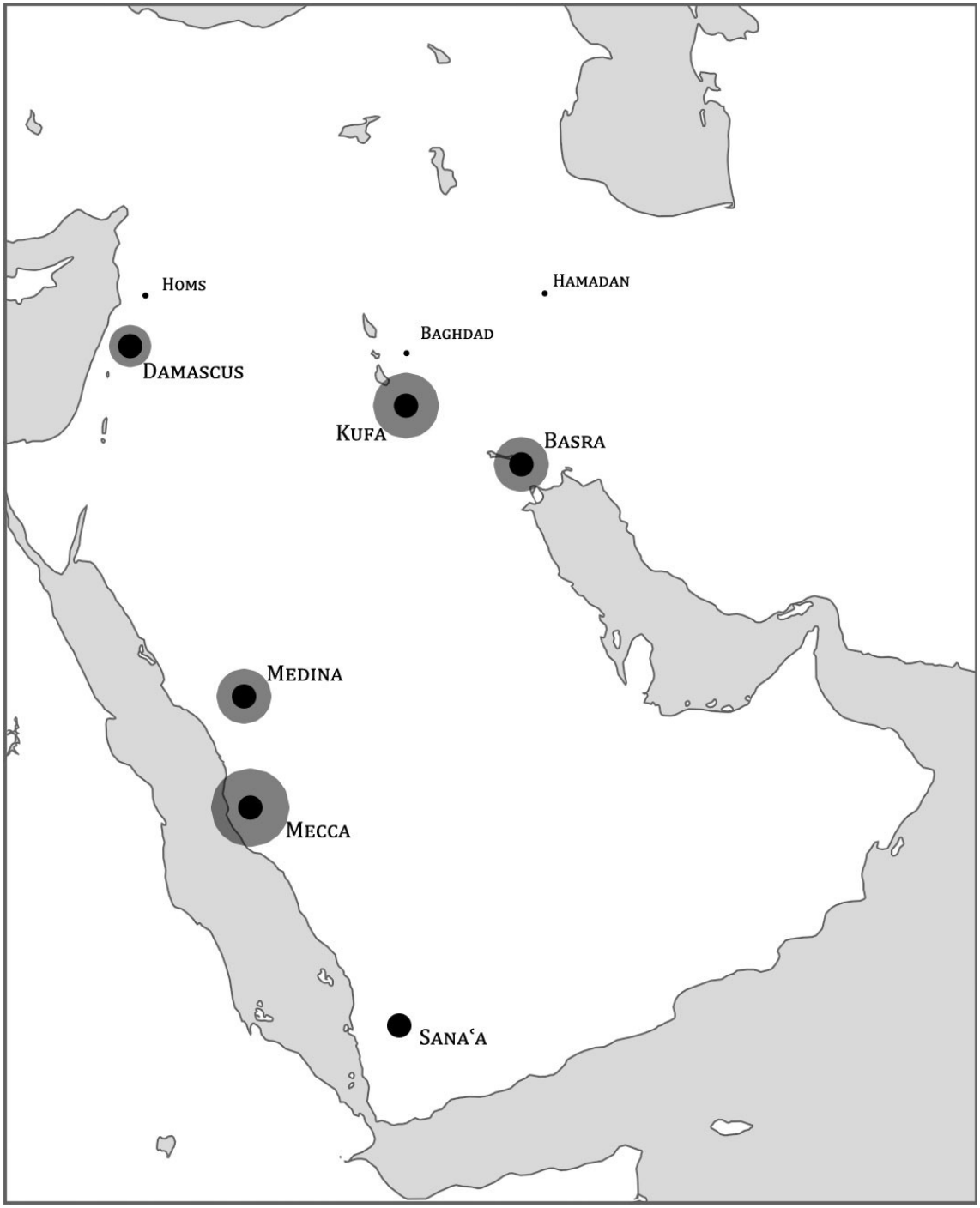

Figure I: Geographical Distribution of the Kitāb al-jihād *in the* Muṣannaf.

and table indicate, the vast majority of the transmissions to ʿAbd al-Razzāq are split evenly between scholars from the Hijaz and Iraq. In the case of the former, this is

unsurprising given the relative proximity of the Hijazi cities of Mecca and Medina to ʿAbd al-Razzāq's native Sanaʿa. Syrian scholars account for a minority: factoring in every transmitter to ʿAbd al-Razzāq, not only those in the above table, roughly ten percent of the *Kitāb al-jihād* as a whole.

Returning to the traditions from the first chapter of the *Kitāb al-jihād* in the *Muṣannaf*, what can be said about their geographical origins? As Figure II indicates, when considering those traditions which do consider *ghazw* obligatory, the three traditions which explicitly connect jihād with fighting all share Makḥūl al-Dimashqī as a common transmitter, and Makḥūl al-Dimashqī is cited as narrating only once on someone else's authority, in this case the Prophet by way of Abū Umāma. Indeed, within the chains of transmission including Makḥūl al-Dimashqī, one finds that the city of Damascus predominates. Contrarily, the chains of transmission of the other two traditions, which make no reference to fighting but nonetheless

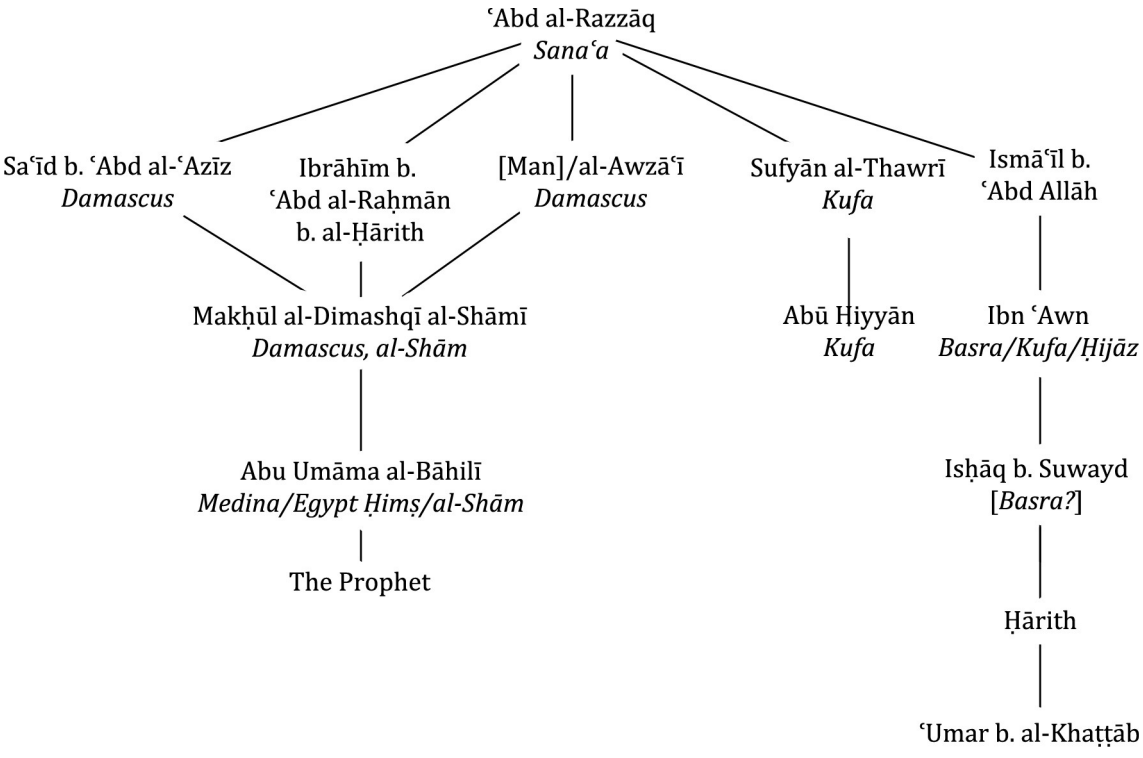

Figure II: Chains of Transmission: Ghazw *is obligatory.*

consider jihād obligatory, Kufa and Basra predominate. Hence, the chains of transmissions suggest that the obligation to fight in jihād was more closely associated with al-Shām.

Turning now to those traditions which do not consider fighting an obligation, the first point which should be made is that the categorisation of the opposition to the obligation to fight as Hijazi is too simplistic. Three of these traditions were transmitted by Ibn Jurayj, who was undoubtedly Meccan. One was transmitted by Ibn al-Taymī, about whom there is no information: it is possible that Ibn al-Taymī is the same person as the Basran Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān (d. 143/760) with whom ʿAbd al-Razzāq also studied, but it is not certain.[164] The remaining four were transmitted by Maʿmar b. Rāshid and Sufyān al-Thawrī, neither of whom were Hijazi by birth, though Maʿmar b. Rāshid did spend time in Medina.

Figure III (see page 76) suggests that there were regional variations even within those who did not consider *ghazw* necessary. Put simply, the Meccan transmitters are reluctant to answer whether *ghazw* is obligatory, whilst predominantly Iraqi scholars – or at least those associated with Kufa and Basra – either consider jihād as fighting and pilgrimage as equally meritorious, or oppose outright the importance of jihād as fighting. Obviously, one cannot make any real conclusions from such a small sample group, but it is suggestive. The geographical origins of those transmitters who did not consider *ghazw* necessary suggest that this may perhaps be understood as a general position more common in the settled parts of the central Islamic lands. The chains of transmission therefore confirm that there was a correlation between geography and understanding of jihād. The *Kitāb al-jihād* in the *Muṣannaf* indicates that there was a difference between the frontier and the interior, with the former preferring a militaristic understanding of jihād over the more quietist and pacific jihād of the interior.

THE INTERNAL TRANSMISSION OF THE *KITĀB AL-JIHĀD* OF IBN AL-MUBĀRAK

As noted above, Ḥammād counts some 262 traditions in the *Kitāb al-jihād*, with 121 in the first part and 141 in the second. The second part of the *Kitāb*

164 Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī was known as 'al-Taymī' and 'Sulaymān al-Taymī'. It is under the latter name that ʿAbd al-Razzāq transmits four *aḥādīth* from him in the *Kitāb al-jihād* in the *Muṣannaf* (nos. 9342, 9368, 9371, and 9676). Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān also studied with ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, whom ʿAbd al-Razzāq names as the source of 'Ibn al-Taymī' in no.9342. See Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, vol.9, pp.251-252, no.4026; and Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 9 vols. (Hyderabad, 1973-1983), vol.4, pp.300-301.

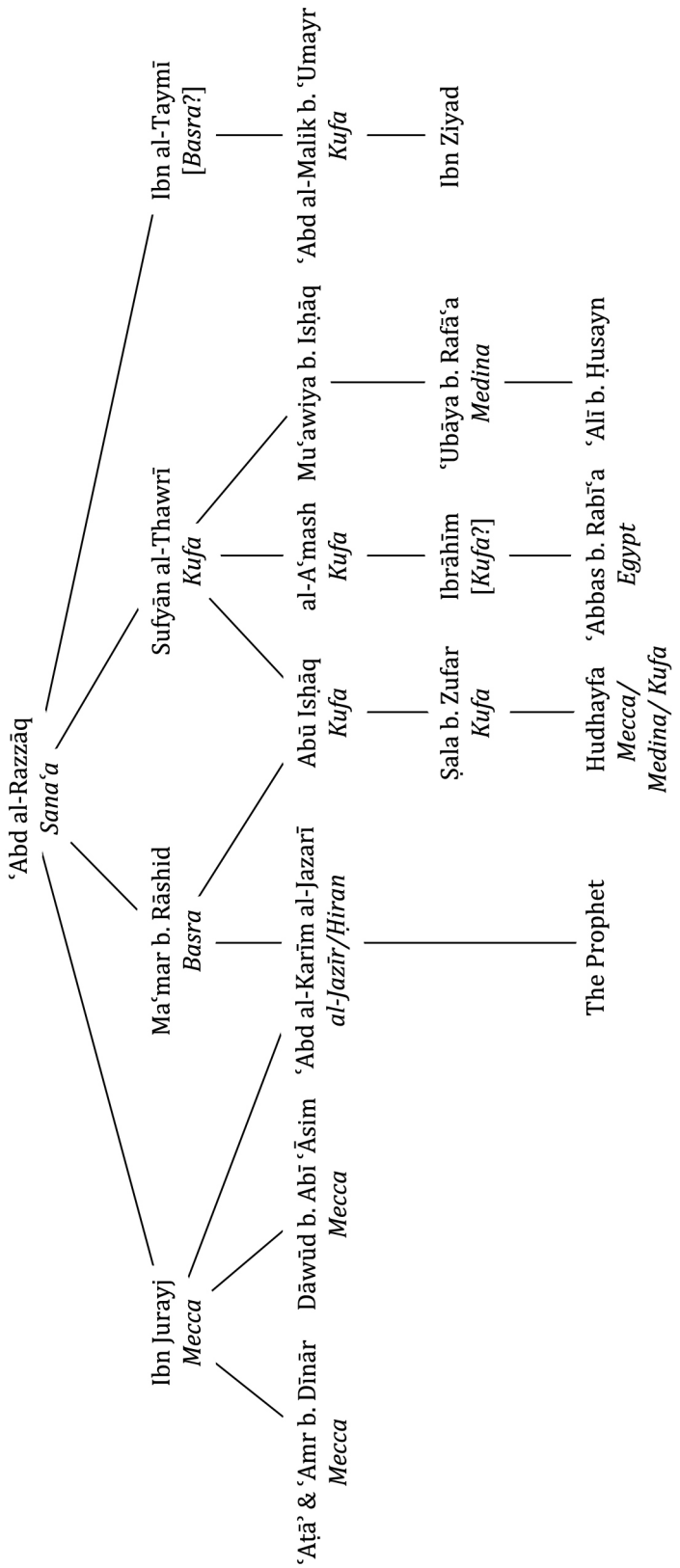

Figure III: Chains of Transmission: Ghazw *is not obligatory.*

al-jihād itself consists of two parts: the final traditions, from number 239 onwards, are listed under the title 'Chapter concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf*.'[165] Ḥammād subdivides five of the traditions into their constituents parts: for example, number 155 is subdivided into 155/1 and 155/2.[166] For the present analysis, Ḥammād's numbering scheme will be preserved, though as Ḥammād's reasoning for treating these as subdivisions is unclear, the subdivisions will be treated as traditions in their own right: the practical import of this is that the number of traditions to be analysed rises from 262 to 270. This is obviously a much smaller sample size than that drawn from the *Muṣannaf*, but the results will arguably be more valid given that they represent the entire work, not a fraction.

Examination of those transmitting to Ibn al-Mubārak is nowhere near as neat or as conclusive as the earlier examination of those transmitting to ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Within the *Kitāb al-jihād*, some 103 direct transmitters to Ibn al-Mubārak are named. Of these transmitters, however, there are eleven for whom geographical information is unavailable. One of these transmitters is anonymous, and is listed in the *isnād* as 'a man'.[167] Another is simply referred to as 'Sufyān'. Although both Sufyān al-Thawrī and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna appear as teachers of Ibn al-Mubārak both in the *Kitāb al-jihād* and in later biographical sources, it is unclear if either of them is intended. It is entirely possible that a number of traditions ascribed to 'Sufyān' might properly be attributed to either al-Thawrī or Ibn ʿUyayna, or indeed to another Sufyān entirely: 'Sufyān' may therefore designate any number of different scholars. Given this ambiguity and the evidence available, those traditions attributed to 'Sufyān' will be treated as essentially anonymous.

Additionally, there are eight transmitters for whom the available geographical information is unclear.[168] For instance, Mujālid b. Saʿīd b. ʿUmayr (d. 144/762) is described as both 'al-Hamadāni' and 'al-Kūfī'. His biographical notices give no

165 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.192.
166 *Ibid.*, nos.155, 179, 216, 228, 233. These are subdivided respectively as: 155/1, 155/2; 179/1, 179/2; 216/1, 216/2, 216/3, 216/4; 228/1, 228/2, 228/3; 233/1, 233/2.
167 *Ibid.*, p.100, no.79.
168 These scholars are: Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn b. Arṭabān (d. 151/768); Mujālid b. Saʿīd b. ʿUmayr (d. 144/762); Isrāʾīl b. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq (d. 160/776-7); ʿUnbasa b. Saʿīd (n.d.); Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif (d. after 160/776-7); ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd (d. before 150/767); Muḥammad b. ʿAmr (d. c. 120/738); and Mu.ḥammad b. Jābir (d. after 170/786-7).

indication as to which designation reflects his origins, unlike for example ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar (d. 156/772-3) whose third *nisba*, al-Asadī, suggests an Iraqi origin. In the vast majority of cases, however, the biographical sources state that the transmitter was from one place and spent time in another. Given the difficulty of ascertaining the geographical affinities of such figures, they will be excluded from the following analysis. Consequently, then, there are eighty-four transmitters for whom unambiguous geographical information survives. A table listing all eighty-four of these transmitters would be long and unwieldy. Instead, Table III details the ten most prolific transmitters in descending order alongside the place or places with which they were most closely associated.

Name	***Place***	***No. of Transmissions***	***Percentage of Total***
Maʿmar b. Rāshid	Basra; Medina	16	5.93%
Ibn Lahīʿa	Egypt	13	4.81%
Sufyān	Unknown	12	4.44%
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir	al-Shām	12	4.44%
Ḥaywa b. Sharīḥ	Egypt	11	4.07%
al-Awzāʿī	al-Shām	10	3.70%
Ibn ʿUyayna	Mecca	9	3.33%
Sulaymān b. al-Maghīra	Basra	8	2.96%
Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj	Basra; Wasit	8	2.96%
Ḥammād b. Salama	Basra	7	2.59%
Total		**106**	**39.26%**

Table III: Ibn al-Mubārak's Teachers.

The first observation which needs to be made is that none of these ten transmitters can be described as predominating within the *Kitāb al-jihād*: together, they are responsible for not even forty percent of Ibn al-Mubārak's work. This contrasts with ʿAbd al-Razzāq's ten most prolific transmitters, who were responsible for nearly ninety percent of the *Kitāb al-jihād* within the *Muṣannaf*, with Maʿmar b. Rāshid, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Ibn Jurayj accounting for over two thirds of it between themselves. The obvious implication here is that Ibn

al-Mubārak's work is more original than ʿAbd al-Razzāq's: where the transmission of the *Muṣannaf* indicates that it was derived principally from three large sources, the transmission of Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* indicates a diffuse origin. It suggests that there were no works available which Ibn al-Mubārak could employ when compiling his work: Ibn al-Mubārak's work is thus part of an earlier stage of composition.

'Earlier' is not used here to designate chronology but rather incipiency. Ibn al-Mubārak and ʿAbd al-Razzāq compiled their texts roughly contemporaneously: the average year of death of Ibn al-Mubārak's teachers was 161/778, while for ʿAbd al-Razzāq's teachers it was 169/785: Maʿmar b. Rāshid, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Ibn Jurayj were all deceased by 155/772. Moreover, within the *Kitāb al-jihād* in the *Muṣannaf*, Ibn al-Mubārak transmits only one tradition: if his *Kitāb al-jihād* were available while ʿAbd al-Razzāq compiled his *Muṣannaf*, it is not unlikely that he would have drawn from it.

That being said, Ibn al-Mubārak is more properly a contemporary of Maʿmar b. Rāshid, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Ibn Jurayj than he is a contemporary of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Unlike ʿAbd al-Razzāq, who was undoubtedly in a junior position vis-a-vis his most important teachers, Ibn al-Mubārak both transmitted from and to his teachers: the student-teacher relationship is too binary for the relationship between Ibn al-Mubārak and many of his teachers. All this confirms the already recognised fact that Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, *kutub al-jihād* and suggests additionally that it is perhaps best categorised not alongside the *Muṣannaf* but alongside the lost sources of Maʿmar b. Rāshid, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Ibn Jurayj. Finally, it indicates that the *Kitāb al-jihād* is a genuine work of the eighth century. It is unlikely that any forger would go to such lengths to generate such a disparate and diffuse transmission pattern. Given that these transmitters account for less than forty percent of the *Kitāb al-jihād*, no judgement about the geographical distribution can be made at this point.

In order to explore the geographical distribution, then, it is necessary to collate the geographical origin of all eighty-four transmitters for whom information is available. Before discussing the results, which are provided in Table IV, two

Region	*No. of Transmissions*	*Percentage of Total*
Iraq	**104**	**38.24%**
Baṣra	*81*	
Kufa	*18*	
Wasit	*3*	
Madaʿīn	*2*	
al-Shām	**45**	**16.54%**
al-Shām	*17*	
Beirut	*10*	
Homs	*10*	
Damascus	*4*	
Jordan	*4*	
Hijaz	**41**	**15.07%**
Medina	*24*	
Mecca	*15*	
al-Ṭaʿif	*2*	
Egypt	**37**	**13.60%**
Egypt	*29*	
Alexandria	*8*	
Iran	**9**	**3.31%**
Khurāsān	*2*	
Merv	*4*	
Balkh	*2*	
Ray	*1*	
Africa	**1**	**0.37%**
Unclear	**13**	**4.78%**
Unknown	**22**	**8.09%**
Total	***272***	

Table IV: Geographical distribution of first-stage transmission.

points should be made. Firstly, this table reflects transmissions of traditions, not traditions themselves. In all but one case, these categories coincide: the exception is the final tradition, which is transmitted to Ibn al-Mubārak by Maʿmar b. Rāshid,

Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Sufyān ʿUyayna collectively. As a result, the number of transmissions outstrips the number of traditions by two. Secondly, where the number of transmissions per region is accurate, the subdivision of these transmissions by subregion or city is more open to interpretation; they are more illustrative than definitive. For example, a transmitter might be described as residing in both Madaʿīn and Kufa: thus, whilst he was definitely Iraqi, his inclusion in the table as a Madaʿīnī scholar is more uncertain.

Turning now to the results, two points are particularly striking. Firstly, there is the relative unimportance of Ibn al-Mubārak's native Merv: residents of this city account for a mere four transmissions (1.48%), while Iran more broadly accounts for only an additional five. Secondly, there is the importance of Iraq: Ibn al-Mubārak records 104 transmissions (38.24%) from Iraqi scholars, with eighty-one of those from Basran scholars. Iraq accounts for over double the forty-five transmissions (16.54%) with Syrian origins. Additionally, forty-one transmissions are recorded from the Hijaz.

Given the tentative conclusion made earlier, this bears further investigation: the *Muṣannaf* suggested a dichotomy between the frontier and the interior, whereas Ibn al-Mubārak's 'frontier' text suggests the opposite. An obvious geographical point can be made: for Ibn al-Mubārak to reach al-Shām, Egypt, and the Hijaz, he would have to travel through Iraq. As the Hijazi cities of Mecca and Medina predominated for ʿAbd al-Razzāq, so the Iraqi cities predominate for Ibn al-Mubārak. As an explanation for these results, however, this is ultimately unsatisfactory for it does little to account for the relative lack of Syrian transmissions nor the near-parity between al-Shām and the Hijaz.

Extending the analysis to include geographical information available at earlier stages of transmission generates Table V. It should be reiterated that this table counts the number of transmissions originating from each region at each stage of transmission: not every tradition has an *isnād* which goes back multiple stages. For instance there are a number of traditions which originated with second-stage transmitters. The table only goes as far as the fifth stage of transmission, though there is a sixth stage of transmission which consists entirely

No. of transmissions per region	**Region**	***Stage of Transmission***				
		I	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**
	Iraq	104	58	24	3	-
	al-Shām	45	45	20	12	1
	Hijaz	41	43	66	52	27
	Egypt	37	23	8	1	-
	Iran	9	2	5	-	-
	Africa	1	-	4	-	-
	Yemen	-	1	1	-	-
	Jazira	-	3	-	-	-
	Unknown	35	97	65	24	8
	Total	272	272	193	92	36

Table V: Geographical distribution of the Kitāb al-jihād.

of the Prophet: for this reason it has not been included. The extension of the analysis compounds the problems mentioned above, and introduces an additional one.

Firstly, there are many more figures for whom the geographical information is ambiguous, which is to be expected. As one moves away from the first stage of transmission, one moves away from the early *ṭabaqāt* authors: there is consequently a sharp increase in the number of transmitters – and therefore transmissions – at the second and third stages for whom the information is either unavailable or unclear. Conversely, the fourth and fifth stages of transmissions are dominated by *ṣaḥāba* and famous *tabiʿūn*, for whom more information is available. Ironically, for a number of these figures there is a surfeit of information. For example, figures like Muʿādh b. Jabal (d. 118/640) were dispatched to inculcate Islam in newly-converted regions which, when coupled with the absence of precise dates (with which their affinity or importance to a particular region might be judged), makes any statement entirely subjective.

Additionally, certain transmitters occur at multiple stages of transmission. For example, Ibn Jurayj transmits both directly to Ibn al-Mubārak (thereby acting as a first-stage transmitter) and indirectly through Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d.

175/791-2) (thereby acting as a second-stage transmitter).[169] The same Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān also acts as a second-stage transmitter, transmitting through Abū ʿAwāna.[170] In such cases, the transmitters are included in the table for every stage at which they transmit.

What, then, can be made of these results? It is unfortunate that the geographical information for so many of the second-stage transmitters is unavailable: this casts some uncertainty on the validity of any conclusions made. Converting the number of transmissions per region at a given stage into a percentage of the total number of transmissions at said stage ameliorates the discrepancies between the totals. Plotting these percentages against the stage of transmission generates the following graph, which brings into focus the major trends suggested by Table V: that is, the decline of the Hijaz as an intellectual centre and the increasing prominence al-Shām, Egypt, and – most notably – Iraq. So far as Iran, Africa, Yemen, and the Jazira are concerned, scholars from these regions make

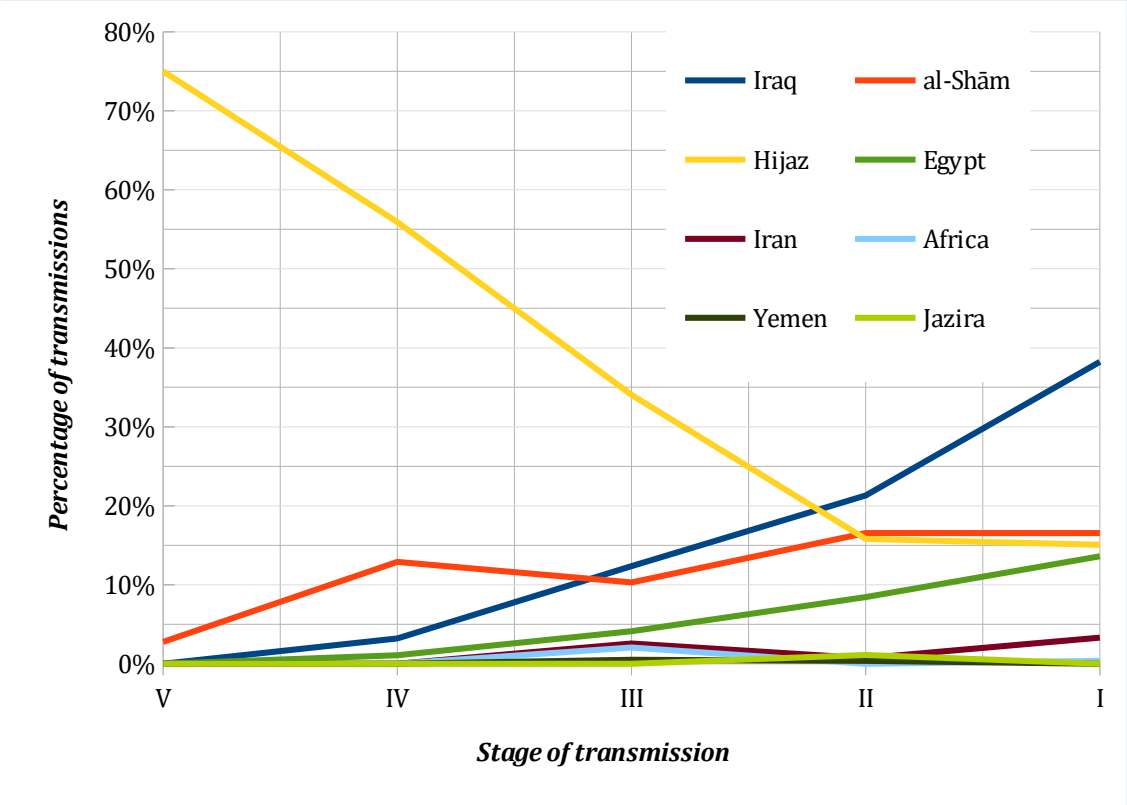

Figure IV: Percentage of Transmissions by Stage of Transmission.

169 Ibn Jurayj transmits no.3 directly and no.260 through Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.
170 Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān transmits no.141 through Abū ʿAwāna.

seemingly few contributions to the *Kitāb al-jihād*, with none rising above even five percent at any stage.

Figure IV indicates that the decline of Hijazi prominence within the *asānīd* was near terminal, though it must be remembered that comparatively few traditions actually provide *asānīd* going as far back as stages four and five. That being said, even if one analyses the results from the third stage onwards, the decline of the Hijaz is still readily apparent. The counterpoint to this decline is the rise of al-Shām, Egypt, and Iraq, which occurs at the expense of the Hijaz. Egypt has the most stable increase, while al-Shām has a noticeable dip at the third stage and appears to have essentially levelled out from the second stage onwards. Regarding Iraq, which shows a remarkable increase in the number of first-stage transmissions, Figure IV confirms that this increase was not in keeping with the increases at earlier stages. There was a 16.92% increase between stages one and two as opposed to an 8.95% increase between stages two and three, and a 9.14% increase between stages three and four. In the greater context of transmission, therefore, the Iraqi prominence at the first stage stands out even more.

A SYRIAN DISCOURSE OF JIHĀD?

Afsaruddin argues that the militant understanding of jihād was the product of a Syrian-Umayyad milieu, in which traditions proclaiming the merit of performing jihād were part of an Umayyad programme to encourage volunteers to join their armies: traditions which downplay the importance of military jihād encode 'the equivocation of early pious authorities about fighting in Umayyad armies with unscrupulous commanders'.[171] This argument is attractive, and is readily supported by the analysis of the *asānīd* in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, in which a dichotomy between the frontier and the interior over the importance of military action to jihād is observable.[172]

Afsaruddin, however, extends these observations to the *Kitāb al-jihād* of Ibn

171 Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God*, p.117.
172 See above, p.75.

al-Mubārak. She argues that such transmitters as Fuḍāla b. ʿUbayd (d. c. 53/672), Shuraḥbīl b. al-Samaṭ (d. after 40/660), and Abū al-ʿUbayd (n.d.) indicate that attempts were made by the Umayyad ruling elite to circulate reports which would aggrandise and legitimise their wars of conquest.[173] Fuḍāla b. ʿUbayd was appointed by Muʿāwiya to lead the *ghazw* and to act as the qāḍī of Damascus;[174] Shuraḥbīl b. al-Samaṭ was a *murābiṭ* and reportedly served as Muʿāwiya's *ʿāmil* in Homs for twenty years;[175] and Abū al-ʿUbayd was the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) of the Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Mālik (d. 99/717).[176] There are two problems with this argument. Firstly, these three men are involved in the transmission of only seven traditions. Secondly, the preceding discussion of the internal transmission of the *Kitāb al-jihād* belies this argument and raises the issue of whether the ideas contained within it should be considered part of a Syrian discourse of jihād, or simply part of a broader discourse which existed above regionalism. The answer to this lies in the contrasting patterns of the internal and external transmission of the text.

As Figure IV indicates, the Iraqi prominence in the internal transmission of the *Kitāb al-jihād* only becomes noticeable between the first and second stages of transmission. The average year of death for second-stage transmitters was the year 126/743-4: thus, one can see that the number of Iraqi transmissions only begins to outstrip transmissions from other regions after the collapse of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsid revolution. As Paul M. Cobb notes:

> With the fall of the Syrian-based Umayyad dynasty and the consolidation of the 'Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad and Samarra, Syria became more contested than it had ever been. As the caliphs and their servants in Iraq sought to find ways to most expeditiously govern the heartland of their former rivals, Syrians went through the pains of adjustment to their new roles as provincials. Syrians from a variety of backgrounds used violence to make claims about Syria, Syrians, and their place in the Islamic world. Many of the *faḍā'il al-shām* traditions are gentler weapons used to make those same claims.[177]

173 See Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God*, pp.152-156.
174 *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, vol.3, pp.113-117, no.23.
175 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb fi rijāl al-hadīth*, ed. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammd Muʿawwaḍ, 7 vols. (Beirut, 2004), vol.3, pp.149-150, no.3237.
176 This information is given by the tradition he transmits in the *Kitāb al-jihād*. See *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.95-96, no.71.
177 Paul M. Cobb, 'Virtual Sacrality: Making Muslim Syria Sacred Before the Crusades', *Medieval*

The analysis of the internal transmission of the *Kitāb al-jihād* therefore provides the negative of the image proposed by Cobb: where he describes a more boisterous Syrian tradition, analysis of Ibn al-Mubārak points to the increasing importance of the Iraqi cities of Basra and Kufa. It may then be speculated that the 'provincialisation' of al-Shām led to an exodus of scholars who took with them traditions about jihād, and who in turn were recorded in their biographical notices as residents of Iraqi cities. There is, unfortunately, no evidence for such movement.

On the contrary, there is evidence for movement to al-Shām and the frontier. The biographical notices of three of Ibn al-Mubārak's teachers mention that they moved from the interior to al-Shām. Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) records that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn (d. 151/768), a prominent proto-Sunnī traditionist from Basra, would travel from his native city to al-Shām in order to fight against the Byzantines.[178] In this regard, he is reminiscent of Ibn al-Mubārak, who was himself a prime example of this phenomenon. Similarly, Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif (d. after 160/776-7) and ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd (d. before 150/767), a descendent of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, both resided in Ascalon.[179] Only in the case of ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd is it made clear why he decided to reside in Ascalon: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī states that he died there as a *murābiṭ*. The appeal of Ascalon may have been due to various *faḍāʾil al-Shām* traditions praising the merits of residing there. Indeed, it has been suggested by such scholars as S. D. Goitein, Albrecht Noth, and Suliman Bashear that many of the *faḍāʾil al-Shām* traditions originated in the Umayyad period to encourage emigration to the Muslim-Byzantine frontier and coastal cities like Ascalon.[180] Additionally, both Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* and ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* contain traditions wherein the merits of performing jihād at

Encounters 8 (2002), p.41.

178 *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.6, p.370.

179 For Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif, see: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.4, pp.463-65, no.1699; and *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.7, pp.295-296. For ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.11, pp.181-182, no.5893; and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol.4, pp756-757, no.5830.

180 S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1968), p.146; Albrecht Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum: Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Bonn, 1966), p.84; Suliman Bashear, 'Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3.1 (1991), pp.196-198.

sea are stressed.[181] It is in this context that the emigration of Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif and ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd to Ascalon should be understood.

Nevertheless, the *Kitāb al-jihād* itself does not go to any great lengths to explain why al-Shām exerted such influence in the minds of eighth-century scholars. Al-Shām is mentioned only infrequently in the *Kitāb al-jihād*, though when it does appear it is as the preferred destination of the *mujāhid*. For example:

> Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Maʿmar, he said: ''Aṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī from *Saʿīd b. al-Musayb*, he said: 'During the caliphate of Abū Bakr, Bilāl prepared to leave for al-Shām. So Abū Bakr said to him: 'I did not see you leaving us in this way, O Bilāl! If only you stayed with us and helped us.' So he said to him: 'If you free me for God, then let me go to God; if you free me for yourself, then keep me with you!' So he permitted him [to go], and he went to al-Shām and died there.'[182]

Other traditions explain why al-Shām is the preferred destination:

> Ibrāhīm reported to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Rabīʾa b. Yazīd al-Dimashqī from Abū Idrīs, he said: 'The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'You will be as soldiers, one army in al-Shām, one in Iraq, and one in Yemen.' So Ibn al-Khawlanī said: 'Advise me, O messenger of God?' He said: 'To you is al-Shām, and whosoever declines let him go to his Yemen and draw from his ponds. Indeed, God Almighty has become responsible on my behalf for al-Shām and its people.'[183]

In one tradition a man is encouraged not to curse the people of al-Shām, for whilst some of them are hateful, amongst them are the *abdāl*,[184] that is, those who constitute one of the levels in the Sufi hierarchy of saints.[185] Another tradition states that '[t]here will come to the people a time when no believer remains except that he is in al-Shām'.[186]

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181 See *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.176-177, nos.203 and 204; and *al-Muṣannaf*, pp.192-194, nos.9686 to 9697. See also Bashear, 'Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars', pp.194-196.

182 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.115, no.102. Other examples include nos.100, 101, and 200.

183 *Ibid.*, p.170, no.190. no.191 supplies the same *matn* by a different *isnād*. A variant also appears in Abū Dāwūd: *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, no.2483.

184 *Ibid.*, p.171, no.192. The extent to which this tradition should be seen as evidence for regional competition is, of course, debatable: the unidentified man who curses the people of al-Shām serves the rhetorical purpose of introducing the more important claim that the *abdāl* reside in al-Shām.

185 Ignác Goldziher, and H. J. Kissling. 'Abdāl' in *EI²*.

186 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.171, no.193.

A final tradition states that:

> Ibrāhīm reported to us: 'Muḥammad narrated to us: 'Saʿīd narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Ibn al-Mubārak from Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿAmr al-Saybānī from ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāshr al-Kinānī from Saʿīd b. Sufyān al-Qārrī, he said: 'ʿUthmān said: 'Spending in the land of the *Hijra* is multiplied seven hundred times, and you are the *muhājirūn*, people of al-Shām. If a man buys something [worth] a dirham in the market, and eats it and feeds his people, then to him [the reward] is seven hundred.'[187]

The references to the land of the *Hijra* and to the *muhājirūn* recall the Prophet's *hijra* from Mecca to Medina. This tradition seems therefore to be drawing upon the idea of emigration from an evil society to a place where one could practice Islam freely. As noted earlier,[188] Cook argues that this was a key component of the beliefs of jihād groups, who – alongside apocalyptically-minded groups – congregated in border regions like northern al-Shām in order better to devote themselves to the practice of jihād, far from the distractions of central Islamic lands.[189]

Beyond this, however, there is little explanation for the importance of al-Shām. Strikingly, little is made of the eschatological significance of the Muslim-Byzantine frontier and of the Byzantine enemy. This stands in direct contrast to the conclusion reached by Cook, who suggests jihād and apocalypticism are inherently linked because jihād is the assumed livelihood of the Muslims and, because they will fight in the same way as those in the first days, it must continue until the last days.[190] Cook, and those following his arguments, like Roberta Denaro, argue that there would have been an eschatological motivation behind emigration and residency on the frontier. To quote the latter:

> We must also take into account the fact that the place [Ibn al-Mubārak] elects for his jihād, the Arabic-Byzantine frontier, is charged not only with strategic, but also, and even more importantly, with symbolic implications. [...] The jihād against the *Rūms* is so worthy that it can be measured against the same scale of the great battles fought by the first community of believers: the martyrs fallen at Badr will be allowed to intercede for 70 of their relatives, while those fallen in the wars against the Byzantines will be granted intercession for 700 of their relatives.

