

The Intensification
and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad
Ideology in the Crusader Period

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The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period

Ibn 'Asākir of Damascus (1105–1176) and His Age,
with an Edition and Translation of Ibn 'Asākir's
The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad

By

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Cover illustration: First page of Ibn 'Asākir's Forty Hadiths, dated 617 H/1221 CE (Zāhiriya Ms., Damascus; used with permission from Juma al-Majid Center for Culture and Heritage, Dubai).

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EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF
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 (THE FORTY HADITHS FOR INCITING JIHAD)

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PREFACE

Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Zangī's (d. 1174) occupation of Damascus in 1154, in the wake of the Second Crusade's failed attempt to conquer the city, represents a major turning point in the Muslim response to the Crusades. Throughout his reign, Nūr al-Dīn patronized religious scholars and ordered the construction of an extensive network of religious and secular institutions and monuments—mosques, minarets, schools, hospitals, city walls, fortifications, etc.—in order to strengthen his hand in Syria and to further enhance his religious and public image. Not surprisingly, Nūr al-Dīn's generous patronage gained the sultan tremendous support both from Syrian Sunni scholars and the Syrian Sunni masses for his jihad against the Franks and his chief Muslim rivals the Shi'i Fatimids in Egypt.

Nūr al-Dīn found in Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1176) a particularly ardent defender of Sunni Islam and commissioned the scholar to author a manual on jihad for use in preaching and propaganda. Nūr al-Dīn also ordered that a school for the study of Hadith and its sciences—which became known as *Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriya* (Nūr al-Dīn's House of the Study of Hadith) or *Dār al-Sunna* (House of the Study of the Prophet's Way of Life and Teachings)—be built for his new scholarly ally. This school served as the intellectual epicenter of Nūr al-Dīn's jihad in Syria and Egypt. For centuries, it was one of the city's most prestigious centers for the study of Hadith.

The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period examines the important role of Ibn 'Asākir, including his *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, in the intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology in twelfth-century Damascus as part of Nūr al-Dīn's two-fold religious and political agenda. First, there is the promotion of Islam against its external enemies, the Christian Crusaders. Such an agenda against Christian forces was to be expected of any Muslim ruler in Syria since the initial conquests of Byzantine lands in the seventh century. Second, there is the promotion of Sunnism against its internal enemies, specifically the Shi'i Fatimid regime in Egypt and their sympathizers in Syria. We argue that the use of the ideology of jihad against "errant" or "deviant" Muslims beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries represents a reorientation of the jihad ideology in mainstream Islamic scholarship in that it is a departure from the traditional scholarly aversion to identifying intra-Muslim disputes and conflicts as jihads. Moreover, the dissemination of jihad as exclusively

centered on selected quranic verses and prophetic hadiths by Ibn ‘Asākir and other scholars of the Crusader period also represents a reorientation that goes against the attention to legal requirements and nuances that the earlier scholarly tradition emphasized. Hence our title—*The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period*.

Part One: *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period: Ibn ‘Asākir (1105–1176) and His Age* consists of seven chapters that examine the process of the intensification and reorientation of the doctrine of jihad in the Crusader period, the role of Ibn ‘Asākir and other Sunni scholars in this process, and its lasting legacy in mainstream Sunni thought. They also serve as an introduction to and commentary on Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*. Part Two is an edition of the Arabic text of *al-Arba‘ūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth ‘alā al-jihād* and an annotated English translation of the *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*.

The first three chapters of *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period* provide the historical background and context for the subsequent four chapters. Chapter One is a brief survey of Ibn ‘Asākir’s life, education, and career as well as the kinds of works that Ibn ‘Asākir composed in Damascus, both prior to and after Nūr al-Dīn’s conquest of the city in 1154. Chapter Two provides an overview of the ideology of jihad and warfare in the Qur’an and in Islamic history down to the eve of the Crusader period. Chapter Three examines the initial efforts to preach jihad in Damascus between the First and Second Crusades.

Chapter Four is devoted to the important role that Ibn ‘Asākir staked out for himself in the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology in the wake of the Second Crusade as a propagandist for jihad on behalf of his new patron, Nūr al-Dīn. The chapter specifically focuses on the popular “forty hadiths” genre in medieval Islamic scholarship and the extent to which Ibn ‘Asākir was able to employ this popular genre to transform Muhammad into a jihad advocate and cast Islam as a religion that is focused on the fulfillment of the duty to wage jihad against God’s enemies—whether the enemy without (Christian Crusaders) or the enemy within (errant or heretical Sunni and Shi‘i Muslims).

Chapter Five examines four major themes that characterize Ibn ‘Asākir’s distinctive vision of jihad in his *Forty Hadiths*: 1) the importance of jihad as compared to other religious duties; 2) the punishments that await those who neglect the duty of jihad; 3) the rewards that await those who undertake jihad; and 4) the requirements that the jihad fighters must fulfill before waging jihad. Chapter Five concludes with a discussion of the role and significance of quranic passages in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths*.

Based on a meticulous study of the colophons or records of specific public teaching sessions (*samā'āt*) and ownership notes inscribed on the unique manuscript of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, Chapter Six demonstrates that Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* was an important text that continued to be studied by major scholars in several important religious centers and schools in Damascus from the first public teaching session at which it was read out in 1170 down to the final recorded public teaching session from the manuscript in 1318. The colophons also attest to Ibn 'Asākir's enduring relevance and impact in shaping the perception of the duty of jihad among the Sunni religious elite in Damascus.

Chapter Seven argues that the intensified and reoriented jihad ideology advocated by Ibn 'Asākir in the twelfth century endured well into the Ottoman period. Major thinkers and episodes addressed in this chapter include Ibn Taymīya's (d. 1328) denunciation of various Shi'i sects in Syria (including Druzes, Nuṣaryīs, Ismā'īlīs, and Fatimids) as heretics or errant Muslims; Ottoman-era fatwas in Syria against Druzes that invoke Ibn Taymīya's rulings; and the Ottoman Sheykh ul-Islam's denunciations of the Safavid Shahs in Iran (1501–1722).

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The journey of this book started in March 2003 in Middlebury, Vermont. With generous support from Middlebury College, James Lindsay visited to deliver a lecture. In a conversation afterwards in Suleiman Mourad's living room over Scottish tea, the idea for this book was born. Some priorities intervened and circumstances beyond our control delayed the process, but the project resumed.

One incurs many debts over the course of a project such as this. Juma al-Majid Center for Culture and Heritage, Dubai, provided us with a copy of the Zāhiriya manuscript of Ibn 'Asākir's *al-Arba'ūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth 'alā al-jihād*. Lara G. Tohme (Wellesley University) graciously allowed us to use her photographs of the courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque and the interior prayer hall of the Umayyad Mosque and Tomb of St. John the Baptist (page 101). Nasser Rabbat (MIT) kindly granted us permission to use his sketch of the Umayyad Mosque compound (page 100) and so did Josef W. Meri (Cambridge University) for his map of medieval Damascus (page 100).

Special thanks are also due to Joel Murray (Colorado State University) for masterfully using Nasser's sketch and Josef's map to create an impressive map of Medieval Damascus and the Umayyad Mosque compound that identifies the eleven teaching sessions of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*. Joel also created two additional maps: the Medieval Islamic World; and the Central Islamic Lands in the Crusader Period. Steven Holden generously provided funding to produce the maps. James's colleagues in the Colorado State University history department faculty seminar provided helpful comments on early drafts of chapters three, four, and five. Jack Gaioni and Heather Keaney read a draft of the entire manuscript. Suleiman also read earlier drafts of chapter five at faculty seminars at Smith and the Five Colleges. We also presented various parts of this book at different conferences. We are truly appreciative and humbled by the thoughtful feedback and generous comments as well as valuable tips to sources that many of our colleagues gave at these venues, which strengthened the book and saved us a few embarrassments.

Thanks are also due to our students at Smith and CSU who have carefully read and critiqued drafts of various chapters in classes and seminars, and have graciously tolerated our mildly obsessive musings about Ibn 'Asākir and his *Forty Hadiths* over the years.

Finally, we want to extend our gratitude to Paul M. Cobb (University of Pennsylvania) who read the entire manuscript, and the anonymous readers who reviewed the book for Brill. Their astute and valuable comments, suggestions, and criticisms have made this a far better book than it would have been otherwise. Of course, any errors are entirely our own.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

We have adopted the Arabic transliteration system used in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*. The few exceptions include those place names and other words that, based on their inclusion in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, have already achieved acceptance in the English language. Hence, place names such as Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, and Cairo; words such as Sunni, Shi'ī, and Hadith (Hadith to indicate the sayings attributed to Muhammad as a body or field of study, and hadith to signify the individual saying); and dynastic names such as Rashidun, Umayyad, Abbasid, Almohad, Almoravid, Fatimid, Mamluk, Ottoman, and Safavid are rendered in their English forms and without diacritics. Only less well known sects and groups are given in complete transliteration.

In order to minimize confusion for the reader who is unfamiliar with the Arabic language, all personal names are rendered in the nominative case; e.g., Ibn 'Asākir's patronym (*kunya*), Abū al-Qāsim, is always rendered as Abū al-Qāsim even when we transliterate a passage in which it appears in the genitive (Abī al-Qāsim) or accusative (Abā al-Qāsim) case.

Two common proper nouns are transliterated according to *IJMES* style, but without diacritics—Muhammad and Qur'an. When the name Muhammad refers to the prophet of Islam, it is rendered as Muhammad without the dot underneath the h; similarly with the name of Ali when it refers to Imam Ali. Qur'an is rendered without the long dash above the a; the adjectival form of Qur'an is rendered straightforwardly as quranic (cf. Bible and biblical).

In the Islamic tradition, it is customary to invoke blessings (*ṣalawāt*) on Muhammad and other prophets after their names (e.g., *ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*; May God bless him and grant him peace). Rather than translate the entire blessing each time one occurs, we have indicated that there is a blessing in the original by simply giving the first letter of the blessing, (ṣ).

Finally, we have rendered all dates according to the Gregorian Christian or Common Era calendar (CE). In the few cases where it was relevant to include the Islamic Era dating system (AH) used in Islamic sources, especially pre-modern ones, we have included both the AH and the CE dates separated by a slash; e.g. Saturday 7 Rajab 565/28 March 1170, the date of the first public teaching session of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*.

PART ONE

THE INTENSIFICATION AND REORIENTATION OF
SUNNI JIHAD IDEOLOGY IN THE CRUSADER PERIOD:
IBN 'ASĀKIR OF DAMASCUS (1105–1176) AND HIS AGE

CHAPTER ONE

IBN 'ASĀKIR (1105–1176): LIFE AND CAREER

1. LIFE, EDUCATION, AND CAREER

Ibn 'Asākir, Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, was the most notable figure of the 'Asākir family (Banū 'Asākir), whose members occupied prestigious positions as judges and scholars of the Shāfi'ī school of Sunni law in Damascus for close to three centuries (late eleventh to early fourteenth centuries).¹ Ibn 'Asākir was born in 1105, six years after the Crusaders² captured Jerusalem, and died in 1176, two years after Saladin (Salāḥ al-Dīn) succeeded Nūr al-Dīn as leader of Syria³ and Egypt.⁴ He started his pursuit of religious education at the age of six,⁵ accompanying his father al-Ḥasan (d. 1125) and brother Hibat Allāh (1095–1167) to the teaching seminars of several renowned Damascene scholars at the Umayyad Mosque and the Amīniya School of Shāfi'ī law.⁶ Since Ibn 'Asākir's mother was from the prestigious al-Qurashī family which traced its genealogy back to the Umayyad dynasty, his maternal lineage was fundamental to providing him easy access to the high scholarly community of Damascus.⁷

¹ This range is determined as starting with the active career of Ibn 'Asākir's father (who was born in 1068 and died in 1125) and ending with a descendant of his brother, al-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1323), the last traceable scholar of the 'Asākir family. Elisséeff gives the range 1077–1261: Nikita Elisséeff, *La description de Damas d'Ibn 'Asākir* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1959), xviii. (The date 1077 is given in Elisséeff as 1177, obviously a typo).

² The terms Crusaders and Franks will be used interchangeably.

³ Unless otherwise noted, we use the term Syria in the medieval sense of Bilād al-Shām—which would include modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Palestinian territories, and parts of southeastern Turkey.

⁴ It took some time before Saladin could establish himself as the legitimate and uncontested successor to Nūr al-Dīn. On Saladin, see Malcolm Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of Holy War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1999).

⁵ Ibn 'Asākir attended a class in 1111 with Abū al-Wahsh Subay' ibn al-Muslim ibn 'Alī (d. 1115), and read parts of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Ta'rikh Baghdād* with Abū Turāb Ḥaydara ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī (d. 1112): Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, 80 vols., eds. 'Umar ibn Gharāma al-'Amrawī and 'Alī Shīrī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995–2001), 13:466–467.

⁶ The Shāfi'ī school is one of the four recognized schools of jurisprudence in Sunni Islam and the most popular in Bilād al-Shām.

⁷ Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, xviii–xx; and James E. Lindsay, "Ibn 'Asākir, His

The political instability in Damascus, and Syria more broadly, in the wake of the Crusaders' invasion and the long-standing intra-Muslim rivalries and animosities certainly influenced the young scholar's choice to seek higher religious education elsewhere in the Muslim world. Between 1126 and 1141, Ibn 'Asākir embarked on two ambitious educational journeys that took him to the most prestigious centers of Islamic learning in his day: Baghdad (where he studied at the famous Nizāmiya *madrasa*), the Hijaz (Mecca and Medina), Kufa, and Islamic lands further East—Isfahan, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, Merv, Nishapur, and Herat.⁸ But political instability at home does not account for his choice entirely. In fact, one can easily imagine that Ibn 'Asākir—given his talents and the position of his family in the city—would have undertaken similar travels in any case. For Ibn 'Asākir's distant travels in search of religious knowledge during his twenties and thirties place him firmly in the established educational tradition that is illustrated eloquently by a hadith in which Muhammad is reported to have told his followers that they should seek religious knowledge (*ṭalab al-'ilm*) even unto China; that is, to the ends of the earth.⁹ Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), the famous fourteenth-century scholar, eloquently articulated this sentiment as well:

A scholar's education is greatly improved by traveling in quest of knowledge and meeting the authoritative teachers of [his time].¹⁰

Near the end of his life, Ibn 'Asākir composed a three-volume work entitled *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* (Glossary of Teachers) in which he describes more than 1,621 male-teachers whom he had met and had studied with over the course of his illustrious scholarly career;¹¹ he composed a similar though

Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq, and its Usefulness for Understanding Early Islamic History," in *Ibn 'Asākir and Early Islamic History*, ed. idem. (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2001), 3–7.

⁸ His first trip lasted from 1126 to 1131 (mostly spent in Baghdad, with an excursion to Mecca and Medina to perform the pilgrimage), and his second lasted from 1134 to 1141 (mostly spent in Iran and Central Asia); Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, xx–xxii.

⁹ On the practice of travel for religious knowledge in medieval Islam, see Sam Gellens, "The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Muslim Societies: A Comparative Approach," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, eds. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatory (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 50–68.

¹⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, second edition, 3 vols., trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) 3:307.

¹¹ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, 3 vols., ed. Wafā' Taqiy al-Dīn (Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 2000). We cannot tell exactly the total number of teachers whom Ibn 'Asākir included in this book due to the loss of a number of folios from the end of the manuscript. Al-Dhahabī (d. 1348) seems to have counted meticulously the teachers in this book and numbers them at 1636: al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 28 vols., eds. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt et al (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1996), 20:556. In *Ta'rikh al-islām*, al-Dhahabī gives the number as

smaller *Muʿjam* for his 80-some female-teachers.¹² Ibn 'Asākir's mastery of a vast body of religious scholarship, especially in the field of Hadith, earned him the honorific *hāfiẓ* (Hadith memorizer). Consequently, Ibn 'Asākir was widely recognized in his day and after as the most learned and renowned Damascene scholar of Hadith.

2. WORKS

Ibn 'Asākir's scholarly career flourished under Nūr al-Dīn's patronage shortly after the latter occupied Damascus in 1154. His many literary works provide important insights into the religious propaganda produced in support of Nūr al-Dīn's religious agenda and war efforts. Three important themes dominate Ibn 'Asākir's writings, some of which were composed specifically to help define and shape Nūr al-Dīn's religious and political agenda: (1) the promotion of Islam against its external enemies, the Christian Crusaders; (2) the promotion of Sunnism against its internal enemies, specifically the Shi'ī Fatimid regime in Egypt and their sympathizers in Syria; and (3) the promotion of Ash'arism against Ḥanbalism (the main Sunni theological divisions in contemporary Damascus). Nūr al-Dīn was primarily concerned with the first two themes; the third was a peculiarity of Ibn 'Asākir's circle of Ash'arī colleagues, and reflects Damascene intra-Sunni rivalry in the twelfth century.

Three works in particular exhibit Ibn 'Asākir's efforts to shape and define Nūr al-Dīn's religious agenda. These best reflect Ibn 'Asākir's religious persona and his understanding of how the peculiarities of his own time should affect the future course of Islamic history. He was not only eager to educate a generation of students on jihad and other religious topics; he also believed that he had an obligation to author books that were more appropriate for the circumstances of his time, and that reflected his vision of Islamic history and Islamic teaching.

Ibn 'Asākir's magnum opus—*Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq* (The History of the City of Damascus, or for simplicity History of Damascus)—is the largest biographical dictionary ever produced by a medieval Muslim scholar. Ibn 'Asākir began his *History of Damascus* as a rather vague project in 1134

1300, which refers to those male-scholars who directly taught Ibn 'Asākir Hadith (this number therefore does not include those teachers also mentioned in the *Muʿjam* who recited for Ibn 'Asākir poetry, or from whom he received *ijāza* without having met them): see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, 47 vols, ed. 'Umar Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1987–1998), 40:72.

¹² See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:556. Al-Dhahabī states that he read this small book.

(two decades prior to Nūr al-Dīn's occupation of Damascus), but it was conceived in its current titanic format and became a huge success owing to Nūr al-Dīn's patronage. The *History of Damascus* is primarily a biographical dictionary now published in a mostly complete edition in 74 volumes plus indices (in 6 vols.). It celebrates the holiness of Syria, with Damascus as its center,¹³ by documenting the lives and achievements of the notable men and women (religious figures, politicians, scholars, poets, etc.) who lived in the region or merely passed through it, from the epoch of the biblical patriarchs and matriarchs all the way down to Ibn 'Asākir's own. It is one of the treasures of medieval Islamic historiography in that it preserves extensive excerpts from hundreds of now-lost works authored by Muslim historians and religious scholars before Ibn 'Asākir's day. Consequently it is an extremely valuable source for understanding medieval Syria and Islamic history.¹⁴

Ibn 'Asākir organizes his first volume so as to demonstrate the unique sacred space that is Syria, and to elevate its spiritual standing in relation to other parts of the world. Ibn 'Asākir includes numerous statements extolling the merits of Syria in his introduction. The three hadiths below (two of which are attributed to Muhammad himself) depict Ibn 'Asākir's basic argument rather pointedly:

Thawr ibn Yazīd (d. 770) said: "The holiest part of earth is Syria; the holiest part of Syria is Palestine; the holiest part of Palestine is Jerusalem; the holiest part of Jerusalem is the Temple Mount area; the holiest part of the Temple Mount area is the Temple [*al-masjid*]; and the holiest part of the Temple is the Dome [of the Rock]."¹⁵

The Messenger of God (s) said: "All regions of the world will be destroyed forty years before Syria."¹⁶

¹³ That discourse on the holiness of Syria and Damascus in Islam preceded Ibn 'Asākir is illustrated by the case of al-Rabā'ī's (d. 1052) *Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Shām wa-Dimashq*; see Paul M. Cobb, "Virtual Sacrality: Making Muslim Syria Sacred Before the Crusades," *Medieval Encounters* 8.1 (2002), 35–55.

¹⁴ On Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, see the studies in Lindsay (ed.), *Ibn 'Asākir and Early Islamic History*. See also Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, xxix–liii. On Ibn 'Asākir's understanding of Syria as a holy space, see Zayde Antrim, "Ibn 'Asākir's Representations of Syria and Damascus in the introduction to the *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38 (2006), 109–129; eadem, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Nancy Khalek, *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁵ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 1:152.

¹⁶ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 1:194.

The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: “Good is ten portions: nine in Syria and one in the rest of the world. Evil is ten portions: one in Syria and nine in the rest of the world. When the people of Syria become corrupt, there is no hope.”¹⁷

Ibn 'Asākir's emphasis on the sacredness of Syria is intended, in part, to support his view that Syria should be protected from the Franks and any other threats to his vision of proper Sunni orthodoxy. It is no surprise then that in his biographies of Muslim rulers in Syria, including the Umayyad Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya,¹⁸ the Abbasid al-Ma'mūn,¹⁹ and his own patron sultan Nūr al-Dīn,²⁰ Ibn 'Asākir highlights their accomplishments in waging jihad on Syrian soil against the enemies of Islam.

Ibn 'Asākir also devotes considerable attention to a large number of pre-Islamic biblical sacred figures, including Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, David, Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist, to name but a few. His is the only Muslim biographical dictionary that features substantial biographical notices for pre-Islamic sacred figures outside the Tales of the Prophets (*qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) literature.²¹

A theme that emerges quite clearly in Ibn 'Asākir's *History of Damascus* is that his choice of subjects and the narrative structure of his biographies—reaching from Adam, to his recently deceased contemporaries—reflect a

¹⁷ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 1:154.

¹⁸ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 65:394–410. Yazīd (r. 680–683) was a problematic figure due to his excessive drinking and, most significantly, ordering the execution of imam al-Ḥusayn, Muhammad's grandson: On Ibn 'Asākir's treatment of Yazīd, see James E. Lindsay, “Caliph and Moral Exemplar? 'Alī Ibn 'Asākir's Portrait of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya,” *Der Islam* 74 (1997), 250–278, and Chapter One, p. 10.

¹⁹ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 33:275–341. Al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–833) was a problematic figure in medieval traditional Sunni discourse because of his institution of the inquisition (*al-mihna*) which lasted a few decades and witnessed the torture and execution of some important figures in Sunni genealogy. On the caliph al-Ma'mūn, see Tayyeb El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Harun al-Rashid and the Narrative of the 'Abbasid Caliphate* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 95–142; Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of al-Ma'mun* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and idem, *al-Ma'mun* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

²⁰ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 57:118–124; and Chapter Four, pp. 47–51.

²¹ On the *Tales of the Prophets*, see *'Arā'is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* or *Lives of the Prophets' as Recounted by Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tha'labī*, trans. William Brinner (Leiden: Brill, 2002), and *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisā'ī*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978). See also James E. Lindsay, “'Alī Ibn 'Asākir as a Preserver of *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*: the Case of David ibn Jesse,” *Studia Islamica* 82 (1995), 45–82; idem, “Sarah and Hagar in Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*,” *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*, 10 (2008):1–14; and Suleiman A. Mourad, “Jesus According to Ibn 'Asākir,” in *Ibn 'Asākir and Early Islamic History*, ed. James Lindsay (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2001), 24–43.

chronological, thematic, and even moralistic continuity in his understanding of Syria's history. We see this explicitly in one of the ways he articulates his vision of Syria's past for his time. That is, the great figures of Syria's past did not simply bless it by living in it or passing through it, they also stood up to defend it when necessary. Ibn 'Asākir's unique depiction of Jesus provides some clues to this grand scheme in the presentation of his subjects. Ibn 'Asākir's Jesus will return before the Day of Judgment as the *Mahdī*—the Messiah figure of Islamic eschatology—to kill the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*) at the gates of Jerusalem, lead the Muslims to victory over their enemies, and re-establish the triumph of Islam.²²

In his biography of Jesus, Ibn 'Asākir records a particularly interesting prophecy that speaks directly to the troubling circumstances of his time and, together with other traditions about the End of Times, highlights Jesus as waging jihad in the path of God:

Son of the sheep-bearing [*Ibn Ḥaml al-Ḍa'n*], a Byzantine, one of whose parents is a demon, is about to come out against the Muslims leading 500,000 [soldiers] by land and [another] 500,000 by sea and disembarking between Acre and Tyre. Then he will say: "People of the ships, come out from them," and he will order them [the ships] to be burnt. The Muslims will seek each other's help. Then they will fight for a month, and [the Muslims] will find no people to stand between them and Constantinople and Rome. While they (the Muslims) are in that [situation], they will [hear] that the Antichrist [*al-Dajjāl*] has taken over among their families. They will drop what is in their hands and rush back. A famine will fall upon the people [the Muslims], and while they are in this [situation], they will hear a voice from Heaven [saying]: "Rejoice, help is coming to you." They will say: "Jesus son of Mary has descended." They will rejoice in him, and he will rejoice in them, and they will say [to him]: "[Lead us in] prayer, O Spirit of God," and he will say [to them]: "God has honored this [Muslim] community; therefore, no one should lead their prayers except [one] of them." ... After Jesus finishes [his prayer], he will take his lance, go toward the Antichrist and kill him²³

²² For a wide array of traditions on the Second Coming of Jesus, see Suleiman A. Mourad, *Sirat al-sayid al-masih li Ibn 'Asākir* (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1996), 234–282; and idem, "Jesus According to Ibn 'Asākir," 31–37. There is no question in the Islamic tradition regarding the veracity of Jesus' Second Coming at the End of Days. But Ibn 'Asākir's depiction of Jesus as the *Mahdī* is a minority opinion, as the general Muslim consensus was that the *Mahdī* would come from Muhammad's house. On the debate and identity of the *Mahdī* in medieval Islamic scholarship, see Sandra Campbell, "Millennial Messiah or Religious Restorer: Reflections on the Early Islamic Understanding of the Term *Mahdī*," *Jusūr: the UCLA Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 11 (1995): 1–11.

²³ Mourad, *Sirat al-sayid al-masih*, 257–261; and idem, "Jesus According to Ibn 'Asākir," 31–32.

This prophecy, which Ibn 'Asākir attributes to the companion of Muhammad, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ (d. 684), is meant to explain the well-known hadith regarding the coming of a revivifier of Islam at the beginning of every century:

God will send this community a person who will renew its faith at the beginning of every hundred years.²⁴

Interestingly, the prophecy highlights several themes that are peculiar to the Frankish presence in the Near East, and reflect some editing done on the part of Ibn 'Asākir or his direct informant to adapt it to the challenges of their own time. First, the Crusaders came by sea and over land, and their two most powerful centers were Acre and Tyre.²⁵ Second, the Frankish challenge widened the divisions among Muslim leaders, especially in Syria and Egypt, which created some sort of an eschatological hope for a Muslim leader to emerge, reunite the Muslims, and defeat the Christians.²⁶ Jesus is not that leader, for his role in Islamic eschatology is clear: He will return to kill the Antichrist, break the crosses, slaughter the pigs, end the *jizya* (poll-tax on non-Muslims), making warfare against People of the Book and others (e.g., Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, etc.) licit; and thus usher in the Day of Judgment. But it is the Muslims' responsibility to prepare the conditions for his return. Hence, in Ibn 'Asākir's opinion, it was incumbent upon the Muslims to unite, obviously under the leadership of his patron Nūr al-Dīn.²⁷

This eschatological expectation is reminiscent of the version of Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont in 1095, recorded by Guibert of Nogent (d. 1125), which raises similar eschatological hopes regarding the need to liberate Jerusalem (Mother of Churches) in order to prepare the way for the return of Christ and his battle with the Antichrist. According to Guibert's account, since the Antichrist is to do battle with Christians in Jerusalem, "if Antichrist finds there no Christians (just as at present when scarcely any

²⁴ Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, 4 vols., ed. Muḥammad M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriya, 1951), 4:156 (no. 4291).

²⁵ It was Tyre's resistance to the attempts of Saladin to capture it in 1187 that allowed the Franks to regroup and launch a counter offensive with the Third Crusade, and consequently remain in the Near East for additional 105 years, until 1291 when the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf brought an end to the Frankish military presence.

²⁶ We come across this eschatological tendency as well in al-Sulamī's (d. 1106) *Book of Jihad*: see Paul E. Chevedden, "The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus: The Geo-Politics and Historical Perspectives of Pope Urban II and 'Alī ibn Ṭāhīr al-Sulamī," *Oriens* 39 (2011): 297–299. For more on Sulamī, see Chapter Three, pp. 33–36.

²⁷ For a fuller discussion of this prophecy, see Mourad, "Jesus According to Ibn 'Asākir," 31–35.

dwell there), no one will be there to oppose him.”²⁸ Of course, one should not assume a connection between Guibert and Ibn ‘Asākir or any concrete influence of one on the other, for there was none. We are only pointing to the similarity between Christian and Muslim apocalyptic and eschatological religious literature and expectations at the time of the Crusades.²⁹

Beside the Frankish challenge, Ibn ‘Asākir was very much concerned with preserving what he considered the proper Sunni character of Islam, and he did so as an eager and effective advocate of Nūr al-Dīn’s jihad against Sunni Islam’s internal enemies, primarily the Shi‘i Fatimids. In this respect, one is struck by his eagerness to highlight the morality and religiosity of his figures, even the most problematic ones, such as the second Umayyad caliph Yazīd, under whose rule al-Ḥusayn, the grandson of Muhammad and the most important religious figure (along with his father Ali) for the Shi‘is, was slain in 680. Yazīd, in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *History of Damascus*, is a righteous and pious ruler who, beside his eagerness to protect the lands of Islam from the Byzantines, was also involved in the transmission of several hadiths from the Prophet of Islam.³⁰ In short, even in his biography of this problematical ruler, Ibn ‘Asākir’s intent was to demonstrate the pivotal role which Syria has played in his understanding of the past in which God has intervened and acted at times to reward the righteous and punish the wicked. Such a vision of the past is certainly not unique, and parallels that of his many contemporaries, predecessors, and successors—whether Muslim, Christian, or Jewish.

Ibn ‘Asākir authored several other less imposing religiously and politically motivated works. Some of these works were short collections of hadiths attributed to Muhammad, his companions, and early notable Muslims celebrating the religious merits (*faḍā’il*) of villages and localities in the vicinity of Damascus, such as the famous Rabwa (Qur’an 23:50), to which, according to popular Islamic narratives, Jesus and Mary escaped from the Massacre of

²⁸ Edward Peters, *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, second edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 35. For the full text of Guibert of Nogent’s account of Urban II’s sermon at Clermont, see Peters, *First Crusade*, 33–37.

²⁹ See also Chevedden, “The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus.” The similarity in apocalyptic language and imagery in Christian and Islamic religious literature is not limited to the period of the Crusades, and also extends to Jewish religious literature. On Muslim apocalyptic literature, see David Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2002); and idem, *Contemporary Muslim Apocalyptic Literature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 1–12.

³⁰ On Ibn ‘Asākir’s presentation of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd, see Lindsay, “Caliphal and Moral Exemplar?”

the Innocents (Matthew 2:13–22).³¹ Like the *History of Damascus*, they show the commitment of Ibn 'Asākir to the promotion of Syria as a sacred space dotted with burial sites and events associated with renowned Biblical and Muslim figures.

With respect to theology, he authored two impassioned defenses of the Sunni theologian al-Ash'arī (d. 935) and his school, both of which were under attack by rival Sunni groups in Damascus, especially the Ḥanbalīs. The two works are: *Manāqib Ash'ariyya* (Virtues of al-Ash'arī and the Ash'arīs) and *Tabyīn kadhīb al-muftarī fī mā nasaba ilā al-imām Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī* (Exposing the Slanderer's Mendacity in What He Falsely Ascribed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī).³²

Ibn 'Asākir also composed two works that relate specifically to sacred space and jihad—*Faḍl 'Asqalān* (The Merits of Ascalon) and *al-Arba'ūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth 'alā al-jihād* (The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad).³³ *Faḍl 'Asqalān* is a collection of hadiths that celebrates Ascalon's holiness to Islam. It was written in reaction to the fall of the city to the Franks in 1153, and served as an appeal for the Muslims to recapture it. This work is unfortunately lost, thus we cannot fully understand the religious impact which the fall of Ascalon had on Ibn 'Asākir and his fellow scholars. However, the brief excerpts from it that are preserved in Ibn 'Asākir's *History of Damascus* do provide a few clues as to how the religious establishment drew on earlier traditions promoting the sanctity of Ascalon as a means to rally the Muslims to liberate it in the twelfth century. Some of the traditions on Ascalon's sacredness were quite well known in Syria prior to Ibn 'Asākir's time. In his introduction to the *History of Damascus*, Ibn 'Asākir includes a hadith in which Muhammad identifies Ascalon as one of the four frontier-stations in

³¹ See al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 20:560–561. See also Khalek, *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest*.

³² For studies on these works by Ibn 'Asākir, see August Ferdinand Mehren, *Exposé de la réforme de l'islamisme commencée au IIIème siècle de l'Hégire par Abou-l-Hasan Ali el-Ash'ari et continuée par son école avec des extraits du texte arabe d'Ibn Asākir* (Leiden: Brill, 1878); and Richard Joseph McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash'arī* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953), which includes an English translation of Ibn 'Asākir's *Tabyīn* ("Appendix II: Ibn 'Asākir's Apology," 145–207). We are suggesting the use of "nasaba" in the title instead of commonly used "nusiba". The assumption that the verb is in the passive form (*nusiba*) is wrong for its subject is the slanderer (*al-muftarī*); hence what the slanderer wrongly ascribed.

³³ This second work is also known as *al-Arba'ūn fī al-ijthād fī iqāmat al-jihād* (The Forty Hadiths on the Obligation to Wage Jihad). Two previous editions of Ibn 'Asākir's *al-Arba'ūn fī al-ḥathth 'ala al-jihād* exist. The first by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf (Kuwait: Dār al-Khulafā' li'l-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1984), and the second by Aḥmad 'A. Ḥalwānī in his *Ibn 'Asākir wa-dawruh fī al-jihād qidd al-Ṣalibiyyīn fī 'aḥd al-dawlatayn al-Nūrīya wa-l-Ayyūbiya* (Damascus: Dār al-Fidā, 1991), 101–149.

which the good Muslim ought to reside.³⁴ Ibn ‘Asākir also relates the following hadith that depicts Ascalon as a city sheltered by God from man-made disasters:

A man came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and said: “O Messenger of God (ﷺ), I desire to join a raid in the path of God.” The Prophet said: “Syria is your destination, for God—Almighty—assured me that He looks after Syria and its people. In Syria, stick to Ascalon, because when the Muslims start fighting each other, only the people of Ascalon will witness tranquility and prosperity.”³⁵

One might observe here that the prophecy remained to be fulfilled in Ibn ‘Asākir’s day since the Franks’ capture of Ascalon in 1153 had led to the displacement or massacre of the city’s Muslim population. But this is beside the point. What is important to note is that Ibn ‘Asākir used such anecdotes to emphasize the priceless blessing that Muhammad had bestowed on Ascalon, thus amplifying the Muslims’ failure to protect the city as well as their obligation to liberate it and restore it to its rightful overlords.

Ibn ‘Asākir’s second work, *al-Arba‘ūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth ‘alā al-jihād* (The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad), is a collection of forty hadiths attributed to Muhammad that emphasize the duty and obligation to wage jihad. Ibn ‘Asākir authored this work at the request of his patron Nūr al-Dīn as well.³⁶ Chapter Five below provides a detailed analysis of the content of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, while Chapter Six investigates the *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*’s continued relevance to jihad propaganda in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Damascus based on what we can learn from the colophons inscribed at the end of the manuscript; Part Two is an edition of the Arabic text of *al-Arba‘ūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth ‘alā al-jihād* and an annotated English translation of the *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*.³⁷

There is no doubt that Ibn ‘Asākir was one of the most celebrated scholars of medieval Islam, both in his own time and in subsequent centuries. His exceptional prowess in Hadith scholarship and productivity were two important factors that contributed to his fame. But it was his service to his political patron Nūr al-Dīn, especially in shaping the sultan’s religious

³⁴ See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:221.

³⁵ See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:97.

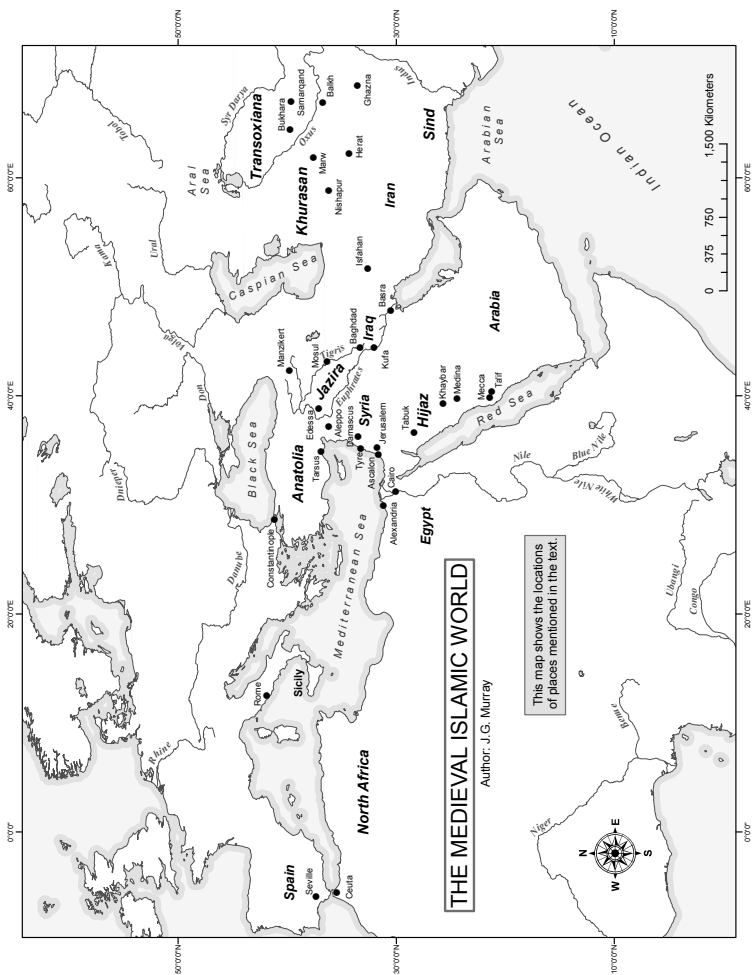
³⁶ Al-Dhahabī lists a second *Book of Jihad* by Ibn ‘Asākir, which must be a different title for the *Forty Hadiths*.

³⁷ Unless otherwise noted, all citations of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* will be to our translation (*The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*) and edition (*al-Arba‘ūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth ‘alā al-jihād*) below.

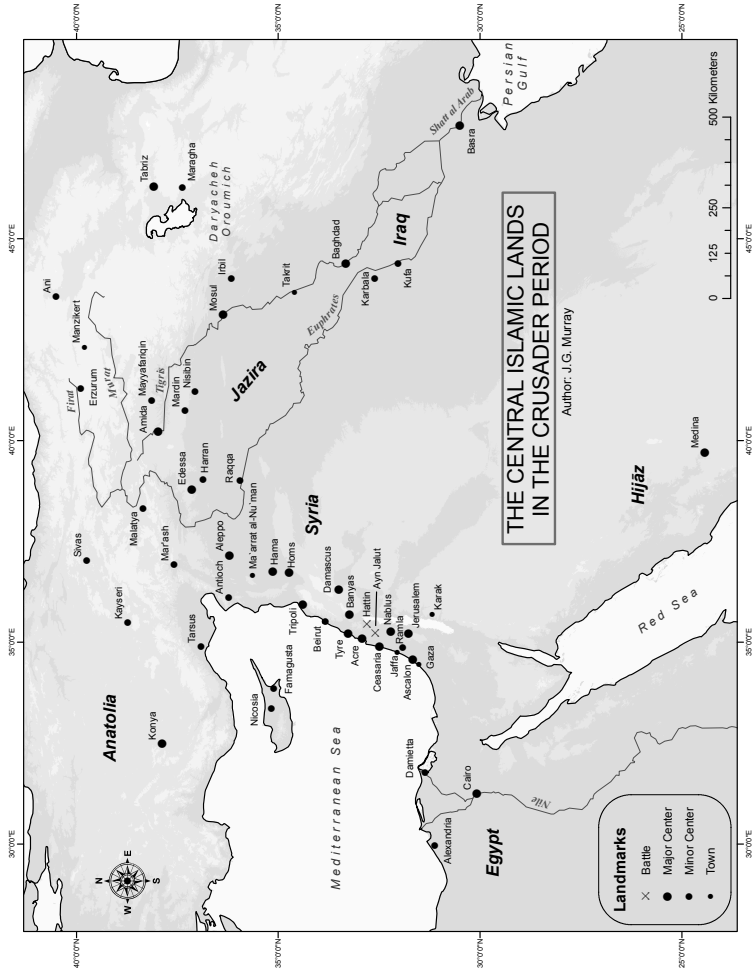
agenda and the pursuit of the revival of Sunnism and its scholarship, as we will see in subsequent chapters, that cemented Ibn 'Asākir's renowned position in Sunni genealogy. Indeed, Ibn 'Asākir, as a result of his extensive educational travels and acquisition of books and licenses to transmit them, played a key role in the "introduction" of major Sunni religious texts, especially the canonical Hadith texts, to Damascus. This effort not only was central to the revivification of Sunni scholarship in the city, and by extension Syria, but also earned him such honorifics as the revifier and protector of Sunnism.³⁸ The renowned fourteenth-century Damascene Sunni scholar al-Subkī (d. 1370) relates that when Ibn 'Asākir's mother became pregnant with him, his father saw in a dream that he would beget a son "whom God will employ to revivify Sunnism and bring an end to heresies" (*aḥyā Allāhu bihi al-sunna wa-amāta bihi al-bid'a*).³⁹ It is against such an image and reputation that one has to understand the contribution of Ibn 'Asākir to Islamic religious scholarship, especially in terms of his relevance and influence on later religious scholars and scholarship.

³⁸ See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'īya al-kubrā*, 5 vols., ed. Muṣṭafā 'Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1999), 4:140–141; and al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:566.

³⁹ Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'īya*, 4:139; al-Subkī's biography of Ibn 'Asākir is in 4:137–143. These sentiments are not unique to al-Subkī; we find them expressed by many notable Sunni scholars, such as al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 40:70–82; idem, *Siyar*, 20:554–571; and al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān bi-l-tawbīkh li-man dhamm al-tārīkh*, ed. Franz Rosenthal (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1963), 294.



Map 1. The Medieval Islamic World



Map 2. The Central Islamic Lands in the Crusader Period

CHAPTER TWO

JIHAD IN EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORY: AN OVERVIEW

In the search to account for the persistence of the ideology of jihad in Islamic thought, modern apologists and revivalists have disagreed over the essential meaning of the term “jihad,” whether it should be understood to necessitate violence and military conquest, and whether it is best understood as principally an interior spiritual struggle to be a better person.¹ In some quranic passages the meaning of jihad (or its derivatives) is clearly aggressive; in others it is simply too vague to be defined precisely. Some verses associate conducting the duty with one’s soul or life (*nafs*); others with one’s personal wealth (*māl*).² The basic meaning of the word jihad (from the root *j-h-d*) is to struggle against something or exert one’s effort toward an objective, as explained by Ibn Manẓūr (1230–1311), the celebrated thirteenth-century lexicographer.³ However, in a specifically religious context, and as understood and articulated by almost every Muslim religious scholar past and present, including Ibn Manẓūr, jihad has one meaning: to exert one’s effort in fighting the enemies of God by acts or by words.⁴

¹ A range of these views are discussed in Reuven Firestone, *Jihād: The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3–4. See also Michael Bonner, *Jihād in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); David Cook, *Understanding Jihād* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); idem, *Martyrdom in Islam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Paul L. Heck, “Jihad Revisited,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 32.1 (2004): 95–128; Roy P. Mottahedeh and Ridwan al-Sayyid, “The Idea of the Jihad in Islam before the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 23–29; Rudolph Peters, *Jihād in Classical and Modern Islam* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1996); Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); and Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955).

² See, for instance, Qur’an 4:95, 8:72, 9:20, 9:41, and 9:88.

³ See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 15 vols. (Beirut: Dār Šādīr, 1990), 3:135 (*j-h-d*).

⁴ See the survey of the primary sources discussed in Cook, *Understanding Jihād*. For the distinction between the broad and specific meanings of Jihad, see also ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Ḥamad Āl ‘Umar, *al-Jihād* (Riyad: Maṭābi‘ al-Qasīm, 1970), 4–5; Muḥammad N. Yāsīn, *Ḥaqīqat al-jihād fī al-islām* (al-Naqra: Dār al-Arḳam, 1984), 32–43; Sa‘īd ibn ‘Alī al-Qaḥṭānī, *al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh* (Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1990), 5; and ‘Umar A. ‘Umar, *al-Jihād fī sabīl Allāh* (Damascus: Dār al-Maktabī, 1999), 15. Some Muslim revisionists have proposed that the greater and more superior jihad is the pursuit of science: see Muḥammad al-Nadawī,

The question of whether jihad per se has an aggressive or military connotation is complicated by the fact that many of the most aggressive and warlike passages in the Qur'an use the root *q-t-l* (kill or fight), rather than *j-h-d*. What matters for our present discussion is that the rather obvious parallelism between two quranic phrases—*jihād fī sabīl Allāh* (waging jihad in the path of God) and *qitāl fī sabīl Allāh* (fighting in the path of God)—cemented the equation in Islamic religious thought between jihad and warfare. In fact, the phrase *jihād fī sabīl Allāh* came to mean “warfare against infidels.”⁵ Before we turn our attention to the issue of jihad and warfare in the Qur'an and Islamic history before the Crusader period—especially as warfare against the enemies of God—a few words on religion and warfare in general are in order.

1. RELIGION AND WARFARE

As we often need to remind our students (and ourselves), the modern western discomfort with violence in the name of religion is just that—a modern western discomfort. At the risk of a slight over-simplification, this discomfort tends to be rooted in the idea that true religion should be some sort of vague personal private piety as exemplified by an image of a benign and pacifistic Jesus. It is our contention that not only is this depiction of Jesus inaccurate, but that the biblical narratives of ancient Israel provide much better models for understanding Muhammad and his religious, political, and military career than do the Gospel accounts of Jesus' life and ministry. This is due in part to the fact that, unlike the first-century world of imperial Roman Judea and Galilee, both the ancient Israelite kingdom at Jerusalem and the early Islamic *umma* at Medina emerged on the fringes of the empires of their day.⁶

Ahamīyat al-jihād li-naḥḍat al-'ālam al-islāmī (Bangalore: Furqania Academy Trust, 1999), 9–13.

⁵ For an extensive discussion of jihad in the Qur'an, see M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, “Qur'anic *Jihād*: A Linguistic and Contextual Analysis,” *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 12 (2010): 147–166. The significance of Abdel Haleem's contribution is that he contextualizes the verses that call for waging jihad against Muhammad's and Islam's enemies in the context of the quranic suras where they occur, which make them limited in scope and applicability. But he acknowledges, nevertheless, that traditional Muslim scholars never did this before. See also Ella Landau-Tasserion, “*Jihād*,” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001–2006), 3:35–43.

⁶ James E. Lindsay, “David Son of Jesse and Muḥammad Son of 'Abd Allāh: Warlords, State Builders, Paradigms of Piety,” in *Historical Dimensions of Islam: Essays in Honor of R. Stephen Humphreys*, eds. James E. Lindsay and Jon Armajani (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2009), 3–13.

In contrast to the modern western discomfort with violence in the name of religion, it is our contention that the idea that brutality and bloodshed could be an expression of piety is simply the natural order of things in both the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'an. To name only a few of the more colorful biblical examples, Deborah eulogized Jael as "the most blessed of tent-dwelling women" because she gave refuge to the Canaanite general, Sisera, and then drove a tent stake through his head as he slept in her tent (Judges 5:24–27). Samson killed a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, and even more as he pulled the Philistine temple down upon himself and his captors in his final act (Judges 15:15–16; 16:30). The Israelite prophet Samuel had to hack the Amalekite king Agag to pieces because the Israelite King Saul, in his disobedience to YHWH, had spared him (1 Samuel 15:33).⁷ David's victory against Goliath and the Philistines was immortalized by the women of Israel with tambourines and dancing as they sang:

Saul has slain his thousands;
David, his tens of thousands! (1 Samuel 18:7)

The Qur'an and the early Islamic historiographical tradition about the life of Muhammad (*sīra*) are equally vivid in their praise of the slaughter of infidels in the name of God. The tradition records that Muhammad participated in at least 27 campaigns and deputized at least 59 others during the last ten years of his life. It is no wonder that Muhammad's earliest biographers refer to this period as *al-maghāzī* (the raids). Each raid, each battle, and each beheading is depicted as God's messenger pursuing God's agenda as set forth

⁷ The longstanding rivalry between Israel and Amalek that goes back to Exodus 17 is invoked as part of Moses' admonition to the Israelites at the end of their sojourn in the desert: "Remember what Amalek did to you on your journey out of Egyptyou shall blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven ..." (Deuteronomy 25:17–19). The story of Esther at the end of the Bible's narrative of Israelite history is in part a story of the revenge of Saul's descendants from the tribe of Benjamin against the descendants of Agag/Amalek. The protagonist, Mordecai, is introduced as "Mordecai, son of Jair son of Shemei son of Kish, a *Benjaminite*" (Esther 2:5) and Haman, his nemesis who seeks to have all the Israelites of Persia killed, is introduced as "Haman son of Hammedatha the *Agagite*" (3:1; emphasis added). In the end, Mordecai has his revenge as Haman is "impaled on the stake that he had prepared for Mordecai" (7:10) and "the Jews struck down all their enemies with the sword, slaughtering, and destroying them, and did as they pleased to those who hated them. In the citadel of Susa the Jews killed and destroyed five hundred people" (9:5–6). The ten sons of Haman were then impaled, another three hundred persons were killed in Susa (9:14–15), and "the other Jews who were in the king's provinces also gathered to defend their lives, and gained relief from their enemies, and killed seventy-five thousand of those who hated them; but they laid no hands on the plunder" (9:16). All biblical citations are from or based on the *New Revised Standard Version*.

in Qur'an 8 (*Sūrat al-Anfāl*; The Spoils) which confirms that Muhammad's victory at Badr in 624 CE resulted from divine assistance. Ibn Ishāq (d. 767) informs us that in the wake of his divinely aided victory at Badr, Muhammad received the revelation,

﴿It is not fitting for a prophet to hold prisoners until he has made slaughter
(*yuthkin*) in the land.﴾⁸ (Qur'an 8:67)

Ibn Ishāq provides a particularly gruesome account of Muhammad's treatment three years later of the Banū Qurayza, one of the leading Jewish clans in Medina that had rejected his claims to prophethood and vehemently opposed his political authority in the town. After his victory at the Battle of the Trench (627), Muhammad "went out to the market of Medina ... and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for [the men of the Banū Qurayza] and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought to him in batches There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figure as high as 800 or 900."⁹ He then divided the property, women, and children of the Banū Qurayza among the Muslims.¹⁰ The tradition tells us that Muhammad pursued similar policies against the Jews of Khaybar (628),¹¹ the Banū Thaḳīf of Ṭā'if (630),¹² the Byzantines of Tabūk (631),¹³ and poets who satirized him—essentially, any persons or groups who opposed him and his absolute religious, political, and military authority.

Whether the narratives in Samuel and Kings, the Qur'an, Ibn Ishāq, etc. are viewed as accurate historical accounts of the events they describe or as myth as many modern western scholars argue, in both scriptural traditions, the purpose of all this violence and bloodshed is to establish and maintain a just society as defined by God—whether this God was referred to as YHWH or Allāh. While both world views are brutal, bloody, and barbaric, there is a substantive difference between the two that has far-reaching implications

⁸ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, 4 vols., eds. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Khayr, 1990), 2:240; and Ibn Ishāq, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sīra Rasūl Allāh*, trans. Alfred Guillaume (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 326–327. Unless otherwise noted, all quranic citations are from or based on *The Qur'an*, trans. Tarif Khalidi (New York: Penguin, 2008). Khalidi translates *yuthkhīn* as "achieved supremacy". Guillaume renders it "made slaughter." Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muḥammad*, 326. The overwhelming majority of exegetes explained *yuthkhīn* to mean to slaughter the unbelievers.

⁹ Ibn Hishām, 3:189; and Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muḥammad*, 464.

¹⁰ For Muhammad's raid against the Banū Qurayza, see Ibn Hishām, 3:184–193; and Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muḥammad*, 461–467.

¹¹ Ibn Hishām, 3:255–267; and Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muḥammad*, 510–519.

¹² Ibn Hishām, 4:95–103; and Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muḥammad*, 587–592.

¹³ Ibn Hishām, 4:125–135; and Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muḥammad*, 602–609.

for the subsequent development of each religious tradition. The Hebrew Bible's vision of a just society living in accordance with the Torah of YHWH is limited by ethnicity and geography to the People of Israel, the Land of Israel, and the Temple at Jerusalem where the God of Israel caused his name to dwell. The vision articulated in the Qur'an and the *Sīra*, though at first thought to be restricted to the Arabs, came to have a much more ambitious reach in that it is limited neither by ethnicity nor by geography. In other words, it is to strive in the path of God (*jihād fi sabīl Allāh*) until the whole world and its people are subjugated under Islamic authority and rule. Hence the classical understanding of the commandment:

﴿Fight them (*qātilūhum*) until there is no longer sedition (*fitna*), and the religion is God's.﴾¹⁴ (Qur'an 2:193; 8:39)

As noted above, the political, religious, and social environment of the Roman Empire in which Jesus (and other Jewish reform movements) operated did not offer any possibility of establishing a religio-political state on the model of ancient Israel as described in the Hebrew Bible or the founding narratives of Muhammad's career and the Islamic caliphate; though one can say that the Jewish revolt of 70 CE and the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132–136 could qualify as failed attempts to establish such religio-political states. In the fourth century, Jesus' famous response to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36), was turned on its head. After Christianity was made a legal religion under Constantine (r. 306–337), but especially after Theodosius (r. 379–395) made it the official religion of the Empire—some 350 years *after* the time of Jesus and the founding of Christianity—Roman emperors, Christian bishops, and others were compelled to negotiate issues of Christian religion and political power in substantive ways that were unthinkable in earlier centuries. This process was not a simple one at all, but by the end of the fourth century Christianity had been transformed from a religion that at times had been persecuted by the Roman state into a religion that the Roman state viewed as its mission to enforce, even to the point of persecution and violence.¹⁵ In other words, "from the last quarter of the fourth century on, it was militant interpretations of the Christian message and mission that became normative both in imperial Roman policy and in

¹⁴ Khalidi translates *fitna* (which is usually translated as disorder, temptation, trial, sedition, civil strife, etc.) as "forced apostasy": ﴿Fight them until there is no longer forced apostasy, and the religion is God's﴾ (Qur'an 2:193; 8:39).

