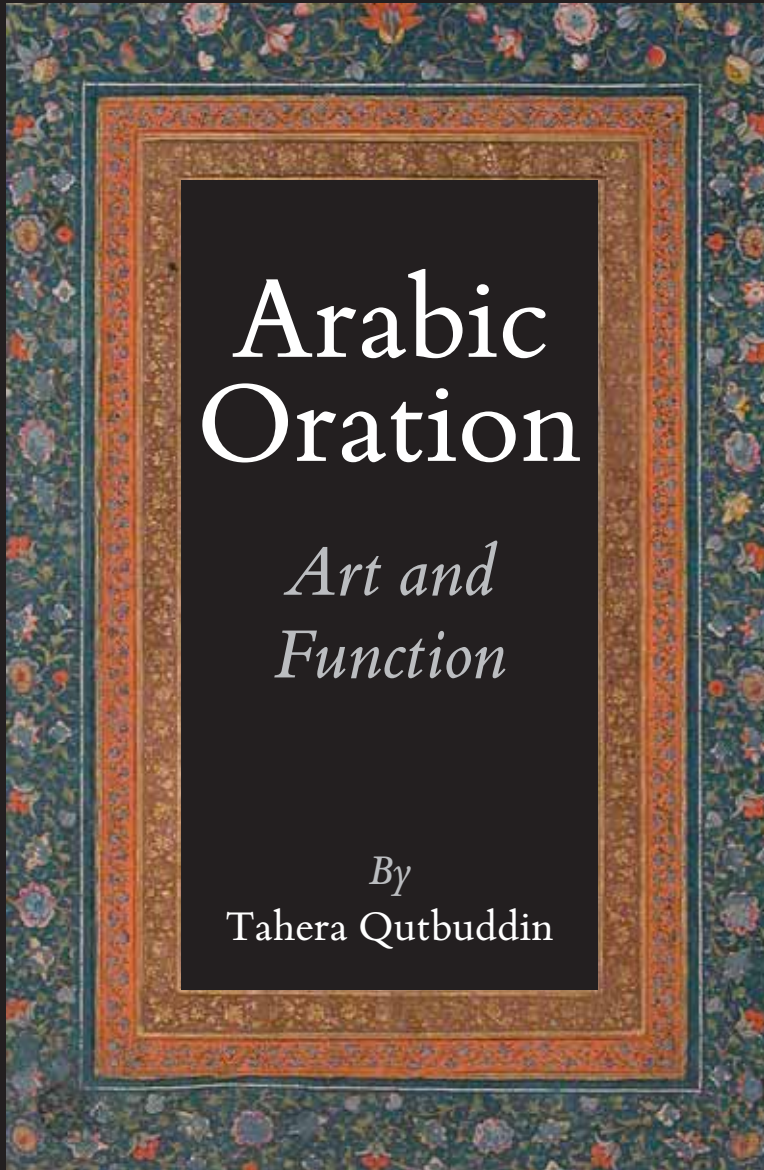


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"For a scholar of Western traditions of political thought, this book is a revelation. The Western canon also begins with oratory and with the ideas of the relation between public speech and politics that lay at the heart of Greek practice. To come to understand how the Arabic tradition thinks of language's role in shaping communal and political life will significantly advance the capacity of scholars to engage with the political discourse of the Arabic speaking world. This project is of fundamental importance and should transform the capacity of the non-Islamic and Islamic worlds to communicate with each other about political subjects."

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—*Devin J. Stewart, Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Emory University*

"Pious sermons, stirring battle speeches, chilling political rhetoric by stern governors, splendid literary artefacts: they are the subject of this magisterial book on Arabic oratory in which Tahera Qutbuddin deals with Arabic speeches as they have been recorded in the early centuries of Islam. Their stylistic and structural characteristics, their oral nature, their function, their influence even on present-day Friday sermons in Muslim countries, all this is expertly handled, as is the controversial matter of their authenticity. This book about an important but somewhat neglected genre is essential reading for all students of early Islam, its history and its literature."

—*Geert Jan van Gelder, Laudian Professor of Arabic Emeritus, University of Oxford*

Arabic Oration

Handbook of Oriental Studies

Handbuch der Orientalistik

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The Near and Middle East

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Arabic Oration

Art and Function

By

Tahera Qutbuddin



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Dedicated with deepest gratitude

*To the memory of my revered father, Syedna Khuzaima Qutbuddin
And to his successor, my illustrious brother, Syedna Taher Fakhruddin*

With a verse they frequently recite(d):

نَتَمَنَّى أَنْ نَرَكَ ابْنَ النَّبِيِّ الْمُصْطَفَى ﷺ تَخَطَّبُ النَّاسَ وَقَدْ شَرَّفَتْ فَرَقَ الْمَنَبَرِ



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Acknowledgments

I began this project almost ten years ago in a somewhat naive attempt to run up a quick sketch of the genre of oration, as prelude to a monograph analyzing Imam ‘Alī’s sermons. I soon realized that little analytical work had been done on the early Islamic *khutbah*, and my initial outline grew branches and roots until after many long years it resulted in the book that you see before you. Along the way, I received help from numerous individuals and institutions, and I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude.

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To all who helped with this project, I offer sincere thanks.

جزاكم الله خيراً

Abbreviations

AD	<i>anno Domini</i> = Gregorian (Christian) year
AH	<i>anno Hegirae</i> = Hijrah (Muslim) year
App.	Appendix of Orations: References and Index (in present volume)
Ar.	Arabic
attrib.	attributed
b.	born
bet.	between
c.	century
ca.	<i>circa</i> = approximately
ch.	Chapter
comm.	commentary
d.	died
diss.	dissertation
EAL	<i>Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature</i>
EALL	<i>Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics</i>
ed.	editor, edition, edited by
e.g.	for example
EI2	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition
EI3	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 3rd edition
Elr	<i>Encyclopedia Iranica</i>
ff.	and following
fl.	flourished
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> = in the same place (book or article)
idem	= the same (author)
K.	<i>Kitāb</i> ("Book")
lit.	literally
masc.	masculine
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
n.	note number
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no place, or no publisher
no.	number
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online
pl.	plural
Q	Qur'an
r.	ruled
re.	regarding

sic	<i>sic erat scriptum</i> = thus was it written
viz.	<i>videlicet</i> = namely
vol., vols.	volume, volumes

Presentation

This is a long and complicated book, and I have made the following stylistic choices to facilitate what I hope is a smooth read and concise presentation:

- References for orations are consolidated in the Appendix of Orations. The footnotes refer the reader to the Appendix numbers (App. §).
- Dates and affiliations of orators are listed in Glossary 1. Dates are usually not listed within the chapters, although periods are broadly identified.
- Dates for all primary source authors are listed in the Bibliography. Within the chapters, they are listed only where the time period is relevant.
- Footnote citations are omitted when the reference in the volume's narrative is to whole works; those are listed in the Bibliography.
- Footnote citations omit titles for authors for whom the Bibliography lists a single work; for authors with multiple works listed, an abbreviated title is added.
- Full diacritics are used for the transcription of Arabic words, books, and personal names, except in Chapter 12, where names of contemporary preachers, officials, and authors are transcribed in the popular media rendering; the Bibliography adds the transliterated surname in parentheses. Words commonly used in English—Qur'an, hadith, Shi'a, Sunni, Imam/imam, Shari'ah, jihad, Sunnah, Surah/surah, Ramadan, Muharram, madrasa, Sufi, Fatimid, Abbasid, and Hajj—are transcribed thus in their Merriam-Webster rendering.
- The definite article "al-" is mostly omitted from transcriptions of names.
- Side-by-side Arabic-English transcription is provided for oration segments. For single lines, the Arabic text is usually provided in the Footnotes.
- Vocalization and punctuation in Arabic prose quotations is minimal. Qur'an and poetry verses are fully vocalized.
- Lower case is used for pronouns referring to God when the referent is clear from the context.

Introduction

In the early Islamic world of the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries, religion, politics, and aesthetics coalesced in the rich art of Arabic oration (*khaṭābah*). Living in a largely oral realm, the first generations of Muslims and their forebears in the Arabian Peninsula assiduously cultivated the art of the eloquently, metaphorically, rhythmically, appositely, mnemonically spoken word. Exquisite in rhetorical craftsmanship, their speeches and sermons were also the major vehicle of policymaking and persuasion, and the primary conduit for dissemination of ethical and religious teachings. On the one hand, oration in this period was a fundamental art form. Rather than focusing on painting or sculpture or music, the aesthetic talents of the early Arabians focused on eloquent verbal creations, and these form some of the most beautiful and powerful expressions in the Arabic canon. Together with the Qur'an and poetry, oratory was foundational in the emergent Arabic literary tradition; with a great deal of spiritual and temporal clout, it reigned supreme for more than a century as the preeminent prose genre. On the other hand, oration's artistic formulation was the loom on which movers and shakers of the community wove the threads of their religious and political discourse. As the chief form of public address, it had central administrative, social, and devotional functions. It was the primary means of government, the major tool for negotiating authority, and the key vehicle for doctrinal instruction. It roused warriors to battle, codified legislation on civic and criminal matters, and raised awareness of the imminence of death and the importance of leading a virtuous life. It called listeners to the new religion, and formed part of the religion's ritual worship. In addition to being a vital piece of the Arabic literary landscape, it was thus an essential component of political, military, and spiritual leadership. Remnants of these oratorical texts¹—preserved initially through a sophisticated mnemonics-based system of oral transmission—offer a fascinating microcosm of nascent Islamic society and culture.

But despite the enormous significance of Arabic oration to so many Islamic and Arabic fields of study, the parameters of the genre in its earliest known period have never been mapped, nor has its orality been tapped as a methodological tool. Large questions remain: What precisely were oration's thematic, functional, and aesthetic topographies? How did orality shape its art and effi-

1 When I use the words "text," "literature," and "prose," I intend both written and oral artistic verbal production.

cacy? Who were the major orators? Why did notions of authority and public space mediate an oration's reception? Are the recorded fragments authentic? What is oration's historical value? And through the centuries until today, how has oration impacted Arabic literature and Islamic government?

Using the crucial lens of orality theory and a multitude of supplementary interdisciplinary tools commensurate with the complex subject matter, this book examines the preservation and provenance, genres and themes, structure and style, and orator-audience authority dynamics of Arabic oration. The book begins with chapters that discuss the characteristics of early oration with its mnemonic design, metonymic evocation, tailored formulae, and aesthetics of orality and persuasion, followed by chapters that treat oration's four major types: the sermon of pious counsel, the ritual Friday and Eid sermon, the battle oration, and the political speech. These are followed by analysis of women's orations, and theological, legislative, and other less common types. In all these chapters, the discussion is mapped onto four simultaneous, chronologically developing cultural spectra: pagan to Islamic, tribal to imperial, nomadic to urban, and oral to written. After systematic consideration of oration in its oral period, the book goes on to explore how this spoken tradition influenced the development of the major written genres of Arabic literature, beginning with the epistle (*risālah*). Finally, the book investigates how the legacy of Arabic oratory continues to shape the idiom and concepts of religion and politics across the modern Islamic world. Throughout the book, abundant quotations from the oratorical texts—in English translation, with the Arabic original—illustrate the argument. Altogether, this book presents a comprehensive theory of Arabic oratory, with a broad and deep analysis of its texts and practice in early Muslim-ruled lands in the foundational, oral period, just before and immediately after the advent of Islam, followed by a discussion of its continuing legacy in medieval and modern times.

1 The Oral Milieu of Arabic Orations

From the vantage point of the twenty-first century, we gain access to early Arabic oration through historical, literary, and jurisprudential sources, and from many other genres of books from the classical and medieval library. In other words, we engage with it as written text. Because of this, and because of our experience with how our own modern-day speeches and sermons are produced, we fall into the trap of unconsciously assuming for early Arabic orations a similar mode of being, a parallel *Weltanschauung*. We look at it with the anachronistic eyes of people from a fully reading and writing society, for whom

the presence of written texts all around is a given fact, where orality is measured against literacy, never on its own terms. But although early Arabic orations have come to us on paper, it is important to acknowledge that they were not created as written texts. When we read orations in the medieval sources, we are in fact reading texts that were produced and at first instance transmitted orally. Clearly, then, tools applied to written texts are not wholly suitable for dissecting these spontaneous, interactive speech performances. While reading this material, we must bear in mind the oral milieu of Arabic oration, for, unless we recognize its orality, we cannot fully appreciate its character or accurately analyze its contents.

It is also important to bear in mind the limitations of this orality, for the pre-Islamic and early Islamic milieu was not fully oral. But although Arabic oration lay between orality and writing, it was closer to the oral end of the spectrum. Let us imagine a sliding scale between a pristine orality, in which there is absolutely no writing, and a fully literate society, in which writing is an integral part of the culture—for example, certain tribes living in isolation in the rainforests of the Congo and the Amazon today, versus contemporary Europe and the United States. Although writing was known in Middle Eastern lands in the period of our study, it was a skill limited to a tiny proportion of the populace. Laboriously employing crude instruments of writing such as rock, bone, and skin, and later, parchment and papyrus, they reserved their writing for momentous occasions. Like the ancient Israelites who lived in an essentially oral world,² the majority of the populace of the Arabian Peninsula and its neighbors in our period was unlettered. Pre-Islamic and early Islamic society, and its linguistic performance, was predominantly oral.

2 Orality on Its Own Terms

It is further necessary to remember that oral thought patterns are not inferior to writing-based ones, just different. Orality has been a feature of human history for thousands of years. Even in those premodern societies we think of as highly literate—such as the ancient Greek, Roman, Chinese, and Indian, and even European during the Renaissance—only a minuscule percentage of the populace could read and write. To us, education is inconceivable without literacy. This was not true of premodern societies, where most learning happened orally. Indeed, the oral had greater prestige than the written. The oral constituted real knowledge, reliable information backed by the testimony

² Citing Niditch, 44, 59, and *passim*.

of a living person, while the written was considered mere notation, an aid to memory, and susceptible to error.

Out of an oral world emerged the leading lights of human thought—some whom we know, and most of whom we do not—who introduced to the human race ideas and wisdom and values that form our collective human heritage. These include religious prophets, such as Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad; founders of deep ethical systems, such as Confucius, Gautama Buddha, and ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; and composers of monumental epics, such as *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, *Gilgamesh* and *The Aeneid*, *The Mahabharata* and *The Ramayana*. Although writing undoubtedly aids analytical thought, the premise that critical thinking is contingent upon writing takes an unwarranted leap. The related label of illiteracy is also inappropriate here. In a world-view where literacy is equated with being educated and thoughtful, illiteracy implies being uneducated and irrational. In contrast, orality—the preferred term in this book—is a neutral labeling, which can be parsed on its own terms.

3 Mainstays of Oral Literature: Mnemonic Design and Metonymic Evocation

Two major aspects of the artistic verbal production of an oral milieu are mnemonic design and metonymic evocation. These, with their myriad markers, underlie all aspects of Arabic oration, and explicitly or implicitly undergird all the chapters of this book.

The study of orality has made huge strides in the past several decades. Albert Lord and Milman Parry were among the pioneers of the field. More recently, scholars such as Walter Ong, Jack Goody, Jan Vansina, John Foley, Ruth Finnegan, Eric Havelock, Martin Jaffee, Werner Kelber, and Susan Niditch have explored the central questions of orality.³ Although these scholars have focused on epic poetry and narrative folktale, their findings can also be applied fruitfully to oration.

In his pioneering study *Orality and Literacy*, Ong demonstrates that all thought and verbal expression in a primarily oral culture are essentially mnemonic. In the context of Arabic oration, orality refers to something close to this primary orality. Ong explains the details of this memorization-grounded style thus:⁴

3 Full citations for studies by these scholars and all others mentioned in the present volume are listed in the Bibliography.

4 Ong, 34–35. Ong further argues that analytical thinking is contingent upon writing, a thesis

In a primary oral culture, to solve effectively the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought, you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready, oral recurrence. Your thought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulaic expressions, in standard thematic settings ... in proverbs which are heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall, or in other mnemonic form. Serious thought is intertwined with memory systems ...

In an oral culture, to think through something in nonformulaic, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms, even if it were possible, would be a waste of time, for such thought, once worked out, could never be recovered with any effectiveness, as it could be with the aid of writing.

Ong provides a list of ten characteristics of orally based expression. In these, the first is mnemonics. The other nine—many of which are themselves memory devices—further elaborate the mnemonics base. Thus, the oral text is additive rather than subordinative; aggregative rather than analytic; repetitive; traditionalist; close to the human lifeworld; agonistic; empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced; homeostatic, maintaining a stable state of equilibrium between interdependent elements; and situational rather than abstract. What some of this means in layman's terms is that an orality-rooted speaker will speak about a ball, for example, rather than a sphere, and about a plate rather than a circle. He will ground his ideas in the material world around him, and represent them graphically and visually, rather than in abstract forms. He will favor "parataxis," a literary technique that utilizes short sentences with coordinating, rather than subordinating, conjunctions. He will repeat his key message, sometimes using the same language, sometimes using different words. He will make sure his speech is rhythmic, utilizing parallelism, meter, and rhyme. These, says Ong, are the "psychodynamics" of orally based thought and expression.

The second foundational feature of orality is metonymical evocation, in which the text is fleshed out by the context. Foley explains metonymy as follows:⁵

that has been criticized as lending itself to a racist ideology of oral cultures being irrational and primitive (I thank Nerina Rustomji for this observation), an ideology I am arguing against. Notwithstanding these real problems, I find his presentation of the mnemonics of oral literature compelling and relevant.

5 Foley, 7–8, 11.

[Metonymy is] a mode of signification wherein the part stands for the whole ... [and] the text or version is enriched by an unspoken context that dwarfs the actual artifact, in which the experience is filled out—and made traditional—by what the conventionality attracts to itself from that context ... Submerged beneath the surface of the single tale or element lies a wealth of associations accessible only under the agreement of metonymic representation and interpretation.

In other words, the speaker conveys only a modicum of information in any given context, but makes use of references that allow the audience to fill in the rest. Niditch explains Foley's ideas on the metonymic value of the formulaic phrases that anchor oral performance in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as follows:⁶

[The formula is] no mere convenience for a bard who works extemporaneously, seeking to maintain a certain meter while providing a piece of content. Rather, the formula is a signifier rich in inherent cultural meanings, which draws upon the wider related literary tradition, a template of the tradition and an indicator of worldview. Formulas bring the larger tradition to bear on the passage, allowing a few words to evoke a wider and deeper range of settings, events, characters, emotions, and meanings than the immediate textural context of the phrase might suggest ... the referential meaning of this group of words is much greater than the sum of their individual denotations and connotations, and it enriches each instance with a greater than situational impact.

Other scholars also maintain the importance of metonymy to oral production. David Olson argues that whereas writing concentrates meaning in language itself, orality relegates meaning largely to context.⁷ Ong says that "the divorce between (epic) poem and context would be difficult to imagine in the oral culture, where the originality of the poetic work consists in the way this singer or narrator relates to the audience at this time."⁸

The importance of context even for secondary oral material is highlighted by modern communication theory. According to Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson's "Relevance Theory," the speaker always takes into account the mutual cognitive environment between her and her audience, gauging as she speaks what the audience already knows. She then articulates just enough to trigger an

6 Niditch, 11–12.

7 Olson, 258–264 and *passim*.

8 Ong, 158.

evocation response.⁹ To fill in the details, she relies on the audience, who can recover the speaker's intended meaning from what she said, as well as from the context and implications. In ancient Greece, Aristotle—marrying oratory with logic—had offered the parallel concept of the “enthymeme,” a rhetorical syllogism that omits some premises because the speaker feels those premises are obvious to the audience.¹⁰ Important to any verbal situation, context is crucial to Arabic oration.¹¹

4 The Literary Milieu of Arabic Orations: Poetry, Qur'an, and Other Oral Genres

Epigraphic evidence attests to Arabic as a distinct language in the Arabian Peninsula as early as the third century AD. The first surviving oratorical materials—such as the sermon attributed to the Christian bishop of Najrān, Quss ibn Sā'idah, warning humans of imminent death, and the sermons of the Prophet Muḥammad's forebear Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf, urging the Quraysh (the tribe of the Prophet) to venerate the Ka'bah—are attributed to the sixth century AD, approximately fifty years before the coming of Islam.¹² Like poetry,¹³ they derive from what was probably an ancient genre, whose origins are lost in the mists of time.

The two other major genres of this early period—the Qur'an and poetry—are also underpinned by mnemonic design and metonymic evocation.¹⁴ Just as oration possessed a rhythmic base of parallelism, the Qur'an had assonance, and poetry had rhyme and meter. Also like oration, both contained vivid life-world imagery, and evoked an unspoken context beyond the text.

There are also interesting individual overlaps between oratory and each of its two sister genres. Intersections with poetry abound, and the Abbasid poet

9 See Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*. For an application of Relevance Theory to Qur'anic exegesis, see H. Qutbuddin, *Framework for an Ismā'īlī Fāṭimid Commentary of the Qur'ān*.

10 Aristotle, § i. 1.11, 2.8; § i. 2.20, 22; § ii. 22.1, 25.8, and *passim*; see “Enthymeme” in General Index, 488.

11 See T. Qutbuddin, “Alī's Contemplations.”

12 App. § 105.1, § 57.1.

13 Among the earliest poems are the odes of the “wandering king” Imru' al-Qays (Zawzanī, 10–60) and the “brigand wolf” Shanfarā l-Azdi (Zamakhsharī et al., *Bulūgh*, entire), both attributed to the mid-sixth century AD.

14 Graham (88) argues that the very name “Qur'an”—literally, “Recitation”—underscores the fact that the Qur'anic revelations were originally wholly oral texts intended to be recited, first by Muḥammad, then by the faithful.

Abū Tammām (d. ca. 232/845) positions oratory as poetry's companion genre.¹⁵ Although themes and functions are distinct, they share the same oral register and concomitant oral attributes. Interestingly, orations of the Hebrew Bible—which have similarly strong imagery and rhythm—are generally called “poetry.” Poetry in the classical Arabic tradition is required, according to the medieval critics, to be strictly “*mawzūn wa-muqaffā*,” metered and rhymed.¹⁶ Arabic oration, which is neither, has never been labelled “poetry,” but we could loosely characterize it, and the Qur’an as well, as “poetic prose” or “rhythmic prose.” Furthermore, the term *dīwān*, which came to mean, among other things, a collection of poetry, in at least one instance—the *Dīwān Khuṭab Ibn Nubātah*—was also used to denote a collection of orations. Like orations, moreover, poems composed in the oral period were for the most part transmitted orally until they were assembled in written form in the late 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. Some individuals, such as ‘Āmir ibn Wāḥilah al-Kinānī (d. 100/718), are identified in the sources as both poet and orator.¹⁷

There are also notable intersections between oration and the Qur’an. Indeed, the Qur’an adopted many of the stylistic features of the existing genre of oratory, such as parallelism, vivid imagery, direct address, sporadic rhyme, and assonance. Also, several sections of the Qur’an are in the form of a quasi-oration, preached by a prophet to his community, calling listeners to God and piety. The prophet of Midian, Shu‘ayb, is referred to as the “orator of the prophets” (*khaṭīb al-anbiyā’*),¹⁸ and several orations by him in this vein—such as the passage in Hūd 11:84–95—are recorded in the Qur’an. The Qur’an in its turn influenced the oration. After the advent of Islam, the oration adapted to the new Islamic polity and the radically different worldview presented by the Qur’an. The earlier themes of the pre-Islamic period were now underpinned by a call to God-fearing piety and obedience to God’s commands. Orators also cited the Qur’an regularly.¹⁹

In this context, it is important to distinguish between Muḥammad’s own oration and his preaching of Qur’anic verses, which were believed to come directly from God. How did the early Muslims distinguish between them? Did Muḥammad preface each of them with an identifying marker? Or was there a perfor-

15 Abū Tammām, 1:45, verse §11 of his famous Ammorium poem: “Victory of victories, no words can do it justice—neither verses of poetry nor prose of orations”

فَتَحُّ الْفُتُوحِ تَعَالَى أَنْ يُحِيطَ بِهِ نَظْمٌ مِنَ الشَّعْرِ أَوْ نثرٌ مِنَ الْخُطْبِ

16 Qudāmah, *Naqd al-shi‘r*, 64.

17 App. §33.1.

18 Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘*, exegesis of Q Hūd 11:91. I thank Devin Stewart for this observation.

19 See T. Qutbuddin, “Qur’an Citation in Early Arabic Oration.”

mance or recitation-oriented context signaling one or the other? In one intriguing example, Muḥammad's oration to his tribe in Mecca in the early years of his preaching actually includes a line which is from the Qur'an itself, without any observable markers in the written record that the line is part of the holy book.²⁰ Assuming the authenticity of the oration, was Muḥammad deliberately citing a verse of the Qur'an? Or was his own language permeated by its themes and style such that he seamlessly integrated verses into his own addresses? Moreover, the Qur'an declares that Muḥammad is neither a soothsayer (*kāhin*) nor a poet (*shā'ir*), but rather a messenger (*rasūl*) who has brought God's words to mankind.²¹ Poetry and soothsaying are negated, presumably because both had a sacred disposition with which the Qur'an could inadvertently be conflated. Bearing out this shamanistic context, the Qur'an also declares that Muḥammad is not "touched by the *jinn*" (*majnūn*). In contrast, there was no need for a denial of Muḥammad's oratory; he could simultaneously be God's messenger and an orator, for oratory was entrenched in a religious, ethical, and political scene that was unambiguously human and already sufficiently distinct from the Qur'an.

Other surviving literary materials from our period are also grounded in orality. From pre-Islamic times, we have narratives known as *Ayyām al-'Arab*, the "Battle Days of the Arabs"; descriptions of rain (*waṣf al-maṭar*); and rhymed pronouncements with distinctive oaths and divination, uttered by pagan soothsayers (*saḥ al-kuhhān*). The latter genre, although distinct, was a form of public address, and in this context it forms a subset of oration. From both pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, proverbs (*amthāl*, sing. *mathal*, and *ḥikam*, sing. *ḥikmah*) abound. Muḥammad's sayings (*ḥadīth*) include both orations and shorter, informal statements.

5 Public Spheres of Arabic Orations: Authority, Persuasion, and Negotiation of Power

Formal and authoritative, Arabic oration was delivered from a position of power. Its practitioners were leaders in the community—caliphs, commanders, governors, or people with religious weight. Through speeches and sermons, these leaders articulated policy, solicited support for military and religious-political initiatives, and recruited people to a particular set of ethics and values.

20 App. § 90.2. Q Saba' 34:46.

21 Q Tūr 52:29–30; Ḥāqqah 69:41–42.

Spontaneously articulated before a physically present, live audience composed of the speakers' peers, the oration was highly interactive. As is almost always the case with speech-making anywhere, the composition and attitude of the audience (among other significant elements) played a role in determining what the text of the speech was going to be. But in addition, the responses of the audience during the speech itself—manifest in their body language at all times but also in their verbal responses—formed continually running cues to the speaker, such that he tailored and adjusted his oration moment by moment as itself a response to the response of the audience.²² The dynamic speaker-audience interaction of the Arabic oration in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods played out in the public space to establish, continue, and reshape notions of power and authority.

Although oratory was, and continues to be, an important mode of authority assertion in many world cultures, it was arguably the most important communicative event of the public sphere in classical Arabian and Islamic society. Unlike modern times, when—to use the phrase coined by Bruce Lincoln—a multitude of stages exist, early Muslim society had limited authorized and authorizing places.²³ The public spheres created by oration were the main nexus for the communal negotiation of power. To give this society its due, public spheres engendered by oration were themselves multitudinous, for different types of oration created different types of public spheres. Particular speakers used different genres of language to constitute different public spheres, and particular types of speeches engendered particular forms of political action.

Hannah Arendt has effectively argued for the importance of language as an integral medium in constructing political identity, and this was certainly true for the orator-leaders of the Arabian world. In addition to a leader's other qualifications in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times (such as nobility of lineage, early conversion to and service in the cause of Islam, knowledge, sagacity, and courage), effective leadership entailed nuanced interpersonal communication on both individual and communal levels. One-on-one communication falls outside the purview of this book; however, the communal aspect of high-level power brokerage is precisely what we are concerned with here, for this broader persuasive endeavor was enacted largely through public (and sometimes semi-public) speeches and sermons. For pre-Islamic and early Islamic society, orations were the main enactment of religio-political authority. In crucial ways, they were the vehicle of state policy, for important decisions were

22 I generally use the masculine pronoun because public oration in this culture was in most cases a male activity.

23 Lincoln, 143–144.

conveyed to the public almost solely through this medium. They were also the platform of political decision making, for, through the orator's orating and the audience's reception, a communal negotiation of policy was achieved. The Arabic oration helped shape the political landscape of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period.

Various types of orations engendered multivalent public spheres where authority was negotiated. Some spheres were more religious than political, and others were more political than religious, but all, nevertheless, combined aspects of both religion and politics. Public spheres created by the oration were numerous, as were the activities provoked by the oration. In the congregational space of the mosque, religious instruction was given in the ritual sermon, but this was also the venue for political and military directives, delivered there by the Prophet, and by caliphs, governors, deputies, revolt leaders, and other prominent Muslims. In the open spaces outside the towns, religio-political and military speeches were frequently performed. At the pilgrimage sites of the Hajj, matters of religion, politics, and legislation were commonly aired. In the battlefields of Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Central Asia, and Egypt, numerous speeches were delivered. In the homes of prominent community leaders, religio-political and military addresses were given. While many Western political theorists deny the existence of public spheres in Islamic political thought, new scholarship on the subject, such as the edited volume by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion challenges this notion.²⁴ The empirical evidence of orations supplied by our sources not only endorses this view, but it also reveals how particular types of speeches and particular uses of language produced particular forms of political action.

6 The Chronological and Geographic Compass of Arabic Orations: Politics, Religion, and Culture

The oratorical materials referenced in this book include the last few decades of the pre-Islamic period to the beginning of Islam, the career of the Prophet Muḥammad (610 AD–611/632), the rule of the first four historical Sunni caliphs, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī (11/632–40/661), the reign of the Umayyad dynasty (40/661–132/750), and, to a lesser extent, the period of the first five Abbasid caliphs, up to Ma'mūn (132/750–218/833). For Arabic oration, this was the earliest, oral period, when enduring conventions were laid down—the high

24 I thank Jennifer London for this observation and reference.

watermark of the genre. It is thus fitting that we refer to speeches of this period as “classical” Arabic orations (as compared to post oral-period “medieval” and “contemporary” orations; where no qualifier is given in the present volume, classical Arabic orations are intended).

With the coming of Islam, the geographical compass of Arabic oration widened exponentially. Especially with the Muslim conquests in the mid-first/seventh century, the Arabic language spread from the Arabian Peninsula to Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Persia, Central Asia, North Africa, and Spain. To a greater or lesser degree, it replaced other local languages. Muḥammad’s lifetime had been spent in Mecca, then Medina. After his death, Islam spread with the Muslim conquest of the neighboring Middle Eastern lands, and a new culture emerged with Arabic at the focal point of the linguistic stage. New garrison towns were founded, with a mosque at the center, populated initially by the Arab Muslim warriors. The major camptowns were Kufa and Basra in Iraq, Fustat in Egypt, and Kairouan in North Africa. These—alongside the capital cities of Medina, Damascus, and later Baghdad—became the hubs of religio-political and cultural movements, and they are also the main locations for our speeches and sermons. This was also the time when sectarian divisions began to crystallize. Iraq was a nexus for Shi’a and Khārijite rebellions against Umayyad authority. Early in the Abbasid period, the Khārijite movement mostly died out, but while the Shi’a movement saw major schisms, it also gained strength and following.

The intellectual milieu likewise saw major developments. The question of leadership was initially one of the central theological issues. Later, although these inquiries were still politically grounded, the purview widened to address divine nature, the origin of evil, and free will versus predestination. Proto-Sufi ascetics appeared, especially in Basra. The collection and authentication of hadith and historical reports became prime concerns. Jurisprudence became a vital scholarly endeavor, and jurists emerged as a stalwart power bloc in the Abbasid empire. These developing disciplines also impacted the content and practice of oratory.

During this period, we find the seeds of what were to become the political, legal, financial, and chancery institutions of Islam. An increasingly complex administrative system evolved, with dimensions ranging from the military, which was involved in ongoing battles; the economic, which first developed to address the distribution of booty; the educational, expanding with impetus from captives who brought new skills; and in subtle ways, the missionary, taking the form of Qur’an reciters who spread out across the newly conquered lands. The conquests produced a vibrant, cosmopolitan society.

Over the two hundred years of the period under study, the cultural parameters of society saw major shifts. Some moves were gradual, some more rapid.

Key impulses for change were the advent of the new religion of Islam, the shifting political climate from a tribal to an imperial ethos, and from a nomadic to an urban setting, and most significantly, the gradual transformation of the literary culture from an oral to a written one. As generation after generation of orators exhibited new sensibilities of literary taste, and as social, religious, and political mores changed, there was an accompanying and noticeable degree of evolution in the characteristics of oration.

7 Defining “*Khuṭbah*”

In the present time, the term “*khuṭbah*” almost exclusively denotes the ritual Islamic sermon that forms part of the weekly Friday prayer services and two annual Eid services. For the early period however, it had a broader purview. Then, the *khuṭbah* was an official discourse serving various religious, political, legislative, military, and other purposes, and containing diverse themes of piety, policy, urgings to battle, and law. It was extemporaneously composed and orally delivered in formal language to a large, live, public audience, during which the orator usually stood facing the audience.

In English, “oration” is a close equivalent, subsuming several terms that speak to the wide range of *khuṭbah* applications—exhortation, admonition, discourse, homily, debate, sermon, and speech.²⁵ A person who delivers a *khuṭbah* is a “*khaṭīb*” (pl. *khuṭabā*).

The art and practice of oration is termed “*khaṭābah*.”²⁶ The English term “oration” can mean both *khuṭbah*, denoting the text of an oration, and *khaṭābah*, denoting the art of oratory, and the latter meaning—almost synonymous with “oratory”—is intended in the title of the present book.

25 According to the *OED*, an “oration” is “a formal discourse delivered in elevated and dignified language, especially one given on a ceremonial occasion such as a public celebration, a funeral, etc.” The primary significance of “*oratio*” in classical Latin was “speech” or “rhetoric,” but in later Latin usage it shifted to denote “litany.” I thank Chad Mowbray for the latter observation.

26 Two notes: (1) *Khiṭābah* is described in H. Wehr’s *Dictionary of Modern Standard Arabic* in terms associated with medieval *khaṭābah*, viz. “rhetoric, oratory, art of eloquence,” as well as terms connected with the medieval *khuṭbah*, viz. “speech, lecture, discourse.” For earlier usage, *khiṭābah* is described in Lane’s *Lexicon* and Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘arab* as “the office of the preacher of a mosque.” (2) *Khaṭābah* is also sometimes used to denote the “art of rhetoric” (*qua* logic) versus *balāghah*, the “art of eloquence” (*qua* oratory). See work by that name by Fārābī, explicating Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*.

“*Khuṭbah*” is the most prevalent and wide-ranging of the handful of terms for our period that denote public address, but other forms of preaching also existed. Two partially overlapping terms—“*waʿz*” and “*qaṣaṣ*”—denote forms of homily. “*Maqām*” refers to an ascetic’s public admonishment addressed to a caliph or governor. “*Waṣīyyah*” is a testamentary address. These and other related terms are discussed further in Chapter Five.

8 Studies on Arabic Orations in the Early Period

There is no substantial critical study on Arabic orations of the early, oral period. Even though oratory is the earliest and arguably most influential genre of classical Arabic prose, and despite the fact that it has long been recognized as a vital religio-political tool of both the medieval and contemporary Islamic world, studies on the beginnings of the genre are almost non-existent in Western languages. An abundance of scholarship addresses oratory in different world cultures—ancient, medieval and modern—including ancient Roman and Greek, biblical, medieval European, and modern American and European. Moreover, several important works on medieval and contemporary Arabic preaching have appeared in recent years, and these are referenced in the chapters of the present volume devoted to those periods. But almost none have been forthcoming for the beginnings of the Arabic tradition. Moreover, as Philip Halldén correctly pointed out in his seminal 2005 article, even the numerous modern European studies of Arabic *balāghah* (rhetoric or eloquence) have generally ignored the *khaṭābah* (oratory) tradition.²⁷ The one monograph on early Arabic oratory, Stefan Dähne’s 2001 German dissertation, titled *Reden der Araber* (“Speeches of the Arabs”), focuses on an important but narrow aspect, providing a list of the rhetorical features of the political speeches of the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. In English, only short encyclopedia entries, small sections in book chapters, and a scattered handful of articles analyzing (somewhat superficially) specific *khuṭbahs* are to be found. In the early stages of my own research on the subject, I published a longer book-chapter, “*Khuṭbah*: The Evolution of Classical Arabic Oration.” More recently, I have written a fairly extensive entry on “*Khoṭba*” for the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, an article on functions of Qur’an citation in early oration, and four articles on the aesthetics and teachings of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s sermons. The present volume gathers, deepens,

27 Halldén, 19–38. Written a few years later, Heinrichs’ 2009 article, “Early Ornate Prose,” takes an important first step toward filling this lacuna.

and broadens some of my earlier analyses. To be sure, many Arabic monographs have discoursed on early Arabic oratory—including books by Iḥsān al-Nuṣṣ, ʿIlīyā al-Ḥāwī, Najdah Ramaḍān, Aḥmad Badrān, Ḥusayn al-Lahībī, Saʿīd al-Qarnī, Ghāzī Ṭulaymāt (with ʿIrfān al-Ashqar), and others—and these are useful in laying out a taxonomy of the field. But they employ critical tools minimally and do not venture much beyond a reproduction of the primary source material. None use the lens of orality. Scholarly works that trace the chronology of early Islamic political thought—including books by W. Montgomery Watt, Patricia Crone, and the multi-authored encyclopedic work titled *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*—offer valuable insights on the development of Islamic government and its religious underpinnings. However, these books are mostly historical in their approach, and no studies of early Islamic political thought engage strongly with the rhetoric of public address.

9 Challenges: a Sea of Sources, an Archaic Lexicon, Numerous Versions, and the Knotty Question of Authenticity

The student of Arabic oratory in its early, oral period faces four challenges—three relatively smaller hurdles and one larger one. The lesser obstacles comprise a vast multiplicity of literary and historical sources, a resulting profusion of variant versions, and a difficult archaic lexicon. The major challenge, and perhaps the main reason why this remains almost a virgin field, is the complicated question of authenticity and dating. No single oration, nor its individual lines or words, can be definitively authenticated. The vast majority of orations from the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period were transmitted by word of mouth over a period of up to one hundred and fifty years. Texts were written down after the proliferation of paper and the (relative) spread of literacy in late Umayyad and early Abbasid times. Combined with sectarian and political incentives to fabricate propaganda, the long period of oral transmission raises questions about the reliability of the extant materials. Moreover, the medieval sources provide mostly fragmentary oratorical materials from which the archetypal structure of the Arabic oration, along with its style and themes, has to be reconstructed.

Here is my approach in a nutshell. Most academics agree on the credible existence of an authentic core for two other genres that share a parallel history of oral transmission, namely, pre-Islamic poetry and Prophetic hadith. We have no reason not to accord a similar degree of acceptance to the corpus of oratorical materials. We have ample evidence to suggest that the Arabs consciously made an effort to memorize and transmit those orations—or, more

accurately, those parts of orations—that they found remarkable from a literary, tribal, political, and/or religious point of view. Moreover, the public setting of oration meant that there were many potential first transmitters, to whom we owe the numerous redactions of famous speeches. Yes, genuine materials cannot be identified with certainty. Yet, even those texts that may be forgeries effectively lend themselves to a literary assessment of the genre. The imitations circulated by counterfeiterers must have conformed closely to early conventions of style and theme; the forgers were near in time to the early orators, familiar with the conventions of pre-Islamic and early Islamic oratory, and, most importantly, successful in passing off their creations as earlier productions to a likewise knowledgeable audience. Even though this complicates our own detective work of determining the provenance of individual orations, the possibly fabricated orations also lend themselves effectively to a broad study of the earlier period. At the very least, modern scholars can agree on one thing: Orations extant in the early sources represent what, in the minds of medieval Arab scholars, were authentic pre-Islamic and early Islamic speeches. For 2nd/8th- and 3rd/9th-century litterateurs—who canonized the tradition for later generations—these texts formed the master model of the Arabic oration. Instead of focusing on single, individual texts, a book that examines the large corpus of multiply transmitted and distinctly archaic orations as a whole can—despite these difficulties—meaningfully delineate parameters of the oratorical genre.

10 **Methodology: a Hybrid, Multifaceted Approach, Sensitive to the Subject's Complexity**

Arabic oration speaks to many branches of inquiry. Consequently, I utilize a multipronged approach in my analysis that combines methodologies from a large and eclectic package of disciplines, including orality, literary criticism, linguistics, communication theory, discourse analysis, anthropology, sociology, theology and religion, historiography, political science, jurisprudence, thematic and context analysis, music theory, gender and post-colonial studies, trauma studies, Qur'an exegesis, the Muslim Prophetic tradition (hadith), biblical studies, philosophy, and studies of Classical Greece and Rome. Literature intersects with numerous other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. To each of the different chapters in this book, I apply a selective combination of tools that best service the topic of that chapter. For all chapters, I blend relevant tools from these disciplines with rigorous philological techniques, as well as Islamic narrative history and medieval methods of Arabic

literary theory, to produce what I hope is a hybrid, multifaceted instrument sensitive to the complexity of the subject.

What binds the methodology together is the close regard paid in all chapters to oration texts, which form the heart of the study. I use an extensive sampling of texts chosen for the most part on the basis of their early and wide attestation. These texts, and material on the culture of Arabic oration, are culled from diverse medieval sources. Scriptural, historical, literary, critical, legal, philological, theological, exegetical, and commentarial works are mined for relevant information. For each of the few hundred orations cited, all locatable primary sources are noted. In addition to the texts of the orations, these sources contain reports framing the orations, anecdotes about orators, and some critical evaluations of orations, orators, and oratorical methodology. For the chapters on oration characteristics and types, I first lay out my assessment of the principles, and end with the text, translation, and analysis of a full illustrative oration. Translations of all oratory texts are my own, as are translations of most other primary Arabic sources, unless otherwise noted. I use a language of presentation that employs terms of attribution and probability rather than certainty, especially when speaking of the historicity of individual orations. Although I have tried to avoid redundancy, some themes and texts are referenced under more than one rubric. The vast majority of orators at this time were male, so when speaking generically, I refer to the orator in the masculine gender. I engage with oration texts by a large number of orators, of various stripes, and from diverse backgrounds. Some of the orators I cite are famous, including Muḥammad and other leaders of the Muslim state—caliphs, military commanders, governors, Khārijite and Shiʿite leaders, and a handful of scholars; some are less well known. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the first Shiʿa Imam and the fourth Sunni caliph, is an acknowledged master of eloquence, to whom the largest number of orations of this period are attributed, and who is arguably the most influential orator of Islam. He is also a personal favorite, and cited frequently in this book.

For the penultimate chapter on the oration's influence on medieval prose, I rely on medieval prose works, chancery manuals, and books of literary criticism. For the final chapter on contemporary Islamic preaching, I explore the motivation and method behind the use of classical conventions through interviews with preachers in the Middle East and South Asia and examination of their scholastic curricula, as well as through personal observation and media recordings of sermons and speeches in these regions.

11 What This Study Offers to the Broader Humanities and Social Sciences

In addition to being of interest to scholars of Arabic literature and Islamic history, my study of Arabic oration offers this to the fields of humanities and social sciences: On the map of premodern literary history, an exploration of the origins of Arabic prose fills a sizeable lacuna; little is known about this major tradition of world literature. To the field of orality studies, it offers a hitherto almost completely unexplored culture that has produced a considerable amount of oral artistic material. Most other oral materials preserved from premodern times—such as Greek epics and Zulu panegyrics—are poetic forms; this is one of the few corpuses containing genuine remnants of rhythmic prose produced in an oral society. For scholars of oratory, it adds a heretofore unexplored area of public speaking, one that has distinctive religio-political dimensions. For scholars of history and political science, it offers a rich literary source, as well as a model for how literature can add a non-traditional facet to those disciplines. For theorists of democratic institutions, its discussion of orator-audience dynamics and public sphere formation in early Islam enriches their conceptualization of Islamic political thought, and it provides examples that illustrate how a speaker's use of language contributes to the construction of a community. Finally, for all humanities and social science scholars, it offers an experiment in eclectic methodology.

12 Contents

The first ten chapters delineate major parameters of Arabic oration in its early, oral period:

- Chapter 1, on preservation, discusses the oral transmission of oration, as well as our written sources for the texts and the central issue of authenticity.
- Chapter 2, on structure, reconstructs the essential components of the oration: the introductory invocation praising God, the phrase of transition, the vocative address to the audience, the main body of the oration with its various themes, and a line of prayer at the end. It shows how the orator uniquely tailored elements of the oration's fixed structure to particular moments, metonymically contextualizing conventional elements at each performance to deliver its religio-political message.
- Chapter 3, on style, presents the oration's aesthetics of orality and persuasion, through an examination of five major clusters largely rooted in a

mnemonics base: rhythm, audience engagement techniques, vivid imagery, citation of revered materials, and dignified yet direct language.

- Chapter 4, on orators and audience, features the dynamics of public space, persuasion, and negotiation of authority, in an interactive oratorical frame. Naming and characterizing the major orators, it traces the oration's movement from being directed primarily at persuasion in the time of the Prophet and the first four caliphs, to coercion by the end of the Umayyad period. It further shows how the orator customized his performance, moment by moment, to the audience's verbal responses and nonverbal cues.
- Chapters 5–8, on the four major types of Arabic oration—sermon of pious counsel, battle oration, political speech, and Friday and Eid sermon—expound on the themes, motifs, images, vocabulary, formulae, and contexts of each type. Themes—as the eminent French philosopher Michel Foucault contended—constitute the world we inhabit,²⁸ and the themes of our orations constitute the religious, political, martial, and ethical world inhabited by the early Arabians. Assessment of these themes showcases the values and workings of their world.
- Chapter 9 discusses additional types of orations: legislative, theological, rhymed prose of the pre-Islamic soothsayers, and the marriage oration.
- Chapter 10, on anomalous women's orations, discusses distinctive contents and contexts, in which traumatic circumstances engender a breaking of the public silence imposed on women by society. It also explores the grounding of female orator authority in male kinship.

The final two chapters explore the classical oration's influence and continuity in medieval and modern times.

- Chapter 11, on classical Arabic oration's influence on later Arabic prose literature, examines the development of the chancery epistle (*risālah*) and other genres of prose and literary criticism, as well as the medieval Friday and Eid sermon, analyzed on a sliding oral-written continuum, highlighting the interface between the oral and the written.
- Chapter 12, on classical Arabic oration's influence on contemporary Islamic Friday and Eid sermons, examines the latter's continued employment of the former's practices—structure, style, setting, images, formulae, and themes—in a conscious emulation of what modern preachers see as the original Friday sermon of Islam. Since present-day speeches and sermons are

28 Foucault, *Surveiller, passim*; see discussion by N. Armstrong, 39. It appears to be in this vein that the medieval Arabic litterateur Ibn al-Athīr (*Mathal*, 1:46) encouraged scribes to learn the poetry and prose of the early Arabians, saying it would help in “understanding their aspirations and the fruits of their thought.”

rooted in the traditional canon, some of the most effective keys to unlocking nuances of meaning in current public address are found in the conventions of classical Arabic oratory.

Two glossaries and an appendix provide reference materials for the book's contents:

- The Appendix of Orations lists the opening lines, context, and place for each oration cited, alongside all primary references located for each text, and an index of orations.
- Glossary 1 lists orators with dates and identifying information.
- Glossary 2 lists and characterizes literary terms.

This book is the first substantial study on this earliest and arguably most influential genre of Arabic prose, focusing on its oral beginnings and tracing its continuing sway. Yet, despite the book's length, and notwithstanding its wide chronological, geographical, methodological, and thematic compass, it has but scratched the surface. There is much that I have covered, and much more that remains to be explored.

The Preservation of Orations

Mnemonics-Based Oral Transmission, Supplementary Writing, and the Question of Authenticity

Before we can begin to understand the parameters of the oratorical genre, we need to assess the provenance of our materials. If the oration texts of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods were initially produced in an oral culture, how were they preserved until the time they were recorded in writing? Are the materials that have come down to us authentic? In the following pages, I chronicle the history of the preservation of oration texts over the first three Islamic centuries. The story is complicated, and I attempt to unravel the core strands without foregoing the subtleties. I discuss how orations were spontaneously composed and orally delivered to a large, public audience, then preserved initially by the first few generations of Muslims, through a strong indigenous tradition of memorization and oral transmission, supplemented by some written materials. I consider how in the 3rd/9th century they were systematically transcribed into literary and historical texts, taking note of the genres, authors, background, and chronology of these written sources. As an integral part of this history, I examine the contexts and consequences of the early oration's oral milieu, particularly the mnemonics-based underpinning for the pre-Islamic and early Islamic culture of oral transmission.

In tandem with the preservation narrative, I endeavor to offer a nuanced critical assessment of the thorny question of authenticity. I argue that because orations contained built-in mnemonic devices that facilitated memorization and transmission, they were successfully passed from person to person—for two or three or four generations—until they were eventually recorded and systematically collected. The robust system of oral transmission—the very fact that the society had such a system consciously in place—means that many of the genuine pronouncements from early times were captured and retained, rather than being lost to the winds. Because of the nature of oral transmission, we cannot establish that a particular oration, or each of its lines and words, is genuine. But we can establish that the genre existed, and we can define its parameters. If an oration has come down in multiple chains of transmission, and is widely and early disseminated across works of different genres written by scholars with different sectarian, political, and geographical backgrounds, we can gauge that it is more likely to be genuine. Although some materials

attributed to early orators are surely fabricated or erroneously transmitted, it is reasonable to believe that other lines and pieces may indeed have been spoken by them, perhaps with some variation, perhaps even verbatim.

1 Oral Composition, Transmission, and Mnemonics

The vast majority of speeches and sermons of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period were initially composed and transmitted orally. Their oral composition and oral transmission centered on mnemonics.

1.1 *Role of Mnemonic Devices in Oral Composition and Transmission*

Scholars have shown that the verbal performances of oral societies are underpinned by a number of mnemonic devices that facilitate their memorization and transmission. Walter Ong—whose description of this phenomenon was quoted in the Introduction along with his ten characteristics of orally based expression—emphasizes a primary oral culture’s need to “do [its] thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready, oral recurrence.”¹ Like practitioners of other (primary or largely) oral cultures, master orators of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times wove a combination of mnemonics-based rhetorical devices into the fabric of their orations. The devices they favored—explained in detail with examples in the following chapters—included graphic lifeworld imagery; dramatization; citation of heritage materials such as Qur’an, poetry, and proverbs; a formulaic structure; repetition of key phrases; heavy use of formulae; patterns of antithesis; sporadic rhyme; pithy sentences; rhetorical questions; and most importantly, sustained structural parallelism. Parallelism, together with some other mechanisms, produced the essential ingredient of the orator’s mnemonic package—rhythm.

Neuroscientists have explained the process of memory formation—which they call “neural (or neuronal) entrainment”—through the propensity of the brain to organize information in patterns.² A *New York Times* science writer discusses the compelling benefit of music for memorization thus:³

1 Ong, 34.

2 See, e.g., Thaut, 1–17, 39–59; Tierney and Kraus, *passim*; Patel, *Music, Language and the Brain*, 96–179, “A New Approach to the Cognitive Neuroscience of Melody,” 338–339; and Arbib, *passim*. See also Dreifus’s *New York Times* interview with Patel, “Exploring Music’s Hold on the Mind.”

3 Angier, “In One Ear and Out the Other.”

This process, of memory formation by neuronal entrainment, helps explain why some of life's offerings weasel in easily and then refuse to be spiked. Music, for example. "The brain has a strong propensity to organize information and perception in patterns, and music plays into that inclination," said Michael Thaut, a professor of music and neuroscience at Colorado State University. "From an acoustical perspective, music is an overstructured language, which the brain invented and which the brain loves to hear." A simple melody with a simple rhythm and repetition can be a tremendous mnemonic device. "It would be a virtually impossible task for young children to memorize a sequence of 26 separate letters if you just gave it to them as a string of information," Dr. Thaut said. But when the alphabet is set to the tune of the ABC song with its four melodic phrases, preschoolers can learn it with ease.

In my own classes on Arabic syntax, I sometimes offer ditties learned from my childhood in India that list grammatical items, such as the counterparts of the emphatic preposition *inna*, or the genitivizing prepositions (*ḥurūf al-jarr*), and these rhythmic jingles are helpful in fixing inventories in students' minds. The medieval Arabic grammarians already had the same idea, and they versified grammar rules—as in the thousand-verse *Alfyyah* poem by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274)—to make them easier to retain.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* entry on "rhythm" provides further insights: "Although difficult to define, rhythm is readily discriminated by the ear and the mind, having as it does a physiological basis. It is universally agreed to involve qualities of movement, repetition, and pattern and to arise from the poem's nature as a temporal structure ... The presence of rhythmic patterns heightens emotional response and often affords the reader a sense of balance." The entry on "dance" also touches on rhythm: "Nearly all physical activity is done rhythmically, as in the beating of the heart, the flow of the breath, and the actions of walking and running. Work activities such as digging, sawing, scrubbing also tend to fall into a regular rhythm, because that is the most efficient and economical way of working the muscles and pacing the effort."⁴

Scholars have shown that speech rhythms are a physiological phenomenon deriving from our breathing patterns. In the mid-twentieth century, the French anthropologist Marcel Jousse demonstrated the close connection between oral tempo, the breathing process, gesture, and the bilateral symmetry of the human body. Because of its grounding in human physiology, rhythmic speech heightens not only the hearer's emotional response, but also the ability of the brain

4 "Rhythm" and "Dance," *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*.

to retain it. Many forms of rhythm are drawn upon, even in societies that have available to them the dimension of written communication, but in an oral society rhythm is a fundamental characteristic of the verbal artistic expression. Early Arabic orations were inexorably rhythmic, and rhythm was the primary instrument utilized to cajole the audience's brains to retain what they heard.

Another mnemonic device we could add to the list is the “method of loci” (Latin: places), also called the “memory palace technique” described by ancient Roman rhetors such as Cicero and Quintilian as a means to organize and remember points in speeches. In short, it involved filing new information under previously stored memories of space, either physical or figurative. In a figurative manifestation of this technique, Arabic orations deploy the spaces of structure, citation, and category. They map new material within a predictable structural frame, set up landmarks within the text of citational material, and categorize information in catalog form. An example is ‘Alī’s speech opening with the line “People are of three types,” followed by a description of the three; another example is his speech opening with the line “The believer owes the believer seven things,” followed by the seven items.⁵ Arabic orations also use visual snapshots. Perhaps the reports’ curious inclusion of descriptions of the orator’s garb, especially if he wore something unusual, such as silk brocade or a bright color, or their mention of the hue of orator’s camel, may also be attributed to an unconscious use of this associative memory system.⁶

Mnemonic devices are such a pervasive part of the artistic verbal products of oral societies that scholars consider their copious presence in any speech performance either a sign of orality or a residue. Members of the Scandinavian Uppsala School list adherence to Axel Olrik’s (1864–1917) “epic laws of folk narrative”—which include doublets and variants, patterns in poetic structure, and parallel terms in syntax—as evidence of the oral in biblical literature.⁷ Alfred Beeston correctly points out the similarity of the Hebrew Bible’s heavy parallelism to that of the early Arabic oration, asserting that the *khuṭbah* style is of “great antiquity, as opposed to Arabic *shi‘r* [poetry], which is relatively speaking an innovation in the Semitic language domain.” He states that “the fundamental nature of this style is by no means confined to Semitic-speaking peoples, but corresponds to some inherent tendency in the human mind.”⁸

5 App. § 31.87, § 31.88. See also Quḍā‘ī, *Dustūr*, 133–137, 165–171.

6 See samples in Ch. 4.

7 Discussed by Niditch, 8.

8 Beeston, “Role of Parallelism,” 181, 184. Beeston based his argument on Eissfeldt’s analysis of Hebrew Bible ‘poetry’ [orations].

1.2 *Oral Composition: Stock Phrases and Standard Themes*

Mnemonics served not only the audience who heard and then transmitted early Arabic orations (more on this shortly), but for the orators themselves it formed the rhetorical foundation on which they based their compositions. An orator needed to be a prominent leader to draw an audience, and his message needed to be wise and relevant so as to be appreciated, but in order to be considered a superb orator, he also needed to have mastered the aesthetics of orality. Early orators wove mnemonic devices into their orations, probably both consciously and unconsciously, having internalized rhythms, patterns, and formulae.

To further our understanding of the mnemonics-based production of the early Arabic oration, we can harness to good effect the famous Parry-Lord theory of oral composition, or oral poetry. The theory was developed to explain the composition of oral epics, but, with some tweaking, its tools can also benefit the student of early Arabic oratory. In the 1930s, Milman Parry and Albert Lord studied the ancient Homeric and modern Balkan epics, and discovered that standard phrases, with particular epithets describing persons and objects prominent in the narrative, regularly recurred. They argued that these repeated phrases were crucial to the art and defined the compositional process. In the Homeric epic, for example, not only do the recurring phrases “clever Odysseus” (*polymētis Odysseus*), “glorious Hector” (*faídimos Hektor*), and “swift-footed Achilles” (*podás okús Achilleus*) convey an abiding sense of the hero’s personality, but the long and short syllables of the Greek epithets also fit smoothly into the poem’s meter. Because of their appropriate sound-sequencing, these phrases can be slotted in easily at appropriate junctures in the epic poem. In this way, they enable the poet to construct the poem’s form as well as its content, as it were, on the go. The oral-composition theory asserts that an oral-epic poet possesses this repertoire of stock formulae, which he uses to construct anew at every performance the established plot of a well-known epic poem. In the world of Arabic literature, scholars have earlier inaccurately applied Parry and Lord’s theory of oral composition to pre-Islamic poetry. In the 1970s, Michael Zwettler and James Monroe argued that the pre-Islamic odes (*qasīdahs*) that have come down to us are in fact a single composition with different versions arising from different performances. Zwettler and Monroe’s writings initially created a buzz in the field, but eventually their thesis was refuted by Gregor Schoeler, Irfan Shahīd, and Thomas Bauer, among others, who argued that although the pre-Islamic ode came out of an oral milieu and had some overlapping features, it was a different kind of poetry than the epic poems of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, and each of the poems was a distinct, individual production.

But the oral poetry theory—or more accurately, elements of it—can be harnessed to explain another form of verbal production of the oral society of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic eras, and that, I posit, is oration. Unlike the Greek epic, the Arabic oration does not possess meter and consistent rhyme, nor does it have a cohesive narrative line or recurring epithets. But early Arabic orators drew on standard formulae and expounded on fundamental themes that took on different manifestations in different performances. This means we can fruitfully parse these early orations in terms of stock phrases and motifs. Particularly within the oeuvre of a single prolific master orator such as ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, we find images and themes signaled through the use of favored formulae. These formulae and themes show up most visibly in sermons of pious counsel, such as the standard exhortation to piety, *taqwā*;⁹ but they are also used consistently in other types of orations. Somewhat like the oral-epic poets, moreover, and also like the early Arabic poets, early Arabic orators learned by apprenticeship rather than formal study. Apprenticeship for oratory meant listening, memorizing, and internalizing. In the process, would-be orators built up a reservoir of formulae and themes from whose palette they could paint afresh each new oration, as each new situation called for it.

1.3 *Oral Transmission: between Verbatim Reporting and Gist Narration*

I postulate that the Arabic oration's manner of preservation fell somewhere in the middle of the spectrum between the verbatim transmission used for the Qur'an and poetry (*riwāyah bi-l-lafẓ*), and the rendering of the substance of the piece used for historical reports (*riwāyah bi-l-ma'nā*). Since orations straddled both historical and literary categories, the point of recounting them was not only to capture the gist of what was said, but—since they were considered a model of purity and eloquence—also the artistic mode of the utterance. Preserved with a view to their content as well as their language, oratorical transmission vacillated between exact and approximate narration. The fact that orations do not seem to have been cited as proof texts (*shawāhid*, sing. *shāhid*)¹⁰ in early grammar books could be chalked up to this mode of their transmission, versus the verbatim transmission of poetry and Qur'an. Hadith, like oration, seems to also to be absent from the earliest grammatical works.¹¹

9 See further discussion of formulae in Ch. 5.

10 *Shawāhid* are lines from early oral texts, mostly poetry and Qur'an, but sometimes also proverbs and hadith, cited in various genres of Arabic and Islamic scholarship to testify to the correctness of a rule of grammar or rhetoric.

11 The basic reason for the scarcity of hadith in early grammatical works seems to be that it was not always reported verbatim. I thank Ramzi Baalbaki for this confirmation and for the

But although anchored in content-based communication, some of the actual language of oration—rhythmic, striking, and memorable—was also remembered and passed on. In addition to the main themes of the piece, rhythmic lines, vivid images, and cited materials were most likely to be remembered.

Just as mnemonic rhetorical devices helped retain the language of oration texts, they also helped to preserve their meaning. Repetition, for example, was a much-used device that not only facilitated memorization of repeated words, but also emphasized the central message. For the Hebrew Bible, Niditch explains that repetition “serves to unify the work and to reiterate essential messages or themes that the author wishes to emphasize,” and she calls it a “means of metonymically emphasizing key messages and moods in a work of literature as in a musical composition.”¹² She proposes three types of repetition for the Hebrew Bible: framing repetitions such as “And God called the *x y*” in the first chapter on Genesis; the repeating of full sentences, as in the case of various people repeating a piece of news in the story of Jacob; and the play on a particular ‘*Leitwort*’ or key word, such as *brk*, “to bless,” in Genesis 27. All three kinds of repetitions, and others, occur as well in the Arabic oration,¹³ where form intersected with meaning, and repetition helped to preserve not only the language of the orations, but also its main message.

Records of orally transmitted reports and remarks by transmitters about how they heard and transmitted the piece allow us to surmise that the process would have run something like this: Let us say an orator gave a sermon to an audience of forty people. Several of these spectators later described to their family, friends, and acquaintances what the orator had said. The oral report passed down in multiple transmissions from generation to generation—forming a “chain” of transmitters (*isnād*)—until one or more individuals wrote it down in informal notes or formal books. The chain of transmission of an oral report

following references and observations: Baghdādī has an interesting section on this matter in his introduction of *Khizānah* (1:9–15). Sibawayh quotes about 1050 lines of poetry and several hundred Qur’anic verses, but only a handful of hadiths (Baalbaki, *Legacy*, 7–9, 36–37). The lexicographers, however, had no problem citing lexical items taken from the hadith, which is an interesting difference—Khalīl’s *K. al-ʿAyn* includes 425 hadiths (Baalbaki, *Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 71 ff.) Scholars of rhetoric also regularly cited hadith (e.g., Jurjānī, 13, 68–69, 85–86, 274), as well as lines from orations (e.g., Jurjānī, 12, 81–82). Later grammarians were also accommodative of hadith. For a detailed study, see Ḥadīthī, *Mawqif al-nuḥāh*.

12 Niditch, 10–11, 13–14. She further argues that “the single repeated word can also be a powerful source of immanent referentiality within a work, unifying and deepening the meanings of a composition in ways paradoxically more subtle than variation in language.”

13 See further discussion with examples in Ch. 3.

comprised a list of names, one narrating to the next, and it typically looked something like this: ‘So-and-so narrated to me, saying: so-and-so narrated to me, saying: so-and-so narrated to me, saying: I heard so-and-so speak at such-and such occasion, and he said ...’ (followed by the text, *matn*, of the report). Here is a typical *isnād*, of a sermon by ‘Alī, narrated by Minqarī:¹⁴

Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim [al-Minqarī] reported to us that ‘Umar ibn Sa’d ibn Abī l-Ṣayd al-Asadī narrated from al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥuṣayrah, [who narrated] from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Ubayd ibn Abī l-Kanūd and others, who said: When ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib arrived from Basra to Kufa ... he ascended the pulpit, praised God and thanked him, called down blessings on God’s messenger, and said ... (text of oration).

After the first two or three ad hoc transmitters, the next few were typically scholars who methodically collected this material. In this report, Minqarī is the professional compiler.

Transmitters of religious, literary, and historical material were an important part of early Islamic culture. Qur’an transmitters were called “memorizers” (*ḥuffāz*, sing. *ḥāfiẓ*), or “reciters” (*qurrā’*, sing. *qārī’*). This was a profession for some, but many lay folk also memorized small or large sections of the holy book. We also find transmitters of individual or tribal poetry, as well as hadith and historical reports; ubiquitous in the early sources, they are called “narrators/transmitters” (*ruwāḥ*, sing. *rāwī*).¹⁵ From the early Abbasid period on, individuals who had memorized the poetry of multiple poets and several tribes or large amounts of historical reports are identified as “master narrators” (*rāwīyahs*). Oration transmitters are not named as a separate category, but they would be the same persons who narrated hadith, history, and literary prose.

Many among the early narrators would themselves become public speakers. As mentioned earlier, attending speech performances and memorizing them—an informal mode of apprenticeship—was an essential component of a future orator’s training. Many probably did so unconsciously, but there were also those who memorized orations deliberately as part of their education. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934) reports that an Umayyad governor of Iraq named Khālīd ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qaṣrī (d. 126/744)—who was an eloquent orator, as were his son and grandson—declared that his father made him memorize a thousand speeches, then told him to forget them; after that, public speaking came to him

14 Minqarī, 3.

15 On the transmission of this poetry and its recording in the early Abbasid period, see Drory, “Abbasid Construction.”

easily. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā goes on to say that Khālīd's "memorizing of those orations trained his cognitive abilities, refined his nature, and impregnated his mind. It offered him material for articulate speech, and became the means to eloquence, fluency, and oratory."¹⁶

1.4 *Prodigious Memories of Oral-Culture People*

Orality scholars—including Parry and Lord in the 1930s, and in recent years, Ong, Niditch, and others mentioned earlier—have done a great deal of work on the manner in which ancient epics and other oral materials were composed and passed down. Their evidence has shown that oral-culture people were able to memorize and transmit extraordinarily large chunks of material. This is especially true with regard to valued materials that were considered an essential part of a given group's history and culture. The ancient Greeks and Mesopotamians and the narrators of the Hebrew Bible, as well as tribal groups in various parts of the world, all had epics, songs, and speeches, which they composed and transmitted orally. In ancient India, men from the priestly caste, the Brahmins, memorized the religious hymns that formed the ten books of the Rig-Veda, as well as the multiple books of the three additional Vedas. Not only did they memorize tens of thousands of verses, but they were required to memorize each in different modes of recitation (*pāṭha*), including the *samhita-pāṭha* (full, connected reading of the words with all proper grammatical elisions), *paḍa-pāṭha* (reading each word as an isolated unit without elision), and *krama-pāṭha* (involving repetition of the second of each pair of words). Even more astoundingly, there were separate modes for reciting Vedic verses backwards, including the *jata-pāṭha* (reversing the word order, and repeating each pair of words in the text three times), and *ghana-pāṭha* (another reverse rendering, with an even more complex pattern of repetitive recitation).¹⁷

Memorization was valued and cultivated, even in societies in which writing was relatively better known. Renaissance Europe—where writing was widespread among scholars—continued to place a premium on memorization. Examining memory's neuropsychology, its elementary design, and its arts, Mary Carruthers discusses memory systems as a kind of artificial intelligence,

16 إلى ما يحكى عن خالد بن عبد الله القسري فإنه قال حفظني أبي ألف خطبة ثم قال لي تناسها فتناسيتها فلم أرد بعد ذلك شيئاً من الكلام إلا سهل عليّ. فكان حفظه لتلك الخطب رياضة لفهمه وتهذيباً لطبعه (وتلقيحاً لذهنه ومادة لفصاحته وسبباً لبلاغته ولسنه وخطابته): Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, 10.

17 For Vedic traditions of recitation see Graham, 67–77; a number of the recitation modes are described on 72. For a detailed discussion of the pathas, see Scharfe, 240–251. I thank Yaroslav Gorbachov for this observation and reference.

and assesses the ethical and literary values attached to memory training in medieval culture. Shawkat Toorawa writes that in the “pre-readerly” environment of Arab-Islamic scholarship, a clear “sign of learning was the successful acquisition (often simply memorization) of knowledge.”¹⁸

Today, the majority of humans live in a highly literate world where, because of the proliferation of available recorded prompts, written and audio/visual, we are much less dependent on memorization. As Ong explains, “We—readers of books such as this—are so literate that it is very difficult for us to conceive of an oral universe of communication or thought except as a variant of a literate universe.”¹⁹ We rarely memorize long texts. Our brains are not trained for it, and it is difficult for us to imagine that long passages could be memorized at all, let alone be memorized at a single hearing—as would have had to have been the case for the first transmitter of an early Arabic oration. But humans, especially those living in oral societies, have the brain capability to remember long speech performances, especially those that are aesthetically and emotionally notable. Even in today’s extremely literate age, there are many who continue to memorize, in large or small amounts: Hindus, for example, still memorize the Vedas, in part or whole; Muslims still memorize the Qur’an. Not only that, many Arab high school students memorize the biology textbook.²⁰ In early oral societies, memorization was all the more important because there was no other proficient way to preserve carefully articulated thought. As the only way of safeguarding their culture, memorization for the early Arabians and early Muslims was truly a way of life.

Early Arabs routinely memorized enormous amounts of literary material, thousands of verses of poetry, and the entire 114-surah, 6,236-verse-long Qur’an. It is therefore entirely believable that they could memorize orations as well. We know that a parallel history of oral transmission belongs to pre-Islamic poetry and Prophetic hadith, yet many recent scholars agree on the credible existence of a genuine core.²¹ So why should we not accord a similar degree of acceptance to the *khuṭbah* corpus, which was another oral genre from the same time?

18 Toorawa, 15.

19 Ong, 2.

20 I thank Devin Stewart for this observation.

21 Writing in the mid-1920s, Margoliouth and Ḥusayn argued that no authentic pre-Islamic poetry survives. From the mid-1950s onward, scholars, including Asad, Arberry, Monroe, Schoeler, and Shahīd, argued that a genuine core survives.

1.5 *Orators as Prominent Leaders, with Audiences Large and Public*

Another fact that supports my argument for the relative authenticity of orations is that the major orators of early Islamic times were public figures, and their orations were delivered to large public audiences.²² There is no doubt that much early oratorical material was lost (more on this later in this chapter). But there were also cases where the audience made a conscious effort to remember the orator's words and pass them on. Not only were orators leaders in the community, but oratory was a public genre, and each oration had numerous auditors, and scores of potential transmitters. Some orators were prominent religio-political figures, and their words were avidly received and carefully preserved. Many were also eloquent speakers, and their words took hold in people's hearts and minds. Muḥammad and 'Alī, for example, were important figures in early Islamic history, and they preached often, eloquently, and in many different contexts to sizeable groups of people. The early Muslims had good reason and ample opportunity to remember and pass on their teachings. It is likely that many among their audiences, especially those who were devoted followers, made a conscious effort to retain their words. The famous Abbasid belles-lettrist Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) confirms that orations of the Prophet "are recorded and preserved, immortalized and famous" (*mudawwanah maḥ-fūẓah wa-mukhalladah mashhūrah*), as "are those of [the four Sunni caliphs] Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī."²³ According to the early philologist and chancery manual writer Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), a famous oration delivered by the Shi'ite imam Zayd ibn 'Alī (d. 122/740) was memorized by many.²⁴ Similarly, the words of Ziyād and Ḥajjāj, the powerful Umayyad governors of Iraq, had enormous political relevance to the people living under them, and it is wholly believable that audiences would attempt to remember and pass on their speeches.

The leaders themselves are said to have urged the audience to convey their message. For example, Muḥammad is reported to have exhorted those of his followers who were present at some of his public addresses to remember his words and pass them on to those who were not present. At Khayf, during his last pilgrimage, he said, "God will make radiant any servant who hears my words, remembers them, understands them and conveys them. Many a bearer of religious knowledge is not himself knowledgeable, and many a bearer of such knowledge bears it to one more knowledgeable than himself."²⁵ At 'Arafāt on

²² See details in Ch. 4.

²³ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:201.

²⁴ App. § 164.1.

²⁵ App. § 90.18.

the same pilgrimage, he said, “Let those present convey [this speech] to those absent.”²⁶ In a similar vein, an Umayyad governor of Medina named Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abdallāh (or ibn Muḥammad) is reported to have begun a long speech by saying: “I am about to deliver a speech. Whoever takes it in and conveys it, God will reward him.”²⁷ When a man asked ‘Alī to explain the concept of belief, ‘Alī directed him to come back the next day to receive the answer “in a public audience (*‘alā a‘yun al-nās*); if he forgot the speech, others would remember,” and presumably pass it on.²⁸ It is true that using hadith to authenticate hadith is a circular argument, and Muḥammad and ‘Alī, as well as the Umayyad governor, may or may not have said what they are reported to have said; to determine authenticity, these reports need to be examined much more closely than I have been able to do. But whether or not they actually said these words, the content fits well with other aspects of oral transmission outlined here. On the ground, there was clearly a bias in favor of preserving orations by Muḥammad and the religious leadership.

1.6 *Lost Orations*

Despite the methods in place for transmission, the bulk of early oratorical material was lost. Materials can and do go missing even if they are written down. For early oration, which was produced orally and initially transmitted largely orally, it is to be expected that most pieces would vanish with the wind. Medieval scholars have correctly remarked that although the Arabians produced large quantities of beautiful, rhythmic prose, the largest part was forgotten. Jāḥiẓ stated that “What we have remaining of the early Arabians’ spontaneous literary production—of orations, camel-driver chants, and battle-verses in *rajaz* [a simple meter used often for spontaneous composition especially in battle]—is but a fraction of the whole. Only God—who knows the number of water-droplets in rain-clouds and the number of sand-particles in the world—knows them all.”²⁹ More was preserved of the period’s other major genre, poetry. Poetry benefited from the stronger mnemonic devices of full rhyme and meter, multiple recitations, such as those performed at the annual fair at ‘Ukāz, and the institution of the personal and collective transmitter, who were the source for the earliest compilers of written collections. Although oration’s parallelism and partial rhyme aided retention, these aids were not as

26 (فليبلغ الشاهد الغائب): App. § 90.19.

27 (إني قائل قولاً فمن وعاه وأداه فعلی الله جزاؤه): App. § 14.1.

28 Raḍī, 687.

29 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:29.

strong as aids for memorizing poetry, and consequently, orations did not fare as well. To be sure, hundreds of oratorical texts survive from the early Islamic period, but this abundance is just a fraction of those that must have been delivered before and after the coming of Islam.

The loss of oration texts is attributable in large part to the absence of a formal process of systematic recording. The Andalusian author Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawāʿinī (d. 563/1168), in his book *Rayḥān al-albāb*, explains:³⁰

Beautiful prose and rhythmic words produced by Arabians living in tents and houses was far more in quantity than poetry, except that not a tenth of the prose was preserved, while not a tenth of the poetry was lost. This is because the orator would stand up and orate in a specific context, addressing kings or situations, or reconciling clans, or giving a marriage address, and when the event was over, whoever remembered the oration remembered it, and whoever forgot it forgot it—unlike poetry, of which not one verse was lost.

Contrary to Mawāʿinī's declaration, it is safe to assume that much poetry was also forgotten, but there is also no doubt that more prose was lost than verse. His remark about the orator standing up and orating in a specific context, and people randomly remembering or forgetting his words, is on the mark. This is what probably happened in most cases, and happenstance played its part in determining what was lost and what was retained. But, as discussed earlier, orations remarkable for their striking images and beautiful language and those delivered by important religio-political personages to large audiences at key moments in history were more likely to be remembered and passed on.

1.7 *Memory Variants*

The initial oral transmission of the early oratorical materials over a few generations means that different books present alternate renderings of the same oration, based on their source's chain of transmission. This is also true for the transmission of poetry.³¹ One difference in the renderings of orations is at

30 The piece is quoted by Qalqashandī, 1:210–211. Two chapters of Mawāʿinī's work are edited by Bakar in her PhD diss. (University of Exeter, 1989), but I was not able to obtain a copy.

31 See, for example, variations in the *Dīwān* of the pre-Islamic poet 'Antarah ibn Shaddād, in the recensions of Baṭalyawsī, Shantamarī, and Sijilmāsī after Aṣma'ī, in James Montgomery's literary-historical study of 'Antarah's *Dīwān*. See also variations in the famous Mu'allaqah of Imru' al-Qays, from the recensions of Qurashī, Aṣma'ī, Anbārī, Shantamarī, Zawzanī, Tabrizī, and Baṭalyawsī; I thank Ted Cohen for this list.

the level of the word, in which a single meaning is represented by different words, such as (الَّذِي) and (مَنْ)—both meaning “the one who”—in the versions of Ibn Hishām and Jāḥiẓ of Muḥammad’s famous farewell pilgrimage sermon.³² Another example is (دَعَائِم) and (أَرْكَان)—both meaning “pillar”—in the versions of Raḍī and Quḍā’ī, respectively, in ‘Alī’s famous sermon beginning, “Faith stands on four pillars: forbearance, conviction, justice, and struggle against evil.”³³ A third example is (لَا تُخْفِي عَلَيْهِ), meaning, “are not unknown to him,” referring to God’s knowledge of our innermost secrets, and (يَعْلَم), “he knows,” in the versions of Ibn Bakkār and Mubarrad, respectively, of a Friday sermon attributed to an anonymous Bedouin.³⁴ In contrast, variants that arise in the process of manuscript transcription primarily stem from misread or ambiguous orthography. When copyists confused similar-looking letters, such as F [ف] and Q [ق], this would result, for example, in *tashawwafat* [تَشَوَّفَتْ] “adorns” becoming *tashawwaqat* [تَشَوَّقَتْ] “yearns.”³⁵ For any given oration text, the presence of essentially synonymous variants, rather than variants arising from orthographic errors, is in line with the nature of oral transmission and indicates early provenance. Also characteristic of differences arising from oral transmission is the phenomenon of lines present in some versions but missing in others, or occurring at different points in different versions. This phenomenon is also possible in written transmission, but much more common in oral transmission. The fact that we have diverse renderings of the better attested orations is a result of their multiple lines of oral transmission.

Certain aspects of an oration were more likely to be preserved verbatim. The first few lines often match in all versions, as do the opening lines of Quss’s famous sermon of pious counsel, “Whoever lives dies. Whoever dies is lost. Anything that could happen will.”³⁶ In this example, the rhythm of the staccato phrases and the rhyme make this opening especially easy to remember. It would seem that opening lines became the identifying marker of an oration, similar to the title of a book (*‘unwān*), or the opening line of a poem (*maṭla‘*), and was something transmitters agreed on. Within the body of the oration, the frame was usually preserved: different transmitters might substitute words of similar meaning, but the parallel structure would remain the same. Also,

32 App. § 90.19.

33 App. § 31.89.

34 App. § 43.1; the two versions have three further sets of memory variants: *mamar/balāgh*; *maqarr/qarār*; *li-l-ākhirati/li-ghayrihā*.

35 See Quḍā’ī, *Dustūr*, 48, n. § 1. Note also the added complications introduced by unpointed texts.

36 (من عاش مات ومن مات فات وكل ما هو آت): App. § 105.1.

the least likely to be changed in any phrase were the rhyme words. The words within the phrase or sentence were more likely to undergo accidental switching.

The presence of memory variants is a necessary result of the oral transmission process. Many orations recorded as separate texts in later compilations are perhaps different renditions of the same oration. Or perhaps their multiple occurrences indicate that the same oratorical theme—such as reflections on this world and the hereafter in ‘Alī’s orations, presented in his favored sub-themes, imagery, and phraseology—was repeated many times by that orator. Or it could be or a combination of both. In any case, the presence of semantically engendered variants bolsters, rather than undermines, the possible authenticity of a text.

1.8 *Fragmentary Nature*

The oratorical texts extant in our sources are remnants of oral speech performances, fragments rather than whole orations; much more work is required to piece together the puzzle. Again, this has to do with the nature of oral transmission. Narrators tend to preserve only the parts that they find particularly engaging, and more often than not they drop formulaic beginnings and endings of divine praise and prayer. Most of the oratorical texts in our sources are prefaced with the words “[The orator] praised God and blessed the Prophet, then said ...,” followed by the text of the oration’s (frequently partial) thematic body. The fragmentary nature of individual texts (across multiple sources or even within one source) also makes it possible that these are fragments dispersed from a single oration.

Conversely, some longer texts in our sources might be an amalgam of parts cobbled together from different orations. Especially for the first transmitter, who would have to memorize on the fly, extended orations would be hard to memorize. Successfully transmitted epics such as *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* may be lengthy and filled with complex characters and subplots, but unlike these epics, orations do not have rhyme and meter, nor do they have a (mostly) linear plot. It is interesting that extant oration texts are typically quite short, and a Prophetic hadith praises brevity in oration.³⁷ Nonetheless, this observation also needs to be taken with a pinch of salt. Perhaps many early orations were indeed short. But the fact that most extant texts are short does not necessarily mean that orations were always short, and we can envisage situations in which longer preaching was called for. The sources record some

37 Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 1:303; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, section on “Jum‘ah.”

reports describing lengthy orating, and some texts of longer orations. A long oration is attributed to Muḥammad himself. He is said to have begun preaching immediately after the ritual prayer of late afternoon, and ended three to four hours later, at the time of the sunset prayer.³⁸ Five long orations—named *Ash-bāḥ* (“Phantasmic Beings”), *Qāṣi’ah* (“The Striker,” or “Thirst-Allayer”), *Gharrā’* (“The Radiant [Oration]”), *Waḥidah* (“The Unique [Oration]”), and *Durrah* (“The Pearl”)—are attributed to ‘Alī.³⁹ The Mu‘tazilite theologian Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’ reportedly delivered long orations.⁴⁰ Although the length of these preserved orations does tend to make us more skeptical of their authenticity, given their oral transmission, it is possible that some extended pieces are an amalgam of true fragments from the same oration or from different orations.

2 Supplementing of Oral Transmission with Limited Writing

Although the pre-Islamic and early Islamic milieu was largely oral, its orality was far from total. Writing—albeit in a circumscribed form, and wholly influenced by an oral mentality—was known to the society that hosted the early Arabic oration, and it played a supplementary role in its initial transmission.

2.1 *Evidence for Writing in the Oral Period*

The epigraphic record proves that writing was known in early Islamic Arabia, even in pre-Islamic Arabia.⁴¹ Thousands of pre-Islamic inscriptions—each inscription a few lines—in native Arabian languages, such as Sabaic, Thamūdīc, Ḥaḍramawtic, and Old Arabic, as well as foreign languages, such as Aramaic (in its Syriac and Nabatean dialects), Akkadian, Greek, and, in a few cases, Latin, are found scattered over the Arabian Peninsula. A few hundred documents written on palm stalks have also been preserved, usually dealing with commercial matters, and many more must have existed that have since been destroyed by the exigencies of time. The oldest known inscription in Arabic is from Namārah, south of Damascus, dated to 328AD, commemorating the funeral of a self-styled “king of the Arabs” named Imru’ al-Qays (not the famous

38 App. § 90.18.

39 App. § 31.77, § 31.75, § 31.78, § 31.90, § 31.91, and a handful of others.

40 Mubarrad, 3:193.

41 The following are important online databases of inscriptional (and some palm leaf) materials: Islamic period Arabic texts: Thesaurus d’epigraphie islamique. Pre-Islamic north Arabian texts: OCIANA. All pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions: DASI (websites listed in Bibliography). I thank Robert Hoyland for these references.

poet). Like the *Namārah* text, many others are funerary specimens, or pieces that supplicate gods for rain, security on journeys, or personal well-being. Others are random graffiti with names and sometimes dates, recording for posterity an individual's presence in a particular place at a particular time. We have even more epigraphic evidence of writing from the early Islamic period. Brief Arabic inscriptions scattered across the Arabian Peninsula and the neighboring lands conquered by Muslims again run into the thousands. The earliest dated inscription from the Islamic period dates from the year 24/644 from Madā'in Šālīḥ (Hijr), named "The inscription of Zuhayr." It says simply: "In the name of God. I, Zuhayr, wrote [this] at the time 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] died, year four and twenty [AH]." Significantly, this inscription shows evidence of a full-fledged diacritical system—as Ali Ghabban and Robert Hoyland have demonstrated—underscoring the development and relative spread of writing.⁴² Inscriptions from the Qur'an are found on the Dome of the Rock Mosque in Jerusalem, built in 72/691.

The contents of early Islamic oration, especially pious counsel and doctrinal material, echo the contents of the epigraphic record of the period. Hoyland has shown that inscriptions from the first two centuries of Islam—which have surprisingly homogenous content—supplicate God for forgiveness or blessings, or address articles of the Islamic faith, viz., God's and Muḥammad's attributes, the last hour and resurrection, heaven and hell, and the Qur'an. He also demonstrates that the primary source they draw on is the Qur'an.⁴³ Phrases, themes, and language found in the epigraphic materials, as described in his and in others' works on the subject, are also common in our oration data. This similarity of concerns voiced in early Muslims' written and oratorical materials bolsters the argument for oration's authenticity.