187 *Ibid.*, pp.171-172, no.194.
188 See above, pp.14-15.
189 Cook, 'Muslim Apocalyptic and *Jihād*', p.80.
190 *Ibid.*, p.74.

> Moreover, especially in the representation of the clash against Byzantium, several eschatological categories are deployed, and it is no coincidence that scholars and *zuhhūd* flock exactly to this frontier in order to fight a personal jihād, as a means to acquire individual merit and afterlife salvation, and without being enlisted in a regular army.[191]

Cook himself argues that

> [...] there was a strong link between groups such as those of ʿAbdallah b. al-Mubārak, who influenced much of the early thinking on jihād, and apocalyptic groups like those used by Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād to compile his book, *Kitāb al-fitan*.[192]

There, is however, little evidence for such an outlook in the *Kitāb al-jihād*. There is only one tradition which can be considered eschatologically. Although it was quoted above, it does bear repeating here:

> Muḥammad narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Raḥma narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn al-Mubārak narrated to us from al-Awzāʿī, he said: 'Said b. Jabala narrated to us, he said: 'Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī narrated to me that the Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'Verily, God sent me with a sword in my hand [at] the Hour, and placed my livelihood beneath the shadow of my spear, and has enjoined humiliation and abasement upon whosoever opposes me, and whosoever imitates a people is one of them.'[193]

As Cook notes, '[t]his is a very concise theological statement reflecting early Muslim belief and showing how these highly important ideas are held together. As one can easily see that the end of the age is closely connected to the need to fight [sic].'[194]

The evidence for the eschatological significance of al-Shām is, however, overwhelming: the obvious way to reconcile the absence of such eschatological traditions in the *Kitāb al-jihād* with this is to conclude that they came into circulation only after the time of Ibn al-Mubārak. Yet it is likely that Ibn al-Mubārak was aware of eschatological traditions pertaining to al-Shām and to the Byzantines. The above-mentioned Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād was one of his students, and compiled a text known as the *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* (*The Book of Trials and Fierce*

191 Roberta Denaro, 'From Marw to the *Ṯuġūr*: Ibn al-Mubārak and the Shaping of a Biographical Tradition', *Eurasian Studies* 7.1-2 (2009), pp.138-139.
192 Cook, 'Muslim Apocalyptic and *Jihād*', p.101.
193 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.116, no.105.
194 Cook, 'Muslim Apocalyptic and *Jihād*', p.75.

Battles), wherein he collected such traditions: Ibn al-Mubārak is frequently mentioned as a transmitter.[195]

The reason why such traditions are absent can only be speculated, but it is possible that 'apocalyptic' eschatology of this type would have detracted or distracted from Ibn al-Mubārak's emphasis on the 'personal' eschatology of martyrdom. In any case, that al-Shām is, with the exception of one tradition, the only region mentioned in the *Kitāb al-jihād*, and that Ibn al-Mubārak himself spent much of his life there, does afford it a special position. Texts such as Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* suggest that this significance was eschatological.[196]

The posthumous transmission of the *Kitāb al-jihād* within the frontier milieu of northern al-Shām underscores its continuing significance. Both parts of the *Kitāb al-jihād* provide the following *isnād*:

> The *Kitāb al-jihād*, a composition of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak which was transmitted by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jilī from Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mūsā al-Ṣaffār from Saʿīd b. Raḥma from him [Ibn al-Mubārak]. The transmission of the *shaykh* Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [b.] al-Abanūsī al-Ṣayrafī (ṣ), the *samāʿ* of the venerated shaykh Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Dulafī (may God fulfil his hopes).[197]

Biographies of the figures mentioned in the *isnād* are slight, though enough information survives to corroborate roughly the date of Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī's hearing the text, and to provide insight into the transmission of the text. As noted above, little information is preserved about Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī beyond the fact that he had some sort of connection with Jerusalem.[198]

The full name of Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī's teacher, Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Abanūsī, was

195 The closeness of their relationship is further evidenced by the existence of a supplement written by Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād to Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-zuhd wa-l-raqāʾiq*. See *Ibid.*, p.101.

196 Cobb notes that the *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* contains numerous allusions to the more common *faḍāʾil al-Shām* traditions, which shows the early date of circulation for these traditions. See Cobb, 'Virtual Sacrality', p.40. Amikan Elad argues such traditions date to the Umayyad period because the Umayyads showed great interest in the city, and that some traditions exist in early *ḥadīth* collections. For Elad's discussion of the early date of the *faḍāʾil* literature, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic worship: Holy places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995), pp.13-22.

197 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.46.

198 See above, p.51.

Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Abanūsī al-Ṣayrafī.[199] According to ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī, Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Abanūsī al-Ṣayrafī was from Baghdad, was born in 381/991 and died in 457/1064.[200] Perhaps his most famous student was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who includes Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Abanūsī al-Ṣayrafī in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, albeit briefly.[201]

Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Abanūsī's teacher, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jilī's full name was Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jilī al-Maṣṣīṣī.[202] He was born in al-Maṣṣīṣa in the *thughūr* (now in modern-day Turkey), but moved to Baghdad after the conquest of al-Maṣṣīṣa by the Byzantines in 354/965; al-Samʿānī, perhaps reflecting later confusion, attributes the conquest of the city to the Franks.[203] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ al-Jilī died in Baghdad in 385/995.

For his teacher, Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mūsā al-Ṣaffār, no biographical notice survives. That being said, a number of references are made to him in Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ al-Jilī's notices in both the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* and the *Kitāb al-ansāb*, where he appears as one of his teachers and is given the *nisba* al-Maṣṣīṣī. About Saʿīd b. Raḥma, however, slightly more is known. He appears in both the *Lisān al-mīzān* of Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) and the *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl* of al-Dhahabī:[204] his full name was Saʿīd b. Raḥma b. Nuʿaym and he too was from al-Maṣṣīṣa. Both sources state that he transmitted from Ibn al-Mubārak.

That almost two centuries passed between Ibn al-Mubārak's death in 181/797 and the next known death date, that of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jilī in 385/965, seems problematic at first, though on closer analysis is perhaps not as great a discrepancy as might be thought. In his study of the age structure of medieval education in Nishapur, Richard Bulliet found that the

199 al- Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, vol.1, pp.58-59.
200 *Ibid.*
201 *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.1, p.373, no.286.
202 *Ibid.*, vol.6, p.169, no.3225; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, vol.2, pp.78-79.
203 al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, vol.2, pp.78-79. This error went unnoticed by Nazīh Ḥammād, who quotes al-Samʿānī uncritically. It was only compounded by Salem, who states that the city '[…] fell to the Crusaders'. See Salem, *The Emergence of Early Sufi Piety and Sunnī Scholasticism*, p.94.
204 Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda and Salmān ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, 10 vols. (Beirut, 2002), vol.4, pp.50, no.3418; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ, ʿAdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd, and ʿAbd al-Fatāḥ Abū Sinna, 7 vols, (Beirut, 1995), vol.3, p.199, no.3175.

average age of a scholar at death was 84.3 solar years with a standard deviation of 8.9, which produces a range of between roughly 75 and 93 solar years.[205] With the caveat that Bulliet's results are based on a limited sample, it is entirely possible for the *isnād* to be genuine, especially if one accounts for the desire to have the very old teach the very young in order to shorten the *isnād* between the students and the Prophet.[206]

Thus, examination of the *isnād*, however underwhelming the information for the earliest transmitters may be, indicates that the *Kitab al-jihād* was circulating in al-Maṣṣīṣa until the middle of the fourth Islamic century. Al-Maṣṣīṣa, as mentioned above, is located in modern-day Turkey, on what is now called the Ceyhan river; Arab geographers, however, counted al-Maṣṣīṣa amongst the cities of al-Shām.[207] With Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ al-Jilī, then, movement of the *Kitāb al-jihād* away from the frontier and towards the interior of the Islamic world, at Baghdad, is first visible.[208]

It was argued above that the internal transmission of the *Kitāb al-jihād* suggests that it is part of an earlier stage of composition than the *Muṣannaf*.[209] The internal and external transmission of the *Kitāb al-jihād* indicates that Ibn al-Mubārak's *ḥadīth* collection represents the beginning of a discourse of jihād which coalesced in al-Shām. That is to say, Ibn al-Mubārak is emblematic of a broader process of migration, wherein Muslims moved to the frontier in al-Shām out of a desire to perform jihād. The *Kitāb al-jihād*, then, is the earliest extant expression of this mindset, which thrived on the eighth-century frontier in

205 Richard W. Bulliet, 'The Age Structure of Medieval Islamic Education', *Studia Islamica* 57 (1983), pp.111-112.

206 *Ibid.*, p.116.

207 al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, ed. Muḥammad Jābir ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī (Cairo, 1961), p.47; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣurat al-arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers (Beirut, 1964), p.153. See also Guy Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp.128, 130-132, 141.

208 Evidence for the importance of al-Maṣṣīṣa is somewhat scant in comparison to the evidence for the importance of Ṭarsūs, which became something of a locus for jihād activity on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier in the eighth and ninth century. This is due to the survival of fragments from the *Siyar al-thughūr* of Abū ʿAmr ʿUthman al-Ṭarsūsī (n.d.), which is quoted extensively by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262) in the *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*: many of these quotations have been extracted by Iḥsan ʿAbbās in his *Shadharāt min kutub mafqūda fī al-taʾrīkh* (Beirut, 1988). For a discussion of the importance of Ṭarsūs, see C. E. Bosworth, 'The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers in Early and Middle ʿAbbāsid Times', *Orient* 33 (1992), pp.268-286. See also Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, pp.150-155.

209 See above, pp.78-79.

al-Shām, wherein the demonstration of devotion to God and to Islam is enacted through military action and necessarily culminates with martyrdom: martyrdom was the confirmation of one's righteousness before God. As Heck says:

> Volunteer warriors [the *mutaṭawwiʿa*] operating outside the control of the Islamic state and its claims to exclusive control of war-making, these Muslims sought to associate their lives with the military reports of pristine Islam, thereby earning for themselves considerable prestige as self-styled representatives of Islamic revelation The struggle with the Byzantine adversary was a ritual reproducing the battles and expeditions of the first Muslims against the worldly powers of their day. *Jihad* was not a means of ordering one's internal state [as it was for the proto-Sufis], but a dramatization of it.[210]

That this mindset was able to flourish in al-Shām at the same time that the juristic model of jihād began to develop was due to the turmoil which existed in al-Shām in the aftermath of the ʿAbbāsid revolution.

Nevertheless, whilst it first coalesced in the particular political context of eighth-century al-Shām, this understanding of jihād was not intrinsically tied to al-Shām. For instance, Tor has argued that the *ʿayyārūn* phenomenon emerged in eastern Iran out of the transference of this mindset of jihād – particularly its disregard for caliphal authority – from the Muslim-Byzantine frontier to eastern Iran in the late eighth century: she suggests that '[...] the *ʿayyārun* grew out of the *mutaṭawwiʿa* milieu – possibly as sworn brotherhoods of *mutaṭawwiʿa*'.[211]

Similarly, it was mentioned above that there was an Andalusian recension of the *Kitāb al-jihād* circulating under the title *Kitāb faḍl al-jihād*: alongside this recension, there were also Andalusian recensions of the *Kitāb al-siyar* of al-Fazārī and the *siyar* of al-Awzāʿī, the latter of which was transmitted under the title *Kitāb al-siyar al-Walīd b. Muslim ʿan al-Awzāʿī* (*The Book of the Siyar of al-Walīd b. Muslim on the Authority of al-Awzāʿī*). Although only the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Fazārī is still extant, all three works enjoyed great popularity from their introduction until the fourteenth century.[212] Miklos Muryani notes that all three of these works were

210 Heck, *'Jihad* Revisited', p.100
211 Tor, *Violent Order*, p.82.
212 See See Cristina de la Puente, 'El Ŷihād en el califito omeya de al-Andalus y su culminación bajo Hišām II' in Fernando Valdéz Fernández (ed.), *Almanzor y los terrores del Milenio* (Palencia, 1999), p.28.

transmitted by the Cordovan Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ b. Bazīʿ (d. 287/900), a Mālikī jurist who played a prominent role in the Islamicisation of al-Andalus, and whom Muryani considers crucial for the spread of these *siyar*- and jihād-themed works in al-Andalus.[213] In light of this, the Andalusian discourse of jihād was, at least initially in the ninth century, derived from the Syrian tradition.

Finally, Afsaruddin indicates that many of the themes found in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* are repeated in the ninth-century *Kitāb al-jihād* of the Basran Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim (d. 287/900),[214] though Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim is not reliant upon Ibn al-Mubārak's work. Afsaruddin notes a 'heightened concern with establishing the greater excellence of the combative *jihād* over other acts of piety',[215] and highlights that the *asānīd* of many of these reports – especially those praising *ribāṭ* and performing jihād at sea – demonstrate their Syrian-Umayyad provenance.[216]

The preceding discussion suggests therefore that at the same time the juristic model arose, a counter-model of jihād, a frontier model, developed. This frontier model had a particular resonance in the most prestigious frontier, the Muslim-Byzantine frontier in al-Shām, where it persisted until at least the loss of al-Maṣṣīṣa in the tenth century. Whilst first coming into focus in al-Shām, there was nothing intrinsically Syrian about this frontier model, which was so potent that it was transferred to other regions: it remains only to be seen whether this understanding of jihād influenced the revival of jihād in twelfth-century al-Shām.

213 Muryani, 'Das Kitāb al-Siyar von Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, pp.63-97. Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ b. Bazīʿ likewise transmitted Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim*, and also transmitted and amended the *Muwaṭṭaʾ riwāyat Yaḥyā* and Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana*. See Maribel Fierro, 'Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Waḍḍāḥ ibn Bazīʿ al-Umawī l-Marwānī l-Qurṭubī' in David Thomas and Alex Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol.1, pp.834-839.

214 Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-jihād*, ed. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1989).

215 Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God*, p158.

216 For discussion of Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim's *Kitāb al-jihād*, see *ibid.*, pp.157-163. Interestingly, there is substantial evidence for the involvement of Basrans in the eastern Islamic world,

Chapter Three:

The *Kitāb al-jihād* of ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī

Introduction

The *Kitāb al-jihād* of ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī is the earliest surviving Muslim response to the First Crusade, and it seeks to exhort the Muslim population of al-Shām, and in particular Damascus, to fight back against the Franks. It survives in only one fragmentary manuscript, which constitutes the second, eighth, ninth, and twelfth parts of the work: the manuscript gives no indication whether the twelfth part was intended to conclude the work. It has been edited three times: Emmanuel Sivan prepared a partial edition, which was published in 1966 alongside a French translation;[1] the first full edition was prepared by Suhayl Zakkār and published in 2007;[2] and Niall Christie prepared a new edition, which was published in 2015 alongside an English translation.[3]

Little is known about al-Sulamī: only four short biographical notices about him survive, the last three of which draw heavily upon the first, which is found in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[4] His full name was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir b. Jaʿfar

1 Emmanuel Sivan, 'La génèse de la contre-croisade: un traité damasquin du début du XII^{e} siècle', *Journal Asiatique* 254 (1966), pp.197-224.

2 al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-jihād*. In Suhayl Zakkār (ed.), *Arbaʿat kutub fī al-jihād min ʿaṣr al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyah* (Damascus, 2007), pp.43-165. Zakkār's work also includes editions of three other *kutub al-jihād:* the *Kitāb faḍāʾil al-jihād* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shaddād; selections from the *Nihāyat al-suʾl wa-l-umnīya fī ʿilm al-furūsīya* of al-Asqsarāʾī (d. 750/1349-1350); and the *Kitāb ijtihād fī ṭalab al-jihād* of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373).

3 Niall Christie, *The Book of the Jihād of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami (d. 1106): Text, Translation and Commentary* (Farnham, 2015) Unless otherwise stated, all references are to Christie's edition, which is preferred because he provides a fuller scholarly apparatus and indicates the format and appearance of the manuscript.

4 See *TMD*, vol.43, p.4, no.4935; Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifāt al-adīb*, ed. D.S. Margouliouth, 7 vols (London, 1923-31), vol.5, pp.225-226; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh ʿalā anbāh*

b. ʿAbd Allah al-Qaysī al-Sulamī al-Naḥwī. He was thus a member of the tribe of Banū Sulaym of the Qays tribal faction. His final epithet indicates that he was a philologist, a fact readily confirmed by the numerous philological digressions in the *Kitāb al-jihād*. Furthermore, he was considered *thiqa* (trustworthy) and had a circle of students to whom he bequeathed a *khizāna* (room or cupboard) of his books.[5] He was born in the year 431 (1039-40) and died on Tuesday the 21st of *rabīʿ al-awwal* in the year 500 (20 November 1106).

His biographical notices give little indication that he played any role in the promotion of jihād at the turn of the twelfth century: the *ḥadīth* used by Ibn ʿAsākir to illustrate his notice emphasises the importance of alms-giving, and none of the notices make any mention of his ever having written anything, let alone a *kitāb al-jihād*. Regarding the latter, Mourad and Lindsay suggest that this is emblematic of an attempt by Ibn ʿAsākir to minimise the importance of al-Sulamī to twelfth-century jihād.[6] The only evidence that al-Sulamī sought to encourage jihād is the solitary manuscript of the *Kitāb al-jihād*, without which he would be just one of countless minor figures who lived in Damascus. The *Kitāb al-jihād* does reveal more details about him, demonstrating for example that he had a passing knowledge of Persian,[7] whilst also making it possible to identify his own intellectual background, a point which will be discussed below.

The manuscript, for which there is no cataloguing information available, is held in the Assad National Library in Damascus; previously, it was held in the Ẓāhiriyya Library in Damascus under the classmarks 3769 and 4511.[8] 3769

al-nuḥāh ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhim, 4 vols (Cairo, 1950-73), vol.2, p.283; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāh fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāh*, ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhim, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1979), vol.2, p.170.

5 Modern scholarship accepts that he taught at the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, though none of the biographical dictionaries state this. Given that the first *madrasa* in Damascus, however, was located in the Great Umayyad Mosque, and that most *madrasas* constructed in the early twelfth century were likewise located in its immediate vicinity, it is likely that al-Sulamī did teach near the Great Umayyad Mosque. See J. E. Gilbert, 'Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the ʿulamāʾ in Medieval Damascus', *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980), p.114.

6 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, pp.42-46.

7 *Al-Sulamī*, pp.53-54, p.93, p.98, p.156.

8 It was not possible during the writing of this thesis to access the manuscript or any photographs of it, aside from one low-resolution scan of the title page of the second part, which is included in Suhayl Zakkār's edition. See *Arbaʿat kutub*, p.41. The following discussion is therefore heavily indebted to the work of Niall Christie.

comprises folios 172-237, and contains parts two (folios 173v-191r), eight (plus an 'additional fragment', folios 191v-213r), and twelve (folios 213v-237r).[9] 4511 contains part nine (folios 1v-20r). When this division occurred is unknown, but it is clear that it was originally one manuscript. Firstly, with the exception of some of the notations, the body of the text in both 3769 and 4511, and the bulk of the marginal notations, are written in the same hand.[10] Secondly, the title pages of each part indicate that they were part of the *waqf* of one Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Hilālī:[11] the title page of the ninth part additionally states that it was part of the *waqf* of al-Ḍayāyiyya at Mount Qāsiyūn to the north-west of Damascus.[12] The manuscript gives no indication which *waqf*-designation was first, but it is more probable that the ninth part was removed from the *waqf* of al-Hilālī and added to the *waqf* of al-Ḍayāyiyya at a later date than vice versa; this again suggests that the manuscript originally constituted one whole.

Christie notes that it is a utilitarian manuscript, with the lines of text being uneven and spilling across the margins, replete with crossed-out word or sections, and missing diacritics at points. Internal evidence suggests that the manuscript was unfinished: there are gaps which appear to be waiting to be filled, even points where the marginalia curve to leave the space of the main page available, and some sentences are left incomplete.[13] On this basis, Christie argues that it is likely the actual manuscript taken down whilst al-Sulamī dictated his work in public. Christie identifies Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Baqī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaysī, who recorded four of the six *samāʿāt* attached to the work, as the scribe because the hand of these four *samāʿāt* is the same as that of the main body of the text. Additionally, the hands of the other *samāʿāt* and notations are too different to suggest that this was a single copy made

9 A marginal notation states that the eighth part ends on f.211v. Immediately following on f.212r and ending on f.213r is one complete chapter. Christie argues that unless this chapter was added to the eighth part by al-Sulamī, or the scribe pre-empted the end of the eighth part, then this section should be considered an additional fragment bound into the work after the end of part eight. See Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, p.277. This additional chapter is thematically close to the preceding chapter in part eight: it concerns the use of treachery and deception in warfare, and immediately follows a chapter discussing what should be done with a Muslim who betrays the Muslims.

10 Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, p.5.

11 *Al-Sulamī*, p.39, p.77, p.117, p.149.

12 *Ibid.*, p.117.

13 Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, pp.6-8.

by a later scribe.[14]

On the basis of the *samāʿāt*, it is possible to date the manuscript. There are six *samāʿāt* in total: three on the title page of the second part, and one each on the titles pages of the eighth, ninth, and twelfth parts. The four *samāʿāt* which Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī composed state that the second part was read in *ramaḍān* 498 (May/June 1105), the eighth and ninth parts in *dhū al-qaʿda* 498 (July/August 1105), and the twelfth part in *muḥarram* 499 (September/October 1105). All of these recitations took place at the mosque of Bayt Liḥyā, a village in the Damascene hinterland.

The second part was also recited on a further two occasions. Aḥmad b. Salāma b. Yaḥyā al-Abbār, who was present for the recitation of every part, recorded the following *samāʿ*:

> Al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Ḥaydara al-Anṣārī al-Sarrāj and al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. Jāmiʿ al-ʿAdawī heard the entirety of this part from the beginning to the end verbatim from the venerable *shaykh* Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir b. Jaʿfar al-Sulamī. The writer of names was Aḥmad b. Salāma b. Yaḥyā al-Abbār in sporadic *majālis* in the month of *dhū al-qaʿda* in the year 498.[15]

Although Aḥmad b. Salāma gives no location for these *majālis*, that the work was recited in the same month that Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī recorded the *samāʿāt* for parts eight and nine in Bayt Liḥyā makes it likely that the recitation of the second part recorded by Aḥmad b. Salāma also took place in Bayt Liḥyā. In any case, the *Kitāb al-jihād* was composed in a series of *majālis* between May/June and September/October 1105. The third recitation took place in *dhū al-ḥijja* 506 (May/June 1113), and this suggests that the second part of the work, which is devoted to the exhortation to jihād, was the most popular part.

Why the composition of the work took place outwith Damascus in the village of Bayt Liḥyā remains unclear. Mourad and Lindsay argue that al-Sulamī went to Bayt Liḥyā because his preaching inside Damascus might not have been tolerated by the religious establishment, of which he was not a part.[16] Alternatively, Christie

14 *Ibid.*, p.7.
15 *Al-Sulamī*, p.40.
16 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in The Crusader Period*, pp.33-34.

emphasises the religious significance of the mosque in Bayt Liḥyā as both a converted church and as the site of the qurʾānic Abraham's destruction of the idols.[17] He also draws upon the descriptions of the mosque by Ibn Jubayr and al-Idrīsī, which suggest it was almost the equal of the Great Mosque in Damascus, to make the case for Bayt Liḥyā.[18] His efforts to rationalise the choice of Bayt Liḥya stumble somewhat by the fact that the recitation of the second part in 506/1113 took place at the Great Mosque: regardless of how important the mosque in Bayt Liḥyā was, it could not compete with the prestige of the Great Mosque.

The *samāʿāt* also provide the names for the ten figures who heard at least one part of the *Kitāb al-jihād*:[19] no single recitation was attended by the full complement, with only an audience of eight present for the eighth part coming close. There is, however, no doubt that al-Sulamī's intended audience was much larger:

> By God! By God, the assembly of *sulṭāns* in this country {and those from amongst the elite, the soldiers and others from the young men and the auxiliaries, and the lords newly acquired with wealth and raised as slaves} in themselves, families, close friends: 'go forth, whether light or heavy, and strive with your wealth and your *anfus*.'[20]

Additionally, al-Sulamī preaches a jihād which seeks not only the recovery of Jerusalem, but also the conquest of Constantinople: it is unlikely he considered his small audience up to this task. The recitation and composition of the work in Bayt Liḥyā may in this regard be seen as something of a rehearsal for a final recitation in Damascus: the recitation there in 506/1113 of the second parts lends credence to this argument.

The scope of the *Kitāb al-jihād* is much broader than being simply hortatory: the descriptions which preface each part state that the work also concerned *siyar*,

17 Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, pp.22-23.

18 *Ibid.* p.23.

19 These are: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ṣābir al-Sulamī; Ḥassān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī; Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaysī; al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Ḥaydara al-Anṣārī al-Sarrāj; al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. Jāmiʿ al-ʿAdawī; Aḥmad b. Salāma b. Yaḥyā al-Abbār; Abū ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qāsim; Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kittānī; Yaʿlā b. Ḥifāẓ al-Sarrāj; Muẓẓaffar b. ʿAbd Allāh.

20 *Al-Sulamī*, p.48. Christie's practice of using curly brackets to indicate marginal notations has been retained here, and will be retained in all subsequent quotations from his edition. Likewise, Christie's practice of using angular brackets for phrases which have been crossed out has also been retained. The qurʾānic quotation with which this passage ends is from Q.9:41.

faḍā'il al-Shām, and a history of recent events.[21] In short, al-Sulamī intended his work to act as something of a comprehensive guide to the performance of military jihād, from first motivation through to how to properly conduct warfare, whilst simultaneously situating this military jihād within its historico-political context.

Whilst all of these themes have at least some representation in the surviving fragments, the *faḍā'il al-Shām* material is conspicuously underdeveloped: the surviving fragments show no evidence for the invocation of the major reasons why al-Shām, and in particular Jerusalem, would have been sacred to al-Sulamī's Muslim audience. It is likely that such material appeared in the lost parts of the manuscript. Christie suggests alternatively that it is possible that al-Sulamī's intended audience, which included a number of religious scholars, would already have been familiar with the arguments in favour of the sanctity of Jerusalem: those who were unfamiliar with them would have been quietly enlightened.[22] Such an argument is, however, unsatisfactory because it raises the question of why, if it is assumed that his intended audience included religious scholars, al-Sulamī made the effort to write anything, given the likelihood that such an audience would be familiar with much of the material he used.

The material which does survive lends itself readily to a two-part division. On the one hand, there is the exhortation proper, to which the bulk of the second part is devoted; on the other hand, there are the last two chapters of the second part, and the whole of parts eight, nine, and twelve, which are given over to the discussion of *siyar* topics. This division raises questions about the genre into which the *Kitāb al-jihād* should be placed. For instance, in its entirety it bears little resemblance to earlier examples of the *kutub al-jihād* genre, such as the works of Ibn al-Mubārak and Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, which were first and foremost *ḥadīth* collections. Only the last three parts of al-Sulamī's work bear any resemblance to a *ḥadīth* collection, but they lack the comprehensiveness prevalent in such works. Additionally, these parts are concerned with *siyar* – not jihād – which further distances al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* from its antecedents. At the same time, the

21 *Al-Sulamī*, p.39, p.77, p.117, p.149.

22 See Niall Christie, 'Jerusalem in the *Kitab al-Jihad* of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami', *Mediæval Encounters* 13.2 (2007), pp.220-21.

second part, which focuses on jihād, does not resemble a *ḥadīth* collection in the slightest because of the development therein of an explicit argument: this part also includes points at which al-Sulamī directly addresses his audience. The second part, then, should perhaps be understood as some form of hortatory sermon rather than a book.

That there are indications of the correct vowels for certain words in the later parts as well suggests that the whole work was intended to be read aloud: yet the suitability of parts eight, nine, and twelve for preaching is unclear. It must be remembered that, whilst only four parts survive, the entire work constituted at least twelve parts, which would be too long and too unwieldy to captivate an audience. Furthermore, the structure of these later parts is staccato: they lack any sort of bridges between their constituent chapters, which would render sermonising with them difficult. This may explain why only the second part was recited in 506/1113.

The second part of the work has also found the most favour amongst modern scholars: when the *Kitāb al-jihād* was first discussed by Sivan, he elected to focus only on the second part. This is undoubtedly because the second part of the work is the most novel. Sivan identifies a number of key points in the second part which make it particularly interesting: al-Sulamī considered the First Crusade divine punishment for the failings of the Muslims; saw it as part of a pan-Mediterranean offensive by the infidels; and recognised its religious dimension, as evidenced by his use of the descriptor 'jihād' for the activities of the Christians.[23] At the same time, Sivan highlights the two-stage solution put forth by al-Sulamī to combat the First Crusade: moral re-armament to halt the spiritual decline, followed by the regrouping of Muslim forces and the launching of a counter-offensive.[24] Sivan's article laid the groundwork for almost all subsequent scholarship on al-Sulamī and his *Kitāb al-jihād*: discussions by scholars such as Nikita Elisséef and Carole Hillenbrand, for example, have relied heavily upon Sivan's observations.

The last fifteen years, however, have witnessed an upswing in the amount of attention paid to al-Sulamī and his *Kitāb al-jihād*, though again this has primarily

23 Sivan, 'La génèse de la contre-croisade', pp.199-201.
24 *Ibid.*, pp.201-203.

taken its cue from Sivan. Niall Christie and Paul Chevedden, for example, have both devoted considerable attention to al-Sulamī's understanding of the origins of crusading. Christie in particular has sought to explain how al-Sulamī could recognise its religious dimension.[25] In a comparative study of the preaching of al-Sulamī and Urban II, Christie and his co-author Deborah Gerish grapple with the problem and suggest three possible explanations: al-Sulamī inferred that the First Crusade was religious because of the crosses displayed; he was told as much by a Frankish slave or prisoner of war; or he simply assumed that Christians had their own doctrine of holy war.[26] In a subsequent article, Christie reiterates these three possible explanations alongside a fourth: al-Sulamī alone was willing to state that the Christians were pursuing holy war and other writers chose not to do so because this 'would imply that on some level, what the crusaders were doing was, in some way, legitimate.'[27] Chevedden criticises this suggestion, arguing instead that al-Sulamī implies no legitimacy, merely that he recognised that the First Crusade was the Latin Christian equivalent of jihād, for which he used the most appropriate Arabic term.[28]

Chevedden takes a different tack to Christie: he approaches al-Sulamī from the perspective of crusade historiography, and so rather than discussing

25 The issue of how al-Sulamī could understand the crusaders' religious motivations is no longer as pressing as it once was. In a brief but important article, Benjamin Z. Kedar draws attention to the prose introduction to a Muslim-Byzantine poetic exchange from the tenth century, which suggests that the rough goals of the Franks were recognised as early as 1099. In this exchange, the Byzantines claim that they will soon conquer Jerusalem and the lands of Islam for Christianity, claims which the Muslims mock as baseless delusion. Both poems were – according to the prose introduction – recited in Baghdad in *rajab* 492/May-June 1099, and then again in Alexandria in *muḥarram* 496/October 1103. Kedar argues that their recitation at these points of time suggests that some Muslims were aware of the crusaders' goals, and that these poems were recited in order to assure the Muslims that, just as a previous Christian conquest had failed, so too would the present-day crusaders. If this were the case, al-Sulamī's understanding of the First Crusade's religious dimension would no longer be as perspicacious. See Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'An Early Muslim Reaction to the First Crusade?' in Simon John and Nicholas Morton (eds.), *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations* (Farnham, 2014), pp.69-74.

26 Niall Christie and Deborah Gerish, 'Parallel Preachings: Urban II and al-Sulami', *al-Masāq* 15:2 (2003), p.141. They do not go so far as to suggest al-Sulamī, writing after Urban II, was aware of the finer points of Urban II's sermon: they consider this to be 'highly unlikely'.

27 Niall Christie, 'Religious Campaign or War of Conquest? Muslim Views of the Motives of the First Crusade' in Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi (eds.), *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities* (Leiden, 2006), p.67.

28 Paul E. Chevedden, 'The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus' in Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen and Helle Vogt (eds), *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades* (Odense, 2013), p.38, n.40.

al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* on its own terms, Chevedden asks what al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* reveals about the origins of crusading. He uses al-Sulamī's conceptualisation of the First Crusade as the final stage in a three-pronged assault against Islam to challenge the 'Big Bang' theory of crusading, which is predicated upon the notion that the earliest evidence for crusading dates from 488/1095, the year in which Urban II made his famous appeal at Clermont. Here is not the place to delve into this debate, suffice it to say that Chevedden argues that al-Sulamī's understanding corroborates papal documents, which likewise envisage the crusading movement as a broad advance against Islam, in both the west and east.[29] Consequently, he argues that Muslim sources need to be integrated into crusade historiography in order to better understand the evolution of crusading. Chevedden has explored this basic argument in a series of articles, culminating with a comparison of al-Sulamī and Urban II's understanding of the origins of crusading and its intentions.[30] His comparison moves from the superficial similarity between al-Sulamī and Urban II's understanding of crusading as Mediterranean-wide, to discussing in detail their integration of crusading into salvation history as the means by which their respective religions might recover their former ascendancy.

The second major strand in the historiography of al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* focuses on the motivational strategies employed by al-Sulamī, and has thus far been dominated by Christie. Again, the article co-authored with Gerish marks the beginning of his interest, wherein they highlight that al-Sulamī and Urban II drew on similar ideas in their preaching efforts. They consider this particularly interesting because 'Christian and Muslims conceptions of holy war developed separately from one another',[31] though the article does not go beyond highlighting

29 See Paul E. Chevedden, 'The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades', *Der Islam* 83.1 (2006), pp.90-136; idem, 'The Islamic View and the Christian View of the Crusades: A New Synthesis', *History* 93.2 (2008), pp.181-200; and idem, '"A Crusade from the First": The Norman Conquest of Islamic Sicily,1060-1091', *al-Masāq* 22.2 (2010), pp.191-225.

30 Chevedden, 'The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus', pp.27-53.

31 Christie and Gerish, 'Parallel Preachings Urban II and al-Sulami', p.143. This is a misreading of a point made by Hillenbrand, who notes only that jihād developed as a 'hermetically sealed tradition' uninfluenced by Christian conceptions of holy war: the possibility of Christian conceptions of holy war being influenced by jihād is, however, left open. See Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, p.94. The comparative study of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish conceptions

superficial similarities between the attempts of al-Sulamī and Urban II to preach holy war: for example, the wars are religious, their participants will be rewarded, the antagonists are religious opponents, etc.

In subsequent articles, Christie expands upon al-Sulamī's motivational strategies, emphasising the stress al-Sulamī places on the duty of jihād, the fearful consequences which follow its neglect, and in particular the importance of the reconquest of Jerusalem as a step towards the conquest of Constantinople:[32] in this, he directly challenges Sivan's assertion that Jerusalem played only a minor role.[33] Additionally, Christie has also pointed out that the techniques used by al-Sulamī are similar to the techniques used by Ibn Nubāta (d. 374/984-5) in his *khuṭab jihād* ('jihād sermons') from the tenth century, though the extent to which the latter can be seen as a significant influence on the former – as Christie argues – is uncertain. The imagery and themes employed by Ibn Nubāta are fundamental to the broader sub-genre of *khuṭab jihād*,[34] and al-Sulamī's use of them should be seen as reflecting more a broader tradition than any sort of connection between the two figures. On a formal level, al-Sulamī's work lacks the hallmarks of the genre, being too long, too unwieldy, and lacking the rhetorical features found in Ibn Nubāta's *khuṭab jihād*. Christie himself acknowledges that '[al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād*] is wholly unsuitable for use as a conventional *khuṭba*, bearing a closer resemblance to a work of *waʿẓ*.'[35] Why Ibn Nubāta should be singled out as potential influence is

of holy war is still very much in its infancy, though the recent volume edited by Suhail H. Hashmi represents an important first step. See Suhail H. Hashmi (ed.), *Just Wars, Holy Wars, and Jihads: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Encounters and Exchanges* (New York, 2012).

32 Niall Christie, 'Motivating Listeners in the *Kitab al-Jihad* of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami', *Crusades* 6 (2007), pp.1-14; and idem, 'Jerusalem in the *Kitab al-Jihad*', pp.209-221.

33 Emmanuel Sivan, 'Le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles', *Studia Islamica* 27 (1967), p.154.

34 Linda G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World* (New York, 2012), pp.45-46, pp.145-157, and passim.

35 Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, p.9. *Waʿẓ* denotes a work of moral exhortation. Modern scholarship considers the *waʿẓ* to be the popular counterpart to the official *khuṭba*, with Talmon-Heller defining it in the twelfth-century context of al-Shām as being less bound by convention, able to be more spontaneous and 'charismatic'. (Daniella Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety in medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyūbids (1146-1260)* (Leiden, 2007), pp.115-118.) This viewpoint has recently been challenged by Linda G. Jones, who argues that a more considered approach to the distinction between *waʿẓ* and *khuṭba* is required, noting that there is evidence that 'many (but not all) preachers of hortatory and storytelling assemblies could simultaneously be jurists, liturgical preachers, or other government functionaries and that their sessions could be officially sponsored by the state.' See: Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*, p.161.

thus left unclear.

The most notable lacuna in the study of al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* concerns his understanding of jihād, which has not been subject to any degree of scrutiny. He is generally regarded as espousing the standard jihād doctrine of the period, at which point the issue is dismissed in favour of the topics outlined above. Such a superficial reading of the central issue of the *Kitāb al-jihād* is hardly satisfactory, and this chapter will therefore focus on al-Sulamī's understanding of jihād as expressed in the second part of his work.