¹⁵ On this transformation, see H.A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

the imaginations of some Christian communities arrayed across the landscape of the late antique Mediterranean and Mesopotamia.”¹⁶ These militant interpretations of the Christian message in “imperial Roman policy and in the imaginations of some Christian communities” were in tension with St. Augustine’s views articulated in his *City of God*.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the tension was sufficiently resolved by the eleventh century as the call and preaching of the Crusades were spearheaded by the Popes and the Church of Rome.¹⁸

2. JIHAD AND WARFARE IN THE QUR’AN

Sūrat al-Anfāl (Spoils; 8:1–75) and *Sūrat al-Tawba* (Repentance; 9:1–129) provide the principal quranic inspiration for warfare against infidels and what the Qur’an calls People of the Book—namely, Jews and Christians. Whether these suras should be understood as descriptive, or even mythic, accounts of Muhammad’s military conflicts after his hijra to Medina or as divine exhortations to be heeded in perpetuity, they were the principal go-to suras of the Qur’an that every religious scholar invoked when stressing the duty of jihad and extoling its virtues. *Sūrat al-Anfāl* asserts that Muhammad’s first major military victory against his Meccan opponents at Badr in 624 was due to divine aid. Muslim commentators generally date *Sūrat al-Tawba* to the end of Muhammad’s career—after one of his last victories in an attack on Byzantine opponents at Tabūk in 631. There are, of course, many other passages in the Qur’an that address jihad and warfare. We have selected five from *Sūrat al-Tawba* that occur repeatedly in medieval and modern treatises on the obligation of jihad. These five passages convey the basic principles of military jihad and its rewards; they predominantly implore Muhammad and his followers with *q-t-l* (kill; fight), though *j-h-d* (strive; struggle) is employed as well.

The first passage articulates the covenant between God and the believer in the context of sacred warfare.

ﷻ God has purchased from the believers their souls and their wealth and, in exchange, the Garden shall be theirs. They fight in the path of God [*yūqātīlūn fī sabīl Allāh*], they kill and are killed—a true promise from Him in the Torah,

¹⁶ Thomas Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 5.

¹⁷ Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R.W. Dyson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

the Evangel and the Qur'an. Who is more truthful to his promise than God? So be of good cheer regarding that business deal you transact. That is the greatest of triumphs. ﴿¹⁹ (Qur'an 9:11)

The two most famous warfare passages—known as the sword verse (Qur'an 9:5) and the *jizya* verse (Qur'an 9:29)—speak of *offensive* warfare against idolaters, polytheists, and infidels. Note that Jews and Christians are placed in this category despite many other passages in the Qur'an that speak favorably of those among the Jews and Christians who shall see paradise.²⁰

﴿Once the sacred months are shorn, kill (*fa-qtulū*) the polytheists wherever you find them, arrest them, imprison them, besiege them, and lie in wait for them at every site of ambush. If they repent, perform the prayer and pay the alms, let them go on their way: God is All-Forgiving, Compassionate to each.﴾ (Qur'an 9:5)

﴿Fight [*qātilū*] those who do not believe in God or the Last Day, who do not hold illicit what God and His Messenger hold illicit, and who do not follow the religion of truth from among those given the Book, until they offer up the tribute [*jizya*], by hand, in humble mien.﴾ (Qur'an 9:29)

Warfare is not only to be conducted offensively against the idolaters, polytheists, and infidels, but also *defensively* against those who fight against Muhammad, his followers, and right religion in general:

﴿Will you not fight [*tuqātilūn*] a people who broke their oath, who undertook to drive out the Messenger, who commenced hostilities against you? Do you fear them? God is more worthy of your fear, if you truly believe. Fight them [*qātilūhum*] and God will punish them at your hands. He will humble them and grant you victory over them. He will appease the hearts of a people who believe. He will remove the anger from their breasts. And God shall restore to His grace whomsoever He wills. And God is Omniscient, All-Wise.﴾ (Qur'an 9:13–14)

Finally, the rewards awaiting those who wage jihad in the path of God include gardens watered by running streams, in which they shall abide forever:

﴿But the Messenger and the believers with him have waged jihad with their properties [*bi-amwālihim*] and persons [*wa-anfusihim*]. These—to them

¹⁹ The twelfth-century scholar, Yūsuf ibn Dūnās al-Findalāwī, invoked this passage in his fight against the Franks during the Second Crusade. See Chapter Three, pp. 36–37.

²⁰ Fred M. Donner examines the relevant quranic passages on Jews and Christians in "From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-identity in the Early Islamic Community," *Al-Abhath* 50–51 (2002–2003), 9–53; and idem, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

belong the finest rewards. These shall truly gain success. God has readied for them Gardens beneath which rivers flow, abiding therein for ever. This is the greatest of triumphs. ﴿﴾²¹ (Qur'an 9:88)

In addition to these and other quranic passages—e.g., ﴿﴾ Fighting [*al-qitāl*] has been prescribed for you, although it is a matter hateful to you ﴿﴾ (Qur'an 2:216)—Muslim scholars also appealed to a host of hadiths that extolled the merits of jihad against the enemies of right religion, however defined, and the rewards that awaited those engaged in it. According to one such hadith, a version of which is in Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, Muhammad said:

If anyone is pleased with God as Lord, with Islam as religion and with Muhammad as messenger, paradise will be assured to him There is also something else for which God will raise a servant in paradise a hundred degrees between each two of which there is a distance like that between heaven and earth [That is,] "Jihad in God's path; jihad in God's path; jihad in God's path."²²

3. JIHAD AND WARFARE IN ISLAMIC HISTORY BEFORE THE CRUSADER PERIOD

Since Muhammad was the sole political, military, and religious leader of the new *umma* (community) at Medina it is easy to see the relevance of the preceding quranic passages to his immediate situation. By the time he died in 632, Muhammad was the direct ruler of the Hijaz and had established tributary alliances with a number of the outlying tribes in Arabia. After Muhammad's death, it fell to the first caliph Abū Bakr and his Rashidun, Umayyad, and Abbasid successors to undertake the conquest and subjugation of Arabia and far beyond.²³ And as they did, they sought and easily found inspiration for their religious, political, and military policies in the life and deeds of Muhammad, for

﴿﴾ In the Prophet of God you have an excellent example (*uswa ḥasana*) to follow for one who seeks God and the Last Day, and who remembers God often. ﴿﴾ (Qur'an 33:21)

The Qur'an and the *sīra* tradition view Muhammad's military conquests—whether against Mecca, Ṭā'if, Tabūk, or the Jews of Medina and Khaybar—in

²¹ Khalidi translates *jāhadū* as: ﴿﴾laboured hard﴿﴾.

²² Al-Tibrizi, *Mishkat al-Masabih*, 3 vols., trans. James Robson (Lahore: S.M. Ashraf, 1963–1965), 3:817. See also, Hadith 11 in Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 149; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 148.

²³ Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); and Hugh N. Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In* (Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2007).

much the same light as the biblical depiction of the wars that the ancient Israelites fought against their enemies. The *ridda* wars against the tribes of Arabia and the subsequent conquests of Syria, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, and Sind (roughly half of the lands of Christendom and the entire Zoroastrian world) are also portrayed as divinely-aided vindications of Muhammad's mission and message. This vision of a perpetually expanding Islamic Empire was eventually upset by Christian counter-attacks in eleventh-century Spain, Sicily, and elsewhere, but especially by the Franks' successes at Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem in the late 1090s that ushered in two centuries of Crusader control of coastal Syria—a subject that we will address in some detail in Chapter Three.

After his death, Muhammad's followers used quranic verses and a host of hadiths to form the basis for the ideology of jihad in the medieval Islamic world. They inspired many of the faithful during the first century of conquests even as others were undoubtedly inspired merely by booty and glory in battle. Once the frontiers of the new Islamic Empire were more or less stabilized in the eighth century, the caliphs maintained an expansionist jihad ideology by leading or ordering raids along the Syrian–Byzantine frontier. Many a caliph strengthened his own religious and political credentials by leading the raids himself, including the Abbasids Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809) and his son, al-Ma'mūn (r. 812–833), who died in Tarsus, in Asia Minor, while conducting a jihad campaign against the Byzantines.²⁴

But it was left to the scholars of Islam to define jihad as a religious duty. In fact, most medieval and early modern legal treatises, including the Hadith collections, contain several chapters on jihad and warfare that incorporate the standard material from the Qur'an and Hadith. The earliest treatises specifically on the topic of jihad were compiled by scholars who themselves were jihad fighters, such as Ibn al-Mubārak's (d. 797) *Kitāb al-jihād* (The Book of Jihad) and Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī's (d. in or after 802) *Kitāb al-siyar* (The Book of Proper Comportment).²⁵ Their interest in jihad was not merely personal. They understood it as a religious duty to campaign,

²⁴ On the involvement of Abbasid caliphs in jihad against the Byzantines, see Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*; Hugh Kennedy, *The Early 'Abbāsid Caliphate* (London: Routledge, 1981); and idem, *Armies of the Caliphs*. On the caliph al-Ma'mun, see El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 95–142; Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography*; and idem, *al-Ma'mun*.

²⁵ See Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 107–134; Deborah Tor, "Privatized Jihad and Public Order in the Pre-Seljuq Period: The Role of the *Mutatawwi'a*," *Iranian Studies* 38.4 (2005): 555–573; and eadem, *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the 'Ayyār Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007). Al-Fazārī's book addresses primarily the proper comportment of the jihad fighter while on jihad.

especially along the Byzantine frontiers, because, in their view, the caliphs were neglecting their duty to wage the yearly jihad campaign, or at least not doing enough towards it. These scholars were transformed by their followers into saints, which in return empowered their militant vision of jihad and established it as mainstream dogma in medieval Islamic religious thought. Asceticism and jihad are joined explicitly in the person of Ibn al-Mubārak, who not only penned *The Book of Jihad*, but also *Kitāb al-zuhd* (The Book of Asceticism)—two of the earliest Islamic treatises on both subjects. The linkage between asceticism and military jihad is illustrated most explicitly in the following hadith attributed to Muhammad, which Ibn al-Mubārak includes in his *Book of Jihad*:

Every community has its monasticism (*rahbānīya*), and the monasticism of my community is jihad in the path of God.²⁶

Most of the treatises and chapters on jihad argue that it is as obligatory on all able-bodied Muslims as are the obligations to perform the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), and to give alms (*zakāt*). However, we also begin to see an interesting development in jihad theory, whereby some scholars relegated jihad to a communal obligation. For instance, according to the renowned jurist al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820), after whom a Sunni school of law (*madhhab*) was named and who himself was influenced by jihad scholars like al-Fazārī, the quranic statements on jihad

mean that the jihad, and rising up in arms in particular, is obligatory for all able-bodied [believers], exempting no one, just as prayer, pilgrimage and [payment of] alms are performed, and no person is permitted to perform the duty for another, since performance by one will not fulfill the duty for another.²⁷

There is no doubt that, like most jurists and ideologues, al-Shāfiʿī shows a certain level of pragmatism regarding the applicability of the “binding” duty of jihad by all able-bodied Muslims.²⁸ For instance, he adds to the above comment that the verses

²⁶ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-Jihād*, ed. Nazih Ḥammād (Beirut: Dār al-Nūr, 1971), 35–36 (nos. 15–16). On jihad as a manifestation of ascetic practice, see Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief*, 168–195.

²⁷ Al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla*, ed. A. Muḥammad Shākir (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1979), 363 (section 980). The English translation is taken from al-Shafīʿī, *Islamic Jurisprudence: Shāfiʿī's Risāla*, trans. Majid Khadduri (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 84.

²⁸ For an overview of this pragmatism on the part of some Sunni jurists before the Crusader period, see Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, “The Idea of the Jihad in Islam before the Crusades.”

may also mean that the duty of [jihad] is a collective [*kifāya*] duty different from that of prayer: Those who perform it in the war against the polytheists will fulfill the duty and receive the supererogatory merit, thereby preventing those who have stayed behind from falling into error.²⁹

Nevertheless, al-Shāfi'ī employs *Sūrat al-Nisā'* (Women, 4:97) to emphasize that the two categories of people are not equal:

But God has not put the two [categories of men] on an equal footing, for He said: Such believers who sit at home—unless they have an injury—are not the equals of those who fight in the path of God [*al-mujāhidūn fī sabīl allāh*] with their possessions and their selves. God has given precedence to those who fight [*al-mujāhidūn*] with their possessions and their selves over those who sit at home. God has promised the best things to both, and He has preferred those who fight over those who sit at home by [granting them] a mighty reward.³⁰

(Qur'an 4:97)

As Muslim scholars honed their understanding of right religion, they divided the world into two broad spheres—the Abode of Islam (*dār al-Islām*; lit., the Abode of Submission or the Abode of Surrender to God) and the Abode of War (*dār al-ḥarb*; also referred to as the Abode of Unbelief or *dār al-kufr*)—in an effort to clarify the role of jihad and warfare in Islam. The Abode of Islam was comprised of those territories under Islamic political domination. The Abode of War was everywhere else; the ultimate goal being to subdue and transform the whole of the Abode of War into the Abode of Islam.³¹ This division of the world into two spheres did not mean that all Muslims were at all times engaged in a state of open warfare against the Abode of War. Formal truces did exist. Moreover, for purely practical reasons of inertia, military capability, and political calculation, expansion of the borders of Islam waxed and waned over time. As the central authority of the Abbasid caliphs ebbed in the late ninth century, petty states and principalities on the frontiers took up the ideology of expansionist jihad in India, Central Asia, Anatolia, Africa, and Spain.

There were plenty of internal bloody conflicts in the first Islamic centuries as various Muslim armies fought other Muslim armies in order to establish a particular vision of proper Islamic religion and government. We see this in the civil wars that plagued the early Muslim community

²⁹ Al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Risāla*, 363 (section 981); and Khadduri, *Islamic Jurisprudence*, 84.

³⁰ Al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Risāla*, 363–364 (section 982); and Khadduri, *Islamic Jurisprudence*, 84.

³¹ Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Six Centuries of Medieval Political Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 358–392.

during the Rashidun (632–661) and the Umayyad caliphates (661–750).³² We see this also in the Abbasid Revolution in the late 740s that established the Abbasid caliphate, which endured until the Mongols sacked Baghdad in 1258.³³ But rarely do we find these civil wars described as jihad; rather, they were frequently (though not always) depicted as regrettable though necessary uses of force to restore proper religious and political order—whether Rashidun, Umayyad, or Abbasid. Groups that continued to oppose these newly restored “legitimate” authorities, especially those who employed the rhetoric of jihad against fellow Muslims, generally were not viewed as representative of mainstream Islamic thought or practice. In fact, the articulation of the doctrine of jihad in the pre-Crusader period was overwhelmingly *against* its internal application against fellow Muslims—however rebellious they may have been—lest the use of the rhetoric of jihad against enemies within lead to chaos or *fitna*. This policy was, in part, a response to the most dramatic example of this chaotic impulse represented by the beliefs and bloody campaigns of the *Khawārij* (Seceders), which were viewed as beyond the mainstream by nearly all parties.³⁴

We certainly do not wish to give the impression that the ideology of jihad was in any way abandoned after the initial conquests of the seventh and

³² On these civil wars, see Tayyeb El-Hibri, *Parable and Politics in Early Islamic History: The Rashidun Caliphs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Mahmoud Ayoub, *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003).

³³ On the Abbasid revolution, see Elton Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under 'Abbāsīd Rule, 747–820* (Minneapolis and Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1979); Jacob Lassner, *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Kennedy, *Early 'Abbāsīd Caliphate*; Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East: The Establishment of the 'Abbāsīd State—Incubation of a Revolt* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983); and Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in 'Abbasid Syria, 750–880* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

³⁴ The *Khawārij* emerged as a group in the first Islamic century, and waged jihad against any Muslims who, in their opinion, did not live up to God's commandments. On the *Khawārij* in early Islamic history see Julius Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, trans. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer (Amsterdam and Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Co.; New York: American Elsevier Publishing Co., 1975); Paul L. Heck, “Eschatological Scripturalism and the End of Community: The Case of Early Kharijism,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7 (2005): 137–152; Ibn Dhakwān, *The Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, eds. and trans. Patricia Crone and Fritz W. Zimmermann (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). On Ibādī Kharijism, see Elizabeth Savage, *A Gateway to Hell; a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997); and Valerie J. Hoffman, *The Essentials of Ibādī Islam* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011).

eighth centuries.³⁵ We are merely seeking to demonstrate that most Muslim scholars tended to be uncomfortable with applying the ideology of jihad against their fellow Muslims. There were a few cases where jihad against fellow Muslims was invoked in mainstream circles. For instance, the governor of Egypt Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (r. 868–884) rallied in 883 the Damascene and Egyptian jurists to declare jihad against the Abbasid prince al-Muwaffaq for his coup to depose his brother, caliph al-Muʿtamid in Baghdad.³⁶ But such examples were the exception rather than the norm. As noted above, jihad in early Islamic history was understood as a duty to fight by various means the enemies of God and Islam, and given the demographic and political realities of the early centuries, the enemies of God and Islam were abundant. They were largely perceived to be pagan and polytheist Arabs during the early Rashidun period and subsequently Byzantines, Persians, Hindus, and other peoples and states *beyond* the frontiers of the rapidly-expanding Islamic Empire, not internal Muslim dissidents.

Even when jihad was clearly understood as a religious duty to fight the enemies without, the scholarly consensus gradually moved the discussion about jihad to legal territory. Starting in the ninth century, manuals on jihad raised numerous legal and juridical issues that frequently imposed restrictions and established objections, such as the valid and invalid waging of jihad and warfare in a potentially mind-numbing number of situations, the treatment and rights of the enemy, the many tricks an enemy could play to be immune from attack (even false conversion), and so forth. The jurists, thus, placed the ideology of jihad under their control, technically inaccessible to the non-scholarly classes; i.e., most of society.³⁷

All this started to change by the eleventh century when we begin to see the emergence of a Sunni revivalism and assertiveness in response to a number of factors. The internal factor is the so-called Shiʿi Century during which the core territories of Islam were ruled by Shiʿi regimes—including the Fatimids in Egypt and southern Syria (969–1171), the Ḥamdānids in Aleppo and northern Syria (945–1004), and the Buyids in Mesopotamia, Iraq, and Iran (945–1055). The principal external factor is a broad range of Christian counter-attacks—the beginnings of the Christian Reconquista in Spain, the Norman conquest of Sicily and southern Italy, and most important for our

³⁵ See Christopher van der Krogt, “Jihad without Apologetics,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 21.2 (2010): 127–147.

³⁶ See Michael Bonner, “Ibn Ṭūlūn’ Jihad: The Damascus Assembly of 269/883,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130.4 (2010): 573–605.

³⁷ See Mottahedeh and al-Sayyid, “The Idea of the Jihad in Islam before the Crusades.”

purposes the Crusader conquests in northern Mesopotamia and Syria—because of the challenge they posed to the Islamic heartland. A second external factor is the renewed conquest of India under Maḥmūd of Ghazna (d. 1030) and his successors that was explicitly depicted as a series of jihad campaigns against the infidel Hindus.³⁸

We see this Sunni revivalist impulse in the context of the Fatimid presence in Syria and the threat that it (and that of their fellow travelers) posed to Seljuk designs in the region even prior to the arrival of the Crusaders. The Seljuk vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092), has much to say about the threat to good order posed by Shi'is in his own day, whether Rāfiḍīs (his term for medieval Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, known in the west as the Assassins), Twelvers, or Daylamīs (his term for the Buyids and their lingering supporters). To provide but one example, he includes in his *Book of Government* a hadith that advocates waging jihad against Rāfiḍīs. According to the hadith, Ali (Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law and, according to Shi'is, his legitimate successor) and Fatima (Muhammad's daughter and Ali's wife, from whom the Fatimid dynasty derived its name) came to see Muhammad one day.

The Prophet (upon him be prayers and peace) raised his head and said, "O 'Ali, greeting to you, for you and your kinsmen will be in paradise. But after you a people will rise up professing to love you, pronouncing the creed and reciting the Qur'an; and they will be called Rafidi. If you find them wage holy war against them for they are polytheists, that is, unbelievers."³⁹

That Niẓām al-Mulk had good reason to be suspicious of Rāfiḍī intentions was born out in 1092, when he was murdered by a Nizārī assassin.⁴⁰ As we

³⁸ C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963). See also, Ziauddin Barani's fourteenth-century *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, which invokes the legacy of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in an explicit call for jihad against Hindus in India: "Sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam! You should with all your royal determination apply yourself to uprooting and disgracing infidels, polytheists, and men of bad dogmas and bad religions, if you wish that you may not have to be ashamed before God and his Prophets and that in your record of life—concerning what you have said and done, the clothes you have worn, and the food you have eaten—they may write good instead of evil." In *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims*, ed. Andrew G. Bostom (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2005), 197; excerpted from Mohammad Habib, *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1961), 46–47.

³⁹ Rāfiḍīs is a standard epithet used to refer to Shi'is in general. Niẓām al-Mulk generally uses it to refer to Nizārīs in his *Book of Government*. Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Sīyar al-Muluk or Sīyasat-Nama of Nizam al-Mulk*, trans. Hubert Darke (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2002), 163.

⁴⁰ Niẓām al-Mulk's assassination by a Nizārī has been brought into question: see James Waterson, *The Ismaili Assassins, A History of Medieval Murder* (Yorkshire: Frontline Books, 2008).

shall see in subsequent chapters, this Sunni revivalist impulse led to the reinvigoration of the traditional ethos of jihad against the enemy without (Crusaders) in Syria during the Crusader period under the patronage of Nūr al-Dīn, but it also led to an intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology directed against the enemy within (Shi'is and other errant Muslims).

As an ardent advocate of Sunni supremacy, Nizām al-Mulk repeatedly extols Maḥmūd of Ghazna as the epitome of the wise and effective Sunni sultan in his *Book of Government* composed for his Seljuk patron, Malik Shāh (d. 1092). Since effective leadership is effective leadership, Nizām al-Mulk could hardly ignore Maḥmūd's paradigmatic example, even though the Seljuk warlords, Tughril Beg (d. 1060) and Chaghri Beg (d. 1063), had defeated Maḥmūd of Ghazna's son, Mas'ūd, at the Battle of Dandanqān in 1040. It is noteworthy that Maḥmūd's rhetoric of jihad versus Hindus in South Asia was invoked repeatedly by the Delhi Sultans (1206–1526) and the Timurid/Mughal Emperors (1526–1707); similar rhetoric continues to be invoked against Hindus and Shi'is in the context of South Asia to this day.⁴¹

⁴¹ Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1971); Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and André Wink, *al-Hind: The Making of an Indo-Islamic World*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1990–2004).

CHAPTER THREE

JIHAD PREACHING IN DAMASCUS BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND CRUSADES

During the 1060s, Muslim pastoral nomadic Turkomans legitimated their raiding and pillaging along the Byzantine frontier with the ideology of jihad. Like their Umayyad and Abbasid predecessors and the Ottomans some two centuries later, they argued that they were fulfilling a religious obligation by striving in the path of God against the Byzantines—the preferred infidel enemy of Islam since the days of the early Islamic conquests.¹ Not surprisingly, the Byzantines viewed these Turkomans as nothing more than barbarian raiders. Matters came to a head in 1071 as the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes led several Byzantine columns eastward to deal with this Turkic menace once and for all. Already on campaign in Syria, the Seljuk sultan, Alp Arslan, turned his forces north to come to the aid of his fellow Turkomans. A pitched battle between the two sides took place at Manzikert, near Lake Van, in the summer of 1071. Alp Arslan's forces were victorious and Romanus Diogenes was taken captive; he was ultimately ransomed and deposed. A disastrous defeat for the Byzantines, the Battle of Manzikert marks the beginnings of the process by which Anatolia became Turkey.²

In 1095, Pope Urban II preached a sermon at Clermont, in southern France, in which he called on the interminably feuding nobility of Western Europe to turn their energies to the cause of Christ and his Church. Urban II was by no means the first to call on them to use their military skills in aid of their Byzantine Christian brothers who, since the Battle of Manzikert, were increasingly threatened by Muslim Turkic marauders in eastern and

¹ For a famous example of jihad preaching against the Byzantines, see Ibn Nubāta, *Diwān khūṭab minbarīya* (Bombay: Molvi Mohammed bin Gulamrasul Surtis Sons, 1984); Ibn Nubāta (d. 984) was the head preacher in Aleppo for the Twelver Shi'ī dynasty, the Ḥamdānids (945–1004). On the Muslims' view of the Byzantines, see Nadia Maria El-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab–Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1996); and Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (London: Routledge, 2001).

² See Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); and John Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars* (Stroud Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2008).

central Anatolia. In fact, Pope Gregory VII had proposed that he himself lead a force of some 50,000 men to liberate their Eastern brethren in 1074. More importantly, however, Urban II called on the Frankish nobility to take up the cross of Christ and make an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem in order to redeem their Lord's patrimony which had been stolen by the infidel Saracens some four centuries earlier.³ Four years after Urban II's sermon, Jerusalem was in the hands of the Crusaders; unfortunately for the Pope, he died before the news reached Western Europe.⁴

The invasion of 1098–1099 is commonly referred to as the First Crusade. Its direct consequence on the region is that it exposed a major area of the Islamic heartland to non-Islamic rule for the first time since the Arabian Islamic conquests four and one half centuries earlier. The Franks, as they were referred to by the Muslims,⁵ were received by the Muslims in the Near East with various degrees of indifference, opportunism, complete rejection, and ineffectual religious outcries. They became another regional player, and within a very short period of time they were able to forge alliances with several Muslim rulers in the region. In other words, the Muslims became accustomed to the Crusaders' presence as part of the military landscape, and some leaders took advantage of the Franks' military capabilities to enhance their respective positions vis-à-vis fellow Muslim opponents.⁶ Yet, the rapid success with which the Crusaders established themselves generated loud, though at first ineffectual, calls for jihad from members of the Syrian Sunni religious establishment—especially in Damascus—who believed that the Frankish invasion would not have been possible or successful had Muslim political and military leaders attended to their religious duty of waging jihad against the Christian infidels.

³ Five versions of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont are translated in Edward Peters, *First Crusade*, 25–37.

⁴ On the Crusades in Europe and the Near East, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); and Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

⁵ It is the general belief among scholars of medieval Islam that the term *faranj* (Franks) was used by the Muslims as a blanket reference to the Crusaders, without distinguishing between their ethnic compositions: see for example Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 31. Recent scholarship is suggesting that this was initially the way the Crusaders presented themselves as a group in the sense of "descendants of" Charlemagne, king of the Franks; the Muslims simply picked up the designation from them. See Matthew Gabriele, "The Provenance of the *Descriptio Qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians in the Entourage of King Philip I (1060–1108) before the First Crusade," *Viator* 39.2 (2008), 93–117, especially 115–116.

⁶ On this, see Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 76–84.

1. AL-SULAMĪ AND HIS *BOOK OF JIHAD*

The earliest example of such angry religious jihad outcries is Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī’s (d. 1106) *Book of Jihad*. A few years after the fall of Jerusalem, al-Sulamī took to the pulpit in the mosque of Bayt Lihyā on the outskirts of Damascus to preach jihad. Given the potency of its subject, the fact that al-Sulamī only preached his book at the Bayt Lihyā mosque outside of Damascus requires some explanation. He may have decided to preach on jihad at the Bayt Lihyā mosque because of the building’s two important associations. First, it was originally a church that had been converted into a mosque, possibly as early as the eighth century. Second, local Damascene lore associates it with the temple where the quranic Abraham had destroyed the idols that his people worshiped (e.g. *Sūrat al-Anbiyā’*; Prophets 21:57–58).⁷ In both cases, the building stands as a physical reminder of the victory of Islam over its enemies.

His preaching at the Bayt Lihyā mosque may have been a matter of potentially wounded egos and jealously guarded turf as well; that is, al-Sulamī may have refrained from preaching his book *inside* Damascus out of fear of ill treatment by the authorities there, for he was not a Qur’an scholar, nor was he a jurist. His professional specialization was primarily in Arabic grammar (*nahw*),⁸ although like many scholars of his day, he was involved in the transmission of Hadith. Nevertheless, al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* follows the basic format of earlier legal treatises on the topic—it includes chapters on the duty of jihad as set forth in the Qur’an and Hadith; it also includes chapters on Islamic legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and legal application (*furū’ al-fiqh*) that address issues such as how and who can wage jihad, how to treat the enemy, how to divide the booty, etc. In this respect, al-Sulamī’s denunciation of his fellow Muslims for their weakness and division (which

⁷ For al-Sulamī and his *Book of Jihad*, see the forthcoming study, edition, and translation by Niall Christie, *The Book of the Jihad of ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 1106): Text, Translation and Commentary* (Aldershot: Ashgate, In Press). We want to thank Niall for allowing us to use a draft of his monograph and edition. See also Niall Christie and Deborah Gerish, “Parallel Preaching: Urban II and al-Sulamī,” *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 15,2 (2003): 139–148; Niall Christie and Deborah Gerish, *Preaching Holy War: Jihad and Crusade, 1095–1105* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009); Niall Christie, “Motivating Listeners in the *Kitāb al-Jihad* of ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 1106),” *Crusades* 6 (2007): 1–14; and Paul E. Chevedden, “The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus,”

⁸ This is how Ibn ‘Asākir specifies the professional career of al-Sulamī: see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh*, 43:4. Also, the poet Abū al-Fawāris Ṭarrād ibn ‘Alī al-Sulamī (d. 1126) emphasized that he studied grammar with al-Sulamī: see al-Silafī (d. 1180), *Mu’jam al-safar*, ed. Sher Muhammad Zaman (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1988), 121.

had allowed the enemy to attack them and wrestle away their land) mimics earlier jihad works that sought to rally their contemporaries to the cause of jihad against the Byzantines.⁹ However, one suspects that it is precisely because his book addresses the topic of jihad from the perspective of the Qur'an, Hadith, and jurisprudence, that al-Sulamī would not dare—or at least the Damascene scholarly community would not allow him to—preach it in the known scholarly circles inside the city, especially in a place like the Umayyad Mosque or its adjacent structures. His choice of a rather marginal mosque, one that was not among the known centers of religious education in and around Damascus, allowed him to teach and preach away from the condescending and possibly envious eyes of the city's established Qur'an, Hadith, and legal scholars.

Al-Sulamī preached his *Book of Jihad* over a period of several months between Ramaḍān 498/May 1105 and Muḥarram 499/October 1105.¹⁰ The information gleaned from the four extant chapters of the book suggests that after he finished composing a particular chapter, he would hold a session in the mosque of Bayt Lihyā where he read it to a very small group of religious scholars.¹¹ Essentially, we find the same three or four pupils attending each session; the chapter that attracted the largest crowd was Chapter Eight on the specific circumstances of Muhammad and his companions fighting infidels, which may explain the grand total of eight scholars in attendance. Of the nine pupils who attended at least one of al-Sulamī's teaching sessions at Bayt Lihyā only four are known from sources other than the colophons on the manuscript; only two of these (and one of these was a relative) could be considered scholars of any consequence.¹²

While al-Sulamī's format and content are consistent with that of his predecessors, his *Book of Jihad* does contain important internal and external

⁹ On Muslim attitudes towards the Byzantines, see Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*; El-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*; and Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*.

¹⁰ Chapter 2 was read in Ramaḍān 498 (May 1105) and in Dhū al-Qi'da 498 (August 1105), Chapters 8 and 9 in Dhū al-Qi'da 498 (August 1105), and Chapter 12 in Muḥarram 499 (October 1105).

¹¹ This observation is somewhat tentative given the fact that only a portion of al-Sulamī's book is preserved.

¹² The nine who attended one or more of the four sessions are: Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Sulamī (Chs. 2A, 8, 9, 12); Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Salāma al-Abbār (Chs. 2B, 8, 9, 12); Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kattānī (Chs. 8, 9, 12); Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Qaysī (Chs. 8, 9, 12); Ḥassān ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī (Chs. 2A, 8); Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh al-Sarrāj (Chs. 2B, 8, 9); Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim al-'Ābir li-l-Ru'ya (Chs. 2B, 8, 9); Ya'lā ibn Ḥāfiẓ al-Sarrāj (Ch. 8); Muzzaḥfar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Muqrī' (Ch. 12). Only the first four are known.

themes that are unique to him. First, al-Sulamī places the blame for the miserable political situation in Syria explicitly on the Muslims' weak *spiritual* condition.¹³ Hence, in his opinion, it was incumbent on the Muslims that they undertake a spiritual purification—what he calls the “greater” interior jihad—before they could take up the “lesser” military jihad and have any hope of defeating and driving out the invaders. It is important to point out here that al-Sulamī does not argue that the greater interior jihad is superior to or better than the lesser military jihad, or that Muslims must abandon the lesser military jihad for the greater spiritual jihad. In this respect, he is in agreement with the mainstream Sunni view as set forth in Ibn al-Mubārak's (d. 797) *Book of Jihad* and Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* that proper military jihad must be waged by morally good Muslims in order to be acceptable before God.¹⁴

Second, al-Sulamī viewed the Crusades in Syria as a continuation of a much larger and perfidious Christian jihad campaign to seize the lands of Islam that had started in Spain (*al-Andalus*) and Sicily, and had now reached coastal Syria and Jerusalem. In other words, he recognizes the assault as an example of Christian religious warfare against Islam and the Muslims. It is important to note that al-Sulamī's sentiments surely reflected the views of at least a portion of the religious scholars;¹⁵ however, they did not necessarily reflect those of all of Damascene society or its ruling elite. The fact that al-Sulamī was the only person to author and teach a book on jihad in greater

¹³ Similarly to al-Sulamī, the chronicler al-'Azīmī (d. after 1161) of Aleppo complains that the depleted Crusaders defeated the mighty Muslim armies in Antioch due to the Muslims' bad intentions (*li-sū'i niyyātihim*): see al-'Azīmī, “La chronique abrégée d'al-'Azīmī,” ed. C. Cahen, *Journal Asiatique* 230 (1938): 373.

¹⁴ It has become common practice among modern apologists to argue that the traditional Islamic position is that the “greater” spiritual jihad is superior to the “lesser” military jihad and that it is sufficient in and of itself—even to the exclusion of military jihad. As demonstrated herein, such a position is without foundation in the classical sources—e.g., Qur'an, canonical hadith collections, treatises on jihad, etc. See also Christopher van der Krogt, “Jihad without Apologetics,” and Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, 32–48. On the personal requirements that a jihad fighter must fulfill before he can wage jihad and receive its rewards, see Chapter Five, pp. 73–75.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), and other later scholars repeated, the same view as that expressed by al-Sulamī; namely, that the Crusades were an attack against Islam and Muslims that started in Spain and Sicily and now had reached Islam's heartland: see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rikh*, 13 vols., ed. C.J. Tornberg (Beirut: Dār Šādīr, 1966), 10:272–273; idem, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rikh. Part 1. The Years 491–541/1097–1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1:13. Since Ibn al-Athīr could not have gotten this from al-Sulamī's book, it is fair to assume that it was a common view at the time among Sunni scholars in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq.

Damascus at the time (and even then only in Bayt Lihyā) suggests a level of indifference among some of the Damascene Sunni religious establishment towards the Frankish invasion. After all, the city ultimately entered into an alliance, albeit unstable at times, with the Franks that lasted until 1148, when it was dissolved in the face of the failed attack of the Second Crusade against Damascus.

2. THE SUNNI DAMASCENE ESTABLISHMENT AND JIHAD PROPAGANDA AFTER AL-SULAMĪ

Although we know that al-Sulamī's *Book of Jihad* was taught in 1113 in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus—that is, six years after his death—with a few young scholars in the audience, we still lack even a general picture of explicit jihad propaganda in Damascus, especially before sultan Nūr al-Dīn captured the city in 1154. In other words, we know very little about anyone, beside al-Sulamī, who was also preaching jihad and teaching it among the city's Sunni religious scholars. We do know, however, that a few religious scholars actually took to the battlefield to wage jihad against the Franks. One of the most notable cases is Yūsuf ibn Dūnās al-Findalāwī, a North African jurist of the Mālikī school of Sunni law who came to reside in Damascus following his pilgrimage to Mecca. Al-Findalāwī was killed on Saturday 6 Rabi' I 543/25 July 1148 in the village of Nayrab, which is in the foothills of Mount Qāsyūn that overlooks Damascus from the northwest.

According to our sources, al-Findalāwī went out of the city on foot to wage jihad (*kharaja mujāhidan*) against the Franks, and because of his old age, the Muslim army's general tried to deter him. Al-Findalāwī's reply to the general was that he had sold his soul to God and that God had accepted the sale, a reference to Qur'an 9:111:

☞ God has purchased from the believers their souls and their wealth and, in exchange, the Garden shall be theirs. They fight in the path of God, they kill and are killed—a true promise from Him. ☞¹⁶

Although al-Findalāwī is remembered as “very zealous in his promotion/defense of Sunnism” (*muta'aṣṣib fī al-sunna*) and also as a miracle-worker and a saint-like figure,¹⁷ we do not know what his specific involvement in Sunni religious agitation was, nor do we know his precise role in jihad

¹⁶ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 74:235.

¹⁷ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 74:234–236. See also Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh Dimashq*, ed. H.F. Amedroz (Beirut: Maṭba'at al-Ābā' al-Yasū'iyyin, 1908), 298.

propaganda. Another scholar who was killed as he fought against the Franks during their attack on Damascus is a mystic named ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥalḥūlī (d. 1148). However, we know even less about him than about al-Findalāwī.¹⁸

The preaching of al-Sulamī and the jihad of al-Findalāwī and al-Ḥalḥūlī appear to be dramatic scholarly exceptions rather than the norm in the first half of the twelfth century. In fact, if our only evidence were Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths*, it would appear that after al-Sulamī (d. 1106), formal preaching of hadiths on jihad in Damascus simply did not occur—or at least very rarely occurred—prior to Ibn ‘Asākir taking up the cause again nearly half a century later. Of the forty hadiths that Ibn ‘Asākir includes in his book, only one features a Damascene Hadith transmitter: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥamza al-Sulamī (d. 1132).¹⁹ But even here, Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī is not Ibn ‘Asākir’s primary informant. Ibn ‘Asākir lists the transmission of Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī after that of another of his teachers, the more notable Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Mustamlī (d. 1139), whom he had met in Nishapur, in eastern Iran. More importantly, the inclusion of this transmission from Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī (the lone Damascene in the *Forty Hadiths*) seems to be based on the fact that he learned the hadith from the famous al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 1071), whose *Ta’rikh Baghdād* (History of Baghdad) served as a model for Ibn ‘Asākir’s *History of Damascus*.²⁰ Obviously, since al-Khaṭīb died almost three decades prior to Ibn ‘Asākir’s birth, the two scholars never met in this world. Yet Ibn ‘Asākir was keen to preserve every known tradition or historical anecdote transmitted on al-Khaṭīb’s authority, leaving us a great deal of material that al-Khaṭīb had collected but is otherwise not available in any other source.²¹

¹⁸ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dhayl Ta’rikh Dimashq*, 298; idem, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades: Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London: Luzac, 1932), 284; Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 2:290; and al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, 47 vols., ed. ‘Umar Tadmuri (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabi, 1987–1998), 37:149. Al-Dhahabī derived his information about al-Ḥalḥūlī from Ibn ‘Asākir; al-Ḥalḥūlī’s entry in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Ta’rikh* is lost. See also, Jean-Michel Mouton, “Yūsuf al-Fandalāwī, cheikh des malékites de Damas sous les bourides,” *Revue des Études Islamiques* 51 (1983): 63–75.

¹⁹ See Hadith 18 in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 157; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 156. Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī is no relation to al-Sulamī, the author of *Book of Jihad*.

²⁰ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was one of Baghdad’s most celebrated Hadith scholars. He resided in Damascus and Syria for close to ten years before he went back to his hometown.

²¹ Hadith 18 is the only case in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* that features a transmission from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. A comparable example to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī is the celebrated mystic and Hadith scholar al-Qushayrī (d. 1072), whom Ibn ‘Asākir could not have met, and instead arranged to study his Hadith with his son ‘Abd al-Mun‘im (d. 1138): see, for example, Hadiths 4, 6, 11, 24.

While the absence of Damascene scholars as primary informants for Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* is intriguing, it is somewhat misleading since we do know that several scholars were actively involved in jihad propaganda in Damascus, especially with respect to the transmission of hadiths on jihad. In fact, our witness to this activity is none other than Ibn 'Asākir himself. As already noted, Ibn 'Asākir's testimony does not come to us from his *Forty Hadiths*. Even more intriguing is the fact that very little of it comes from his *History of Damascus*, the most important source of information on the members of the Damascene (and Syrian) religious community and their scholarly genealogies down to Ibn 'Asākir's time. Rather, we find it tucked away in his *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, an extensive list of more than 1621 male teachers with whom Ibn 'Asākir had studied over the course of his career.

We know from the *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* that one particular group of his teachers was involved in jihad propaganda. This coterie was comprised of displaced Sunni scholars who had come to Damascus either as a direct or indirect consequence of the First Crusade; that is, in the wake of the capture or siege of their respective hometowns by the Franks. As one might expect, these displaced scholars enthusiastically and zealously called upon their fellow Sunnis in Damascus to rally to the cause of jihad in order to drive the Crusaders from their home towns. The Jerusalemites in particular may have viewed this as an opportunity not only to remove the Franks, but also to reestablish Sunni control of their exclusively Islamic holy city which had been contested by various Sunni and Fatimid rulers since the Fatimid conquest of southern Syria in the 970s.²²

The list below identifies ten of these displaced scholars (6 from Jerusalem, 3 from Tyre, 1 from Nablus) and their professional occupations while in Damascus.

1. Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Salām ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Ṣūrī (d. 1164) fled Tyre following its capture by the Crusaders in 1124. He was the younger brother of Abū al-Faraj Aḥmad below.²³
2. Abū al-Faraj Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Ṣūrī (d. 1134) fled Tyre following its capture by the Crusaders in 1124. He was appointed for a time to lead the ritual prayers for rain (*istisqā'*) in Damascus during

²² On the transformation of Jerusalem into an exclusively Islamic holy city in Islamic thought, see Suleiman A. Mourad, "The Symbolism of Jerusalem in Early Islam," in *Jerusalem: Idea and Reality*, eds. Tamar Mayer and Suleiman A. Mourad (New York: Routledge, 2008), 86–102.

²³ Ibn 'Asākir, *Mu'jam*, 1:579–580; and idem, *Ta'rikh*, 36:200.

- drought spells. He was involved in the transmission of hadiths on jihad.²⁴
3. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Asākir ibn Surūr al-Maḡdisī (d. 1158) was a lumber merchant. He came to Damascus on business, but could not return to Jerusalem due to its capture by the Crusaders in July 1099.²⁵
 4. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Rāfi‘ al-Nābulusī (d. 1151) fled Nablus following its capture by the Crusaders shortly after the fall of Jerusalem. He worked as the muezzin of the Bāb al-Farādīs minaret in Damascus. He used to regularly attend Ibn ‘Asākir’s teaching seminars.²⁶
 5. Abū al-Faraj Ghayth ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Ṣūrī (d. 1115) was the chief preacher (*khaṭīb*) of Tyre. He fled to Damascus at an old age, and lived with the family of Ibn ‘Asākir until his death. He was involved in the transmission of hadiths on jihad.²⁷
 6. Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā ibn Tammām ibn ‘Alī al-Maḡdisī (d. 1123) fled Jerusalem after its capture by the Crusaders. He specialized in Qur’an recitation and was the preacher to the black-slave community in Damascus.²⁸
 7. Abū al-Ḥasan Jamīl ibn Tammām ibn ‘Alī al-Maḡdisī (d. 1141) fled Jerusalem after its capture by the Crusaders. He was a miller and specialized in Qur’an recitation. He was the younger brother of Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā above.²⁹
 8. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Barakāt al-Maḡdisī (d. after 1126) was a butter merchant who fled Jerusalem after its capture by the Crusaders. He was involved in the transmission of hadiths on jihad.³⁰
 9. Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Kāmil ibn Daysam al-Maḡdisī (d. 1142) fled Jerusalem after its capture by the Crusaders. He served as a bureaucrat in charge of merchandise control, and the Hall of Zakāt (*dār al-wikāla*) in Damascus. He was involved in the transmission of hadiths on jihad.³¹

²⁴ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Muḡjam*, 1:25–26; and idem, *Ta’riḡh*, 71:65–66.

²⁵ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Muḡjam*, 2:735–736; and idem, *Ta’riḡh*, 43:92–93. It is not known precisely when he went to Damascus on business, but it is likely to have been prior to the Crusaders arrival at the walls of Jerusalem.

²⁶ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Muḡjam*, 2:769–770; and idem, *Ta’riḡh*, 43:272–273.

²⁷ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Muḡjam*, 2:807; and idem, *Ta’riḡh*, 48:124–125.

²⁸ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’riḡh*, 64:99–100. The entry for Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Maḡdisī is missing from the printed edition of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Muḡjam* due to the loss of a few folios from the manuscript.

²⁹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Muḡjam*, 1:221; and idem, *Ta’riḡh*, 11:255.

³⁰ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Muḡjam*, 2:896; and idem, *Ta’riḡh*, 52:144–145.

³¹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Muḡjam*, 2:1020–1022; and idem, *Ta’riḡh*, 55:116–117.

10. Abū al-Faḥ Naṣr ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maqdisī (d. 1145) specialized in Qur'an recitation. He fled Jerusalem after its capture by the Crusaders. He taught Ibn 'Asākir the Qur'an; Ibn 'Asākir describes him as "zealous in his promotion/defense of Sunnism" (*muta'aṣṣib fi al-sunna*).³²

Ibn 'Asākir apparently knew these displaced scholars fairly well, and some of them had direct impact on his religious education. As noted above, Abū al-Faḥ Naṣr al-Maqdisī (#10) taught him the Qur'an. A second scholar, Abū al-Faraj Ghayth al-Ṣūrī (#5), lived with Ibn 'Asākir's family in the early twelfth century; his jihad propaganda had to have had some impact on Ibn 'Asākir, since the precocious boy was ten years old when al-Ṣūrī died.

In his *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, Ibn 'Asākir provides a brief entry for each teacher that is comprised of his name, the town where Ibn 'Asākir met him, and invariably a hadith that he related from him (in a few cases, Ibn 'Asākir lists a short poem by the teacher instead of a hadith). The inclusion of the hadith is meant to highlight the prowess of that teacher in Hadith transmission. Moreover, each hadith helps us to understand how Ibn 'Asākir remembered the career of that particular teacher. Since nearly all of the hadiths on jihad in Ibn 'Asākir's *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* are related on the authority of these displaced scholars, it is reasonable to assume that they were indeed involved in jihad propaganda in Damascus. As we shall see, these displaced scholars significantly influenced how Ibn 'Asākir understood the role of jihad in the twelfth century.³³

One might expect that the hadiths on jihad that Ibn 'Asākir relates in the *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* would be good candidates for his *Forty Hadiths* collection. While this assumption may well be plausible, Ibn 'Asākir chose not to include any of them in his *Forty Hadiths*. If Ibn 'Asākir knew these men well and if some of them had a substantial impact on him, why then are they and the hadiths on jihad they transmitted not quoted in the *Forty Hadiths*? To ask the question slightly differently: Why did Ibn 'Asākir not include these scholars who, according to his *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, had taught him hadiths on jihad in his home town of Damascus (particularly displaced scholars #s 2, 5, 8, and 9)?³⁴ Three hadiths from Ibn 'Asākir's *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* may help us answer these questions.

³² Ibn 'Asākir, *Mu'jam*, 2:1194; and idem, *Ta'rikh*, 62:40–41.

³³ It is important to note here that the hadiths on jihad that some of these displaced scholars related to Ibn 'Asākir do not feature in their respective entries in his *Ta'rikh*.

³⁴ One can even ask why these hadiths on jihad are not included in the respective entries for the displaced scholars in Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh*.

(1) Ibn 'Asākir transmits the following hadith on the authority of Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (#9):

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "He who dies without having participated in a raid [*wa-lām yaghzū*] or never considered joining a raid [against God's enemies] dies with some hypocrisy."³⁵

The content of this hadith certainly makes it a candidate for inclusion in the *Forty Hadiths*. Yet Ibn 'Asākir leaves it out, and includes instead a slightly variant version.³⁶

(2) Ibn 'Asākir transmits the following hadith on the authority of Abū al-Faraj Aḥmad al-Ṣūrī (#2):

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) asked [his followers]: "Who among people is paramount?" They replied: "God and His Messenger know best." He repeated that three times. They said: "O Messenger of God, it is he who wages jihad in the path of God with his wealth and life." The Messenger of God (ﷺ) then asked: "Who comes after that?" They replied: "God and His Messenger know best." He said: "It is a believer who secludes himself in a mountain gorge, fears his Lord, and spares people from his iniquity."³⁷

Ibn 'Asākir includes a nearly identical version of this hadith in his *Forty Hadiths*, but there it is transmitted on the authority of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Faqīh (d. 1136), whom Ibn 'Asākir had met in Nishapur.³⁸ Ibn 'Asākir makes no mention in the *Forty Hadiths* that he also learned the same hadith from Abū al-Faraj al-Ṣūrī, who, as noted earlier, lived the last years of his life in the house of Ibn 'Asākir's family.

(3) In our third example, Ibn 'Asākir relates from the mystic Sahl ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bistāmī (d. 1141), whom he also knew in Damascus,³⁹ a hadith on the authority of the companion of Muhammad, Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 653):

I asked the Messenger of God (ﷺ): "Which of the religious practices is most dear to God?" He replied: "To pray the prayer in its time." I then asked: "And what comes next?" He replied: "Honoring and taking care of one's parents." I asked again: "And what comes next?" He replied: "Waging jihad in the path of God." Had I asked yet again, he would have answered me.⁴⁰

³⁵ Ibn 'Asākir, *Muḥjam*, 2:1021.

³⁶ See Hadith 20 in Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 159; and idem *al-Arba'ūn*, 158.

³⁷ Ibn 'Asākir, *Muḥjam*, 1:26.

³⁸ See Hadith 7 in Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 145; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 144.

³⁹ Al-Bistāmī resided and died in Damascus: Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, 73:6–7.

⁴⁰ Ibn 'Asākir, *Muḥjam*, 1:400.

This exact same hadith of the companion Ibn Mas‘ūd is found in the *Forty Hadiths*, but there Ibn ‘Asākir chooses to transmit it on the authority of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Salamī al-Anṣārī (d. 1141), whom he had met in Baghdad.⁴¹

These and other examples from the *Muḥjam al-shuyūkh* demonstrate that Ibn ‘Asākir learned hadiths about jihad in Damascus from Damascene scholars as well as from scholars who had been displaced by the Crusaders. Yet none of their hadiths on jihad in his *Muḥjam al-shuyūkh* are included in his *Forty Hadiths* on the authority of these or other contemporaries in Damascus. Somewhat surprisingly, too, Ibn ‘Asākir makes no mention whatsoever in his *History of Damascus* that these Syrian scholars from whom he learned hadiths on jihad (according to his *Muḥjam al-shuyūkh*) were actually involved in teaching *him* hadiths on jihad. He does, however, in a few cases mention in his *History of Damascus* that some of them taught others hadiths on jihad.

So, how can we account for what appears to be an intentional exclusion of Damascene and Syrian informants from his *Forty Hadiths*? It is our contention that Ibn ‘Asākir’s decision to ignore his teachers in Damascus reflects his eagerness to demonstrate to his political patron Nūr al-Dīn, who commissioned the *Forty Hadiths*, as well as to his Damascene contemporaries that his knowledge of Hadith was not only superior to any other’s in Damascus, but also that he did not owe his expertise in Hadith to the Damascene scholarly establishment. His obsession with his own image and his reputation as unequalled in Hadith scholarship in Damascus required that he ignore all his Damascene Hadith teachers who were involved in jihad propaganda. His teachers in Damascus may have been fellow Syrians, but in his mind, they were not his peers—at least on this subject. Ibn ‘Asākir’s sense of superiority is evident as well in his treatment of al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad*.

3. WAS IBN ‘ASĀKIR AWARE OF AL-SULAMĪ’S *BOOK OF JIHAD*?

It is our contention that Ibn ‘Asākir was well aware of the fact that al-Sulamī had transmitted hadiths on jihad; it is our contention as well that Ibn ‘Asākir intentionally chose to ignore al-Sulamī’s role in his own scholarship on the subject. In the entry for al-Sulamī in his *History of Damascus*, Ibn ‘Asākir makes no mention of al-Sulamī’s involvement in jihad preaching

⁴¹ See Hadith 3 in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 137; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 136.

whatsoever; as far as Ibn 'Asākir is concerned, al-Sulamī was a grammarian (*naḥawī*).⁴² Since Ibn 'Asākir does refer to al-Sulamī as a transmitter of Hadith in several biographical entries for his own contemporaries who had studied with al-Sulamī, one suspects that Ibn 'Asākir also intentionally chose to downplay the fact that al-Sulamī was even involved in the transmission of Hadith in his entry dedicated to him.⁴³

As for al-Sulamī's *Book of Jihad*, Ibn 'Asākir does not refer to it anywhere in his own writings. However, there is compelling textual evidence that Ibn 'Asākir did indeed know of the work and that he knew of it from scholars who were extremely important to his own intellectual formation. On the cover folio of Chapter Two of the lone extant manuscript of al-Sulamī's *Book of Jihad*, it is recorded that the chapter was read on Monday, the last day of Dhū al-Ḥijja 506/16 June 1113 in the Great Umayyad Mosque by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ṣābir al-Sulamī (d. 1118),⁴⁴ who had attended the sessions when al-Sulamī preached his book in the mosque of Bayt Liḥyā in 1105.

Four young apprentices were in the audience for Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī's teaching session in the Umayyad Mosque, including his son 'Abd Allāh (d. 1180),⁴⁵ Ibn 'Asākir's older brother Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn (1095–1168) and Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 1157).⁴⁶ Hibat Allāh had a tremendous impact on his younger brother, especially in terms of religious education. We know from Ibn 'Asākir's own testimony that Hibat Allāh used to bring him along to seminars when Ibn 'Asākir was as young as five years old, which enabled Ibn 'Asākir to claim licenses and transmission rights from aged scholars he otherwise could not have met. In addition, since Hibat Allāh had made a study tour of the pious centers of religious education in Iraq, Iran, and Central Asia between 1116 and 1118,⁴⁷ he could advise his younger brother about which scholars he should seek out as teachers when he made study tours of many of the same places himself between 1126 and 1131 and then again between 1134 and 1141.

⁴² See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 43:4.

⁴³ For example, Ibn 'Asākir states that his teacher Abū al-Ḥasan Jamīl ibn Tammām al-Maqdisī (d. 1141) studied Hadith with al-Sulamī. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 11:255.

⁴⁴ On Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 35:317.

⁴⁵ On 'Abd Allāh al-Sulamī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 40:214–215.

⁴⁶ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 34:157–158 and 34:10–11.

⁴⁷ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 73:361–362; and al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islam*, 39:181–183.

Besides his brother Hibat Allāh, we also know that Ibn ‘Asākir studied Hadith with Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī and Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tamīmī (d. 1157); that is, the reader and two of the four members in the audience when al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* was read at the Umayyad Mosque in 1113.⁴⁸ Consequently, one expects that Ibn ‘Asākir learned about *The Book of Jihad* from his older brother, Hibat Allāh, and possibly from Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī or Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tamīmī. Since Ibn ‘Asākir was eight years old when this teaching session occurred it is not improbable that this was one of those times when he had tagged along with his older brother and heard the text read with his own young ears.

Ibn ‘Asākir, in all likelihood, also learned of al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* from his maternal uncle, Abū al-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Qurashī (d. 1143), the Chief Judge of Damascus, and two of his own teachers, Ghayth ibn ‘Alī al-Ṣūrī (d. 1115) and Jamīl ibn Tammām al-Maqdisī (d. 1141). All three related hadiths to Ibn ‘Asākir that they themselves had studied with al-Sulamī.⁴⁹ As for Ghayth al-Ṣūrī, we know that he not only taught Ibn ‘Asākir a hadith on jihad, but that when he came to Damascus after escaping Tyre, he resided with Ibn ‘Asākir’s family, suggesting that it is not farfetched to speculate that, in his own father’s home as a young boy, Ibn ‘Asākir may have heard of al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* from Ghayth.