Epigraphic data for the use of writing is augmented by textual evidence. Literary materials from the period speak consistently of the Arabians' familiarity with writing. Numerous references to writing can be found in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, such as Labīd's verse about scrolls and pens: "The rills and the runlets uncovered marks like the script of faded scrolls restored with pens of reed."⁴⁴ James Montgomery has collected a substantial corpus of pre-Islamic verses that refer to writing, and Angelika Neuwirth has made a strong case for the Qur'an's composition in the context of its late-antique milieu. Jews and Christians in the Peninsula, because of their grounding in written scripture, were more literate

42 Ghabban and Hoyland, 210–237.

43 Hoyland, "Content and Context," 78–79.

44 وَجَلَّ السُّيُورُ عَنِ الطُّلُولِ كَانَهَا
زُبُرٌ تُجَدُّ مَتُونُهَا أَقْلَامُهَا
Labīd, *Mu'allaqah*, in Zawzanī, 220, verse 8; trans. Sells, 35.

than pagans. Ibn Hishām tells us of a Christian bishop who was “schoolmaster” (*ṣāhib midrāsīhim*) in Najrān, and of a Jewish center where writing was taught (*bayt al-midrās*), in Yathrib, the oasis town that was later named Medina.⁴⁵ Jewish and Christian scriptures were written and preserved in their original liturgical languages in synagogues, churches, and monasteries.⁴⁶ The Qurʾān too—as an example from the early Islamic era—contains many references to writing: pen (*qalam*), pages (*ṣuḥuf*), written documents (*asāṭir*), psalms (*zabūr*, pl. *zubur*), and book/writing (*kitāb*, pl. *kutub*), a word used by the Qurʾān to describe itself as well as earlier scriptures.⁴⁷ Historical narratives also provide support for the existence of writing at this time. Ibn Ishāq (d. 151/768) in Ibn Hishām’s (d. 218/833) recension, Balādhurī (d. 279/892), Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), and others, record a number of epistles written at the Prophet’s behest by his scribes to tribes or towns or rulers, inviting them to Islam.⁴⁸ Ibn Aʿtham’s (d. 314/926) chronicle is replete with letters written by the early caliphs and their commanders and challengers. Thaqaḥī’s (d. 283/896) chronicle records a large number of letters by ʿAlī and the leaders of his time. Several historians list lettered men from the earliest Muslim community, and some names appear on more than one list. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940) lists seventeen men who could read and write Arabic.⁴⁹ Balādhurī lists ten men who recorded Qurʾānic verses in writ-

45 Ibn Hishām, 1:364, 376. The first is incorrectly cited in Robin, 1, as “*ṣāhib madārisihim*”—the term used by Ibn Hishām for both is “*midrās*.” The latter is also mentioned in Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 12:6.

46 Griffith, 2.

47 Occurrences of these words in the Qurʾān: *Qalam*: Q Qalam 68:1, ʿAlaq 96:4. *Ṣuḥuf*: Tāhā 20:133, Najm 53:36, ʿAbasa 80:13, Takwīr 81:10, Aʿlā 87:18, 19. *Asāṭir*: Anʿām 6:25, Anfāl 8:31, Nahl 16:24, Muʾminūn 23:83, Furqān 25:5, Naml 27:68, Aḥqāf 46:17, Qalam 68:15, Muṭaffifīn 83:13. *Zabūr* (and *zubur*): Āl ʿImrān 3:184, Nahl 16:44, Kahf 18:96, Anbiyāʾ 21:105, Shuʿarāʾ 26:196, Fāṭir 35:25, Qamar 54:43, 52. *Kitāb* (and *kutub*): more than 250 occurrences, including Baqarah 2:2, 44, 53, 78, 79, and *passim*, Āl ʿImrān 3:3, 7 and *passim*, Nisāʾ 4:24, 44, 47, and *passim*.

48 See collected letters of Muḥammad with primary source references in Ḥamīdallāh, *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*. For a listing and discussion of medieval sources regarding Muḥammad’s use and encouragement of writing from a traditional Sunni perspective, as well as the development of the Arabic script during the early caliphate, see Ghabbān, “Evolution of the Arabic Script,” 89–96. See collected letters by the Prophet and early caliphs in the Ottoman Feridun Ahmed Bey’s *Münshat al-selātin* (I thank Judith Pfeiffer for this reference). Muḥammad’s own literacy is disputed: The Qurʾān calls him *ummī* (Q Aʿrāf 7:157–158), which can mean either “unlettered” or “someone belonging to a community, *ummah*,” and Muslim scholars have used both interpretations. Given that he was a merchant, I believe it likely he could read and write.

49 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih 4:144, s.v. “*awwal man waḍaʿa l-kitābah*”: ʿAlī, ʿUmar, Ṭalḥah, ʿUthmān, Abū ʿUbaydah, Abān ibn Saʿd, Khālīd ibn Saʿd, Abū Ḥudhayfah ibn ʿUtbah, Yazīd ibn Abī

ing or wrote letters for Muḥammad.⁵⁰ Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897) lists thirteen.⁵¹ Ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854) lists four.⁵² The sources also record letters written by, or at the behest of, the early caliphs. Indeed some famous early orators—such as 'Alī, Ziyād, and Ḥajjāj—were among the community's scribes.

Using a combined epigraphic and narrative set of evidentiary materials, a strong case may be made for early writing of the Qur'an. Recording the Qur'an verbatim was a priority for the earliest Muslims, and they did this through intensive memorization coupled with a focused writing program.⁵³ The Shi'a believe—and some Sunni sources corroborate—that immediately after Muḥammad's death, 'Alī made the collection of the Qur'an a matter of urgent primacy.⁵⁴ Portions of the Qur'an in written form are said to have been owned by several early Companions and by some of the Prophet's widows. During the reign of the third Sunni caliph, 'Uthmān, a committee of Companions compared existing versions and produced the so-called 'Uthmānic Codex (he had the rest of the versions burned, an act condemned by the Shi'a). In addition to the earliest surviving inscriptions of Qur'anic verses on the Dome of the Rock Mosque, dating from 72/691 and mentioned earlier, a cache of early Qur'an manuscripts has recently been found in Sanaa, Yemen, containing manuscripts dating from the 1st/7th century.⁵⁵ It is clear that not only did the Qur'an exist in Islamic ideology and memory in the first century Hijri, but some or all of it also existed in writing.

Sufyān, Ḥāṭib ibn 'Amr, al-'Alā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Asad, 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd, Ḥuwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Mu'āwiyah, and Juhaym ibn al-Ṣalt.

50 Balādhurī, 2:192, s.v. "*asmā' kuttāb Rasūl Allāh*": Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Zayd ibn Thābit, 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd, Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah, Juhaym ibn al-Ṣalt, 'Uthmān, Khālid ibn Sa'd, Abān ibn Sa'id, al-'Alā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, and Mu'āwiyah.

51 Ya'qūbī, 2:80, s.v. "*kuttāb al-nabī*": 'Alī, 'Uthmān, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, Mu'āwiyah, Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah, 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd, Muḥīrah ibn Shu'bah, Mu'adh ibn Jabal, Zayd ibn Thābit, Ḥanzalah ibn al-Rabī', Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Juhaym ibn al-Ṣalt, Ḥuṣayn al-Numayrī.

52 Ibn Khayyāṭ, 49, s.v. "*tasmiyat man katab lahu*": Zayd ibn Thābit, Mu'āwiyah, Ḥanzalah ibn al-Rabī', and 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd.

53 The many studies on the history of the Qur'an's collection and transmission include those by Burton, Nöldeke-Schwally, Hamdan, and Déroche. I thank Sulayman Dost for these references.

54 Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, 59; Ya'qūbī, 2:135; Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 1:346. Most modern studies (including the ones named in the previous note) omit mention of 'Alī's primary role in the Qur'an's collection. See Kara, *In Search of Ali ibn Abi Talib's Codex*, and "Suppression," *passim*.

55 See Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*; Sadeghi and Goudarzi, "Šan'ā' 1"; Sadeghi and Bergmann, "Codex," 345.

2.2 *Limitations of Writing in the Oral Period*

The nomadic tribal lifestyle of the majority of the Peninsula's residents did not promote formal record keeping, and their instruments were either unwieldy, such as bone and rock, or expensive, such as parchment and papyrus. Writing—that is to say, serious writing, other than the graffiti found scribbled here and there on rocks across the Peninsula—was reserved for the most important religio-political communications. Scholars of the ancient world have estimated that even in the most literate of early civilizations, only a small percentage of the population could read and write: fewer than ten percent in ancient Greece, and even fewer in the ancient Near East, with very low literacy in ancient Israel, and just one percent each in Egypt and Mesopotamia.⁵⁶ Although no numerical estimates are available for pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia, literacy there was probably comparable to these numbers or lower, an assumption supported by the fact that among the early Medinan Muslims only a few dozen men, listed in the previous section, were said by the historians to have been lettered. In ancient, oral Israel, only brief texts of a military or commercial nature were written.⁵⁷ Similarly in oral Arabia, writing was confined to political treaties and epistles, commercial contracts, funeral inscriptions, and of course, the Qur'an.⁵⁸ In certain sectors, a theological moratorium was placed on writing anything other than the divine word; in a milieu where only select things were written, some scholars decried the writing down of Prophetic hadith (and presumably other materials of pious content), so as not to confuse it with the Qur'an.⁵⁹ Important literary texts do not appear to have been transcribed in any significant number. But orations are texts of cultural value and religio-political relevance. The mode of their written transmission—like their oral transmission—may be said to fall between materials that normally would be written down and those that would not be.

Paradoxically, even written texts from our period—pre-Islamic to early Abbasid times—suggest a strong oral culture. Distinct from written works produced in the modern world of print, books, and computers, written works produced in an oral culture breathe the aesthetic of orality. Niditch has demonstrated that written texts of ancient Israel were underpinned by an “oral mentality,” described by these features: the attribution of magical, transformative qualities to writing; the ability of the general population to manage well in life

56 For literacy rates in the ancient world, see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 114 (Greece); Larsen, 134 (Egypt); Baines and Eyre, 65–74 (Mesopotamia); Niditch, 39 (Israel).

57 Niditch, 58.

58 Macdonald, “Ancient Arabia,” *passim*.

59 Sam'ānī, 146; discussed in Toorawa, 9.

without the skills of modern literacy; reliance on oral communication; and—particularly pertinent to our discussion here—hints of orality even in written texts, so that the written text is not fully appreciated or understood without knowledge of the oral world. She terms Israelite written materials as “minimal aids for decoding ... [such that] one needs essentially to know on some level what one is reading in order to read.”⁶⁰ Such was certainly the case in the early Islamic world for written texts of the Qur’an. They were prompts to memory. This is largely why readers could make do without dots and vocalization, because they already knew the text they were reading.⁶¹ This was also the case for most writing of the time, with oral testimony backed up by written notation.

2.3 *Progression of Writing through the Oral Period*

During the oral period, writing progressively increased in quantity and expanded in kind. In the pre-Islamic phase, up to ca. 610 AD, and also during Muḥammad’s twelve years of preaching in Mecca, written materials were few, and they were grounded in an oral mentality. At this time, the Arabian Peninsula was predominantly pagan and most writing—especially graffiti invoking gods—had symbolic, iconic, and even magical uses; this is similar to the case made by Niditch mentioned earlier for ancient Israel. After Muḥammad set up an Islamic state in Medina in 1/622, the sources tell us of a lively exchange of epistles between him (penned by his scribes) and heads of the neighboring, relatively more lettered states of Ethiopia, Byzantium, and Persia. In the decades following Muḥammad’s death in 11/632, the conquests of Iraq, Persia, Central Asia, the Levant, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain took state letters to a whole new level. As the Islamic empire expanded, it gradually absorbed Byzantine and Persian writing cultures. Inheriting the bureaucracies of the lands they occupied, the conquering Muslims took over their predecessors’ personnel and practices. They now needed to run a large empire, and for this, they needed sustained administrative writing. In government, they made full use of scribes who wrote in Middle Persian (Pahlavi), Greek, Syriac, and Coptic. The Sassanids and Byzantines had used these languages for record keeping, and early Muslims continued to use them in their own expanded administration.

On a side note, there was a simultaneous increase in Jewish and Christian scripture written in Arabic. The early historian Maʿmar ibn Rāshid writes that a cousin of the Prophet’s first wife, Khadijah, named Waraqah ibn Nawfal, “was

60 Niditch, 41, 44–45.

61 Points probably began to be added for clarity by the end of the 1st/7th century and gradually became common, but the practice cannot be dated with certainty. For further details, see J. Sourdel-Thomine, “*Khatt*” (i) “In the Arab World,” *EI2*.

able to write the Arabic script and had written as much of the Gospels in Arabic as God had willed.”⁶² Sydney Griffith argues that “the earliest written translations of portions of the Bible into Arabic were made by Jews and Christians living outside of Arabia proper after the Arab, Islamic conquest of the Fertile Crescent, from the middle of the seventh century onward.”⁶³

Coming back to administrative use, the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705) switched the language of chancery and coinage in the late 1st/7th century to Arabic, with enormous social, political, and cultural consequences. Arabic was now a requirement for wealth, power, and promotion. Thereafter, state records were written in Arabic, and anyone seeking a position in the civic or military service was obliged to learn Arabic letters. Demand for people who could teach correct Arabic grew, and Arabic prose acquired a high stature. Beginning in the late Umayyad period and flowering in the early Abbasid, a translation movement appeared, centered in Jundishāpur and Ḥarrān; some of the earliest translations were texts of statecraft and astronomy.⁶⁴ Scribes of the Umayyad chancery were producing prolific written materials,⁶⁵ foremost among them, Abū l-‘Alā’ Sālīm (fl. late 1st/7th c., early 2nd/8th c.), his student, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750), and the latter’s student, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (d. 139/757). Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ continued working into the early Abbasid period; he penned several epistles and treatises, and translated the famous *Kalilah and Dimnah* animal stories from Middle Persian to Arabic.

Early Islamic historiography has particular relevance to orations, since a large proportion of oratorical texts are embedded in works of history. Fred Donner maps four partially overlapping phases of historiography, of which the first three extend through our oral period.⁶⁶ The first is the “pre-historicist phase” to ca. 50/670, when accounts containing raw information about the past, set in pietist, lexicographical, or genealogical accounts, were in circulation. The second is the “proto-historicist phase,” ca. 25–100/646–719, of early master narrators—such as Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/713)—who did not write

62 Ma‘mar, 14–15. Anthony notes (287, n. 33) that in other accounts, Waraqa is said to have written the Gospels in Hebrew.

63 Griffith, 3.

64 On the Graeco-Arabic translation movement, see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*. Astronomy texts were important to determine religiously mandated times and locations such as times of prayer and the direction of Mecca, and also for determining auspicious times for state-related items, such as embarking on a military campaign.

65 For a discussion of early writing and transcripts of five Arabic administrative epistles from Upper Egypt dated 90–91/709 in the collection of the University of Chicago’s Oriental Institute, see Abbott, *Kurrah Papyri*.

66 Donner, *Narratives*, 275–280.

books but were quoted consistently in the later written histories. Their narratives were based on whatever the particular master remembered firsthand and what others had told him on the basis of their own personal recollections, as well as documents, letters, poems, and genealogical notes; also, where relevant, on writings from outside the Muslim community. The third is the “early literate phase,” ca. 75–150/695–767, when historical reports began to be fixed in written form, short thematic monographs and report collections were penned, and master-narrators such as Zuhri (d. 124/742) and ‘Urwah ibn Zubayr (d. 94/712) plied their trade.⁶⁷ Donner’s assessment confirms the increasing use of writing in the early Islamic period.

2.4 *Recording Orations in Writing in the Oral Period*

Numerous reports in the sources, and some epigraphic evidence, suggest that written notes increasingly supplemented oral transmission of orations. In his pioneering work on the oral and written in early Islam, Gregor Schoeler argued that scholars from the late 1st/7th century consistently used notes as aides-memoires for teaching poetry, history, hadith, and exegesis. Scholars’ notes were not meant to be end products; they were a written means to an aural end. Some of these lecture notebooks—originally written with the intention of oral dissemination—accidentally evolved into what we consider real books. Examples are Ibn Ishāq’s (d. 151/768) *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (in Ibn Hishām’s redaction, titled *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*),⁶⁸ and the identically titled work of Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770). Schoeler does not discuss orations separately, but, since works of history and hadith include oration texts, he mentions them in passing in those chapters. Indeed, his frame of simultaneously oral and written transmission, as complementary dimensions of teaching, can be applied fruitfully to orations more broadly. Just as scholars used written notes to teach and transmit other genres of religio-political and cultural significance, they would have used written notes to teach and transmit orations.

Literary and historical texts refer to the early written recording of oration texts.⁶⁹ From the Christian Arabs of Najrān in the pre-Islamic 6th century AD,

67 On ‘Urwah’s biography of Muḥammad, see Görke and Schoeler, *Die Ältesten Berichte*.

68 Schoeler (*Genesis of Literature*, 71–72, 77–78) discusses the composition of Ibn Ishāq’s *Maghāzī* as a teaching collection of notes. He also discusses an earlier work by the same name by ‘Urwah ibn Zubayr as a hypomnema notebook, collected by his students and used as teaching aid (*ibid.*, 17). For Ma‘mar’s work, Anthony (*Expeditions*, xiii–xxix) discusses its origin in the lecture notes of the eminent historian Zuhri.

69 E.g., Jāhiz, *Bayān*, 1:201. For a discussion of early writing of orations, see Abbott’s *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3:56–58.

the transcribed *Letter* of Bishop Simeon of Bēth Arshām records in Syriac translation the text of two Arabic orations delivered by his contemporaries, prominent martyrs from the Ḥārithid clan, named Ḥārith ibn Ka'b and Ruḥaymah bint 'Aẓamah.⁷⁰ Isolated reports tell us of orations written during the time of Muḥammad and the first caliphs. Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449) writes in *Fath al-bārī* that a Companion of the Prophet named Abū Shāh transcribed the entire sermon that the Prophet delivered upon the conquest of Mecca.⁷¹ There are reports of brief compilations of 'Alī's words put together by the earliest Muslim historians, including by a man named Zayd ibn Wahb al-Juhānī (d. 96/715), who fought in his army at Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān, titled "Orations of the Commander of the Faithful upon the Pulpits on Fridays, Eids, and Other Occasions."⁷² Very rarely, orations may have been written down before being delivered, such as Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's report that 'Alī was once too ill to stand up and orate, so he wrote down a sermon and gave it to his attendant Sa'd to read out on his behalf.⁷³ These reports do not mean that recording orations in writing was common practice in the 1st/7th century. Even if we were to accept their veracity, they would still be the anomaly rather than the norm. But taken together with the studies by Schoeler and Donner, they endorse the distinct possibility of orations being written down as early as the 1st/7th century.

We have one piece of actual epigraphic evidence from the 2nd/8th century. Excerpts from three Arabic speeches are recorded in a papyrus fragment housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (no. 712), which Nabia Abbott dated to the middle of the second or third quarter of the 2nd/8th century.⁷⁴ She estimated that the missing part may have contained pieces of other orations. Of the three in the extant fragment, the first is a speech by 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, in which he praises the caliph in succinct, parallel, partly rhymed

70 App. § 54.1, § 111.1. See comments on contents and contexts of these letters by Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 332–333.

71 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, 1:311, § 112; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taqyīd*, 86.

72 (خطب أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام على المنابر في الجمع والأعياد وغيرها): Tūṣī, *Fihrist*, 72. Juhānī is one of the chief sources for Abū Mikhnaḥ (whose work on 'Alī's battles is lost), in turn cited by Ṭabarī (*Tārīkh*, Year 37 AH). See remarks on the early recording of 'Alī's sermons by 'Abd al-Zahrā', 1:51–66.

73 App. § 31.35 (in Thaqaḥī and Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's reports).

74 Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3:43–78, papyrus reprint, plate 3. Her dating is based on the script, and is supported by the text's mention of the 2nd/8th century scholar Ya'qūb ibn 'Aṭā'. The term used by the scribe to describe all three texts is *kalām* (lit. speech or words), which is often used synonymously with *khuṭbah*. The pieces are in the stylistic and thematic mode of orations attributed to the period found elsewhere in the sources.

Arabic phrases characteristic of the early oration.⁷⁵ The second is a discourse by a scholar named Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Aṭā’, which discusses the Qur’an’s permission to enjoy “women and other pleasures.” The third is a sermon by the Tamīmī chief-tain Aḥnaf ibn Qays, which advocates humbling oneself before God. The rest of the Vienna collection and other collections in major world libraries await scrutiny. But Abbott’s papyrus already constitutes proof—especially when taken alongside the narrative record—that oration texts were being recorded in writing in the 2nd/8th century.

3 Systematic Written Collection of Orations from the Late 2nd/8th Century

Around the year 133/751, or earlier, Muslims learned paper-making techniques from a handful of captured Chinese artisans.⁷⁶ With the introduction of this cheap and efficient material and the modes of transcription it supported, writing suddenly took off. In the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th century, oral reports of oration texts—along with Prophetic hadith, historical reports, and poetry compositions—were systematically transcribed into written texts.

3.1 *Rapid Transition from an Oral to a Writing Society*

Distinct from the materials written earlier as personal notations, books began to be written in the late 2nd/8th century for public consumption. Schoeler describes the process whereby texts such as the *Muwaṭṭā* of Mālik (d. 179/795), the grammar book titled “The Book” (*Kitāb*) of Sībawayh (d. ca. 180/789), and the *Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* of Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) were composed specifically for distribution as books, as conscious literary products created for written dissemination to a wide audience.⁷⁷ It was at this time too that early narratives, both oral and written, were collected into synthesized works of history, hadith, law, and literature. Donner places the fourth phase of early Islamic historiography—the

75 ‘Amr’s praise of the “commander of the faithful,” presumably refers to either ‘Umar or Mu‘āwiyah, under both of whom he wielded political positions.

76 Tha‘ālibī, *Laṭā’if*, 126, s.v. “Samarqand.” See details in Bloom, 8–9, 42–45, and *passim*. Marina Rustow has recently argued that paper, both imported from China and locally produced, was used in Khurasan as early as 99/718. She cites two caches, one belonging to the last Soghdian king, Dhēwāštich, containing documents with that date and others, and another from between 102/721 and 163/780, excavated from the remains of a Zoroastrian fire temple (*Lost Archive*, ch. 4: “Paper”). She also cites Ibn al-Nadīm’s assertion that paper usage began “either in the Umayyad or the Abbasid period” (*Fihrist*, 32).

77 Schoeler, *Genesis*, 72–73, 87–89, 100–103.

“late literate phase”—during the years ca. 125–300/743–913.⁷⁸ At this time, he says, secondary concerns were worked into the material; chronology and taxation were overlaid onto conquest reports; accounts were edited, selected, or dropped, based on political and sectarian needs; and lengthier compilations, such as universal histories, were prepared. Most synthesized works—to a larger or smaller degree—incorporated texts of early orations.

By the end of the 3rd/9th century, the Islamic world was home to a thriving culture of books. Scholars have mapped out several aspects of this phenomenon. Shawkat Toorawa describes the emergence in Baghdad of what he characterizes as a “writerly” culture, which witnessed the expansion of manuscript markets and the state’s support of translation, along with a radical transformation of learned and literary life. Houari Touati examines the expansion of libraries, arguing that the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries were crucial for the spread of the book. Konrad Hirschler shows how bookshops and libraries facilitated auto-didacticism in the medieval Islamic world. The presence of texts everywhere—as Brian Stock explains—forces elements of culture embedded in oral discourse to redefine their boundaries, to contrast categories of popular and learned, themselves byproducts of literate sensibilities.⁷⁹ Rapidly, the literary landscape of the Islamic world evolved, until about five centuries afterward, Arabic-speaking lands would see the emergence of what Hirschler calls the “encyclopedic age” and the “age of summaries.”⁸⁰

As in other medieval lands, the burgeoning literacy of the medieval Muslim world was confined to its socio-economic elite. Bureaucrats, scholars, and to some extent traders, were likely readers and writers. Most others could either not read or write at all, or could do so minimally. Although writing increased speedily after the introduction of paper, the medieval Islamic realm was still a far cry from our modern print and online world. In developed nations today, nearly everyone can read and write. These skills are almost innate to who we are and how we operate. In medieval times, in contrast, literacy meant something different. Paul Grendler suggests that up to a third of adult males in Florence and Venice were literate during the Renaissance.⁸¹ For Syrian and Egyptian cities, Hirschler speculates that the proportion of those able to read simple texts was a similarly low two-digit number.⁸² This percentage was higher than in previous centuries, but it still constituted a minority of the population. The

78 Donner, *Narratives*, 280–282.

79 Stock, 529.

80 Hirschler, 19, 20, 197, and *passim*.

81 Grendler, *passim*.

82 Hirschler, 29.

fraction of the populace who could write and read complex materials would have been even smaller. But in terms of recording orations, that fraction was more than enough, for it translated into a large number of scholars and bureaucrats meticulously transcribing texts.

3.2 *Written Sources for the Texts and Contexts of the Early Arabic Oration*

Our access to the orally performed Arabic orations of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period is through written texts, recorded in books composed from or after the late 2nd/8th century. These sources contain material related to the oration, including reports (*akhbār*, sing. *khbar*) framing the orations, anecdotes about orators, and critical evaluations of the genre. They also contain oration texts. Some of these early texts are found in compilations dedicated to oration. Other texts are grouped together within literary and historical books in sections devoted to oration. The largest number of oration texts is embedded within the narrative in books of diverse genres. If we look through a laundry list of classical Arabic works—such as hadith compilations, legal compendia, exegetical works, literary anthologies, chancery manuals, works of literary criticism, books of theology and Sufism, and various kinds of historical writings including annals, chronicles, biographies (*ṣiḡar*, sing. *sīrah*), biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt*), martyrologies (*maqātil*, sing. *maqtal*), and conquest narratives (*maghāzī*)—we find orations integrated into most of them. These sources, and others such as collections of poetry and works of literary prose, also include information about the context of early oratory.

The following is an annotated list of extant sources that contain information about the texts and culture of the early oration. The list casts a wide net but makes no claims to being comprehensive—that would be a herculean task needing a book of its own. Of our sources, the following are the most relevant genres and texts:

- Jāḥiẓ's (d. 255/868) literary critical text *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* is useful for anecdotes and analysis as well as texts. Since these are scattered across the book, the editor's indexes are helpful.⁸³
- Historical works contain oration texts and contexts embedded within their narrative. Some also contain sections on orations by the Prophet and other luminaries, usually appended to reports of their death. Authors of such works include (chronologically) Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767), Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770), Azdī (d. ca. 164/781), Wāqidī (d. ca. 207/823), Minqarī (d. 212/

83 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 4:107–108 (“Fihris al-bayān wa-l-balāghah,” s.v. “khaṭābah”), 4:111–114 (“Fihris al-khuṭab”).

- 827), Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/845), Ibn Khayyāt (d. 240/854), Ibn Bakkār (d. 256/870), Ibn Shabbah (d. 262/876), Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), Balādhurī (d. 279/892), Dīnawarī (d. 282/896), Abū Ishāq al-Thaqafī (d. 283/896), Ya’qūbī (d. 284/897), Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926), Mas’ūdī (d. 345/956), Ājurī (d. 360/971), Qāḍī l-Nu’mān (d. 363/974), Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), and somewhat later, Kalā’ī (d. 634/1237), Ibn al-Athīr (d. 650/1233), Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256), and Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468).
- Literary anthologies include sections on oration, or contain texts and contexts, and sometimes an introduction to the genre. Such works include Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām’s (d. 224/838) *al-Khuṭab wa-l-mawā’iz*, Ibn Qutaybah’s (d. 276/889) *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* and *Kitāb al-Ma’ārif*, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur’s (d. 280/893) *Balāghāt al-nisā’*, Mubarrad’s (d. 285/898) *Kāmil*, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s (d. 328/940) *al-Iqd al-farīd*, Ibn Shu’bah al-Ḥarrānī’s (fl. 4/10 c.) *Tuḥaf al-‘uqūl*; the *Amālī* works by Qālī (d. 356/967), al-Ṣadūq al-Qummī (d. 381/991), Mufīd (d. 413/1022), and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044); Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. ca. 363/972) *Aghānī*; and later, Ḥuṣrī’s (d. 413/1022) *Zahr al-ādāb*, Ābī’s (d. 421/1030) *Nathr al-durr*, Tha’ālibī’s (429/1038) *Thimār al-qulūb*, Zamakhsharī’s (d. 583/1144) *Rabī’ al-abrār*, and for Andalusia, Maqqarī’s (d. 1041/1632) *Nafḥ al-tīb*. Contrary to historical and hadith sources, literary sources often have little or no context, and no chains of transmission.
 - Medieval compilations of the orations of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib abound. They draw on earlier sources, especially the writings of the Kufan historians Thaqafī (d. 283/896) and Ibn A’tham (d. 314/926).⁸⁴ The best known is the *Nahj al-balāghah* compiled by Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015). Its major 20-volume commentary by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1257) contains further orations by ‘Alī and other early personages. Other extant collections of ‘Alī’s orations include Qāḍī l-Nu’mān’s (d. 363/974) unpublished compilation and commentary, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd min khuṭab amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, and Qāḍī l-Quḍā’ī’s (d. 454/1062) *Dustūr ma’ālim al-ḥikam*.⁸⁵ Mu’tazilite works of theology, such as Iskāfī’s (d. 220/854) *Mi’yār* and Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s (d. 415/1025) *Mughnī*, also cite sermons by ‘Alī. Shī’a works, like those of Ḥarrānī, Mufīd, and Idrīs, have special focus on ‘Alī’s orations.

84 See a fuller listing of sources for ‘Alī’s sermons in T. Qutbuddin, “‘Alī’s Contemplations,” 333–334, n. 4.

85 See translation of Quḍā’ī’s *Dustūr* compilation by T. Qutbuddin as *A Treasury of Virtues*. Other extant medieval anthologies of ‘Alī’s words include Ṭabrisī’s *Nathr al-la’ālī* and Āmidī’s *Ghurur al-ḥikam*. Both contain one-line sayings, many plucked from his orations.

- Miscellaneous literary works of varied genres contain oration texts and contexts, such as Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī's (d. 255/869) work on long-lived individuals and their testaments, Ibn Qutaybah's (d. 276/889) book praising the Arabs, Jarīrī's (d. 390/1000) work on etiquette, Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī's (d. 395/1005) work on "firsts" (*awā'il*), Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's (d. after 411/1021) proofs of the imamate, Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī's (d. 429/1037) here-siography, and Tha'ālibī's (d. 429/1038) work on quoting from the Qur'an.
- Works of literary criticism contain some orations. Such works include Bāqil-lānī's (d. 403/1013) *I'jāz al-Qur'an* and Abū Hilāl's (d. 395/1005) *Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn*, and from a later period, Diyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 637/1239) *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*.
- Chancery manuals transcribe many orations. Early works include Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kātib's (d. after 335/946) *Burhān*, and Naḥḥās's (d. 338/950) *Ṣinā'at al-kuttāb*. Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* is an important, though later source; it also contains a one-page section on oratory under the chapter on "firsts."⁸⁶
- Works on ascetic homilies (*zuhd* and *qaṣaṣ*) by Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), Samarqandī (d. 373/983), Naqqāsh (d. 414/1024), and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) record texts by early orators. Ibn al-Jawzī's biography of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz contains a large number of his pious-counsel sermons.
- Jurisprudential (*fiqh*) works and compilations of Prophetic hadith yield various kinds of information on the oration in their sections on Friday and Eid prayers. Such works include Mālik's (d. 179/795) *Muwatṭā*, Shāfi'ī's (d. 204/820) *Musnad*, two *Muṣannaf* works by 'Abd al-Razzāq Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/827) and Ibn Abī Shaybah (d. 235/849), two *Ṣaḥīḥ* works by Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), Kulaynī's (d. 329/941) *Kāfī*, Ibn Ḥib-bān's (d. 354/965) *Kitāb al-Majrūhīn*, Qāḍī l-Nu'mān's (d. 363/974) *Da'ā'im al-Islām* and *Kitāb al-Ṭahārah*, and Māwardī's (d. 450/1058) compendium of Qur'an exegesis and law.

86 Qalqashandī, 1:421: The first to address the Quraysh with tidings that the Prophet would come from among them was Quṣayy ibn Kilāb. The first to preach leaning on a stick or sitting on his camel was Quss ibn Sā'idah. The first to make a pulpit was Tamīm al-Dārī, having seen the Christian pulpits of Syria. The first to be stumped in a speech was 'Uthmān. The first to give a sermon sitting was Mu'āwiyah, when he became too fat to preach standing. The first to preach the Friday sermon in Medina before the arrival of the Prophet was As'ad ibn Zurārah al-Anṣārī. The first to raise his hand in the Friday sermon was 'Ubay-dallāh ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar. The first to bring out a pulpit for the Eid sermon was Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam.

- Proverb collections contain some orations. Such works include Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī's (d. after 163/780) *Amthāl*, Rāmahurmuzī's (d. 360/971) *Amthāl al-ḥadīth*, Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī's (d. 395/1005) *Jamharat al-amthāl*, and later, Maydānī's (d. 518/1124) *Majma' al-amthāl*.

Our earliest oration sources are from the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. The works listed above and other extant sources tell of many more lost works, some very early, which contained texts and contexts of early Arabic oration; fortunately, copious material from them has been preserved within later works. The lost writings of Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā (d. 157/768) include his *Maqṭal Ḥusayn*, which is preserved within the histories of Ṭabarī and Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. Wāqidi (d. 207/823) was another prolific writer with two large works, an annalistic history of Islam and another on the Muslims' battles and conquests, both lost, and several shorter works on topics including the caliphate of Abū Bakr, the conquests of Syria and Iraq, the assassination of 'Uthmān, the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn, and the minting of Islamic coinage. Madā'inī (d. 228/843) wrote more than two hundred treatises of largely political history, none of which are extant. Wāqidi and Madā'inī are quoted extensively by later scholars, notably Balādhurī and Ṭabarī. Of Ṭayfūr's massive fourteen-volume anthology of early poetry and prose, the *Kitāb al-Manẓūm wa-l-manthūr*, only three chapters are extant; the lost volumes most likely contained a section on oration.

Also lost are dedicated collections from the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries of orations attributed to 'Alī. The same historian-compilers mentioned earlier and a few others—Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 205/820), Wāqidi (d. 207/823), Minqarī (d. 212/827), Madā'inī (d. 225/840), and Thaqaḥī (d. 283/896)—are reported to have collected his sermons and speeches in independent works. 'Abd al-Zahrā' lists twenty-two apparently lost compilations before the *Nahj al-balāghah*,⁸⁷ also identifying its possible sources. With the proliferation of on-line materials and searchable databases in the last decade, it has become ever easier to locate further sources of early *khuṭbah* material.

Culling the classical sources (and usually citing references), modern anthologies offer collections of early orations. One of the largest is Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat's *Jamharat khuṭab al-'Arab*, divided chronologically into three volumes, dealing with the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period, the Umayyad period, and the early Abbasid period respectively. The oration texts are collected from an array of historical works, literary materials, and theological sources, and he also provides a small quantity of anecdotal framing material. Other modern schol-

87 'Abd al-Zahrā', 1:51–86.

ars have published collected volumes of orations attributed to Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and ʿUmar, numerous tomes of orations ascribed to ʿAlī, anthologies of orations by the early caliphs, collected orations of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Umayyad caliphs, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, and his great-grandson Jaʿfar al-Šādiq.⁸⁸

4 Authenticity

The question of authenticity is a grave one. It is plain that many orations were erroneously transmitted, some were misattributed, and others were fabricated out of whole cloth. So are any of our oration texts genuine?

4.1 *Erroneous Transmission and Intentional Fabrication*

There are limits to the reliability of early oratorical materials, and one pervasive problem is erroneous transmission. Errors can infiltrate written copies as well, but orally transmitted pieces are especially vulnerable to lapses of accuracy. Words and lines are likely to be dropped, or to occur in different sequences, and narrators inadvertently substitute words that have the same meaning (described with examples earlier in the section on Memory Variants). As a result, assorted renderings of the same piece appear in different works. There are even multiple renderings of the same piece within a single compilation, such as a number of near identical passages in each of ʿAlī's two oration collections, *Dustūr al-maʿālim* and *Nahj al-balāghah*, which begs the question as to which is the original version; the latter's compiler flags this phenomenon in his introduction to the volume.⁸⁹

Another difficulty is that some orations are attributed in different sources to different people. This is especially true of pious counsel that has been stripped of political or historical markers. For example, certain sermons containing general themes of piety are attributed in some sources to ʿAlī and elsewhere to Muʿāwiyah, Qaṭarī, or Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.⁹⁰ This phenomenon could possibly indi-

88 E.g., compilations by Khaṭīb, Zanjānī, and Aʿlamī (Muḥammad); M. ʿĀshūr and Kūmī (Abū Bakr); M. ʿĀshūr (ʿUmar); 8-volume compilation by Maḥmūdī (ʿAlī); Tāsīn, Qumayḥah, and ʿĀshūr (early caliphs together); Aṭwān (ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the Umayyad caliphs together), Mūsawī, Bayḍūn, and Sharīfī (Ḥusayn); and Wāʿizī (Jaʿfar al-Šādiq).

89 Raḍī, 31.

90 E.g.: oration beginning (إِنِّي أَحَذَّرُكُمْ الدُّنْيَا فَإِنَّهَا حُلْوَةٌ خَضِرَةٌ حَفَّتْ بِالشَّهَوَاتِ وَرَاقَتْ بِالْقَلِيلِ): attrib. to ʿAlī in Raḍī, 243–247, and Quḍāʿī, *Dustūr*, §2.14, 60–65; attrib. to Qaṭarī in Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 2:126–129, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:129–131, Sharīshī, 1:232–233, (Šafwat 2:454–458). Another e.g.: oration beginning (إِنَّا أَصْبَحْنَا فِي دَهْرٍ عَنُودٍ وَزَمَنٍ كَنُودٍ): attrib. to ʿAlī in Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 2:59–61, and Raḍī, 99–102; attrib. to Muʿāwiyah in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:81. Similarly,

cate an orator's influence over another, with the latter imitating the former's themes and repeating his lines. It could also mean that later orators were deliberately citing earlier ones. Or one could argue that since 'Alī was known as a sage, anything that was deemed similar to his perceived literary persona accrued to his output. The converse could also be true, wherein 'Alī's orations (because they are so eloquent) are claimed by (or for) other orators as their own. Or it could mean that similar themes and formulae were used by many orators preaching pious sermons, such that some of their products looked similar. Or it could mean that over time transmitters got the names mixed up. A number of possibilities exist, and the truth lies probably in a combination of them all.

Even more serious than errors in transmission and attribution is the problem of deliberate fabrication. The system of oral transmission (like written texts, but perhaps to a greater degree) was susceptible to malicious interpolation, alteration, and even outright manufacture. An unscrupulous individual could add revered names to the chain of transmitters in order to make it acceptable. Especially insidious, fabrication could take place at the very top of the chain; for example, some of Muḥammad's widows or Companions—venerated by later generations—may have put words into his mouth. Even if the rest of the individuals in the chain transmitted the report scrupulously, they were unknowingly transmitting a fraudulent account that had been corrupted at its source. Muddying the waters even further, some early folks had political reasons for denying the truth of Prophetic reports they knew to be true. Given that Muḥammad's words were held by all Muslims to be binding, a hadith that lauded an individual or promoted a position would be of great value to sectarian groups. There was certainly motive for fabrication of Prophetic hadith, and of materials ascribed to other important early figures. There is no doubt that fabrication existed, and that it existed on a large scale. But that still does not mean we should reject the genre in its entirety.

4.2 *The Skeptics and a Response*

Throwing the baby out with the bathwater, a handful of modern skeptics deem these materials totally and wholly fallacious. The influential historian Albrecht Noth dismisses in its entirety the corpus of early Arabic orations as a later fabrication. In *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study* (written in collaboration with Lawrence Conrad), he calls the speeches of the early

lines of poetry have also been attributed in different sources to different poets; Shākir, in his edition of Jurjānī's *Asrār al-balāghah*, notes several instances, e.g., 21, 32, 271.

Islamic period “fictions from beginning to end,” claiming that “the question of the authenticity of these speeches ... does not even need to be asked.”⁹¹ But orations are just as likely (or unlikely) to be authentic as any other source. When Noth is willing, as he is, to accord serious critique to other genres, many of them also oral, there can be no reason to dismiss orations, without any assessment, as totally fictitious. Looking at sources with a critical eye is an integral part of the quest for historical truth, but source-criticism needs to be based on evidence. In his categorical dismissal of early Arabic orations as being in no part genuine, Noth produces no evidence and no analysis, other than his citation of the (quite different) case of late Western antiquity. It is true that speeches by characters of Greek and Latin epics and histories constitute what their authors believed the characters would have said, rather than what they actually did say. Speeches in *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* of Homer, as well as the historical works of Herodotus and Thucydides, for example, are consensually deemed literary, rather than historical artifacts.⁹² But here we have a different culture, a different context. The situation on the ground in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia in the seventh and eighth centuries AD was distinct from that in Rhodes, Athens, and Crete in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Noth's negative assessment of the early Arabic oratorical material is based solely on the fact that speeches made in late antique Greece and Rome are accepted by scholars as being inauthentic. He does not provide further justification, apparently admitting no possible effect of the indigenous Arabian culture of memorization and transmission, and of early Muslim society's rapid transition from a highly oral to a writing-oriented civilization.

Noth's uncompromising refusal to entertain any possibility of authenticity for the early oratorical materials is rooted perhaps in his imprecise conflation (albeit without stating this overtly) of two wholly different labels, namely, oral and inauthentic. This is a common error among modern scholars, who often conflate the two distinct issues of literacy versus orality, and reliability versus unreliability, and other scholars have remarked upon it. Taking the case of ancient Greece, Rosalind Thomas has argued that “We tend to take literacy and its prestige for granted ... The reasons for this elevation [of the written word over the spoken word] are, one suspects, more a matter of inherited assumptions and beliefs than of individual thought about the nature of the written

91 Noth, 87–96.

92 Thucydides (47, §1.22.1) says that the speeches he presents are not verbatim records, but constitute what was “called for in the situation.” See also Finley's assessment in his Introduction (ibid., 25–29).

word whose application is in fact exceedingly complex.”⁹³ In his article “The Relationship of Literacy and Memory in the Second/Eighth Century,” Gregor Schoeler avers that German-speaking scholars of Islam in particular, starting with Ignaz Goldziher in the nineteenth century, considered the transmission of knowledge in early Islam to have been wholly inauthentic; and he attributes their judgment to an identification of “oral”—consciously or unconsciously—with “unreliable.” Schoeler correctly asserts that “The nature of the transmission neither assured complete or far-reaching reliability, as [Nabia] Abbott and nowadays [Fuat] Sezgin assume, nor did it exclude it, as many Western skeptics maintain. The issues of literacy versus orality and reliability versus unreliability have to be treated separately. The challenge is to find criteria of authenticity—beyond orality-versus-literacy—in order to be able to distinguish ‘good’ and ‘bad’ traditions.”⁹⁴

Poetry was also transmitted orally in the early period, but scholars have reached a positive consensus on the genuineness of the corpus. We analyze even individual poems and the *mu‘allaqāt*, assuming their legitimacy at some level. But we view orations much more skeptically and question their authenticity. As mentioned earlier, poetry had its mnemonic devices of rhyme and meter, which the oration did not. But oratory had its own memorization aids, of parallelism, short sentences, vivid imagery, and so on. Is it perhaps the oration’s strongly political nature that makes us doubt it?⁹⁵

Two other scholars have questioned the validity of early speeches, especially of the pre-Islamic period. Hoyland, in his book *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*, applies the same reservations as Noth did to Arabic speeches from the pre-Islamic period, saying “pre-Islamic heroes were made to utter speeches felt by the later Muslim historian to be appropriate to the event or subject being treated, deemed to be similar to what would have been uttered by such a figure on such an occasion.” In contrast, he claims elsewhere that the poetry of the period is subject only to issues of “minor contamination.” He characterizes the speeches attributed to pre-Islamic orators in the sources as “long and fulsome, packed with rhetorical devices,” and surmises that the real speechmaking of the time was probably “not so different from the short staccato-like expression of the diviners.”⁹⁶ I think that this assumption, too, is not borne out by the evidence. Soothsayer prose was known to be distinctly shamanistic and fully rhymed, profuse with oaths and rare words that

93 Thomas, 1.

94 Schoeler, “Relationship,” 125–126.

95 I thank Judith Pfeiffer for this observation.

96 Hoyland, *Arabia*, 212, 221–222.

most people could not understand. In contrast, other kinds of public speaking were supposed to be fully accessible. They used formal yet well-known words, little rhyme, and fewer oaths. Similar to Hoyland, Robert Irwin, in his anthology of classical Arabic literature titled *Night and Horses and the Desert*, categorically (and in passing, in his chapter on pre-Islamic poetry) declares that “no literary prose worthy of the name has come down to us from the pre-Islamic period.” In his subsequent chapters on the early Islamic period, however, he cites ‘Alī from the early Islamic period as a master orator, and includes examples of orations by ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ and Ḥajjāj.⁹⁷

In any case, the naysayers’ opinion does not reflect a consensus among scholars of Arabic and Islam. Robert Serjeant, another eminent Arabist, holds that early orations could well be authentic in substance and even in some of their phrases. Although agreeing that “many [of the early Arabic speeches] can only be invention of what ought to have been said on some famous occasion,” he declares “yet the prodigiously retentive Arab memory may well have preserved the gist and even some of the language of historic orations.”⁹⁸ This is the position I have taken as well.

The unqualified negation of authenticity for all oration texts attributed to the pre-Islamic period is based on unsupported skepticism rather than positive evidence, and is thus too strong. Just as one needs evidence to prove authenticity, one also needs evidence to prove inauthenticity. Although we cannot prove definitively that any individual oration is authentic, that does not automatically mean it is inauthentic.

To give these scholars their due, logic dictates that within the body of early Arabic orations, those from the earliest times, such as those from the pre-Islamic period, would be the least likely to survive. The lengthier the time between the orally delivered oration and when it was written down, the more likely that materials were lost or that errors crept in. The shorter the lag before the oration was written down, the more likely it would be recorded error free. But here too we have a caveat: some of the earlier orations could have been written close to the time of delivery, and so are more likely to be accurate and authentic.

Even in the case of orations that are probably later forgeries, these too conform closely to early conventions of style and theme, as I suggested in the Introduction. They display characteristics of orality, and were probably fabricated quite early. The perpetrators were near in time to the early orators, familiar

97 Irwin, 29, 65–66.

98 Serjeant, 118.

with the conventions of pre-Islamic and early Islamic oratory, and, most importantly, successful in passing off their creations as earlier productions to a likewise knowledgeable audience. Even though this complicates our own detective work of determining the provenance of individual orations, these suspect texts still lend themselves effectively to a study of the earlier period. They speak to the style and structure and themes of early Arabic oratory, to the genre as a whole.

There is no doubt that the long period of oral transmission of oratorical texts left room for errors in communication and even outright fabrication. So are the oratorical texts in our sources genuine remnants from the early, oral period? Or are they fabrications from later times? Are they actual words spoken by Muḥammad, ‘Alī, and other notables of early Islam, or are they lines put into their mouths by people who were furthering a political or sectarian agenda? Many of the speakers were important religious figures, and attributing words to them was a sure way to bolster a theological or sectarian position. Nevertheless, the existence of a genuine core of materials from the period is far from inconceivable. The robustness of the indigenous oral tradition gives us good reason to believe in the validity of the oeuvre. Our texts are not wholly pure, but they do have a historical core. Invent an oration? It is possible. Invent a genre? Not likely.

4.3 *Criteria for Determining Tentative Authenticity*

Although many orations in the sources could well be erroneous transmissions or even outright fabrications, it is clear that a genuine core of early oration texts exists. The challenge is to pick out the wheat from the chaff. So how does one do that?

The authentication I speak of is confined to the realm of probability, rather than certainty. Because these orations were produced orally and orally transmitted, there is no positive, objective, scientific test for authenticity. Conversely, there is no litmus test for inauthenticity. But just as there are elements that tip the balance toward inauthenticity, there are others that indicate a piece's authenticity. Particular tools may be applied in order to assess which orations could be genuine, and which are probably fraudulent or adulterated. Much work on assessing authenticity has been done on related genres, particularly hadith, and to a lesser extent historiography. Although their application to the oration needs refining, tools developed by medieval and modern scholars may be harnessed for at least a preliminary evaluation of the oration.

For medieval Sunni scholars who were looking back at oral reports of hadith, the main check for authenticity was the veracity of the individuals in the chain of transmitters (*isnād*) for any given report. These scholars developed a

sophisticated system called “impugning and validation” (*jarḥ wa-ta’dīl*), which assessed the veracity of transmitters, in tandem with an assessment of the likelihood of the chain’s working in chronological time and geographical space. A new genre of writing—biographical dictionaries called *ṭabaqāt* (lit. “generations” or “levels” of transmitters)—came into being in service of this quest. Beginning with Ibn Sa’d’s (d. 230/845) *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, these works recorded the biographies of the first few generations of Muslims, their standing in the community, and their religious and scholarly credentials. *Isnād* assessment techniques focused primarily on gauging the genuineness of Prophetic hadith, but were also applied to historical and literary reports of the early Muslims, including orations. The *jarḥ wa-ta’dīl* system—although far from foolproof—attempted to place some checks on fabrication.

For Shi’a scholars, the crucial check for veracity of a hadith was whether a report was endorsed by one of the Imams from the family of the Prophet. If so endorsed, it was accepted *prima facie* as true. Qāḍī I-Nu’mān’s (d. 363/974) transmitters in his *Da’ā’im al-Islām* and *Sharḥ al-akhbār* usually stop at one of the early Imams, frequently Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/732) or Ja’far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), who state, based on the authority of (often unnamed) forebears, that Muḥammad or ‘Alī said such and such.⁹⁹ (These two Shi’a Imams are also deemed trustworthy by Sunnis, but they do not consider them infallible.) Since the Imam, like the Prophet, was believed by the Shi’a to be divinely-guided, he was the one who was trusted to make the call on the truth of all things, including authenticity of reports of orations attributed to the Prophet, to ‘Alī, and to other weighty religious personae. Those who lived many centuries after the Prophet did not have direct access to the Prophet’s words and must needs have accepted a filter, so it behooved them to choose that filter carefully—for the Shi’a, the Imam was that pure and reliable conduit, and he was the sole one. For them, the criterion for authenticity of reports was tied directly to the larger issue of determining the identity of the divinely guided rightful Imam. Once that rightful Imam was identified, he could be trusted to guide believers toward truth and steer them away from falsehood.

In modern times, the question of authenticity of the Prophet’s hadith and biography has received focused attention. As mentioned earlier, scholars such as Goldziher and Schacht, pioneers in the field, took a skeptical approach. Abbott and Sezgin attempted a vigorous defense. More recently, Harald Motzki has suggested an “*isnād-cum-matn*” analysis to assess the authenticity of individual traditions, and their development and mutation over several genera-

99 E.g., Nu’mān, *Da’ā’im*, 1:151.

tions of transmitters. Schoeler, in his book on Muḥammad's biography, used a similar methodology to meet this challenge, proposing that a full corpus of available material on an event should be assembled, and, in addition to *isnād* analysis, the texts should be carefully compared. These tools are not foolproof either, but they are a honed version of the already complex medieval critical apparatus. Some of these tools could be applied fruitfully to our oratorical reports to evaluate authenticity.

Another tool that may be developed further is identification of archaic grammatical constructions and vocabulary in oration texts ascribed to the oral period. For example, in Qaṭarī's famous oration, we find the phrase "Is it this [same world] that you too give priority to? Or that you covet? Or that you put your faith in?" To denote "or," the conjunction used is "*am*" (= or), used here in the mode of "*aw*," i.e., a choice between two items without denoting exclusivity. Simon Hopkins, in *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, identifies this as an archaic usage from the first three centuries of Islam.¹⁰⁰ One problem with using this technique is that most work identifying archaic usages is based on papyri containing Middle Arabic trade documents, which may not be wholly applicable to standard Arabic oration texts. But a few literary papyri are also extant, and Abbott's three-volume work *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* is a good starting point for mining this kind of data.¹⁰¹ Another problem is the possibility of deliberate archaization by fabricators. But in the case of grammatical nuances that are only now being cataloged as archaic by modern scholars, and which do not appear to have been remarked on by medieval scholars, that possibility is not so likely.

Our earliest written sources are layered. They contain multiple strands of oral and written transmissions, intertwining in a complex, multi-hued whole. The 3rd/9th-century authors wrote their histories and literary anthologies from a multitude of different sources, some of which they cited, and others which

100 (فهذه توترون أم عليها تحرصون أم إليها تطمنون): Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 2:128. Hopkins, 150; I thank Suleyman Dost for this observation and reference.

101 Although there is no precise work on the subject, my colleague Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee kindly listed for me some features—based on grammars by Alan Jones, Wolfdietrich Fischer, and Wheeler Thackston—that help distinguish earlier from later Arabic. These are primarily related to Qur'anic (versus post-Qur'anic) Arabic, which contains (1) demonstratives without "*hā*" such as "*dhā*" for "*hādhā*" and "*ulā*" for "*hā'ulā*"; (2) perfect and jussive verb tenses used for past conditionals; (3) the use of the conditional "*in*" when an event is expected to happen (either in the future or past), versus "*idhā*" when it is felt certain that it happens (the latter is closer to English "when," not "if"); and (4) sound feminine plurals even of inanimate entities which take an adjective with sound feminine plural "*-āt*."

they culled without attribution. Many of their sources were oral. Others were written materials of various kinds: documents, notebooks, and earlier books and compilations. The final stamp came, of course, from the author who was collecting and synthesizing materials into his book. But each book had multiple layers of authorship, several levels of authenticity, and numerous modes of agenda-pushing. Scholars who work with these sources need to be acutely aware of their layering, for it enormously complicates any discussion of provenance and authenticity.

Since our written sources have multiple layers of orality and written transmission, the authenticity of oration texts within them should be evaluated on the basis of individual pieces, rather than the compilation as a whole. Orations, for example, in Ṭabarī's *History*, should be subjected individually to tools of authentication, rather than subsuming them in a more general discussion of the authenticity of Ṭabarī's *History* as a whole, or even that of genres within it. Ṭabarī tapped some oral transmitters, as well as a large number of documents and written narratives, and thus some of these accounts might be true, others might not be. Or a single account could be partly true and partly concocted. Similarly, the authenticity of the orations attributed to 'Alī and collected in the *Nahj al-balāghah* and *Dustūr al-ma'ālīm* must be examined on the level of the individual oration rather than the compilation. The authors of these collections, Raḍī and Quḍā'ī, respectively, culled their material from a patchwork of sources, and accordingly, some orations might be genuine, others might not be.

In order to assess the probable legitimacy of individual orations, the researcher must apply a combination of positive and negative criteria. Positive criteria would include broad, early dissemination of a piece, across generic, political, and sectarian lines—what the medieval Muslim scholars of hadith termed "*tawātur*," as well as oral style and archaic language. Criteria that support authenticity by their absence—factors we might term negative criteria, or "red flags"—would include philosophical and theological terminology known only from later periods, as well as obvious political or sectarian agenda. It should be noted, though, that red flags are not conclusive evidence of inauthenticity. Some reports could support a particular political or sectarian viewpoint, but even though partisan in this sense, they could still be true. Other orations may contain an anachronistic philosophical term, but that term may have been later inserted into an early oration. The process of assessing authenticity is complicated, and far from black and white.

4.4 *Oral-Period Oration Texts: Early Islamic versus Greek, Roman, and Biblical*

Compared to extant orations from other world literatures, pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic oratory appears to be remarkable for its early appearance on the oral-written continuum. Numerous sets of folk tales and epic poetry from cultures close to primary orality have survived, but oration texts are rare. As described earlier, the Islamic world underwent a rapid transformation from an oral to a written culture. It is exceptional to have a moment in time when a culture is close to pristine, primary orality, and then suddenly, over just a hundred years or so, over two to three generations, becomes relatively very literate. The serendipitously quick transition meant that many oral productions, including orations, were transmitted by word of mouth for a relatively short time before being written down. The shift from orality to writing took place, as also mentioned earlier, because of the desire of early Muslims to record the Qur'an and hadith. Another spur was the need of the expanding Islamic empire for writing, to keep records and perform other administrative functions. Yet another stimulus was the nascent Islamic empire's conquest and assimilation of large parts of the more literate Persian and Byzantine empires. The transition to a writing culture was capped in the 2nd/8th century with the introduction of paper and the subsequent burgeoning of books.

In contrast, records of relatively authentic orations from other world literatures come from periods in their histories when the culture already had a fair amount of writing. Take the case of Greece. As we have seen, records of orations from the predominantly oral period of Greek culture, such as those of Pericles (ca. 495–429 BC) transcribed in the *History* of Thucydides (ca. 460–395 BC) mentioned earlier, are thought to be back-projections. There are bits of earlier, possibly historical orations by Pericles recorded in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (ca. 384–322 BC), but these are miniscule.¹⁰² The Alexandrian “Canon of Ten,” among them the famed orator Demosthenes (same dates as Aristotle, 384–322 BC), lived at a time when Greek culture was literate, and books were being written in profusion. Or take the case of Rome. The relatively historical orations of Cicero (106–43 BC) were delivered at a time in which people were writing and reading books. Even those who did not use writing in their preparation of orations still belonged to a literate culture, and they frequently relied on written notes and transcripts for their oral performances. The story of the Bible's collection is complex, and, out of the various traditions I have noted here, its situation is perhaps closest to early Arabic oratory. But Old Testament sermons, includ-

102 Aristotle, i.6.20–23, i.7.34–35, iii.4.3.

ing Moses' famous law-giving orations in Deuteronomy, are generally believed by scholars to be pseudepigraphic.¹⁰³ For New Testament orations, including Jesus's famous Sermon on the Mount and others in the Gospels of Matthew and John, and the speeches of the Apostles in Luke's Acts, there are some who argue for their historicity based on modern memory and orality studies, yet (most) others believe them to be later creations meant to stand in fidelity to actual words from the past, as remembered and yet also adapted to the later circumstances. Plus, we have the issue of language, since Jesus spoke Aramaic, and the Gospels are written in Greek. Even if they possess a historical core, they would still be translations from the original.¹⁰⁴ Another array of oratorical materials from a relatively oral mindset that we have in translation are those of the Native Americans from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century AD, scattered transcriptions of which were gathered by the early white men who travelled among them.¹⁰⁵

It would seem that Jāḥiẓ was not so far from the truth when he claimed that among the civilizations he knew of, only the Arabs had a well-preserved, spontaneous tradition of oration.¹⁰⁶

We know of no orations except by the Arabs and Persians. As for the Indians, they have inscribed themes and ageless books that cannot be ascribed to any known man ... The Greeks have philosophy and the craft of logic, but the author of the Logic [Aristotle] himself ... was not described as eloquent ... The Persians have orators, except that their speech ... derives from long contemplation and ... the studying of books ... As for the Arabs, their speech is all extemporaneity and spontaneity, as though it is simply inspiration.

103 For a discussion of this issue, see Brettler, "Literary Sermon." Brettler critiques the views of Gerhard von Rad, who sought to locate the "sermonizing" of Deuteronomy (and other biblical texts) among the Levites. I thank Jeffery Stackert for this observation and reference, and Menachem Brinker for a lucid explanation of the issue.

104 For a brief overview of this issue, see Aune, *The Westminster Dictionary*, s.v. "speeches," "Luke-Acts," and "Matthew, Gospel of." For Jesus's Sermon on the Mount, see Betz, *Essays*. For recent, conservative scholarship arguing for the historicity of the gospels, see Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, and Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*. I thank Margaret Mitchell for these observations and references.

105 See, e.g., Vanderworth, ed., *Indian Oratory*.

106 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:27–29.

4.5 *Oration as Historical Source*

Given the sticky questions of authenticity and dating, the use of oration as a historical source is complicated. As discussed earlier, some scholars have claimed that orations from this period are wholly inauthentic, but they offer no evidence for their summary rejection beyond citing what they see as the parallel case of ancient Greek and Latin histories, where orations were admitted to be “what the heroes would have said.” But as also explained in some detail, the context in early Islamic Arabia was clearly different, and the strong indigenous tradition of oral transmission should not be underestimated. Indeed, early Arabic oration texts can be an important source of historical information, if used judiciously and with caution, after carefully examining provenance and substance—the same caveats applied to the period’s hadith, historical reports, and poetry.

An additional challenge in using orations as a source of history is their cryptic nature. Like poetry,¹⁰⁷ orations rely on metonymic association. We who live fourteen hundred years later often do not appreciate the full context. Of hard data, we sometimes glean only scattered names and isolated events. The way to meet this challenge is to understand the nature and function of oration. Orations are not produced as a record of history. They are produced inside a certain historical context. They reflect that context, but they also have their own utilities and aims, including—again, like poetry—public relations. Orations were not a historical narrative, but rather a tool of persuasion. These characteristics are important to keep in mind when evaluating oration texts as a historical source.

Unfortunately, many modern historians of the Middle East—whether or not they have really thought about oration authenticity—tend to skip over orations, just as they skip over poems, even when they come across them within a historical text. Maybe they are too hard? Maybe they feel they constitute literary materials that do not concern core history? But I would like to put in a plea for this position to be reconsidered. The eminent oralist Jan Vansina, in *Oral Tradition as History*, makes a strong and nuanced case for the use of oral tradition as a source of history. Notwithstanding its limitations, he argues, “Oral tradition should be central to students of culture, of ideology, of society, of psychology, of art, and finally, of history.”¹⁰⁸

Most early Arabic history books are filled with orations, and they have much to offer historians. They can provide data to supplement historical reports.

107 On using poetry to read history, see Baalbaki, ed., *Poetry and History*, and T. Qutbuddin, “Fatimid Aspirations.”

108 Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, xi. I thank Devin Stewart for this reference.

Especially if taken in conjunction with the narrative record, they can provide a richer, more nuanced picture. Perhaps most importantly, these orations depict the ethos of the time. They showcase the personal struggle, the human aspect. They give us a direct window into the minds of the people of that time itself, versus that of a scholar writing about it three hundred years later. They convey emotions and feelings in a way the dry historical record often cannot.

5 Concluding Remarks

We have seen that the mode of preservation of early Arabic oration was multifaceted. Initially transmitted orally for up to a century and a half, the oral transmission was underpinned by techniques of mnemonics, such as rhythm and vivid imagery, which aided memorization and transmission. Oral transmission was supplemented by some written notation. Starting from the late 2nd/8th century, and mostly in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, orations were systematically transcribed in written books.

Notwithstanding errors and fabrications that crept in over the course of time, the corpus encompasses a valid core. Because of the nature of oral transmission, we cannot establish definitively that a particular oration is original. But if a text has come down in multiple chains of transmission, is widely and early disseminated across works of different genres, written by folks with different sectarian, political, and geographical backgrounds, and is devoid of anachronisms and red flags signaling back-projection, this tilts the balance in favor of its being wholly or partly authentic. Without trying to make a categorical case for individual pieces, our examination of the preservation and provenance of early Arabic oration attests that many orations in the corpus are likely genuine remnants.

Structure of the Oration

Contextualization of Conventional Components to Strengthen a Religio-Political Message

The archetypal structure of the Arabic oration has to be reconstructed from fragmentary oratorical materials provided by the medieval sources, because, in most texts, one or more of the structural components is missing.¹ Since it is likely that orators had some degree of flexibility with regard to whether they included or excluded major components, it is difficult to ascertain whether the omission of a component in a particular text originated with the orator or the transmitter. As discussed earlier, it is also difficult to rule out the possibility that some of the longer extant texts were cobbled together from several different orations. But despite the obstacles created by the absence of definitively complete texts, reconstruction is still viable. Some help is provided by notes in the sources about dropped introductory formulae. Further aid is furnished by accounts of the early Muslim community requiring certain religious expressions. These sources of information, coupled with the regular attestation of set components within our texts, help demarcate the oration's conventional construction.

Based on these sources, we can state that Arabic oration generally followed a five-part structure: (1) a formulaic praise-of-God introduction (*taḥmūd*); (2) a transition phrase, usually using the words “here is what comes after” (*ammā baʿd*); (3) a phrase of direct address to the audience, such as “O people” (*ayyuhā l-nās*), occasionally followed by instructions to the audience to listen and pay heed, and/or a brief personal introduction; (4) the main body of the oration, with diverse themes; and (5) a concluding formula of prayer beseeching God's pardon for the speaker and his audience, prefaced by a set declaratory phrase, “I say these words, and seek forgiveness for myself and for you” (*aqūlu qawlī ḥādhā wa-astaghfiru llāha lī wa-lakum*).

Although this structure may sound rigid, in practice it provided the Arabic orator with a flexible and highly sophisticated rhetorical tool, one simultaneously grounded in tradition and adaptable to the needs of a particular situation.

1 I thank Tracy Weiner for help editing this chapter and the next in the early stages of the project.

On the one hand, traditional elements of the form were vital both to the orator and his audience, in that the fixed structure of this orally and extemporaneously produced oration was grounded in literary custom, drawing on centuries of oratorical tradition, and thus both established and fulfilled audience expectations. Rather than rattling off an amorphous, off-the-cuff oration, the orator followed a pattern that generations before him had molded and sanctified. Moreover, the religious formulae that began and ended the oration imparted an air of sacral authority to the entire text. These standard formulae framed the oration as an interaction with God as well as with the audience. And, as mentioned earlier, formulae and repetition had an important mnemonic function in an oral culture. The structured framework did more than signify the orator's adherence to tradition, for the very conventionality of the framework made the slightest variation highly noticeable to the audience. Such variations, minor though they might seem to a reader unfamiliar with the tradition's conventions, would for the intended audience bear an enormous weight of meaning. The framework provided hooks on which to hang the specifics of an oratorical message. The orator tweaked the format to his benefit by contextualizing structural components to suit an individual religio-political situation. The structure was fixed, but subtle manipulations helped the orator tailor the persuasive force of his oration to his particular, metonymically evoked context.

1 Beginnings: Invocation of God's Praise (*Tahmīd*)

The Qur'an's "Opening Surah," also called the "Surah of Praise," begins with the invocation, "Praise to God, lord of all the worlds" (الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ).² Following this tradition, the Muslim oration began with a formulaic introduction called the "invocation of praise"—in Arabic, *tahmīd*, from the root ḤMD (praise/thanks).³

Most early *tahmīds* used the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) form of the praise-word, "*ḥamd*," in sentences such as "All praise/thanks belongs to God" (*al-ḥamdu li-llāh*). But several *tahmīds* employed one of two other options: the imperative plural form "Praise/Thank God!" (*iḥmadū llāha*), or the imperfect verb form in the 1st person singular "I praise God" (*aḥmadu llāha*) or plural "We praise God" (*naḥmadu llāha*)—much like the English idiomatic expressions, "Thank God!" or "Thanks be to God!" The imperfect verb form would occasionally be

² Q Fātiḥah 1:1.

³ For details of its evolution into an independent genre and its role in Arabic literature, see A. Qutbuddin, *Tahmīd*.

followed by the prepositional phrase “to you” (*ilaykum*), thus “I praise God to you” (*aḥmadu llāha ilaykum*).⁴ Some *taḥmīds* used both, beginning with the verbal noun, and following it with an imperfect verb.⁵

As the name of the segment indicates, the oration’s *taḥmīd* focused on praise of God and thanks to him. It also included supplementary religious formulae. Often, both the praise theme and the additional segments were contextualized to convey a particular message.

1.1 The Standard Taḥmīd

In the *taḥmīd* of Muḥammad’s first Friday sermon, we see what would become commonly recurring expressions: praise of God coupled with entreaties for aid, forgiveness, and guidance, as well as declarations of belief, and a two-fold testimonial of God’s unity and Muḥammad’s prophecy.⁶

All praise belongs to God. I praise him, beseech his aid, beg his forgiveness, and seek his guidance. I believe in him, reject disbelief in him, and consider an enemy any who disbelieve in him.

الحمد لله أحمده وأستعينه وأستغفره
وأستهديه وأؤمن به ولا أكفره وأعادي
من يكفره.

I bear witness that there is no god but God, one without partner, and that Muḥammad is his servant and messenger, whom he sent as a guide.

وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له
وأنّ محمداً عبده ورسوله أرسله بالهدى.

In a similar formulation introducing the famous oration of his final pilgrimage to Mecca, Muḥammad began with some of the same formulae, praise, pleas for aid and forgiveness, with slight variations. Then he inserted a new phrase seeking refuge in God, and a modified Qur’an verse stating that guidance was in God’s hands. (Both additional phrases are flagged with italics in the text citation below). Next he proceeded to the testimonial of God’s unity and his own prophecy:⁷

All praise belongs to God. We praise him, beseech his aid, beg his forgiveness, and go to him in

الحمد لله نحمده ونستعينه ونستغفره ونتوب
إليه. ونعوذ بالله من شرور أنفسنا وسيئات

4 App. § 90.21 (Muḥammad). (أما بعد أيها الناس فإنني أحمد إليكم الله الذي لا إله إلا هو)

5 E.g., App. § 140.8–9 (‘Umar).

6 App. § 90.3. The text is titled “*khuṭbat al-hājah*” (the oration of need).

7 App. § 90.19. A similar *taḥmīd* is found in Muḥammad’s first Friday sermon in Medina, after Qubā’, § 90.4, § 90.5.

repentance. *We seek refuge in God from the evil of our own base souls and our wicked deeds. Whomsoever God guides, no one can lead astray. Whomsoever God leads astray, no one can guide.*

أعمالنا. من يهد الله فلا مضلّ له ومن يضلّل فلا هادي له.

I bear witness that there is no god but God, one without partner, and Muḥammad is his servant and messenger, whom he sent as a guide.

وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له وأنّ محمداً عبده ورسوله أرسله بالهدى.

Together, these two Prophetic praise-openings form something of a blueprint for a straightforward, relatively short, all-purpose version of the early Islamic *taḥmīd*. Muḥammad used these formulations in many other addresses as well.⁸ Ibn Qutaybah states that upon studying the Prophet's orations he found that most of their openings habitually utilize a set of phrases that he proceeds to note—the same phrases that we have seen employed above.⁹ Orations by several other early Islamic speakers on different themes and in various contexts incorporate identical or near identical praise introductions. A sermon of Abū Bakr,¹⁰ a speech of 'Uthmān to his recalcitrant Egyptian subjects,¹¹ one by 'Alī after the Battle of the Camel,¹² another by Ash'ath ibn Qays addressed to his companions during the Battle of Ṣiffīn,¹³ yet another by Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah¹⁴—all these orations by orators of many different stripes open with almost the same words as the *taḥmīd* of Muḥammad's Friday sermon quoted above. The speeches of Ash'ath and Abū Bakr also contain the refuge-seeking phrases of the *taḥmīd* of Muḥammad's Last Pilgrimage sermon. The *taḥmīd* phrases of praise and testimonial in Muḥammad's two sermons thus appear to be a standard practice developed perhaps in his own sermons, one that became the model for future Muslim orators.

In addition to praise and testimonial phrases, early Islamic speeches periodically invoked blessings (*ṣalawāt*) upon the Prophet. The Qur'an had commanded Muslims to pray for such sanctification,¹⁵ and *ṣalawāt* blessings are present in orations given by a large number of men (and a woman) subscribing to diverse theological and political positions. The earliest attestations are

8 E.g., App. § 90.5.

9 Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, 2:251.

10 App. § 15.8.

11 App. § 146.6.

12 App. § 31.5.

13 App. § 38.1.

14 App. § 155.1.

15 Q Aḥzāb 33:56.

from orations by the early caliphs ‘Umar and ‘Alī, as well as the Companions ‘Ubādah, Shaddād, and Abū l-Dardā’.¹⁶ Several anti-Umayyad leaders used the *ṣalawāt*, including ‘Alī’s sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, his daughter Umm Kulthūm, and their supporters Ṣaṣa’ah and Mukhtār.¹⁷ Challengers to the Umayyads of a different ilk, the Khārijite ‘Abdallāh ibn Yaḥyā, as well as the rebel leaders Muṭarrif ibn al-Mughīrah and Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab, also used the phrasing.¹⁸ On the opposite side of the political spectrum, the Umayyad commander ‘Abdallāh ibn Muṭī’ and the caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz¹⁹ applied the blessings to the openings of their orations. Adding to the blessings on the Prophet, ‘Alī’s governor in Basra, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās, invoked in his speech blessings on Muḥammad and his descendants.²⁰

Judging from the examples noted above (and borne out by hundreds of other early oratorical texts), we can divide the early Islamic *taḥmīd* further into three main segments and several sub-segments:

- Glorification of the deity and formulae reiterating the orator’s (and sometimes also the audience’s) status as mere creatures of God, including:
 - Praise to God (*ḥamd*);
 - Entreaty for God’s protection (*isti’ādḥah*), aid (*isti’ānah*), forgiveness (*istighfār*), and guidance (*istihdā*); and
 - Assertion of dependence on God (*tawakkul*).
- The Islamic testimonial (*shahādah*), attesting to:
 - The unity of God, usually in the form: “I bear witness that there is no god but God” (أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله), frequently followed by the phrase: “one without partner” (وحدّه لا شريك له); and
 - Muḥammad’s prophecy, often in the form: “I bear witness that Muḥammad is God’s servant and messenger” (أشهد أنّ محمداً عبده ورسوله), commonly followed by the Qur’anic phrase “whom he sent as a guide” (أرسله بالهدى).
- Blessings on the Prophet (*ṣalawāt*), and occasionally upon his family.

1.2 *The Religio-Politically Contextualized Taḥmīd*

Many *taḥmīds* from these early times contextualized the generic frame to a specific circumstance and theme, reflecting a particular historical and polit-

16 App. § 140.7, § 31.41, § 137.1, § 126.1, § 16.1.

17 App. § 55.11, § 62.1, § 62.7, § 123.1, § 91.1, § 91.3, § 142.1 (Umm Kulthūm invokes blessings “on my [grand]father”).

18 App. § 6.1, § 97.1, § 156.1, § 156.3.

19 App. § 5.2, § 139.1.

20 App. § 1.6.

ical situation. The praise formula was standard, but the orator modified and manipulated it to suit the occasion with innovation and verve. He explicitly or implicitly rendered the conventional formulae of the *taḥmīd* to resonate with the individual circumstances of the oration.

A *taḥmīd* by Abū Mūsā l-Ash‘arī is a good example of contextualization. Abū Mūsā was ‘Alī’s governor in Kufa, and, ironically, one of his main detractors. He began a speech addressing the Kufans with a *taḥmīd* in which he used Qur’anic verses forbidding killing to set up the rest of his oration, an oration in which he went on to direct his audience to hold back from coming to ‘Alī’s aid in the Battle of the Camel:²¹

All praise belongs to God, who honored us by sending us Muḥammad. He united us after we had been disunited, made us loving brothers after we had been enemies, and sanctified our blood and our property ... God Almighty said: «Whoever deliberately kills a believer will be rewarded with hellfire—he will burn in it for all eternity.»²² Fear God, servants of God! Put down your weapons, and desist from killing your brothers.

الحمد لله الذي أكرمنا بمحمد فجمعنا بعد
الفرقة وجعلنا إخواناً متحابين بعد العداوة
وحرّم علينا دماءنا وأموالنا ... قال تعالى
﴿وَمَنْ يَقْتُلْ مُؤْمِناً مُتَعَمِّداً فَجَزَاؤُهُ جَهَنَّمُ
خَالِداً فِيهَا﴾ فَأَتَقُوا اللَّهَ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ وَضَعُوا
أَسْلِحَتَكُمْ وَكُفُوا عَنِ قَتَالِ إِخْوَانِكُمْ.

Another politically contextualized *taḥmīd* prefaced an address by Mukhtār. After the Umayyad governor ‘Abdallāh ibn Muṭṭī‘ fled from Kufa, Mukhtār entered the city victorious; from the pulpit of the mosque, he delivered a speech, in whose *taḥmīd* he attributed his victory to God:²³

All praise belongs to God who promised victory to his friend and defeat to his enemy, and made him dwell in this losing state till the end of time—a promise enacted, and an irreversible decree. «Whoever lies fails.»²⁴

الحمد لله الذي وعد وليه النصر وعده
الخسر وجعله فيه الى آخر الدهر وعداً
مفعولاً وقضاء مقضياً ﴿وَقَدْ خَابَ مَنْ
أَفْتَرَى﴾.

²¹ App. § 21.1.

²² Q Nisā’ 4:93.

²³ App. § 91.4.

²⁴ Q Tāhā 20:61.

Yet another *taḥmīd* with a clear political context is found in the opening of a speech by ‘Alī at Ṣiffīn.²⁵ Referring simultaneously to the civic unrest among his subjects as God’s will and to his own qualifications to lead them, he said:

All praise belongs to God—what he institutes is never overturned, and what he overturns is never instituted. If he willed it, no two people from this community, nay from all creation, would have disagreed, none would have challenged his command, and no less qualified person (*maḥḍūl*) would have denied the superiority of the preeminent.

الحمد لله الذي لا يبرم ما نقض ولا ينقض ما أبرم. لو شاء ما اختلف آثنان من هذه الأمة ولا من خلقه ولا تنازع البشر في شيء من أمره ولا جحد المفضول ذا الفضل فضله.

Taḥmīds foregrounding the main theme also appear in oratorical contests praising the orator’s tribe or community (*muḥākharah* or *fakhr*); such debates were usually a political exercise. One disputation took place in Medina between the orator of the delegation sent to represent the tribe of Tamīm, a man named ‘Uṭārid ibn Ḥājib, and between Thābit ibn Qays, Muḥammad’s orator. According to the historians Ibn Hishām and Ṭabarī, the exchange culminated in Tamīm’s conversion to Islam. Each of the two speakers praised God as having given his own people the greater glory. ‘Uṭārid began his oration thus, praising God and glorifying the Tamīm:²⁶

All praise belongs to God, whose favor encompasses us, and he is its sole dispenser. He made us kings and conferred great wealth upon us, which we use to perform acts of charity. He made us the most powerful of the people of the East, the most numerous, and the best provisioned.

الحمد لله الذي له علينا الفضل وهو أهله الذي جعلنا ملوكاً ووهب لنا أموالاً عظيماً نفعل فيها المعروف وجعلنا أعزّ أهل المشرق وأكثر عدداً وأيسره عدّة.

Thābit rebutted thus, praising God and eulogizing the Muslims:²⁷

All praise belongs to God, whose creation encompasses the heavens and the earth. His decrees in them are final. His throne encompasses his knowledge. No being has come into exis-

الحمد لله الذي السماوات والأرض خلقه قضى فيهنّ أمره ووسع كرسيه علمه ولم يك شيء قطّ إلّا من فضله. ثمّ كان من قدرته

25 App. § 31.16.

26 App. § 143.1.

27 App. § 135.1.

tence except by his grace. Then, it was from his omnipotence that he made us kings, and chose from the best of his creation a messenger ... [followed by eight lines on Muḥammad's mission].

أَنْ جَعَلَنَا مَلُوكًا وَأَصْطَفَى مِنْ خَيْرِ خَلْقِهِ
رَسُولًا.

As these examples demonstrate, a contextualized *tahmīd* foregrounded the theme of the oration explicitly, setting up a support base for the orator's upcoming line of reasoning. In these orations, the speaker inserted the oration's main argument into the *tahmīd* itself, subordinating it to praise of God. The specifics of the *tahmīd* constituted in kernel form the point that the orator would overtly elaborate later in his speech. Ibn al-Muqaffa' expressed approval of foreshadowing in the oration, when he said, according to Jāḥiẓ, "As for orations ... let there be in the opening of your speech an indication of your point. Similar to the best verses of poetry, whose end-rhyme word you can anticipate when you hear its opening."²⁸

Sometimes, the *tahmīd*'s reference to political circumstances was subtle. Without spelling out exact details, it evoked the spirit—often a sad one—of the occasion. In the *tahmīd* of a speech delivered to his followers just prior to the Battle of the Camel, 'Alī alluded to the great civil unrest he faced, beginning with the phrase "All praise belongs to God, in every affair and circumstance, in the morning and evening ..." ²⁹ By the words "in every affair and circumstance" (and the metaphorical rendering of "morning and evening" to signify "times of light and darkness," or "good times and bad"), he modified the conventional praise formula to signal the difficulties of his situation, to imply that God was on his side, and to indicate his acceptance of God's will. The audience would know what he was referring to. 'Alī similarly modified the praise formula in another such *tahmīd*, opening an oration that he delivered in the wake of the Ṣiffīn arbitration's failure with the words "All praise belongs to God, even if the age has brought a serious calamity and a weighty misfortune."³⁰

Contextualization was usually achieved with the aid of relative pronouns or prepositions. Frequently using the relative pronoun "who" (*al-ladhī*), orators (including Abū Mūsā, 'Utārid, Thābit, and 'Alī, all cited above) praised the God *who* had bestowed upon them a particular, and often personal, act of favor. Less often, orators (including 'Alī, in the first of his two openings

²⁸ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:116.

²⁹ (الحمد لله على كل أمر وحال في الغدو والآصال): App. § 31.7.

³⁰ (الحمد لله وإن أتى الدهر بالخطب الفادح والحدث الجليل): App. § 31.25.

cited in the previous paragraph) used the preposition “for” (*‘alā*), expressing praise of God *for* a particular blessing (*‘alā* + past tense verb + pronoun referring back to God). Sometimes, orators (including ‘Alī, in the second of his two openings cited above) used the conjunction and conditional preposition “even though” (*wa-in*) to achieve contextualization; they praised God “even though” something untoward had taken place. Contextualization using relative pronouns or prepositions—versus other possible methods, such as adding the contextualization in a separate sentence—helped the orator to connect the context directly to God. The grammatical subordinators were a stylistic means to emphasize continuity between the divine tradition and a particular historical occasion.

1.3 *Historical Development of the Tahmīd*

The initial stages of the *tahmīd*’s development are lost in the mists of time. The *shahādah* segments of the *tahmīd* are clearly Islamic, but some form of the praise introduction may have had its origin in pagan Arabia. We cannot be certain of this, for only parts of orations attributed to the pre-Islamic period survive, and these fragments, in all but one case, lack the formulaic opening. The oration reported to have been delivered by Abū Ṭālib at Muḥammad’s marriage to Khadijah before the coming of Islam, which begins with praise of “Allah” represents, if authentic, the only surviving example.³¹ After the coming of Islam, the speech of the pagan Tamīmī delegate cited earlier began with a formula praising “Allah.”³² There are few pre-Islamic orations extant anyway, but the absence of *tahmīds* in the extant fragments could likely be deliberate. Attributing reasons for an absence in the historical record is necessarily speculative, but if pagan *tahmīds* existed, they would have invoked pagan gods, and consequently the early Muslims would have excised them. It is possible that the Islamic *tahmīd* continued, in a modified form, an earlier existing practice that Islamic transmitters had reason to obscure.

As stated above, the first surah of the Qur’an, “The Opening Surah” (*Fātiḥah*), begins with a *tahmīd* verse: “All praise belongs to God, the lord of the worlds.”³³ The *tahmīd* of Islam’s holy book may have been an Islamic innovation. Or, like the Hajj ritual, it could have been a pre-Islamic, perhaps Abrahamic, oratorical

31 App. § 25.1.

32 App. § 135.1.

33 Q Fātiḥah: 1.1. Wāḥidī, 17, reports from ‘Alī that the *Fātiḥah* was the first surah to be revealed, and from the majority of other early Muslims (except Mujāhid, who considered it Medinan) that it was revealed very early in Mecca. Ibn Ḥajar (*Ujāb*, 64–66) considers it an early Meccan surah, although not the first.

convention that carried over into Islamic scripture. In any case, it played a part in the crystallization of the praise formula as a necessary introductory segment for the Islamic oration. Inexplicably, verbatim citation of this verse appears to be rare in the openings of the praise invocations of early Islamic oratory; within Ṣafwat's anthology, only 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās uses it as an opening.³⁴ Others use it part way into the opening formula, and yet others, more frequently, as part of the ending paean.³⁵

A large number of Islamic *taḥmīds* are extant, but many other early Islamic orations are truncated and lack a *taḥmīd*. As mentioned earlier, the source often indicates an erasure, saying something like: "[The orator] praised God and extolled him, then said ... [the body of the oration]" (... حمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال ...). In rarer cases, the sources write something like: "[The orator] pronounced the testimonial, then said ... [the body of the oration]."³⁶ Perhaps these excised *taḥmīds* had used standard verbiage and so, according to the transmitter, did not merit transmission.

By the first few decades of Islam, a formulaic praise opening for the oration had become de rigueur. Underscoring its essential nature, the early Muslims censured the anomalous oration that opened without it. According to Jāḥiẓ, the "pious forebears" (*salaf ṭayyib*, presumably the Prophet's Companions), and the generation that followed them (*tābi'ūn*), coined for the *taḥmīd*-less oration the negative term "maimed oration" (*khuṭbah batrā'*). He infamously describes by this epithet an oration delivered in Basra by the Umayyad governor Ziyād ibn Abīhi, which opened without praise of God or blessings on the Prophet, directly addressing the audience, "O people of Iraq."³⁷ Elsewhere, Jāḥiẓ relates that a Bedouin orator who was in a hurry to say his piece but did not wish to open without any *taḥmīd*, did so with the shortest possible formula, "All praise belongs to God" (*al-ḥamdu li-llāh*), quickly adding that his brevity was not from apathy regarding the remembrance of God; according to Jāḥiẓ, the Bedouin inserted the single phrase of praise to save his oration from being "maimed" or "disfigured."³⁸ Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn quotes Mas'ūdī saying that Ibn

34 App. § 1.3.

35 App. § 84.6 (Mu'āwiyah); § 35.4 ('Amr), 139.13 ('Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz). See also Ṣafwat, 1:344; 3:10, 3:30; 3:349. I thank Tynan Kelly for this observation.