AL-SULAMĪ'S UNDERSTANDING OF JIHĀD

Given the condition of the manuscript of the *Kitāb al-jihād*, it is impossible to reconstruct al-Sulamī's understanding of jihād with certainty, but on the basis of the surviving fragments, it can be concluded that it was predicated upon the juristic model. As previously stated,[36] the juristic model holds that jihād is an aggressive act whose purpose was the preservation of the *dār al-islām* and its (theoretical) extension to encompass the entire world. Central to this is the subordination of jihād to political authority, as vested in the figure of the caliph. Jihād is conceived as a *farḍ kifāya* wherein the obligation to perform jihād was considered lifted from the Muslim community at large when there existed a group of sufficient numbers to ensure success: the responsibility for mandating sufficient numbers lay with the caliph.

Al-Sulamī demonstrates his reliance on the juristic model not only by including a vast amount of *siyar* within his work, but also by quoting legal opinions from adherents of all four of the Sunnī *madhāhib*. He displays a distinct preference for the opinions of Shāfiʿites: the vast majority of these opinions come from al-Shāfiʿī himself, as mediated through the work of his student, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī (d. 264/878). It is on this basis that al-Sulamī himself is considered a Shāfiʿī. Al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar*, an abridgement of al-Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb al-umm*, is undoubtedly al-Sulamī's most important source: al-Sulamī quotes from

36 See above, pp.12-21.

it directly at numerous points. For example. Al-Sulamī notes that al-Shāfiʿī says:

> The least of which is to the imām is that no year passes without his organising a *ghazwa* by himself or by his raiding parties, in accordance with the consideration of the Muslims, so that the jihād is not stopped in any year without a valid excuse.'
>
> If enough do not depart with the raiding party, those left behind must go and consider necessary that which God, be He praised, said.[37]

Both of these legal opinions are found verbatim in al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar*.[38] Tellingly, all of these quotations are drawn from the chapter concerning *siyar*, and then only from a small section of it: al-Muzanī does not afford jihād its own distinct chapter. This is consonant with the juristic model in general, which emphasises *siyar* material and the regulation of military campaigns at the expense of jihād and martyrdom as the means by which the individual can demonstrate his devotion to God. The emphasis which the latter places on the individual would undermine the central aim of the juristic model: the subordination of jihād to the political hegemony of the caliphate.

Regarding the nature of jihād as a *farḍ kifāya*, al-Sulamī quotes a number of legal opinions from all but the Ḥanafī *madhhab* in order to explain why jihād is a *farḍ kifāya*, and when it becomes a *farḍ ʿayn*: he further explains who is exempt from performing it.[39] Interestingly, al-Sulamī names al-Ghazālī as the source of two legal opinions on the obligatory nature of jihād, and two on more general *siyar* topics. None of these opinions appear in any of al-Ghazālī's surviving works, though they do reflect general positions of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*: as Christie notes, this suggests that al-Sulamī is quoting from lost texts, citing oral testimony, or simply attributing such statements to al-Ghazālī in order to enhance their authority.[40]

That being said, whilst it is clear that al-Sulamī's understanding of jihād was shaped by the juristic model, it is also clear that he found parts of it problematic.

37 *Al-Sulamī*, p.43.
38 See Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī fī furūʿ al-Shāfiʿīyya*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Shāhīn (Beirut, 1998), p.353. See also al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-umm*, ed. Rifʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, 11 vols. (al-Mansura, 2001), vol.5, pp.386-391.
39 *Al-Sulamī*, pp.43-46.
40 Christie, *The Book of the Jihad*, pp.24-25.

The Franks subordinated those lands they conquered to a non-Islamic universal order: al-Sulamī considered the Muslim desire to reconquer the lost lands incompatible with the juristic model of jihād as offensive warfare. Furthermore, al-Sulamī was writing at a time when al-Shām was divided between various competing powers, both internal and external to the region: there was a lack of powerful – or interested – leadership, be it caliphal or otherwise, under whose authority a jihād could operate.

Al-Sulamī thus found himself writing in a situation which militated against two of the key tenets of the juristic model of jihād. In order to assuage the problem of caliphal disinterest, al-Sulamī focuses on when jihād becomes a *farḍ ʿayn* and stresses the importance of Islamic unity. At the same time, he also emphasises the importance of right intention and *jihād al-nafs*, which he considers intrinsically linked ideas: he calls for his audience to perform *jihād al-nafs*, before beginning a lengthy discussion of the importance of right intention to the successful prosecution of military jihād. These two elements of al-Sulamī's call to jihād are mutually supportive, and will be discussed in this section.

In order to deal with the incompatibility between the Muslim desire to reconquer lost lands and the juristic model of jihād, al-Sulamī makes a radical departure from the juristic model by integrating eschatology into his call to jihād. It was highlighted earlier that whilst there was a degree of overlap between jihād and apocalypticism in the eighth century, this overlap did not continue.[41] Where jihād was fundamentally targeted outwards, apocalypticism was aimed at the total purification of society and was thus inherently critical of the established political order. Consequently, the apocalyptic dimension found itself excised by the jurists from the mainstream discourse of jihād for much the same reasons as Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād: it ran counter to caliphal claims to authority. Al-Sulamī's use of eschatology is thus striking because it represents a reversal of this process. At the same time, it is doubly striking because, as was noted above, this integration of jihād and eschatology is a feature noticeably absent from Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*.[42] Al-Sulamī's use of eschatology therefore warrants

41 See above, pp.14-15.
42 See above, pp.89-90.

detailed study, which will be the subject of a later section.

THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP

Al-Sulamī argues that, after the death of the Prophet, the *rashīdūn* caliphs and the companions established the consensus that jihād was obligatory for all, and that

> None of them abandoned it during his caliphate, and they were followed in that by those who were appointed successors and ruled in their own days, one after another; the *sulṭān* carried out the *ghazw* each year, either himself or by appointing a deputy to carry it out. It continued in this way until the time when one of the caliphs abandoned it because of his weakness and the inadequacy of his hand for it. {Then others followed him in that, because of the above-mentioned or similar reasons.}[43]

By abandoning jihād, the Muslim community had fallen into error and

> [...] made it necessary for God to disperse their unity, fracture their ascendancy, cast amongst them animosity and hatred, and tempt their enemies to wrest their country from their grasp, thereby healing their hearts from their faults. [44]

For al-Sulamī, the lack of leadership and the lack of Muslim unity are two sides of the same coin, and both were caused by failure to perform jihād.

Whilst al-Sulamī considers proper authority essential to jihād, he presents the ruler as a figure who has essentially abdicated any right to authorise or command the jihād by virtue of his failure to do precisely that:

> The most astonishing is the *sulṭān* who takes pleasure in life or remains where he is, despite the ruins of this calamity, of which the consequence is the conquest of these *kuffār*, expulsion from the country by subjugation and force, or staying with them in shame and servility, with the consequent daily and nightly killing, captivity, abuse and torture.[45]

He goes further, quoting the words of the Prophet: 'Whosoever guards a flock and yet does not attend them with sincere advice, God has forbidden him the Garden.'[46] al-Sulamī explains that 'attending them with sincere advice' means watching over

43 *Al-Sulamī*, p.42
44 *Ibid.*, p.42.
45 *Ibid.*, p.48.
46 *Ibid.*, p.71.

the subjects, protecting them, and driving their enemies from them.[47] Even his plea for the imām to unite with the sultans of al-Shām, the Jazīra, and Egypt serves only to underline the failure of the ruling elites to do precisely that.[48]

In order to deal with this, al-Sulamī stresses that whilst jihād was a *farḍ kifāya* in most situations, the threat posed by the Franks was of such magnitude that the obligation of jihād had devolved upon the Muslim community at large: it was now a *farḍ ʿayn*. The majority of the legal opinions which al-Sulamī quotes in support of this are repetitious, enforcing the same basic message that certain contexts obligate the individual to perform jihād. In the midst of these legal opinions is a clear explanation of al-Sulamī's reasoning:[49]

> To be more precise, jihād is a *farḍ al-kifāya* if the group who faces the enemy is large enough to be able to strive by themselves and repel their evil single-handedly without support. If the group is weak and is not sufficient to face the enemy and repel their enemy, then the duty falls upon the people of nearby countries, such as al-Shām, for example. If the enemy were to make for one of its cities, and there were not within it enough people to fight and repel them, it is incumbent upon the rest of the cities of al-Shām to send groups until there were sufficient numbers. At that point, the duty falls from the others because the lands of al-Shām are as one city [*ka-l-balda al-wāḥida*]. If the capable amongst them hasten to the enemy, and they are insufficient, it is incumbent furthermore upon all those who are close to al-Shām to send groups to them and join them until there are sufficient numbers. At that point, the duty would also fall from the others.
>
> As for a single city, like Damascus and its surroundings, if the enemy surround it, the duty of jihād becomes incumbent upon the individual, no matter what happened. None would be exempt from the duty of necessity, unless they have excuses, unequivocal impediments {to which we referred and which will be discussed in another passage, God willing.}[50]

Al-Sulamī's use of the legal opinions, is however, somewhat novel. He notes through the quotation of al-Muzanī's abridgement of al-Shāfiʿī that the duty to ensure sufficient numbers lay with the ruler: significantly, if the ruler does not ensure sufficient numbers, '[…] those left behind must go and consider necessary

47 *Ibid.*, p.71.
48 *Ibid.*, p.71.
49 Al-Sulamī prefaces this passage by stating 'a follower of al-Shāfiʿī' said the following to him regarding the purpose of this section. *Ibid.*, p.44.
50 *Ibid.*, pp.44-45.

that which God, be He praised, said.'[51] Al-Sulamī's use of this statement is significant, for he interprets it as essentially freeing the Muslim community from obedience to their rulers when it comes to the successful prosecution of jihād, for he argues

> [i]t has become evident from what he mentioned that, if a group were needed to carry out a *ghazw*, the duty was incumbent upon all of them. That was concerning a similar situation to that in which we now are, with this band attacking the land of Islam.[52]

Further, he quotes Ibn Ḥanbal as saying: 'The obligation is on the people that if the enemy comes, the poor and the rich amongst them go forth to fight them',[53] and that '[t]hey do not go out to the enemy except with the permission of the *amīr*, unless the enemy surprises them, all of them are afraid, and it is impossible for them to seek permission.'[54]

For al-Sulamī, then, the jihād against the Franks is in the first instance a *farḍ ʿayn* before transitioning into a *farḍ kifāya*: it is incumbent upon the individual to go out to it until there are sufficient numbers to ensure success, at which point it becomes a *farḍ kifāya*. As it begins as a *farḍ ʿayn*, the initiative lies solely with the individual and not with the ruler. He supports his contention that the ruler can be ignored by noting that the prosecution of jihād was an obligation for the ruler, and that what was incumbent upon him was likewise incumbent upon the Muslim community:

> The obligation upon your elites to perform this jihād, which you have doubted, has been realised, particularly upon those whom God (be He praised) has distinguished for rule in this country. If it is an obligation for him, it is confirmed as an obligation for the rest of you, because of God's assigning to him the affairs of his subjects, and requiring him to govern the people and obliging him to defend the holdings and territory of Islam. [55]

At the same time, al-Sulamī focuses on the importance of unity: as the earlier example shows, al-Sulamī conceives jihād as a duty which devolves on all Muslims in the vicinity, who are obligated to struggle against the invading enemy. It was the

51 *Ibid.*, p.43, quoting al-Muzānī, *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar*, p.353.
52 *Ibid.*, p.43.
53 *Ibid.*, p.46.
54 *Ibid.*, p.46.
55 *Ibid.*, p.47.

lack of such unity which facilitated the Christian conquest: '[the Franks] looked down from al-Shām on divided kingdoms, disunited hearts, and contending views with hidden resentments, and by that their ambitions were strengthened and extended to whatever their outspread arms desired.'[56]

He calls upon the imām to unite with the sultans of al-Shām, the Jazīra, and Egypt, citing in support of this the example of the pre-Islamic Arab tribes and the Persian kings:

> If an external enemy raided [the Arabs], they would look to the same correctness, from which they could not turn away, and say: 'In times of hardship, hatreds vanish.' Likewise, it reached us about all of the kings of Persia and others that they would make peace and agree to go out against their enemy. If they were victorious or drove them away with the unity of their power, then they would either return to their previous disunity or maintain the sincerity and agreement which they had begun.[57]

Al-Sulamī explains that staying united was the true victory, and argues that uniting is incumbent also upon the current ruling elite. They must follow the example of their predecessors and act in accordance with the prophetic command: 'Do not snub each other; do not turn your back on each other; do not be envious each other. Be servants of God as a brotherhood, as God (be He exalted) commanded you.'[58] He then continues that it is incumbent upon everyone, no matter their station in life, to support those with authority over them in order to ensure the success of the jihād.

Thus, al-Sulamī considers Muslim unity essential to the successful prosecution of jihād, and that whilst he considers it preferable that it be directed by a ruler, jihād can be prosecuted without their permission because the severity of the situation has rendered it an individual obligation.

RIGHT INTENTION AND *JIHĀD AL-NAFS*

The emphasis on jihād as a *farḍ ʿayn* is buttressed by al-Sulamī's encouraging his audience to give precedence to the jihād against their *anfus* over the jihād against their enemies:

56 *Ibid.*, pp.42-43.
57 *Ibid.*, pp.71-72.
58 *Ibid.*, p.72.

> Give precedence to the jihād against your *anfus* [*jihād anfusikum*] rather than the jihād against your enemies, for indeed the *nufūs* are worse enemies than your human ones. Prevent them from being disobedient to their Creator (be He praised). You will [therefore] be successful in your hopes of victory over them. Make right what is between you and your Creator, and what is wrong with your current circumstances will be made right for you, as too will the enmity between you. {Tear out your disobedience to God (be He praised), and follow your tearing out with righteous works as you start anew. Thus it may be that your Lord destroys your enemies and appoints you rulers of the world. He considers how you act and how you follow what God (be He praised) commanded your Prophet (ṣ) and his Companions concerning His giving precedence to the performance of jihād: they are the people of seriousness in obedience to Him, and sincerity in striving hard.[59]

Immediately following this, al-Sulamī launches a scathing tirade against those who neglect the duties imposed upon them by God, namely prayer and the hajj. He argues that the Franks and their military victories are the latest in a series of warnings from God by which he tests the Muslim community: the seriousness of the threat posed by the Franks reflects the seriousness of the Muslims' sin, and he cautions them that if they do not desist in sinning, God will destroy them. Al-Sulamī beseeches God to

> […] hasten your awakening from the sleep of negligence in the places of His castigation, and place you amongst those who fear the speed of His power and the immanence of His infliction of punishment, acting in accordance with what He commanded and proscribed in the rulings of His Book [and] those who tear out sin and repent to the point of knocking on His door. Let the aspiration of this your jihād gratify your Lord, and the defence of your *anfus* and others from your brotherhood, so that recompense for your *ghazw* appears, and the {goodness} of your deeds is vindicated. Indeed, if by an act one does not desire the Face of God, it is futile: he who does it sins. May God keep us from deeds of hypocrisy.[60]

Al-Sulamī then quotes a long tradition on hypocrisy, which is attributed to Abū Hurayra. Abū Hurayra states that the Prophet told him that, on the Day of Resurrection, the first people to be judged will be a man who memorised the Qur'ān, a rich man, and a *mujāhid*. Each will be asked what they did in life and why they acted so, and each will be proven a hypocrite: for example, the *mujāhid* will state that he fought for the path of God, but God will reveal that he desired instead

59 *Ibid.*, pp.55-56.
60 *Ibid.*, pp.56-57.

to be considered brave.[61]

Al-Sulamī explains that this tradition shows that '[…] hypocritical aims and love of renown and praise undermine jihād and other activities', and states that he knows many more traditions about this: a crossed-out sentence indicates that he intended to compile a chapter on 'the merits of jihād and what pertains to it'.[62] Why the sentence was crossed out is unclear: it may have been because he changed his mind, or the sentence was deemed irrelevant (it does break the flow of the argument). It is entirely possible that the chapter was compiled and included in one of the now lost parts of the work.

Al-Sulamī returns to the themes of right intention and *jihād al-nafs* only once more in the extant parts of the work. In the twelfth part, a short chapter comprising only one tradition reinforces the importance of *jihād al-nafs* to the military jihād, referring to them respectively as *mujāhidat al-nafs* and *mujāhidat al-aʿdā'*:

> A group from the people of Damascus went to Abū Muslim while he was raiding in the lands of *Rūm* [the Byzantines]. He had dug a hole in the middle of his tent and put a leather mat into it, onto which he had poured water, in which he was looking at himself. They said to him: 'What made you fast whilst you travel when breaking fast has been conceded to you during *ghazw* and travel?' He said: 'If fighting appears, then I will break my fast and prepare myself for it, having strengthened myself. Indeed, the horse does not run as fast it is able when fat, only when it is lean. Before us are kneeling storytellers: let us act in accordance with it [their advice].[63]

Although the importance of the spiritual dimension to al-Sulamī's exhortation to jihād has been recognised, in only two instances has this gone beyond merely identifying it: Sivan suggests that its importance was perhaps inspired by the writings of al-Ghazālī,[64] while Christie states in a footnote that Ibn al-Mubārak provides an early example of spiritual jihād in his *Kitāb al-jihād*.[65] As mentioned earlier, *jihād al-nafs* is primarily understood as synonymous with the term *al-jihād al-akbar*, a designation which has been vociferously challenged by Cook who

61 *Ibid.*, pp.57-58.
62 *Ibid.*, p.60.
63 *Ibid.*, p,159.
64 Sivan, 'La génèse de la contre-croisade', p.223, n.20.
65 Christie, *The Book of the Jihad*, p.219, n.76.

considers *jihād al-nafs* as wholly derivative and dismisses it as lacking any reality outwith Sufi textbooks. The existence of al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* would seem to challenge Cook's assertions. The question remains, however, to what extent al-Sulamī's use of the term and his audience's understanding of it corresponded with the scholarly discourse present in the Sufi textbooks which Cook dismisses. Although the lack of any systematic explanation of the term by al-Sulamī suggests that the idea had some degree of resonance with his audience, it makes it difficult to reconstruct how al-Sulamī himself understood the term. Nevertheless, it is possible to adduce a number of points about the idea of *jihād al-nafs* which al-Sulamī sought to impress upon his audience.

Firstly, the fact that al-Sulamī commands his audience to give precedence to *jihād al-nafs*, to spiritual jihād, over military jihād against the Christians, implies a perception of *jihād al-nafs* as being the 'greater'. There is also a similarity of conception of the *nafs* between al-Sulamī and the Sufi discourse as mediated through the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī. That al-Sulamī charges his audience with restraining their *nufūs* echoes al-Ghazālī's portrayal of the *nafs* as some intangible part of man which seeks to lead him astray. Secondly, al-Sulamī's use of the tradition which focuses on the practice of the early ascetic Abū Muslim indicates that the preferred technique is fasting, which accords with al-Ghazālī's acknowledgement that the method for disciplining and subordinating the *nafs* will always be founded on the renunciation of those worldly things in which are to be found pleasure.[66]

The possibility that al-Ghazālī influenced al-Sulamī is an intriguing one, but there are two issues, the first of which is that the above similarities do not indicate any sort of causal link between al-Sulamī and al-Ghazālī in particular, without which there is nothing but the latter's fame to suggest that he should be preferred to any other possible influence. The second issue concerns al-Sulamī's understanding of the purpose of *jihād al-nafs*: insofar as *jihād al-nafs* is a spiritual exercise for al-Sulamī, in which the believer models himself on the exempla of the Prophet and his Companions in order to reconcile himself with God, it does not

66 For al-Ghazālī's discourse on the *nafs*, see above, pp.21-28.

preclude or replace violent jihād. Indeed, it was the foundation from which any military jihād must operate if it were to be successful, which indicates that religious obedience was recognised as a necessary facet of military jihād. Each of these issues will be discussed in turn.

To address the first issue, it is necessary to turn to the life of al-Ghazālī, the course of which is well-known and need not be rehearsed here.[67] Of particular interest is the eleven-year period between his retirement from the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in 488/1095, and his return to teaching in 499/1106 at the behest of Fakhr al-Mulk (d. 500/1106), vizier to the Seljuq sultan Sanjar (d. 552/1157). Al-Ghazālī spent the first part of this period in al-Shām (with visits to both Medina and Mecca) and the second in his native Ṭūs. Modern scholarship agrees that the *Iḥyāʾ* was likely written in the first part of this period. In his revised chronology of al-Ghazālī's writings, George Hourani argues that the *Iḥyāʾ* was begun after his visit to Jerusalem.[68] Al-Ghazālī himself states in his autobiography *Munqidh min al-ḍālal* (*The Deliverer from Error*) that his visit to Jerusalem took place some two years after his arrival in Damascus in 488/1095: thus, he could not have reached Jerusalem before December 490/1097.[69] Contrarily, al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) brings this date forward by a year: he states that al-Ghazālī visited Jerusalem in 489/1096 after a few days in Damascus: after leaving Jerusalem, he returned to Damascus.[70] Hourani admits the possibility that al-Ghazālī began the work prior to his visit to Jerusalem, though cautions that only the first book was likely begun beforehand.[71] The idea of an earlier starting date has, however, been championed by both Kenneth Garden and Jules Janssens. On the basis of similarities between sections of the *Iḥyāʾ* and an earlier work by al-Ghazālī, the *Mīzān al-ʿamal* (*The Scale of Action)*, which was written shortly before his departure from Baghdad, they suggest that the *Iḥyāʾ* was started even before al-Ghazālī left Baghdad, with

67 For recent discussions of al-Ghazālī's life, see Frank Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford, 2009), pp.19-59; and Kenneth Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali and His Revival of the Religious Sciences* (New York, 2014).

68 George F. Hourani, 'A Revised Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104:2 (1984), pp.296-297.

69 al-Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl/Erreur et délivrance*, ed. Farid Jabre (Beirut, 1959), p.38.

70 Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.6, p.197.

71 Hourani, 'A Revised Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings', p.296.

Janssens going so far as to question which work was first.[72]

In any case, there is evidence which indicates that al-Ghazālī was actively teaching the *Iḥyāʾ* prior to his return to the East. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) states that al-Ghazālī taught the *Iḥyāʾ* in Damascus before he returned to Baghdad after performing hajj.[73] The Andalusī scholar Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148) writes that he studied with al-Ghazālī in Baghdad during in the summer of 490/1097, during which time he heard al-Ghazali read the *Iḥyāʾ*.[74] Finally, al-Subkī likewise reports that al-Ghazālī recited the *Iḥyāʾ* in Baghdad before his return to Khurāsān.[75]

That al-Ghazālī was actively teaching the *Iḥyāʾ* before his return to the East has been picked up by revisionist scholarship, particularly in the work of Garden. Garden argues that the image of al-Ghazālī which predominates in modern western scholarship has been formed by both an uncritical reading of the *Munqidh* and the desire of modern scholars to '[…] find a Muslim intellectual with an interiorized, mystical spirituality rather than a "scholastic" or legal one, and, for some, to find a Muslim spirituality that could be understood in Christian terms.'[76] Garden emphasises that the *Munqidh* is more of an apology than an accurate presentation of his life: this version of his life is de-contextualised, focusing almost entirely on his spiritual and mental life such that he becomes divorced from the world.[77] Instead, Garden points to the above-mentioned examples, the existence of numerous synopses in both Arabic and Persian, al-Ghazālī's own letters, and the very title of the *Iḥyāʾ* to argue that al-Ghazālī was not 'an inwardly focused seeker of Truth and salvation, but an engaged scholar of the hereafter who sought to transform the religious landscape of his age.'[78]

The evidence therefore suggests that al-Ghazālī taught the *Iḥyāʾ* in Damascus.

72 See Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver*, p.89; and Jules Janssens, 'Al-Ghazzālī's use of Avicennian texts' in M. Maróth (ed.), *Problems in Arabic Philosophy* (Piliscsaba, 2003), p.47.

73 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, ed. Abū al-Fidaʿ ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī, 11 vols. (Beirut, 1998), vol.8, pp.506-507.

74 Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, *al-Naṣṣ al-kāmil li-kitāb al-ʿawāṣim min al-qawāṣim*, ed. ʿAmmār Ṭālibī (Cairo, 1997), p.24. For a discussion of Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī's meeting with al-Ghazālī, see Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology*, pp.62-71.

75 al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.6, p.200.

76 Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver*, p.170. For a fuller discussion of this, see *Ibid.*, pp.1-5.

77 See Kenneth Garden, 'Coming Down from the Mountaintop: al-Ghazālī's Autobiographical Writings in Context', *The Muslim World* 101:4 (2011), pp.581-596.

78 Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver*, p.176.

In Damascus, al-Ghazālī was known to have taught at the Umayyad Mosque and at the attached *zāwiya* (small mosque or prayer room) of the prominent Shāfiʿī and Sufi Abū al-Fatḥ Naṣr (d. 490/1096).[79] All of this suggests the tantalising prospect that al-Ghazālī's teaching of the *Iḥyāʾ*, particularly his discourse on the *nafs*, informed al-Sulamī's and his audience's own understanding of the *nafs*.

The only problem with this is the second issue: al-Sulamī's understanding of the purpose of *jihād al-nafs* is fundamentally in opposition to al-Ghazālī's. Where al-Ghazālī considers the restraining of the *nafs* essential for the attainment of knowledge of God and felicity in the hereafter, al-Sulamī's consideration is more mundane. Although for al-Sulamī *jihād al-nafs* is a process of internalised spiritual revival, he considers it to be the foundation of successful military jihād in this world. In this regard, al-Sulamī is much closer to Ibn al-Mubārak than he is his contemporary, al-Ghazālī.

Ibn al-Mubārak uses terminology reminiscent of *jihād al-nafs* only once, when he quotes the Prophet as saying 'The *mujāhid* is he who strives against his *nafs* with his *nafs*.'[80] As Christie indicates, this is 'an early example of an inner-*jihad* teaching',[81] which when taken in conjunction with the emphasis which Ibn al-Mubārak places on the importance of right intention and religiosity to the successful practice of jihād, suggests an inchoate form of *jihād al-nafs*. Given the emphasis al-Sulamī places on right intention, particularly through his use of the Abū Hurayra tradition, al-Sulamī can perhaps be seen as espousing a mature version of Ibn al-Mubārak's ideology.

There is, however, little reason to suspect that Ibn al-Mubārak had any serious influence upon al-Sulamī's thought. Al-Sulamī demonstrates no awareness of Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*, and whilst there are five traditions which occur in both works, Ibn al-Mubārak himself appears in only one of their *asānīd*: the rest are all attributed to various of his contemporaries.[82] There are another two

79 Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology*, p.44
80 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.162, no.175.
81 Christie, *The Book of the Jihad*, p.219, n.76.
82 *al-Sulamī*, pp.166-168. c.f. *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.140-142, no.145. Of the other four traditions, two assert that jihād is the most meritorious act (*al-Sulamī*, pp.118-119 and 121-122), whilst the other two concern the Qurʾānic reduction in the number of the enemy each Muslim must face (*al-Sulamī*, pp.86-87 and p.152). In connection with these traditions, however, no

traditions in whose *asānīd* Ibn al-Mubārak appears, including the above-mentioned tradition from Abū Hurayra, though these are absent from the *Kitāb al-jihād*.[83]

The one tradition which does appear in the works of both Ibn al-Mubārak and al-Sulamī narrates the story of a *mujāhid* who is knocked unconscious, sees the woman with whom he will be rewarded in the hereafter, and who then dies shortly after telling his companions about his vision. In al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād*, this tradition is included alongside three other martyr stories, wherein the martyr is shown the woman or women with whom he will be rewarded in the hereafter.[84] These stories are all broadly similar both to each other and also to the earlier examples found in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*: this is the only point at which any sort of overlap between the two is explicitly discernible in al-Sulamī's work.

The lack of textual overlap does not of course mean that al-Sulamī was not influenced by Ibn al-Mubārak. Christie argues that al-Sulamī drew upon the legacy of eighth- and ninth-century scholars who were involved in jihād on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier to galvanise his audience. These scholars were Makḥūl al-Dimashqī, Ibn al-Mubārak, al-Fazārī, Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 206/821), and Sunayd b. Dāwūd al-Maṣṣīṣī al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 226/840). Christie suggests that 'it may well be that al-Sulamī expected his immediate audience to seek to imitate these figures in their own involvement in the *jihad* against the Franks.'[85]

Unfortunately, the evidence from the *Kitāb al-jihād* argues against this. Al-Sulamī holds up only Makḥūl al-Dimashqī as an example, and even then he places the emphasis more on his credentials as one of the *tābiʿūn* than as a *mujāhid*:

> Abū Muḥammad Sunayd b. Dāwūd al-Ṭarsūsī mentioned in the *Kitāb al-tafsīr*: Ḥajjāj narrated to us from Ibn Jurayj from Maʿmar, who said:
>
> Makḥūl used to turn his face to the Qibla and swear ten oaths that the *ghazw* was obligatory. He would say: 'If you wished, you could do more.'

reference is made to Ibn al-Mubārak or his *Kitāb al-jihād*.

83 *Al-Sulamī*, pp.57-58, and p.183.

84 *Ibid.*, pp.160-169. The tradition on pp.165-166 is similar to *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.144-145, no.149.

85 Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, p.25.

> This man who was one of the greatest *tābiʿūn* swears by God ten {times concerning the jihād being obligatory, with his belief and the extent of his knowledge. He obtained it from a group of [the Prophet's] companions (r). So what more is needed than this? Then he said: 'If you wish, you could do more'. There is no oath of firm proof with his statement, may God have mercy on him, for concerning it, the removal of specious doubt has already come.}[86]

The others appear only as names in *asānīd*, and none more than four times. As will be demonstrated below, Ibn al-Mubārak's reputation as a *mujāhid* only became emphasised in the biographical literature with Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, so it is unlikely that a scholar otherwise famed as an ascetic would have been useful for al-Sulamī. The most important argument against Ibn al-Mubārak influencing al-Sulamī is, however, that al-Sulamī crucially differs from Ibn al-Mubārak because he sees the successful military jihād as acting towards the foundation of this-worldly ascendancy for the Muslim community, whilst Ibn al-Mubārak considers the successful military jihād to be the highest demonstration of the individual's faith in God.

All of this suggests a number of things. Firstly, it suggests that al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* is evidence for the existence of *jihād al-nafs* outside of Sufi textbooks. The fact that al-Sulamī accords fully with neither Ibn al-Mubārak nor al-Ghazālī points, however, to the fact that *jihād al-nafs*, like jihād itself, was not a monovalent term, and possessed different significations depending on the context in which it was used. Secondly, this suggests that if al-Ghazālī influenced al-Sulamī, he did not dictate the course of al-Sulamī's understanding. Instead, al-Sulamī's composition of the *Kitāb al-jihād* and al-Ghazālī's teaching of the *Iḥyāʾ* in Damascus indicate that in the last decade of the eleventh century and the first of the twelfth, the city witnessed a renewed discourse about the importance of religious revival. Thirdly, this reassesses the impact that the First Crusade had upon Islamic thought in the early twelfth century: for al-Sulamī the success of the First Crusade acts more as confirmation of ideas percolating in Damascus already, namely the need for religious revival, than it did as inspiration.

86 *Al-Sulamī,* p.41.

Al-Sulamī's use of Eschatology

Al-Sulamī's use of eschatology marks his most notable departure from the juristic model and Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād. Al-Sulamī begins the second part of the *Kitāb al-jihād* by impressing upon his audience the nature of jihād as a duty incumbent upon the Muslim community until the Day of Resurrection:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'The caliphate concerns the Quraysh, authority concerns the *anṣār*, the *daʿwa* concerns Abyssinia, and the hijra and jihād still concern the Muslims.'
>
> His statement that jihād is still the concern of the Muslims is clear indication that it is the concern of all Muslims, and it will remain so until the Day of Resurrection.[87]

That al-Sulamī characterises jihād as a perpetual duty until the Day of Resurrection cannot, however, be taken in and of itself as evidence for the relationship – if any – that al-Sulamī conceives between jihād and eschatology. The majority of world chronicles adopt a strict chronology wherein there is a beginning and thus, implicitly, an end. Reference to the end therefore does not necessarily function as more than an ordinal point in the mediæval scholar's ontology. Evaluating the extent to which al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* is eschatological therefore depends not so much on cataloguing references to the end, but rather on understanding how such references are deployed and to what end they are utilised. A twofold approach will therefore be used. Firstly, attention will be paid to whether the *Kitāb al-jihād* displays any indications that al-Sulamī had an eschatological mindset, which is to say whether he believed himself to be living during the period of eschatological culmination. Secondly, attention will be paid to al-Sulamī's use of a series of eschatological traditions, their provenance, and their impact upon his understanding of jihād.

Fitna and the First Crusade

Within the *ḥadīth* corpus there is a distinct sub-genre which deals with the

87 *Al-Sulamī*, p,41.

concept of *fitna*, which in its qurʾānic context denotes a trial of faith or temptation designed to purify the believer from the evils of this world and to prepare him for the world to come. More broadly, it refers to the collective trials which the Muslim community will undergo before the End Times.[88] As a result of the extrapolation of the concept in the *ḥadīth* corpus, particularly after the Islamic civil wars, it became closer in meaning to *malāḥim*, apocalyptic woes and tribulations derived from the battles of the kings of the South and the North in the Book of Daniel.[89] As the civil wars gained apocalyptic significance, *fitna* gained a sense of pre-messianic woe and was included amongst the signs of the Hour, for example: 'The last Hour will not come until the two parties [of Muslims] confront each other and there is a large-scale massacre amongst them and the claim of both of them is the same.'[90]

As mentioned in the discussion of Ibn al-Mubārak and his *Kitāb al-jihād*,[91] the Muslim-Byzantine frontier and the Byzantine enemy were often interpreted eschatologically: Saïd Amir Arjomand characterises the Muslim-Byzantine wars as 'the generative historical matrix of a considerable number of apocalyptic traditions', particularly regarding *fitna* and *malāḥim*, both of which could be caused by internal or external strife.[92] Within the *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* of Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād there are a great many traditions which support this. In particular, there are a number of traditions which state that there are six signs of the Hour, the penultimate or ultimate of which was truce with and then betrayal by the Byzantines. For example:

> From ʿAwf b. Mālik al-Ashjaʿī (r), he said; 'The Messenger of God (ṣ) said to me: 'Count, o ʿAwf, six [things] between my hand and the Hour, the first of which is my death.' I was moved to tears until the Messenger of God (ṣ) made to calm me, whereupon he said: 'Count that as the first. The second: the conquest of Jerusalem. Count that as the second. The third: mortality will be in my community as *quʿāṣ* [a disease of sheep and goats} amongst the sheep. Count that as the third. The fourth: *fitna* will be in my community,' and he said: 'and it distresses them. Count that as the fourth.

88 Cook, 'Muslim Apocalyptic and Jihad, pp.77-78.
89 Saïd Amir Arjomand, 'Islamic Apocalypticism in the Classic Period' in Bernard McGinn (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Vol 2 (London, 2000), p.244.
90 *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p.1320, no.157. This *ḥadīth* is included in a chapter wherein conflict between Muslims is framed apocalyptically. See *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp.1320-21. On the portents of the Hour, see David Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton, 2002), pp.12-14, and passim.
91 See above, pp.86-90.
92 Arjomand, 'Islamic Apocalypticism', p.248.

> The fifth: wealth will be abundant amongst you until a man is gifted one hundred dinars and is displeased with it. Count that as the fifth. The sixth: peace will be between them and the *banū al-aṣfar* [the Byzantines], then they will march on you and attack you. The Muslims are in that day in a land which is called *al-Ghūṭa* in a city which is called Damascus.'[93]

The references to Jerusalem and Damascus in this tradition are not accidental, and reflect the close association which Bashear identifies between *fitna* and *malāḥim* on the one hand, and al-Shām on the other.[94] He notes that 'one can only expect that during the Crusades Muslim scholarly interest in searching for and commenting upon the same old traditions of *malāḥim* and *faḍā'il* in Syria would receive a new impetus'.[95] Consequently, if al-Sulamī considered himself to be living during the End Times as a result of the First Crusade, it seems likely that he would have drawn upon such material to convince his audience of the same.

Exploration of this must be prefaced with a discussion of al-Sulamī's perception of the nature and origin of the First Crusade: only when his understanding of crusading is explored can one broach the issue of whether al-Sulamī considered himself to be living and writing during a period of *fitna*. This will inevitably involve discussion of the 'Big Bang' theory of the crusades, which holds that after Urban II made his famous appeal at Clermont '[...] crusading and crusading institutions burst forth with sudden violence, and the Muslim east found itself the object of a full-scale invasion emanating from the Latin West that involved tens of thousands of combatants.'[96]

Hillenbrand states that Muslim authors viewed both the First Crusade and the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century as 'hated interventions into the Islamic world by infidel outsiders'.[97] This comparison is an interesting one to use as a starting point for a discussion of al-Sulamī's eschatological mindset, or lack thereof. If one accepts as an initial premise that the Franks were 'a strange and unexpected enemy', then the comparison with the Mongol invasions should be a simple one to make.[98]

93 *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.1, p.50, no.72. See also ibid, pp.50-70.
94 Bashear, 'Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars, pp.173-207.
95 *Ibid.*, p.207.
96 Chevedden, 'The Islamic View and the Christian View of the Crusade', pp.182-3.
97 Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, p.2.
98 P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria* (London, 1951) p.589.

The Mongol invasions struck the Islamic world in 616/1219 with such sudden and destructive ferocity that areas of the central and eastern Islamic lands never fully recovered.[99] As an apocalyptic event, the Mongol invasions were unprecedented: neither the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* corpus mention them. Cook argues that it would have been inconceivable to the Muslim faithful that the Prophet and his Companions left no warning; thus, earlier apocalyptic material was reinterpreted to explain the invasions.[100] Contemporary Muslim historians, such as Ibn al-Athīr and al-Dhahabī, recognised the apocalyptic atmosphere engendered by the invasions.[101] There was a surge in messianic movements hostile to the Mongol rulers, and also in the volume of apocalyptic literature produced wherein the Mongols were associated with apocalyptic traditions about the Turks, and Yājūj and Mājūj (Gog and Magog).[102] The Turks had entered *ḥadīth* corpus as opponents to Islam in pejorative terms. For example:

> The Last Hour will not come until you fight the people whose faces are like hammered shields; the Last Hour will not come until you fight against those wearing shoes of hair.[103]

While anti-Turkish sentiment had become quiescent under Seljūq dominance, it was never excised from the apocalyptic material; the Turks were regarded as a punishment of the Muslim community and in the aftermath of the invasions, the terms 'Mongol' and 'Turk' were used interchangeably.[104] Furthermore, contemporary histories promulgated the notion that the Mongols were Yājūj and Mājūj; even in Morocco news that Yājūj and Mājūj were loose incited terror. These historians wrote with the obvious understanding that they were writing histories of the end.[105]

As was the case with the Mongol invasions, there are obvious correlations that can be made between the situation in the Islamic world on the eve of the First

99 For a full list see David Cook, 'Apocalyptic Incidents during the Mongol Invasions' in Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder (eds.), *Endzeiten* (Berlin, 2008), p.293.
100 *Ibid.*, p.294.
101 *Ibid.*, p.295.
102 *Ibid.*, p.294. For a broader discussion of Yājūj and Mājūj, see Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, pp.182-188
103 *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.2, pp.684-685, no.1933, no.1934; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 1331, no.2912.
104 Cook, 'Apocalyptic Incidents during the Mongol Invasions', p.301.
105 *Ibid.*, pp.307-8.