These instances not only demonstrate that Ibn ‘Asākir met and studied with scholars who had studied with al-Sulamī, they provide clear textual evidence that some of his teachers were exposed to al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* and that Ibn ‘Asākir had studied hadiths specifically on jihad with some of them. Undoubtedly, Ibn ‘Asākir knew that al-Sulamī had authored *The Book of Jihad*. That he chose to ignore it in his own scholarship is yet another indication of his sense of self importance. After all, if he deliberately ignored established Damascene scholars’ transmissions of hadiths on jihad in his *Forty Hadiths*, it should come as no surprise that he refused to acknowledge al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* as a work of serious scholarship. After all, al-Sulamī was a lowly grammarian (*naḥawī*); Ibn ‘Asākir, as a lofty *ḥāfiẓ* (Hadith memorizer) and *muḥaddith* (Hadith scholar), was the leading Damascene scholar of his generation.

Be that as it may, Ibn ‘Asākir still provides us with invaluable access to the religious mood of the Sunni religious establishment in the early twelfth century whose involvement in jihad propaganda might help us understand

⁴⁸ Ibn ‘Asākir also relates a hadith that Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tamīmī related to him from al-Sulamī. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’riḥ*, 56:231.

⁴⁹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’riḥ*, 43:4, also in 11:255; and idem, *Mu’jam*, 1:221.

the religious atmosphere of Damascus prior to its capture by Nūr al-Dīn in 1154. Not only did these scholars influence Ibn ‘Asākir (however incidentally by his own account), their preaching also prepared the ground for the Damascene Sunni religious establishment and other city notables to view Nūr al-Dīn as a possible savior as well as champion of Sunnism.⁵⁰ The beginnings of the intensification and reorientation of jihad doctrine in mainstream Syrian Sunni discourse in the early twelfth century was already apparent in al-Sulamī’s advocacy of *spiritual* purification as a prerequisite for physical success on the battlefield and his perceptive identification of the Crusades as part of a larger Christian campaign against the Muslims. Although we know of only one instance in which his book was used to preach jihad after his death, al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* does reflect the popularization of jihad preaching in Damascus and Syria—especially as the angry reaction of religious scholars to the lack of motivation and will on the part of rulers and the public to stand up and fight the invading Crusaders.

As noted above, scholars and mystics such as al-Findalāwī and al-Ḥalḥūlī, and a group of displaced Syrian scholars were involved in jihad activism and preaching in Damascus between the First and Second Crusades. Ibn ‘Asākir describes some of these scholars as “very zealous in his promotion/defense of Sunnism” (*muta‘aṣṣib fī al-sunna*), which in his view was a tremendously high compliment and by no means pejorative. Indeed, these scholars were the indispensable zealots who issued the clarion call to jihad that assured the triumph of Sunnism against its many enemies—but especially against the enemy without (Crusaders) and the enemy within (Shi’is).

These displaced scholars’ efforts and religious fervor were celebrated a few centuries later by Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497), the famous scholar of late Mamluk Cairo. In his *al-I‘lān bi-l-tawbīkh li-man dhamm al-ta’rīkh* (A Rebuke to the Disparager of History), al-Sakhāwī praises the crucial role that Ibn ‘Asākir and a group of scholars, whom he calls “the Jerusalemites,” played in the triumphant revivification of Sunnism.⁵¹ That is, after two centuries of Shi’i domination (in particular under Fatimid rule), Sunnism gained the upper hand, which led to the empowerment of the Sunni religious establishment in Damascus and Syria, and the liberation of Egypt. While al-Sakhāwī does not say what specific types of activities

⁵⁰ The glorification of Nūr al-Dīn and the Zangid dynasty as defenders of Islam against internal (Shi’i) and external (Crusaders) enemies was still being celebrated even after the death of Nūr al-Dīn, as in the case of the *Maqāmāt* of Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, written in Aleppo in 1178–1179: see Chapter Four, pp. 58–59.

⁵¹ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I‘lān*, 294.

Ibn 'Asākir and the Jerusalemites pursued, one can safely assume (on the basis of the above discussion) that what earned them their distinctive rank within Sunni genealogy was their direct involvement in the revivification of Sunnism, including the promotion and dissemination of jihad ideology during the Crusader period, which paved the way for Nūr al-Dīn, then Saladin and the Ayyubids, and ultimately the Mamluk Sultans to secure the Sunni domination over Syria and Egypt.⁵²

⁵² Surely, al-Sakhāwī primarily means by the Jerusalemites such renowned figures of the Damascene religious establishment as 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 1204); Ibn Qudāma (d. 1223), one of Saladin's chief religious advisors; and Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 1245), whose ancestors fled Jerusalem after its capture by the Crusaders.

CHAPTER FOUR

IBN 'ASĀKIR AND THE INTENSIFICATION AND REORIENTATION OF SUNNI JIHAD IDEOLOGY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

1. IBN 'ASĀKIR AND NŪR AL-DĪN

Ibn 'Asākir's service to sultan Nūr al-Dīn began shortly after the latter occupied Damascus in 1154.¹ Nūr al-Dīn became amir of Aleppo eight years earlier (1146) after his father 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī—a Turkic warlord who had built a successful career fighting the Franks in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia—was murdered by one of his disgruntled slaves. Zangī is most famous for having captured the county of Edessa in 1144, which was the impetus for the Second Crusade (1146–1148).² After his murder, Zangī's lands were divided up among his sons—Sayf al-Dīn (lit., the Sword of Religion) was allotted Zangī's eastern holdings, and Nūr al-Dīn (lit., the Light of Religion) received Aleppo and northern Syria. Nūr al-Dīn spent the early years of his career consolidating his inheritance by fighting other Turkic and Kurdish princes in north and central Syria and in Mesopotamia (*al-Jazīra*).

While the fall of Edessa was the pretext for the formation of the Second Crusade, the men who arrived in the Near East in 1148 (two years after Zangī's demise) did not attempt to reclaim Edessa. Rather, they turned their anger against Damascus based on the belief that if Damascus was captured, then effective Frankish rule over the entirety of Syria could be secured.³ The subsequent failure to take Damascus proved to be a turning point in the Muslim Counter-Crusade, for the popular mood in Damascus firmly shifted from perceiving the Franks as possible allies of convenience (first against

¹ Elisséeff, *La Description de Damas*, xxii.

² On the career of Zangī, see Carole Hillenbrand, "'Abominable Acts': The Career of Zengi," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, eds. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 111–132.

³ On the issues relating to the Second Crusade, see Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213–279; Alan J. Forey, "The Second Crusade: Scope and Objectives," *Durham University Journal* 55 (1994), 165–175; and Martin Hoch, "The Choice of Damascus as the Objective of the Second Crusade: A Re-evaluation," in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East—Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 Juin 1995*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Sorbonne, 1996), 359–369.

Zangī and then his son Nūr al-Dīn) to considering Nūr al-Dīn their savior from the infidel Frankish threat.⁴ This shift was rooted in a desire for a ruler who would unify a divided Syria under the banner of Sunni Islam and who would employ the strength of that unity to defeat the Franks and root out any remaining political and sectarian divisions.

Accomplishing any of these goals was certainly no easy task given the long-standing political and religious divisions among the Muslims in Syria. Nevertheless, the dream of a Sunni restoration was a powerful and enduring one in Damascus—the capital of the first truly Islamic Empire under the Umayyad caliphs (661–750). But Nūr al-Dīn did not sit idly and wait for the Damascene Sunni establishment to change its mood following the failed siege of the city by the Franks in July 1148; he played an active role in pushing them in his direction. The sultan sent one of his principal religious advisors, the jurist Burhān al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Balkhī (d. 1153), to Damascus to prepare the ground for him. Burhān al-Dīn was an avid supporter of Nūr al-Dīn, who had earlier invited him to Aleppo to supervise the reintroduction of Sunnism there and the reestablishment of the proper call to prayer after close to a century and a half of Shi‘i rule;⁵ including the rule of the famous Twelver Shi‘i dynasties, the Ḥamdānids (945–1004) and the ‘Uqaylids (1080–1086). Even after the Seljuk Turks seized control of Aleppo in 1086, a sizeable majority of the population had remained Shi‘is.⁶ Burhān al-Dīn’s activities in Damascus attracted the attention of the city’s Būrid rulers and led to his brief exile to a neighboring town.⁷ But in due course, Burhān al-Dīn participated in the negotiation of the military settlement between the Būrid governor of Damascus and Nūr al-Dīn, when the latter besieged the city in the summer of 1151.

Six years after the failed Frankish siege of Damascus, the city fell to Nūr al-Dīn in 1154; unfortunately for Burhān al-Dīn, he did not live to witness this event. The Second Crusade’s attack was not the only reason that forced the

⁴ See Yaacov Lev, “The Jihad of Sultan Nur al-Din of Syria (1146–1174): History and Discourse,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 35 (2008): 227–284.

⁵ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dhayl Ta’rikh Dimashq*, ed. H.F. Amedroz (Beirut: Maṭba‘at al-Ābā’ al-Yasū‘īyīn, 1908), 316; idem, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, 309–310; and Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh*, 41:340.

⁶ On the Shi‘is in Aleppo at the time, see Henri M. Khayat, “The Ši‘ite Rebellions in Aleppo in the 6th A.H./12th A.D. Century,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 46 (1971), 167–195. See also Devin J. Stewart “The *Maqāmāt* of Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī and the Ideology of the Counter-Crusade in Twelfth-century Syria,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11.2 (2008), 226.

⁷ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh*, 41:340.

Damascenes to end their alliance with the Franks (which had afforded them some protection from Nūr al-Dīn) and to opt instead for an alliance with Nūr al-Dīn as their only hope of protection from their former allies.⁸ One should not underestimate the indirect political weight that Burhān al-Dīn's mission may have carried, especially given the tremendous influence Sunni scholars had over a sizable section of the Damascene public. The city's population was eventually eager for Nūr al-Dīn to take over and end the social and political crisis. They even counted on him to bring an end to natural disasters; such as the prolonged drought that broke as Nūr al-Dīn's army approached Damascus.⁹

Ever the pragmatic politician, Nūr al-Dīn maintained some of the tributary obligations his predecessors had established with the Franks; he also concluded several peace treaties of his own. That he was willing (and astute enough) to pursue such policies with his Frankish neighbors after his occupation of Damascus reflects how crucial it was for him to keep the Franks at bay while he sought to consolidate his political control of the Muslim provinces of Syria. In 1171—a decade and a half after Nūr al-Dīn occupied Damascus—his protégé general, Saladin, toppled the Shi'ī Fatimid dynasty in Egypt. For the first time in two centuries the name of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, the symbolic head of Sunnism, was once again invoked in the Friday prayers throughout Egypt.¹⁰

Nūr al-Dīn's political and religious ambitions attracted Ibn 'Asākir as well as a large number of Syrian Sunni scholars, who saw him as the ideal candidate to liberate them from the Frankish menace and to reunite Syria after centuries of intra-Muslim division and hostility. It is a tribute to Nūr al-Dīn's political skill that he could cement an alliance between Muslim politicians and religious scholars around the ideology of jihad and the revival of Sunni Islam in Syria and Egypt.¹¹ Nūr al-Dīn employed in his army a host of

⁸ Martin Hoch, "The Price of Failure: the Second Crusade as a Turning-Point in the History of the Latin East?" in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, eds. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 180–200.

⁹ See, for instance, Ibn al-Qalānisi, *Dhayl*, 308–309; idem, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, 297; and al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 37:24.

¹⁰ The Abbasids at the time did not muster any real power outside Baghdad. Yet, they remained, as caliphs, the symbolic leaders of Sunni Islam until the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258. The Abbasid caliphate continued in Cairo, also with no real power except to bestow upon the Mamluks the title of "sultan of Islam", until the Ottoman invasion in 1517.

¹¹ On the career of Nūr al-Dīn, see Nikita Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Din: Un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511–569 H./1118–1174)*, 3 vols. (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1967); and Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 117–170.

religious scholars and preachers whose sole function was to indoctrinate and motivate the troops to jihad against the Franks and the Fatimids.¹² Moreover, throughout his reign Nūr al-Dīn ordered the construction of an extensive network of religious and secular institutions and monuments—mosques, minarets, schools, hospitals, city walls, fortifications, etc. The intention of these buildings and monuments was to strengthen the sultan's hand in Syria and to further enhance his religious and public image. These structures are also extraordinary testimonies to Nūr al-Dīn's use of propaganda to advance his political and religious ambitions, as most of the dedicatory inscriptions on these buildings and monuments celebrate him as the great jihad warrior.¹³ His building campaigns succeeded in gaining tremendous support from the scholars and the Syrian Sunni masses and undoubtedly contributed to the revival of Sunnism in Syria.

Nūr al-Dīn found in Ibn 'Asākir a particularly ardent defender of Sunni Islam and ordered that a school for the study of Hadith—known both as *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (House of the Study of Hadith) and *Dār al-Sunna* (House of the Study of the Prophet's Way of Life and Teachings)—be built for his new scholarly ally. This school, constructed in 1170, later became known as *Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīya* (Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith). Ibn 'Asākir shaped the school into the intellectual epicenter of Nūr al-Dīn's jihad propaganda. Its output was deployed against the internal and external enemies of Sunni Islam throughout Nūr al-Dīn's realm, continuing long after its founder's death. Only a few traces of the building (notably the niche of the prayer hall) remain in old Damascus in what is known as the 'Aṣrūniya market area.¹⁴

In the biography of Nūr al-Dīn included in his *History of Damascus*, Ibn 'Asākir provides little information about the career of his patron except that it was mostly spent fighting the Franks and ending heresies. Nevertheless, his words leave no doubt that he considered the triumph of Sunnism in Syria and Egypt (a consequence of Nūr al-Dīn's many wars against other Muslims)

¹² See Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, 3:735; and Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 119–122.

¹³ On the function of these buildings and monuments, see Yasser Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message: Propagation of *Jihād* under Nūr al-Dīn," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 223–240; idem, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 122–131; and Daniella Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyubids (1146–1260)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

¹⁴ Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, xxii–xxiii. See Qutayba al-Shihābī, *Mu'jam Dimashq al-tārīkhī* (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1999), 1:274.

to be Nūr al-Dīn's most fundamental achievement, the highlight of his reign. Ibn 'Asākir memorializes the significance of Nūr al-Dīn's capture of Aleppo as follows:

[Nūr al-Dīn] reintroduced Sunnism and reestablished true religion, corrected the heresy that they used to follow in the call for prayer, crushed the heretical Shi'is, and revived the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence.¹⁵

Similarly, Ibn 'Asākir celebrates Nūr al-Dīn's ending two centuries of Shi'i Fatimid rule in Egypt:

Finally, Sunnism became triumphant in Egypt and the sermons were read in the name of the Abbasid caliph after almost complete despair. God had relieved the Egyptians from disaster, and ended their suffering. Therefore, God is deserving of thanks for His graces, and for the success of conquests.¹⁶

These testimonies were written when Nūr al-Dīn was still alive, so presumably Ibn 'Asākir was expressing not only his sentiments toward the sultan but also his allegiance to him. Yet one should not underestimate the tremendous sense of empowerment that Ibn 'Asākir and his fellow Sunni Damascene scholars enjoyed during Nūr al-Dīn's reign as a result of the sultan's exceptional generosity and sponsorship.¹⁷ Given the sultan's success in unifying the various parts of Syria and Egypt under his rule, along with his plan for the revivification of Sunnism, the Sunni religious establishment's expectations of him had been realized beyond their wildest dreams. Hence their words of praise reflect a deep and sincere veneration of him for accomplishing what they once may have thought was unattainable in their lifetimes. Of course, they may also reflect a certain degree of self glorification as these scholars were instrumental in shaping and promoting Nūr al-Dīn's religious agenda.

2. IBN 'ASĀKIR AS PROPAGANDIST OF JIHAD

We can safely assume that, as a leading Sunni scholar in Damascus, Ibn 'Asākir viewed the Frankish and Fatimid presence in Syria and Egypt as having upset the natural order of things in which Sunnism should reign

¹⁵ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 57:120. Nūr al-Dīn's biography covers only seven pages in the modern edition, which is not long if compared with simialr major figures.

¹⁶ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 57:123.

¹⁷ On the career of Nūr al-Dīn and his support and sponsorship of the Sunni religious establishment in Syria, see Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, 3:750–779.

supreme. Hence we can also safely assume that Ibn ‘Asākir was at least sympathetic to the ideology of and the obligation to engage in jihad prior to Nūr al-Dīn’s occupation of Damascus in 1154. Indeed, we do know that Ibn ‘Asākir was actively involved in jihad propaganda in 1150 or earlier, that is four years prior to Nūr al-Dīn’s occupation of Damascus. In his *History of Damascus*, Ibn ‘Asākir informs his readers that the amir ‘Izz al-Dawla ‘Alī ibn Murshid of the Banū Munqidh clan had studied with him Ibn al-Mubārak’s (d. 797) *Book of Jihad*.¹⁸ It is clear from Ibn ‘Asākir’s account that this was not a private tutorial, but rather a series of teaching sessions which ‘Izz al-Dawla attended. Ibn ‘Asākir adds that ‘Izz al-Dawla left Damascus, supposedly with his company, to fight the Franks in the area of Ascalon—the target of the Second Crusade following the failure at Damascus—and achieved martyrdom there in the summer of 1151.¹⁹ To what degree Ibn ‘Asākir’s preaching alone shaped ‘Izz al-Dawla’s convictions and actions cannot be established here; in this respect, it is not far fetched to postulate that ‘Izz al-Dawla learned from Ibn ‘Asākir some of those hadiths that celebrate the religious merits of Ascalon. The amir could have had other motivations to join the fight for the liberation of Ascalon, though jihad seems to have been the principal one. According to the memoirs of his younger brother, the celebrated amir and poet Usāma Ibn Munqidh (d. 1188),²⁰ ‘Izz al-Dawla indeed left Damascus in late spring of 1150 to join Usāma’s army, which was in need of troops to fight the Crusaders in the area of Ascalon. More importantly for our purposes, Usāma praises his brother as “one of the great cavaliers of the Muslims, who fought for religion, not for worldly matters;” in other words, because he “was a truly devout Muslim.”²¹

¹⁸ The Banū Munqidh were in control of the Shayzar castle, on the Orontes River to the west of the city of Ḥama, and were particularly involved with Nūr al-Dīn’s Counter-Crusade.

¹⁹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh*, 43:239. On the Second Crusade’s plan to attack Ascalon after its failed siege of Damascus, see Martin Hoch, “The Crusaders’ Strategy Against Fatimid Ascalon and the ‘Ascalon project’ of the Second Crusade,” in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 119–128.

²⁰ For the valuable memoirs of Usāma Ibn Munqidh, see *Kitāb al-‘Iṭibār* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1964). For a recent English translation, see Usama Ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin, 2008); see also the older translation *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh*, trans. Philip Hitti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929). For Usāma, see Cobb, *Usama Ibn Munqidh: Warrior-Poet in the Age of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006).

²¹ See Usama Ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*; 25–26. Usāma tried unsuccessfully to get Nūr al-Dīn to help him raise an army, but the most he could get from the sultan was 25 horsemen: see Cobb, *Usama*, 35–37.

The case of amir 'Izz al-Dawla 'Alī Ibn Munqidh strongly suggests the direct influence that Ibn 'Asākir's jihad preaching had on a very receptive and even exploitable audience. More importantly, if this was the first time Ibn 'Asākir preached on jihad (and we certainly don't know that it was), it suggests a correlation between the failed Crusader attempt to seize Damascus in 1148 and Ibn 'Asākir actively joining the band of jihad propagandists. The attack against his own hometown may well have palpably driven the Crusader threat home and convinced him that he needed to become directly involved in the dissemination of jihad ideology. It is worth noting here that Ibn 'Asākir must have had a license (*ijāza*) to teach Ibn al-Mubārak's *Book on Jihad* from his teacher Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bannā (d. 1133), whom he had met in Baghdad during his residency there between 1126 and 1131. In the *Forty Hadiths*, Ibn 'Asākir quotes Ibn al-Mubārak's *Book of Jihad* three times, and each time through the same chain of transmission (*isnād*), which is the same chain of transmission that preserved the only known manuscript of Ibn al-Mubārak's *Book of Jihad*.²² That Ibn 'Asākir taught Ibn al-Mubārak's *Book of Jihad* in 1150, also demonstrates that Ibn 'Asākir's advocacy of an intensified and reoriented jihad ideology preceded Nūr al-Dīn's occupation of Damascus in 1154. The relationship between the sultan and the scholar proved to be mutually beneficial to be sure. But one suspects that Ibn 'Asākir would have continued to preach and teach a reinvigorated jihad ideology in Damascus even if Nūr al-Dīn had not taken the city and sought him out as a scholarly ally.

Since Ibn 'Asākir composed his *Forty Hadiths* at the request of Nūr al-Dīn, the book can be dated to anytime between 1154 and 1170, the year in which the first colophon of the extant manuscript attests to a public teaching session held in the presence of Ibn 'Asākir himself. Unfortunately, there are no extant manuscripts of *Faḍl 'Asqalān*, but we do know that Ibn 'Asākir composed it in response to the Franks' sacking the city in 1153, and apparently at the request of Nūr al-Dīn as well. Hence it, too, could not have been completed prior to 1154. As a renowned Sunni scholar, Ibn 'Asākir enthusiastically embraced the jihad of the pen—though certainly not at the expense of the more common vision of the jihad of the sword. While we do not have any information regarding his involvement in the latter form of jihad or

²² See Hadiths 5, 14 and 40 in Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 139, 141, 151, and 183; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 138, 140, 150, and 182. Interestingly, the very first Hadith Ibn 'Asākir quotes in the biography of Ibn al-Mubārak in his *Ta'rikh* is also from Ibn al-Mubārak's *Book of Jihad*, and features the same chain of transmission as in Hadiths 5, 14 and 40: see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, 32:398 and compare it to Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 40–41.

that he preached to the army directly, Ibn ‘Asākir’s role among the scholarly elite was fundamental to Nūr al-Dīn’s success. As Nūr al-Dīn’s “minister of propaganda,” it was under Ibn ‘Asākir’s leadership that Nūr al-Dīn’s House of Hadith became the institutional center for Nūr al-Dīn’s jihad propaganda that Ibn ‘Asākir helped shape and disseminate against the internal and external enemies of Sunni Islam throughout his realm.²³ Hence, Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* should be seen as one of the many texts he produced as part of his personal mission to assure the propagation of right religion and the success of jihad under the leadership of his patron, Nūr al-Dīn. Before we turn our attention to Ibn ‘Asākir and the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology in twelfth-century Damascus, a few words on the “forty hadiths” genre are in order.

3. THE “FORTY HADITHS” GENRE

The scriptural building blocks of Islamic religion and scholarship are the Qur’an (which Muslims consider to be the very speech of God) and Hadith (statements attributed to or about Muhammad). The Qur’an is a relatively short book and was the foundation of education; young boys were customarily expected to memorize the entire text by the age of twelve or so. The Hadith, on the other hand, represents a far larger and hence more difficult body of literature to master. Moreover, since so many hadiths were known to have been fabricated, scholars developed sophisticated criteria to sift out those deemed to be unreliable. Nevertheless, even the hadiths deemed to be authoritative numbered in the thousands.²⁴ Consequently, the “forty hadiths” genre was very popular in medieval Islamic scholarship, especially among the lower classes of religious scholars and the educated masses precisely because the conciseness of such works made them easy to copy and to memorize.

As one might expect, the religious impetus for the forty hadiths genre is in fact a hadith (likely a fabricated one), which enjoins Muslims to memorize

²³ Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, xxii–xxiii; and Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 127. See also Chapter 6 where one of the teaching sessions of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* was conducted in Nūr al-Dīn’s House of Hadith on 17 February 1230.

²⁴ On Hadith and Hadith criticism, see Ignaz Goldziher, “On the Development of the *Ḥadīth*,” in *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols., trans. S.M. Stern and C.R. Barber (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967–1971), 2:17–251; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and idem, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

forty hadiths that help sustain either one's own faith or that of the community.²⁵ And as was customary within the genre, Ibn 'Asākir cites this hadith at the beginning of his *Forty Hadiths*.

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "He who preserves forty hadiths that are beneficial for the religious needs of my community will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection as a scholar. The scholar is ranked seventy ranks above the worshiper; only God knows what is between each two ranks."²⁶

It was not uncommon for notable scholars to compile a forty hadiths collection that broadly addressed issues of faith and religious practice or focused on a particular theme, such as asceticism, mysticism, or jihad. In addition to Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, notable examples of the forty hadiths genre include Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurri's (d. 970) *Kitāb al-arba'īn ḥadīth* (The Book of Forty Hadiths), Abū Sa'd 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Qushayrī's (d. 1204) *Kitāb al-arba'īn min masānid al-mashāyikh al-'ishrīn 'an al-aṣḥāb al-arba'īn* (The Book of Forty Hadiths from Forty Companions of the Prophet Muhammad Extracted from the Twenty Authoritative Hadith Collections), Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqri' al-Wāsiṭī's (d. 1221) *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī al-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn* (The Book of Forty Hadiths on Jihad and Jihad Fighters), and Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī al-Miṣrī's (d. 1403) *Kitāb al-arba'īn al-'ushāriya* (The Book of Forty Hadiths, Each with a Chain of Authorities that Include Ten Generations of Transmitters).²⁷ The most famous of the forty hadiths genre is undoubtedly al-Nawawī's (d. 1277) *al-Arba'īn al-Nawawīya* (al-Nawawī's Forty Hadith).²⁸

4. IBN 'ASĀKIR'S FORTY HADITHS AND THE INTENSIFICATION AND REORIENTATION OF SUNNI JIHAD IDEOLOGY

One can argue that Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, like al-Sulamī's *Book of Jihad*, offers very little if anything that is new on the subject of jihad. Indeed, the

²⁵ On the authenticity of this hadith, see *An-Nawawī's Forty Ḥadīth*, trans. Ezzedin Ibrahim and Denys Johnson-Davies (Jakarta: The Holy Koran Publishing House, n.d.), 21.

²⁶ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 135; and idem, *al-Arba'īn*, 134. See also al-Wāsiṭī, *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī al-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn wa-yalīh kitāb al-arba'īn al-'ushāriya*, ed. Badr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Badr (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1992), 19; *An-Nawawī's Forty Ḥadīth*, 19–21.

²⁷ On these authors and their forty hadiths collections, see Abū Bakr al-Ājurri, *Kitāb al-arba'īn ḥadīth wa-yalīh kitāb al-arba'īn min masānid al-mashāyikh al-'ishrīn 'an al-aṣḥāb al-arba'īn*, ed. Badr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Badr (al-Riyāḍ: Maktabat Aḍwā' al-Salaf, 2000); and al-Wāsiṭī, *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī al-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn*.

²⁸ See *An-Nawawī's Forty Ḥadīth*.

forty hadiths that he includes in his collection were already quite famous. Moreover, most of them were very well documented in the earliest major Hadith collections that date to the eighth and ninth centuries. Yet simply stating the obvious ignores an important aspect of originality in Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* that should not be overlooked. That is, although Ibn 'Asākir includes well known material, he did not write a traditional treatise on jihad. Given the broad range of his expertise and erudition, he easily could have produced a masterpiece on jihad that followed the traditional rubric. One can surmise then that Nūr al-Dīn intentionally avoided asking his minister of propaganda to compose such a book because a collection of hadiths was much more easily exploitable as religious propaganda for inciting his Sunni Muslim subjects to take up the cause of jihad.

But what could a collection of forty hadiths offer that a comprehensive traditional work on jihad could not? The answer to this question can be found in the constraints of the two genres. A traditional legal treatise necessarily had to address the numerous legal and juridical issues that frequently imposed restrictions and raised objections. With respect to jihad, these would include the valid and invalid waging of jihad and warfare in a potentially mind-numbing number of situations, the treatment and rights of the enemy, the many tricks an enemy could play to be immune from attack, including false conversion to Islam, and so forth. Ibn 'Asākir's stroke of genius is that by adopting the forty hadiths model he was able to avoid these kinds of issues altogether. By producing a manual that only contained hadiths, some of which allude to quranic verses that stress the duty of jihad, Ibn 'Asākir was able to strip the Sunni jihad doctrine of its legal and juristic edifice and re-center it on an unambiguous and firm foundation of divine and prophetic instructions.

In short, Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* transforms Muhammad into a jihad advocate and casts Islam as a religion that emphasizes the duty to wage jihad above all others. As a leading Shāfi'ī scholar and Hadith authority in his day, Ibn 'Asākir was well aware of hadiths in which Muhammad is said to have emphasized the superiority of other religious duties to jihad and warfare as well as others that stressed the superiority of dealing with enemies by peaceful means rather than by fighting. Nevertheless, since the *Forty Hadiths* does not engage legal or juridical issues in a formal sense, his audience could take any one of the forty hadiths and argue for its immediate applicability against an entire spectrum of real or contrived enemies. After all, none of the forty hadiths specify when, how, or precisely against whom it ought to be properly applied. In this respect, Ibn 'Asākir contributes to the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology away from

the more restricted view in mainstream Islamic scholarship that generally held that jihad 1) was not applicable against fellow Muslims, and 2) was principally concerned with the legal sensitivities and nuances of properly carrying out the obligation to wage jihad.

Ibn 'Asākir knew full well how his Sunni target audience ought to respond to his *Forty Hadiths*. After all, Sunnism was built upon the foundation of the quranic command to ﴿obey God and His Messenger﴾.²⁹ Consequently, his *Forty Hadiths* proved to be an excellent jihad propaganda manual. Those who responded to its call and joined the ranks of jihad fighters must have been convinced that they were simply and obediently following in the footsteps of the ﴿excellent example﴾—the Messenger of God.³⁰ In other words, if Muhammad could be turned into an icon and exemplar of jihad, then individual Sunni Muslims should aspire to imitate his example, for their salvation depended on emulating the Messenger of God's example. While this might seem like an obvious point, Ibn 'Asākir's emphasis on jihad as the *sine qua non* of Sunnism in his day enhances his intensified and reoriented argument for jihad against errant Muslims (principally Shi'is who in his view do not follow proper "orthodoxy"), but also against the traditional infidel Christian enemies of Islam who not only resided in the Dār al-Ḥarb on the northern frontier of Syria, but who now controlled Islamic sacred space within the Dār al-Islām itself.

Ibn 'Asākir establishes his intensified and reoriented doctrine of jihad in the introductory paragraphs of his *Forty Hadiths*.

²⁹ The command to ﴿obey God and His Messenger﴾ occurs frequently in the Qur'an, including twice in *Sūrat al-Anfāl* (The Spoils; 8:20 and 46) and once in *Sūrat al-Tawba* (Repentance; 9:71). Since *Sūrat al-Anfāl* and *Sūrat al-Tawba* are two of the most frequently cited suras for the doctrine of jihad and warfare, we have included Qur'an 8:20, 45–46, and 9:71 here.

﴿O believers, obey God and His Messenger, and do not turn away from him even while listening. Be not like those who say 'We hear' but do not hear﴾ (Qur'an 8:20).

﴿O believers, when you meet a fighting party, stand firm and mention God often—perhaps you will prevail. Obey God and His Messenger, and do not quarrel, or else you will falter and your spirit will flag﴾ (Qur'an 8:45–46).

﴿The believers, male and female, are friends of one another. They command to virtue and forbid vice. They perform the prayers and pay the alms, and they obey God and His Messenger. These—God shall show them mercy. God is Almighty, All-Wise﴾ (Qur'an 9:71).

³⁰ ﴿In the Prophet of God you have an excellent example (*uswa ḥasana*) to follow for one who seeks God and the Last Day, and who remembers God often﴾ *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb* (Allied Troops; 33:21).

It is worth noting that Muslim commentators consider *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb* to have been revealed in the context of the Battle of the Trench (627), after which 600–900 of the men of the Medinese Jewish clan, the Banū Qurayza, were beheaded and the women and children enslaved: Ibn Hishām, 2:240; and Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 326–327.

[Nūr al-Dīn, t]he just king, the ascetic, the jihad fighter, and the garrisoned-warrior ... expressed his desire that I collect for him forty hadiths relating to jihad that have clear texts and uninterrupted sound chains of transmission so that they could stimulate the valiant jihad fighters, ... and stir them up to truly perform when they meet the enemy in battle, as well as incite them to uproot the unbelievers and tyrants who, because of their unbelief, have terrorized the land and proliferated oppression and corruption—may God pour on them all types of torture, for He is all-watching.³¹

Ibn ‘Asākir’s unidentified “enemy, unbelievers, and tyrants” were so malleable that Nūr al-Dīn could define them as any persons or groups (Sunnis, Shi‘is, Crusaders, heretics, etc.) that suited his purpose. In short, Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* provided the righteous banner under which Nūr al-Dīn could conduct his military campaigns. “The just king, the ascetic, the jihad fighter, and the garrisoned-warrior” could militantly emulate Muhammad and heed his summons to jihad in the path of God by fighting anyone he deemed an enemy, an unbeliever, or a tyrant. It should come as no surprise, then, that Nūr al-Dīn spent most of his career fighting other Muslim rulers—Sunnis as well as Shi‘is—in Syria, northern Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Consequently, the sultan sought clear, straightforward, and comprehensible hadiths to incite the troops and the public at large to fulfill the highly prized religious duty of jihad against God’s enemies.

As we shall see in Chapter Six, numerous public teaching sessions of the *Forty Hadiths* were held in important religious centers in Damascus including Nūr al-Dīn’s House of Hadith and the Umayyad Mosque between 1170 and 1318. Consequently, the evidence suggests that a great many Syrian Sunnis—scholars and potential jihad fighters—were quite amenable to Ibn ‘Asākir’s intensified and reoriented vision of jihad. Had this not been the case Ibn ‘Asākir and other advocates of militant jihad in Syria and elsewhere would not have had such an enduring impact on the development of Sunni jihad ideology and practice.

5. AḤMAD AL-ḤANAFĪ OF ALEPPO, AL-WĀSITĪ OF IRAQ, AND AL-QĀḌĪ ‘IYĀḌ OF MOROCCO

The intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology and propaganda was not limited to Damascus, as is evidenced by the poetry of Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafī of Aleppo (d. after 1180), a collection of forty hadiths

³¹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 133; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 132. Emphasis added.

on jihad by al-Wāsiṭī of Iraq (d. 1221), and the sermons of al-Qāḍī 'Iyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥsūbī of Morocco (d. 1149). As one might expect, al-Ḥanafī's poetry echoed Ibn 'Asākir's sentiments, suggesting that by now this mood had become widespread among Sunni scholars in Syria, especially those active in political circles. Al-Ḥanafī's poetry also addressed the specific concerns of the Sunni political and religious establishment in Aleppo, which viewed itself as threatened by the neighboring Crusader states, but even more so by the Shi'ī population in the city, which had flourished during nearly two centuries of Shi'ī rule (905–1086). The standing of the Sunni scholarly classes began to improve in the wake of the Sunni Seljuks' occupation of the city in 1086, but especially when Nūr al-Dīn became amir of the city in 1146, after which he, according to Ibn 'Asākir,

reintroduced Sunnism and reestablished true religion, corrected the heresy that they used to follow in the call for prayer, crushed the heretical Shi'īs, and revived the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence.³²

It should come as no surprise then that Nūr al-Dīn's policies in Aleppo did not sit well with the city's Shi'ī residents, or that they staged several rebellions and uprisings.³³

In a poem, written between 1178 and 1179 during the reign of Nūr al-Dīn's son, sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, al-Ḥanafī eloquently conveys contemporary Sunni anti-Crusader and anti-Shi'ī sentiments in Aleppo. In it he calls upon his fellow Sunnis to wage jihad against the Crusaders, but also against the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs (i.e. Assassins) and the Twelver Shi'īs, for all were despised enemies of Sunni Islam. Al-Ḥanafī's poetry represents a potent example of the transformation and intensification of Sunni jihad ideology and propaganda against internal and external enemies (Shi'īs and Crusaders) that had begun to take root among Sunni religious scholars in the twelfth century.³⁴

Another example of jihad preaching in the late twelfth century features an Iraqi merchant named Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1221), who was known in Hadith circles.³⁵ During his visit to Damascus, which occurred after 1189, al-Wāsiṭī was inspired to author a collection of forty hadiths on jihad entitled *The Forty Hadiths on Jihad*

³² See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ*, 57:120.

³³ On the Shi'īs in Aleppo see Robert W. Crawford, *A History of Aleppo, 478–579 (1085–1183)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University 1955; and Henri M. Khayat, "The Šī'ite Rebellions in Aleppo."

³⁴ On the poems of al-Ḥanafī as an example of jihad ideology in the Crusader period, see Stewart, "The Maqāmāt of Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr," 211–232.

³⁵ On al-Wāsiṭī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, 44:422–423.

and *Jihad Fighters*. Al-Wāsiṭī must have left a copy of his book behind in Damascus when he returned to Iraq, since the sole extant manuscript remains in Damascus, and like Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* it was housed in the Zāhiriya Library. Unfortunately a large black ink spot covers part of the date and location of al-Wāsiṭī’s teaching session, which makes it impossible to determine precisely the month and year that al-Wāsiṭī composed and taught his book, but from the rest of the colophon we do know that he taught it sometime during the 1190s in a school built by Nūr al-Dīn, known as Nūr al-Dīn’s Small School (*al-madrasa al-nūrīya al-ṣuḡhrā*), which was adjacent to the Citadel of Damascus.³⁶

It is noteworthy that while al-Wāsiṭī’s teaching session only included a few people, one of those in attendance was ‘Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Nushbī (d. 1258), who was then in his mid-thirties and at the beginning of his career in Hadith scholarship. More importantly for our purposes ‘Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Nushbī was the scholar who read out the text of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* in the teaching session in 1229 described in Colophon 8. As discussed in detail in Chapter Six, ‘Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Nushbī was 60 years old when he read out the text in the presence of Ibn ‘Asākir’s nephew, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, and two other scholars who had been present at previous teaching sessions in which Ibn ‘Asākir himself taught the *Forty Hadiths*.

Almost all of the hadiths in al-Wāsiṭī’s collection are also found in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths*, either verbatim or with minor variations. They focus on the same themes as Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* discussed in Chapter Five. So the issue here, again, is not one of originality. Rather, the significance of al-Wāsiṭī’s example is that it attests to the general religio-political mood in Damascus as the epicenter of jihad propaganda against Shi‘is and Franks in the Crusader period. Scholars—even scholars visiting from Iraq—were inspired to author and teach books on jihad, and the public was eager to study such texts. As a Sunni from Iraq, al-Wāsiṭī certainly brought with him a suspicion of, if not the overt hostility to Shi‘ism that characterized Seljuk policies towards the Iraqi Shi‘i populations and practices that their Buyid Shi‘i predecessors had explicitly patronized and encouraged. It is noteworthy as well that al-Wāsiṭī’s lone extant manuscript features a second colophon that attests to a teaching session held on Monday, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijja 658/15 November 1260—two months after the Battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt (3 September 1260) at which the Egyptian Mamluks defeated the Mongols in the Jezreel Valley in Lower Galilee.

³⁶ For the text, see al-Wāsiṭī, *Kitāb al-arba‘īn*, 19–91.

It is worth noting that the second teaching of al-Wāsiṭī's book occurred in a period that witnessed tremendous sectarian and political upheaval in Damascus. Following the Mongols' capture of the city in January 1260,³⁷ the local Christians felt a sense of empowerment and committed acts of violence against a number of Muslim scholars and religious sites.³⁸ When the news of the Mamluks' defeat of the Mongols reached Damascus, the Muslims went on a rampage, killing Christians and desecrating and burning a number of Christian houses and churches.³⁹ One month after his victory at 'Ayn Jalūt, the Mamluk sultan Qūṭuz was assassinated (23 October 1260) by his general and soon-to-be successor, Baybars. One month later, sultan al-Zāhir Baybars's protégé staged a coup in Damascus (12 November 1260) and gave himself the honorific title *al-Malik al-Mujāhid* (the Jihad-Fighting Ruler).⁴⁰ Consequently, the teaching of al-Wāsiṭī's *Forty Hadiths*, which occurred three days after the coup, could very well have been triggered by these events, reflecting another case of intensified and reoriented jihad propaganda organized to address particular religious and political circumstances.

On the far western shores of the Mediterranean, the celebrated Moroccan jurist and chief judge of the Mālikī school of Sunni law, al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣūbī (d. 1149), passionately advocated a reinvigorated version of jihad as well. In a series of sermons (*khuṭab*; sing. *khuṭba*)—preached on behalf of his political patrons the Almoravids (*al-Murābiṭūn*) at the great mosque of Ceuta (*Sabta*) on the Moroccan coast between 1142 and 1143—al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ urged his fellow Sunni Muslims to wage jihad against the enemies of Islam. Since there was no Shi'ī presence to speak of in Morocco or al-Andalus, and since the Christian Reconquista had been dramatically successful in Sicily in the late eleventh century and continued apace in Spain—both of which al-Sulamī had argued were fronts in the larger Christian jihad against the lands of Islam—one would expect that al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ preached jihad against the Christians across the Strait of Gibraltar. Somewhat surprisingly, he ignored the Christian threat entirely and summoned his audience to wage jihad against the militantly Sunni Almohads (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*), the opponents of his political patrons the equally militant Sunni Almoravids (*al-Murābiṭūn*). Rather opportunistically, if not out of simple craven cynicism,

³⁷ The Mongols captured Damascus, without a fight, after its Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Nāṣir fled the city: see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 48:50–51.

³⁸ See al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 48:59–60.

³⁹ See al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 48:62.

⁴⁰ See al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 48:66.

once the Almohads defeated the Almoravids in 1146, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ quickly changed his political allegiance and became an enthusiastic propagandist for the Almohads, against whom he had preached jihad only a few years previously.⁴¹

Two other examples of jihad works from Crusader-era Damascus also confirm that the intensified and reoriented jihad had become normative among the members of the Sunni religious establishment. They are Taqīy al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Jammā‘ilī’s (d. 1204) *Tuḥfat al-ṭālibīn fī al-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn* (The Seekers’ Delight on Jihad and Jihad Fighters)⁴² and Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Bukhārī’s (d. 1226) *Faḍl al-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn* (The Merits of Jihad and Jihad Fighters).⁴³ Both were renowned Ḥanbalī scholars of Hadith; their families had escaped to Damascus from Jerusalem following its capture by the Crusaders.

⁴¹ See the sermon in ‘Abd al-Salām Shaqqūr, *al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ al-adīb: al-adab al-maghribī fī zil al-Murābiṭīn* (Rabat: Dār al-Fikr al-Maghribī, 1983), 360–362. On Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s jihad preaching and shifting allegiances, see Linda G. Jones, “A Case of Medieval Political ‘Flip-Flopping’?: Shifting Allegiances in the Sermons of Qadi ‘Iyad,” in *Medieval Preaching and Political Society*, ed. Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013 forthcoming). We want to thank Linda for allowing us to use a draft of her paper. On the Almoravids (1062–1147) and the Almohads (1130–1269), see Ronald A. Messier *The Almoravids and the Meanings of Jihad* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010); Allen J. Fromherz, *The Almohads: The Rise of an Islamic Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

⁴² The book exists in one manuscript in the old *Zāhirīya* library. On him see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 42:442–461.

⁴³ The book exists in one manuscript in the old *Zāhirīya* library. On him see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 45:143–144.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FORTY HADITHS FOR INCITING JIHAD

1. THE MANUSCRIPT

Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* has survived in a volume originally housed at the Zāhirīya Library, and now in the possession of the Asad Library in Damascus.¹ The volume is a *majmū‘* (short manuscripts arranged and bound together), which contains a number of works. Ibn ‘Asākir’s text dates from 617/1221. It is the third work in this *majmū‘*, and covers folios 67a–81b. Judging from the colophons, the manuscript was studied by a large number of individuals in several important religious centers and schools in and around Damascus between 1170 and 1318. The first teaching session (*samā‘*) was held by Ibn ‘Asākir in a private garden in the town of Mizza—now a western suburb of Damascus—in the year 1170. This suggests that Ibn ‘Asākir had finished compiling the *Forty Hadiths* before 1170; since the work was commissioned by Nūr al-Dīn, the sultan must have received directly from Ibn ‘Asākir a presentation copy before Ibn ‘Asākir started teaching the book. Four years later, in 1174, Ibn ‘Asākir taught the text at the Umayyad Mosque. Interest in the text was greatest in the third decade of the thirteenth century. Six teaching sessions were held between 1221 and 1230 at the Umayyad Mosque (1221), at the Khātūniya School (1227),² at the *Zāwiya* (lit., corner-hall) of Naṣr al-Maḳḳisī (1227),³ at the Umayyad Mosque again (1227 and

¹ The Zāhirīya reference is *majmū‘ lughā 40*. The Zāhirīya Library collection was moved to the Asad Library.

² The Khātūniya School was built by the widow of Nūr al-Dīn, al-Khātūn ‘Iṣmat al-Dīn, in 1175, and is located inside old Damascus; it should be distinguished from another Khātūniya School outside the city: see Qutayba al-Shihābī, *Mu‘jam Dimashq al-tārīkhī*, 3 vols. (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1999), 2:180–181.

³ The *Zāwiya* of Naṣr al-Maḳḳisī (d. 1096), who was a famous Hadith scholar and mystic, was located in the western corner of the Umayyad Mosque compound. It was constructed in 1089, and named after the prominent Shāfi‘ī jurist Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maḳḳisī, who taught there after his relocation to Damascus from Jerusalem in 1087. It was also known as the *madrāsa* (school) of the celebrated theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), who taught there during his few years stay in Damascus starting in 1096: see al-Shihābī, *Mu‘jam Dimashq al-tārīkhī*, 2:200.

1229), and at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith in 1230.⁴ The final teaching session was in 1318, at the house of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muḥibb (d. 1336).⁵ Interestingly, the period between 1227 and 1230 coincides with the Crusade of Frederick II, suggesting that Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* continued to be instrumental in jihad propaganda among the Damascene scholarly community well into the Ayyubid period.⁶ The fact that the final reading occurred in 1318 confirms that it continued to play a crucial role in promoting the ideology and mentality of jihad in Damascus during the final century of the Frankish presence in the Middle East, as well as during the decades prior to the Mongol Il-Khans' conversion to Islam in 1295 and the eventual establishment of peace between the Il-Khans in Iran and Iraq, and the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt in 1320.⁷ (The history of the extant manuscript of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, including the dates, locations, and names of scholars and others who studied the text, as well as the dates and identities of the manuscript's copyist and owners will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.)

A few other manuscripts of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* must have existed, though none is extant except for two hardly-legible folios remaining from a lost manuscript.⁸ The original owner of the only extant manuscript of the *Forty Hadiths* acknowledges that he copied the text from the manuscript that belonged to Ibn 'Asākir. Moreover, several testimonies in the colophons, discussed in Chapter Six, show that those who studied the *Forty Hadiths* with Ibn 'Asākir or at later occasions made copies of the text for their own respective purposes.

2. THE *FORTY HADITHS*' CHARACTERISTICS

Ibn 'Asākir's introduction to the *Forty Hadiths* provides valuable information for understanding contemporary religious propaganda and the inter-

⁴ See Chapter Six, pp. 87–92.

⁵ On 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muḥibb, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 53:326–327.

⁶ See Chapter Six, pp. 95–99. On Frederick II's Crusade and presence in the Latin East, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusade: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 137–182. See also Madden, *New Concise History of the Crusades*, 155–164. On the Ayyubid period in Syria, see R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyūbids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977).

⁷ On the conflict in Syria between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Il-Khans, see Reuven Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhānid War, 1260–1281* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁸ The two folios are included in a *majmū' ḥadīth* 234/46, also originally at the Zāhirīya Library, and now housed at the Asad Library.

connectedness of political opportunism and religious discourse under Nūr al-Dīn. Ibn ‘Asākir states that Nūr al-Dīn:

the just king, the ascetic, the jihad fighter, and the garrisoned-warrior—may God grant him success in that which is proper, assist him in fulfilling what is best for people, grant him favor against the recalcitrants, exalt him in victory with his army, and support him with aid—expressed his desire that I collect for him forty hadiths relating to jihad that have clear texts and uninterrupted sound chains of transmission so that they could stimulate the valiant jihad fighters, the ones with strong determination and mighty arms, with sharp swords and piercing spears, and stir them up to truly perform when they meet the enemy in battle, and incite them to uproot the unbelievers and tyrants who, because of their unbelief, have terrorized the land and proliferated oppression and corruption—may God pour on them all types of torture, for He is all-watching. So I hastened to fulfill his desire and collected for him what is suitable for the people of learning and inquiry. I especially exerted a tremendous effort in collecting them in the hope that I should receive the reward [from God] for enlightening and guidance.⁹

It seems that when Ibn ‘Asākir referred to those who “have terrorized the land and proliferated oppression and corruption,” he had in mind not only the Franks but also several Muslim military leaders, both Sunnis and Shi‘is, who he believed were responsible for the disunity, turmoil, and weakness of Muslim Syria. If this supposition is correct, it could explain why he does not name any of them explicitly. Yet, what is more interesting for our purposes is that Nūr al-Dīn believed that Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* was even necessary for propaganda purposes; that is, that it should be read to the troops and the public in order to incite them to properly fulfill such a highly prized religious obligation as jihad. Since the sultan obviously did believe that there was a need for such motivation, it is understandable that he sought hadiths that were clear, straightforward, and comprehensible to as broad an audience as possible. And since he spent most of his career battling fellow Muslim chieftains, he wanted to legitimize his campaigns as jihads against Muslims and Franks alike. Ibn ‘Asākir obviously expected a reward from his patron for authoring the *Forty Hadiths*, which very likely came in the form of Nūr al-Dīn constructing and endowing for Ibn ‘Asākir the prestigious House of Hadith. But as he clarifies in his opening statement, he was also keen on receiving the eternal rewards bestowed by God on those who embraced the responsibility of properly guiding and enlightening the Muslim community.

⁹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 133; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 132.

The epithets which Ibn ‘Asākir uses for Nūr al-Dīn in his introduction—the just (*al-‘ādīl*), the ascetic (*al-zāhid*), the jihad fighter (*al-mujāhid*), and the garrisoned warrior (*al-murābiṭ*)—are reminiscent of the inscriptions on monuments built during Nūr al-Dīn’s reign. Whether on monumental inscriptions or in Ibn ‘Asākir’s introduction, these epithets were intended to extol Nūr al-Dīn as a ruler who devoted his reign and life to the service of his creator by waging jihad in the path of God, rather than as a ruler who chased after temporal wealth and pleasures.¹⁰

Unlike al-Sulamī’s lengthy *Book of Jihad* or Ibn al-Mubārak’s (d. 797) much earlier work by the same title,¹¹ Ibn ‘Asākir was not concerned with producing a comprehensive work on jihad. His *Forty Hadiths* is simply a brief collection of forty hadiths. He does not preface his collection with any of the quranic material that one usually finds at the beginning of works on jihad, though it is important to note that some of the hadiths he quotes invoke quranic verses that must have been very familiar to the audience. More importantly, Ibn ‘Asākir does not provide any commentary on these hadiths apart from the occasional short note regarding a hadith’s authenticity or to clarify certain terms. Ibn ‘Asākir simply and dutifully fulfilled the request of his sultan and patron Nūr al-Dīn. Nevertheless, his *Forty Hadiths* can also be viewed, as discussed in Chapter Three, as an assertion of his sense of scholarly superiority vis-à-vis his Syrian contemporaries.

Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* is an explicit testimony to the vast knowledge he had acquired as a result of his extensive travels to major centers of religious learning in the eastern parts of the medieval Islamic world. In other words, the *Forty Hadiths* constitutes a kind of *curriculum vitae* in which Ibn ‘Asākir displays the names of his most distinguished teachers who were also notable scholars of Hadith. It should come as no surprise then that most of the hadiths in Ibn ‘Asākir’s compilation are also found in the major Hadith compilations, including Mālik ibn Anas’s (d. 795) *Muwatta’*, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal’s (d. 855) *Musnad*, al-Bukhārī’s (d. 870) *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj’s

¹⁰ On examples of inscriptions that depict Nūr al-Dīn in this way, see Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 122–127; and Tabbaa, “Monuments with a Message.”

¹¹ In the case of Ibn al-Mubārak’s *Book of Jihad*, it includes 262 reports, most of which are hadiths. At the beginning, the reports feature references to the Qur’an, discussed in terms of the reasons of their revelation as connected to jihad against the enemies of Muhammad. The bulk of the book is hadiths attributed to Muhammad or some of his Companions who were involved in military campaigns during the Prophet’s life or the conquests of Syria. The book also features traditions attributed to later Muslim figures who were involved in jihad against the Byzantines in northern Syria and southern Anatolia.

(d. 875) *Ṣaḥīḥ*. But except for a very few cases, Ibn ‘Asākir provides independent chains of transmission that allow him to bypass these texts and thus claim a certain level of originality and mastery that could not have been achieved had he either copied the hadiths from these major Hadith collections or related them on the authority of the authors of these collections. Here too, one can detect a subtly disguised sense of self-aggrandizement in the manner in which Ibn ‘Asākir cites his distinguished and almost exclusively non-Damascene authorities for each of the forty hadiths.

3. TEACHERS FROM WHOM IBN ‘ASĀKIR DERIVED THE MATERIAL FOR HIS *FORTY HADITHS*

While Ibn ‘Asākir readily admits that the forty hadiths in his collection can be found in the major Hadith collections, it would have been a great embarrassment to him had he simply copied the hadiths from these texts; after all, anyone could copy from books in a library. As a respected *ḥāfiẓ* (distinguished Hadith memorizer), Ibn ‘Asākir is keen to present his personal license to transmit each of these hadiths, which he received from notable scholars he had met on his sojourns in Iraq, Iran, and Central Asia—e.g., Baghdad, Isfahan, Nishapur, and Herat. 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 ‘Asākir extends a powerful message to the sultan as well as to his Damascene colleagues regarding his command of, and qualifications in, the discipline of Hadith.

Below is a list of the teachers on whose authority Ibn ‘Asākir relates the hadiths in his *Forty Hadiths*. The list is arranged according to the town where he met his teachers. In a few cases, Ibn ‘Asākir indicates that he learned a particular hadith from more than one notable scholar during his travels; these hadiths are indicated with an asterisk (*). As the table demonstrates, Ibn ‘Asākir reports that he learned 17 of the hadiths in Baghdad, 11 in Nishapur, 10 in Isfahan, 3 in Herat, and only 1 in Damascus—and this apparently because the Damascene scholar had learned it from one of Ibn ‘Asākir’s scholarly heroes: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.¹²

¹² See Chapter Three, p. 37 for a discussion of the scholarly connections between al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥamza al-Sulamī, and Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Mustamli.

1. *Baghdad (17 hadiths)*

- Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Sibt (d. 1129): no. 35*.
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Faraḍī (d. 1132): no. 30.
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī (d. 1141): nos. 3, 32.
- Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Bannā (d. 1133): nos. 5, 14, 35*, 40.
- Abū al-Maḥāsin Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 1131): no. 37*.
- Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad (d. 1130): no. 35*.
- Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Asadī (d. 1137): no. 16.
- Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī (d. 1131): nos. 2, 15, 23, 33.
- Abū al-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar Ibn al-Samarqandī (d. 1142): nos. 1, 29, 34, 37*.
- Abū Sahl Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘dawayh al-Isfahānī (d. 1136): no. 20.

2. *Nishapur (11 hadiths)*

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Aḥmad al-Faqīh (d. 1136): nos. 7, 8, 39.
- Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh ibn Sahl ibn ‘Umar al-Faqīh (d. 1138): nos. 9, 28.
- Abū al-Muẓaffar ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Huwāzin al-Qushayrī (d. 1138): nos. 4, 6, 11, 24.
- Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Mustamlī (d. 1138): nos. 18*, 25.

3. *Isfahan (10 hadiths)*

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Adīb (d. 1138): the introductory hadith and nos. 10, 17, 19*, 21, 27, 38.
- Abū al-Qāsim Ghānim ibn Khālīd ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid (d. 1144): no. 19*.
- Abū al-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥāfīz (d. 1141): nos. 12, 26, 36.