36 E.g., App. § 131.1 (Ṭalḥah), § 146.1 ('Uthmān).

37 App. § 166.2. Jāḥiẓ adds that according to some reports Ziyād's speech did begin with a *taḥmīd*.

38 قال وخطب أعرابي وأعجله القول وكره أن تكون خطبته بلا تحميد ولا تمجيد. فقال الحمد لله غير ملال (لذكر الله ولا إظهار غيره عليه. ثم ابتدأ القول في حاجته App. § 43.2.

al-Zubayr delivered forty orations in the Ka'bah without invoking blessings on Muḥammad, and he justified his action by saying they would be otherwise too long.³⁹

2 Transition: "Here is What Comes After" (*ammā ba'd*)

A transition phrase usually followed the oration's *taḥmūd*, customarily in the two-word Arabic formula *ammā ba'd*, literally meaning "here is what comes after."⁴⁰ The formula is found in a large number of extant orations; in many cases, even the *taḥmūd*-excised orations are recorded with their *ammā ba'd* intact.⁴¹ According to some reports, the first speaker to have used the phrase was the pre-Islamic orator of pious counsel Quss.⁴² Less commonly, the single word "then" (*thumma*) was used to indicate the transition. A *thumma* is found in Abū Ṭālib's pre-Islamic oration for Muḥammad's marriage to Khadījah,⁴³ and in the speech of Yazīd ibn Asad on Mu'āwiyah's side at Ṣiffīn.⁴⁴ The existence of the transition phrase in pre-Islamic times may be taken as another indication that the Islamic *taḥmūd* formula had a precursor therein, in a formulaic opening of sorts—"what comes after" or "then" implies prior verbiage.

Since the *ammā ba'd* phrase is also used in written epistles attributed to the time of the Prophet,⁴⁵ it is difficult to say which usage preceded the other, that of oration or epistle. A novel use of the phrase is found in the Shī'i poet Kumayt's verbal greeting to the Umayyad prince Maslamah ibn 'Abd al-Malik, followed by *ammā ba'd*, followed by a poem.⁴⁶

39 Idrīs, 4:261.

40 E.g., App. § 90.19 (Muḥammad), § 146.6 ('Uthmān), § 21.1 (Abū Mūsā l-Ash'arī), § 7.4 (Ibn al-Zubayr), § 1.6 (Ibn 'Abbās), § 4.1 ('Abdallāh ibn Ja'far).

41 E.g., App. § 36.1 ('Amr ibn Kulthūm), § 90.21 (Muḥammad), § 15.9 (Abū Bakr), § 31.2 ('Alī), § 84.3 (Mu'āwiyah), § 62.4 (Ḥusayn), § 86.2 (Mughirah).

42 Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, 7:254, § 7334; Abū Hilāl, *Awā'il*, 46. Exegetes also attribute the "*ammā ba'd*" phrase (presumably in Hebrew, rendered into Arabic thus) to the prophet Dā'ūd (= King David) in their explication of the Qur'anic phrase "*faṣl al-khiṭāb*" (Ibn Abī Shaybah, 5:577; Ibn Abī l-ʿĀṣim, 1:114, who says the *isnād* of this report is weak; Wakī', 246; Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*, 23:140; and reported by many other *tafsīr* authors following him).

43 App. § 25.1.

44 App. § 154.1.

45 E.g., letter of Muḥammad to Abū Sufyān (Ḥamīdallāh, 73); and letter of Abū Sufyān to Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 72).

46 Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 2:51; 'Iṣāmī, 3:331; (Ṣafwat, 2:428).

A few oration texts do not contain any transition phrase at all. ‘Alī’s governor of Egypt, Qays ibn Sa’d, gave a speech in which he jumped directly from the *taḥmīd* to the address formula, skipping the intermediary expression.⁴⁷ ‘Umar too, in one of his speeches, skipped the *ammā ba’d* phrase.⁴⁸ As mentioned earlier, this omission could indicate an option exercised by the orator, or it could be due to faulty transmission.

Also unusually, some texts lack both the transitional phrase and direct address. In these orations, the *taḥmīd* blends into the main section seamlessly and the dividing line becomes harder to draw. One example is ‘Utārid’s speech (*taḥmīd* cited earlier), in which the praise-of-God introduction morphed into praise of the Tamīm.⁴⁹ Another example is ‘Alī’s Battle-of-the-Camel speech (*taḥmīd* line cited earlier), in which the segment testifying to Muḥammad’s prophecy transitioned without break into lengthy praise of Muḥammad, followed by a narrative outline of the early Muslim community.⁵⁰ A third example is Muḥammad’s first Friday sermon (*taḥmīd* also cited earlier), in which the prophecy testimonial switched smoothly into pious counsel.⁵¹

3 Address: Vocative Phrase

The orator followed the *ammā ba’d* expression with a vocative phrase addressing the audience. This too, either took a standard form or was contextualized to a particular religio-political situation.

3.1 *Standard Forms of Address*

The oration’s address phrase most often took the second person plural vocative form. Sometimes, the vocatives *yā* or *ayyuhā* (both meaning “O”) were overtly used; at other times, they were implied. Usually, the masculine gender was used in the plural form, often semantically encompassing both sexes.

The most common form of address was the generic to all “people” (*nās*), in variations with or without the vocatives such as “*ayyuhā l-nās*” (O people), “*yā ayyuhā l-nās*” (O people), “*ma’āshir al-nās*” (assembly of people). But in many orations, a religious, national, tribal, geographic, or other affiliation was included in the vocative phrase, thus incorporating some term of group identi-

47 App. § 104.1.

48 App. § 140.8.

49 App. § 143.1.

50 App. § 31.7.

51 App. § 90.3.

fication as a crucial aspect of the orator's appeal to his audience. To use Richard Miller's phrasing in his study of Western battle orations, the salutation summoned to a shared group loyalty.⁵² Even when used in this standard form, the vocative address gives us an idea of the composition of the audience and the orator's perception of them:

- Occasionally, the oration was addressed to Muslims “*ma‘āshir* (or: *ma‘shar*) *al-muslimīn*” (assembly of Muslims), “*ahl al-Islām*” (people of Islam), “*al-ikhwān min al-muslimīn*” (Muslim brothers), and servants of God “*‘ibād Allāh*.” This form of address was often used in pious-counsel sermons, and Khārijite commanders used it frequently in religio-political speeches.⁵³ One anti-Khārijite sermon in Medina perhaps deliberately echoes the vocabulary and drives home the superiority of the Medinans over the Khārijites *qua* Muslims, by using the salutation “*ma‘shar al-muhājirīn*” (assembly of Emigrants).⁵⁴
- Post-Karbala speeches by leaders supporting the family of the Prophet often address their audience as “*ma‘shar al-shī‘ah*” (assembly of Shi‘a).⁵⁵
- At other times, the oration was addressed to the people of a particular country or town, “*yā ahl al-‘Irāq*” (O inhabitants of Iraq!).⁵⁶ This form of address was often used by governors in the Umayyad period, and set up the main theme of the oration, viz., a governor's policies for his city. The Khārijite Abū Ḥamzah also used it in several speeches in which he addressed his non-Khārijite audience of Medinans as “*yā ahl al-Madīnah*” (O inhabitants of Medina!), instead of the usual Khārijite opening for their own brethren as Muslims.⁵⁷
- Elsewhere, the oration was addressed to a tribe, clan, or other grouping: “*yā ma‘shar al-Azd*” (O assembly of Azd),⁵⁸ “*yā Banī Hāshim*” (O descendants of Hāshim),⁵⁹ “*yā ma‘shar al-Anṣār*” (O assembly of the Allies),⁶⁰ “*yā ma‘shar*

52 Miller, 58.

53 “*Yā ahl al-Islām*”: App. § 83.1 (Mu‘ādh ibn Juwayn), § 40.1 (‘Attāb). “*Ma‘shar al-muslimīn*”: § 96.1 (Mustawrid), § 125.1 (Shabīb). “*Ayyuhā l-ikhwān min al-muslimīn*”: § 58.1 (Ḥayyān), § 18.3, § 18.5 (Abū Ḥamzah). “*‘Ibād Allāh*”: § 122.1 (Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Musarriḥ); § 162.1 (Zā‘idah); § 123.2 (Ṣa‘a‘ah), § 31.18, § 31.43 (‘Alī).

54 App. § 10.1.

55 App. § 91.2 (Mukhtār), § 13.1 (‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Shurayḥ), § 153.1 (Yazīd ibn Anas).

56 App. § 51.4.

57 App. § 18.3, § 18.5.

58 App. § 166.1 (Ziyād), § 127.1 (Shaymān), § 112.1 (Ṣabrah). See also App. § 30.3 (Aktham): “*yā banī Tamīm*” (O descendants of Tamīm).

59 App. § 150.1 (Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah to Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī and retinue).

60 App. § 59.1, § 59.2 (Ḥubāb).

Quraysh" (O assembly of Quraysh),⁶¹ "*yā ma'shar al-Khazraj*,"⁶² and "*yā āl al-Zubayr*" (O family of Zubayr!).⁶³

- Ḥasan al-Baṣrī often addresses his pious-counsel audience *qua* human beings as "*ya-bna Ādam*" (O son of Adam!).⁶⁴
- Occasionally, we find the plural form of address "*yā hā'ulā*" (O you [plural]), either as a matter of course,⁶⁵ or in a derogatory tone, implying that the addressees are so low they do not deserve to be named.⁶⁶

Sometimes, the speaker overtly addressed a single person, and through him an assembly of passive listeners. This double-layered form of address is found in two types of orations: public debates over lineage and/or leadership, and public addresses to kings and caliphs. In such circumstances, the orator addressed the single person by name, as in Zaynab's address to Yazīd, Fāṭimah's address to Abū Bakr, and 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād's address to Mu'āwiyah,⁶⁷ with members of the court listening. Alternatively, the speaker addressed the person by title, such as Mālik al-Ashtar's address to 'Alī, in response to the latter's speech prior to the Battle of the Camel, as "O commander of the faithful."⁶⁸ In Ashtar's speech, the secondary addressees played a dual role: as passive audience addressed indirectly by the speaker, and as collective speakers represented by him—his use of the plural form, "We heard your words," indicates the collective representation.

In laudatory speeches addressing the caliph, a prayer formula often followed the salutation: "May God make the commander [or the commander of the faithful] prosper (أصلح الله الأمير)." A global search for the formula in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *Iqd* yields forty-five hits. Several Iraqis used the formula in speeches addressed to 'Abd al-Malik;⁶⁹ prominent members of the Quraysh used it in their address to Mu'āwiyah in oratorical responses to his decision to appoint Yazīd as his

61 App. § 24.2 (Abū Sufyān), § 25.2 (Abū Ṭālib).

62 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (Muḥammad's uncle and supporter) to the 73 men and 2 women, Medinans who had come to Muḥammad to pay allegiance at the second Bay'at al-'Aqabah (Ibn Hishām, 1:278–279).

63 App. § 7.7 (Ibn al-Zubayr).

64 App. § 56.1. Singular address, with a collective application to all humans.

65 App. § 95.2 (Muslim ibn 'Uqbah to his Medinan companions at the Battle of Ḥarraḥ), § 11.1 ('Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Awf to his five Shūrā colleagues).

66 App. § 31.29 ('Alī to the Khārijites); § 146.5 ("*yā hā'ulā'i l-'idā*," "O you enemies," 'Uthmān to the group of Muslims demanding his resignation).

67 App. § 165.2, § 47.1, § 138.1.

68 (يا أمير المؤمنين): App. § 77.1.

69 Mas'ūdī, 3:158; (Ṣafwat, 2:402).

successor.⁷⁰ The formula was also used in non-oratorical addresses to political leaders.⁷¹ ‘Arham al-‘Adawī of the Azraqī Khārijites used it to address ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abdallāh.⁷²

Unusually, some speeches lack an initial salutation phrase altogether. In these cases, other linguistic markers—such as the conjunctions *fā*- (“then”) and *thumma* (also, “then”), or the emphatic prepositions *inna* (“verily”) and *alā* (“Listen!”)⁷³—set off the body of the speech, either following the *taḥmīd* directly or after the *ammā ba’d* phrase.

3.2 *Religio-Politically Contextualized Forms of Address*

Like the contextualized *taḥmīd*, the statement of who was being addressed in the oration was often also context-driven. In such a case, the orator specified the address to the circumstances of the speech, or added a phrase or two to describe the addressees. In the wake of the attack on Ḥīrah by Mu‘āwiyah’s commander Ḍaḥḥāk, ‘Alī spoke to his slow-to-respond subjects with an address of censure: “O people, whose bodies are united and whose aspirations are divided!”⁷⁴ In another example, ‘Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān (Mu‘āwiyah’s governor of Egypt appointed after the death of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ) received unsatisfactory reports about his subjects and addressed them irately: “O bearers of the vilest noses ever placed between eyes!”⁷⁵

Iraqis (especially Kufans, but also Basrans) appear to have borne the brunt of insulting salutations, although they appear to have been described also with epithets of praise. Iraq, after all, was the home of most of the major military and ideological challenges to Umayyad authority. Umayyads vilified Iraqis in their speeches, while anti-government challengers used sweet forms of address to encourage Iraqis to rebel. Mukhtār addressed his audience with praise: “O people of Kufa! O people of religion! Those who support truth, assist the weak, and are followers (*shī‘ah*) of the messenger and his descendants,”⁷⁶ while Yūsuf

70 Ibn Qutaybah, *Imāmah*, 1:197–199; (Ṣafwat, 2:236–244).

71 E.g., Sulayk ibn Sulakah to Ḥajjāj: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 5:276, (Ṣafwat 2:405); Laylā l-Akhyaliyyah to Ḥajjāj: Qālī, *Amālī*, 1:88, (Ṣafwat, 2:407–412). Muḥammad ibn Abī Jahm al-‘Adawī al-Qurashī to Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik: Qalqashandī, 1:264; Qālī, *Amālī*, 1:147, (Ṣafwat, 2:422).

72 Qālī, *Dhayl*, 3:32; (Ṣafwat, 2:453).

73 App. § 31.25, § 84.10, § 154.1, § 90.5, § 88.1.

74 (يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ الْمُجْتَمِعَةُ أَبْدَانُهُمُ الْمُخْتَلِفَةُ أَهْوَاؤُهُمْ): App. § 31.34.

75 (يَا حَامِلِي الْأُمِّ أَنْوَفَ رَكَبَتِ بَيْنَ أَعْيُنَ): App. § 144.2.

76 (يَا أَهْلَ الْكُوفَةِ يَا أَهْلَ الدِّينِ وَأَعْوَانَ الْحَقِّ وَأَنْصَارَ الضَّعِيفِ وَشِيعَةَ الرَّسُولِ وَآلَ الرَّسُولِ): App. § 91.5.

ibn 'Umar spoke with censure: "O people of an iniquitous backwater!"⁷⁷ The most famous salutation to the Iraqis was coined by the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj, who, upon hearing revolutionary slogans coming from the mosque in Kufa, mounted the pulpit and addressed the townsmen angrily: "O people of Iraq! O people of dissent and hypocrisy! Of low character! Sons of whores! Slaves subjugated by the stick! Descendants of slave-girls! Living in the lowest lands!"⁷⁸ The phrase, "O people of dissent and hypocrisy!" (*ahl al-shiqāq wa-l-nifāq*) may even have been Ḥajjāj's standard mode of addressing the Iraqis, especially because both epithets rhyme with "Iraq"; he used this same form of address in at least two other speeches.⁷⁹ Perhaps in a deliberate and challenging answer (*mu'āraḍah*) to Ḥajjāj, the rebel Umayyad commander Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab addressed them with words of praise, using the same rhyme and parallel structure: "O people of Iraq! O people of precedence and superiority, of noble character!"⁸⁰ In the Abbasid period, the Zaydī commander Abū l-Sarāyā addressed the Kufans in chastisement, saying "O people of Kufa! O killers of 'Alī! O abandoners of Ḥusayn!"⁸¹

4 Preliminary Points

The orator sometimes prefaced the main body of his speech with instructions to the audience to listen, or by introducing himself by name or affiliation.

4.1 *Instructions to Pay Heed*

After the address, the orator often directed the audience to listen, bend ears and hearts, and pay heed. Examples abound in the pre-Islamic sermons of Ma'mūn al-Ḥārithī, who said, "Heed me with your ears!"⁸² and Quss, who said,

77 (يا أهل المدرة الخبيثة): App. § 159.1.

78 يا أهل العراق يا أهل الشقاق والنفاق ومساوئ الأخلاق وبني الكيعة وعبيد العصا وأولاد الإماء) (والفقع بالقرقر): App. § 51.4.

79 App. § 51.12, § 51.13. 'Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān al-Murrī (in a speech to the Medinans in 94/716) also describes the Iraqis with the same phrase, "people of dissent and hypocrisy," § 147.1.

80 (يا أهل العراق يا أهل السبق والسباق ومكارم الأخلاق): App. § 156.2.

81 (يا أهل الكوفة يا قتلة عليّ يا خذلة الحسين): App. § 23.1.

82 (أرعوني أسماعكم): App. § 79.1.

“Listen and retain!”⁸³ Examples are also plentiful in orations of early Islamic speakers such as Muḥammad, who said, “Listen to me, so that I may explain to you!”⁸⁴ Abū l-Dardā’, who said, “Listen to the speech of your brother who wishes you well!”⁸⁵ Ḥusayn, who said, “Listen to my words,”⁸⁶ and Mu‘āwiyah, who said with an interesting twist of vocabulary, “Lend me your craniums and your souls.”⁸⁷

4.2 *Personal Introduction*

In most instances, the audience knew the orator. In some cases, they did not. And in yet other cases, the orator wanted to emphasize his connection to the events or people he was describing. In this regard, and in just a few instances, we find an orator opening with the phrase, “Whoever knows me, knows me. For those of you who do not, I am so-and-so” *من عرفني فقد عرفني ومن لم يعرفني / جهلني* (من عرفني فقد عرفني ومن لم يعرفني / جهلني) (… فأنا. Some of these declarations are simple introductions, with a name. Standing at the door of the Ka‘bah, the Prophet’s companion Abū Dharr orated to Hajj pilgrims, saying, “Those who know me, know me, and as for those who don’t, I am Jundub ibn Junādah al-Ghifārī, I am Abū Dharr.”⁸⁸ Mālik ibn Anas is said to have declared his name using this formula.⁸⁹ At other times, this personal introduction evoked a particular historical and religious context. Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī—either addressing the Kufans immediately after his father had been killed, or (more likely) addressing the Syrians at Mu‘āwiyah’s behest—identified himself as “Ḥasan, [grand]son of Muḥammad, God’s messenger,”⁹⁰ in a lengthy list of further, genealogically framed attributes connecting him to Muḥammad’s grace. In some reports, Ḥusayn’s son ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn articulated the formula when he gave a speech to the Syrians at Yazīd’s court, saying he was “the son of Mecca and Minā, son of Zamzam and Ṣafā, son of the best of [all humans]”; and in another speech in Kufa, saying he was “‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, son of the martyr slaughtered on the banks of the Euphra-

83 (اسمعوا وعوا): App. § 105.1.

84 (اسمعوا مني أبين لكم): App. § 90.19.

85 (اسمعوا مقالة أخ لكم ناصح): App. § 16.1.

86 (اسمعوا قولي): App. § 62.7.

87 (أعبرونا بجامعكم وأنفسكم): App. § 84.5.

88 (من عرفني فقد عرفني ومن جهلني فأنا جندب بن جنادة أنا أبو ذر): App. § 17.1.

89 Abū Nu‘aym, 6:316.

90 App. § 55.5.

tes.”⁹¹ Fāṭimah Zahrā’ began her speech in which she chastised Abū Bakr and his supporters after Muḥammad’s death by emphasizing her relationship to the Prophet, “I am Fāṭimah and my father is Muḥammad.”⁹² Unusually, we find Ḥajjāj citing a line of poetry to open his speech when he arrived in Kufa, introducing himself by it as “morning’s child, an intrepid climber of narrow mountain paths.”⁹³

5 Main Body: Various Themes

The preliminaries—*taḥmīd*, transition phrase, vocative address, and instructions to listen—led to the main body of the oration. Depending on the occasion, it contained different themes. The two most common themes were the transience of life and the necessity of remaining conscious of God. The major types of orations—the sermon of pious counsel, the Friday and Eid sermon, the battle oration, and the political speech—each had distinct set of themes, although the orators did, to some extent, mix and match topics.

The sermon of pious counsel focused on the nearness of death, and consequently, on the importance of leading a pious life and amassing good deeds rather than wealth. Pre-Islamic sermons paid attention to themes of human mortality and the value of realizing the transient and impure nature of this world; after the advent of Islam, these themes continued to be emphasized but with a new focus on the hereafter. Within the rubric of contrasting this world with the hereafter, these Islamic pious-counsel sermons accorded paramount prominence to the Qur’anic vocabulary of God-fearing piety and, subsequently, of non-immersion in this world. The themes of the Friday and Eid sermon were similar to themes of the pious-counsel sermon, with special prominence accorded to piety, a consciousness of God in all things large and small, and the benefit of devoting one’s life to the performance of good deeds, which often included the physical defense of Islam. Jihad in general terms, and military instructions in particular, figured regularly toward the end of the Friday sermon. Muḥammad’s sermons on other religious occasions included legislation. Battle orations included themes of the inevitability of death, the heavenly

91 أنا عليّ بن. (أنا ابن مَكَّةَ ومنى أنا ابن زمزم والصفاء ... أنا ابن خير من أتتزر وأرتدى ...) App. § 32.2.
 (الحسين بن عليّ بن أبي طالب أنا ابن المذبوح بشطّ الفرات § 32.1.

92 (أنا فاطمة وأبي محمد) App. § 47.1, Ṭayfūr 61.

93 (أنا ابن جلا وطلاع الثنايا) App. § 51.3. The verse is by Suḥaym ibn Wathīl al-Riyāḥī.

and earthly rewards of fighting for God, the iniquity of the enemy and the righteousness of the orator's side in the conflict, praise for the bravery and strength of the troops, and battle strategy. Political speeches discussed policies regarding administration and governing practices, electoral and/or appointment practices, the criminal justice system, urban security regulations, details of the distribution of funds from the treasury, warnings to rebel groups, military instructions, the orator's high lineage and/or services to Islam, and again, injunctions to piety. All these themes are discussed in detail in the typology-based chapters later in the book.

6 Endings: Prayer and Other Endings

The concluding segment of the oration consisted mainly of a prayer (*du'ā'*), which too was either standard or contextualized. It also included several supplemental themes.

6.1 *Standard Prayer Formulae*

The conclusion of the oration frequently commenced with the phrase "I say these words ..." (أقول قولي هذا ...), followed by a prayer, most commonly a supplication for forgiveness of sins. The orator begged God to pardon himself, his audience, and all Muslims, usually in some variation on the formula: "I say these words and beg forgiveness from God for myself and for you" (أقول قولي هذا) وأستغفر الله لي ولكم. Sometimes a few words were added, the first half being modified to "I say these words and beg forgiveness from God Almighty" (أقول قولي) وهذا وأستغفر الله العظيم and the second half to "for all believing men and women" (ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات). The plea for forgiveness of sins referred to transgressions in a general way, but the connecting of the phrases "I say these words and beg forgiveness" also indicates a more specific allusion to errors inadvertently committed in the speech itself, for which the speaker particularly begged forgiveness. Many early orators belonging to different religio-political persuasions used this phrase to end their speeches: Muḥammad in the oration he delivered at the marriage of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, Thābit the Tamīmī, quoted earlier, 'Alī, Abū Bakr, 'Ā'ishah, 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, Ash'ath ibn Qays, Sa'd ibn Qays, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, 'Ā'ishah, 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, Ash'ath ibn Qays, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, Musayyab and Rifā'ah of the Repentants, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ahtam, 'Abdallāh ibn Yaḥyā l-Ibādī, and 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.⁹⁴

94 App. § 90.2, § 135.1, § 31.14, § 15.3, § 28.1, § 1.6, § 38.1, § 120.1; § 62.1, § 89.2, § 72.2, § 28.5, § 38.2,

An additional prayer formula sometimes used to end orations—just as it was used to open them—was the invocation of blessings upon the prophet (*ṣalawāt*). Abū Bakr ended a speech with the following invocation: “God, bless Muḥammad, your servant and messenger, with the best blessings with which you have blessed any of your creatures. Purify us by our invocation of blessings for him. Join us with him. Resurrect us with him. Bring us to water at his pool. God, help us to obey you. Give us victory over your enemy.”⁹⁵

Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih asserts that certain caliphs habitually ended orations with particular phrases of prayer; when they enunciated these phrases, the audience knew that the speech was drawing to a close: Abū Bakr would close his orations with the words, “O my God! Have the best part of my life be the last part, the best of my deeds the closing ones, and the best of my days the day in which I meet you.” ‘Umar would say, “O my God, do not place me in an abyss. Do not punish me for neglect. Let me not be among the heedless.” ‘Abd al-Malik would say, “O my God! My sins are too great and too vast to be counted, but they are small by the side of your forgiveness, so forgive me.”⁹⁶ The fixed end prayer used by some orators is another piece of evidence that the orator was interacting with God and the audience at the same time. It portrayed the speaker’s relationship to God as having a certain character, unique to the orator’s personality, like a spiritual signature.

6.2 *Religio-Politically Contextualized Prayers*

Orators also submitted other, non-formulaic prayers to God at the end of their speeches and sermons, which were—as with the *taḥmīd* and the vocative form of address—frequently tailored to the specific political environment of the speech. ‘Ā’ishah delivered the speech mentioned above just prior to the Battle of the Camel, a battle in which she, along with the Prophet’s Companions Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, fought against the incumbent caliph, ‘Alī. In this speech, she ended with a prayer for a righteous caliphate, tailored to the political context in which the battle was fought: “I say these words in truth and justice, in coaxing

§ 93.1, § 108.1, § 2.1, § 6.1, § 139.1. Another one-off modified version, “I say these words in truth and justice, in justification and warning”: § 28.5 (‘Ā’ishah).

95 (اللهم صلّ على محمد عبدك ورسولك أفضل ما صليت على أحد من خلقك. وزكنا بالصلاة عليه وألحقنا به وأحشرنا في زمرة وأوردنا حوضه. اللهم أعنا على طاعتك وأنصرنا على عدوك) App. § 15.8.

96 (اللهم أجعل خير زمانى آخره وخير عملى خواتمه وخير أيامى يوم ألقاك) App. § 15.1 (Abū Bakr); (اللهم إني ذنوبي قد) App. § 140.1 (‘Umar); (لا تدعني في غمرة ولا تأخذني على غرة ولا تجعلني من الغافلين اللهم إني ذنوبي قد) App. § 140.1 (‘Umar); (عظمت وجلت أن تحصى وهي صغيرة في جنب عفوك فأعف عني) App. § 8.1 (‘Abd al-Malik).

and warning. I ask God to bless Muḥammad, and to have his successors be the best successors among the messengers.”⁹⁷ On the other side of the battlefield, ‘Alī ended a speech by praying to God for deliverance from the evil wrought by Ṭalḥah and Zubayr (it is interesting that he did not mention ‘Ā’ishah, presumably out of deference to the memory of the Prophet). ‘Alī’s prayer was also rooted clearly in the political context of the battle: “O God, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr have severed relations with me. They have wronged me, and incited the people against me. Untie the knot they have tightened. Break the rope they have twisted. Do not forgive them. Show them the evil of what they have done and wished for.”⁹⁸

Examples of non-formulaic, contextual prayers to end orations are many. They include Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī’s prayer in a speech in Kufa for victory over the same leaders who in the Battle of the Camel fought against his father;⁹⁹ his brother Ḥusayn’s prayer at Karbala (using a Qur’anic verse) to seek refuge in God from his Umayyad attackers;¹⁰⁰ and the prayer of the leader of the Penitents, Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad, for fortitude and courage in battle, just before he set out with his forces to fight the Umayyads.¹⁰¹ Abū Bakr’s prayer cited in the previous section included a supplication for aid over enemies, and this prayer could have come out of a military context (the oration itself, a pious-counsel sermon, does not give us further clues about its historical setting, nor do the sources.)

On rare occasions, the prayer segment singled out the ruler. A key religious-political segment of the Friday and Eid sermons of later times, the practice of naming the caliph appears to have had roots in an earlier era. Ibn Khaldūn reported that ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās was the first to include the formula. Serving as ‘Alī’s governor in Basra, Ibn al-‘Abbās habitually ended his orations with the words “God, help ‘Alī to establish the truth!”¹⁰²

97 أقول قولي هذا صدقاً وعدلاً وإعذاراً وإنذاراً. وأسأل الله أن يصلي علي محمد وأن يخلفه فيكم بأفضل (خلافة المرسلين): App. § 28.3.

98 اللهم إنّ طلحة والزبير قد قطعاني وظلماني وألبا عليّ فأحلل ما عقدا وأنكث ما أبرما ولا تغفر لهما أبداً) (وأرهما المساءة فيما عملا وأملا): App. § 31.7.

99 عصمنا الله وإياكم بما عصم به أوليائه وأهل طاعته وألهمنا وإياكم تقواه وأعانتنا وإياكم على جهاد أعدائه). (وأستغفر الله العظيم لي ولكم): App. § 55.1.

100 App. § 62.7. Q Dukhān 44:20, Ghāfir 40:27.

101 App. § 129.3.

102 (اللهم أنصر علياً على الحق): App. § 1.1.

6.3 *Curses and Maledictions*

Also couched as a prayer—and counterpart to the blessings or *ṣalawāt*—the final segment of the oration occasionally included a cursing of enemies. Appending curses or blessings to the name of a leader was a charged religious-political device. Whom one blessed and whom one cursed indicated one's allegiance or enmity. The Umayyads regularly hurled curses (*la'n* or *sabb*) at 'Alī and required such verbal abuse in orations delivered in all lands under their command. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), in his *Mu'jam al-buldān*, praises the Persian province of Sijistan for resisting Umayyad pressure in this regard: "More glorious than any of this [earlier praise of Sijistan] is the fact that when 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was cursed upon the pulpits of the East and the West, he was not cursed upon its pulpit except once; the [Sijistānīs] defied the Umayyads [in this matter]." ¹⁰³ Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī (d. 466/1074) declares in verse, "Do you curse ['Alī] from the pulpit, when it was by his sword that its planks were erected for you?" ¹⁰⁴ The early historian Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897) writes that Mu'āwiyah changed the sequence of the Eid service, preaching the sermon before the prayer, because people were leaving before the sermon "in order to avoid listening to him cursing 'Alī." ¹⁰⁵ Jāhīz—per Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd—records Mu'āwiyah's lines with which he cursed 'Alī "at the end of every Friday sermon ... He wrote instructions to all the lands to do the same. These lines were uttered from the pulpits until the caliphate of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz." ¹⁰⁶

From time to time, the Umayyads compelled pro-'Alid speakers upon pain of death to curse 'Alī. In these cases, the pro-'Alid leaders sometimes couched the curse in ambiguous language, using pronouns that could refer to either of the two persons previously named—'Alī or Mu'āwiyah—clearly intending the curse to refer to Mu'āwiyah. Here is an interesting anecdote: Ibn 'Abd Rabbih relates that when an unnamed Syrian at Mu'āwiyah's court gave a speech "whose last words were a curse on 'Alī," Aḥnaf ibn Qays al-Tamīmī, a follower of 'Alī who had fought on his side at Ṣiffin, was seated in the audience, and he protested. Mu'āwiyah insisted that Aḥnaf himself get up to the pulpit

¹⁰³ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 3:191, s.v. "Sijistān." See also the following records of the Umayyads' cursing of 'Alī: Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 3:119, § 227; Nu'mān, *Majālis*, 176; Mu'āwiyah commanded Shaddād ibn Aws to insult 'Alī in a speech: App. § 126.2; verses by Bakārāh al-Hilāliyyah referring to the Umayyads' pulpit insults of the "Descendants of Aḥmad": App. § 42.1.

¹⁰⁴ (أَعْلَى الْمَنَارِ تَعْلُونُ لِسِيهِ ﷺ وَبِسَيْفِهِ نَصَبَتْ لَكُمْ أَعْوَادَهَا). I.e., it was by his courageous defense of Islam on the battlefield that the faith was established. Ibn Sinān, 422, poem § 78, verse 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ya'qūbī, 2:223.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:56–57.

and publicly curse 'Alī. Aḥnaf refused. Mu'āwiyah did not relent. Aḥnaf said that if pressed, he would say the following: "People! Mu'āwiyah has commanded me to curse 'Alī ... God, may you and your angels and your prophets and all your creatures curse the one among them who treacherously attacked the other."¹⁰⁷ Mu'āwiyah decided it was better that Aḥnaf not get a public podium.

At other times, there was no ambiguity; some Hāshimites openly defied Umayyad commands to curse 'Alī, sacrificing their lives by their defiance. Here is another anecdote: When Ḥusayn sent Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī to Kufa to call them to arms, the Umayyad governor there, 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād, imprisoned him and commanded him to curse "the liar, son of the liar" (referring to Ḥusayn, son of 'Alī) from the pulpit. Qays stood up, and after praising God, declared in his speech: "People, I tell you truly, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, the best of God's creation, son of Fāṭimah, God's messenger's daughter, is on his way to you. I left him at Ḥājjir, and have come as his envoy. Answer his call!"¹⁰⁸ Qays then cursed 'Ubaydallāh and his father, Ziyād, and blessed 'Alī. 'Ubaydallāh immediately had him arrested and thrown to his death from the palace roof.

Members of other anti-Umayyad groups also occasionally cursed the Umayyad caliphs and their governors from the pulpit, such as Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh, who cursed Ḥajjāj in a Friday sermon.¹⁰⁹ From the Umayyad side again, the Kufan governor Ziyād cursed the murderers of 'Uthmān. The Abbasid caliph Mu'taḍid commanded that Mu'āwiyah be cursed on the pulpit.¹¹⁰

6.4 *Supplementary Ending Components: Poetry, Military Instructions, Gnomic Phrases, Peace-Greeting*

In addition to prayer, the concluding section of the oration periodically incorporated one or more of the following supplementary components: lines of poetry, military instructions, gnomic phrases, or the Islamic greeting of peace. Poetry citations in orations sometimes occurred at the end, and Abū Bakr, Ibn

¹⁰⁷ آيها الناس إِنَّ معاوية أمرني أن ألعن عليا ... اللهم ألعن أنت وملائكتك وأنبيائك وجميع خلقك (الباهي منهما لعناً كبيراً): App. § 27.3. See also Ḥasan's cursing of Mu'āwiyah, in response to Mu'āwiyah's defamation of Ḥasan and his father 'Alī: App. § 55.9.

¹⁰⁸ آيها الناس إِنَّ هذا الحسين بن علي خير خلق الله آبن فاطمة بنت رسوله وأنا رسوله إليكم وقد فارقتة (بالحاجر فأجيبوه): App. § 103.1.

¹⁰⁹ App. § 72.5. Another example is Ayyūb ibn al-Qirriyyah, made to revile Ḥajjāj by Ibn al-Ash'ath, Ṣafadī, 10:26; Jāhiz, 1:350; (Ṣafwat, 2:344–345).

¹¹⁰ Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 10:54; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd 15:171.

al-Zubayr, and Ziyād all ended speeches with quoted verse.¹¹¹ An example of military instructions is the following: After Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad prayed for fortitude in battle in the speech earlier mentioned with the words “May God place us and you among those who fight [for God], who are forbearing in times of trial,” he ended his oration with a line of military directive: “We will be setting forth from this, our stopping-place, tonight, God-willing. So set you forth!”¹¹² Two examples of ending orations with gnomic phrases are the following: The Azraqī Khārijite leader Zubayr ibn ‘Alī ended a speech with the Qur’anic formula «The [good] consequence is reserved for the God-fearing.»¹¹³ ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, upon learning that his brother Muṣ‘ab had been killed, delivered a speech, towards the last part of which he uttered truisms about the transience of life: “Listen, indeed! [This] world is a loan from the subjugating king, whose power never comes to an end, whose kingdom never perishes.”¹¹⁴ As for salutation formulae, Muḥammad ended both parts of his two-part Friday sermon in Medina and his last pilgrimage sermon, with the greeting “Peace upon you and the mercy of God;”¹¹⁵ Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī concluded a speech at Bīḍah (addressed dually to his followers and the Umayyad armed forces led by Ḥurr) with the same greeting of peace, adding the phrase “... and God’s blessings.”¹¹⁶

7 Illustration of Structure: Oration by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr

Although the structure discussed above has been reconstructed from fragmentary sources, some texts in the sources appear to have most segments intact.¹¹⁷ One of these full texts will serve to illustrate the overall structure of the Arabic oration.

‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, a challenger to the Umayyad caliphate, was stationed in Mecca in 72/691 when he heard that ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān had killed his brother and lieutenant Muṣ‘ab in Iraq. ‘Abdallāh delivered a speech in

111 App. § 7.7, § 15.8, § 166.6, § 166.7.

112 App. § 129.3.

113 Q A’rāf 7:128 ﴿وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾ App. § 168.1.

114 (ألا وإنا الدنيا عارية من الملك القهار الذي لا يزول سلطانه ولا يبيد ملكه) App. § 7.4.

115 (والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله) App. § 90.21.

116 (وبركاته) App. § 62.4.

117 Other oratorical texts with most segments intact include App. § 90.19 (Muḥammad), § 31.5 (‘Alī), § 15.8 (Abū Bakr), § 38.2 (Ash‘ath), § 55.1 (Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī), § 158.1 (Yazīd ibn al-Walid).

which he followed the conventional structure of the oration, politically contextualizing its components to eulogize his brother and lash out at the Umayyads. The speech is cited in a large number of sources, and is transcribed here in the earliest attested version of Ṭabarī.¹¹⁸

7.1 *Text and Translation*

All praise belongs to God, and to him belongs creation and command. He bestows the kingdom upon whomsoever he chooses, and seizes the kingdom from whomsoever he chooses. He makes mighty whomsoever he chooses, and makes humble whomsoever he chooses.¹¹⁹

الحمد لله الذي له الخلق والأمر يؤتي الملك
من يشاء وينزع الملك ممن يشاء يعزّ من يشاء
ويذلّ من يشاء.

Listen! God has not humbled the person who is supported by truth, even if he be alone, and he has not exalted the person whose helpers are Satan and Satan's associates, even if the whole world were with him.

ألا وإنّه لم يذلّ الله من كان الحقّ معه وإن
كان فرداً ولم يعزّز من كان وليّه الشيطان
وحزبه وإن كان معه الأنام طراً.

Listen! A report has come to me from Iraq, and it has both saddened and gladdened me. I have been told that Muṣ'ab has been killed, may God have mercy on him! What has gladdened me is this: I have learnt that Muṣ'ab was killed a martyr. What has grieved me is this: separation from a dear relative causes burning pain that the relative feels deeply at the time of the calamity. But even so, the person of sound opinion reverts after that to beauteous patience and noble consolation.

ألا وإنّه قد أتانا من العراق خبر حزنا
وأفرحنا. أتانا قتل مصعب رحمة الله عليه.
فأما الذي أفرحنا فعلنا أنّ قتله له شهادة.
وأما الذي حزنا فإنّ لفراق الحميم لوعة
يجدها حميمه عند المصيبة ثمّ يرعوي من
بعدها ذو الرأي إلى جميل الصبر وكريم
العزاء.

If I have been afflicted by the death of Muṣ'ab, I have been afflicted before by the death of [our father] Zubayr, and was not untouched by the death of 'Uthmān. What was Muṣ'ab but a servant among God's servants, and an ally among

ولئن أصبت بمصعب لقد أصبت بالزبير قبله
وما أنا من عثمان بخلو مصيبة. وما مصعب
إلا عبد من عبيد الله وعون من أعواني. ألا
إنّ أهل العراق أهل الغدر والنفاق أسلوه

¹¹⁸ App. § 7.4. See also App. § 7.5.

¹¹⁹ Modified quote from Q Āl 'Imrān 3:26.

my allies. Listen! The people of Iraq, people of “deceit and dissent,” turned him over and sold him for the smallest price. If he be killed, truly, by God, we do not die in our beds like the sons of Abū l-ʿĀṣ. By God, not a man among them has ever been killed in battle, pagan or Muslim. We die violently by the spear, or find death under the shadow of swords.

وباعوه بأقل الثمن. فإن يقتل فينا والله ما نموت على مضاجعنا كما تموت بنو أبي العاص. والله ما قتل منهم رجل في زحف في جاهلية ولا لإسلام قط. وما نموت إلا قعصاً بالرمح وموتاً تحت ظلال السيوف.

Listen! This world is a loan from the highest king, whose power never comes to an end, and whose kingdom never perishes. If it comes forth towards me, I shall not clutch it like those silly with meriment. If it turns away from me, I shall not weep over it like the foolish and lowly.

ألا وإنا الدنيا عارية من الملك الأعلى الذي لا يزول سلطانه ولا يبيد ملكه. فإن تقبل عليّ لا آخذها أخذ الأشر البطر وإن تدبر لا أبكى عليها بكاء الحرق المهين.

I say these words and beg God for forgiveness, for myself and for you.

أقول قولي هذا وأستغفر الله لي ولكم.

7.2 Analysis

Ibn al-Zubayr began his speech with a contextualized *tahmūd*, beginning with the formula “All praise belongs to God” (الحمد لله), reminding his audience that all power comes from the Almighty. Using the relative pronoun “who” (*al-ladhī*), he connected God with the circumstances on the ground—it was God who had bestowed the kingdom on whomsoever he chose. With such a *tahmūd*, Ibn al-Zubayr indicated to his audience that the political and military setback he had been dealt had been God’s will, and that he accepted it as such. Although absent in the Ṭabarī version, we find in some of the other versions an *ammā ba’d* phrase to transition from the introduction into the main body of the oration. Then, instead of using the vocative direct address phrase, he marked the shift with the emphatic preposition that I have translated as “Listen!” (*alā*) to introduce the main theme, which was that God would not uphold the evildoers, even if the whole world colluded with them, and he would not bring down the righteous, be they ever so weak. The line is generalized, but the subtext is clear: the evildoers are the Umayyads. The righteous were his, Ibn al-Zubayr’s, followers. Then using the same preposition of exclamation “Listen!” (*alā*), Ibn al-Zubayr reported the news of Muṣ’ab’s death, expounding to the Meccans that he died a martyr, as had their male family members, and that the Umayyads were servile, cowardly folk, who fled from the battlefield and died at home in their beds. In the ending segments of the oration, Ibn al-Zubayr echoed the opening *tahmūd*:

gnomic sentiments on the transience of life, followed by direct assertions about his acceptance of God's will in all things good and bad. He concluded with the formulaic prayer phrase, "I say these words and beg God for forgiveness, for myself and for you."

8 Concluding Remarks

By reconstructing the structure of the Arabic oration from fragmentary extant texts, we have seen that the oration's fixed format worked to the advantage of the orator by setting up and fulfilling audience expectations, while also allowing contextualization of structural components to fit the situation on the ground. The audience was to a certain extent predisposed to accept the message of an individual oration on the basis of the time-honored continuity of its form, and orators needed to know the conventions well in order to be able to adapt these constructions to their advantage. The orator's creativity manifested itself within the fixed form, rather than by innovation of the form itself. The political context of the oration was a key factor in determining the manner in which an orator would modify the structure of the oration. The themes of the body of the oration directly addressed the orator's main point, but as Ibn al-Zubayr's speech and other examples in this chapter have illustrated, the orator used even the conventional, formulaic segments that preceded and followed the main body to shore up his position. The *taḥmīd*, the vocative form of address, the personal introduction, the ending prayer formulae, all played their part in strengthening the religio-political message of the oration. The structure was fixed—praise invocation, transition phrase, vocative salutation, body, prayer ending—but subtle manipulations within the fixed structure helped the orator to tailor the persuasive force of his oration to his particular context.

Style of the Oration

The Aesthetics of Orality and Persuasion

Oration texts found in the medieval sources include some of the most beautiful and powerful expressions of the Arabic literary canon. Pre-Islamic and early Islamic society revered its articulate speakers, and later scholars held up their addresses as master models of eloquence. Moreover, the speakers and their speeches influenced all literary prose that came after them. But wherein lay the beauty and power of the oration? Did orators randomly pick and choose aesthetic features, or were there certain stylistic characteristics they particularly privileged? More importantly, what were the conscious and unconscious impetuses for their choice of aesthetic mode?

In this chapter, I parse the style of the oration to demonstrate that it was a product of its oral milieu. As discussed at length earlier, the era under discussion was close to a primary orality. The stylistic features of oral culture observable in biblical psalms and sermons, Greek and Balkan epics, and Zulu panegyrics,¹ are also prominent in our materials. However, the Arabic oration did not simply reproduce the set of characteristics that scholars have identified in other forms of oral discourse. Instead, we find a selective emphasis on those aesthetic features most conducive to fulfilling the oration's primary purpose—persuasion—within the religious and political culture from which they sprang. Some prominent characteristics of other forms of oral discourse, such as the recurring epithets of narrative epic poetry, were only an occasional feature in the non-narrative, non-poetic tradition of the Arabic oration. Additionally, while citations of proverbial material are a common feature of many oral traditions, citation of the Qur'an and early poetry played a privileged role for the Arabic orator, providing him not only with an aura of sacral authority, but with an extended, complex source of ideology and imagery that he could confidently expect his audience to know. Even within the smaller field of early Arabic verbal art forms, the oration made a clear rhetorical break from its sister genre of poetry. Although its imagery, as in all orally based expression, had the vital function of grounding theoretical concepts in the human lifeworld,

1 See Niditch and O'Connor (biblical psalms and sermons); Lord, Foley, and Havelock (Greek and Balkan epics); Finnegan, 91, 100, and *passim* (Zulu panegyrics).

orations eschewed stock poetic images in favor of images more conducive to the often highly agonistic arena of political and religious argumentation. The orator was not recording history or providing entertainment by telling a story, performing an epic, or reciting an ode; instead, he aimed to make his listeners believe in the validity of a course of action, a mode of behavior, a way of thought, or a type of doctrine. To this end, he deployed whatever stylistic features would best enable logical and emotive persuasion, in a rousing discourse that combined rational argumentation with the evocation of emotions such as anger, shame, fear, and hope. He achieved much of this stirring of hearts and prodding of minds through literary techniques of “tacit persuasion” (to use Richard Lanham’s term) such as testimonial citation, vivid imagery, and most conspicuously, parallelism.² Combined with the orator’s high status and potent delivery, these stylistic features rendered his oration effective.³

Evolving from an essentially oral culture, and with an end goal of persuasion, the stylistic features of Arabic oration may be divided into five major groups:⁴ (1) heavy use of brief, parallel sentences, and repeated phrases, as well as sporadic utilization of consonant-rhyme (*sajʿ*)—which yielded a strong rhythm in the oration and facilitated its comprehension and retention; (2) frequent direct address, emphatic structures, and rhetorical or real questions—which engaged the audience in the speech performance; (3) graphic imagery to portray abstractions as observable, desert phenomena—which gave physical form to theoretical concepts; (4) citation of Qurʾanic and poetic verses—which anchored the orator’s words in the sacred or semi-sacred literature of pre-Islamic times and early Islam, bestowing on them divine or quasi-divine authority; and (5) dignified yet direct language—which rendered the oration formal and simultaneously made it understandable to its public audience. The following pages provide analysis with textual examples of these aesthetic features.

2 In an interesting modern parallel, Secretary of State General Colin Powell remarked to the television program host Tom Brokaw that Barack Obama’s “rhetorical abilities”—in addition to the inclusive nature of his campaign and who he was—was the reason he would be voting for him in the upcoming U.S. presidential election. He said Obama had “both style and substance.” (Meet the Press transcript for Oct. 19, 2008).

3 Regarding persuasion, Jones (“Problems,” 42), accurately states that “the ultimate aim of the sermon was to elicit audience response (conversion, repentance, *jihād*, etc.), and thus one must be attuned to the rhetorical and narrative devices the preacher uses towards this end.”

4 See also discussions of the characteristics of oration in Ḥawī, 53–64, and literary analyses of particular orations in Ḥūfī, 5–38, 146–205; Shalabī, 23–60; Dähne, 141–210.

1 Rhythm

Speech rhythms involve patterns of word-movement and time, and their primary orientation is acoustic. The term is derived from the Greek *rhythmos*, which in turn is derived from *rhein*, “to flow.” Plato had observed that it was “an order of movement.” The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as a “measured flow of words or phrases.”⁵ In addition, rhythm (Ar. *īqāʿ*) is a physiological phenomenon and mnemonic aid integral to orally based expression. Recent scholarship has established that all artistic verbal products of an oral culture are rhythmic. Together with subconscious, memory-related motivation, rhythms are rooted in breathing patterns and heighten emotional response. In the early 1900s, as mentioned earlier, Marcel Jousse demonstrated the close connection between rhythmic oral patterns and the breathing process, and he showed how this applied to Aramaic and Hellenic targums of the Jewish scriptures as well as ancient Hebrew.⁶ The fact that orality, with its rhythmic foundations, has dominated human existence for tens of thousands of years means that the rhythmic nature of Arabic oratory is not unique or surprising, but is simply a manifestation of a language feature familiar to speakers from oral cultures across the globe, across a multitude of languages and ethnicities, across most of human history. As Ong remarked, “*Homo sapiens* has been in existence for between 30,000 and 50,000 years. The earliest script dates from only 6,000 years ago.”⁷

As mentioned in the Introduction, the major artistic speech genres of early Arabic culture were all rhythmic. To a certain degree, they shared rhythm-generating components, but the locus of each was different. Rhythm in classical Arabic poetry was primarily achieved through meter and consonant-based rhyme. Rhythm in the Qurʾan was built principally on assonance. As for rhythm in oration, it was based on parallel patterning, augmented by loose or strict rhyme, verbatim repetitions of sentences, phrases, or single words, and reiterated formulae. Aural elements such as glide and pitch cannot be determined from the written texts, but they were likely additional enhancers. Stemming from its oral nature and function of persuasion, the intense rhythm of the Arabic oration was one of its hallmarks.

5 In additional definitions of “rhythm,” the *OED* uses the explanatory phrases “regularity, stress and pitch” (music); “symmetry and just proportion” (architecture); and “regularity in the way something is repeated in space” (geography).

6 Jousse, *passim*. See affirmations of the physiological basis of rhythm from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* entries on “rhythm” and “dance” quoted in Ch. 1.

7 Ong, 2.

1.1 *Parallelism*

Rhythm in the oration was produced by various components, and the most important among them was parallelism, in Arabic, “*izdiwāj*.” One of the most conspicuous stylistic features of the Arabic oration was the consistent, almost relentless use of parallelism. The identical or near identical syntactical structure of adjacent phrases effected a compelling, rhythmic cadence, essentially acoustic in nature.⁸ They were usually concise—another characteristic feature of orally based expression—mostly limited to two to four words; non-parallel clauses were generally brief too, but not as consistently as parallel ones. According to the medieval chancery manual by Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), brevity in speech-making indicated “strong command and mastery of the craft.”⁹ The cadence was often enhanced by the morphological equivalence of the parallel words. The configuration was usually additive, parallel phrases glued together with conjunctive “and”s (*wa-*), rather than subordinators.¹⁰ This cumulative parallelism may be seen—to use Barbara Johnstone’s terms—as a discourse-structuring and text-building device.¹¹

Parallel patterning in orations creates auditory rhythm by repeating certain sounds at regular intervals, including the following:

- the nominal case indicators *-un*, *-an* or *-in* (indefinite), and *u*, *a*, or *i* (definite), e.g., *sabaqatu* (goal) and *jannatu* (paradise);
- the verbal mood indicators *-u* or *-a*, e.g., *yanfa’u* (benefit) and *yaḍurru* (harm);
- the definite marker *al-*, e.g., *al-ḥaqq* (truth) and *al-hudā* (guidance);
- the imperfect verb prefixes *n-*, *ʾ-*, *y-*, and *t-*, e.g., *nadhhabu* (we go) and *nudriku* (we get);
- the detached pronouns *anta*, *anti*, etc.;
- the pronominal noun-suffixes *hā*, *hū*, *hum*, etc.;
- the pronominal verb suffixes, *-ū*, *-ī*, *-ta*, *-ti*, *-tum*, *-kum*, etc., e.g., *umirtum* (you have been commanded) and *duliltum* (you have been guided);
- the sound plural endings *-ūn/-īn* (masculine), and *-āt* (feminine), e.g., *muʾminūn* (believers) and *kāfirūn* (unbelievers);
- sequences of long and short vowel sounds, in combination with one or more of the consonants M, S, and T, generated by matching morphological forms,

8 For a succinct treatment of parallelism, see O’Connor, “Parallelism,” 877–879. Other studies include works by Scheindlin and Beeston. See also discussion by the medieval critic Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar (*Jawāhir al-alfāz*, 2–5).

9 Qalqashandī, 2:286.

10 See Ong, 36–38; Chafe, 38; Givón, 88–89.

11 Johnstone, 106.

such as the active participle *mufʿil*, the verbal noun *istifʿāl*, the imperfect verb *yafʿal*, the nominal broken plural *mafʿāl*, e.g., the vowel sequence in the feminine singular perfect verbs *aqbalat* (has come forward) and *adbarat* (has turned back), and the consonant M and the *a-ā-ī* vowel sequence in the words *mafātīḥ* (keys) and *maḏāmīn* (implications);

- all prepositions, including emphatic prepositions such as *inna*, *anna*, *qad*, the prefix *la-* and the suffix *-nna* or *-n*, prepositions such as *li-*, *bi-*, *fī*, *min*, and *ʿan*; and conditionals such as *in*, *law*, and *idhā*.

Simultaneously with its fundamental acoustic aspect, the syntactic parallelism of the oration incorporated an essentially semantic element. Repetitions of sounds based on such things as case markers are dependent on the meaning, namely, on whether a word is a subject or an object. Also, parallel positioning of words in the same semantic-structural slot produces a semantic rhythm. Let us say an orator pronounced a sentence in the word order verb-subject-object. If his next sentence repeated that word order, the arrival of the object when or where the listener expected it, based on his recent memory of the earlier line, would create a certain resonance in his mind. If the same word order were repeated a third time, the structural resonance would deepen yet further.

In 1983, Alfred Beeston demonstrated in a brief but illuminating study that parallelism formed an important feature of early Arabic prose, similar to the patterning of the Hebrew Bible.¹² However, he argued that the effect of parallelism in these texts was semantic and not acoustic. I contend that it achieves both these effects. Beeston downplayed the role of acoustic effect in the oration, because he limited aural effects to strict meter and rhyme. But sound patterns clearly also exist outside of strict poetic structure, particularly with a root-and-pattern language such as Arabic or Hebrew; parallelism in English, for instance, may not create the same kind of acoustic effect.

The following illustrates how the parallelism worked. In a speech addressed to the Quraysh in Mecca, Abū Ṭālib advised reverence for the Kaʿbah, then explained his reasons for this counsel in the following three parallel lines (translated literally to highlight parallel syntax): “Indeed, in [this act] is pleasure for the Lord, and constancy for the livelihood, and stability for the traveling parties.” (فَإِنَّ فِيهَا مَرْضَاءً لِلرَّبِّ وَقَوَامًا لِّلْمَعَاشِ وَثَبَاتًا لِلوُطْأَةِ) in phonetic transliteration: *faʿinna fihā marḍāʾan li-r-rabb wa-qiwāman li-l-maʿāsh wa-thabātan li-l-waṭʾah*.¹³ In each of these three phrases, we observe an indefinite verbal

12 Beeston, “Role of Parallelism,” 180–185. Beeston based his argument on Otto Eissfeldt’s analysis of Hebrew Bible “poetry” [= orations].

13 App. § 25.2.

noun in the accusative case: *marḍātan* (pleasure), *qiwāman* (constancy), *thabātan* (stability); followed by the preposition *li-* (for); followed by a definite noun which is preceded by the definite article: *al-rabb* (the Lord), *al-maʿāsh* (the livelihood), or *al-waṭʿah* (the traveling parties).

The acoustic implications of the parallel syntax in this segment are:

- repeated *-an* sound of the indefinite case marker (*tanwīn fathḥah*) produced by the accusative (*naṣb*) case;
- repeated *al-* sound of the definite article (though modified in *li-r-rabb* by the sun letter R);
- verbatim repetition of the conjunction *wa-* and the preposition *li-*;
- placement of the noun of the emphatic preposition (*ism inna*), at the head of the segment; placement of the genitive noun at the end of the segment;
- linkage of the lines by the conjunction *wa-* (and); and
- the long vowels *ā* in *maʿāsh* (livelihood), *marḍāt* (pleasure), *qiwām* (constancy), and *thabāt* (stability).

Over and above its structural-semantic underpinning, the syntactic parallelism of the Arabic oration was intensified by further semantic elements, synonymous and antithetical.

When synonymous pairs enhanced the parallelism, the second, parallel phrase echoed the first in meaning; on the odd occasion, a third adjacent phrase echoed the first two. This type of parallelism is also characteristic of orally based thought expression—a mnemonic device, a display of rhetorical skill, and a facilitator of aural comprehension: If the audience did not catch the first sentence, they would probably grasp the second, and would thus be able to follow along. Synonymous parallelism is a kind of paraphrase, a repetition of meaning. An example is the following set of lines in an oration by ʿAlī, in which he said, describing a dying man's last thoughts: "He thinks about the things he used up his life [doing], and the things he squandered his allotted span [achieving]" (يُفَكِّرُ فِيمَا أَفْنَى عَمْرَهُ وَفِيمَا أَذْهَبَ دَهْرَهُ), in phonetic transliteration: *yufakkiru fīmā afnā ʿumrah wa-fīmā adhhaba dahrah*.¹⁴ Synonymous pairs here are *afnā* (spent) / *adhhaba* (squandered); and *ʿumrah* (his life) / *dahrah* (his span). The prepositional phrase *fīmā* introduces each of the pairs, which are held together with the conjunction *wa-*. The parallel structure can be further elaborated as *fīmā* +verb+direct-object+pronominal suffix. In addition to their synonymous parallelism, the two phrases also rhyme in R.

14 App. § 31.63.

Antithesis (*ṭibāq* or *muṭābaqah*) heightened the parallel effect when two adjacent phrases contained pairs of words with opposite meanings, the second phrase contrasting with the first. An example is the set of opening lines in the oration of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in which he addressed the “son of Adam” with the words “Residence here is short, and remaining there is long” (الثَّوَاءُ ههنا قليل والبقاء هناك طويل), in phonetic transliteration: *al-thawā'u hāhunā qalīl wa-l-baqā'u hunāka ṭawīl*.¹⁵ The antithetical pairs are *hāhunā* (here) / *hunāka* (there); *qalīl* (little, i.e., short) / *ṭawīl* (long); the first pair is synonymous: *thawā'* (residence) and *baqā'* (remaining), (these also rhyme in the glottal stop *hamzah*), and they are connected by the conjunction *wa-*. Additionally, all three pairs of parallel words share either a morphological pattern—*thawā'* and *baqā'* are in the form *fa'āl*; *qalīl* and *ṭawīl* are in the form *fa'īl*—or the deictic element, *hunā*. In addition to being antithetical and brief, and being partly synonymous, repetitive, and morphologically equivalent, the two phrases also rhyme in L.

In the examples cited above, the two parallel phrases are of equal length. But sometimes, the second phrase was slightly longer than the first; or occasionally, in multiple-phrase parallel constructions, the latter lines were a word or two longer than the ones preceding. In a speech expounding the Khārijite ideology of sinners being outside the pale of Islam, the Ibāḍī leader 'Abdallāh ibn Yaḥyā spoke four such parallel lines. The first two are of equal length, the third has an additional word added to the structure (“wine” or *al-khamr*, the direct object), and the fourth is much longer, having several additional words: “Whosoever fornicates, he is a disbeliever. Whosoever steals, he is a disbeliever. Whosoever drinks wine, he is a disbeliever. Whosoever has doubts that he may be a disbeliever, he is a disbeliever.”¹⁶ The authors of chancery manuals find this kind of construction acceptable, although they decry the reverse. They do not allow the latter parallel phrase to be shorter than the former, for, they say, it would not fulfill audience expectations. They explain that if a shorter phrase followed a longer one, the listener would be left hanging: Basing his expectations on the length of the line he had just heard, he would anticipate in the following line the same number of words. If, then, the second line came in shorter, it would seem to him to be cut off in mid rhythmic swing, and he would be left waiting for an

15 App. §56.2.

16 (من زنى فهو كافر من سرق فهو كافر من شرب الخمر فهو كافر ومن شك في أنه كافر فهو كافر): App. §6.1.

ending that never came. If the second line were longer, the audience would, despite the extra words, recognize its corresponding cadence.¹⁷

In most of the examples cited above, the parallel lines are in pairs of two, but sometimes (as in ‘Abdallāh ibn Yahyā’s speech just cited) the parallelism is maintained over several lines. In four syntactically parallel lines, Ziyād warned the people of Basra about severe punishments for any criminal activity within his jurisdiction: “Whoever drowns people, we shall drown him. Whoever burns people, we shall burn him. Whoever breaches a house, we shall breach his heart. Whoever digs up and robs a grave, we will bury him alive in it.”¹⁸ (The lines also feature chiasmus, where two clauses are balanced against each other by reversing their structures.) As mentioned earlier, the extra parallel lines deepen the acoustic effect of the parallel construction. As the set gets larger, the rhetorical echo becomes more forceful. This kind of “listing parallelism” also signals paradigmatic patterning, where items which are similar in syntactic form are interpreted as members of a common paradigmatic class of items.¹⁹

The sources are silent about actual delivery patterns, but it is safe to assume that the orator commonly paused between parallel segments to draw breath, or for rhetorical effect. Contemporary Arabic orators can be seen to observe a similar pattern of pausing, and although this argument is anachronistic, inserting a time gap between parallel lines intensifies the acoustic effect of the patterning, and thus would seem the natural thing to do.

Medieval Arabic chancery manual writers and critics emphasized the importance of parallelism for early orators. Qalqashandī stated that parallelism (rather than rhyming prose) was “[the path commonly followed] by the Companions and the people who lived near to their time.”²⁰ Following conventions regarding the stylistic expectations from an oration set in the earlier, oral period, the Abbasid era litterateur Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (d. 395/1005) directed “writers” of (epistles and) orations in his own time to focus on parallelism, and not to force rhyme.²¹ There was also a polemical reason for the rejection of prose rhyme as an appropriate rhetorical device, for it evoked echoes of the pagan soothsayers, and many Muslim scholars considered it a religiously pro-

17 Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, 1:238–242; Qalqashandī, 2:287–290. For an assessment of these structures, see Stewart, “*Saj’* in the Qur’an.”

18 فن غرق قوماً غرقناه ومن أحرق قوماً أحرقناه ومن نقب بيتاً نقبنا عن قلبه ومن نبش قبراً دفناه حياً (فيه): App. §166.5.

19 This observation follows Johnstone, 106.

20 Qalqashandī, 2:283.

21 Abū Hilāl, *Šinā’atayn*, 165.

scribed technique. Predicating eloquence on parallelism, Abū Hilāl declared to his reader that “prose is neither beautiful nor sweet unless it is parallel; you will almost never find the speech of an eloquent person devoid of parallelism.”²²

1.2 *Rhyme: Assonance (muwāzanah) and Consonant Rhyme (sajʿ)*

The rhythm created by the parallelism of the oration was augmented by two types of rhyme, one assonant, or vowel based, called *muwāzanah*, and the other consonant based, called *sajʿ*.

Literally meaning “balance” or “equilibrium,” *muwāzanah* was a common stylistic feature in the early oration.²³ The final consonants in the culminating words of two or more assonant lines were not the same—the rhyme was constituted instead by identical penultimate vowels. Short vowels could create assonance (e.g., *awjab*, *aʿẓam*), but more often the matching vowels were long: *ū*, *ā*, or *ī* (e.g., *ithbāt*, *iʿjāz*); *ū* and *ī* being considered mutually assonant (e.g., *yuʿminūn*, *yastajīb*). The assonant word group often displayed full morphological equivalence (which the critics called by the special term “*mumāthalah*”),²⁴ where all vowel sounds, and not just the penultimate vowels, were identical (e.g., *thamīn*, *baʿīd*—both in the form *faʿīl*). Referring to the metrical equilibrium of the assonant word group, Qalqashandī categorized *muwāzanah* as a type of parallelism, rather than rhyme.²⁵ Indeed, the full lines containing the assonant pair were frequently also syntactically parallel.

An example of assonance (combined with morphological equivalence and parallelism) is found in a speech by the Lakhmid king Nuʿmān ibn Mundhir (r. 580–602AD): “... *maʿa maʿrifatihimi l-ashyāʾ*, *wa ɗarbihim li-l-amthāl*, *wa iblāghihim fi-ṣ-ṣifāt*, *mā laysa li-shayʾin min alsinati l-ajnās*” (... along with [the Arabs’] knowledge of things, their citing of proverbs, and their accuracy in descriptions, which is not found in the tongues of [other] races).²⁶ Assonance is created by the words *ashyāʾ*, *amthāl*, *ṣifāt*, and *ajnās* occurring at the end of four successive lines; each of these words contains the penultimate long

22 Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 266.

23 The *OED* defines assonance as “The correspondence or rhyming of one word with another in the accented vowel and those which follow, but not in the consonants, as used in the versification of Old French, Spanish, Celtic, and other languages,” which corresponds loosely to *muwāzanah*. It also gives another meaning for assonance as “the correspondence or rhyming of one word with another in the final (sometimes also the initial) consonant, but not in the vowel,” which is contrary to the first meaning, and not the equivalent of Arabic *muwāzanah*.

24 Heinrichs, “Rhetorical Figures,” 2:660, after al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī, *Īdāḥ*.

25 Qalqashandī, 2:283; Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, 1:272–274; Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 263–264.

26 App. § 100.1.

vowel *ā*, and a different final consonant: ʾ, L, T, and S. Three of the four words (*ashyāʾ*, *amthāl*, *ajnās*) are morphologically identical, being broken plurals in the form *afʿāl*; the fourth (*ṣifāt*) is in a different broken plural form: *fiʿāl*. Lines one through three are also parallel. The assonance in the line gives it a strong cadence.

Consonant rhyme—*sajʿ*—was an important although less common stylistic feature of the oration. It was created when the last words of two or more succeeding lines, being metrically balanced, ended in the same consonant (such as R in *qamar* and *maṭar*). The critics tell us that the rhyme word was pronounced in pausal form, with a *sukūn* or its equivalent.²⁷ This pausal pronunciation preserved the acoustic effect and kept it from being diluted by differing end-vowel suffixes. It placed the vocal stress squarely on the rhyme letter, thus ensuring the full auditory benefit. In most types of orations (except for the quasi-oration of the soothsayers), the full oration was never consonant-rhymed. Usually, two or three consecutive phrases would be rhymed, after which the rhyme would either cease, or be substituted in the next few lines with a different rhyming consonant. The intermittent and unforced use of consonant rhyme kept the early oration relatively unstylized. Moreover—unlike in later epistolary writing²⁸—we usually do not find any manipulation of standard word order or bending of grammatical rules in order to accommodate a rhyme.

The following example illustrates consonant rhyme (*sajʿ*): At the end of an otherwise unrhymed oration threatening the Kufans, the Umayyad commander Ḍaḥḥāk speaks three consecutive rhyming lines: “*ana l-Ḍaḥḥāku bnu Qays, anā Abū Unays, anā qātīlu ʿAmri bni ʿUmays*.”²⁹ The rhyming words in this passage are proper names, so the rhyme in S and the metrical balance of the rhyme words come across even in the translation: “I am Ḍaḥḥāk son of Qays. I am the father of Unays. I am the killer of ʿAmr son of ʿUmays.”

27 Expositions of *sajʿ* are offered by most medieval chancery manuals. The fullest accounts are those of Qalqashandī, 2:279–292; Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, 1:193–246; Rummānī, 90; and ʿAlī ibn Khalaf 4:144–149. Ibn Khalaf also summarizes the views of Fārisī (d. 377/987), Qudāmāh (d. 337/948), and Ḥātimī (d. 388/998). Brief expositions are provided by Abū Hilāl (in a combined section on *sajʿ* and *izdiwāj*), *Ṣināʿatayn*, 266–271, and Naḥḥās, 312–314. There is significant overlap between the *sajʿ* of the early oration and Qurʾanic *sajʿ*; a detailed analysis of the latter, based on the medieval critical discussions, is Stewart, “*Sajʿ* in the Qurʾān.” Another analysis is provided by Drory, “Rhyme in Rhymed Prose.” For an outline of the chronological development in its application to literary prose, see Rowson, “*Sajʿ*,” *EAL* entry.

28 E.g., Badīʿ al-Zamān, *Maqāmāt*, § 114 (Maḍīriyyah), § 187 (Armaniyyah), § 210 (Ṣaymariyyah).

29 App. § 44.1.

Frequently the phrases culminating in the rhyme were parallel; parallelism (*izdiwāj*) was thus a significant associate of consonant rhyme (*sajʿ*). Accordingly, authors of medieval chancery manuals offered their expositions of parallelism within their discussions on consonant rhyme.³⁰ They praised the rhyme-parallelism combination, and Qalqashandī named it “*tarṣīʿ*” (inlaying [jewels]).³¹

The following example illustrates the combination of consonant rhyme and parallelism. Opening the body of a pious-counsel sermon, the Medinan Companion ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit said: “*alā inna l-dunyā ʿarḍun ḥādīr; yaʿkulu minhu l-barru wa-l-fājir, alā wa-inna l-ākhirata waʿdun ṣādīq, yaḥkumu fihi malikun qādir*” (“Listen! Indeed, the world consists of ready goods. The upright and the profligate eat of it. Listen! And indeed, the hereafter is a true promise; the omnipotent king apportions it.”)³² Lines one and two together form a segment about this world, and lines three and four form a segment about the hereafter. All but line three (which ends in Q) rhyme in R. The four lines are alternately parallel, with similar syntax in lines one and three, and lines two and four. In lines one and three, *al-dunyā* / *al-ākhirah* are definite, antithetical, accusative subjects of *inna*; *ʿarḍun* / *waʿdun* are loosely antithetical, indefinite, nominative predicates of *inna*, which are also morphologically equivalent; *alā* and *inna* are repeated prepositions of emphasis, and *wa-* is the conjunction “and” which joins the world-hereafter segments. Lines one and three are balanced, with only an extra conjunction in the latter. In lines two and four, *yaʿkulu* / *yaḥkumu* are morphologically equivalent, indicative, third person singular, imperfect verbs; *minhu* / *fihi* are two prepositional phrases; *al-barru* / *malikun* are nominative verbal subjects, one definite, one indefinite; *wa-* is the conjunction “and” (not parallel); and *al-fājir*, *qādir* are nominative nouns, *al-fājir* being definite and conjoined to *al-barru*, and *qādir* indefinite and an adjective of *malikun*. These lines—two and four—are also largely, though not fully, parallel. The antithetical parallelism of this passage contrasts specific points of comparison between this world and the hereafter: ready goods versus a true promise; a lowly place where the pious must rub shoulders with the impious, versus a heavenly abode ruled by the omnipotent king. The rhyme adds a pleasing acoustic element. Both rhyme and parallelism together form a rhythmic, persuasive package.

The pre-Islamic prose of the soothsayers—*sajʿ al-kuhhān*—was fully, or almost fully, rhymed, and is thus the only type of oration or quasi-oration to be so. In a seven-line rhymed and parallel pronouncement, a soothsayer of the

30 Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 266–271; Qalqashandī, 2:283.

31 Qalqashandī, 2:282.

32 App. § 137.1.

Banū l-Ḥārith named Salamah ibn al-Mughaffal warned his tribe not to fight the tribe of Tamīm: “*innakum tasīrūna a‘qābā, wa-taghzūna aḥbābā, Sa’dan wa-Rabābā, wa-taridūna miyāhan jibābā, fa-talqawna ‘alayhā ḍirābā, wa-takūnu ghanīmatukum turābā.*”³³ (Indeed, you will walk one after the other; and fight loved ones; [the clans of] Sa’d and Rabāb; and come to water at deep wells; then meet upon them battle-thrusts; and your booty will be nothing but dust.) The first six lines end in the B rhyme “*ābā*,” the seventh line—“*fa-aṭīū amrī wa-lā taghzū Tamīmā*” (So obey my command and do not fight Tamīm)—breaks the rhyme, perhaps for the sake of climax, highlighting the impact of this concluding line of warning.

Consonant rhyme was frequently applied in the formulaic openings of all types of orations. An example is the *taḥmīd* of the oration that Muḥammad delivered to the Quraysh upon the conquest of Mecca: “*lā ilāha illa llāhu waḥdah, lā sharīka lah, ṣadaqa wa’dah, wa-naṣara ‘abdah, wa-hazama l-aḥzāba waḥdah*” (There is no god but God, one; he fulfilled his promise; aided his servant; and defeated the confederates, alone).³⁴ Four of the five opening clauses describing God end in the letter D with the pronoun suffix “*ah[ū]*”. Observe also the parallelism of lines three, four, and five; lines three and four are of equal length, and line five is longer.

Consonant rhyme was also utilized heavily in the nature segments that began the pre-Islamic sermon of pious counsel. Unlike the pronouncements of the soothsayers, the rhyme consonant in the sermon of pious counsel was not carried through the entire passage, which changed its rhyme every few lines. These nature prefaces commonly led to the affirmation of a creator, and a reminder of coming death (more details and examples follow in the section on imagery). A pre-Islamic sermon of pious counsel by Ma’mūn al-Ḥārithī began with the following three pairs of rhymed and parallel lines, the consecutive pairs rhyming respectively in ‘, B, and R: “*aṛḍun mawḍū‘ah, wa-samā’un marfū‘ah, wa-shamsun taṭlu‘u wa-taghrub, wa-nujūmun tasrī fa-ta‘zub, wa-qamarun tuṭli‘uhu l-nuḥūr, wa-tamḥaquhū adbāru l-shuhūr.*” (An earth laid out; a sky elevated; a sun which rises and sets; stars which traverse the night and range far; a moon which month-beginnings cause to rise, and which month-endings blot out).³⁵

Medieval critics considered both assonant and consonant rhyme to be from the same rhetorical family. Fārisī (d. 377/987), Rummānī (d. 384/994), and Ḥatīmī (d. 388/998), differentiated between the two by calling consonantal

33 Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 16:224–25; Ibn al-Athīr, 1:566; (Ṣafwat, 1:80).

34 App. § 90.16.

35 App. § 79.1.

rhyme “ornamented *sajʿ*” (*al-sajʿ al-ḥālī*), and assonance “unornamented *sajʿ*” (*al-sajʿ al-ʿātil*), while Qalqashandī, in the ninth/fifteenth century, considered assonance to be a lesser type of consonant rhyme.³⁶

1.3 *Repetition and Refrains*

Reflecting another characteristic of orally based expression, the oration further enhanced its rhythm by three types of repetition: verbatim repetition of a partial line, verbatim repetition of a full sentence to create a refrain, and non-verbatim repetition of meaning. The first two types were acoustic (and called *takrār*); the third was semantic.

Verbatim repetition is often seen within two or more parallel lines. Repetition usually adds emphasis to a word, but when a phrase is repeated in a parallel construction, what is highlighted is not the repeated phrase, but instead the distinct verbiage couched within that phrase. In the oration examples, the discrete terms, which are thrown into sharp relief, are either complementary or contrastive. The following example illustrates the accentuation of complementary terms by the repetition of its proximate words. Muḥammad exhorted his congregation to God-fearing piety (*taqwā*) in his first Friday sermon with these words—translated here literally to demonstrate the repetition and parallelism of the original Arabic—“*wa-lā aḥḍala min dhālika naṣīḥatan, wa-lā aḥḍala min dhālika dhikrā*” (there is no better than that counsel-wise; there is no better than that remembrance-wise).³⁷ The phrase “there is no better than” is repeated twice, creating an acoustic pattern, and drawing attention to the discrete words that are not repeated, viz., counsel and remembrance. Yet another example is found in four lines of a speech by ʿUmar in the pattern: “*man arāda an yasʿala ʿan x fa-l-yaʿti y.*” This phrase may be translated as: Whoever wishes to ask about x should approach y.³⁸ The x-y pairs are thing-person duos: Qurʾan-Ubayy ibn Kaʿb; mandatory acts-Zayd ibn Thābit; jurisprudence-Muʿadh ibn al-Jabal; finances-ʿUmar himself. The repeated enfolding phrases recede into the background, and the names of the things, and the persons to be approached for them, are brought into pointed focus.

Examples also abound of an orator underscoring a contrast between two opposite entities by repeating the surrounding phraseology. In his sermon at the Battle of Uhūd, Muḥammad said “*mā aʿlamu min ʿamalin yuqarribukum ila llāhi illā wa-qad amartukum bihi, wa-lā aʿlamu min ʿamalin yuqarribukum ila*

36 Qalqashandī, 2:283. Remarks on ornamented and unornamented *sajʿ* by Ḥatīmī and Fārisī are cited in ʿAlī ibn Khalaf, 4:144; those by Rummānī are cited in Qalqashandī, 2:283.

37 App. § 90.3.

38 App. § 140.8.

n-nāri illā wa-qad nahaytukum ‘anhu” (I do not know of any deed that would bring you near to God but I have commanded you to do it; I do not know of any deed that would bring you near to hellfire but I have prohibited you from doing it).³⁹ A large part of the two clauses is identical: “I do not know of any deed that would bring you near to ... but that I have ... you to ... it.” The words or phrases that are different—God/hellfire, commanded/prohibited, to do/from doing—are placed within the identical verbiage in an antithetical parallel construction, drawing the listener’s attention particularly to the contrast between them.

In just a few cases, refrains were created by the verbatim multiple repetitions of a clause over the course of the oration, and they created yet another kind of acoustic rhythm. A famous example is the questioning refrain of Muḥammad’s sermon at the Last Pilgrimage: “Listen! Have I delivered [the message]?”⁴⁰ Another prominent example is Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s refrain of direct address: “O son of Adam.”⁴¹

Non-verbatim or semantic, meaning-based repetition—what I have earlier called synonymous parallelism—was a common stylistic phenomenon in the oration. Zaynab bint ‘Alī used two such synonymous (and parallel) lines in her speech chastising Yazīd for killing Ḥusayn, to warn him of a severe reckoning in the hereafter: “By God, you have pared naught but your own skin. You have incised naught but your own flesh.”⁴² Both verbs in the sentence and both nouns are roughly equivalent in meaning.

1.4 *Formulae*

Scholars emphasize the occurrence of formulae in orally based expression. Ong, for example, writes the following:⁴³

In an oral culture, knowledge, once acquired, had to be constantly repeated or it would be lost: fixed, formulaic thought patterns were essential for wisdom and effective administration ... Fixed, often rhythmically balanced, expressions ... can be found occasionally in print, indeed can be ‘looked up’ in books of sayings, but in oral cultures they are not occasional. They are incessant. They form the substance of thought itself. Thought in any extended form is impossible without them, for it consists in them.

39 App. § 90.9.

40 (ألا هل بلغت): App. § 90.19.

41 (يَا بَنِ آدَم): App. § 56.1.

42 (والله ما فریت إلا جلدك ولا حرزت إلا في لحمك): App. § 165.2.

43 Ong, 23, 34–35.

In addition to repeating words and phrases *ad hoc*, early Arabic orators utilized certain fixed formulae—particularly beginnings and endings. I have categorized these in the previous chapter as structural segments: The orator opened with the introductory *taḥmīd* formula, which included certain stock phrases in praise of God (*ḥamd*), the Islamic testimonial (*shahādah*), and blessings on the Prophet (*ṣalawāt*). He transitioned from the praise preface to the body of the oration with the fixed phrase “... here is what comes after that” (*ammā ba’d*). He opened the body with a vocative phrase of address such as “O people”; then often enjoined them: “Listen to my words and pay heed” (اسمعوا قولي وعوا). He habitually ended with the formulaic prayer for forgiveness, “I say these words and beg forgiveness from God for myself and for you” (أقول قولي هذا وأستغفر الله لي ولكم).

Within the formulaic frame, the body of the oration was not particularly formulaic, for unlike the Homeric epic—upon which the analysis of orality scholars is based in the main—Arabic oration did not utilize recurring epithets. Its formulaic repertoire was limited to a phrases such as “I counsel you to God-fearing piety” (أوصيكم بالتقوى), or “Fear God” (اتقوا الله), regularly included by the Muslim orator in pious-counsel and Friday and Eid sermons. In contrast to Greek epic poetry, as explained in Chapter One, Arabic oration did not contain a fixed fictional narrative sequence, nor was it metrical, thus, it was neither epic nor poetry. In a rhythmic prose oration, its formulaic nature was based on its framing structure.

2 Audience Engagement

The Arabic orator addressed a live audience face to face. In order to persuade, in order to elicit a positive response, he needed to engage their attention. One way in which he involved his listeners was by encoding them into the linguistic format of his oration through stylistic techniques such as direct address, emphatic structures, questions, and prescriptive expressions. By these rhetorical devices, he aggressively called the audience’s attention to their own presence within the oration, and thus pulled them in. Rather than passive recipients of his activity, he made them active participants in the speech-performance itself.

2.1 Direct Address

The orator addressed his audience directly and throughout the oration by means of the vocative form and the second person pronoun. In contrast to non-epistolary written literary discourse, which privileges the third (and sometimes

the first) grammatical person, oral communication takes place mostly in the “you and I” format, the speaker addressing the audience in the second person, and referencing himself in the first.

After the formulaic *taḥmīd* preface and the transition phrase, the orator opened the body of his oration with a generalized or contextualized vocative address to his audience, such as “O people,” “O servants of God,” “O Tamīm,” or “O people of hypocrisy.” These addresses have been discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

But the vocative address was not confined to the opening of the speech, and the speaker typically inserted it at appropriate points within the text. These vocatives served as reminders to the audience of their part in the speech performance. Additionally, they served as transitional markers at the commencement of each new thematic section. Mentioned a few times already, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī began a pious-counsel oration with an address in the singular form encompassing the plurality of human beings, “O son of Adam!” (يَا بَنَ آدَمَ); he used that same address four more times in his sermon to set off as many new—albeit overlapping—subthemes, in which he instructed humans to sell this world in exchange for the hereafter, to compete with others in doing good, and to step gently on the earth; then he declared to his addressees that belief is in hearts and actions. Here is the speech (in a truncated version) showing the vocative-induced shifts:⁴⁴

Son of Adam! Trade this world of yours in return for the hereafter, and you will profit in both. Do not trade your hereafter for this world, or you will lose both.

يَا بَنَ آدَمَ بَعْ دُنْيَاكَ بِآخِرَتِكَ تَرْبِحُهُمَا جَمِيعًا
وَلَا تَبِعْ آخِرَتِكَ بِدُنْيَاكَ فَتُخْسِرُهُمَا جَمِيعًا.

Son of Adam! If you see people doing good, compete with them. If you see them doing evil, do not envy them. Residence here is short, and the abode there is long ...

يَا بَنَ آدَمَ إِذَا رَأَيْتَ النَّاسَ فِي الْخَيْرِ فَنَافِسْهُمْ
فِيهِ وَإِذَا رَأَيْتَهُمْ فِي الشَّرِّ فَلَا تَغْبِطْهُمْ عَلَيْهِ.
الْثَوَاءُ هَهُنَا قَلِيلٌ وَالْبَقَاءُ هُنَاكَ طَوِيلٌ ...

Son of Adam! Tread the earth [gently] with your foot, for it will soon be your grave ...

يَا بَنَ آدَمَ طَأْ الْأَرْضَ بِقَدَمِكَ فَإِنَّهَا عَنْ
قَلِيلٍ قَبْرُكَ ...

44 App. § 56.1.

Son of Adam! Remember God's words «For each human being, we have placed his fate-bird around his neck»⁴⁵ ...

يَا بَنَ آدَمَ أَذْكُرْ قَوْلَهُ ﴿وَكُلَّ إِنْسَانٍ أَلْزَمْنَاهُ طَائِرَهُ فِي عُنُقِهِ﴾ ...

Son of Adam! Belief is achieved neither by ornamentation nor by hoping, but rather, it resides in hearts, and is validated by good deeds.

يَا بَنَ آدَمَ لَيْسَ الْإِيمَانُ بِالتَّحْلِيِّ وَلَا بِالتَّيَّنِّي وَلَكِنَّهُ مَا وَقَرَّ فِي الْقُلُوبِ وَصَدَّقَهُ الْعَمَلُ.

Throughout an oration, the orator addressed his audience using the second person plural pronoun (and sometimes the second person singular as a collective pronoun, as in Ḥasan's sermon). In a speech encouraging the Kufans to join 'Alī's army to fight the Camel forces, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir used the second person pronoun no less than eleven times over eight lines (he also used the vocative "O people!" twice):⁴⁶

O people! The brother of your prophet, and the son of his uncle asks you to rise in battle to aid God's religion. God has afflicted you with choosing between the claim of your religion and the sanctity of your mother [Ā'ishah]. The claim of your religion is more pressing, and its sanctity is greater.

آيُّهَا النَّاسُ أَخُو نَبِيِّكُمْ وَأَبْنُ عَمِّهِ يَسْتَنْفِرُكُمْ لِنَصْرِ دِينِ اللَّهِ. وَقَدْ بَلَغَكُمْ اللَّهُ بِحَقِّ دِينِكُمْ وَحَرَمَةِ أُمِّكُمْ. فَحَقُّ دِينِكُمْ أَوْجِبُ وَحَرَمَتُهُ أَعْظَمُ.

O people! It is upon you to cleave to a leader (imām) who does not need edification, a learned man who does not need teaching, a man of strength who cannot be opposed, a man of precedence that no else possesses in Islam. I tell you truly, if you come to him, he will explain to you your affair, if God wills.