Crusade and *fitna*. For instance, it is possible to associate the fractured state of the Islamic world with the turmoil that precedes the Hour. When the Franks arrived in the Islamic world, they found a community bereft of unity and weakened by a lack of powerful leadership and debilitating religious schism. In the 1090s, the two centres of power in the central Islamic world, the Seljūq Empire and the Fāṭimid Caliphate, lost their leadership to assassination and natural death. In 485/1092, the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk, the Seljūq grand vizier, was followed by the suspicious deaths of the Seljūq Sultan Malikshāh, his wife, grandson, and other powerful political figures. The Fāṭimid Caliphate was struck with similar enervating losses: the Caliph al-Mustanṣir and his vizier, Badr al-Jamālī, both died in 487/1094. These deaths led to fratricidal and internecine succession crises in both polities. 487/1094 also saw the death of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Muqtadī. The situation was worsened by religious schism: for much of the latter half of the eleventh century, the Seljūqs, as Sunnī rulers, had prosecuted a vigorous foreign policy against the Fāṭimid Shi'ite Caliphate.[106]

The period was made even more turbulent by the approach of the sixth Islamic century: on the basis of Qurʾān 2:259, Islamic eschatology operates on the basis of the apocalyptic century as opposed to the apocalyptic millennium of Christianity.[107] It is therefore possible that many would have believed that the Hour was approaching, while others hoped that the new century would bring a *mujaddid* (renewer) of the Islamic faith.[108] The Syrian chronicler al-ʿAẓīmī (d. after

106 There are a number of detailed overviews of this period. See for example Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, pp.31-50; Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders*, pp.6-16; Paul M. Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 2014). For an alternative interpretation of the disunity in al-Shām, see Michael A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp.7-57. He views al-Shām in this period as being defined by a system of 'autonomous lordships' wherein power was balanced through a careful network of alliances. Regardless, the point that al-Shām was not sufficiently united to forestall the crusaders still stands.

107 Q.2:259: 'Or the like of the one walks past a village fallen to ruin. He said: 'How will God bring life to this after its death?' So God made him die for one hundred years, and then revived him, asking: 'How long did you remain? He said: 'I remained for a day or some of a day. He said: 'Rather, you remained for one hundred years. Look at your food and your drink; they have not aged. Look at your donkey and let us make for you a sign for your people. Look at the bones how we raise them up and cover them in flesh.' So when it became clear to him, he said: 'I know that God is omnipotent over everything.' There are a number of eschatological traditions which support this. See for example, *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.2, p.686, no.1937: 'To each community is an appointed time. Indeed, for my community there are one hundred years: if/when one hundred years pass by my community, that which God promised will come.'

108 *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol.6, p.349, no.4291. On the tradition of the *mujaddid*, see for example Ella

556/1161) notes that when the Franks first appeared in 489/1096, 'Saturn was in Virgo':[109] to the mediæval Muslim, Saturn was 'the largest star of misfortune […] devastation, ruin, grief and cares'.[110] As Hillenbrand points out, the atmosphere in the Islamic world must have been 'doom-laden'.[111]

Furthermore, there are the wealth of traditions which developed during the Muslim-Byzantine wars, and which Bashear speculates would have found increased relevance in the aftermath of the First Crusade. A number of traditions make clear that whilst the Byzantines are the primary enemy of the Muslims, the final struggle will be against the entire Christian world.[112] For example, one tradition states:

> [t]he Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'The nations are close to summoning each other against you, as those who eat invite others to their bowl.' A speaker said: 'Is that because of our smallness that day?' He said: 'Rather, that day you will be many, but you will be scum like the scum of the torrent, and God will remove fear of you from the breasts of your enemy and cast weakness in your hearts!' A speaker said: 'What is weakness?' He said: 'Love of the world and hatred of death.'[113]

The *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* confirms this, for example: 'Twelve kings come together beneath the sycamores of Jaffa, the least of them being the lord of the *Rūm*'.[114] Likewise:

> Then the *Rūm* will ask for help from three nations, and will excite them in different tongues. The peoples of Rome [*Rūmiyya*], Constantinople, and Armenia will gather with them until the rulers and the ploughmen defend the king of the Byzantines. Thus they will receive many nations: excluding the Byzantines, ten kings will come with 180,000 [men].[115]

These are but a few of the more potent and relevant examples which al-Sulamī could have drawn upon: there are many more traditions in the context of which

Landau-Tasseron, 'The 'Cyclical Reform' A Study of the mujaddid Tradition', *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989), pp.79-117.

109 al-ʿAẓīmī, 'La chronique abrégée d'al-ʿAẓīmī', ed. C. Cahen in *Journal Asiatique* 230 (1938), p.371.

110 Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, p.37.

111 *Ibid.*, p.37.

112 On Christian invasions, see Bashear, 'Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars', passim; and Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* , pp.66-80.

113 *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol.6, pp.354-355, no.4297; *al-Ṭabarānī*, vol.1, pp.344-345, no.600.

114 *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.2, pp.455-458, no.1298.

115 *Ibid.*, p.449, no.1290.

al-Sulamī could have interpreted the First Crusade.

However, al-Sulamī makes no use of these traditions or of the ideas they contain: his treatise is more concerned with a Muslim response to the First Crusade than convincing his audience of the imminence of the eschatological future. Beyond proclaiming the necessity of jihād, he saw nothing inherently apocalyptic about the First Crusade: he did not interpret it in the context of earlier traditions that focus on *fitna* and *malāḥim*.

The principal reason why al-Sulamī did not consider the First Crusade as the fulfilment of eschatological prophecy was because he was able to rationalise it by placing it into a wider framework. For al-Sulamī, the First Crusade was divinely-inspired punishment for Muslim disunity and other irreligious practices:

> [The practice of jihād] continued in this way until the time when one of the caliphs abandoned it because of his weakness and the inadequacy of his hand for it. {Then others followed him in that, because of the above-mentioned or similar reasons.} His stopping, along with the Muslims repudiating their necessary obligations and committing forbidden things, made it necessary for God to disperse their unity, fracture their ascendancy, cast amongst them animosity and hatred, and tempt their enemies to wrest their country from their grasp, thereby healing their hearts from their faults.[116]

He identifies the First Crusade as a Latin Christian undertaking against Islam which originated in Spain and Sicily before expanding to include Jerusalem as its ultimate goal:

> Thus did a group of the enemy pounce on the island of Sicily when its people were divided and competing, and likewise they conquered city after city in al-Andalus. When reports confirmed for them that this country suffered from the disagreement of its lords and the meddling of its greatest, with disorder and disarray, then resolved to set out for it, and Jerusalem was the height of their aspirations.[117]

> They looked down from al-Shām on divided kingdoms, disunited hearts, and contending views with hidden resentments, and by that their ambitions were strengthened and extended to whatever their outspread arms desired. Untiringly, they did not stop in *jihād* against the Muslims. The Muslims were sluggish to unite and avoided fighting them: they were reluctant to meet them until they had conquered of the country more than

116 *Al-Sulamī*, p.42.
117 Literally: 'Jerusalem was the one whose dowry was the dearest of their wishes.'

> their utmost hopes, and visited more than double the destruction and humiliation on its people than they had intended. They are even now extending their efforts, and are diligent in seeking increases. Their ambitions increase all the time because of what appears to them to be abstention from [opposing] them, and their hopes expand by virtue of what they see of the contentedness of their enemies with being unharmed by them, until they have become convinced that the whole country will become theirs and all of its people will be captives in their hands.[118]

As Chevedden notes, this was the prevailing view presented in Islamic historiography of the war between Islam and the Franks.[119] Ibn al-Athīr elevated this interpretation of the crusades to canonical status in his *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*. He begins his recounting of the year 491/1097-98 with a discussion of the conquest of Antioch, stating that

> [t]he increase in the good fortunes and power of the Franks, and their assault on the lands of Islam and their conquest of some of them, became evident in the year 478 (1085): they seized the city of Toledo and other cities of the land of al-Andalus, as has already been mentioned. Then in the year 484 (1091), they turned to the island of Sicily, and conquered it as I have mentioned. They also arrived on the coasts of Ifrīqiya, and seized part of it, which was taken from them. Then they seized other parts, as you shall see. When it was the year 490 (1097), they invaded the land of al-Shām.[120]

The ability of al-Sulamī and future Muslim scholars to contextualise the First Crusade historically obviated the need to contextualise it eschatologically, despite the ease with which parallels may be drawn between Christian invasion and the traditions concerning *fitna*. For an event to generate apocalyptic speculation, such as the Mongol invasions or, indeed, the Muslim conquests after the death of the Prophet, there must be limited expectation for its arrival: the ability to contextualise historically, such as that demonstrated by al-Sulamī, rendered the First Crusade temporal.[121] Nevertheless, al-Sulamī does draw upon eschatology in

118 *Al-Sulamī*, pp.42-43.
119 Chevedden, 'The Islamic View and the Christian View of the Crusades: A New Synthesis', p.185.
120 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, vol.9, p.13.
121 Similarly, al-ʿAẓīmī held that the Franks attacked out of revenge: he states that Christian pilgrims had been prevented from travelling to the Holy Land in 486/1093-4, due to which the Franks reacted by launched a military campaign. See al-ʿAẓīmī, 'La chronique abrégée', p.369. Likewise, contemporary poetry does not consider the First Crusade eschatologically. For discussion of the poetry, see Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, 'Jihād in Twelfth-Century Arabic Poetry: A Moral and Religious Force to Counter the Crusades', *The Muslim World* 66:2 (1976) pp.96–113; Osman Latiff, 'Qurʾanic Imagery, Jesus and the Creation of a Pious-Warrior Ethos in the Muslim Poetry of the Anti-Frankish Jihad' in in Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen and Helle Vogt (eds.),

his theory of jihād.

ESCHATOLOGY IN THE *KITĀB AL-JIHĀD*

Al-Sulamī devotes a great deal of the second part of the *Kitāb al-jihād* to an eschatological scheme based around the quotation and explanation of eight traditions: this eschatological scheme forms the crux of his exhortation to jihād and stresses the sanctity and – more significantly – the eschatological importance of the residents of al-Shām. That al-Sulamī believed that these particular traditions would have motivated his listeners to oppose the Franks suggests that they or the ideas they contained must have either been to some degree a known quantity with which his audience were sufficiently familiar, or that in sentiment they conformed with and were thus acceptable to a broader tradition of thought pertaining to the region of al-Shām. Put simply, al-Sulamī could not have hoped that these traditions would have motivated his audience if they were not part of a Syrian tradition with which a popular audience were familiar.

Given his focus on the eschatological role of the Syrians, an obvious source for the traditions used by al-Sulamī is the *faḍā'il al-Shām* literature, that body of material concerned with the 'virtues' or 'excellences' of al-Shām and its cities. The first extant examples of the *faḍā'il al-Shām* literature, as a distinct sub-genre within the broader *ḥadīth* literature, appeared in the eleventh century, though the traditions contained therein originated in a much earlier period.[122] In an article on the *Kitāb faḍā'il al-Shām wa-Dimashq* (*Book of the Merits of al-Shām and Damascus*) of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Rabaʿī al-Mālikī (d. 444/1052), Cobb states that al-Rabaʿī's work is 'evidence of a long-lived if haphazard project among some early Muslim scholars to make claims about Syria, that is, to create a

Cultural Encounters during the Crusades (Odense, 2013), pp.135-151; and Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, pp.69-71.

122 See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic worship*, pp.13-22. Mourad has noted that al-Dhahabī attributes a *faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* to Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Walīd b. Ḥammād b. Jābir al-Ramlī al-Zayyāt (d. c. 300/912), and has argued convincingly that much of this lost work is preserved in the *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, and the *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-faḍā'il al-Shām* of Abū Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī. See Suleiman A. Mourad, 'A Note on the Origin of *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* Compilations', *al-Abhath* 44 (1996), pp.31-48.

discourse about the sacrality of Syria.'[123] This observation can and should be extended to encompass all of the *faḍā'il al-Shām* texts. Indeed, as Cobb himself indicates, in addition to the *faḍā'il* works, which are self-evidently part of this 'haphazard project', it is possible that any and all references to al-Shām were – wittingly or unwittingly – part of this discourse on the sacrality of al-Shām,[124] as indeed was al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād*. The question which remains, however, is the nature of the involvement of al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* in this Syrian tradition project: was al-Sulamī wittingly or unwittingly, consciously or unconsciously, part of this broader tradition?

In order to answer this question, the eleventh-century *faḍā'il al-Shām* texts will be used as a repository of the types of claims made by Muslim scholars in support of the sacrality of al-Shām: each text will be analysed to discover whether the traditions used by al-Sulamī were precedented in the literature. Recourse will be made to the following *faḍā'il al-Shām* texts: the above-mentioned *Kitāb faḍā'il al-Shām wa-Dimashq* of al-Rabaʿī; the *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* (*The Merits of the Holy House)* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī (d. 410/1020); and the *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-faḍā'il al-Shām* (*The Merits of the House of the Holy, Hebron, and the Merits of al-Shām*) of Abū Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī (after c. 437/1046). In addition to these works, a number of other texts will also be consulted: the above-mentioned *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* of Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, the *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* (*Transmissions of the Syrians*) of Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971), and the *Kutub al-Sitta*.

Although a quantitative analysis of the *faḍā'il* texts would undoubtedly be useful for understanding not merely the nature of al-Sulamī's engagement with the material but also for determining which traditions and thus which aspects of the sacrality of al-Shām were most frequently emphasised in the eleventh and early-twelfth centuries, that would ultimately go beyond the scope and parameters of the present study. In any case, such a quantitative analysis is not warranted by virtue of the fact that, whether through design or through the damage suffered by

123 Cobb, 'Virtual Sacrality', p.38.
124 *Ibid.*, p.52.

the manuscript, the traditions pertaining to al-Shām contained within the *Kitāb al-jihād* are exclusively eschatological: the major and more generic traditions in support of the sacrality of al-Shām are omitted. Instead, by focusing on where and with what frequency these eschatological traditions occurred elsewhere, it will be possible to draw conclusions about al-Sulamī's engagement with the eschatological dimension of the native Syrian tradition.

Before continuing, a number of points should be borne in mind. Firstly, al-Sulamī was not a *muḥaddith*: his scholarly speciality was not the collection, codification, and diffusion of *aḥādīth*, but rather the Arabic language and its grammar. Secondly, although the *Kitāb al-jihād* shares a number of a superficial characteristics with the *ḥadīth* literature, these features are absent from the second part of al-Sulamī's work, which is not in the first instance a *ḥadīth* collection. As such, a number of the traditions lack complete *asānīd*, making the tracing of those particular *aḥādīth* difficult. Finally, although both *ḥadīth* collections and the *Kitāb al-jihād* make arguments in support of the sacrality and importance of al-Shām, the nature of these arguments are different: whereas the *ḥadīth* collections make their claims through the sheer weight of evidence provided, al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* incorporates the traditions into a direct line of argument. In other words, where the arguments of the *ḥadīth* collections are implicit, the arguments of the *Kitāb al-jihād* are explicit. All of the above may have ramifications for the nature of al-Sulamī's involvement with the native Syrian tradition. For the sake of clarity, each tradition will be quoted in full and discussed individually in the order in which they appear in al-Sulamī's text, after which his use of them will be discussed.

(i) The First Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUtba b. Masāwir al-Warrāq ← Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allah al-Ḥināʾī al-Baghdādī ← 'Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Bakhtarī al-Razzāz ← Aḥmad b. Mulāʿab al-Mukharramī ← ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakr al-Sahmī ← ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr ← Abū Qilāba[125] ← Abū ʿAsma al-Raḥabī ← Thāwban ← Messenger of God (ṣ):

125 ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr narrates from the book of Abū Qilāba, but confirms that it was genuinely said by Abū Qilāba by consulting with Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, one of Abū Qilāba's students. With this caveat in mind, for the purposes of the following discussion of the transmission, ʿAbbād will be treated as a third student of Abū Qilāba.

1. Verily, God drew the world to me until I saw both its eastern and western extremities, and He granted me two treasures, red and white. The authority of my community will reach that which was drawn to me. I beseeched my Lord Almighty that they be destroyed not by famine, nor conquered {by an enemy who was not from amongst them, nor that some of them be hurt by others of them. My Lord Almighty said: 'O Muḥammad, whenever I make a decision, it cannot be undone. I have granted to you that they will not be destroyed by famine, nor will they be conquered by an enemy} external to them in order to extirpate them, even if everyone from its lands were to unite against them. Yet some of them will be destroyed by others from amongst them [the Muslims], and some of them will be captured by others from amongst them.'

2. Verily, I fear for my community the worshipful *imāms*![126] The Hour will not befall my community until a tribe from amongst it worships idols, and until a tribe from amongst it joins with the polytheists. If the sword were introduced to my community, it would not be lifted from them until the Day of Resurrection. There will amongst my community come thirty liars, each of whom will allege that he is a prophet. I am the Seal of the Prophets: there will be no prophets after me.

3. A group of my community will not cease fighting for the truth until the Day of Resurrection. Those who forsake them will not harm them until the command of God Almighty comes.[127]

The transmission of this tradition is complex, and so for clarity's sake the constituent parts have been numbered individually, and Figure V maps the chains of transmission. The three constituent parts of the tradition are transmitted together in only three of the sources examined here: the *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*,[128] the *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*,[129] and the *Sunan Ibn Mājah*.[130] There are slight variations in the phrasing between al-Sulamī's version of the tradition and the other three, though none of these variations alter the meaning of the tradition to any meaningful degree. For instance, the version in the *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* states that the Prophet was given two treasures after the statement that the authority of his

126 This seems to be a mistake on the part of al-Sulamī, who writes *al-aʾimma al-muṣalīn* where the other versions of this tradition have *al-aʾimma al-muḍalīn*, 'the misguiding imāms'. The latter fits the context, but the former has been retained because both Christie and Zakkār provide the same reading in their editions. See *al-Sulamī*, p.49; and al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-jihād*, in *Arbaʿat kutub*, p.50.

127 *Al-Sulamī*, pp.49-50.

128 *Al-Ṭabarānī*, vol.4, pp.45-46, no.2690. This variant does not include the phrase, 'I am the Seal of the Prophets'.

129 *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol.6, pp.305-306, no.4252.

130 *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.5, pp.442-443, no. 3952.

Figure V: Transmission of the First Tradition.

community will encompass the world. The versions in the *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* and the *Sunan Ibn Mājah* both report more of the tradition as direct speech to the Prophet. These differences are hardly surprising, and accord well with the different chains of transmission: the common link between the four versions is Abu Qilāba, with three of his students responsible for the four versions. ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr is responsible for al-Sulamī's version, Qatāda for the versions in the *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* and the *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, and Ayyūb for the version in the *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*.

Ayyūb is ultimately responsible for a further two versions, contained in the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and the *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī* respectively. Whilst both of these display the same features as the version in the *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, in neither of these works is the tradition transmitted as a unit. The *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* contains only the first part,[131] which is followed also by the first part of the Qatāda-version.[132] The version in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī* divides the tradition into four parts. The first part of the tradition is transmitted in its entirety,[133] as too is the third part.[134] The second part is further subdivided: the reference to the introduction of the sword is removed from the main body and transmitted alone;[135] the reference to some Muslims apostatising is transmitted alongside the prophecy of the thirty false prophets.[136]

The absence of any of these versions from the *faḍā'il al-Shām* texts is to be expected given that no reference is made in the tradition to either al-Shām or its constituent cities. Likewise, Figure V shows no particular affinity for al-Shām in the chains of transmission.

Whilst the first part of this tradition, which was the most popular, does make reference to intra-Muslim conflict as a sign of the Hour, this is incidental to al-Sulamī's use of the tradition. Instead, al-Sulamī uses this tradition to confirm the two basic tenets of his argument: firstly, that Muslim ascendancy over the world is foreordained; secondly, that there is a distinct group of Muslims who will continue

131 *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.2, p.1321, no.2889a
132 *Ibid.*, no.2889b.
133 *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, vol.4, pp. 46-47, no.2176.
134 *Ibid.*, p.84, no.2229.
135 *Ibid.*, p.66, no.2202.
136 *Ibid.*, pp.76-77, no.2219.

to fight for the truth until the Day of Resurrection. The high level of attestation in the *Kutub al-sitta* suggests that al-Sulamī chose to use it as an uncontroversial lynch-pin for the argument he goes on to make.

(ii) The Second Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sulamī ← Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad[137] ← Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥāmid al-Ramlī ← Abū ʿUtba Aḥmad b. al-Faraj ← Ḍamra ← al-Shaybānī ← ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allah al-Ḥaḍramī ← Abū Umāma ← Messenger of God (ṣ):
>
> A group from my community will not cease conquering the enemy of God, conquering for the truth, neither being harmed by those who oppose them nor by that which befalls them from their hardship, *ka-l-anās al-akla*,[138] until the command of God comes, and they are as that. It was said: 'O Messenger of God, where are they?' He said: 'They are in Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and its surroundings.[139]

Versions of this tradition are found in al-Wāsiṭī,[140] Ibn al-Murajjā,[141] and al-Ṭabarānī.[142] The versions cited by al-Ṭabarānī, however, make no mention of the contentious phrase '*ka-l-anās al-akla*', which al-Sulamī considers a corruption. Furthermore, one of al-Ṭabarānī's versions makes additional modifications to the tradition, stating that when the command of God comes, they will be victorious over the people.[143] All versions of this tradition use different phrases for the Prophet's answer to the question of where this group resides: Ibn al-Murajjā states they reside in the 'shadow of Jerusalem', whilst al-Ṭabarānī's versions state that this group are the people of al-Shām,[144] or of Jerusalem.[145] The version preserved by Ibn al-Murajjā clarifies that the contentious phrase should read '*ka-l-inā' bayna al-akla*', with the meaning that the group will be unharmed by those who oppose

137 The grandfather of Abū al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad.
138 Immediately following this tradition, al-Sulamī discusses the meaning of this phrase.
139 *Al-Sulamī*, p.51.
140 *al-Wāsiṭī*, p.26, no.35.
141 *Ibn al-Murajjā*, pp.159-160, no.211.
142 *Al-Ṭabarānī*, vol.1, pp.315-316, no.554 (for which al-Ṭabarānī provides two *asānīd*) and vol.2, p.27, no.860.
143 *Ibid.*, no.554.
144 *Ibid.*, no.554
145 *Ibid.*, no.860.

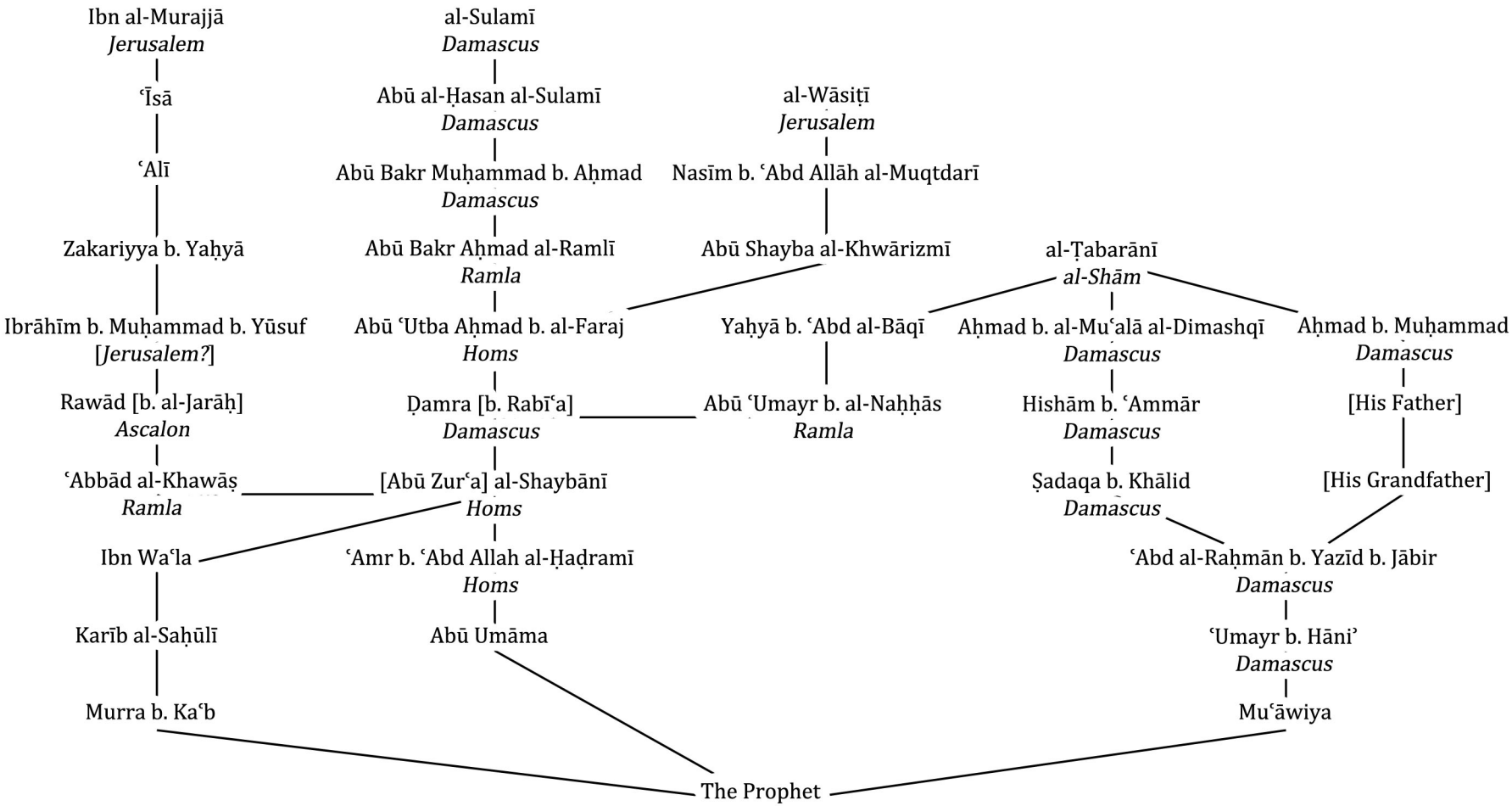

Figure VI: Transmission of the Second Tradition.

them in the same way that the bowl is unharmed by those who are eating. Both the *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* and the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* provide variants of this tradition, but in neither case is reference made to al-Shām or any of its constituent cities, for which reason they have not been included in Figure VI.[146]

This tradition expands upon the final point of the first tradition by associating the group of Muslims who will continue fighting for the truth with the people of Jerusalem and its surroundings: this is the central point of al-Sulamī's argument. As one would expect, the chains of transmission of this tradition are focused primarily in al-Shām.

(iii) The Third Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad ← ʿAbū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ṭawq ← Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd Allah b. Muḥammad al-Khawlānī ← Aḥmad b. Sulaymān ← His father ← Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ← Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh ← al-Walīd b. ʿAbbād ← ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal[147] ← Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī ← Abū Hurayra ← Messenger of God (ṣ):
>
> A band from my community will not cease fighting for the gates of Damascus and its surroundings, and for the gates of Jerusalem and its surroundings, being unharmed by the disappointment of those who forsook them, conquering for the truth until the Day of Resurrection.[148]

Al-Rabaʿī preserves two versions of this tradition,[149] and Ibn al-Murajjā preserves a third.[150] This is a markedly stable tradition, with the only variations occurring in one of al-Rabaʿī's versions (number 115). This tradition is striking for two reasons: firstly, it is unique amongst the traditions used by al-Sulamī for its mentioning Damascus; secondly, it is uncommon within *faḍā'il* literature because it casts both cities in a positive light. It is often possible in *faḍā'il* literature to discern tension and competition between cities: for example, when asked the value of a prayer in the mosques of various cities in al-Shām, the Prophet is reported as according a prayer in Jerusalem a value of 40,000 prayers, but a prayer in Damascus only

146 *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.2, p.602, no.1681; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.2, pp.925-926, no.1037. This variant is closely related to *al-Ṭabarānī*, no.554.
147 Every other version of this tradition gives his name as ʿĀmmar b. al-Aḥwal.
148 *Al-Sulamī*, p.52.
149 *al-Rabaʿī*, p.76, nos.114 and 115.
150 *Ibn al-Murajjā*, p.158, no.206.

Figure VII: Transmission of the Third Tradition.

30,000.[151]

Al-Sulamī includes this tradition partly because the mention of both cities stresses the importance of Muslim unity. More prosaically, al-Sulamī was himself from Damascus, as presumably was the bulk of his audience: using this particular tradition therefore also identifies the Damascene members of his audience with the group of Muslims prophesied to fight until the Day of Resurrection, without which they might have been alienated by the emphasis placed on the importance of the Jerusalemites.

This tradition likely first circulated in the context of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution: the reference to a band of Muslims fighting for the cities of Damascus, Jerusalem, and their respective hinterlands – combined with the allusion to betrayal – suggests a pro-Umayyad context. That all of the versions share the common link of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh, who died in 181-2/797-799, supports this.

(iv) The Fourth Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad ← ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān ← al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb ← al-ʿAbbās b. al-Sindī al-Anṭākī ← Muḥammad b. Kathīr ← al-Awzāʿī ← Qatāda ← Anas b. Mālik ← Messenger of God (ṣ):
>
> 'A group from my community will not cease fighting for the truth, conquering until the Day of Resurrection.' He pointed with his hand to al-Shām and Jerusalem.[152]

This tradition is a variant of the common formula 'a group from my community will not cease […] until […]', which has already been seen in the preceding three traditions quoted by al-Sulamī, and abounds elsewhere in the *ḥadīth* literature.[153] Attempting to identify a coherent tradition would go far beyond the scope of this thesis, and would stumble due to the sheer number of variants on the formula in existence, which is exacerbated by the difficulty of drawing a line between what should and should not be considered a variant of this particular tradition. It is a

151 *Al-Rabaʿī*, pp.36-37, no.64.
152 *Al-Sulamī*, pp.52-53.
153 Examples include: *Ibn al-Murajjā*, p.319, no.528, p.323, no.538; *al-Ṭabarānī*, vol.1, pp.56-57, no.57, pp.315-316, no.554; vol.2, p.27, no.860, p.394, no.1563; vol.3, p.95, no.1863, p.376, no.2496, p.387, no.2524, and p.406, no.2558; *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.2, p.596-597, no.1660.

strikingly flexible formula, and may be a somewhat generic *faḍā'il* tradition: it is not unlikely that similar traditions were circulated elsewhere, with the only change being the region which is praised. Indeed, the *Kutub al-sitta* demonstrate the flexibility of this formula with a number of examples which do not refer to any region.[154] Much like the third tradition, al-Sulamī uses this one to associate the group who will not cease fighting with his audience, this time including every resident of al-Shām.

(v) The Fifth Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← al-Khaḍr b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Murrī ← ʿAqīl b. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbdān ← Abū al-Maymūn b. Rāshid ← Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ← Abū Mushir ← 'Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ← Messenger of God (s.):
>
> I saw a bookstand wrested from underneath my pillow, so I followed it with my eyes and consequently it was a light beam betaking itself to al-Shām. Verily indeed, in the time of *fitan*, the faith is in al-Shām.[155]

Due to damage to the manuscript, only the *isnād* and the final line of the tradition survive: whilst Christie indicates the lacuna in his edition, in his translation he follows Zakkār in reconstructing the lost portion on the basis of the version found in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[156] For simplicity's sake, the above translation also follows Ibn ʿAsākir, though as will be shown this is not an uncontroversial substitution.

The key elements of this tradition are threefold: the bookstand being wrested from beneath the Prophet's pillow, the Prophet following its progress and its becoming a beam of light moving to al-Shām, and the reference to true religion residing in al-Shām during the time of *fitna*. At least twelve variants contain one or more of these elements: three in al-Rabaʿī,[157] two in Ibn al-Murajjā,[158] and seven in al-Ṭabarānī.[159] These variants can be divided into a number of different categories

154 See for example: *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.2, p.925, no.1923; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol.4, p.141, no.2484; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.1, p.45, no.6.
155 *Al-Sulamī*, p.53.
156 Christie, *The Book of the Jihad*, p.216; al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-jihād*, in *Arbaʿat kutub*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 2007), p.53.
157 *al-Rabaʿī*, p.8, no.11; pp.12-13, no.21; and pp.13-14, no.22.
158 *Ibn al-Murajjā*, p.321, no.534, and pp.326-327, no.546.
159 *Al-Ṭabarānī*, vol.1, pp.179-181, nos.308, 309, 310, and pp.345-346, no.601; vol.2, pp.207-208,

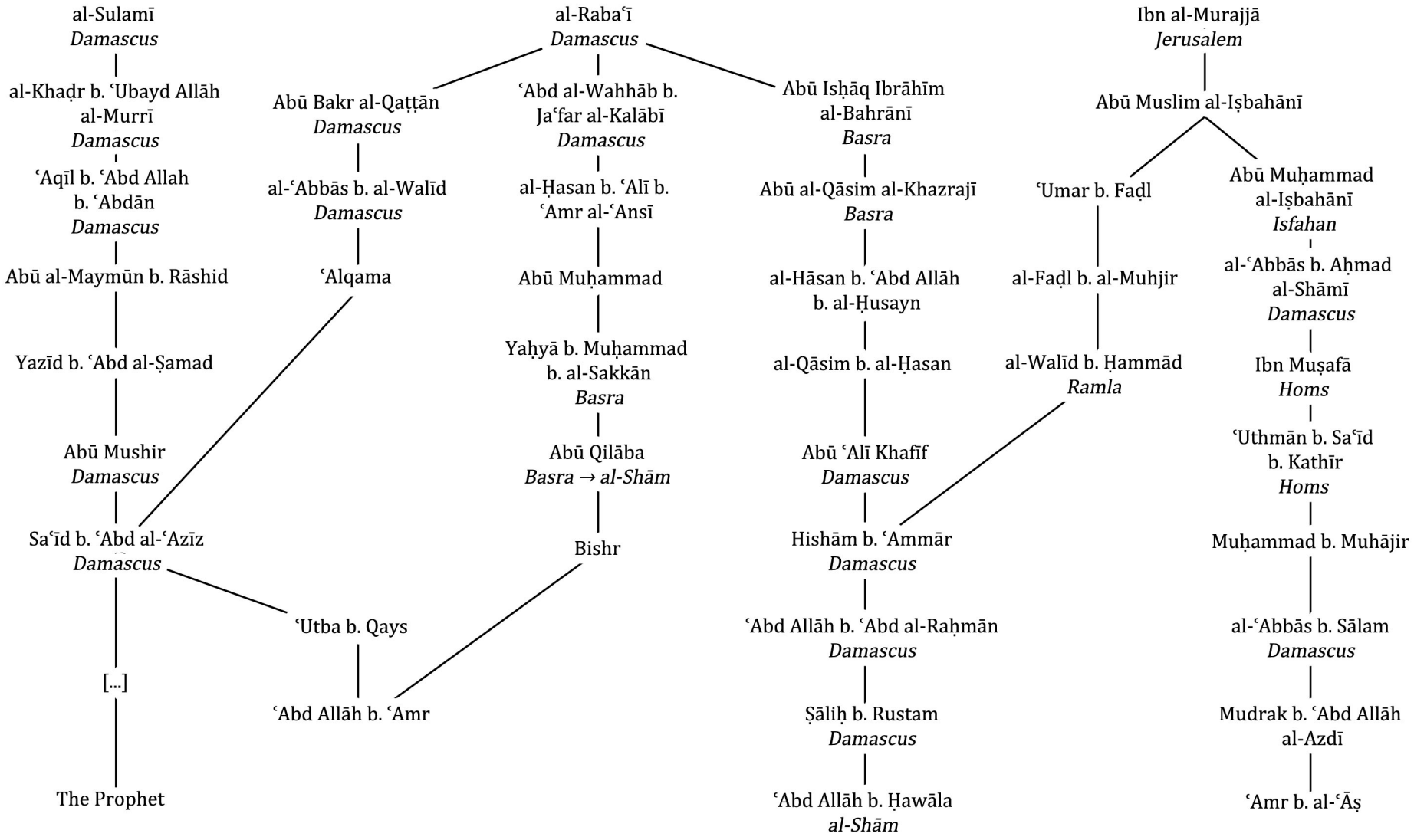

Figure VIII: Transmission of the Fifth Tradition, I.