4. *Herat (3 hadiths)*

- Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥasan (d. after 1131): nos. 13*, 22*, 31*.

- Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn al-Fuḍayl (d. 1139): nos. 13*, 22*, 31*.
- Abū al-Mahāsin Asʿad ibn ʿAlī Ibn al-Muwaffaq (d. 1149): nos. 13*, 22*, 31*.
- Abū al-Waqt ʿAbd al-Awwal ibn ʿIsā ibn Shuʿayb (d. 1158): nos. 13*, 22*, 31*.

5. *Damascus* (1 *hadith*)

- Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Ḥamza al-Sulamī (d. 1132): no. 18*.

4. IBN ʿASĀKIR'S DISTINCTIVE VISION OF JIHAD IN HIS *FORTY HADITHS*

Four major themes characterize Ibn ʿAsākir's *Forty Hadiths*: 1) the importance of jihad as compared to other religious duties; 2) the punishments that await those who neglect the duty of jihad; 3) the rewards that await those who undertake jihad; and 4) the requirements that the jihad fighters must fulfill before waging jihad.

Importance

The first theme that Ibn ʿAsākir highlights engages the significance of jihad in comparison to Islam's other religious duties. He establishes the importance of jihad with the first three hadiths, which he relates on the authority of the companions: Abū Hurayra, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd.

(**Hadith 1**) The Messenger of God (ṣ) was asked: "Which aspect of belief is the best?" He replied: "The belief in God—glory and greatness belong to Him." He was asked again: "And what comes next?" He replied: "Next is jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him." He was asked again: "And what comes next?" He replied: "An accepted pilgrimage."¹³

(**Hadith 2**) I [Abū Dharr] asked: "O Messenger of God, which of the religious practices is the best?" He replied: "Belief in God and jihad in His path." I asked again: "O Messenger of God, what is the best manumission?" He replied: "Those who are most valued for their owners and most expensive." I said: "If I can't find any?" He replied: "Help a neglected poor person or feed a fool." I asked: "If I can't afford it?" He replied: "Do not show people you are annoyed with them; this is a charitable gift on behalf of your own soul."¹⁴

¹³ Ibn ʿAsākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 135; and idem, *al-Arbaʿūn*, 134.

¹⁴ Ibn ʿAsākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 135; and idem, *al-Arbaʿūn*, 134.

(**Hadith 3**) I [Ibn Mas‘ūd] asked the Messenger of God (ﷺ): “Which of the religious practices is most dear to God—glory and greatness belong to Him?” He replied: “To pray the prayers in their time.” I then asked: “And what comes next?” He replied: “Honoring and taking care of one’s parents.” I asked again: “And what comes next?” He replied: “Waging jihad in the path of God.” Had I asked even again, he would have answered me.¹⁵

Ibn ‘Asākir’s intent with these hadiths is not to create confusion as to which religious duties are more important than others. Rather, it is to emphasize the crucial importance of the duty of jihad, which according to these hadiths is very dear to God and to His messenger, Muhammad.

The virtues of jihad are further clarified by Ibn ‘Asākir with other hadiths, which appear to make jihad surpass all other religious obligations. According to Abū Hurayra,

(**Hadith 8**) A man came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and asked: “O Messenger of God, teach me something that equals waging jihad in the path of God?” The Prophet replied: “I cannot find any. Can you, when the jihad fighter goes out to fight in the path of God enter the mosque, pray ceaselessly and fast continuously?” The man replied: “That I cannot do.” Abū Hurayra added: “Even the wanderings of the jihad fighter’s horse earn him good deeds.”¹⁶

Similarly, according to the companion ‘Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn,

(**Hadith 13**) The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Lining up for a battle in the path of God is worthier than 60 years of worship.”¹⁷

Obviously, Ibn ‘Asākir’s intent is not to argue that no religious duty is the equal of jihad; he was far too astute a scholar to make such an argument. But these hadiths should be understood in the context of stressing the virtues of jihad (however hyperbolically), rather than actually establishing it as the most noble religious duty. This is not to say that the average person who heard the preaching of such hadiths might not believe that jihad was indeed the most noble of all religious duties.

Punishments

The second theme in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* focuses on the punishments that await the person who neglects the obligation to wage jihad against Islam’s enemies. Ibn ‘Asākir is here referring to those Muslims who willfully

¹⁵ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 137; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 136.

¹⁶ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 145; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 144.

¹⁷ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 151; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 150.

ignored jihad entirely or argued against it. Lest anyone think that the obligation to wage jihad may have been limited to Muhammad's generation or the initial conquest era, Ibn 'Asākir includes a hadith that removes all doubt—the divinely ordained obligation to wage jihad is everlasting. According to the companion Anas ibn Mālik,

(Hadith 16) The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "He who conducts a raid in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him—has rendered all his submission to God—glory and greatness belong to Him—as in ﴿Whoso wishes, let him believe;﴾—in God's reward—﴿whoso wishes, let him blaspheme. To the wicked We have prepared a Fire﴾ (Qur'an 18:29)." Anas said: "O Messenger of God, now that we have heard this hadith from you, who would dare abandon jihad and stay behind?" The Messenger of God (ﷺ) replied: "He whom God has cursed and is angry with; God has prepared for him a gruesome punishment. For at the end of days, there will appear a group of people who do not believe in jihad. God took an oath upon Himself that everyone who says that will be tortured like no other sinful human being."¹⁸

As noted in Chapter One, the theme of the end of days occurs frequently in Ibn 'Asākir's writings, especially in the biography of Jesus in his *History of Damascus*.¹⁹ Given the imminent threat posed by the Franks and the division and discord among Muslims in Ibn 'Asākir's day, one is left to ponder whether he was asserting that the situation in Syria approximated the conditions that would lead to Jesus' second coming. Why else would he be interested in such a hadith unless he intended to use it against those Muslims who were endangering Muslim Syria and making it easy for the Christians to occupy and control it by neglecting the divinely ordained duty of jihad that had been so important to the first generations of Muslims?²⁰

Rewards

Ibn 'Asākir's third theme addresses the rewards that are amassed by those who wage jihad. According to the following hadith, the work of a jihad fighter, unlike that of other believers, multiplies over the years; it is as though the jihad fighter's efforts accrue a kind of interest from the time of his death until the Day of Judgment when he appears before his Lord. According to the companion Faḍāla ibn 'Ubayd,

(Hadith 21) The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "The deeds of the dead person are sealed, except those of the garrisoned warrior in the path of God whose deeds

¹⁸ Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 153, 155; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 152, 154.

¹⁹ See Chapter One, pp. 8–9. See also Mourad, "Jesus According to Ibn 'Asākir," 24–43.

²⁰ As noted earlier, al-Sulamī also invokes this eschatological tendency in his *Book of Jihad*: see Chapter One, footnote 26.

accumulate rewards until the Day of Resurrection and who will also be saved from the torment of the grave."²¹

Yet, the rewards from jihad are not limited to the fighters who actually kill or are killed in battle. In certain respects, all Muslims can benefit from jihad, provided they contribute to it in some way. According to the following hadith, every arrow used in the battlefield admits not only the jihad fighter to heaven, but also the laborer who manufactured it and the individual who paid for its workmanship. The companion 'Uqba ibn 'Āmir said,

(Hadith 29) I heard the Messenger of God (ﷺ) say: "God will admit into Paradise three men for every arrow: the one who makes it and hopes it is used for something good, the one who donates it to be used in the path of God, and the person who shoots it in the path of God. ..."²²

Here, Ibn 'Asākir is seeking to rally the entire society to gather around the jihad fighters and help fulfill the conditions for a successful jihad in whatever way they could; in a similar hadith quoted by Ibn 'Asākir, the heavenly rewards extend to those who keep horses to be used in jihad.²³ Ibn 'Asākir knew full well that it was critically important to maintain a supportive society around the jihad fighters. According to Hadith 29 cited above, the artisans and the benevolent individuals who provided for the jihad fighter's needs were also waging jihad against the enemies of right religion. The following hadith demonstrates as well the significance of the entire society's endorsement and sponsorship of those individuals who leave their families and communities behind in order to fulfill their duty to engage in jihad. According to the companion Abū Umāma al-Bāhili,

(Hadith 20) The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "He who does not participate in a raid, sponsor a raider, or take care of a raider's family, God will strike him with the calamity of the Day of Resurrection."²⁴

Whereas Hadith 29 promises the positive rewards of jihad to those who contribute in some way to the cause of jihad, Hadith 20 indirectly engages the positive rewards by emphasizing the negative punishments that await those who do not participate in jihad by engaging the enemy or who do not contribute in kind, whether by sponsoring the expenses of a soldier or pledging to look after his family.²⁵

²¹ Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 159; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 158.

²² Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 169; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 168.

²³ See Hadith 28 in Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 167, 169; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 166, 168.

²⁴ Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 159; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 158.

²⁵ These hadiths are reminiscent of similar practices in Europe during the later Crusades,

These particular hadiths raise the question of the role of scholars in the service of jihad. Theoretically, they are neither artisans who manufacture weapons or other items needed by the troops, nor are they wealthy merchants who are in a position to donate money to the army or subsidize the troops' families. Do scholars, then, have a role in jihad other than joining the ranks and fighting? Here, one expects Ibn 'Asākir who was never involved in physical jihad himself to find a hadith that celebrates the scholars' input in this process. As if on cue, he records the following hadith on the authority of the companion Anas ibn Mālik:

(Hadith 31) The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "Fight the polytheists with your wealth, with your lives, and with your tongues."²⁶

It is the jihad of the tongue, or, to put it more accurately, the jihad of the pen that Ibn 'Asākir was engaged in. As a scholar, his contribution was to produce and preach literature that could be used to spread the culture of jihad. By so doing, even the scholar who labored in his school or mosque could receive the rewards of jihad.

Requirements

Ibn 'Asākir's fourth theme treats the personal requirements that a fighter must fulfill before he can wage jihad and receive its rewards. Ibn 'Asākir addresses this explicitly in the final hadith in his collection—a hadith that was especially popular in the development of jihad ideology and ascetic practice in the first centuries of Islam.²⁷ According to the companion 'Utba ibn 'Abd al-Salamī,

(Hadith 40) The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "The slain-dead are of three types. One is a believer who exerts his life and wealth waging jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him—and when he meets the enemy in battle he fights them until he is killed. He is a tested martyr whose abode will be the Tent of God, underneath His Throne; nothing separates him from prophets except their rank of prophethood. Another is a believer, having already committed transgressions and sins, who exerts his life and wealth waging jihad in the path of God, and when he meets the enemy in battle

where the redemption of vows for cash to sponsor certain expeditions was encouraged by the papacy. On redemption of vows for cash, see Simon Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, 49–50. Obviously, this comparison requires further examination, especially in that each case has its own context in its respective religious tradition and emerges out of distinct discourses.

²⁶ Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 171; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 170.

²⁷ Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief*, 168–195.

he fights them until he is killed. His transgressions and sins are cleansed, for the sword purifies from sins. He will also be admitted to Paradise from whichever gate he chooses, for Paradise has eight gates, and Hell has seven gates with some deeper than others. And a third is a hypocrite who exerts his life and wealth waging jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him—and when he meets the enemy in battle he fights them until he is killed. He is in Hell, because the sword does not wipe out hypocrisy.”²⁸

The three categories in this hadith well reflect the Muslim society of Syria and Egypt in Ibn ‘Asākir’s day (and arguably, any day): pious, semi-pious, and hypocrites. Jihad is a salvation for the first two groups, but never for the last. This hadith echoes Ibn ‘Asākir’s endorsement and justification for pious and semi-pious Muslims to cleanse their society from the hypocrites.²⁹ It also reminds us of the two types of jihad addressed by al-Sulamī: the greater “spiritual” jihad (*al-jihād al-akbar*) against one’s desires, and the lesser “military” jihad (*al-jihād al-aṣghar*) against Islam’s enemies. If the individual does not undergo the jihad of piety first, he does not have a chance of receiving the rewards of the jihad of the sword; his efforts are in vain.³⁰ Conversely, the jihad of piety necessarily leads the pious to heed the Prophet’s words: “Fight the polytheists with your wealth, with your lives, and

²⁸ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 183; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 182. Ibn al-Mubārak includes a version of Hadith 40 in his *Book of Jihad*; see Chapter Four, note 22.

²⁹ For a short discussion of the debate over the concept of hypocrisy in the Islamic tradition, see Suleiman A. Mourad, “Hypocrisy,” *Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, eds. Gerhard Böwering, Patricia Crone, Wadad Kadi, Devin Stewart, and M. Qasim Zaman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

³⁰ In his *Book of Asceticism*, Ibn al-Mubārak employs the following hadith to vividly establish the principle that proper intent and genuine piety are absolutely necessary for one’s actions to be worthy of reward on the Last Day:

[Abū Hurayra] said ... I heard the Prophet of God say, “When it is resurrection day, God will manifest himself to his servants so that he may pass judgment among them, and the whole community will be on its knees. First shall be the man who knows the Qur’an by heart and God the Exalted will say to him, “My servant? Has not what I revealed to my Prophet instructed you?” And he will say, “Yes, O Lord.” And God will say, “What then do you know of what I taught you?” The man will say, “O Lord, I am subsumed in it day and night.” And God shall say, “You lie.” And the angels shall say to him, “You lie. Nay, rather, you want it said, ‘So and so is a reciter of the Qur’an,’ and so it was said. But go away, for you have no place among us today.” Then a possessor of property will be sent down and God will say to him, “My servant? Have I not pampered you? Have I not given preference to you? Have I not been generous to you?” And the man will turn to him and say, “Yes, O Lord.” And God will say, “What then do you know of what I sent down to you?” And he shall say, “O Lord, I was a source of mercy, and I gave alms and I gave and I gave.” And God shall say, “You lie.” And the angels shall say to him, “You lie. Nay, rather, you desired that it be said, ‘So and so is generous,’ and this was said. But go away, for there is nothing for you among us this day.” And a man who had been killed will be sent forth, and God shall say, “My servant! Why were you killed?” And

with your tongues” (Hadith 31). Ibn ‘Asākir’s emphasis is not limited to the mere fulfillment of the religious duty of jihad; it is clear that his emphasis here is that a jihad fighter must also be an authentic Muslim.³¹ In other words, he cannot be a hypocrite or a heretic such as a Shi‘i Fatimid caliph in Egypt or one of his followers.

5. QURANIC PASSAGES IN IBN ‘ASĀKIR’S *FORTY HADITHS*

Hadith 16 discussed above is one of six hadiths in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* that include explicit passages from the Qur’an and hence serve as brief commentaries on the respective verses. Four of the six hadiths in Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* refer to Medinan verses (Hadiths 4, 5, 28, and 39); two refer to Meccan verses (Hadiths 16 and 26). It is important to note that Ibn ‘Asākir’s target audience was very familiar with the text of the Qur’an; moreover, the scholars who attended the teaching sessions listed in the colophons discussed in Chapter Six certainly would have memorized each of the Qur’an’s 114 suras or chapters when they were children. Therefore, even a brief quranic phrase would have brought to mind the entirety of the sura from which it came.³²

We see this most explicitly in Hadith 5, which cites the Medinan *Sūrat al-Ṣaff* (The Ranks; 61:1–2):

He [Muhammad] recited to us: ﴿Glorifying God is all that exists in the heavens and earth—Almighty, All-Wise. O believers, why do you say what you do not do?﴾ from the beginning to the end.

That is, according to Hadith 5, Muhammad recited the entirety of *Sūrat al-Ṣaff* (The Ranks; 61:1–14), which specifically declares that

the man shall say, O Lord, for you I was killed, on your path.” And God the Most High will say, “You lie.” And the angels will say to him, “You lie. Nay, rather, you desired it should be said, ‘So and so is courageous,’ and so it was said. But go away, for there is no place for you among us today.”

Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa-l-raqā’iq*, ed. Ḥabīb Raḥmān al-A‘zamī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1998), 162–164 (no. 469). This hadith and Ibn al-Mubārak’s version of Hadith 40 above are cited and analyzed in Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief*, 182–183.

³¹ Ibn ‘Asākir furnishes another hadith that emphasizes the same point: see Hadith 6 in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 141, 143; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 140, 142.

³² See the notes to Hadiths 4, 5, 16, 18, 26, 28, and 39 in Part Two: Edition and Translation of *The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, where we provide a fuller context for the quranic passages cited in these hadiths.

﴿God loves those who fight [yūqātilūn] in His cause in a battle-line, like an edifice, impenetrable﴾. And that for those who fight in His way, ﴿He shall forgive you your sins and admit you into Gardens beneath which rivers flow, and pure habitations in the Gardens of Eternal Abode—and that is the greatest of triumphs! And yet another bounty, beloved by you, will He grant you: victory from God and an imminent conquest﴾.

Hadith 4 cites the Medinan *Sūrat al-Tawba* (Repentance; 9:20) to emphasize that jihad against the enemies of God is superior to other very important religious practices such as providing water for pilgrims or caring for the Sacred Mosque at Mecca:

﴿Are you indeed equating provision of water to pilgrims and caring for the Sacred Mosque with one who believes in God and the Last Day, and wages jihad [jāhad]³³ in the cause of God? They are not equal in the sight of God, and God guides not the evildoers﴾.

Ibn ‘Asākir’s audience would have known very well that Muslim commentators dated *Sūrat al-Tawba* to the end of Muhammad’s career—after his victory at Tabūk (630 CE)—and that it was one of the most important foundational texts for the ideology of jihad and warfare in the path of God.

Hadith 28 cites the final verses of the brief Medinan *Sūrat al-Zilzāl* (The Earthquake; 99:7–8) to describe the glorious rewards for those engaged in jihad in the path of God:

﴿Whoso has done an atom’s worth of good shall see it; whoso has done an atom’s worth of evil shall see it﴾.

Hadith 39 cites one verse from the very lengthy Medinan *Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān* (The House of Amram; 3:169) to the same end, but also to encourage those who mourn their fellow Muslims who were slain in battle:

﴿Do not imagine those killed in the path of God to be dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, Enjoying His bounty﴾.

Again, Ibn ‘Asākir’s audience knew well that Muslim commentators were agreed that this portion of *Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān* refers to the Battle of Uḥud (625) in which the Meccans, led by Abū Sufyān, had defeated Muhammad and killed many of his followers a mere one year after Muhammad’s miraculous victory against his Meccan opponents at the Battle of Badr (624) memorialized in *Sūrat al-Anfāl* (The Spoils; 8:1–75), which along with *Sūrat al-Tawba* (Repentance; 9:1–129) contain the foundational material on jihad and warfare in the Qur’an.

³³ Khalidi translates *jāhad* as: ﴿labours hard﴾.

That four of the six hadiths with explicit quranic content incorporate verses that Muslim scholars traditionally date to the Medinan period should come as no surprise, for it was in the Medinan period that Muhammad's role changed dramatically from what it had been during the Meccan phase of his career. No longer was his primary role that of prophetic warner and summoner to belief in the one God and the Last Day. As the sole political, military, and religious leader of Medina he was now required to fight and subdue the enemies of God—whether in Medina, Mecca, Khaybar, Tā'if, Tabūk, or elsewhere—and impose his religious, social, and political order on his new *umma*.

The fact that Ibn 'Asākir included hadiths on jihad that invoke Meccan verses does, however, require some explanation. The two Meccan suras explicitly cited in the *Forty Hadiths* also draw on quranic passages that address the themes of eternal rewards and punishments, but in a much more general sense—Hadith 16 cites *Sūrat al-Kahf* (The Cave; 18:29); Hadith 26 *Sūrat al-Qamar* (The Moon; 54:55). Hadith 18 should be added to the “Meccan sura” category as well. The companion Abū Hurayra said,

(Hadith 18) I heard the Messenger of God (ﷺ) say: “An hour spent standing in the path of God in wait for the enemy is worthier than spending the entire Night of Power worshipping at the Black Stone (of the Ka'ba).”³⁴

Although Hadith 18 does not include a specific quranic verse, it is an obvious reference to the brief Meccan *Sūrat al-Qadr* (The Power; 97:1–5):

﴿We sent it down in the Night of Power! But how can you know what is the Night of Power? The Night of Power is better than a thousand months. In it, the angels and the Spirit are sent swarming down, by their Lord's leave, attending to every command. Peace is it that Night, till the break of dawn.﴾

While the three Meccan suras—*Sūrat al-Kahf* (The Cave; 18), *Sūrat al-Qamar* (The Moon; 54), and *Sūrat al-Qadr* (The Power; 97)—do not speak to the issue of jihad or warfare specifically, Ibn 'Asākir had no reservation whatsoever about employing hadiths that incorporated these verses in the service of jihad and warfare in the path of God. *Sūrat al-Qadr* is frequently cited as an explicit proof for the authenticity of the Qur'an as revelation; since according to the Islamic tradition, Muhammad received the first revelation of the Qur'an on *laylat al-qadr* (Night of Power).³⁵ What is important for our purposes here is that Ibn 'Asākir includes Hadith 18 not to

³⁴ See Ibn 'Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 157; and idem, *al-Arba'ūn*, 156.

³⁵ See, for example, Ibn Hishām, 1:192–193; and Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 111.

invoke the authority of the Qur'an as revelation, but specifically to bolster his case that "An hour spent standing in the path of God in wait for the enemy is worthier than spending the entire Night of Power worshipping at the Black Stone (of the Ka'ba)."

Hadith 16 invokes the punishment for evildoers with the brief passage:

﴿To the wicked We have prepared a Fire.﴾ (Qur'an 18:29)

Hence Anas's response: "O Messenger of God, now that we have heard this hadith from you, who would dare abandon jihad and stay behind?" Not surprisingly, we learn that while there will be those who dare to abandon jihad, God has reserved a special and torturous punishment just for them. As noted above, the mere mention of this verse to Ibn 'Asākir's audience would have brought to mind the continuation of the Meccan *Sūrat al-Kahf* (The Cave; 18:29–31), which expands on the horrific eternal punishments for the evildoers, but also the glorious eternal rewards for the righteous:

﴿Say: 'The truth has come from your Lord. Whoso wishes, let him believe; Whoso wishes, let him blaspheme.' To the wicked We have prepared a Fire, with its wall surrounding it. When they cry out for help, they are helped to water resembling molten metal, scorching their faces. Wretched that drink and wretched that place of rest. As for those who believed and performed good deeds—We waste not the wage of one righteous in works. To them belong the Gardens of Eden, beneath which rivers flow, and in which they shall be decked with bracelets of gold, and shall wear green raiment of silk and brocade, reclining therein on couches. Happy that reward and happy that place of rest.﴾

The juxtaposition of this Meccan passage—when Muhammad was not in a position to actually wage jihad or warfare against his opponents—with the theme of jihad only served to enhance the immediacy of the obligation to wage jihad on its hearers, especially in the context of Nūr al-Dīn's jihad that Ibn 'Asākir helped shape and disseminate.

Since Hadith 26 is principally concerned with the rewards that await the various categories of jihad fighters, we could have included it in our discussion of the rewards theme in Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* above; however, it too calls to mind the horrors of the eternal punishments that await the wicked. Hadith 26 describes three categories of martyrs and their rewards. The second category is for the

man who goes to wage jihad with his life and wealth, and seeks to kill but not to get killed. If he dies or is killed, he will be transported to the presence of God in the company of Abraham, the friend of the Merciful: ﴿In an assembly of virtue, and with a mighty King.﴾ (Qur'an 54:55)

While Hadith 26 invokes this passage to describe God's omnipotence as well as the reward that awaits the second category of jihad fighter, Ibn 'Asākir's audience would have been well aware that the preceding verses of the Meccan *Sūrat al-Qamar* (The Moon; 54:40–55) are concerned with the fiery punishments visited upon Pharaoh and the ancient Egyptians because of their willful rejection of God's warnings and signs in the distant past:

﴿ And We made the Qur'an easy to remember, but is there anyone to recall it to mind? To the people of Pharaoh came warnings, but they cried lies to all Our wonders, so We seized them like the seizure of one Almighty, All-Powerful. Are the blasphemers among you better than all these? Or do you possess some safe-conduct in ancient Scripture? Or do they claim that victory lies in their number? Their number shall be defeated and turn tail. Indeed the Hour is their appointed time, and the Hour shall be still more calamitous and bitter! The wicked are sunk in error and madness. A Day will come when they shall be dragged into the Fire, on their faces: "Taste the touch of the gate of hell!" We have created all things in due measure, and Our command is but a single word, like the twinkling of an eye. We have destroyed your like, but is there anyone to recall it to mind? All they have done is in ancient Scriptures, and all of it, small or great, is recorded. The pious are amidst Gardens and rivers, in an assembly of virtue, and with a mighty King.﴾

Hadith 6 deserves mention here as well. While it does not include any specific quranic passages, Hadith 6 does invoke the authority of Jesus son of Mary and John son of Zechariah (St. John the Baptist), both of whom are important prophetic characters in the Qur'an and the Islamic tradition. In fact, Hadith 6 is by far one of the lengthiest hadiths of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*—more than twice the length of all but one of the remaining thirty nine. Moreover, it follows Hadiths 1–5, all of which emphasize the superiority of jihad to other religious obligations. According to Hadith 6, God commanded John to abide by five words and to command the Israelites to abide by them as well. Jesus son of Mary told him that he needed to do what God said or he would do it for him. Fearing that he would be tortured or swallowed into the ground if Jesus were to issue the command to the Israelites before he did, John summoned the people to the Temple in Jerusalem until it was so full that many sat on the terraces. John then proceeded to preach to the Israelites that God had commanded him to abide by five words and that God had also commanded him to inform them that they, too, should abide by them. The five were: to worship God alone, to pray, to fast, to give alms, and to remember God constantly, "for that is like a man whose enemy is close on his trail and who reaches an impenetrable fortress and fortifies himself in it. Similar is the servant, for he is only fortified from

Satan by the constant remembrance of God—glory and greatness belong to Him.” Hadith 6 concludes with Muhammad commanding his community to follow five things as well:

“I, too, command you to abide by five which God has commanded me: membership in the community, hearing, obeying, making the migration [to Islam], and waging jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him. Whoever distances himself from the community, even for an arm’s length, casts off the tie of Islam from his head unless he comes back, and whoever uses the supplication of the pre-Islamic Age of Ignorance is in the companies of Hell.” He was asked: “Even if he prays and fasts?” The Prophet replied: “Even if he prays and fasts. Make sure you use God’s supplication as a result of which God called the believing Muslims the worshippers of God.”³⁶

Ibn ‘Asākir’s inclusion of a hadith that invokes the authority of Jesus son of Mary in the cause of jihad reinforces his apocalyptic vision of Jesus as the *Mahdī*, who as an infant took refuge in Damascus with his mother during what is known in the Gospels as the Massacre of the Innocents (Matthew 2:13–22) and who will return to Damascus at his second coming.³⁷ Moreover, that this hadith invokes the authority of Jesus son of Mary and John son of Zechariah as predecessors and vindicators of Muhammad’s message only serves to strengthen Muhammad’s words that fighting in the path of God (especially against the perfidious deniers of Jesus son of Mary’s and John son of Zechariah’s pure Islamic monotheism, the infidel Christian Crusaders) is an essential component of being a believing Muslim and a true worshiper of God. Finally, the fact that Hadith 6 is primarily devoted to the words and deeds of John son of Zechariah certainly would not have been lost on Ibn ‘Asākir’s Sunni Syrian target audience or anyone who heard the *Forty Hadiths* publicly taught at the Umayyad Mosque in view of John son of Zechariah’s tomb, which is within the main prayer hall where five of the eleven teaching sessions of the extant manuscript took place.³⁸ (See figure on page 101.)

Taken together, Hadiths 4, 5, 6, 16, 18, 26, 28, and 29 make it abundantly clear that not only should the glorious quranic rewards of Paradise forever

³⁶ See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Forty Hadiths*, 143; and idem, *al-Arba‘ūn*, 142.

³⁷ As with Ibn ‘Asākir’s depiction of Jesus as the *Mahdī*, his identification of Jesus’ and Mary’s refuge as well as Jesus’ second coming with Damascus are minority positions: Mourad, “Jesus According to Ibn ‘Asākir,” 27–28. On Ibn ‘Asākir’s identification of Jesus as the *Mahdī*, see Chapter One, p. 8.

³⁸ See Chapter Six for a discussion of teaching sessions 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8. Ibn ‘Asākir was present at teaching session 2, which took place at the Umayyad Mosque on Friday 29 Ramaḍān/3 May 1174.

motivate the faithful to wage jihad in the path of God, but so too should the reticent laggards be motivated by the gruesome punishments visited on those ancients who rejected God's warnings and signs—whether revealed through Abraham, Moses, Jesus, or John—even until the end of days, which in Ibn 'Asākir's mind may well have been his own.³⁹

³⁹ Obviously, Ibn 'Asākir could have selected hadiths that invoked the authority of other prophets mentioned in the Qur'an, but none would have carried more weight than Abraham, Moses; and specifically in the context of Damascus and the Umayyad Mosque, Jesus and John the Baptist.

CHAPTER SIX

IBN 'ASĀKIR'S *FORTY HADITHS* AND THE INTENSIFICATION AND REORIENTATION OF SUNNI JIHAD IDEOLOGY IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY DAMASCUS

As noted in the previous chapter, Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* has survived in a unique manuscript originally housed at the Zāhiriya Library in Damascus.¹ The text itself dates from 617/1221. Judging from the colophons and ownership notes on this unique manuscript, Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* received a great deal of attention from the Damascene scholarly community during Ibn 'Asākir's lifetime and for more than a century and a half after his death. Although we do not have any information regarding its use in army barracks or battlefields, the colophons show that the *Forty Hadiths* was taught to a large number of individuals in several important religious centers and schools in Damascus between 1170 and 1318. Several of these individuals were counted among the most significant scholars of the city when they attended these teaching sessions; others would be counted among their number later in life. Some of the colophons mention children who were brought by their fathers to hear a reading of the *Forty Hadiths* and receive a license (*ijāza*) to teach and transmit the text when they grew up and became scholars; one of these children was a five year old girl!² Although we do not know whether the *Forty Hadiths* was available in other parts of Syria or the Muslim world, the broad interest of Damascene scholars in the text confirms that it played an important role in promoting the ideology and mentality of jihad in Damascus during the final century of the Frankish presence in the Middle East as well as the decades prior to the Mongol Il-Khans' conversion to Islam in 1295 and the eventual establishment of peace between Il-Khans in Iran and Iraq and the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt in 1320.

¹ The manuscript is found in a *majmū'* (short manuscripts arranged and bound together in a single volume). Ibn 'Asākir's text is the third work in this volume, and covers folios 67a–81b. The Zāhiriya reference is *majmū' lughā 40*. The Zāhiriya Library collection was moved to the Asad Library.

² On the trend of taking children, including girls, to attend seminars by aging scholars, in order to receive *ijāzas*, see Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 32–33.

The extant manuscript of the *Forty Hadiths* was copied by a notable Hadith scholar named Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī in Dhū al-Ḥijja 617/February 1221. Originally from Seville (*Ishbīlyā*) in Muslim Spain, al-Birzālī left his hometown, probably with the intent of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. He arrived first in Alexandria in 1205, and then in Mecca in 1208. After a sojourn in the eastern Muslim world, primarily for the study of Hadith, he settled in Damascus in 1213 and was appointed imam of a local mosque and then head-professor of Hadith at the Ibn 'Urwa school of Hadith, which was located just outside the eastern gate of the Umayyad Mosque compound.³ Al-Dhahabī enumerates al-Birzālī's many skills, including his beautiful handwriting; indeed, the manuscript was copied in an elegant North African (*maghribī*) hand.⁴ Al-Birzālī died while on a visit to the northern Syrian city of Ḥama in 1239,⁵ leaving a family in Damascus whose members became distinguished scholars, especially his great-grandson Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (d. 1339)—a prolific author in his own right and holder of the chair of Hadith at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith,⁶ the school and chair that Nūr al-Dīn had endowed for Ibn 'Asākir.

1. THE COLOPHONS (*SAMĀ'ĀT*) ON AL-BIRZĀLĪ'S COPY OF IBN 'ASĀKIR'S *FORTY HADITHS*

The eleven colophons on this unique manuscript offer very rich information about the teaching and transmission of the text, and subsequently its usefulness for and impact on religious scholars in Damascus. The first four colophons were inscribed in al-Birzālī's hand; he copied the first two from Ibn 'Asākir's original manuscript. The remaining colophons were inscribed by other individuals. Each colophon names the scholar who was present to teach the text; in the case of the first two colophons, this was Ibn 'Asākir

³ This school of Hadith (*dār al-ḥadīth al-'urwīya*) was built in 1220 by Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Urwa al-Mawṣilī (d. 1223); see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 44:510; and al-Shihābī, *Muḥjam Dimashq al-tārikhī*, 1:271.

⁴ Ḥalwānī describes the handwriting as eastern, which is a mistake on his part: see Ḥalwānī, *Ibn 'Asākir wa-dawruh*, 96. Since Ḥalwānī's remarks about the text and manuscript are invariably mistaken, they will be ignored from now on. 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf also mistakenly identifies the handwriting as that of Ibn 'Asākir's nephew al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad: Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Arba'ūn*, ed. 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf, 39.

⁵ On Muḥammad al-Birzālī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 46:307–308.

⁶ On al-Qāsim al-Birzālī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 53:359–361.

himself, and for the other colophons, it was one or more of his students. The role of the teacher in one of these sessions was to answer any questions the students might raise about the material. He also fulfilled another very important function; at the conclusion of the teaching session, he conferred the license (*ijāza*) to those in attendance so that they could later teach and transmit the text to others.

Each colophon also names the scholar who read out the text of the *Forty Hadiths* during the teaching session, the people in attendance, the person who inscribed the colophon, the location of the teaching session, and its exact date. One should note here that the colophons do not register the names of all the people in the audience. Rather, only those persons deemed worthy of inclusion—such as scholars, students, and figures of some social status—were identified.⁷ Since it was customary for lower-status Damascenes to sit curiously and listen to teaching sessions on a host of subjects, such persons were either never mentioned in the colophons of al-Birzālī's manuscript or were simply referred to as others (e.g. colophons 2 and 10); this is especially the case if the teaching session was held in a non-restricted space such as the spacious Umayyad Mosque.

As was customary, some students copied the text as it was read out to them and then verified their copies against the manuscript that was used by the reader to assure the accuracy of their transcription. In this respect, these colophons attest to the presence of other copies of the *Forty Hadiths* that were kept by those who studied it, either with Ibn 'Asākir or later. Unfortunately, except for al-Birzālī's manuscript, none of these copies appears to have survived.⁸

One more important issue is worth noting here. The eleven colophons show that the teaching and transmission of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* was taken very seriously by the Damascene scholarly community. By the twelfth century, it had become common for scholars to confer licenses to teach and transmit texts to their students without necessarily teaching them those texts—either texts that they had authored themselves, or that they had studied and for which they had been awarded a license to teach and

⁷ On the etiquette of teaching and learning in medieval Islam, see Christopher Melchert, "The Etiquette of Learning in the Early Islamic Study Circle," in *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of George Makdisi*, eds. Joseph E. Lowry, Devin J. Stewart, and Shawkat M. Toorawa (London: The E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004), 33–44.

⁸ Except for the two hardly-legible folios that offer no information in terms of where and when the manuscript from which they were taken was copied, who owned it, or who studied it: see Chapter Five, footnote 8.

transmit. We see this in colophon 7, where the teacher extended the license to include all of what he had studied, not just Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*. The eleven colophons on al-Birzālī's manuscript demonstrate that the strict standards of teaching and awarding of licenses from earlier centuries were almost always followed when it came to these teaching sessions of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*.

Colophon 1

According to the first colophon, the first teaching session was conducted in Ibn 'Asākir's presence. The book was read out by his elder son, al-Qāsim, in a private garden owned by two of his nephews in the town of Mizza—now a western suburb of Damascus—on Saturday 7 Rajab 565/28 March 1170. All but one of the free persons in attendance were relatives of Ibn 'Asākir: his son al-Ḥasan; his grandson Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim; his maternal cousin 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulṭān ibn Yaḥyā al-Qurashī and his two sons 'Abd a-Wāḥid and 'Abd Allāh (along with his slave Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh); his brother-in-law Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn Ḥamza al-Tamīmī and his son al-Faḍl; his nephews Aḥmad, 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Naṣr Allāh, 'Abd al-Raḥīm, and al-Ḥasan (all sons of Ibn 'Asākir's brother Muḥammad). The lone non-relative non-slave present was the farmer who was in charge of the garden.

Three of the notables who attended the first teaching session of the *Forty Hadiths* were influential in Damascene scholarship. Ibn 'Asākir's son al-Qāsim (d. 1203) was one of Damascus's prominent scholars in his own right. He inherited his father's prestigious chair of Hadith scholarship at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith and is said to have taught Hadith to a huge number of scholars who went on to occupy crucial teaching and juristic positions in and beyond the city.⁹ Ibn 'Asākir's maternal cousin, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī (d. 1202),¹⁰ was chief judge of Damascus. Ibn 'Asākir's nephew, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad (d. 1223), subsequently became a leader of the Shāfi'ī jurists in Syria and simultaneously occupied two very prestigious chairs: one at the Taqawīya School (the most influential legal school during his time in Damascus),¹¹ and the other at the Ṣāliḥīya School in Jerusalem (established and lavishly-endowed by Saladin following his capture of the city).¹²

⁹ On al-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 42:471–473.

¹⁰ On 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 42:354–355.

¹¹ On the Taqawīya School, built in 1178, see al-Shihābī, *Mu'jam Dimashq al-tārikhī*, 2:175.

¹² On 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Asākir, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 44:500–503.

Colophon 1 was originally inscribed by Ibn ‘Asākir’s nephew, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (d. 1230), who made a great reputation for himself as a Hadith scholar, and followed his uncle and cousin al-Qāsim as chair of Hadith scholarship at Nūr al-Dīn’s renowned House of Hadith in Damascus.¹³ Colophon 1 was copied into the current manuscript by al-Birzālī.

Colophon 2

A second teaching session of the *Forty Hadiths* was held on Friday 29 Ramaḍān 569/3 May 1174 at the Umayyad Mosque also in the presence of Ibn ‘Asākir. The text was read out to a large crowd of scholars and students. Thirty-one of those in attendance were deemed worthy of being named; the rest were referred to as “others.” The reader was one of Ibn ‘Asākir’s closest students, Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Ṣaṣrā (d. 1190),¹⁴ whose brother, the later renowned chief judge Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Ṣaṣrā (d. 1228), was also in attendance.¹⁵ Two nephews of Ibn ‘Asākir were present: Naṣr Allāh ibn Muḥammad and ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad, who had also been present at the first teaching session. They brought with them their nephew, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1245), who was four years old.¹⁶ Also present were two young boys who went on to become notable Hadith scholars and play a crucial role in the transmission of the *Forty Hadiths*: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1242) who was six years old;¹⁷ and Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm ibn Barakāt ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khushū‘ī (d. 1243) who was eleven years old.¹⁸ This second colophon was originally inscribed by another student of Ibn ‘Asākir named Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Waḥhāb al-Anṣārī (d. 1230), who became a notable Hadith scholar,¹⁹ and then was copied into the current manuscript by al-Birzālī.

On the basis of Colophons 1 and 2, it can be established that the lone extant manuscript of the *Forty Hadiths* was transcribed and owned by al-Birzālī. It

¹³ On al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Asākir, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ al-islām*, 45:280–282.

¹⁴ On al-Ḥasan Ibn Ṣaṣrā, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ al-islām*, 41:237–238.

¹⁵ On al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ṣaṣrā, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ al-islām*, 45:248–250.

¹⁶ On Muḥammad Ibn ‘Asākir, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ al-islām*, 47:201–202.

¹⁷ On ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ al-islām*, 46:440–441. In colophon two, al-Birzālī identifies him as the son (which ought to be understood as grandson) of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abiya. He repeats this in colophon six (‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan).

¹⁸ On Ibrāhīm al-Khushū‘ī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ al-islām*, 46:429–430.

¹⁹ On Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ al-islām*, 45:294.

must have been copied from an original manuscript that was Ibn 'Asākir's own copy, the one used by his son al-Qāsim to read the text during the first teaching session. Ibn 'Asākir's nephew al-Ḥasan inscribed Colophon 1 on this original manuscript; in fact, al-Birzālī writes that he copied the text of Colophon 1 from the one written in al-Ḥasan's own hand. Ibn 'Asākir then took this manuscript to the second teaching session held at the Umayyad Mosque where Colophon 2 was inscribed on it by his student, Abū Bakr al-Anṣārī.²⁰ Unfortunately, this original manuscript appears to have been lost.

More importantly, if the manuscript that al-Birzālī copied was indeed Ibn 'Asākir's own copy, then the first colophon actually attests that he finished authoring the *Forty Hadiths* before 1170, and that the first two teachings of the *Forty Hadiths* were held during Nūr al-Dīn's lifetime; Nūr al-Dīn died on 15 May 1174, apparently of a heart attack while playing polo.

Colophon 3

A third colophon is inscribed on the right margin of folio 79b, above Colophons 1 and 2. It attests to a third teaching session held on Saturday 25 Dhū al-Ḥijja 617/20 February 1221 at the Umayyad Mosque. The text was read out by al-Birzālī in the presence of Ibn 'Asākir's nephew al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, who had attended the first teaching session and inscribed the original first colophon. Colophon 3 was inscribed by al-Birzālī himself.

Al-Birzālī's inscription of this colophon on the right margin, across from the end of the *Forty Hadiths* text and above Colophons 1 and 2, indicates that he is presenting here his own license; that is, how he received the text as well as his right to teach and transmit it. Colophon 3 also shows that since al-Birzālī was the reader in the third teaching session, he must have already copied the text from Ibn 'Asākir's original manuscript, including Colophons 1 and 2,²¹ and brought his copy to the teaching session, which was supervised by Ibn 'Asākir's nephew, al-Ḥasan. In other words, he must have made arrangements to copy the *Forty Hadiths* himself and then requested a private session to study it with al-Ḥasan in order to receive the license.

²⁰ Obviously, it was a matter of prestige that one of Ibn 'Asākir's students would register the names of those in attendance. As happens in major modern universities, it is the humble graduate assistant who takes attendance and not the lofty professor.

²¹ There is no way that al-Birzālī could have known about the first and second reading sessions without access to the original manuscript, which would have included Colophons 1 and 2. According to al-Dhahabī, al-Birzālī reported that he was born in Seville around 1181: *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 46:307.

That this was a privately held meeting is further confirmed by the fact that there were only three people in attendance at the third teaching session. Furthermore, Colophon 3 attests that Ibn ‘Asākir’s original manuscript must have passed to the possession of his nephew al-Ḥasan; one can postulate that it first passed from Ibn ‘Asākir to his son al-Qāsim and then to his nephew al-Ḥasan, all of whom occupied the chair of Hadith at Nūr al-Dīn’s prestigious House of Hadith.

Colophon 4

A fourth teaching session was held on Friday 9 Rabī‘ I 624/26 February 1227 at the Khātūniya School of Hadith.²² As in the third teaching session, the *Forty Hadiths* was read out by al-Birzālī, who also inscribed Colophon 4. This indicates that Ibrāhīm al-Khushū‘ī, who had attended the second teaching session with Ibn ‘Asākir, was present in order to teach and confer the license on those in attendance so that they could transmit the text to others. Al-Khushū‘ī brought along a grandson. Al-Birzālī also names three scholars who were present, among them Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Maḥmūdī, known as Ibn al-Ṣābūnī (1207–1281), who became chair of Hadith at Nūr al-Dīn’s House of Hadith.²³ Present as well was al-Birzālī’s son, Yūsuf, who was then five years old.²⁴

Colophon 5

A fifth teaching session was held on Friday 22 Rabī‘ I 624/12 March 1227 at the Umayyad Mosque; that is, two weeks after the fourth session. The text was read out by al-Birzālī, using his own copy, in the presence of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anṣārī, who had attended the second teaching session with Ibn ‘Asākir and wrote Colophon 2; here, too, al-Anṣārī’s presence was important for the teaching of the text and conferring of the license to transmit it, especially since he was one of Ibn ‘Asākir’s closest students. In attendance at this fifth session were six people, including al-Birzālī’s five-year old son, Yūsuf, and two of al-Anṣārī’s grandsons—Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 1284), who went on to become a renowned

²² The Khātūniya School was built in 1175 by Nūr al-Dīn’s widow al-Khātūn ‘Iṣmat al-Dīn, and is located inside old Damascus; it should be distinguished from another Khātūniya School outside the city: see al-Shihābī, *Muṣjam Dimashq al-tārīkhī*, 2:180–181.

²³ On Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 50:368–369.

²⁴ Yūsuf, al-Birzālī’s son, became a Hadith scholar and imam of Fulūs mosque in Damascus. He died in 1245 at the age of 23, leaving a son named Muḥammad (d. 1300) who also became a Hadith scholar: see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, 23:57.

judge;²⁵ and 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad (d. 1275), who became a Hadith scholar.²⁶ Also in attendance was Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, who wrote the colophon.

Colophon 6

A sixth teaching session was held on Tuesday 26 Rabī' I 624/16 March 1227 at the *Zāwiya* (corner hall) of Naṣr al-Maqdisī, in the western corner of the Umayyad Mosque compound.²⁷ Here, too, the reader was al-Birzālī. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī, Ibn 'Asākir's student who had attended the second teaching session 53 years earlier (in 1174) was also present for the teaching session and the conferring of the license to transmit the text. Three more individuals were in the audience, including al-Birzālī's son Yūsuf, and Ibn al-Ṣābūnī. The scribe is not named in this colophon, but the handwriting is exactly the same as in Colophon 5, which indicates that Colophon 6 was also inscribed by Ibn al-Ṣābūnī.

Colophon 7

A seventh major teaching session was held at the Umayyad Mosque on Friday 13 Ṣafar 626/12 January 1229. Al-Birzālī read out the text in the presence of Abū Bakr al-Anṣārī, who had attended the second teaching session and inscribed Colophon 2; he also had supervised the fifth teaching session. In attendance were 47 individuals, among them al-Birzālī's son Yūsuf (now 7 years old) and brother-in-law, and a number of notable jurists and Hadith scholars, most of whom brought along their sons and slaves. The colophon was inscribed on al-Birzālī's manuscript by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qurashī (d. 1264), a great-grandson of Ibn 'Asākir's maternal cousin, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī, who was a notable chief judge in Damascus.²⁸

One interesting observation about this teaching session is the presence of two great-grandsons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣābir al-Sulamī, who had taught al-Sulamī's *Book of Jihad* at the Umayyad Mosque in 1113, which their grandfather 'Abd Allāh had attended as well.²⁹ That the great-grandsons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī were eager to learn about the topic of jihad from Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* rather than from their own

²⁵ On Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 51:157–158.

²⁶ On 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 50:154–155.

²⁷ On the *Zāwiya* of Naṣr al-Maqdisī, see Chapter Five, footnote 3.

²⁸ On Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 49:142.

²⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 43–44.

great-grandfather's transmission of al-Sulamī's *Book of Jihad* is indicative of the popularity of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* vis-à-vis similar works in thirteenth-century Damascus. This also suggests that by the thirteenth century al-Sulamī's *Book of Jihad* was either unknown or out of circulation among the circles of religious education in Damascus.

Colophon 8

An eighth major teaching session was held over two meetings at the Umayyad Mosque; only the date of the second meeting (8 Jumādā I 626/4 April 1229) is noted in the colophon. The first meeting covered the first half of the text (beginning–hadith 20), and the second covered the rest (hadiths 21–40). The text was read out by the 60-year-old Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Nushbī (d. 1258)³⁰ in the presence of two scholars who had been present at previous teaching sessions at which Ibn 'Asākir was present: Ibn 'Asākir's nephew, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad had attended the first teaching session and had taught the text and conferred the license during the third teaching session; Ibrāhīm al-Khushū'ī had attended the second teaching session and had taught the text and conferred the license during the fourth teaching session. They were joined for the second meeting of this eighth teaching session by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī, who had attended the second teaching session with Ibn 'Asākir and had taught the text and conferred the license during the sixth teaching session. Obviously, there was no pedagogical requirement to have three teachers preside over this eighth teaching session and confer the license to transmit the text. What their presence suggests is that since Ibn 'Asākir was recognized as the most celebrated Hadith scholar that Damascus had produced, reputable scholars were eager to partake in the teaching of his works. More importantly, it attests that Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* was very popular in Damascene scholarly circles—and jihad preaching in general—and that to teach his book was considered as fulfilling a notable religious duty. In other words, the scholars who taught it were convinced that they were waging jihad, albeit the jihad of the pen.³¹

The audience of the first meeting included twenty individuals who were joined by nine more individuals for the second meeting. The colophon was inscribed by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qurashī, the same person who inscribed Colophon 7.

³⁰ On Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nushbī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 48:277–278.

³¹ For the jihad of the pen, see Chapter Four, pp. 53–54, and Chapter Five, p. 73.

Since Colophon 8 does not feature al-Birzālī's name, he did not attend either meeting of the eighth teaching session; likely he was away from Damascus.³² However, since Colophon 8 is inscribed on his own manuscript, it is evident that someone had borrowed it from him so that it could be read out to and copied by the students in the audience. The person who borrowed it was possibly al-Nushbī, who read out the text in the two meetings; even more likely it may have been Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī, who inscribed both Colophons 7 and 8. Given that al-Birzālī entrusted al-Qurashī to write down Colophon 7, it is very plausible that he instructed him to take the manuscript to the Umayyad mosque so that a teaching session in the presence of three notable students of Ibn 'Asākir (Ibn 'Asākir's nephew al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad and students Ibrāhīm al-Khushū'ī and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī) could be held; after all, al-Birzālī's office was just outside the Umayyad Mosque. In addition, al-Birzālī was well aware that such events and colophons would magnify the value and uniqueness of his manuscript.

Colophon 9

A ninth major teaching session was held at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith on Sunday 2 Rabī' II 627/17 February 1230. The text was read out in the presence of Ibn 'Asākir's grand-nephew, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, who had attended the second teaching session with Ibn 'Asākir when he was four years old. In the audience were 33 individuals, among them al-Birzālī himself and his son, Yūsuf (now 8 years old). There were also a number of distinguished scholars, among them Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nushbī, who was the reader during the eighth teaching session, and Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, who had attended the seventh teaching session. That several prominent scholars should be in the audience is explained by the fact that the reader was Khālid ibn Yūsuf al-Nābulusī (d. 1265), who at the time occupied the very prestigious chair of Hadith at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith,³³ though he had not yet received a license to transmit the text. The colophon was inscribed by Muḥammad ibn Abū Ja'far ibn 'Alī al-Faraḍī (d. 1243),³⁴ who brought along his son Muḥammad, then two years old. Also present was a five year old girl named Hadiya,³⁵ who was brought by her father

³² It is also possible that he was unable to attend because he had taken ill or was otherwise incapacitated.

³³ On Khālid al-Nābulusī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, 49:145–147.

³⁴ On Muḥammad al-Faraḍī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, 47:202–203.

³⁵ Hadiya (d. 1285) became a Hadith scholar in her own right, and among her students

Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī, who inscribed Colophons 7 and 8. Here, too, Colophon 9 shows that the manuscript was still in al-Birzālī's possession, and that he was indeed eager to add to the value and uniqueness of his manuscript by adding colophons to his manuscript of the *Forty Hadiths* that featured recognized scholars as well as repeated teaching sessions of the text.

Colophon 10

A tenth teaching session was held on Friday 21 Shawwāl 633/27 June 1236 at the Kallāsa School, which was adjacent to the western side of the Umayyad Mosque compound.³⁶ The text was read out by al-Birzālī in the presence of Ibrāhīm al-Khushū'ī, who had also taught the text and conferred the license at the fourth and eighth teaching sessions; al-Khushū'ī, as noted earlier, received his own license directly from Ibn 'Asākir during the second teaching session. The colophon was inscribed by Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Badr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Nābulusī, who had also attended the ninth teaching session. Yūsuf al-Nābulusī writes that he copied the colophon into al-Birzālī's manuscript from his own copy, and that he only included the names of eight individuals who attended this tenth teaching session; he also remarks that he left out many more for the sake of brevity. In this respect, Colophon 10 confirms that the manuscript was still in al-Birzālī's possession and that another copy of the *Forty Hadiths* existed, namely Yūsuf al-Nābulusī's own copy.

Ownership Note 1

On the title page of the manuscript, above the title, there is an ownership note attesting that al-Birzālī's manuscript passed to the possession of Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar ibn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sallār (d. 1316), who was a well-reputed scholar and poet. Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sallār does not specify how he acquired the manuscript. We do know, however, that al-Birzālī's great-grandson al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (d. 1339) was among Ibn al-Sallār's students.³⁷ So it is possible that Ibn al-Sallār acquired it from al-Qāsim or al-Qāsim's father.

were al-Birzālī's great-grandson al-Qāsim (on him see footnote 37 below) and the famous Hadith scholar of Damascus, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī (d. 1341): see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 51:207.

³⁶ On the Kallāsa School of Hadith, built during the reign of Nūr al-Dīn in 1160, see al-Shihābī, *Mu'jam Dimashq al-tārikhī*, 2:206.

³⁷ As noted above, al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad became a prolific author in his own right and occupied the chair of Hadith at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith, the school and chair

Colophon 11

An eleventh colophon is inscribed on the title page of the manuscript. It attests to an eleventh teaching session held on Wednesday 8 Rabī' I 718/10 May 1318 in the house of 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Muḥibb (d. 1336),³⁸ who read it out in the presence of al-Qāsim ibn Muẓaffar ibn Maḥmūd (1231–1323), a great-grandson of Ibn 'Asākir's brother Muḥammad.³⁹ In the audience at this eleventh teaching session was Ibn al-Muḥibb's son Muḥammad (1313–1387),⁴⁰ who went on to become a celebrated jurist and scholar of Hadith. Muḥammad Ibn al-Muḥibb, who inscribed this colophon, indicated that there were many others present at this teaching session as well.

The colophon also states that al-Qāsim had studied the *Forty Hadiths* with 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī, the student of his great-uncle who had been present at the second teaching session, and who had also been involved in the teaching and transmission of the text (teaching sessions six and eight). At first, one might ask why al-Qāsim, a notable member of the 'Asākir family, did not possess a license to transmit the text from one of his relatives. The answer to this question is simple. The precise chain of transmission provided in this colophon is the shortest confirmed link to Ibn 'Asākir: between al-Qāsim (d. 1323) and his great-uncle Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1176) there is only one individual, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī. In Hadith transmission, the shortest confirmed link is the most prominent, especially if it also features a prominent scholar. For all practical purposes, al-Qāsim must have had other licenses from his father or grandfather, but those would have provided longer links. The colophon therefore attests that al-Qāsim had studied the text with 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī at a location and time unknown to us, and thus that he must have possessed a copy of the text.

Consequently, we can posit that the *Forty Hadiths* was taught and preached in Damascus at occasions and locations other than what we know from the colophons of the only extant manuscript and that 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṣāliḥī was much more involved in the teaching and transmission of the *Forty Hadiths* than the three sessions attested to in the colophons on this unique

that Nūr al-Dīn had endowed for Ibn 'Asākir. On al-Qāsim al-Birzālī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, 53:359–361. On Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sallār, see al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, 30 vols., several editors (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1962–2004), 10:239–240; and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna fī a'yān al-mā'a al-thāmīna*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1993), 1:451–452.

³⁸ On 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muḥibb, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, 53:326–327.

³⁹ On al-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, 53:207–208.