آيُّهَا النَّاسُ عَلَيْكُمْ بِإِمَامٍ لَا يُؤَدَّبُ وَفَقِيهٍ لَا يَعْلَمُ وَصَاحِبِ بَأْسٍ لَا يَنْكَلُ وَذِي سَابِقَةِ فِي الْأَسْلَامِ لَيْسَتْ لِأَحَدٍ. وَأَنْتُمْ لَوْ قَدْ حَضَرْتُمُوهُ بَيْنَ لَكُمْ أَمْرُكُمْ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.

These personal pronouns often added a direct and personal tone to glad tidings or warnings. In this next example, the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj said to the Iraqis:⁴⁷

45 Q Isrā' 17:13.

46 App. § 34.1.

47 App. § 51.14.

Death is [hung like an iron fetter] around your neck. Hellfire is just before you. Paradise is right in front of you. Take [provisions] from your souls for your souls, from your wealth for your [time of] need, and from that which is in your hands for that which is before you.

والموت في أعناقكم والنار بين أيديكم والجنة أمامكم. خذوا من أنفسكم لأنفسكم ومن غنائم لفقركم ومما في أيديكم لما بين أيديكم.

Just as he frequently referred to the audience, the orator frequently referred to himself, and he used the first grammatical person to do so. Alternatively, he used the third grammatical person to refer to himself, and when he did, it was often in an oath format. Quss said of himself, “Quss swears an oath by God.”⁴⁸ Muḥammad, in several orations said “I bear witness that Muḥammad is [God’s] servant and His messenger,”⁴⁹ “He who prays [for God to] bless Muḥammad,”⁵⁰ “By Him in whose hands lies Muḥammad’s soul.”⁵¹ One of ‘Alī’s orations has a similar reference to himself: “By [God] in whose hands lies the life of Abū Ṭālib’s son ...”⁵² ‘Umar proclaimed in one speech: “Suffice ‘Umar as a grievous affair, [his] awaiting of the reckoning ...”⁵³

2.2 *Emphatic Structures*

The orator shook up his audience with strong language, frequently using exclamations, emphatic prepositions, and oaths; all these features are also observed in the Qur’an. As mentioned earlier, orally based expression is often “agonistically toned”⁵⁴—in plain English, it comes from a context of struggle—and the early Arabic oration was no exception.

Oaths were one such emphatic structure, and orators frequently incorporated strong oaths into their oration. Many if not most orators—including ‘Alī, Dhū l-Kalā‘, Ṭāriq, Zaynab, and Ḥajjāj—used the oath “By God!” (*wa-llāhi*).⁵⁵ Sometimes, they used a version with the word “oath” explicitly present, such as Ziyād’s swearing “An oath by God” (*wa-ymu-llāhi*).⁵⁶ In her quasi-oration, the

48 App. § 105.1.

49 (أشهد أنّ محمداً عبده ورسوله): App. § 90.19.

50 (ومن صلى على محمد): App. § 90.9.

51 (فوالذي نفس محمد بيده): App. § 90.5.

52 (فوالذي نفس ابن أبي طالب بيده): App. § 31.23.

53 (لكفى عمرهما محزناً أنتظار موافقة الحساب): App. § 140.3.

54 Ong, 45.

55 App. § 31.6, § 46.1, § 134.1, § 165.2, § 51.4.

56 App. § 166.5. See also § 31.16 (‘Alī).

female pre-Islamic soothsayer ʿAṣīb al-Khayr swore a nature oath, “By light and darkness, by earth and sky.”⁵⁷ The pre-Islamic chieftain ʿAṣīb ibn al-ʿĀṣī swore an oath by the pagan deities in a vaunt, “By the concealed idols (*aṣṣanām*), and the sacred stones (*anṣāb*).”⁵⁸

Additionally, the orator frequently interjected into his sentences fervent exclamations. Some castigated calamitous events, in phrases such as “Far be it!” (*hayhāt*) or “O haste!” (*badāri*). Others chastised the audience, in phrases such as “Woe to you!” (*wayḥakum*),⁵⁹ “Shame on you!” (*uffin lakum*),⁶⁰ “May God fight you!” (*qāṭalakumu llāh*),⁶¹ “May God disfigure you!” (*qabbahakumu llāh*), and “May [your] faces be deformed!” (*shāhat al-wujūh*).⁶² Yet others blessed the listeners, in phrases such as “May you never be cursed!” (*abayta l-laʿna*),⁶³ and (in the third person) “May God [forgive] their father!” (*li-llāhi abūhum*).⁶⁴

The “Far be it!” (*hayhāt*) exclamation was one of admonishment and the most common. It was used particularly in pious-counsel sermons warning of the transience of life, and in adversarial political speeches. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī doubled it in his “Son of Adam” sermon cited earlier: “It is as though indeed—Far be it! Far be it!—this world has gone, along with the one who ornaments himself with it, and deeds remain as collars around the necks of the sons of Adam!”⁶⁵ Fāṭimah used it in her speech to Abū Bakr and his court arguing for her right to inherit the lands of Fadak, and for the right of her husband ʿAlī to succeed the Prophet, followed by a prepositional phrase, and combined with the exclamations “O haste!” and “Listen!” (the last within a Qurʾānic citation): “Beware and make haste! You claim that you did what you did from fear of discord. «Listen! They have fallen into the pit of discord—disbelievers will go to hell!»”⁶⁶ Far may you be thrown! Where is it that you are going?! How you lie!”⁶⁷

57 App. § 133.1.

58 App. § 132.1.

59 (ويحك): App. § 18.3 (Abū Ḥamzah, twice); (ويحكم الله): § 46.1 (Dhū l-Kalāʾ).

60 App. § 31.6, § 31.30 (ʿAlī).

61 App. § 31.35 (ʿAlī).

62 App. § 89.3 (Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah).

63 App. § 9.1 (ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib).

64 App. § 31.35.

65 (فكأن قد هيات هيات ذهب الدنيا بحالها وبقيت الأعمال قلائد في أعناق بني آدم).

66 Q Tawbah 9:49.

67 (إلا في الفتنة سقطوا وإن جهنم لمحيطة بالكافرين) فهيات منكم وأنى بكم بدار زعمتم خوف الفتنة (ألا في الفتنة سقطوا وإن جهنم لمحيطة بالكافرين) (وأنى توفكون): App. § 47.1.

Another emphatic form was the use of grammatical structures of emphasis. The orator added specific letters of emphasis as suffixes or prefixes to verbs, such as the suffix *-nna* or *-n*, and the prefix *la-*. In a protracted and combined use of both these emphatic letters (alongside graphic similes, extensive parallelism, and the swearing of oaths), Ḥajjāj threatened his recalcitrant Iraqi subjects, thus: “By God! I shall skin you (*la-alḥuwannakum*) as I would skin a rod. I shall strike you (*la-aqra’annakum*) as I would strike a flint. I shall wrap you up (*la-u’šibannakum*) as I would wrap a *salamah* tree. I shall beat you (*la-aḍribannakum*) as I would beat alien camels.”⁶⁸

The orator also repeatedly prefaced his nominal and verbal sentences with emphatic prepositions, such as *inna* (Truly!), and *alā* (Listen and heed!).⁶⁹ Less frequently, he also used *hā-* (also meaning Listen and heed!), and *amā* (Indeed!), this last interjection often preceding the oath “By God!” (*wa-llāh*).⁷⁰ A single, short, pious-counsel sermon by ‘Alī contains no less than six “Listen!”s (*alā*) and another six “Truly!”s (*inna*).⁷¹ A short sermon by ‘Ubādah ibn al-Šāmit contains “Listen” (*alā*) and “Truly” (*inna*) together four times, and a fifth stand-alone “Truly” (*inna*).⁷²

Listen! Truly the world consists of ready goods.
The upright and the profligate eat of it. Listen!
Truly the hereafter is a true promise; the
Omnipotent King decrees it[s distribution]. Listen!
Truly you will be presented to your deeds.
«Whosoever performs a mote-worth of good
shall see it. Whosoever performs a mote-worth
of evil shall see it.»⁷³ Listen! Truly the world
has children and the hereafter has children. Be
those who are children of the hereafter; do not be
those who are children of this world! Truly each
mother’s children will follow her on the Day of
Resurrection.

أَلَا وَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا عَرَضٌ حَاضِرٌ بِأَكْلِ مَنْهُ الْبَرِّ
وَالْفَاجِرِ. أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْآخِرَةَ وَعْدٌ صَادِقٌ يَحْكُمُ
فِيهِ مَلِكٌ قَادِرٌ. أَلَا وَإِنَّكُمْ مَعْرُوضُونَ عَلَى
أَعْمَالِكُمْ ﴿فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ
﴿ وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ ۖ ۝﴾
أَلَا وَإِنَّ لِلدُّنْيَا بَنِينَ وَلِلْآخِرَةِ بَنِينَ فَكُونُوا مِنْ
أَبْنَاءِ الْآخِرَةِ وَلَا تَكُونُوا مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ الدُّنْيَا فَإِنَّ
كُلَّ أُمَّ يَتَّبِعُهَا بَنُوهَا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ.

68 أما والله لألحونكم لحو العصا ولأقرعنكم قرع المروة ولأعصبنكم عصب السلمة ولأضربنكم ضرب غرائب (الإبل): App. § 51.3.

69 *Alā* is a particle used to put the listener on alert (*ḥarf al-tanbih*), frequently translated as “Lo!”

70 App. § 31.30.

71 App. § 31.44.

72 App. § 137.1.

73 Q Zalzalāh 99:7–8.

2.3 *Questions: Real and Rhetorical*

The orator peppered his oration with questions, both real and rhetorical. These questions made the oration a highly interactive speech performance. The real questions prompted the audience to answer verbally, while the rhetorical ones provoked a non-verbal intellectual and emotional response.

The real questions that the orator asked of the audience fell either within the body of the oration or toward the end; they either set up certain parts of the speech or demanded a final response. The audience came back with short yes-or-no answers or substantive ones, individually, in groups, or collectively. In response to Muḥammad's thrice-repeated question to the Muslims gathered to hear his Last Pilgrimage sermon, "Listen! Have I delivered [the message]?" the audience answered with "Yes" or "Yes, by God." The same sermon also contains questions to which material answers would be required, such as: "Do you know what month (or place, or day) this is?"—the sources tell us that Muḥammad waited for a reply, but when the audience stayed silent, he himself answered: "A sacred month!"⁷⁴ At the front end of a speech addressed to the Quraysh during the initial stages of his call to Islam in Mecca, Muḥammad asked his fellow tribesmen: "If I informed you that horsemen are riding out from behind the foot of this mountain [to attack], would you believe me?" and his audience (presumably one or some of them) answered, "You have not lied to us in our previous experience."⁷⁵ Sa'd ibn Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān addressed 'Alid supporters in Madā'in, informing them that Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad had written asking him to join the Iraqi Penitents in their fight against the Umayyads, in retaliation for their killing of Ḥusayn; at the end of his speech, Sa'd asked his audience "What do you think [of Ibn Ṣurad's call]? What say you [to joining the Penitents in their fight]?" and, according to reports, they responded collectively "We will fight alongside them. We are in agreement with them."⁷⁶

The rhetorical questions posed by the orator had obvious, implied answers. Rather than a means of eliciting information, these questions served to drive home a point. Ṭāriq began the address in which he roused his army to fight the Visigoths of Andalusia with the question, "Where will you flee?"⁷⁷ By putting their lack of means to escape as a query, rather than stating it as a fact, he encouraged the audience to personally arrive at the obvious but unstated

74 (شهر حرام) (اللهم نعم or نعم) (ألا هل بلغت) §90.19.

75 (ما جربنا عليك كذباً) (أرايتم لو أخبرتكم أنّ خيلاً تخرج بصفح هذا الجبل كنتم مصدقي) §90.2.

76 (نحيبهم ونقاتل معهم ورأينا في ذلك مثل رأيهم) (فما ذا ترون وما ذا تقولون) App. §114.1.

77 (أين المفرّ) App. §134.1.

answer: “There is no escape.” In another example, the Umayyad commander Qutaybah ibn Muslim opened his address to his Iraqi troops in Khurasan with the question “O people of Iraq, am I not the person who knows the most about you?”⁷⁸ Here, the rhetorical question set up the rest of the speech, effectively adding emphasis to Qutaybah’s disparaging description of their various tribes and clans. The initial question implied the Iraqis’ acknowledgment of the orator’s ensuing negative characterization.

In sermons of pious counsel, rhetorical questions were often in the mode of *ubi sunt* (Latin: Where have they gone?). They emphasized the inevitability of death by asking where the kings of old had gone, how it was that those who ruled the earth had vanished, what had happened to the rich and powerful folks of yore, to what place, indeed, had one’s own parents departed. In a sermon delivered during his caliphate, Abū Bakr included several *ubi sunt* questions,⁷⁹ as did Quss in his famous “Whoever lives dies” oration.⁸⁰ In a pious-counsel vein, the Mu’tazilite Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’ proclaimed, “Where are the kings who built Ctesiphon? And strengthened palaces? And fortified gates? And kept masses of chamberlains? And trained purebred horses? And possessed [all] the lands? And made use of inherited cattle and slaves?” Wāṣil answered his own “Where are they?” questions with a “death overtook them” answer: “[This world] grabbed them along with their carrying litters, crushed them with its breast, chomped on them with its canines!”⁸¹ *Ubi sunt* questions asking the whereabouts of past generations prompted the audience to individually respond in their own minds: “They are dead. They are gone. They no longer rule.” Despite the obvious nature of the answer, the fact that each person in the audience arrived at it on his own steam meant a readier acceptance of its unwelcome truth than if the orator had presented the idea in a straight assertion.

2.4 Prescriptive Phrases

The most direct method of persuasion the orator had in his repertoire was that of addressing his audience in the imperative with prescriptive instructions regarding piety, politics, and all kinds of other things. Normative sentences in

78 (يا أهل العراق ألسنت أعلم الناس بكم): App. § 106.4; see also § 106.3.

79 App. § 15.5.

80 App. § 105.1.

81 أين الملوك الذين بنوا المدائن وشيدوا المصانع وأوثقوا الأبواب وكثفوا الحجاب وأعدّوا الجياد وملكوا (البلاد وأستخدموا التلاد. قبضتهم بحملها وطحنهم بكلكلها وعضّتهم بأنيابها. App. § 151.1. See also § 102.1 (Qaṭārī).

the form “Do this!” or “Do not do that!” abound in orations of all types. Of these prescriptive phrases, some were formulaic and used regularly in the oration. “Fear God” (اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ) was used in pious counsel and Friday and Eid sermons, “Listen and pay heed” (اسْمَعُوا وَعُوا) and its variants in pious-counsel sermons and sometimes in other orations.

Most normative expressions were not formulaic, and arose out of the individual context of the oration. Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad in a battle oration enjoined the Penitents, “Rise, for your lord is displeased. Do not return to your lawful wives and sons until you have pleased God.”⁸² Abū Bakr said to the Medinans in his first caliphal speech “If you see that I am righteous, help me. If you see that I am unjust, set me aright.”⁸³ Muḥammad’s pre-Islamic forebear Hāshim ibn ‘Abd Manāf, after declaring that he would feed the Hajj pilgrims out of his personal wealth, encouraged the Quraysh to follow suit, without using the imperative, but rather, an indirect command: “Whosoever wishes to do so, according to his capacity—let him do it!”⁸⁴

Frequently in pious-counsel sermons, “do” and “don’t” together formed an antithetical pair, usually in two parallel lines. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī commenced the sermon mentioned earlier with a string of four imperatives in two do-don’t pairs; in the first pair he commanded his audience, “Trade this world of yours in return for your hereafter and you will profit in both! Do not trade your hereafter for this world or you will lose both!” In the next pair he instructed “If you see people doing good, compete with them. If you see them doing evil, do not envy them.”⁸⁵ The antithetical pair was often followed by either a result-phrase or an explanatory statement, commonly beginning with the conjunction *fa*-meaning “such that,” or “for.” ‘Alī said to his audience, “Be those who are children of the hereafter; do not be those who are children of this world! For children will be returned to their mothers on the Day of Resurrection.”⁸⁶ The antithetical parallelism of the paired do-don’t imperatives achieved a sharp contrast between two entities (this world and hereafter; good and evil), and recommended or proscribed actions (sell, do not sell; compete, do not compete [literally here, do not envy]; be, be not). The result phrase intensified the

82 (أَلَا أَنهَضُوا فَقَدْ سَخَطَ رَبُّكُمْ وَلَا تَرْجِعُوا إِلَى الْخَلَائِلِ وَالْأَبْنَاءِ حَتَّى يَرْضَى اللَّهُ): App. §129.1.

83 (فَإِنْ أَسْتَقَمْتَ فَتَابِعُونِي وَإِنْ زَغَتْ فَقَوِّمُونِي): App. §15.4.

84 (فَمَنْ شَاءَ مِنْكُمْ أَنْ يَفْعَلَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ مَا قَدَّرَ عَلَيْهِ فَعَلْ): App. §57.1.

85 بَعْ دُنْيَاكَ بِآخِرَتِكَ تَرْبِحَهُمَا جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَبِعْ آخِرَتَكَ بِدُنْيَاكَ فَتَخْسِرَهُمَا جَمِيعًا. إِذَا رَأَيْتَ النَّاسَ فِي الْخَيْرِ (فَنَافَسَهُمْ فِيهِ وَإِذَا رَأَيْتَهُمْ فِي الشَّرِّ فَلَا تَغْبِطَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ): App. §56.2.

86 (كُونُوا مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ الْآخِرَةِ وَلَا تَكُونُوا مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ الدُّنْيَا فَإِنَّ كُلَّ وَلَدٍ سَيَلْحَقُ بِأُمِّهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ): App. §31.11.

contrast between the consequences of the two actions: profit in both worlds, loss in both worlds; be given over to the fickle world at the time of reckoning or to the kind hereafter. It emphasized the black-and-white nature of the choice faced by each individual in the audience.

3 Vivid Imagery: Nature and the Human Lifeworld

Vivid imagery is another striking feature of the Arabic oration. The largest part of the orator's imagery related to desert flora, fauna, and natural phenomena, to animals such as the camel and the eagle, plants such as the balsam and the acacia, cosmic bodies such as the sun and the moon, events of nature such as rain and thunder, and the dry desert landscape with its twisting sands and winding dune-valleys. Another substantial segment of the orator's images stemmed from his daily life, from ordinary objects and mundane activities, dwellings and weapons, dressing and sleeping. Use of graphic images well known to his audience helped the orator bring abstractions into the realm of the immediate.

The persistent linking in the early Arabic oration of the theoretical to the physical and observable world is a vital characteristic of all artistic expression in a primary oral culture. Ong observes that "in the absence of elaborate analytic categories that depend on writing to structure knowledge at a distance from lived experience, oral cultures must conceptualize and verbalize all their knowledge with more or less close reference to the human lifeworld, assimilating the alien objective word to the more immediate, familiar interaction of human beings."⁸⁷ For the same reason, he characterizes orally based expression as "situational rather than abstract [or categorical],"⁸⁸ explaining (through the Russian scholar Aleksandr Luria's research) that oral cultures tend to see a geometric design as plate rather than circle, or door rather than square; they tend to think of a saw as something intrinsically connected with the cutting of a log, rather than as part of an abstract category of tools.⁸⁹ In the orations of an oral culture, physical images, not abstractions, are the rule.

The Arabic orator used his images both metaphorically and literally; metaphorically as symbols for concepts such as death and knowledge, and literally as signs of the dominance of nature and the power of the creator.

87 Ong, 42.

88 Ong, 49.

89 Ong, 50–51; after Luria, *Cognitive Development*, *passim*.

3.1 *Metaphorical Imagery*

Differing significantly from the standard imagery of poetry, the oratorical inventory of metaphorical language was unique. In that they were not about a beloved or a mount or a patron, orations did not use the typical range of poetic symbols, such as the gazelle for a beautiful woman, the sand dune for rounded buttocks, the moon for a luminous face, pearls for sparkling teeth, the sea for a generous man, a mountain for a mature chieftain, and the oryx deer for a swift horse. The sermon of pious counsel shared some subjects and thus some images with the elegy genre of poetry, but on the whole, the orators possessed their own core images. Stock images of orations stemmed from their own distinct set of political and religious themes, and included the following:

- The dead are conceived of by their unheeding fellows, those who are living, as “travelers” (*safr*), soon to return.⁹⁰
- Light is a symbol for guidance and religion.⁹¹
- Death and Fate are predatory beasts or birds (also a common trope in poetry); they bite people with their canines, crush them with their chests, and grab them with their claws.⁹²
- Worldly folk are “children” of the world, and the world, in turn, is their “mother;” the pious are “children” of the hereafter.⁹³
- Sins or shame can (or cannot) be “washed off” (*ghasl al-dhunūb, ghasl al-‘ār*).⁹⁴
- What remains of a lifespan is like the last drops of water remaining in a vessel (*ṣubābat al-inā*).⁹⁵
- This world is like a beautiful, deceitful woman.⁹⁶

90 E.g., “It is as though the dead that we bid farewell to are travelers, soon to return to us.” (كَأَنَّ الَّذِي نَشِيعُ مِنَ الْأَمْوَاتِ سَفَرُ عَمَّا قَلِيلٍ إِلَيْنَا رَاجِعُونَ): App. § 90.12 (Muḥammad); see also § 30.2 (Aktham) and § 31.45 (‘Alī).

91 E.g., App. § 31.20 (‘Alī); the simile alludes to the fact that light allows one to perceive things clearly.

92 E.g., App. § 151.1 (Wāṣil), Death and Fate borrow from the bird or beast, hands, chest, and canines.

93 E.g., App. § 137.1 (‘Ubādah), § 146.2 (‘Uthmān), § 31.11 (‘Alī).

94 E.g., App. § 165.1, § 165.2 (Zaynab), § 142.1 (Umm Kulthūm), § 28.2 (‘Ā’ishah).

95 (فَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ تَوَلَّتْ حَذَاءَ مَدِيرَةٍ وَقَدْ أَذْنَتْ أَهْلِهَا بِصَرْمٍ وَإِنَّمَا بَقِيَ مِنْهَا صَبَابَةٌ كَصَبَابَةِ الْإِنَاءِ يَصْطَبُهَا صَاحِبُهَا): App. § 145.1 (‘Utbah ibn Ghazwān). See also § 31.45 (‘Alī), § 62.3 (Ḥusayn).

96 (مِثْلَ غُرَّارَةٍ لَعَابَةٍ بِأَهْلِهَا): App. § 128.1 (Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik). See also Raḍī, 641–642 (‘Alī).

- The sword, or death, “harvests” (*ḥaṣīd*) or “plucks” (*qitāf*) heads, when these heads have become “ripe” (*aynaʿat*).⁹⁷
- God “clothes” people with humiliation or honor.⁹⁸
- Lifespans or sins are “hung like neck-irons” (*muṭawaqqah*) around the necks of humankind.⁹⁹
- Life is a caravan journey through the desert, the destination being heaven or hell.¹⁰⁰
- Life is a horse race.¹⁰¹

Use of imagery-oriented rhetorical techniques allowed the orator to portray abstract concepts through concrete, physical images. Among them, three techniques—metaphor (*istiʿārah*), simile (*tashbīh*), and extended metaphor (*tam-thīl*)—were frequent. A fourth metaphorical expression with extended substitution (*kināyah*) was also current. Two others—synecdoche and metonymy (both subtypes of *majāz mursal*)—were occasionally used.¹⁰²

The simile (*tashbīh*) compares two terms, *mushabbah* and *mushabbah bihī*, with the help of a preposition of comparison (*ḥarf al-tashbīh*)—“like” (*ka-*, *kaʿanna*, or *mithl*); the two compared terms share some aspect of similarity (*wajh al-tashbīh*). The second term of the simile brings into sharper focus that particular feature of the first term. Two other components of the simile were often implied, not explicit: the aspect (mostly) and the preposition (frequently).¹⁰³ An example of an oratorical simile is found in the *Batrāʾ* speech given by Ziyād, who said: “Indeed, the falsehood of the pulpit is [like] a famous [horse]-with-white-in-its-legs-up-to-its-thighs.”¹⁰⁴ The abstract subject of the

97 E.g., (إِيَّاكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا لِلسِّيفِ حَصِيدًا): App. § 144.1 (ʿUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān); (ورؤوساً قد أينعت): App. § 8.5 (ʿAbd al-Malik). (وَحَانَ قَطَافُهَا): § 51.3 (Ḥajjāj); (إِنَّكُمْ بَنَاتُ نِعْمَةٍ وَحَصِيدُ نِقْمَةٍ): App. § 84.1 (Muʿāwiyah). See also § 31.35 (ʿAlī).

98 E.g., (إِنَّ اللَّهَ الْحَمِيدَ كَسَانَا مِنَ الْكَرَامَةِ ثَوْبًا لَنْ نَنْزِعَهُ طَوْعًا): App. § 139.3; (أَجَلَ الدُّنْيَا فِي أَعْنَاقِكُمْ): App. § 139.11 (both by ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz).

99 E.g., (فَإِنَّمَا هِيَ خَطَايَا مَطْوُوقَةٌ فِي أَعْنَاقِ الرِّجَالِ): App. § 139.3; (أَجَلَ الدُّنْيَا فِي أَعْنَاقِكُمْ): App. § 139.11 (both by ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz).

100 § 31.4, § 31.44, § 31.49 (ʿAlī).

101 § 31.44 (ʿAlī).

102 My formulation of these definitions draws from Jurjānī, supplemented by relevant entries by Heinrichs in *EAL*, along with definitions from the *OED* and the modern handbook of Arabic rhetoric by Daʿkūr.

103 In the English literary tradition, elision of a simile’s preposition would result in a metaphor. Not so in the Arabic tradition, where it remains a simile, albeit with an implied preposition; see Jurjānī, 320–324. Critics such as Ibn al-Athīr (*Mathal*, 1:414) and Zarkashī (3:434) call the preposition-less simile an “eloquent simile” (*tashbīh balīgh*).

104 (إِنَّ كَذِبَةَ الْمُنْبِرِ بَلَقَاءٌ مَشْهُورَةٌ): App. § 166.5. Ibn Bakkār (305) has *tulqā* (“[a falsehood that is] delivered”) instead of *balqāʾ* (“[a falsehood is a] horse”).

simile, the falsehood, is depicted graphically through the physical object, the horse, which is alluded to by an adjective. The preposition, “like,” is implied. Ziyād’s audience could, presumably, grasp immediately the aspect of comparison with regard to the illustrious white-footed horse—an easily recognizable form; they could then apply it to comprehending the easily recognizable nature of the falsehood spoken on the pulpit. Another simile is found in the speech of the Abbasid governor of Medina, Riyāḥ ibn ‘Uthmān, who said, “People of Medina, I am the viper, son of the viper, I am the son of ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān.”¹⁰⁵

Dramatization was achieved through the extended metaphor (*tamthīl*), which compared two sets of terms, based on composite aspects of similarity. (This is different from comparing two distinct terms to two other distinct terms, which would still be a simile). An example of an extended metaphor, this one containing elements of fantasy (*takhyīl*), is this passage from one of Ḥajjāj’s caustic speeches chastising the Iraqis: “Truly, Satan penetrated you, permeating flesh, blood, and nerves, ears and fingers, limbs and hearts. Then he rose into brain-marrow and inner ear. Then he climbed [still further] and made a nest. Then he laid eggs and hatched chicks.”¹⁰⁶ Ḥajjāj graphically portrayed successively worsening stages of the Iraqis’ iniquity, of Satan’s gradually taking control of their minds and hearts—an abstract idea, which he makes concrete by personifying the devil as a horrific bird that has permeated their bodies, entered their brains, then set up house there, and finally, made itself really comfortable and had babies. As this example illustrates, the extended metaphor is particularly effective because it draws several graphic aspects of the metaphorical picture, and progresses methodically and inexorably toward a climax.

The metaphor (*isti‘ārah*) denotes an object or its action, the “topic” (*musta‘ār laḥū*), by the name or description of another object, the “analog” (*musta‘ār*), based on a metaphorical “aspect” (*wajh al-isti‘ārah*); the aspect is something similar in the topic and the analog, or it is a feature “borrowed” by the topic from the analog; the root-meaning of *isti‘ārah* is borrowing. The first type is based on comparison, the second on personification.¹⁰⁷ The genitive metaphor (in an *idāfah*, or construct state), is either identifying (based on comparison) or attributive (based on personification). Both types appear to be equally preva-

105 (يا أهل المدينة أنا الأفعى ابن الأفعى ابن عثمان ابن حيّان): App. §109.1.

106 إِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ قَدْ اسْتَبْطَنَكُمْ تَغَالُطَ اللَّحْمِ وَالدَّمِ وَالْعَصَبِ وَالْمَسَامِعِ وَالْأَطْرَافِ وَالْأَعْضَاءِ وَالشَّغَافِ ثُمَّ (أَفْضَى إِلَى الْمَخَاخِ وَالْأَصْمَاحِ ثُمَّ أَرْتَفَعَ فَعَشَّشَ ثُمَّ بَاضَ وَفَرَّخَ): App. §51.6.

107 Heinrichs has termed the borrowing metaphor the “old metaphor” and the comparison-based one the “new metaphor,” in *Hand of the Northwind* and “*Isti‘ārah*.”

lent in Arabic orations. The comparison-based metaphor was differentiated from the simile by the medieval critic ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī thus: (1) The subject of the *isti‘ārah* is elided (that is, it is implied, not explicit). (2) The *isti‘ārah* compares as does the *tashbīh* (the simile), but uses exaggeration (*mubālaghah*) in positing its topic as the absolute possessor of the metaphorical aspect. (3) The *tashbīh* is literally impossible (even though I say “Zayd is a lion,” Zayd is not really a lion), while the [comparison-based] *isti‘ārah* is literally possible (when I say “I saw a lion,” I could have seen the animal that is called a lion).¹⁰⁸ An example of an oratorical metaphor based on borrowing is found in a speech by ‘Alī to his subjects: “Ask me! ... before a sedition [charges in] raising its hind-foot, stepping in its nose-rein.”¹⁰⁹ Sedition is personified here as a camel, which is charging in, raising its hind-foot and stepping in its nose-rein, thus riderless and uncontrolled. The topic (sedition) “borrows” the foot and nose-rein of the camel; the animal is not named as a camel, but is evoked by the mention of body parts and trappings unique to it. By connecting the aspect of the camel’s imminent, unrestrained, speedy arrival to the imminent arrival of sedition, ‘Alī drove home the urgency of the message, bringing the abstract concept of the coming sedition into the audience’s realm of physical experience. Another example of an oratorical metaphor, this one based on comparison, appears in this sermon given by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz: “Truly, they are sins, placed as a neck-iron around the necks of men.”¹¹⁰ By comparing sins (topic) to a neck-iron (analog) cast in a ring around the necks of men, ‘Umar gave physical heft to the abstraction.

Another metaphorical expression, called *kināyah*¹¹¹—with no equivalent term in English—expresses a meaning indirectly, by articulating a literally possible but unintended associated meaning that evokes the intended meaning. A typical example of *kināyah* would be, “The ashes of Zayd’s cooking pot are abundant,” meaning he is generous—he has numerous guests, so he cooks a lot, and thus produces plentiful ashes. Fāṭimah declared to the Arabs gathered in Abū Bakr’s presence that before her father Muḥammad brought Islam, they used to “drink [camel]-urinated-in water and eat leaves,”¹¹² a reference to their

108 Jurjānī, 239–242, 320–324.

109 (سلوني ... قبل أن تشغبر برجلها فتنة تطأ في خطاهما): App. § 31.46.

110 (فإنما هي خطايا مطوقة في أعناق الرجال): App. § 139.3.

111 For *kināyah*, there appears to be no equivalent rhetorical trope in English and therefore no commonly used corresponding term. Some Arabists have used the term “periphrastic expression,” which is obscure (Heinrichs, “Rhetorical Figures,” 661).

112 (وكنتم ... تشربون الطرق وتقتاتون الورق): App. § 47.1.

wretched state. ‘Alī instructed his warriors “bite down on your molars,”¹¹³ meaning they should muster their strength and keep courage. Kathīr ibn Shihāb said in his address to the Kufans, warning them against continuing to support Ḥusayn’s emissary, Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl, “Join your womenfolk,”¹¹⁴ saying in effect, go home, split up, do not fight. The literal meaning is possible, but that is not the real point; the unintended literal meaning serves as a bridge to the argument the orator is trying to make. All three *kināyahs* comprise a physical articulation of an abstract idea, being all the more effective because they compel the audience to supply the intended meaning.

Several other kinds of non-literal language (including synecdoche and metonymy) were brought together under the term “figurative expression not bound [by comparison]” (*majāz mursal*). In this “freed figurative expression,” a word denotes not its literal meaning but another meaning connected to it in some way; the trope is based dually on a particular “context” (*qarīnah*) and a “relationship” (*alāqah*) between the literal meaning of the word and its figurative denotation. Medieval sources according to modern handbooks of Arabic style distill nine such relationships,¹¹⁵ among them contiguity (*maḥallīyyah*), indicated by the English term metonymy; and part for whole (*juz’īyyah*), whole for part (*kullīyyah*), or instrumentality (*ālīyyah*), all three of which are indicated by the English term synecdoche. Using a synecdoche, Mu‘āwiyah said in a speech, “Lend me your craniums,”¹¹⁶ asking in effect for attentive listening. The word cranium is used to denote a part within it, namely, ears, which is the instrument of hearing, or the brain, which is the instrument of comprehension; the aspect of association is a combination of whole-for-part and instrumentality. Abū l-Haytham ibn al-Tihān used almost the same synecdoche in a battle speech, couched within phrases urging his audience to fight; but he substituted for the first person pronoun the words “your lord,” thus changing the meaning. His phrasing, “Lend your lord your craniums,”¹¹⁷ exhorted his listeners to lay down their lives in battle for God. In both cases, the abstract subjects of the synecdoche, hearing/comprehension and life, are portrayed through a physical object, the cranium. Umm Kulthūm bint ‘Alī combined metonymy with

113 (عضوا على النواجذ): App. § 31.19, § 31.18.

114 (الحقوا بأهاليكم): App. § 71.1.

115 See Da’kūr, 144–146.

116 (أعبرونا بجامعكم): App. § 84.5.

117 (أعبروا ربكم بجامعكم): App. § 19.1.

metaphor when she said to the Kufans after the massacre at Karbala: “Are you amazed that the sky rained blood?”¹¹⁸ The metonymy is in the attribution of the act of raining to the sky instead of the clouds, based on the contiguity of the clouds with the sky. The metaphor is in the use of the word blood rather than water; the aspect of comparison is drops of liquid dripping continuously and copiously—the sky is said to have wept tears of blood. The metaphor portrays the abstract concept of grief through the physical symbol of blood, and the metonymy attributes a physical action to a cosmic entity.

3.1.1 The Camel and Other Symbols

Orators culled images from their lives and surroundings, evoking natural objects and phenomena, or calling upon mundane items taken from the routine of their daily lives, but most of their metaphorical imagery was animal—particularly camel—based. Conveying ideas about morality and justice, war and peace, religion and politics, orators consistently and creatively invoked the physiological contours, bodily actions, stages of life, gait, and saddlery of the camel. The predominance of camel imagery in the orations of the desert Arabs is due to the importance of this animal for their largely nomadic, non-agriculture-based, way of life. Indeed, as the “ship of the desert” the camel was indispensable to trade; also, its milk and meat provided vital dietary components; and its hide could be turned into tents and waterskins. An image with which men and women, young and old, were intimately familiar, the camel formed a potent physical representation for abstract ideas.

The following examples give a sampling of the variety of camel imagery in the oratorical repertoire. ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr said of the Kufans’ handing over his brother to the Umayyad governor trussed and tied: “The riffraff, deaf of ears—the people of Iraq—gave him over like a bridled grazing camel.”¹¹⁹ Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad encouraged his troops by proclaiming: “Indeed, jihad is the hump of good deeds,”¹²⁰ perhaps referring to its elevation vis-à-vis the rest of the camel’s body, or its storage of essential nutrients, which made it an essential and distinctive part. Ḥubāb ibn Mundhir al-Anṣārī said at the Saqīfah—the place where the Medinans gathered to debate the succession immediately after the Prophet’s demise—challenging Abū Bakr’s assumption of the caliphate: “Indeed, by God, if you will it, we will resurrect [war] as a [strong] two-year-

118 (أفعبجتم أن قطرت السماء دمًا): App. § 142.1.

119 (أسلبه الطغام الصم الآذان أهل العراق إسلام النعم المخطمة): App. § 7.4.

120 (فإنّ الجهاد سنام العمل): App. § 129.3.

old camel.”¹²¹ ‘Alī said to his Iraqi followers: “I called upon you to succor your brothers fifty odd nights ago, and you growled [with apathy] like a wide-jawed adult male camel.”¹²² Abū Sufyān and Harim ibn Qutbah both said in separate quasi-orations of judgment between the ‘Āmirite brothers, ‘Alqamah and ‘Āmir: “You are like the two [identical] knees of a fleshy camel.”¹²³ ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr said in a speech just prior to the battle in which he was killed: “Indeed, death ... is driving calamities towards you [as one would drive camels].”¹²⁴ Fāṭimah said to the Companions of the Prophet gathered around Abū Bakr: “The camel stallion of the error-mongers bellowed, and wagged its tail [in comfort] in your courtyards.”¹²⁵ ‘Umar said in his accession speech, “The Arabs are like a haughty, pierce-nosed camel led by a driver. Let the driver be alert as to where he drives them. As for me, by the lord of the Ka’bah, I shall keep you on the path.”¹²⁶ Additionally, two camel images have been discussed earlier in this chapter: ‘Alī’s metaphor of a sedition rushing in [like a camel] raising its hind-foot, stepping in its nose-rein, and Fāṭimah’s reference to the Arab’s drinking of [camel]-urinated-in water.

In the above examples, we find several distinct camel terms (some of these are also applicable to other animals or humans; here they are related to camels by context). Four different words for the animal: *na’um* (grazing camels), *jadha’ah* (young, two-year old camel), *jamal* (adult male camel), *fanīq* (camel stallion), *ba’ir* (camel, male or female; or male camel; or camel that has entered its fifth, or ninth year). Three separate epithets: *ashdaq* (wide-jawed), *adram* (fleshy), and *anif* (pierce-nosed). Two body parts: *sanām* (hump) and *ruk-bah* (knee). Trappings: *khiṭām* (bridle or nose rein). Vocal expressions: *jarjara* (growling or grumbling in apathy), *hadara* (bellowed). Other camel actions and objects: *ṭarq* (urinated-in water), *khaṭara* (wagged camel-tail) and *shighāf* (raising hind foot). And human action with regard to the camel: *qā’id* (driving forth of camels).

121 (أما والله لئن شئتم لنعيدنها جذعة): App. § 59.2.

122 (دعوتكم إلى غياث إخوانكم منذ بضع وخمسين ليلة فتجرتم جرجرة الجمل الأشدق): App. § 31.27.

123 (أنما كركبتي البعير الأدرم): App. § 24.1, § 53.1.

124 (إن الموت ... قائد إليكم البلايا): App. § 7.6.

125 (وهدر فنيق المبطلين يخطر في عرصاتكم): App. § 47.1.

126 (إنما مثل العرب مثل جمل أنف أتبع قائده فلينظر قائده حيث يقوده أما أنا فرب الكعبة لأحملنكم على الطريق): App. § 140.2.

Also in the above examples, we see that the camel was mentioned by name in some of the citations (knees of a fleshy camel, bridled camels, resurrecting war as a camel, growling like a camel, pierce-nosed camel), but that in other cases the animal was evoked by specialized actions or vocabulary. In the latter case, the trope used was often the borrowing metaphor, especially if the image involved action (stepping in nose-rein, driving forth), but other figures of speech also evoked without naming, such as the simile (hump) or *kināyah* (urinated-in-water).

Portraying their conceptual thoughts and acts, orators also evoked images of other Arabian animals, wild beasts and domesticated creatures, mammals, reptiles, and insects, such as the lizard, the hyena, the horse, the sheep, the wolf, the lizard, the pig, the locust, and the goat. In their application of this imagery, they displayed detailed knowledge of the physiognomy as well as the living habits of these animals. Additionally, from the specific usage of these images, we get a sense of some of the cultural connotations of the animals referenced. The following examples demonstrate various particulars of animal representation in the oration. Ibn al-Ash'ath declared to his army: "Indeed, nothing remains of your enemy except that which remains of the lizard's tale—he thrashes with [the stump] to the right, and to the left, and very soon, he dies."¹²⁷ Ḥajjāj said to his Iraqi subjects: "I know the evil mongers among you better than a veterinarian knows a horse."¹²⁸ 'Alī said to his apathetic Iraqi followers: "Each time you heard about a Syrian troop coming near, every man among you holed up in his home like the holing up of the lizard in his burrow, and the hyena in his den."¹²⁹ Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar said to his army of Penitents: "Indeed, if these people feel the heat of swords about them, they will surely scatter from Ibn Muṭṭi' like sheep from the wolf."¹³⁰ Qutaybah ibn Muslim said to his troops: "This [race of] Soghdians is raising up its hind-foot [like a dog to urinate]."¹³¹ Corporealizing the worthlessness of this world, 'Alī compared it to "the sneeze (or fart) of a

¹²⁷ (إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْ عَدُوِّكُمْ إِلَّا كَمَا يَبْقَى مِنْ ذَنْبِ الْوَزْغَةِ تَضْرِبُ بِهِ يَمِينًا وَشِمَالًا فَمَا تَلْبَثُ حَتَّى تَمُوتَ): App. § 63.2.

¹²⁸ (إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ بِشَرِّكُمْ مِنَ الْبَيْطَارِ بِالْفَرَسِ): App. § 51.9.

¹²⁹ كَلَّمَا سَمِعْتُمْ مَبْسَرًا مِنْ مَنَاسِرِ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ أَظْلَكُمْ أَنْحَجِرْ كُلُّ أَمْرٍ مِنْكُمْ فِي بَيْتِهِ أَنْحَجَارُ الضَّبِّ فِي حَجْرِهِ (وَالضَّبُّ فِي وَجَارِهَا): App. § 31.33.

¹³⁰ (إِنَّ هَؤُلَاءَ لَوْ قَدْ وَجَدُوا لَهُمْ حَرَّ السَّيْفِ قَدْ أَنْصَفَقُوا عَنْ أَبِي مُطَيْعٍ أَنْصَفَاقَ الْمَعْرَى عَنِ الذَّنْبِ): App. § 65.1. "These people" refers to the Umayyad army, and Ibrāhīm's army was "penitent" for their having allowed Ḥusayn to be killed.

¹³¹ (هَذِهِ السَّغْدُ شَاغِرَةٌ بِرَجُلِهَا): App. § 106.1.

she-goat,"¹³² to "a leaf being chomped in the mouth of a locust,"¹³³ and to the "stripped bones of a pig in the hand of a leper."¹³⁴

Orators also invoked inanimate natural objects and phenomena figuratively. Ḥajjāj ascended the pulpit after quashing Ibn al-Zubayr's rebellion, and opened his speech with the words "The wave of a night dashed [upon you] and was dissipated by the morning light."¹³⁵ The wave-night combination appears to be a common one in the image inventory of the period; it is curiously reminiscent of Imru' al-Qays's extended night-camel analogy: "Night, like a wave of the sea, let down its shades ... I said to it ... will you not dissipate with morning?"; it also evokes the Qur'anic verse likening disbelievers' evil deeds to multiple dark-nesses in a turbulent sea: « Like dark-nesses in a full sea, wave upon wave. »¹³⁶ In another oratorical example, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr placed cloud-rain images of death alongside the one about driving calamities forward like a camel using two rhyming words in B for different types of clouds: "Indeed, the heavy-cloud (*sahāb*) of death has covered you; its white-cloud (*rabāb*) has encompassed you. It has gathered after being scattered, become weighed-down after being in shreds. It has rumbled its thunder towards you, and will empty its [load of] rain-drops upon you."¹³⁷

Metaphorical images from daily life abound in the orations, deriving from commonplace objects like weaponry, fabrics, ropes, fire, human limbs, dung-heaps, graves, and gold and silver, as well as mundane chores like traveling, building a house, bathing, washing clothes, and donning garments. 'Alī, in a battle oration, combined many of these images: "Truly, jihad is a gateway to paradise, which God has opened for his special servants. It is a garment of piety, God's protective armor, and his trusty shield. Whoever abandons it in dislike, God will clothe him in the cloak of humiliation."¹³⁸ Using an extraordinarily strong and detailed weapon image, the newly arrived governor Ḥajjāj

132 (عَفْطَةُ عَنَز): App. § 31.36.

133 (وَرَقَةٌ فِي فَمِ جَرَادَةٍ تَقْضُمُهَا): App. § 31.40.

134 (عِرَاقٌ خَنْزِيرٍ فِي يَدِ مَجْذُومٍ): Raḍī, 677, § 238; Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, 1:35; Waṭwāt, 138.

135 (مَوْجٌ لَيْلٍ أَلْطَمَ وَأَنْجَلٍ بَضُوءُ صَبَاحٍ): App. § 51.2.

136 ﴿أَوْ كَظُلُمَاتٍ فِي بَحْرٍ لَّيْلِ يَغْشَاهُ مَوْجٌ مِنْ فَوْقِهِ مَوْجٌ﴾: Q Nūr 24:40.

137 إِنَّ الْمَوْتَ قَدْ تَغَشَّاهُ بِكُمْ رِبَابُهُ وَأَجْتَمَعَ بَعْدَ تَفَرُّقٍ وَأَرْحَنَ بَعْدَ تَمَشُّقٍ وَرَجَسَ نَحْوَكُمْ رَعْدَهُ (وهو مفرغ عليكم ودقه): App. § 7.6.

138 إِنَّ الْجِهَادَ بَابٌ مِنْ أَبْوَابِ الْجَنَّةِ فَتَحَهُ اللَّهُ لَخَاصَّةِ عِبَادِهِ وَهُوَ لِبَاسُ التَّقْوَى وَدَرَعُ اللَّهِ الْحَصِينَةُ وَجَنَّتُهُ (الوُثِيقَةُ فَن تَرَكَهُ رَغْبَةً عَنْهُ أَلْبَسَهُ اللَّهُ ثَوْبَ الدَّلِّ): App. § 31.35.

said to his Iraqi subjects: “To be sure, the commander of the faithful—may God prolong his life—strewed his quiver in front of him and bit down on its shafts—he found me the strongest of them in wood, the most solid of them in column. Then he shot me at you, for you have long been quick to sedition.”¹³⁹ Mu‘āwiyah, upon hearing of Mālik al-Ashtar’s demise, referred to him as ‘Alī’s right hand: “‘Alī had two right hands, one [‘Ammār ibn Yāsir] was cut off in the Battle of Šiffin, and the other has been cut off today.”¹⁴⁰ Decrying the amassing of wealth, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz said to his subjects: “Indeed, I do not place stone upon stone, nor brick upon brick.”¹⁴¹ Dhū l-Kalā‘ began an anti-‘Alī speech with prefatory words about the Age of Ignorance and the Prophet’s role in ending it: “The world was ablaze in fire and sedition ... Muḥammad was the one through whom God extinguished its fire, and pulled up its tent-pegs.”¹⁴² Umm Kulthūm referred to the Kufans’ innate hypocrisy in her post-Karbala speech mentioned earlier: “Are you anything but green herbage on a dungheap, silver ornaments on a dead woman’s buried corpse.”¹⁴³ This is perhaps a reference to the Prophetic hadith warning believers about the “green herbage of the dungheaps,” *khaḍrā’ al-diman*; it is, on the face of it, something attractive, but hidden beneath is something foul.¹⁴⁴ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf said during the Shūrā Council deliberations, “An arrow that though lacking power hits the target is better than one that shot too hard goes beyond it. A mouthful of cold, brackish water is more beneficial than sweet water that brings infection.”¹⁴⁵ Further examples could be cited, but these suffice to demonstrate the manner in which the oration rooted abstractions in the human lifeworld.

139 وإن أمير المؤمنين أطل الله بقاءه نثر كائناته بين يديه فعجم عيدانها فوجدني أمرها عوداً وأصلبها مكسراً) App. § 51.3. (فرما كم بي

140 (فإنه كان لعلّي بن أبي طالب يدان يمينان قطعت إحداهما يوم صفّين وقطعت الأخرى اليوم) App. § 84.7.

141 (إنّي لا أضع حجراً على حجر ولا لبنه على لبنه) App. § 158.1, reference to amassing worldly goods.

See also § 56.1 (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī), § 31.47 (‘Alī).

142 (وأضطربت الدنيا نيراناً وفتنة ... فكان محمد هو الذي أطفأ الله به نيرانها ونزع به أوتادها) App. § 46.1.

143 (وهل أنتم إلّا كمرعى على دمنة وكفضّة على ملحودة) App. § 142.1, § 165.1.

144 (يأيّاكم وخضراء الدمن) Quḍā‘ī, *Shihāb*, § 6.90; Kulaynī, 1:755; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 2:21; Ṭabrisī, 203.

145 (إنّ حايباً خيراً من زاهق وإنّ جرعة من شروب بارد أنفع من عذب موب) App. § 11.1.

3.2 *Literal Cosmic Imagery*

The oration also made compelling use of literal images. In contrast to the primarily animal basis of its metaphorical tropes, its literal word-pictures gave greater prominence to inanimate natural objects (sun, mountains, rivers, clouds, plants) and the phenomena associated with them (rain, light, day), as well as human life stages (young, old) and conditions (rich, poor). But like figurative imagery, literal images also brought the abstract into the realm of the physical, albeit in a different way. By invoking natural objects, the orator reminded his audience of the all-encompassing power of nature. By invoking creation, he reminded them of its creator.

Exuberant and extensive literal imagery appears prominently in pre-Islamic orations of certain types, pious-counsel sermons and soothsayers' quasi-orations. After the coming of Islam, we find a number of praise openings of religio-political orations containing similar literal imagery; although the imagery segments of these Islamic praise openings are significantly shorter and thus more subdued than their pre-Islamic predecessors, their significant similarities to the imagery of soothsaying prose and pious-counsel sermons could indicate a carry-over from earlier times.

In all these orations, the literal imagery served to open the speech, setting the tone for what was to follow. Subsequent to their graphic images of the natural world, soothsayers cast their prophecies as acts of nature, pious counselors declared death an inevitable natural end, and Muslim orators asserted that the often adverse circumstances in which speaker and listeners found themselves arose from the wisdom of God, who, having created all things, controlled their destiny.

Soothsayers used literal images in the prefaces to their pieces, as subjects of the oaths by which they swore to the veracity of their prophecies and judgments. Zabrah' uttered to the Banū Ri'ām thus: "By the sky-wind blowing, by the night pitch-dark, by the morning shining forth, by the star night-rising, by the white rain-cloud pouring."¹⁴⁶ She used this oath preamble to lend weight to her pronouncement of an impending enemy attack: "Indeed, the trees of the valley warn of deceitful killings, and gnash their crooked teeth. Indeed, the rocks of the mountain warn of bereavement. And you shall find no escape from it!" Tarifat al-Khayr articulated thus: "By light and darkness; by earth and sky."¹⁴⁷ She harnessed the power of these natural forces by swearing by them, to lay the groundwork for her prophecy of approaching floods that would destroy

146 (واللوح الخافق والليل الغاسق والصباح الشارق والنجم الطارق والمزن الوادق): App. § 161.1.

147 (والنور والظلماء والأرض والسماء): App. § 133.1.

the Ma'rib dam in Yemen. 'Uzzā Salimah commenced his words thus: "By earth and sky, Aquila and the white-sun, striking the oasis of Baq'ā'."¹⁴⁸ An unnamed soothsayer of the Khuzā'ah tribe swore thus: "By the brilliant moon; by the shining star; by the rain-pouring cloud; by the birds in the air."¹⁴⁹ Sawād ibn Qārib asserted thus: "By sky and earth; by abundant water and scarce water; by loan and gift." Next he declared: "I swear by light and pitch-darkness; by stars and sky; rising and setting" Finally, he avowed: "I swear by the camels, far; the sheep, near; the tireless one, the rider; and the earnest one, the plunderer."¹⁵⁰

Contrary to the soothsayers' formulae, pious-counsel imagery was not in the form of oaths; rather, it took the form of disjointed, staccato phrases; sound bites; dramatic contrasts; a long series of word-slides signifying the all-encompassing and all-powerful character of the forces of nature, which the preacher verbally flashed by his desert-dwelling audience, to remind them of the inevitability of death and the logical necessity of a creator. Framed between announcements of impending death for all, the pre-Islamic orator Quss is reported to have provided in his famous sermon of pious counsel a long list of natural imagery full of contrasting pairs, encompassing by antithesis all members of that particular group: "Clear signs. Rain and plants. Fathers and mothers. One who goes and one who comes. Light and darkness. Piety and sin. A garment and a mount. Food and drink. Stars that rise and set. Seas that do not dry out. A firmament elevated. An earth laid out. A dark night. A sky with zodiacal signs."¹⁵¹ In the preceding phrases, Quss indicated to the audience his reason for mentioning these myriad objects: "Truly, there are messages in the earth. There are lessons in the sky."¹⁵² Another pious counselor, Ma'mūn al-Ḥārithī, taught a similar lesson:¹⁵³

148 (والأرض والسماء والعقاب والصقعا واقعة ببقعاء): App. §148.1; Aquila, or the Eagle (Arabic *uqāb*), is a constellation in the northern sky.

149 (والقمر الباهر والكوكب الزاهر والعمام الماطر وما بالجو من طائر): App. §76.1.

150 أقسم بالضياء والحلك والنجوم والفلك), (والسماء والأرض والغمر والبرص والقرص والقرض) (أقسم بالسوام العازب والوقير الكرب والمجدد الراكب والمشيع الحارب), (والشروق والدلك): App. §124.1.

151 آيات محكمات مطرونيات وآباء وأمهات وذاهب وآت ضوء وظلام وبر وأثام ولباس ومركب ومطعم): App. (ومشرب ونجوم تمور وبحور لا تغور وسقف مرفوع ومهاد موضوع وليل داج وسماء ذات أبراج): App. §105.1.

152 (إن في السماء لخبراً وإن في الأرض لعلراً): App. §105.1.

153 App. §79.1.

An earth laid out, a sky elevated. A sun that rises and sets, stars that night-travel and go far. A moon that month-beginnings make rise and month-endings blot out. A weak man rich, a strong man beggarly. A youth dying, an old man gone. Travelers who do not return, those who stay who will not be forgotten [by death]. Rain that is sent by decree, then revives humankind, brings leaves to trees, produces fruit, grows flowers. Water that gushes from the hard rock, removes the mud from the branches of the green plants, then revives people, satiates camels, nurtures grazing animals.

أرض موضوعة وسما مرفوعة وشمس
تطلع وتغرب ونجوم تسري فتعزب وقر
تطلع النجور وتحققه أدبار الشهور وعاجز مثر
وحول مكة وشاب محتضر ويفن قد غبر
وراحلون لا يؤوبون وموقوفون لا يفرطون
ومطير يرسل بقدر فيحيي البشر ويورق
الشجر ويطلع الثمر وينبت الزهر وماء يتفجر
من الصخر الأير فيصدع المدر عن أفنان
الخنضر فيحيي الأنعام ويشبع السوام وينمي
الأنعام.

Ma'mūn also spelled out the function of the imagery in the subsequent lines: "Truly, in [all] this one finds the clearest of proofs for the [existence of] the Planner, the Destiny-Writer, the Creator, the Shaper." (إن في ذلك لأوضح دلائل على) (المدير المقتدر البارئ المصور).

The nature-oriented *tahmūd* prefaces of the earliest Islamic orations also connected creation with its creator on a universal plane, and, by implication, they coupled the specific situation on the ground with God's will. Often, these *tahmūds* cited verbatim or modified Qur'anic verses. Zabyān ibn Ḥaddād of the delegation of Madhḥij opened his address to the Muslims and the Prophet with praise to "the God who gave sustenance": "All praise belongs to God, who split the earth with vegetation and ripped the sky with rains."¹⁵⁴ He went on to name the many tribes that had gone before, their ingratitude towards God's favors, and the chastisements he sent down upon them. 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās gave a speech to the Iraqis in Ṣiffīn, in which he predicated the chaos he witnessed in the Muslim community on the will of God, setting up this argument in the following *tahmūd*: "«All praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds.» Who spread out below us seven [earth masses], and raised above us seven [skies], and created between them a creation, and sent down from it sustenance." The subsequent lines of the *tahmūd* are crucial to understanding the religio-political function of the nature imagery: "Then God gave everything a destined [time to] decay and perish, other than his face, alive, self-existing, which lives and

¹⁵⁴ (الحمد لله الذي صدع الأرض بالنبات وفتح السماء بالرجع) App. § 160.1; see also § 135.1 (Thābit).

remains.” Further bolstering the deterministic point he had begun to make in the praise introduction, he said explicitly later in the oration: “God’s decree drove us to what you see.”¹⁵⁵ Mālik al-Ashtar opened a speech, also the Battle of Šiffin, using the same technique.¹⁵⁶ The Khārijite commander Šāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ used a Qur’anic verse invoking God’s creation of the universe to set up a speech that mingled pious counsel with his religio-political ideology: «All praise belongs to God who created the skies and the earth, and made darkness and light.»¹⁵⁷

Across the various types of orations, the form of literal imagery merged in certain aspects and diverged in others, indicating similarities and differences of function. The pronouncements of soothsayers were supposed to be quasi-divine and otherworldly, and thus were differentiated linguistically from “normal” speech. Their image-filled lines were fully consonant-rhymed, completely parallel, used lots of rare words, and took the form of a string of oaths preceded by the asseverate *wa-* or by the verb and preposition “[I] swear by” (*uqsimu bi-*). Pious-counsel sermons tried to persuade—but not to awe or dazzle—through referencing nature broadly. Their imagery was also parallel and rhymed, but the rhyme was less strict; the rhyme consonant changed after every few lines. Also, their imagery segments were longer, and they utilized short, noun-adjective phrases rather than full clauses. Stemming from the common orality of the soothsayer pronouncements and the pious-counsel sermon, the image sections in both types of orations applied a paratactic style, equalizing lines by using the conjunctive ‘and’ between them, rather than subordinating connectors. Additionally, in all three types of orations that showcased nature (soothsayer pronouncements, pre-Islamic pious-counsel sermons, and *taḥmīd* prefaces of Islamic speeches), literal imagery consisted largely of antithetical pairs, particularly the pairs of earth and sky, night and day, light and darkness. Since a thing and its opposite encompasses all things, each of the three types of orations aimed—by means of imagery—to convey the comprehensive force of nature, the smallness and impotence of humans in comparison, and the power of the divine creator.

155 الحمد لله رب العالمين الذي دحا تحتنا سبعاً وسمك فوقنا سبعاً وخلق فيما بينهنّ خلقاً وأنزل منهنّ رزقاً) ثمّ جعل لكلّ شيء قدرّاً يلى ويفنى غير وجهه الحيّ القيوم الذي يحيا ويبقى ... قد ساقنا قدر الله إلى ما (تروى): App. § 1.3.

156 App. § 77.2. Q Ṭāhā 20:4–6.

157 ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَجَعَلَ الظُّلُمَاتِ وَالنُّورَ﴾: Q An‘ām 6:1, App. § 122.2.

4 Testimonial Citation

The orator stacked the odds in favor of a positive response from his audience by linking his current agenda to literary instruments that were part of their combined, cherished heritage. As testimonials reinforcing or illustrating his assertions, he cited verses from the Qur'an and poetry, from hadith and from prose proverbs. The proverbial function of poetic citation is emphasized by the common prefacing phrase: "he cited as a testimonial" (قال متمثلاً),¹⁵⁸ and the same testamentary objective may be attributed to citations from the other three sources. The medieval scribe Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kātib (fl. 4th/10th c.) commented on the positive audience reception of demonstrative quotation, saying: "Among the attributes of oratory are ... studding with Qur'an[ic verses] and popular proverb[ial prose and verse]. These are among the things that ornament orations for their listeners."¹⁵⁹ Moreover, citation of proverbial materials is a natural, mnemonic component of orally based expression, for these materials are (in Ong's words) "constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily" and because they "themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall."¹⁶⁰ The Qur'an, as is well-known, was orally conceived, and initially, and in large part, orally transmitted,¹⁶¹ poetry of the early period was also an oral genre, and they both contained numerous mnemonic features. These citations also evoked the unvoiced context of the verse or line, with which the audience was familiar. In the oration, citations from the Qur'an and poetry were particularly frequent. Since both were beloved by the Arabs, and because the audience had much of both committed to memory, their mention evoked strong associations, and thus encouraged an affirmative response.

4.1 *Qur'an Citation*

As the word of God, the Qur'an wielded an authority over Muslims unsurpassed by any other verbal instrument, and as such, it was the obvious tool to shore up an argument in an Islamic milieu. Through apposite juxtaposition of Qur'anic verses with political or theological statements, the orator elicited from his audience an interpretation of these verses that supported his position. Moreover, reciting the word of God was believed to impart divine grace (*barakah*), and consequently, quotations from it were considered a vital adorn-

158 E.g., 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ (Mas'ūdī, 3:18, App. § 35.5), Abū Bakr (Mubarrad, *Ta'āzzī*, 130), Ma'mūn (Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 2:22). The phrase is also commonly used in non-oratorical speech.

159 Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, 194.

160 Ong, 34.

161 For a discussion of the Qur'an's orality, see Graham, 79–115.

ment. They imparted an air of unambiguous religiosity to the oration. Indeed, the nascent Islamic society considered Qur'anic quotation essential, with Jāḥiẓ asserting that the “pious early Muslims” used the term “disfigured oration” (*khuṭbah shawhā*) for the oration that was “not beautified by citations from the Qur'an and by blessings on the Prophet.”¹⁶² Thematic and vocabulary-based allusions to the Qur'an permeated all Islamic orations, but actual citation was optional in practice. Muḥammad, the caliphs, and other religious authorities, frequently employed it in their speeches and sermons, but just as frequently did not. Although not mandatory, modified or verbatim Qur'anic quotation was a familiar part of Islamic oration.¹⁶³

Orators singled out Qur'anic verses on subjects resonating with their own. Different types of orations sourced differently themed scripture. Political and battle speeches quoted verses on political and battle related issues. Pious-counsel and ritual sermons quoted verses commanding godliness. But verses containing injunctions to piety were also used to good effect in speeches with a political agenda, a demonstration of the indivisibility of religion and politics in the early Islamic state.

Qur'anic citation was particularly widespread in sermons of ritual prayer and pious counsel. In such sermons, preachers commonly cited verses enjoining piety, performing good deeds, and making provision for the hereafter. In his famous *tawḥīd* sermon, the Mu'tazilite Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' cited the verse «Fear God O intelligent people, so that you prosper» ﴿وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ يَا أُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ لَعَلَّكُمْ﴾. ¹⁶⁴ In his (ritual Friday?) sermon, the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik talked to his audience of godliness by citing the verse «Make provision—and the best provision is God-fearing piety (*taqwā*)» ﴿تَزَوَّدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ التَّقْوَى﴾. ¹⁶⁵ In an oration encouraging the people of Ḥimṣ to be virtuous, 'Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit cited the verses «Whosoever performs a mote-worth of good shall see it. Whosoever performs a mote-worth of evil shall see it» ﴿فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا﴾. ¹⁶⁶ ﴿وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ﴾.

Citations from the Qur'an were also used to good effect in political and religio-political speeches. The Umayyad governor of Iraq Ḥajjāj often took advantage of the Qur'an, using it explicitly to strengthen his political messages.

¹⁶² Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 2:6.

¹⁶³ See Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:118; Tha'ālibī, *Iqtibās*, 2:25–31; Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, 128. On its functions in early Arabic oration, see T. Qutbuddin, “Qur'an Citation.”

¹⁶⁴ App. § 151.1; Q Mā'idah 5:100.

¹⁶⁵ App. § 8.5; Q Baqarah 2:197.

¹⁶⁶ App. § 137.1; Q Zalzalah 99:7–8.

In one such speech, he praised the Syrians by saying to them: "You, O people of Syria, are as Almighty God has said: «Our word has been given to our servants, the messengers. Indeed, they will be aided! Indeed and verily, our army will triumph!»" **وَلَقَدْ سَبَقَتْ كَلِمَتُنَا لِعِبَادِنَا الْمُرْسَلِينَ إِنَّهُمْ لَهُمُ الْمَنْصُورُونَ ۝ وَإِنَّ جُنَدَنَا لَهُمُ**

الْغَالِبُونَ ۝¹⁶⁷ In another speech he unequivocally interpreted two Qur'anic verses to support the Umayyad government, declaring: "God said: «Fear God as much as you can»" **اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ** —this is for God; and [then] He said «Listen and obey»

وَأَسْمِعُوا وَأَطِيعُوا —this is for the servant of God, the vicegerent of God, the beloved of God, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.¹⁶⁸ On the day of 'Āshūrā' in Karbala, when the Umayyad army approached Ḥusayn to kill him, he delivered a speech from his horse in which he quoted the Prophet Noah's words to his people: «Then let not your affair become grievous for you, then take your decision against me, and give me no respite» **ثُمَّ لَا يَكُنْ أَمْرُكُمْ عَلَيْكُمْ غُمَّةً ثُمَّ**

وَلَا تَنْظُرُونَ ۝ , and then immediately quoted another Qur'anic verse in Muḥammad's voice addressing the polytheists: «Truly, my friend is God, who sent down the Book, and he takes the pious as friends.» **إِنَّ وَلِيِّ اللَّهِ الَّذِي نَزَّلَ**

الْكِتَابَ وَهُوَ يَتَوَلَّى الصَّالِحِينَ ۝¹⁶⁹

In keeping with the large numbers of Qur'an reciters among them, the Khārijites used copious Qur'anic quotations in all types of orations: political speeches, battle orations, and pious-counsel sermons. In one sermon, Qaṭarī warned his people of their mortality by citing—after every few sentences—a different verse from the Qur'an, totaling five in all, among them the verse, «Those are their dwellings, lived in after them but little. We became the inheritors» **فَتِلْكَ مَسَاكِينُهُمْ لَمْ تَسْكَنْ مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا وَكُنَّا خُنُّهُنَّ أُولَئِئِنَّ**

وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَى أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ مَاتَ أَبَدًا وَلَا تَقُمْ عَلَى قَبْرِهِ إِنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللَّهِ «Do not pray [the ritual funeral prayer] for any who dies from among them, and do not stand at his grave. Indeed, they disbelieved in God and His messenger, and they died corrupt» **وَرَسُولِهِ وَمَاتُوا وَهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ ۝**¹⁷¹

167 App. § 51.7; Q Sāffāt 37:171–173.

168 Q Taghābun 64:16; App. § 51.7.

169 App. § 62.7; Q Yūnus 10:71, A'rāf 7:196. He also cited Q Dukhān 44:20 **إِنِّي عَذْتُ رَبِّي وَرَبِّكُمْ**

۝ أَن تَرْجِعُونِ أَعُودُ رَبِّي وَرَبِّكُمْ مِنْ كُلِّ مَتَكَبِّرٍ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِيَوْمِ الْحِسَابِ ۝

170 App. § 102.1; Q Qaṣaṣ 28:85; the other verses are: Kahf 18:54, Najm 53:31, Hūd 11:15–16.

171 App. § 122.1; Q Tawbah 9:84.

his troops to fight by citing the verse «If wounds afflict you, [know that] similar wounds afflict [your enemies]. We deal out such days in turn among people»

﴿إِنْ يَمْسَسْكُمْ قَرْحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ الْقَوْمَ قَرْحٌ مِثْلُهُ وَتِلْكَ الْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ﴾.¹⁷²

In a single oration, orators usually cited one verse, or perhaps two, but a few speeches were laden with citations from the Qur'an; these unusual speeches relied almost wholly on their selection of Qur'anic verses to make their point. The most unusual case of all is a speech by Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr composed solely of a string of Qur'an verses from the surah Qaṣaṣ, narrating the downfall of Pharaoh and telling of God's mercy upon those he had oppressed.¹⁷³ Muṣ'ab had been sent by his brother, the counter-caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr (based in Mecca), to garner Iraqi support to fight the Umayyads in Damascus. In his speech, as he recited verses about Pharaoh's end, Muṣ'ab used hand gestures to point towards Syria, signaling impending defeat; and as he recited verses about God's benevolence, he motioned towards the Ḥijāz, predicting approaching triumph. In a less stark case, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī quoted four verses, one after another, with a couple of lines of his own composing between each verse, in a speech addressed to his subjects during his short caliphate. These verses enjoined relying on God, the Messenger, and the "people in command" (أولو الأمر)—referring to himself, Muḥammad's grandson) in matters of dispute; other verses (in a more general frame) warned that belief and good deeds must precede death, the moment of final reckoning, if one is to be saved from hellfire.¹⁷⁴ In a yet more dispersed version, Qaṭarī cited five verses of a religio-political nature over the course of a longer sermon described in the previous paragraph.¹⁷⁵ These examples speak to the power of citation in this tradition, and they also point to something unusual in the situation or speaker that necessitated hyper quotation. In the speeches of Muṣ'ab and Qaṭarī, the message of the speech was dangerous. Muṣ'ab's message in promoting the counter-caliphate of his brother 'Abdallāh was a direct challenge to Umayyad authority. Qaṭarī's message, although indirect and couched in verbiage of pious wisdom, was no less a challenge to the

172 App. § 168.1; Q Āl 'Imrān 3:140.

173 App. § 92.1; Q Qaṣaṣ 28:1–6.

174 App. § 55.7. Qur'an citations: (1) Nisā' 4:59 ﴿فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ﴾ (2) ﴿وَلَوْ رَدُّوهُ إِلَى الرَّسُولِ وَإِلَى أُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْهُمْ لَعَلِمَ الَّذِينَ يُسْتَبِطُونَ مِنْهُمْ﴾ Nisā' 4:83 (3) Anfāl 8:48 ﴿لَا غَالِبَ لَكُمُ الْيَوْمَ مِنَ النَّاسِ وَإِنِّي جَارٌ لَكُمْ فَلَمَّا تَرَأَتِ الْقُسُوفَ نَكَصَ عَلَى عَقْبَيْهِ وَقَالَ إِنِّي بريء﴾ (4) An'am 6:158 ﴿مَنْهُمْ إِنِّي أَرَى مَا لَا تَرَوْنَ لَا يَنْفَعُ نَفْسًا إِيْمَانُهَا لَمْ تَكُنْ ءَامَنَتْ مِنْ قَبْلُ أَوْ كَسَبَتْ﴾ (5) ﴿فِي إِيْمَانِهَا خَيْرًا﴾.

175 App. § 102.1; Q Qaṣaṣ 28:85; the other verses are: Kahf 18:54, Najm 53:31, Hūd 11:15–16.

ruling power. The speech of Ḥasan, grandson of Muḥammad, aimed at convincing the people that the family of the Prophet had been divinely granted authority to rule, arguing against both the Khārijite claim generalizing such authority to all Muslims, and the anti-Hāshimite character of Umayyad rule. All three of these orators relied on the weight of the Qur'an to drive home their controversial points.

Orators frequently quoted Qur'anic verses in the introductory *taḥmīd*, sometimes in a formulaic fashion, at other times in a politically contextualized manner. In all-purpose *taḥmīds*, speakers frequently followed a supplication to God for guidance with a Qur'anic quote ascribing guidance entirely to Him. Muḥammad and, following him, Ash'ath ibn Qays and Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah all used the following modified quote: "Whomsoever God guides, no one can lead astray. Whomsoever God leads astray, no one can guide." (من يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَلَا مُضِلَّ) (له) ومن يَضِلُّ فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ—lines in a slightly different word order than the two Qur'anic verses they reference, but containing the same vocabulary and meaning: ﴿وَمَنْ يُضِلِّ اللَّهُ فَمَا لَهُ مِنْ هَادٍ﴾ and ﴿وَمَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَمَا لَهُ مِنْ مُضِلٍّ﴾.¹⁷⁶ Elsewhere, Muḥammad cited the first phrase (modified) and 'Alī and 'Uthmān cited longer sections of the verse: "[God] sent him with right guidance and the true religion to make it manifest over all religion[s], even though polytheists be displeased." ﴿أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ﴾; the words "his messenger" in the verse "God sent Muḥammad" were modified here to the pronoun "him" (أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ).¹⁷⁷ In contextualized *taḥmīds*, citation of Qur'anic verses was driven by the political goal of the speech. Some orators used the literal imagery of God's creation to reinforce their assertions that their battles were destined for some mysterious purpose by divine will. The *taḥmīd* citation of this sort by the Khārijite Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ has been cited earlier.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, Ashtar began his speech at the Battle of Ṣiffīn with citations asserting God's creation and ownership, to prove that this event had been written in the divine decree: "All praise belongs to God «who created the high heavens, the merciful [who] sat on the throne. To him belong the skies and the earth, and that which is below the ground.»" ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي﴾ ﴿خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ الْعُلَىٰ﴾ ﴿الرَّحْمَنُ عَلَىٰ﴾

176 Q Zumar 39:37; Ra'd 13:23, Zumar 39:23, 26, Ghāfir 40:33 (four identical verses). App. § 90.5 and § 90.19; § 38.1; § 155.1.

177 Q Ṣaff 61:9, Fath 48:28, Tawbah 9:33. App. § 90.3 (Muḥammad), § 31.21 ('Alī), § 146.6 ('Uthmān). Abū Bakr cited a Qur'anic verse that began with the same words: «Whomsoever God guides, he is the one with right guidance. Whomsoever God leads astray, you shall find that he has not a single friend.» ﴿مَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَهُوَ الْمُهْتَدِ وَمَنْ يُضِلِّ فَلَنْ تَجِدَ لَهُ وَلِيًّا﴾. App. § 15.8; Q Kahf 18:17; first phrase of verse also in Q Isrā' 17:97, A'rāf 7:178.

178 App. § 122.2; Q Tawbah 9:84.

﴿الْعَرْشِ أَسْتَوَىٰ ۖ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا وَمَا تَحْتَ الثَّرَىٰ﴾¹⁷⁹ (the full Qur’anic verse is “created the earth and the heavens,” the phrase “the earth and” has been elided in the oration’s citation, or at least from the rendering in our source).

As the above examples demonstrate, the Qur’anic verses functioned in these orations implicitly or explicitly. Frequently, they worked through juxtaposition and implication, with the orator letting the audience draw their own conclusions, such as the creation verses in Ashtar’s *tahmūd*. At other times, they operated explicitly, with the orator quoting a verse and then specifying a particular interpretation, such as Ḥajjāj’s quotes supporting the Umayyads. Usually, they were cited at the end of a theme point as strong retroactive endorsement.

Orators sometimes prefaced their citations with the phrase “As God Almighty said” (كَمَا قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى), or words to that effect. As often, they quoted the Qur’an without prefatory verbiage, with the apparent assumption that the audience would recognize the quotation.

Orators frequently restructured Qur’anic verses to fit the grammatical or rhythmic flow of their orations. They reworked word order or pronouns; dropped, altered or added conjunctions; interpolated phraseology; and changed grammatical cases or moods and their indicators. Muḥammad modified word order in the verse in his *tahmūd* (just discussed) about the right guidance of God. In a quote of the Qur’anic verse modified in terms of pronoun and case, «Believe in God and his messenger and spend of that over which God has appointed you successors» ﴿آمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَأَنْفِقُوا مِمَّا جَعَلَكُمْ مُسْتَخْلَفِينَ﴾, Zubayr ibn ‘Alī said to his fellow Khārijites: “Have faith in this: you are the ‘ones who have been appointed [by God as his] successors on earth’” (وَتُفَوَّضُ إِلَيْكُمْ) (المُسْتَخْلَفُونَ فِي الْأَرْضِ); changing the Qur’anic accusative case and its indicator “*t*” of the word “*mustakhlaḥfina*,” to the nominative case and its indicator “*ū*,” and replacing the (masculine) pronoun “it” (فِيهِ) with a (feminine) noun “the earth” (فِي الْأَرْضِ).¹⁸⁰ Abū Bakr—in a thrice modified quote of another Qur’anic verse “You were enemies, then God united your hearts, so you became, by his favor, brothers. You were upon the lip of the abyss of hellfire, then God saved you from it. This is how God makes his signs clear for you, perhaps you will accept guidance.” ﴿إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِخْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَىٰ شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِّنَ ٱلنَّارِ فَأَنْقَذَكُم مِّنْهَا كَذَٰلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ ٱللَّهُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ﴾—omitted the first phrase (You were enemies); changed the following conjunction “then” (*fa-*) to “and”

179 App. § 77.2; Q Ṭāhā 20:4–6.

180 App. § 168.1; Q Ḥadīd 57:7.

(*wa-*); and interpolated a vocative phrase “O believers” (أيها المؤمنون) between “... hearts” and “so you became ...”¹⁸¹ As with verbatim citations, these modified quotes would be recognized by the audience. Just as in the case of word-to-word citations, the customized excerpts from the Qur’an grounded the orator’s message to his Muslim audience in divine authority.

Tha‘alibī devotes some pages of his book *al-Iqtibās min al-Qur’an* (“Quoting from the Qur’an”) to Qur’an citation in orations, where he cites sermons by Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Alī, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, ‘Abd al-Malik, Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, Saffāḥ, Maṣṣūr, ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Alī, Dā‘ūd ibn ‘Alī, Ṣāliḥ ibn ‘Alī, and Ibn al-Mu‘tazz. He prefaces the citations with a quote from the litterateur Haytham ibn ‘Adī (d. 219/825), speaking of the importance of Qur’an citation, particularly in the Friday and Eid sermons: “[The Arabs] liked to quote verses from the Qur’an on feast days and Fridays, for they added splendor, dignity, refinement, and appositeness to their discourse.”¹⁸²

4.2 Poetry Citation

Poetry had a quasi-sacred status in pre-Islamic Arabia. After the advent of Islam, although its stature diminished, it still continued to record battles and loves, hopes and aspirations, thoughts and wisdom—in their own words, it was the “register of the Arabs” (*dīwān al-‘arab*). The early Arabs widely memorized snatches of verses and also entire poems, and had them at ready recall. Although medieval Muslim critics and particularly jurists appear to have disapproved of poetic citation in orations (comparing it unfavorably with citing the Qur’an),¹⁸³ such citing was in fact common practice in earlier times, even in Friday sermons.¹⁸⁴ Poetic citation usually sanctified an oration by associating it with much older or more traditional language, and less commonly, it associated the orator’s argument with an ongoing conversation about the subject of the speech. In both cases, orators drew upon the semi-sacred authority and the proverbial force of poetry to strengthen their arguments in public address.

181 App. § 15.8; Q Āl ‘Imrān 3:103.

182 Tha‘alibī, *Iqtibās*, 2:25–31.

183 Jāḥiz, *Bayān*, 1:118; Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, 122.

184 E.g., App. § 7.4: Ibn al-Zubayr, in a Friday sermon in Mecca, cited a verse by Jamil (verse attribution from ‘Abdallāh al-Bakrī, 1:620).

Following are examples of testimonial poetic citation in orations, particularly political ones. After hearing the unsatisfactory results of the Arbitration, 'Alī reprimanded the Iraqis for disobeying him at Şiffin, then summed up the situation in a line by Durayd ibn al-Şimmah (d. 9/630) of the Hawāzin:¹⁸⁵

أَمَرْتُكُمْ أَمْرِي بِمَنْعَرِجِ اللَّوَى فَلَمْ تَسْتَبِينُوا النَّصْحَ إِلَّا ضَحَى الْغَدِ

I commanded you with my command near the twisting of the sands, but
you did not see the light of the counsel until mid-morning of the next day.

In another example, upon hearing a shout of "God is great!" in the market, the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj declared to the people of Iraq that he knew the slogan was meant as a challenge, then, a few lines into the speech, he gave them a dire poetic warning:¹⁸⁶

You and I are as [the pre-Islamic *ṣu'lūk* poet] 'Amr ibn Barrāq al-Hamdānī said:

وَكُنْتُ إِذَا قَوْمٌ غَرَوْنِي غَرَوْتَهُمْ فَهَلْ أَنَا فِي ذَا يَا لَهْمَدَانَ ظَالِمٌ
مَتَى تَجْمَعُ الْقَلْبَ الذِّكِّيَّ وَصَارِمًا وَأَنْفًا حَمِيًّا تَجْتَنِبُكَ الْمَظَالِمُ

If a people attack me, I attack them. Am I in this—O help for Hamdān!—an oppressor?

If you combine a clever heart, a sharp sword, and an uplifted nose,
oppressive acts will avoid you.

In a further example, in appreciation of their support of the Emigrants, Abū Bakr said to the Allies:

"You and I are as Ṭufayl [ibn 'Awf] al-Ghanawī has said: May God reward the Banū Ja'far ... they housed us in the shade of their homes ..." (جَزَى اللَّهُ عَنَّا جَعْفَرًا) ... (هم أسكنونا في ظلال بيوتهم) (three lines).¹⁸⁷

As in this example, and in Ḥajjāj's quote of 'Amr ibn Barrāq, the proverbial purpose of poetic citation is underscored by the frequent use of the pre-

¹⁸⁵ App. § 31.19; v. 6 in the poem (أَرَأَيْتَ جَدِيدُ الْحَبْلِ مِنْ أُمَّ مَعْبِدٍ). The verse is cited in Qurashī, 274. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:122.

¹⁸⁶ App. § 51.4. "Uplifted nose" refers to self-respect and pride.

¹⁸⁷ App. § 15.7.

facing phrase “You (or: You and I) are as such-and-such a poet has said ...” (إِنَّمَا ... مِثْلِي وَمِثْلَكُمْ كَمَا قَالَ ...). There are several further examples. After killing Muṣ‘ab, the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik promised the Kufans harsh penalties for rebellion, in seven lines of poetry beginning:¹⁸⁸

You and I are as [the Prophet’s Companion] Qays ibn Rifā‘ah al-Anṣārī has said:

مَنْ يَصْلُ نَارِي بِلَا ذَنْبٍ وَلَا تَرَةٍ يَصْلُ نَارٍ كَرِيمٍ غَيْرِ غَدَّارٍ

Whoever burns in my fire without sinning or [being sought for] blood-revenge, burns in a noble fire, not deceitful.

Ḥajjāj said to the Iraqis:¹⁸⁹

You (pl.) are but as the man from the Banū Dhubyān [the pre-Islamic *mu‘allaqah* poet Nābighah]¹⁹⁰ has said:

إِذَا حَاوَلْتَ فِي أَسَدٍ فُجُورًا فَإِنِّي لَسْتُ مِنْكَ وَلَسْتُ مِنِّي
هُمْ دِرْعِي الَّتِي أَسْتَلَأْتُ فِيهَا إِلَى يَوْمِ النَّسَارِ وَهُمْ مِجْنِي

If you attempt injustice toward [the tribe of] Asad, then I am not of you and you are not of me.

They are the armor which I put on close in the Battle of Nisār, and they are my shield.

Occasionally, the proverbial nature of the cited poetry derived from earlier prose-proverbs. At the beginning of a speech appointing Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah to the governorate of Kufa, Mu‘āwiyah cited (by name) the pre-Islamic Christian poet Mutalammiṣ (d. 569AD), author of the lines he quoted:¹⁹¹

لِذِي الْحِلْمِ قَبْلَ الْيَوْمِ مَا تَقَرَّعَ الْعَصَا وَمَا عَلِمَ الْإِنْسَانُ إِلَّا لِيَعْلَمَا

That which the stick strikes was, before today, for the wise person. A human being is not taught [something], except so that he may know [it].

188 App. § 8.2.

189 App. § 51.7.

190 Sibawayh, 4:186.

191 App. § 86.1. The verse was also cited by the Abbasid caliph Maṣṣūr (Jāḥiz, *Bayān*, 3:369).

This verse was a rendering of the pre-Islamic prose-proverb: (Indeed, the stick is struck for the wise person.) (إِنَّ الْعَصَا قَرَعَتْ لَذِي حِلْمٍ). Jāhiz reported that when the eminent pre-Islamic judge ‘Āmir ibn al-Ẓarb al-‘Adwānī became old and forgetful, he asked his daughter to alert him; whenever he pronounced an incorrect judgment, she would strike a stick. (Striking a stick for a mature person) thus became a proverb.¹⁹²

As we have seen, the citations served as testimonial truth to the validity of a speaker’s position, but their relative positioning achieved this purpose in different ways. If cited at the very beginning, the verses set the general tone for what was to follow. If cited in the middle, they endorsed what came before, and/or prepared the ground for what remained. If cited at the very end, they served as a succinctly codified package that connected the specifics of the orator’s arguments, which the audience had just heard, to the received wisdom of their forefathers. Several citations appear to be at or towards the end, although it is not possible to ascertain this fact with certainty since many of our orations are not complete texts. The Umayyad governor Ziyād, for example, ended a speech from the pulpit with the words:¹⁹³

People! Let not what you know about our evil, prevent you from benefiting from the good you hear from us. For as the poet says:

إِعْمَلْ بِقَوْلِي وَإِنْ قَصُرْتُ فِي عَمَلِي يَنْفَعَكَ قَوْلِي وَلَا يَضُرُّكَ تَقْصِيرِي

Act upon my words even though I fall short in my deeds. My words will benefit you and my shortcoming will not harm you.

Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī’s anonymous citation,¹⁹⁴ and ‘Alī’s earlier mentioned citation of Imru’ al-Qays and Durayd, also come at the end of their speeches.