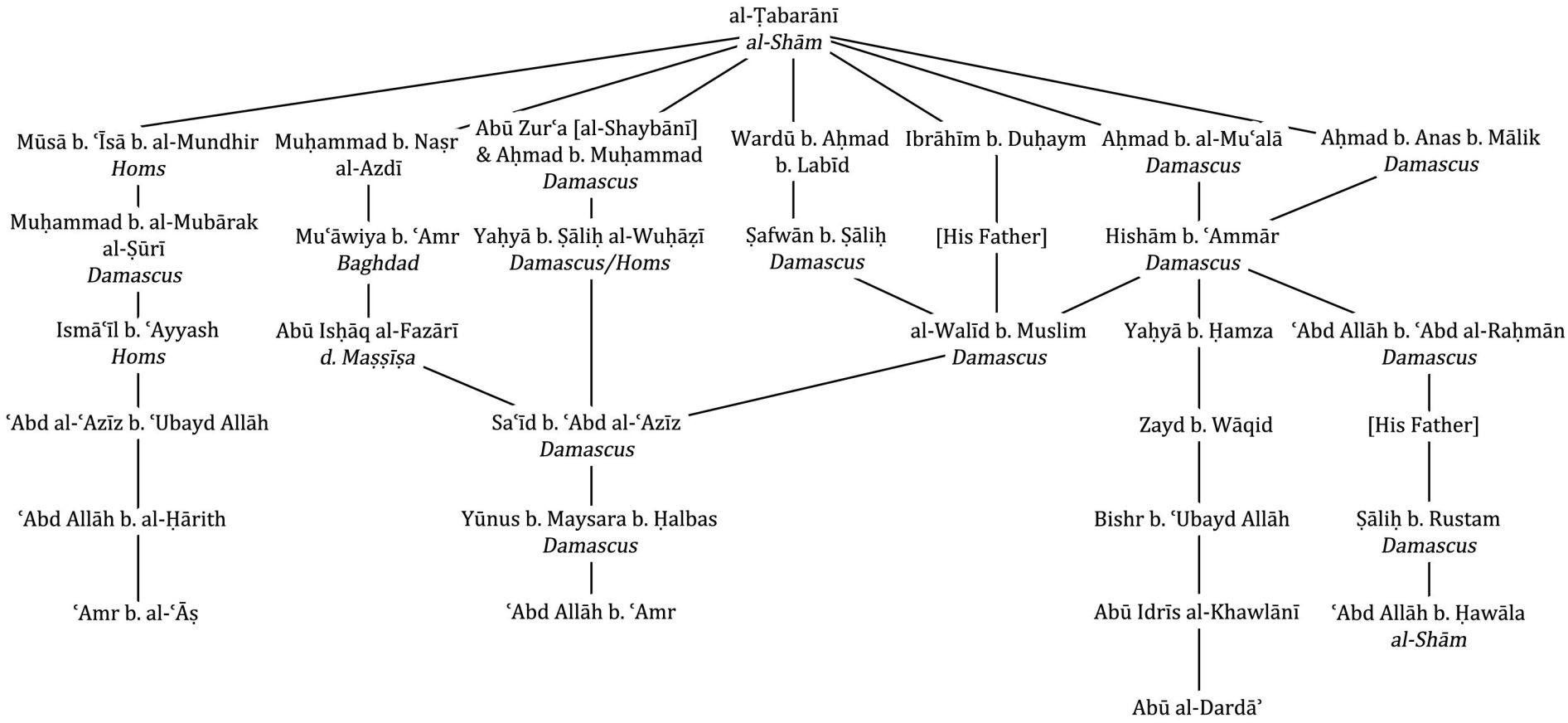

Figure IX: Transmission of the Fifth Tradition, II.

on the basis of the number of these elements they contain. Firstly, there are those which can be described as close variants, which include all of these elements but with occasional differences in syntax and vocabulary: four of the variants found in al-Ṭabarānī (numbers 309, 310, 1198, and 1357) and two from al-Rabaʿī (numbers 11 and 22) fall into this category. One of al-Rabaʿī's variants (number 22) states that angels are responsible for taking the bookstand and carrying it to al-Shām: the intervention of angels is attested in a further two traditions, which will be discussed below. Two of the variants in al-Ṭabarānī (numbers 310 and 1198) include the additional admission on the part of the Prophet that he thought he was losing his mind:[160] number 1198 also explicitly states that the *fitan* referenced in this tradition is the *fitan al-malāḥim*, which is unambiguously eschatological.[161]

Secondly, there are two traditions in al-Ṭabarānī which are identical to each other (numbers 308 and 2196) and which make no reference to *fitan*. They both read: 'I saw a bookstand wrested from underneath my pillow, and so I followed it with my eyes and consequently it was a brilliant light in the direction of al-Shām.'[162] It is tempting to view these variants as being amongst the earliest examples of the tradition given that they lack the clarifying coda explaining the relationship with *fitna*, but the *asānīd* do not support such an interpretation.

Thirdly, al-Rabaʿī, al-Ṭabarānī, and Ibn al-Murajjā each include a variant which departs markedly.[163] In these variants, during the *isrāʾ* (the first part of Muḥammad's night journey, wherein he travels from Mecca to Jerusalem) the Prophet encounters a group of angels carrying 'a support as white as a pearl'. Upon asking the angels what they are carrying, the Prophet is told that the angels are carrying a support of Islam which they had been commanded to carry to al-Shām. At this point, the Prophet sees a bookstand being taken from underneath his pillow,

160 No.1198 makes no mention of the book becoming a beam of light, but nevertheless states that it went to al-Shām.

161 *Al-Ṭabarānī.*, no.1198. The *isnād* is al-Ṭabarānī ← Aḥmad b. al-Muʿalā al-Dimashqī ← Hishām b. ʿAmmār ← Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza ← Zayd b. Wāqid ← Bishr b. ʿUbayd Allāh ← Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī ← Abū al-Dardāʾ.

162 *Al-Ṭabarānī*, nos.308 and 2196. They share the *isnād*: al-Ṭabarānī ← Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Dimashqī ← Yaḥya b. Ṣāliḥ al-Wuḥāẓī ← Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ← Yūnus b. Maysara b. Ḥalbas ← ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ ← Messenger of God (ṣ).

163 *Al-Rabaʿī*, no.21; *al-Ṭabarānī*, no.601; *Ibn al-Murajjā*, no.546. All three of these share Hishām b. ʿAmmār as a common link.

whereupon he realises that God has been made evident to the people of the earth. He followed the bookstand with his eyes, and it appeared like a shining light before him until it reached al-Shām. No reference is made in this variant to *fitan*, which stands in direct contrast to the final tradition – found in Ibn al-Murajjā – which includes nothing but the final line stating that faith will reside in al-Shām during the time of *fitan*.[164]

The number of variants, then, attests to the popularity of the basic idea contained in this tradition: in truth, it is more accurate to speak of a family of related traditions, rather than a family of variants of the same tradition. Two main branches of this 'family' can be discerned: the first branch contains those in which the Prophet witnesses the angels carrying a support as white as a pearl, and realises that God has been made evident;[165] and the second branch contains those in which the Prophet sees a bookstand betaking itself to al-Shām in the form of a beam of light. This latter can be in turn divided into three branches: the normative branch,[166] the branch which omits *fitan*,[167] and the branch which mentions only *fitan*.[168] Al-Rabaʿī's close variant which involves the intervention of angels represents a cross-pollination between the two strands.[169] The differences between all these variants makes the reconstruction of al-Sulamī's damaged tradition uncertain, though the similarity of its surviving line to the other close variants makes it likely that it was in fact part of this branch. At the very least, however, the gist of the tradition can be understood as correct.

This family of traditions obviously plays upon the idea of the *isrāʾ*: the first branch of the family makes this explicit, for in all three variants Muḥammad states that it was on the occasion of his *isrāʾ* that he saw the angels.[170] Dating the first branch of the family is difficult because the religious importance it ascribes to al-Shām suggests no particular context. That the variants of al-Rabaʿī and al-Ṭabarānī are both prefaced by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawāla (d. 58/677-78) asking the

164 *Ibn al-Murajjā*, no.534.
165 *Al-Rabaʿī*, no.21; *al-Ṭabarānī*, no.601; *Ibn al-Murajjā*, no.546.
166 *Al-Ṭabarānī*, nos.309, 310, 1198, and 1357; *al-Rabaʾī*, nos.11 and 22.
167 *Al-Ṭabarānī*, nos.308 and 2196.
168 *Ibn al-Murajjā*, no.534.
169 *Al-Rabaʿī*, no.22.
170 *Al-Rabaʿī*, no.21; *al-Ṭabarānī*, no.601; *Ibn al-Murajjā*, no.546

Prophet to tell him where he should live supports the argument that many of the *faḍā'il al-Shām* traditions first circulated to encourage emigration to the Muslim-Byzantine frontier. Likewise, al-Ṭabarānī's variant includes the final line that 'whosoever declines let him go to his Yemen and draw from his ponds. Indeed, God Almighty has become responsible on my behalf for al-Shām.'[171] This line is found in another *faḍā'il al-Shām* tradition, which was discussed earlier in connection with Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*: in this tradition, the Prophet similarly tells someone to move to al-Shām. This branch of the family shares the common link of Hishām b. ʿAmmār (d. 245/859-60), which raises the possibility that it dates from the first half of the ninth century, though it will take the discovery of additional variants to confirm this.

For the second branch, the mention of *fitan* points to the possibility that the tradition was propaganda in support of the Umayyads against the ʿAbbāsids. In its non-eschatological meaning, *fitan* is used of periods of civil war: taken together, marked support for al-Shām and reference to a period of civil disorder suggests that this tradition first circulated in support of the Umayyad dynasty and their partisans through the assertion that they were, by virtue of their association with al-Shām, the true believers. Such an explanation would therefore permit the suggestion of an approximate date between 129/747 and 132/750, before the Umayyad defeat at Zāb, for its first circulation. Whilst this group lacks a true common link, this dating does accord well with the life of Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. after 167/783), who appears in the *asānīd* of al-Sulamī's version and those of five of the nine traditions which comprise this branch.

This tradition is illustrative of the process whereby a tradition can become divorced from its particular politico-historical context: al-Ṭabarānī's variant which explains *fitan* as *fitan al-malāḥim* indicates that there was some confusion about what was meant, and that as the historical distance increased, *fitan* came to be understood eschatologically.[172] This process had the consequence that later writers could use it as a generic statement about the sanctity of al-Shām without its original political partisanship, and that by the time al-Sulamī was writing, it could

171 *Al-Ṭabarānī*, no.601.
172 *Al-Ṭabarānī.*, no.1198.

be incorporated into his eschatological scheme and applied to an entirely different politico-historical context, in this case the advent of the crusader states.

(vi) The Sixth Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad al-Kattānī ← Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī ← Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Yaʿqūb b. Abī al-ʿAqib ← Abū Zurʿa ← Ismāʿīl b. Abī Uways ← Kathīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf [al-Muzanī] ← His father ← His grandfather ← Messenger of God (ṣ):
>
> The world will not depart until the confederation of Muslims is in two, o ʿAlī!' (al-Muzanī said: 'meaning ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.') {ʿAlī said: 'At your service, o Messenger of God!' He said: 'I know that you will fight the *bālaṣfar*, and those believers who come after you will fight them. (He then reported a longer *ḥadīth* concerning it, which Ibn Abī al-ʿAqib has abridged.)[173]

Al-Sulamī immediately follows this tradition with a discussion of the phrase '*bālaṣfar*', which he explains is a contraction of '*banū al-aṣfar*'. This phrase denotes the Byzantines, though Goldziher states that the designation later came to apply to all Europeans, particularly in Spain.[174] When this shift took place and whether it affected al-Shām, however, Goldziher does not state.

This tradition is, as al-Sulamī notes, an abridgement by Ibn Abī al-ʿAqib (d. 354/964) of a longer tradition. The unabridged version is unattested in any of the sources under discussion here, but it corresponds in the essentials with the opening lines of a variant found in the *Sunan Ibn Mājah*:[175] whilst the variant changes the opening sentence, referring instead to the Hour only coming when the closest Muslim outpost is in Bawlā', and has ʿAlī swear by his parents, it nevertheless states that ʿAlī and the believers who come after him will fight the Byzantines.

Christie notes in his translation that this tradition can be found in another of al-Ṭabarānī's *ḥadīth* collections, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*.[176] Al-Ṭabarānī provides two *asānīd* for the tradition, both of which share Kathīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf

173 *Al-Sulamī*, p.53.
174 Ignác Goldziher, 'Aṣfar' in *EI²*; and idem, *Muslim Studies*, pp.243-244.
175 *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.5, p.547, no.4094.
176 Christie, *The Book of the Jihād*, p.217, n.66.

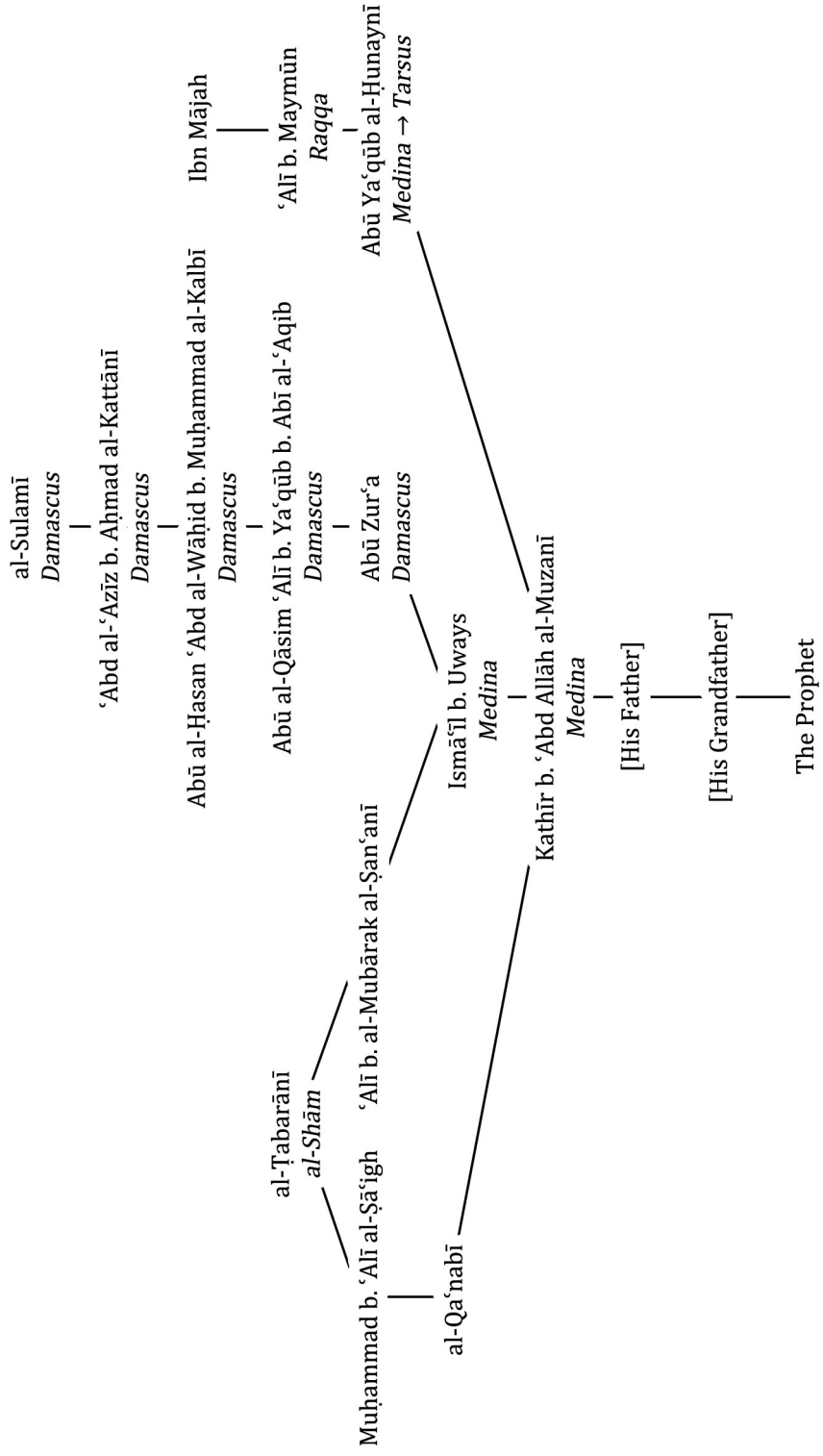

Figure X: Transmission of the Sixth Tradition.

al-Muzanī (n.d.) in common with al-Sulamī's transmission. Taken in conjunction with the striking similarity between the opening lines of al-Ṭabarānī and al-Sulamī's transmissions, it can be concluded that this is the longer version mentioned by al-Sulamī. This raises two questions. Firstly, if al-Ṭabarānī knew of this tradition, why did he not include it in the *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*? Secondly, why does al-Sulamī quote only the abridgement? The answer to both of these question is the same, and lies in the next line of the unabridged version, which states:

> Then the best of the Muslims will go out to them [the Byzantines]: the people of the Hijaz are those who will strive in the path of God, and the sake of God imposes the blame of no one upon them, and God conquers by virtue of them Constantinople and Rome with *tasbīḥ* and *takbīr*.[177]

The tradition then states that they will be given such wealth that they will divide it by the shieldful. Someone will then declare that *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl*, the Antichrist, has arrived in the Muslim homeland, whereupon both those who take from the wealth and those who do not will feel regret.[178] It will then be revealed that *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl* has not arrived, and the Hijazi Muslims will state that they are ready to fight him until God judges between them and him. The variant in the *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, although it shortens the second half of the tradition, emphasises the role of the people of the Hijaz.

Consequently, al-Ṭabarānī does not include it in the *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* because it was quite simply not a Syrian tradition. Likewise, al-Sulamī quotes only the abridgement because the full version would only serve to undermine his argument that the Muslims of al-Shām would play the principal role in the End Times. It is to al-Sulamī's credit that he does not simply change the reference from the people of al-Ḥijāz to the people of al-Shām and quote it fully: it is unknowable whether this was out of honesty or fear that such a deception, if discovered, would undermine his argument. This tradition is therefore more properly part of a *faḍāʾil al-Ḥijāz* tradition: Figure X indicates that all of the versions can be traced back to

177 See al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr* ed. Abū Muḥammad al-Asyūtī, 11 vols. (Beirut, 2007), vol.6, p.435, no.13487.

178 Great wealth is often numbered amongst the portents of the Hour. See for example *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.1, p.50, no.72, p.51, no.74, p.60, no.104. See also: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.5, pp.505-506, no.4042; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p.785, no.3176; and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.1, p.449, no.157b and no.157c.

the Medinan Kathīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Muzanī, who transmitted from his father and grandfather, and that it is only with its transmission to Abū Zurʿa (d. 281/894-95) and thence to Ibn Abī al-ʿAqib that a distinctly Damascene *isnād* appears. Otherwise, this is evidently a Hijazi tradition.

(vii) The Seventh Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad ← Tammām b. Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān ← Ibn Ḥadhlam ← Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī ← Saʿīd b. Manṣūr ← Hushaym b. Dāwūd ← Abū ʿUthmān al-Bahdī ← Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ ← Messenger of God (ṣ):
>
> The people of *al-gharb* will not cease conquering for the truth until the Hour is established.[179]

This tradition also appears in the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.[180] The translation of *al-gharb* is uncertain. Christie and the modern translators of the tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* translate it as 'the West', hence giving the reading: 'the people of the West'.[181] This raises the question of why al-Sulamī would include such a tradition in his *Kitāb al-jihād*, which no one has thus far attempted to answer. This phrase was evidently as confusing for the compilers of certain Arabic dictionaries as it is for modern translators: both al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) and al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) offered various interpretations. Interestingly, they argued that it could be seen as denoting the people of al-Shām because al-Shām was to the west of the Hijaz. Alternatively *gharb* also signifies 'sharpness', in which instance it would denote the 'people of sharpness' and thus perhaps allude to the martial ability of the group who will not cease conquering. The other meaning of *gharb* as a particular type of bucket seems unlikely to apply here.[182] Whatever the case, its inclusion in the *Kitāb al-jihād* indicates that its meaning was understood as being applicable to al-Sulamī's Damascene audience.

179 *Al-Sulamī*, p.54.
180 *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.2, p.926, no.1925. The *isnād* is: Muslim ← Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā ← Hushaym ← Dāwūd b. Abī Hind ← Abū ʿUthmān ← Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ ← Messenger of God (ṣ).
181 See Christie, *The Book of the Jihad*, p.217.
182 For a full discussion, see Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol.6, p.2241.

(viii) The Eighth Tradition

> Al-Sulamī ← Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad ← Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Naṣr ← Abū al-Qāsim b. Abī al-ʿAqib ← Abū Zurʿa ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr ←Saʿīd b. Abī Kathīr b. ʿUfayr ← Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb ← Abū Qabīl:
>
> We were with ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAmr and were discussing the conquest of Constantinople and Rome, and which of them would be conquered first. ʿAbd Allāh called for a chest of *ṭakhm*, and *al-ṭakhm* means humanity, and said: 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṣ), writing down what he was saying, and we said: 'O Messenger of God, which of the two cities will be conquered first?' He said: 'The City of Heraclius.' He means Constantinople.[183]

One variant of this tradition can be found in Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim*.[184] The variant discards the context given by Abū Qabīl: instead, the Prophet is asked bluntly which city will be conquered first, to which he replies 'the city of the son of Heraclius is first'. This is then explained to be Constantinople. It is unclear when this discrepancy between the two variants first appeared, but it could only have appeared at the earliest with Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb as he is the point at which the *asānīd* branch. Why it occurred is another question. Heraclius (d. 641) was the emperor contemporaneous with the Prophet, due to which his name adds a certain verisimilitude to the tradition. As such, reference to his son – either Constantine or Heraclonas, both of whom died in the same year as their father – makes little sense. The Prophet's answer '*madīnat Ibn Hiraql*' may perhaps be better translated as the 'city of the descendant of Heraclius', in which case this discrepancy represents an attempt to maintain the relevance of the tradition after the death of Heraclius. Accordingly, Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's version, with its reference to the son or descendant of Heraclius, is the deviation from the norm, which is represented by al-Sulamī's version.

In any case, the focus on Constantinople is fully consonant with the broader eschatological tradition: the memories of the failed attempts to conquer Constantinople were 'apocalypticised', due to which the city developed a singular

183 *Al-Sulamī*, p.54.

184 *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.2, p.479, no.1344. The *isnād* is: Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād ← Ibn Wahb ← Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb ← Abū Qabīl ← ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAmr ← Messenger of God (ṣ).

importance in Islamic eschatology. There are numerous examples of this process, with Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād preserving many. For example, a number of traditions state that there would be three attempts to conquer Constantinople: the first would end in hardship, the second with peace, and the third with the conquest of Constantinople.[185] Furthermore, the conquest of '*madīnat al-kufr*' (the city of unbelief) was occasionally included amongst the six portents of the Hour.[186] The issue at the heart of this tradition, namely whether Rome or Constantinople would be conquered first, was evidently an important one in eschatological circles: the same Abū Qabīl appears in the *asānīd* of a number traditions which outline the order in which the cities will be conquered.[187] Another tradition states that the conquest of Amorium would precede Nicaea, the conquest of Nicaea before Constantinople, and the conquest of Constantinople before Rome.[188] The eighth tradition recalls the unabridged version of the sixth tradition used by al-Sulamī, which likewise prophesied the conquests of Constantinople and Rome. It may well be that al-Sulamī, unable to use the entirety of that tradition because of its reference to the people of the Hijaz, turned instead to a tradition expressing a similar sentiment. Indeed, the entire structure of his argument makes this abundantly clear, to which attention will now turn.

* * *

Al-Sulamī introduces the first tradition by stating that

> […] your Prophet (ṣ) has promised a group from his community victory over their enemy, and he has taken them from amongst the people of al-Shām, choosing them for that from amongst them. It may be that you are these chosen ones, rather than others.[189]

The first tradition is thus used to confirm this basic premise that a group of Muslims will not stop fighting, whilst at the same time confirming that no matter the hardships suffered by the Muslim faithful, God has decreed that the community

185 See for example *Kitāb al-fitan*, vol.2, pp.438-439, no.1261; p.472, no.1328; pp.482-483, no.1353.
186 *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.51, no.74.
187 See for example *Ibid.*, vol.2, p.475, no.1337; p.483, no.1353.
188 *Ibid.*, vol.2, p.478, no.1343.
189 *Al-Sulamī*, pp.48-49.

will not be destroyed, a point which al-Sulamī makes earlier:

> Trust in the power of God (be He praised), and inform yourselves of victory by His will {over your enemies} and {be careful to} avert fear from your heart, and be sure that your religion, even though weakness might overtake it sometimes, endures just as God promised His Messenger until the Day of Religion.[190]

The Franks are, as mentioned above, described as a test of the Muslims.[191] The first tradition serves as a well-attested and thoroughly uncontroversial beginning.

The second through to eighth traditions all serve the purpose of identifying the group of Muslims who will fight until the Day of Resurrection with the residents of al-Shām, and particularly al-Sulamī's audience. Interspersed throughout this series of traditions are a number of explanations through which al-Sulamī makes his intention clear: after quoting the second tradition, al-Sulamī says:

> It was explained in the first *ḥadīth* that an enemy who was not from amongst them would not triumph over them and extirpate them. The enemy will, however, defeat some of them, leaving some of them, because the *isḥāt* is extermination, as we mentioned. It is evident that the group will conquer the enemy and will be from al-Shām. It was mentioned in this [the second] authorised *ḥadīth* that they were from Jerusalem and its surroundings: this is a clear indication that it [Jerusalem] will be returned to the Muslims, and this group will be in it. This is their attribute and condition, which remain until the command of God comes. The *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, {if God wills it.}[192]

The eighth tradition, whilst making no such claim, is immediately followed by further explanation:

> Amongst that which we have heard is an authorised *ḥadīth* wherein it is mentioned that the *Rūm* will seize Jerusalem for a certain period, and that the Muslims will unite against them, drive them from it, and kill all but a few of them.[193] Then they pursue the scattered remnants of them to Constantinople, upon which they will descend and conquer. This is certain, as the above-mentioned *ḥadīth* [tradition eight] from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr shows. If this happened then, then the *mujāhidūn* are amongst this conquering group, with whom are the fortunate ones who will drive them

190 *Ibid.*, p.48.
191 See above, p.112.
192 *Ibid.*, p.52.
193 In the manuscript, 'all but a few of them' appears as a marginal notation next to the crossed-out phrase 'all of them'.

> from Jerusalem and other parts of this country. They are the conquerors of Constantinople, as was said in the *ḥadīth* whose *isnād* was not mentioned, with the success of God (be He praised), and the custody of His aid.[194]

As Christie suggests, it is likely that in this passage al-Sulamī is deliberately blurring the distinction between the Franks and the Byzantines in order to transfer eschatological ideas about the latter to the former.[195] This is the only time that al-Sulamī does this, as a result of which he is able to present the reconquest of Jerusalem from one group of Christians as the prerequisite for the conquest of Constantinople from another set of Christians. Both events will be committed by the same group of Muslims, membership of which al-Sulamī offers to his audience: 'Strive hard, may God have mercy on you, in this jihād. Perhaps you are those who will attain the privilege of this great victory, having been saved for this noble station.'[196] Coherency of chronology and coherency of protagonists is thus established between the present and the eschatological future. In this way, these eschatological traditions serve as a powerful motivation for al-Sulamī's audience by convincing them of their own merit and the merits of al-Shām as the home of the true believers.

This is only one way in which al-Sulamī uses these traditions: as was mentioned above, al-Sulamī uses eschatology as the mechanism whereby the incompatibility between the Muslim desire to reconquer lost lands and the juristic model of jihād could be assuaged. In contrast to the juristic theory, al-Sulamī's conception of jihād is avowedly defensive in character:

> Know also, may God have mercy on you, that all of this which the *fuqahāʾ* mentioned concerning the *ghazw* and its regulations, and the above-mentioned excuses concerning abstention from it, apply only to the jihād in the lands of the enemy, be they near of far. As for if they raid the Muslims, and attack their lands as these forsaken ones do (may God hasten their complete destruction), then an armed group must go to them and seek them in the lands which they have already conquered from us. More so, this is a war in which is desired the protection of ourselves, children, people, wealth, and the guarding of what remains in our hands from the country. {Had it not been for the hope of exterminating them by sending an armed group against them and of taking the land back from them, then it

194 *Al-Sulamī*, p.55.
195 Christie, 'Jerusalem in the *Kitab al-Jihad*', p.218
196 *al-Sulamī*, p.55.

> would not be permitted to call this going out against them a jihād or a *ghazw* in this situation.}[197]

Here al-Sulamī seeks to assuage the conceptual problem of re-framing jihād as defensive by asserting that it is the hope of victory which defines jihād, not its nature as offensive warfare. At the same time, he also assures his audience that the jihād for which he is calling is likewise founded upon the same proactive principles as the juristic model: the jihād would not merely be war for the purposes of forestalling any future losses, but war for the reclamation of those lands already lost.

Yet these assertions alone are not enough to allay the problematic of framing jihād defensively, for whilst the juristic theory permits the interpretation of offensive jihād as 'pro-actively defensive', this was solely preventative: it was predicated upon the preservation – and extension – of the Islamic polity, and did not envisage the loss of Islamic territory, let alone its reconquest. Thus al-Mawārdī and Abū Yaʿlā never use any derivations from the root *j-h-d* to denote defence of Muslim territory. For example, when discussing the duties of the *amīr*, both state:

> […] if the country of this *amīr* is adjacent to a border, then he is not allowed to start the jihād of his people except with the permission of the caliph. He needs to wage war against them and repel them without permission if they attack them because repelling them is part of the laws of protecting and in accordance with defending the sacred precincts.[198]

By interpreting the reconquest of Jerusalem as a precursor to the conquest of Constantinople and, implicitly at least, the conquest of Rome, al-Sulamī is able to assuage this problem. The reconquest of Jerusalem is described as the beginning of a more expansive offensive jihād: it is the beginning of a series of coherent events that would facilitate the conquest of Constantinople and the fulfilment of the eschatological future. In this way, the reconquest is reduced to being merely a means to an end, rather than an end in and of itself, and al-Sulamī is essentially able to side-step the entire problem by sublimating his defensive jihād under the more resonant idea of offensive jihād.

This, it should be said, is an entirely new eschatological role for Jerusalem.

197 *Ibid.*, p.70. The final sentence is a marginal notation.
198 al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, p.44; Abū Yaʿlā, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, p.37.

The eschatological role of Jerusalem was articulated in the literary genre of *faḍā'il al-Quds* ('the merits of Jerusalem'), which often overlapped with the *faḍā'il al-Shām* genre. This genre was shaped by a number of factors, though in the early period it was shaped primarily by Jewish converts to Islam, Muslim ascetics, and the Umayyad dynasty: this material was ultimately collected in *faḍā'il* sources like those discussed above.[199] One of the most recurrent aspects was the role of the city (or of the Dome of the Rock) as the centre of the world and site of the Resurrection and Last Judgement. For example, the Jewish convert ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām is reported as asking the Prophet about the centre of the world. He is told that the centre of the world is Jerusalem because '[…] it is the site of the gathering and the Resurrection will take place in it, and the *ṣirāṭ* [the path to Paradise] and the scales are in it'.[200] Other traditions state that it will be from the Rock that Isrāfīl will sound the trumpet to announce the Hour.[201]

Al-Sulamī makes no use of this material in the surviving parts of the *Kitāb al-jihād*: no mention is made of the importance of Jerusalem for the Resurrection and the Last Judgement, no reference is made to its centrality to the world, and no reference is made to the trumpet. Nevertheless, the preceding discussion makes it clear that Jerusalem and its reconquest were of paramount importance to al-Sulamī: for al-Sulamī the reconquest of Jerusalem was an integral component in the realisation of the eschatological future.[202] That he does not draw upon such material in the second part of his *Kitāb al-jihād* is hardly surprising: it would break the natural development of his argument, which moves from defining jihād as an obligation to placing it within this eschatological scheme and thence to reflecting upon the importance of right intention.

199 For a fuller discussion of the eschatological role of Jerusalem, see in the first instance Ofer Livne-Kafri, 'Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Eschatological Aspect', *Arabica* 53:3 (2006), pp.382-403. See also idem, 'The Muslim Traditions 'In Praise of Jerusalem' (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*): Diversity and Complexity', *Annali* 58 (1998), pp.165-192; idem, 'Jerusalem: the Navel of the Earth in Muslim Tradition', *Der Islam*, 84:1 (2008), pp. 46-72. See also: Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, passim.

200 *Ibn al-Murajjā'*, p.241, no.360. See also *Ibid.*, p.88, no.79; and p.187, no.267.

201 See for example *Ibid.*, p.111, no.126 and also p.111, no.124; *al-Wāsiṭī*, p.88, no.143; p.89, no.145.

202 Christie and Chevedden – the first explicitly and the second implicitly – also make this point. See Christie, 'Jerusalem in the *Kitab Al-Jihad*', pp.209-221; and Chevedden, 'The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus', pp.27-53.

At the same time, the eschatological scheme developed by al-Sulamī goes some way towards assuaging the problem posed by the lack of leadership. Whilst al-Sulamī's main attempt to deal with this relies upon arguing that defensive jihād is a *farḍ ʿayn* and that Islamic unity can operate as a surrogate authority, al-Sulamī's eschatological scheme permits him to appeal directly to the Prophet as the authorising force. All of these traditions rely solely on the Prophet: through them, al-Sulamī is able to stress that the jihād for which he calls was enjoined upon a particular group of Muslims by the Prophet from the time of the Prophet until the Day of Resurrection. Offering his audience membership of this group is not only a means of motivation, but also a means of obviating the need for contemporary authority.

In relying instead upon Prophetic authority and by emphasising the importance of the individual, al-Sulamī recalls the opinion of Ibn al-Mubārak regarding temporal rulers and the individual: Ibn al-Mubārak considered jihād a personal endeavour and ignored the authority of the caliphs: with the exception of the Prophet, the only ruler named in his *Kitāb al-jihād* was mocked for cowardice. Yet the fact that al-Sulamī obviously operates from an assumption that temporal authority is required (why else would he expend so much effort on justifying why it can be ignored?), while Ibn al-Mubārak considers it unnecessary, is further evidence that Ibn al-Mubārak and his mindset of jihād exerted no real influence on al-Sulamī. When it comes to this similarity between the two figures, this was not due to any conscious borrowing on the part of al-Sulamī, but instead due to their similar political circumstances. Ibn al-Mubārak compiled his text in al-Shām while it was still outwith the firm control of the ʿAbbāsids, and al-Sulamī wrote his text in al-Shām whilst it was similarly outwith the control of any single authority.

CONCLUSION

In light of the preceding discussion, al-Sulamī's understanding of jihād cannot be considered 'the standard jihād doctrine of his period.' Whilst the juristic model of jihād was the basis for his understanding of jihād, al-Sulamī departed from this

model significantly because he found two of its central tenets – the importance of caliphal authority, and jihād being defined as offensive warfare – incompatible with the situation in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade. To deal with the absence of leadership, he emphasises the importance of Islamic unity and – crucially – the individual's responsibility to perform jihād, both by arguing that the severity of the threat posed by the Franks rendered jihād a *farḍ ʿayn*, and by stressing the importance of the individual's right intention when performing jihād.

He makes his most significant departure, however, by integrating eschatology into his call to jihād, which he uses to assuage the problems of proclaiming a defensive jihād without the authority of the ruler. Firstly, al-Sulamī modifies the role which Jerusalem would play in the eschatological future: where Jerusalem had been incorporated into Islamic eschatology as the site of the Resurrection and the Last Judgement, al-Sulamī portrays its recovery as the first stage in the resumption of the Islamic conquests, which would culminate with the capture of Constantinople and the realisation of the Hour. Accordingly, Jerusalem becomes both a precursor to the eschatological future and the location of the terminus of world history.

This magnification of Jerusalem's eschatological role serves also to magnify the eschatological role of jihād, which had been excluded from the mainstream discourse of jihād since the eighth century: according to al-Sulamī, jihād was the means by which the eschatological future would be achieved. This is a significant departure not only from the juristic model of jihād, which had excised the eschatological entirely, but also from the understanding of jihād expressed by Ibn al-Mubārak, for whom jihād was fundamental only to the personal eschatology of the martyr, not the realisation of the Hour.

Secondly, when the eschatology is taken in conjunction with al-Sulamī's emphasis on jihād as a *farḍ ʿayn*, it further obviates the need for a ruler. By arguing that the reconquest of Jerusalem is the preordained precursor to the conquest of Constantinople, al-Sulamī offers the individual a role not only in the prosecution of jihād but also the fulfilment of eschatological prophecy. Furthermore, the attribution of this eschatological material to the Prophet, on whose authority jihād

has been ordained perpetually until the Hour, renders contemporary political authority superfluous.

Yet despite his use of eschatology, al-Sulamī did not believe that he was living in the End Times. This was because he placed the First Crusade into a broader historical context, which consequently undercut the potential for the First Crusade to generate eschatological or apocalyptic tension. Instead of the apocalypticism which met the later Mongol invasions, al-Sulamī conceived the First Crusade as part of a pan-Mediterranean Christian offensive against Islam, which itself was a divinely-ordained punishment for Muslim sin, and which al-Sulamī considered long overdue.

Al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* therefore represents the coalescing of three distinct bodies of material: the juristic model of jihād, particularly as articulated by the Shāfiʿite *madhhab*; the *jihād al-nafs* discourse of the Sufis; and the eschatological material preserved in the *faḍā'il al-Shām* literature. Al-Sulamī drew upon these bodies of material not only to motivate his audience, but also to articulate an alternative model of jihād to suit the political circumstances of the early twelfth century. His combination of this material creates an altogether new understanding of jihād: not only does al-Sulamī depart from the juristic model of jihād, but also from the understanding of jihād expressed by Ibn al-Mubārak, of whose *Kitāb al-jihād* al-Sulamī was unaware. Furthermore, through the inclusion of the *faḍā'il al-Shām* material, upon which his argument rests, al-Sulamī deliberately associates al-Shām with jihād and articulates a distinctly Syrian understanding of jihād wherein al-Shām was the home of the true *mujāhidūn*. The extent to which his ideas and these developments resonated in al-Shām in the later twelfth century remains to be seen: to this end, attention will turn now to Ibn ʿAsākir and his role in the revival of jihād in al-Shām.