⁴⁰ On Muḥammad Ibn al-Muḥibb, see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna*, 3:465.

manuscript. The eleventh colophon also testifies to the continued interest in Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* and its relevance and usefulness to the religious circles in Damascus nearly three decades after the last Frankish outpost in Syria had been removed in 1291. Even after their conversion to Islam in 1295, the Mongol Il-Khans were the Mamluks' primary foe in Syria and would remain so for another fifteen years. Hence it is noteworthy that this teaching session was held two years prior to the formal establishment of peace between the Mamluks and Il-Khans in 1320.

That this eleventh colophon is inscribed on the title page also indicates that the ownership of this manuscript of the *Forty Hadiths* passed after the death of Ibn al-Sallār in 1316 to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muḥibb, who soon after arranged and hosted a teaching session in his own house in 1318 with al-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir so that he, and his son, could receive the license to transmit the text. In due course, ownership of the manuscript passed to his son, Muḥammad Ibn al-Muḥibb.

Ownership Note 2

A second ownership note on the title page is inscribed directly beneath Colophon 11. It attests that the manuscript came to the possession of a cleric named 'Alī al-Mawṣilī, who possibly lived in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Copying Note

Finally, there is a note at the end of the manuscript, below Colophon 10, inscribed by Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Māliḥ, who identifies himself as a scribe at the Public Library in Damascus, a reference to the Zāhiriya Library that was initially built as a school for religious sciences in 1279 by order of the Mamluk sultan al-Zāhir Baybars and later transformed into a library.⁴¹ Al-Māliḥ writes that he transcribed this manuscript in 1911, which means that a copy of the *Forty Hadiths* was made in 1911, but that it has either been lost, is in a private library, or is possibly mis-catalogued in a public library. This copying note together with ownership note 2 show that this unique manuscript of the *Forty Hadiths* was bequeathed by the cleric al-Mawṣilī to the Zāhiriya Library, possibly some time in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

⁴¹ On al-Zāhiriya, see al-Shihābī, *Muḥjam Dimashq al-tārīkhī*, 1:194–195.

2. WHAT DO THE COLOPHONS TELL US ABOUT SUNNI JIHAD PROPAGANDA IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY DAMASCUS?

The colophons and ownership notes on the only surviving manuscript of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* reveal that the work received tremendous attention from the Damascene Sunni scholarly community, especially during the Crusader period. That so many Hadith scholars and jurists were eager to study it and receive the license to teach it demonstrates that it must have significantly contributed to and shaped their understanding of jihad as a religious duty as well as to their understanding of how they should motivate the masses to fulfill this essential duty. In addition, many prominent centers of religious learning, especially Hadith scholarship, were venues for the dissemination of the *Forty Hadiths* and its vision of jihad. Since we are dealing with two categories of learned men (Hadith scholars and jurists) who had traditionally presented themselves as the guardians of the proper Muslim way of life as established by Muhammad, it is also the case that Ibn 'Asākir's work set the example for them not only of how the Prophet of Islam taught about jihad, but also how he would have reacted to an onslaught against Muslims and Islamic territory such as they witnessed in their own day. In this way, the *Forty Hadiths* is an excellent window onto Muslim religious propaganda and activism in the Crusader period. It is a document that represented for Muslim religious scholars the model that had been established by Muhammad and which should be followed and emulated. They may not have hurried to join the ranks and fight the Crusaders themselves, but Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* must have stimulated and incited their preaching of jihad and the way that they presented it as a binding duty on the local Sunni population in Damascus and Syria at large.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that the colophons and dates of teaching sessions 3 and 4–9 of the *Forty Hadiths*, held in 1221 and 1227–1230 at different important locations in Damascus, coincide with the Fifth Crusade and the Crusade of Frederick II, respectively.⁴² These teaching sessions demonstrate that Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* was not taught simply for the purpose of scholarly curiosity; rather, it was instrumental for the preaching of jihad as a direct response to renewed Crusader challenges well into the Ayyubid period when the local Sunni political and religious establishments were eager to rally the Damascene Sunni population time and again to fight new

⁴² For an overview of the Fifth Crusade and the Crusade of Frederick II, see Madden, *New Concise History of the Crusades*, 155–164; and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 145–151.

waves of Crusaders. Moreover, those who occupied the chair of Hadith at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith took a very active role in the dissemination of jihad ideology, especially with respect to the teaching of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*; consequently, one can see the direct link between the position and jihad propaganda in Damascus.

Teaching sessions 4–6, held in February and March 1227, are especially instructive since Frederick's army did not arrive until October 1227 (Frederick himself did not arrive at the port of Acre until September 1228). One could surmise that since these teaching sessions *preceded* the Crusade of Frederick II, they could not be a response to it. But this is not the case; the Damascenes were very well aware of the pending arrival of the Crusade of Frederick II, and, more importantly, they knew about it from Frederick himself. For well before he even left Europe, the emperor had sent an envoy to al-Mu'azzam (d. 1227) to learn what the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus might offer should he change his plans and not attack Damascus. Al-Mu'azzam contemptuously dismissed Frederick's overture, and informed the emperor's envoy: "Tell your master I am not like the rest; the only thing I have for him is the sword."⁴³

One might assume that al-Mu'azzam could count on the help of his brother, al-Kāmil (d. 1238), the Ayyubid sultan in Egypt. But such fraternal assistance was not in the cards, since it was al-Kāmil who had sent an envoy to Frederick in 1226 with the offer to cede Jerusalem to him in exchange for his attacking al-Mu'azzam instead of Egypt. Essentially, when Frederick sent his ambassador to al-Mu'azzam in 1227, it was to ascertain whether he could get a better deal than the one offered by al-Kāmil. Since all of these developments occurred while Frederick was still in Europe, what we are dealing with here is a complex interconnected political reality: a power struggle among the Ayyubid princes in Egypt and Syria, and its subsequent impact on the Ayyubids' relationship with the Crusaders and by extension on jihad propaganda in Syria.⁴⁴

However, al-Mu'azzam's contemptuous reply to the envoy of Frederick II may have been nothing more than posturing. One very important contemporary source records a backroom deal not reported in other Muslim chronicles. According to al-Mu'azzam's close advisor and chief jihad propagandist, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1257), before al-Kāmil and Frederick negotiated the

⁴³ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mūr'āt al-zamān*, 8:643; and al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 45:23–24.

⁴⁴ On the negotiation between Frederick II, al-Kāmil, and al-Mu'azzam, see Madden, *New Concise History of the Crusades*, 157–158.

terms of the surrender of Jerusalem, "al-Mu'azzam concluded a treaty with the emperor giving the latter the area between the Jordan River and the sea, and the villages between Jerusalem and Jaffa."⁴⁵ In other words, if Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's report is accurate, al-Kāmil may have agreed to unfavorable terms precisely because al-Mu'azzam had previously made a treaty with Frederick.

It goes without saying that the relationship among the Ayyubid agnates was quite dismal. Indeed, Saladin's Ayyubid confederation had started to crumble as soon as he died and his sons and generals split the empire among themselves. The Ayyubid center of gravity was in Cairo where the sultan resided; the major cities of Syria and Mesopotamia (*al-Jazīra*) were divided among various Ayyubid and Seljuk princes.⁴⁶ At the time of the Fifth Crusade and the Crusade of Frederick II, which overlap with teaching sessions 3 and 4–9, the two brothers were locked in a bitter contest for control of the Ayyubid confederation: al-Mu'azzam planned to seize the office of sultan for himself, and al-Kāmil, certain of these plans, worked to undermine his brother's position.⁴⁷

Al-Mu'azzam worried as much about his brother's designs as he feared the looming threat of Frederick. And the Sunni religious establishment in Damascus had long been ready to lend him a hand with jihad propaganda. For instance, when he was besieging the southern coastal city of Caesarea during the Fifth Crusade in 1219, al-Mu'azzam sent a letter to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī commanding the celebrated Ḥanafī jurist to rally the Damascene Sunnis to jihad (*tahrīd al-nās 'alā al-jihād*). Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī indeed read the letter in the Umayyad Mosque and followed it with a fiery jihad sermon, but his efforts failed to generate the anticipated result.⁴⁸ Teaching sessions 3 and 4–6, therefore, can be viewed not only as part of al-Mu'azzam's city wide campaign to preach jihad in the context of the Fifth Crusade and the Crusade of Frederick II, but also to rally the Damascenes against his brother al-Kāmil.

Since al-Mu'azzam took ill with dysentery and died suddenly in November 1227, teaching sessions 7–8 reflect the continuing efforts of his successor:

⁴⁵ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, 8:654. Even though al-Kāmil was the sultan of the Ayyubid dynasty, Palestine was under the jurisdiction of al-Mu'azzam.

⁴⁶ For a detailed study of the Ayyubid period in Syria, see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*.

⁴⁷ Since al-Mu'azzam took ill with dysentery and died suddenly in November 1227, teaching sessions 7–9 reflect the continuing efforts of his successors. On the relationship between al-Kāmil and his brother al-Mu'azzam, see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, 155–192.

⁴⁸ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, 8:604; and al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 44:31. See also Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, 165.

his son al-Nāṣir Dāwūd (d. 1258). This also explains why so many notable religious scholars in Damascus were eager to preside over or attend these teaching sessions of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, the most notable of which is teaching session 8 attended by twenty-nine individuals over the course of two meetings in April 1229, one month after al-Kāmil had allowed Frederick II to enter Jerusalem.⁴⁹ Since both sessions were held in the spacious Umayyad Mosque, one should add to the twenty-nine individuals named in colophon 8 many lower-status Damascenes, temporary residents, visitors from neighboring towns and cities, etc., who were present to hear the preaching of jihad from the famous *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad* that had been authored by Damascus' most noteworthy Hadith scholar—Ibn 'Asākir. The scholars and others who attended the seven teaching sessions held in response to the Fifth Crusade and the Crusade of Frederick II clearly wanted to be seen in a favorable light by the Ayyubid rulers of Damascus, who rallied the scholarly community to preach jihad in the hope of stimulating the masses to take up the banner of jihad.

But there is more to teachings sessions 7–8 than mere anger in reaction to al-Kāmil's handing over Jerusalem to Frederick. For these sessions coincide with a period when al-Nāṣir Dāwūd was desperately fighting for his political survival in Damascus. Al-Kāmil and his other brother al-Ashraf had concluded an agreement to swap territories: al-Kāmil would get al-Jazīra from al-Ashraf in return for helping his sibling get Damascus from their nephew al-Nāṣir Dāwūd. Seeing that his estate would be reduced to utter insignificance, al-Nāṣir Dāwūd readied himself for a fight. It is no surprise then to see that he was eager to rally the Damascene Sunni religious scholars and populace against his uncles. In addition to the preaching of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī relates that al-Nāṣir Dāwūd ordered him to preach on the merits (*faḍā'il*) of Jerusalem.

Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd instructed me that I should sit in the Mosque of Damascus and deliver a sermon on what befell Jerusalem. I could not reject his order, knowing that since good faith requires defending Islam I had to honor his request. I sat in the Mosque of Damascus and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd came and sat by the door of 'Alī's mausoleum. It was a momentous day; not a single Damascene failed to attend.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ On the Treaty of Jaffa and Frederick II's brief sojourn in the Holy Land and Jerusalem, see: Madden, *New Concise History of the Crusades*, 159–164; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, 145–151; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, 202–204; and Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 216–222.

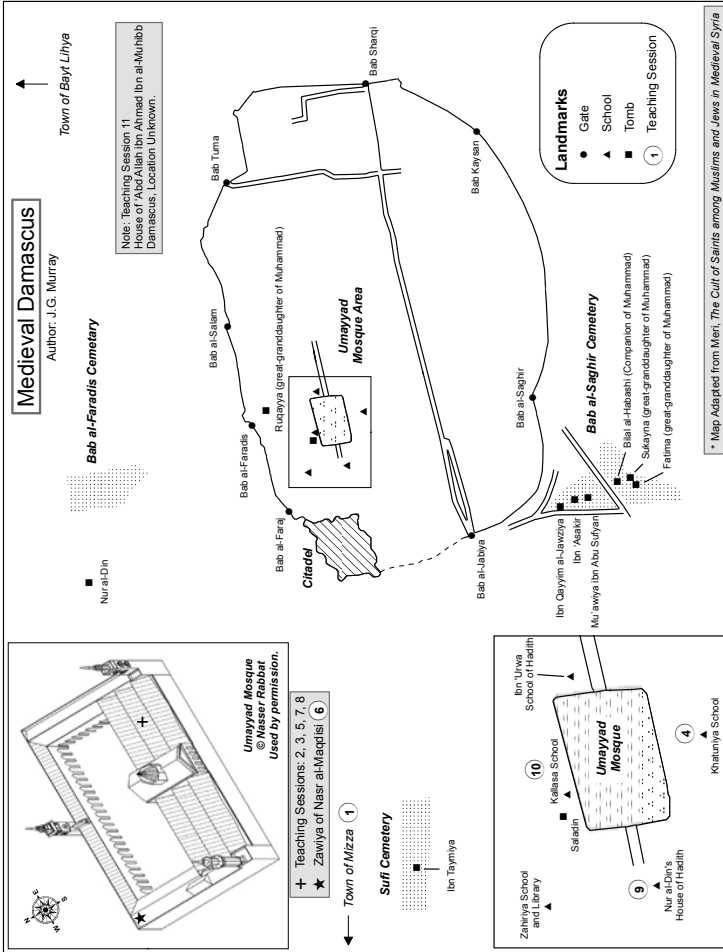
⁵⁰ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, 8:654.

Obviously, al-Nāṣir Dāwūd was not simply interested in the religious merits of Jerusalem (a minor field of religious scholarship),⁵¹ or for that matter merely to rally the Muslims to liberate the holy city. Rather, his presence at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus as Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī preached on the merits of Jerusalem was a clear attempt to showcase for the Damascene Sunni religious establishment his uncle al-Kāmil's perfidious actions toward Islam and the Muslims in handing over Jerusalem to Frederick. In part, because the liberation of Jerusalem had been the center-piece of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin's jihad against the Crusaders, this cunning move by al-Nāṣir Dāwūd was met with an emotional and tearful reception in Damascus. But unfortunately for al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, he did not have the financial or military means to resist his uncles' machinations. Having left his treasury in the care of his uncle al-Ashraf, he was forced to capitulate in June 1229, and settle for an appointment as emir of Karak (in Transjordan) and its area.⁵² Teaching session 9 was held at Nūr al-Dīn's House of Hadith in February 1230 after al-Ashraf had consolidated his control over Damascus.

As this analysis shows, teaching sessions 7 and 8 were directly related to the bitter internecine intrigues among the Ayyubid rulers and less so with immanent Crusader threats. The preaching of jihad in Damascus was now conducted as a tool in intra-Muslim (intra-Sunni) and intra-family rivalry.

⁵¹ On the *Faḍā'il* of Jerusalem, see Mourad, "Symbolism of Jerusalem."

⁵² Later in his career, al-Nāṣir Dāwūd had a momentous accomplishment when he conquered Jerusalem in December 1239. On him, see Joseph Drory, "Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd: A Much Frustrated Ayyūbid Prince," *Al-Masāq* 15:2 (2003): 161–187.



Map 3. Medieval Damascus and the Umayyad Mosque compound with study session locations indicated



Fig. 1. The courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque
(© Lara G. Tohme; used by permission).



Fig. 2. The prayer hall of the Umayyad Mosque and Tomb of St. John the Baptist (© Lara G. Tohme; used by permission).

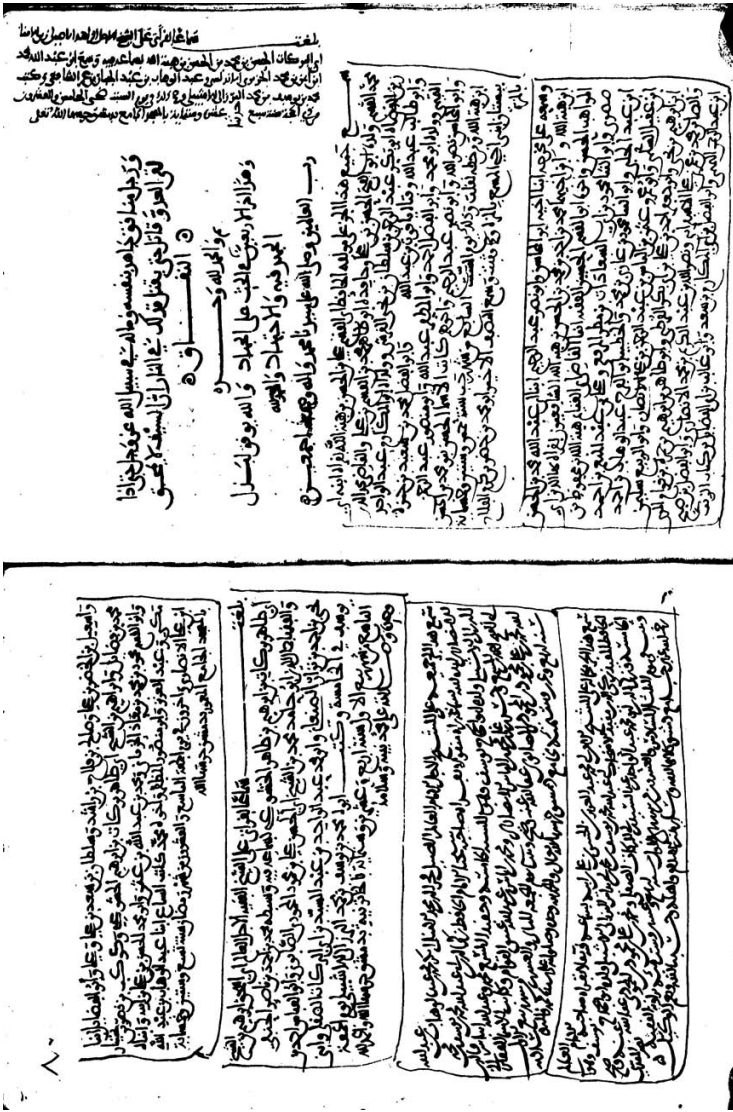


Fig. 4. The last folio of the text showing some of the colophons (Zāhiriya Ms., Damascus; used with permission from Juma al-Majid Center for Culture and Heritage, Dubai).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LEGACY OF THE INTENSIFICATION AND REORIENTATION OF SUNNI JIHAD IDEOLOGY SINCE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

As noted in the preceding chapters, Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* and other works of the period such as al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad*, al-Wāsiṭī’s *Forty Hadiths on Jihad and Jihad Fighters*, and al-Ḥanafi’s poetry demonstrate that an intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology had taken root in mainstream Sunni religious discourse in response to the Christian conquests in Spain, Sicily, and Syria as well as in reaction to the so-called Shi‘i century. Since these and other Sunni scholars in Syria believed that the Christian attacks of the tenth and eleventh centuries were only successful because of the *internal* political divisions and religious weaknesses in the Muslim lands, they advocated jihad against the enemies within who were responsible for this deplorable state that had enabled the Christian successes. In this respect, Ibn ‘Asākir and his contemporaries departed from the earlier mainstream Sunni discourse on jihad, which discouraged its use against fellow Muslims and which was more focused on legal nuances than on simple imitation of selected quranic verses and prophetic hadith.

Al-Sulamī argued that *spiritual* purity—rooted in sound religious beliefs and practices—was an essential prerequisite for any hope of success in the jihad of the battlefield. Later Sunni jihad propagandists, partly on their own initiative but also with the backing of the political leadership, cemented this intensification and reorientation by expanding the ideology of jihad to include direct and indirect attacks against other Muslim groups, especially Shi‘is. Their powerful jihad preaching incorporated the more restrictive religious view that a proper Sunnism must reign supreme in the lands of Islam in order to defeat the Christian invaders—whether Christian princes in Spain, Normans in Sicily, or Crusaders in Syria. Therefore, any Muslim sects that fell outside the boundaries of this proper Sunnism (Twelver Shi‘is, Fatimids, Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs, Nuṣayrīs, Druzes, etc.) were considered enemies within and had to be fought under the same righteous banner of jihad that was to be conducted against the enemies without—the Christian invaders. (As noted in Chapter Four, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ of Morocco was eager to define fellow Sunni Muslims as enemies within as well, but it is unclear that he was motivated by anything other than mere opportunism.)

The political and religious circumstances of the cities and regions in which these scholars lived certainly shaped their religious and ideological convictions. At the same time, the rulers of Damascus, Aleppo, North Africa, Spain, and elsewhere were equally culpable in this intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology for it is they who commissioned the production and dissemination of much of this militant Sunni jihad propaganda for their own political benefit. Yet, describing the peculiar historical circumstances which spawned this material only takes us so far. While it certainly helps us better understand the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology during the Crusader period, it does not explain how or why this ideology *remained* normative in Sunni religious discourse long after the last Crusader outpost in Syria fell in 1291.

It is our contention that the operative issue here is the emerging Sunni consensus that religious renewal and reform were necessary to turn the tide of Christian military success as well as to overcome the prior domination of the Shi'i century. As noted above, since Sunnism was built upon the foundation of the frequent quranic admonition to ﴿obey God and His Messenger﴾ (Qur'an 8:20, 45–46; 9:71),¹ it was only logical for some Sunni scholars to blame their current misfortunes on the Muslims' failure to heed God's commands and the example of His Messenger. Consequently, as religious scholars turned to the Qur'an and the life of Muhammad for guidance on how to respond effectively to the crisis created by the successes of the Reconquista and Crusader invasion of Muslim lands, they consistently gravitated to the militant quranic passages from the Medinan phase of Muhammad's career and hadiths that advocated jihad and warfare against unbelievers. As this material was preached to receptive audiences in Syria and elsewhere, many were convinced that their own salvation depended on their embracing Islam's militant message as communicated in God's word (Qur'an) and Muhammad's example (Sunna, or Hadith), especially as the exemplar of jihad and warfare against the enemies of right religion. These factors contributed to the intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology as normative and its persistence in Sunni religious discourse even though some Sunnis may not have favored it.

The Crusades and Reconquista contributed to a shift within mainstream Sunni Islam that also impacted on perceptions of Islamic identity. As Sunni religious scholars became less cautious and more assertive—even aggressive—in declaring who was a proper Muslim and who was not, the duty of

¹ On this common quranic phrase, see Chapter Four, note 30.

waging jihad against clearly defined enemies within and without gained an enduring legitimacy. In other words, an intensified jihad rhetoric became normative in Sunni religious thought, and to some extent became the *sine qua non* of the Islamic persona. That is, as the duty to wage jihad against God's enemies, however defined, became an essential component in mainstream Sunni discourse, it was easily invoked in any circumstance that could be depicted as approximating—however tendentially—to the types of challenges that Muhammad faced in Medina, that the early community faced during the Rashidun period, or that the Muslims faced during the Crusades and Reconquista.

The defeat of the last Crusader outpost by al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil's forces in 1291 did not mark the end of perceived or real external threats to Sunnism. The Muslim rulers of Syria and Egypt had to factor potential Crusader attacks into their foreign policy calculations down to the Mamluk conquest of Cyprus in 1426;² the Byzantine frontier still inflamed the jihadists' imagination as it had since the seventh century; but the infidel Mongol Il-Khans to the east posed the most formidable military threat. Even after their conversion to Islam in 1295, the Mongol Il-Khans were the Mamluks' primary foe in Syria and would remain so until the formal establishment of peace between the Mamluks and Il-Khans in 1320.³ In addition, the internal threat to Sunni supremacy posed by various Shi'i sects continued to be a very real concern, especially for many Sunni religious scholars.

² The physical and intellectual threat of the Crusades is exhibited in the exchange between Ibn Taymiyya and the anonymous writer from Cyprus in 1310s: see David Thomas, "Apologetic and Polemic in the *Letter from Cyprus* and Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*," in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times*, eds. Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 247–265; and idem, "Christian-Muslim Misunderstanding in the Fourteenth Century: The Correspondence between Christians in Cyprus and Muslims in Damascus," in *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era*, eds. Mahmoud Haddad, Arnim Heinemann, John L. Meloy, and Souad Slim (Beirut: Orient Institut, 2010), 13–30. On the Frankish threat to Syria and Egypt after the expulsion of the Crusaders in 1291, see Peter Edbury, "The Latin East, 1291–1669," in *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, 294–325; see also the survey in Norman Housley, "The Crusading Movement, 1274–1700," in *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, 260–293. On the Crusader sack of Alexandria in 1365, see Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Masīra, 1979), 6: 208.

³ R. Stephen Humphreys, "Ayyūbids, Mamlūks, and the Latin East in the Thirteenth Century," *Mamlūk Studies Review*, 3 (1998), 1–17. See also Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks*.

1. IBN TAYMĪYA

The prominent Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian Ibn Taymīya (1263–1328) was once asked his opinion about the legality of confiscating Christian churches in Cairo and elsewhere. In his response, which is preserved in his *Kitāb al-jihād* (Book of Jihad; part of the massive collection of his legal opinions), Ibn Taymīya digressed into a vituperative discussion of various Shi‘ī sects in which he declared that Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs (also known then as Assassins),⁴ Nuṣayrīs (also known as ‘Alawīs), and Druzes

are not Muslims [*khārījīn ‘an shar‘at al-islām*] in the judgment of all the sects of Islam, that is in the opinion of the scholars, rulers and public of the Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs, Shāfi‘īs, Ḥanbalīs, and others. Fighting them is therefore lawful [*qitālahum kāna jā‘izan*]. [The scholars] even specified that their genealogy is false and that their ancestor was ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāh,⁵ who was not from the lineage of the Messenger of God. The scholars also wrote about them many a compilation, such as the testimonies of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qudūrī, the imam of the Ḥanafīs,⁶ Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī, the imam of the Shāfi‘īs;⁷ judge Abū Ya‘lā, the imam of the Ḥanbalīs;⁸ and Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Zayd, the imam of the Mālikīs.⁹ Judge Abū Bakr ibn

⁴ Ibn Taymīya’s terminology is normative of that time. He uses the term *Ismā‘īlī* to mean the Nizārīs, famously known at that time as *al-Hashshāshūn*, from which the European term Assassin is derived.

⁵ Famous as al-Mahdī bi’llāh (r. 909–934), he was the founder and first caliph of the Fatimid dynasty in North Africa (d. 934). The Ismā‘īlīs believe his genealogy goes back to the prophet Muhammad: see Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 126–128 and 507 (genealogy); Heinz Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdī: The Rise of the Fatimids*, trans. Michael Bonner (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 141–159; and Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 17–39. See also al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Un‘mān ibn Muḥammad, *Iftitāh al-da‘wa wa-ibtidā‘ al-dawla*, ed. Wadad Kadi (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1970), 231–276; and idem, *Founding the Fatimid State: The Rise of an Early Islamic Empire. An Annotated English Translation of al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān’s Iftitāh al-Da‘wa*, trans. Hamid Haji (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 202–229.

⁶ Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qudūrī (d. 1037) was a notable jurist who became during his lifetime the leader of the Ḥanafīs in Iraq, which was the most prestigious position in Ḥanafī circles: see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 29:211–213.

⁷ Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 1016) was the most notable Shāfi‘ī jurist of Baghdad, and left a great legacy especially in Iraq, Khurāsān, and Syria: see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 28:135–137.

⁸ Abū Ya‘lā Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Farrā’ (d. 1165) was a highly regarded Ḥanbalī jurist from Baghdad, who was also highly esteemed by Ḥanbalīs elsewhere: see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 38:313–314.

⁹ Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zayd (d. 999) was an extremely influential Mālikī jurist in Qayrawān (now in Tunisia) and North Africa, who was nicknamed the small Mālikī

al-Ṭayyib authored a book about the secretive Qarāmiṭīs and named it *Exposing the Secrets and Unveiling the Hidden*.¹⁰ Those of them—the Ismāʿīlīs [Nizārīs], Nuṣayrīs, Druzes, and others like them—who live in Muslim lands have aided the Mongols in their war against the Muslims. Indeed, Hülegü's vizier, al-Nuṣayr [Naṣīr al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī,¹¹ was one of their imams. Those are the most notorious enemies of Muslims and Muslim rulers.

The Rāfiḍīs [*al-Rāfiḍa*] come next, for they ally themselves with whoever fights the Sunnis.¹² They allied with the Mongols and with the Christians. Indeed, there was in the coastal areas a truce between the Rāfiḍīs and the Franks. The Rāfiḍīs would ship to Cyprus Muslim horses and armor, as well as captive soldiers of the sultan and other fighters and young warriors. When the Muslims defeat the Mongols, they mourn and are saddened, but when the Mongols defeat the Muslims, they celebrate and rejoice. They are the ones who advised the Mongols to kill the [Abbasid] caliph and massacre the people of Baghdad [1258]. Indeed, it was the Rāfiḍī vizier of Baghdad Ibn al-ʿAlqamī¹³ who, through deception and trickery, conspired against the Muslims and corresponded with the Mongols to incite them to conquer Iraq, and instructed people not to fight them.

Those knowledgeable about Islam know that the Rāfiḍīs favor the enemies of religion.¹⁴ When they [the Fatimids] were the rulers of Cairo, they had once a Jewish vizier,¹⁵ and another time an Armenian Christian vizier.¹⁶ The

(to compare him to the founder of this Sunni *madhhab*, Mālik ibn Anas) for his expertise and fame: see al-Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ al-islām*, 27:183–184.

¹⁰ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib Ibn al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013) was a celebrated jurist and theologian in Baghdad, and was nicknamed “sword of Sunnism” (*sayf al-sunna*) for the significance of the many refutations and admonitions that he authored and preached against the enemies of traditional Sunnism (i.e., several Shiʿi sects and the Muʿtazila theological school): see al-Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ al-islām*, 28:88–90.

¹¹ Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274) was a tremendously influential Shiʿi philosopher, mathematician and astronomer who became a close advisor to Hülegü and was rewarded with a generous appointment as head of the famous Marāgha observatory: see *Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1954–2003), 10:746–747; and al-Ṭūsī's own autobiography *Contemplation and Action: the Spiritual Autobiography of a Muslim Scholar*, ed. and trans. Seyyed H. Badakhchani (London: I.B. Taurus, 1998).

¹² A standard epithet to describe Shiʿis in general.

¹³ Muʿayyid al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 1259) was the Shiʿi vizier of the last Sunni ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Mustaʿṣam (r. 1242–1258) in Baghdad. For another negative Sunni assessment of Ibn al-ʿAlqamī where he is described as “the pig” (*al-khūnzīr*), see al-Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ al-islām*, 48:290–292.

¹⁴ Here he is using *al-Rāfiḍa* to refer specifically to the Fatimids.

¹⁵ This is a reference to Ibn Killis (d. 991), who was vizier under the Fatimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh (r. 975–996). A convert from Judaism, Ibn Killis had a major role in the promotion of Ismāʿīlī scholarship: see Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 176–178.

¹⁶ This must be a reference to Bahrām (d. 1140), the Armenian Christian general who, during the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (r. 1130–1149), held the powerful office of “vizier

Christians became influential as a result of that Armenian Christian, and built numerous churches in Egypt during the reign of those hypocrite Rāfiḏīs. They [the Christians] would even dare to declare in the heart of Cairo that whoever curses or blasphemes [against Islam] is rewarded with a dinar and a measure of grain. Also in their days, the Christians conquered the coastal region of Syria from the Muslims, until it was reconquered by Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin. In their days too, the Crusaders attacked Bilbis and defeated them. They are hypocrites [*munāfiqūn*], and the Christians are their advocates. God does not support the hypocrites who befriend the Christians. They petitioned Nūr al-Dīn to send them help, so he sent to them Asad al-Dīn [Shīrkūh] and his nephew Saladin. When the conquering jihad fighters [*al-ghuzāt al-mujāhidūn*] reached Egypt, the Rāfiḏīs rose with the Christians to fight the Muslim jihad-seekers, and then events unfolded, which people know, until Saladin killed their military leader Shāwar. Then Islam and Sunnism reigned supreme, and the hadiths of the Messenger of God were read again in public, such as the collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and similar ones. Also, the traditions of the four imams were reestablished, and people would bless the rightly guided caliphs. Before then, they [the Egyptians] were the most evil of people. Among them were groups who worshipped the planets and practiced astrology, and unbelievers who worshiped time and believed neither in the hereafter, heaven or hell, nor in the exigency of praying, paying alms, fasting, and making the pilgrimage. Best among them were the Rāfiḏīs, who are the worst people among those who follow the direction of prayer [*sharr al-tawāʿif al-muntasibīn ilā al-qibla*].¹⁷

When Ibn Taymīya refers to Muslims he means Sunnis—those who, in his opinion, follow the true and proper Islam.¹⁸ In the first paragraph of the above fatwa, Shiʿis such as Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, Nuṣayrīs, and Druzes earned Ibn Taymīya’s approbation for their errant beliefs and their false claims

of the sword” (1135–1137) and was honored with the title “sword of Islam” (*sayf al-islām*) even though he never converted: Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 212. It could also be a reference to the influential vizier Badr al-Jamālī (d. 1094), who was also originally Armenian but converted to Islam and served the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanshir bi’llāh (r. 1036–1094): see Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs*, 194–195. Badr al-Jamālī, who was succeeded by his son, transformed the office of vizier to become in control of all key facets of rule, thus turning the Fatimid caliphs to mere figureheads: see Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 211–212. The policies of Badr al-Jamālī and Bahrām encouraged large numbers of Armenians to immigrate to Fatimid Egypt: see Marius Canard, “Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l’époque Faṭimite,” *Annales de l’Institut d’Études Orientales* 13 (1955): 143–157; and Seta Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 106–178.

¹⁷ Ibn Taymīya, *Majmūʿ al-fatāwā*, 22 vols. (36 pts.), ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiya, 2000), 16 (pt. 28): 279–280.

¹⁸ The chapter on Ibn Taymīya and Jihad in Peters’s *Jihad* does not seriously engage Ibn Taymīya’s call for jihad against errant Muslims, nor does it specify what Ibn Taymīya means by Muslims: see Peters, *Jihad*, 43–54.

of kinship with Muhammad—both of which were part of standard Sunni anti-Shi'i polemics. However, what irked him most was their traitorous aiding of “the Mongols in their war against the Muslims,” even to the point that one of their imams, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, served as Hülegü's vizier. Ibn Taymīya unambiguously proclaims his militant sentiments against these Shi'i sects in his *Qitāl ahl al-baghī* (Fighting the People of Falsehood):

There is no doubt that waging jihad against these people and imposing on them the legal punishments are the utmost forms of obedience and fulfillment of religious obligation.¹⁹

One gets the impression, that Ibn Taymīya used his condemnation of Nizārī Ismā'īlī, Nuṣayrī, and Druze perfidy in his fatwa merely to get warmed up for the real target of his contempt—the Rāfiḍīs—because they “ally themselves with whoever fights the Sunnis,” including the Mongols and the Christians. Ibn Taymīya uses the term *al-Rāfiḍa* similarly to how Niẓām al-Mulk uses it in his *Book of Government*.²⁰ At times he uses it to refer to Shi'is in general; e.g., his condemnation of the “Rāfiḍī vizier of Baghdad Ibn al-'Alqamī who, through deception and trickery, conspired against the Muslims and corresponded with the Mongols to incite them to conquer Iraq, and instructed people not to fight them.” Other times he uses it to refer to the Shi'i Fatimid caliphs, who ruled Egypt and parts of Syria and the Hijaz from 969 until 1171.

Ibn Taymīya's criticisms of the Fatimids paint them in especially dark terms. Not only were they Rāfiḍīs, they violated Shari'a and turned the natural order of things on its head by having a Jewish and a Christian vizier in authority over Muslims, allowing the construction of churches, and even allowing Jews and Christians to defame Islam. Thankfully, in Ibn Taymīya's opinion, they petitioned Nūr al-Dīn for assistance, which ultimately led to their demise at the hands of the righteous jihad fighters, Shīrkūh and his nephew Saladin, and the restoration of proper Sunnism to Egypt. That he concludes his comments about the Rāfiḍī Fatimids by referring to them as “the most evil among those who follow the direction of prayer” seems to indicate that Ibn Taymīya did in fact tolerate the Fatimids' claim to be Muslims, but only as Muslims of the worst sort. Moreover, his reference to the Fatimids as *hypocrites* reminds us of Hadith 40 in Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty*

¹⁹ Ibn Taymīya, *Majmū' al-fatāwā*, 19 (pt. 35):77.

²⁰ See Chapter Two, pp. 29–30. For Ibn Taymīya's explicit and detailed refutation and condemnation of Twelver Shi'is see his *Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawīya fī naqd kalām al-shī'a al-qadariya* (Riyad: Jāmi'at al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd al-'Ilmiya, 1986).

Hadiths, discussed in Chapter Five, where the hypocrite has no hope of salvation even if he wages jihad against God's enemies and is killed in the process.

Ibn Taymīya concedes that Sunni Muslim jurists before him rarely justified killing or waging jihad against fellow Muslims on the basis of dogmatic or political difference; he argues simply that they were wrong not to do so.²¹ Since Ibn Taymīya was such a notable representative of mainstream Sunni Islam in his day and after, despite the condemnation that he received during his life and posthumously especially from Shāfi'ī scholars in Syria and Egypt,²² one is tempted to ask whether his passionate call to wage jihad against errant Muslims was unprecedented in Sunni scholarship or whether his argument represents a new development in jihad doctrine. As should be evident from our discussion in Chapters Three and Four, Ibn Taymīya bears no responsibility for *initiating* this development, for the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology was well under way by the time he arrived on the scene. Members of the mainstream Sunni political and religious establishment in Syria, most notably Ibn 'Asākir, had advocated the reinvigoration of jihad ideology in the wake of the First and Second Crusades (a century and a half before Ibn Taymīya embarked on his scholarly career) in order to unify the Sunni Muslims of Syria and to fight the external and internal enemies of God and Islam—the infidel Christian invaders and the heretical Shi'is, respectively.

We are not arguing that Ibn Taymīya did not contribute significantly to the intensification of Sunni jihad ideology. Rather, we emphasize that since Ibn Taymīya was born in the mid-thirteenth century, he was raised in a political and religious milieu that was already deeply saturated with a reanimated jihad doctrine and extensive jihad propaganda. During Ibn Taymīya's lifetime very few people could have had any significant personal experience of the Fatimid caliphate. After all, it had been overthrown by Saladin in 1171, nearly ninety years before Ibn Taymīya was born. Saladin's successors, the Sunni Ayyubid sultans—for whom the ideology of jihad was a principal claim to legitimacy—were deposed a decade or so prior to Ibn

²¹ Ibn Taymīya, *Majmū' al-fatāwā*, 16 (pt. 28):217.

²² On Ibn Taymīya's complicated legacy in Sunnism, see Khaled El-Rouayheb, "From Ibn Hajar al-Haytamī (d. 1566) to Khayr al-Dīn al-Ālūsī (d. 1899): Changing Views of Ibn Taymīya among non-Ḥanbalī Sunni Scholars," in *Ibn Taymīya and His Times*, eds. Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 269–318. Classical Sunni scholars who condemned Ibn Taymīya did so in reaction to his Ḥanbalī theology, especially his defence of *tahsīb* (emphatic anthropomorphism), but never his jihad advocacy.

Taymīya's birth by the even more militant Sunni Mamluk sultans whom he periodically served.

Ibn Taymīya's arguments and rhetoric echo—very aggressively to be sure—normative beliefs in his day that reflected what many among the Sunni religious establishment believed to be the true teachings of God in his revelation (the Qur'an) and those of his prophet Muhammad. Ibn Taymīya's passionate advocacy of jihad doctrine simply reinforced the long-standing view that the enemies of Islam included the Crusaders (the enemy without) in addition to Shi'is, the recently and insufficiently Islamized Mongol Il-Khans, and other errant Muslims (the enemy within). It should be noted that not only was Ibn Taymīya the premier jihad advocate of his day, his anti-Shi'i animus led him to participate in the 1305 jihad campaign of the governor of Damascus against the Shi'is of the coastal region and mountain range of modern day Lebanon.²³

Denise Aigle argues that Ibn Taymīya's fatwa is in part a response to and call for jihad against the Il-Khans in the wake of Öljeitü's conversion from Sunnism to Shi'ism in 1309, and his moves to gain control over the Hijaz where the two holiest sites of Islam (Mecca and Medina) are located. If Aigle's dating of this fatwa is correct, Ibn Taymīya's detailed diatribe against the long-since deposed Fatimids (1171) takes on additional meaning; for if Öljeitü were to succeed, it would represent a return to the unacceptable—even contemptible—status quo that had obtained under the Fatimids.²⁴

The question remains: can we make a clear connection between Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* and Ibn Taymīya's own jihad advocacy? Based on the colophons discussed on Chapter Six, it is clear that ten of the eleven teaching sessions of the Birzālī manuscript occurred prior to Ibn Taymīya's birth in 1263. Nor does his name appear on the list of attendees at the lone teaching session held during Ibn Taymīya's lifetime—the eleventh and final teaching session held on Wednesday 8 Rabī' I 1718/10 May 1318 in the house

²³ See for instance, Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh Bayrūt*, eds. Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi (Beirut: Dar al-Machreq, 1969), 27; Kamal Salibi, *Muntalak Tārīkh Lubnān* (New York: Caravan, 1979), 134–135; and Henri Laoust, "Remarques sur les expéditions de Kisrawan sous les premiers mamelouks," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 4 (1942): 101–103. See also Ibn Taymīya's letter to the Mamluk sultan al-Mālik al-Nāṣir in 1300 celebrating the victory of the campaign against the Druzes and Rāfidīs, in which Ibn Taymīya repeats sentiments against them similar to the ones discussed earlier: Ibn Taymīya, *Majmū' al-fatāwā*, 16 (pt. 28): 179–184.

²⁴ Denise Aigle, "The Mongol Invasions of *Bilād al-Shām* by Ghāzān Khān and Ibn Taymīyah's Three 'Anti-Mongol' Fatwas," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11.2 (2007): 89–120. See also Thomas Raff, *Remarks on an Anti-Mongol Fatwā by Ibn Taymīya* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muḥibb (d. 1336).²⁵ Further investigation is required to determine whether Ibn Taymīya was acquainted with any of the attendees or if he notes in any of his own writings that he in fact was aware of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths*. Nevertheless, it is our contention that the apparent lack of textual evidence for Ibn Taymīya crediting Ibn ‘Asākir with any role in his own intellectual formation with respect to jihad advocacy may in part be attributed to the long-standing Shāfi‘ī-Ḥanbalī animosities and tensions in Damascus and the fact that Ibn ‘Asākir was an ardent Shāfi‘ī and Ash‘arī;²⁶ whereas Ibn Taymīya was an ardent Ḥanbalī whose alleged anthropomorphic views put him at odds with his Ash‘arī opponents—landing him in a Damascus prison for a year in 1306.

In any case, it is safe to assume that since Ibn Taymīya was a native of Ḥarrān who spent most of his active career in Damascus, he could hardly have been unaware of Ibn ‘Asākir’s monumental *History of Damascus* or the vital role he played in the scholarly life of Damascus in the twelfth century. Indeed, Ibn Taymīya was well aware of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *History of Damascus* and other works.²⁷ He was especially fond of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* (Exposing the Slanderer’s Mendacity) for the simple reason that Ibn ‘Asākir praised in it the theological unity of early Sunnis (namely Ash‘arīs and Ḥanbalīs) against their adversaries; a unity that was shattered by the schism between the Ash‘arīs and Ḥanbalīs in Baghdad in 1077.²⁸ Moreover, Ibn Taymīya could not have been unaware of Nūr al-Dīn’s political and scholarly alliance with Ibn ‘Asākir and his important role in Nūr al-Dīn’s promotion of Islam against its external enemies, the Christian Crusaders, and his promotion of Sunnism against its internal enemies, specifically the Shi‘ī Fatimid regime in Egypt and their sympathizers in Syria—the focus of much of his vitriol in the fatwa cited above.

Consequently, Ibn Taymīya’s reasons for apparently ignoring Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* may parallel Ibn ‘Asākir’s reasons for ignoring al-Sulamī’s *Book of Jihad* in his own work. Whereas Ibn ‘Asākir ignored al-Sulamī because of his sense of intellectual superiority to the lowly grammarian who merely

²⁵ On ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muḥibb, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-islām*, 53:326–327.

²⁶ On Ibn ‘Asākir’s defense of the Sunni theologian al-Ash‘arī (d. 935) and his school, see Chapter One, p. 11.

²⁷ See Ibn Taymīya, *Majmū‘ al-fatāwā*, 19 (pt. 35): 161, and 9 (pt. 16): 192.

²⁸ See Ibn Taymīya, *Majmū‘ al-fatāwā*, 2 (pt. 3): 128, and 2 (pt. 4): 12. On the schism, see Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fi ta’rikh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, eds. Muḥammad ‘A.-A. ‘Aṭā and Muṣṭafā ‘A.-A. ‘Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 1995), 16:181–183. On Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, see Chapter One, footnote 32.

preached at the Bayt Lihyā mosque on the outskirts of Damascus;²⁹ Ibn Taymīya's apparent neglect of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* may simply be the case of a proud and learned Ḥanbalī scholar from Ḥarān ignoring the work of his proud and learned Damascene predecessor precisely because he was a Shāfi'ī and an Ash'arī.³⁰ But it could also be due to the simple fact that Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* is not one of the canonical Sunni Hadith collections. By Ibn Taymīya's day, the use of *isnāds* (chains of transmission) had been discontinued in favor of citing directly the author of the canonical Hadith collection where a given hadith is found, even though a scholar might have first learned about it from a source like Ibn 'Asākir's. It is worth noting that both Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn Taymīya found their final resting place outside the walls of Damascus—Ibn 'Asākir in the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr Cemetery; Ibn Taymīya in the Ṣūfī Cemetery.³¹

2. THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

One cannot dismiss Ibn Taymīya's vituperative condemnation of Shi'is as unrepresentative of mainstream Sunni religious thought or as hyperbolic polemics intended to rouse Sunni Muslims to resist anticipated Crusader attacks or the Il-Khan Öljeitü after he had converted from Sunnism to Shi'ism in 1309; nor can one argue that his views had little impact on later Sunni scholars, especially in the Middle East. Indeed, Ibn Taymīya's fatwas became so important to Sunni discourse that nearly every major Sunni chief judge in Damascus and elsewhere in Syria and other parts of the Muslim world in later centuries invoked them to justify and legitimize military campaigns against the Druzes. For example, according to the eighteenth-century Damascene chronicler Ibn Jum'a al-Maqqarī (d. after 1743), Khurram Pasha, the sixteenth-century Ottoman governor of Syria, asked that Ibn Taymīya's fatwa be reissued in mid-November 1523 because of its theological and juridical relevance to his attempts to bring the Druzes in Mount Lebanon to heel. Ibn Jum'a reproduced Ibn Taymīya's fatwa and the names of eleven notable jurists and scholars who concurred with it:

²⁹ On Ibn 'Asākir's attitude toward al-Sulamī, see Chapter Three, pp. 42–45.

³⁰ Incidentally, when Ibn 'Asākir died, the eminent Ḥanbalī jurist 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 1204) expressed his regret for not having studied with him due to the animosity between the Ash'arīs and Ḥanbalīs, which lasted till Ibn Taymīya's day and even centuries after: see al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 20:568.

³¹ See map of Medieval Damascus on p. 100.

Thanks be to God, the Guide to the Truth. The unbelief of these people [Druzes and Nuṣayrīs] is something over which the Muslims have no disagreement. Indeed, whoever doubts this is himself an unbeliever. They do not have the status of the People of the Book or the polytheists; indeed they are more heretical than the Sabaeans, the Jews, and the Christians. They are adulterers [*zunāt*], and their repentance [*tawba*] is not to be accepted. They must be killed wherever they may be found,³² and cursed whenever they are mentioned. Their scholars and elders must be killed so that they do not mislead others. It is forbidden to sleep in their houses, walk alongside them in the streets, and attend their funerals when a death occurs. Moreover, Muslim rulers are forbidden to enforce on them the legal duties that God has commanded. Help is sought from Him, and reliance is on Him; He utters the Truth and guides the way.³³

Probably the most potent sentiment in Ibn Jum‘a’s quotation is the call for Muslim governors in Syria *not* to enforce the laws of Islam on the Druzes, for according to Shari‘a, the laws of Islam can only be enforced on Muslims and legally protected, though inferior, *dhimmīs* (Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, etc.).³⁴ Therefore, the only legitimate recourse against Druzes is jihad.³⁵

According to Ibn Jum‘a, notable jurists who concurred with Ibn Taymīya included Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 1448), the most celebrated Hadith scholar and Shāfi‘ī jurist of his day in Mamluk Egypt, and Ibn Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn (d. 1548), the Shāfi‘ī chief judge of Damascus, who during the final years of Mamluk rule presided over the four schools of Sunni law in Damascus.³⁶ Since Khurram Pasha was already preparing to campaign against the Druzes when he asked that the fatwa be reissued, his first major encounter with them occurred only a few short days after his wish was granted.³⁷ Ibn Taymīya’s

³² This is an obvious reference to Qur’an 2:191 and 9:5, ﴿kill (fa-qtulū) the polytheists wherever you find them﴾.

³³ See Ibn Jum‘a, *Kitāb al-bāshāt wa-l-quḍāt*, in *Wulāt Dimashq fi al-‘ahd al-uthmānī*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus: no publisher, 1949) 6–7.

³⁴ See Yohanan Friedmann, *Tolerance and Coercion in Islam: Interfaith Relations in the Muslim Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 54–86.

³⁵ As noted in Chapter Two, similar sentiments can be found in Ziauddin Barani’s fourteenth-century *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, which invokes the legacy of Mahmūd of Ghazna in an explicit call for jihad against Hindus in India: “Sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam! You should with all your royal determination apply yourself to uprooting and disgracing infidels, polytheists, and men of bad dogmas and bad religions, if you wish that you may not have to be ashamed before God and his Prophets and that in your record of life—concerning what you have said and done, the clothes you have worn, and the food you have eaten—they may write good instead of evil.” In Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad*, 197; excerpted from Habib, *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, 46–47.

³⁶ See the list of names in Ibn Jum‘a, *Kitāb al-bāshāt wa-l-quḍāt*, 7.

³⁷ See Ibn Ṭūlūn, *l’lām al-warā bi-man wullīya nā’iban min al-atrāk bi-dimashq al-shām*

fatwa was also embraced by the most influential Ottoman jurist of the seventeenth century, the Ḥanafī scholar Khayr al-Dīn al-Ramlī (d. 1671), whose opinions were sought by Ottoman sultans and grand viziers, as well as local governors in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.³⁸

A similar endorsement can be found in al-Muḥibbī's (d. 1699) biography of Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n (d. 1635), the famous Druze amir who ruled Mount Lebanon in the early seventeenth century, and who at one point ruled nearly all of Syria save Damascus and a few other major inland cities. In his detailed and extensive discussion of the Druzes and their heretical views, al-Muḥibbī includes the names of seven prominent Sunni jurists who declared that the Druzes, as well as the Nuṣayrīs and Ismā'īlīs, were unbelievers. Although al-Muḥibbī lifted his words from Ibn Taymīya's fatwa, he presents them as if they had been expressed independently by seven jurists, only one of whom was Ibn Taymīya. It is important to note that al-Muḥibbī did not list these seven scholars' names simply because they were impressive and influential men; he also wanted to highlight the legal schools to which these powerful jurists belonged in order to demonstrate that his opinion that Druzes were heretics was normative among major scholars from all schools of Sunni law—Mālikī, Shāfi'ī, Ḥanafī, and Ḥanbalī.³⁹ In due course, and much to the Ottomans' delight, Fakhr al-Dīn was tracked down, arrested, and ultimately executed in Istanbul in 1635.⁴⁰

That Ibn Taymīya's fatwas were repeatedly invoked against Druzes and Nuṣayrīs by later Sunni scholars, some of whom were the most influential judges and legal scholars of their day, demonstrates convincingly that the intensified and reoriented Sunni jihad against Shi'is advocated in the twelfth century by Ibn 'Asākir and more than a century later by Ibn Taymīya had become in every sense normative in Sunni Islam. There is no doubt that scholars appealed to his authority in response to Ottoman governors who were almost always acting on the Ottoman sultans' orders to repress

al-kubrā, ed. Muḥammad A. Duhmān (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1964), 241–242. Ibn Tūlūn (d. 1546) repeats the same condemnation of the Druzes, and records the celebratory mood of the Sunni religious circles and Damascene public when “three loads of Druze heads” were brought to the city and that Druze books were burned.

³⁸ See al-Ramlī, *al-Fatāwā al-khayriya*, 2 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Maymūna, 1893), 2:25.

³⁹ Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fi a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī'ashar* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, no date), 3:268–269.

⁴⁰ On Fakhr al-Dīn and the problematic relationship between the Ottomans and the Druzes, see Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, “The Long Rebellion: the Druzes and the Ottomans, 1516–1697,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 165–192.

local rebellious groups—specifically the long fight against the Druzes that lasted nearly two centuries (1516–1697).⁴¹

Prior to the Ottoman conquest of Syria (1516) and Egypt (1517), and their subsequent moves against the Druzes and Nuṣayrīs in Mount Lebanon and Syria, the Ottomans faced a very real threat on their eastern flank—the Safavid state (1501–1722) recently established under Shah Ismail. In addition to a formidable military threat on the east, Shah Ismail and his Qizilbash followers represented a religious and ideological threat as well, based on the Safavids' claims to semi-divine status and Shah Ismail's imposition of Twelver Shi'ism on his newly conquered lands. This Ottoman-Safavid conflict continued down till the early eighteenth century when the Safavids were overrun by a warlord regime from Afghanistan.⁴²

One of the ways that the Ottomans legitimated their offensives against the Safavids was to develop a sophisticated propaganda that accused the Safavids and their Qizilbash followers of infidelity (*kufr*) and apostasy (*irtidād*). In a letter to Shah Tahmasb before the Nakhichevan campaign in 1553, sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–1557) describes the Shah's followers in the following manner: "The infidelity (*kufr*) and apostasy (*irtidād*) of the mischief makers (*ehli fesad*) who follow and obey you is clearly known."⁴³ For as Shi'is they necessarily rejected the Ottomans' Sunni Islam and cursed the Rashidun caliphs whom the Sunnis viewed as beyond reproach. It was the Ottoman Sultan who stood as the champion of Sunnism and bulwark against the Shi'i Safavid heretics to the East. Consequently, the celebrated sixteenth-century Ottoman jurist Ebu s-Su'ud Efendi (c. 1490–1574), who for twenty nine years, mostly under sultan Süleyman, occupied the most powerful post of Sheykh ul-Islam, could unabashedly declare the Ottoman-Safavid conflicts to be legitimate jihad:

⁴¹ See Abu-Husayn, "The Long Rebellion." See also idem, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria 1575–1650* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985); and idem, "The Unknown Career of Ahmad Ma'n (1667–1697)," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 17 (1999): 241–247.

⁴² Roger Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

⁴³ See Mustafa Çelebi Celâlzade (d. 1567), *Ṭabakāt ül-Memâlik ve Derecât ül-Mesâlik*, ed. Petra Kappert (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1981), f. 459a. We thank Colin Imber for providing us with a translation of this citation. See also Colin Imber, "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shiites according to the Mühimme defterleri, 1565–1585," *Der Islam* 56 (1979): 245–273; Nabil al-Tikriti, "Kalam in the Service of the State: Apostasy and the Defining of Ottoman Islamic Identity," in *Legitimizing the Order: Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, eds. Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 131–149; and Markus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict," in *Legitimizing the Order*, 151–173.

- (10) Is it licit according to the *shari'a* to fight the followers of the Safavids? Is the person who kills them a holy warrior, and the person who dies at their hands a martyr?

Answer: Yes, it is a great holy war and a glorious martyrdom.