Orators usually cited half-lines of poetry, single lines, or two or three lines, and sometimes more, even seven, as ‘Abd al-Malik did. In a similarly a rare instance, Ḥajjāj stacked up four multi-line poetic citations.¹⁹⁵ He began one

192 Jāhiz, *Bayān*, 3:38.

193 (أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ لَا يَمْنَعُكُمْ سُوءُ مَا تَعْلَمُونَ مِمَّا أَنْ تَنْتَفِعُوا بِأَحْسَنِ مَا تَسْمَعُونَ مِمَّا فَإِنَّ الشَّاعِرَ يَقُولُ). App. §166.6. The composer of this line is not named by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, nor by Abū Nu‘aym, 7:276, who cites the verse in another context.

194 (وَالصُّلْحُ تَأْخُذُ مِنْهُ مَا رَضِيتَ بِهِ وَالْحَرْبُ يَكْفِيكَ مِنْ أَنْفَاسِهَا جُرْعٌ). App. §55.2.

195 App. §51.3.

of his famous orations by citing a single line by the *mukhaḍram* poet (whose lifespan straddled two eras, the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic) Suḥaym ibn Wathīl al-Riyāḥī as a means of touting his own ability and experience.¹⁹⁶

أَنَا بَنُ جَلَا وَطَلَاغُ الثَّنَايَا مَتَى أَضَعُ الْعِمَامَةَ تَعْرِفُونِي

I am morning's child, an intrepid climber of narrow mountain paths.
When I doff my turban, you shall know who I am.

Then, after a few lines of dire warning to his audience, he cited in the same thematic vein three separate *rajaz* segments, one following the other, by the pre-Islamic poet Rashīd (or Ruwayshid) ibn Ramīḍ al-ʿAnzī,¹⁹⁷ an early Muslim *rajaz* poet,¹⁹⁸ and a pre-Islamic or early Islamic *rajaz* poet. He did not name the poet in any of these four citations.

The older the testimonial, the more potent, presumably, its effect would be. Most poets cited within the Islamic oratorical texts are either from the pagan period or they straddle both pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, and a few are early Muslims. In choosing a verse to cite, orators appear to have given more weight to the early chronology of the poetry than the fame of the poet; some of the poets cited were famous, others less so, and the identity of yet others I have not been able to ascertain. As the examples cited here demonstrate, orators most often quoted pre-Islamic poets, pagan or Christian. These included celebrated poets such as the *muʿallaqah* composers Imruʿ al-Qays,¹⁹⁹ Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, and Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā,²⁰⁰ as well as Mutalammis, and Durayd ibn al-Ṣimmaḥ. They also included poets who were well known but less celebrated than the former, such as ʿUfayl al-Ghanawī and the brigand ʿAmr ibn Barrāq al-Hamdānī. And they also cited poets who were relatively less known, such as Rashīd ibn Ramīḍ al-ʿAnzī. Occasionally, orators also quoted early Islamic poets. These included illustrious poets such as Jamīl, and lesser known poets such as Suḥaym ibn Wathīl al-Riyāḥī, and Qays ibn Rifāʿah al-Anṣārī. Very often, orators quoted verses by poets whose names neither they

196 Attribution provided from Maydānī, 1:129. Suḥaym belonged to the Banū Ḥimyar ibn Riyāḥ ibn Yarbūʿ.

197 The attribution to Rashīd is from Ibn al-ʿAdīm [= Ibn Abī Jarādah] (5:48), Baṣrī (1:103), and Tibrīzī (1:132); Ṣafadī (16:84) explains the etiology of this verse, and he says the harsh driver (*ḥuṭam*) refers to Shurayḥ ibn Ḍubayʿah.

198 The poet refers to himself in the third line as an Emigrant (*muhājir*). For details of this verse see Ibn Qutaybah, *Gharīb*, 3:695; and Māwardī, 1:144–145.

199 App. § 31.37 (ʿAlī).

200 App. § 27.2 (Aḥnaf).

nor the sources record. The fame of the poet was not, apparently, a significant factor in rendering a citation effective; the fame of the line, and its age, was.

Presumably, the audience would know the name of the poet and the context of the citation, and the orator sometimes did and sometimes did not clarify the attribution of the verses he cited. Often, he named the poet explicitly: Mu‘āwiyah cited Mutalammis, ‘Abd al-Malik cited Qays ibn Rifā‘ah, Ḥajjāj cited ‘Amr ibn al-Barrāq, and Abū Bakr cited Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī, all by name. Sometimes, the orator mentioned only tribal affiliation, frequently using the expression “brother of ...” (... أخو) to indicate tribe: Ḥajjāj cited “the brother of Dhubyān” (Nābighah), ‘Alī cited “the brother of Hawāzin” (Durayd). At other times, the orator simply said “as the poet said” (كما قال الشاعر), as in Ziyād’s citation of a poet unknown to us. At yet other times, the speaker cited the verses without mentioning their origin at all, such as Ibn al-Zubayr’s anonymous citing of Jamīl, Ḥajjāj’s anonymous citing of Suḥaym ibn Wathīl, and ‘Alī’s anonymous citing of Imru’ al-Qays.

Within the uses of poetry in oration, we find two ways of urging battle. ‘Alī’s supporter Khanthar ibn ‘Ubaydah at Ṣiffīn urged his side to fight, with an oration capped by a three-stich line in the *rajaz* meter. I have found in accounts of early Islamic battles several examples of warriors reciting lines in *rajaz* of their own, spontaneous composition without an attached oration, “I am so and so,” or “I am such and such,” the verses usually vaunting the poet’s exalted genealogy or his virtue.²⁰¹ Khanthar attaches his similarly themed *rajaz* verse recitation at the end of a battlefield homiletic quasi-oration (*qaṣaṣ*):²⁰²

May the soul of the man who absconds not attain
salvation! I am one who does not waver and does not
flee [from the battlefield], who, unlike dishonorable
fools, does not believe in betrayal.

لَا وَالَّتِ نَفْسُ أَمْرِي وَلَى الدُّبُرِ
أَنَا الَّذِي لَا يَنْشَنِي وَلَا يَفِرُّ
وَلَا يَرَى مَعَ الْمُعَاذِلِ الْغُدُرِ

Combining oration, homily, and poetry in another instance, we are told that Ḥajjāj’s commander ‘Attāb ibn Warqā’ urged his hesitant troops to fight, first with a speech of encouragement, then, when no one responded, by saying “Where are the *qaṣaṣ*-orators (*quṣṣāṣ*), who can urge the people to fight with their homilies?” Again, no one responded, and he said “Who will recite the poetry of [the pre-Islamic warrior poet] ‘Antarah to move the people?”²⁰³

201 E.g., at Karbala, several of Ḥusayn’s supporters are said to have recited such verses: ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:446), Ḥabīb ibn Muḥābir (ibid., 5:439); Zuhayr ibn Qayn (ibid., 5:441), Ḥurr ibn Yazīd (ibid., 5:437), and Yazīd ibn Ziyād (ibid., 5:445).

202 App. § 75.1.

203 App. § 40.1.

In the few pre-Islamic orations extant, I have come across just one example of poetry citation, being the multiple lines rendered by Quss ibn Sā'idah in his famous sermon "Whoever lives dies." The first verse is the following:²⁰⁴

فِي الذَّاهِبِينَ الْأَوَّلِينَ —————
نَمِّنَ الْقُرُونِ لَنَا بَصَائِرُ

Departed folks of eons past provide us with a lesson.

This example is somewhat problematic as an indicator, for according to the earliest rendition of Jāḥiẓ, the verses are not part of the oration, although they are cited as a piece of the sermon by his near contemporary, Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī.

In contrast to impersonal testimonial verse citation, we find the orator sometimes cited poetry specifically by or about his protagonist. Still using the words of an earlier poet to shore up or elucidate his point, he said something like: "Did not the poet say about you such and such?" or "Are you not the one who said such and such?" Responding to Umayyad slander of the Hāshimites, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī liberally used poetry to make his point about the depravity of the Umayyads. In a speech addressing Mu'āwiyah and his courtiers, he said to 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān:²⁰⁵

Do you not feel ashamed of Naṣr ibn Ḥajjāj's verse about you:

يَا لِلرِّجَالِ وَحَادِثِ الْأَرْمَانِ وَلِسْبَةِ تُخَزَيْنِ أَبَا سُفْيَانَ
نَبِثَتْ عُبَّةَ خَانَهُ فِي عَرْسِهِ جِنْسُ لُثَيْمِ الْأَصْلِ مِنْ لَحْيَانِ

Alas for men and the accidents of fate, and for a shame that disgraces
Abū Sufyān.

I have been told that a species base of origin from [the clan of]
Liḥyān deceived 'Utbah with regard to his wife.

In the same oration, Ḥasan said to Mu'āwiyah:

Have you forgotten, Mu'āwiyah, the verses you wrote to your father when
he expressed his intention to become a Muslim, forbidding him from
doing so:

204 App. § 105.1.

205 App. § 55.11.

يَا صَخْرُ لَا تُسَلِّنْ يَوْمًا فَتَفْضَحَنَا بَعْدَ الَّذِينَ يَبْدُرُ أَصْبَحُوا مَرَقًا

Ṣakhr, don't you convert to Islam one of these days, for that would be a disgrace to us, after the tearing up of bodies at [the Battle of] Badr!

Hasan's speech contains two other sets of verse citations as well, addressed to 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Walīd ibn 'Uqbah. Just as poetry was often cited in the oration, it would continue to permeate the written texts of the literary heritage.²⁰⁶

4.3 Other Citation: Proverbs and Hadith

Orators also cited prose proverbs and Prophetic hadith for the same testimonial purposes as Qur'an or poetry, although they appear to have done so less frequently.

4.3.1 Proverb Citation

Pithy sayings articulated by men and women of Arabia on various occasions had gained such currency that they passed into their language as proverbs (*amthāl*, sing. *mathal*). The Arabians had a font of such proverbs at hand, and orators cited proverbs as part of their kit of persuasive tools. By citing a proverb, they reiterated the commonly accepted values of Arabian society, and grounded their specific assertions in that general wisdom. Here are some examples of proverbial citations in orations:

Soon after the Battle of the Camel, in an oration calling on his subjects to fight Mu'āwiyah, 'Alī said: "I do not know a single person among you who has held back from [fighting with] me, who has said 'others will suffice [him].' (A few camels added to a few camels makes a herd.)"²⁰⁷ Although the anthologies do not supply an etiology, they explain, if explanation is necessary, that this proverb means that if a little is added to a little, it becomes a lot (*dhawd* is a collective noun denoting three to ten camels).²⁰⁸ The proverbial expression (a few camels added to a few camels makes a herd) (الذود إلى الذود إبل) illustrated to the audience, in powerful, relatable, everyday terms, that each person counted, that each person who entered would swell the army of truth.

In a speech mentioned several times above, 'Alī's wife Fāṭimah chastised Abū Bakr and the supporters of his caliphate reminding them that they had lived in a pitiable state before her father, the Prophet, brought Islam. She contin-

206 See Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres in Classical Arabic Literature."

207 (فلا أعرفن أحداً منكم تقاعس عني وقال في غيري كفاية فإنّ) (الذود إلى الذود إبل): App. § 31.13.

208 Abū Hilāl, *Jamharah*, 1:462, s.v. "Dh"; Maydānī, 2:9.

ued: "Then God saved you through his messenger, (after the small [calamity] and the big one), after [Muḥammad] was tried with [attacks by] brave warrior men, Bedouin wolf-bandits, and unbelieving people of the book."²⁰⁹ Fāṭimah cited the proverb (after the small [calamity] and the big one) (بعد اللّتيّ والّتي) to signify the innumerable hardships that Muḥammad faced for the sake of his people's salvation.²¹⁰

At the Saqīfah of Banū Sā'idah following the death of the Prophet, Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir al-Anṣārī said, addressing the Allies: "You, by God, are worthier of [the caliphate] than they ... I am (the tree-trunk that has been rubbed against [by camels]. I am the great date-palm that has a protecting wall around it)."²¹¹ As he denounced 'Umar and directed the Allies not to follow him in pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr, the proverb aided Ḥubāb in asserting his own role as the support of his people, and in affirming the soundness of his opinion.²¹²

'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād's speech in Basra in the lead-up to the Battle of Karbala is another case in point. As he was leaving Basra for Kufa, he gave a speech warning the Basrans against rising up in his absence: (Qārah has given full measure to those who shot arrows at them) (أنصف القارة من رامها). Qārah is the name of a tribe well known for its archers, and those who shot arrows at them are the tribe of Juhaynah.²¹³

Because of the evocative power of these proverbs, the speaker could allude to things without spelling them out, leaving the audience to fill in the context. By involving them in the decoding process, he would make them the ones who reached a particular conclusion, nudged by the proverb in the desired direction, and thus more readily accepting that conclusion. 'Alī again (he appears to have cited proverbs relatively frequently) ended a speech extolling the glory of God and praising the Prophet's disdain for worldly things with a line on his own, similar austerity: "By God, I have had this woolen garment mended [so many times] that I am embarrassed to face the mender; someone said to me: Why don't you throw it away? I replied: Get away from me! (In the morning, people will praise the night-travelers) (فعند الصباح يحمد القوم السرى)".²¹⁴ The phrase is a

209 (فأنقذكم الله برسوله (بعد اللّتيّ والّتي) وبعد ما مني بهم الرجال وذو بان العرب ومردة أهل الكتاب)

App. § 47.1.

210 Proverb signifying all sorts of calamities; etiology in Maydānī, 1:92.

211 (أنتم والله أحقّ بهذا الأمر منهم ... أنا جدي لها المحكك وعذيقها المرجّب)) App. § 59.2.

212 See Khalīl, 9, s.v. "חקק"; Maydānī, 1:126.

213 App. § 138.3. Proverb, etiology in Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 85, § 92.

214 والله لقد رقت مدرعتي هذه حتّى أستحييت من راقعها ولقد قال لي قاتل ألا تنبذها عنك فقلت) (أغرب عنيّ (فعند الصباح يحمد القوم السرى)) App. § 31.47.

proverb derived from a line of *rajaz* poetry by Jumayḥ ibn Sharīd al-Taghlibī, and the anthologies list it as a proverb for fortitude's begetting of a praiseworthy result.²¹⁵ Rather than stating his own high qualities directly as an assertion, 'Alī used the proverb to allude to them with grace.

Rarely, an orator would cite a multi-line proverb in the form of a short parable (*mathal*, the same term used for proverb). 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr insulted the Banū Hāshim in a speech in Mecca. 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās responded with a correspondingly stinging speech, which he ended with the following lines, and a parable:²¹⁶ "O how astonishing, how completely astonishing is Ibn al-Zubayr! He slanders the clan of Hāshim, when he and his brother and his paternal grandfather all gained prestige through marriage with them! By God, he has been crucified by Quraysh!"²¹⁷ When was [Ibn al-Zubayr's grandfather] 'Awwām ibn Khuwaylid [good enough] for Ṣafīyyah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib [ibn Hāshim]? (The mule was asked: Who is your father, O mule? He replied: My [maternal] uncle is a horse.) In this genealogical oratorical battle, Ibn al-'Abbās first spelled out, citing names, the dependence of Ibn Zubayr's paternal clan for its claims of nobility on his maternal line, then reinforced the insult by an indirect and amusing parable, in which a mule, too embarrassed to admit his father is a lowly donkey, trots out instead his grand equine maternal lineage.

4.3.2 Hadith Citation

The Prophet Muḥammad's words continued to hold great weight for Muslims, and, after his death, speakers occasionally cited his hadith sayings to lend authority to their oratorical assertions. Hadith became a formal discipline early in the Abbasid period, and the Prophet's sayings were cited much more frequently in all manner of written and spoken texts thereafter. In our period,

215 See Abū Hilāl, *Jamharah*, 2:32, ch. 18 on proverbs beginning with *'ayn*, also 2:42; Ābī, 6:135, section on "Night and Day"; al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 1:254. Khālīd ibn al-Walīd is also said to have used this proverb; its etiology in connection with him is preserved in Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 1:334, and Maydānī, 2:369; according to Jāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, 6:508), 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Makfūf used to cite it in his "*qaṣaṣ*."

216 *واعجباً كلّ العجب لأبن الزبير يعيب بني هاشم وإنما شرف هو وأبوه وجدّه بمصاهرتهم أما والله إنه* لمصلوب قريش ومتى كان العوّام بن خويلد يطعم في صفيّة بنت عبد المطلب (قيل للبغل من أبوك (يابغل قال خالي الفرس): App. § 1.8. See citation in proverb anthologies: Abū Hilāl, *Jamharah*, 2:100. Other parables are cited by 'Umar (Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:60) and Nu'mān (about a fox and a hyena, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:124).

217 Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v. *ṢLB*) says the expression "*maṣlūb 'alayhi*" applies to a slayer of another, or to a thief.

moreover, the word "hadith" is not used in these orations and reports. Presumably it would be a while before it became a technical term.

Following are some examples of hadith citation in the oration: The Prophet's companion Abū Dharr said to the gathered pilgrims in Mecca, "I narrate to you what I have heard from God's messenger ... (I leave with you two weighty things, the Book of God and my descendants, my family. They will not part company and will come to me at the celestial pool like these two) (and he held up his two index fingers side by side)."²¹⁸ In a sermon of pious counsel, 'Alī said to his followers, "God's messenger has said: (Your belief is not upright until your heart is upright, and your heart is not upright until your tongue is upright)."²¹⁹ In a battle oration supporting Mu'āwiyah against 'Alī, Dhū l-Kalā' encouraged his audience to fight by citing the following hadith: "Let your intentions be dedicated to serving God, for I have heard 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb say: I have heard the messenger of God say: (Truly, those killed in battle will be resurrected in accordance with their intentions)."²²⁰ In another example, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī said in a speech condemning Mu'āwiyah and his courtiers: "I ask you [by God] Mu'āwiyah, do you remember the day your father arrived on a red camel, you driving it and your brother, this 'Utbah, leading it, when the messenger of God saw you and said, (God, curse the rider, the leader, and the driver!)"²²¹ In an accession speech framed in pious counsel, 'Umar's governor 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān said to his warriors in Basra, "Listen! Among the wondrous things I have heard God's messenger relate, is this: (The massive rock is thrown into the fire from its edge, and it falls for seventy autumns. Hell has seven doors, between every two a distance of five hundred years of travel. An hour shall come when hell is choked by those entering.)"²²²

218 أحدثكم بما سمعته من رسول الله ... (إني تارك فيكم الثقلين كتاب الله وعترتي أهل بيتي فإنهما لن يفترقا) (حتى يردا علي الحوض كهاتين) App. § 17.1.

219 وقد قال رسول الله صلى الله وآله (لا تستقيم إيمان عبد حتى يستقيم قلبه ولا يستقيم قلبه حتى يستقيم) (لسانه) App. § 31.48. See also citation by 'Alī in his oration of another hadith, in Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, 1:295.

220 ولكن النيات لله فإني سمعت عمر بن الخطاب يقول سمعت رسول الله صلى الله وآله يقول (إنما يعش) (المقتتلون على النيات) App. § 46.1.

221 وأنشدك يا معاوية أتذكر يوماً جاء أبوك على جمل أحمر وأنت تسوقه وأخوك عتبة هذا يقوده فراكم رسول) (الله صلى الله عليه وآله فقال اللهم ألعن الراكب والقائد والسائق) App. § 55.11.

222 أتني سمعت رسول الله يقول إن الحجر الضخم يلقى في النار من شفيرها فيبوي فيها سبعين خريفاً ولجهم) (سبعة أبواب ما بين البابين منها مسيرة خمسمائة سنة ولثأتين عليها ساعة وهي كظبط بالزحام) App. § 145.1.

Some speakers cited *ḥadīth*, which they then explicitly interpreted in a particular way. Ḥajjāj—like his Qurʾan verse interpretation cited earlier—interpreted a *ḥadīth* to associate himself with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and express disdain for his pro-ʿAlid Iraqi audience: “I have heard that you narrate from your Prophet, (Whoever has power over ten Muslim heads will be brought on the day of rising with his hands bound to his neck, when justice will unbind him or injustice kill him.) By God, I prefer that I be brought to judgment with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar bound, rather than with you free.”²²³

One *ḥadīth* was cited a number of times, usually in the context of revolt. After he had killed the former caliph Walīd, Yazīd ibn al-Walīd gave a speech in which he justified his action by citing the *ḥadīth*, (Do not obey humans if it means you will disobey God).²²⁴ The Khārijite commander Abū Ḥamzah cited the same *ḥadīth* in a context of anti-establishment military action.²²⁵ In contrast, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz cited the same *ḥadīth* twice in a pietistic and self-deprecating context.²²⁶

5 Language Register: Simplicity, Dignity, Eloquence

The public and official nature of the oration, coupled with its goal of persuasion, dictated that its language register be pitched at a level that was simultaneously direct enough to be understood by the masses, dignified enough to suit the formal occasion, and brilliant enough to dazzle. Language needed to be pan-Arab, rare words and technical phrases kept to a minimum, and structure uncomplicated. Abū Hilāl writes that “eloquence revolves around the choice of words.”²²⁷ The hallmarks of effective language use in Arabic oratory were thus simplicity, dignity, and eloquence.

The oratorical texts that have come down to us are in the standard language. Some sort of diglossia situation probably existed in the Arabian Peninsula from

223 يا أهل عراق بلغني أنكم تروون عن نبيكم أنه قال (من ملك على عشر رقاب من المسلمين جيء به يوم القيامة مغلولاً يده إلى عنقه حتى يفكّه العدل أو يوبقه الجور) وأيم الله إني لأحب إلي أن أحشر مع (أبي بكر وعمر مغلولاً من أن أحشر معكم مطلقاً): App. § 51.10; the *Ḥadīth* in a slightly varying form is cited by Dārimī (s.v. “*Sīyar fī l-tashdīd fī l-imārah*”).

224 (لا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الخالق): Quḍāʿī, *Dustūr*, § 6.34. App. § 158.1.

225 App. § 18.4.

226 App. § 139.2, § 139.7.

227 (مدار البلاغة تحسين اللفظ): Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 64.

pre-Islamic times. Although different tribes spoke different dialects of Arabic, the early odes, the Qur'an, and orations, were all composed in the standard pan-Arabian language called by scholars its poetic "koine," which was used by the Arabians for formal speech performances. From the medieval grammar books, we know some details of the northern Ḥijāzī dialect and southern Yemeni or Tamīmī dialect,²²⁸ but their influence is not apparent in our oration texts. Our texts could have been modified by transmitters from dialect-based originals, but it is more likely, that orators employed the standard formal language for their speeches and sermons, as was apparently the norm for formal speech.

In keeping with the official nature of the oration, its diction was at all times formal and elevated. Grounded in Arabian Islamic society's philosophy of life and its human community, umbrella themes of the oration were serious: life and death, right and wrong, good and evil. Coarse expressions, casual speech, and vernacular terms were not appropriate to the ceremonial setting and their solemn themes, and we do not come across these in the texts.

The simplicity of oratorical language was manifested through several facets. Sentences were short. Syntax was straightforward, particularly in comparison with the syntax of early poetry. The lexicon was familiar; unlike the soothsayers, most orators used customary phraseology.

In his pious-counsel sermon, the *mukhaḍram* preacher Saḥbān Wā'il addressed his audience in down-to-earth yet refined prose thus:²²⁹

Truly, this world is the abode of proclamation,
and the hereafter is the abode of stability. People!
Take [provisions] from your transitional abode
for your permanent home. Do not rend your
veils for God, from whom your secrets are not
concealed. Remove your souls from this world,
before your bodies are removed from it. You live
in this world, but have been created for another.
When a man dies, people ask: "What did he leave
behind?" And the angels ask: "What did he offer
to God?" Offer a part—it will be for you. Do not
leave behind all—it will weigh against you.

إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا دَارُ بَلَاغٍ وَالْآخِرَةُ دَارُ قَرَارٍ أَتَيْهَا
النَّاسُ نَفَذُوا مِنْ دَارِ مَرَمَرٍ لِدَارِ مَرَمَرٍ
وَلَا تَهْتَكُوا أَسْتَارَكُمْ عِنْدَ مَنْ لَا تَخْفَى عَلَيْهِ
أَسْرَارُكُمْ وَأَخْرِجُوا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا قُلُوبَكُمْ قَبْلَ
أَنْ تَخْرُجَ مِنْهَا أَبْدَانُكُمْ فَفِيهَا حَيِّيمٌ وَلِغَيْرِهَا
خَلَقْتُمْ. إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ إِذَا هَلَكَ قَالَ النَّاسُ مَا
تَرَكَ وَقَالَتِ الْمَلَائِكَةُ مَا قَدَّمَ لِلَّهِ. قَدِّمُوا بَعْضًا
يَكُونُ لَكُمْ وَلَا تَخْلِفُوا كُلًّا يَكُونُ عَلَيْكُمْ.

Saḥbān's vocabulary is simple and common: *dunyā* (this world), *ākhirah* (hereafter), *dār* (abode), *mamarr* (passageway), *maqarr* (permanent abode), and so

228 E.g., Ibn Hishām al-Naḥwī, 14.

229 App. § 117.1. Attrib. to 'Alī in several sources, including Ṣaḍūq, *Amālī*, p. 97, § 24.

on. His syntax is uncomplicated. The first two sentences are short, nominal sentences with regular word order: emphatic preposition + subject + predicate (in construct state). The next sentence is a short verbal sentence, again with regular word order: conjunction + imperative verb and subject + two prepositional phrases. The rest of the sermon continues in an equally regular format. No vernacular terms are present. The language is formal and lofty, with no crude or casual expressions.

Present-day readers often find early orations difficult to decipher. But words that seem obscure to modern readers denote aspects of plant and animal life and natural phenomena that were ordinary and quite comprehensible to the orator's contemporary audience. In his famous speech to the Iraqis, Ḥajjāj said: "My sides cannot be squeezed to test for freshness like the squeezing (*taghmāz*) of figs."²³⁰ The word *taghmāz* is taken out of its more common context of the good health of fatty sheep (itself archaic), and associated with the even more uncommon one (for us) of squeezing figs to check their freshness.²³¹ Muḥammad said "[The time of] my going away from you (*khufūq*) has drawn close,"²³² where he used *khufūq*, said of the setting of night or a star, or the flying away of a bird, a term not used commonly in modern times. Ḥubāb al-Anṣārī said on the day of the Saqīfah: "We will turn it back into a two-year-old camel (*jadha'ah*),"²³³ using the term idiomatically to refer to active warfare. 'Ā'ishah said of her father Abū Bakr: "He succeeded [in going forward when you found the ground too hard [to traverse] (*akdaytum*)],"²³⁴ using a verbal derivative of the archaic term *kudyah*, meaning stony ground. The commander sent by 'Umar to Basra, 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān, said of the life of the earliest Muslims: "We had nothing to eat but balsam leaves,"²³⁵ in which he used the name of the Meccan balsam tree, *bashām*. 'Umar instructed the Muslims: "Do not let your wives wear translucent garments,"²³⁶ where he used the word *qubāṭī*, a type

²³⁰ (لا يغمز جانبي كتغماز التين): App. § 51.3.

²³¹ On careful choice of vocabulary in oration, see Abū Hilāl, *Ṣinā'atayn*, 64–65.

²³² (إنه قد دنا مني خفوق من بين أظهركم): App. § 90.21.

²³³ (لنعيدنها جذعة): App. § 59.2. In the same speech, Ḥubāb uses a proverb containing specialized nature terms: (أنا جذيلها الحكك وعذيقها المرجب), "I am the tree-trunk that has been rubbed against [by camels]. I am the great date-palm that has a protecting wall around it." These words have been cited in books on rare words, *gharīb*, such as Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 1:170; Ḥarbī, 3:1164–1165.

²³⁴ (أنجح إذا أكديتم): App. § 28.1.

²³⁵ (ما لنا طعام إلا ورق البشام): App. § 145.1.

²³⁶ (لا تلبسوا نساءكم القباطي): App. § 140.7.

of translucent white linen cloth made in Egypt. An oration by a member of a delegation to Medina and the Prophet, Ṭahfah ibn Abī Zuhayr al-Nahdī, is full of technical language. Just the first three lines include ten specialized nature-oriented verbs and nouns: *ghawr* (low-lying land), *akwār* (camel saddles), *mays* (kind of lote tree), *ʿis* (reddish white camels), *ṣabīr* (piled up clouds), *khābīr* (seed-produce), *nastaʿdidu* (we pick fruit), *barīr* (first fruit of the thorny *arāk* tree), *nastakhbilu* (we believe something to be such), *rihām* (fine but lasting rains).²³⁷ The rest of the oration continues to spit out the same kind of technical vocabulary, which the modern reader finds difficult, but which would have been routine for the original audience. This was language that, like other aspects of early oration, helped ground it in the listeners' lifeworld and immediate experience.

During the early Abbasid period, the caliph Maḥdī's scribe censured the use of rare words (*gharīb*) in oratory.²³⁸ Perhaps the use of unusual expressions was becoming fashionable at the tail end of the oral period and needed curtailing. The majority of pre-Abbasid orations would, presumably, have been perfectly clear to the orator's contemporary audience.

5.1 *Juxtaposition, Pronoun or Generic Noun Selection, and Word/Phrase Positioning*

In addition to the mechanisms of eloquence detailed in earlier sections of this chapter, the orator made careful use of subtle devices to render his oration effective. Using juxtaposition, pronoun selection, and word/phrase positioning, he connected objects or ideas, and focused audience attention on an entity or concept.

By changing the standard word order of a sentence (Latin: *hysteron-proteron*, Arabic: *taqdīm wa-ta'khīr*) the orator was able to create emphasis, granting importance to one signifier over others. Without explicit emphatic markers, he was able to highlight certain words and ideas simply by rearranging the sequence. For example, in chastising the people of Basra for allowing hot-headed fools in their midst to steal and rape, Ziyād presented the following climactic declaration (literally translated to underscore the change in standard word order): "Unlawful to me is all food and drink until I have levelled [the houses in which you are sheltering the miscreants] to the earth, demolishing and burning them down!"²³⁹ By bringing forward the predicate of the

237 App. § 130.1. In pre-Islamic times, Ḥājib ibn Zurārah said: "its milking (*dirrah*) is protected" where he used the word *dirrah*, an archaic term. App. § 50.1.

238 Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:52.

239 (حرام عليّ الطعام والشراب حتّى أسويها بالأرض هدمًا وإحراقًا): App. § 166.5.

sentence “unlawful” (*ḥarām*), itself a legally weighty term, to precede the subject “food [and drink]” (*al-ṭa‘ām wa-l-sharāb*), he emphasized his intention to abstain from these things. Food and drink would be “unlawful” to him until he had made the Basrans toe the line. By implication, because he would not touch basic sustenance until the problem was solved, he would take measures swiftly and relentlessly.

By careful use of pronouns, the speaker revealed relationships that names would not. Responding to accusations by the Khārijites (and particularly Ibn al-Kawwā’) of inappropriate appointment of Arbiters, ‘Alī said: “Woe to you, Ibn al-Kawwā’! Did anyone other than Mu‘āwiyah appoint ‘Amr [ibn al-‘Āṣ] as Arbiter? [Why] would I appoint him Arbiter when his Arbitration judgment is to strike my neck? Rather, his companion put him forward, as you put forward your companion.”²⁴⁰ Instead of naming Mu‘āwiyah, ‘Alī refers to him as “his companion,” emphasizing—through use of the pronoun “his” appended to the word “companion”—the close connection between Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Amr. Then, similarly, instead of naming Abū Mūsā l-Ash‘arī, ‘Alī refers to him as “your companion,” bringing out by similar means the close connection between Ibn al-Kawwā’ and Abū Mūsā. In effect, ‘Alī conveyed to the Khārijites: ‘Amr was Mu‘āwiyah’s choice, not mine; Abū Mūsā was your choice, not mine. I had wished to appoint ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās; you insisted I appoint Abū Mūsā. The blame for this unhappy result, if it lies with anyone, lies with you.

At other times, proper names were replaced with generic nouns, in a kind of coding. In one well-known speech to ‘Ā’ishah’s supporters, whom he had just defeated in the Battle of the Camel, ‘Alī replaces her name with the generic noun, “the woman.”²⁴¹ The speech opens with this term, addressing the audience as “army of the woman, followers of the camel.” Since ‘Ā’ishah was the Prophet’s widow, it would not be appropriate to call her simply by her name. On the other hand, ‘Alī probably did not want to call her by the respectful term “mother of the faithful” either, for she had just mobilized a large segment of the Muslims to overthrow and kill him. “The woman” was pejorative but couched in a patina of propriety, and spoke to the situation at hand. Moreover, by characterizing her supporters as the “army of the woman,” he cleverly belittled their manhood and at the same time alluded to her transgression, for, according to the major schools of Islamic jurisprudence, women are not allowed to fight in battle. I am inclined to think that the few other disparaging references to women in sayings and orations ascribed to ‘Alī could also

240 ويلك يَا بَنَ الْكَوَّاءِ هَلْ بَعَثَ عَمْرًا غَيْرَ مُعَاوِيَةَ وَكَيْفَ أَحْكَمَهُ وَحَكَمَهُ عَلَى ضَرْبِ عُنُقِي إِنَّمَا رَضِيَ بِهِ) (صاحبه كما رضيت أنت بصاحبك): Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:327 (Safwat 1:405).

241 App. § 31.10.

very well be a subtly (or not so subtly) veiled allusion to ʿĀʾishah and her leading role in the Battle of the Camel.

Also in an artful maneuvering of language, the speaker achieved connections and comparisons by juxtaposition. In another famous battle oration, Alī highlighted the passivity of his subjects in facing the active military thrusts of the enemy by alternating passive and active forms of the same verb (applying paronomasia of derivation, *jinās ishtiqāq*), in two parallel lines: “You (pl.) are struck but you do not strike, you are attacked but you do not attack.” Then, in a third parallel line, he carried the juxtaposition yet further with another passive-active pair, this time, of antithetical verbs: “God is disobeyed among you and you accept [that].”²⁴²

In an exploitation of the known and accepted, the orator connected universal themes such as the inevitability of death and the merit of honor, with an immediate, particular context, with a view to persuading the audience to action. In sermons of pious counsel, the abstract concept of death was always anchored in the here and now, in the reality of the audience’s own mortality, such as Muḥammad’s sermon in which he said: “People! [You behave] as though death in this world is decreed for people other than us ... as though the dead whose biers we carry are travelers who will soon return.”²⁴³ An example of invoking honor is ʿAlī’s oration urging the Iraqis to rise up and defend their religion, their women, and their property, in which he opened his address by comparing these soldiers to women and children: “Parodies of men, not men! Minds of children and intellects of canopy-covered ones!”²⁴⁴ Such an emasculating address would presumably shame the audience, galvanizing them to fulfill their honorable, manly roles.

6 Illustration of Common Stylistic Features: Oration by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib

A stylistic analysis of a sermon by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) will demonstrate the workings of the five groups of aesthetic features characteristic of the oration. ʿAlī is one of the master models of Arabic oratory. The foremost

242 (ترمون ولا ترمون ويغار عليكم ولا تغفرون ويعصى الله عز وجل فيكم وترضون): App. § 31.35.

243 (أيها الناس كأن الموت على غيرنا قد كتب ... وكأن الذي نشيع من الأموات سفر عما قليل إلينا يرجعون): App. § 90.12.

244 (يا أشباه الرجال ولا رجال حلوم الأطفال وعقول ربّات الجمال): App. § 31.35.

medieval litterateurs considered his speeches to be the benchmark of high style. When the preeminent Umayyad scribe ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib was asked, “What enabled you to master the science of eloquence, what formed your training in it?” he replied, “I memorized the words of ‘Alī.”²⁴⁵ In Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s version, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd specifically mentioned ‘Alī’s orations, saying, “I memorized seventy orations from the orations of ‘Alī, and they flowed and flowed.”²⁴⁶ The well-known compilation of ‘Alī’s sermons, epistles, and sayings by Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) is aptly titled “The Path of Eloquence” (*Nahj al-balāghah*), from which this famous sermon on piety typifies many of the finest aesthetic qualities of oration. The sermon is one of the most widely attested from among ‘Alī’s oeuvre, and is found in at least eighteen other early sources, including the works of Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 180/797), Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d. 202/818), Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 240/855), Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), Ya’qūbī (d. 284/897), Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (d. 328/940), Ibn Shu‘bah al-Ḥarrānī (fl. 4/10 c.), and Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013). The different versions display differences that arise from discrepancies in oral transmission as well as textual variants, yet they all display the same rhythmic patterns. The text of this sermon is fragmentary, and its beginning and ending formulae are missing; the transitional phrase “as for what comes after” (*ammā ba’d*) indicates a preceding *taḥmīd*. Minqarī provides historical context, placing this oration immediately after the Battle of the Camel, upon ‘Alī’s return from Basra to Kufa, where he is addressing people who were mostly his supporters in the military conflict, but also some who held back from coming to his aid.

6.1 Text and Translation

The following is the text and translation of the sermon from the *Nahj al-balāghah*. A translation cannot quite capture the full beauty of the sermon, for its aesthetic effect is intrinsically connected with its language. Still it can bring us part of the way in understanding its stylistic mechanisms. The text begins some lines into the sermon, directly with pious counsel:²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ (ما الَّذِي مَكَّنَكَ مِنَ الْبَلَاغَةِ وَخَرَّجَكَ فِيهَا قَالَ حَفِظْتُ كَلَامَ الْأَصْلَعِ). Lit.: “the words of the bald one,” and the sources add “meaning ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.” Jahshiyārī, 82; and following him several authors, including Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār*, 165; Zamakhsharī, *Rabī’*, 3:199; and Ṣafadī, 18:23. I thank Wadad Kadi for these references.

²⁴⁶ Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:24: (حَفِظْتُ سَبْعِينَ خُطْبَةً مِنَ خُطْبِ الْأَصْلَعِ فَفَاضْتُ ثُمَّ فَاضْتُ).

²⁴⁷ App. § 31.44.

The world has turned back and declared its farewell. The hereafter has approached and announced its arrival. Today is the day of training, and tomorrow is the race: its goal paradise or its end hellfire. Is there one among you who would repent from his sins before his death? Is there one among you who would perform good deeds for his soul before his day of adversity? These are your days of hope—coming up behind them is death. Truly, those who perform good deeds during their days of hope before the arrival of death will benefit from them; death will not cause them harm. Those who fall short in performing good deeds during their days of hope before the arrival of death will have squandered their chance; death will cause them harm. Perform good deeds from hope, not fear. Listen! I have never seen those who seek paradise or flee hellfire sleeping. Listen! Those whom right does not benefit are harmed by wrong. Those whom right-guidance does not put on the straight path are dragged by bolting error to destruction. Listen! You have been given the command to begin your journey, and direction as to how you may gather provisions. Truly, I fear your pursuit of whimsical desires and lengthy yearnings. Take provisions in this world, from this world, with which you can nourish your souls tomorrow.

فإنّ الدنيا قد أدبرت وآذنت بوداع وإنّ الآخرة قد أقبلت وأشرفت بأطلاع. ألا وإنّ اليوم المضمار وغداً السباق والسبقة الجنة والغاية النار. أفلا تائب من خطيئته قبل منيته ألا عامل لنفسه قبل يوم يؤسه. ألا وإنّكم في أيام أمل من ورائه أجل فن عمل في أيام أمله قبل حضور أجله فقد نفعه عمله ولم يضره أجله ومن قصر في أيام أمله قبل حضور أجله فقد خسر عمله وضره أجله. ألا فأعملوا في الرغبة كما تعملون في الرهبة. ألا وإنّي لم أر كالجنة نام طالبا ولا كالنار نام هاربا. ألا وإنّه من لا ينفعه الحق يضره الباطل ومن لا يستقم به الهدى يجرّ به الضلال إلى الردى. ألا وإنّكم قد أمرتم بالظعن ودلتم على الزاد. وإنّ أخوف ما أخاف عليكم اتباع الهوى وطول الأمل. تزودوا في الدنيا من الدنيا ما تحوزون به أنفسكم غداً.

6.2 Line-Numbered Text and Literal Translation

The following is the text of the sermon translated literally to show the workings of the parallel structure. The lines are numbered to facilitate referencing in the subsequent analysis.

1. Then truly! The world has indeed turned back and proclaimed its departure.
2. And truly! The hereafter has indeed come forward, and announced its arrival.

1. فإنّ الدنيا قد أدبرت وآذنت بوداع
2. وإنّ الآخرة قد أقبلت وأشرفت بأطلاع

3. Listen, truly! Today is the day of training, ألا وإنَّ اليوم المضمَر
4. and tomorrow is the race. وغداً السباق
5. The goal is paradise والسبقة الجنة
6. and the end is hellfire! والغاية النار
7. Is there no one who would repent from his أفلا تائب من خطيئته قبل مَنيته
8. Is there no one who would perform good ألا عامل لنفسه قبل يوم يؤسه
9. Listen! These are your days of hope, right ألا وإنَّكم في أيام أمل من ورائه
10. Whosoever performs deeds during his days of hope, before the arrival of his death— أجل
his deed[s] will benefit him, and his death will not harm him. فن عمل في أيام أملة قبل حضور
أجله فقد نفعه عمله ولم يضره أجله
11. Whosoever falls short during his days of ومن قصّر في أيام أملة قبل حضور
12. Listen! Perform good deeds from fondness, ألا فأعملوا في الرغبة كما تعملون في
13. Listen, truly! I have not seen the like of par- الرهبة
14. adise, one who desires it sleeping, ألا وإنِّي لم أر كالجنة نام طالها
15. nor the like of hellfire, one who flees it ولا كالنار نام هاربها
16. Listen truly! Whomsoever right does not ألا وإنَّه من لا ينفعه الحق يضره
17. benefit, wrong will harm. الباطل
18. Whomsoever guidance does not put on the ومن لا يستقم به الهدى يجرّ به
19. straight [path], error will drag to destruc- الضلال إلى الردى
20. tion. ألا وإنَّكم قد أمرتم بالظعن
21. Listen! You have been commanded to ودلتم على الزاد
22. depart
23. and directed toward provisions.

19. And truly! The most fearful thing I fear for you is following of desires and length of yearning. 19. وَإِنْ أَخَوْفَ مَا أَخَافَ عَلَيْكُمْ أَتِّبَاعِ
الهوى وطول الأمل
20. Take provisions in the world, from the world, with which you can nourish your souls tomorrow. 20. تَزَوَّدُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا مَا
تَحْزُونَ بِهِ أَنْفُسَكُمْ غَدًا

6.3 Analysis

In this sermon, 'Alī urges his audience to contemplate their imminent death, and to prepare for the hereafter by performing good deeds. The sermon's style is dominated by an intense rhythm—rooted in parallelism, augmented by repetition and rhyme, and sharpened by antithesis—that complements, even sustains, all its other aesthetic features.

The sermon's rhythm is endowed most prominently by a consistent, almost relentless use of parallelism (*izdiwāj*). Except for the final line of the sermon, the entire twenty-line text is constructed of parallel pairs, where two or more adjacent or alternating lines possess identical or near-identical syntax. The syntactical units often also display morphological equivalence. The parallel lines are configured additively, i.e. they are glued together with conjunctive 'and's (*wa-*), rather than subordinators. They are concise, mostly limited to two to six words—another characteristic feature of orally based expression.

Parallel patterning in the Arabic oration creates an auditory rhythm by repeating certain sounds at regular intervals within the parallel phrases. All these repeated sounds arise from this parallel structuring, and together they create an acoustic rhythm. The following are some commonly repeated sounds:

- the nominal case indicators; e.g., the *ḍammah*—the final “u” sound—in lines 5–6, *sabaqatu* and *ghāyatu*,
- the definite marker *al-*; e.g., in line 15 *al-ḥaqq*, *al-bāṭil*,
- pronouns, such as the subject suffix “-tum” with the perfect verb in lines 17–18, *umirtum bi-l-ḥa'n wa-duliltum 'alā-l-zād*, and
- identical sequences of long and short vowel sounds resulting from parallel placement of matching morphological forms; e.g., in lines 1–2 the identical vowel sequence in *adbarat* and *aqbalat*.

Simultaneously with this fundamental auditory aspect, the syntactical parallelism of the oration incorporates an essentially semantic element. As with the example we have just seen of *sabaqatu* and *ghāyatu* in lines 5–6, repetition of sounds based on elements such as case markers are dependent on the meaning. In these lines “The goal is paradise and the end is hellfire!” (والسبقة الجنة والغاية النار) the -u sound of the nominal marker of *sabaqatu* and *ghāyatu* follows from the fact that each of these nouns is the subject of its clause. Also, parallel posi-

tioning of words in the same structural slot produces a semantic rhythm. Let us say an orator pronounces a sentence, as in the sentence just cited, in the word order: subject, followed by predicate. If his next sentence repeats that word order, the arrival of the predicate after the subject—where the listener expects it to arrive based on his recent memory of the earlier line—creates a resonance in his mind. If the same word order is repeated a third time, the resonance deepens yet further.

Both acoustic and semantic resonances are apparent in the parallel patterning of lines 1–2: “Then truly, the world has turned back and proclaimed its departure. And truly, the hereafter has come forward and announced its arrival” (*fa-inna l-dunyā qad adbarat wa-ādhanat bi-wadā‘ wa-inna l-āakhirata qad aqbalat wa-ashrafat bi-ṭṭilā‘*.) Each of these lines consists of two parallel segments: except for the initial conjunction *fa-* (“then”), which is replaced in the second line by the conjunction *wa-* (“and”), all the prepositions—the prepositions of emphasis *inna* (“truly”) and *qad* (“indeed”), as well as the conjunction *wa-* (“and”), and the preposition *bi-*—are repeated in the same structural position, thus producing a recurring sound. All the substantives too are in identical syntactical positions: For example, the subjects of the two sentences, “the world” and “the hereafter,” *al-dunyā* and *al-āakhirah*, are placed right after the preposition of emphasis *inna* (“truly”). The verbs in both sentences, *adbarat* (“has turned back”) and *aqbalat* (“has come forward”), are placed at the end of the two sentences. And so on and so forth. The entire sermon may be analyzed for parallelism in the same manner. The rhythm that defines each of the first two lines (*fa-inna l-dunyā qad adbarat* and *wa-inna l-āakhirata qad aqbalat*) may be rendered as follows: da-dum-dum-dum-dum-dum-dum-da-dum (where the “da”s are short syllables, and the “dum”s are long syllables).

The parallel structure of the sermon aids in guiding the audience towards its culmination. Within the sermon, some parallel pairs are short, some are slightly longer. The alternating brevity and length build the climax, then relax it, then build it again, and relax it again, until we get to the last line, the twentieth, which, after nineteen straight parallel lines, is neither short nor parallel. Clearly distinguished from the lines leading up to it, the final line crescendos in the concluding climax, “Take provisions in the world, from the world, with which you can nourish your souls tomorrow” (تَزُودُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا مَا تَحْزُونَ بِهِ) (أَنْفُسَكُمْ غَدًا).

The parallelism is intensified by a further semantic element, namely antithesis (*ṭibāq*), in which two adjacent phrases contain pairs of words with opposite meanings, the second phrase contrasting with the first. The text of ‘Alī’s sermon contains no less than thirteen antithetical pairs, and the first two lines show-

case three of these antithetical pairs: the world and the hereafter, turning back and coming forward, departure and arrival.

The parallel rhythm of 'Alī's sermon is enhanced by sporadic consonant-rhyme (*sajʿ*), such as the final consonant L in *amal* and *ajal* in line 9: (أَلَا وَإِنَّكُمْ) (فِي أَيَّامٍ أَمَلٌ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ أَجَلٌ). Consonant-rhyme teamed with parallelism is featured in several lines of 'Alī's sermon. In each of the pairs, the rhyme is limited to two words, after which another rhyme letter takes over. I have mentioned earlier that in most types of early orations (except for the quasi-orations of the pre-Islamic soothsayers), the full oration was never *sajʿ*-rhymed, and the intermittent and unforced use of *sajʿ* kept the oration relatively unstylized. The last words of lines 1–2 end in the letter ʿ (*wadāʿ*, *iṭṭilāʿ*), and additionally the lines have an internal rhyme of T (*adbarat*, *ādhanat*, *aqbalat*, *ashrafat*): (فَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ) (أَدْبَرَتْ وَأَذْنَتْ بَوْدَاعٍ وَإِنَّ الْآخِرَةَ قَدْ أَقْبَلَتْ وَأَشْرَفَتْ بِأَطْلَاعٍ). Lines 3–6 are not rhymed. Lines 7–14 all contain rhymes, either internal or at the end of the phrase. For example, line 12 rhymes in B (*raghbah*, *rahbah*); lines 13–14 also rhyme in B, with an additional pronominal *radīf* (a repeated word that comes after the rhyme word), “-hā” (*ṭālibuhā*, *hāribuhā*).

Rhyme and parallelism in the oration were not mutually exclusive. The phrases which culminated in the rhyme were frequently parallel as well. As mentioned earlier, authors of medieval chancery manuals praised the combination and had a special name for it: *tarṣīʿ*.²⁴⁸ In this manner, consonant-rhyme teamed with parallelism is featured in several lines of 'Alī's sermon.

Assonance (*muwāzanah*)—when the penultimate long vowel of two parallel words match—also adds to the rhythm of the sermon. But it is not a big part of this sermon, which contains just one assonant pair in lines three and four (*miḍmār* and *sibāq*), where the penultimate long vowel of each of these two words is a long *ā* (أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْيَوْمَ الْمَضْمَارَ وَغَدًا السَّبَاقَ).

Further enrichment of the rhythm is achieved through recurrences of various kinds. Parallel lines of an oration commonly included verbatim repetition of words and phrases. Repetition usually adds emphasis, but as I discussed earlier, it can also serve to highlight not the repeated phrase in the following line, but rather, to throw into sharp relief the other, distinct verbiage couched within. In 'Alī's sermon, lines 13–14 underscore the contrast between two sets of opposite entities by repetition of surrounding phraseology. *I have not seen the like of paradise, one who desires it sleeping, nor the like of hellfire, one who flees it sleeping* (i.e., those who seek paradise or flee hellfire never rest in their endeavors of seeking and fleeing). (إِنِّي لَمْ أَرْ كَالْجَنَّةِ نَامَ طَالِبَهَا وَلَا كَالنَّارِ نَامَ هَارِبَهَا). Parts of

²⁴⁸ Qalqashandī, 2:282.

the two clauses are identical—the negation, the comparative preposition “like,” the prepositions, and the verb indicating the act of sleeping. The word pairs that are different—paradise and hellfire, desire and flee—are placed within the identical verbiage in an antithetical parallel construction, drawing the listener’s attention to the contrast between them.

Another kind of repetition seen in the sermon is the recurrent usage of four key terms: “deeds” (*‘amal*) “world” (*dunyā*) “death” (*ajal*) and “hope” (*amal*). Each of these terms is repeated several times over the course of the sermon. Note that three of the four terms—*‘amal*, *amal*, and *ajal*—also rhyme, doubling the acoustic effect. The deliberate recurrence of these terms over the course of the oration not only enhances the rhythm, but it also drives home the main point of the sermon, which, putting together the four terms in one pointed sentence, may be paraphrased as follows: Perform good deeds in the world in preparation for the hereafter, before your time of hope ends with your death.

Audience engagement features are abundant in this sermon. Direct address, emphatic structures, questions, and prescriptive phrases together create a dense web pulling in the audience towards participation in the speech performance—and thus the persuasive goal—of the orator. The opening vocative address is missing from this version, but “O people of Kufa” (*yā ahl al-Kūfa*) is included (along with a few additional lines) in the Minqarī version. Within the piece, the second person plural pronoun is used throughout, particularly in line nine, and then again in lines seventeen through twenty, making the address direct and personal. These pronouns occur as the subject of perfect, imperative, and imperfect verbs (*umirtum*, *duliltum*, *tazawwadū*, *taḥūzūna*); or they occur as genitive pronouns—the second part of a construct (*anfusakum*), or following a preposition (*‘alaykum*); or as the accusative subject of the emphatic preposition (*innakum*). The sermon contains a large number of emphatic structures—six “Listen!”s (*alā*) and another six “Truly!”s (*inna*)—which serve as forceful attention grabbers. Two questions in lines seven and eight are both rhetorical, for a verbalized answer is not expected. They trigger answering mechanisms in the minds of the audience, encouraging them to respond individually, silently in their own thoughts, to the queries—“Is there no one who would repent from his sin before his demise? Is there no one who would perform good deeds for his soul before his day of hardship [death]?” (أفلا تائب من خطيئته قبل منيته ألا عامل لنفسه قبل يوم يؤسه) —with a positive response “I will.” Two prescriptive clauses in lines twelve and twenty shoot instructions at the audience. One imperative—“Listen! Perform good deeds from desire, as you perform them from fear” (ألا فاعملوا في الرغبة كما تعملون في الرهبة)—is articulated

halfway through the oration. The second—"Take provisions in the world from the world with which you can brace yourselves tomorrow" (تَزَوِّدُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا) (ما تَحْزُونَ بِهِ أَنْفُسَكُمْ غَدًا)—is the closing directive, and it sums up the ideas of the sermon *in toto*.

Literal imagery is absent from this oration (perhaps some was present in the missing *taḥmīd*), but the piece is rich in metaphor. Lines 1–2 personify this world and the hereafter in a metaphor designed to bring these two abstract concepts directly into the audience's physical purview: "The world has turned back and declared its farewell. The hereafter has approached and announced its arrival" (فَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ أَدْبَرَتْ وَأَذْنَتْ بِوَدَاعٍ وَإِنَّ الْآخِرَةَ قَدْ أَقْبَلَتْ وَأَشْرَفَتْ بِاطِّلَاعٍ). The lines personify this world as a companion who has bid farewell, and the hereafter as a being striding toward the audience and almost in their face; or as a camel caravan leaving and arriving—the two interpretations overlap in that a companion bidding farewell, or arriving, would most likely be leaving or arriving in a camel caravan. Lines 3–4 use an analogy (*tamthīl*) to compare life in this world to training for a horse race, with the race itself culminating in death; the race then ends in eternal bliss or perdition: "Today is the day of training, and tomorrow is the race: its goal paradise or its end hellfire!" (أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْيَوْمَ الْمَضْمَارَ وَغَدًا السِّبَاقَ وَالسَّبْقَةَ) (الْجَنَّةَ وَالْغَايَةَ النَّارَ). The following lines 7–8 continue this analogy subtly. They do not mention the race directly, but by implication through juxtaposition that the way to train for the race is to repent of one's transgressions and perform pious acts: "Is there one among you who would repent from his sins before his death? Is there one among you who would perform good deeds for his soul before his day of adversity?" (أَفَلَا تَائِبٌ مِنْ خَطِيئَتِهِ قَبْلَ مَنِيئِهِ أَلَا عَامِلٌ لِنَفْسِهِ قَبْلَ يَوْمِ بَوْسِهِ). A little later, in another metaphor, line sixteen personifies error as a heavyweight ruffian who drags its victim to annihilation. Alternatively this personification is of a runaway horse with a fallen rider whose foot is stuck in the stirrup, similarly dragging its erstwhile rider to obliteration: "Those whom right-guidance does not put on the straight path are dragged by bolting error to destruction" (وَمَنْ لَا) (يَسْتَقِمُّ بِهِ الْهُدَى يَجْرُّهُ الضَّلَالُ إِلَى الرَّدَى). In a final metaphor comparing the people of this world to a departing caravan, lines 17–18 remind the audience of the proximity of the time of departure and the fact that they know wherein their travel provisions lie (good deeds, mentioned earlier in the sermon): "Listen! You have been given the command to begin your journey, and direction as to how you may gather provisions" (أَلَا وَإِنَّكُمْ قَدْ أُمِرْتُمْ بِالظُّعْنِ وَدَلِّمْتُمْ عَلَى الزَّادِ).

The extant section of the sermon is devoid of verbatim quotations of any kind, but Qur'anic vocabulary and concepts permeate its lines. Good deeds ver-

sus sinning, paradise versus hellfire, injunctions against following one's base desires, directives regarding collecting provisions for the hereafter—all are concepts prominent in the Qur'an, and all are accorded eminence in this sermon. The journey metaphor is also one prominent in the Qur'an, in, for example, the verse "Guide us to the straight path" ﴿أَهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ﴾.²⁴⁹

Although perhaps too loose to be termed modified quotations, some allusions reference verses of the Qur'an more literally. Connections are made between two otherwise disconnected signifiers. "Losing one's deeds" (خسران), is a linkage clearly presented in line eleven: "Whoever falls short during his days of hope, before the arrival of his death—his deeds he will lose, and his death will harm him." This association is culled from the Qur'an, which presents the term "loss" alongside the term "deeds" in four different verses, for example, in the surah of The Cave: «Say: Shall we inform you of those who are the worst losers in terms of [their] deeds?» ﴿قُلْ هَلْ نُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِالْأَخْسَرِينَ أَعْمَالًا﴾.²⁵⁰ Racing toward a finish line that is the border of paradise is an idea begun in lines three and four and culminating in line five of the sermon: "Its goal is paradise" (والسبقة الجنة); it has clear resonance with the Qur'anic verse: «Race toward your Lord's forgiveness and [toward] a paradise whose breadth is as the breadth of the sky and the earth.» ﴿سَابِقُوا إِلَىٰ مَغْفِرَةٍ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ وَجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا كَعَرْضِ السَّمَاءِ﴾.²⁵¹ The idea of repentance couched in a rhetorical question and initiated by three consecutive particles of interrogation, conjunction, and negation "a-fa-lā" occurs in line 7: "Is there no one who would repent from his sin before his death?" (أفلا تائب من خطيئته قبل منيته). It echoes to a certain extent the Qur'anic verse «Do they not turn in repentance to God» ﴿أَفَلَا يَتُوبُونَ إِلَى اللَّهِ﴾, which also contains the same question, preceded by the same three particles, except that it uses an imperfect verb. In the sermon, the verb becomes an active participle.²⁵² An injunction against following one's base desires is presented by line nineteen of the sermon: "Truly, I fear your pursuit of whimsical desires and lengthy yearnings" (وإن أخوف ما أخاف عليكم اتباع الهوى وطول الأمل). The sermon turns into an assertive remark the imperative of two Qur'anic verses that warn

249 Q Fātiḥah 1:5.

250 Q Kahf 18:103. See also Mā'idah 5:5: (فَقَدْ حَبِطَ عَمَلُهُ وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ), Mā'idah 5:53: لَئِنْ أَشْرَكْتَ لَيَحْبَطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ وَلَتَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ), and Zumar 39:65: (حَبِطَتْ أَعْمَالُهُمْ فَأَصْبَحُوا خَاسِرِينَ). (الْخَاسِرِينَ).

251 Q Ḥadīd 57:21.

252 Q Mā'idah 5:74.

«Do not follow your desires», plural:²⁵³ ﴿فَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا الْهَوَىٰ﴾ and singular:²⁵⁴ وَلَا ﴿تَتَّبِعِ الْهَوَىٰ﴾. The instruction to gather provisions for the hereafter in the last line of the sermon, line 20, “Take provisions in this world, from this world, with which you can nourish your souls tomorrow” (تَزَوَّدُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا مَا تَحْزُونَ) (به أنفسكم غداً provision is God-fearing piety) ﴿وَتَزَوَّدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ التَّقْوَىٰ﴾.²⁵⁵ Fainter Qur’anic echoes are found in lines 8–9 of the sermon.²⁵⁶

‘Alī’s sermon uses the standard koine utilized also by poetry and the Qur’an, and its language register is simple, dignified, and eloquent. The syntax is straightforward throughout. For example, line 1: “Then truly! The world has indeed turned back and proclaimed its departure” (فَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ أَدْبَرَتْ وَأَذْنَتْ بَوْدَاعَ) is a simple nominal sentence with standard word order, beginning with the emphatic preposition *inna*, followed by its subject, followed by a simple verbal clause. Line 8: “Is there no one who would perform good deeds for his soul before his day of hardship?” (أَلَا عَامِلٌ لِنَفْسِهِ قَبْلَ يَوْمِ بُؤْسِهِ) is another straightforward nominal sentence in the negative interrogative mode, thus beginning with an interrogative particle followed by a particle of negation, then the subject, then a prepositional phrase, then an implied and obvious predicate (“present” = *mawjūd*), then an adverb of time in a double construct. Line 15: “Listen truly! Whomsoever right does not benefit, wrong will harm” (مَنْ لَا يَنْفَعُهُ) (الْحَقُّ يَضُرُّهُ الْبَاطِلُ) is a simple verbal sentence in the conditional mode, beginning with the conditional pronoun, then a negating preposition, then an imperfect (conditional) verb, its subject, then another imperfect verb which is the conditional apodosis (*jawāb al-shart*), followed by its subject. The vocabulary is not difficult, but it is elevated and formal, with no casual or crude remark jarring the formality of the occasion, and with every phrase consisting of weighty words: world (*dunyā*), hereafter (*ākhirah*), farewell (*wadāʿ*), horse race (*sibāq*), doer (*ʿāmil*), paradise (*jannah*), hellfire (*nār*), allotted lifespan (*ajal*), harmed

253 Q Nisā’ 4:135.

254 Q Šād 38:26.

255 Q Baqarah 2:197.

256 Line 8: (أَلَا عَامِلٌ لِنَفْسِهِ قَبْلَ يَوْمِ بُؤْسِهِ) echoes Q Āl ‘Imrān 3:30 ﴿يَوْمَ يَجِدُ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ مَّا عَمِلَتْ﴾. Line 9: (أَلَا وَإِنَّكُمْ فِي أَيَّامٍ أَمَلٍ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ أَجَلٌ) echoes An‘ām 6:2 ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي﴾. ﴿خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ طِينٍ ثُمَّ قَضَىٰ أَجَلًا وَأَجَلٌ مُّسَمًّى عِنْدَهُ ثُمَّ أَنْتُمْ مُّحْضَرُونَ﴾ and A‘rāf 7:34 ﴿وَلِكُلِّ أُمَّةٍ أَجَلٌ فَإِذَا جَاءَ أَجَلُهُمْ لَا يَسْتَأْخِرُونَ سَاعَةً وَلَا يَسْتَقْدِمُونَ﴾.

(*ḍarra*), benefited (*naḥa'a*), slept (*nāma*), one who seeks (*ṭālib*), one who flees (*hārib*), fear (*khawf*), right (*ḥaqq*), wrong (*bāṭil*), whimsical desire (*hawā*), and provisions (*zād*). The word used to denote “training for a horse race” (*miḍmār*) is archaic in our eyes, but it would have been part of the routine vocabulary of the early Arabians, easily understood by 'Alī's audience.

In addition to the parallelism and imagery and other beautifying techniques of this sermon already discussed, its eloquence also consists in apposite positioning, careful selection of pronouns, and fitting juxtapositions. By bringing forward the predicate of the preposition *inna* over its subject in a *hysteron-proteron* (*taqdīm wa-ta'khīr*) in lines 3–4, the predicate is emphasized, forcefully underscoring the temporal immediacy of the need to prepare for the hereafter-race: “Today is the day of training, and tomorrow is the race.” (ألا وإنّ)

(اليوم المضمار وغداً السباق). By suffixing the pronoun “his” to the word “soul” and another one to the word “hardship” in line eight (rather than just saying “the soul” or “hardship” without the personal pronoun, which would have sufficed in terms of the overall meaning), the good deeds as well as the hardship—death—are intimately personalized for each person in the audience: “Is there one among you who would perform good deeds for his soul before his day of adversity?” (ألا عامل لنفسه قبل يوم يؤسه). By juxtaposing in lines 7–8 the rhetorical question about repentance with the metaphor of the horse race in lines 3–6 (discussed earlier), the urgent need is highlighted for each member of the audience to repent and perform good deeds, before the race is over, and the goal is reached.

Moreover, themes of imminent death and urgent preparation for the hereafter would have gained deeper meaning in the aftermath of the major battle many members of the audience had just fought. They had seen comrades fall. They had seen how the world changes its colors overnight, how friend can become foe, how trusted leaders can break their covenant. The *Nahj* rendering of the sermon contains only pious counsel and no explicit political content. Other renderings contain more direct allusions to the battle, such as the line in Minqarī's text, “Listen! Several men among you held back from coming to my aid, and I rebuke them today” (ألا إنه قد قعد عن نصرتي منكم رجال فأنا عليهم عاتب زار). But even if we view only the pious counsel, the message of prioritizing affairs of faith over worldly profit is particularly resonant when we know the context of the civil war.

Stemming from its oral nature and function of persuasion, 'Alī's sermon displays the essential mnemonic, rhythmic, and graphic characteristics of oral-milieu expression. Although we know that 'Alī was literate—he was one of

the scribes of the Prophet who wrote down verses of the Qur'an as they were revealed—his use of orthographic notation would have been limited within the writing practice of the society he lived in, a society whose use of language was overwhelmingly oral. His sermon is a compelling sample of Arabic oration. Using tacitly persuasive oral artistry—intense rhythm, sustained antithetical parallelism, sporadic rhyme, repetition of key terms, vivid horse imagery, emphatic verbiage, an elevated linguistic register, juxtapositions, rhetorical questions, and evocation of Qur'anic themes—'Alī delineates a clear contrast between this world and the next, today and tomorrow, good and evil, guidance and error. The entire piece is formulated rhythmically, in a measured flow of words and phrases of acoustic orientation, involving patterns of word-movement and time. The pulsing beat of the sermon contributes to its aesthetic and persuasive success. Concurrently with the logical content of the sermon, 'Alī's brilliantly crafted text leaves the audience starkly reminded of the transience of this world, and the necessity for each individual to utilize his or her time in it to the fullest, in order to ensure salvation in the ensuing eternity.

7 Concluding Remarks

A number of orators are held up in the sources as the most eloquent and persuasive of speakers. Muḥammad is considered by Muslims to be the font of divinely inspired speech. 'Alī's renown has already been noted, and there are many more accolades for his powerful oratory that one could cite, including ones by each of the several hundred commentators of *The Path of Eloquence*. From the pre-Islamic and earliest Islamic period, Quss and Saḥbān are viewed as proverbial models of eloquence. From Umayyad times, the Khārijite commanders Abū Ḥamzah and Qaṭarī stand out. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih praises particular pieces by them, citing Mālik ibn Anas saying, "Abū Ḥamzah addressed us in Medina with an oration [propagating the Khārijite view of Islam] that cast the discerning into doubt and the doubter into deep uncertainty," and he declares that "the peer for Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah's sermon censuring this world is non-existent, and its equal not to be found."²⁵⁷ 'Alī's (and Fāṭimah's) daughter and Muḥammad's granddaughter Zaynab, who delivered a number of powerful orations in the aftermath of the Karbala tragedy, is recognized as the preeminent female orator of Islam. Zayd ibn 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn, who directed a major uprising in Kufa and was the eponymous founder of the Zaydī branch of Shi'ism, was another

²⁵⁷ Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:51.

famed orator. Naḥḥās cites the text of an oration by him, which he describes as an acclaimed model memorized avidly by scribes and would-be litterateurs.²⁵⁸ The Umayyad governors Ziyād and Ḥajjāj were legendary for their excoriating political speeches. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih again says that Mu‘āwiyah called Ziyād “the most brilliant orator” (*al-khaṭīb al-miṣqa’*), and ‘Abd al-Malik was informed that his governor Ḥajjāj was among the best of them.²⁵⁹ Ibn Qutaybah quotes the late-Umayyad preacher of Basra, Mālik ibn Dīnār, who said, “I know of no one more persuasive than Ḥajjāj. If he were to ascend the pulpit and describe how beneficent he had been to the Iraqis and how treacherous and wicked they had been to him, I would think he was telling the truth and they were lying!”²⁶⁰ All these master orators consistently engaged artistic techniques described in this chapter.

Imbued with aesthetics of orality and mnemonics, we have seen that Arabic oration displayed five hallmark characteristics—intense rhythm, elements of audience engagement, vivid nature imagery, testimonial citation from the Qur’an and poetry, as well as from proverbs and hadith, and a direct yet formal and eloquent language register. These features together form its signature style.

258 App. §164.1.

259 Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:51–52.

260 Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl*, 146–147.

Orators and Audience of the Oration

Dynamics of Public Space, Authority, and Negotiation

In pre-Islamic and early Islamic societies, orations were a locus for the negotiation of authority. Orators at this time were all leaders in the community. They cajoled or threatened, reasoned or bullied, explained or decreed, addressing their audiences in varying moods and modes. The earliest audiences were audiences of peers. They listened with pleasure or fear, love or hatred, acceptance or challenge, facing the orator with as many different states and tempers. It is in the public spaces of the oration, at the nexus of the orator-audience relationship, that we can best observe the period's brokerage of power and policy.

Given the historically distant memory in which these speeches took place, there are many aspects about which we have little or no information. The hands-on tools of the anthropologist and sociologist are unavailable. We can neither interview the audience to ask them about their response to a speaker nor observe how the speaker modulated pitch and tone to influence the audience. The sources offer some direct comments on these issues, but in the main we are left in the realm of speculation. However, these same sources also provide valuable texts, contexts, and subtexts that shed light on other key facets of orator-audience interaction. In these, we have ample materials from which to understand how command in our period was molded through oration.

In this chapter, I pull together scattered pieces of data to paint a picture of orators and audiences, with a view to understanding how authority was asserted by the orator, and how his authority was mediated—and sometimes co-opted—by the audience. First—using a modified version of Hannah Arendt's three point model of Persuasion-Authority-Coercion¹—I explore the orator's identity and standing, as well as the mode of his authority, as it gradually changed from a more pliable to a tougher approach, from a government of near equals to a more centralized administration. I also assess material artifacts that symbolized the orator's authority, and physical spaces that enhanced his credence. Next, I examine the composition of the audience, which was sizeable and public. After that, I discuss the interaction between orators and audience, manifest in the spontaneous orality of the orator's delivery and the equally

¹ Arendt, 91–141.

extemporaneous participation of the audience. Finally, I illustrate—through a speech given by Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī in Karbala—the workings of authority assertion and mediation through Arabic oration.

1 The Orators

Most orators whose names and texts have come down to us were people of political, military, and religious authority.² Reversing the equation, we can assume that all leaders were reasonably adept—if not always skilled—orators, for they needed to persuade their fellows to their own course of action. Public speaking was a requisite of leadership. The medieval philosopher Fārābī (d. 339/950) states that among the requirements for a ruler is “a powerful tongue, able to evoke in the imagination a clear picture of all he knows.”³ A clear albeit inverse indication of the linkage between leadership and oratory is provided in the (full) two-line text of the accession speech of the third Sunni caliph, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān: “The first ride [i.e., giving a speech for the first time] is difficult. But after today, there will be other days of import. I have not been an orator, but if I continue in your service, orations will come as they should, God willing.”⁴ That ‘Uthmān deemed he needed to speak to the occasion but was (as Qalqashandī puts it) “dumbfounded,”⁵ combined with the fact that he felt obliged to acknowledge his inadequate oratorical skills, and, added to that, his statement that he would learn on the job—all point to the expectation of the community that as the new caliph he would step up and orate. As we move forward into the Umayyad period, the caliph seems to become more distant, and his oratorical authority appears to play out more often through his governors and commanders, but still, it was the leaders who stood in the pulpit. The cor-

2 Ishāq (192) and Ibn Manẓūr (s.v. “KhṭB”) derive the general term for oration, “*khuṭbah*,” from “*khatb*” (“calamity”), saying it was a speech delivered during calamitous events, presumably to galvanize people to deal positively with the grave situation; this is a further connection between oratory and leadership.

3 Fārābī, *Mabādī’ ārā’ ahl al-madīnah al-fāḍilah*, 246. Walzer translates the line more freely, “he should be a good orator.”

4 App. §146.4. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s chapter on “orators who were stumped” gives further anecdotes (*Iqd*, 4:134–135). Another example is of ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir, ‘Uthmān’s governor in Basra, who was unnerved by the sea of faces the first time he attempted to give a Friday sermon, and said “God created the world in six years” instead of the Qur’anic “six days.” He was challenged in the pulpit by a commoner in the audience, and thereafter appointed a deputy to give Friday sermons, after which he would lead the prayer (Ibn A‘tham, 2:335–336).

5 (أَوَّلُ مَنْ أَرْتَجَّ عَلَيْهِ فِي الْخُطْبَةِ عَثْمَانُ بْنُ عَفَّانَ): Qalqashandī, 1:421.

relation between eloquence and leadership was particularly true in the tribal society of the pre-Islamic period and the relatively egalitarian community of early Islam, but it continued to hold even in the more hierarchical societies of the Umayyad period. Orations almost always carried authoritative weight, and orators almost always wielded authority.

1.1 *Spectrum of Oratorical Power Negotiation: Persuasion-Authority-Coercion*

Hannah Arendt's model is helpful in assessing the types of influence our orator's wielded through oration. In her classic 1968 essay, "What is Authority?" Arendt proposed three categories of political governance: authority, and its two polar extremes, persuasion and coercion. Based on the Greek model, she argued that these categories were mutually exclusive.⁶ With some overlap but also with some contrast, texts and contexts of Arabic oration show a more nuanced application, with the orator combining two of the three categories at any given time. In each oration he asserted some kind of authority, but the authority was bundled either with persuasive arguments made to an audience of peers, or with coercive statements threatening repercussions for non-compliance. To place our materials, we can use a sliding, three-part scale of persuasion, authority, and coercion.

Overall, we see a gradual but inexorable move from a more pliant to a harsher approach. From a point somewhere between persuasion and authority in the pre-Islamic period, to a similar position—privileging authority, but still heavy on persuasion—in the early Islamic period; and finally, to a point between authority and coercion, or even to full coercion, in the speeches of Umayyad

6 In Arendt, *Between Past and Future*, 91–141. Arendt (93) argues as follows: "Since authority always demands obedience, it is commonly mistaken for some form of power or violence. Yet authority precludes the use of external means of coercion; where force is used, authority itself has failed. Authority, on the other hand, is incompatible with persuasion, which presupposes equality and works through a process of argumentation. Where arguments are used, authority is left in abeyance. Against the egalitarian order of persuasion stands the authoritarian order, which is always hierarchical. If authority is to be defined at all, then, it must be in contradistinction to both coercion by force and persuasion by arguments. (The authoritarian relation between the one who commands and the one who obeys rests neither on the common reason nor on the power of the one who commands; what they have in common is the hierarchy itself, whose rightness and legitimacy both recognize, and where both have their predetermined stable place.) This point is of historical importance; when Plato began to consider the introduction of authority into the handling of public affairs in the polis, he knew he was seeking an alternative to the common Greek way of handling domestic affairs, which was persuasion, as well as to the common way of handling foreign affairs, which was force and violence."

state officials. Where the pre-Islamic orator harnessed both his status and his persuasive skills to full effect, where the Prophet called on divine authority but still attempted to persuade, where the early caliphs combined their religio-political authority with an effort to convince, the Umayyad governors simply informed the townspeople of their harsh rules and the fatal consequences of transgression; the speeches of Ziyād and Ḥajjāj embodied authority, but additionally they explicitly expressed the threat of force. It should be noted that speeches in the Umayyad period by leaders who were not part of the governing institution still followed the older model of combining some form of religio-political authority with a barrage of persuasive materials. But the hardening of tone in orations of the ruling elite implies a lessening of the public voice in verbal negotiations of power. It indicates a gradual centralization of authority and stratification of early Islamic society.

1.2 *Types of Authority*

Although all orations were grounded in the orator's authority, the nature of this authority varied. Tribal chiefs, soothsayers, and pious-counsel preachers gave orations in the pre-Islamic period, and in early Islamic times it was the Prophet, caliphs, city governors, army commanders, and religious scholars who orated. In the uncommon case of women orators, authority was grounded to some extent in their learning and piety, but primarily in their marriage or birth. Moreover, sometimes orators addressed an audience which included someone higher in political authority than they, such as a caliph. But in these less common cases too, the orator was a person of weight in his or her own right.

Various kinds of authority—political, religious, shamanistic, military, legislative, and religio-political—were asserted through the oration. Sometimes, areas of authority were demarcated, but more often than not, categories overlapped. For example, political leaders usually preached the ritual Friday sermon, especially in the early decades of Islam, and they also often led the military expeditions. But orators who mastered all categories equally were rare. The phenomenon of a political leader who was also a military commander and at the same time a preacher of religious doctrine and pious counsel, an orator whose sermons and speeches combined themes from all categories of orations, and who at one time or another delivered all types of speeches—is perhaps observable only in, first, the Prophet Muḥammad, and then in Imam ʿAlī.

1.3 *Identity of the Orators, Types of Authority They Wielded, and Modes of Its Assertion*

This leads us to ask: Who were the orators? What was the nature of their authority? And how did they use speeches to assert it? In the following pages, I examine these issues in some detail. To trace historical developments, I follow a rough chronological timeline through the cultural spectra of pagan to Islamic, tribal to imperial, and nomadic to urban society.

1.3.1 Pre-Islamic Period

Qalqashandī, quoting Jāḥiẓ, remarks that “in the age of ignorance, orations were delivered by the chiefs and leaders of the Arabs who had drawn the winning arrow of judgment and had raced all others to the high peak of nobility.”⁷ What we know about pre-Islamic society is sketchy, but tidbits of information in the sources indicate that three kinds of authority—political/military, religious, and moral—were divided, with occasional overlap, between elders, soothsayers, and preachers, respectively. The chieftain (*shaykh*) and elders of a tribe enacted policy, particularly with respect to when and with which tribes to fight or reconcile. Chief of the Bakr ibn Wā’il, Hānī’ ibn Qubayṣah al-Shaybānī, for example, incited his people with a rousing speech to battle the Persians and their Taghlib and Iyād allies in the Battle of Dhū Qār in Iraq. Reminding his tribesmen that death in battle was the only honorable way to die, he ended his speech with the injunction: “Sons of Bakr, fight! For death is inevitable!”⁸

The elders of Quraysh held a pan-Arabian authority grounded in their control of the sacred sanctuary of Mecca. Their authority was reinforced by their mercantile strength, for Mecca was an important trading center. Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī narrates in the *Aghānī* that “the Arabians used to bring their disputes to the Quraysh for arbitration.”⁹ In an inverse example, several Quraysh elders, one after another—Abū Sufyān ibn al-Ḥarb, then Abū Jahl ibn Hishām, then ‘Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn, then Ghaylān ibn Salamah, then Ḥarmalah ibn al-Ash‘ar, then Harim ibn Quṭbah—were asked and refused to deliver a judgment in a dispute between two scions of the ‘Āmir tribe who were vying for leadership after the former chieftain’s death.¹⁰

Among the Quraysh, forebears of the Prophet are singled out. In addition to arbitrating political issues, they appear to have exercised influence in

7 Qalqashandī, 1:211.

8 App. § 52.1.

9 (كانت العرب تحاكم إلى قريش): Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 16:196; (Ṣafwat 1:43).

10 App. § 24.1, § 53.1.

regulating certain religious matters. The importance of the Banū Hāshim is understandable, given their known leadership prior to Islam, in addition to their genealogical relevance, first to Muḥammad, and then to the Abbasid and Fatimid dynasties, under whom many of our sources were penned. Kalā'ī relates that delegations from the Quraysh and Khuzā'ah came to Muḥammad's great-grandfather Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf with a dispute, and he "delivered to them an oration which the two groups heard and obeyed." The speech opened with Hāshim emphasizing the authority of his clan, with references to their exalted lineage from the Prophet Abraham, Abraham's son Ismā'īl, and the latter's descendants Naḍr ibn Kinānah and Quṣayy ibn Kilāb, and it mentioned their control of the Meccan sanctuary: "We," said Hāshim in summation, "are lords of Mecca, dwellers in the sanctuary." After emphasizing his authority to arbitrate, he asked the tribes to be magnanimous toward one another and stop fighting.¹¹ In speech after speech, Muḥammad's ancestors Ka'b ibn Luwayy, Hāshim, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim, and Muḥammad's uncle Abū Ṭālib ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib promoted upkeep of the Ka'bah and service to its pilgrims.¹² Qalqashandī tells us that Ka'b orated, "Adorn this, your sanctuary, and render it respect. Hold on to it firmly, and do not leave it ever. For it will be the subject of a great report, and the birthplace of a noble prophet."¹³

A number of Arabian chiefs led by Nu'mān ibn Mundhir, king of the Sasanid vassal realm of Ḥirah, apparently addressed speeches to Kisrā, the Persian monarch, one after another. Presumably in an effort to deter him from casting covetous eyes further west, they vaunted the bravery and noble qualities of the Arabs.¹⁴ The addresses of these tribal chieftains carried authority, but it was not top down, for the target audience was composed of the emperor and his entourage.

Moral authority seems to have been exercised by ascetics or monotheists who prompted people to lead a pious life. Among these are the following five: 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, chief of the Jusham clan of the tribe of Taghlib and a famed *mu'allaqah* poet;¹⁵ Quss ibn Sā'idah, said by some to be the Christian bishop of Najrān and a proverbial orator;¹⁶ Ma'mūn al-Ḥārithī, about whom little is known, except that he "addressed a sermon to his people";¹⁷ the Tamīmi judge,

11 App. § 57.2.

12 App. § 70.1, § 57.1, § 9.1.

13 App. § 70.1.

14 App. § 100.1. The reference includes speeches by Nu'mān and other tribal leaders.

15 App. § 36.1.

16 App. § 105.1.

17 App. § 79.1.

Aktham ibn Ṣayfi, known for his testaments and maxims;¹⁸ and Ṣaḥbān ibn Zufar al-Wā'ilī—classical sources describe a moving speaker as “more eloquent than Ṣaḥbān.”¹⁹ It could be the case that their moral authority stemmed from political stature, but discussions about them remain speculative.

Like the Greek sybil who was considered a medium for divine speech,²⁰ male and female soothsayers (*kuhhān*, sing. *kāhin*, and *kawāhin*, sing. *kāhinah*) exerted shamanistic authority through quasi-oratorical addresses of divination or arbitration. With relentless rhyme and a profusion of unusual nature-based oaths, their speech was clearly distinguished from the ordinary speech of mortals, and it filtered into the political and military arena, sometimes even trumping the authority of the chieftain. One example is the judgment between the two brothers Hāshim and Umayyah, according to which a soothsayer of the Khuzā'ah allowed Hāshim to remain in Mecca on the condition that he sacrifice fifty camels, and exiled Umayyah for ten years.²¹ Another example is that of the soothsayer 'Uzzā Salamah refereeing a dispute over property in Ṭā'if claimed by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim and Khindif ibn al-Ḥārith al-Thaqafi, ruling for the former.²² Both the above judgments are in favor of the Prophet's forebears, and indeed, many soothsayer judgments honor them in some way. The Muslims had motive to invent, but also reason to preserve, such reports.

Sometimes soothsayer orations were more sinister. An example is the report about 'Awf ibn Rabī'ah al-Asadī, who made the “prediction” to the Asad tribe that their king Ḥujr ibn al-Ḥārith (father of the famous *mu'allaqah* poet Imru' al-Qays) would be assassinated, which, in effect prompted them go after him and kill him.²³ The report goes that one year the Banū Asad refused to pay taxes. Ḥujr went to them with an army and punished them severely, killing many, with staffs, no less. Finally, he let them go. The next day, 'Awf said to them (in a rhymed quasi-oration): “The tall king; victorious, not defeated; with camels (the ones he recently collected as tax from his subjects?) like an oryx herd—[I see]

18 Two quasi-orations, one a condolence speech and another addressed to the Persian monarch by Aktham: App. § 30.1, § 30.2. Many proverbs are also attributed to Aktham, by scholars such as Mufaḍḍal, Balādhurī, then Maydānī, and Ibn Manẓūr, as are several testaments to his son by Balādhurī, as well as some poetry by Ibn Qutaybah. Abū l-Faraj (*Aghānī*, 16:225) says he was “judge of the Arabs” (*qāḍī l-'arab*), and Zamakhsharī cites him as a model for sound opinion and noble counsel. Aktham preached mostly in the pre-Islamic period but lived to embrace Islam. For more on Aktham, see Sijistānī, 26–41, § 11.

19 (أفصح من سحبان) and (أخطب من سحبان). Jāhiz, *Bayān*, 1:25–26. See also verses by Ṣaḥbān vaunting his oratorical skills in Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. “KhṭB.”

20 Lincoln, 93.

21 App. § 76.1.

22 App. § 148.1. See also § 148.2.

23 App. § 41.1.

his blood flowing; tomorrow, he will be stripped [of his belongings]!” The tribesmen asked the soothsayer (addressing him as “our lord,” clearly acknowledging his authority over them) to whom he referred, and he replied (in rhyme again): “If it were not for the agitation of an agitated soul, I would inform you openly that it is Ḥujr.” The sources tell us that upon hearing this, the Banū Asad immediately rode to Ḥujr’s encampment, attacked him in his tent and killed him. In this story, we see a proactive kind of foretelling. The supernatural authority of the soothsayer apparently allowed him to give an order to kill, if he dressed it in the garb of divination.

1.3.2 The Period of Muḥammad’s Lifetime

With Muḥammad’s call to Islam in 622 AD, oratory continued as the principal mode of exercising authority. The few extant orations delivered by the Prophet in Mecca were, like Qur’anic revelations of the period, religious, without political overtones. In the first oration he delivered to the Quraysh, Muḥammad emphasized their mortality, as pious-counsel preachers such as Quss had done earlier. But he did so with an unambiguous statement of his authority to them as God’s messenger. He also emphasized their accountability, declaring there would be a good or evil outcome in the hereafter for good or evil deeds performed in the here and now.²⁴ In one of his early years as Prophet, Muḥammad addressed tribes gathered for the pilgrimage season at Minā with an oration in which he declared that he was conveying God’s message to them, that they must shun idol worship and profess belief in the one true God.²⁵ Here too, the call was toward Islam as a system of belief, and the authority exercised was sacral. The report continues that Muḥammad’s uncle Abū Lahab gave a counter-oration, urging the people not to give up allegiance to their idols.²⁶ Eventually, as we know, Muḥammad won over the tribes. The reasons for his success are complex, but orations such as this one played their part in his victory.