Chapter Four:

Ibn ʿAsākir's Involvement in Jihād

Introduction

Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ḥāfiẓ, is regarded as one of the key figures in the twelfth-century revival of jihād in al-Shām, often being presented as something of an ideologue-in-chief for Nūr al-Din from 549/1154 onwards.[1] The main proponents of this interpretation are Lindsay and Mourad. Lindsay emphasises that Ibn ʿAsākir, being the head of the famous Banū ʿAsākir with familial ties to the Banū Qurashī – who traced their lineage back to the Umayyads – was 'Nūr al-Dīn's logical choice as an intellectual and religious ally in his ambitious program of *jihād*.'[2] In their co-authored monograph, Mourad and Lindsay expand upon this and state that because Ibn ʿAsākir was a staunch defender of Sunnī Islam, Nūr al-Dīn built for him the *Dār al-ḥadīth* ('House of Ḥadīth') in Damascus: in turn, Ibn ʿAsākir 'shaped the school into the intellectual epicenter of Nūr al-Dīn's jihad propaganda.'[3]

There is, however, little evidence that this was the case. Whilst al-Subkī does state that Nūr al-Dīn built the *Dār al-ḥadīth* for Ibn ʿAsākir,[4] the claim that Ibn ʿAsākir then turned it into the centre of Nūr al-Dīn's jihād is – as Yaacov Lev indicates – entirely unsubstantiated.[5] Furthermore, the evidence which Mourad

1 For a biographical overview of Ibn ʿAsākir, see Nikita Elisséeff, *La Description de Damas d'Ibn ʿAsākir* (Damascus, 1959), pp.xvii-xxvii.
2 James E. Lindsay, 'Ibn ʿAsākir, His *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* and its Usefulness for Understanding Early Islamic History' in James E. Lindsay (ed.), *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton, 2001), p.6. For the Banū ʿAsākir, see also Elisséeff, *La Description*, pp.xvii-xx.
3 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, p.50.
4 Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.7, p.223.
5 Lev, 'The jihad of Sultan Nur al-Din', p.235.

and Lindsay adduce for the importance of the *Dār al-ḥadīth* to jihād is more convincing for the decades after the deaths of both Nūr al-Dīn and Ibn ʿAsākir. On the basis of the eleven *samāʿāt* attached to Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn*, they argue that those who followed Ibn ʿAsākir as the *shaykh* of the *Dār al-ḥadīth* were involved in the preaching of jihād. Ibn ʿAsākir's son, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Kabīr (d. 600/1203),[6] and his nephew, Zayn al-Umanāʾ Abū al-Barakāt al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 627/1230),[7] both followed him as the *shaykh* of the *Dār al-ḥadīth*, as too did the thirteenth-century scholars Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Maḥmūdī, known as Ibn al-Ṣābūnī (d. 680/1281),[8] and Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Baqāʾ Khālid b. Yūsuf al-Nāblusī (d. 663/1265).[9] All four men were involved in the teaching and transmission of the *Arbaʿūn* in the first three decades of the thirteenth century.[10] It is unclear whether, as Mourad and Lindsay argue, one should read this as evidence that the *shaykh* of the *Dār al-ḥadīth* came to play the role of jihād propagandist, or simply as evidence that Ibn ʿAsākir continued to hold a certain allure for the Damascene scholarly elite, of which the *shaykh* of the *Dār al-ḥadīth* was necessarily a part. In any case, it does not confirm Mourad and Lindsay's claim that Ibn ʿAsākir turned the *Dār al-ḥadīth* into the 'epicenter of Nūr al-Dīn's jihād propaganda', merely suggesting that it may have come to fulfil that function in the thirteenth century under the later Ayyūbids.

More solid foundation for the argument that Ibn ʿAsākir played a prominent role in the revival of jihād are the texts which he wrote. Al-Dhahabī attributes numerous works to Ibn ʿAsākir, of which the most pertinent for the present discussion are two *faḍāʾil* treatises on Ascalon and Jerusalem, titled the *Faḍl ʿAsqalān* (*Merit of Ascalon*) and the *Faḍl al-Quds* (*Merits of Jerusalem*) respectively, the above-mentioned *al-Arbaʿūn*, and a *Kitāb al-jihād*.[11] Mourad and Lindsay state that this *Kitāb al-jihād* must be an alternative title for the *Arbaʿūn*, but they do not

6 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islam*, vol.42, pp.471-473, no.614; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.21, pp.405-411, no.207.
7 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islam*, vol.45, pp.280-282, no.395; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.22, pp.284-287, no.163.
8 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islam*, vol.50, pp.368-369, no.544.
9 *Ibid.*, vol.49, pp.145-147, no.90.
10 For discussion of the *samāʿāt*, see Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, pp.82-99.
11 *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.20, pp.560-562.

offer any evidence why this should be the case:[12] indeed, one would expect them to leap upon this *Kitāb al-jihād* as further evidence for Ibn ʿAsākir's importance to jihād. Their dismissal of it is probably due to the ramifications which the existence of such a work would have for their interpretation of the *Arbaʿūn*, which will be discussed below. With the absence of any evidence to the contrary, however, it seems unwise to dismiss the possibility that Ibn ʿAsākir wrote two works on jihād: he was, after all, a prolific writer. Unfortunately, of these four works, only the *Arbaʿūn* is known to have survived. In the introduction to the *Arbaʿūn*, Ibn ʿAsākir states explicitly that it was composed at the behest of Nūr al-Dīn; whether the other works were similarly composed by Ibn ʿAsākir for Nūr al-Dīn is unknown.

While neither of the *faḍāʾil* treatises survive, the general contours of their content can be inferred from Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* (*The History of the City of Damascus*), the first volume of which is devoted to the merits of al-Shām.[13] Hillenbrand points out that in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, the lengthy chapter on the merits of Jerusalem and Palestine is copied from al-Rabaʿī's *Kitāb faḍāʾil al-Shām wa-Dimashq*: on this basis, she argues that it can be assumed that similar material also constituted Ibn ʿAsākir's *Faḍl al-Quds*.[14] Mourad and Lindsay have likewise suggested that the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* preserves brief excerpts from the *Faḍl ʿAsqalān*: in particular, they cite two traditions wherein Ascalon is described respectively as one of the places of *ribāṭ*, and as a place of safety during

12 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, p.12, n.36.

13 Zayde Antrim argues that Ibn ʿAsākir's emphasis on al-Shām in the opening volume of the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* suggests that he aspired for a politically unified Muslim al-Shām, in this way reflecting the aspirations of Nūr al-Dīn, upon whose death 'a regional polity united under a staunchly Sunni leadership may have finally seemed tantalizingly realizable.' She notes that, likely due to conflict with the crusaders, Ibn ʿAsākir rejected the para-biblical material which had constituted much of the earlier *faḍāʾil* literature in favour of episodes from early Islamic history, in this way downplaying the pre-Islamic history of al-Shām in favour of its Islamic history. See Zayde Antrim, 'Ibn ʿAsakir's Representations of Syria and Damascus in the Introduction to the *Taʾrikh Madinat Dimashq*', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38:1 (2006), pp.109-129.

14 Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, p.164. The validity of such an assumption is, however, uncertain. Antrim notes that Ibn ʿAsākir omits any mention of the *isrāʾ* or the famous '*ḥadīth* of the three mosques', which was designed to legitimise pilgrimage to Jerusalem's sanctuary alongside to those of Mecca and Medina, in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. On this basis, Antrim argues that Ibn ʿAsākir was deliberately downplaying the importance of Jerusalem's sanctity to al-Shām. See Antrim, 'Ibn ʿAsakir's Representations of Syria and Damascus', pp.115-116. On the '*ḥadīth* of the three mosques,' see M. J. Kister, ''You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques', A Study of an Early Tradition', *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), pp.173-196.

periods of intra-Muslim conflict.[15] Whether one can consider these to be excerpts, they nevertheless suggest the general tenor of the work: in this, the *Faḍl ʿAsqalān* conforms with the idea that the development of *faḍāʾil* traditions about particular Syrian cities originated as a defensive strategy to attract volunteers to secure frontier towns.

The dates of composition of these works are, like their content, similarly unknown. Regarding *Faḍl al-Quds*, it was recited publicly in Damascus from 555/1160 onwards, and so must have been composed in the preceding years:[16] on this basis, the *Faḍl al-Quds* would coincide roughly with the upsurge in the popularity of the *faḍāʾil al-Quds* genre in the second half of the twelfth century, which is traditionally understood as a consequence of Nūr al-Dīn's emphasis on the reconquest of Jerusalem.[17] Mourad and Lindsay argue that the *Faḍl ʿAsqalān* was composed in the aftermath of the conquest of the city by the Franks in 548/1153, with the aim of rallying the Muslims to its liberation, which places its composition at roughly the same time as the beginning of his relationship with Nūr al-Dīn.

That Ibn ʿAsākir had his own interest in promoting jihād is suggested by one final piece of evidence. In his biographical notice of ʿIzz al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Murshid (d. 546/1151), the older brother of Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188), Ibn ʿAsākir states that ʿIzz al-Dawla attended one of his lectures in Damascus, at which Ibn ʿAsākir read part of an unidentified *kitāb dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (*Book of the Proofs of Prophethood)*, alongside Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*.[18] Ibn ʿAsākir's reading of the *Kitāb al-jihād* in the late 1140s or early 1150s is the first point at which the circulation of the work in Damascus is attested.

The importance of Ibn ʿAsākir's reading of Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* has been recognised before, but only as evidence for his involvement in jihād preaching before his relationship with Nūr al-Dīn. Mourad and Lindsay suggest that, if this was the first time that Ibn ʿAsākir preached jihād, a premise which is of course uncertain, 'it suggests a correlation between the failed Crusader attempt to seize

15 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, pp.11-12. For the traditions, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol.1, p.221 and p.97.
16 See Sivan, *L'Islam et le Croisade*, pp.62-65; Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, pp.164-165.
17 Hillenbrand, *Islamic Perspectives*, p.164.
18 *TMD*, vol.43, p.239.

Damascus in 1148 and Ibn ʿAsākir actively joining the band of jihad propagandists'.[19] More importantly, and as will be shown below, Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* had a formative impact upon Ibn ʿAsākir's own understanding of jihād, as expressed in the *Arbaʿūn*. Ibn ʿAsākir encountered the work in Baghdad between 520/1126 and 525/1131, and studied it with Abū Ghālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Bannā (d. 527/1133). Ibn ʿAsākir quotes the work three times in his *Arbaʿūn* and once in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, each time through the same chain of transmission, which is the same as the one through which the work reached Baghdad in the eleventh century: Abū Ghālib was a contemporary of the scribe of the sole extant manuscript of the work, Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī.[20] Both Abū Ghālib and Abū ʿAlī al-Dulafī were taught the work by Abū al-Husayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Abanūsī.

That Ibn ʿAsākir taught the *Kitāb al-jihād* alongside a *kitāb dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* is significant. There are many works bearing this title, and so without any additional information it is impossible to say which in particular Ibn ʿAsākir recited. Nevertheless, these works are all apologetic, and arose in order to demonstrate that Muḥammad was foretold by earlier prophets and that he was also attested by miracles, both of which were responses to Christian criticism.[21] Ibn ʿAsākir's teaching of such a work in conjunction with the *Kitāb al-jihād* suggests that his purpose was twofold: to impress upon his audience both the superiority of Islam over Christianity, and to encourage them to fight in defence of Islam. In this regard, he was successful: after the reading, ʿIzz al-Dawla rode to Ascalon, where he was martyred in 546/1151.[22] Mourad and Lindsay note that it was likely that ʿIzz al-Dawla was principally motivated by jihād: as his brother Usama b. Munqidh states, ʿIzz al-Dawla fought for religion, not worldly concerns.[23]

19 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, p.53.

20 See *TMD*, vol.32, p.398; *al-Arbaʿūn*, pp.138-140, no.5; p.150, no.14; p.182, no.40. Ibn ʿAsākir cites them through the *isnād*: Abū Ghālib b. al-Bannā ← Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Abanūsī ← Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fatḥ al-Maṣṣīṣī ← Muḥammad b. Sufyān al-Ṣaffār al-Maṣṣīṣī ← Saʿīd b. Raḥma al-Maṣṣīṣī ← Ibn al-Mubārak.

21 See David Thomas, 'Muslim regard for Christians and Christianity, 900-1200' in David Thomas and Alex Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol.2, pp.22-25.

22 *TMD*, vol.43, p.239.

23 Usāma b. Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. Paul M. Cobb (London, 2008), p.25.

Aside from his reading of the *Kitāb al-jihād* of Ibn al-Mubārak, which suggests he considered it and its ideas important, the evidence discussed above is suited only to supporting the argument that Ibn ʿAsākir was involved in the promotion of jihād: it cannot provide insight into how Ibn ʿAsākir wanted his audience to understand jihād. For this, the best evidence is undoubtedly the *Arbaʿūn*. The understanding of jihād expressed in the work has been discussed by Mourad and Lindsay, but only within the context of the juristic understanding of jihād, from which they argue it departs. The next section will therefore explore the extent to which Ibn ʿAsākir's understanding of jihād was beholden to earlier understandings of jihād. Attention will then turn to Ibn ʿAsākir's most famous work, the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, and explore whether it provides additional evidence for Ibn ʿAsākir's efforts to promote a particular understanding of jihād.

THE *ARBAʿŪN* OF IBN ʿASĀKIR

Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* survives in one manuscript, which is now held in the Assad National Library in Damascus:[24] the *Arbaʿūn* is the third work in the manuscript, covering folios 67r-81v. It was first edited by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, whose edition was published in 1984.[25] A second edition followed in 1991, which was prepared by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḥalwānī and contained within his *Ibn ʿAsākir wa-dawruhu fī al-jihād ḍidd al-Ṣalibiyyīn fī ʿaḥd al-dawlatayn al-Nūriyya wa-l-Ayyūbiyya*.[26] A third edition was prepared by Suleiman Mourad and James E. Lindsay, and was published in 2013 alongside the first English translation.[27] In their edition, Mourad and Lindsay indicate some 101 mistakes made by Ḥalwānī (including misreadings, additions and deletions):[28] furthermore, in their

24 It was previously held in the Ẓāhiriyya Library in Damascus under the reference *majmūʿ lugha 40*. As with al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād*, it was not possible to consult the manuscript during the writing of this thesis.

25 Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Arbaʿūn fī al-ḥaththʿala al-jihād*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf (Kuwait, 1984).

26 Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Arbaʿūn fī al-ḥaththʿala al-jihād*. In Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḥalwānī, *Ibn ʿAsākir wa-dawruhu fī al-jihād ḍidd al-Ṣalibiyyīn fī ʿaḥd al-dawlatayn al-Nūriyya wa-l-Ayyūbiyya* (Damascus, 1991), pp.101-149.

27 Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥaththʿala al-jihād*, in Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, pp.130-202. Hereafter referred to as *al-Arbaʿūn*.

28 See Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*,

commentary on the work, they note that 'Ḥalwānī's remarks about the text and manuscript are invariably mistaken'.[29] Consequently, the current discussion will rely primarily upon the edition of Mourad and Lindsay.

In the introduction to the work, Ibn ʿAsākir states explicitly that it was written at the behest of Nūr al-Dīn.[30] Consequently, a *terminus post quem* of 549/1154, when Nūr al-Dīn occupied Damascus, can be established. Regarding a *terminus ante quem*, the first of the eleven *samāʿāt* attached to the manuscript dates the first reading of the work to March 565/1170.[31] This *samāʿ* was written by one of Ibn ʿAsākir's nephews, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, and states that the reading took place in the presence of Ibn ʿAsākir outside of Damascus in a private garden owned by two of his nephews in the village of al-Mizza.[32] On this basis, an approximate date of composition between 549/1154 and 565/1170 can be established, in all likelihood tending towards the latter end of this range: it is difficult to countenance any appreciable time-lag between its composition and Ibn ʿAsākir's first teaching of the work. A second reading presided over by Ibn ʿAsākir took place at the Umayyad Mosque in 569/1174.

All eleven *samāʿāt* have been discussed in great detail by Mourad and Lindsay, and need not be discussed in any great detail here. Suffice it to say that they date from 565/1170 to 718/1318, and attest to the popularity and importance of the work within the Damascene scholarly elite: the subsequent readings were all attended and presided over by various prominent scholars, including many of Ibn ʿAsākir's students and successors as the head of the *Dār al-ḥadīth* in Damascus. Furthermore, with the exception of the last two readings, these readings all correlate with periods of crusader activity in the third decade of the thirteenth century: the third reading took place in 617/1221 and coincides with the Fifth

pp.125-126.

29 *Ibid.*, p.83, n.4.

30 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.132.

31 A second reading presided over by Ibn ʿAsākir took place at the Umayyad Mosque in 659/1174. The *Arbaʿūn* was subsequently taught in the in the Umayyad Mosque in 617/1221; three times in 624/1227 at the Khātūniyya school, the Umayyad Mosque, and the zāwiya of Naṣr al-Maqdisī respectively; twice at the Umayyad Mosque in 626/1229; once at the *Dār al-ḥadīth* in 1230; once at the Kallāsa school in 627/1236; and finally in a private reading in 718/1318 at the house of Abū Muḥammad b. al-Muḥibb. For the *samāʿāt*, see *al-Arbaʿūn*, pp.184-202. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf does not include the *samāʿāt* in his edition.

32 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.184.

Crusade, whilst readings four to nine took place between 624/1227 and 627/1230, coinciding with the crusade of Frederick II.

The *samāʿāt* also permit the dating of the manuscript and the identification of the scribe. The first two *samāʿāt*, written in 565/1170 and 569/1174 respectively, were copied into the manuscript by the scribe of the third and fourth *samāʿāt*, who was also responsible for the body of the work itself: Mourad and Lindsay describe the hand as an 'elegant North African (*maghribī*) hand.'[33] The third *samāʿ* was written in 617/1221 by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Birzālī (d. 636/1239). Al-Birzālī was originally from al-Andalus, but settled in Damascus in 609/1213 after travelling extensively throughout the eastern Islamic world from 601/1205 onwards. He was eventually appointed the *shaykh* of the *mashhad* of Ibn ʿUrwa in Damascus. Amongst his many skills, al-Dhahabī mentions his 'pleasant maghribī handwriting'.[34] The third reading of the work was performed by al-Birzālī himself in the presence of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad. Mourad and Lindsay note that the *samāʿ* was inscribed on the right margin directly next to the end of the text of the *Arbaʿūn* and above the first two *samāʿāt*: on this basis, the reading must have taken place after al-Birzālī had made his own copy from the original, which he then brought to the teaching session to have verified by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad.[35] On a final note, the *samāʿāt* also attest to additional copies of the *Arbaʿūn*: the scribe of the tenth *samāʿ*, for example, states that he copied the list of names into al-Birzālī's copy of the *Arbaʿūn* from his own.[36]

Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* is an example of the forty *aḥādīth* genre, which found its impetus in variants of a *ḥadīth* wherein the Prophet praised the collection of forty *aḥādīth* which would benefit the Muslim community. Ibn ʿAsākir includes one of

33 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, p.83. The first *samāʿ* states that al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad was the writer of names, and that his *samāʿ* was copied into the manuscript. That it was not the original *samāʿ* went unnoticed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, who identifies the scribe of the entire manuscript as al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad. See ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, p.39. Ḥalwānī, compounded the mistake by describing the hand as 'eastern'. Halwani, *Ibn ʿAsākir wa-dawruhu*, p.96.

34 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islam*, vol.46, pp.307-308, no. 439; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.23, pp.55-57, no.37.

35 See Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, pp.87-88. For an image of the last folio, see *Ibid.*, p.103.

36 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.200. Mourad and Lindsay note that no additional copies survive, save for two folios of a barely legible manuscript. See Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, p.64.

these variants in the introduction to the *Arbaʿūn*:

> Whosoever preserves for my community forty *aḥādīth* which are beneficial for the command of their religion, he will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection as a scholar. The scholar is more meritorious than the worshipper by seventy degrees. God knows what is between each two degrees.[37]

That it comprise forty *aḥādīth* was the only constraint placed on the genre, which could focus on whichever subject the compiler desired. Thus, the most famous example of the genre, the *Arbaʿūn al-Nawawī* of al-Nawawī (d. 1277), collects together *aḥādīth* from the *Kutub al-sitta* which al-Nawawī considered of fundamental importance to Islam.[38]

According to Ibn ʿAsākir, the motivation for the *Arbaʿūn* lay with Nūr al-Dīn, who 'desired that [Ibn ʿAsākir] collect for him forty *aḥādīth* concerning jihād which are clear of content and uninterrupted of *isnād*, in order to exhort the steadfast *mujāhidīn*.'[39] Mourad and Lindsay are likely correct that, if Nūr al-Dīn had desired, Ibn ʿAsākir would have been able to compile an authoritative book on jihād for him. They argue that because no authoritative book on jihād survives, this serves only to reinforce their argument that Nūr al-Dīn desired a concise and authoritative work designed to exhort the Muslim population to jihād.

Mourad and Lindsay further argue that the forty *aḥādīth* genre was more appropriate for this intention than a 'comprehensive traditional work on jihad' because of the differences between the two genres: where a traditional *kitāb al-jihād* would need to discuss *siyar*, the conciseness of the forty *aḥādīth* genre made this a practical impossibility. Thus, 'Ibn ʿAsākir was able to strip the Sunni jihād doctrine of its legal and juristic edifice and re-center it on an unambiguous and firm foundation of divine and prophetic instructions.'[40] In this way, they argue that he was able to avoid the generally accepted view that jihād was not applicable against Muslims, and that it was principally concerned with *siyar*.[41] Mourad and

37 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.134.
38 Al-Nawawī, *An-Nawawī's Forty Hadith: an Anthology of the Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*, ed. and trans. Ezzedin Ibrahim and Denys Johnson-Davies (Beirut, 1976). See pp.18-25 for al-Nawawī's introduction to the work.
39 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.132.
40 Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, p.56.
41 *Ibid.*, pp.57-58.

Lindsay speculate that because Ibn ʿAsākir speaks of the enemies against whom he sought to motivate the *mujāhidūn* in generic terms, Ibn ʿAsākir deliberately chose traditions which were flexible enough to be interpreted against a range of different enemies, both Muslim and non-Muslim: hence they argue that Ibn ʿAsākir reorientated Sunnī jihād ideology by making it applicable to a whole range of enemies. It is for this reason, therefore, that Mourad and Lindsay discount the *kitāb al-jihād* attributed to Ibn ʿAsākir by al-Dhahabī. The merits of this argument can only be judged after analysing the contents of the *Arbaʿūn*, after which it will be possible to compare Ibn ʿAsākir's work with both al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* and Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād.*

The *Arbaʿūn*, consisting as it does of only forty *aḥādīth*, is too short to allow the thorough development of multiple themes, as for example was found in the *Kitāb al-jihād* of Ibn al-Mubārak. Instead, the overriding concern in Ibn ʿAsākir's work is to stress the merit of performing jihād, though in the course of doing this other themes are touched upon briefly.

Ibn ʿAsākir provides no definition of jihād at the beginning of the *Arbaʿūn*, nor does he begin by quoting the usual qurʾānic verses regarding jihād, such as were found at the beginning of Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*.[42] Instead, Ibn ʿAsākir begins by quoting a *ḥadīth* wherein jihād is ranked the second most meritorious act:

> The Messenger of God was asked: 'Which of the religious practices is most meritorious? He said: 'Belief in God Almighty.' He was asked: 'Then what?' He said: 'Then jihād in the path of God Almighty.' He was asked: 'Then what?' He said: 'An accepted and rewarded pilgrimage.'[43]

The second and third *aḥādīth* likewise include jihād amongst the most meritorious of religious acts, though only in the second *ḥadīth* is it ranked highest.[44] In this context, the fourth *ḥadīth* is particularly interesting:

> al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr said: 'I was near the *minbar* of the Messenger of God (ṣ) on a Friday when a man said: 'I care not if the only deed I do after embracing Islam is give water to a pilgrim.' Another said: 'I care not if the only deed I do after embracing Islam is preserve the Sacred Mosque.'

42 For analysis of Ibn ʿAsākir's use of the Qurʾān, see *Ibid.*, pp.75-81.
43 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.134, no.1.
44 *Ibid.*, pp.134-136, no.2

> Another said: 'Jihād in the path of God Almighty is more meritorious that what you have said.' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb rebuked them, saying: 'Do not raise your voices near the *minbar* of the Messenger of God (ṣ) on a Friday, but once the Friday prayer is finished I will go and consult him about that which you disagree about. God Almighty then revealed: 'Have you made the provision of water for the pilgrim and the preservation of the Sacred Mosque equal to the one who believes in God and the Last Day, and who strives in the path of God? They are not equal in the sight of God, and God guides not the evildoers.'[45]

This *ḥadīth* recalls the earlier observation regarding the eighth-century conflict between those who aspired to live on the frontiers and those who aspired to reside near the goals of pilgrimage. Here, Ibn ʿAsākir categorically supports the former, impressing upon his audience the superiority of jihād. This point is taken up again by the fifth *ḥadīth*, which is quoted from Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*: in this *ḥadīth*, the Muslim community ask the Prophet about which deed is most dear to God, whereupon *sūrat al-Ṣaf* was revealed to them and they were encouraged to fight in the path of God.[46]

More frequently, however, Ibn ʿAsākir emphasises the merits of the *mujāhid* himself: thus, the seventh *ḥadīth* states that the best of people is 'a man who strives with his *nafs* and his wealth, and a man in the gorge of a mountain who worships his Lord and spares the people from his wickedness.'[47] Similarly, the nineteenth *ḥadīth* states that:

> Indeed, in the year of Tabūk, the Messenger of God preached to the people whilst he leant against a palm tree, and he said: 'Have I told you about the best of people and the worst of people? Indeed, the best of people is the man who labours in the path of God on his horse or his camel or his feet until death reaches him when he is doing that. And indeed, the worst of people is an immoral man who reads the Book of God and heeds nothing in it.[48]

45 *Ibid.*, p.138, no.4.

46 *Ibid.*, pp.138-140, no.5. Nos.13, 18, and 28 continue in this vein.

47 *Ibid.*, p.144, no.7. Why Ibn ʿAsākir chose this variant of the *ḥadīth* is intriguing. It is attributed to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, to whom an alternative variant is also attributed: in this variant, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī reports that the Prophet stated that a man in the mountain gorge is *second* to the *mujāhid*. This variant is found in every one of the *Kutub al-sitta* except the *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*. See for example: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p.690, no.2786; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol.2, p.974, no.1888a; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.5, pp.463, no.3978; *Jamiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, vol.3, p.291, no.1660; and *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, vol.2, p.372, no.3105.

48 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.156, no.19.

A number of the *ḥadīth* stress that the smallest action of the *mujāhid* far outstrips the most dedicated person who fasts or prays:

> A man came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said: 'O Messenger of God, teach me a deed equal to jihād in the path of God. He said: I cannot find one.' He said: 'Can you, when the *mujāhid* goes out in the path of God, go to your mosque and pray without cease, and fast without cease?' The man said: 'I cannot do that.' Abū Hurayra added: 'Indeed, even when the horse of the *mujāhidīn* is riderless, with the reins tied to the withers and its head held to graze, it is counted to him as good deeds.[49]

Likewise: '[t]he appearance of the *mujāhid* in the path of God is like the appearance of the one who fasts and prays continuously, and who ceases neither praying nor fasting until he returns.'[50]

Related to the merit of performing jihād are the promised rewards of the *mujāhid*, who will invariably find himself highly rewarded in the hereafter: he will find the value of his expenses multiplied seven hundred times;[51] he will be elevated one hundred ranks in paradise,[52] membership of which is guaranteed to him:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: O Abū Saʿīd, whosoever accepts God as his Lord, Islam as his religion, and Muḥammad as his prophet, the Garden is granted to him.' This amazed Abū Said, who said: 'Repeat that to me, o Messenger of God.' So he did so, and then the Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'There is another act for which God elevates the servant one hundred ranks in the Garden, and what is between each pair of ranks is equal to what is between the heavens and the earth.' He said: 'And what is it, o Messenger of God?' He said: 'Jihād in the path of God Almighty.'[53]

Like Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn ʿAsākir considers *ribāṭ* an essential component of jihād: the *murābiṭ* will find his deeds continuing to accumulate rewards even after death.[54]

Essential to the rewards, however, is the right intention of the *mujāhid*:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'Those who are killed are three. The believing man who strove with his *nafs* and his wealth in the path of God Almighty until he met the enemy and fought them until he was killed. This is the pure martyr, and he is in the tent of God beneath His throne: the

49 *Ibid.*, p.144, no.8.
50 *Ibid.*, p.160, no.23.
51 *Ibid.*, p.170, no.30, and pp.172-174, no.33.
52 *Ibid.*, pp.148-150, nos.11 and 12.
53 *Ibid.*, p.148, no.11.
54 *Ibid.*, pp.158-160, nos.21 and 22. *Ribāṭ* is also mentioned in *Ibid.*, p.160, nos.23 and 24.

> prophets are only more meritorious than him because of their prophethood. The believing man who had fallen into sin and mistakes, who strove with his *nafs* and his wealth in the path of God until he met the enemy and fought them until he was killed. This one is purified: his sins and mistakes are wiped away. Verily, the sword wipes away mistakes. He will be entered through whichever gate of the Garden he pleases. Thus indeed, the Garden has eight gates, whilst *jaḥannam* [Hell] has seven gates, and some of them are below others. The hypocritical man who strove with his *nafs* and his wealth in the path of God until he met the enemy and fought them until he was killed: that one is in the fire, for the sword does not wipe away hypocrisy.'[55]

Likewise, one finds that the best martyr is the one who fought selflessly both to kill and to be killed:

> The Messenger of God said (ṣ): 'The martyrs are threefold. A man who goes out in the Path of God with his wealth and his *nafs*, anticipating reward, and who does not need to kill or be killed for the expansion of the multitude of Muslims. If he dies or is killed, each of his sins will be forgiven, he will be saved the torments of the grave and the greatest terror, he will marry amongst the *ḥūr al-ʿayn*, and the crown of dignity will be placed on his head. The second is a man who strives with his *nafs* and his wealth wanting to kill but not be killed. If he dies or is killed, then his mount will be with the mount of Abraham, friend of the Merciful, in the presence of God Almighty "in a seat of truth with a powerful king". The third is a man who goes out with his wealth and his *nafs*, anticipating reward, and who wants to kill and be killed. If he dies or is killed, he comes on the Day of Resurrection with his sword raised, placing it upon his neck, and the people will be on bended knee. He will say: 'Make way for us, for we have sacrificed freely our blood and our wealth to God Almighty.' The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'By Him in whose hands is my *nafs*, if he said that to Abraham, friend of the Merciful, or to another of the prophets, he would move aside out of the way, for honouring them is an obligation. Then they will reach the platforms of light to the right of the Throne, and they will sit and observe how He judges between the people. They will suffer neither the grief of death, nor be distressed in the period between death and resurrection, nor will the Call frighten them. They will be untroubled by the Judgement, the Scale or the Path over Hell. They will observe how He judges between the people. Everything they request will be granted, and they will intercede for no one but that he benefits. They will be granted whatever they desire from the Garden, and lodged in whichever place in the Garden they desire.[56]

Frequently, the measure by which the intentions of the *mujāhid* are judged is the

55 *Ibid.*, p.182, no.40. See also *Ibn al-Mubārak*, pp.62-63, no.7.
56 *Ibid.*, pp.162-164, no.26.

willingness and desire for martyrdom. For example, the tenth, thirty-seventh, and thirty-ninth *aḥādīth* all state that the true martyr is the one who desires to be martyred multiple times: in the last two-named, this is the only reward for which the martyr asks.[57]

A final subcategory of *aḥādīth* all emphasise the necessary integration of the *mujāhid* into the rest of society, upon which his maintenance is incumbent:

> al-Walīd said: 'Yaḥyā b. al-Harith passed by me and said: 'Our intention is to go out for this purpose; where is a horse upon which one can ride in the path of God? For I have heard al-ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān say: 'I heard Abū Umāma narrate from the Messenger of God (ṣ) that he said: 'He who does not take part in the *ghazw* or supply a *ghāzī*, or care for the people of a *ghāzī*, God will strike him with the catastrophe of the Day of Resurrection.'[58]

Similarly, the rewards of supporting jihād are shared between the *mujāhid* and society at large: the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and thirty-second both state that keeping horses for use in the path of God will be highly rewarded.[59] The strongest expression of this attitude is found in the twenty-ninth *ḥadīth*:

> ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-Azraq said: 'When ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir used to go out shooting each day, he used to make a man follow him. That man used to become angry, and he said: 'Shall I not tell you what I heard from the Messenger of God (ṣ)?' [The man] said: 'Yes.' He said: 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ) say: 'Indeed, for each arrow God will take three men into Paradise. The one who made it and hopes that his skill is good; the one who donates it in the path of God; the one who shoots it in the path of God. Shoot or ride, your shooting is better than your riding. Every pastime the believer pursues is without virtue save three: shooting his arrow from his bow; training his horse; playing with his family. For these are virtuous.' Then ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir died, leaving some sixty or seventy bows, each with a bag of arrows. He bequeathed them for the path of God. The Prophet (ṣ) said: 'Whosoever leaves the shooting of arrows after he masters it, it is a gift for which he is ungrateful.'[60]

Jihād is therefore presented as a communal endeavour.

It is evident from even this brief discussion that the *Kitāb al-jihād* of al-Sulamī, a work with which Ibn ʿAsākir was likely familiar,[61] had no serious

57 *Ibid.*, p.146, no.10; p.176, no.37; and pp.178-180, no.39.
58 *Ibid.*, p.158, no.20.
59 *Ibid.*, p.166, no.27; pp.166-168, no.28; and p.172, no.32.
60 *Ibid.*, p.168, no.29.
61 See Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*,

influence on Ibn ʿAsākir's understanding of jihād. It is only with Ibn ʿAsākir's presentation of jihād as a communal endeavour that any echo of al-Sulamī's work can be detected: al-Sulamī too considered the Muslim unity essential, and argued that it was incumbent upon everyone, no matter their station in life, to support those with authority over them in order to ensure the success of the jihād. Otherwise, not only is *siyar* entirely absent, but no reference is made either to the eschatological importance of jihād or the centrality of *jihād al-nafs*, which were the key components of al-Sulamī's understanding of jihād. The eschatological scheme of al-Sulamī, in which jihād became the means by which Jerusalem would be reconquered and the Hour initiated is ignored, and the term *nafs* is mentioned only infrequently, and only in the familiar command to fight with one's *nafs* and one's wealth, as for example one finds in the thirty-first tradition when the Prophet enjoins the Muslim community to '[s]trive against the hypocrites with your wealth, your *anfus*, and your tongues'.[62]

These passages give no indication how '*anfus*' should be understood in this context. Whilst it is possible that Ibn ʿAsākir plays upon the inherent ambiguity of the term to assert both the literal and figurative senses, this is perhaps too great a speculation: if Ibn ʿAsākir sought to impress upon his audience the importance of *jihād al-nafs*, then the obvious tradition to use would be that of the greater jihād, which being a concise statement of the idea of *jihād al-nafs* would be ideally suited for a work like the *Arbaʿūn*. Its absence, and the absence of any such traditions, leads necessarily to the conclusion that Ibn ʿAsākir did not seek to emphasise the importance of *jihād al-nafs*. On a purely pragmatic basis, this makes sense: the tradition of the greater jihād encourages the believer to leave behind the lesser, military jihād in favour of the greater, spiritual jihād, and thus runs entirely counter to Ibn ʿAsākir's purposes of exhorting the population to take part in the military jihād. Any alternative traditions, like for instance the one found in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* (wherein the *mujāhid* is described as striving against his *nafs*),[63] would have introduced unhelpful ambiguity, which the forty *aḥādīth* genre was

pp.42-46.

62 *Ibid.*, p.170, no.31.

63 *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.162, no.175.

ill-suited to answering.

While Ibn ʿAsākir was familiar with the eschatological traditions pertaining to al-Shām and Jerusalem,[64] the absence of the eschatological scheme can likewise be explained by reference to the political context in which Ibn ʿAsākir wrote. Al-Sulamī's eschatological scheme played the dual purposes of motivating his audience and also helping to assuage the problem posed by the lack of leadership. Ibn ʿAsākir faced no such problem: although the *aḥādīth* he use make no mention of the importance of leadership, Ibn ʿAsākir makes clear in the introduction that his work was commissioned by Nūr al-Dīn, whom he praises in the highest ways:

> The just king, the *zāhid*, the *mujāhid*, the *murābiṭ* – may God grant him success in that which is proper, help him with that which is beneficial for the people, furnish him with His favour for dealing with the rebellious, exalt him in victory with his army, and support him with aid [...][65]

The ruler, then, is a positive figure for Ibn ʿAsākir, a figure actively engaged in jihād: this is far from the disapprobation with which al-Sulamī described the ruler.

On his attitude to the ruler, Ibn ʿAsākir likewise disagrees with Ibn al-Mubārak, in whose *Kitāb al-jihād* there was no place for any intermediary authority between the individual *mujāhid* and God. Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* thus represents a cross fertilisation between the juristic model of jihād and Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād. It is further distinguished from both of these by the emphasis which Ibn ʿAsākir places on the social integration of the *mujāhid*. Ibn ʿAsākir's focus on jihād as a communal endeavour, in which the rewards of jihād are shared between both the *mujāhid* and those who supported him, is in direct contrast to the idea of jihād as advanced by Ibn al-Mubārak, for whom jihād was a personal endeavour fundamental to the individual's relationship with God. This development is no doubt a result of the importance of Sunnī unity and consensus in the twelfth-century Syrian context; a similar point was made by al-Sulamī, though for him the rewards for jihād were for the *mujāhid* alone.

Otherwise, however, it is striking the extent to which Ibn ʿAsākir's

64 *Faḍāʾil* traditions about al-Shām and Jerusalem, both eschatological and non-eschatological, can be found throughout *TMD*, vol.1. For instance, Ibn ʿAsākir devotes an entire chapter to variants of al-Sulamī's fifth tradition, wherein the Prophet sees his bookstand being transported to al-Shām as a beam of light. See *TMD*, vol.1, pp.101-113.

65 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.132.

understanding of jihād mirrors Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding. Not only is there no *siyar* in the *Arbaʿūn*, all of the key themes in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* are found in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn*: the merits of the *mujāhid*, the importance of right intention, and martyrdom as the culmination of jihād. In essence, Ibn ʿAsākir has reconstructed the main thrust of Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād, differing only when it comes to the communal nature of jihād and the necessity of leadership. These changes were made to render jihād appropriate for the socio-political context in which Ibn ʿAsākir was writing. The resemblance to Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād is hardly accidental. As mentioned in the introduction, Ibn ʿAsākir was aware of Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*, and familiar enough with the work to teach it. Likewise, three of the *aḥādīth* he uses in the *Arbaʿūn* are cited from Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*.[66]

As Mourad and Lindsay have highlighted, only one of the forty *aḥādīth* was transmitted to Ibn ʿAsākir by a Syrian scholar, the Damascene Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ḥamza al-Sulamī (d. 526/1132): this *ḥadīth* is not found in Ibn al-Mubārak's work. Otherwise, the majority of Ibn ʿAsākir's teachers were from Iraq and Iran.[67] Mourad and Lindsay suggest that Ibn ʿAsākir's focus on his non-Syrian teachers was to emphasise his credentials:

> By showcasing that he had studied with pious and prestigious scholars in the leading centers of religious scholarship of his day and that he had independent access to these hadiths from what was available in Damascus, Ibn ʿAsākir extends a powerful message to the sultan as well as to his Damascene colleagues regarding his command of, and qualifications in, the discipline of Ḥadīth.[68]

It is because of this preference for non-Damascene scholars that Mourad and Lindsay suggest that Ibn ʿAsākir chose to ignore al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād*, both as a source for his own writings and in his biographical notice of al-Sulamī.[69]

Applying the same methodology which was used on ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* and Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*, with the same caveats that were

66 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, pp.138-140, no.5; p.150, no.14; p.182, no.40.
67 For discussion of Ibn ʿAsākir's teachers, see Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*, pp.67-69.
68 *Ibid.*, p.67.
69 *Ibid.*, p.44.

raised then, to the internal transmission of the *Arbaʿūn* does little to change this impression, as the results in Table VI demonstrate. Although Syrians did account for a higher proportion of the transmission in previous stages, it was only at the tenth stage that they accounted for more than thirty percent of the total number of transmissions. This cannot be explained purely on the basis of Mourad and Lindsay's thesis, though it does go some way to explaining it. Ibn ʿAsākir was familiar with Ibn al-Mubārak's work and was – insofar as the available evidence suggests – responsible for introducing it to Damascene society: compiling a collection of *aḥādīth* based on this work would have not been scholarly, nor would it have demonstrated the extent of Ibn ʿAsākir's travelling in search of knowledge. Hence, this necessitated his looking elsewhere for suitable alternatives.