Another question: Assuming that it is licit to fight them, is this simply because of the rebellion and enmity against the [Ottoman] Sultan of the People of Islam, because they drew the sword against the troops of Islam, or what?

Answer: They are both rebels and, from many points of view, infidels.⁴⁴

While Ebu s-Su'ud considered the Safavids to be infidels, he qualified their infidelity somewhat in his ruling on the treatment of women captured in the wars against the Safavids, wherein he defines these female prisoners as apostates:

- (13) According to a tradition related from Abu Hanifa, it is permissible to take captive a female apostate before she reaches the realm of war. ... Is it permissible to act according to this tradition?

Answer: Yes.

If women are taken prisoner in accordance with this tradition, are their services licit, and is intercourse with them licit according to the *shari'a*?

Answer: All their services are licit, but they are apostates. Intercourse with them is not licit until they accept Islam.⁴⁵

Ebu s-Su'ud does not explicitly draw on the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymīya or other medieval jurists in these anti-Safavid fatwas; as the Ḥanafi Sheykh ul-Islam and hence the highest religious authority in the Ottoman Empire he did not need to, but the tenor of his rulings is certainly in keeping with the Ottoman fatwas in Syria that incorporate Ibn Taymīya's fatwas against Druzes and Nuṣayrīs. In short, Persia under the Safavids was indeed the Abode of War, for the Safavids were guilty of infidelity (*kuf̄r*) and apostasy (*irtidād*). Not only was their blood licit, but it was obligatory on the People of Islam (that is, the Sunnis) to wage jihad against them and subjugate them.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Colin Imber, *Ebu's-Su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 86.

⁴⁵ Imber, *Ebu's-Su'ud*, 88.

⁴⁶ See also Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 69.

3. CONCLUSION

As demonstrated herein, the Crusader conquests were one of the major factors that contributed to the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After the Crusaders had been driven from Syria in 1291, the focus of Sunni jihad operations against Christendom in the eastern Mediterranean shifted to fending off naval attacks on coastal Syria and Egypt, but also to territorial conquest in Anatolia and southeastern Europe, principally under the Ottomans. There was no need for Ottoman scholars to issue fatwas legitimizing warfare against the Byzantines or other Christian princes on the western front, for they had been the preferred infidel enemy of Islamic jihad fighters since the first generation of the conquests in the seventh century. Moreover, Mehmed II's sack of Constantinople in 1453 only whetted the Ottoman appetite for further conquests of European Christian strongholds, which continued till the end of the seventeenth century. In fact, it was only when the Ottomans began to encounter setbacks in Europe that they had to call for fatwas to demonstrate why it was legitimate to *cease* their offensives and cede Muslim lands to infidel Christian rulers via formal treaties such as the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. It should come as no surprise, then, that Sunni Ottoman religious scholars appealed to the precedent of Muhammad's treaty with Mecca, the Treaty of Ḥudaybiya (628), in which he agreed to cease hostilities with the city in order to regroup and renew the fight another day.⁴⁷ That Muhammad subjugated the city two years later only proved the wisdom of his agreement. Unfortunately for the Ottomans, history did not repeat itself as the Empire gradually lost more and more territory to Christian as well as Muslim opponents until the Empire was no more, the last remnant being the Republic of Turkey established in the wake of the First World War.⁴⁸

Political factors notwithstanding, the intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology became normative in Sunni religious thought as mainstream Sunni scholars started to adopt it and promote it as part of their strategy to combat threats to the revivification of Sunnism and the restoration of Sunni supremacy after the periodic domination of the Islamic heartlands—

⁴⁷ Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, 101.

⁴⁸ See Bernard Lewis's classic study, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, third edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Ertuğrul Osman, the last surviving grandson of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, passed away on 23 September 2009, at the age of 97. He was known as the "Last Ottoman."

Syria, Egypt, and Iraq—by various Shi‘i, Crusader, and/or Mongol Il-Khan regimes during the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. That this reinvigorated jihad ideology subsequently inspired Sunni scholars and rulers throughout the Mamluk and Ottoman periods should come as a surprise to no one. The fact that Ebu s-Su‘ud’s published rulings do not explicitly draw on Ibn Taymīya reinforces our argument that the intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology advocated by Nizām al-Mulk, Ibn ‘Asākir, and Ibn Taymīya had become thoroughly mainstream in Sunni Islamic thought in the Ottoman period.⁴⁹

Modern Sunni radical thought owes a great deal to this medieval intensification and reorientation of jihad ideology, too,⁵⁰ as even a cursory survey of the jihadist literature demonstrates.⁵¹ However, unlike their medieval and

⁴⁹ This is not to say that Shi‘ism does not share some of these tendencies. See, for instance, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmili’s *Kitāb al-Jihād*, which is vol. 11 of his *Wasā’il al-shī’a ilā taḥṣil masā’il al-sharī’a*, 20 vols., ed. Muḥammad al-Rāzi (Beirut: Dār Ihyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabi, 1990). Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmili (1624–1693) was born in what is today southern Lebanon, and like many Shi‘i scholars of his time, left to Safavid Iran where he became the paramount Twelver Shi‘i authority in Hadith (sayings attributed to Muhammad and the twelve Shi‘i imams). He validates under the banner of jihad the fighting and killing of “corrupt” Muslims, which for him was legitimized by imam Ali’s fighting of his Muslim opponents: see his section in *Kitāb al-Jihād* on “fighting the people of corruption” in al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmili, *Wasā’il al-shī’a*, 11:59–63. On al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmili, see Meir M. Bar Asher, “Ḥorr-e ‘Āmeli,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (New York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 1985–present), 12:478–479.

⁵⁰ Jonathan Riley-Smith argues that the bitter memory of the Crusades among modern Muslims as the first wave of oppressive European colonialism is a recently invented memory rooted in nineteenth-century European anti-colonialist Crusades scholarship. He argues that this historiography has been internalized primarily because it reinforces modern Arab nationalist and Islamist grievances and worldviews: *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). While there is much to commend Riley-Smith’s thesis, it should be clear from what we have argued herein that the Franks’ successes at Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem in the late 1090s that ushered in two centuries of Crusader control of coastal Syria were a major factor in the intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology, Sunni revivalism and vision of orthodoxy, and the escalation of intellectual and military hostilities among Muslims (especially Sunnis and Shi‘is).

⁵¹ For examples of the theological and juridical reasoning of modern Sunni jihadists that draw on the Qur’an, hadiths on jihad, as well as the thought of Ibn Taymīya and other classical scholars, see Sayyid Qutb, “Jihad in the Cause of God,” in *Milestones: Ma‘ālim fi’l-tareeq*, ed. A.B. al-Mehri (Birmingham: Maktabah Booksellers, 2006), 63–86; Ḥasan al-Bannā, “Kitāb al-Jihād,” in *Milestones*, 217–240; Abdallah Azzam, *Join the Caravan*; Osama Bin Laden, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden*, ed. Bruce Lawrence, trans. James Howarth (London: Verso, 2005); Shmuel Bar, *Warrant for Terror: Fatwās of Radical Islam and the Duty of Jihad* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Raymond Ibrahim (ed. and trans.), *The Al Qaeda Reader* (New York: Doubleday, 2007); Gilles Kepel and Jean-Pierre Milelli (eds.), *Al Qaeda in Its Own Words*, trans. Pascale Ghazaleh (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008). Many of the writings of modern jihadist thinkers have been translated into English and are posted online at various scholarly and jihadist websites.

Ottoman predecessors, who primarily targeted Shi'is as Sunnism's internal enemies, some modern Sunni radicals are quite eager to cast their net far wider and to include also a great number of their fellow Sunnis.⁵² Although many modern Muslim scholars have criticized the arguments of contemporary jihad propagandists as a uniquely modern radicalization of jihad ideology, their criticism fails to acknowledge the medieval origins of this discourse or the fact that influential figures such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and 'Abdallah 'Azzam, along with their disciples, are quite cognizant of their ideology's medieval roots and which they regularly invoke in their writings.⁵³ They enthusiastically appeal to many of the hadiths included in Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*;⁵⁴ they frequently refer to Ibn Taymīya's fatwas on combating errant or hypocritical Muslims.⁵⁵ Modern jihadists embrace

⁵² Jon Armajani, *Modern Islamist Movements: History, Religion, and Politics* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

⁵³ See for example, Mahmud Muhammad Taha, *The Second Message of Islam*, ed. and trans. Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987); Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, *Toward and Islamic Reformation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990); Abdulaziz Sachedina, *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Khaled Abou el-Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2001); and idem, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005). In his *Arguing the Just War in Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), John Kelsay advocates the approach of scholars such as Abou el-Fadl, Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, Mahmud Muhammad Taha, and Abd al-Aziz Sachedina. See Ella Landau-Tasseron's critique of Kelsay's approach in her, "Is *Jihād* Comparable to Just War? A Review Article," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34 (2008): 535–550; see also van der Krogt, "Jihad without Apologetics."

⁵⁴ While we have found no evidence that modern militant jihadists have been directly influenced by Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, it is abundantly clear that they know Ibn 'Asākir's work and role. Indeed, Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* (the 1984 Kuwait edition by 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf) is among the jihad works that are shared on jihadists' websites. But because Ibn 'Asākir was not a theorist per se, and given the practice in Hadith scholarship to cite the authoritative Hadith collections, even when one learns of a hadith from other sources, Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadith* and similar works do not get referenced in modern literature on jihad. Yet, modern jihad theorists and jihadists enthusiastically appeal to many of the same hadiths which are included in Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths*, and which also feature in the authoritative eighth- and ninth-century Sunni Hadith collections, in several other small hadith collections on jihad from the Crusader period, as well as in the writings of Ibn Taymīya and his disciples.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, the Egyptian jihadist Muhammad 'Abd al-Salam Faraj (executed in 1982), who invokes Ibn Taymīya's fatwa in his treatise entitled "The Neglected Duty," that is, the neglected duty of jihad: see Roxanne Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (eds.), *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 321–343. Similarly, Sayyid Qutb invokes the views on jihad of both Ibn Taymīya and his notable disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya (d. 1350): see, for instance, Sayyid Qutb, "Jihad in the Cause of God," 63 and 74 (Ibn Qayyim), 308 and 315 (Ibn Taymīya). On the claim that these jihadists "misunderstand" and "abuse" Ibn Taymīya, see Mona Hassan, "Modern Interpretations and

the same methodology of jihad advocacy that Ibn ‘Asākir helped set up and actively disseminate and that Ibn Taymīya did much to solidify. Moreover, like their medieval and early-modern predecessors, modern Sunni jihadists are quite certain that it is they who are the “authentic” Muslims, for it is they and they alone who simply and dutifully “obey God and his messenger.” In this respect, they are not interested in the specific circumstances and environments that produced the views of Ibn ‘Asākir, Ibn Taymīya, and other medieval jihad advocates. Rather, they see them as affirmers of the “true” teachings of Islam, and thus independent of the vicissitudes of Islamic history.

Misinterpretations of a Medieval Scholar: Apprehending the Political Thought of Ibn Taymīya,” in *Ibn Taymīya and His Times*, eds. Rapoport and Ahmed, pp. 338–366.

PART TWO

EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF
AL-ARBA'ŪN ḤADĪTHAN FĪ AL-ḤATHTH 'ALĀ AL-JIHĀD
(*THE FORTY HADITHS FOR INCITING JIHAD*)

NOTES ON THE ARABIC EDITION

We have endeavored to present the Arabic text of *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī al-ḥathth ʿalā al-jihād* as it appears in the sole extant copy that al-Birzālī made from Ibn ʿAsākir’s autograph. Consequently, we have not tried to force the Arabic text to conform to how these forty hadiths may appear in the major Hadith compilations (for which there are no proper critical editions in any case).

Since Arabic grammar is far from an exact science, and since exceptions to the rules abound, there are instances in the text in which the grammar and spelling appear to be incorrect. We believe that because the text was originally composed and copied by Damascenes, preserving these grammatical “errors” as well as orthographical “errors” such as *malāyika* (ملائكة) instead of *malāʾika* (ملائكة), *māya* (ماية) instead of *māʾa* (مائة), *ya-Rasūl Allāh* (يا رسول الله) instead of *yā-Rasūl Allāh* (يا رسول الله), etc. maintains the Damascene feel of the text.

We have, however, made a few emendations for the purpose of clarification. The principal examples of these editorial changes have to do with the spelling of proper names and the use of punctuation. Since it was common for medieval copyists to transcribe proper names without the long vowel *ā* (*alif*), names like Ishāq, Ismāʿīl, Ibrāhīm, Mālik, ʿUthmān, Sufyān, Sulaymān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, etc., were almost always written with a short vowel. We have reintroduced the *alif* in these names.

Punctuation is used sporadically throughout the manuscript, though consistently at the end of each hadith. We have introduced commas and full-stops to make the text read more smoothly. We have also introduced question marks and exclamation marks as necessary to clarify the meaning.

Verses from the Qurʾān have been placed in bold face between ﴿ ﴾, with the sura and verse numbers noted in the footnotes. In each case where Ibn ʿAsākir states that a hadith can be found in one or more of the major Hadith collections, we have included the precise reference to the various collections in the notes.

Finally, the text was compared to the printed edition prepared by Aḥmad ʿA. Ḥalwānī, which was published on pages 101–149 of his *Ibn ʿAsākir wa-dawruḥ fī al-jihād didd al-ṣalībīyīn fī ʿahd al-dawlatayn al-nūrīya wa-l-ayyūbīya* (Damascus: Dār al-Fidā, 1991); we referred to it as (مطبوعة). All 101 mistakes—whether mis-readings, additions or deletions—that appear in

Ḥalwānī's edition were noted in the footnotes. We have not noted any of the mistakes in the colophon (*samāʿ*) section since there are too many to list.

NOTES ON THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

We have endeavored to provide an English translation of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Forty Hadiths* that is both faithful to the meaning of the Arabic original and the conventions of English. Since readers can readily refer to the Arabic text on the facing page, we have only occasionally inserted an Arabic word or phrase to clarify the translation.

Each hadith is comprised of two parts—the *isnād* (the chain of scholars on whose authority each hadith was transmitted) and the *matn* (the text of the hadith itself). Isnads are essentially medieval Arabic footnotes; however, since they are placed at the beginning of the *matn* rather than in small print at the bottom of the page or at the end of a chapter or book, they are very difficult to ignore. Hence we have formatted the English translation differently than the Arabic original in order to make the text read more smoothly.

First, we have used a dash (—) instead of the various technical terms in the isnads that indicate precisely *how* so-and-so learned the hadith from so-and-so. We have, of course, retained any references to *where* the transmission occurred. Readers who wish to know which terms Ibn ‘Asākir employed can find them in the Arabic text on the facing page.

Second, each *matn* is set off from its isnad as a block quote. Readers who wish to skip the “footnotes” and move straightway to the “substance” of each hadith can certainly do so. For a discussion of what we can learn from Ibn ‘Asākir’s isnads see Chapter Five, pp. 67–69.

Third, in medieval Arabic prose it is customary to use the verb *qāl* (in its various forms that account for the gender of the speaker or speakers) in a hadith or narrative report to mean that someone literally said something. Sometimes we have translated *qāl* as said. But often the expression is used in the hadith to indicate a pause, in which case we rendered it as comma, semicolon, or full stop. In a few cases, the expression indicates that someone asked someone something, in which case we translated it as asked; or that someone replied to a question by someone else, in which case we translated it as replied.

Finally, we have placed all the colophons (*samā‘āt*) and ownership notes on al-Birzālī’s manuscript immediately after the English translation of *The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*—though as indicated in the notes, some of the colophons and ownership notes occur at various places on the manuscript—at the end of the text, in margins, and even on the title page.

A few comments about the colophons (*samā'āt*) and the technical terminology employed in them are in order here. The term we have translated as colophon is *samā'* (pl. *samā'āt*), derived from the Arabic root *s-m-'*; having to do with hearing. In the case of the *samā'āt* on al-Birzālī's copy of the *Forty Hadiths*, the colophons record the names of those who "heard" the text at a particular teaching session, but they indicate much more than merely being present to hear something.

The colophons list the scholars and students who were present at a particular teaching session in which Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad* was read out by a scholar in the presence of and publicly taught by a scholar who was authorized to confer a license or diploma (*ijāza*) that certified that those who studied the text with him were qualified to teach it to others.

The colophons also record the date and location of the teaching sessions, indicating that, unlike al-Sulamī's (d. 1106) *Book of Jihad*, Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths* continued to be read out and studied frequently by leading Damascene scholars for nearly a century and a half after its composition. The first study session occurred in Ibn 'Asākir's presence in 1170; the final public reading of al-Birzālī's unique manuscript occurred in 1318.

Each colophon on Birzālī's copy of the manuscript is basically one rather long run-on sentence. We have retained that format in the Arabic edition below; however, we have altered the format in the English translation to make it easier for the reader to distinguish the names of the participants in the teaching sessions.

The scholars listed in the colophons are identified by a variety of titles, all of which indicate an advanced level of training in Islamic religious scholarship. We have translated each of these titles into English as follows: *ālim* (scholar), *faqīh* (jurist), *ḥāfiẓ* (Hadith memorizer [lit., great memorizer of religious scholarship, but especially Hadith]), *kātib* (scribe), *khaṭīb* (mosque preacher), *qāḍī* (judge), and *shaykh* (respected teacher).

For a discussion of what we can learn from the colophons and ownership notes, see Chapter Six, especially pp. 95–99.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

الأربعون حديثاً في الحثّ على الجهاد
عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم متصلة الإسناد

تصنيف

الحافظ أبي القاسم علي بن الحسن بن هبة الله الشافعي

*The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad
related from the Messenger of God (ﷺ)
with complete chains of transmission*

**Authored by the Hadith memorizer Abū al-Qāsim
'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh al-Shāfi'ī**

بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم

الحمد لله رافع السبع الشداد، وباسط الأرض تحتها كالمهاد، ومثبتها براسيات الجبال والأطواد، وجاعلها أماكن لا تميد كالأوتاد، المتزه عن اتخاذ الصاحبة والأولاد، المتعالي عن الاستنجد بالشركاء والأنداد. أحمده على نعمه التي لا تحصى بالتعداد، وأؤمن به إيمان من وحه عن الأضداد. وأشهد أن لا إله إلا هو مبدع الحيوان والجماد، شهادة أجعلها ذخراً ليوم المعاد. وأشهد أن محمداً عبده ورسوله الهادي إلى الرشاد، والفتاح سبيل الحق بعد الإقتال والإنسداد، والمختار من العترة الطاهرة والسادة الأجداد، صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وأصحابه صلاة دائمة إلى يوم التناد.

أما بعد، فإنّ الملك العادل الزاهد المجاهد المرابط—وقفه الله للسداد، وأعانه على القيام بمصالح العباد، وأمده بفضله بصالح الأمراد، وأعزّ نصره بجنده، وشدّ أزره بالأمداد—أحبّ أن أجمع له أربعين حديثاً في الجهاد تكون واضحة المتن متصلة الإسناد، تحريضاً للمجاهدين الأجلاد وأولي الهمم العالية والسواعد الشداد وذوي المرفهات الماضية والأستة الحداد، ليكون لهم تحضيضاً على الصدق عند اللقاء والجلاد وتحريضاً على قلع ذوي الكفر والعناد، الذين طغوا بكفرهم في البلاد وأكثروا فيها من البغي والفساد، صبّ عليهم رتنا سوط عذاب إته لبالمصايد. فسارعت إلى امتثال ما التمس من المراد، وجمعت له | ما يرتضيه أهل المعرفة والإنقاد، واجتهدت في جمعها غاية الإجتهد رجاء أن يحصل لي أجر التبصير والإرشاد. والله الموفق للصواب في الإصدار والإيراد، والمسدد في الأقوال في الإسهاب والإقتصاد.

67b In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; May God bless our lord Muhammad and his family and grant them peace.

Thanks be to God, who lifted up the seven securely fixed heavens, spread the earth beneath them as a vast expanse, fastened it securely to the firm mountains and hills, and partitioned them into stable places like fixed poles. Far removed is He from having a female consort or progeny, or from seeking the aid of associates and peers. I thank Him for the countless gifts that He bestowed, and believe in Him like a true monotheist. I testify that there is no god but Him, the Creator of the beasts and things; I make this testimony as a provision for myself on the Day of Resurrection. I also testify that Muhammad is His servant and messenger, who guides to righteousness and opens the way of truth after being blocked and closed, the chosen one from the pure family and glorious masters—may God eternally bless him, his family, and his companions until the Day of Assembly.¹

The just king, the ascetic, the jihad fighter, and the garrisoned warrior—may God grant him success in that which is proper, assist him in fulfilling what is best for people, grant him favor against the recalcitrants, exalt him in victory with his army, and support him with aid—expressed his desire that I collect for him forty hadiths relating to jihad that have clear texts and uninterrupted sound chains of transmission so that they might stimulate the valiant jihad fighters, the ones with strong determination and mighty arms, with sharp swords and piercing spears, and stir them up to truly perform when they meet the enemy in battle, and incite them to uproot the unbelievers and tyrants who, because of their unbelief, have terrorized the land and proliferated oppression and corruption—may God pour on them all types of torture, for He is all-watching. So I hastened to fulfill his desire and collected for him | what is suitable for the people of learning and inquiry. I especially exerted a tremendous effort in collecting them in the hope that I should receive the reward [from God] for enlightening and guidance. God is the Guide to accuracy in what one initiates and completes, and the Director to right expression, be it thorough or succinct.

68a

¹ In an Islamic context, the Day of Judgment is referred to as the Day of Resurrection, that is when the dead are resurrected for the final Judgment, or as the Day of Assembly, that is after being resurrected, they will assemble for the final Judgment.

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله الحسين بن عبد الملك الأديب بأصبهان أنا أبو القاسم إبراهيم بن منصور أنا أبو بكر محمد بن إبراهيم بن المقرئ أنا أبو يعلى أحمد بن علي ثنا عمرو بن حصين عن ابن علاثة عن خصيف عن مجاهد عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: من حفظ على أمتي أربعين حديثاً فيما ينفعهم من أمر دينهم بُعث يوم القيامة من العلماء، وفضل العالم على العابد سبعين درجة الله أعلم بما بين كلّ درجتين.

٥

الحديث الأول

أخبرنا أبو القاسم إساعيل بن أحمد بن عمر ابن السمرقندي ببغداد أنا أبو الحسين أحمد بن محمد بن النقور ثنا عيسى بن علي بن عيسى إملاءً ثنا عبد الله ابن محمد بن عبد العزيز البغوي ثنا منصور بن أبي مزاحم ثنا إبراهيم بن سعد عن الزهري عن ابن المسيّب عن أبي هريرة قال: سئل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: أي الإيمان أفضل؟ قال: إيمان بالله عزّ وجلّ. قيل: ثمّ ماذا؟ قال: ثمّ الجهاد في سبيل الله عزّ وجلّ. قيل: ثمّ ماذا؟ قال: حجّ مبرور.

١٠

رواه مسلم في صحيحه عن منصور.

الحديث الثاني

أخبرنا أبو القاسم هبة الله بن محمد بن عبد الواحد الشيباني قال: أنا أبو علي الحسن بن علي بن محمد التميمي أنا أبو بكر أحمد بن جعفر بن حمدان القطيعي ثنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد بن حنبل حدثني أبي ثنا سفيان ثنا هشام ابن عروة عن أبيه عن أبي مرواح عن أبي ذرّ قال: قلت لرسول الله أيّ العمل أفضل؟ قال: إيمان بالله وجهاد في سبيله. قلت: يرسل الله فأبّي الرقاب أفضل؟ قال: أنفسها عند أهلها وأعلاها ثمناً. قال: فإن لم أجد؟ قال: تعين ضائعاً أو تصنع لأخرق. قال: فإن لم أستطع؟ قال: تكفّ أذاك عن الناس فإنّها صدقة تصدّق بها عن نفسك.

68b

١٥

٢ المقرئ (مطبوعة) ٢ بن (مطبوعة) ٢ أي (مطبوعة) ٥ درجة ودرجة (مطبوعة) ٧ بن أحمد (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ٩ ابن (في هامش المخطوطة بخط البرزالي). أي (مطبوعة) ١٢ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإيمان (باب الإيمان بالله أفضل الأعمال)، ١: ٦٢، ١٥ القطيفي (مطبوعة) ١٥ بن محمد (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ١٩ صدقة (ساقطة من مطبوعة)

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Adīb, in Isfahan—Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm ibn Manṣūr—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Muqri’—Abū Ya’lā Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī—‘Amr ibn Ḥuṣayn—Ibn ‘Ulātha—Khuṣayf—Mujāhid—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “He who preserves forty hadiths that are beneficial for the religious needs of my community will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection as a scholar. The scholar is ranked seventy ranks above the worshiper; only God knows what is between each two ranks.”

Hadith 1

Abū al-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Samarqandī, in Baghdad—Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Naqqūr—‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā—‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Baghawī—Manṣūr ibn Abū Muzāḥim—Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d—al-Zuhrī—Abū al-Musayyib—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) was asked: “Which aspect of belief is the best?” He replied: “The belief in God—glory and greatness belong to Him.” He was then asked: “And what comes next?” He replied: “Next is jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him.” He was asked again: “And what comes next?” He replied: “An accepted pilgrimage.”

Muslim related this in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*—Manṣūr.²

Hadith 2

68b Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī—Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī—Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ja’far ibn Ḥamdān | al-Qaṭī’ī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal—my father [Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal]—Sufyān—Hishām ibn ‘Urwa—his father [‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr]—Abū Murāwīḥ—Abū Dharr, who said:

I asked: “O Messenger of God, which of the religious practices are the best?” He replied: “Belief in God and jihad in His path.” I then asked: “O Messenger of God, what is the best manumission?” He replied: “Those who are the most valued by their owners and the most expensive.” I said: “If I can’t find any?” He replied: “Help a neglected poor person or feed a fool.” I asked: “If I can’t afford it?” He replied: “Do not show people you are annoyed with them; this is a charitable gift on behalf of your own soul.”

² *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-īmān (bāb al-īmān bi’llāh afḍal al-a’māl)* [Book of Faith (Chapter on faith in God, which is the most noble of religious practices)], 1:62.

متفق على صحته.

رواه البخاري عن عبيد الله بن موسى عن هشام، ورواه مسلم عن أبي الربيع وخلف بن هشام عن حماد بن زيد عن هشام. وكذا قال في الحديث ضاعياً بالضاد.

الحديث الثالث

٥ أخبرنا أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الباقي الأنصاري ببغداد أنا أبو محمد الحسن بن علي الجوهري أنا أبو الحسين محمد بن المظفر الحافظ أنا أبو بكر محمد بن محمد بن سليمان بن الحارث ثنا شيبان بن فروخ ثنا عبد العزيز بن مسلم القسملی ثنا أبو إسحاق الهمداني عن أبي الأحوص عن عبد الله بن مسعود قال: قلت: يرسل الله أي الأعمال أحب إلى الله عز وجل؟ قال: أن تصلي الصلوات لمواقيتها. قلت: ثم أي؟ قال: بر الوالدين. قلت: ثم أي؟ قال: الجهاد في سبيل الله. ولو استزدته لزداني. ١٠

أخرجه البخاري ومسلم في صحيحهما من حديث أبي عمرو الشيباني عن ابن مسعود رضي الله عنه.

الحديث الرابع

68a rep. ١٥ أخبرنا أبو المظفر عبد المنعم بن الأستاذ الإمام أبي القاسم | عبد الكريم بن هوازن أنا أي أنا أبو نعيم عبد الملك بن الحسن الأزهراني أنا أبو عوانة يعقوب بن إسحاق الحافظ ثنا أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الرحمان ابن الأشعث الدمشقي وموسى بن سعيد الدنداني وأبو حاتم الرازي وأبو إسماعيل

٢ صحيح البخاري، كتاب العتق (باب ٢: أي الرقاب أفضل)، ٥: ١٤٨ (رقم ٢٥١٨) ٣ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإيمان (باب الإيمان بالله أفضل الأعمال)، ١: ٦٢ ٣ صاعماً بالصاد (مطبوعة) ١١ أي عمرو الشيباني عن (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ١٢ صحيح البخاري، كتاب الجهاد والسير (باب ١: فضل الجهاد والسير)، ٦: ٣ (رقم ٢٧٨٢)؛ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإيمان (باب الإيمان بالله أفضل الأعمال)، ١: ٦٣-٦٢ ١٤ رقم مكرر في أعلى الورقة من الورقة السابقة بسبب خطأ في ترقيم أوراق المخطوطة ١٦ الدنداني (مطبوعة)

All agree on the soundness of this. Al-Bukhārī related it—‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Mūsā—Hishām.³ Muslim also related it—Abū al-Rabī‘ and Khalaf ibn Hishām—Ḥammād ibn Zayd—Hishām.⁴ This is how it appears in the hadith: *ḍā‘ī* (neglected poor person) with *ḍ*.

Hadith 3

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī, in Baghdad—Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-Jawharī—Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Ḥāfiẓ—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥārith—Shaybān ibn Farrūkh—‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muslim al-Qas-malī—Abū Ishāq al-Hamadānī—Abū al-Aḥwaṣ—‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd, who said:

I asked the Messenger of God (ﷺ): “Which of the religious practices is most dear to God—glory and greatness belong to Him?” He replied: “To pray the prayers in their time.” I then asked: “And what comes next?” He replied: “Honoring and taking care of one’s parents.” I asked again: “And what comes next?” He replied: “Waging jihad in the path of God.” Had I asked yet again, he would have answered me.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim authenticated this in their *Ṣaḥīḥs*—Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī—Ibn Mas‘ūd, may God be pleased with him.⁵

Hadith 4

68a rep.

Abū al-Muẓaffar ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn al-Ustādh al-Imām Abū al-Qāsim |⁶ ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Huwāzin—my father [Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī]—Abū Nu‘aym ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-Ḥasan al-Azharānī—Abū ‘Uwāna Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Ḥāfiẓ—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ash‘ath al-Dimashqī, Mūsā ibn Sa‘īd al-Dandānī, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī,

³ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-‘itq (bāb 2: ayy al-riqāb afḍal)* [Book of Manumission (Chapter 2: on what is the best manumission)], 5:148 (no. 2518).

⁴ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-īmān (bāb al-īmān bi-llāh afḍal al-a‘māl)* [Book of Faith (Chapter on faith in God, which is the most noble of religious practices)], 1:62.

⁵ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-jihād wa-l-siyar (bāb 1: Faḍl al-jihād wa-l-siyar)* [Book of Jihad and Proper Comportment (Chapter 1: on the merits of jihad and proper comportment)], 6:3 (no. 2782); *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-īmān (bāb al-īmān bi-llāh afḍal al-a‘māl)* [Book of Faith (Chapter on faith in God, which is the most noble of religious practices)], 1:62–63.

⁶ The folio number is repeated as a result of a mistake in the numeration of the folios of the manuscript.

الترمذي قالوا: ثنا أبو توبة الربيع بن نافع ثنا معاوية بن سلام عن أخيه زيد بن سلام أنه سمع أبا سلام حدثنا النعمان بن بشير قال: كنت عند منبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم الجمعة فقال رجل: ما أبالي أن لا أعمل عملاً بعد الإسلام إلا أن أسقي الحاج. وقال الآخر: لا أبالي أن لا أعمل عملاً بعد الإسلام إلا أن أعمّر المسجد الحرام. وقال الآخر: الجهاد في سبيل الله عزّ وجلّ أفضل مما قلت. فزجرهم عمر بن الخطاب وقال: لا ترفعوا أصواتكم عند منبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو يوم الجمعة، ولكن إذا صليت الجمعة دخلت فاستفتيته فيما اختلفتم فيه. فأنزل الله عزّ وجلّ ﴿أجعلتم سقاية الحاج وعمارة المسجد الحرام كمن آمن بالله واليوم الآخر وجاهد في سبيل الله لا يستونون عند الله والله لا يهدي القوم الظالمين﴾.

رواه مسلم في صحيحه عن الحسن بن علي الحلواني عن أبي توبة.

١٠ الحديث الخامس

أخبرنا أبو غالب أحمد بن الحسن بن أحمد بن البتا ببغداد أنا أبو الحسين محمد بن أحمد بن محمد بن الأبنوسي ثنا أبو إسحاق إبراهيم بن محمد بن الفتح الحلبي المصيصي ثنا أبو يوسف محمد بن سفيان بن موسى الصقار المصيصي ثنا أبو عثمان سعيد بن رحمة بن نعيم الأصبحي المصيصي قال: سمعت عبد الله بن المبارك يقول أنا الأوزاعي حدثني يحيى بن أبي كثير حدثني هلال ابن أبي ميمونة أن عطاء بن يسار حدثه أن عبد الله بن سلام حدثه—أو قال: حدثني أبو سلمة ابن عبد الرحمان عن عبد الله بن سلام—قال: تذاكرنا بيننا فقلنا أيكم يأتي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يسأله أي الأعمال أحبّ إلى الله عزّ وجلّ. قال: فهينا أن يقوم متاً أحد. قال: فأرسل إلينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم رجلاً رجلاً حتى جمعنا، فجعل يشير بعضنا إلى بعض، فقرأ علينا: ﴿سبح الله ما في السماوات وما في الأرض وهو العزيز الحكيم يأيها الذين آمنوا لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون﴾، من أولها

١ ومعاوية (مطبوعة) ٤ الإسلام (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ٨ سورة التوبة (٩): ١٩ ٩ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإمارة (باب فضل الشهادة)، ٦: ٣٦ ١١ بن أحمد (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ١٣ الصغار (مطبوعة) ١٤ يقول (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ١٤ بن هلال (مطبوعة) ١٦ تناكرنا (مطبوعة) ١٧ وهبنا (مطبوعة) ١٨ ينيء (مطبوعة) ١٩ سورة الصف (٦١): ٢-١

and Abū Ismāʿīl al-Tirmidhī—Abū Tawba al-Rabīʿ ibn Nāfiʿ—Muʿāwiya ibn Sallām—his brother Zayd ibn Sallām—Abū Sallām—al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr, who said:

I was near the pulpit of the Messenger of God (ﷺ) on a Friday when a man said: “I don’t care if, after embracing Islam, the only good deed I do is providing water for the pilgrims.” Another man said: “I don’t care if, after embracing Islam, the only good deed I do is caring for the Sacred Mosque.” A man objected, saying: “Jihad in the path of God Almighty is better than what you have said.” ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb reprimanded them and said: “Don’t raise your voices near the pulpit of the Messenger of God (ﷺ) on a Friday. When the Friday prayer is over, I will go to him and ask his opinion about the matter on which you have differed.” God—glory and greatness belong to Him—revealed: ﴿Are you indeed equating provision of water to pilgrims and caring for the Sacred Mosque with one who believes in God and the Last Day, and labours hard (*jāhad*) in the cause of God? They are not equal in the sight of God, and God guides not the evildoers.﴾⁷ (Qurʾan 9:20)

Muslim related this in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*—al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥulwānī—Abū Tawba.⁸

Hadith 5

Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Bannā, in Baghdad—Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Abanūsī—Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faṭḥ al-Jallī al-Miṣṣīṣī—Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad ibn Sufyān ibn Mūsā al-Ṣaffār | al-Miṣṣīṣī—Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd ibn Raḥma ibn Nuʿaym al-Aṣbaḥī al-Miṣṣīṣī—ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak—al-Awzāʿī—Yaḥyā ibn Abū Kathīr—Hilāl ibn Abū Maymūna—ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār or Abū Salama ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sallām, who said:

We were conversing among ourselves, and wondering if one of us would go to the Messenger of God (ﷺ) and ask him which of the religious practices is most dear to God—glory and greatness belong to Him. But none of us dared do it. Then the Messenger of God (ﷺ) sent for us one by one until we were all together—we stared at each other with accusing eyes. He recited to us: ﴿Glorifying God is all that exists in the heavens and earth—Almighty,

⁷ While Hadith 4 serves as a brief commentary on Qurʾan 9:20, Ibn ʿAsākir’s audience would have been well aware that the Medinan *Sūrat al-Tawba* (Repentance) dates to after Muhammad’s victory at Tabūk (630 CE), and hence was a foundational text for the ideology of jihad and warfare in the path of God. Since *Sūrat al-Tawba* is comprised of 129 verses, we have not reproduced it here. See Chapter Two, especially pp. 21–23.

⁸ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-imāra (bab faḍl al-shahāda fī sabīl Allāh)* [Book of Administration (Chapter on the merits of achieving martyrdom in the path of God)], 6:36.

إلى آخرها. فتلاها علينا عبد الله ابن سلام من أولها إلى آخرها. قال هلال: فتلاها علينا عطاء بن يسار من أولها إلى آخرها. قال يحيى: فتلاها علينا هلال من أولها إلى آخرها. قال الأوزاعي: فتلاها علينا يحيى من أولها إلى آخرها.

الحديث السادس

٥ أخبرنا أبو المظفر بن أبي القاسم القشيري أنا أبو سعيد محمد بن عبد الرحمان الأديب أنا أبو عمرو محمد بن أحمد بن حمدان أنا أبو يعلى أحمد بن علي بن المثنى ثنا هديبة ابن خالد ثنا أتان بن يزيد ثنا يحيى بن أبي كثير أن زيدا حدثه أن أبا سلام حدثه أن الحارث الأشعري حدثه أن رسول الله

٣ ابن المبارك، كتاب الجهاد، تحقيق نزيه حماد (تونس: دار التونسية، ١٩٧٢)، ٢٨-٢٧ ٥ القسري (مطبوعة)
٦ بن (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ٦ هدية (مطبوعة)

All-Wise. O believers, why do you say what you do not do? ﴿ (Qur'an 61:1–2) from the beginning to the end.⁹ Then 'Abd Allāh ibn Sallām recited it to us from the beginning to the end. Hilāl said: "Then 'Aṭā' ibn Yasār recited it to us from the beginning to the end." Yaḥyā said: "Then Hilāl recited it to us from the beginning to the end." Al-Awzā'ī said: "Then Yayhā recited it to us from the beginning to the end."¹⁰

Hadith 6

Abū al-Muẓaffar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī—Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Adīb—Abū 'Amr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān—Abū Ya'lā Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Muthannā—Hudba ibn Khālid—Abbān ibn Yazīd—Yaḥyā ibn Abū Kathīr—Zayd—Abū Sallām—al-Ḥārith al-Ash'arī, who said:

⁹ This is an explicit reference to the Medinan *Sūrat al-Ṣaff* (The Ranks; 61:1–14), which would have been very familiar to Ibn 'Asākir's audience. Since it addresses the themes of jihad and warfare in the path of God explicitly, it is relevant and helpful to include the entire sura here. It reads:

﴿Glorifying God is all that exists in the heavens and earth—Almighty, All-Wise. O believers, why do you say what you do not do? It is greatly abhorrent to God that you say what you do not do! God loves those who fight (*yuqātilūn*) in His cause in a battle-line, like an edifice, impenetrable. Remember when Moses said to his people: 'My people, why are you doing me harm when you know that I am God's messenger to you?' But when they veered into error, it was God Who caused their hearts to veer, and God guides not a people depraved. Remember when Jesus son of Mary said: 'Children of Israel, I am the messenger of God to you, confirming what preceded me of the Torah, and I bring you glad tidings of a messenger to come after me called Ahmad.' When he brought them wonders they said: 'This is sorcery manifest.' Who is more wicked than one who fabricates lies from God while being called to Islam? God guides not a people who are wicked. They mean to put out the light of God with their mouths, but God shall perfect His light, even though the unbelievers detest it. It is He Who sent His Messenger with Guidance and the religion of truth, to send it victorious over all other religions, even if the polytheists detest it. O believers, shall I point you to a commerce that will save you from a painful torment? That you believe in God and His Messenger; that you exert yourselves (*tujāhidūn*) with your wealth and persons. This would be best for you, if only you knew. He shall forgive you your sins and admit you into Gardens beneath which rivers flow, and pure habitations in the Gardens of Eternal Abode—and that is the greatest of triumphs! And yet another bounty, beloved by you, will He grant you: victory from God and an imminent conquest. Give these glad tidings to the believers. O believers, be the champions of God, as when Jesus son of Mary said to his Apostles: 'Who shall be my champions before God?' and the Apostles replied: 'We are the champions of God.' So a party of the Children of Israel believed while another party disbelieved. And We aided those who believed against their enemies, and they ended up victorious.﴾

¹⁰ See Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, ed. Nazīh Ḥammād (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīya, 1972), 27–28.

صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: إن الله تعالى أمر يحيى بن زكريا عليها السلام بخمس كلمات يعمل بهن ويأمر بني إسرائيل يعملون بهن، وأن عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام قال له: إن الله أمرني بخمس كلمات | نعمل بهن ونأمر بهن بني إسرائيل يعملون بهن، فأما أن تأمرهم وأما أن آمرهم. قال: إنك 6ga
 إن تسبقتي بهن خشيت أن أعدب أو يخسف بي. قال: فجمع الناس في بيت المقدس حتى امتلأ ٥
 وقعد الناس على الشرفات. قال: فوعظهم قال: إن الله أمرني بخمس كلمات أعمل بهن وأمرم أن تعملوا بهن. أولهن أن تعبدوا الله ولا تشركوا به شيئاً، وأن مثل من أشرك بالله كمثل رجل اشترى ١٠
 عبداً من خالص ماله بذهب أو ورق قال: هذه داري وهذا عملي فاعمل وأد إلي، فجعل يعمل ويؤدّي إلى غير سيده، فأيمك يسره أن يكون عبده كذلك؟ فإن الله خلقكم ورزقكم فلا تشركوا به شيئاً. وأمرم بالصلاة، فإذا صلّيتم فلا تلتفتوا. وأمرم بالصيام، وأن مثل ذلك كمثل رجل كانت ١٥
 معه صرة فيها مسك ومعه عصاة كلهم يعجبهم أن يجد ريحها، فإن الصائم عند الله يعني أطيب من ريح المسك. وأمرم بالصدقة، فإن مثل ذلك كمثل رجل أسره العدو وقاموا إليه فأوثقوا يده إلى عنقه فقال: هل لكم أن أفدي نفسي منكم؟ قال: فجعل يعطيهم القليل والكثير ليفك نفسه منهم. ٢٠
 وأمرم بذكر الله كثيراً، وأن مثل ذلك كمثل رجل طلبه العدو سراعاً في أثره حتى أتى على حصن حصين فأحرز نفسه فيه، كذلك العبد لا يحرز نفسه من الشيطان إلا بذكر الله عز وجل. وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: وأنا أمرم بخمس أمرني الله بهن: الجماعة والسمع والطاعة والهجرة ١٥
 والجهاد في سبيل الله عز وجل. فمن فارق الجماعة قيد شبر خلع يعني رتبة الإسلام من رأسه إلا أن يرجع، ومن دعا بدعوى الجاهلية فإنه من جثا بهم. قيل: وإن صام وصلأ؟ قال: وإن صام وصلأ، فادعوا بدعوى الله | الذي ستمى الله به المسلمين المؤمنين عباد الله. 6gb

أخرجه الترمذي عن محمد بن إسماعيل البخاري عن موسى بن إسماعيل التبوذكي عن أبان. وقوله ٢٠
 قيد شبر، أي قدر شبر.

٣ يعمل (مطبوعة) ٣ يأمر (مطبوعة) ٨ غير (في هامش المخطوطة بخط البرزالي) ١٠ فيها (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ١٦ قبل (مطبوعة) ١٧ جثي (مطبوعة) ١٩ سنن الترمذي، كتاب الأمثال (باب ٣: ما جاء في مثل الصلاة)، ٥: ١٣٦-١٣٧ (رقم ٢٨٦٣) ٢٠ قبل (مطبوعة) ٢٠ قيل و (مطبوعة)

69a The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “God Almighty commanded John son of Zechariah—peace on both of them—to abide by five words and to command the Israelites to abide by them too. Jesus son of Mary—peace on him—said to him: ‘God has commanded us to abide by five words | and to command the Israelites to abide by them too. So either you command them or I will.’ John said: ‘If you do it before me I fear lest I be tortured or swallowed into the ground.’ So he summoned the people to the Temple [*Bayt al-Maqdis*] until it was full and many sat on the terraces. He preached to them, saying: ‘God has commanded me to abide by five words and to command you to abide by them too. First is that you worship God and do not associate with Him any one, for the polytheist is like a man who bought a slave from his own wealth—gold or silver—and told him: “This is my house and this is my estate; work and bring the revenues to me.” The slave started working but gave the revenues to someone other than his lord. Who among you is pleased if his slave does that? God has indeed created you and granted you sustenance so do not associate with Him any one. I also command you to pray, and when you pray do not look around. I also command you to fast, for that is like a man who has a sack of frankincense and is followed by a gang who are eager to smell it. The person who fasts is worthier in God’s sight than the pure smell of frankincense. I also command you to pay alms, for that is like a man who is taken captive by the enemy, who then tied his hand to his neck. He said to them: “Can I ransom myself from you?” He gave them everything so that he could be freed from them. I also command you to remember God constantly, for that is like a man whose enemy is close on his trail and who reaches an impenetrable fortress and fortifies himself in it. Similar is the servant, for he is only fortified from Satan by the constant remembrance of God—glory and greatness belong to Him.” The Messenger of God (ﷺ) added: “I, too, command you to abide by five which God has commanded me: membership in the community, hearing, obeying, making the migration [to Islam], and waging jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him. Whoever distances himself from the community, even for an arm’s length, casts off the tie of Islam from his head unless he comes back, and whoever uses the supplication of the pre-Islamic Age of Ignorance is in the companies of Hell.” He was asked: “Even if he prays and fasts?” The prophet replied: “Even if he prays and fasts. Make sure you use God’s supplication | as a result of which God called the believing Muslims the worshippers of God.”

69b

Al-Tirmidhī authenticated this—Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī—Mūsā ibn Ismā‘īl al-Tabūdhakī—Abbān.¹¹ The meaning of “*even for an arm’s length*” is approximately an arm’s length.

¹¹ *Sunan al-Tirmidhī, Kitāb al-amthāl (bāb 3: mā jā’ fi mithl al-ṣalāt)* [Book of Parables (Chapter 3: what was said about what is comparable to the prayer)], 5:136–137 (no. 2863).

الحديث السابع

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله محمد بن الفضل الفقيه بنيسابور أنا أبو بكر أحمد بن منصور بن خلف أنا محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن الجوزقي أنا أبو حامد ابن الشرقي ثنا محمد بن يحيى ثنا محمد بن يوسف ثنا الأوزاعي عن الزهري حدثني عطاء بن يزيد عن أبي سعيد قال: جاء أعرابي إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال: يرسل الله أي الناس خيراً؟ قال: رجل جاهد بنفسه وماله، ورجل في شعب من الشعاب يعبد ربه ويدع الناس من شره.

رواه البخاري عن محمد بن يوسف، ورواه مسلم عن الدارمي عن محمد بن يوسف.

الحديث الثامن

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله محمد بن الفضل أنا أحمد بن منصور أنا أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الله الشيباني أنا أبو العباس الدغولي ثنا محمد بن إسماعيل ثنا عقان ابن مسلم ثنا همام ثنا محمد بن حمادة، قال: وأخبرنا الشيباني أنا أبو حامد ابن الشرقي ثنا محمد بن يحيى وعلي بن سعيد النسوي وأحمد بن يوسف السلمى قالوا: ثنا عقان بن مسلم ثنا همام ثنا محمد بن حمادة أن أبا حصين حدثه أن ذكوان أبا صالح حدثه أن أبا هريرة حدثه قال: جاء رجل إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال: يرسل الله علمني عملاً يعدل الجهاد في سبيل الله. | قال: لا أجده. قال: هل تستطيع إذا خرج المجاهد في سبيل الله أن تدخل مسجدك، فتقوم لا تفتر وتصوم ولا تفطر؟ قال: لا أستطيع ذلك. قال أبو هريرة: إن فرس المجاهد يستن في طولته فيكتب له حسنات.

رواه البخاري عن إسحاق عن عقان بن مسلم.

٣ الشرفي (مطبوعة) ٧ صحيح البخاري، كتاب الرقاق (باب ٣٤: الغزاة)، ١١: ٣٣١-٣٣٠ (رقم ٦٤٩٤)؛ أنظر أيضاً كتاب الجهاد والسير (باب ٢: أفضل الناس)، ٦: ٦ (رقم ٢٧٨٦) ٧ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإمامة (باب فضل الجهاد والرباط)، ٦: ٣٩ ١١ الشرفي (مطبوعة) ١٧ صحيح البخاري، كتاب الجهاد والسير (باب ١: فضل الجهاد والسير)، ٦: ٤ (رقم ٢٧٨٥)

Hadith 7

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Faqīh, in Nishapur—Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr ibn Khalaf—Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jawzaqī—Abū Ḥāmid ibn al-Sharqī—Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā—Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf—al-Awzā‘ī—al-Zuhrī—‘Aṭā’ ibn Yazīd—Abū Sa‘īd, who said:

A nomad came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and asked: “O Messenger of God, who is the best of people?” He replied: “A man who wages jihad with his life and with his wealth, and a man in a mountain gorge who worships his Lord and spares people from his iniquity.”

Al-Bukhārī related this—Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf.¹² Muslim also related it—al-Dārimī—Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf.¹³

Hadith 8

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl—Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Shaybānī—Abū al-‘Abbās al-Daghūlī—Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl—‘Affān ibn Muslim—Hammām—Muḥammad ibn Jaḥāda; and al-Shaybānī—Abū Ḥāmid ibn al-Sharqī—Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, ‘Alī ibn Sa‘īd al-Nasawī, and Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Sulamī—‘Affān ibn Muslim—Hammām—Muḥammad ibn Jaḥāda. They said—Abū Ḥuṣayn—Dhikwān Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayra, who said:

A man came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and asked: “O Messenger of God, teach me something that equals waging jihad in the path of God?” | The Prophet replied: “I cannot find any. Can you—when the jihad fighter goes out to fight in the path of God—enter the mosque, pray ceaselessly, and fast continuously?” The man replied: “That I cannot do.” Abū Hurayra added: “Even the wanderings of the jihad fighter’s horse earn him good deeds.”

Al-Bukhārī related this—Ishāq—‘Affān ibn Muslim.¹⁴

70a

¹² *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-riqāq (bāb 34: al-‘uzla)* [Book of Tenderness (Chapter 34: on seclusion)], 1:330–331 (no. 6494), and *Kitāb al-jihād wa-l-siyar (bāb 2: afḍal al-nās)* [Book of Jihad and Proper Comportment (Chapter 2: on the best of people)], 6:6 (no. 2786).

¹³ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-imāra (bāb faḍl al-jihād wa-l-ribāt)* [Book of Administration (Chapter on the merits of jihad and garrisoning)], 6:39.

¹⁴ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-jihād wa-l-siyar (bāb 1: faḍl al-jihād wa-l-siyar)* [Book of Jihad and Proper Comportment (Chapter 1: on the merits of jihad and proper comportment)], 6:4 (no. 2785).

الحديث التاسع

أخبرنا أبو محمد هبة الله بن سهل بن عمر الفقيه أنا أبو عثمان سعيد بن محمد بن أحمد أنا أبو علي زاهر بن أحمد الفقيه أنا إبراهيم بن عبد الصمد الهاشمي ثنا أبو مصعب أحمد بن أبي بكر الزهري ثنا مالك بن أنس عن أبي الزناد عن الأعرج عن أبي هريرة أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: مثل المجاهد في سبيل الله كمثل الصائم القائم الدائم الذي لا يفتر صلاةً ولا صياماً حتى يرجع.

رواه مالك في الموطأ.

الحديث العاشر

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله الحسين بن عبد الملك أنا أبو القاسم إبراهيم بن منصور أنا أبو بكر محمد بن إبراهيم أنا أبو يعلى أحمد بن علي التميمي ثنا أبو خزيمة ثنا جرير عن عمارة عن أبي زرعة عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: تضمن الله عز وجل لمن خرج في سبيله لا يخرجه إلا جهاد في سبيلي وإيمان بي وتصديق برسولي، فهو عليّ ضامن أن أدخله الجنة أو أرجعه إلى مسكنه الذي خرج منه نائلاً ما نال من أجر أو غنيمة. والذي نفس محمد بيده ما من كلم يكلم في سبيل الله إلا جاء | يوم القيامة كهينته يوم كُلم، لونه لون دمٍ وريحه ريح مسك. والذي نفسي بيده 70b لولا أن أشق على المسلمين ما قعدت خلاف سرية تغزوا في سبيل الله أبداً، ولكن لا أجد سعة ويشق عليهم أن يتخلفوا عتي. والذي نفس محمد بيده لوددت أن أغزوا في سبيل الله فأقتل، ثم أغزوا فأقتل، ثم أغزوا فأقتل. 10

٢ محمد (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ٢ سهيل (مطبوعة) ٣ بن محمد بن أحمد أنا أبو علي زاهر بن أحمد الفقيه أنا إبراهيم (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ٥ القائم (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ٦ موطأ مالك، كتاب الجهاد (باب ١: الترغيب في الجهاد)، ٢: ٤٤٣ (رقم ١) ٩ أحمد (ساقطة من مطبوعة) ١٤ فأحلمهم ولا يجدون سعة (زيادة في مطبوعة)

Hadith 9

Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh ibn Sahl ibn ‘Umar al-Faqīh—Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad—Abū ‘Alī Zāhir ibn Aḥmad al-Faqīh—Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Hāshimī—Abū Muṣ‘ab Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr al-Zuhrī—Mālik ibn Anas—Abū al-Zanād—al-A‘raj—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “The jihad fighter in the path of God is like someone who continuously fasts and stands for prayer; who ceases neither his prayer nor his fasting until he returns.”

Mālik related this in the *Muwattaʿa*.¹⁵

Hadith 10

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd al-Malik—Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm ibn Maṣṣūr—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm—Abū Ya‘lā Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Tamīmī—Abū Khaythama—Jarīr‘Umāra—Abū Zur‘a—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “God—glory and greatness belong to Him—guarantees the rewards for whoever sets out in His path: ‘If what made him set out is waging jihad in My path, belief in Me, and acceptance of My messenger, I guarantee him either admission to Paradise or return to whence he set out with a reward or booty.’ By the One in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, every wound [*kalm*] inflicted in the path of God will appear on | the Day of Resurrection in the same condition as it was when it was first inflicted; its color, the color of blood; its smell, the smell of musk. By the One in whose hand is my soul, if it were not a hardship for the Muslims, I would never idle behind from a raiding party going out to fight in the path of God. But I do not have the means; and it would be a hardship for them to not accompany me. By the One in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, I love to raid in the path of God and be killed, to raid again and be killed, and to raid again and be killed.”

70b

¹⁵ *Muwattaʿa*’ Mālik, *Kitāb al-jihād (bāb 1: al-targhib fi al-jihād)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter 1: on making jihad desirable)], 2:443 (no. 1).

رواه البخاري عن حرمي بن حفص عن عبد الواحد بن زياد عن عمارة بن القعقاع، ورواه مسلم عن أبي خبيثة. والكلم الجرح وجمعه كُوم وكلام، وقوله خلاف سرية، أي بعدها.

الحديث الحادي عشر

أخبرنا أبو المظفر عبد المنعم بن عبد الكريم القشيري أنا أبي أبو القاسم أنا أبو نعيم عبد الملك بن الحسن أنا أبو عوانة الحافظ ثنا يونس بن عبد الأعلى ثنا ابن وهب أخبرني أبو هاني الخولاني عن أبي عبد الرحمان الحبلي عن أبي سعيد الخدري أنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: يَا أبا سعيد من رضي بالله رباً وبالإسلام ديناً ومحمد نبياً وجبت له الجنة. قال: فعجب لها أبو سعيد قال: أعدها عليّ رسول الله. ففعل، ثم قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: وأخرى يرفع الله بها العبد مائة درجة في الجنة، ما بين كلّ درجتين كما بين السماء والأرض. قال: وما هي رسول الله؟ قال: الجهاد في سبيل الله عزّ وجلّ.