After the migration, Muḥammad’s orations (again, like Qur’anic revelations of the period) reflected his new role as head of a polity as well as a prophet calling to God. Before Islam, authority had been divided into political influence exercised by tribal elders, and religious weight wielded by soothsayers. Now, Muḥammad’s orations in Medina combined both bases. The move from religious to religio-political authority was gradual. At the Bay‘at al-‘Aqabah, when the people of Yathrib who would come to be called the Allies pledged allegiance

24 App. § 90.1, § 90.2.

25 Ibn Hishām, 1:267.

26 App. § 20.1.

to him, Muḥammad had solicited their promise to fight with him if necessary.²⁷ In the first Friday sermon he preached in his new hometown, he focused almost completely on piety, but toward the end, and in subordination to the general idea of piety, he included lines encouraging his people to fight the Quraysh. In an oration delivered during the Battle of Uḥud in 3/625, he combined injunctions to jihad with directives counseling piety and good deeds. Aside from a handful of battle speeches, most orations attributed to him are sermons of pious counsel and law.²⁸

Muḥammad's foes counter-orated—and exercised counter-authority—during this time, especially during battles. For obvious reasons, Muslim historians have not preserved those orations, but 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's words to Muḥammad regarding the Qurashī leader Suhayl ibn 'Amr are instructive.²⁹ Taken captive at the Battle of Badr, Suhayl was about to be released when 'Umar said to Muḥammad: "Let me first knock out his front teeth, so his tongue lolls out—he will not then stand up orating against you in any battlefield!" Muḥammad denied 'Umar permission, but the request indicates that orations were an important medium of exercising authority. In contrast to the incendiary speeches by Suhayl referred to in this report, another report about the Meccan Umayyad leader Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb shows how oratorical authority was exercised to end fighting. In a dejected speech toward the end of the siege of Medina in the Battle of the Trench, Abū Sufyān lamented the "desertion of the (Medinan Jewish tribe) Banū Qurayzah," and the destruction in the Meccan camp caused by the "strength of the wind." Addressing the Meccans he had led to fight Muḥammad, he said: "Leave, for I am leaving!"³⁰

Only a few orations by Muḥammad's Companions are reported to have taken place during his lifetime. Ibn Hishām records an oration by 'Alī addressing the Quraysh in Mecca, rescinding the truce between the Muslims and Meccans signed at Ḥudaybiyyah, and announcing new stipulations for the Hajj, prohibiting nudity and polytheist worship in the Ka'bah.³¹ The contents of the speech reflect the contents of the Qur'anic surah of Tawbah,³² so it fits into the context well. The report indicates that Muḥammad designated 'Alī to deliver his message. Here we see Muḥammad's sacral authority being exercised through the agency of a deputy, 'Alī, articulated through oration.

27 App. § 90.3.

28 App. § 90.9.

29 Ibn Hishām, 1:433.

30 App. § 24.2.

31 App. § 31.1.

32 Q Sūrat al-Barā'ah 9.

In 9/631, tribal delegations arrived in Medina. Their representatives delivered speeches extolling their tribe, such as ‘Uṭarid ibn Ḥājib for Tamīm and Ṭahfah ibn Abī Zuhayr for Nahd.³³ Muḥammad’s orators, such as Thābit ibn Qays ibn al-Shammās, responded, lauding the Muslim community and the Prophet.³⁴ This oratorical contest (*mufākharah*) may be seen as an extension of certain pre-Islamic speeches in which speakers sought by their eloquence to win leadership of the tribe. In this exchange, the oratorical duel resulted in a victory for the Muslims. Ibn Ishāq tells us that the Tamīm were impressed, so much so that it sealed their decision to convert to Islam. There seems to be some indication of official orator status as well—Ṭabarī characterizes Thābit as “one of the orators of the Prophet.”³⁵

Toward the end of his life, the nature of authority exercised in Muḥammad’s orations moved to a legislative focus. The Arabian Peninsula was now almost completely Muslim, so there was no call for charged political rhetoric. Instead, his orations emphasized his authority as God’s messenger to expound the divinely prescribed Shari‘ah law. The famed oration he delivered on Mount ‘Arafāt during his last pilgrimage laid down civic and criminal regulations for the fledgling Islamic state.³⁶

On his way home to Medina at a place called Ghadīr Khumm, Muḥammad, according to the Shi‘a, exercised the ultimate authority—to pass on his own full authority—in an oration in which he appointed ‘Alī as his successor, saying, “For whomsoever I am master (*mawlā*), ‘Alī is henceforth his master” (من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه).³⁷ According to the Sunnis, Muḥammad extolled ‘Alī in this speech, but it had no succession context; they believe the Prophet died without appointing an heir.

1.3.3 The Early Caliphal Period

The thirty years after Muḥammad’s death encompass the historical caliphates of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī. Sunnis call them the “Rightly Guided” (*rāshidūn*) caliphs, whereas the Shi‘a believe ‘Alī was Muḥammad’s only rightful successor and the first three were usurpers. These years saw consolidation of Islamic religion and polity within the Arabian Peninsula, expansion into the neighboring lands of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Egypt, and also much civil strife. They were followed—after some months of rule by ‘Alī’s son Ḥasan—by the

33 App. § 143.1, § 130.1.

34 App. § 135.1.

35 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 4:124; (Ṣafwat, 1:235).

36 App. § 90.19.

37 App. § 90.20.

establishment of the Umayyad dynasty. As these events unfolded, they were accompanied and influenced by a large volume of orations. Caliphal orations continued various types of political and religious authority, where the military context is prominent and the legislative authority toned down. Other than laying down rules for the distribution of state moneys by ‘Umar, oration texts from this period contain few references to legal issues.

In the first speeches they gave as head of the community, the caliphs delineated their religio-political authoritative bases, intertwining remarks on policy with injunctions to piety. Their accession speeches—although approaching the topic in different ways—alluded to the nature of their authority and the form it would take. Texts and details follow in Chapter Eight, but a few words are called for here. Abū Bakr was diffident in asserting authority in his first speech,³⁸ and subsequently, the audience comes across as tribal peers rather than subjects. ‘Umar took a tougher stance than his predecessor in asserting authority, likening the audience in his accession speech to “haughty, pierced-nosed camels” and himself to their “driver.”³⁹

Soon after the death of Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’ addressed Abū Bakr and the companions in his assembly with a strong speech, “from behind a curtain,” in which she asserted her husband ‘Alī’s greater right to the caliphate and her own right to inherit the lands of Fadak from her father.⁴⁰ Women’s orations—discussed more fully in that chapter—are uncommon. Fāṭimah, and the few other female speakers, did not hold official leadership positions in the community, but they were still people of rank and clout.

‘Umar’s caliphate was a period of rapid expansion, and he delivered orations on various military and political matters. In two speeches he also laid out fiscal policies regarding the distribution of booty. In the first speech, he assured all Arab Muslims a share of the reward, promising: “There will not remain a single Muslim, even if he stays at home, except that he will get his share of God’s property.”⁴¹ In the second, he laid out a lengthy plan of booty distribution, prefacing the list with words emphasizing his own authority to make these decisions: “Whoever wishes to ask about the treasury should come to me, for God has made me its keeper and distributor (*khāzin* and *qāsim*).”⁴² The speeches were important instruments for publicizing the new policies and inducing acquiescence to ‘Umar’s allocation list (*dīwān*).

38 App. § 15.3.

39 App. § 140.2; see also § 140.3–5.

40 App. § 47.1.

41 App. § 140.7.

42 App. § 140.8.

During the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, men other than the caliphs gave speeches as well, their authority sometimes deriving from an appointment by the caliph, as in the case of military commanders, or from the orator’s own stature as eminent Companion or powerful tribal chief. These speeches were most often delivered during battles.

During the apostasy wars (*hurūb al-riddah*) and the conquests (*fitūḥ*), we find a large number of powerful military commanders who used orations to fire up armies.⁴³ Among them was Khālīd ibn al-Walīd, termed by the Sunnis the “Sword of Islam,” and condemned by the Shi’a for being a bitter enemy of Muḥammad’s true successor, ‘Alī. Khālīd addressed the Muslim forces in Yamāmah heading toward Iraq in 12/633, and urged them to fight: “I will leave and camp, and march if God wills, and make haste. Whoever desires both immediate and deferred [i.e. worldly and otherworldly] reward should hasten to join.” He prefaced his urgings to fight by tracing the origin of the directive to Abū Bakr: “Indeed, the successor (*khalīfah*) of the messenger of God has written to us encouraging us to obey our lord, and to fight our enemies, who are God’s enemies.”⁴⁴ With these words, Khālīd indicated to his audience that his own authority to command the Muslims to fight—and to deliver speeches in that vein—was validated by the caliph himself. The sources cite orations of several other commanders who led the Muslim forces during the early battles of expansion. Among them, Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ spoke to the Muslim armies during the campaign against the Persians at a town called Quṣwā, where he roused them through his oration to cross the Tigris (swimming, presumably) and storm the town.⁴⁵ ‘Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit gave a homiletic speech to the assembled armies in Aleppo as soon as he arrived as commander.⁴⁶ Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān addressed the Muslim troops in Syria, urging them to proceed towards Caesaria.⁴⁷ Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ orated to the Muslim troops at the Battle of Yarmūk in 15/636.⁴⁸ All these commanders grounded their orations on the authority conferred on them by their appointment. They made formal public address to the assembled armies and delivered commands to fight, exercising their role as leaders of the Muslim forces.

43 Donner (*Early Islamic Conquests*, 114 and *passim*) points out that it is difficult to establish relationships between various commanders, or dates and chains of command.

44 App. § 74.1.

45 App. § 113.2.

46 App. § 137.1.

47 App. § 152.1.

48 App. § 26.1.

Other individuals with religio-political authority also delivered speeches to the troops, often at the behest of the commander. Several were from among the Emigrants and Allies, such as the following three: Mu'ādh ibn al-Jabal, who gave an oration at Yarmūk, and later when the Syrian commander Abū 'Ubaydah died of the 'Amwās plague in ca. 17/638;⁴⁹ Abū l-Dardā', who addressed the armies in Damascus in 14/635;⁵⁰ and Shaddād ibn Aws, who orated in Aleppo at the commander 'Ubādah's behest.⁵¹ Others were of the Meccan elite, such as the Umayyad leader Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ.⁵² Yet others were tribal chieftains, such as Ṭulayḥah ibn Khuwaylid, who gave a speech to energize the Asad tribe at Qādisiyyah in Iraq in 14/635, upon orders from the commander Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.⁵³

When 'Umar died, the succession was formally decided through the medium of oration. As is well known, 'Umar had left the question to be decided by a council (*shūrā*) of six early Emigrants: 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydallāh, who was out of town. The five men conducted their business largely through speeches addressed by one member at a time to the others.⁵⁴ Each speech was structured with a regular *taḥmīd* opening, transition phrase, and prayer for forgiveness at the end. In this set of speeches, we see significant variance from the speeches of incumbent authorities, for all members in theory had an equal chance of becoming the next leader.

After the council decided in favor of 'Uthmān, he appears to have orated rarely, and only a few speeches are attributed to him in his twelve year caliphate. Some of his commanders, including Walīd ibn 'Uqbah and 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, gave speeches to the armies,⁵⁵ while his critics, including the Companion Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, orated to Muslim pilgrims at Mecca.⁵⁶ A spate of 'Uthmān's orations is recorded for the last turbulent weeks leading up to his assassination. In response to calls for his resignation, he said in one famous speech: "I will not remove a shirt [i.e. the caliphate] God Almighty has bequeathed me, with which he has honored me and for which he has chosen me. But I do repent and I will make changes. I shall not return to any practice the Muslim com-

49 App. § 82.1, § 82.3. Mu'ādh too died in that plague.

50 App. § 16.1.

51 App. § 126.1.

52 App. § 35.1, § 35.2.

53 App. § 136.1.

54 App. § 11.1.

55 App. § 150.2, § 7.1.

56 App. § 17.1.

munity has faulted.”⁵⁷ Ṭabarī tells us that the rebels were not convinced, and continued to call for him to step down. ‘Uthmān—ironically, still speaking from the authoritative caliphal pulpit—used the medium of oration in a last fraught attempt to retain authority.

‘Alī’s orations during the four years of his caliphate are legion. Although they follow earlier authoritative patterns, they also break new ground. In contrast to ‘Uthmān’s initial speech, ‘Alī’s contained no references to the practice of his caliphal precursors. Rather, he opened by asserting his own righteousness and accountability, and encouraging the Muslims to be pious and good.⁵⁸ This early speech was to set the pattern for what was to come, in terms of ‘Alī’s own presentation of the nature of his oratorical authority and the grounding of his political authority as primarily religious. On the many occasions that ‘Alī employed this verbal tool of governance and persuasion, he did so through the mandate of being the caliph to whom the community had pledged allegiance, a close Companion of the Prophet as well as his cousin and son-in-law, a just and pious administrator, an intrepid defender of Islam in its earliest times, and, according to the Shi‘a, Muḥammad’s appointed successor—themes he alluded to time and again in his orations.⁵⁹ ‘Alī was also the first caliph who personally led armies into the battlefield, and he delivered several orations leading up to, during, and after his three major battles, The Camel, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān. He couched these battle orations in an overall frame of piety.

Several of ‘Alī’s prominent supporters orated in the battles during his caliphate. Among them were ‘Alī’s two sons, who were also the Prophet’s grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; venerable Companions of the Prophet, such as ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, and Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī; important Hāshimite men from the next generation, such as ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Abbās and ‘Abdallāh ibn Ja‘far; and tribal chieftains, such as Mālīk al-Ashtar al-Nakha‘ī, ‘Abdallāh ibn Badīl al-Khuzā‘ī, and Hāshim ibn ‘Utbah al-Mirqāl. Their position as leaders provided them the platform from which to speak. In a possible anomaly, a handful of women—‘Ikriṣhah bint al-Aṭash (or: Aṭrash), Umm al-Khayr bint al-Ḥarīsh al-Bāriqiyyah, and Zarqā’ bint ‘Adī al-Hamdāniyyah—also addressed ‘Alī’s forces in orations at Ṣiffīn.

57 App. § 146.6.

58 App. § 31.3.

59 On these issues, see Ibn Hishām, 2:489–490; Ya‘qūbī, 2:126; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* 4:231–233, 5:7–8; Ibn Qutaybah, *Imāmah*, 1:28–33. For details and further primary sources see Madelung, *Succession to Muḥammad*, 28–33, 141, and *passim*; idem, “Shi‘a,” *EI2*; Gleave, “‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib,” *EI3*.

Sometimes, these same orators addressed their opponents, and then the nature of their authority differed. When Nu'mān ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī from Mu'āwiyah's side addressed his fellow Allies in 'Alī's army, and Qays ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī from 'Alī's side responded, neither wielded the same weight among their opponents as they did among their own people, but they did wield the weight of their shared tribal affiliation.⁶⁰ When 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās debated the Khārījites, as did his master, 'Alī, their generally acknowledged merit in Islam and the fact that the Khārījites had been 'Alī's supporters earlier lent them authority, even over addressees who were fighting against them. Rarely, orators addressed both sides collectively, as in the addresses of Abū Mūsā and 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ at the post-Ṣiffīn Arbitration—and in these instances the speakers wielded the authority of appointed arbiters.⁶¹

'Alī's governors gave speeches to the residents of their cities, encouraging them to support their caliph, including 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās in Basra, Ziyād ibn Abīhi in Kufa, Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī in Hamadhan, and Ash'ath ibn Qays in Azerbaijan.⁶² 'Alī's emissaries to his governors also gave public speeches in which they claimed the support of the populace, including Zufar ibn Qays in Hamadhan, and Ziyād ibn Ka'b in Azerbaijan.⁶³ As governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr gave a speech encouraging obedience to 'Alī.⁶⁴ In contrast, Abū Mūsā l-Ash'arī, during his initial stint as 'Alī's governor in Kufa, gave a speech before the Battle of the Camel, discouraging the populace from fighting with 'Alī.⁶⁵

In an example of grouped quasi-speeches, the sources record speaker after speaker addressing 'Alī and advising him before the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Among them were those who advised fighting Mu'āwiyah—Hāshim ibn 'Utbah, 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, Qays ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, Mālik al-Ashtar, and Ḥujr ibn 'Adī.⁶⁶ Others advised against a military course of action—Ḥanzalah ibn al-Rabī' al-Tamīmī, 'Adī ibn Ḥātim al-Tā'ī, Zayd ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Tā'ī (later of the Khārījites), Abū Zaynab ibn 'Awf, Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī, and Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr.⁶⁷ In both groups, the speakers were addressing a higher religio-political authority (the caliph, 'Alī), but they too were people who had a voice in the government, and they exercised this power through speechmaking.

60 App. § 99.1, § 104.2.

61 App. § 21.2.

62 App. § 1.5, § 166.2, § 69.2, § 69.3, § 38.1.

63 App. § 169.1, § 167.1.

64 App. § 88.2.

65 App. § 21.1.

66 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:171–174, 182; (Ṣafwat 1:312–315, 322).

67 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:175–182; (Ṣafwat 1:316–322).

After Şiffin and post-Arbitration, orations were delivered one after the other by Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās, and ‘Abdallāh ibn Ja‘far.⁶⁸

There were many orators among ‘Alī’s opponents. The speeches of the Prophet’s widow ‘Āishah bint Abī Bakr during the Battle of the Camel are particularly interesting. Hers is perhaps the only example of a female general delivering battle orations (for Islam generally forbade women from participating in warfare), and it is noteworthy that the authority she invoked derived not from her own merit, but from that of her husband and her father. ‘Āishah’s case is unusual, but the kinds of authority embodied by ‘Alī’s male opponents we have seen earlier. Ṭalhah and Zubayr had been members of the elite council that elected ‘Uthmān, and with ‘Āishah they led the fight against ‘Alī in the Battle of the Camel. One speech is attributed in the battle to Ṭalhah;⁶⁹ none, however, to Zubayr. During the Battle of Şiffin, Mu‘āwiyah gave many speeches. He already had weight among the Syrians, having served as governor there for twenty years. In addition, he claimed (inaccurately) to be ‘Uthmān’s next of kin, and demanded retribution for the slain caliph’s blood.⁷⁰ Orations abound by Mu‘āwiyah’s supporters, including ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, Dhū l-Kalā’ al-Ḥimyarī, Yazīd ibn Asad al-Bajāli, ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī, and Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihri. The leaders of the Khārijites who fought ‘Alī also fired up their fellows through speeches, among them ‘Abdallāh ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī, Yazīd ibn ‘Āṣim al-Muḥāribī, Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhayr al-Sa’dī, Ḥamzah ibn Sinān al-Asadī, Shurayḥ ibn Awfā al-Absī, and Mustawrid ibn ‘Ullifah. All these orators who used their speeches to rouse their armies to fight ‘Alī were people of stature in the community—through their genealogy, or their service to Islam, or their position of leadership within their group. They were able to have people listen to them and obey them, not only because of what they said, but also because of who they were.

After ‘Alī’s assassination, the Iraqis pledged allegiance to his son Ḥasan, who delivered several orations to his supporters. Initially, he encouraged them to fight the Syrians,⁷¹ and then, after stepping down from the caliphate, he explained his reasons for negotiating a peace treaty with Mu‘āwiyah: to ensure the unity of the community and prevent further bloodshed. Iterating his blood connection to Muḥammad and alluding to his own good judgment, he said in the opening lines of one of these latter speeches: “People! God guided the earliest of you by the first of us [i.e. Muḥammad], and protected the later

68 App. § 55.3, § 1.4.

69 App. § 131.1.

70 App. § 84.1–6.

71 App. § 55.5, § 55.7.

among you by the one who came later from among us [i.e. Ḥasan himself].”⁷² Ḥasan also addressed Mu‘āwiyah and the Syrians, defending and lauding his father, ‘Alī. One of Ḥasan’s speeches after his abdication was in response to a speech by Mu‘āwiyah in which the newly acknowledged Umayyad caliph had roundly censured ‘Alī. Just by naming names and connecting them either to himself or to Mu‘āwiyah, Ḥasan succeeded in pointing out his own high lineage and contrasting it to the forefathers of the new Umayyad caliph, who had opposed Muḥammad tooth and nail. Mu‘āwiyah and the assembled audience knew the history attached to those names. Ḥasan said: “O you who condemn ‘Alī! I am Ḥasan and my father is ‘Alī. You are Mu‘āwiyah, and your father is Ṣakhr [Abū Sufyān]. My grandfather is God’s messenger. Your grandfather is ‘Utbah ibn Rabi‘ah. My grandmother is Khadijah. And your grandmother is Qutaylah. May God curse the one among us who is lowlier in lineage, viler in past and present, and more entrenched in disbelief and hypocrisy.”⁷³ Ḥasan had addressed the Iraqis in his earlier speeches as their caliph and thus the highest political authority in the land. He addressed them and the Syrians in later orations as the former chief, retaining his moral ground, but tacitly acknowledging Mu‘āwiyah’s political supremacy.

1.3.4 The Umayyad Period

In the Umayyad period, the likelihood of various authorities being encapsulated in a single orator decreased significantly. Divisions crystallized between various kinds of orations: those delivered by governors, which were primarily political; those delivered by the state’s military commanders, which were military-political; others delivered by revolt leaders, which were religio-political; and yet others, delivered by pious ascetics, which were mostly religious. Patricia Crone has convincingly argued that the title God’s Caliph (*khalīfat Allāh*), which is found in the earliest epistles and poems of the Umayyad period, indicates that the basis of the authority of the early caliphs was not just political, but also religious.⁷⁴ Many orations of this period were produced in the context of uprisings, and contained copious legitimation references. But where the Umayyads accentuated their unifying force and military power, their opponents emphasized their own spiritual high ground and moral uprightness.

Orations by Umayyad leaders lost some of the earlier pietistic framing. Pious-counsel orations by the caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz frequently encour-

⁷² App. § 55.10, § 55.8.

⁷³ App. § 55.9. This was a stance that Ḥasan reiterated in several speeches given in similar circumstances in the following years.

⁷⁴ Crone, *God’s Caliph*, *passim*.

aged preparation for the hereafter, but he is the exception. A few Friday sermons expounding Islamic themes were delivered by the Umayyad caliphs, such as the one by Yazīd I, and the brief two-line sermon by his father.⁷⁵ The accession speech of Yazīd III (after he had killed his cousin Walīd II) justified the assassination by what he claimed was the former caliph's disobedience to God.⁷⁶ But by and large, the earlier religio-political axis was morphing into a purely political one. Speeches of the Umayyad caliphs contained profuse references to their own authority, but rather than precedence in religion, they presented this authority as one based on military power.⁷⁷ In the so-called Year of Unification (*ʿām al-jamāʿah*), Muʿāwiyah declared in a policy speech to the residents of Medina who had earlier inclined towards ʿAlī: "By God, I have not obtained the caliphate through your love, or by your acceptance of my governance. I have battled you with this, my sword ... If you do not find me the best of you, indeed, I am the best of you in governance ... I will not use my sword upon him who does not wield one."⁷⁸ Similarly, in a speech in Mecca, which had lately seen the lengthy revolt and final defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Malik flexed his military muscle: "He who says with his head such and such (making a gesture with his head), we say to him with our sword such and such (making a gesture with his hand)."⁷⁹

There seem to be fewer orations by the Umayyad caliphs overall. To be sure, some speeches are ascribed to Muʿāwiyah, Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, Muʿāwiyah ibn Yazīd, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, Yazīd ibn al-Walīd, Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, and ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. But compared to the abundant texts attributed to their opponents and the profusion produced by their own governors, they are limited. Several speeches are ascribed to Muʿāwiyah from earlier times when he was fighting ʿAlī, but he seems to have delivered few orations in the twenty long years of his own caliphate. Perhaps the early historians—who were writing mostly under the Abbasids—deliberately ignored the Umayyad caliphs, but if so, why did they record the orations of Umayyad governors? Perhaps the reason for the dearth of orations by Umayyad caliphs is not the antipathy of the later Abbasid historians, but is more rooted in the changing nature of government in Umayyad times, with the empire becoming larger and the bureaucracy more organized. The lessening

75 App. § 84.9, § 155.1.

76 App. § 158.1.

77 On the Umayyad's bases of oratorical legitimation, see Nuṣṣ, *al-Khaṭābah al-siyāsiyyah*, 91–101.

78 App. § 84.8.

79 App. § 8.3.

in volume of caliphal oratory could be an indication that the caliph's interaction with his subjects was becoming less personal, that there was a gradual move away from a more interactive egalitarian leadership to a mediated one, that caliphal authority—at least in terms of direct communication with the community—was exercised more and more through the channel of governors and military commanders. Later, with the spread of writing toward the end of the Umayyad period and beyond, the caliphal epistle would almost completely take over the authoritative communicative function of the oration.

A large number of speeches are attributed to Umayyad governors, particularly Ziyād ibn Abīhi and Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, both in the main garrison towns of Iraq. Orations are also attributed to several other governors, such as Muḡhirah ibn Shu‘bah in Kufa, ‘Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān in Egypt, ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ al-Ashdaq (the “Wide-Jawed,” referring to his prowess as an orator) in Medina and Mecca, Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihri in Kufa, Nu‘mān ibn Bashīr also in Kufa, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād ibn Abīhi in Kufa and Basra, ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān al-Murri in Medina, Khālīd ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī in Mecca and Wāsiṭ, and ‘Attāb ibn Warqā’ al-Riyāḥī in Isfahan.

The speeches of the Umayyad governors exhibit political—rather than religio-political—authority. Despite their continued use of Qur’anic references and Islamic terminology, these governors did not root their power in a religious mandate. ‘Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān opened an angry speech in Fustat with the threat of violent retribution and a reminder that it was Mu‘āwiyah who had brought together the Muslim community: “Beware of becoming the harvest of the sword ... Indeed, God has unified you through the commander of the believers [i.e. Mu‘āwiyah] after your division.”⁸⁰ ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq gave a speech from the Prophet’s pulpit, in which he warned the Medinans that he would rule over them for a long time because of his military might: “Save yourselves. For by God, we have conquered you through a rising youthfulness, with far reaching aspirations, and a long lifespan ... If it (youthfulness?) bites down, it severs [the meat from the body], and if it pounces, it crushes the neck of the prey.”⁸¹ Ziyād ibn Abīhi, Mu‘āwiyah’s governor in Iraq, who had earlier been governor for ‘Alī and then continued in the service of ‘Alī’s son Ḥasan, had cited in his speech religious grounds for Ḥasan’s authority, namely that he was “the son of the daughter of the messenger of God, and the son of his cousin” and that he was supported by “a hundred thousand of the Emigrants and Allies.”⁸² In later

80 App. § 144.1. See also speech (App. § 144.3) in which he cites the Qur’anic verse, “like an ass carrying books of scripture,” (Q Jum‘ah 62:5).

81 App. § 37.1.

82 App. § 166.3.

speeches made after his switch of allegiance to the Umayyads, Ziyād said once that they ruled through “God’s power” (*sultān Allāh*),⁸³ but in general he did not cite religious grounds for the authority of his new masters.

Umayyad governors referenced the authority of their caliphal masters in proclaiming their own authority. ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād said to the Kufans when he arrived there to combat Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī: “The commander of the faithful has put me in charge of your town. He has commanded me to give justice to your oppressed and generosity to your deprived; to be good to those among you who listen and obey, and harsh with those among you who doubt and disobey.”⁸⁴ In addition to warning the incipient Kufan Shi‘a faction of the fatal consequences of revolt, Ibn Ziyād was telling them that Yazīd had delegated his own authority to him; that his words and actions were backed by the might of empire.

We find here a definite move from the persuasive oratory of earlier times to a more coercive form. Grounding authority in the sword, the tone of the governors’ speeches was now unequivocally harsh, with little give and take. In contrast to the early caliphal period, where policy was often framed through speeches, Umayyad governors laid down policies that they had already formulated, and their orations were merely to let people know what had already been decided and that there would be clear and dire consequences for disobeying. This transformation in the workings of oratorical authority could indicate that the government was becoming more differentiated from the people, as the lay members of the community gradually came to have less direct say in the way things were run, a differentiation that would ossify further in the Abbasid period. Ziyād laid out several specific punishments for various crimes in his famous speech to the people of Basra as their new governor: “Whoever drowns people, I shall drown him. Whoever burns people, I shall burn him. Whoever breaches a house, I shall breach his heart. Whoever digs up a grave and robs it, I shall bury him in it alive.” Ḥajjāj in an equally famous speech to the Iraqis threatened: “I do not make a promise without carrying it out. I do not intend a thing without following it through. I do not measure without cutting. So beware of me, and beware of these intercessors and groups and assemblies, of speaking this and that, of ‘What do you say?’ and ‘Where do you stand on that?’ By God, you shall stay on the path of truth, or I shall bequeath to each man among you some preoccupation in his body.” He went on to order military combat: “The commander of the faithful has commanded me to disburse your pay, and to send you to battle your enemy [the Azraqī Khārijites] with Muhallab ibn Abī

83 App. §166.5.

84 App. §138.2.

Şufrah. I swear by God that I shall not find a man who has stayed behind after taking his pay by three days but I will spill his blood, seize his property, and demolish his house.”⁸⁵

The sources also give us the names of several Umayyad commanders who gave battle speeches, as well as the texts of their orations. The address of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād before the conquest of Andalusia is well known, but rousing speeches are attributed to other Umayyad commanders as well: Muslim ibn ‘Uqbah, commander for Yazid I during the sack of Medina at the Battle of Ḥarrah in 63/683, as well as his deputy in Medina, Rawḥ ibn Zanzā‘ al-Judhāmī, chief of the Yemeni tribe of Judhām; Sa‘īd ibn al-Mujālid, who fought and orated near Kufa against the Khārijites; ‘Abdallāh ibn Muṭṭar, who battled Mukhtār near Kufa; several Umayyad commanders who fought the Khārijites, including Ma‘qil ibn Qays and the aforementioned Muhallab in Iraq, and Muslim ibn ‘Ubays in Ahwaz. Speeches are also attributed to erstwhile Umayyad commanders, including Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī, who fought the Soghdians for the Umayyads in Khurasan then himself revolted against Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, and Ibn al-Ash‘ath al-Kindī, who fought Rutbil (or Zunbil) in Transoxiana, then gathered an army to fight Ḥajjāj at Dayr al-Jamājim.

In contrast to governors’ speeches, Umayyad commanders’ speeches display some of the persuasive oratory seen in earlier times. To paint a convincing picture of the need to fight, they used a two-colored palette: scriptural texts promising rewards and paradise, and rhetoric inspiring fear in the hearts of those who were thinking of holding back. Qutaybah profusely sprinkled his address to his troops near Khurasan with Qur’anic verses iterating God’s reward for those who fought.⁸⁶ Ṭāriq addressed his soldiers subsequent to landing in Andalusia—after he had burnt his own ships to force their hand—by pointing out that they needed to fight if they wanted to live: “Where will you flee? The sea is behind you, and the enemy in front.” The action may have been coercive, but the speech was not, especially because of the questions posed, which let the audience (ostensibly) decide the truth of the matter for themselves. Like military commanders of earlier times, Umayyad commanders also referenced their caliph’s authority to shore up their own. Ṭāriq then said to his troops: “The commander of the faithful, Walid ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, has singled you ... from among his warriors.”

The majority of speeches in this period are attributed to leaders who took up arms against the Umayyads. They belonged to different factions: Shi’a and

85 App. § 166.5, § 51.3. Both speeches are cited in full in Ch. 8.

86 App. § 106.1.

Khārijites in Iraq, prominent members of the Quraysh in the Ḥijāz, and a few miscellaneous groups, including a handful of erstwhile Umayyad commanders. In their speeches to the Muslim community, they outlined the impiety of the Umayyads, claiming for themselves the responsibility—and authority—to rise up against corrupt rulers. Leaders of revolts called attention to particular religious aspects of their authority, based on their own backgrounds and strengths, keeping in mind what line would resonate with their particular audience.⁸⁷

An important leader was the Prophet's younger grandson, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī.⁸⁸ In orations delivered to the Umayyad troops who had surrounded him enroute to Iraq, and in Karbala, where, in 61/680 he was besieged and killed with his small band of supporters and family members, Ḥusayn grounded his authority over his immediate audience of Kufan soldiers fighting for the Umayyads (and tacitly over the Umayyad caliphs themselves and the full Muslim community) in his descent from the Prophet and from 'Alī, and in his relationship to Hāshimite warriors, such as Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who had selflessly given their lives for Islam. Ḥusayn's verbiage stressing his Prophetic genealogy echoed that of his brother, Ḥasan, seen earlier, and was itself echoed by all Shi'a groups who followed. In a speech addressed to the Umayyad vanguard enroute to Kufa, Ḥusayn linked genealogical arguments with pragmatic ones: "People! If you fear God and recognize the right of righteous people, God will be better pleased. We, the family of the Prophet, are more worthy of governing this affair for you than these [Umayyads] who falsely claim what is not theirs, and oppress you with injustice and enmity. However, if you dislike us and do not recognize our right, if your opinion is other than what was expressed in your letters to me, than what your emissaries brought to me, I will leave you and go away."⁸⁹ Addressing the same group of Kufan soldiers, days later, Ḥusayn pointed out to them the ungodliness of the Umayyad caliphs: "The [Umayyads] are steadfast in obeying Satan and have forsworn obedience to God. They have manifested corruption, stopped implementing legal penalties, embezzled from

87 Nuṣṣ (*al-Khaṭābah al-siyāsīyah*, 111–115) discusses the claims of the Umayyads and their opponents.

88 For a summary of Ḥusayn's martyrdom and its political repercussions, including the anti-Umayyad post Karbala uprisings, see T. Qutbuddin, "Husayn." See details of Ḥusayn's oratorical themes in Nuṣṣ, *al-Khaṭābah al-siyāsīyah*, 106–111.

89 أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ فَإِنَّكُمْ إِن تَتَّقُوا وَتَعْرِفُوا الْحَقَّ لِأَهْلِهِ يَكُنْ أَرْضَى لَّهِ. وَنَحْنُ أَهْلُ الْبَيْتِ أَوَّلَى بِوَلَايَةِ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ) عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ الْمُدَّعِينَ مَا لَيْسَ لَهُمْ وَالسَّائِرُونَ فِيكُمْ بِالْجَوْرِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ. وَإِنْ أَنْتُمْ كَرِهْتُمُونَا وَجَهِلْتُمْ حَقَّنَا (وَكَانَ رَأْيَكُمْ غَيْرَ مَا أَتَيْتَنِي كِتَابَكُمْ وَقَدِمْتُ بِهِ عَلَيَّ رَسَلَكُمْ أَنْصَرَفْتُ عَنْكُمْ App. § 62.2.

the treasury, made permissible that which God has prohibited, and prohibited that which God has permitted.”⁹⁰ Orations by Ḥusayn’s supporters at Karbala—including the Kufan elder Zuhayr ibn Qayn and the Umayyad sub-commander Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, who went over to Ḥusayn’s side just before the battle—also pointed out to the Umayyad army that Ḥusayn was the beloved grandson of the Prophet.⁹¹ Later, Ḥusayn’s sisters, Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm, chastised Yazīd and his courtiers with strong speeches; they used similar verbiage to establish their authority, touting Ḥusayn’s (and their own) descent from Muḥammad. Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm’s speeches are reminiscent of the oration by their mother, Fāṭimah, to Abū Bakr’s court, for they too ground authority in lineage, and they too orate at a time of distress that pushes them to discourse in a public male arena.

The killing of the Prophet’s family at Karbala shocked the Muslim community, resulting in several Shi’ite uprisings against Umayyad rule in Iraq that urged—often through oratory—vengeance for Ḥusayn’s death. Among those who took up arms against the Umayyads were the four thousand Penitents (*tawwābūn*), who, in a groundswell movement, “repented” of their failure to support Ḥusayn and undertook to fight his killers as atonement. Also among those who rose up for this cause were the thousands who answered Mukhtār al-Thaqafi’s call. The leaders of the Penitents, particularly Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad, and later Mukhtār, grounded their own authority to lead (and to orate as an expression of leadership and a means of leading) in the authority of a Shi’i Imam—Ḥusayn or Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah—who, they were assiduous in pointing out, was the grandson of the Prophet and/or the son of ‘Alī. Sulaymān and other Kufans who orated in this context—including Musayyab ibn Najabah al-Fazārī, Rifā‘ah ibn Shaddād, ‘Abdallāh ibn Wālī, ‘Abdallāh ibn Sa’d, Khālīd ibn Sa’d ibn Nufayl, Sa’d ibn Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, and ‘Ubaydal-lāh ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Murri—were important leaders of the Kufan Shi’a, elders of their tribes, and sons of the early Companions. In their speeches, they uniformly invoked Ḥusayn, his death, and their own role in his death, to rouse the people to fight the Umayyads. Musayyab declared in one of the more detailed of these speeches: “God tested the best among us, and found us false in ... the battles [fought by] the son of the daughter of our Prophet. His letters had reached us beforehand. His emissaries had come to us. He had written to us asking us to aid him ... We were afraid to lose our lives, and he was killed right here in our

90 ألا وإن هؤلاء قد لزموا طاعة الشيطان وتركوا طاعة الرحمن وأظهروا الفساد وعطلوا الحدود وأسأثروا (بالنبيء وأحلوا حرام الله وحرّموا حلاله). App. § 62.4.

91 App. § 170.2, § 61.1.

midst. We did not aid him with our hands, nor protect him with our tongues, nor strengthen him with our money, nor ask our clans to aid him. What will be our excuse to our Lord, and at our meeting with our Prophet, when his grandson, his beloved, his descendants, his children, have been killed in our midst? No by God, there is no excuse. You must kill those who participated in his killing, or be killed seeking this. Perhaps our Lord will be pleased with us if we do so.”⁹²

Mukhtār also urged fighting through his speeches, in which he also referred to the martyrdom of Ḥusayn but giving greater prominence to his own authority as self-proclaimed deputy of Ḥusayn’s half-brother, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, known as Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah. In 64/684, three years after the events at Karbala, upon his return from Medina (where Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah resided), he began a speech addressing the Kufans with the following words: “The messiah (*mahdī*), son of the Legatee, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, has sent me to you as trustee and vizier, aide and commander. He has directed me to fight the atheists, seek retribution for the blood of the family of his house, and to protect the weak.”⁹³ Mukhtār’s commanders—including Yazīd ibn Anas al-Asadī and Ibrāhīm ibn Mālīk al-Ashtar—who were also prominent leaders among the Kufan Shi’a, gave similar speeches. In all the Shi’a speeches urging revolt against the Umayyads, the Imam’s genealogy figured as an essential motif of religio-political authority. Revolt against the Umayyads, as far as the Shi’a were concerned, was not just seeking revenge for the martyrdom of Ḥusayn but also because of the dispute about leadership.

Several orations are credited to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, son of a prominent Companion and “counter-caliph” for ten years in the Ḥijāz and Iraq. Characterized by a man in his audience as the most cogent of orators,⁹⁴ he used the speech-making medium effectively to strengthen his cause. Although not pro-‘Alid, he bolstered his claim by praising the recently martyred Ḥusayn and criticizing his killers, tacitly reminding his audience that he was the only one who remained who was of the caliber needed to confront the Umayyads. In a speech to the Meccans, Ibn al-Zubayr lauded Ḥusayn then contrasted him to Yazīd thus: “Shall we be at ease with these people after Ḥusayn? Should we believe their word and accept their pact? No! We do not see them worthy of it! ... By God, Ḥusayn did not exchange the Qur’an for song, nor weeping from fear of God for camel-chants, nor fasting for forbidden drink, nor assemblies of

92 App. § 93.1.

93 App. § 91.1.

94 (الخطيب اللبيب): App. § 7.4.

remembrance for avid pursuit of the hunt.”⁹⁵ The sources tell us that the audience rushed forward to entreat him—exactly as Ibn al-Zubayr probably hoped they would—to accept their pledge of allegiance, for since Ḥusayn was dead, he himself was now most worthy.

A large number of addresses are attributed to Khārijite leaders. Prominent among them are Abū Ḥamzah al-Shārī and Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā’ah, but orations are also ascribed to Mustawrid ibn ‘Ullifah al-Taymī, Ḥayyān ibn Zabyān al-Sulamī, Mu’adh ibn Juwayn, Zubayr ibn ‘Alī al-Salīṭī, ‘Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr, Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ, Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī, and ‘Abdallāh ibn Yahyā al-Ibādī. These orators were also the ones who led the Khārijites into battle against the Umayyads, and many of their orations were delivered in the context of jihad. Many were also sermons of pious counsel, but these were framed in a militant vein, combining injunctions to piety and directives to fight with criticism of the Umayyads and the Shi’a, and of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī. Religio-political themes can be found, for example, in the sermon by the Khārijite leader of the Ṣufriyyah faction, Ṣāliḥ, and in the speeches of Abū Ḥamzah.⁹⁶ Like the Shi’a and Ibn al-Zubayr, the Khārijites too presented their authority as defenders of the Muslim community.⁹⁷ ‘Abdallāh ibn Yahyā projected the Khārijites as protectors of the last bastion of true Islam in a speech he declaimed in Yemen in 129/747: “We call you to the book of God and the practice of his Prophet, and to answer those who call to them. Islam is our religion, Muḥammad is our prophet, and the Qur’an is our imam. We accept the permissible as permissible, not seeking to exchange it or sell it for a trifle. We do not permit the impermissible, having thrown it behind our backs.”⁹⁸ Addressing variously the people of Medina and their own followers, Abū Ḥamzah and his fellow Khārijites cited the godlessness of the Umayyad rulers and the necessity of replacing them by force of arms.

Quasi-oratorical public addresses (*maqāmāt*, sing. *maqām*) are attributed to anonymous Bedouins and to certain ascetics (*zuhhād*, sing. *zāhid*), particularly Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but also Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’, Saḥbān ibn Zufar al-Wā’ilī, and Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān, who publicly, perhaps ritually, admonished caliphs and governors. These addresses were grounded in soft authority based in piety and learning, rather than one backed with hard political clout. By numerous cita-

95 أقبعد الحسين نظمئن إلى هؤلاء القوم ونصدق قولهم ونقبل لهم عهداً. لا ولا نراهم لذلك أهلاً ... أما) (والله ما كان يبدل بالقرآن الغناء ولا بالبكاء الركض في تطلاب الصيد): App. § 7.3.

96 App. § 122.1, § 18.1–5.

97 See discussion in Nuṣṣ, *al-Khaṭābah al-siyāsiyyah*, 101–106.

98 App. § 6.1.

tions of Qur'anic verses, references to Islamic ideals of piety, and themes of the earlier pious-counsel sermon, they invoked the authority of the holy book and accepted practice. Despite Ḥasan's pietistic admonitions aimed at the establishment, his politics were clearly pro-Umayyad. In one oration, he discouraged the Basrans from responding to Marwān ibn al-Muhallab's call to fight the Umayyads. Ḥasan's oration must have had some effect, judging by Marwān's counter-oration, in which he characterized him as a hypocrite and threatened him with violence if he did not desist.⁹⁹

In another form of quasi-oration, volleys of religio-political addresses are reported to have been lobbed back and forth between Hāshimite and pro-Hāshimite individuals on one side—including 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far, and Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ṣūḥān—and Ibn al-Zubayr, or Mu'āwiyah and his supporters, on the other.

The most common basis of authority cited by Umayyad governors and commanders was their military and political power, and what they claimed was their resultant unification of the Muslim community. In contrast, lineage from the Prophet and 'Alī was the most common basis of authority cited in speeches by 'Alids and their supporters. If we view the orations of this period on a three-part spectrum of Persuasion, Authority, and Coercion, we find that Ḥusayn's oration falls somewhere between the first two parts of Persuasion and Authority. In other words, Ḥusayn delineates various bases of his authority, including his lineage, in an attempt to persuade. Speeches by other anti-Umayyad leaders of this period, such as Ibn al-Zubayr, Mukhtār, and the Khārijites, are similar in this regard, and they follow the mode of earlier speech-making in the dynamism of their orator-audience relationship. Their high level of interaction partly stems from their treatment of the audience as peers or quasi-peers. In contrast again, speeches by Umayyad governors, including Ḥajjāj and Ziyād, fall more towards the other end of the spectrum. With their consistent evocation of the sword, they mediate authority with coercion. The audience is forced to comply with their dictates or else face physical retribution. Treated as a subject body, the addressees have little room to negotiate power verbally.

1.3.5 The Early Abbasid Period

As is well known, the Abbasid caliphs asserted their right to rule on the basis of their familial relationship to Muḥammad, through their ancestor, Muḥammad's uncle, 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Their orations reflect this claim. In his accession speech in Kufa, the first Abbasid caliph, Saffāḥ, quoted verses

99 App. § 56.3, § 81.1.

from the Qur'an in praise of the family of the Prophet, and declared, "It is through us that God guided the people after they had lost their way."¹⁰⁰ His uncle Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī was also an orator, and he asserted in Saffāh's support that "After God's messenger, no true caliph had ascended the pulpit other than the commander of the faithful 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the commander of the faithful 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad [Saffāh]."¹⁰¹ Another uncle, Šāliḥ ibn 'Alī, used similar themes to reinforce Abbasid authority, saying in one of his speeches, "This is the [Prophet's] family (*i'trah*); each is linked to the other."¹⁰² Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, the commander under whom the Abbasids defeated the Umayyads, gave a speech in Medina, in which he used the same arguments, and cited a Qur'anic verse in praise of the Prophet's family.¹⁰³ Orations of the next Abbasid caliph, Manšūr, abound, and they follow the same pattern of legitimation. In one oration in Mecca, he said, "People, I am truly God's authority (*sulṭān Allāh*) on earth."¹⁰⁴

1.4 *Reinforcement of the Orator's Authority*

The orator's authority was reinforced internally by the structure and style of his oration, and externally with physical symbols of power.

1.4.1 Structure and Style

The structure of the oration strengthened the orator's authority primarily by linking his own authority and status, albeit indirectly, to the divine. The framing *taḥmīd* praise-of-God formulae underpinned the rest of the oration, and the very fact of the orator's invoking God at the opening and closing implicitly imparted sacral authority to the content. Moreover, by the variations he generated within the standard praise formulae, the orator contextualized a particular situation on the ground as a result of celestial determination. At times, by speaking of God as the one who ordains good and bad, the orator presented an unpleasant reality as God's will, as part of the divine plan. At other times, by characterizing God as the one who raises and lowers the status of whomever he wills, the orator characterized his own rule as God-given right.

The style of the oration bolstered the orator's authority by setting him up as the one who was in charge. Imperative dicta in the orations in the mode of "Do

¹⁰⁰ App. § 115.1.

¹⁰¹ App. § 45.1; see another speech by him in support of Saffāh in Ibn Bakkār, 187–188.

¹⁰² App. § 121.1.

¹⁰³ App. § 22.1, Q Aḥzāb 33:33.

¹⁰⁴ App. § 80.1. Ḥusayn al-Lahībī's article is a concise window into oratory in the early Abbasid period.

this!" or "Don't do that!" implied expectations of a top-down enforcement of the orator-leader's wishes. Frequent formatting of these commands in emphatic constructions—with the energetic mood suffix *-nna*, the particles of emphasis *inna* and *qad*, the prefix *la-*, and prefacing oaths—underlined their imposing nature. Rhetorical questions that prodded the audience to arrive at a predetermined conclusion, as well as real queries that solicited a verbal response, again placed the orator as the one in control of the situation, the one asking the questions, while the audience, directed by him, were to provide answers.

1.4.2 Symbols of the Orator's Authority: Leaning on Staff, Sword, or Bow
The orator often leaned on a staff, sword, or bow—graphic visual symbols of his authority as a wise arbiter or strong military leader. The symbolism of the physical objects he wielded during his speech played a formal, visual, and significant part in asserting his control. This visual mapping of oratorical dominion appears to have been a practice common in other oral cultures as well. The Greek orator held a scepter during his speech as a symbol of his right to speak, and Moses's staff was a symbol of his prophetic sovereignty.¹⁰⁵ Although the staff, sword, and bow were neither brandished during the Arabic oration nor mentioned by the orator in the text of his oration, their presence at his side reminded the audience of his power. In tandem with other sensory and cerebral buttresses of the orator's clout, they were a visual demonstration of his authority.

The practice of carrying a staff, sword, or bow while orating appears to have been originally pre-Islamic, and continued with some consistency in early Islamic times through the end of the Umayyad period, and in the Friday sermon thereafter. Examples abound in the sources: Ibn Ḥajar and Qalqashandī tell us that Quss was the first to preach leaning on a sword or staff.¹⁰⁶ Ibn Hishām writes that a soothsayer of the Janab tribe, who predicted that Muḥammad's affair would be short-lived, leaned on a bow while giving his address.¹⁰⁷ Ibn Mājah informs us that Muḥammad would lean on a staff during his Friday sermons, and on a sword during the orations he delivered in battle.¹⁰⁸ Qāḍī l-Nu'mān states that Muḥammad leaned on a bow for the oration praying for

105 Lincoln, 15.

106 (أَوَّلُ مَنْ خَطَبَ عَلَى الْعَصَا وَعَلَى الرَّاحِلَةِ قُصٌّ بْنُ سَاعِدَةَ الْإِيَادِيّ): Qalqashandī, 1:421; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, 7:254, § 7345.

107 (أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَكْرَمُ مُحَمَّدًا وَأَصْطَفَاهُ وَطَهَّرَ قَلْبَهُ وَحْشَاهُ وَمَكَّنَهُ فِيكُمْ أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ قَلِيلٌ) App. § 68.1.

108 Ibn Mājah, s.v. "*Iqāmah*"; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2, s.v. "*Ṣalāh*."

rain.¹⁰⁹ Jāḥiẓ writes that Muḥammad “used to orate [leaning on a] staff,” as did caliphs and community elders, that Saḥbān ibn Wā’il, when asked to preach by Mu‘āwiyah, would not do so until he was brought his staff, and that ‘Abd al-Malik said, “If I were to throw away my staff, half my words would disappear.”¹¹⁰ Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd reports that ‘Alī leaned on a bow while delivering an oration at the Battle of Šiffīn.¹¹¹ He and Abū l-Faraj recount that Yazīd ibn Asad, on Mu‘āwiyah’s side at Šiffīn, “stood up [to give a speech to the Syrians during the battle] ... grasping the handle of his sword, jabbing its point into the ground, and leaning upon it.”¹¹² Ṭabarī and Mas‘ūdī relate that Sulaymān ibn Šurad, chief of the Shi‘a Penitents, delivered a speech to the Kufans “leaning on his Arabian bow.”¹¹³

The staff carried by the orator during his oration was a symbol of his wisdom, judgment, and arbitrate authority, while the sword and bow represented military might. The contexts in which the orator carried one or the other of the three objects indicate their different uses, for, as the above cited reports show, usage was split along functional lines: the staff was used during arbitrate speeches, sermons of pious counsel, and Friday sermons, and the sword or bow in orations during or leading up to battles. The early Arabs recognized the staff as a symbol of wise judgment. Jāḥiẓ has a long section in the *Bayān* explicating uses of the staff,¹¹⁴ and he cites a verse by a 2nd/3rd-century AH Mu‘tazilite poet named Šafwān al-Anṣārī connecting the staff in orations of the Umayyad period (by Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā and others) with “decisive words” (*faṣl al-qawl*).¹¹⁵

يُصِيبُونَ فَصْلَ الْقَوْلِ فِي كُلِّ خُطْبَةٍ إِذَا وَصَلُوا أَيْمَانَهُمْ بِالْمَخَاصِرِ

In every oration they utter decisive words placing their right hand upon their staff.

The connection between weapons and battle is self-evident, but the link between the staff and wisdom is not so obvious. Perhaps it was because the old used it for support, and early Arabian society equated age with wisdom. An

109 Nu‘mān, *Ṭahārah*, 123.

110 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:69, 119, 120.

111 App. § 31.15.

112 App. § 154.1.

113 App. § 129.2.

114 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:370–388: “Bāb mā qīl fī l-makhāṣir wa-l-‘iṣi wa-ghayrihimā”, 3:5–124: “Kitāb al-‘aṣā.” He also says (ibid. 3:117) that its use would provide support for the preacher if the oration were long.

115 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:371, 3:117; full poem with a variant reading for the first hemistich of the verse in ibid. 1:25–26, which has no oration reference.

early Arab whom Jāḥiẓ characterized as a possible orator composed a verse contending that the staff was a worthy inheritance for a wise old man (*shaykh*).¹¹⁶ Perhaps the connection was also made because the staff could be used as an instrument of force, and a tool of inflicting punishment on those who broke the law. Thus, it was a fitting object to accompany a judge as a symbolic reminder of his power, even if he was not likely to personally use it in exacting punishments. Jāḥiẓ wrote in a list of possible utilizations—juxtaposed with his statement about the Prophet, caliphs, and elders orating while leaning on a staff—“The staff can also be used as a whip and a weapon.”¹¹⁷

In exceptional circumstances, the orator contravened the demarcation between staff and sword or bow. An example is found in the famous oration of Ḥajjāj in Kufa, in which he “entered the mosque ... girdled with a sword and a bow on his back, and made for the pulpit. The people gathered around him. Then he climbed the pulpit ... [and after a tense interval of silence], spoke,” delivering an excoriating oration threatening the Iraqis with violence if they did not toe the line. Probably it was the taut situation that Ḥajjāj was facing as incoming governor of an unpopular regime in this anti-Umayyad stronghold, which led him to demonstrate his military might by girding himself with both a sword and a bow in an oration delivered in peacetime—normally the venue would dictate use of a staff. Ḥajjāj’s use of the sword and the bow indicates the chaotic political situation he faced—a battle situation in some sense, clear also from the text of the oration which he began by saying he saw “heads ripe for plucking.”

At times of conflict in the Umayyad period, the orator took powerful people of the community with him onto the pulpit to make a visible show of strength. An example is found in the report about the governor ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād in the pre-Karbala fracas in Kufa with Ḥusayn’s supporters Hānī’ ibn ‘Urwah and Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl: “When ‘Ubaydallāh had beaten up Hānī’ and imprisoned him, he took fright that the people would rise up against him, so he left [the governor’s residence] and ascended the pulpit, with the [Kufan] nobles, his police, and his courtiers.” In this manner, surrounded by the grandees and strongmen of the town, he gave his speech condemning Ḥusayn and threatening those who would support him.¹¹⁸ The nobles appearing with the governor on the pulpit were a visual reminder of their support for him.

Curiously, reports about orations often include comments on what the orator was wearing. The clothes described are usually special, made of silk and

¹¹⁶ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:66.

¹¹⁷ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:69.

¹¹⁸ App. § 138.1.

brocade, or brightly colored, or both. ‘Alī wore “a yellow head covering” in a prayer-for-rain oration in Medina.¹¹⁹ Upon arriving in Medina as its governor, the Umayyad ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq ascended the pulpit wearing “a crimson brocade robe, a crimson brocade shawl, and a crimson brocade turban.”¹²⁰ I have mentioned the possible use of these descriptions as a mnemonic method of loci. Perhaps the garment also worked as a means of asserting authority—the visual of grand clothing and a turban fashioned of sumptuous fabric would have made an impression, especially when the wearer was also leaning on a sword, as sometimes depicted. Yazīd al-Bajalī “stood up to deliver an oration to the Syrians at Šiffīn wearing a silk shirt and a black turban, grasping his sword and leaning on it, with its point in the ground.”¹²¹ In contrast, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz is said to have ascended the pulpit at Eid wearing “a course white robe, a thick Syrian turban, Yemeni trousers, and simple slippers.”¹²² Additionally, the orator would sometimes cover the face with part of his head-covering, according to Jāḥiz, to awe the audience;¹²³ Ḥajjāj in his first Kufa speech had “his face veiled by [the flap of] a red silk turban.”¹²⁴

1.4.3 The Orator High on a Hillock, a Horse, or a Camelback

With a few exceptions, the orator addressed his audience from a position of physical elevation—a rise in the ground, the back of a horse or camel, or an ad hoc pulpit, which later became a permanent structure. Which platform he used depended on the type and context of the oration. Probably originating mostly in pragmatic attempts to improve visibility and audition, the orator’s higher bodily position vis-à-vis his audience, and his occupation of the sacred and official space of the pulpit, also came to serve as a symbol of his authority.

From early times through at least part of the Umayyad period, battle orations were frequently delivered from the back of a horse, and generally, since horses were few and prized, only a few warriors among the audience would be mounted. In cases where the sources specify a location, they say the battle orator addressed his audience from horseback. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, for example, reports that ‘Alī’s supporter Mālik al-Ashtar delivered an oration during the Battle of Šiffīn from the back of “his black horse, intensely dusky like a

119 (ثُمَّ نَهَضَ مُعْتَجِراً بِنَصِيفٍ مَرْبُوقٍ): Quḍā‘ī, *Dustūr*, § 8.2, 196–197.

120 App. § 37.1.

121 App. § 154.1.

122 App. § 139.7.

123 Jāḥiz, *Bayān*, 3:118–119.

124 App. § 51.3.

crow.”¹²⁵ The phenomenon of the horseback orator is copiously represented in accounts of the Battle of Karbala. Balādhurī and Ṭabarī (with minor variations) report that Ḥusayn, when Umayyad troops encircled him at Karbala on the morning of ‘Āshūrā, called for his steed, a horse named Lāḥiq. He mounted it, then, in a raised voice, addressed the hostile enemy. When he was finished, he dismounted, and had the horse tethered. One of Ḥusayn’s chief supporters, Zuhayr ibn Qayn, next rode out towards the Umayyads, fully clad in armor, “on his bushy-tailed horse,” and addressed them in an impassioned speech.¹²⁶ Additionally, a sectional commander of the Umayyad army named Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, having listened to Ḥusayn’s iteration of the sanctity of his blood due to his descent from the Prophet, went over to his side. Unsuccessful in dissuading his superior commander from attacking Ḥusayn, he then came forward to address the Umayyad army, and tried to sway the mass of his erstwhile comrades through a speech—again, mounted on his horse.¹²⁷ The horse was the podium that lent itself most naturally for a battle oration—warriors often fought on horseback, and they could also be heard and seen better from that vantage point. Moreover, it was usually the leaders who would possess horses, and horses were, vicariously, also a symbol of authority.

In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, a mound or hillock was the usual location for oratorical delivery to the home audience in one’s own town. This was true for most religious or religio-political addresses. Muḥammad is said to have climbed the hill of Ṣafā in Mecca to address the Quraysh in one of his earliest speeches.¹²⁸ ‘Alī, when he heard that Mu‘āwiyah’s cavalry had laid waste to the northern Iraqi town of Anbār, is said to have walked (in frustration and anger) to the open space of Nukhaylah just outside Kufa; when people followed him there, we are told that “he ascended a rise (*rubāwah*) in the ground” and delivered a speech.¹²⁹ There were also many times when the orator faced the audience standing level with them, frequently at the door of the Ka‘bah in Mecca. Hāshim ibn ‘Abd Manāf is reported to have orated early in the morning on the first of Dhū l-Ḥijjah, “leaning with his back upon the Ka‘bah near its door.”¹³⁰ Muḥammad, upon the conquest of Mecca, is said to have “stood at the door of the Ka‘bah” to address a speech to the Meccan Quraysh.¹³¹

¹²⁵ App. § 77.2.

¹²⁶ App. § 170.2.

¹²⁷ App. § 61.1.

¹²⁸ App. § 90.2.

¹²⁹ App. § 31.21.

¹³⁰ App. § 57.1.

¹³¹ App. § 90.16.

During the early period, the back of an orator's camel was the customary podium for his address to large gatherings on pan-tribal locations. Jāḥiẓ mentions the Arabians' "orations delivered from the backs of their mounts (*rawāḥil*, presumably camels, but the term may also include horses) during public occasions and large gatherings."¹³² Quss is said to have delivered his famous sermon of pious counsel to the gathered tribes of Arabia at the fair of 'Ukāẓ from "the back of his red camel," a sight Muḥammad reportedly witnessed in his youth.¹³³ Muḥammad himself is said to have addressed the thousands of assembled Muslims on the plain of 'Arafāt outside Mecca during his last pilgrimage, seated on the back of his camel.¹³⁴

The expression "he stood up orating" (*qāma khaṭīban* or *qāma yakḥṭub*), common in the medieval historical and literary sources, indicates that when not sitting atop a horse or camel, a standing position was typical for the orator. But exceptions did exist. Because of his illness while delivering his last oration, Muḥammad is reported to have sat down on the pulpit.¹³⁵ Mu'āwiyah was the first to preach routinely seated because—according to Qalqashandī—"his fat increased."¹³⁶

1.4.4 The Pulpit

Early in the Islamic period, a pulpit (*minbar*, pl. *manābir*) came into use for orating in the mosque.¹³⁷ Although—as Bukhārī reports—Friday and Eid sermons were at first delivered from the location of the preacher's place of prayer (*muṣallā*), to an audience seated in rows in front of him, a pulpit was introduced

¹³² Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:7.

¹³³ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:309; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:117.

¹³⁴ Ibn Hishām, 2:448; Ya'qūbī, 2:109. App. § 90.19.

¹³⁵ App. § 90.21.

¹³⁶ Qalqashandī, 1:421.

¹³⁷ For a summary description of the pulpits of Medina, Mecca, and Damascus and references to secondary and primary sources, see Fierro, "Movable Minbar," 156–161 and *passim*. On the pulpit in the Prophet's mosque, see Sauvaget, 85–89. For a traditional collection of primary source material on the pulpit in the Prophet's mosque, see 'Aṭṭār, 41–58. There is no archaeological evidence for the early pulpit, largely a result of the fact that pulpits were made of perishable material, predominantly wood; also, as a mobile furnishing, it was often removed from its original context and frequently replaced. The earliest surviving pulpit is from Kairouan and dates to 242–248/856–862. We have no descriptions of pulpits during the Umayyad period, and must rely solely on the literary sources for our evidence, which provide basic statements of the existence of a pulpit in a particular mosque; descriptions or anecdotes regarding the pulpit of a particular mosque; and evidence regarding the way in which the pulpit was used. I thank Thallein Antun for this observation.

in Muḥammad's mosque in Medina at some point in his lifetime.¹³⁸ The pulpit may have originated through the influence of Christian ritual—Qalqashandī relates that Tamīm al-Dārī built the first pulpit for the Prophet after having seen the church pulpits of Syria.¹³⁹ Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār adds details of its height, writing that Muḥammad's pulpit in his mosque in Medina was initially two or three steps, raised in the early Umayyad period to six.¹⁴⁰ Thaqaḥfī cites a report by a man who says he saw ʿAlī in Kufa “on a pulpit made of plastered clay.”¹⁴¹ Qalqashandī claims that Marwān was the first to have the pulpit moved out to the open prayer space for the Eid prayer twice a year.¹⁴² Although details of when, in what form, and at what height the earliest pulpits were constructed are obscure, it is clear that a pulpit became an essential component of the mosque early on, and in time, pulpits were built in mosques across the Muslim world.

The pulpit was used primarily for the Friday sermon, but orations were delivered from it by the community leader on other occasions as well. One report says Muḥammad “climbed the pulpit” and delivered a sermon praying for rain.¹⁴³ Another report says that he “sat on the pulpit” and gave a public address asking people to make known to him whatever claims they may have against him so he could repay them. It is not clear whether he sat (rather than stood) because he was unwell, or because of the nature of the address, which was not a real sermon.¹⁴⁴ ʿUthmān is said to have addressed from the pulpit of the mosque in Medina the people who would eventually besiege and kill him.

In towns where pulpits had not yet been built, or for addresses delivered on the road, improvised pulpits of rocks, branches, or camel saddles were sometimes used. Muḥammad is said to have delivered his sermon at Ghadīr Khumm from a temporary pulpit of saddles and branches.¹⁴⁵ When ʿUmar's governor ʿUtbah ibn Ghazwān arrived in the newly set up garrison town of Basra, the townspeople are said to have “raised a [presumably ad hoc] pulpit for him” so that he could deliver his speech.¹⁴⁶ During Ibn al-Ashʿath's fight with Ḥajjāj, he

138 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, s.v. “*al-ʿĪdayn: al-khurūj ilā l-muṣallā*.”

139 Qalqashandī, 1:421.

140 Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, 208.

141 Thaqaḥfī, 2:486.

142 Qalqashandī, 1:421.

143 App. § 90.15.

144 App. § 90.21.

145 Ṭabrisī, *Iḥtijāj*, 1:58; Mufīd, *Irshād*, 1:175.

146 (رفعوا له منبراً): App. § 145.1.

is said to have “ascended in his military camp to a pulpit, which he had carried with him,” to address his supporters.¹⁴⁷

From earliest times, the pulpit appears to have acquired sanctity. Restricting its use to the highest authority present in the town—the Prophet, and the caliph and his governors—led to the pulpit’s acquiring an authoritative value. Only the chief religio-political authority of the town (and rarely, also an official deputy) ascended the pulpit, either for the Friday sermon or another official address. A case in point is ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, who, when he returned from victories in North Africa during ‘Uthmān’s reign, addressed the Muslims of Medina in a speech inside the mosque without ascending the pulpit. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih adds that the caliph stood on the pulpit, and introduced the victorious commander. Ibn al-Zubayr thus became “the first to orate standing next to the pulpit.”¹⁴⁸

By the early Umayyad period, variations on the phrase “preaching from the pulpits” had come to be used as an idiom for power. A verse composed by an old, blind Hilālī woman named Bakārah lamented the Umayyads’ rise to power, in which she explicitly equates the Friday pulpit sermon to political control: “I wish I had died before seeing an Umayyad orator on the pulpit.”¹⁴⁹ Once at the Umayyad court, a prominent follower of ‘Alī named Ṣaṣa’ah ibn Ṣūḥān expounded on the nobility of his own tribe of ‘Abd al-Qays, and Mu‘āwiyah jibed that Ṣaṣa’ah had left nothing for the Quraysh. Ṣaṣa’ah responded he had left the best and the most for the descendents of Hāshim, and he listed virtues and privileges, among them “the throne and the pulpit.”¹⁵⁰ The reality on the ground underscores the connection, for it was only the Umayyad leaders and leaders of the revolt groups who orated from the pulpits. The sources mention numerous instances of Umayyad caliphs, such as Mu‘āwiyah when he visited Medina and ‘Abd al-Malik when he visited Mecca, and their governors and commanders, such as Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays in Kufa, Khālīd ibn ‘Abdallāh in Mecca and Wāsiṭ, Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar in Kufa, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād in Kufa, and Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf in Mecca, “ascending the pulpit” of the town—either for the Friday sermon, or to address the public with speeches on other significant occasions,

147 (وصعد ابن الأشر إلى منبر له في عسكره قد كان حمله قبل ذلك معه) Ibn A’tham, 7:93.

148 App. § 7.1.

149 (قَدْ كُنْتُ أَطْمَعُ أَنْ أَمُوتَ وَلَا أَرَى ۖ فَوْقَ الْمَنَائِرِ مِنْ أُمِّيَّةٍ خَاطِبًا) App. § 42.1. She explains she is sad because “their preacher insults the Prophet’s family [from the pulpit] among all present every day” (فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ لِلزَّمَانِ خُطْبَتِهِمْ ۖ بَيْنَ الْجَمِيعِ لِآلِ أَحْمَدَ عَائِيًا).

150 Mas‘ūdī, 3:50; Qālī, *Amālī*, 2:226–227; Qalqashandī, 1:254–255; (Ṣafwat 1:442).

such as the killing of a rebel or the arrival of a governor in a town to assume his new appointment.¹⁵¹ Additionally the sources report numerous instances where revolt leaders who took control of a town also took over the pulpit, as in the case of ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca, his brother and commander Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubayr in Basra, and his tax collector ‘Abdallāh ibn Muṭī‘ al-‘Adawī in Kufa, all of whom are reported to have orated from the pulpit of those towns.¹⁵² The Khārijite leader Qaṭarī is said to have “ascended the pulpit of the Azraqī Khārijites.”¹⁵³

The pulpit was reserved for men who wielded political power. Jāḥiẓ quotes Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ saying that when the ruler “is sitting among [people], it is as though they are peers and equals, but when he climbs up to the pulpit, they become his subjects, people that he rules over.”¹⁵⁴ He quotes another verse by Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī from the poem cited earlier, connecting control of the pulpit to sovereignty:¹⁵⁵

يُؤْمِنُ مُلْكُ الشَّامِ حَتَّى تَمْكُنُوا مُلُوكًا بِأَرْضِ الشَّامِ فَوْقَ الْمَنَائِرِ

They eyed the kingdom of Syria and became established on its pulpits as kings.

A poet named Wāthilah ibn Khalīfah al-Sadūsī satirized ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-Muhallab, who revolted against the Umayyads, also connecting the pulpit with power:¹⁵⁶

لَقَدْ صَبَرْتَ لِلذَّلِّ أَعْوَادُ مَنِيرٍ تَقُومُ عَلَيْهَا فِي يَدَيْكَ فَضِيبٌ
بَكَى الْمَنِيرُ الْغَرِيبُ إِذْ قُمْتَ فَوْقَهُ وَكَادَتْ مَسَامِيرُ الْحَدِيدِ تَذُوبُ

The planks of the pulpit on which you stood with a staff in your hand
patiently bore the humiliation.

The western pulpit wept when you ascended, its iron nails nearly
melted.

151 E.g., App. § 84.8 (Mu‘āwiyah in Medina), § 44.1 (Daḥḥāk in Kufa), § 51.1 (Hajjāj at Mecca).

152 E.g., App. § 7.4 (Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca), § 92.1 (Muṣ‘ab in Basra), § 5.1 (Ibn Muṭī‘ in Kufa).

153 App. § 102.1.

154 (ولأنه إذا كان جالساً معهم كانوا كأنهم نظراء وأكفاء فإذا علا المنبر صاروا سوقة ورعية): Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:117. The quote is not found in Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s extant works—I thank Tynan Kelly for the observation.

155 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:117, and 1:371–372.

156 Ibn Qutaybah, *‘Uyūn*, 2:283–284.

Preachers including Ḥasan al-Baṣrī apparently did not get to use the pulpit. In the case of debate-style group speeches, as well as orations by women, none of the speakers is reported to have spoken from horseback, raised ground, or from atop the pulpit.

2 The Audience

Audiences of the oration were sizeable and public. With some exceptions and changes over time, they were composed of the orator's peers, requiring the orator to combine assertion of authority with persuasive techniques. Audience members took active part in the oration. They responded to the orator in a variety of ways, accepting, modifying, or challenging his authority.

2.1 *Public Audience: Open Location of the Event, Large Numbers, and General Call to Participate*

Orations were delivered in common spaces. The public location of the oration indicates the public nature of the audience; any person from the community could attend, regardless of social and economic standing, and in some situations, gender. Religious sermons and political speeches were delivered inside the mosques of Medina, Mecca, Kufa, and indeed, all the mosques of the Islamic world; these were attended by a large section of the town's Muslim population. Battle speeches were delivered on the plains of Šifḥīn, Karbala, and Yarmūk, and at sites of other battles; these again were attended by large numbers of the warriors present, who also comprised some of the most politically active members of the community. Large spaces of pilgrimage sites and pan-Arabian fairs were also common locations. Quss delivered his famous "Whoever lives dies" oration at the 'Ukāḏ fairground outside Mecca, where large numbers of Arabs from different tribes had gathered. Muḥammad's orations at pilgrimage sites and other open locations are well documented. While he lived in Mecca, he gave speeches calling to Islam the pilgrims at Minā. Ten years after migrating to Medina, and during his last pilgrimage to Mecca, he addressed audiences on the plains of 'Arafāt, and in the desert at the springs of Khumm. Open spaces outside the town were sometimes used. 'Alī delivered his famous post-Anbār speech in the open space of Nukhaylah, just outside Kufa.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ App. § 31.35.

The use of a general call inviting the public to gather around and listen—"Gather for the prayer" (*al-ṣalātu jāmi'ah*)—further underscores the oration's public nature. Ibn Sa'd tells us that the phrase was originally used for the ritual prayer, and when the *adhān* replaced it, the earlier call was taken over by orators.¹⁵⁸ The phrase appears to be an Islamic innovation; I have not found a record for its use in pre-Islamic times.¹⁵⁹ It is reported to have been sounded at Ghadir Khumm for Muḥammad,¹⁶⁰ in Damascus for Mu'āwiyah, Marwān, and Walid,¹⁶¹ and for 'Ubaydallāh in Kufa and Basra.¹⁶² In most cases, an aide rather than the orator himself sounded the summons.

The number who attended orations appears on average to have been about forty to seventy persons, sometimes up to a couple of hundred. These numbers are tentatively extrapolated from the handful of accounts extant: Ibn Hishām reports that the first Friday prayer (which included the sermon) in Medina shortly before Muḥammad's arrival was led by Abū Umāmah As'ad ibn Zurārah, and it was attended by forty men.¹⁶³ He also reports that at the second Pledge of 'Aqabah (when the Medinan delegation pledged allegiance), Muḥammad's uncle and supporter 'Abbās and Muḥammad himself orated to the seventy-three men and two women present.¹⁶⁴ Another report tells us that in the year 65/685, when the Penitents began their movement to avenge Ḥusayn, "more than a hundred men from among the leaders and warriors of the Shi'a" gathered in Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad's home to listen to his speech.¹⁶⁵ Regarding later periods—but perhaps useful as a loose indicator for earlier times—Ibn al-'Aṭṭār tells us that the Friday preacher should have a voice loud enough for at least forty people to hear comfortably.¹⁶⁶

We have reports of women attending. Ibn Hishām's account of the Prophet's sermon at the Pledge of 'Aqabah is significant, among other reasons, for its indication that the orator's audience was also open to women.¹⁶⁷ In fact, they some-

158 Ibn Sa'd, 1:189, s.v. "*Dhikr al-adhān*."

159 There are also some indications that this was a pre-Islamic usage: Ambros (163, s.v. "ṢLW") explains that the word "*ṣalāh*" in the Qur'an refers in most places to the Muslim ritual prayer, but it also refers to a form of pagan worship (Q Anfāl 8:35) and to the worship offered by all living creatures, especially the birds (Q Nūr 24:45). It also appears to refer to religion in general (Q 'Ankabūt 29:45).

160 App. § 90.20.

161 App. § 84.1, § 85.1, § 149.1.

162 App. § 138.2. See also Ṣafwat 2:330–331.

163 Ibn Hishām, 1:274.

164 Ibn Hishām, 1:278–279.

165 App. § 129.1.

166 Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, 135.

167 Ibn Hishām, 1:278–279.

times spoke up during these speeches, responding to the orator and engaging with him. When ʿUmar gave legislative instructions in a speech that men should not give women exorbitant marriage dowers, a woman is reported to have challenged him, citing the Qurʾanic verse that explicitly allows large sums.¹⁶⁸

The numbers of attendees on the battlefield or at the pilgrimage sites and fairs were larger than town audiences. On rare occasions, these figures are said to have reached a few thousand. The Ṣufriyyah Khārijite leader Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī is said to have given a speech at Madāʾin to his army, which was comprised of a thousand warriors.¹⁶⁹ Ḥusayn is said to have addressed in “his loudest voice, which everyone could hear” the Umayyad army of about four thousand men at Karbala.¹⁷⁰ Muḥammad’s last pilgrimage sermon, and his sermon at Ghadīr Khumm, is said to have been attended by most of the Muslims of the Arabian Peninsula, numbering around ten thousand. Although many orators presumably had a bold voice, clear diction, and mastery over the art of voice projection, one wonders how such huge audiences could have heard them. Several reports explain that a second, loud-voiced person would stand by the orator or at a short distance, and repeat his words to the farther audience. Rabīʿah ibn Umayyah, a Companion who possessed a resounding voice, is said to have stood just below the neck of Muḥammad’s camel to thus broadcast the pilgrimage sermon.¹⁷¹ In another report, it is ʿAlī who is said to have been the relayer.¹⁷² Although these massive audience numbers should not always be taken literally—historians presumably used them in order to emphasize an audience’s unusually large size—they do indicate the oration’s public nature.

The form of address also indicates the oration’s public nature. As discussed earlier, vocative phrases such as “O people,” addressed to all people broadly, “O assembly of Quraysh,” addressed to the entire tribe of Quraysh, and “O assembly of Muslims,” addressed to Muslims generally, demonstrate that the orator is addressing a nearly full complement of active community members.

Depending on the type and function of the oration, limitations to attendance applied. Although no boundaries of socio-economic status or race appear to have prevented attendance, certain spheres of public life were restricted by religion and others by gender. At the Friday and Eid sermons, atten-

168 App. § 140.11; Q Nisāʾ 4:20.

169 App. § 125.1.

170 App. § 62.7.

171 Ibn Hishām, 2:448. App. § 90.19.

172 Samʿānī, 84–85. Reports of similar broadcasting appear in later hadith dictation assemblies, in which a “*mustamlī*” would relay the lecture at intervals to those sitting at a distance from the professor (Samʿānī, 88–89 and *passim*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-akhlāq al-rāwī*, 2:65).

dance was constrained by religious affiliation, but within that limitation, the gathering was unrestricted; almost all the Muslim males of the community, and perhaps also some females and children, attended. In the case of battle orations, it was the male warriors who comprised the audience. Islam prohibited women from fighting, so they were unlikely to be present during battles, and in the few cases where they were present at the site in small numbers, they would not be among the addressees exhorted to fight. Christians and Jews would also in theory be absent from these events, as they were not required to fight in the Islamic state. In the case of religio-political and political speeches, the audience was composed predominantly of men, for women's participation in governance was minimal; at times, however, women were present in smaller numbers, as is borne out by Ibn Hishām's report cited earlier.¹⁷³ In the case of quasi-orations addressed in the Umayyad period to the caliph overtly and to his court members passively, the audience was restricted to elite members of society who had access to the court, thus, a socio-economic limitation, but not a gendered or religious one. All in all, although restrictions limited attendance at certain types of orations, the tenor of the audience was fairly open.

2.2 *Audience of Peers: People of Clout in the Governance of the Community*

The tribal ethos of Arabian society meant that audiences were largely composed of men with whom the orator was personally acquainted. While onlookers were not all known to the orator in pan-tribal settings of pilgrimages and fairs, for orations he delivered on his home turf, which constituted the majority of speeches, he knew them well. In pre-Islamic times, these were men from the speaker's own tribe. After Muḥammad's migration to Medina, and especially after the conquests that followed soon after his death, the nature of the listening public in those places began to change. Audiences at orations in the new garrison towns in Iraq, Egypt, and North Africa were composed of men from several tribes. Even so, members of the town were still more or less familiar to one another, and we continue to see significant personal interaction. Who said what mattered, for each person—including speaker and audience—brought a long associative history to the table. Orators' pronouncements and audiences' responses were not addressed solely to the immediate context, but they spoke to a deeper setting, which stretched into each individual's past life, indeed, even beyond that to the lives of his forebears.

¹⁷³ Ibn Hishām, 1:278–279.

Arabian society on the eve of Islam was largely egalitarian. Tribes were led by a shaykh, who was advised by a council of peers, and all Arab males in the community had some say in its governance. No monarch ruled them, nor was there any other form of hierarchical stratification, as there was, for example, in the neighboring Sassanid-ruled Iranian Plateau.¹⁷⁴ This changed with the coming of the Prophet, who embodied divine authority. But politically speaking, the tribal and largely egalitarian form of governance—mediated by Prophetic, and later (and to a lesser extent), caliphal authority—continued to prevail through the early Umayyad period. In the context of anti-establishment speeches, it continued even through the end of the Umayyad period.

The audience of peers wielded religious, social, political, and military weight. They were men who actively participated in the polity of a tribe, community, city, or faction. The peer nature of the audience was especially true in the case of battle orations and political speeches. An example cited for audience numbers earlier is also relevant here—the “more than a hundred men” who gathered to listen to the speech of the Penitents’ leader Sulaymān ibn Ṣurād were, as Ṭabarī tell us, “from among the leaders and warriors of the Shi’a.”¹⁷⁵ Since they were his peers, the orator addressed his audience as equals. Like the orator, the members of the audience too had important roles in the function of the state, and accordingly they were allowed, indeed expected, to respond and react to the speaker.

For this reason, the orator needed to persuade his audience to his preferred course of thought and action. The aesthetic techniques employed by the orators to persuade their audience have been described in an earlier chapter. Additionally, the very nature of instructions in the speeches—in the form of exhortations to pursue certain political or military paths—indicates the existence of an audience consisting of individuals who had some standing in the community, who could influence the course of public affairs. An interesting example is found in the speech of the Meccan coalition leader Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb at the Battle of the Trench.¹⁷⁶ Having decided it was prudent to desist, Abū Sufyān did not simply command his fellows to give up their mission. Rather, he found it necessary to explain to them the nature of the adverse conditions forcing them to leave: debilitating winds, desertion of allies, and so on. He did

174 Hodgson (1:131) explains the cultural tendency of the Semitic peoples of the Fertile Crescent in pre-Islamic times—as opposed to the aristocratic taste and hierarchical community of the Iranian Plateau—as populist, appealing to the general public, rather than an elite segment, with moralism and the egalitarian community predominating.

175 App. §129.1.

176 Ibn Hishām, 2:169.

pronounce a final imperative—"Leave!"—but here too he found it necessary to qualify his directive, with the postscript "for I am leaving." The cautious wording seems to imply that he ultimately left it up to each individual to decide for himself what he wanted to do. The command was oriented from authority to peer, and not from authority to subject.

Gradually this set-up changed, and in the later Umayyad period we find a more top-down assertion of authority in official government speeches, with the audience being addressed less as a group of peers, and more as subjects under the power and authority of the state, with little or no voice in governance. The harsher attitude is seen particularly in the speeches of the governors Ḥajjāj and Ziyād, who addressed the audience with coercive authority, with orders rather than persuasive explanations, with absolute commands and clearly articulated consequences.

The peer setting of the earlier period is exemplified in the debate-style quasi-orations among several elite groups. Since the role of orator and audience switched back and forth, the authority of each individual orator was not rooted in his occupation of the role of orator, but was grounded in his own status in the community, a status that was matched to some degree by that of his fellows. This status in fact was what gave him and others in the group the right to speak. Numerous examples are provided by the sources, ranging from pre-Islamic times through the early Umayyad period: the speeches of several pre-Islamic tribal chieftains at the court of the Persian emperor;¹⁷⁷ orations by the six members of the Shūrā council that elected ʿUthmān;¹⁷⁸ formal addresses by the caliph and his commanders and counselors in strategy discussions regarding the conquests during the rule of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar;¹⁷⁹ Muʿāwiyah's solicitation of support among the Muslim elders to appoint his son Yazīd as successor, and their rebuttals;¹⁸⁰ and the speeches of the Khārijites as they chose their new leader.¹⁸¹ Except in the Shūrā council, where there was no one clear chief, we usually see one political leader who addressed a group and was in turn himself addressed, in a tribal council setting, where various authorities and courses of action propagated by these various authorities were negotiated. The voice of the chief was not necessarily the one that carried; theoretically he was the final arbiter who decided, based on the various points of view argued before

177 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 1:266–270; Masʿūdī, 2:127–128; (Ṣafwat 1:50–64).

178 *Shūrā* speeches: Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 4:234–237; Ibn Aʿtham, 2:331–335; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:440–447; (Ṣafwat 1:266–269).

179 Azdī, 81–87; (Ṣafwat 1:190–193).

180 App. § 84.11, § 84.12.

181 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:175 and 5:310–311; (Ṣafwat, 2:437 and 2:443–447).

him, but the sources describe scenes where the various speeches contributed to determining the course of action to be taken. The speeches also laid out the speakers' competing bases of authority.

3 Interaction between Orator and Audience: Reception and Mediation of Authority

The orator addressed a live audience—face to face, directly, orally, and spontaneously. Although he may have thought of points he wished to make in his speech, he used no scripted text. Therefore, he retained flexibility in controlling the direction of his words, which he based to a large extent on the reactions of his audience. Moreover, the combined policy-making weight of orator and audience—the orator's status as leader in the community, and the audience's credence as people with a say in its governance—resulted in a speech performance that formed the central locus in the public space of early Arabian society for negotiating power.

3.1 *The Oration's Composition and Delivery: Oral, Spontaneous, Face to Face*

The orator composed his oration orally and extemporaneously. I have noted his reliance on stock phrases in an earlier chapter. I have also noted that his society was predominant oral. Additional support is found in our sources' prefacing of texts with language that indicates speaking, rather than reading, such as: "and [the orator] stood up, praised God, then he said (*qāla*) [such and such]." Also, we find a near total absence of any mention of written scripts.

Spontaneity was considered the hallmark of eloquence. I have cited Jāḥiẓ, who lavishly praised this feature. Declaring that the Persians, Indians, and Greeks did not possess the art of oratory, he further asserted that the only people in the world with real orations were the Arabians—because they spoke naturally without lengthy preparation. Expanding his praise (cited earlier), he claimed that they acquired their skills—without formal training—by pure inspiration, thus:¹⁸²

The speech of the Arabians is all extemporaneity and spontaneity, as though it is simply inspiration. There is no struggle, no suffering, no run-

¹⁸² Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:27–29. See *ibid.* 3:12–13 for Jāḥiẓ's paraphrase of the Shu'ūbīs' praise of Persian oratory.

ning things through the mind, no seeking help ... [The speaker] would simply turn his imagination to the whole of the art ... and meanings and words would come rushing to him on the spot. Then, he would not bind them to himself, nor teach them to one of his sons. They were unlettered—they did not write. Their words were natural, not forced ... They did not memorize except that which attached itself to their hearts ... without forcedness or intention, repetition or study.

Ibn Qutaybah opens his chapter on “Oratory” in his book on *The Excellence of the Arabs*, with praise for their extempore oratory, thus:¹⁸³

Of all peoples, the Arabs are the most eloquent extempore orators: they have the most mellifluous tongues, they are models of clarity of expression, and they speak with the pithiest concision when required.