No. of transmissions per region	**Region**	***Stage of Transmission***										
		I	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**VI**	**VII**	**VIII**	**IX**	**X**	**XI**
	al-Shām	1	-	3	4	7	7	8	5	7	8	-
	Egypt	-	-	-	1	6	7	6	2	-	1	-
	Herat	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Hijaz	-	-	-	-	1	5	8	8	13	8	2
	Iran	20	21	23	13	6	1	-	1	-	1	-
	Iraq	20	17	16	19	17	9	9	6	1	-	-
	Yemen	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Unknown	-	2	-	3	8	10	10	16	16	8	2
	Total	53	40	42	40	45	40	41	38	37	26	4

Table VI: Geographical distribution of the Arbaʿūn*.*

Furthermore, Ibn ʿAsākir states in the introduction that he was specifically asked to provide *aḥādīth* which were both clear in meaning and sound in transmission: the *aḥādīth* he collects in the *Arbaʿūn* are all straightforward, and only one *ḥadīth* includes an anonymous transmitter.[70] The desire for soundness is significant because it necessarily discounted many of the *aḥādīth* found in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*, which lack complete *asānīd*. It is for this reason, then that many of Ibn al-Mubārak's *aḥādīth* were not included within the *Kutub al-sitta*,

70 *Al-Arbaʿūn*, p.172, no.33.

and it was likely also for this reason that Ibn ʿAsākir chose not to rely heavily upon the *Kitāb al-jihād*. Instead, he sought similar traditions which were both well-attested within the *sunna* and with which he could articulate an amended version of Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād.

In light of this, it is possible to evaluate Mourad and Lindsay's thesis that Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* represents the reorientation of Sunnī jihād ideology. In particular, they focus on the fact that at no point does Ibn ʿAsākir specify a particular enemy against which jihād should be prosecuted, and that the *aḥādīth* chosen are flexible enough to apply to any enemy. On this basis, they argue that Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* was central to a reorientation in Sunnī jihād ideology which made it applicable to other Muslim groups, particularly the Shīʿīs. Whether this was the motivation behind Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* or whether this was merely its outcome is uncertain, but it has to be noted that Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* likewise does not specify any particular enemy: it cannot be argued that Ibn al-Mubārak understood jihād to apply to both Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Instead, in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* no reference was made to the Byzantine enemy because, for Ibn al-Mubārak and his audience, the enemy were important only insofar as they facilitated the quest of the individual *mujāhid* for martyrdom.

Whilst Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* does represent a reorientation of Sunnī jihād ideology away from the *siyar*-laden edifice it had become over the centuries, this reorientation is towards and modelled upon an older understanding of jihād. The *Arbaʿūn* is not so much indicative of a new direction as it is the reinvention of Ibn al-Mubārak's eighth-century jihād ideas for the twelfth-century context, albeit expressed through the prism of the sunna. Consequently, then, Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād was fundamentally important to Ibn ʿAsākir's understanding of jihād. The importance of Ibn al-Mubārak is further evidenced by the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, to which attention will now turn.

IBN ʿASĀKIR'S REPRESENTATION OF IBN AL-MUBĀRAK

The *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* is not usually discussed in the context of jihād:

instead, the focus is placed on it as part of the *faḍāʾil al-Shām* discourse, with the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* celebrating the holiness of al-Shām through the lives and achievements of those luminaries associated with the region. Although the beginning of its composition pre-dated Ibn ʿAsākir's relationship with Nūr al-Dīn by some twenty years, its popularity and scope are due to the patronage of the latter: it is not inconceivable, then, that the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* might bear witness to Ibn ʿAsākir's efforts to encourage his co-religionists to fight against the Franks.

The main obstacle to addressing this is, however, the sheer scale of the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, which precludes any systematic analysis in the present study. Instead, in order to test whether the work evidences Ibn ʿAsākir's jihād activities, attention will be paid to Ibn ʿAsākir's biographical notice of Ibn al-Mubārak.[71] Ibn al-Mubārak is particularly useful as a case study not only because of his jihād pedigree, but also because – as a result of his fame – he was included in a great many biographical sources from different regions and traditions. Consequently, any reshaping of Ibn al-Mubārak's image by Ibn ʿAsākir will be more readily apparent because of the wealth of material with which Ibn ʿAsākir's notice might be fruitfully compared.

That Ibn ʿAsākir did reshape the images of his subjects has been amply demonstrated by a collection of studies edited by Lindsay. In his discussion of Ibn ʿAsākir's notices of the Rāshidūn caliphs, Fred M. Donner highlights various techniques of compilation. For instance, after giving the name of the subject in full, describing their connection with al-Shām, and listing those from whom they narrated and those who narrated from them, Ibn ʿAsākir includes a few selected *aḥādīth* which the subject narrated: this first *ḥadīth* is often instructive, for it is the first information provided in *khabar* form (that is, it has both an *isnād* and *matn*).[72] Donner notes that by placing these *aḥādīth* in 'an especially prominent position, they may serve almost as a motto for the whole biography to follow.'[73] Thus for

71 *TMD*, vol.32, pp.396-484, no.3555.
72 Fred M. Donner, '"Uthmān and the Rāshidūn Caliphs in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*: a Study in Strategies of Compilation' in James E. Lindsay (ed.), *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton, 2001), p.51.
73 *Ibid.*, p.52.

example, the first *ḥadīth* attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib:

> Abū al-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila said: 'We were with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and a man came to him and said: 'What did the Prophet (ṣ) used to tell you in secret?' He became angry and said: 'The Prophet (ṣ) did not tell me anything in secret which he concealed from the people, other than four expressions which he narrated to me.' He said: 'What were those, o *amīr al-muʾminīn*? He [ʿAlī] said: 'God curses whosover curses his parents; God curses whosoever sacrifices to another god; God curses whosoever entertains innovation; God curses whosoever changes the boundary markers of the earth.'[74]

This is unabashedly anti-Shīʿī, for ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib denies having any special knowledge: in this way, Ibn ʿAsākir uses ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as a mouthpiece to attack Shīʿism.[75] Donner also highlights that Ibn ʿAsākir only gives variants of positive reports, thereby minimising negative reports, in order to emphasise that the *rāshidūn* were paragons of virtue and moral exemplars.[76]

Likewise, Lindsay notes that Ibn ʿAsākir's portrayal of the caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (d. 64/683) minimises Yazīd's involvement in the death of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 61/680), and seeks to undermine the accusations of drunkenness levelled at the caliph by interspersing them with positive reports – some attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās – and transmitting the most negative report through a weak *isnād*.[77] Furthermore, Lindsay notes that Ibn ʿAsākir incorporates three versions of an apocalyptic tradition which anticipates Yazīd and his father as the two virtuous sovereigns of al-Shām.[78] Lindsay demonstrates that in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, Ibn ʿAsākir seeks to redeem Yazīd and present him as a valid and reliable *ḥadīth* transmitter and an intelligent son, considered by his father worthy of the caliphate.

Cobb points out that Ibn ʿAsākir uses the placement of particular reports to inform them. In his notice of the controversial Abū al-Haydhām al-Murrī (d. 182/798), who was both a heroic warrior and rebel against caliphal authority, Ibn ʿAsākir places positive and balanced accounts about Abū al-Haydhām al-Murrī's

74 *TMD*, vol.42, pp.4-5.
75 For a fuller discussion, see Donner, '"Uthmān and the Rāshidūn Caliphs in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*', pp.52-53.
76 *Ibid.*, p.60.
77 James E. Lindsay, 'Caliphal and Moral Exemplar? ʿAlī b. ʿAsākir's Portrait of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya', *Der Islam* 74 (1997), p.272.
78 *Ibid.*, p.275-277.

revolt between more ambiguous material in order to temper the positive image of him: in this way, Ibn ʿAsākir stresses that Abū al-Haydhām al-Murrī was an agent of *fitna* (in its political sense of civil disorder), and that his heroic qualities would not save him from damnation. The notice therefore becomes a discourse on the perils of rebellion, and highly pertinent to the twelfth-century context, wherein Islamic unity had come to be stressed.[79] Finally, Mourad has argued that in the biography of Jesus, Ibn ʿAsākir chose to draw upon traditions which focused on Jesus as a Muslim prophet, as a model ascetic, and on his eschatological role. He argues that Ibn ʿAsākir does this in order to disassociate Jesus from the Franks, whom Ibn ʿAsākir considers heretics and infidels.[80]

On Ibn ʿAsākir's treatment of Ibn al-Mubārak, however, nothing has been written. Ibn al-Mubārak's biographical tradition more broadly has been studied, most notably by Denaro.[81] She argues that '[w]hat emerges from the sources is a biographical profile in which the ascetic/mystic model ([Ibn al-Mubārak] as *zāhid* or proto-Sufi) overlaps with and completes the proto-Sunni model (the two roles being not necessarily conflicting).[82] Her argument rests on the exploration of two themes: Ibn al-Mubārak as the prototype of the 'pious merchant', and Ibn al-Mubārak as a hajji and *mujāhid*.

Denaro notes that as the biographical tradition develops an increasing number of stories are incorporated which assert that Ibn al-Mubārak was able to preserve his autonomy from the ʿAbbāsid state because he was a merchant. Somewhat paradoxically, then, being a merchant gave him the ability to retreat from the affairs of the world. Denaro further highlights that this theme recurs in the biographies of other Khurasani figures, like Ibn al-Mubārak's contemporary Ibn Adham, and the ninth-century figures Shaqīq al-Balkhī (d. 194/810) and Sarī al-Saqaṭī (d. 253/867), all three of whom are described as merchants who also

79 Paul M. Cobb, 'Community versus Contention: Ibn ʿAsākir and ʿAbbāsid Syria' in James E. Lindsay (ed.), *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton, 2001), pp.100-126.

80 Suleiman A. Mourad, 'Jesus According to Ibn ʿAsākir' in James E. Lindsay (ed.), *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton, 2001), pp.24-43.

81 Denaro, "From Marw to the *Ṯuġūr*', 125-144. Bonner and Tor have both also discussed Ibn al-Mubārak's biographical tradition, but not in the context of its development. See Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, pp.119-122; and Tor *Violent Order*, pp.51-60.

82 Denaro, 'From Marw to the *Ṯuġūr*', p.128.

practised asceticism and jihād.[83] Regarding the second theme, Ibn al-Mubārak as a performer of hajj and jihād, Denaro draws upon a number of stories which emphasise the importance of both to Ibn al-Mubārak. In particular, a number of stories emphasise Ibn al-Mubārak's generosity when performing hajj: in some cases he funds the entire pilgrimage. Denaro argues, however, that it was Ibn al-Mubārak's jihād activities which were most lauded in the biographical tradition. She makes a number of sound observations: jihād is presented as the equivalent to pilgrimage and is closely associated with asceticism, and that hajj and jihād represent a choice of 'marginality in relation to the world.'[84]

The list of biographical notices she uses is, however, oddly truncated: Ibn ʿAsākir's notice is entirely absent from the discussion, as too are the notices compiled by Ibn Abī Ḥātim, whose foundational importance to the biographical tradition at large will be discussed below. The absence of Ibn ʿAsākir's notice in particular necessarily distorts the discussion of jihād in the biographical tradition of Ibn al-Mubārak: whilst as Denaro notes, the first independent report about Ibn al-Mubarak's jihād activities does appear in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's notice, it was not until Ibn ʿAsākir that this side of Ibn al-Mubārak would be explored in greater detail. Before discussing this, however, it is necessary to discuss Ibn al-Mubārak's biographical tradition more generally in order to contextualize Ibn ʿAsākir's portrayal of Ibn al-Mubarak.

The Biographical Tradition before Ibn ʿAsākir

The biographical tradition of Ibn al-Mubārak dates from the ninth century onwards and, as stated above, is particularly expansive: whilst the edition of the *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq* lists only an additional eleven sources in which he appears, Muṣṭafā Abd al-Qādir ʿAṭā's edition of the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* lists some forty-four sources in which Ibn al-Mubārak is mentioned.[85] Although some of these notices provide no biographical information, the vast majority of them do: even discounting those which provide no information, this list is still too great to be

83 *Ibid.*, pp.130-134.
84 *Ibid.*, p.138.
85 *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, pp.151-52.

meaningfully discussed here. In any case, many of the shorter notices, particularly those from the ninth century, tend to be perfunctory and provide only the barest of information, which is essentially the same across all of them: his *kunya* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, he was a *mawla* of the Banū Ḥanẓala, and he died in the year 181/797.[86] The notable exception to this is found in the *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (*The Book of the Major Classes*) of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), wherein Ibn Ṣaʿd was the first to stress Ibn al-Mubārak's reputation as both an ascetic and *ghāzī*:

> ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak: his *kunya* is Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was born in the year 118/736 and pursued knowledge, relating many narrations. He composed many books on the categories and classes of knowledge, which people related from him, and people wrote them down from them. He composed poetry about asceticism and encouragement for jihād. He went to Iraq, the Ḥijāz, al-Shām, Egypt and Yemen; he heard a great amount of knowledge. He was trustworthy and a reliable imām, an authority of many *ḥadīth*. He died at Hīt whilst departing from the *ghazw* in the year 181/797; he was sixty-three years old.[87]

In the tenth century, the notices about Ibn al-Mubārak start to increase in length, and the development of the biographical tradition of Ibn al-Mubārak begins in earnest. Between Ibn Saʿd and Ibn ʿAsākir there are five longer notices of significance. These are found in the *Taqdimat al-maʿrifa li-kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* (*The Learned Introduction to the Book of Disparaging and Declaring Trustworthy*) of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938), and the *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* proper;[88] the *Kitāb al-thiqāt* (*Book of the Trustworthy*) of Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965);[89] the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ* (*The Ornament of the Saints and the Classes of the Sincere*) of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038);[90] the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (*History of Baghdad*) of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071);[91] and the *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik* (*The Ordering of Perception*

86 See for example: ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Madīnī, *Kitāb al-ʿilal*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Aʿzamī (Beirut, 1972), p.40; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-tabaqāt*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarā (Baghdad, 1967), p.323; al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 4 vols. Hyderabad, 1942-1972) vol.3, p.212, no.679; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkasha (Cairo, 1960), p.511.

87 Ibn Ṣaʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, vol.9, p.376, no.4471.

88 Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, 5 vols. (Hyderabad, 1952), vol.1, pp,262-281; and vol.2.ii, pp.179-180, no.838. The first volume is devoted entirely to the *Taqdima*.

89 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, vol.7, pp.7-8.

90 Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1938), vol.8, pp.162-190, no.397.

91 *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, pp.151-168, no.5307.

and Facilitation of Procedures for Knowledge of the Most Eminent in the Madhhab of Mālik) of ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Qāḍī (d. 544/1149).[92]

The material contained in these notices can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there is what can be understood as the quantitative material. This is the basic biographical information about Ibn al-Mubārak: the onomastic, chronological, and geographical information which is provided by Ibn Saʿd and the other ninth-century biographers. To this category can be added more general information about Ibn al-Mubārak's reputation as a scholar and religious figure, his tribal affiliation, with most stating that he was a client of the Banū Ḥanẓala,[93] and the circumstances of his death, around which there is some ambiguity. Some reports state that he died in Hīt, others that he died in Tarsus and was merely buried in Hīt, though all agree that he died a *ghāzī*. In essence, however, this type of material remains stable throughout the biographical tradition from its very beginning.

This quantitative material provides the framework onto which the later biographers attached additional material, which may be termed qualitative: this material is essentially subjective, anecdotal, and doxographical. The line between the two different types of material is not, however, entirely clear cut. For instance, beginning with al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī one finds a number of reports which provide much more information about Ibn al-Mubārak's life: one report notes that his father was Turkish and his mother from Khwarizm; others tell of his childhood studies, his learning, his piety, his charity, his travels, etc. While these stories do provide more information about Ibn al-Mubārak and allow the expansion of the almost schematic biography that emerges from the earlier sources, the lateness of their attestation does make them difficult if not impossible to confirm. Whether genuine or not, the increasing prominence of this material within the biographical tradition – culminating in Ibn ʿAsākir's lengthy notice – does point towards a conceptual shift in the writing of biography, wherein earlier figures began to be

92 Al-Qāḍī ʿIyād, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik*, ed. Aḥmad Bakīr Maḥmūd, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1967), vol.1, pp.300-309.

93 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī introduces some disagreement. He includes a report which states that Ibn al-Mubārak '[…] was a client of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, from the Banū Ṣaʿd Tamīm.' That the majority of notices, including the earlier ones, state that he was a *mawla* of the Banū Ḥanẓala suggests that this is the correct tribal affiliation. See *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, pp.152.

reworked almost hagiographically as exemplars of moral behaviour.

Although the unquestioning acceptance of this material does of course run the risk of confusing the imagined Ibn al-Mubārak with the historical Ibn al-Mubārak, the problem of whether this material reflects historical reality is not relevant to the present discussion. The focus here is upon the biographical tradition as a literary phenomenon independent from the objective facts of a person's life and capable of its own independent development: whether Ibn al-Mubārak did or did not do something is not as important here as what later scholars *believed* he did or did not do. By approaching the biographical tradition from a later perspective the historical Ibn al-Mubārak may recede, but this approach reveals not merely how Ibn al-Mubārak came to be regarded after his death, but also the self-perceptions of later generations and how they sought to shape and create their group identities through the manipulation of the images of their forebears.

After Ibn Ṣaʿd, Ibn Abī Ḥātim was the most important pre-eleventh century compiler of information about Ibn al-Mubārak. He includes Ibn al-Mubārak in both the *Taqdimat kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* and the *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*: the entry in the *Taqdima* provides more qualitative material, while the entry in the *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* focuses more on quantitative material, though there is some overlap between the two works. For instance, both notices include the following report:

> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān narrated to us: 'Abū Bakr b. Abī Dunyā narrated to us, he said: 'Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Samtī narrated to me, he said; 'Abū Uthman al-Kalbī narrated to me, he said: 'al-Awzāʿī said to me: 'Did you see Ibn al-Mubārak?' I said: 'No.' He said: 'If you see him, he would be a solace for your eye.'[94]

The entry in the *Taqdima* is, however, more important for the development of Ibn al-Mubārak's tradition because many of the reports contained within it would go on to appear in later notices. For example, the report attributed to al-Awzāʿī appears again in the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, and twice in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[95] Likewise, there are other reports which praise Ibn al-Mubārak

94 Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ*, vol.1, p.267; and vol.2.ii, p.180.
95 Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. vol.8, p.162; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.10,

and which recur throughout the biographical tradition: he is considered one of the four imāms, the imām of the scholars. The most frequent refrain, however, is simply that the originator of the report has never seen the like of Ibn al-Mubārak.

Of particular interest are a number of reports wherein Ibn al-Mubārak is compared to Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), who appears to have been Ibn al-Mubārak's only rival in reputation. For example:

> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān narrated to us: 'My father narrated to us: 'Ismāʿil b. Maslama al-Qaʿnabī narrated to us, he said: 'Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtamar b. Sulaymān narrated to me, he said: 'I said to my father: 'O, father, who is the *faqīh* of the Arabs?' He said: 'Sufyān al-Thawrī.' So after Sufyān al-Thawrī died, I said to my father: 'Who is the *faqīh* of the Arabs?' He said: 'ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak.'[96]

Likewise, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, who is a frequent authority for this type of hortatory material, praises Ibn al-Mubārak at the expense of Sufyān al-Thawrī:

> Abū Nashayṭ Muḥammad b. Hārūn narrated to us, he said: 'I heard Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād say: 'I said to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī: who is best in your opinion, Ibn al-Mubārak or Sufyān al-Thawrī?' So he said: 'Ibn al-Mubārak.' So I said: 'Verily, the people disagree with you.' He said: 'Verily, the people did not put this to the test. I have never seen the like of Ibn al-Mubārak.'[97]

This report continues to circulate within the biographical tradition: it appears again in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* and the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[98] Finally, Ibn Abī Ḥātim includes two reports wherein Sufyān al-Thawrī makes the comparison between himself and Ibn al-Mubārak, in the first of which he states simply that: 'If I strove mightily to be like Ibn al-Mubārak for three days in a year, I would not succeed.'[99] Such reports are attempts to arrogate the intellectual and religious prestige of Sufyān al-Thawrī for Ibn al-Mubārak, and this seems to have been a conventional polemical approach: thus in his notice of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim includes reports wherein Ibn al-Mubārak praises Sufyān al-Thawrī.[100] Such comparisons would undergo further development in the biographical tradition.

p.156; *TMD*, vol.32, p.411.

96 Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ*, vol.1, p.262; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. vol.8, p.163.

97 Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ*, vol.1, pp.265-266.

98 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, p.159; *TMD*, vol.32, p.419.

99 Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ*, vol.1, p.266; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. vol.8, p.163; *TMD*, vol.32, p.411.

100 Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ*, vol.1, p.56.

Thus, even a cursory reading of the later notices confirms that the *Taqdima* either directly or indirectly influenced, either by providing reports that would be recycled verbatim, or as inspiration for new reports, the subsequent development of the biographical tradition. In contrast to the later sources, however, there is no overriding biographical narrative within Ibn Abī Ḥātim's notice of Ibn al-Mubārak in the *Taqdima*: there is no attempt to shape perception of Ibn al-Mubārak beyond the fact that he was both a good Muslim and a proponent of *ḥadīth* criticism. Instead, the reports compiled by Ibn Abī Ḥātim are grouped thematically under section titles to indicate the desired interpretation. Thus for example, the merits of Ibn al-Mubārak are all grouped together in one section, reports of his generosity in another, his opinions about other scholars, and the opinions of other scholars about him, etc. Interestingly, there is no section concerning his practice of jihād.

It is only with the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* that any particular side of Ibn al-Mubārak came to be emphasised. Abū Nuʿaym begins the notice by describing Ibn al-Mubārak as the 'constant companion of the Qurʾān, hajj and jihād.'[101] This notice articulates the image of Ibn al-Mubārak as *zāhid*: the reports tend to focus on Ibn al-Mubārak's *zuhd* and his closeness to Sufism. Whilst there are occasional references to raiding and to jihād, these are in the minority. For example, Abū Nuʿaym includes one of the traditions found in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*, wherein the likeness of the *mujāhid* is compared to that of the one who fasts and prays.[102] Additionally, he includes the following report:

> Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥiyyān narrated to us: 'Abu al-ʿAbbās al-Jamāl narrated to us: 'Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim narrated to us, he said: 'Ibn Abī Jamīl reported from Ibn al-Mubārak that a man asked him about *ribāṭ*, so he said: 'Perform *ribāṭ* with your *nafs* for the truth until you make it keep to the truth; for this is the most meritorious *ribāṭ*.'[103]

This is obviously reminiscent of the idea of jihād al-nafs, which is found in a somewhat inchoate form in Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*. In this way, Ibn al-Mubārak's jihād activity finds itself subordinated to ascetic concerns. Given the importance of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* for the study of early Sufism, it is hardly

101 Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. vol.8, p162.
102 *Ibid.,* p.173.
103 *Ibid.*, p.171.

surprising to find Ibn al-Mubārak's portrayed as a *zāhid* and something of a proto-Sufi.

This image of Ibn al-Mubārak continues in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, though al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's notice is ultimately more doxographical: much of it is given over to praise statements attributed to other eighth- and ninth-century figures, which draw heavily upon those found in the *Taqdima*. For instance, the excellence of Ibn al-Mubārak is stressed by a report attributed to Ibn ʿUyayna, wherein he states that he '[...] contemplated the authority of the Companions and the authority of Ibn al-Mubārak, and only considered them more meritorious than Ibn al-Mubārak because of their being companions of the Prophet (ṣ) and their *ghazw* with him.'[104] The comparisons between Ibn al-Mubārak and Sufyān al-Thawrī become more elaborate:

> Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭān reported to us: 'ʿUthmān b. Aḥmad al-Daqqāq reported to us: 'Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Marwazī narrated to us: 'I heard al-Wazīr Muḥammad b. Aʿayn say: 'I heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī say – and he came to Baghdad concerning a sale of a house to him: 'A group of *ḥadīth* masters met with him and said to him: 'You sat with Sufyān al-Thawrī and listened to him, and you listened to ʿAbd Allāh: which of them is more acceptable?' So he said: 'What you are saying! If Sufyān strove mightily one day to be like ʿAbd Allāh, he would not succeed.'[105]

In later reports, Sufyān al-Thawrī reiterates his inability to be like Ibn al-Mubārak even for a day, whilst in others Sufyān al-Thawrī or someone in his presence proclaims Ibn al-Mubārak to have been the most knowledgeable man in both the East and the West.[106]

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's notice is particularly important because it is the first to include an anecdote describing in detail Ibn al-Mubārak's military exploits:

> I heard ʿAbda b. Sulaymān – he means al-Marwazī – say: 'We were in a raiding party with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak in the *Bilād al-Rūm* and we stumbled upon the enemy. When the two armies met, a man came out from the enemy and called for a duel. So a man went out to him and he killed him. Then another, and he killed him; then another, and he killed him. Then he called out for a duel, and so a man went out to him, pursued him for an

104 *Ibid.*, pp.161-162.
105 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, p.160.
106 *Ibid.*, p.160.

> hour, struck him, and killed him. The people then crowded around him, and I was amongst them. He covered his face with his sleeve, and so I took the fringe of his sleeve and pulled it away: it was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak! He said to me: 'O Abū ʿAmr, you are one of those who expose us to evil![107]

The point of this report is not merely to demonstrate Ibn al-Mubārak's military prowess, but to demonstrate that Ibn al-Mubārak performed jihād not out of some desire for fame, but out of humility and piety. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī concludes his notice with three dreams in which Ibn al-Mubārak appears. The first of these stresses Ibn al-Mubārak's jihād credentials:

> 'I saw Ibn al-Mubārak in a dream, and so I said to him: 'Which deeds do you find best?' He said: 'The matter in which I was engaged.' I said: '*Ribāṭ* and jihād?' He said: 'Yes.' I said: 'So what has He done with you?' He said: 'He pardoned me for sin and subsequent sins, and a woman from the People of the Garden spoke to me, or a woman from the *ḥūr al-ʿayn*.[108]

With al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's notice, then, one sees the beginning of Ibn al-Mubārak as the exemplary *mujāhid*, embodying the ethos of his *Kitāb al-jihād*.

Finally, there is the notice compiled by ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā in his *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik*. Unlike the other notices, this notice comes from the Muslim West: ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Qāḍī was a prominent and committed Mālikī scholar under the Almoravid dynasty, serving as the qāḍī of both Granada and Ceuta: he was involved in preaching jihād against the Almohads on behalf of the Almoravids.[109] This notice represents a distinct branch of the biographical tradition of Ibn al-Mubārak, sharing reports only with the earliest sources. That being said, the image of Ibn al-Mubārak which emerges is nonetheless similar to that found in the eastern sources: Ibn al-Mubārak's piety and asceticism are emphasised, whilst his jihād exploits are referred only minimally:

> And it was said that he used to go on pilgrimage one year, and raiding another, and he would not pass through a town without saying to its *shakyhs* from the learned and the poor: 'Whosoever wants to go on pilgrimage, let him come with me, and we will provide their provisions.'

107 *Ibid.*, pp.161-162.
108 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, p.166.
109 For al-Qāḍī ʿIyād's jihād preaching, see Linda G. Jones, 'A case of medieval political "flip-flopping"? Shifting allegiances in the sermons of al-Qadi ʿIyad' in Franco Morenzoni (ed.), *Preaching and Political Society: From Late Antiquity to the End of the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2013), pp.65-110.

> And he would do the same when going on the *ghazw*.[110]

ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā includes some poetry ascribed to Ibn al-Mubārak, one of which praises *ribāṭ*:

> All life I see as hardship,
> Save leaning on the spear in the shade of the horse,
>
> And standing in dark nights,
> As a guard of the people in the remotest of outposts.[111]

This poem is absent from the eastern branch of the biographical tradition, which suggests that its circulation was limited to the Andalusi branch of the biographical tradition. Nevertheless, the Andalusi branch, like the eastern branch, presents a similar image of Ibn al-Mubārak as a pious ascetic: his reputation as a *mujāhid* was subordinated to his reputation as a *zāhid*. It was only with Ibn ʿAsākir that Ibn al-Mubārak's jihād credentials were developed more fully.

IBN AL-MUBĀRAK IN THE *TA'RĪKH MADĪNAT DIMASHQ*

That Ibn ʿAsākir had a particular image of Ibn al-Mubārak is made clear at the beginning of the notice: after giving Ibn al-Mubārak's full name, stating that he came to Damascus, and listing his teachers and students, Ibn ʿAsākir begins the notice proper by quoting two *aḥādīth*. The first stresses the importance of intention over action:

> It used to please us when a Bedouin would come to question the Messenger of God (ṣ). So a Bedouin came and asked him: 'O Messenger of God! When will the Hour be established?' Salat was called, and he stood to perform salat, and when he finished his salat, he said: 'Who is the questioner?' He said, 'I am, O Messenger of God.' He said: 'And what have you prepared for it?' He said: 'I have not prepared much in the way of salat or fasting, but I love God and his Messenger.' So the Prophet (ṣ) said: 'A man is with those whom he loves.' He [Anas b. Mālik] said: 'I did not see the Muslims be happy with anything after Islam which made them happier than it.'[112]

The second, which Ibn ʿAsākir quotes from Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*, states

110 al-Qāḍī ʿIyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, p.302.
111 *Ibid.*, p.306.
112 *TMD*, vol.32, p.398.

the following:

> The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: 'There is no soul which dies in a good position with God which would return to the world, having the world and all which is in it, except the martyr who, on seeing the merits of martyrdom, wishes to return so that he might be killed again.[113]

Taken together, these *aḥādīth* act as a *summa* of Ibn al-Mubārak's conception of jihād, stressing as they do the key point that jihād culminates with martyrdom, and that the intention behind both acts dictates their worthiness. Ibn ʿAsākir begins the notice by impressing upon his audience the jihād ethos which Ibn al-Mubārak expounds in his *Kitāb al-jihād*: the implication is that Ibn al-Mubārak embodies it, that he is an 'exemplary *mujāhid*'. Aside from these two *aḥādīth*, Ibn ʿAsākir emphasises Ibn al-Mubārak's role as a *mujāhid* by incorporating additional jihād material, which can be divided into three types: accounts of Ibn al-Mubārak's fighting; a jihād poem attributed to Ibn al-Mubārak; and dreams wherein Ibn al-Mubārak posthumously stresses the importance of jihād.

Dealing firstly with the accounts of Ibn al-Mubārak's fighting, Ibn ʿAsākir includes two reports: the first of these is the above-quoted report from the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, which Ibn ʿAsākir includes via al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's work. This is then immediately followed by a variant:

> ʿAbd Allāh b. Sinān reported to us, he said: 'I was with Ibn al-Mubārak and al-Muʿtamar b. Sulaymān in Tarsus, and he shouted to the people: 'The trumpet! The trumpet! [Meaning the call to arms.]' So Ibn al-Mubārak and al-Muʿtamar went, and the people went. Once the Muslims and the enemy had fallen into formation, a man from the people of Rūm came forth and sought a duel. So one of the Muslims walked out to him; the infidel charged the Muslim and killed him, [and continued] until he killed six of the Muslims in duels, and he began to strut between the lines and seek a duel, and no one went out to him. Then Ibn al-Mubārak turned to me and said: 'O ʿAbd Allāh, relate to me an event [so-and-so].'
>
> [ʿAbd Allāh b. Sinān] said: 'He urged his mount and went to the infidel, and contended with him for an hour before killing him. He sought a duel with another infidel and killed him, [and continued] until he had killed six of the infidels in duels. He sought a duel, and they were as if kept from him. So then he mounted and looked between the two sides and then withdrew. I did not see anything then all of a sudden Ibn al-Mubārak was in the place where he had been, and he said to me: 'O ʿAbd Allāh, if you narrate this

113 *Ibid.*, p.398; and *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.74, no.26.

> once and I am alive' – then he mentioned a few words – he said: 'Do not narrate this while I live.'[114]

This version is more developed than that found in the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, though it still functions to stress Ibn al-Mubārak's military prowess, piety, and humility. In fact, this report enhances Ibn al-Mubārak's reputation due to the main differences between the report. Firstly, there is the number of duels which Ibn al-Mubārak fights: in the first, Ibn al-Mubārak fights only one; in the second, he fights six. Indeed, Ibn al-Mubārak seemingly defeats the Byzantines single-handedly, for no one dares to accept his final challenge. Secondly, this version preserves Ibn al-Mubārak's anonymity: his companion is convinced by Ibn al-Mubārak not to tell anyone about his deeds whilst he still lives. In this way, it takes the message of the earlier version – that gathering fame is not a worthy intention – to the next logical level by stressing that fame, even if it is not sought, is still dangerous.[115]

Ibn ʿAsākir again stresses the importance of spirituality to jihād in a third report. In the report, Ibn al-Mubārak is leading men against the Byzantines. One evening he and his companion, Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr, leave their encampment and ride to a river, whereupon Ibn al-Mubārak performs his ablutions and spends the night in prayer. In the morning, he tells Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr to perform his ablutions, and Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr states that he has already done so. Ibn al-Mubārak then does not speak to him until they return to the encampment.[116] The import of the story is simple, for it contrasts the good conduct of Ibn al-Mubārak with the poor conduct of Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr, whom it can be assumed lacked the proper intention in carrying out jihād.

These two reports are immediately followed by a poem attributed to Ibn al-Mubārak. This is the first occurrence of the poem in the written record, though it reappears in later notices. Ibn ʿAsākir provides two *asānīd* for the poem, both of

114 *TMD*, vol.32, pp.448-449.

115 The *topos* of single combat between a Muslim and a Byzantine is nothing new, and the narrative structure of both reports reflect narratives typical of the Muslim-Byzantine frontier. The novelty in both of these reports, however, is the important religious dimension, which emphasises the importance of the intent behind fighting. For discussion of this topos, see Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source Critical Study* (Princeton, 1994), pp.168-169; and Marius Canard, 'La prise d'Heraclée et les relations entre Hārūn ar-Rashīd et l'empereur Nicéphore 1er', *Byzantion* 32 (1962), pp.345-379.

116 *TMD*, vol.32, p.435.

which indicate that the poem had some sort of immediate afterlife in the *thughūr* at Nusaybin. The preamble before the poem proper states that Ibn al-Mubārak dictated the verses to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Sukayna in Tarsus, who wrote them down during a raid. He then transmitted them to Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, with the first *isnād* giving the year 177/792-793, and the second the year 170/786-7.[117] The poem reads:

> O worshipper of the two sanctuaries, if you see us,
> Then you would know that in worship, you are playing.
>
> He who would dye his cheeks with his tears,
> Our throats are dyed with our own blood.
>
> Or he who would tire his horse in some spurious deed,
> Our horses are tired in the Day of *Ṣabīḥa*.
>
> The scent of perfume is for you; but our scent is
> The dust of hooves, which is more pleasant.
>
> And the sayings of our Prophet have come to us,
> A true and faithful saying, which cannot be denied:
>
> "Not equal are the dust of the horses of God
> on the nose of a man, and the smoke of a blazing fire."[118]
>
> This, the Book of God pronounces amongst us:
> "The *shahīd* is not dead." This cannot be denied.[119]

Immediately following, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Sukayna then notes that he took the poem to Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, who was moved to tears by it. In exchange for the poem, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ narrated the following *ḥadīth*:

> A man said: 'O Messenger of God, tell me the deeds by which I might obtain the robes of the *mujāhidīn* in the Path of God'. The Prophet (ṣ) said to him: 'Can you pray without cease, and can you fast without cease?' He said: 'O Prophet of God! I am too weak to be able to do that.' Then the Prophet (ṣ) said: 'By Him in whose hands is my *nafs*, if you had taken that upon yourself, then you would not have reached the merit of the *mujāhidīn* in

117 *Ibid.*, p.449.

118 This is a paraphrase of a popular *ḥadīth*, variants of which can be found in the following works: *Ibn al-Mubārak*, p.76, no.30; *Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, vol.2, pp.372-374, nos.3107-3115; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.4, p.320, no.2774; *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, vol.3, pp.271-272, no.1633, and vol.4, p.144, no.2311. Ibn al-Mubārak is the source for no.3108 in the *Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, and for both of the variants in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*.

119 *TMD*, vol.32, pp.449-450.

> the Path of God. Verily, know that good deeds are ordained even when the horse of the *mujāhidīn* is riderless, with the reins tied to the withers and its head held to graze.[120]

Whether the poem is a genuine composition of Ibn al-Mubārak is uncertain, but the *ḥadīth* itself is canonical: not only is a close variant used by Ibn ʿAsākir in the *Arbaʿūn*, but another variant appears in the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.[121] When taken together, the poem and the *ḥadīth* inform each other. The poem, if it is genuinely from the eighth century, provides additional evidence that there was a debate ongoing within Islamic society in the eighth century about the relative merits of practising jihād on the frontier and of residing near the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. By juxtaposing it with this particular *ḥadīth*, Ibn ʿAsākir makes a clear statement about which is superior.