رواه مسلم عن سعيد بن منصور عن ابن وهب.

الحديث الثاني عشر

أخبرنا أبو القاسم إساعيل بن محمد بن الفضل الحافظ أنا عبد الوهاب | ابن محمد بن إسحاق أنا والدي أبو عبد الله أنا محمد بن الحسين بن الحسن ثنا أحمد ابن الأزهر ثنا يونس بن محمد ثنا فليح بن سليمان عن هلال بن علي عن عطاء بن يسار—قال فليح: ولا أعلمه إلا قال وابن أبي

١ صحيح البخاري، كتاب الإيمان (باب ٢٦: الجهاد من الإيمان) ١: ٩٢ (رقم ٣٦): أظن أيضاً كتاب الجهاد والسير (باب ٢: أفضل الناس)، ٦: ٦ (٢٧٨٧) و(باب ٧: تمتي الشهادة)، ٦: ١٦ (رقم ٢٧٩٧) ٢ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإمارة (باب فضل الجهاد والخروج)، ٦: ٣٤-٣٣ ٢ الجرم (مطبوعة) ٧ وجمعت (مطبوعة) ٨ بها (مطبوعة) ١١ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإمارة (باب ما أعد الله للمجاهد)، ٦: ٣٧ ١٥ ثنا أحمد ابن الأزهر ثنا يونس بن محمد ثنا فليح بن سليمان (ساقطة من مطبوعة)

Al-Bukhārī related this—Ḥaramī ibn Ḥafṣ—‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Ziyād—‘Umāra ibn al-Qa‘qā.¹⁶ Muslim also related it—Abū Khaythama.¹⁷ The *kalm* means the wound; its plural is *kulūm* or *kilām*. The meaning of “abstain from any raiding party” is to stay behind.

Hadith 11

Abū al-Muẓaffar ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī—my father Abū al-Qāsim—Abū Nu‘aym ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-Ḥasan—Abū ‘Uwāna al-Ḥāfiẓ—Yūnus ibn ‘Abd al-‘Alā—Ibn Wahb—Abū Hānī al-Khawlanī—Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Ḥubulī—Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, who said:

The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: “O Abū Sa‘īd, whoever accepts God as his Lord, Islam as his religion, and Muḥammad as his messenger, Paradise is truly his.” Abū Sa‘īd was amazed at this and said: “O Messenger of God, would you repeat it to me.” The Messenger of God (ṣ) did, and added: “There is another act for which God elevates a worshiper 100 ranks in Paradise, and what is between two ranks is equal to that between the heavens and the earth.” Abū Sa‘īd said: “What is that, O Messenger of God?” He replied: “Jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him.”

Muslim related this—Sa‘īd ibn Manṣūr—Ibn Wahb.¹⁸

Hadith 12

71a Abū al-Qasim Ismā‘īl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥāfiẓ—‘Abd al-Wahhāb | ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq—my father Abū ‘Abd Allāh [Muḥammad ibn Ishāq]—Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan—Aḥmad ibn al-Azhar—Yūnis ibn Muḥammad—Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān—Hilāl ibn ‘Alī—‘Aṭa’ ibn Yasār (Fulayḥ commented: “What I know is that he (Ḥilāl) added: ‘and Ibn Abū ‘Amra’”)—Abū Hurayra, who said:

¹⁶ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-īmān (bāb 26: al-jihād min al-īmān)* [Book of Faith (Chapter 26: on jihad being one of the aspects of belief)], 1:92 (no. 36). See also *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-jihād wa-l-siyar (bāb 2: aḥdāḥ al-nās)* [Book of Jihad and Proper Comportment (Chapter 2: on the best of people)], 6:6 (no. 2787); and (*bāb 7: tamannī al-shahāda*) [(Chapter 7: on desiring martyrdom)], 6:16 (no. 2797).

¹⁷ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-īmān (bāb faḍl al-jihād wa-l-khurūj)* [Book of Administration (Chapter on the merits of jihad and campaigning)], 6:33–34.

¹⁸ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-īmān (bāb mā a‘add Allāh li-l-mujāhid)* [Book of Administration (Chapter on what God has prepared for the jihad fighter)], 6:37.

عمرة—عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: في الجنة مائة درجة، ما بين كلّ درجتين كما بين السماء والأرض، أعدّها اللهُ للمجاهدين في سبيله، فإذا سألتُ اللهُ فاستلوه الفردوس فإنّه وسط الجنة وأعلى الجنة ومنه تفجّر أنهار الجنة وفوقه عرش الرحمان عزّ وجلّ.
هذا حديث حسن.

٥ الحديث الثالث عشر

أخبرنا أبو الفضل محمد بن إسماعيل بن الفضيل وأبو المحاسن أسعد بن علي ابن الموفق وأبو بكر أحمد بن يحيى بن الحسن وأبو الوقت عبد الأول بن عيسى بن شعيب بهراة قالوا: أنا أبو الحسن عبد الرحمان بن محمد بن المظفر أنا أبو محمد عبد الله بن أحمد بن السرخسي أنا أبو عمران عيسى بن عمر السمرقندي أنا أبو محمد عبد الله ابن عبد الرحمان الدارمي أنا عبد الله بن صالح حدّثني يحيى بن أيّوب عن هشام عن الحسن عن عمران بن حصين أن رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قال: مقام الرجل في الصّف في سبيل الله أفضل من عبادة الرجل ستّين سنة.
هذا حديث حسن.

الحديث الرابع عشر

أخبرنا أبو غالب أحمد بن الحسن بن البتا أنا أبو الحسين محمد بن أحمد بن الأنبوسي أنا أبو إسحاق إبراهيم بن محمد بن الفتح ثنا أبو يوسف محمد بن سفيان بن موسى ثنا سعيد بن رحمة بن نعيم قال: سمعت عبد الله بن المبارك عن عبد الحميد بن بهرام عن شهر بن حوشب عن عبد الرحمان بن غنم عن معاذ بن جبل عن النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قال: والذي نفس محمد بيده ما شئب وجه ولا أغبرت قدم في عمل يتنقى به درجات الجنة بعد الصلاة المفروضة كجهاد في سبيل الله عزّ وجلّ، ولا ثقل ميزان عبد كدابة تُنْفَق له في سبيل الله أو يُحْمَل عليها في سبيل الله عزّ وجلّ.
٢٠ قوله شئب، تغير.

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “There are 100 ranks in Paradise; what is between two ranks is equal to that between the heavens and the earth. God has prepared them for those who wage jihad in His path. If you ask God for something, ask Him for the Garden, for it is in the midst of Paradise—in the upper part of Paradise; from it flow the rivers of Paradise, and above it is the Throne of the Merciful—glory and greatness belong to Him.”

This is a good hadith.

Hadith 13

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn al-Fuḍayl, Abū al-Maḥāsīn As‘ad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Muwaffaq, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥasan, and Abū al-Waqt ‘Abd al-Awwal ibn ‘Īsā ibn Shu‘ayb, in Herat—Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar—Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Sarkhasī—Abū ‘Imrān ‘Īsā ibn ‘Umar al-Samarqandī—Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ—Yaḥyā ibn Ayyūb—Hishām—al-Ḥasan—‘Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Lining up for a battle in the path of God is worthier than sixty years of worship.”

This is a good hadith.

Hadith 14

Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bannā—Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Abanūsī—Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faṭḥ—Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad ibn Sufyān ibn Mūsā—Sa‘īd ibn Raḥma ibn Nu‘aym—‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak—‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bahrām—Shahr ibn Ḥawshab—‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghanm—Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal, who said:

71b The Prophet (ﷺ) | said: By the One in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, after the obligatory prayer, no emaciated face or foot dirtied in an effort to earn the ranks of Paradise is worthier than waging jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him. And nothing is weightier in the scales of justice for a servant than that his riding animal be slain in the path of God or ridden in an attack in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him.¹⁹

The term “*emaciated*” means changed.

¹⁹ See Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 43–44.

الحديث الخامس عشر

أخبرنا أبو القاسم هبة الله بن محمد بن الحصين أنا الحسن بن علي التميمي أنا أحمد بن جعفر القطيعي ثنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد بن حنبل حدثني أبي ثنا أبو المغيرة ثنا معاذ بن رفاعه حدثني علي بن يزيد عن القاسم عن أبي أمامة قال: خرجنا مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في سرية من سراياه قال: فمر رجل بغار فيه شيء من ماء. قال: فحدثت نفسه بأن يقيم في ذلك الغار، فيقوته ما كان فيه شيء من ماء ويصيب ما حوله من البقل ويتخلأ من الدنيا. قال: لو آتني النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فذكرت ذلك له، فإن يأذن لي فعلت وإلا لم أفعل. فأتاه فقال: يا نبي الله إني مرت بغار فيه ماء يقوتني من الماء والبقل فحدثتني نفسي بأن أقيم فيه وأتخلى من الدنيا. قال: فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: إني لم أبعث باليهودية ولا بالنصرانية، وإنما بعثت بالحنيفية السمحة. والذي نفس محمد بيده لغدوة أو روحة في سبيل الله عز وجل خير من الدنيا وما فيها، ومقام أحدكم في الصّف خير من صلاته ستين سنة.

الحديث السادس عشر

72a أخبرنا أبو نصر أحمد بن محمد بن عبد الملك الأسدي أنا أبو الفرج أحمد بن عثمان بن الفضل بن جعفر أنا أبو القاسم عبيد الله بن محمد بن إسحاق بن حبابه ثنا أبو بكر محمد بن إبراهيم بن نيروز الأماطي ثنا الفضل بن عيسى ثنا معمر بن مخلد ثنا قاسم بن بهرام عن قتادة عن أنس بن مالك قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: من غزا غزوة في سبيل الله عز وجل فقد أدى إلى الله عز وجل جميع طاعته ﴿فمن شاء فليؤمن﴾ ﴿ثواب الله﴾ ﴿ومن شاء فليكفر﴾ إنا اعتدنا للظالمين

Hadith 15

Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥuṣayn—al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-Tamīmī—Aḥmad ibn Ja‘far al-Qaṭī‘ī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal—my father—Abū al-Mughīra—Mu‘ādh ibn Rifā‘a—‘Alī ibn Yazīd—al-Qāsim—Abū Umāma, who said:

We went out with the Messenger of God (ﷺ) on one of his raiding parties. One of us passed by a cave in which there was a small spring. It occurred to him to stay in the cave and renounce the world; the spring could provide him with water, and the land around the cave could provide him with vegetables. He said: “I should come to the Prophet (ﷺ) and tell him about my thought. If he approves it, I shall do it, and if not I won’t.” The man came and asked him: “O Prophet of God, I passed by a cave in which was a small spring; its water and vegetables would suffice me. It occurred to me to stay in it and renounce the world.” The Prophet (ﷺ) replied: “I was not sent to preach Judaism or Christianity. Rather, I was sent to preach the pure lenient monotheism. By the One in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, a morning or evening errand made in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him—is worthier than the world and what is in it, and for one to line up for battle is worthier than his prayer for sixty years.”

Hadith 16

72a Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Asadī—Abū al-Faraj | Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān ibn al-Faḍl ibn Ja‘far—Abū al-Qāsim ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ḥabāba—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nayrūz al-Anmāṭī—al-Faḍl ibn ‘Īsā—Ma‘mar ibn Mukhlid—Qāsim ibn Bahrām—Qatāda—Anas ibn Mālik, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “He who conducts a raid in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him—has rendered all his submission to God—glory and greatness belong to Him—as in ﴿Whoso wishes, let him believe;﴾—in God’s reward—﴿whoso wishes, let him blaspheme. To the

ناراً ﴿١٠﴾. قال: قيل يرسل الله وبعد هذا الحديث الذي سمعناه منك من يدع الجهاد ويقعد؟ قال: من لعنه الله وغضب عليه وأعد له عذاباً عظيماً، قوم يكونون في آخر الزمان لا يرون الجهاد، وقد اتخذ ربي عنده عهد ألا يخلف أيما عبد لقيه وهو يرى ذلك أن يعذبه عذاباً لا يعذبه أحداً من العالمين.

٥ الحديث السابع عشر

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله الأديب أنا أبو القاسم السلمي أنا أبو بكر بن المقرئ أنا أحمد بن علي بن المشي ثنا إسحاق بن أبي إسرائيل ثنا جعفر بن سليمان ثنا أبو عمران الجوني عن أبي بكر بن عبد الله بن قيس قال: سمعت أبي وهو بحضرة العدو قال: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: إن أبواب الجنة تحت ظلال السيوف. قال: فقام رجل من القوم رث الهيئة فقال: يا أبا موسى أنت سمعت هذا من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ قال: نعم. قال: فرجع إلى أصحابه فقال: أقرأ عليكم السلام، ثم كسر جفن سيفه فألقاه، ثم مشى بسيفه إلى العدو، فقاتل حتى قُتل.

رواه مسلم عن يحيى بن يحيى وقتيبة عن جعفر.

١ سورة الكهف (١٨): ٢٩ ٣ لا (مطبوعة) ٦ المقرئ (مطبوعة) ١٢ صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإمامة (باب ثبوت الجنة للشهيد)، ٦: ٤٥

wicked We have prepared a Fire ﴿﴾ (Qur'an 18:29).²⁰ Anas said: "O Messenger of God, now that we have heard this hadith from you, who would dare abandon jihad and stay behind?" The Messenger of God (ﷺ) replied: "He whom God has cursed and is angry with; God has prepared for him a gruesome punishment. For at the end of days, there will appear a group of people who do not believe in jihad. God took an oath upon Himself that everyone who says that will be tortured like no other sinful human being."

Hadith 17

Abū al-'Abd Allāh al-Adīb—Abū al-Qāsim al-Sulamī—Abū Bakr ibn al-Muqri'—Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Muthannā—Ishāq ibn Abū Isrā'īl—Ja'far ibn Sulaymān—Abū 'Imrān al-Jūnī—Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Qays, who said:

I heard my father [Abū Mūsā] say while campaigning against the enemy: "I heard the Messenger of God (ﷺ) say: 'Surely, the gates of Paradise are in the shadow of the swords.'" A slovenly-looking man stood up and asked: "O Abū Mūsā, did you hear this from the Messenger of God (ﷺ)?" He said: "Yes." The man returned to his companions and said: "I bid you farewell." He then broke the sheath of his sword and tossed it aside; he advanced against the enemy with his sword and fought until he was killed.

Muslim related this—Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā and Qutayba—Ja'far.²¹

²⁰ Ibn 'Asākir's audience would have been well aware of the continuation of the Meccan *Sūrat al-Kahf* (The Cave; 18:29–31), which address themes of eternal rewards and punishments:

﴿﴾ Say: 'The truth has come from your Lord. Whoso wishes, let him believe; Whoso wishes, let him blaspheme.' To the wicked We have prepared a Fire, with its wall surrounding it. When they cry out for help, they are helped to water resembling molten metal, scorching their faces. Wretched that drink and wretched that place of rest. As for those who believed and performed good deeds—We waste not the wage of one righteous in works. To them belong the Gardens of Eden, beneath which rivers flow, and in which they shall be decked with bracelets of gold, and shall wear green raiment of silk and brocade, reclining therein on couches. Happy that reward and happy that place of rest. ﴿﴾

²¹ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-imāra (bāb thubūt al-janna li-l-shahīd)* [Book of Administration (Chapter on the proofs that the martyr attains paradise)], 6:45.

الحديث الثامن عشر

- 72b أخبرنا أبو القاسم زاهر بن طاهر المستملي بنيسابور أنا أبو بكر أحمد بن الحسين الحافظ، وأخبرنا أبو محمد عبد الكريم ابن حمزة بدمشق ثنا أبو بكر أحمد بن علي الخطيب قال: أنا عبد الله ابن يحيى بن عبد الجبار أنا إسماعيل بن محمد الصقار ثنا عباس بن عبد الله الترقفي ثنا أبو عبد الرحمان المقرئ ثنا سعيد يعني ابن أبي أيوب ثنا محمد بن عبد الرحمان أبو الأسود عن مجاهد عن أبي هريرة أنه كان في المرباط ففزعوا فخرجوا إلى الساحل ثم قيل لا بأس فانصرف الناس وأبو هريرة واقف فمر به إنسان فقال: ما يوقنك يا أبا هريرة؟ فقال: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: موقف ساعة في سبيل الله خير من مقام ليلة القدر عند الحجر الأسود.

الحديث التاسع عشر

- 10 أخبرنا أبو القاسم غانم بن خالد بن عبد الواحد وأبو عبد الله ابن عبد الملك الأصبهانيان قال: أنا عبد الرزاق بن عمر بن موسى أنا أبو بكر ابن المقرئ ثنا أحمد بن عبد الوارث الخولاني ثنا أبو موسى عيسى بن حماد زُغْبَةَ ثنا الليث بن سعد عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب عن أبي الخير عن أبي الخطاب عن أبي سعيد الخدري أنه قال: إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عام تبوك خطب الناس وهو مصيف ظهره إلى نخلة فقال: ألا أخبركم بخير الناس وشرّ الناس؟ إن من خير الناس رجل عمل في سبيل الله على فرسه أو على بعيره أو على قدميه حتى يأتيه الموت وهو على ذلك، وإن من شرّ الناس رجل فاجر جريء يقرأ كتاب الله لا يرعوي إلى شيء منه.

رواه النسائي عن قتيبة بن سعيد عن الليث.

٢ المستملي (مطبوعة) ٤ الصغار (مطبوعة) ٥ المقرئ (مطبوعة) ١١ المقرئ (مطبوعة) ١٥ رجلاً (مطبوعة) عن هامش المخطوطة بغير خط البرزالي) ١٥ ظهر فرسه (مطبوعة) ١٥ ظهر بعيره (مطبوعة) ١٦ رجلاً فاجراً جريئاً (مطبوعة عن هامش المخطوطة بغير خط البرزالي) ١٧ ورواه أحمد عن هاشم بن القاسم ويونس وفتح عن الليث (زيادة في مطبوعة عن هامش المخطوطة بغير خط البرزالي) ١٧ سنن النسائي، كتاب الجهاد (فضل من عمل في سبيل الله على قدمه)، ٥: ١٢-١١.

Hadith 18

72b Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir ibn Tāhir al-Mustamlī, in Nishapur—Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāfiz; and Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥamza, in Damascus—Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Khaṭīb. They said—‘Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār—Ismā‘īl ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣafār—‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Tarqūfī—Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Muqri’—Sa‘īd, that is Ibn Abū Ayyūb—Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū al-Aswad—Mujāhid—Abū Hurayra, [who said]:

Once he was in a group manning a garrison when they were alerted to an attack. They headed towards the coast to find that there was no threat. The people left except for Abū Hurayra who stood there. A man passed by him and asked: “What makes you stand here, O Abū Hurayra?” He replied:

I heard the Messenger of God (ﷺ) say: “An hour spent standing in the path of God in wait for the enemy is worthier than spending the entire Night of Power worshiping at the Black Stone [of the Ka‘ba].”²²

Hadith 19

Abū al-Qāsim Ghānim ibn Khālid ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, and Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, both from Isfahan—‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn ‘Umar ibn Mūsā—Abū Bakr ibn al-Muqri’—Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wārith al-Khaw-lānī—Abū Mūsā ‘Īsā ibn Ḥammād, Zughba—al-Layth ibn Sa‘d—Yazīd ibn Abū Ḥabīb—Abū al-Khayr—Abū al-Khaṭṭāb—Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, who said:

73a The year Tabūk was captured (630 CE), the Messenger of God (ﷺ) preached to the people while leaning against a palm tree. He said: “Have I told you about the best of people and the worst of people? The best of people is a man who labors in the path of God | on his horse, on his camel, or on his feet, and while in that state death takes him. The worst of people is an immoral and imprudent man who reads the Book of God but heeds nothing in it.”

Al-Nasā’ī related this—Qutayba ibn Sa‘īd—al-Layth.²³

²² This is an explicit reference to the Qur’an, specifically the brief Meccan *Sūrat al-Qadr* (The Power; 97:1–5), which reads:

﴿We sent it down in the Night of Power! But how can you know what is the Night of Power? The Night of Power is better than a thousand months. In it, the angels and the Spirit are sent swarming down, by their Lord’s leave, attending to every command. Peace is it that Night, till the break of dawn.﴾

²³ *Sunan al-Nasā’ī, Kitāb al-jihād (faḍl man ‘amil fi sabīl Allāh ‘alā qadamih)* [Book of Jihād (on the merits of the one who labors in the path of God on his own foot)], 5:11–12.

الحديث العشرون

أخبرنا أبو سهل محمد بن إبراهيم بن سعدويه أنا أبو الفضل الرازي أنا جعفر بن عبد الله الرازي ثنا محمد بن هارون ثنا علي بن سهل هو الرملي ثنا الوليد بن مسلم عن يحيى بن الحارث. قال الوليد: ومّر بي يحيى بن الحارث فقال: إنّا مرادنا الخروج إلى هذا الوجه فهل من فرس يستمتع بها في سبيل الله فأبّي سمعت العاصم بن عبد الرحمان يقول: سمعت أبا أمامة يخبر عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أنّه قال: من لم يغز أو يجهز غازياً أو يخلف غازياً في أهله بخير أصابه الله بقارعة يوم القيامة.

رواه أبو داود عن عمرو بن عثمان وغيره عن الوليد.

الحديث الحادي والعشرون

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله الخلال أنا أبو القاسم السلمي أنا محمد بن إبراهيم أنا أبو يعلى الموصلي ثنا أحمد بن عيسى ثنا ابن وهب عن أبي هاني الخولاني عن عمرو بن مالك عن فضالة بن عبيد أنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: كلّ ميّت يُختم على عمله إلا المربط في سبيل الله فإنه ينمو له عمله إلى يوم القيامة ويؤمن من فتنان القبر.

رواه أبو داود عن سعيد بن منصور عن ابن وهب، وقال الترمذي: هو حسن صحيح.

73b

الحديث الثاني والعشرون

أخبرنا أبو الفضيلي وأبو المحاسن أسعد بن علي وأبو بكر أحمد ابن يحيى وأبو الوقت عبد الأول بن عيسى قالوا: أنا عبد الرحمان بن محمد ببوشنج أنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن حموية أنا عيسى بن عمر السمرقندي أنا عبد الله بن عبد الرحمان الدارمي أنا عبد الله بن يزيد ثنا بن لهيعة عن مشرح

٣ هو (ساقطة في مطبوعة) ٨ سنن أبي داود، كتاب الجهاد (باب كراهية ترك الغزو)، ١٠: ٣ (رقم ٢٥٠٣)
 ١٤ سنن أبي داود، كتاب الجهاد (باب في فضل الرباط)، ٩: ٣ (رقم ٢٥٠٠) ١٤ سنن الترمذي، كتاب فضائل الجهاد (باب ما جاء في فضل من مات مرابطاً)، ٤: ١٤٢ (رقم ١٦٢١) ١٨ الدارمي (مصححة في هامش المخطوطة بخط البرزالي) ١٨ أنا (مطبوعة)

Hadith 20

Abū Sahl Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa‘dawayh—Abū al-Faḍl al-Rāzī—Ja‘far ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Rāzī—Muḥammad ibn Hārūn—‘Alī ibn Sahl, that is al-Ramlī—al-Walīd ibn Muslim—Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith. Al-Walīd said:

Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith passed by me and said: “It is our intent to go out to fulfill this duty. Where can one find a mare to ride in the path of God? For I have heard al-‘Āṣim ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān say that he heard Abū Umāma say: ‘The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: He who does not participate in a raid, sponsor a raider, or take care of a raider’s family, God will strike him with the calamity of the Day of Resurrection.’”

Abū Dāwūd related this—‘Amr ibn ‘Uthmān and others—al-Walīd.²⁴

Hadith 21

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Khallāl—Abū al-Qāsim al-Sulamī—Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm—Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣilī—Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsā—Ibn Wahb—Abū Hānī al-Khawlanī—‘Amr ibn Malik—Faḍāla ibn ‘Ubayd, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “The deeds of the dead person are sealed, except those of the garrisoned warrior in the path of God whose deeds accumulate rewards until the Day of Resurrection; he will also be saved from the torment of the grave.”

73b This was related by | Abū Dāwūd—Sa‘īd ibn Manṣūr—Ibn Wahb.²⁵ Al-Tirmidhī said: “This is a good and sound hadith.”²⁶

Hadith 22

Abū al-Fuḍaylī, Abū al-Maḥāsin As‘ad ibn ‘Alī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, and Abū al-Waqt ‘Abd al-Awwal ibn ‘Īsā—‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad, in Būshanj—‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammawayh—‘Īsā ibn ‘Umar al-Samarqandī—‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd—Ibn Lahī‘a—Mishriḥ, who heard ‘Uqba say:

²⁴ *Sunan Abū Dāwūd, Kitāb al-jihād (bāb karāhiyat tark al-ghazū)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter on the reprehensibility of neglecting raiding)], 3:10 (no. 2503).

²⁵ *Sunan Abū Dāwūd, Kitāb al-jihād (bāb fī faḍl al-ribāt)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter on the merits of garrisoning)], 3:9 (no. 2500).

²⁶ *Sunan al-Tirmidhī, Kitāb faḍā’il al-jihād (bāb mā jā’ fī faḍl man māt murābīt)* [Book of the Merits of Jihad (Chapter on what was said about the merits of a person who dies while garrisoning)], 4:142 (no. 1621).

قال: سمعت عقبة يقول: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: كل ميت يُحْتَم على عمله إلا المرابط في سبيل الله فإنه يجري له أجر عمله حتى يُبعث.

الحديث الثالث والعشرون

أخبرنا أبو القاسم بن الحسين ببغداد أنا أبو علي بن المذهب أنا أبو بكر بن مالك ثنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل حدثني أبي ثنا هاشم بن القاسم ثنا عبد الرحمان بن عبد الله بن دينار عن أبي حازم عن سهل بن سعد الساعدي أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: رباط يوم في سبيل الله خير من الدنيا وما عليها، والروحة يروحها العبد في سبيل الله عز وجل أو الغدوة خير من الدنيا وما عليها، وموضع سوط أحدكم في الجنة خير من الدنيا وما عليها.

هذا حديث حسن صحيح من حديث أبي حازم تفرد بذكر الرباط فيه ابن دينار.

الحديث الرابع والعشرون

أخبرنا أبو المظفر عبد المنعم بن عبد الكريم أنا أبي الأستاذ أبو القاسم أنا أبو نعيم عبد الملك بن الحسن أنا يعقوب بن إسحاق ثنا يونس بن عبد الأعلى ثنا بن وهب أخبرني الليث بن سعد عن زهرة بن معبد عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال: من مات مرابطاً في سبيل الله أُجري عليه أجر عمله الصالح الذي كان يعمل، وأُجري عليه رزقه، وأومن الفتان، وبعثه الله يوم القيامة آمناً من الفرع.

رواه أبو عبد الله بن ماجه في سننه عن يونس بن عبد الأعلى.

I heard the Messenger of God (ﷺ) say: “The deeds of the dead person are sealed, except those of the garrisoned warrior in the path of God whose deeds accumulate rewards until he is resurrected.”

Hadith 23

Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, in Baghdad—Abū ‘Alī ibn al-Mudhahhab—Abū Bakr ibn Mālik—‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal—my father [Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal]—Hāshim ibn al-Qāsim—‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Dīnār—Abū Ḥāzim—Sahl ibn Sa’d al-Sā’idī, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “A day spent garrisoned in the path of God is worthier than the world and what is in it. An evening or a morning errand made by the worshipper in the path of God is worthier than the world and what is in it. The location of someone’s portion in Paradise is worthier than the world and what is in it.”

This is a good and sound hadith, transmitted by Abū Ḥāzim. Ibn Dīnār was the only transmitter to include in it the garrison section.

Hadith 24

74a Abū al-Muẓaffar ‘Abd al-Mun’im ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm—my father al-Ustādh Abū al-Qāsim—Abū Nu’aym ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-Ḥasan—Ya’qūb ibn Ishāq—Yūnus ibn ‘Abd al-A’lā—Ibn Wahb—al-Layth ibn Sa’d—Zahra ibn Ma’bad—his father [Ma’bad ibn ‘Abd Allāh]—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Prophet (ﷺ) said: “He who dies while garrisoned in the path of God will earn the rewards of the good deeds that he carried out. His needs will be provided for, and he will also be saved from the torment of the grave. God will resurrect him on the Day of Resurrection saved from the terror.”²⁷

This was related by Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Māja in his *Sunan*—Yūnus ibn ‘Abd al-A’lā.²⁸

²⁷ *Sunan Ibn Māja, Kitāb al-jihād (bāb faḍl al-ribāt fī sabīl Allāh)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter 7: on the merits of garrisoning in the path of God)], 2:924 (no. 2767).

²⁸ According to the Islamic tradition, the Dead will be resurrected at the End of Times by a “terrorizing Call” (*al-faza’* or *al-ṣayḥa*).

الحديث الخامس والعشرون

- أخبرنا أبو القاسم زاهر بن طاهر أنا أحمد بن الحسين البيهقي أنا أبو عبد الله الحافظ ثنا أبو العباس محمد بن يعقوب أنا محمد بن عبد الله ابن عبد الحكم أنا ابن وهب أنا عمرو بن الحارث أن أبا عثانة المعافري حدثه أنه سمع عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص يقول: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: إنَّ أوَّل ثلاثة يدخل الجنة لفقراء المهاجرين الذين يتتقى بهم المكاره إذا أمروا ٥ سمعوا وأطاعوا، وإن كانت لرجل منهم حاجة إلى السلطان لم تقص حتى يموت وهي في صدره، فإنَّ الله يدعو يوم القيامة الجنة فتأتي بزخرفها وزينتها فتقول: أين عبادي الذين قاتلوا في سبيل الله وقتلوا وأوذوا في سبيل الله وجاهدوا في سبيلي! أدخلوا الجنة. فيدخلونها بغير حساب ولا عذاب، فتأتي الملائكة فيقولون: ربنا نحن نسبح لك الليل والنهار ونقدس لك، من هاؤلاء الذين أئدتهم علينا؟ فيقول | الرب تبارك وتعالى: هاؤلاء الذين قاتلوا في سبيلي وأوذوا في سبيلي. فتدخل ١٠ عليهم الملائكة من كل باب: سلام عليكم بما صبرتم فنعم عقباء الدار.

الحديث السادس والعشرون

- أخبرنا أبو القاسم إساعيل بن محمد بن الفضل الحافظ أنا أبو الحسين أحمد بن عبد الرحمان أنا أبو بكر محمد بن أحمد بن زنجويه أنا أحمد بن جعفر بن حمدان السقطي ثنا عبد الله بن أحمد الدورقي ثنا محمد بن معاوية أبو عبد الله ثنا مسلم بن خالد ثنا شريك بن عبد الله ابن أبي نمر ١٥ عن أنس بن مالك قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: الشهداء ثلاثة رجال. رجل خرج بماله ونفسه محتسباً في سبيل الله لا يريد أن يقتل ولا يُقتل لتكثير سواد المسلمين، فإن مات أو قُتل عُفرت ذنوبه كلها، وأجير من عذاب القبر، وأومن من الفزع الأكبر، وزوج من الحور العين، ووضع على رأسه تاج الوقار. والثاني رجل جاهد بنفسه وماله يريد أن يقتل ولا يُقتل، فإن مات أو قُتل كانت ركبته مع ركلة إبراهيم خليل الرحمان بين يدي الله عز وجل ﴿في مقعد صدق عند ٢٠

Hadith 25

Abū al-Qāsim Zāhir ibn Tāhir—Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī—Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ—Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb—Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam—Ibn Wahb—‘Amr ibn al-Ḥārith—Abū ‘Uthāna al-Ma‘āfirī, who heard ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, who said:

74b

I heard the Messenger of God (ﷺ) say: “The first of three to enter Paradise are the poor Immigrants, whose help one seeks to confront misfortunes. If they are ordered, they listen and obey, and if one of them has a need from a ruler, it will not be fulfilled until he is dead and it is in his heart. On the Day of Resurrection, God will command Paradise to come with its embellishments and ornaments and say: ‘My beloved worshipers who fought in the path of God and died, who were hurt in the path of God, and who waged jihad in my path, Come in!’ They will enter it without any judgment or torture. The angels will come and say: ‘O Our Lord, we praise you night and day and glorify you. Who are these whom you favored over us?’ | The Lord—praised and almighty—will answer: ‘These are the ones who fought in my path and were injured in my path.’ The angels will salute them from each door with: ‘Peace on you for what you have suffered. What a perfect last abode.’”

Hadith 26

Abū al-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥāfiẓ—Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Zanjawayh—Aḥmad ibn Ja‘far ibn Ḥamdān al-Saqāṭī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Dawraqī—Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Mu‘āwiya—Muslim ibn Khālīd—Sharīk ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abū Namir—Anas ibn Mālīk, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “The martyrs are of three kinds. [First is] a man who goes out to fight in the path of God with his wealth and life, but does not need to kill or get killed in the hope of increasing the number of Muslims. If he dies or is killed, all his sins are forgiven; he will be saved from the torment of the grave and from the great frightening Call. He will also be wedded to the virgins of Paradise and the crown of dignity will be placed on his head. Second is a man who goes to wage jihad with his life and wealth, and seeks to kill but not to get killed. If he dies or is killed, he will be transported to the presence of God in the company of Abraham, the friend of the Merciful: ﴿In an assembly of virtue, and with a mighty

ملك مقتدر ﴿٥٤﴾. والثالث رجل خرج بنفسه وماله محتسباً يريد أن يقتل ويقتل، فإن مات أو قُتل جاء يوم القيامة شاهراً سيفه واضعه على عنقه | والناس جاثون على الركب يقول: ألا فافتحوا لنا 75a
 فإنا قد بذلنا دماءنا وأموالنا لله عزّ وجلّ. قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: والذي نفسي بيده، لو قال ذلك لإبراهيم خليل الرحمان أو لنبيّ من الأنبياء لتنتحى لهم عن الطريق لما يرى من واجب حقّهم، حتّى يأتوا منابر من نور عن يمين العرش فيجلسون ينظرون كيف يقضى بين الناس، لا يجدون غمّ الموت، ولا يغمتمون في البرزخ، ولا ترعهم الصيحة، ولا يهتمهم الحساب ولا الميزان ولا الصراط، ينظرون كيف يقضى بين الناس، ولا يسألون شيئاً إلا أعطوا، ولا يشفعون في أحد إلا شفّعوا فيه، ويُعطى من الجنة ما أحبّ ويُنزل من الجنة حيث أحبّ.

هذا حديث غريب.

75a

King ﷺ (Qur'an 54:55).²⁹ Third is a man who goes to fight with his life and wealth, and seeks to kill and get killed. If he dies or is killed, he is brought on the Day of Resurrection raising his sword, placing it on his neck, while humanity are prostrate on their knees. He will say [to them]: 'Make way for us, for we have sacrificed our blood and wealth to God—glory and greatness belong to Him.' The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: "I swear by He Who holds my soul in His hand, if he would say that to Abraham, the friend of the Merciful, or to any other of the prophets, he would step aside to open to them the way, because honoring them is an obligation.³⁰ Then they will reach the platforms of light that are to the right side of the Throne. They will sit and observe how humans are judged. They will neither suffer the agony of death nor will they agonize during the period between death and resurrection; the Call will not frighten them. They will care nothing for the Judgment, the Scale, or the Bridge over Hell.³¹ They will observe how humans are judged. Whatever they request they will be granted, and those for whom they intercede will benefit from their intercession. They will be granted from Paradise whatever they desire, and lodged in whichever place they desire."

This is a singular Hadith.³²

²⁹ Ibn 'Asākir's audience would have been well aware of the preceding verses of the Meccan *Sūrat al-Qamar* (The Moon; 54:40–55), which address themes of eternal rewards and punishments in the context of Pharaoh and the ancient Egyptians:

﴿And We made the Qur'an easy to remember, but is there anyone to recall it to mind? To the people of Pharaoh came warnings, but they cried lies to all Our wonders, so We seized them like the seizure of one Almighty, All-Powerful. Are the blasphemers among you better than all these? Or do you possess some safe-conduct in ancient Scripture? Or do they claim that victory lies in their number? Their number shall be defeated and turn tail. Indeed the Hour is their appointed time, and the Hour shall be still more calamitous and bitter! The wicked are sunk in error and madness. A Day will come when they shall be dragged into the Fire, on their faces: 'Taste the touch of the gate of hell!' We have created all things in due measure, and Our command is but a single word, like the twinkling of an eye. We have destroyed your like, but is there anyone to recall it to mind? All they have done is in ancient Scriptures, and all of it, small or great, is recorded. The pious are amidst Gardens and rivers, in an assembly of virtue, and with a mighty King.﴾

³⁰ We encounter here the switch in singular and plural pronouns to refer to the martyrs. This is very common in Arabic prose.

³¹ On the Day of Judgment, people's good deeds are weighed against their bad deeds, hence the Scale, and if they earn Paradise, they will proceed on a narrow Bridge overlooking Hell.

³² A singular hadith is a report whose transmission back to Muhammad is only attested by one of his companions or one of their companions (known in the Islamic tradition as Successors); thus it does not have the strength of multiple transmissions.

الحديث السابع والعشرون

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله الأصمباني الأديب ثنا إبراهيم بن منصور السلمي أنا محمد بن إبراهيم بن علي
أنا أحمد بن علي الموصلي ثنا أحمد بن عيسى المصري ثنا عبد الله بن وهب حدثني طلحة بن
أبي سعيد أنّ سعيد المقبري حدثه عن أبي هريرة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: من
احتبس فرساً في سبيل الله إيماناً لله وتصديقاً بموعده الله، كان شعبه وبوله وروثه حسنات في
ميزانه يوم القيامة. ٥

رواه البخاري في صحيحه عن علي بن حفص عن عبد الله بن المبارك عن طلحة بن أبي سعيد.

75b

الحديث الثامن والعشرون

أخبرنا أبو محمد هبة الله بن سهل بن عمر الفقيه أنا أبو عثمان سعيد بن محمد بن أحمد البحيري
أنا أبو علي زاهر بن أحمد الفقيه أنا أبو إسحاق إبراهيم بن عبد الصمد بن موسى الهاشمي أنا أبو
مصعب أحمد بن أبي بكر الزهري ثنا مالك عن زيد بن أسلم عن أبي صالح السمان عن أبي
هريرة أنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: الخيل لثلاثة، لرجل أجر ولرجل ستر وعلى رجل
وزر. فأما الذي له أجر، فرجل ربطها في سبيل الله فأطال لها في مرج أو روضة، فما أصابت في
طيبها ذلك من المرج أو الروضة كانت له حسنات، ولو أنها قطعت طيلها ذلك فاستتت شرفاً أو
شرفين كانت أثارها وأرواثها حسنات، ولو أنها مرت بنهر فشربت منه ولم ترد أن تسقى منه كان
له حسنات، فهي لذك أجر. ورجل ربطها تغيثاً وتعقفاً ولم ينس حق الله في رقابها ولا ظهورها،
فهي لذلك ستر. ورجل ربطها فخراً ورياءً وتواً لأهل الإسلام، فهي على ذلك وزر. وسئل النبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم عن الحمير قال: لم ينزل علي فيها شيء إلا هذه الآية الجامعة الفأدة: ﴿من

٤ سعيداً (مطبوعة) ٥ رويته وبوله (مطبوعة) ٧ صحيح البخاري، كتاب الجهاد والسير (باب ٤٥: من احتبس
فرساً في سبيل الله)، ٥٧:٦ (رقم ٢٨٥٣) ٩ البحيري (مطبوعة) ١٠ أنا أبو عثمان سعيد بن محمد بن أحمد
البحيري أنا أبو علي زاهر بن أحمد الفقيه (في هامش المخطوطة بخط البرزالي) ١٥ يسقى (مطبوعة)

Hadith 27

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Asbahānī al-Adīb—Ibrāhīm ibn Maṣṣūr al-Sulamī—Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī—Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Mawṣilī—Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsā al-Miṣrī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahb—Ṭalḥa ibn Abū Sa‘īd—Sa‘īd al-Miqbarī—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Whoever keeps a horse to be used in the path of God out of belief in God and faith in meeting God on the Day of Resurrection, its fodder, its urine, and its dung count as good deeds in his scale on the Day of Resurrection.”

This was related by al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*—‘Alī ibn Ḥaḥṣ—‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak—Ṭalḥa ibn Abū Sa‘īd.³³

75b

Hadith 28

Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh ibn Sahl ibn ‘Umar al-Faqīh—Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Baḥīrī—Abū ‘Alī Zāhir ibn Aḥmad al-Faqīh—Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Mūsā al-Hāshimī—Abū Miṣ‘ab Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr al-Zuhrī—Mālik—Zayd ibn Aslam—Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Horses are a reward, a security, or a liability for three types of men. It is a reward for the man who tied it with a long tether in the path of God and let it graze in a field or meadow. All that it grazes from the field or meadow count as good deeds for him. If it breaks its tether and runs a heat or two, its traces and its dung count as good deeds for him. If it passes by a river, sips from it, and does not drink its full portion, it counts as good deeds for him. For these reasons, it is a reward. It is a protection for the man who tied it with a tether out of lack of need or abstinence, and who did not forget God’s right in it or the burden upon its back. As for the man who tied it with a tether out of vainglory, hypocrisy, and hostility to the Muslims, because of this it is a liability.” The Prophet (ﷺ) was asked also about donkeys, and he said: “Nothing about them was revealed

³³ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-jihād wa-l-siyar (bāb 45: man iḥtabas faras fi sabīl Allāh)* [Book of Jihad and Proper Comportment (Chapter 45: on a person who keeps a horse to be used in the path of God)], 6:57 (no. 2853).

يعمل مثقال ذرة خيراً يره ومن يعمل مثقال ذرة شراً يره ﴿٤﴾.

وهذا صحيح أيضاً. رواه البخاري عن عبد الله بن يوسف وإساعيل بن أبي أويس، والتعني عن مالك. وقوله استنتت، أي صبرت، والشرف شوط الفرس، والنواة من المناواة.

الحديث التاسع والعشرون

- ٥ أخبرنا أبو القاسم السمرقندي أنا أحمد بن محمد بن النقور أنا أبو طاهر الخالص ثنا ابن منيع يعني عبد الله بن محمد بن زنجويه يعني محمد بن عبد الملك | ثنا عبد الرزاق أنا معمر عن يحيى بن أبي كثير عن زيد بن سلام عن عبد الله بن زيد الأزرق قال: كان عقبة بن عامر يخرج فيرمي كل يوم ويستتبع رجلاً. قال: وكان ذلك الرجل كاد أن يملّ فقال: ألا أخبرك ما سمعت من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ قال: بلى. قال: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: إن الله يدخل بالسهم الواحد ثلاثة نفر الجنة: صانعه الذي يحتسب في صنعته الخير، والذي يجّهز به في سبيل الله، والذي يرمي به في سبيل الله. وقال: ارموا أو اركبوا، وأن ترموا خير من أن تركبوا، وكلّ لهو يلهو به المؤمن فهو باطل إلا ثلاث: رميه سهمه عن قوسه، وتأديبه فرسه، وملاعبته أهله فإتهن من الحق. قال: فتوفي عقبة وله بضعة وستون أو بضعة وسبعون قوساً مع كلّ قوس قرن ونبل وأوصى بهنّ في سبيل الله. قال: وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: من ترك الرمي بعد أن علمه فهي نعمة كفرها. ١٥

الصواب قرن ونبل، وهو ما يكون فيه النبل.

١ سورة الزلزلة (٩٩): ٧-٨ ٢ صحيح البخاري، كتاب الجهاد والسير (باب ٤٨: الخيل لثلاثة)، ٦: ٦٣-٦٤ (رقم ٢٨٦٠) ٢ التعيني (مطبوعة) ٣ موطأ مالك، كتاب الجهاد (باب ١: الترغيب في الجهاد)، ٢: ٤٤٤-٤٤٥ (رقم ٣) ٣ والنواة من المناواة (مطبوعة) ١٣ قرن نبل وبغل (مطبوعة)

to me except this broad verse, which is singular in meaning: ﴿Whoso has done an atom's worth of good shall see it; whoso has done an atom's worth of evil shall see it﴾” (Qur'an 99:7–8).³⁴

This too is a sound hadith. It was related by al-Bukhārī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf and Ismā‘īl ibn Abū Uways;³⁵ and by al-Qu‘nubī—Mālik.³⁶ As for his saying “*runs*,” it means endures, “*a heat*” means the horse’s single run, and “*hostility*” means enmity.

Hadith 29

76a Abū al-Qāsim al-Samarqandī—Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Naqqūr—Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ—Ibn Manī‘, that is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad—Ibn Zanjawayh, that is Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik |—‘Abd al-Razzāq—Ma‘mar—Yaḥyā ibn Abū Kathīr—Zayd ibn Sallām—‘Abd Allāh ibn Zayd al-Azraq, who said:

When ‘Uqba ibn ‘Āmir would go out to shoot arrows, he used to make a man follow him. The man became annoyed with this, so he [‘Uqba] said to him: “Should I tell you what I heard from the Messenger of God?” The man replied: “Yes.” ‘Uqba said: “I heard the Messenger of God say: ‘God will admit into Paradise three men for every arrow: the one who makes it and hopes it is used for something good, the one who donates it to be used in the path of God, and the person who shoots it in the path of God. You can shoot arrows or ride horses, but shooting arrows is better than riding horses. Every pastime that the believer pursues is devoid of virtue except for three: shooting his arrow from his bow, training his horse, and playing with his family, for they are virtuous.’” ‘Uqba then died, leaving some sixty or seventy

³⁴ Ibn ‘Asākir’s audience would have been well aware of the brief Medinan *Sūrat al-Zilzāl* (The Earthquake; 99:1–8), which addresses themes of eternal rewards and punishments:

﴿When the earth quakes—a shattering quake! and the earth casts up its loads! and man says: ‘What ails it?’ that Day it shall tell its tales, for your Lord will have inspired it! That Day, mankind will come out in scattered throngs, to be shown their rights and wrongs. Whoso has done an atom’s worth of good shall see it; whoso has done an atom’s worth of evil shall see it.﴾

³⁵ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-jihād wa-l-siyar (bāb 48: al-khayl li-thalātha)* [Book of Jihad and Proper Compartment (Chapter 48: horses are for three types of people)], 6:63–64 (no. 2860).

³⁶ *Muwatta’ Mālik, Kitāb al-Jihād (bāb 1: al-targhib fī al-jihād)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter 1: making jihad desirable)], 2:444–445 (no. 3).

الحديث الثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو بكر محمد بن الحسين بن علي الفرضي ثنا القاضي أبو الحسين محمد بن علي بن المهدي بالله، وأخبرنا أبو القاسم بن السمرقندي أنا أحمد بن محمد بن النقور قال: ثنا عيسى بن علي الوزير أنا عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد العزيز ثنا داود بن عمرو الضبي ثنا منصور بن أبي الأسود عن عطاء بن السائب عن أبي زهير الضبي عن عبد الله بن بريدة عن أبيه قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: النفقة في الحج مثل النفقة في سبيل الله درهم | بسبع مائة.

76b

الحديث الحادي والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو الفضل محمد بن إسماعيل وأبو بكر أحمد بن يحيى وأبو المحاسن أسعد بن علي وأبو الوقت عبد الأول بن عيسى قالوا: أنا أبو الحسن الداودي أنا عبد الله بن أحمد أنا أبو عمران السمرقندي أنا أبو أحمد الدارمي أنا عمرو بن عاصم ثنا حماد بن سلمة أنا حميد عن أنس أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: جاهدوا المشركين بأموالكم وأنفسكم وألسنتكم.

10

رواه أبو داود عن موسى بن إسماعيل عن حماد، ورواه النسائي عن عمرو بن علي عن ابن مهدي عن حماد.

٤ عمر (مطبوعة) ١٢ سنن أبي داود، كتاب الجهاد (باب كراهية ترك الغزو)، ٣: ١٠ (رقم ٢٥٠٤) ١٢ عمرو بن علي بن مهدي (مطبوعة) ١٣ سنن النسائي، كتاب الجهاد (باب وجوب الجهاد)، ٥: ٧

bows, each with a bag and arrows. He bequeathed them to be used in the path of God. The Prophet (ﷺ) said: “Whoever leaves the shooting of arrows after having mastered it is ungrateful for the gift.”

“*A bag and arrows*” is correct; that is, a bag that holds the arrows.

Hadith 30

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Faraḍī—al-Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Muhtadī bi’llāh, and Abū al-Qāsim al-Samarqandī—Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Naqqūr—‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī al-Wazīr—‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz—Dāwūd ibn ‘Amr al-Ḍabbī—Manṣūr ibn Abū al-Aswad—‘Aṭā’ ibn al-Sāyib—Abū Zuhayr al-Ḍaba’ī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Burayda—his father [Burayda ibn al-Ḥuṣayb], who said:

76b

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “An expense incurred during one’s pilgrimage is similar to an expense incurred in the path of God; each dirham | is rewarded seven hundred fold.”

Hadith 31

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, Abū al-Maḥāsin As‘ad ibn ‘Alī, and Abū al-Waqt ‘Abd al-Awwal ibn ‘Īsā—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dāwūdī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad—Abū ‘Imrān al-Samarqandī—Abū Aḥmad al-Dārimī—‘Amr ibn ‘Āṣim—Ḥammād ibn Salama—Ḥumayd—Anas, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Fight the polytheists with your wealth, with your lives, and with your tongues.”

This was related by Dāwūd—Mūsā ibn Ismā‘īl—Ḥammād;³⁷ and by al-Nasā’ī—‘Amr ibn ‘Alī—Ibn Mahdī—Ḥammād.³⁸

³⁷ *Sunan Abū Dāwūd, Kitāb al-jihād (bāb karāhiyat tark al-ghazū)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter on the reprehensibility of neglecting raiding)], 3:10 (no. 2504).

³⁸ *Sunan al-Nasā’ī, Kitāb al-Jihād (bāb wujūb al-jihād)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter on jihad being an obligatory duty)], 5:7.

الحديث الثاني والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الباقي أنا الحسن بن علي بن محمد أنا محمد بن المظفر بن موسى ثنا محمد بن محمد بن سليمان ثنا شيبان بن فروخ الأملي ثنا جرير ابن حازم ثنا الحسن ثنا صعصعة بن معاوية عم الأحنف بن قيس قال: أتيت أبا ذرّ بالريذة فقلت: يا أبا ذرّ ما مالك؟ قال: مالي عملي. فقلت: حدّثنا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حديثاً سمعته منه؟ قال: نعم، سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: ما من مسلمين يموت لهما ثلاثة من الولد لم يبلغوا الحنث إلا أدخلهما الله الجنة بفضل رحمته إياهم. وسمعت يقول: من أنفق زوجين من ماله في سبيل الله ابتدرته حجة الجنة. قال: قلت: وما زوجان من ماله؟ قال: فرسان من خيله، بعيران من إبله.

رواه النسائي | عن إسماعيل بن مسعود عن بشر بن المفضل عن يونس بن عبيد عن الحسن. 77a

١٠ الحديث الثالث والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو القاسم هبة الله بن محمد بن عبد الواحد أنا أبو علي التميمي الواعظ أنا أبو بكر القطيعي ثنا عبد الله بن أحمد حدّثني أبي ثنا يزيد بن أبي المسعودي عن الركين بن الربيع عن رجل عن خريم بن فاتك قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: الأعمال ستة والناس أربعة. فوجبتان، ومثل بمثل، وحسنة بعشر أمثالها، وحسنة بسبع مائة. فأما الموجبتان، فمن مات لا يشرك بالله شيئاً دخل الجنة، ومن مات يشرك بالله شيئاً دخل النار. وأما مثل بمثل، فمن همّ بحسنة حتى يشعرها قلبه ويعلمها الله منه كتبت له حسنة، ومن عمل سيئة كتبت عليه سيئة. ومن عمل حسنة فبعشر أمثالها، ومن أنفق نفقة في سبيل الله فحسنة بسبع مائة. وأما الناس، فموسع عليه

٤ الأصنف (مطبوعة) ٤ ما (ساقطة في مطبوعة) ٤ ما لي (مطبوعة) ٩ بشير (مطبوعة) ٩ سنن النسائي، كتاب الجنائز (باب من يتوفى له ثلاثة)، ٤: ٢٥-٢٤، وكتاب الجهاد (باب فضل النفقة في سبيل الله)، ٥: ٤٨-٤٩ ١٣ حريم (مطبوعة) ١٧ فبعثر (مطبوعة) ١٧ أربعة (زيادة في مطبوعة)

Hadith 32

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī—al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad—Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn Mūsā—Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān—Shaybān ibn Farrūkh al-Āmulī—Jarīr ibn Ḥāzim—al-Ḥasan—Ṣa‘ṣa‘a ibn Mu‘āwiyā, uncle of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, who said:

I visited Abū Dharr while he was in Rabadha, and asked him: “O Abū Dharr, what do you possess?” He replied: “I possess only my labor.” I then asked him: “Would you relate to us a hadith that you have heard from the Messenger of God (ﷺ)?” He said:

Indeed, I heard the Messenger of God (ﷺ) say: “When a Muslim couple lose to death three children who have not attained puberty, God will admit them both to Paradise out of His mercy to them.” I also heard him say: “Whoever spends a pair from his own wealth in the path of God will be greeted by the keepers of Paradise.” I asked him: “What is ‘a pair of his own wealth’?” He replied: “Two of his horses or camels.”

77a This was related by al-Nasā’ī |—Ismā‘īl ibn Mas‘ūd—Bishr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal—Yūnus ibn ‘Ubayd—al-Ḥasan.³⁹

Hadith 33

Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid—Abū ‘Alī al-Tamīmī al-Wā‘iz—Abū Bakr al-Qaṭī‘ī—‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad—my father [Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal]—Yazīd ibn Ubayy al-Mas‘ūdī—al-Rukayn ibn al-Rabī‘—a man—Khuraym ibn Fātik, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Works are of six types, and people are of four types. Works are the two prescribed acts, the two reciprocated acts, a good deed multiplied tenfold, and a good deed multiplied 700 fold. The two prescribed acts are: dying as a monotheist, which earns one Paradise; and dying as a polytheist, which earns one Hell. The two reciprocated acts are: when one is about to perform a good deed, his mind is conscious of it and God learns about it, it is accounted to him as a good deed. Conversely, when one commits a bad deed, it is accounted to him as a bad deed. Then there are the good deed that is multiplied tenfold, and the expense incurred in the path of God which will be multiplied 700 fold. As for people, they are those who are granted affluence in this world but dearth in the Hereafter,

³⁹ *Sunan al-Nasā’ī, Kitāb al-janā’iz (bāb man yatawaffā lah thalāth)* [Book of Funerals (Chapter on who loses to death three young children)], 4:24–25; and *Kitāb al-jihād (bāb faḍl al-nafaqa fi sabīl Allāh)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter on the merit of expenses incurred in the path of God)], 5:48–49.

في الدنيا مقتور عليه في الآخرة، ومقتور عليه في الدنيا مُوسَّع عليه في الآخرة، ومقتور عليه في الدنيا والآخرة، ومُوسَّع عليه في الدنيا والآخرة.