Asserting the spontaneous oratory of the Umayyad governor Khālid ibn ‘Abdal-lāh al-Qasrī, Ibn Qutaybah (again) and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih relate that because his speeches were so smooth, people thought he prepared them in advance. One day, he was orating when a locust fell on his robe, and he fluently improvised lines about the locust, giving the lie to his detractors.¹⁸⁴

Probably by the late Umayyad period, and certainly by the early Abbasid period, the overwhelmingly spontaneous productions of early orators began to give way to more studied orations. Many orators now appear to have begun preparing for their sermons. Perhaps this preparation was mostly oral, or perhaps it also involved jotting down notes. In any case, the litterateurs criticize such preparation. Bashshār ibn Burd (d. ca. 167/784) disparaged the late Umayyad/early Abbasid orators Khālid ibn Ṣafwān, Shabīb ibn Shaybah, and Faḍl ibn ‘Isā for lack of spontaneity, for they “adorned their orations” and “forced their speech.” He decried the lesser orator who, “when he decided to give a speech, worked on it for a month.”¹⁸⁵ In contrast, he praised the Mu‘tazilite Wāṣil, who had “stood up spontaneously orating (*qāma murtaḥilan*) ... and even avoided the letter R (which he could not pronounce), without any-

183 Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-‘Arab*, 144–145.

184 وكان خالد إذا تكلم يظن الناس أنه يصنع الكلام لعذوبة لفظه وبلاغة منطقته فيينا هو يخطب يوماً إذ سقطت جرادة على ثوبه فقال سبحان من الجراد من خلقه أدمج قوائها وطوقها جناحها ووشى جلدها (وسلطها على ما هو أعظم منها). App. §72.4.

185 Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 1:24. See *maqām* by Khālid ibn Ṣafwān in Ibn Bakkār, 161–162.

one noticing.”¹⁸⁶ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih quoted an anonymous speaker censuring the same Shabīb, saying, he “prepared his speeches.”¹⁸⁷

The orator controlled and engaged his live audience by several stylistic and structural means, whose details and examples are given in earlier chapters. Direct address in the second person—at the beginning and then sprinkled throughout the oration—made the line of communication straight and personal. Instructions, again in second person imperative form, also personalized the address for the audience, as it galvanized them to action. Citations of familiar materials increased the probability of audience acceptance. Emphatic expressions increased for them the sense of immediacy and urgency. Graphic lifeworld imagery connected the abstract ideas expressed in the oration to the close, physical world. Rhetorical interrogatives forced the audience to engage with the orator’s issues and gave them a sense of having arrived at the orator’s conclusions of their own volition. Particularly important in the context of orator-audience interaction, the speaker’s real questions elicited a verbal response.

Since the orator was himself a crucial, visible part of the performance, pleasing appearance, clear and loud articulation, and powerful delivery all played a part in the effectiveness of his presentation. Medieval critics discussed at some length the expected demeanor and desirable physical traits of the orator. Jāḥiẓ praised loud voice, wide mouth, and stillness of deportment.¹⁸⁸ He deplored trembling, excessive sweating, and missing teeth,¹⁸⁹ as well as coughing and blowing one’s nose.¹⁹⁰ To the list of reprehensible behaviors, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm added playing with one’s beard and hemming and hawing.¹⁹¹ Two comments by Abū Dā’ūd ibn Ḥarīz al-Iyādī, an orator himself, highlight some more of the qualities the society attributed to good oration. They are cited by Jāḥiẓ and several other scholars as follows:

[If oratory were a bird,] natural disposition would form its head, experience its backbone, citation of wise sayings its wings, correct vocalization its ornament, and appropriate words its splendor. Appeal increases with a reduction in artifice ...

186 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:24; Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī* 3:156; Mubarrad, 3:143; Ibn Nadīm, 209; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’*, 6:2794.

187 Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:125.

188 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:58–64, 120–123, 127, 132–133.

189 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:134.

190 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:40.

191 Ishāq, 213.

Clarity of expression is a sign of thoughtfulness. Using rare words is a sign of incapacity. Drawling—except by Bedouins—is abominable. Glaring into people's eyes is inappropriate. Stroking the beard is death. Deviating from the point causes confusion.¹⁹²

3.2 *Audience Participation: Body Language and Verbal Responses*

The spontaneity of oration was bolstered by a high degree of audience participation. Neither the text nor the reaction of the audience was predetermined. Rather, the speech unfolded in live time—as the orator orated, the audience responded, and the orator in turn responded to the audience's response. Composed of people of clout in the society, the audience needed to be persuaded to the orator's point of view. They responded positively or negatively to his package of aesthetically, militarily, politically, genealogically, and religiously persuasive techniques. Audience involvement is reflected in the responses recorded by the sources, during and after the oration, in body language and verbal rejoinders.

Body language revealed the audience's inner thoughts. Through facial expressions—mostly eye movements, such as weeping, rolling of eyes, or disrespectful stares—they signaled acceptance or repudiation of an orator's arguments. They also intimated their emotional response to feelings evoked by his words. The sources provide numerous examples; some are observer reports, but most are remarks by orators themselves in the text of their oration. Several reports are about weeping. In a classic example of the sequence—orator remarks, followed by audience reaction, itself followed by a counter reaction in the speech of the orator—Ḥusayn's sister Umm Kulthūm reportedly said to the Kufans post-Karbala, as she chastised them for killing her brother: "Do you weep? Yes, by God, weep! Indeed you—by God!—deserve to weep!"¹⁹³ An unexpected response is found in a report about 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās eulogizing Ḥasan soon after his death, which says that when 'Abdallāh broke down and wept, Mu'āwiyah and his courtiers (who had fought Ḥasan and his father 'Alī) also broke down weeping.¹⁹⁴ Sermons of pious counsel are emotionally bom-

192 رأس الخطابة الطبع وعمودها الدربة وجناحها رواية الكلام وحليها الإعراب وبهاؤها تحخير اللفظ) والحجة مقرونة بقلة الإستكراه ... تلخيص المعاني رفق والإستعانة بالغريب عجز والتشادق من غير أهل البادية بغض والنظر في عيون الناس عي ومس الخيبة هلك والخروج مما بني عليه أول الكلام (Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 1:44; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:52; Abū Hilāl, *Ṣinā'atayn*, 58; Ḥuṣrī, 2:110; Qalqashandī, 2:331.

193 (أتبكون أي والله فأبكون وأنتم والله أحرى بالبكاء) App. § 142.1.

194 App. § 1.7.

bastic, with disturbing images and a lot of weeping. A piece by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ends by saying, “‘Umar then wept, and all the people wept with him.”¹⁹⁵

Defiant forms of body language are also reported. In an example, ‘Alī is reported to have said to the Kufans whom he was exhorting to battle the Syrians: “When I call you to fight your enemy, your eyes roll (presumably indicating their dislike of his appeal), as though you were in the throes of death and the perplexity of intoxication!”¹⁹⁶ In another example, the Medinan governor ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq—who had ascended the pulpit dressed from head to toe in silk brocade—was glowered at by the audience, who were angry at the Umayyads’ increasing pomp and arrogance. He began his speech thus, “What is your problem, people of Medina, that you raise your eyes to me in hate? As though you wished to strike [me and my masters] with your swords?”¹⁹⁷ These examples demonstrate the nature of the body language that expressed the audience’s reactions to speeches, as they also illustrate the manner in which these reactions provoked the orator to mold his text in a particular way.

Audiences frequently went beyond gestures to respond with words. Reports of these verbal rejoinders are legion and take various forms. Sometimes, we see brief replies to real questions, or short interjections of agreement. Endorsements of an orator’s prayer are frequently found in audiences collectively saying “Amen!” (*āmīn*). In one such report, Mu‘āwiyah orated in Ḥasan’s presence, criticizing his deceased father, ‘Alī. Ḥasan countered with a speech of his own, in which he vaunted his forebears’ eminence in the service of God’s religion, and compared them to Mu‘āwiyah’s, who had been Muḥammad’s enemies. He ended with the prayer (cited earlier along with its preceding lines): “May God curse the one among us who is lowlier in lineage, viler in past and present, and more entrenched in disbelief and hypocrisy.”¹⁹⁸ The sources tell us that “groups of people in the mosque called out: Amen!” In some instances, orators explicitly asked the audience to add their Amens to his prayer. Ṭabarī tells us that when ‘Umar became caliph, he ascended the pulpit and said: “I am about to speak a few words—say Amen to them (*amminū ‘alayhā*).” He went on to promise that he would be as harsh as a camel driver goading recalcitrant camels, to ensure the community stayed on the path. Ṭabarī’s narrative ends here, but pre-

195 App. § 139.12.

196 (إذا دعوتكم إلى جهاد عدوكم دارت أعينكم كأنكم من الموت في غمرة ومن الدهول في سكرة): App. § 31.20.

197 (ما بالكم يا أهل المدينة ترفعون إليّ أبصاركم كأنكم تريدون أن تضربونا بسيفكم): App. § 37.1.

198 App. § 55.9.

sumably, the audience, or some of them, did respond with audible *Amens*.¹⁹⁹ At times, the audience interjected happy calls of “Praise God!” Responding to their leader Ḥayyān ibn Zabyān al-Sulamī’s speech imparting the news that their comrade Ibn Muljam (or Muljim) had killed ‘Alī, Khārījites in Rayy interrupted with praise of God in an expression of glee at learning of this event.²⁰⁰ Now and again, the audience responded with an explicit acknowledgement of the truth of the speaker’s statements: when Ḍaḥḥāk chastised the Kufans, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Ubayd called out a tongue-in-cheek agreement with Ḍaḥḥāk’s depiction of himself as ruthless.²⁰¹ In some cases, the audience collectively answered questions voiced by the orator with short answers, usually one or two words in the affirmative—as did the Muslims gathered at ‘Arafāt during Muḥammad’s last pilgrimage, in response to the Prophet’s question of “Have I delivered [the message]?” (أَلَا هَلْ بَلَّغْتُ), saying “Yes” or “Yes, by God” (اللَّهُمَّ نَعَمْ or نَعَمْ).²⁰²

At times the audience asked questions, either during orations or immediately following them. As Muḥammad was preaching one day, a man asked him if good could beget evil, repeating his question three times. Muḥammad replied, “Good does not beget anything but good.”²⁰³ In a Friday sermon, ‘Umar promised to seek justice for the people against any physical abuse by his governors and tax collectors, when one of his governors, ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, “jumped up” and asked whether ‘Umar would punish governors who whipped transgressors among his subjects, and ‘Umar answered that he surely would. All of this—first the promise by ‘Umar, the subsequent question by ‘Amr, and the follow up answer by ‘Umar—took place within the performance of the Friday sermon.²⁰⁴ At another Friday sermon, this time by ‘Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān in Mecca, a Bedouin took the opportunity to plead for funds. As the governor iterated the Umayyads’ authority, the man in the audience interrupted, requesting permission to speak. ‘Utbah said to him “Speak.” In a lengthy discourse over several lines, the man asked for monetary aid. ‘Utbah responded that he would assist, but also articulated irritation at the lengthy interruption. In this case, too, the governor spoke, an audience member interjected a petition, and the governor responded.²⁰⁵

199 App. § 140.2.

200 App. § 58.1.

201 App. § 44.1.

202 App. § 90.19.

203 (إِنَّ الْخَيْرَ لَا يَأْتِي إِلَّا بِالْخَيْرِ): Naḥḥās, 255; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, § 11035; Bukhārī, § 2842; Ibn Abī Shaybah, 12:171 § 35384; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, 7:352.

204 App. § 140.10.

205 App. § 144.3.

The audience frequently responded to the orator with verbal promises and consequent action. Sometimes this took the form of a pledge of allegiance—such as the Syrians' response to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz's speech asking them to choose their new caliph, in a collective shouting out of their pledge to him.²⁰⁶ A similar response is recorded for the oath to Ḥasan, as the new caliph to succeed 'Alī,²⁰⁷ to the anti-Umayyad claimant 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca,²⁰⁸ and to 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād as governor of Iraq.²⁰⁹ At other times, the audience came forward with commitments to the orator's call to battle. When 'Āmir ibn Wāthilah al-Kinānī invited the Iraqi army to rise up against Ḥajjāj, they responded with calls of "We will do it! We will do it!"²¹⁰ When Sa'd ibn Ḥudhayfah, one of the leaders of the Penitents, asked the Shi'a of Madā'in whether they would join Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad in his fight against the Umayyads to avenge Ḥusayn, he ended his speech with the question: "So what do you think? What do you say?" Ṭabarī reports, "All the people together spoke up, saying, 'We will answer their call and fight with them. Our opinion in this is the same as theirs.'" ²¹¹ Ḥajjāj threatened to call in Syrian troops to fight the Khārijite Shabīb, and the Iraqis responded collectively, calling out from all sides that they, the Iraqis, would fight the enemy.²¹² The Khārijite leader Ḥayyān ibn Ḍabyān, after informing his compatriots in Rayy of 'Alī's death, encouraged them to return to Kufa. They responded with explicit verbal agreement, and soon thereafter, returned.²¹³ Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ spoke to the conquering Muslim armies during the Persian campaign at Quṣwā, rousing them through his oration to swim across the river Tigris and storm the town: "This is my considered opinion: You must hasten resolutely to fight the enemy, before the whole world engulfs you. This is my resolve: We will cross the river and get to them." The report continues, "They all said: 'It is God who has resolved we should do this, so let's do it.'" ²¹⁴ When Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī was first surrounded by Umayyad forces at Dhū Ḥusum in Iraq, he gave a poignant oration about the honor of martyrdom.²¹⁵ The effect of such proclamations, and the dynamic orator-audience interaction, is seen in the fervent reply of one of Ḥusayn's trusted supporters, Zuhayr

²⁰⁶ App. § 139.1.

²⁰⁷ App. § 55.5, § 55.8.

²⁰⁸ App. § 7.3.

²⁰⁹ App. § 138.4.

²¹⁰ (فعلنا فعلنا): App. § 33.1.

²¹¹ App. § 114.1.

²¹² App. § 51.8.

²¹³ App. § 58.1.

²¹⁴ App. § 113.2.

²¹⁵ App. § 62.3.

ibn Qayn, who answered, “We hear you, son of God’s messenger, may God guide you well! By God, even if this world and all of us in it were going to remain forever, and if we would only have to leave it if we supported you, we would still prefer to fight with you, than remain forever in it [without you].”²¹⁶

Occasionally the audience response was a non-response; they remained quiet when an answer was expected. After ‘Alī’s impassioned speech in the aftermath of Mu‘āwiyah’s raid of Anbār, urging the Kufans to rally, only two men came forward to offer their services. They said to him, “Command us with your command. By God, we shall attain it, even if we have to walk over live tamarisk coals and pass through tragacanth thorns.” But no others responded, and in this oration, the overall audience response was the absence of a response, in effect a rejection of his appeal.²¹⁷

The sources also tell us that the audience sometimes responded with verbal challenges. As ‘Alī was orating from the pulpit of Kufa, the “chief of the hypocrites,” Ash‘ath ibn Qays, objected to his words by saying “Commander of the faithful, this point goes against you.” ‘Alī responded condemning Ash‘ath’s insubordination.²¹⁸ When ‘Uthmān expressed his refusal to step down from the caliphate and added that he would, however, promise not to repeat his mistakes, the protesters responded saying it was not the first time he had promised as much, and they would not leave until he abdicated. ‘Uthmān in turn responded, with a firm refusal to stand down.²¹⁹ Set within a context of repeated demands by the rebels and answers by ‘Uthmān, the opening *taḥmīd* of the speech shows how an orator would begin a public address with all the required formulae, even in the midst of an acrimonious back and forth. When ‘Alī was orating in Kufa, a man from the Khārijites stood up and shouted, “Judgment belongs to God alone” (لا حكم إلا لله). ‘Alī stopped speaking. Then another stood up, and another, all calling out their slogan, a general statement, except that they meant by it a rejection of ‘Alī’s imamate. ‘Alī resumed his oration, responding to his interlocutors: “Words of truth, except that falsehood is intended by them.”²²⁰ While the Abbasid caliph Maṣṣūr was articulating the testimonial to God’s oneness at the beginning of a sermon, “a man from the far end of the mosque jumped up and said, ‘I warn you to heed him about whom

216 قد سمعنا هداك الله يا بن رسول الله مقاتلك والله لو كانت الدنيا لنا باقية وكنا فيها مخلدين إلا أن فراها) App. § 170.1. (في نصرک ومواساتک لاثرنا الخروج معک على الإقامة فيها

217 App. § 31.21. Tamarisk coals are long lived, and tragacanth thorns are like long needles.

218 App. § 31.32.

219 App. § 146.6.

220 (کلمة حق يراد بها باطل) App. § 31.26.

you speak.'” Manṣūr responded smoothly, saying that he asked God to save him from committing acts of oppression, but that the speaker was out of line and had intended only to enhance his own renown. After warning the audience of such interruptions, he continued his speech where he had left off, with the testimonial of Muḥammad’s messengerhood.²²¹

Occasionally the audience responded with praise. When Ziyād ended one of his strong orations, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Ahtam spoke up with words of flattery regarding his eloquence and sagacity. Ziyād retorted with anger.²²²

At times, individual members of the audience—almost always a person of consequence in the community—rejoined with a near oratorical retort. Sā’ib ibn Mālik al-Ash’arī, among the leading companions of the Shi’ite commander Mukhtār, gave a six-line rejoinder (matching in length the address of the orator himself) to the speech of Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor to Kufa, ‘Abdallāh ibn Muṭī’. In it, he rejected ‘Umar’s and ‘Uthmān’s policies that Ibn al-Muṭī’ was proposing to follow, and asserted that the Kufans would only follow the practice of ‘Alī.²²³ On at least two occasions in Mecca, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās gave long retorts, in the form of speeches, in response to Ibn al-Zubayr’s pulpit criticism of the Banū Hāshim.²²⁴ On one occasion, interestingly, Ibn al-‘Abbās ascended the pulpit himself.²²⁵ Another time, he stood, leaning on an aide (for he had gone blind), facing Ibn al-Zubayr, who was on the pulpit.²²⁶ In another example, Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī responded with a strong refutation against Mu‘āwiyah’s speech proposing to appoint Yazīd successor.²²⁷

All these examples together demonstrate the highly interactive nature of the early oration. They show that the audience was composed of active listeners, who responded verbally or non-verbally, singularly, in groups, or collectively as a whole, to the speech and even the demeanor of the orator. They further illustrate that the orator responded to cues from audience. Since he composed his oration extemporaneously, he could tailor his words to the composition of the audience, adapting minute-by-minute to their response. Clearly, the oration saw frequent and vigorous audience participation. And clearly too, the public played an active part in government through reception and mediation of oratorical authority.

221 Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, 2:363.

222 App. § 166.5.

223 App. § 5.1.

224 App. § 1.9.

225 App. § 1.8.

226 App. § 7.2.

227 App. § 84.2.

4 Illustration of Authority Assertion and Mediation: Oration by Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī

An oration delivered by the Prophet Muḥammad’s grandson Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī in Karbala on the morning of ‘Āshūrā’ to the Umayyad army illustrates the interactive nature of the oration and the dynamics of public space and authority in the early Islamic world. As the Umayyads surrounded Ḥusayn in a fatal offensive, we observe in the unfolding text of his oration the changing modes of his assertion of authority, and in the responses of the Umayyad army, a classic and nuanced example of audience reception, mediation, and, in this case, an ultimate co-option of his authority.

Some historical context is required to comprehend the role of the people mentioned in the oration, and the subtleties of its assertion and reception of authority. Abū Mikhnaf relates that when the Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiyah died in 60/680, Ḥusayn refused to pledge allegiance to Mu‘āwiyah’s son Yazīd.²²⁸ Ḥusayn sent his cousin Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl to Kufa, whence the Shi‘i nobles had repeatedly written to him with invitations and had promised allegiance and support if he came. Shortly thereafter, Ḥusayn himself proceeded to Iraq, taking with him his family and a few staunch companions. Meanwhile, Yazīd learned of Ḥusayn’s movements, and sent the governor of Basra, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād, to quash the brewing rebellion in Kufa. The 18,000 Kufans who had pledged allegiance to Ḥusayn stood by while Ibn Ziyād caught and executed his emissary. Ibn Ziyād then dispatched an army—ironically, largely composed of these same Kufans—with instructions to force Ḥusayn to pledge allegiance to Yazīd. If he refused, they were to kill him. On the second of Muharram in the year 61/680, they surrounded Ḥusayn and his small band in the desert plain of Karbala. On the seventh, they blocked Ḥusayn’s access to water. On the morning of the tenth of Muharram, the day named ‘Āshūrā’, they surrounded Ḥusayn’s camp with deadly intent. This is when Ḥusayn delivered the oration at hand, addressing the Umayyad army, in a last ditch effort to reason with his besiegers. Following the oration, the Umayyad forces would kill all the men and some male children on Ḥusayn’s side, about seventy-two in all, and the combat would end in the late afternoon, culminating in Ḥusayn’s decapitation.

²²⁸ Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:347, *History*, 19:16–17.

4.1 *Text and Translation*

The text of the oration and responses by the audience are narrated by Ṭabarī, based on the written report of Abū Mikhnaḥ (d. 157/774), who heard the account from eyewitnesses; similar versions of the report are provided by the early historians Balādhurī and Ibn Saʿd. The report begins with Umayyad forces advancing towards Ḥusayn's camp, among them the Kufan Shimr (or Shamir), cursing Ḥusayn; Ḥusayn's supporter Muslim ibn ʿAwsajah, seeking permission to strike Shimr; and Ḥusayn, refusing, saying he would not be the one to start the fighting. Then we have the oration:²²⁹

When the Umayyad forces came close, Ḥusayn called for his horse and mounted it. Then he called out with his loudest voice, a call that the people in their entirety could hear:

فلما دنا منه القوم دعى براحلته فركبها ثم نادى بأعلى صوته دعاء يسمع جلّ الناس.

People, listen to my words! Do not attack me until you have heard my counsel regarding your rights over me, until I give you my reasons for coming to you. If you accept my reasons, if you believe my words and give me justice, you will be the happier for it, and you will not have any pretext [to harm] me. If you do not accept my reasons, and do not give yourselves justice, then «Gather your affair and your collaborators. Let not your affair become an affliction upon you. Do what you will unto me, and give me no respite.»²³⁰ «Indeed, my protector is God—he who sent down the book. And he protects the righteous.»²³¹

أيها الناس أسمعوا قولي ولا تعجلوني حتى أعظّمكم بما لحقّ لكم عليّ وحتى أعتذر إليكم من مقدمي عليكم. فإن قبلتم عذري وصدّقتم قولي وأعطيتُموني النصف كنتم بذلك أسعد ولم يكن لكم عليّ سبيل. وإن لم تقبلوا مني العذر ولم تعطوا النصف من أنفسكم ﴿فَأَجْمَعُوا أَمْرَكُمْ وَشُرَكَاءَكُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَكُنْ أَمْرُكُمْ عَلَيْكُمْ غُمَّةً ثُمَّ اقْضُوا إِلَيَّ وَلَا تُنظِرُونِ﴾ ﴿إِنَّ وَلِيَّيَ اللَّهِ الَّذِي نَزَلَ الْكِتَابَ وَهُوَ يَتَوَلَّى الصَّالِحِينَ﴾.

When his sisters heard him speak these words, they screamed and wept. His daughters wept, and the sound [of their weeping] rose up. He sent to them his brother ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī and his

فلما سمع أخواته كلامه هذا صحن وبكين فأرسل إليهنّ أخاه العباس بن عليّ وعليّاً أبنه وقال لهما أسكّاهنّ فلعمري ليكثرنّ

229 App. § 62.7.

230 Q Yūnus 10:71, quoting the Prophet Noah's words to his unresponsive people.

231 Q Aʿrāf 7:196.

[own] son 'Alī,²³² saying to the two: "Silence them. Indeed, by my life, their weeping will be long [following this affair]!" After they fell silent, he praised God and extolled him, and lauded him with what he is deserving of, and invoked blessings upon Muḥammad, and [all] [God's] angels and prophets. Then he said:

Trace my lineage and think: Who am I? Then go back to your souls and chastise them. Think: Is killing me, rending my sanctity, lawful for you? Am I not the son of the daughter of your prophet? The son of his legatee, his cousin, first of the believers in God, one who accepted the truth of the message that God's messenger brought from him? Is not Ḥamzah, prince of martyrs, my father's uncle? Is not Ja'far, the martyr who flies with two wings, my uncle? Have not the oft-quoted words reached you, that God's messenger (God bless him and his descendants) said regarding me and my brother [Ḥasan ibn 'Alī]: "These two are chiefs of the youth of paradise"?²³³

If you believe what I tell you—and it is the truth—then know by God that I have never knowingly lied ever since I learnt that God punishes those who lie and harms those who bandy untruths. If you do not believe [my report from the Prophet], then there are those among you who, if you ask them about it, will inform you. Ask Jābir ibn 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī, or Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, or Sahl ibn Sa'd al-Sā'idī, or Zayd ibn Arqam, or Anas ibn Mālīk—they will tell you that they have heard these words from God's messen-

بكاؤهنّ. فلما سكّتن حمد الله وأثنى عليه وذكر الله بما هو أهله وصلى على محمد وعلى ملائكته وأنبياؤه. ثم قال

أما بعد. فأنسبوني فأنظروا من أنا ثم أرجعوا إلى أنفسكم وعاتبوها فأنظروا هل يحلّ لكم قتلي وأنتهاك حرمتي. ألسنت ابن بنت نبيكم وآبن وصيه وآبن عمه وأول المؤمنين بالله والمصدق لرسوله بما جاء به من عند ربه. أوليس حمزة سيد الشهداء عمّ أبي. أوليس جعفر الشهيد الطيّار ذو الجناحين عمي. أولم يبلغكم قول مستفيض فيكم إنّ رسول الله صلى الله تعالى عليه وعلى آله قال لي ولأخي (هذان سيّدا شباب أهل الجنة).

فإن صدّقتموني بما أقول وهو الحق فوالله ما تعمّدت كذباً مذّعلت أنّ الله يمقت عليه أهله ويضرب به من اختلفه. وإن كذبتوني فإنّ فيكم من إن سألتوه عن ذلك أخبركم. سلوا جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري أو أبا سعيد الخدري أو سهل بن سعد الساعدي أو زيد بن أرقم أو أنس بن مالك يخبروك أنّهم سمعوا هذه المقالة من رسول الله لي

232 Probably 'Alī al-Akbar, the middle son, as Ḥusayn's older son, 'Alī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, was ill and bedridden.

233 Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 3:76; Balādhurī, 3:268.

ger regarding me and my brother. Will this not stop you from shedding my blood?

ولأخِي. أَمَا فِي هَذَا حَاجَزٌ لَكُمْ عَنْ سَفْكِ دَمِي.

Then Shimr ibn Dhī Jawshan said to [Ḥusayn] that he «worshipped God [precariously standing] upon one edge»²³⁴ if he understood what [Ḥusayn] was saying.

فَقَالَ لَهُ شِمْرُ بْنُ ذِي الْجَوْشَنِ هُوَ ﴿يَعْبُدُ اللَّهَ عَلَى حَرْفٍ﴾ إِنْ يَدْرِي مَا يَقُولُ.

Then Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir²³⁵ said to [Shimr]: By God, I see you worship God on seventy edges! And I testify that you are a bovine animal;²³⁶ you do not understand what he says—«God has placed a seal» upon your heart.²³⁷

فَقَالَ لَهُ حَبِيبُ بْنُ مُظَاهِرٍ وَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لَأُرَآكَ تَعْبُدُ اللَّهَ عَلَى سَبْعِينَ حَرْفًا وَأَنَا أَشْهَدُ أَنَّكَ بِهَيْمَةٍ مَا تَدْرِي مَا يَقُولُ قَدْ ﴿طَبَعَ اللَّهُ﴾ عَلَى قَلْبِكَ.

Then Ḥusayn said to them: If you are in doubt regarding these words, do you doubt at all that I am the son of the daughter of your prophet? By God, there is not between the East and the West a son of the daughter of the Prophet other than me, not from among you, nor from among anyone other than you! I am the son of the daughter of your prophet! Tell me: Do you seek revenge from me for a man among you that I have slain? Or for property belonging to you that I have usurped? Or as blood wit for a wound?

ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُمُ الْحُسَيْنُ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي شَكٍّ مِنْ هَذَا الْقَوْلِ أَفْتَشْكُونَ أَثَرًا مَا أَنِّي ابْنُ بِنْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ. فَوَاللَّهِ مَا بَيْنَ الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ ابْنُ بِنْتِ نَبِيٍّ غَيْرِي مِنْكُمْ وَلَا مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ. أَنَا ابْنُ بِنْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ خَاصَّةً. أَخْبِرُونِي أَتَطْلُبُونِي بِقَتْلِ مَنْكُمْ قَتْلَتِهِ أَوْ مَالٍ لَكُمْ أَسْتَهْلِكْتَهُ أَوْ بِقِصَاصٍ مِنْ جِرَاحَةٍ.

They fell silent, not responding to him.

فَأَخَذُوا لَا يَكَلِّمُونَهُ.

Then he called out: Shabath ibn Ribʿ! Ḥajjār ibn Abjar! Qays ibn al-Ashʿath! Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith!—Did you not write to me that “The fruits have ripened, the surrounding land has become green,

فَنَادَى يَا شَبَثُ بْنُ رِبْعٍ وَيَا حَجَّارُ بْنُ أَبْجَرَ وَيَا قَيْسُ بْنُ الْأَشْعَثِ وَيَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ. أَلَمْ تَكْتُبُوا إِلَيَّ أَنْ قَدْ أُيْنِعَتِ الثَّمَارُ وَأَخْضَرَّ

²³⁴ Q Ḥajj 22:11. I.e., he mentions only the side of the story that is in his favor.

²³⁵ Amin (4:554) says his father's name in the earliest sources is Muẓahhir, but Muẓāhir is now common.

²³⁶ I have substituted the word *bahimah* from Abū Mikhnaḥ's *Maqṭal*, 85, for the apparently incorrect word *ṣādiq* in the Ibrāhīm ed. of Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*.

²³⁷ Q Nisā' 4:155, Tawbah 9: 87&193, Nahl 16:108, Muḥammad 47:16, and Munāfiqūn 63:3.

and the well has flowed over. Truly, you come to a ready army. So come forward”?

الجناب وطمت الجمام وإِنَّمَا تَقْدُمُ عَلَى جُنْدٍ لَّكَ مَجْنَدٌ فَأَقْبِلْ.

They said: We did not.

قَالُوا لَهُ لَمْ نَفْعَلْ.

Then he said: Praise God! Yes, by God, you did!

فَقَالَ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ بَلَى وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ فَعَلْتُمْ.

Then he said: People! If you do not like me, then let me turn away from you to a place that will give me protection elsewhere on this earth.

ثُمَّ قَالَ أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِذْ كَرِهْتُمُونِي فَدَعُونِي أَنْصَرِفَ عَنْكُمْ إِلَى مَا مَنِي مِنَ الْأَرْضِ.

Qays ibn al-Ash'ath said to him: Will you not put yourself under your cousin [Yazīd's] command? Indeed, [the Umayyads] will show you nothing but a pleasing face, and no harm will come to you from them.

فَقَالَ لَهُ قَيْسُ بْنُ الْأَشْعَثِ أَوْ لَا تَنْزِلْ عَلَى حَكَمِ ابْنِ عَمِّكَ فَإِنَّهُمْ لَنْ يَرْوِكَ إِلَّا مَا تَحِبُّ وَلَنْ يَصِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْهُمْ مَكْرُوهٌ.

Ḥusayn said: You are your brother's brother!²³⁸ Do you wish that the Hāshimites should seek you out for more than the blood of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl? No, by God, I shall not give them [the pledge of] my hand in humiliation, nor will I acknowledge [their suzerainty] like a slave.

فَقَالَ الْحُسَيْنُ أَنْتَ أَخُو أَخِيكَ. أَتُرِيدُ أَنْ يَطْلُبَكَ بَنُو هَاشِمٍ بِأَكْثَرِ مِنْ دَمِ مُسْلِمِ بْنِ عَقِيلٍ. لَا وَاللَّهِ لَا أُعْطِيهِمْ بِيَدِي إعْطَاءَ الذَّلِيلِ وَلَا أَقْرَأُ قِرَارَ الْعَبِيدِ.

Servants of God! «I have taken refuge in my lord and your lord from your stoning!»²³⁹ «I take refuge in my lord and your lord from every arrogant man who does not believe in the day of judgment!»²⁴⁰

عِبَادَ اللَّهِ ﴿إِنِّي عُدْتُ بِرَبِّي وَرَبِّكُمْ أَنْ تَرْجُمُونِ﴾. ﴿أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّي وَرَبِّكُمْ مِنْ كُلِّ مُتَكَبِّرٍ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِيَوْمِ الْحِسَابِ﴾.

Then he made his horse kneel down, [dismounted], and commanded 'Uqbah ibn Sim'ān to tether it. And the [Umayyad army] came forward marching toward him.

ثُمَّ إِنَّهُ أَنَاخَ رَاحِلَتَهُ وَأَمَرَ عَقْبَةَ بْنَ سَمْعَانَ فَعَقَلَهَا وَأَقْبَلُوا يَرْحِفُونَ نَحْوَهُ.

²³⁸ Qays ibn al-Ash'ath's brother, Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, had been instrumental in Ibn Ziyād's capture and execution of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. See Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:369–375, *History*, 19:49–57.

²³⁹ Q Dukhān 40:20.

²⁴⁰ Q Ghāfir 44:27.

4.2 *Analysis*

The orator is Ḥusayn, the audience is the Umayyad army, and the two engage—on the plain of Karbala, on the day of ‘Āshūrā’—in a dramatic speech performance that elucidates many aspects of authority assertion discussed in this chapter. Ḥusayn expressed his authority through the text of his oration, its structure and style, and the physical symbols surrounding it, in order to persuade them to his point of view. At this eleventh hour, he was not trying to convince the Kufans that he was the rightful Imam, nor, by comparison to Yazīd, that he was a better candidate for the caliphate. By morning of the day of ‘Āshūrā’, when the Umayyad army had surrounded him for the final attack, the situation had degenerated to the point that Ḥusayn must have known they were after his blood. He was trying to stave off that ending. The point he was making in his oration was that his blood was unlawful to spill. They had no right to kill him.

In the text of the oration, Ḥusayn invoked several bases of his authority. The first was his descent from the Prophet. After the formulaic introduction, Ḥusayn opened his speech with a declaration that he was Muḥammad’s grandson. This was the cornerstone of his argument, because his lineage was irrefutable. All the people gathered there, his friends as well as his foes, knew this to be weighty and true, and it is for this reason that, after his other arguments proved unsuccessful, he came back to this point again toward the end of the oration. Here, when the implacable and lethal will of the Umayyads had become totally clear, Ḥusayn emphasized again his main argument by fleshing it out, and repeating it in several different forms: He challenged them with the question: “Do you doubt that I am the son of the daughter of your prophet? By God, there is not between the East and the West a son of the daughter of the Prophet other than me, not from among you, nor from among anyone other than you! I am the son of the daughter of your Prophet!” Ḥusayn focused on the Umayyad army’s Islamic identity. They were the enemy force, but they were still Muslims. In this role, references to Ḥusayn’s descent from Muḥammad as well as the other religious themes, formulae, and citations he employed, were references that would resonate. Moreover, by utilizing the personal pronoun to modify the word “prophet,” by consistently referring to Muḥammad as “*your* Prophet,” Ḥusayn personalized the relevance of his genealogy to his Muslim attackers.

Likewise, Ḥusayn touted his familial connections to other eminent personages in Islam. His mother was the Prophet’s daughter, Fāṭimah. His father was the Prophet’s legatee, ‘Alī, “first of the believers in God, one who accepted the truth of the message that God’s messenger brought from him.” His great-uncle was the “prince of martyrs,” Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who had died for

Islam in the Battle of Uḥud. His uncle was “the martyr who flies with two wings,” Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib, who too had given his life for Islam, this time in the Battle of Mu‘tah. All these were people who, as the audience well knew, had served Islam early and well; whose eminence was evoked by their very names. By listing his illustrious genealogy, Ḥusayn also implicitly criticized the anti-Islamic lineage of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd—whom the audience was asking him to acknowledge as the caliph of Islam. Yazīd’s forefathers had fought against Muḥammad at Badr and Uḥud; indeed, Yazīd’s grandfather Abū Sufyān had been the chief of the opposing Meccan forces in the Battle of the Trench.

After describing his pedigree, Ḥusayn claimed another religious basis for his authority by citing the Prophetic hadith extolling him and his brother, (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are chiefs of the youth of paradise.) In a Muslim context, being “chief of the youth of paradise”—and designated as such by the Prophet himself—was a substantial argument in Ḥusayn’s favor, as had been the earlier arguments about lineage. But the audience does not seem to have been moved, as indicated by Ḥusayn’s next words. Ḥusayn iterated—perhaps sensing the audience’s denial from their body language—that he was true in his reporting of this hadith, but if they did not believe him, they could ascertain its veracity from those who had heard it directly from the Prophet, and he named five such men who were still alive. Then he said to them, “Will this not stop you from shedding my blood?”

Ḥusayn brought in next a pragmatic source of his authority over the Kufans, viz., their letters inviting him to come to Iraq and promising support if he did. Either he was pressing his advantage, or more likely, he realized that even the lineage argument—although it had shamed the enemy group to silence—had not persuaded them to desist. Appealing to their innate sense of reason and decency, and again personalizing the argument, he said to them that he had come in response to *their* letters inviting him to Iraq. In an earlier speech, Ḥusayn had mentioned their pledge of allegiance to him in Kufa at Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl’s hands.²⁴¹ He had exhibited two saddle bags filled with their letters.²⁴² Here, he quoted the language of their invitations and called out to specific chieftains who had written to him, “Shabath ibn Rib‘ī! Ḥajjār ibn Abjar! Qays ibn al-Ash‘ath! Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith! Did you not write to me that ‘The fruits have ripened, the surrounding land has become green, and the well has flowed over. Truly, you come to a ready army. So come forward.’?” The report says that the Kufan leaders spoke up, denying having done so.

²⁴¹ App. § 62.4.

²⁴² Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 4:402.

Additionally, Ḥusayn tacitly buttressed his claims through the structure and style of his oration. Beginning with formulaic praise of God, he inherently infused the whole of his text with sacred authority. Next, by calling down blessings on God's angels and prophets (again, part of the *taḥmīd* formula), he linked himself to them, and implied their endorsement of his words. Throughout the oration, quotation of apposite sacred texts underscored his claims. With two Qur'anic verses cited in the opening lines, and two as the ending to the oration, he grounded his arguments firmly in the sacred book. These proof texts drove home the authentically Islamic nature of his words, with the implication that all Muslims should—if they accepted the Qur'an—accept what he was saying. By quoting the hadith of the Prophet that I have discussed earlier, which proclaimed him and his brother Ḥasan as “chiefs of the youth of paradise,” Ḥusayn further bolstered his authority.

Also, the format of the sentences in the oration—especially the presence of commands, as well as rhetorical and real queries—further strengthened his position. The questions he asked about things they knew very well forced them to acknowledge—with a resounding silence—his exalted stature and his total innocence. They could not refute the fact that he was the Prophet's grandson, and that he had committed no crime. Moreover, the blunt directives that he gave them as he opened his speech—to trace his lineage, to think about whether it was lawful for them to kill him, to ask the venerable companions of the Prophet for verification of the truth of his reporting—all affirmed his position as someone who gave instructions, and theirs as people who were to carry out those instructions.

Ḥusayn's lineage and stature was such that the Kufans were hesitant to commit the act, to actually kill him. The complexity of their wavering attitude comes out clearly in the following report: Ṭabarī goes on to relate that “There was a long delay through the day. If the people had wanted to kill him, they could have done so, but each of them was averting the action; each hoped the other would kill Ḥusayn. Each of them preferred that another should do the deed. Then Shimr shouted among the people, ‘Shame on you! Why are you waiting for the man? Kill him, may your mothers be deprived of you!’ So an attack was launched against him on every side ... [Sinān ibn Anas] killed him and cut his head off.”²⁴³

The primary audience here, the one Ḥusayn was trying to convince, was the Umayyad army. At about 4,000 warriors, they were a sizeable number, such that Ḥusayn at the onset, presumably to ensure he could be seen and heard

243 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:452–453, *History* 19:160.

“mounted [his horse], and called to them with his loudest voice, a call that the people in their entirety could hear.” These lines also indicate the turbulence of the situation, which necessitated a higher position and a louder tone. The fact that he was addressing the enemy is not typical; most battle orations are addressed by commanders to their own forces. But the enemy audience’s implicit acceptance of his oratory, demonstrated by the very fact of their listening, acknowledged him as someone who, at the very least, had in their eyes the authority to speak. The warriors of the Umayyad army were mostly from Kufa, including many community leaders who had previously pledged allegiance to Ḥusayn at the hands of his emissary, Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl.

The audience answered several of Ḥusayn’s questions, and responded verbally to some of his assertions. Most were either open denials of his claims, or attempts to modify and subvert his authority. In response to Ḥusayn’s assertion about being a “leader of the youth of paradise,” Shimr rejected Ḥusayn’s claim by reciting a Qur’anic verse himself. This was the first verbal response from the audience. Shimr (like others who spoke up among the Umayyad forces later) was a tribal leader; he had earlier fought for ‘Alī at Šiffin, then changed sides; he would play a key role in Ḥusayn’s killing. Later in the speech, when Ḥusayn mentioned the Kufans’ letters to him and called upon his interlocutors by name, the men he named spoke up, denying having written to him. By the end of the oration, Ḥusayn had gone through all his arguments—unsuccessfully—and he asked the Umayyad army to let him go free, to find refuge somewhere on God’s earth. Qays ibn al-Ash‘ath, one of the men Ḥusayn had just named, responded by asking Ḥusayn to pledge himself to Yazīd: “Will you not put yourself under your cousin’s command?” The seemingly mild wording of Qays’s appeal concealed a very real threat. Qays probably did not want to address the grandson of the Prophet with open disrespect, but in fact the only option he and his fellows were making available to him was capitulation: Ḥusayn could swear allegiance to Yazīd and they would let him go; if he did not, well then, he knew what was coming.

In contrast to the strident vocal responses to Ḥusayn’s point about their letters, the audience responded to those claims they absolutely could not refute with silence. In response to his opening assertion about being “chief of the youth of paradise,” everyone—except Shimr—was wordless. In response to his questions asking them whether they doubted his close descent from the Prophet, they all collectively, including the most hardline warriors among them—even Shimr—fell silent. They did not have any answer. Or more accurately, the answer they did have—which was that they all knew he was indeed who he said he was—did not serve their purpose; for if they acknowledged this fact openly, they would be acknowledging the sanctity of his life.

When the lethal will of the Umayyad forces had become clear, Ḥusayn ended his oration with a strong refusal to capitulate, and with two Qur'anic verses: «I have taken refuge in my lord and your lord from your stoning!»²⁴⁴ «I take refuge in my lord and your lord from every arrogant man who does not believe in the day of judgment!»²⁴⁵ The nature of the verses he quoted shows that he realized there was no way the Kufan army would be swayed. Either from fear of Ibn Ziyād's reprisals, for financial gain, or for their own reasons of ideology, they had made up their minds to follow orders. Ḥusayn had said all that he could say. He had made his case. But they were going to go ahead and implement their orders. As Ṭabarī relates, Ḥusayn “made his horse kneel down (presumably because he was wearing heavy armor and could not dismount while the horse was standing), and commanded ‘Uqbah ibn Sim‘ān, a freedman in his wife’s employ, to tether it. The Umayyad army marched forward toward him.” Ṭabarī’s report ends here. The audience’s final response to Ḥusayn’s words is observable in their ultimate resultant action—an attack to kill—in effect, a conclusive rejection of his claims.

Among the Umayyad army, there was one who did respond. This is interpreted by the Shi‘a as validation of their belief that the call of an Imam never goes unanswered. Balādhurī reports in *Ansāb al-ashrāf* that Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Yarbū‘ī, a Kufan elder and Umayyad sub-commander who had initially halted Ḥusayn’s caravan, was won over by the Imam’s speech. Exclaiming that he would “not choose hellfire over heaven,” he “struck his horse to hasten it forward, and went over to Ḥusayn ... Ḥusayn said to him: ‘You, by God, are *ḥurr* (free, or noble) in this world and the hereafter.’” Ḥurr then tried to convince the Umayyad commander ‘Umar ibn Sa’d to let Ḥusayn go. When ‘Umar refused, Ḥurr addressed his erstwhile fellow soldiers from the Umayyad army, urging them to accept Ḥusayn’s offer to leave them and go away: “It is you who have called him (note Ḥurr’s reiteration of Ḥusayn’s argument), and when he did come, you turned him over to the Umayyads ... You blocked him, his women, his companions, from the running water of the Euphrates, which Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians all drink freely, and in which roaming pigs wallow. Are you not believers? Do you not accept his grandfather’s prophethood? Are you not convinced of the final return to God?”²⁴⁶ Balādhurī’s report continues with the information that the Umayyad infantry at this point rushed Ḥurr and showered

244 Q Dukhān 40:20.

245 Q Ghāfir 44:27.

246 App. § 61.1.

him with arrows. Their commander ‘Umar marched his forces towards Ḥusayn’s small band, and gave the order to begin the killing.

In addition to this primary audience, Ḥusayn’s oration addressed a secondary, untargeted audience comprised of his own companions and family members. Ṭabarī’s report includes details of this audience’s reactions—in body language, verbal responses, and physical actions—to the oration. Those who spoke up among them were also elders and nobles of their tribes. When Ḥusayn first began addressing the Umayyad forces, he said to them that they should listen to his reasons as to why they had no right over him, and if they did not pay heed, then they could do their worst—he placed his trust in God. When the women of Ḥusayn’s family, who were presumably listening anxiously from inside their tents, heard these words that articulated for them their worst fears—that the day might end with Ḥusayn’s death—they responded audibly and loudly. As Ṭabarī tells us, “when Ḥusayn’s sisters [Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm] heard these words from him, they screamed and wept. His daughters wept, and the sound [of their weeping] rose high.” Body language is not mentioned in the responses of the primary audience of this oration, but the weeping of the secondary audience is a typical physical response to an emotionally fraught situation. The report continues: “He sent to them his brother ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī and his [own] son ‘Alī [al-Akbar], saying to the two: ‘Silence them. Indeed, by my life, their weeping will be long [following this affair]!’ After they fell silent, he praised God ...” and resumed orating.

During the speech, a tribal leader on Ḥusayn’s side named Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir rushed to his defense. Here we see a counter response by a member of the secondary audience, to a response from a member of the primary audience. When Shimr quoted the Qur’an to imply his rejection of Ḥusayn’s claim of being “chief of the youth of paradise,” Ḥabīb, with a Qur’anic expression, asserted that God had placed a seal upon Shimr’s heart, such that he was like an animal lacking the intelligence to understand. Either a Companion of the Prophet or a senior member of the following generation, and also a companion of ‘Alī, Ḥabīb was also a staunch supporter of Ḥusayn.²⁴⁷ Ṭabarī relates, as mentioned earlier, that even before the oration, Shimr had hurled insults at Ḥusayn, at which time Ḥabīb had asked Ḥusayn for permission to shoot Shimr with an arrow. Ḥusayn had refused, saying he did not wish to be the one to start the battle.

247 Amīn, 4:554; after several medieval sources.

Of the secondary audience, one member took immediate action. Following the speech by Ḥusayn, and the Umayyad army's hostile response, Ṭabarī relates that Zuhayr ibn Qayn—another of Ḥusayn's staunch supporters—addressed them from the back of his horse. A Kufan noble,²⁴⁸ Zuhayr had earlier been an 'Uthmānid partisan rather than one of the Shi'a, but returning from the Hajj, his caravan had passed by Ḥusayn's, and, as he explained to the Kufan 'Azrah ibn Qays: "When I saw Ḥusayn, I remembered God's messenger and his loving regard for him, and knowing of the march of Ḥusayn's enemies and your [Umayyad] forces against him, I decided to aid him, be on his side, and lay down my life to defend his—protecting the rights of God and God's messenger which you have squandered."²⁴⁹ In his speech, Zuhayr reiterated Ḥusayn's own argument about his lineage, invoking the sanctity of the Prophet's blood. Following his speech, Shimr threatened him and Ḥusayn with imminent death, and Zuhayr threw back: "Do you threaten me with death? Death with him is dearer to me than living with you."²⁵⁰

Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī's address embodies many of the issues discussed in this chapter regarding the interactive nature of the oration, including the leadership position of the orator, the modes of authority assertion in the text and outside it, and the audience's reception and mediation of this authority. As he progressed through a variety of arguments, Ḥusayn asserted his authority in religious, ethical, and pragmatic forms: as the grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad, as one the Prophet had commended as chief of the youth of paradise, as one who had come in response to the Kufans' own repeated invitations, as one who had committed no crime and thus could not be touched. The secondary audience, composed of his family and supporters, championed his claims by word and deed. The primary audience, consisting of the Umayyad army, responded to Ḥusayn's assertions of his authority through verbal answers, silences, and actions. They wavered, this way and that, in harsher or softer reactions to his appeals. Finally, they converged—other than Ḥurr, the single man who answered his call—in a concerted attack to kill him, in an ultimate rejection of his authority.

248 Samāwī, 141; Amīn, 7:71.

249 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:417.

250 App. § 170.2.

5 Concluding Remarks

As we have seen in this chapter, orators orated from a position of power. But the audience, comprised largely of people of influence in the community, also played a key role in determining how the orator's assertion of authority played out. It was in the interactions between the two, in the orating of the orator, and the reception of the audience, that policy was parleyed. Throughout the oral period, orations were delivered from the platform of leadership, but there were also developments in its mode and nature. As the political hierarchy gradually became more centralized and rigid, the scope for audience mediation of the state's authority diminished. But the dynamism of the early oration continued in most non-government orations through the end of the Umayyad period. All in all, the oration was a primary nexus for negotiation of all kinds of authority in the public spaces of the expanding Islamic world.

The Sermon of Pious Counsel

Human Mortality, a Life of Virtue, and Preparation for the Hereafter

A major type of Arabic oration is the sermon of pious counsel (*khutbat al-waʿz*). Rooted in the pre-Islamic desert-dweller's deep consciousness of cosmic cycles and human mortality, it was channeled by Muḥammad's monotheistic vision toward cultivating virtue and piety in preparation for the afterlife. All in all, the sermon of pious counsel showcases a uniquely Arabian and Islamic outlook on the purpose of human existence. In the following pages, various aspects are examined alongside copious textual examples: themes and imagery, universal relevance and historical grounding, formulae and patterns, as well as thematic penetration into other types of oration and prominence in non-oratorical genres. The final section of the chapter transcribes the text, translation, and analysis of an illustrative sermon attributed to the Khārijite commander Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujāʿah.¹

1 Three Major Themes: Piety and Obedience, Imminence of Death, and Preparation for the Hereafter

The sermon of pious counsel contains three core themes: (1) piety, virtue, and obedience, (2) the imminence of death, and (3) this world and the hereafter. A handful of pieces are attributed to the pre-Islamic period, while hundreds are recorded for the first two centuries of Islam. The pre-Islamic pieces focus on the transience of human life. The Islamic sermons, while continuing that theme, build on it to exhort the audience to perform good deeds and prepare for the eternal life to come.

1.1 *Piety, Virtue, and Obedience*

The first major theme is piety in consciousness of God (*taqwā*), coupled with obedience to him (*tāʿah*). This umbrella topic subsumes a vast array of ethical and religious injunctions and references complex issues of theology.

1 The sermon is also attributed to ʿAlī. Another full sermon of pious counsel by ʿAlī was previously analyzed in Ch. 3, with commentary on how its style facilitated its message of preparing for the hereafter.

1.1.1 Piety and Virtue

Expressing a fundamental concept in Islam, the verbal nouns and imperatives of *taqwā* (piety/virtue) are among the most frequent lexemes of the Qur'an and hadith, and also of the Muslim sermon of pious counsel, whose lines are permeated by the formula "I counsel you to piety" (أوصيكم بتقوى الله). The Qur'anic verse «Gather your provisions! The best of provisions is piety» (وَرَزَدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ ﴿الزَّادِ التَّقْوَى﴾² is frequently quoted. Occurring either as an independent section, or among a list of other moral injunctions, it intersects with all other themes of counsel.

Taqwā entails possession of a comprehensive set of humanitarian virtues and religious merits. Often rendered imprecisely as "fear of God," Muslims understand it to mean something more than simple fear. As with many signifiers that are culture-specific, no English word or phrase exactly conveys its full range of implications, but its scope comes close to the English (Christian) usage of "God-fearing,"³ or the biblical Mosaic command to "be holy" (Hebrew: *qedoshim*).⁴ In Islam, *taqwā* means desisting from evil deeds, fearing God's retribution for any wrongs you may do, being aware that God sees and knows everything, and indeed, most importantly and paradoxically, being in awe of him while also taking comfort from his presence at all times.⁵ This attitude entails believing in God, being ever conscious of him, and thus always thinking and acting righteously. Depending on the particular grammatical and rhetorical presentation of the term, I translate *taqwā* in this book as "consciousness of God" or "piety."

Among leaders in early Islam, some are singled out as prolific and effective orators of pious counsel. Muḥammad is for Muslims the first and foremost guide, and, in addition to the Qur'an, which he is believed to have brought from God, his own words, that is, the hadith (of which his orations form a subset),

2 Q Baqarah 2:197.

3 The *OED* gives the meaning of "God-fearing" as "characterized by deep respect for God; deeply or earnestly religious" (Oxford University Press; accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/view/Entry/79655?rskey=xj98rf&result=2&isAdvanced=false&eid>).

4 In "Two Moments in the Biography of Holiness (*Qedushah*)," (paper presented at Virtues, Happiness and Meaning of Life workshop, University of Chicago, 2017), Joseph Stern discussed the perspectives of Maimonides and Nahmanides on the biblical prescription in Lev. 19, 2: "You shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy."

5 Exegetes explain the word *taqwā* in the Qur'an (Baqarah 2:197) as: "fearing the performing of evil deeds" (Zamakhshari); "fearing God's punishment, which is meted out to those who disobey Him" (Ibn Kathir); and "good deeds" (Qurtubi). Altafsir.com: <http://www.altafsir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=1&tTafsirNo=2&tSoraNo=2&tAyahNo=197&tDisplay=yes&Page=2&Size=1&LanguageId=1>. Accessed May 9, 2018.

are revered as the wisest of counsel and the product of divine inspiration. Many hadith exhort *taqwā*. In one oration, Muḥammad urges God's worship, good words and deeds, and empathy and piety, saying:⁶

Worship God and do not assign partners to him.
«Practice piety as it should be practiced.»⁷ Follow your good deeds with good words. Love each other with the spirit of God moving among you.

اعبدوا الله ولا تشركوا به شيئاً. اتقوا
الله حق تقاته. وصدقوا صالح ما تعملون
بأفواهكم. وتحابوا بروح الله بينكم.

Among Muḥammad's Companions, it is the sermons of 'Alī that are held up as the gold standard for brilliant eloquence and sage advice.⁸ In a long sermon describing the pious, he lays out in minute detail the virtuous characteristics, hereafter-focused aspirations, and entirely godly way of life of those who truly deserve the epithet. Drawing on the Qur'an and hadith, he presents virtue and piety as two indivisible sides of the same coin.⁹ The sermon begins with a general statement: "The pious (*muttaqūn*) in this world are people of good character." It goes on to give a list of ethical and religious traits: They "speak sensibly," "dress simply," and "walk humbly." They are "deeply conscious of God's greatness and bounties," and "do not care for the world." It is as though they "see paradise and hell in front of their eyes." Their "bodies are emaciated, their needs few, their souls chaste." They pray all night, standing before God, and reciting the Qur'an. They possess amazing virtues, including "strength in religion, maturity with gentleness, belief with conviction, passion for knowledge, and moderation in wealth." They are kind to their fellow humans, for they "forgive those who have oppressed them, give to those who have refused them, and are compassionate to those who have shunned them." They are "dignified in times of calamity, patient in times of misfortune, and grateful to God in times of ease." Seen in this sermon and elsewhere, the invitation to piety frames the entire oration. When placed at the beginning, it controls the rest of the pious counsel, serving as a hook on which to hang the more specific pieces of advice.

6 App. § 90.5; other sermons by Muḥammad urging piety and virtue include three excerpts in Ya'qūbī, 2:89.

7 Q Āl 'Imrān 3:102.

8 Jāhiz, *Bayān*, 1:353; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (citing Ibn 'Abbās), 3:101; Raḍī, *Nahj*, 28–29; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:24, 'Abduh, comm., *Nahj*, 23; Sayf al-Dīn, *Tadhkirat al-labīb*, 80–81; see eulogies collected by 'Abd al-Zahrā', 1:43–47, 87–99, and by modern editors of medieval compilations of 'Alī's words.

9 App. § 31.41, titled "the sermon addressed to Hammām." For a full translation and analysis, see T. Qutbuddin, "Piety and Virtue in Early Islam: Two Sermons by Imam Ali." See also 'Alī's further descriptions of the pious in § 31.49.

Orators often expound a rationale for piety—directives whose reasoning is understood are much more likely to be followed. Not only do they instruct their audience to practice piety, they tell their listeners why it is imperative, even natural, that they do so. Some formulations present piety as gratitude for God's bounties, others as protection from the vices and vicissitudes of this world, and yet others as the means for salvation. 'Alī often follows his commands to practice piety with an explication of the impetus compelling the command, of which the following are some examples: You should practice piety, "because God created you."¹⁰ You should practice piety because it will take you to "the vast homeland, the protecting refuge, the mighty stations, on a day in which ... the trumpet will sound."¹¹ You should practice piety because it is "the key to righteousness, a treasure stored for the return, freedom from subjugation, and salvation from destruction." You should practice piety because "through it the prisoner of the world, the one who would escape it, attains salvation in the hereafter, and through it the seeker succeeds, and wishes are fulfilled."¹² You should practice piety because it is "a mighty house of protection, while immorality is a house that gives little protection ... It is through piety that the scorpion-sting of sin is healed."¹³ You should practice piety because it "is the best counsel you as God's servants can give one another, it brings you closest to God's pleasure, it fetches the best results"—and indicating inexorable finality of purpose—"you have been commanded to practice piety, and created to do good and obey God."¹⁴ The Umayyad caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who is also credited with a large number of pious sermons, depicts piety as the spiritual provision for the journey into the hereafter: "All travelers must carry provisions, so gather supplies of piety from your worldly abode for your journey to the afterlife."¹⁵ The Umayyad governor Yūsuf ibn 'Umar portrays piety as the natural behavior of beings whose mortality is assured, saying, "Servants of God, remain conscious of him, for there is many a person who harbors

¹⁰ App. § 31.51, § 31.49.

¹¹ App. § 31.52.

¹² فَإِنَّ تَقْوَى اللَّهِ مِفْتَاحُ كُلِّ سَدَادٍ وَذَخِيرَةُ مَعَادٍ وَعَتَقَ مِنْ كُلِّ مَلَكَةٍ وَنَجَاةٌ مِنْ كُلِّ هَلَكَةٍ بِهَا يَنْجِي الطَّالِبُ (وَيَنْجُو الْمَارِبُ وَتَمُلُ الرِّغَائِبُ): App. § 31.53.

¹³ اعْلَمُوا عِبَادَ اللَّهِ أَنَّ التَّقْوَى دَارُ حَصْنٍ عَزِيزٍ وَالْفُجُورُ دَارُ حَصْنٍ ذَلِيلٍ ... أَلَا وَبِالتَّقْوَى تَقْطَعُ حَمَةً (الْخَطَايَا): App. § 31.43.

¹⁴ أَوْصِيَكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ تَقْوَى اللَّهِ خَيْرُ مَا تَوَاصَى بِهِ عِبَادُ اللَّهِ وَأَقْرَبُهُ لِرِضْوَانِ اللَّهِ وَخَيْرُهُ فِي عَوَاقِبِ الْأُمُورِ (عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَبِالتَّقْوَى اللَّهُ أَمَرْتُمْ وَلِلْإِحْسَانِ وَالطَّاعَةِ خَلَقْتُمْ): Minqarī, 10.

¹⁵ (إِنَّ لِكُلِّ سَفَرٍ زَادًا لَا مَحَالَةَ فَتَزَوَّدُوا مِنْ دُنْيَاكُمْ لِآخِرَتِكُمْ بِالتَّقْوَى): App. § 139.10.

hopes he will not attain, gathers wealth he will not consume, and protects that which he will soon leave behind.”¹⁶

In addition to counseling audience members, orators often counsel themselves to piety. ‘Alī opens a sermon saying “Servants of God, I counsel you and I counsel myself to remain conscious of God and obey him, prioritize good deeds and abjure worldly hopes.”¹⁷ ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz often says to his addressees that he did not exempt himself from his own advice. He exclaims in one sermon, “I seek refuge in God—God forbid that I command you to do something that I do not do myself, breaking thereby my covenant and exhibiting my shame! If so, my deficiency would become manifest on the day in which rich and poor are [resurrected], scales set up, and limbs speak out [about their owner’s sins].”¹⁸

Except for this ‘Umar, the historical narrative presents Umayyad rulers as generally impious—and if the characterization is correct, it would indicate that the pious counsel offered in their Friday sermons was dictated by convention. The early Shi‘i poet Kumayt (d. 128/744) criticized the Umayyads for preaching piety from the pulpit, while in their own lives they “partook of forbidden food and drink.”¹⁹ Among Umayyad governors, the stern governor of Iraq, Ḥajjāj, who is credited with several sermons of pious counsel (perhaps all Friday sermons), is derided by Ibn Abī Burdah for making pious speeches while acting in a “pharaonically” tyrannical vein.²⁰ The famous preacher Ḥasan al-Baṣrī—who advocated predestinarian asceticism—also criticizes Ḥajjāj for hypocrisy, saying, “Do you not wonder at this debauched man! He climbs the steps of the pulpit and speaks the words of prophets, then comes down and assaults people with the assault of tyrants.”²¹ Ḥasan was in turn censured for impious behavior by Marwān ibn al-Muhallab, who calls him “the errant, show-off shaykh.”²² According to our sources, some of these orators were pious and others were not. Regardless, most of their public addresses promoted themes of piety. It would appear that early Islamic society expected orators to underpin oration with religious themes.

16 (اتقوا الله عباد الله فكم من مؤمل أملًا لا يبلغه وجامع مألًا لا يأكله ومانع عما سوف يتركه). App. §159.2.

17 (أوصيكم عباد الله ونفسي بتقوى الله ولزوم طاعته وتقديم العمل وترك الأمل). Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:63.

18 أعوذ بالله أن آمركم بما أنهي عنه نفسي فتخسر صفقتي وتظهر عورتي وتبدو مسكنتي في يوم يبدو فيه الغني والفقير والموازين منصوبة والجوارح ناطقة). App. §139.10.

19 Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, 2:282.

20 Jāhiz, *Bayān*, 1:397; (Šafwat, 2:416–417).

21 App. §51.14.

22 App. §81.1.

1.1.2 Obedience

In early Islamic discourse, the essential companion to consciousness of God is obedience to him and his Prophet. This theme sometimes occurs singly—obedience to God, says ‘Alī in one sermon, is the best service one can render one’s self²³—but the Qur’an frequently associates directives to obedience with injunctions to piety,²⁴ and the early Islamic orator also often links the two. Abū Ḥamzah declares, “I counsel you to piety and obedience to him.”²⁵ ‘Alī similarly combines them, “I counsel you, servants of God, to be conscious of him and obey him,” followed by a rationale, “for the two together constitute redemption on the morrow and salvation forever.”²⁶

Injunctions to obey God—especially using the plural form, *tā‘āt*—are used by orators to mean acts of obedience, and usually denote worship rites prescribed by the Shari‘ah. Conversely, disobedience to God (*ma‘ṣiyah*, plural *ma‘āṣī*) is often used in the sense of sinning, or going against Shari‘ah regulations. Denoting specific deeds by the general terms “obedience” or “disobedience” emphasizes the connection between one’s actions and one’s relationship with God. Ḥajjāj in one of his sermons says:²⁷

May God have mercy on the man who fashions a halter and rein for his soul, leading it by the reins toward obedience to God, and turning it away with the halter from disobedience to him. I find forbearance in avoiding the things God has forbidden easier than forbearance in the face of his punishment.	فرحم الله امرأً جعل لنفسه خطاماً وزماماً فقادها بخطامها إلى طاعة الله وعطفها بزماتها عن معصية الله. فإنني رأيت الصبر عن محارم الله أيسر من الصبر على عذاب الله.
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Other injunctions against sinning make use of graphic similes to underscore its dire consequences. ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz likens sins to “irons around men’s necks,” adding that “annihilation—total annihilation—is the result if one persists.”²⁸ ‘Alī compares sins to “a recalcitrant mount on which sinners mount, reins loosened, galloping with their riders into the fire.” In contrast and in par-

23 (عباد الله إن أنصح الناس لنفسه أطوعهم لربه وإن أغشهم لنفسه أعصاهم لربه): App. § 31.54.

24 Q Anfāl 8:1, Zukhruf 43:63, Shu‘ārā’ 26:126 and *passim*.

25 (أوصيكم بتقوى الله وطاعته): App. § 18.4.

26 (أوصيكم عباد الله بتقوى الله وطاعته فإنها النجاة غداً والمنجاة أبداً): App. § 31.55.

27 App. § 51.16.

28 App. § 139.3. Many orators also liken death, or alternatively a man’s lifespan, to neck irons.

allel form, he presents piety (here encompassing obedience) as “a docile mount on which the pious mount and whose reins they hold in their hands, riding them to paradise.”²⁹ Warning against contravening the Shari‘ah, orators caution their audience not to be led astray by Satan. In an extended and graphic simile, ‘Alī criticizes those who “made Satan master of their affairs,” for then Satan “made them his partners”:³⁰

They made Satan master of their affairs and he made them his partners. He laid eggs and hatched chicks in their breasts. He crawled and climbed through their bosoms. [He became as one with them] to the extent that he saw with their eyes and spoke with their tongues. Then he made them embark on slippery paths, and tempted them to treachery—the action of one whose authority Satan has infiltrated, and upon whose tongue [Satan] has spoken falsehood.

اتَّخَذُوا الشَّيْطَانَ لِأَمْرِهِمْ مَلَائِكًا وَاتَّخَذَهُمْ لَهُ
أَشْرَاكًا فَبَاضَ وَفَرَّخَ فِي صُدُورِهِمْ وَدَبَّ
وَدْرَجَ فِي جُجُورِهِمْ فَنَظَرَ بِأَعْيُنِهِمْ وَنَطَقَ
بِأَلْسِنَتِهِمْ فَرَكِبَ بِهِمُ الزَّلَّلَ وَزَيَّنَ لَهُمُ الْخَطْلَ
فَعَلَ مِنْ قَدِّ شَرِكَةِ الشَّيْطَانِ فِي سُلْطَانِهِ
وَنَطَقَ بِالْبَاطِلِ عَلَى لِسَانِهِ.

1.1.3 Shari‘ah, Qur‘an, the Prophet’s Example, Theology, Good Deeds, and Humane Virtues

Expounding specifics of piety and obedience, orators enjoin many of the Shari‘ah’s fundamental injunctions: ritual prayer, the alms levy, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, and jihad. They add instructions to foster family ties and give generously to the poor. The Umayyad governor Qutaybah al-Bāhili exhorts his audience to charity in a long speech, assuring them of God’s reward: “Know that people’s petitions to you are a favor from God ... and know that the best wealth is that which earns a celestial reward and leaves a legacy of remembrance.”³¹ ‘Alī in one sermon utters the following string of Shari‘ah-related urgings, explaining why it was in one’s own interest to implement each of them:³²

29 ألا وإن الخطايا خيل شمس حمل عليها أهلها وخلعت لجمها فتقحمت بهم في النار ألا وإن التقوى مطايا
29 App. § 31.3. (ذلل حمل عليها أهلها وأعطوا أزممتها فأوردتهم الجنة)

30 App. § 31.56. See similar metaphor in Hajjāj: App. § 51.6.

31 App. (وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ حَوَائِجَ النَّاسِ إِلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَةٌ ... وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ أَفْضَلَ الْمَالِ مَا أَكْسَبَ أَجْرًا وَأَوْرَثَ ذِكْرًا)

§ 72.2.

32 App. § 31.39. See also § 31.4, § 31.51, § 31.31.

The deeds which bring you closest to God are belief in him and his messenger; jihad in his path, for it is Islam's highest peak; the testament of sincerity, for it is the natural state; undertaking the ritual prayer, for it is the way of truth; offering the alms levy, for it is a mandated obligation; fasting in the month of Ramadan, for it is a shield from God's punishment; performing the greater and lesser pilgrimage to Mecca, for they dispel poverty and wash away sins; fostering close ties with kin, for it increases wealth and prolongs life; giving alms in secret, for it expiates transgressions; giving alms in public, for it repulses horrible forms of death; acts of charity, for they protect you from dishonor and humiliation.

إِنَّ أَفْضَلَ مَا تَوَسَّلَ بِهِ الْمُتَوَسِّلُونَ إِلَى اللَّهِ
سُبْحَانَهُ الْإِيمَانُ بِهِ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالْجِهَادُ فِي
سَبِيلِهِ فَإِنَّهُ ذُرْوَةُ الْإِسْلَامِ وَكَلِمَةُ الْإِخْلَاصِ
فَإِنَّهَا الْفِطْرَةُ وَإِقَامُ الصَّلَاةِ فَإِنَّهَا الْمَلَّةُ وَإِيتَاءُ
الزَّكَاةِ فَإِنَّهَا فَرِيضَةُ وَاجِبَةٍ وَصَوْمُ شَهْرِ
رَمَضَانَ فَإِنَّهُ جَنَّةٌ مِنَ الْعِقَابِ وَحَجُّ الْبَيْتِ
وَأَعْتِمَارُهُ فَإِنَّهُمَا يَنْفِيَانِ الْفَقْرَ وَيَرْحِضَانِ
الذَّنْبَ وَصَلَةُ الرَّحِمِ فَإِنَّهَا مَثْرَاءٌ فِي الْمَالِ
وَمَنْسَأَةٌ فِي الْأَجْلِ وَصَدَقَةُ السَّرِّ فَإِنَّهَا تَكْفِّرُ
الْخَطِيئَةَ وَصَدَقَةُ الْعَلَانِيَةِ فَإِنَّهَا تَدْفَعُ مِيتَةَ
السُّوءِ وَصَنَائِعُ الْمَعْرُوفِ فَإِنَّهَا تَقِي مَصَارِعَ
الْهُوَانِ.

Additionally, orators urge their audiences to praise God for his bounties, and give thanks for his favors. They exhort their listeners to remember God. They forbid vices such as falsehood, malicious gossip, envy, enmity, worldly hopes, and hypocrisy. They advocate virtues such as truthfulness, trustworthiness, integrity, modesty, forbearance, and restraint. Shari'ah rules on civic and criminal legislation are presented in orations—especially in those by Muḥammad—as part of the pious counsel, and these are discussed in Chapter Nine.

Under the umbrella categories of piety and obedience, orators also enjoin their audience to follow the Qur'an and the example of the Prophet. 'Alī encourages people to ask God for guidance and take God's words to heart.³³ 'Umar exhorts his listeners to "study the Qur'an and act according to its guidance."³⁴ Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik censures the world then says, "Take God's book as your leader. Accept its judgment. Make it your guide. It abrogates what came before it, and will not be abrogated by another book that comes after. The Qur'an crushes Satan's trickery just as the light of the morning disperses the gloom of the darkest night."³⁵ Urging audiences to follow the model of the Prophet, orators often discourse on Muḥammad's role as a guide, as an exam-

33 App. § 31.57.

34 Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:58. See also App. § 140.2 ('Umar), § 31.2 ('Alī).

35 App. § 128.1.

ple to be followed in leading a godly life. They also reference other prophets, including Moses, Jesus, and David, as paradigms for good.³⁶

To set up their pious counsel, orators occasionally touch upon points of theology. Advising listeners to focus on the hereafter, they assure them that God did not create them without a purpose—"to no avail"—and they should not waste their time in this world. After being created, they were not "left loose," and "should not squander their lives."³⁷ They had been "created for eternal life" and not "for annihilation."³⁸ Humans should be conscious of God, and perform good deeds, in order to become deserving of his reward in the hereafter.³⁹ Orators also expound on major points of theology, particularly 'Alī and the Mu'tazilites on the oneness of God, and Khārijites on the grave sinner; these are discussed further in Chapter Nine.

Although omitting the Qur'anic term *taqwā*, themes of piety are also attributed in the pre-Islamic period to Muḥammad's forebears: Ka'b ibn Luwayy (7th-generation forebear), Hāshim (great-grandfather), 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (grandfather, d. ca. 579AD), and Abū Ṭālib (uncle, d. 620AD). Keepers of the Ka'bah in Mecca, they exhort their Quraysh tribe to be truthful, fulfill pledges, and revere the sacred house. They urge them to be generous in providing provisions for Hajj pilgrims.⁴⁰

1.2 *Imminence of Death*

The second of the sermon of pious counsel's thematic building blocks is human mortality (*al-tadhkīr bi-l-mawt*). Almost all texts of this sermon type contain reminders of the inexorable approach of death. Mirroring the classic formula "I counsel you to piety," orators sometimes also say, "I counsel you to think about death" (أوصيكم بذكر الموت).⁴¹

The pre-Islamic sermon set up the theme of death with snapshot images of the cosmos as a magnificent yet ominous backdrop to the insignificance of human endeavor. This approach reflects the nomadic lifestyle of those Arabians, who, in their wanderings in search of pasture, were acutely aware of the change of seasons, the movement of the stars, and lifecycles on earth. Nature imagery was discussed at length in Chapter Three and Ma'mūn al-Ḥārithī's sermon was cited there. Similar to the pronouncements of the soothsayers,

36 App. § 31.47, § 31.50, § 31.51, § 31.58, and *passim* ('Alī).

37 App. § 31.5. This was 'Alī's typical counsel according to Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, 1:39.

38 App. § 31.43, § 31.38 ('Alī). See T. Qutbuddin, "Sermons of 'Alī," § 4.1, 4.5. Ḥajjāj: App. § 51.15.

39 App. § 31.59 ('Alī), § 139.15 ('Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz).

40 App. § 70.1, § 57.1, § 57.2 § 9.1, § 25.1, § 25.2.

41 App. § 31.42 ('Alī).

Ma'mūn and other pre-Islamic pious-counsel orators most often evoked nature to connect their audience with the cosmos. But the archetypal example of the pre-Islamic sermon of pious counsel is the piece attributed to Quss ibn Sā'idah al-Iyādī, described by scholars as either an Abrahamic monotheist or a Christian bishop of Najrān.⁴² Hailed by Jāḥiẓ as "orator of the Arabs,"⁴³ and by Mas'ūdī as "wise man of the Arabs,"⁴⁴ medieval scholars hold up Quss as a model of eloquence and wisdom.⁴⁵ The sermon was reportedly delivered from the back of a red camel at Mecca's annual 'Ukāẓ market, and was personally witnessed by the young man who was to become the Prophet of Islam, whose presence at some point apparently made an impression on the orator: the 7th/13th-century Ṭayyibī dā'ī 'Alī ibn Muḥammad states that Quss professed belief in Muḥammad's messengership before its formal proclamation.⁴⁶ The sermon contains two distinct sections: an opening unit with framing cosmic imagery, and a main part reminding the audience of the imminence of death. Following is the text in its earliest version, as given by Jāḥiẓ (the two lines and the five verses in parentheses are added from the version of Jāḥiẓ's contemporary, Sijistānī; Jāḥiẓ himself cites the verses as a separate text):⁴⁷

People! Gather around, listen and retain! أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اجْتَمِعُوا وَاسْمَعُوا.

Whoever lives dies. Whoever dies is lost. Every- مَنْ عَاشَ مَاتَ وَمَنْ مَاتَ فَاتَ وَكُلُّ مَا هُوَ
thing that could happen will. أَتَى أَتَ.

[Truly, there are messages in the earth. There are [إِنَّ فِي السَّمَاءِ نَجْمًا وَإِنَّ فِي الْأَرْضِ لَعِبْرًا.]
lessons in the sky.] Firm signs. Rain and plants. آيَاتٌ مُحْكَمَاتٌ مَطَرٌ وَنَبَاتٌ وَأَبَاءٌ وَأُمَّهَاتٌ
Fathers and mothers. One who goes and one who وَذَاهِبٌ وَأَتَى. ضَوْءٌ وَظِلَامٌ وَبَرٌّ وَأَثَامٌ
comes. Light and darkness. Piety and sin. A gar- وَلِبَاسٌ وَمَرْكَبٌ وَمَطْعَمٌ وَمَشْرَبٌ وَنَجْمٌ
ment and a mount. Food and drink. Stars that
rise and set. Seas that do not dry out. A firma-

42 See works on Quss by Rabī'ī, Dziekan, and Chraibi. See also Cheikho, *Naṣṣ-rānīyyah*, 75, 121 and *passim*.

43 (خطيب العرب): Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:52; Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. "KhṬB". For praise of Quss's oratory, see Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:42, 43, 45 and *passim*, and entry on Quss in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, 7:253–256.

44 (حكيم العرب): Mas'ūdī, 1:79.

45 "More eloquent than Quss" (أَبْلَغُ مِنْ قُسٍّ), "more articulate than Quss" (أَقْوَلُ مِنْ قُسٍّ), and "wiser than Quss" (أَحْكَمُ مِنْ قُسٍّ) grew to be standard maxims (Maydānī, 1:302; Sijistānī, 124, citing the poets Ḥuṭay'ah and A'shā Banī Qays).

46 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, 2:94, 109.

47 App. § 105.1.

ment elevated. An earth laid out. A dark night. A sky with zodiacal signs.

تمور وبحور لا تغور وسقف مرفوع ومهاد
موضوع وليل داج وسماء ذات أبراج.

Where do people go and why do they never return? Have they been given satisfaction and chosen to reside? Or have they been confined and compelled to sleep?

ما لي أرى الناس يموتون ولا يرجعون
أرضوا فأقاموا أم حبسوا فناموا.

نَمِّ الْقُرُونِ لَنَا بَصَائِرَ	إِنِّي الدَّاهِبِينَ الْأَوَّلِينَ
لِلْمَوْتِ لَيْسَ لَهَا مَصَادِرَ	لَمَّا رَأَيْتُ مَوَارِدًا
يَمُضِي الْأَصَاغِرُ وَالْأَكْبَرُ	وَرَأَيْتُ قَوْمِي نَحْوَهَا
يَبْقَى مِنَ الْبَاقِينَ غَايِرَ	لَا يَرْجِعُ الْمَاضِي وَلَا
لَهُ حَيْثُ صَارَ الْقَوْمُ صَائِرَ	أَيَقْنْتُ أَنِّي لَا مَحَا

[Departed folks of eons past provide us with a lesson.

Death's watering holes permit no return.

My people go there young and old,

Never come back, never return.

I too—without a doubt—will go where they have gone.]

The Islamic sermon shifts gear, moving to an emphasis on the hereafter. Its focus remains on death, but as an inevitable lead into the afterlife. It shares with the pre-Islamic world a sharp awareness of nature, but now, this theme is presented in an Islamic ethos of piety, obedience to God, good deeds and accountability, and the reality of the next world. The message hammered in urgently, time and again, is that it is important to be fully conscious of the imminence of death, for then you will prepare for its coming.⁴⁸ Muḥammad speaks of death in one sermon, followed with pious counsel:⁴⁹

48 App. § 31.60.

49 App. § 90.12; single lines of this sermon are cited in Qudā'ī, *Shihāb*, § 3.35 and § 3.36. The sermon is attributed to 'Alī in Raḍī, *Nahj*, saying § 123, 653; cited and discussed in T. Qutbuddin, "Contemplations" 341–342, and "Sermons of 'Alī," 217–218. Another excerpt of a sermon by Muḥammad warning of imminent death is cited in Ya'qūbī, 2:90.

We behave as though death were decreed for everyone other than ourselves, as though duties were incumbent upon everyone other than ourselves, as though people who die in front of our eyes are travelers who will soon return. We consign their bodies to the grave and then go on to consume their wealth—forgetting every counselor and shrugging off every tragedy.

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ كَأَنَّ الْمَوْتَ عَلَى غَيْرِنَا كَتَبَ
وَكَأَنَّ الْحَقَّ عَلَى غَيْرِنَا وَجِبَ وَكَأَنَّ الَّذِينَ
يَشِيعُونَ مِنَ الْأَمْوَاتِ سَفَرٌ عَمَّا قَلِيلَ إِلَيْنَا
رَاجِعُونَ نَبُوءُهُمْ أَجْدَانُهُمْ وَأَنَا كُلُّ تَرَاثِمِهِمْ
كَأَنَّا مُخَلَّدُونَ بَعْدَهُمْ قَدْ نَسِينَا كُلَّ وَاعِظَةٍ
وَأَمَّا كُلُّ جَائِحَةٍ.

Blessed are those whose faults distract them from the faults of others, who spend their wealth without disobeying God and are compassionate, who spend time with the humble and the poor, and who associate with the sensible and the wise.

طُوبَى لِمَنْ شَغَلَهُ عَيْبُهُ عَنْ عَيْبِ النَّاسِ
وَأَنْفَقَ مَالًا أَكْتَسَبَهُ مِنْ غَيْرِ مَعْصِيَةٍ وَرَحِمَ
وَصَاحِبَ أَهْلِ الذَّلِّ وَالْمُسْكِنَةَ وَخَالَطَ أَهْلَ
الْفَقْهِ وَالْحِكْمَةِ.

Blessed are those who possess humble hearts and beautiful character, who have pure intentions, and from whom no one need fear evil, and who find our established practice gives them enough latitude and do not transgress into heresy.

طُوبَى لِمَنْ أَذَلَّ نَفْسَهُ وَحَسَنَتْ خَلِيقَتَهُ
وَصَلَحَتْ سِرِّيَّتُهُ وَعَزَلَ عَنِ النَّاسِ شَرَّهُ
وَوَسَعَتْهُ السُّنَّةُ وَلَمْ يَبْعُدْهَا إِلَى الْبِدْعَةِ.

In keeping with the lifeworld orientation of an oral society, death is described in graphic images. Sharing the imagery of poetry, the orator personifies death as a predator closing in for the kill. 'Alī's warning is conveyed using the following metaphor: "Know that death's gaze is homing in on you. It is as though its claws have already sunk into you ... sever your ties to this world, and prepare provisions of piety!"⁵⁰ Elsewhere, death is embodied as a "destroyer of pleasures." 'Alī again says to his audience "Truly, death will destroy your pleasures, muddy your desires, and put your goals out of reach."⁵¹ Another image of death is a hunter for whose unerring arrows humans are targets.⁵² Using a no less striking inanimate image, Ḥajjāj tells his audience that "death [like sins described similarly

اعلموا أن ملاحظ المنيّة نحوكم دانية وكأنكم بخالبها وقد نشبت فيكم ... فقطّعوا علائق الدنيا وأستظفروا) 50
App. § 31.61. (يزاد التقوى

51 App. § 31.53. (فإن الموت هادم لذاتكم ومكدر شهواتكم ومباعد طياتكم)

52 App. § 31.62; App. § 31.63 ('Alī).

earlier] is a chain around your neck”⁵³—attached to each one, impossible to break away from—for it is our inevitable destiny as living beings to die.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, orators frequently frame their discourse of death with *ubi sunt* (Latin: “Where are they?”), a technique also seen in the Qur’an and, to a lesser extent, in pre-Islamic poetry.⁵⁴ Employing disturbing images and a string of rhetorical questions, more than a few orators—Abū Bakr, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, Ḥajjāj, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, and famously and lengthily Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’ (cited in full earlier)—exhort the audience to think about generations gone before who live no longer, the proud tribes of ‘Ād and Thamūd, of whom no trace remains, powerful kings and rulers who have exchanged their jeweled thrones for hard earth, and the audience’s own fathers and mothers whose bodies now “rot in the earth.”⁵⁵ The Prophet’s companion Abū l-Dardā’ voices a typical *ubi sunt* sermon:⁵⁶

People of Damascus, listen to your brother, your well-wisher! What is it with you? You gather what you shall not eat, build what you shall not inhabit, and hope for what you shall not gain. Others came before you, who gathered in abundance, who built massive edifices, and hoped for many things. They all died. Their fields turned fallow, their homes became graves, and their hopes were all overturned. Listen and pay heed! ‘Ād and Thamūd had abundant wealth, children, and cattle. They thronged the land between Busra and Aden. Who will give me two silver coins for what they left behind?

أما بعد يا أهل دمشق أسمعوا مقالة أخ لكم
ناصح. فإياكم تجمعون ما لا تأكلون وتبنون
ما لا تسكنون وتأملون ما لا تدركون. وقد
كان من كان قبلكم جمعوا كثيراً وبنوا
شديداً وأملوا بعيداً وماتوا قريباً فأصبحت
أعمالهم بوراً ومسكنهم قبوراً وأملهم
غروراً. ألا وإن عاداً وثموداً كانوا قد ملأوا
ما بين بصرى وعدن أموالاً وأولاداً ونعماً
فمن يشتري مني ما تركوا بدرهمين.

53 (الموت في أعناقكم): App. § 51.14.