This point is further underlined by the fact that Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ was the recipient. The biographical tradition of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, whose full name was Abū ʿAlī Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ b. Masʿūd b. Bishr, rivals that of Ibn al-Mubārak in scope.[122] According to his own biographical tradition, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ was born in Samarqand, was known as 'al-Khurāsānī,' and taught Ibn al-Mubārak. Additionally Ibn al-Mubārak is praised by Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ in his notices, and Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ by Ibn al-Mubārak in his. Amongst his numerous *kunyas*, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ was known as 'al-Zāhid', and his biographical tradition stresses his association with renunciant practices and the performance of the *hajj*.

In her discussion of the relationship between Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ and the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, Tor argues that Ibn al-Mubārak and Fuḍayl b. ʿIyād represented respectively the militant and the ascetic wings of the proto-Sunnīs, and were the pious examples which Hārūn al-Rashīd sought to emulate in order to increase his own religious prestige:[123] Ibn al-Mubārak was the exemplary *mujāhid*, and Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ the exemplary hajji. Ibn ʿAsākir's audience would have been familiar with this image of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, either through general knowledge or through Ibn

120 *Ibid.*, p.450.
121 See *al-Arbaʿūn*, p.144, no.8; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp.689-690, no.2785.
122 See for example Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, vol.3.ii, p.73, no.416; *TMD*, vol.48, pp.375-453, no.5630; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, vol.8, pp.421-442, no.114.
123 Tor, 'God's Cleric', pp.195-228.

ʿAsākir's own notice of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, wherein Ibn ʿAsākir underscores Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ's commitment to the hajj with the first *ḥadīth* in the notice: 'Whosoever performs the hajj to the House, and does not behave obscenely or commit sin, he will return as on the day of his birth [i.e. sinless as a newborn].'[124]

With the poem and the *ḥadīth*, Ibn ʿAsākir moves beyond simply positioning Ibn al-Mubārak as the exemplary *mujāhid* to arguing that practising jihād is the best deed which a true believer can perform. By having the superiority of jihād acknowledged by the pre-eminent eighth-century hajji, Ibn ʿAsākir reinforces this argument and lays claim to the religious prestige of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ. In this way, the poem and the accompanying *ḥadīth* are clear evidence that the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* was part of Ibn ʿAsākir's broader attempts to encourage the Damascene populace to fight against the Franks.

The final category of new material expands upon this point. Ibn ʿAsākir concludes his notice of Ibn al-Mubārak by quoting a series of twelve dreams. None of the dreams requires special interpretation: they are literal, not symbolic. With the exception of the twelfth dream, Ibn al-Mubārak appears and discusses his fate in the afterlife with various dreamers. Invariably, Ibn al-Mubārak has been afforded a privileged position, which is made abundantly clear in the first four dreams: for instance, in the first dream Ibn al-Mubārak tells the dreamer that: 'Muḥammad (ṣ) gave this key to me, and said: 'I am visiting the Lord, so be my *amīn* [trusted representative] in Heaven as you were my *amīn* on the earth.'[125] Likewise, the next two dreams express the near identical sentiment that Ibn al-Mubārak resides 'in the *ʿIllīyūn* [the uppermost heaven], and is one of those who enters [the presence] of God twice daily.'[126] The fourth dream merely states that Ibn al-Mubārak was pardoned for his sins.[127]

Such statements of Ibn al-Mubārak's high status in the afterlife – including the bold claim that he acted as a substitute for the Prophet – serve as a preamble to the subsequent seven dreams, wherein Ibn al-Mubārak explains why he has been rewarded: he explicitly connects his rewards in the hereafter to his earthly deeds.

124 *TMD*, vol.48, p.376.
125 *Ibid.*, vol.32, pp.480-481.
126 *Ibid.*, vol.32, p.481.
127 *Ibid.*, vol.32, pp.481-482.

These seven dreams can be divided into two categories: in dreams five to eight, Ibn al-Mubārak tells the dreamers that it was due to his activities on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier that he was absolved his sins and rewarded. In dreams nine to eleven, it is due to his travels. Attention will now turn to dreams five to eight, each of which will be discussed in sequence.

(i) Dream Five

1. Ibn ʿAsākir ← Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir b. Ṭāhir ← Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār ← Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā ← Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan ← Ibrāhīm b. Shumās ← Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ:

2. Ibn ʿAsākir ← Abū al-Ḥasan ← Abū al-Najam ← Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb ← Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān ← al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣafwān ← Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā ← Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan ← Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashʿath ← Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ:

3. Ibn ʿAsākir ← Abū Muḥammad b. Ṭāwūs ← Abū al-Ghanāʾim b. Abī ʿUthmān ← Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān ← al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣafwān ← Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā ← Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan ← Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashʿath ← Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ:

   I saw Ibn al-Mubārak in a dream, and so I said to him: 'Which deed (in the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ṣafwān: 'deeds') do you find best?' He said: 'The matter in which I was engaged.' I said: '*Ribāṭ* and jihād?' He said: 'Yes.' I said: 'So what has He done with you? (in the *ḥadīth* of al-Ṣaffār: what has your Lord done with you?)' He said: 'He pardoned me for sin after sin (in the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ṣafwān: and subsequent sins), and a woman from the People of the Garden spoke to me, or a woman from the *ḥūr al-ʿayn*.[128]

Ibn ʿAsākir provides three *asānīd* for dream five, through which he simultaneously transmits two variants: these may be described as the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ṣafwān (d. 340/951) and the *ḥadīth* of al-Ṣaffār (d. 339/951) respectively. Both of these scholars were students of Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894), who serves as the common link for all three *asānīd*. The second and third *asānīd* both branch with Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān (d. 415/1024), who transmitted to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Abū al-Ghanāʾim b. Abī ʿUthmān (d. 463/1071). The *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ṣafwān is

128 *Ibid.*, vol.32, p.482.

found verbatim in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*,[129] and also in Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā's *Kitāb al-manām* (*Book of Dreams*), which survives in a unique manuscript: it is in this work that the earliest written record of Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ's dream of Ibn al-Mubārak is preserved.[130] Ibn Abī al-Dunyā's version of the dream is closest to that of his student Ibn Ṣafwān, which suggests that Ibn Ṣafwān's is the most accurate transmission. Regardless, the differences between the two variants are essentially semantic, and have no impact on the content or meaning of the dream.

The dream is unsophisticated and requires no special interpretation to understand its meaning. It serves the dual function of impressing upon the dreamer (and subsequent recipients of the dream) the otherworldly rewards for which a pious man may hope, and of offering the dreamer advice as to the deeds or actions he should perform to attain those rewards. In the latter, it conforms to a type of dream wherein the dead answer the questions of the living, which is commonly a variant of 'what deed have you found most preferable?'[131] In this dream, through dialogue, Ibn al-Mubārak reveals that the best deeds are jihād and *ribāṭ*, and for his performance of them he has been forgiven his sins and rewarded with a woman in the afterlife. The motif of women as heavenly rewards is much like the closeness to God mentioned in the earlier dreams, a common one within Islamic eschatology: indeed, it also appears in Ibn al-Mubārak's own *Kitāb al-jihād*. The women of the *ḥūr al-ʿayn*, also known as *ḥawrāʾ*, are beautiful women distinguished by their eyes. The imagery here connotes large black eyes like those of gazelles or cows. Perhaps the closest English synonym would be 'doe-eyed'. The promise of a doe-eyed woman is repeated in dream six.

(ii) Dream Six

> Ibn ʿAsākir ← Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir b. Ṭāhir ← Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ ← Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Mufassar ← Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Thiqafī ← Ibrāhīm ← ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAffān ← Muḥammad b. b.

129 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, p.166.

130 Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā, *Kitāb al-Manāmāt* ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭā (Beirut, 1993), pp.53-54, no.72.

131 For a fuller discussion, see Leah Kinberg, 'Interaction between This World and the Afterworld in Early Islamic Tradition', *Oriens* 29/30 (1986), pp.301-302.

> Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ:
>
> 'I saw Ibn al-Mubārak in a dream, and so I said to him: O ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, what has your Lord done with you?' He said: 'He pardoned me for sin after sin.' I said: 'Why? He said: 'For my recitation of the Qurʾān.' And he made a sign with his hand meaning the *ghazw*.
>
> He said to me: 'O Muḥammad, verily a *ḥawrāʾ* spoke to me today in the Garden.'[132]

Whilst dream six is obviously closely related to the first dream, it represents an independent tradition: Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā does not appear as a transmit, and both the form and content differ. In this dream, Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ asks Ibn al-Mubārak about his fate before he finds out why Ibn al-Mubārak was pardoned: the spiritual reward, *ḥūr al-ʿayn* appears here almost as an after-thought, being separated from the main body of the tradition by the phrase '*qāla lī*.' Additionally, Ibn al-Mubārak indicates that he was pardoned first for his recitation of the Qurʾān, and then merely indicates with a gesture that his activities as a ghāzī played a role: it is implied rather than stated.

Dream six does not appear elsewhere in the written record, though it is related through a prestigious *isnād*: Abū al-Qāsim b. Zāhir b. Ṭāhir (d. 533/1138) transmits the sixth dream to Ibn ʿAsākir from Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) from Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hākim al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 403/1014), both of whom were lauded scholars in their own right. The differences between dreams five and six can perhaps be understood as accidental errors which entered the tradition due to its oral transmission: the absence of Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā may suggest that the basic report was in circulation from relatively soon after the death of Ibn al-Mubārak.

(iii) Dream Seven

> Ibn ʿAsākir ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī and Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir b. Ṭāhir ← Aḥmad b. Manṣūr b. Khalif ← 'Abū Bakr al-Jawzaqī ← Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Daghūlī ← Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Hajjāj ← al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ ← 'Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ:

132 *TMD*, vol.32, p.483.

> 'I saw Ibn al-Mubārak in a dream, and so I said to him: 'What has He done with you?' So he said: 'Goodness.' So I said to him: 'Which of the deeds do you find best?' He said: 'My purpose: this is in which I died.' He said: 'I said: 'In *ḥadīth*?' He said: 'Ḥadīth are found blameworthy.'"[133]

With dream seven, the basic form established with the fifth dream and modified by the sixth dream begins to undergo substantial reworking. As with the sixth, this dream is independent from the fifth dream; in terms of form, it is closest to the sixth. Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ asks about Ibn al-Mubārak's fate and is here told only that God has done 'goodness' with him.[134] Upon asking which deeds Ibn al-Mubārak finds best, he is informed that the best deed is the one which Ibn al-Mubārak died whilst doing.

It is here that the dream makes a significant departure: no explicit reference is made to fighting, only to Ibn al-Mubārak's final deed. Ibn ʿAsākir, and indeed every biographer of Ibn al-Mubārak, make clear that he died while he was returning from the *ghazw*. Hence, anyone with familiarity of Ibn al-Mubārak, upon hearing this dream, would know that Ibn al-Mubārak means fighting. Yet instead, the dream becomes a harsh criticism of *ḥadīth*, which Ibn al-Mubārak rebukes and finds blameworthy. Both the form and the chain of transmission indicate that it is related to the other dreams. The other dreams transmitted by Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ all allude to fighting, but it is clear that at some point the dream was reworked into a criticism of *ḥadīth*. When this reworking occurred is unclear.

(iv) Dream Eight

> Ibn ʿAsākir ← Abū Muḥammad b. Ṭāwūs reported ← Abū al-Ghanāʾim b. Abī ʿUthmān ← Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān ← al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣafwān informed ← Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Dunyā ← al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥbūb:
>
> 'I heard [from] some of our companions that Ibn al-Mubārak was seen in a dream, and it was said to him: 'What did your Lord do to you?' It was said: 'He pardoned me.' It was said: 'For *ḥadīth*?' he said: 'No! For the mountain path, the mountain path.' He means the mountain path of Byzantium.'[135]

133 *Ibid.*, vol.32, p.483.
134 Lane indicates that *'khayr'* may be used in an absolute sense to mean 'what is desired in all circumstances and by every person'. See Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol.2, p.829.
135 *TMD*, vol.32, p.483.

Dream eight makes the most dramatic departure in terms of form, though Ibn Abī al-Dunyā is listed as a transmitter and it is included within his *Kitāb al-manām*.[136] In this dream, however, Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ does not appear, and the *matn* is transmitted in the passive voice. In keeping with dream seven, Ibn al-Mubārak is asked if it was because of *ḥadīth* that he was absolved his sins. Although lacking the pejorative tone of dream seven, Ibn al-Mubārak is quick to specify that it was not for *ḥadīth* but for 'the mountain path,' which is explained as referring to the mountain path into Byzantium: Ibn al-Mubarak's reference to the mountain path can thus be understood as signifying his involvement in raids into Byzantine territory.

* * *

Before discussing the content of these dreams together, attention should be paid to their *asānīd*, on the basis of which it can be proposed that dreams five, six, and seven all ostensibly originated with the son of a companion of Ibn al-Mubārak. These dreams are all attributed to Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, about whom little is known. The longest notice, which is provided by Ibn Ḥibbān, provides only his full name, which was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ b. Masʿūd al-Yarbūʿī al-Tamīmī, and states that he transmitted from his father, and that Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashʿath transmitted from him.[137] On the basis of onomastic similarity, however, it is possible to identify his father as the above-mentioned Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, to whom Ibn al-Mubārak ostensibly sent his jihād poem. As mentioned above, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ's full name was Abū ʿAlī Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ b. Masʿūd b. Bishr, and in his biographical notices he too is described as al-Yarbūʿī and al-Tamīmī. That Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ b. Masʿūd's *kunya* was Abū ʿAlī need not weaken this conclusion unduly: Muḥammad may have been a less prestigious son.

This would not be the first instance of one of his companion's sons transmitting about him: in another tradition within the notice, Ibn ʿAsākir explicitly describes Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī as the son of the above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.

136 Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Kitāb al-Manāmāt*, p.127, no.273.
137 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, vol.9 p.76.

Mahdī, another of Ibn al-Mubārak's companions.[138] Regarding Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ and Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, it seems unlikely that it was a coincidence that both father and son are named in the transmission of the bulk of the jihād material which Ibn ʿAsākir includes: like the jihād poem, the dreams of Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ are attempts to claim for Ibn al-Mubārak the religious prestige of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, in this instance through the praise of his son.

Turning to the content of the dreams themselves, it is evident that their thematic unity is somewhat lacking. Only dream five makes explicit reference to fighting: dreams six to eight are more circumspect, to the extent that dreams seven and eight do not mention fighting. It is possible to argue even that dream six is more concerned with the importance of qur'ānic recitation, with fighting almost an afterthought: it is only through a gesture that Ibn al-Mubārak's activities as a ghāzī are indicated. Likewise, dreams seven and eight can be seen more as criticisms of *ḥadīth* study than they are endorsements of fighting: it is only through external knowledge that they can be understood as referring to fighting. The dreams therefore serve as an example in miniature of the importance of juxtaposition to the biographical notice at large. Ibn ʿAsākir's manipulation is evident in the order in which he presents them: he is the first to gather all of these dreams together, and uses dream five to provide context for the others in order to encourage his audience to understand them all as championing fighting. In doing so, he seeks to impress the importance of fighting on his audience. Ibn al-Mubārak tells the dreamers and, by extension, Ibn ʿAsākir's audience, that fighting is rewarded with the remission of sins, doe-eyed women, and closeness to God. Dream twelve, with which Ibn ʿAsākir concludes the notice, states that whosoever desires salvation should look to the books of Ibn al-Mubārak:[139] given the context, it is likely that Ibn ʿAsākir has in mind Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād*, a text which, it was noted above, influenced Ibn ʿAsākir.

Thus when reading Ibn ʿAsākir's notice of Ibn al-Mubārak against the background of the biographical tradition, the incorporation of this additional material makes it clear that Ibn ʿAsākir is emphasising Ibn al-Mubārak's jihād

138 *TMD*, vol.32, p.424.
139 *Ibid.*, vol.32, p.484.

credentials in order to re-frame him as a suitable model for his own contemporaries. Ibn ʿAsākir does not, it should be noted, reject the earlier image of Ibn al-Mubārak as a *zāhid*: his notice is essentially a compilation of the reports found in the earlier notices, to which the additional material has been added. In essence, Ibn ʿAsākir's notice represents an evolution of the biographical tradition, and speaks towards that tradition being multi-faceted, the result of interplay between various competing images of Ibn al-Mubārak.

Even a cursory glance at the subsequent development of the biographical tradition sheds more light on the conspicuousness of Ibn ʿAsākir's notice. Two of Ibn ʿAsākir's near contemporaries, Ibn al-Jawzī and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (d. 600/1204), compiled their own notices about Ibn al-Mubārak. Ibn al-Jawzī includes notices about Ibn al-Mubārak in both his *al-Muntaẓam fī al-taʾrīkh al-mulūk wal-umam* (*The Ordered History of Kings and Nations*), a voluminous work of history, and his *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, an abridgement of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*.[140] Neither of these works contain any of the additional material found in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, citing instead only the jihād anecdote found in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*: otherwise, the image of Ibn al-Mubārak is the standard one of a pious and knowledgeable ascetic. Ibn al-Jawzī was from Baghdad, and the absence of the material found in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* suggests that the image of Ibn al-Mubārak as *mujāhid* did not resonate strongly there – if at all – and his asceticism and piety continued to be emphasised.

ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, on the other hand, was from al-Shām: he was the maternal cousin of Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223), the most prolific scholar of the Banū Qudāma family, alongside whom ʿAbd al-Ghanī emigrated from the village of Jammāʿīl (now Jammāʿīn) to Damascus in 551/1156.[141] ʿAbd al-Ghanī was, according to al-Dhahabī, a prolific author: amongst his many works was a treatise on jihād, entitled the *Tuhfat al-ṭālibīn fī al-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn* (*The Gift of the Seeker concerning jihād and the* Mujāhidīn).[142] For the present discussion, his most

140 Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā and Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 19 vols. (2nd Edition, Beirut, 1995), vol.9, pp.58-63, no.978; and idem, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, pp.768-775, no.695.

141 On the emigration of the Banū Qudāma, see Joseph Drory, 'Ḥanbalīs of the Nablus Region in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), pp.93-112.

142 *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.21, pp.443- 471, no.235; p.447.

important work was his *Ikmāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl* (*The Perfection concerning the Knowledge of Men*), of which the first and fourth parts survive and which were held as recently as 2001 in the Ẓāhiriyya Library in Damascus.[143] The manuscript is unedited and currently inaccessible, and in any case Ibn al-Mubārak would likely appear in the second or third part, neither of which has been found: this is problematic, for it leaves ʿAbd al-Ghanī's presentation of Ibn al-Mubārak uncertain.

Fortunately, however, the work was abridged by the Syrian Abū al-Hajjāj al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341) under the title *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl* (*Revision of the Perfect Work on the Reputations of Men*), which was edited by Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf.[144] Although obviously al-Mizzī's work does not contain everything found in ʿAbd al-Ghanī's, what he has chosen to preserve can go some way towards revealing how ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī portrayed Ibn al-Mubārak. Al-Mizzī does not include any of the jihād material found either in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* or the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. The only reference to jihād in the notice comes in the form of a quotation from Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt*.[145] On the basis that the image preserved in al-Mizzī's work can be understood as a distillation of the image found in ʿAbd al-Ghanī's work, this suggests that if al-Mizzī followed the outline of ʿAbd al-Ghanī's notice, jihād was not emphasised.

Al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl* was itself abridged by both al-Dhahabī and Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī. Ibn Hajar's abridgement, the *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb fī rijāl al-hadīth* (*The Revision of the Revision on the Men of Hadith*),[146] does not include any of the jihād material, instead stating simply that performing *ghazw* was one of Ibn al-Mubārak's many virtues.[147] Ibn al-Mubārak appears in another two of Ibn Hajar's works, the *Lisān al-mīzān* (*Tongue of the Scale*) and an abridgement of his *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, known as the *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb* (*Facilitation of the Revision*).[148] The *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb* is hardly recognisable as an

143 Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt dār al-kutub al-Zāhiriyya* (Riyadh, 2001), pp.472-473.
144 Abū al-Hajjāj al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 35 vols. (Beirut, 1992), vol.16, pp.5-25, no. 3520.
145 *Ibid.*, p.24.
146 Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol.3, pp.628-631, no.4143.
147 *Ibid.*, p.630.
148 Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda and Salmān ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, 10 vols. (Beirut, 2002), vol.4, p.551, no.4390; and idem, *Taqrīb*

abridgement, but it does mention that Ibn al-Mubārak was a 'generous *mujāhid*';[149] the *Lisān al-mīzān* makes no such reference.

Al-Dhahabī's abridgement, known as the *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl* (*Revision of the Revision of the Perfect Work on the Reputations of Men*), is markedly different.[150] In contrast to both al-Mizzī's work and Ibn Hajar's work, al-Dhahabī's *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* does include jihād material: both the jihād anecdote which first appeared in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* and the jihād poem from the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* are included. Based on the comparison with the works of both al-Mizzī and Ibn Hajar, this can only be understood as the intrusion of jihād material into the branch of the biographical tradition originating with ʿAbd al-Ghanī's work. Al-Dhahabī provides a much more substantial notice about Ibn al-Mubārak in the *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* (*The Lives of Notable Figures*),[151] which includes the jihād anecdote from the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*,[152] the more developed anecdote found in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*,[153] and the jihād poem.[154] Evidently, al-Dhahabī was familiar with Ibn ʿAsākir's notice: that he folded some of this material into his abridgement of al-Mizzī's work suggests that he found al-Mizzī's (and by extension ʿAbd al-Ghanī's) treatment of Ibn al-Mubārak lacking. Al-Dhahabī was, like Ibn ʿAsākir, a native of Damascus: his use of material first evidenced in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* suggests that the image of Ibn al-Mubārak as the 'exemplary *mujāhid*' continued to resonate in Damascus.[155]

All of this throws into sharp relief the extent to which Ibn ʿAsākir's portrayal of Ibn al-Mubārak departed from the established paradigm. One can see essentially two distinct branches of the biographical tradition of Ibn al-Mubārak, which began to diverge in the twelfth century. On the one hand, the notices of Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, and the abridgements of ʿAbd al-Ghanī's work continue to

al-tahdhīb, ed. Abū al-Ashbāl Saghīr Ahmad Shāghif al-Bākistānī and Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh Abū Zayd (Riyadh, 1994/5), p.540, no.3595.

149 Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, p.540.

150 Al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Ghunaym ʿAbbās Ghunaym et al, 11 vols. (Cairo, 2004), vol.5, pp.272-287, no.3579.

151 *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol.8, pp.378-421.

152 *Ibid.*, vol.8, pp.394-395.

153 *Ibid.*, vol.8, pp.408-409.

154 *Ibid.*, vol.8, p.412.

155 That al-Mizzī was also from Damascus need not undermine this unduly. He may simply have been more faithful to the work he was abridging.

emphasise the role of Ibn al-Mubārak as the pious ascetic; on the other hand, the notice of Ibn ʿAsākir modified this image by emphasising the role of Ibn al-Mubārak as the exemplary *mujāhid*. This latter image continued to resonate in Damascus to the extent that al-Dhahabī sought to amend the image of Ibn al-Mubārak found in al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*.

It is no coincidence that the first biographical notice of Ibn al-Mubārak to emphasise his military exploits and to present him as the exemplary *mujāhid* appeared during the so-called Muslim counter-crusade: Ibn ʿAsākir's re-framing of Ibn al-Mubārak is an additional example of the ways in which he sought to encourage jihād. Whether Ibn ʿAsākir reworked other figures from early Islamic history in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* alongside Ibn al-Mubārak, or whether Ibn al-Mubārak alone proved a suitably potent model for Ibn ʿAsākir's purposes bears further investigation: doing so, however, falls outwith the scope of the present study.

CONCLUSION

Ibn ʿAsākir's understanding of jihād was fundamentally influenced by Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād. Ibn ʿAsākir encountered Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* in Baghdad sometime during the five years he spent in the city between 520/1126 and 525/1131. The earliest evidence for Ibn ʿAsākir's direct involvement in the promotion of jihād in al-Shām dates from two decades later, when he publicly read Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* alongside an unidentified *kitāb al-dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, which encouraged Usāma b. Munqidh's older brother, ʿIzz al-Dawla, to ride to Ascalon, where he was martyred in 546/1151. The significance of Ibn ʿAsākir's reading of these two works cannot be understated, for it indicates that Ibn ʿAsākir sought to impress upon his audience both the superiority of Islam over Christianity, and to encourage them to fight in defence of Islam. As Mourad and Lindsay suggest, given the date of the reading, it is likely that Ibn ʿAsākir's foray into jihād preaching was prompted by the failed siege of Damascus in 543/1148 by the Franks.

The importance of Ibn al-Mubārak to Ibn ʿAsākir's understanding of jihād is further underscored by the *Arbaʿūn* and the biographical notice of Ibn al-Mubārak which Ibn ʿAsākir compiled in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. In the *Arbaʿūn*, which was expressly written as propaganda for Nūr al-Dīn's jihād campaigns, Ibn ʿAsākir revitalises Sunnī jihād ideology. He does this by stripping away the cumbersome edifice of *siyar* which had accumulated over the centuries: gone are the rules and regulations for proper conduct in warfare; in their place is a new understanding of jihād modelled on the general contours of Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād, as expressed in the *Kitāb al-jihād*.

The *Arbaʿūn* was not, however, simply a reiteration of Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding of jihād, which Ibn ʿAsākir was responsible for introducing to the Damascene scholarly elite. While Ibn ʿAsākir's presentation of jihād mimics Ibn al-Mubārak's in stressing the merits of the *mujāhid*, the importance of right intention, and martyrdom as the culmination of jihād, Ibn ʿAsākir departs from his eighth-century predecessor regarding the issue of the communal nature of jihād and the necessity of leadership. There is no disapprobation of the ruler in the *Arbaʿūn*, whose position as leader of jihād is underscored in Ibn ʿAsākir's praise of Nūr al-Dīn in the introduction to the work. In this, the *Arbaʿūn* represents a cross-pollination between the juristic model of jihād and the frontier understanding of Ibn al-Mubārak. Likewise, there is an emphasis on the integration of the *mujāhid* into the Muslim community at large: in the twelfth century, there was no place for the individual to practice jihād outwith the authority of the ruler, to whom the Muslim community owed full allegiance. Ibn ʿAsākir presents a reinvented understanding of jihād, which was modelled on Ibn al-Mubārak's understanding, but adapted to suit the socio-political context of the twelfth century.

The *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* provides further evidence for the significance which Ibn al-Mubārak had upon Ibn ʿAsākir. While the biographical tradition of Ibn al-Mubārak had always recognised his jihād activities, the focus had been placed primarily on his piety and his asceticism. In contrast, Ibn ʿAsākir was the first to emphasise this side of Ibn al-Mubārak by introducing additional jihād material:

through his strategies of selection and placement, Ibn ʿAsākir uses this material to recast Ibn al-Mubārak as an exemplary *mujāhid*, and to stress the supererogatory merit of performing jihād. That his portrayal of Ibn al-Mubārak failed to permeate the broader Muslim consciousness serves only to place his image of Ibn al-Mubārak into stark relief. Ibn ʿAsākir's Ibn al-Mubārak was very much a product of the particular circumstances in which Ibn ʿAsākir wrote, designed to act as a model upon whom Ibn ʿAsākir's co-religionists could base their actions in the struggle against the Franks. Taken together, Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* and the biographical notice of Ibn al-Mubārak in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* represent the reinvention of not only Sunnī jihād ideology, but also the reinvention of Ibn al-Mubārak as the exemplary *mujāhid*.

Conclusion

Modern study of jihād in the twelfth century has been dominated by the intersection of two models: the model of the counter-crusade and the juristic model of jihād. This intersection has had a detrimental effect on the study of how the ideology of jihād itself developed in the twelfth century. The model of the counter-crusade is inherently teleological: it conceives the twelfth century as one marked by the inexorable revival of jihād and of inevitable and permanent confrontation between the Christians and Muslims in al-Shām. This narrative hinges at the middle of the century. In the first half of the century, attempts to encourage jihād against the Franks were sporadic and disorganised because of a lack of interested leadership in al-Shām, which was compounded by the fractured state of the central Islamic lands – riven as they were by political and religious differences. These militated against any serious prospect of an alliance of military leaders whereby jihād could be successfully prosecuted. Conversely, the success of the revival of jihād in the second half of the century is directly attributed to the emergence of leaders who were committed to jihād, namely Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, through whose dedication jihād found itself systematised and mobilised: this process of systematisation culminated with Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187. While this model is being increasingly challenged, and a more nuanced picture of Christian-Muslim relations and of resistance to the Franks is emerging, it nevertheless remains at the heart of discussion of jihād in the twelfth century. The effects of this centrality are far-reaching.

Although the model does not deny that the revival of jihād must have preceded the reign of Nūr al-Dīn, Sivan's 'plaque tournante', the relative paucity of evidence for jihād before Nūr al-Dīn has resulted in both the steps which were taken before him being described as tentative, and a reluctance to describe them as

jihād. Thus whilst resistance to the Franks is recognised in the first half of the century, the lack of any grand mobilisation of jihād has led to the classification of this resistance not as jihād proper, but rather as a precursor to jihād. The model is thus predicated upon an imbalance in the surviving evidence, and its depiction of the revival of jihād comes dangerously close to being an argument from silence. The model is more invidious, however, because it has shaped how modern scholarship has approached the issue of the development of jihād ideology in the twelfth century, for which al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* and Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* are the best evidence.

Al-Sulamī is considered precocious, therefore, because of his understanding of the motivation of the Franks and his desire to fight them, but because his *Kitāb al-jihād* failed to encourage any meaningful response amongst the Damascene populace, he and his text are dismissed as having only minimal relevance to jihād in the twelfth century. He and his work are seen as representing an intellectual cul-de-sac, interesting for what they reveal about Muslim reactions to the First Crusade, but nevertheless still a curious and almost anachronistic anomaly. The central issue of his text, jihād, is overlooked in favour of his understanding of the origins of crusading and his motivational strategies: his understanding of jihād is – almost paradoxically – considered the least interesting part of his *Kitāb al-jihād*.

Concerning Ibn ʿAsākir, because his career owed itself to the patronage of Nūr al-Dīn, he is deemed to have played a fundamental role in the latter's programme of jihād. Alongside the *Arbaʿūn*, al-Dhahabī attributes to Ibn ʿAsākir a *kitāb al-jihād* and two *faḍāʾil* texts which praised the merits of Ascalon and Jerusalem respectively: although none of these texts survive, and the existence of the *kitāb al-jihād* doubted, they indicate that Ibn ʿAsākir sought to promote jihād, either directly through the *Arbaʿūn* and the *kitāb al-jihād*, or indirectly by praising the merits of Ascalon and Jerusalem. In their recent study of the *Arbaʿūn*, Mourad and Lindsay have suggested that the revival of jihād in the second half of the century was encouraged not only by Nūr al-Dīn, but also by a 'reorientation' of jihād ideology by Ibn ʿAsākir in the *Arbaʿūn*. They suggest that Ibn ʿAsākir alters jihād ideology in the *Arbaʿūn* to free it from *siyar* and to widen its scope to include any

potential enemy, be they non-Muslim or Muslim. This reorientated jihād ideology thus facilitated the intensification of jihād in the second half of the century.

Crucial to this understanding of jihād ideology in the twelfth century is the juristic model of jihād. This model arose from modern study of legal texts and corpora, which were focused on the regulation of jihād beneath the authority of the caliphs: it predominates in modern scholarship, and acts as something of a yardstick against which all discussions of jihād are measured. The implication of Mourad and Lindsay's study, then, is that not only did al-Sulamī's call for jihād fail because of the lack of interested leadership, but also because of his reliance on an ineffectual and cumbersome ideology of jihād. It was only by breaking free from the old ideology of jihād and its reliance upon *siyar* that Ibn ʿAsākir was able to revitalise jihād. Thus, al-Sulamī's role in the revival of jihād – or lack therefore – is confirmed, and the role of Ibn ʿAsākir magnified.

The problem is, however, that the juristic model is fundamentally the 'master narrative' of jihād. It is hardly surprising that studies of jihād in the twelfth century take it as their basis, for the corpus of scholarly literature devoted to the juristic model is vast and well-established, but it was not the only expression of jihād which had developed by the turn of the twelfth century: alongside of it and in reaction to it, counter-narratives developed and evolved. This thesis has outlined two such counter-narratives which arose on the geographical and intellectual frontiers of the Islamic world: the frontier model of jihād presented in such works as the *Kitāb al-jihād* of Ibn al-Mubārak, and the model of *jihād al-nafs*, as espoused by Sufis such as al-Ghazālī. The former understood jihād as an inherently personal religious act, uninterested in questions of authority or concerns of state, in which the individual believer demonstrates his devotion to God by volunteering not merely to fight for God but to die for God: accordingly, this model stresses the merit of performing jihād, the importance of right intention, and the merit of martyrdom. Although this model first coalesced on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier in northern al-Shām, its potency was so great that it was exported to other frontiers, notably al-Andalus, and to eastern Iran, where it encouraged the development of the *ʿayyārūn* phenomenon. The Sufi model, whilst likewise expressing a personal

understanding of jihād, held that the highest form of jihād was to strive against one's baser instincts: described as *jihād al-nafs*, the purpose of this jihād was to conquer the base desires of human nature and to attain thereby a heightened understanding of God and supererogatory reward in the hereafter.

These counter-narratives of jihād were not excised from Islamic thought by the dominance of the juristic model, alongside of which they co-existed, and they should not therefore be excised from discussions of jihād in the twelfth century. Ignoring them and relying instead upon the juristic model of jihād has the unfortunate effect of limiting discussions of jihād in the twelfth century by making it easy to essentialise jihād by suppressing differences between the socio-political contexts in which the term has been used. If instead one moves away from both the model of the counter-crusade and its teleological narrative, and away from the juristic model of jihād and its predominance, the development of jihād ideology in the twelfth century becomes more complex, more nuanced, and – ultimately, perhaps – more reflective of the historical reality.

Instead of a binary division between the two halves of the century, the twelfth century emerges as one wherein scholars began to weave together different discourses of jihād in attempt to encourage their rulers and their co-religionists to fight against the Franks. Al-Sulamī, rather than following the standard jihād ideology of his time, was actively engaging with it and sought to amend those aspects which he thought – in the aftermath of the First Crusade – stood in the way of a successful jihād against the Franks. Thus, in the absence of interested leadership, he argued that the significance of the First Crusade had rendered jihād not a *farḍ kifāya*, but a *farḍ ʿayn*, and was accordingly enjoined not on the community at large, as directed by the caliph, but on the individual believer. To reinforce this, he drew upon the Sufi model of *jihād al-nafs* to underscore the importance of the individual believer and – perhaps more importantly – the individual believer's right intention to the success of jihād.

Even his most significant break with the juristic model, his integration of eschatology, was still aimed at reinforcing the individual's importance. Inspired in part to motivate his audience and in part to reconcile the desire to reconquer the

lands lost to the Franks with the juristic definition of jihād as offensive warfare aimed at the expansion of the *dār al-islām*, his eschatological scheme offers the individual a role in the realisation of the eschatological future. The reconquest of Jerusalem becomes the first stage in the resumption of the Islamic conquests, which would culminate with the conquest of Constantinople and the realisation of the Hour: Jerusalem's reconquest becomes part of a jihād which was enjoined in perpetuity by the Prophet upon a group of Muslims from al-Shām. Not only does this eschatological scheme give Jerusalem a role both at the beginning and the end of the eschatological future, it emphasises the importance of the individual residents of al-Shām not only to jihād against the Franks, but also to the realisation of the Hour. Yet this focus on the individual differs from the focus placed on the individual by the frontier model of jihād and the Sufi model of *jihād al-nafs*: for al-Sulamī, jihād is primarily about establishing this-worldly ascendancy for the Muslim community as a precursor to the Hour, not about demonstrating the individual's devotion to God, whether that be through martial or spiritual jihād. That al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* failed to encourage his co-religionists to take part in jihād against the Franks does not diminish the originality or importance of his attempt to reinvent jihād for the political situation at the beginning of the twelfth century, for by doing so he created an entirely new understanding of jihād.

Likewise, when discussed against this broader canvas, the break which Ibn ʿAsākir made with the jihād ideology of previous centuries is neither as stark nor novel as has been presented by Mourad and Lindsay. Whilst Ibn ʿAsākir did strip away the *siyar* which had dominated the juristic model of jihād, the resulting ideology of jihād was inspired by the example of Ibn al-Mubārak. Not only was Ibn ʿAsākir responsible for introducing Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-jihād* to Damascus, but he preserved its key themes in his *Arbaʿūn*: the traditions which Ibn ʿAsākir chose to include in the *Arbaʿūn* stress the merit of the *mujāhid*, the importance of his right intention, and the merit of martyrdom. The importance of Ibn al-Mubārak to Ibn ʿAsākir's understanding of jihād is further underscored by Ibn ʿAsākir's manipulation of Ibn al-Mubārak's biographical tradition: Ibn ʿAsākir emphasises Ibn al-Mubārak's jihād credentials in order to create for his co-religionists a model

for them to follow in their jihād against the Franks.

Yet this was not simply the replication of Ibn al-Mubārak's frontier jihād, but its consolidation with the juristic model and its subordination to the importance of the ruler's authority and the necessary integration of the *mujāhid* into the Muslim community at large. Ultimately, jihād in the *Arbaʿūn* is beholden to neither the juristic model or the frontier model of jihād. Ibn ʿAsākir's understanding of jihād is, like al-Sulamī's, designed to respond to a particular context. It is for this reason, then, that al-Sulamī's emphasis on the individual and on the eschatological is not reflected in the *Arbaʿūn*: both were redundant because Ibn ʿAsākir wrote at the behest of a powerful ruler who had united much of al-Shām beneath himself. The only similarity between al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* in the *Arbaʿūn* is the importance of unity and community, though there is nothing to suggest that such generic ideas are anything but echoes of a broader twelfth-century concern. Likewise, al-Sulamī's identification of Jerusalem as the immediate goal of the jihād against the Franks can perhaps be seen as a precursor to – rather than inspiration for – Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin's identification of Jerusalem as the goal of their jihād.

Contextualising the works of al-Sulamī and Ibn ʿAsākir within a broader discourse of jihād does not, of course, change the fact that there is more evidence for jihād in the second half of the twelfth century than for the first half. What it does indicate, however, is that whilst the basic parameters of the model of the counter-crusade remain unchallenged for the practice of jihād in the twelfth century, they fail in the context of the ideology of jihād. The practice of jihād did increase over the course of the twelfth century, but detailed study of al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* and Ibn ʿAsākir's *Arbaʿūn* highlights that there was no delay between the arrival of the Franks and attempts to modify jihād ideology. The twelfth century was a period not merely of the revival of jihād, but a period of the reinvention of jihād.

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