الحديث الرابع والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو القاسم بن السمرقندي أنا أبو الحسين بن النُّقُور أنا أبو طاهر المختص ثنا أبو القاسم بن منيع ثنا لُؤين محمد بن سليمان ثنا عبد العزيز بن عبد الرحمان مولى مسلمة بن عبد الملك وكان منزله في البلس عن خصيف عن مجاهد عن أبي هريرة عن النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قال: من تقلد سيفاً في سبيل الله قلده الله عزَّ وجلَّ يوم القيامة وشاحين من الجنة لا تقوم لها الدنيا وما فيها من يوم خلقها الله إلى يوم يفنيها، وصلت عليه الملائكة حتى يضعه عنه. وأنَّ الله عزَّ وجلَّ ليباهي ملايكنه بسيف الغازي ورمحه وسلاحه، وإذا باهى الله عزَّ وجلَّ ملايكنه بعبد من عباده لم يعذبه بعد ذلك. ١٠

الحديث الخامس والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو نصر أحمد بن عبد الله بن أحمد وأبو علي الحسن بن المظفر ابن الحسين وأبو غالب أحمد بن الحسن البغداديون قالوا: أنا أبو محمد الحسن ابن علي أنا أحمد بن جعفر بن حمدان ثنا أبو مسلم إبراهيم بن عبد الله البصري ثنا عمرو بن مرزوق أنا عبد الرحمان بن عبد الله بن دينار عن أبيه عن أبي صالح عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: تعس عبد الدينار، تعس عبد الدرهم، تعس عبد الحميص، إن أُعطي رضي وإن مُنِع سخط، تعس وانتكس، وإذا شيك فلا انتقش. طوبى لعبد أخذ بعنان فرسه في سبيل الله، إن كان في الساقية كان في الساقية، وإن كان في الحراسة كان في الحراسة، وإن استأذن لم يؤذن له، وإن شفع لم يشفع. طوبى له ثم طوبى له. ١٥

those who are granted dearth in this world but affluence in the Hereafter, those who are granted dearth in this world and the Hereafter, and those who are granted affluence in this world and the Hereafter.”

Hadith 34

Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī—Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Naqqūr—Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ—Abū al-Qāsim ibn Manīʿ—Luwayn, that is Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the client of Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, who used to reside in Bālis—Khuṣayf—Mujāhid—Abū Hurayra, who said:

77b

The Prophet (ﷺ) said: “He who hangs upon himself a sword in the path of God, God will outfit him on the Day of Resurrection with two ornamented sashes from Paradise. Since God has created this world | and until God brings its end, nothing in this world can compare to them. Also, the angels will keep praising him until he takes it off. For God—glory and greatness belong to Him—boasts to His angels about the sword, the lance, and the weapons of the raider; if God boasts to His angels about one of His servants, He will never torture him after that.”

Hadith 35

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Ḥusayn, and Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, all from Baghdad—Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī—Aḥmad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Ḥamdān—Abū Muslim Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī—ʿAmr ibn Marzūq—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Dīnār—his father [ʿAbd Allāh ibn Dīnār]—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Miserable is the servant of the dinar. Miserable is the servant of the dirham. Miserable is the servant of the ornamented garment. If he is given, he is happy. But if he is denied, he becomes bitter, miserable, and ill. Once hurt, he will not heal. Blessed is a servant who leads his horse by the tether in the path of God. He cares not if he is positioned in the rear or in the guard, or if he seeks leave and is denied, or if he intercedes for someone and is turned down. Blessed indeed is he.”

رواه البخاري عن عمرو. والحميصة كساء له علم، وانتقش استخرج الشوكة بالمنقاش، وهذا مثل معناه إذا أُصيب فلا انجبر.

الحديث السادس والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو القاسم إسماعيل بن محمد بن الفضل الأصبهاني أنا أبو الحسين أحمد بن عبد الرحمان الذكواني أنا أبو بكر بن مردويه ثنا محمد بن جعفر بن الهيثم | ثنا محمد بن أحمد بن أبي العوام ثنا أبي 78a ٥
ثنا داود بن عطاء المزني ثنا عمر ابن صهبان حدّثني صفوان بن سليم عن أبي سلمة عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: كُلَّ عَيْنٍ بَاكِيَةٍ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِلَّا عَيْنَ غَضَّتْ عَنْ مَحَارِمِ اللَّهِ، وَعَيْنَ سَهَرَتْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ، وَعَيْنَ خَرَجَ مِنْهَا مِثْلُ رَأْسِ الذَّبَابِ مِنْ خَشْيَةِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ.

الحديث السابع والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو المحاسن محمد بن الحسين بن الطبري وأبو القاسم إسماعيل بن أحمد قالوا: أنا أحمد بن محمد بن النّقّور أنا عيسى بن علي بن عيسى أنا عبد الله بن محمد البغوي ثنا كامل بن طلحة أبو يحيى الجحدري ثنا حمّاد ابن سلمة عن ثابت عن أنس بن مالك قال: قال رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: يُؤْتَى بِرَجُلٍ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ فيقول: يا ابن آدم كيف وجدت منزلك؟ فيقول: أي ربّ خير منزل. فيقول: سلّ وتمنّ. فيقول: ما أسأل ولا أتمنّى إلا أن تردّني إلى الدنيا فأقتل في سبيلك عشر مرّات، لما يرى من فضل الشهادة. ويؤتى بالرجل من أهل النار فيقول له: يا ابن آدم، كيف وجدت منزلك؟ فيقول: أي ربّ شرّ منزل. فيقول له: أتفتدي منه بملء الأرض ذهباً؟ فيقول: نعم أي ربّ. فيقول: كذبت قد سئلت أقلّ من ذلك وأيسر فلم تفعل. فبرّد إلى النار. ١٥

١ صحيح البخاري، كتاب الجهاد والسير (باب ٧٠: الحراسة في الغزو)، ٦: ٨١ (رقم ٢٨٨٧) ٦ المزين (مطبوعة)

This was related by al-Bukhārī—‘Amr.⁴⁰ As for the term “*ornamented garment*,” it is a dress with two ornamental borders. “*Heal*” literally means removing the spike with a pincer, and the expression is similar to saying: “If one is hurt, he will never recover.”

Hadith 36

78a Abū al-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Mūḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Asbahānī—Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dhakwānī—Abū Bakr ibn Mardawayh—Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far ibn al-Haytham |—Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū al-‘Awām—my father [Aḥmad ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī]—Dāwūd ibn ‘Aṭā’ al-Muzanī—‘Umar ibn Ṣahbān—Ṣafwān ibn Sulaym—Abū Salama—Abū Hurayra, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “Every eye weeps on the Day of Resurrection except for the eye that avoids those things that God prohibited, the eye that spent the night awake in the path of God, and the eye that emits a black secretion like the fly’s head out of fear of God—glory and greatness belong to Him.”

Hadith 37

Abū al-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ṭabarī, and Abū al-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad—Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Naqqūr—‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā—‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī—Kāmil ibn Ṭalḥa, that is Abū Yaḥyā al-Jahḍarī—Ḥammād ibn Salama—Thābit—Anas ibn Mālik, who said:

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: “When the man of Paradise is brought forth and asked: ‘O son of Adam, how did you find your abode?’ he will respond: ‘O Lord, what a pleasant abode it is.’ When he is told: ‘Ask whatever you wish,’ he will respond: ‘I only wish that You return me to the world so that I may be killed in Your path ten times; for he will realize the merit of martyrdom.’ When the man of Hell is brought forth and asked: ‘O son of Adam, how did you find your abode?’ he will respond: ‘O Lord, what a miserable abode it is.’ When he is asked: ‘In return for being freed from it, would you pay the world’s worth of gold?’ he will respond: ‘O Lord, yes.’ He [God] will say: ‘Liar. You were asked lesser as well as easier than that but did nothing.’ So he will be brought back to Hell.”

⁴⁰ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitāb al-jihād wa-l-siyar (bāb 70: al-ḥirāsa fi al-ghazū)* [Book of Jihad and Proper Comportment (Chapter 70: on guard duty while on a raid)], 6:81 (no. 2887).

رواه النسائي عن أبي بكر بن نافع عن بهز بن أسد عن حماد.

78b

الحديث الثامن والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله الحسين بن عبد الملك أنا أبو طاهر أحمد ابن محمود الثقفي أنا أبو بكر محمد بن إبراهيم بن المقرئ ثنا أبو عروبة ثنا المسيب بن واضح ثنا أبو إسحاق الفزاري ثنا الأعمش عن أبي سفيان عن جابر قال: جاء رجل إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال: أي الإسلام أفضل؟ قال: من سلم المسلمون من يده. قال: فأبي الجهاد أفضل؟ قال: من عقر جواده وأهريق دمه. قال: فأبي الصلاة أفضل؟ قال: طول القنوت.

رواه مسلم عن أبي بكر بن أبي شعبة وأبي كريب عن أبي معاوية عن الأعمش.

الحديث التاسع والثلاثون

أخبرنا أبو عبد الله محمد بن الفضل بن أحمد الفقيه أنا أبو بكر أحمد بن منصور بن خلف أنا أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الله الشيباني أنا مكّي بن عبدان ثنا عبد الله بن هاشم ثنا أبو معاوية عن الأعمش عن عبد الله بن مرة عن مسروق قال: سألتنا عبد الله [بن عمرو بن العاص] عن هذه

١ رزاه (مطبوعة) ١ بهز (مطبوعة) ١ سنن النسائي، كتاب الجهاد (باب ما يتمي أهل الجنة)، ٥: ٣٦
 ٤ المقرئ (مطبوعة) ٦ صلى الله عليه وسلم (زيادة في مطبوعة) ٨ قسم الصلاة فقط موجود في صحيح مسلم، كتاب صلاة المسافرين (باب أفضل الصلاة طول القنوت)، ٢: ١٧٥؛ قسم الإسلام موجود باختلاف بسيط وإسناد غير الذي يذكره ابن عساکر في صحيح مسلم، كتاب الإيمان (باب بيان تفاضل الإسلام وأبي أموره أفضل)، ١: ٤٨-٤٧
 ١١ هاشم (مصححة في هامش المخطوطة بخط البرزالي)

This was related by al-Nasā'ī—Abū Bakr ibn Nāfi'—Bahz ibn Asad—Ḥammād.⁴¹

78b **Hadith 38**

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd al-Malik—Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Thaqafī—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Muqri'—Abū 'Arūba—al-Musayyib ibn Wāḍiḥ—Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī—al-A'mash—Abū Sufyān—Jābir, who said:

A man came to the Messenger of God (ﷺ) and asked: "What aspect of Islam is the best?" He [Muhammad] replied: "That of a person by whose hand the Muslims are not harmed." The man asked again: "What aspect of jihad is the best?" He replied: "That of a person whose horse is wounded and whose blood is shed." The man asked once again: "What aspect of the prayer is the best?" He replied: "The long continuance of the standing."

This was related by Muslim—Abū Bakr ibn Abū Shayba and Abū Kuryab—Abū Mu'āwiya—al-A'mash.⁴²

Hadith 39

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Aḥmad al-Faqīh—Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr ibn Khalaf—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shaybānī—Makkī ibn 'Abdān—'Abd Allāh ibn Hāshim—Abū Mu'āwiya—al-A'mash—'Abd Allāh ibn Murra—Masrūq, who said:

⁴¹ *Sunan al-Nasā'ī, Kitāb al-jihād (bāb mā yatamannā ahl al-janna)* [Book of Jihad (Chapter on what the people of Paradise desire)], 5:36.

⁴² Only the part on prayer is found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb ṣalāt al-musāfirīn (bāb afḍal al-ṣalāt ṭūl al-qunūt)* [Book of Prayer for Travelers (Chapter on the best aspect of the prayer being the long continuance of the standing)], 2:175. The part on Islam is found with little variation and via a different chain of transmission than the one indicated by Ibn 'Asākir in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-īmān (bāb tafāḍul al-islām wa-ayy umūrih afḍal)* [Book of Faith (Chapter on the superiority of Islam and which of its aspects is the best)], 1:47–48.

الآية ﴿ولا تحسبن الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله أمواتاً بل أحياء عند ربهم يرزقون﴾. فقال: أمّا إنّنا قد
 سألتنا عن ذلك فقال: أرواحهم كطير خضر تسرح في الجنة في أيّما شاءت ثم تأتي إلى قناديل
 معلّقة بالعرش، فبينما هم كذلك إذ إطلع عليهم ربك إطلاعة فقال: سلوني ما شئتم. فيقولون: يا ربنا
 ماذا نسألك ونحن في الجنة نسرح في أيّما شئنا. قال: فبينما هم كذلك إذ إطلع عليهم ربك إطلاعة
 فيقول: سلوني ما شئتم. فيقولون: ربنا ماذا نسألك ونحن في الجنة نسرح في أيّما شئنا. قال: فلما
 رأوا أنّهم لن يُتركوا من أن يُسألوا قالوا: نسألك أن تردّ أرواحنا إلى أجسادنا في الدنيا حتى نُقتل
 في سبيلك. فلما رأى أنّهم لا يسألون إلّا هذا تركهم.

رواه مسلم عن يحيى بن يحيى وأبي بكر بن أبي شيبة وابن نمير عن أبي معاوية.

١ سورة آل عمران (٣): ١٦٩ ٣ طلع (مطبوعة) ٤ إيّها (مطبوعة) ٤ طلع (مطبوعة) ٨ صحيح مسلم،
 كتاب الإمارة (باب في بيان أن أرواح الشهداء في الجنة)، ٦: ٣٨-٣٩

79a

We asked ‘Abd Allāh [ibn ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ] about this verse ﴿Do not imagine those killed in the path of God to be dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, Enjoying His bounty﴾ (Qur’an 3:169),⁴³ he said: “We indeed have inquired about this. Their spirits become like green birds, roaming freely in Paradise in whichever direction they wish. Then they retire to lamps hanging from the Throne, and while they are in them, Your Lord gazes at them and says: ‘Ask Me for whatever you wish.’ They say: ‘O Our Lord, what can we ask You. We are already in Paradise, roaming freely in whatever direction we wish!’ While they are in them |, Your Lord again gazes at them and says: ‘Ask Me for whatever you wish.’ They say: ‘O Our Lord, what can we ask You. We are already in Paradise, roaming freely in whatever direction we wish!’ When they realize that they will not be left alone unless they ask, they say: ‘We ask You to bring back our spirits to our bodies in the world so that we may be killed in Your path.’ When He realizes that they will not ask for anything except this wish, He will leave them alone.”

This was related by Muslim—Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, Abū Bakr ibn Abū Shayba, and Ibn Numayr—Abū Mu‘āwiya.⁴⁴

⁴³ While Hadith 39 serves as a brief commentary on Qur’an 3:169, Ibn ‘Asākir’s audience would have been well aware that the Medinan *Sūrat Āl Imrān* (The House of Amram) addresses themes of jihad and warfare as well as eternal rewards and punishments. Since the sura contains 200 verses, we have not reproduced it here. We have, however, reproduced verses 3:169–174 to provide context:

﴿Do not imagine those killed in the path of God to be dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, Enjoying His bounty, jubilant at what God has granted them from His grace, eagerly expecting those who have not yet followed, to come after them. In truth, no fear shall fall upon them, nor shall they grieve. They look forward with joy to bliss from God and to His bounty. In truth, God does not neglect the reward of believers. As for those who answered the call of God and the Messenger after the wounds that afflicted them, and those among them who did good and feared God, their reward shall be glorious. These are the men to whom people had said: ‘A mighty host has been marshalled against you; so ought you to fear them.’ But this only increased them in faith and they replied: ‘Sufficient for us is God; and most worthy is He of trust.’ So they came back with God’s blessing and His bounty, no harm having touched them, and followed the course pleasing to God. In truth, God is All-Bountiful.﴾ The phrase “*the day the two hosts encountered*” is generally understood to refer to the Battle of Uḥud (625 CE) between Muhammad’s forces and his Meccan opponents led by Abū Sufyān.

⁴⁴ *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Kitāb al-imāra (bāb fī bayān ann arwāḥ al-shuhadā’ fī al-janna)* [Book of Administration (Chapter on the proof that the souls of martyrs are in Paradise)], 6:38–39.

الحديث الأربعون

أخبرنا أبو غالب أحمد بن الحسن أنا محمد بن أحمد بن الأنوسي أنا إبراهيم بن محمد بن الفتح ثنا محمد بن سفيان المصيصي ثنا سعيد بن رحمة الأصبحي قال: سمعت ابن المبارك عن صفوان بن عمرو أن أبا المثني المليكي حدثه أنه سمع عتبة بن عبد السلمي وكان من أصحاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: القتلى ثلاثة رجال. رجل مؤمن جاهد بنفسه وماله في سبيل الله عز وجل حتى إذا لقي العدو قاتلهم حتى يقتل، ذلك الشهيد الممتحن في خيمة الله تحت عرشه لا يفضلُه النبيون إلا بدرجة النبوة. ورجل مؤمن فرق على نفسه من الذنوب والخطايا جاهد بنفسه وماله في سبيل الله حتى إذا لقي العدو قاتل حتى يقتل، فتلك مضمضة مجت ذنوبه وخطاياها، إن السيف مخمّ للخطايا، وأدخل من أي أبواب الجنة شاء، فإن لها ثمانية أبواب ولجهنم سبعة أبواب وبعضها أسفل من بعض. | ورجل منافق جاهد بنفسه وماله في سبيل الله عز وجل حتى إذا لقي العدو قاتل حتى يقتل، فذلك في النار إن السيف لا يمحى النفاق.

تم والحمد لله وحده.

وهذا آخر الأربعين حديثاً في الحث على الجهاد، والله يوفق لبذل الجهد فيه والاجتهاد، والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين.

٣ الأجلي (مطبوعة) ٤ عبید (مطبوعة) ١١ قتل (مطبوعة) ١١ ابن المبارك، كتاب الجهاد، ٣٠-٣١
١٣ حديثاً (في هامش المخطوطة بخط البرزالي) ١٤ وعلى آله وسلم (مطبوعة)

Hadith 40

Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Abanūsī—Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faṭḥ—Muḥammad ibn Sufyān al-Miṣṣīṣī—Saʿīd ibn Raḥma al-Aṣbahī—Ibn al-Mubārak—Ṣafwān ibn ʿAmr—Abū al-Muthannā al-Mulaykī—ʿUtba ibn ʿAbd al-Salamī, one of the companions of the Prophet (ṣ), who said:

The Messenger of God (ṣ) said: “The slain dead are of three types. One is a believer who exerts his life and wealth waging jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him—and when he meets the enemy in battle he fights them until he is killed. He is a tested martyr whose abode will be the Tent of God, underneath His Throne; nothing separates him from prophets except their rank of prophethood. Another is a believer, having already committed transgressions and sins, who exerts his life and wealth waging jihad in the path of God, and when he meets the enemy in battle he fights them until he is killed. His transgressions and sins are cleansed, for the sword purifies from sins. He will also be admitted to Paradise from whichever gate he chooses, for Paradise has eight gates, and Hell has seven gates with some deeper than others. | And a third is a hypocrite who exerts his life and wealth waging jihad in the path of God—glory and greatness belong to Him—and when he meets the enemy in battle he fights them until he is killed. He is in Hell, because the sword does not wipe out hypocrisy.”⁴⁵

79b

The book is complete; thanks be to God alone.

This is the end of *The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*. God is the best helper in exerting the effort and fulfilling the duty. Thanks be to God the Lord of creation, and God’s peace on our master Muḥammad and all of his family and companions.

⁴⁵ See Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 30–31.

الساعات والتملك

ساعة ١

سمع جميع هذا الجزء على مؤلفه الحافظ أبي القاسم علي بن الحسن بن هبة الله بقراءة ابنه أبي محمد القاسم ولده أبو الفتح الحسن بن علي وحافده أبو طاهر محمد بن القاسم بن علي والقاضي مجد الدين زين القضاة أبو بكر عبد الرحمان بن سلطان بن يحيى القرشي وولده أبو المكارم عبد الواحد وأبو طالب عبد الله وفتاه ياقوت بن عبد الله وأبو الفضل محمد بن سعيد بن حمزة التميمي وولده أبو محمد وأبو الفضل أحمد وأبو المظفر عبد الله وأبو منصور عبد الرحمان وأبو المحاسن نصر الله وأبو نصر عبد الرحيم وأخوهم كاتب الأسماء الحسن بنو محمد بن الحسن ابن هبة الله ومن خطه نقلت وذلك يوم السبت السابع من شهر رجب سنة خمس وستين وخمسمائة ببستان ابني أخي المستمع بالمزة وصح وثبت وسمع النصف الأخير أبو محمد بن خضر بن كرم الفلاح بالمزة. ١٠

ساعة ٢

وسمعه على مخرجه ابنا أخيه أبو المحاسن وأبو نصر عبد الرحيم ابنا أبي عبد الله محمد بن الحسن ابن هبة الله وابن أخيها محمد بن أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن هبة الله الشافعيون بقراءة بهاء الدين أبي المواهب الحسن وأخوه أبو القاسم الحسين الفقيه ابنا القاضي أبي الغنائم هبة الله بن

**Colophons (*Samā'āt*) and Ownership Notes
on al-Birzālī's Copy of Ibn 'Asākir's *Forty Hadiths***

Colophon 1

The entire volume was studied in the presence of its author, the Hadith memorizer Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh [Ibn 'Asākir]; the text was read out by his son Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim. [Those who studied it were:]

His [Ibn 'Asākir's] son Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī.

His [Ibn 'Asākir's] grandson Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī.

The judge Majd al-Dīn Zayn al-Qaḍāt Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulṭān ibn Yaḥyā al-Qurashī, his two sons, Abū al-Makārim 'Abd al-Wāḥid and Abū Ṭālib 'Abd Allāh, and his slave Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh.

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn Ḥamza al-Tamīmī, and his son Abū Muḥammad.

Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad, Abū al-Muzaffar 'Abd Allāh, Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū al-Maḥāsīn Naṣr Allāh, and Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Raḥīm—all sons of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh—and their brother al-Ḥasan, who wrote the list of names. This colophon was copied from the one written by his [al-Ḥasan's] own hand on Saturday 7 Rajab 565/28 March 1170 in the garden owned by the two nephews of the author in Mizza.

Present for the study of the second half of this volume was the gardener Abū Muḥammad ibn Khuḍr ibn Karam.

Colophon 2

It was studied in the presence of its collector (Ibn 'Asākir) by:

His [Ibn 'Asākir's] two nephews Abū al-Maḥāsīn and Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Raḥīm—both of whom are sons of his [Ibn 'Asākir's] brother Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh—and their nephew, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh, all of them Shāfi'īs.⁴⁶

Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Mawāhib al-Ḥasan, who read out the text, and his brother jurist Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn—sons of the judge Abū al-Ghanā'im Hibat Allāh ibn Maḥfūz ibn Ṣaṣrā.

⁴⁶ That is, they all belonged to the Shāfi'ī school of Sunni law.

محفوظ بن صصرى وأبو الشاء محمود بن أبي السعادات بن مطر المرقعي وعلي بن عبد المنعم بن أحمد ابن عبد الحلبي وأبو الشاء محمود بن غازي بن محمد والخطيب أبو الفرج عبد الوهاب بن أحمد ابن عقيل السلمى وأبو عمرو عثمان بن إلياس بن عبد الرحمان بن علي الأنصاري وأبو الربيع سليمان ابن إبراهيم بن يحيى وأبو جعفر أحمد بن علي بن أبي بكر القرطبي وأبو طاهر بن إبراهيم بن حمزة بن قوام المعزى والصائن محمد بن عمر بن علي الإسفراييني ونصر الله بن عبد الكريم بن محمد الأنصاري وأبو الفضل بن صباح ابن عبد الرحمان التميمي وأبو الفضل بن أبي المكارم بن سعد وأبو غالب بن أبي الفضائل بن كتاب الزين | وإسماعيل بن الحضرمي بن علي وصالح بن فلاح بن راشد وسلطان بن سعد بن علي وعلي وأبو الفضائل ابنا محمد بن فضائل وإبراهيم بن الشيخ أبي طاهر بركات بن إبراهيم الخشوعي وكوكب بن نصر بن بختيار وأبو القاسم محمود بن محمد بن معاذ الحرمانى ومحمد بن عبد الله بن عثمان وأبو محمد الحسن بن علي بن أبية وابناه مكّي وعبد العزيز وأبو منصور المظفر وأخوه محمد كاتب السماع ابنا عبد الوهاب بن عبد الله ابن علي الأنصاري وآخرون في يوم الجمعة التاسع والعشرون من شهر رمضان سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة بالمسجد الجامع المعمور بدمشق حرسها الله.

سماع ٣

بلغت سماعاً بقراءة علي الشيخ الأجلّ الزاهد الأصيل زين الأمانة أبي البركات الحسن بن محمد بن الحسن بن هبة الله بسامعه فيه وسمع أبو عبد الله محمد بن أيمن بن محمد الجزي الأندلسي

Abū al-Thana' Maḥmūd ibn Abū al-Sa'ādāt ibn Maṭar al-Mirqa'ī.

'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalabī.

Abū al-Thana' Maḥmūd ibn Ghāzī ibn Muḥammad.

The mosque preacher Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Aqīl al-Sulamī.

Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Alyās ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī al-Anṣārī.

Abū al-Rabī Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā.

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Bakr al-Qurtubī.

Abū Ṭāhir ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamza ibn Qawwām al-Ma'arrī.

Al-Ṣā'in Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī al-Isfarāyīnī.

Naṣr Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī.

Abū al-Faḍl ibn Ṣabḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī.

Abū al-Faḍl ibn Abū al-Makārim ibn Sa'd.

Abū Ghālib ibn Abū al-Faḍā'il ibn Kuttāb al-Zayn. / [80a]

Ismā'il ibn al-Khuḍr ibn 'Alī.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Falāḥ ibn Rāshid.

Sulṭān ibn Sa'd ibn 'Alī.

'Alī and Abū al-Faḍā'il, sons of Muḥammad ibn Faḍā'il.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Shaykh Abū Ṭāhir Barakāt ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khushū'ī.

Kawkab ibn Naṣr ibn Bakhtiyār.

Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ma'ādh al-Khuramānī.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uthmān.

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abīya and his two sons, Makkī and 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Abū Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar and his brother Muḥammad, who wrote this colophon of the teaching session⁴⁷—both of whom are sons of 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Anṣārī—and others, on Friday 29 Ramaḍān 569/3 May 1174 at the shielded Umayyad Mosque in Damascus—may God protect her.

Colophon 3

The teaching session was conducted as I read out the text in the presence of the esteemed teacher and true ascetic Zayn al-Umanā' Abū al-Barakāt al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh, who had studied the text. It was also studied by:

⁴⁷ It sounds awkward that al-Anṣārī, who wrote the colophon, identifies himself in the third person here in relationship to his brother who is mentioned first. By doing so, he is explicitly acknowledging that he is the younger of the two and that his brother's name must come first; a sign of respect in Damascene and other Muslim societies.

وعبد الوهّاب بن عبد الجبّار بن عمر الشافعي وكتب محمد بن يوسف بن محمد البرزالي الأشبيلي وصحّ ذلك في يوم السبت ضحى الخامس والعشرون من ذي الحجّة سنة سبع عشرة وستّاية بالمسجد الجامع بدمشق حرسها الله تعالى.

ساعة ٤

٥ بلغت ساعةً بقرآني على الشيخ الفقيه الأجلّ العالم أبي إسحاق إبراهيم بن الشيخ أبي طاهر بركات بن إبراهيم بن طاهر الخشوعي بساعه فيه وسبطه محمد بن أحمد بن ناصر الحنبلي والفقهاء جمال الدين أبو حامد محمد بن الشيخ أبي الحسن علي بن محمود المحمودي الصابوني وأبو العبّاس أحمد بن يحيى بن أحمد بن نزار الصنعاني وأبو محمد عبد الواحد بن عبد السيّد بن أبي البركات الصقلّي وابني يوسف في الخامسة وكتب أبوه محمد بن يوسف بن محمد البرزالي الإشبيلي يوم الجمعة التاسع من شهر ربيع الأوّل سنة أربع وعشرين وستّاية بالخاتونية بدمشق حرسها الله والحمد لله وحده ١٠ وصلاته على محمد نبيّه وسلامه.

ساعة ٥

سمع هذا الجزء جميعه على الشيخ الأجلّ الإمام العالم الأصيل فخر الدين مجد الأمناء أبي بكر محمد بن عبد الوهّاب بن عبد الله الأنصاري أيّده الله بساعه راّه منقولاً بقراءة صاحبه شيخنا

٣ مكتوب هذا الساع بخط البرزالي على أعلى هامش الورقة ٧٩ب، مقابل آخر سبعة أسطر من الكتاب. يريد البرزالي بهذا الإشارة إلى كفيّة حصوله على الساع والإجازة لكتاب ابن عساكر، كون ساعة ١ وساعة ٢ لا بشيران إلى وجوده

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ayman ibn Muḥammad al-Jazīrī al-Andalusī.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn ‘Umar al-Shāfi‘ī.

Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Birzālī al-Ishbīlī wrote this⁴⁸ in the morning of Saturday 25 Dhū al-Ḥijja 617/20 February 1221 at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus—may God Almighty protect her.

Colophon 4

The teaching session was conducted as I read out the text in the presence of the esteemed teacher, jurist, and scholar Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Shaykh Abū Tāhir Barakāt ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Tāhir al-Khushū‘ī, who had studied the text. Those who studied it during this teaching session were:

His [al-Khushū‘ī’s] grandson Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Nāṣir al-Ḥanbalī.

The jurist Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn al-Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Maḥmūd al-Maḥmūdī al-Ṣābūnī.

The jurist Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn Nizār al-Ṣan‘ānī.

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn ‘Abd al-Sayīd ibn Abū al-Barakāt al-Ṣiqillī.

And my [al-Birzālī’s] son Yūsuf, who is five years old.

His [Yūsuf’s] father Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Birzālī al-Ishbīlī wrote this⁴⁹ on Friday 9 Rabī‘ I 624/26 February 1227 at the Khātūniya School in Damascus—may God protect her. Thanks to God alone, and His praise and peace on His prophet Muhammad.

Colophon 5

The entire volume was studied in the presence of the esteemed teacher and true scholar, the imam Fakhr al-Dīn Majd al-Umanā‘ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī—may God support him—who had studied the text and seen the original copy. It was read out by the owner of this volume, our respected teacher the imam and

⁴⁸ Al-Birzālī refers to himself in the first person at the beginning of Colophon 3 to indicate that he read the text; he uses the third person here to indicate that he wrote Colophon 3.

⁴⁹ Al-Birzālī refers to himself here as Yūsuf’s father, whereas in the first line of Colophon 4 he uses the first person to indicate that he was the reader of the text.

الإمام الحافظ زكيّ الدين أبي عبد الله محمد بن يوسف بن محمد البرزالي الإشبيلي ولده أبو الحجاج يوسف وهو ابن السنة الخامسة وحفيدا المسّمع محمد وعبد الله ابنا شرف الدين أبي الفتح أحمد بن المسّمع وحسن بن علي بن محمد بن إلياس الأنصاري ومحمد بن إلياس بن عبد الله عتيق القوام وكاتب الأساء الفقير إلى الله محمد بن علي بن محمود بن المحمودي الصابوني عفا الله عنه وصحّ وثبت يوم الجمعة الثاني والعشرين من شهر ربيع الأول سنة أربع وعشرين وستمئة بجامع دمشق حرسها الله تعالى والحمد لله وحده وصلواته على سيّدنا محمد وآله وسلامه.

سماع ٦

سمع هذا الجزء بكامله على الشيخ الأمين أبي محمد عبد العزيز بن الحسن بن علي بن أبيّة بسماعه فيه نقلاً بقراءة صاحبه الإمام العالم الحافظ المفيد زكيّ الدين مفيد الأصحاب أبي عبد الله محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن أبي يداس البرزالي الإشبيلي ولده أبو الحجاج يوسف وهو ابن الخامسة وزكيّ الدين أبو محمد عبد الواحد بن عبد السيد بن أبي البركات الصقّليّ ومحمد بن علي بن محمود بن المحمودي عفا الله عنه وصحّ وثبت في يوم الثلاثاء السادس والعشرون من شهر ربيع الأول سنة أربع وعشرين وستمئة بزاوية الفقيه نصر المقدسي رحمه الله غربي جامع دمشق كلاًها الله وسائر مدن الإسلام وأهله وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل.

سماع ٧ ١٥

سمع جميع هذا الجزء على الشيخ الأجلّ الأمين العدل فخر الدين أبي بكر محمد بن عبد الوهاب بن عبد الله الأنصاري بسماعه فيه نقلاً بقراءة صاحبه الشيخ الحافظ زكيّ الدين أبي عبد الله محمد بن

Hadith memorizer Zakīy al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Birzālī al-Ishbīlī. Those who studied it during this teaching session were:

His [al-Birzālī’s] son Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf, who is five years old.

The teacher’s [al-Anṣārī’s] two grandsons, Muḥammad and ‘Abd Allāh sons of Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Aḥmad, son of the teacher.

Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Alyās al-Anṣārī.

Muḥammad ibn Ayās ibn ‘Abd Allāh ‘Atīq al-Qawām.

He who is in need of God’s mercy, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Maḥmūdī al-Ṣābūnī—may God pardon him—is the writer of this list of names. It was checked and verified on Friday 22 Rabī‘ I 624/12 March 1227 at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus—may God Almighty protect her—and His praise and peace on our lord Muḥammad and his family.

Colophon 6

The entire volume was studied in the presence of the trustworthy teacher Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abīya, who had studied the text and copied it. It was read out by the owner of this copy, the imam, scholar and instructive Hadith memorizer Zakīy al-Dīn Mufīd al-Aṣḥāb Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Yadās al-Birzālī al-Ishbīlī. Those who studied it during this teaching session were:

His [al-Birzālī’s] son Yūsuf, who is five years old.

Zakīy al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn ‘Abd al-Sayīd ibn Abū al-Barakāt al-Ṣiqillī.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Maḥmūdī—may God pardon him.

This was checked and verified on Tuesday 26 Rabī‘ I 624/16 March 1227 at the *Zāwiya* (corner hall) of the jurist Naṣr al-Maqdisī—may God have mercy on his soul—in the western corner of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus compound—may God guard her and all the cities of Islam and its people. God is our only reckoning and real trust.

Colophon 7

The entire volume was studied in the presence of the esteemed, trustworthy, and honorable teacher Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, who had studied the text and copied it.

يوسف البرزالي ابنه يوسف والقاضي تقي الدين أبو محمد عبد الرحمان بن حمدان التكريتي وابناه محمد وعلي وابن أخيه حمدان بن مسعود والإمام العالم محب الدين أبو الفتح نصر الله بن أبي العزّ بن أبي طالب الشيباني الصقار والأمين جمال الدين أبو عمرو عثمان بن رضوان بن قرسق وابناه قرسق وإبراهيم وفتاهما سنجر التركي ومحمد وعبد الله ابنا أحمد بن المسمع وأبو حامد محمد بن علي بن محمود بن الصابوني وأبو القاسم بن أبي بكر بن إبراهيم النخاس وعلي بن أحمد بن محمد القسطال ٥
ومحمد بن محمد بن سنقر العادلي وأبو محمد الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن إلياس الأنصاري وأخوه أبو بكر محمد وعبد الله وعبد الرحمان ابنا محمد بن عبد الله بن صابر السلمي وأبو نصر محمد وأبو زكريّا يحيى ابنا يونس بن الخطيب محمد الدولعي وفتاهما بكتمر التركي وعبد الخالق بن عمار بن شفيع الكفركتي ويعقوب بن ياقوت بن عبد الله وأبو الفضل محمد بن إسماعيل بن بكّار ويوسف بن السلّار بن دويل بن إسماعيل وأبو الفتح بن عين الدولة الحلّي ويوسف بن أبي الحسن بن طاهر الحنّاط المصري ونصر وسعد الخير ابنا أبي القاسم بن أبي الفرج النابلسي وأبو القاسم بن أحمد الراعي وفتاه بلبان التركي وشعبان بن عبد الواحد بن محمد السنسبي وإبراهيم بن القاسم بن عبد الله وأحمد بن حسن الموصلي وعسكر بن ربيعة بن عسكر وعبد الصمد بن عمر بن رشيد وعبد الدائم بن عبد المنعم بن مظفر المصري وأحمد بن عمر بن محمد الدمشقي ومحمد بن عبد الرحمان ١٠

It was read out by the owner of this copy, the teacher and Hadith memorizer Zakīy al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī. Those who studied it during this teaching session were:

His [al-Birzālī’s] son Yūsuf.

The judge Taqīy al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥamdān al-Tikrītī, his two sons Muḥammad and ‘Alī, and his nephew Ḥamdān ibn Mas‘ūd.

The knowledgeable imam Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn Abū al-‘Izz ibn Abū Ṭālib al-Shaybānī al-Ṣaffār.

The trustworthy Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Riḍwān ibn Qarsaq, and his two sons, Qarsaq and Ibrāhīm, and their slave Sinjar the Turk.

Muḥammad and ‘Abd Allāh, sons of Aḥmad, the son of the teacher [al-Anṣārī].

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Ṣābūnī.

Abū al-Qāsim ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm al-Naḥḥās.

‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭāl.

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sanqar al-‘Ādilī.

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Alyās al-Anṣārī, and his brother Abū Bakr Muḥammad.

‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, sons of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣābir al-Sulamī.

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad and Abū Zakarīya Yahyā, sons of Yūnus, son of the mosque preacher Muḥammad al-Dawla‘ī, and their slave Baktamir the Turk.

‘Abd al-Khāliq ibn ‘Ammār ibn Shafi‘ al-Kafarkannī.

Ya‘qūb ibn Yāqūt ibn ‘Abd Allāh.

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Bakkār.

Yūsuf ibn al-Sallār ibn Duwayl ibn Ismā‘īl.

Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn ‘Ayn al-Dawla al-Ḥillī.

Yūsuf ibn Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭāhir al-Khayyāt al-Miṣrī.

Naṣr and Sa‘d al-Khayr, sons of Abū al-Qāsim ibn Abū al-Faraj al-Nābulusī.

Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Rāmī, and his slave Balbān the Turk.

Sha‘bān ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad al-Sinbisī.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim ibn ‘Abd Allāh.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī.

‘Askar ibn Rabī‘a ibn ‘Askar.

‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ‘Umar ibn Rashīd.

‘Abd al-Dā‘im ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī.

Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Dimashqī.

بن عبد الخالق الموصلي وحسن بن حسين بن ياسين التكريتي ومحمد بن علي بن أبي الفضل
الواسطي ومحمد بن علي بن عبد الرحمان الشاطبي ومخلوف بن إبراهيم بن علي الحضرمي الصقلي
خال يوسف بن القارئ المذكور وكتب السماع إبراهيم بن عمر بن عبد العزيز بن الحسن بن علي
القرشي وأخوه إسماعيل وذلك في يوم الجمعة ثالث عشر صفر سنة ست وعشرين وستماية بجامع
دمشق وأجازهم المسموع جميع ما يرويه وتلقظ بذلك في التاريخ والحمد لله وحده وصلاته على محمد
وآله وصحبه وسلّم.

81a

سماع ٨

سمع جميع هذا الجزء وهو الأربعون في الحث على الجهاد جمع الحافظ أبو القاسم رحمه الله على
الشيخين القاضي الأجل زين الأمانة أبي البركات الحسن بن محمد بن الحسن بن هبة الله الشافعي
وزكي الدين أبي إسحاق إبراهيم بن بركات بن إبراهيم بن طاهر الخشوعي القرشي ومن أول الحديث
الحادي والعشرين إلى آخره على عز الدين أبي محمد عبد العزيز بن أبي محمد بن الحسن الصالحي
بسماهم من مخرجها بقراءة الإمام شمس الدين أبي الحسن علي بن المظفر بن القاسم النشبي ابنه
مظفر والعالم الأوحى محب الدين أبو الفتح نصر الله بن أبي العز بن أبي طالب الشيباني الصقار
وعبد الملك وعبد الصمد ابنا عبد الوهاب بن زين الأمانة وعلي بن عبد اللطيف بن زين الأمانة
ويحيى بن عبد الرحيم بن مسلمة ونصر وسعد الخير ابنا أبي القاسم بن أبي الفرج النابلسي وأبو
القاسم بن أحمد الزلعي وأحمد بن محمد بن خليفة البغدادي ومحمد بن مكارم الصقار وسليمان بن
مكون الحيارى وعبد السيد بن سيدهم الكناني وإبراهيم بن يعقوب المزوق وعبد الملك بن أبي

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-Khālīq al-Mawṣilī.

Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Yāsīn al-Tikrītī.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Abū al-Faql al-Wāsiṭī.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāṭibī.

Makhlūf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ṣiqillī, the maternal uncle of Yūsuf, son of the aforementioned reader [al-Birzālī].

The writer of this colophon of the teaching session, Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-Qurashī, and his brother Ismā‘īl.

Made on Friday 13 Ṣafar 626/12 January 1229 at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. The teacher granted every one of them the license to teach all of what he had studied, and conferred that on the same date. Thanks be to God alone, and His praise and peace on Muhammad, his family and his companions.

81a Colophon 8

The entire volume; that is, the *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad* which was collected by the Hadith memorizer Abū al-Qāsim [Ibn ‘Asākir]—may God have mercy on his soul, was studied in the presence of the two teachers, the esteemed judge Zayn al-Umanā’ Abū al-Barakāt al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh al-Shāfi‘ī, and Zakīy al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Barakāt ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāhir al-Khushū‘ī al-Qurashī; from Hadith 21 until the end, also present was ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṣāliḥī. All three had studied the book with its author. The text was read out by Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Nushbī. Those who studied it during this teaching session were:

His [al-Nushbī’s] son Muẓaffar.

The unique scholar Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn Abū al-‘Izz ibn Abū Ṭālib al-Shaybānī al-Ṣaffār.

‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, sons of ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb ibn Zayn al-Umanā’.

‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Zayn al-Umanā’.

Yaḥyā ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Maslama.

Naṣr and Sa’d al-Khayr, sons of Abū al-Qāsim ibn Abū al-Faraj al-Nābulusī.

Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Zayla‘ī.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalīfa al-Baghdādī.

Muḥammad ibn Makārim al-Ṣaffār.

Sulaymān ibn Maknūn al-Ḥiyārī.

‘Abd al-Sayīd ibn Sayīduhum al-Kanānī.

القاسم الرقاب وحسن بن عطية المليبي ومحمد بن الحسن بن سالم بن سلام وإساعيل بن غستان الخياط ويعقوب بن محمد المراعي وكتب السماع إبراهيم بن عمر بن عبد العزيز بن الحسن القرشي وسمع من أول الحديث الحادي والعشرين إلى آخره علم الدين أبو القاسم بن أبي بكر بن إبراهيم النخاس ومحمد وعلي ابنا عبد الرحمان بن حمدان التكريتي وابن عمهما حمدان بن مسعود وعبد الصمد بن عمر بن رشيد ويعقوب بن ياقوت وأحمد بن أحمد بن أحمد بن عبد الوهّاب النخيري ٥ وأبيك التركي فتاه وأبو الحياة الخضر بن عبد الرحمان بن عبد العزيز بن الحسن القرشي وذلك في مجلسين آخرها ثامن جمادى الأولى سنة ست وعشرين وستائة بجامع دمشق وصح وثبت والحمد لله وصلاته على محمد وآله وسلّم.

8ib

سماع ٩

١٠ سمع جميع هذا الجزء وهو أربعون حديثاً في الحث على الجهاد جمع الحافظ صدر الحقاظ أبي القاسم علي بن الحسن بن هبة الله الشافعي على ابن أخيه الشيخ الأجلّ العالم الفاضل عزّ الدين جمال الإسلام أبي عبد الله محمد بن شيخنا الإمام تاج الأمناء الفضل أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن الشافعي أيّده الله عزّ وجلّ بأصل سماعه منه بقراءة الفقيه زين الدين أبي الثناء خالد بن يوسف بن سعد بن الحسن النابلسي تاج الدين أبو الحسن عبد الوهّاب بن شيخنا أبي البركات الحسن بن محمد ١٥ وولده عبد الملك وعبد الصمد وعمهما أبو سعد عبد الله وأبو الفضل أحمد بن أبي الحسن عبد

Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb al-Muzawwiq.
 ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Rakkāb.
 Ḥasan ibn ‘Aṭīya al-Maylī.
 Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sālim ibn Sallām.
 Ismā‘īl ibn Ghassān al-Khayyāṭ.
 Ya‘qūb ibn Muḥammad al-Marā‘ī.

The writer of this colophon of the teaching session, Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī.

Also studying Hadith 21 until the end of the text were:

‘Alam al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm al-Naḥḥās.
 Muḥammad and ‘Alī, sons of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥamdān al-Tikrītī,
 and their cousin, Ḥamdān ibn Mas‘ūd.
 ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ‘Umar ibn Rashīd.
 Ya‘qūb ibn Yāqūt.

Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Namīrī, and his slave Aybak the Turk.

Abū al-Ḥayat al-Khuḍr ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī.

This occurred over two teaching sessions, the second of which was on 8 Jumādā I 626/4 April 1229, at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. Thanks be to God, and His praise and peace on Muhammad and his family.

81b Colophon 9

The entire volume—that is, the *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad* which was collected by the foremost authority among Hadith memorizers Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh al-Shāfi‘ī [Ibn ‘Asākir]—was studied in the presence of his nephew (lit., his brother’s son) the esteemed teacher and eminent scholar ‘Izz al-Dīn Jamāl al-Islām Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad son of our teacher the imam Tāj al-Umanā’ al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shāfi‘ī; may God—glory and greatness belong to Him—support him; he had studied the text with him [Ibn ‘Asākir].

It was read out by the jurist Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Thana’ Khālīd ibn Yūsuf ibn Sa‘d ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nābulusī. Those who studied it during this teaching session were:

Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Wahhāb son of our teacher Abū al-Barakāt al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, his two sons ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, and their uncle Abū Sa‘d ‘Abd Allāh.

الله أخي المسّمع وابن عمّه يحيى بن الفضل وصاحب الجزء الحافظ زكيّ الدين أبو عبد الله محمّد
 بن يوسف بن محمّد البرزالي وابنه أبو المحاسن يوسف جبره الله وأبو العبّاس أحمد بن يوسف بن
 عبد الله التلمساني وعزّ الدين أبو محمّد عبد العزيز بن عثمان بن أبي طاهر وشرف الدين أبو
 عبد الله الحسين بن إبراهيم بن الحسين الإربليّان وولده إبراهيم ومحبّ الدين أبو الفتح نصر الله
 بن أبي العزّ بن أبي طالب الشيباني الصقّار وشمس الدين أبو الحسن علي بن المظفر بن القاسم
 النشبي ومؤتمنّ الدين أبو إسحاق إبراهيم بن عمر بن عبد العزيز بن الحسن القرشي وأحضر ابنته
 أمّ الفضل هديّة وهي في السنة الخامسة وأبو حامد محمّد بن علي بن محمود المحمودي الصابوني
 وأبو الحسن علي بن أحمد بن محمّد القسطل وأبو موسى عيسى بن أحمد بن عيسى اللخمي وأبو
 موسى عيسى بن سليمان بن عبد الله الرعيّني الأندلسيّون والسّماع عبد الخالق بن عمّار بن شفيع
 الكفركتيّ وعبد الملك بن أبي القاسم عبد الملك الرّكّاب ومحمود بن محمّد بن أحمد الشرواني وحسن
 بن عطية المسيليّ وعبد العزيز بن يحيى بن منصور المراكشيّ ومحمّد بن عثمان النخّاس يعرف بمحمّد
 ومحمّد بن سالم بن أبي الوفاء ويوسف بن الحسن بن بدر بن الحسن النابلسيّان وعمر بن أحمد بن
 عبد القويّ الفاسي وعلي بن محمّد بن أبي سراقّة ومحمّد بن علي بن محمّد الحجازي وابني أبو بكر
 محمّد وهو في السنة الثانية جبره الله وصحّ ذلك في يوم الأحد ثاني ربيع آخر سنة سبع وعشرين

Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abd Allāh, the nephew of the teacher [Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad], and his [Abū al-Faḍl’s] cousin Yaḥyā ibn al-Faḍl.

The owner of this copy, the Hadith memorizer Zakīy al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Birzālī, and his son Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf—may God protect him.

Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Talmasānī.

‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Abū Ṭāhir al-Irbīlī.

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Irbīlī, and his son Ibrāhīm.

Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr al-Allāh ibn Abū al-‘Izz ibn Abū Ṭalīb al-Shaybānī al-Ṣaffār.

Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Qāsim al-Nushbī.

Mu’tamin al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī, who brought his daughter Umm al-Faḍl Hadīya, who is five years old.

Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Maḥmūd al-Maḥmūdī al-Ṣābūnī.

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭāl al-Andalusī.

Abū Mūsā ‘Īsā ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsā al-Lakhmī al-Andalusī.

Abū Mūsā ‘Īsā ibn Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ra‘īnī al-Andalusī.

The singer ‘Abd al-Khāliq ibn ‘Ammār ibn Shafī‘ al-Kafarkannī.

‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Malik al-Rakkāb.

Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sharwānī.

Ḥasan ibn ‘Aṭīya al-Masīlī.

‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Yaḥyā ibn Manṣūr al-Marrākishī.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Naḥḥās, known as Ḥamid.

Muḥammad ibn Sālīm ibn Abū al-Wafā’ al-Nābulusī.

Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Badr ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nābulusī.

‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Qawī al-Fāsī.

‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Surāqa.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥijāzī.

My son Abū Bakr Muḥammad,⁵⁰ who was two years old—may God protect him.

Written on Sunday 2 Rabī‘ II 627/17 February 1230 at the House of Hadith in Damascus, by Muḥammad ibn Abū Ja‘far ibn ‘Alī al-Faraḍī—may God

⁵⁰ That is, Abū Bakr Muḥammad was the son of Muḥammad ibn Abū Ja‘far ibn ‘Alī al-Faraḍī, who wrote Colophon 9.

وستتاية بدار الستة بمدينة دمشق كتبه محمد بن أبي جعفر بن علي الفرضي رحمه الله والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على رسوله سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم.

ساع ١٠

سمع جميع الأربعين في الحث على الجهاد على الشيخ الأصيل المسند زكي الدين أبي إسحاق إبراهيم بن بركات بن إبراهيم القرشي الخشوعي بحق ساعه من مؤلفها الحافظ أبي القاسم الشافعي بقراءة الحافظ العالم زكي الدين أبي عبد الله محمد بن يوسف بن محمد البرزالي صاحب هذه النسخة شيخنا الإمام العالم الفاضل العلامة شرف الدين فخر البلغاء أبو عبد الله الحسين بن إبراهيم بن الحسين الإربلي حفظه الله وشيخنا أبو الحسن محمد بن أبي جعفر القرطبي وابنه محمد وأبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي البالسي وعثمان بن أبي محمد بن بركات بن أخي المسقع ومحمد بن يوسف بن يعقوب الإربلي وآخرون ذكروا في نسختي التي قرأت منها وحولت الساع منها إلى هنا على سبيل الاختصار منهم ابن أخي أحمد بن أبي بكر بن عمر بن جندي الدمشقي كتبه يوسف بن الحسن بن بدر بن الحسن بن النابلسي وذلك في يوم الجمعة الحادي والعشرين من شوال سنة ثلاث وتلاثين وستمئة في الكلاسة من دمشق الحمد لله وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله.

نسخ

١٥ نسخ عليها محمد صادق المالح الكاتب في المكتبة العمومية بدمشق رحمه الله في ١٥ شوال سنة ١٣٢٩.

١٦ تدل هذه الإشارة على أن محمد صادق المالح نسخ المخطوطة، لكن لا شيء يعرف عن مكانها. يمكن أنها مفقودة أو في مكتبة خاصة

pardon him. Thanks be to God, the Lord of Creation, and may God praise His messenger, our lord Muhammad, his family and companions, and grant them peace.

Colophon 10

The entirety of the *Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad* was studied in the presence of the true and authoritative teacher Zakīy al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Barakāt ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Khushū'ī, who had studied it with its author the Hadith memorizer Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāfi'ī [Ibn 'Asākir]. It was read out by the learned Hadith memorizer Zakīy al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Birzālī, the owner of this copy. Those who studied it during this teaching session were:

Our teacher, the learned and eminent imam and scholar Sharaf al-Dīn Fakhr al-Bulaghā' Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Irbīlī—may God protect him.

Our teacher Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Abū Ja'far al-Qurṭubī, and his son Muḥammad.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Bālisī.

'Uthmān ibn Abū Muḥammad ibn Barakāt, the nephew of the teacher [al-Khushū'ī].

Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb al-Irbīlī.

And others whom I listed in my own copy, which I used during the teaching session and from which I copied a brief list of names into this copy; among them is my nephew Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar ibn Janadī al-Dimashqī.

Written by Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Badr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Nābulusī, on Friday 21 Shawwāl 633/27 June 1236 at the Kallāsa School in Damascus. Thanks be to God, and may God praise our lord Muhammad and his family.

Copying Note

Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Mālīḥ, the scribe at the Public [Zāhirīya] Library in Damascus—may God pardon him—copied it on 15 Shawwāl 1329/9 October 1911.⁵¹

⁵¹ This note is written beneath colophon 10.

سابع ١١

سمع هذه الأربعين على الشيخ أبي محمد القاسم بن المظفر بن محمود بن أحمد بن محمد العسكري بحضوره على أبي محمد عبد العزيز بن محمد بن الحسن بن علي بن أبيّة الصالحي بساعه من المصتف بقراءة والدي أبي محمد عبد الله بن أحمد بن المحبّ ابنه محمد وهذا خطّه وآخرون يوم الأربعاء ثامن ربيع الأوّل سنة ثمانى عشرة وسبعماية بمنزله والمحمد لله ربّ العالمين. ٥

تملك ١

وقف أبو بكر بن عمر بن أبي بكر ابن السلار عفا الله عنه.

تملك ٢

وقف الشيخ علي الموصلي رحمه الله.

٥ مكتوب هذا السابع على الورقة الأولى، تحت عنوان الكتاب ٧ مكتوب هذا التملك على الورقة الأولى، فوق عنوان الكتاب ٩ مكتوب هذا التملك على الورقة الأولى، تحت سابع 10

Colophon 11

This *Forty Hadiths* book was taught in the presence of the teacher Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muẓaffar ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-‘Asākīrī, who had studied the text with Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Mūhammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abīya al-Ṣāliḥī, who had studied it with the author [Ibn ‘Asākīr]. It was read out by my father Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Muḥibb. Those who studied it during this teaching session were his [Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Muḥibb’s] son Muḥammad—and this is his handwriting—and others. Written on Wednesday 8 Rabī‘ I 718/10 May 1318 in his [Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Muḥibb’s] house.⁵² Thanks be to God, Lord of creation.⁵³

Ownership Note 1

Entered in the property of Abū Bakr ibn ‘Umar ibn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sallār—may God forgive him.⁵⁴

Ownership Note 2

Entered in the property of the teacher ‘Alī al-Mawṣili—may God pardon him.⁵⁵

⁵² This style of cross-referencing may be confusing to the untrained eye. Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥibb first refers to his father as “my father”, then, using the third person, refers to himself as his father’s son, finally, he states that the handwriting of Colophon 11 is his own and that the teaching session was held in his father’s house.

⁵³ Colophon 11 is written on the title page. It suggests that by the time of this teaching session, ownership of al-Birzālī’s copy had been transferred to Ibn al-Muḥibb’s family.

⁵⁴ This ownership note is written on the title page directly above the book’s title. We do not know how or when the manuscript became the property of Abū Bakr ibn ‘Umar ibn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sallār, though it must have occurred prior to his death in 1316.

⁵⁵ This ownership note is written on the title page directly underneath colophon 11, suggesting that ownership of the manuscript had been transferred from Ibn al-Muḥibb’s family to al-Mawṣili. When this occurred remains a mystery, but we suspect that it was sometime during the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

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