54 E.g., Qur’an: Q Ḥāqqah 69:4–8; Ibrāhīm 14:9–17, Ḥajj 22:42–45. Pre-Islamic poetry: *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, § 44, 215–220; see Ghassan el Masri, “The Qur’an and the Character of Pre-Islamic Poetry,” 107–113, in which he discusses the Ode in D of the pre-Islamic poet al-Aswad ibn Ya’fur al-Nahshalī and its *ubi sunt* verses.

55 App. § 31.58 (‘Alī); more in Raḍī, 101, 169, 219–220, 280, 470, and *passim*. On ‘Alī’s *ubi sunt* and the pre-Islamic context, see T. Qutbuddin, “Sermons of ‘Alī”. App. § 15.3, § 15.4, § 15.8 (Abū Bakr). § 146.2 (‘Uthmān). § 51.12 (Ḥajjāj). § 139.10 (‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz). § 151.1 (Wāṣil).

56 App. § 16.1. Part ascribed to Muḥammad in Quḍā’ī, *Shihāb*, § 3.17.

Less common than *ubi sunt* but extensively described nonetheless are descriptions of the process of dying and its aftermath. ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz describes these conditions thus:⁵⁷

Soon enough all of you will be dead. You have seen the conditions of the dying person when his soul is ripped out, and immediately after it has left the body, when the man has tasted death. You have seen his family all around him saying, “He’s dead, God have mercy on him.” You have seen how they rush to remove him and distribute his property. His visage is lost, his name forgotten, his door no longer sought. It is as though he never had any loyal friends, nor lived amongst them in their abode. So beware the terror of that day in which not even a mote’s worth of weighed deeds (the tiniest of sins), will be deemed paltry!

وكلّ أموات عن قريب. وقد رأيتم حالات
الميت وهو يسوق وبعد فراغه وقد ذاق
الموت والقوم حوله يقولون قد فرغ رحمه
الله وعانيتم تعجيل إخراجِه وقسمة تراثه.
ووجهه مفقود وذكره منسيّ وبابه مهجور
كأن لم يخالط إخوان الحفاظ ولم يعمر
الديار فأتقوا هول يوم لا يحقر فيه مثقال
ذرة في الموازين.

‘Alī, in even more chilling detail, discourses on the various, terrifying stages of death:⁵⁸

[The complacent man] pays no heed to God’s warnings, takes no counsel from his lessons. All the while, he sees the heedless abruptly taken to a place from which there is no return. He sees the terror they had denied descend upon them. He sees them leaving the world in which they had taken comfort. He sees them moved to the afterlife, just as they had been warned.

لا ينزجر من الله بزاجر ولا يتعظ منه بواعظ
وهو يرى المأخوذِين على الغرة حيث لا
إقالة ولا رجعة كيف نزل بهم ما كانوا
يجهلون وجاءهم من فراق الدنيا ما كانوا
يأمنون وقدموا من الآخرة على ما كانوا
يوعدون.

The horror that descends upon the dying person is beyond words. The anguished convulsions of death and the remorseful pangs of loss together bear down upon him. His extremities begin to

فغير موصوف ما نزل بهم. اجتمعت عليهم
سكرة الموت وحسرة الفوت ففترت لها
أطرافهم وتغيّرت لها ألوانهم. ثم آزداد

⁵⁷ App. § 139.11.

⁵⁸ App. § 31.63.

lose feeling, and his color changes. Then death enters further, and blocks him from speech.

He lies among his family, seeing them with his eyes, hearing them with his ears, still able to discern, still able to understand. He can think only about his wasted life and squandered time. He remembers the wealth he has amassed, licit and illicit, from honest sources and shady ones. The sins he has accrued now weigh him down, when he is about to leave everything behind. The people who live after him will enjoy his wealth. Its gratification will be for another, while the burden will be on his back. His debt has come due for payment. He gnaws on his knuckles, regretting the misdeeds that are now crystal clear to him. He cares little now for the things he craved all the days of his life. He wishes that the person who envied him his wealth and coveted his property had gotten it all!

Death continues to penetrate his body until it pierces his hearing. Now he lies among his family, his tongue unable to speak, his ears unable to hear. His eyes go from one face to another. He sees their tongues moving, but cannot hear their words.

Then death increases its grip on him. His sight is taken, just like his hearing. His soul leaves his body. He turns into a carcass lying among his family. They recoil from him in fear, and back away. He cannot console those who weep, or answer those who call out.

الموت فيهم ولوجاً خفيل بين أحدهم وبين منطقته.

وإنه لبين أهله ينظر ببصره ويسمع بأذنه على صحة من عقله وبقاء من لبه يفكر فيم أفنى عمره وفيم أذهب دهره. ويتذكر أموالاً جمعها أغمض في مطالها وأخذها من مصراتها ومشتبهاتها قد لزمته تبعات جمعها وأشرف على فراقها تبقى لمن وراءه ينعمون فيها ويتمتعون بها فيكون المهنأ لغيره والعبء على ظهره والمرء قد غلقت رهونه بها. فهو بعض يده ندامة على ما أصحله عند الموت من أمره ويزهد فيما كان يرغب فيه أيام عمره ويتنّى أن الذي كان يغبطه بها ويحسده عليها قد حازها دونه.

فلم يزل الموت يبالغ في جسده حتى خالط سمعه فصار بين أهله لا ينطق بلسانه ولا يسمع بسمعه يردّد طرفه بالنظر في وجوههم يرى حركات ألسنتهم ولا يسمع رجع كلامهم.

ثم ازداد الموت ألتباطاً به فقبض بصره كما قبض سمعه وخرجت الروح من جسده فصار جيفة بين أهله قد أوحشوا من جانبه وتباعدوا من قربه لا يسعد باكياً ولا يجيب داعياً.

Then they carry him to a grave marked with lines ثُمَّ حَمَلُوهُ إِلَى مَخْطٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَأَسْلَمُوهُ فِيهِ
in the earth. They give him over to his deeds, and
cease to visit. إِلَى عَمَلِهِ وَأَنْتَقِطَعُوا عَنْ زَوْرَتِهِ.

Although warnings of the impending end are a staple in all sermons of pious counsel, some situations generate particularly apposite contexts for musings on death. Among these are speeches delivered during battle. In order to motivate fighters to put their lives on the line, orators declare that humans are destined to die one and all, whether in bed or on the battlefield.⁵⁹ Burial orations produced by male and female orators in the context of someone's death are another set of speeches that—in addition to praising the deceased and praying for him⁶⁰—focus on death. The plague during the Muslim conquest of Syria generated a cluster of speeches, including one by Mu'adh ibn Jabal mourning the demise of the commander Abū 'Ubaydah; this oration speaks of the inevitability of death, and exhorts the audience to repent of their sins.⁶¹ Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik in mourning his father, expounds on the inescapability of God's will and the reality of death, as does Ḥajjāj for 'Abd al-Malik, and 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr for his brother, Muṣ'ab.⁶²

1.3 *This World and the Hereafter*

The last of the three major themes of the sermon of pious counsel is censure of this world, combined with praise for the heavenly abode (*al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirah*). Like injunctions to piety and warnings of death, this is an umbrella topic that permeates and frames pious counsel orations.⁶³ Usually condemnation of this world is employed as a thematic foil for highlighting the value of the hereafter. The purpose behind the trenchant criticisms of materialism—whether stated or implied—is to energize the audience to think long term, really long term, beyond the end of this life and into the next, to prepare for the inevitable and eternal hereafter.

Sometimes, an orator directly urges mindfulness of the hereafter, as does Muḥammad in the following sermon:⁶⁴

59 'Alī (إِنَّ الْمَوْتَ لَا يَفُوتُهُ مَقِيمٌ وَلَا يَعْجِزُهُ الْهَارِبُ ...): App. § 31.8.

60 E.g., App. § 89.1 (eulogy by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah for his half-brother Ḥasan ibn 'Alī); § 139.13 (prayer by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz for his son); App. § 49.1 § 21.1, § 98.1 (eulogies by the first three Sunni caliphs' daughters for their fathers, and for 'Uthmān also by his wife Nā'ilah); § 116.1 (eulogy by Ṣafīyyah bint Hishām for her cousin Aḥnaf ibn Qays).

61 App. § 82.3.

62 App. § 149.1, § 51.11, § 7.4.

63 § 31.4, § 31.35, § 31.52 ('Alī).

64 App. § 90.5.

People, signposts have been given to you, so follow them. A destination has been mapped out for you, so walk toward it. Truly, God's servant is in constant terror thinking about an age that has passed, knowing not what God will rule about it, and an age that remains, knowing not what God has destined for it. Let each of you gather supplies through your own efforts for your own soul, from your world for your afterlife, from your youth before the onset of old age, and from your life before the arrival of death. I swear by the God who holds my life in his hand that no repentance will be accepted after death, and no abode will be offered after this world except paradise and hellfire.

آيها الناس إنَّ لكم معالم فآنتهوا إلى معالمكم
وإنَّ لكم نهاية فآنتهوا إلى نهايتكم. فإنَّ العبد
بين مخافتين أجل قد مضى لا يدري ما الله
فاعل فيه وأجل باق لا يدري ما الله قاض
فيه. فليأخذ العبد من نفسه لنفسه ومن
دنياه لآخرته ومن الشبيبة قبل الكبر ومن
الحياة قبل الممات. فوالذي نفس محمد بيده
ما بعد الموت من مستعتب ولا بعد الدنيا
من دار إلا الجنة أو النار.

Mostly, however, orators use the bulk of their words to censure the world. Three intersecting approaches are employed by the early orators: criticism of the world (*dhamm*), warnings against its deficiencies and dangers (*tahdhīr*), and exhortations to abjure materialism (*tazhīd*).⁶⁵ Three sets of descriptive motifs are also prominent: this world is an abode that will perish, a substanceless shadow; its conditions are always in a state of change, inherently unstable; and it is tainted—never fully clean and wholesome, but rather, some bad is always mixed in with any good. A sermon by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz provides a typical characterization of this world that focuses on the first motif listed here, the world's eventual end:⁶⁶

The world is not the abode of permanence—
God has decreed its annihilation, and its peoples' departure. How quickly does the animated dwelling become a ruin! How quickly is the cheerful resident forced to vacate! May God have mercy on you! Make preparations for a comfortable departure. «Gather your supplies—and the best of provisions is piety.» The world is a swiftly receding shade that will soon disappear.

إنَّ الدنيا ليست بدار قرار. دار كتب الله
عليها الفناء وكتب على أهلها منها الطعن.
فكم عامر موثق عمّا قليل يخرب وكم مقيم
مغتبط عمّا قليل يظعن. فأحسنوا رحمكم الله
منها الرحلة بأحسن ما يحضركم من النقلة.
﴿وَرَوِّدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ التَّقْوَى﴾. إنما
الدنيا كفيء ظلال قلص فذهب.

65 App. § 31.79, § 31.81.

66 App. § 139.5.

The son of Adam continues to compete for worldly goods. He is in high spirits here! God will abruptly summon him to answer fate's call. He will hurl them down with inexorable finality on the day that is written for his death. God will plunder his traces, his home, his world, and give over to others his workshop and his residence. The world does not please as much as it harms. It pleases for a short while, and bequeaths a long time of grief.

بيناً ابن آدم في الدنيا منافس وبها قرير عين
إذ دعاه الله بقدره ورماه بيوم حتفه فسلبه
آثاره ودياره ودنياه وصير لقوم آخرين
مصانعه ومغناه. إن الدنيا لا تسرّ بقدر ما
تضرّ إنها تسرّ قليلاً وتجرّ حزناً طويلاً.

Common images of the world are a lush garden, appealing to the senses yet in reality abhorrent; a seductress, deceptive and disloyal; a place of trials and tribulations, where humans are forever beset by physical and emotional troubles—caustic descriptions using these images are found in sermons by Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Qaṭarī.⁶⁷ Censure of the world is a particularly prominent motif in the many sermons of pious counsel given by 'Alī.⁶⁸ Characterizing this life as totally insignificant, he says “Let the world be smaller in your eyes than the pods of a spiny acacia shrub and woolfluff floating off a pair of shears as they clip”; he calls it a “decaying carcass,” and “deceiver of its people”; elsewhere he describes it as “a ghoulish devourer.”⁶⁹ He details its trials and changing conditions thus: “It is a place encircled with trials, known for its deception. Its conditions are never stable, its residents never safe. Its conditions change, its times shift. Life in it is vile, safety absent. Its people are targets; it shoots them with its arrows, and annihilates them with death.”⁷⁰ Moreover, whatever people obtain from it of worldly goods must be left behind and accounted for in the hereafter. Sustenance, he says, is apportioned by one's destiny, so one should be content with one's lot; why envy those who have more? With a rhetorical throwing up of his hands, he says “What can I say to you of an abode that begins in weariness and ends in death. You

67 App. § 128.1, § 56.2, § 102.1.

68 See T. Qutbuddin, “Contemplations,” *passim*.

69 (جيفة مريخة): App. § 31.65; (فلتكن الدنيا أصغر في أعينكم من حثالة القرظ وقراضة الجلم): App. § 31.63, § 31.64; (غرارة بأهلها): Minqarī, 10; (حلو خضرة أكالة غوالة): App. § 31.66.

70 (دار بالبلاء محفوفة وبالغدر معروفة لا تدوم أحوالها ولا يسلم نزالها أحوال مختلفة وتارات متصرفة العيش (فيها مذموم والأمان فيها معدوم وإنما أهلها فيها لأغراض مستهدفة ترميهم بسهامها وتفتنهم بحمامها): App. § 31.53.

are accountable for using what is lawful in it and punishable for using what is unlawful. The wealthy are seduced and the poor grieve. It escapes those who try to catch it and comes willingly to those who ignore it. It instructs those who view it with perception and blinds those who look at it with longing.”⁷¹

Orators advocate the repudiation of gross materialism by practicing *zuhd* (or *zahādah*; the term for its advocacy, *tazhīd*, was mentioned earlier). Those who practice *zuhd* are called *zuhhād* (sing. *zāhid*), and orators praise them lavishly.⁷² They explain that *zuhd* is comprised of “short hopes” in worldly things, gratitude for God’s bounties, and restraint when tempted by sinful acts. Even if the audience cannot achieve all of this entirely, they are enjoined to stay away at the very least from forbidden acts, such as murder, stealing, drinking, and adultery.⁷³ The opposite of *zuhd* inheres in possessing “long hopes”: In a typical sermon, ‘Alī cautions, “Truly, I fear your pursuit of whimsical desires and long hopes. Pursuit of whimsical desires stops you from seeing the truth. Long hopes make you forget the hereafter.”⁷⁴

Translated often as “asceticism,” *zuhd* is a rejection of worldliness rather than of the world itself. Although ‘Alī advises his audience to “reject this world, which itself is going to reject you soon,”⁷⁵ he actually is rebuking those who are immersed in worldly hopes to the exclusion of the hereafter.⁷⁶ This contention is borne out by ‘Alī’s 180-degree shift in tone when the context is altered. In startling contrast to his censorious characterization of the world in most of his sermons, in just a few pieces attributed to him we see a vigorous defense of this world, even praise for it. The following is an excerpt from a widely cited example recorded in several early sources, framed as a strongly worded retort to a man whom ‘Alī overheard criticizing this world:⁷⁷

71 App. § 31.67, § 31.4, (ما أصف من دار أولها عناء وآخرها فناء في حلالها حساب وفي حرامها عقاب) من أستغنى فيها فتن ومن افتقر فيها حزن ومن ساعاها فائته ومن قعد عنها وائته ومن أبصر بها بصرتة ومن (أبصر لها أمته App. § 31.82.

72 App. § 31.68 (‘Alī), § 56.1 (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī).

73 App. § 31.70 (‘Alī).

74 آيها الناس إن أخوف ما أخاف عليكم اثنتان آتيا الهوى وطول الأمل فأما آتيا الهوى فيصد عن الحق (وأما طول الأمل فينسي الآخرة App. § 31.11.

75 (أوصيكم عباد الله بالرفض لهذه الدنيا التاركة لكم App. § 31.69.

76 See T. Qutbuddin, “Contemplations,” *passim*.

77 App. § 31.9.

O you who reproach this world while being so willingly deceived by her deceptions and tricked by her falsehoods! Do you choose to be deceived by her yet censure her? Should you be accusing her, or should she be accusing you?! When did she lure you or deceive? Was it by her destruction of your father and grandfather and great grandfather through decay? Or by her consigning your mother and grandmother and great grandmother to the earth? How carefully did your palms tend them! How tenderly did your hands nurse them! Hoping against hope for a cure, begging physician after physician for a medicament. On that fateful morning, your medicines did not suffice them, your weeping did not help, and your apprehension was of no benefit. Your appeal remained unanswered, and you could not push death away from them, although you applied all your strength. By this, the world warned you of your own approaching end. She illustrated by their death your own.

أيها الدائم للدنيا المغترّ بغورها المخدوع
بأباطيلها أتغترّ بالدنيا ثمّ تذمّها. أنت المتجرّم
عليها أم هي المتجرّمة عليك. متى آسوتوك
أم متى غرتك. أمصارع آبائك من البلى
أم بمضاجع أمهاتك تحت الثرى. كم علّت
بكفّيك وكم مرضت يديك تبغي لهم الشفاء
وتستوصف لهم الأطباء غداة لا يغني عنهم
دواؤك ولا يجدي عليهم بكاؤك. لم ينفع
أحدهم إشفافك ولم تسعف فيه بطلبتك ولم
تدفع عنهم بقوتك. قد مثّلت لك به الدنيا
نفسك وبصره مصرعك.

Indeed, this world is a house of truth for those who stay true to her, a house of wellbeing for those who understand her, a house of riches for those who gather her provisions, a house of counsel for those who take her advice. She is a mosque for God's loved ones, a place where God's angels pray, where God's revelation alights, where God's saints transact, earning his mercy and profiting paradise.

إنّ الدنيا دار صدق لمن صدقها ودار عافية
لمن فهم عنها ودار غنى لمن تزوّد منها ودار
موعظة لمن اتّعظ بها. مسجد أحبّاء الله
ومصلّى ملائكة الله ومهبط وحي الله ومتجر
أولياء الله أكتسبوا فيها الرحمة وربحوا فيها
الجنة.

When 'Alī is censuring the world, he is criticizing certain aspects of human nature that are base. He is addressing an audience that is immersed in worldliness at the expense of the hereafter. His response to gross materialism is to point out the insignificance of the world and its ultimate destruction. When he is defending this world, he is addressing an audience whose members are implicitly disclaiming responsibility for their immorality by blaming the world. His response to their disclaimer is to point out to them that the world is merely an arena for performing one's actions, and the choice as to how we use the

world, for good or for bad ends, is entirely ours. This notion is clarified further in a written epistle of counsel that he wrote to his stepson Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr when he dispatched him to be governor of Egypt. Moving away from his usual strong criticisms of worldly pleasures, he empties this piece of the slightest whiff of asceticism. Similar to the Qur'anic verse "Through the blessings that God has granted you, seek the abode of the hereafter, but do not forget to enjoy your share of this world,"⁷⁸ 'Alī's letter explicitly praises good living as long, as it is accompanied by godliness.⁷⁹

The pious partake of the joys of this world and those of the next. They share the world with the worldly, but the worldly do not get to share the hereafter with them. In this world, they reside in the most splendid of residences and consume the finest of delicacies. They possess the sumptuous comforts of the wealthy and partake of the lavish luxuries of the mighty. Yet, when they depart, they leave with full provisions and a large profit.

وَأَعْلَمُوا عِبَادَ اللَّهِ أَنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ ذَهَبُوا بِعَاجِلِ
الدُّنْيَا وَآجِلِ الْآخِرَةِ فَشَارَكُوا أَهْلَ الدُّنْيَا فِي
دُنْيَاهُمْ وَلَمْ يَشَارِكْهُمْ أَهْلُ الدُّنْيَا فِي آخِرَتِهِمْ
سَكَنُوا الدُّنْيَا بِأَفْضَلِ مَا سَكَنْتُمْ وَأَكَلُواهَا
بِأَفْضَلِ مَا أَكَلْتُمْ فَخَفَضُوا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا بِمَا حَظُّهُمْ
بِهِ الْمُتَرَفُّونَ وَأَخَذُوا مِنْهَا مَا أَخَذَهُ الْجَبَّارَةُ
الْمُتَكَبِّرُونَ ثُمَّ انْقَلَبُوا عَنْهَا بِالزَّادِ الْمُبْلَغِ وَالْمَتَجَرِّ
الرَّاجِعِ.

This world and the hereafter are almost always staged as diametrical opposites, and an antithetical and parallel listing of their contrasting characteristics in a sermon by 'Alī highlights the dichotomy.⁸⁰ Another sermon attributed to 'Alī by Jāḥiẓ and Raḍī (and to Saḥbān Wā'il by Mubarrad, and an unnamed Bedouin by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih), characterizes the world as the place where you are tested and the hereafter as the place for which you are created, as the place of transience versus the place of stability.⁸¹ This last antithetical pair is particularly common, as in 'Alī's lines, "In a short while, it will be as though this world never was, and as though the hereafter has already occurred. All that will come is at hand."⁸²

78 ﴿وَابْتَغِ فِيمَا آتَاكَ اللَّهُ الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ وَلَا تَنْسَ نَصِيبَكَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا﴾ Q Qaṣaṣ 28:77.

79 App. § 31.83.

80 App. § 31.3.

81 App. § 31.74, § 117.1, § 43.1.

82 وَكَأَنَّ مَا هُوَ كَائِنٌ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا عَنْ قَلِيلٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ وَكَأَنَّ مَا هُوَ كَائِنٌ مِنَ الْآخِرَةِ عَمَّا قَلِيلٍ لَمْ يَزَلْ وَكُلُّ مَا هُوَ (آت قريب App. § 31.71).

Comparing this world and the hereafter in a different combination, the Companion Shaddād ibn Aws simultaneously compares paradise and hellfire:⁸³

Listen and pay heed! Truly the world offers a ready feast from which both the upright and the profligate consume. Listen and pay heed! Truly the hereafter is a true promise, its distribution by decree of the omnipotent king. Listen and pay heed! Truly all good, and everything connected to it, is in paradise. Listen and pay heed! Truly all evil, and everything connected to it, is in the fire. Know that the register of your deeds will be shown to God. «Whoever performs a mote's worth of good shall see it. Whoever performs a mote's worth of evil shall see it.»⁸⁴ May God forgive our sins.

أَلَا إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا عَرَضٌ حَاضِرٌ كُلِّ مِمَّا الْبَرِّ
وَالْفَاجِرِ. أَلَا إِنَّ الْآخِرَةَ وَعْدٌ صَادِقٌ يَحْكُمُ
فِيهَا مَلِكٌ قَادِرٌ. أَلَا إِنَّ الْخَيْرَ كُلَّهُ بِحِذَافِيرِهِ
فِي الْجَنَّةِ. أَلَا إِنَّ الشَّرَّ كُلَّهُ بِحِذَافِيرِهِ فِي
النَّارِ. فَاعْمَلُوا مَا عَمَلْتُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ فِي يَقِينٍ مِنَ
اللَّهِ. وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّكُمْ مَعْرُوضَةٌ أَعْمَالُكُمْ عَلَى اللَّهِ.
﴿فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ ۖ وَمَنْ
يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ ۖ﴾. وَغَفَرَ اللَّهُ
لَنَا وَلَكُمْ.

A familiar metaphor advocating preparation for the hereafter is gathering provisions for a journey. As mentioned in passing earlier, the journey image is prominent in the Qur'an, for example in the verse "Guide us to the straight path" ﴿أَهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ﴾.⁸⁵ Expanding this idea, orators declare that life in this world is a temporary halting place from which the intelligent gather supplies for the final voyage. 'Alī says, "Take provisions in this world, from this world, with which you can protect your souls tomorrow."⁸⁶ Elsewhere, he says "Gather provisions in the days that are coming to an end, for the days that are going to remain. Indeed, you have been guided to provisions, commanded to depart, and encouraged to journey. You are a caravan of people who have been halted, who do not know when they will be directed to begin the journey."⁸⁷ 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz states, "Indeed, each journey calls for provisions, so gather provisions for your journey from this world to the hereafter."⁸⁸

83 App. § 126.3.

84 Q Zalzalah 99:7–8.

85 Q Fātiḥah 1:5.

86 App. § 31.59. (تَزُودُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا مَا تَحْزُونَ بِهِ أَنْفُسَكُمْ غَدًا)

87 App. § 31.43. (تَزُودُوا فِي أَيَّامِ الْفَنَاءِ لِأَيَّامِ الْبَقَاءِ قَدْ دَلَّكُمْ عَلَى الزَّادِ وَأَمَرْتُمْ بِالظُّعْنِ وَحَثَّمْتُمْ عَلَى الْمَسِيرِ فَإِنَّمَا أَنْتُمْ كَرَكَبٌ (وَقُوفٌ لَا يَدْرُونَ مَتَى يُؤْمَرُونَ بِالسَّيْرِ))

88 App. § 139.10. (إِنَّ لِكُلِّ سَفَرٍ زَادًا لَا مَحَالَةَ فَتَزُودُوا لِسَفَرِكُمْ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ)

In contrast to the world, which is described as a transitory domicile, the Muslim sages say the hereafter is your home. ‘Alī, who insists on this point, says, “What does one who is created for the hereafter want with this world! What does one whose property will soon be plundered want with gold and silver!”⁸⁹ Elsewhere he says “Listen and pay heed! This world you crave and adore, which by turn pleases and angers you, is not your home. It is not the abode for which you have been created, or to which you have been called.”⁹⁰ Yet elsewhere he says “It is in this world that you are tested. It is for another that you have been created.”⁹¹ If you have squandered your life so far, he says, take full advantage of what remains, “Make up for the past in your remaining days.”⁹² He counsels his audience to garner reward while they still have life and limb:⁹³

Perform good deeds—May God have mercy on you!—for the signposts are clear, the road is wide, and it leads to the abode of safety. You live in an abode of one who has been warned. You have been given a brief respite and some time. Registers are open, pens are writing, bodies are healthy, tongues are unfettered, repentance is being received, and deeds are being accepted.

اعملوا رحمكم الله على أعلام بيّنة فالطريق
نهج يدعو إلى دار السلام. وأنتم في دار
مستعتب على مهل وفراغ والصحف
منشورة والأقلام جارية والأبدان صحيحة
والألسن مطلقة والتوبة مسموعة والأعمال
مقبولة.

2 Thematic Interconnections, Universal Relevance, Cultural Specificities

Germane to a nuanced understanding of how these themes work are the following annotations: (1) all three themes interlock; (2) each arises from a particular historical context yet is universally relevant; and (3) each contains a myriad of culturally specific subthemes.

89 (ألا فما يصنع بالدينا من خلق للآخرة وما يصنع بالمال من عمّا قليل يسلبه) App. § 31.43.

90 ألا وإنّ هذه الدنيا التي أصبحت تتمنّونها وترغبون فيها وأصبحت تغضبكم وترضيكُم ليست بداركم ولا منزلكم (الذي خلقتم له ولا الذي دعيتُم إليه App. § 31.24.

91 (ففيها اختبرتم ولغيرها خلقتم) App. § 31.38.

92 (استدركوا بقيّة أيّامكم وأصبروا لها أنفسكم فإنّها قليل في كثير) App. § 31.54.

93 App. § 31.72.

2.1 *Interconnection of Themes*

All three major themes—piety and obedience, imminence of death, and this world and the hereafter—are interconnected, forming a symbiotic thematic field. Themes are additively presented and their subthemes are joined with conjunctives rather than subordinating prepositions, the juxtaposition providing the causal glue. Here is a typical formulation from an oration by Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, addressing his companions on the morning of the day he was killed. After a brief line exhorting piety, he expounds the following:⁹⁴

Servants of God! Remain conscious of God and beware of the world. If it could have remained as an abode for any, or if any could have remained in it, the prophets would have been the most deserving of permanent life, the most worthy to be pleased, and the most accepting of the providence ordained by God. But God has created this world for annihilation. Its newness will decay, its comforts will degrade, its happiness will turn to dark sorrow, its descent is perilous, and its abode is set up for dismantling. «Gather your supplies! And the best of provisions is piety.»⁹⁵ «Remain conscious of God, and you will learn the truth.»⁹⁶

يا عباد الله اتقوا الله وكونوا من الدنيا على
حذر. فإن الدنيا لو بقيت على أحد أو بقي
عليها أحد لكانت الأنبياء أحقّ بالبقاء
وأولى بالرضا وأرضى بالقضاء. غير أنّ
الله تعالى خلق الدنيا للفناء فجديدها بال
ونعيمها مضمحلّ وسرورها مكفهر والمنزل
تلعة والدار قلعة. ﴿وَتَزَوَّدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ
التَّقْوَى﴾ ﴿وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ﴾.

Ḥusayn’s oration presents the major themes of the sermon of pious counsel in the following sequence: Death is inevitable for all, and your life on this earth will end soon, so → focus your energies on the eternal realm and prepare for the hereafter, knowing that → the best preparation for the hereafter is piety. Other sermons begin with piety and go on to assertions about the inevitability of death, followed by censure of this world and praise of the hereafter. Yet others chart a third progression. Several combinations are found. Although most sermons of pious counsel are essentially similar in their themes, they present these themes in a myriad of sequences and groupings.

2.2 *Historical Context and Universal Relevance*

Rooted in specific events and addressing a particular group of people, sermons of pious counsel arise from particular historical contexts.⁹⁷ They articulate

94 App. § 62.6.

95 Q Baqarah 2:197.

96 Q Āl ‘Imrān 3:200.

97 Morony (467–506) devotes a chapter in his book to “Doctrines of Authority and Rebellion,”

themes that are general, but these are related to certain people and events in real time, and are placed in individual circumstances of political and military import. The context of a sermon of pious counsel by 'Alī is provided by a historical source: Ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī reports that immediately following the Battle of the Camel, 'Alī delivered an oration to the people of Kufa, expounding themes of life and death, right and wrong. The context helps explain nuances in the oration, within the universal themes that are typical of the sermon of pious counsel.⁹⁸ With this advice to think about all people's imminent death, 'Alī is chastising those Kufans who had refused to support him in the fight, who sat out the battle for fear of losing their lives and property.⁹⁹

People! Truly, I fear your pursuit of whimsical desires and lengthy yearnings. As for the pursuit of whimsical desires, it stops you from seeing the truth. And as for lengthy yearnings, they make you forget the hereafter. Listen! This world has turned away in speed, and nothing remains of it except for a residue like the residue remaining in a vessel which a pourer has emptied out. Listen! The hereafter has come forward. Each of the two has children: Be those who are children of the hereafter; do not be those who are children of this world; for children will be returned to their mothers on the Day of Resurrection. Today is the day for deeds, not reckoning, and tomorrow is the day of reckoning, not deeds.

آيها الناس إن أخوف ما أخاف عليكم
أثنان آتباع الهوى وطول الأمل فأما آتباع
الهوى فيصدّ عن الحقّ وأما طول الأمل
فينسي الآخرة. ألا وإنّ الدنيا قد ولّت
هذا فلم يبق منها إلّا صباية كصباية الإماء
أصطبها صابها. ألا وإنّ الآخرة قد أقبلت
ولكلّ منهما بنون فكونوا من أبناء الآخرة
ولا تكونوا من أبناء الدنيا فإنّ كلّ ولد
سيلحق بأمّه يوم القيامة. وإنّ اليوم عمل
ولا حساب وغدا حساب ولا عمل.

Despite their grounding in a particular historical context, most themes of pious counsel in our orations are nevertheless of universal relevance, their injunctions typically applicable to humans across divides of time and space. More than any other type of oration in the classical Arabic milieu, they address humans *qua* humans. In fact, as we have seen earlier, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī often addressed his audience as “O son of Adam!” (يَا بَنَ آدَمَ),¹⁰⁰ and 'Alī used the salutation “O human!” (آيها الإنسان).¹⁰¹ The universal content is perhaps the rea-

which includes a part on the “Politics of Piety,” and follow-up sections on the Khārijites, Shi'a, etc.

98 T. Qutbuddin, “Contemplations,” *passim*.

99 App. § 31.11.

100 App. § 56.1.

101 App. § 31.73, referencing Q Infiṭār 82:6.

son why many anthologists find the pious counsel sections of orations the most quotable, often presenting them stripped of political context, as with the two orations by ‘Alī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Sometimes the historical context is manifest within the text of the oration, even if it is not spelled out in the framing report. This is the case in Abū Ḥamzah’s oration condemning the Medinans for not supporting the Khārijite cause. But here too, the politically grounded pious counsel can be distilled into universal themes of doing good, shunning evil, and practicing sincere faith—themes that apply not only to the Muslims of Medina at that moment, but to all people at all times.¹⁰² The major themes of the pious-counsel sermon that constitute primary blocks of Islamic preaching are ones at the center of human experience.

2.3 *Culturally Specific Subthemes*

As a general rule, form is more abstract than theme, and themes are more abstract than subthemes or motifs. Conversely, subthemes or motifs are always more complex (as Theodor Wolpers has explained) and derive from particular conditions and cultures.¹⁰³ In our sermons of pious counsel, many subthemes derive from the specific cultural and literary context of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia. Subthemes showcased earlier include injunctions to perform good deeds, desist from sinning, follow the model of the Prophet, and abide by the guidance of the Qur’an and Shari‘ah. They also include fearsome descriptions of death, bitter censure of the world, and a variety of ethical and moral recommendations. The following excerpt from a sermon by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz highlights additional subthemes common to the sermon of pious counsel, including warnings against complacent expectations of a lengthy life, the inevitability of reward and punishment in the hereafter, not knowing whether one will wake up the next day or see the next night, wounds made by this world which do not heal, and making a trade with God:¹⁰⁴

All travelers must carry provisions, so gather supplies of piety from your worldly abode for your journey to the afterlife. Be like one who sees with his eyes the punishment and reward God has prepared for him. Fear the one, and hope for the other. Let not the complacent expectation of a lengthy life harden your hearts and hand you

إِنَّ لِكُلِّ سَفَرٍ زَادًا لَا مَحَالَةَ فَتَزَوَّدُوا مِنْ
دُنْيَاكُمْ لِآخِرَتِكُمُ التَّقْوَى وَكُونُوا كَمَنْ عَايَنَ
مَا أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُ مِنْ ثَوَابِهِ وَعِقَابِهِ فَتَرْهَبُوا
وَتَرْغَبُوا. وَلَا يَطُولَنَّ عَلَيْكُمُ الْأَمَدُ فَتَقْسُوا
قُلُوبَكُمْ وَتَتَقَادَرُوا لِعَدْوِكُمْ. فَإِنَّهُ وَاللَّهِ مَا بَسَطَ

¹⁰² App. § 18.5.

¹⁰³ Wolpers, 83 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ App. § 139.10.

over to your enemy [Satan]. By God, how can people be complacent when they do not know whether they will wake up in the morning after going to sleep at night, or whether they will see the night after waking up in the morning! Any time in between, death could strike. Truly, only those who can be assured of immunity from the ominous end of the world take comfort in it. But whoever tries to heal one wound here ends up being gashed from another direction. So how can he take comfort in it? I seek protection from God: May I not command you to do something I do not do. If so, I would be a loser in my trade with God. I would be penurious, destitute, on that day when only truth and right benefit.

أمل من لا يدري لعله لا يصبح بعد إمساؤه
أو يمسي بعد إصابحه وربّما كانت بين ذلك
خطرات المنايا. وإنما يطمئنّ إلى الدنيا من
أمن عواقبها. فإنّ من يداوي من الدنيا كلّها
أصابته جراحة من ناحية أخرى فكيف
يطمئنّ إليها. أعوذ بالله أن آمركم بما أنهى
عنه نفسي فتخسر صفقتي وتظهر عييتي
وتبدو مسكنتي في يوم لا ينفع فيه إلّا الحقّ
والصدق.

The following excerpt from a sermon by 'Alī is another typical example of Islamic pious counsel, where each of the major themes is presented in smaller subthemes:¹⁰⁵

God has sent you a book as a guide, and explained in it the difference between good and evil. Follow the path of good and you shall be rightly guided. Abjure the path of evil and you shall remain on the high road.

إنّ الله سبحانه أنزل كتاباً هادياً بين
فيه الخير والشرّ فخذوا نهج الخير تهتدوا
وأصدفوا عن سمت الشرّ تقصدوا.

The mandated rites must be performed. Offer them to God and they will take you to paradise.

الفرائض الفرائض أدّوها إلى الله تؤدّكم إلى
الجنة.

God has made certain things illicit and these are known. He has made other things licit and these are unsullied. "He has placed the sanctity of Muslims above all sanctities. Through their devotion and declaration of his oneness, he has bound them and their rights together. A Mus-

إنّ الله تعالى حرّم حراماً غير مجهول وأحلّ
حلالاً غير مدخول وفضّل حرمة المسلم
على الحرم كلّها وشدّ بالإخلاص والتوحيد
حقوق المسلمين في معاقدها. فالمسلم من سلم

105 App. § 31.4.

lim is someone from whose tongue and hand all other Muslims are safe; he employs them only righteously. It is unlawful to injure a Muslim, except as required by law.”¹⁰⁶

المسلمون من لسانه ويده إلا بالحق ولا يحل
أذى المسلم إلا بما يجب.

Hasten to accept death. It is common to all, yet singular to each individual. Generations have gone before you, and the hour now drives you forward. Lighten your burden of sin, so that you may be quick to catch up with them. Truly, those who have gone ahead await the arrival of those who remain behind.

بادروا أمر العامة وخاصة أحدكم وهو
الموت فإن الناس أمامكم وإن الساعة
تحدوكم من خلفكم. تخففوا تلحقوا فإنما
ينتظر بأولكم آخركم.

Be conscious of God, and do not cause harm to his servants or his lands. You shall be answerable for your interactions even with the earth and with animals. Obey God. Do not disobey him. If you find an opportunity to do good, take it. If you are given a chance to do evil, shun it.

اتقوا الله في عباده وبلاده فإنكم مسؤولون
حتى عن البقاع والبهائم. أطيعوا الله ولا
تعصوه وإذا رأيتم الخير فخذوا به وإذا رأيتم
الشر فأعرضوا عنه.

The special subthemes of piety and the hereafter in this sermon are numerous: exhortations to follow the guidance of the Qur'an, and the beaten path of good; urgings to perform the mandated rites of Islam, which will carry you to paradise; appeals to cleave to the licit and abjure the illicit; upholding the sanctity of each individual in the Muslim community; and upholding even the rights of animals and of the earth itself. Subthemes of death include its universality yet totally personal nature, the image of the last hour as a camel driver urging you forward to the final end; and—connecting with the theme of the hereafter—the importance of lightening your burden of sin so you can move fast and catch up with pious forebears.

106 Hadiths attributed to Muḥammad in Quḍā'ī, *Shihāb*, § 1.134–136.

3 Common Vocabulary, Structural Patterns and Formulaic Phrases

Parsed from the sermon texts, the theme of pious counsel is presented by our orators using certain recurrent concepts, formulaic phrases, Qur'anic citations, and grammatical patterns.

3.1 Vocabulary

Repeated terms reflect the major themes of the sermon of pious counsel. Positive acts and goals the audience is consistently encouraged to perform and seek are the following:

piety and consciousness of God (*taqwā*)
 obedience (*tā'ah*)
 provisions [for the journey to the hereafter] (*zād*)
 rejection of worldliness (*zuhd*)
 good deeds (*'amal*)
 hereafter (*ākhirah*)
 repentance (*tawbah*)
 paradise (*jannah*)
 fear (*khawf*, *rahbah*)

Negative behaviors and ends the audience is consistently warned against are the following:

false hope (*amal*)
 the world (*dunyā*)
 death (*mawt*, *manāyā*, *ajal*)
 hellfire (*nār*)
 desire or caprice (*hawā*, *raghbah*)

3.2 Formulae

Some phrases attained standard currency, and as discussed earlier, a profusion of formulae is in keeping with the oral mode of these orations. The most common formulae—used either verbatim or with small lexical and grammatical modifications—are the following:

- “I counsel you to piety” (أوصيكم بتقوى الله).¹⁰⁷ This formula appears in almost all sermons of pious counsel and Friday and Eid sermons, and in many

107 App. § 31.42, § 31.52, § 31.55, § 31.79, § 15.8, § 102.2, § 155.1, § 159.2.

military and political orations. Sometimes it occurs with an interposed form of address, as in “I counsel you, servants of God, to piety.” A modified form connects it with advice to obey God: “I counsel you to piety and obedience to him” (أوصيكم بتقوى الله وطاعته).

- “Truly, the world is green and sweet!” (إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا حُلُوهٌ خَضِرَةٌ).¹⁰⁸ This formula refers to the world’s temptations, often followed by the line: “It is encircled by everything you desire most” (حَفَّتْ بِالشَّهَوَاتِ).
- “This world has turned back and proclaimed its departure! The hereafter has come forward, and has almost arrived!” (فَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ أَدْبَرَتْ وَأَذْنَتْ بِوَدَاعٍ وَإِنَّ).¹⁰⁹ This formula warns of the imminent perishing of this world and the arrival of the next. Often used in conjunction with it is the line, “Nothing remains of your lifespan save the last drops of water remaining in a vessel that the one who pours out, empties.” (وَأَمَّا بَقِيٌّ مِنْهَا صَبَابَةٌ). Also used often in conjunction is a formula censuring worldliness and encouraging preparation for the hereafter: “Both [this world and the hereafter] have children. You should be among the children of the hereafter. Do not be among the children of this world. For children will be resurrected with their mother on judgment day.” (فَكُونُوا مِنْ أَوْثَانِ الْآخِرَةِ).¹¹⁰ This formula highlights the rapid passage of one’s days on earth.
- “Lighten your burden of sin, so that you may be quick to catch up. Truly, those who have gone first await the coming of those who come later” (تَخَفَّفُوا تَلْحَقُوا).¹¹¹ This formula exhorts the audience to refrain from sins and repent.
- “Death is the demolisher of pleasures” (إِنَّ الْمَوْتَ هَادِمُ اللَّذَاتِ).¹¹² This formula warns that pleasures of this world will not last.
- “It is for the hereafter that you have been created.” (إِنَّمَا لِلْآخِرَةِ خُلِقْتُمْ).¹¹³ This formula emphasizes the insignificance of worldly life and the importance of preparing for the hereafter. It is sometimes modified to “You have been created for an abode other than [this world],” or “We have been created for everlasting life.”

¹⁰⁸ App. § 90.11 (Muḥammad); § 31.66, § 31.80 (‘Alī); App. § 102.1 (Qaṭarī).

¹⁰⁹ App. § 31.11, Raḍī, 125 (‘Alī); Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:120 (‘Utbah ibn Ghazwān); App. § 137.1 (Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit).

¹¹⁰ App. § 31.4 (‘Alī), § 155.2 (Yazīd), § 8.4 (‘Abd al-Malik).

¹¹¹ App. § 31.3 (‘Alī).

¹¹² App. § 31.53 (‘Alī).

¹¹³ App. § 31.74 (‘Alī), § 43.1 (Bedouin), § 51.15 (Ḥajjāj).

- “I warn you of this world” (أَحْذَرُكُمْ الدُّنْيَا).¹¹⁴ This formula warns the audience not to immerse themselves in this world.
- “O human!” (أَيُّهَا الْإِنْسَانُ) or “O son of Adam” (يَا بَنَ آدَمَ).¹¹⁵ This formula addresses the audience as humans, evoking all that goes with being human: mortality, ethics, and the ability to think.
- “God! Show me error to be error so that I may avoid it. Show me right guidance to be right guidance so that I may follow it.” (اللَّهُمَّ ارْزُقْنِي الْغَيَّ غَيًّا فَأُجْتَنِبْهُ وَارْزُقْنِي الْهُدَى هُدًى فَأَتَّبِعْهُ).¹¹⁶ This formula is used to supplicate God for guidance.

3.3 *Qur’anic Citations*

Saturated with Qur’anic vocabulary, pious-counsel sermons also frequently include verbatim or modified citations from the Qur’an. The most commonly cited Qur’anic verses are:

- «Gather provisions! The best of provisions is piety» ﴿وَتَزَوَّدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ التَّقْوَى﴾.¹¹⁷
- «Expound to them the parable of this worldly life: it is like water, which we send down from the skies and which is absorbed by the plants of the earth: but in time they turn to dry stubble, which the winds blow hither and thither. God alone determines all things.» ﴿وَأَضْرِبْ لَهُمْ مَثَلًا الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا كَمَاءٍ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ فَاخْتَلَطَ بِهِ نَبَاتُ الْأَرْضِ فَأَصْبَحَ هَشِيمًا تَذْرُوهُ الرِّيَّاحُ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُقْتَدِرًا﴾.¹¹⁸

Commonly cited verses in modified form are the following:

- «Do you think you have been created in vain, and will not be returned to us?» ﴿أَفَحَسِبْتُمْ أَنَّمَا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ عَبَثًا وَأَنَّكُمْ إِلَيْنَا لَا تُرْجَعُونَ﴾.¹¹⁹
- «Do humans think they will be given an indefinite reprieve?» ﴿أَيَحْسَبُ الْإِنْسَانُ أَن يُتْرَكَ سُدًى﴾.¹²⁰

3.4 *Aphoristic and Ad Hoc Patterns*

Sermons of pious counsel are constructed largely of a series of staccato statements and commands that follow set patterns. Some—although the distinc-

¹¹⁴ App. § 31.79, § 31.81 (‘Alī), § 155.1 (Yazīd).

¹¹⁵ App. § 31.73 (‘Alī), § 56.1 (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī).

¹¹⁶ App. § 51.17 (Ḥajjāj).

¹¹⁷ Q Baqarah 2:197; App. § 8.4 (‘Abd al-Malik).

¹¹⁸ Q Kahf 18:45; App. § 102.1 (Qaṭarī), § 146.2 (‘Uthmān), § 155.1 (Yazīd).

¹¹⁹ Q Mu’minūn 23:115; App. § 31.4 (‘Alī).

¹²⁰ Q Qiyāmah 75:36; App. § 31.4 (‘Alī).

tion is admittedly subjective—are pithily expressed aphoristic precepts presented as axiomatic truths, others are more ad hoc; yet they too are set in a particular grammatical structure and/or use particular lexemes.

The following seven are common aphoristic patterns presented here with examples from the orations:

- x (noun) is y
“Restraint is honor. Forbearance is victory. Deeds are a treasure.”¹²¹
- x (active participle) is truly y
“The happy man is one who is counseled by the example of others. The miserable man is one who is led by caprice and arrogance.”¹²²
- x does y
“Envy consumes belief just as fire consumes logs.”¹²³
- There is no x greater than y
“There is no pain sharper than ignorance. There is no disease viler than sinning. There is no fear more fearful than death.”¹²⁴
- Those who do x will be subject to y
“He who makes false claims will perish. He who perjures will fail.”¹²⁵
- The most x is y
“The most sincere counselor of his soul is one who is most obedient to his Lord. The most deceiving of his own soul is the one who is most disobedient to his Lord.”¹²⁶
- Suffice it as proof of a man's x that he does/does not do y
“Suffice it as sin when a man neglects to feed his family.”¹²⁷

The following eight are more ad hoc patterns that do not have the punch of maxims yet are common and forceful structures in the orations, presented here with examples:

121 (الحلم شرف والصبر ظفر والمعروف كنز): App. § 57.2 (Hāshim).

122 (والسعيد من وعظ بغيره والشقي من آتخذه لهواه وغروره): App. § 31.54 (‘Alī).

123 (فإن الحسد يأكل الإيمان كما تأكل النار الحطب): App. § 31.54 (‘Alī).

124 (لا وجع أشد من الجهل ولا داء أخبث من الذنوب ولا خوف أخوف من الموت): App. § 139.8 (‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz).

125 (هلك من أدعى وخاب من أفتري): App. § 31.2 (‘Alī).

126 (إن أنصح الناس لنفسه أطوعهم لربه وإن أغشهم لنفسه أعصاهم لربه): ‘Alī: App. § 31.54 (‘Alī).

127 (كفى بالمرء إثماً أن يضيع من يقوت): Muḥammad: Quḍā‘ī, *Shihāb*, § 13.5; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 11:36 § 6495; Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. “QWT”; Suyūṭī, *Jāmi‘*, § 8627.

- Do x!
“Perform acts of charity and you will harvest praise. Leave off useless pursuits and the foolish will leave you alone.”¹²⁸
- Don’t do x!
“Don’t be scared of dying fighting in God’s path.”¹²⁹
- Do x—May God have mercy on you!
“Get ready with your provisions—May God have mercy on you!—for departure has been announced!”¹³⁰
- May God have mercy on the person who does x.
“May God have mercy on the servant [of God] who listens to wisdom and learns from it, who is called to direction and draws nigh, who grasps the hem of a guide and is saved.”¹³¹
- Know that x
“Know that security tomorrow will be guaranteed for him who fears [God] today.”¹³²
- Many x result in y
“Many short-lived pleasures bequeath long-lasting grief.”¹³³
- xx (doubling of a noun as direct object of an implied verb, meaning “Be assiduous in doing it”)
“Prayers, prayers! Alms-tax, alms-tax! Neighbors, neighbors! Brothers, brothers! The poor, the poor!”¹³⁴
- I counsel you to x
“I counsel you to piety, disinterest in this world, interest in the hereafter, much thinking of death, separation from sinners, and love of believers.”¹³⁵

128 (دعوا الفضول تجانبكم السفهاء. اصطنعوا المعروف تكسبوا الحمد): App. § 57.2 (Hāshim).

129 (لا تجزعوا من القتل في الله): App. § 122.1 (Ṣāliḥ).

130 (تجهّزوا رحمكم الله فقد نودي فيكم بالرحيل): App. § 31.61 (‘Alī).

131 (رحم الله عبداً سمع حكماً فوعى ودعي إلى رشاد فدنا وأخذ بحجرة هاد فنجّا): App. § 31.71 (‘Alī). See also Raḍī, 153 § 75, and App. § 139.14.

132 (وأعلموا أنّ الأمان غداً لمن يخاف اليوم): App. § 139.15 (‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz).

133 (ربّ شهوة ساعة أورشّت حزناً طويلاً): Quḍā’ī, *Shihāb*, § 14.6 (Muḥammad).

134 (صلاتكم صلاتكم زكاتكم زكاتكم جيرانكم جيرانكم إخوانكم إخوانكم مساكينكم مساكينكم): App. § 56.1 (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī). Lit., “your prayers,” etc.

135 (أوصيكم بتقوى الله والزهد في الدنيا والرغبة في الآخرة وكثرة ذكر الموت وفراق الفاسقين وحبّ المؤمنين): App. § 122.1 (Ṣāliḥ).

Several features emerge from the above lists. For the maxims, we see that although verbal sentences are sometimes used, nominal sentences, affirmed or negated, are more often employed. For the ad hoc patterns, the reverse is true. Frequently for both categories, the phrase is followed by an explanation or further counsel. For example, after pronouncing an aphorism, “Indeed, the tongue of the believer is behind his heart, and the heart of the hypocrite is behind is tongue,” ‘Alī goes on to explain why, “for the believer, when he intends to speak, mulls the speech in his heart. If it is good, he reveals it. If it is evil, he conceals it. The hypocrite speaks whatever comes to his tongue, not knowing what is for him and what against.”¹³⁶ ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz declares, “Sustenance is pre-ordained.” Then, on the basis of this maxim, he goes on to counsel his audience “Therefore that which has been ordained for the believer will not bypass him. Go gently in your search, for in contentment is to be found latitude, sufficiency, and adequacy.”¹³⁷

As seen in the examples in these lists, we often find two or more maxims in juxtaposition. Curiously, however, a sermon attributed to the Prophet’s Companion Ibn Mas‘ūd contains a string of thirty maxims, which together touch on the major themes of Islamic pious counsel. The piece contains no exhortations, no instructions, and no prayer. It is composed largely of pithy nominal sentences, most following the pattern *x is y*. (It is noteworthy that most of the thirty are reported in hadith books, such as Qudā‘ī’s *Shihāb*, as hadith of the Prophet Muḥammad.) The sermon follows:¹³⁸

The truest words are written in the book of God. The strongest support is the creed of piety. The noblest religion is the religion of Abraham. The best practice is the practice of Muḥammad. The wickedest things are heresies. The best things are those in the middle. Scarce but adequate is better than plentiful but distracting. Bringing a soul to life is better than ruling a vast kingdom. The best

أصدق الحديث كتاب الله وأوثق العرى
كلمة التقوى. أكرم الملل ملّة إبراهيم. خير
السنن سنّة محمد. شرّ الأمور محدثاتها وخير
الأمر أوسطها. ما قلّ وكفى خير مما
كثّر وألّى. لنفس تحيها خير من إمارة لا
تحصها. خير الغنى غنى النفس. خير ما

136 إنّ لسان المؤمن من وراء قلبه وإنّ قلب المنافق من وراء لسانه لأنّ المؤمن إذا أراد أن يتكلّم بكلام تدبره في نفسه فإن كان خيراً أبداه وإن كان شراً واره وإنّ المنافق يتكلّم بما أتى على لسانه لا يدري ماذا له (وماذا عليه): App. § 31.48.

137 (الرزق مقسوم فلن يعدو المؤمن ما قسم له فأجملوا في الطلب فإنّ في القنوع سعة وبلغة وكفافاً): App. § 139.11. See also App. § 139.4.

138 App. § 64.1.

wealth is the wealth of the soul. The best thing a heart can have is conviction. All sins converge in wine. Women are Satan's snares. Youth is a time of madness. Evading [worship] is the key to incapacity. The wickedest people are those who pray with the congregation reluctantly, and forsake the remembrance of God. Slandering a believer is immoral, killing him is apostasy, and badmouthing him is a sin.¹³⁹ God proves wrong those who swear they know his judgments. God forgives those who forgive others. The following is written in the register of the munificent: God pardons those who pardon others. The wretched have been wretched since the womb. The fortunate are those who have learned from others. Deeds are judged by outcomes. The outcome is the essence of a deed. The noblest death is martyrdom. Those who are habituated to trials endure them with forbearance. Those who do not, panic.

أَلْقِي فِي الْقَلْبِ الْيَقِينَ. انْجَمِ جَمَاعَ الْآثَامِ.
النِّسَاءُ حَبَائِلُ الشَّيْطَانِ. الشَّبَابُ شُعْبَةٌ مِنَ
الْجَنُونِ. حُبُّ الْكَفَايَةِ مِفْتَاحُ الْمَعْجِزَةِ. شَرُّ
النَّاسِ مَنْ لَا يَأْتِي الْجَمَاعَةَ إِلَّا دَبْرًا وَلَا يَذْكُرُ
اللَّهَ إِلَّا هَجْرًا. سَبَابُ الْمُؤْمِنِ فَسْقٌ وَقِتَالُهُ
كُفْرٌ وَأَكْلُ لَحْمِهِ مَعْصِيَةٌ. مَنْ يَتَأَلَّى عَلَى اللَّهِ
يَكْذِبُهُ وَمَنْ يَغْفِرُ يَغْفِرْ لَهُ. مَكْتُوبٌ فِي دِيْوَانِ
الْمُحْسِنِينَ مِنْ عَفَا عَفِيَ عَنْهُ. الشَّقِيُّ شَقِيٌّ فِي
بَطْنِ أُمِّهِ السَّعِيدُ مِنْ وَعَظَ بغيرِهِ. الْأُمُورُ
بِعَوَاقِبِهَا. مَلَائِكَةُ الْأَمْرِ خَوَاتِمُهُ. أَشْرَفُ الْمَوْتِ
الشَّهَادَةُ. مَنْ يَعْرِفُ الْبَلَاءَ يَصْبِرُ عَلَيْهِ وَمَنْ
لَا يَعْرِفُ الْبَلَاءَ يَنْكَرُهُ.

4 Categorizing Pious Counsel: Diffusion of Themes and Non-oratorical Pious Discourse

Pious counsel is difficult to pin down as a distinct genre. Not only do its themes and formulae infuse other types of oration, but they also permeate further genres of discourse.

4.1 *Pious Counsel in Other Types of Oration*

Themes, subthemes, formulae, and patterns of pious counsel are a mainstay in all categories of oration. Friday sermons are an obvious repository of devotional material, but battle speeches and political orations are also frequently framed pietistically. Indeed, their contexts co-exist and intermingle—political and military contexts elicit a moral exposition, while pious counsel is prompted by a political or military cue. But that is precisely why it is problematic to

139 Lit. "eating his flesh is a sin." Reference to Q Ḥujurāt 49:12 «Do not speak ill of one another behind your backs. Would any of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother? Nay, you would loathe it!» ﴿وَلَا يَغْتَبِ بَعْضُكُمُ بَعْضًا أَيُّحِبُّ أَحَدُكُمْ أَنْ يَأْكُلَ لَحْمَ أَخِيهِ مَيْتًا فَكَرِهْتُمُوهُ﴾.

earmark any oration text from our corpus as a stand-alone sermon of pious counsel. While political, military, and some Friday orations in early Islamic times are contextualized as such in our sources, sermons of pious counsel are mostly presented without historical context. To complicate matters, the same texts presented in literary works as detached pious counsel pieces, are often found in the chronicles to be excerpts from Friday and Eid sermons, or from political and battle speeches. Even though their content focuses on pious counsel, they were produced in a specific human situation. Moreover, when read between the lines, we see that pious themes frequently underpin a certain political viewpoint or military agenda. The vast majority of pieces that we are calling sermons of pious counsel blend other-worldly advice with this-worldly content.

Perhaps pious counsel was not a specific oratorical genre at all? One of the only Islamic pieces we can definitely categorize as a stand-alone sermon of pious counsel is a sermon by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. In it, he explicitly negates a political and military context and expressly states his purpose of purely pious counsel. Instructing people to gather, he stood up to orate, saying, “I have not called you to convey a report I have received. I have called you because I have looked into the affair of your return, and the path that you are following, and I have found that those who believe in it are deserving of God’s reward, and those who deny it will perish.”¹⁴⁰ This exception would seem to prove the rule—that pious counsel was not a stand-alone genre of sermon, at least in the case of Umayyad rulers.

On the other hand, some pre-Islamic orators—such as Quss and Ma’mūn—are known only for their sermons of pious counsel, and certain Companions of the Prophet—‘Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit, Shaddād ibn Aws, Abū l-Dardā’, and Aḥnaf ibn Qays—are also lauded for it particularly, as are the Khārijite leaders Abū Ḥamzah and Qaṭarī.¹⁴¹ A relatively apolitical preacher is Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’, who reportedly left Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s circle of students to become the founder of the rationalist, free-will-espousing Mu‘tazilah. A few sermons attributed to other theologians and ascetics of Umayyad times skirt overt politics, but even so the case may be made for a political grounding. The preponderance of leaders, including the Prophet, caliphs, governors, and commanders, delivered orations in various political, military, and liturgical contexts.

¹⁴⁰ App. §139.9.

¹⁴¹ On Aḥnaf, see Nuṣṣ, *al-Khaṭābah al-‘arabiyyah*, 367–400.

4.2 *Non-oratorical Genres of Pious Counsel*

A handful of pious counsel genres are found outside the oration, and they overlap with it in their themes, vocabulary, and formulae. Some also include further oratorical features, such as the speaker standing during the discourse, addressing a public audience, and an oration-like structure. However, they are less official in tone and setting, and appear to have taken place without the oration's formal accoutrements. There are other differences too: they are usually not delivered by religio-political leaders, but by scholars and erudite lay individuals; they are never delivered from the pulpit; and furthermore, some are written, not oral genres.

Non-oratorical genres of pious counsel include the following:

1. **Testament** (*waṣīyyah*).
Testaments were sometimes addressed to individuals, but often also to a group.¹⁴² Some are from parents to children (usually a father to his sons or more generally to his children, less often a mother to her daughter), others from rulers to their successors or governors, and yet others from chiefs to their extended family, comprising several members of the tribe. In addition to worldly disbursements, they often express a dying man's counsel to family and loved ones. These were either written or oral.
2. **Condolence** (*ta'ziyah*)
Condolence messages to individuals were delivered in the form of speeches or letters; as the context indicates, they typically dwell on death. Some of the pious counsel pieces attributed to the early orators Aktham and Saḥbān are condolence speeches.
3. **Admonishment** (*maqām*)
An Arabian formula distinct to the early period of Islam, ascetic censure of the world was addressed orally by pious individuals, ascetics, and theologians in admonishment to the caliph. Although they had a single overt addressee in the person of the caliph, they usually also had a larger, passively addressed audience comprised of court officials. Some oral addresses by ascetics are characterized by the critics as "pronouncements, or words of the ascetics" or "words of wisdom." They are usually presented in the reports without a historical or political context. Jāḥiẓ puts these texts in his *Bayān* in a chapter titled "Asceticism," (*zuḥd*), as does Ibn Qutaybah in *Uyūn al-akhbār*, alongside similarly pious ad-

142 See discussion of testaments by Mannā', 105–149.

dresses to the common folk.¹⁴³ *Maqāms* are attributed particularly to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and also to Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’, and Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān.

4. **Homiletic discourse** (*wa‘ẓ /maw‘iẓah*)

Homiletic discourses mentioned in the sources are sometimes admonitory, sometimes offering guidance and advice. They usually refer to sit-down oral addresses, and are called more fully *majlis al-wa‘ẓ*. But *wa‘ẓ* is sometimes also used synonymously with *qaṣaṣ* (see next item).¹⁴⁴

5. **Homiletic lecture** (*qaṣaṣ*)

Homiletic lectures delivered to public audiences are cited in the sources, often beginning with the words “I counsel you to ...” In the early period, they frequently refer to stand-up quasi-orations on the battlefield, counselling piety and asceticism, reminding listeners of the imminence of death and the certainty of the hereafter—a longer section on the *qaṣaṣ* with illustrative samples follows in Chapter Seven. The *qaṣaṣ* genre appears to have morphed over time into a sit-down homiletic discourse similar to the *wa‘ẓ*, focused on exegesis of the Qur’an’s prophetic tales.¹⁴⁵ Tamīm al-Dārī, who was a convert from Christianity and who preached during the reign of the second Sunni caliph, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, is said to be the first “storyteller” (*qāṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣāṣ*) in Islam. Later *quṣṣāṣ* were criticized by scholars as charlatans.

Medieval anthologies include many forms and genres of pious counsel mixed together in thematic chapters. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih in his *ʿIqd* has an “Emerald Chapter on Pious Counsel and Renunciation,” which includes Qur’an, hadith, testaments, epistles, public admonishments by renunciants addressed to caliphs, conversations, responses, rejoinders, and poetry. The Emerald Chapter also includes texts that are designated elsewhere in the sources as orations, although it characterizes none of the pieces specifically as *khuṭbah*.¹⁴⁶ In any case, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s focus is not on the form but the pious content, and within this rubric, he arranges the texts in his chapter by the precedence of

143 Jāhīz, *Bayān* 3:125–192; Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, 2:359–371. Ibn Qutaybah records *maqāms* of several ascetics admonishing the caliph, usually in his court, sometimes even during the caliph’s oration. See also Nuṣṣ, *al-Khaṭābah al-ʿarabiyyah*, “The Religious Sermon,” 203–221.

144 Azdī describes an address by ‘Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to the troops at Yarmūk as both *qaṣaṣ* and *wa‘ẓ*: App. § 35.1.

145 L. Armstrong in *The Quṣṣāṣ of Early Islam* divides the early *qaṣaṣ* into three categories: religious, martial, and religio-political. He traces the *quṣṣāṣ*’s associations with Qur’an reciters, jurists, judges, orators, admonishers, *mudhakkirūn*, and ascetics, assesses their skills and conduct, and discusses individuals who produced *qaṣaṣ* in the early Islamic and Umayyad period.

146 Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 3:99–189.

the counsel-giver, beginning with verses from the Qur'an, followed by counsels of the prophets, and so on. He includes individuals whom we do not encounter in the annals of Arabic oration (but are cited in the Qur'an), such as the sage Luqmān and biblical prophets. He also cites orations or other genres of pious counsel by Muḥammad, 'Alī, Ziyād, 'Abd al-Malik, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and Abū Bakr. He then produces a number of thematic sections, which include many of our pious-counsel oration themes, such as "descriptions of the world, repentance, good deeds, death, and prayer," and others, which are not emphasized in our pious-counsel oration themes, such as "injunctions against serving rulers, and against too much laughter."

Other compilers follow suit. Zamakhsharī, in *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, has a chapter with similar themes titled "Seasons and Times, and the World and the Hereafter," and two more on "Death" and "Good."¹⁴⁷ In his section on 'Alī's orations in the *Nahj al-balāghah*, Raḍī includes non-oratorical material that he considers similar, indicated in the (long) chapter title: "Chapter One, containing selections from the orations of the commander of the faithful and his commands; included in this are selections from his words that are like orations [uttered] in specific situations (*maqāmāt*), particular circumstances (*mawāqif*), and momentous affairs (*khuṭūb*)."¹⁴⁸ Ṣafwat includes in his modern anthology of orations non-oratorical artistic oral prose that is mostly consonant-rhymed, such as dialogues, debates, disputations spoken in the courts of kings, caliphs, and chieftains. He claims that they "enter into the field of orations, and are threaded in their necklace." He also has a chapter on "Pious Counsel Orations and Testaments."¹⁴⁹ As is clear from the compilers' mix-and-match approach, terminology indicating genre in this early period was fluid. More work remains to be done to untangle the overlapping strands.

5 Illustration of Pious-Counsel Oration: Oration by Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah

A sermon of pious counsel attributed to the Khārijite commander and famed orator Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah (d. ca. 79/698) illustrates the themes and patterns of the sermon of pious counsel. Praising the Khārijites "for the purity of their words and the eloquence of their speech," Ibn 'Abd Rabbih singles out this sermon, saying "... like the sermon by Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah censuring this world—

¹⁴⁷ Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, "Seasons": 1:7–41; "Good": 2:13–37; "Death": 4:179–211.

¹⁴⁸ Raḍī, 33.

¹⁴⁹ Ṣafwat, 1:4, 20–25, 41–49, 66–72; 2:482–512.

its peer is nonexistent and its equal is not to be found.”¹⁵⁰ Commenting on Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* and the Khārijite commander mentioned therein, Sharīshī remarks, “[Qaṭarī] has an oration in censure of the world in which he reached the ultimate in eloquence.”¹⁵¹ This is the text of Qaṭarī’s sermon in the earliest attested version of Jāḥiẓ (large parts of this same sermon are also attributed to ‘Alī):¹⁵²

5.1 *Text and Translation*

Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā’ah—of the Māzin ibn ‘Amr ibn Tamīm tribe—ascended the pulpit of the Azraqī Khārijites and praised God, extolled him, and offered benedictions for his Prophet. Then he said:

صعد قطري بن الفجاءة منبر الأزارقة. وهو
أحد بني مازن بن عمرو بن تميم. حمد الله
وأثنى عليه وصلى على نبيه ثم قال

[A]

As for what comes after:

أما بعد

I warn you against this world. It is sweet and green, surrounded by temptations. It excites wonder with its trifles and breeds love for the here and now. It is adorned with false hopes and decorated with deceptions. Its joy does not last, and its trauma cannot be avoided. Deceiving, harming, betraying, lying, changing, lapsing, ceasing, perishing, consuming. A ghoulish devourer, fickle and capricious, giver of death. At the very moment it fulfills your dearest hopes, it becomes—as God has said—«Like water that we sent down from the sky—the vegetation of the earth drew from it, then became dry straw, scattered by the winds. God is able to do all things.»¹⁵³

فإني أحذركم الدنيا فإنها حلوة خضرة حفت
بالشهوات وراقت بالقليل وتحببت بالعاجلة
وحليت بالآمال وتزينت بالغرور. لا تدوم
حبرتها ولا تؤمن بجمعها. غرارة ضرارة
خوانة غدارة حائلة زائلة نافذة بائدة أكالة
غوالة بدالة نقالة. لا تعدوا إذا هي تناهت
إلى أمنية أهل الرغبة فيها والرضا عنها أن
تكون كما قال الله ﴿كَلَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ
فَاخْتَلَطَ بِهِ نَبَاتُ الْأَرْضِ فَأَصْبَحَ هَشِيمًا
تَذُرُّهُ الرِّيَّاحُ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
مُقْتَدِرًا﴾.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:51.

¹⁵¹ Sharīshī, 1:232, § 6. He cites excerpts from Qaṭarī’s sermon, poetry, and anecdotes (1:232–236).

¹⁵² App. § 102.1 (Qaṭarī), § 31.66 (‘Alī).

¹⁵³ Q Kahf 18:45.

[B] And there is yet more—for the world never gives a man joy except that joy is trailed by tears. It never bestows happiness on him except that it follows up with harm. No sprinkling of its ease softly alights upon him, except that a cloud-burst of calamity pours down. If it aids him in the forenoon, it will humble and reject him in the night. If one of its sides is sweet and sugary, the other will be bitter and pestilent. If it bestows upon a man bounties fresh and luxurious, it will oppress him later with catastrophical blows. A man does not spend the evening under its wing of protection except that he wakes up under its pinions of fear. The world will perish. All upon it will perish. There is no good in any of its provisions save piety. Those who take little from the world garner stores of protection. And those who take a lot from its wares gather stocks of something that will destroy them, lengthening their sorrow and dampening their eyes.

The world stuns those who trust it, fells those who place faith in it, and deceives those who take pride in it. How many grandees has it constrained and humbled! How many arrogant men has it debased! How many crowned heads has it thrown face down to the ground! Its power goes around in turns. Its life is turbid. Its water is brackish. Its confectionary is filled with bitter juice. Its nourishment is poison. Its ropes are decayed. Its fruits are bitter aloes. Its living are targets for death. Its healthy are targets for illness. Its sheltered are targets for oppression. Its kings will be pillaged. Its mighty will be vanquished. Its sound will be afflicted. Its hoarders will be plundered.

مع أنّ امرأ لم يكن منها في حيرة إلا أعقبته بعدها عبرة. ولم يلق من سرّاها بطناً إلا منحتة من ضرّاها ظهراً. ولم تطلّه غيبة رخاء إلا هطلت عليه مزنة بلاء. وحرى إذا أضحت له منتصرة أن تمسي له خاذلة متكرّة. وإن جانب منها أعذّ وذّب وأحلولى أمرّ عليه منها جانب وأوبى. وإن أتت امرأة من غضارتها ورفاهتها نعمة أرهقته من نوائبها نقماً. ولم يمس أمرؤ منها في جناح أمن إلا أصبح منه على قوادم خوف. غرارة غرور ما فيها. فانية فان عليها. لا خير في شيء من زادها إلا التقوى. من أقلّ منها أستكثر ممّا يؤمنه ومن أستكثر منها أستكثر ممّا يوبقه ويظيل حزنه ويبيكي عينه.

كم واثق بها قد فجّعته وذى طمأنينة إليها قد صرّعتة وذى آختيال فيها قد خدعتة وكم من ذى أبهة فيها قد صرّته حقيراً وذى نخوة قد ردّته ذليلاً وكم من ذى تاج قد كبّته لليدين والقم. سلطانها دول وعيشها رنق وعذّبها أجاج وحلوها صبر وغداؤها سمام وأسبابها رمام وقطافها سلع. حيّا بعرض موت وصحيّحها بعرض سقم ومنيعها بعرض أهتضام. مليكها مسلوب وعزّيزها مغلوب وسليمها منكوب وجامعها محروم.

[C] And there is yet more—for then come the anguished pangs of death, the horrific viewing of the resurrection, and the standing before the just judge: «He will recompense those who did evil with what they did, and recompense those who did good with good.»¹⁵⁴

[D] Do you not live in the homes of those who enjoyed longer lifespans than you? Left behind more distinct monuments? Were more profuse in number? Led vaster armies? Were more obstinate in resisting? They worshipped the world, abjectly so. They gave it preference, fully and truly. But they departed from it unwilling and humiliated. Has word reached you that the world let a single soul escape in lieu of ransom? Or that the world took it upon itself to save them from the calamities that destroyed them? No. It crushed them with catastrophes, pulled down their edifices with misfortunes, and hocked them with disasters. You have seen its rejection of those who bowed before it, gave it preference, stuck faithfully to it. They departed from it—in an eternal separation till the end of time. Did the world supply them with anything other than wretchedness, house them in anything other than narrow graves, illumine them with anything other than dark gloom, or requite them with anything other than regret? Is it this same world that you too give priority to? That you covet? That you put your faith in? God says: «Whosoever desires the life of this world and its ornament, we will give them full recompense for their deeds, and they will not get a deficient measure. They are the people who will have naught in the hereafter but hellfire. All their undertakings will be wasted, and all their doings squandered.»¹⁵⁵ What a wretched abode for those who would take it as residence!

مع أنّ وراء ذلك سكرات الموت وهول
المطلع والوقوف بين يدي الحكم العدل
﴿لِيَجْزِيَ الَّذِينَ أَسَاءُوا بِمَا عَمِلُوا وَيَجْزِيَ
الَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا بِالْحُسْنَى﴾.

ألستم في مساكن من كان أطول منكم
أعماراً وأوضح آثاراً وأعدّ عدداً وأكثر
جنوداً وأعدّ عنوداً. تعبدوا الدنيا أي
تعبد وآثروها أي إيثار وطمعوا عنها بالكره
والصغار. فهل بلغكم أنّ الدنيا سمحت
لهم نفساً بفدية أو أغنت عنهم فيما. قد
أهلكتهم بخطب بل قد أرهقهم بالقوادح
وضععتهم بالنوائب وعقرتهم بالمصائب.
وقد رأيتم تتكرها لمن دان لها وآثرها وأخلد
إليها حين طمعوا عنها لفراق الأبد إلى آخر
المسند. هل زودتهم إلا الشقاء وأحلتهم إلا
الضنك أو نورت لهم إلا الظلمة أو أعقبهم
إلا الندامة. فهذه تؤثرن أم عليها تحرصون
أم إليها تطمثون. يقول الله ﴿مَنْ كَانَ يُرِيدُ
الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا وَزَيْنَتَهَا نُوَفِّ إِلَيْهِمْ أَعْمَالَهُمْ فِيهَا
وَهُمْ فِيهَا لَا يُجْزَوْنَ ۖ أُولَٰئِكَ الَّذِينَ لَيْسَ
لَهُمْ فِي الْآخِرَةِ إِلَّا النَّارُ وَحَبِطَ مَا صَنَعُوا
فِيهَا وَبَاطِلٌ مَّا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ ۝﴾ فبئس
الدار لمن أقام فيها.

¹⁵⁴ Q Najm 53:13.

¹⁵⁵ Q Hud 11:51.

[E] Know this—and you do know it—that you will, without doubt, leave the world. It is truly as God has described it, a place of transient dalliance and play. He said: «Do you build a monument on every height for your amusement?»¹⁵⁶

[F] And he described those «who said: is anyone mightier than us?»¹⁵⁷ and said: They have been carried to their graves, but cannot be called travelers. They have been laid there to rest, but cannot be called guests. They have been covered in tombs and shrouded by earth. They have been given decaying bones as neighbors—neighbors who cannot answer those who call out to them, or offer protection from attackers. If residents of the grave have rain they do not rejoice. If they have drought they do not despair. They are together, yet each one alone. Neighbors, yet far distant from the other. No one visits them and they visit no one. Mature leaders whose hostilities are things of the past. Rash youths whose hate and rancor has blown away. Their blows are no longer feared. Their protection is no longer sought. As Almighty God has said: «Those are their abodes, uninhabited after them except for a short time. We are the true inheritors.»¹⁵⁸ The dead gave up the back of the earth in exchange for its belly, a vast space in exchange for narrow straits, family in exchange for exile, and light in exchange for darkness. They came to [their graves] in the condition in which they left the world—barefoot, naked and alone. The differ-

فَاعْلَمُوا وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنْتُمْ تَارِكُوهَا لَا
بَدَّ. فَإِنَّمَا هِيَ كَمَا وَصَفَهَا اللَّهُ بِاللَّعِبِ
وَاللَّهُوِ وَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ ﴿أَتَبْنُونَ بِكُلِّ رِيعٍ
أَيَّةً تَعْبَثُونَ وَتَتَّخِذُونَ مَصَانِعَ لَعَلَّكُمْ
تُخْلَدُونَ﴾.

وَذَكَرَ الَّذِينَ ﴿قَالُوا مَنْ أَشَدُّ مِنَّا قُوَّةً﴾ ثُمَّ
قَالَ حَمَلُوا إِلَى قُبُورِهِمْ فَلَا يَدْعُونَ رَجُلًا
وَأَنْزَلُوا فِيهَا فَلَا يَدْعُونَ ضَيْفَانًا. وَجَعَلَ لَهُمْ
مِنَ الضَّرِيحِ أَجْنَانٍ وَمِنَ التُّرَابِ أَكْفَانٍ
وَمِنَ الرِّفَاتِ جِيرَانٍ. فَهُمْ جِيرَةٌ لَا يُجِيبُونَ
دَاعِيًا وَلَا يَمْنَعُونَ ضَيْمًا. إِنْ أَخْصَبُوا لَمْ
يَفْرَحُوا وَإِنْ أَقْطُوا لَمْ يَقْنَطُوا. جَمِيعٌ وَهُمْ
آحَادٌ وَجِيرَةٌ وَهُمْ أَبْعَادٌ. مُتَنَازِعُونَ لَا يَزَارُونَ
وَلَا يَزُورُونَ. حُلَمَاءٌ قَدْ ذَهَبَتْ أَضْغَانُهُمْ
وَجُهَلَاءٌ قَدْ مَاتَتْ أَحْقَادُهُمْ لَا يَخْشَى
جَفْعُهُمْ وَلَا يَرْجَى دَفْعُهُمْ. وَكَأَنَّ جَلَّ
وَعَزَّ ﴿فَلَيْكَ مَسَاكِنُهُمْ لَمْ تُسْكَنْ مِنْ
بَعْدِهِمْ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا وَكُنَّا نَحْنُ الْوَارِثِينَ﴾
أَسْتَبَدَّلُوا بِظُهُورِ الْأَرْضِ بَطْنًا وَبِالسَّعَةِ ضَيْقًا
وَبِالْأَهْلِ غُرْبَةً وَبِالنُّورِ ظُلْمَةً. فَجَاوَزُوهَا كَمَا
فَارَقُوهَا حِفَاةَ عِرَافَةٍ فَرَادَى. غَيْرَ أَنَّهُمْ ظَلَعُوا
بِأَعْمَالِهِمْ إِلَى الْحَيَاةِ الدَّائِمَةِ وَإِلَى خُلُودِ الْأَبَدِ.

156 Q Shu'arā' 26:128.

157 Q Fuṣṣilat 41:15.

158 Q Qaṣaṣ 28:58.

ence is that they departed with their deeds to eternal life and everlasting existence. God says: «Just as I brought into being the first creation, I shall bring it forth anew. This is my pledge—I shall truly bring it to pass.»¹⁵⁹

يقول الله ﴿كَمَا بَدَأْنَا أَوَّلَ خَلْقٍ نُعِيدُهُ وَعْدًا عَلَيْنَا إِنَّا كُنَّا فَاعِلِينَ﴾.

[G] [This is all true]—so beware that which God has warned against, take benefit from his counsel, and hold tight to his rope. May he keep us in the protecting shade of his obedience, and grant us the strength to render his due.

فَاحْذَرُوا مَا حَذَّرَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَأَتَّعِعُوا بِمَوَاعِظِهِ وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِهِ. عَصَمْنَا اللَّهُ وَإِيَّاكُمْ بِطَاعَتِهِ وَرَزَقْنَا وَإِيَّاكُمْ أَدَاءَ حَقِّهِ.

5.2 Analysis

Qaṭarī's oration builds on two of the three main themes of the early Islamic sermon of pious counsel described earlier—the base nature of this world and the inevitability of death—to warn the audience against worldliness, and, by implication, to encourage listeners to prepare for the hereafter. The sermon is characterized by the medieval scholars as “Qaṭarī's sermon in censure of the world,” for this is its main thrust—the entire oration is an extended censure. Several subthemes stand out: the world's deception, instability, impurity, and imminent annihilation. The death theme in the sermon is predicated upon the censure of the world. The third main theme of the sermon of pious counsel—the injunction to piety and obedience of God, to moral rectitude and undertaking of Shari'ah commands—is not spelled out here. It is possible that formulaic exhortations to piety and obedience were part of a lost opening section. But in the text as we have it, there is just one short line on piety, where Qaṭarī says that “there is no good in any of the world's provisions save piety.”

I divide the sermon into seven thematic sections:

- A. Introductory section, warning of the world, characterizing it as deceitful and unstable.
- B. On its mixed nature—there is no pure good in the world, all good is packaged with bad.
- C. Three lines on death and the coming judgment.
- D. An extended *ubi sunt* segment, filled with rhetorical questions about powerful men who had lived in bygone times—where are they? The world crushed them.

¹⁵⁹ Q Anbiyā' 21:104.

- E. Two lines connecting the audience with the *ubi sunt* segment—you will leave the world too.
- F. *Ubi sunt* continued—describing in vivid terms the terrors of the grave; its dwellers have no life, no power, and no control.
- G. Two-line ending, wrapping up the warning, and praying to God to save the orator and the audience, presumably from the terrors he has just outlined.

Qur'anic verses are used extensively to frame and strengthen the argument. After warning of this world in general terms in his opening line, Qaṭarī follows with detailed reasoning—a long list of the world's vices and extensive discoursing on the inevitability of death. Five of the seven sections end with a verse from the Qur'an, putting the final, divine, stamp of authority on everything said in the section. Section A ends with the verse: «Like water that we sent down from the sky—the vegetation of the earth drew from it, then became dry straw, scattered by the winds. God is able to do all things»—a robust endorsement of the statements he had just made about the transience of the world's pleasures. This, and the other four verses that Qaṭarī used in the sermon, at the end of sections C, D, E, and F, provide Qur'anic support for the various parts of his counsel. Just prior to the final injunction and prayer, the discourse of the oration also ends with a Qur'anic verse «Just as I brought into being the first creation, I shall bring it forth anew. This is my pledge—I shall truly bring it to pass.» This closure with God's words highlights its Qur'anic grounding, and it puts a retroactive seal of authenticity on Qaṭarī's oration.

In addition to the Qur'anic verse coming at the end of a thematic section, the transition from section to section is indicated in several more ways. Following the Qur'anic verse at the end of the previous section, two sections [B and C] begin with the phrase “And there is yet more!”—an indicator that the preacher will provide now yet another set of evidentiary materials to bolster his argument. The move to a new section at the beginning of section E is indicated by the sudden interjection (after a string of rhetorical questions) of an imperative command “Know this—and you do know it—that you will, without doubt, leave the world.”

The characterization of the world as deceptive, unstable, and transient is articulated through the well-known formulae and commonly used adjectives of the pious-counsel sermon. Using a customary characterization of the world as dangerously attractive, Qaṭarī warns of it saying: “it is sweet and green, surrounded by temptations.” He goes on to attach to the world a string of bitingly castigating labels: “Deceiving, harming, betraying, lying, changing, lapsing, ceasing, perishing, consuming. A ghoulish devourer, fickle and capricious, giver of death.” He notes that “its joys does not last.” He characterizes humans

as “targets for death.” The *ubi sunt* section is chock full of rhetorical questions that are meant to force the audience to acknowledge the reality of death. The injunction “Know this—and you do know it ...” [section E] employs a standard pattern to set up his assertions. These and other points in his long list of the world’s vices are familiar themes, structures, and phrases of the sermon of pious counsel.

Personalizing the text, Qaṭarī injects into his sermon potent reminders of the relevance of his warnings to the audience. The opening is a special admonition to each and every member: “I warn *you* against this world;” the following scathing censure of the world is made of consequence to every individual by the use of the second person pronoun “you.” Then, in section E, Qaṭarī tells his addressees that “*you* will, without doubt, leave the world,” again using the direct address to hammer in its relevance to the individual listeners. The ending is personalized too, with Qaṭarī using direct commands to charge his audience to “*beware* that which God has warned against, take benefit from his counsel, and *hold tight* to his rope!” The direct address throughout adds to the personalization of the counsel.

6 Concluding Remarks

While universal in their counsel to be good humans, the themes and subthemes of the early Islamic sermon of pious counsel are firmly rooted in a Qur’anic world view, and permeated with its vocabulary and concepts. They draw on pre-Islamic concepts of death—also foregrounded in the Qur’an—to present a distinctly Islamic and Arabian ethos of the hereafter. Framed in injunctions to piety, they expound the urgency of recognizing the transience of worldly life, preparing for the afterlife, performing good deeds, obeying God, and—over and above everything else—remaining ever conscious of God.

The Friday and Eid Sermon

Ritual and Piety, Politics and War

The Friday sermon and the sermons delivered on the two annual festivals of Eid (Ar. ʿĪd)—ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, following the fasting month of Ramadan, and ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā, following the Hajj pilgrimage—are part of the mandatory worship rites of Islam. As such, these sermons occupy a significant place in the religious and communal life of Muslims. In Arabic, the first is called *khuṭbat al-jumʿah*, and the second, *khuṭbat al-ʿīd*. Assessing accounts and texts of Friday and Eid sermons attributed to leaders of the early Muslim community, I discuss in this chapter their ritual and structure, themes of piety and politics, and paradigms of authority. I end with the text, translation, and analysis of the first Friday sermon, said to have been preached by Muḥammad at Qubāʾ, on the outskirts of Medina.

1 Ritual and Structure

Compared to other types of oration of the period, the Friday and Eid sermon possessed a special ritual, while its structure had overlapping as well as divergent features.

1.1 *Ritual*

The distinctness of the ritual comes from the Friday and Eid sermon being delivered in two parts (also called two consecutive sermons) separated by a short break, during which the preacher sat in silence.¹ Similar to other orations, as we have seen, the preacher carried a staff or sword, and from quite early on, he also wore a turban and preached from a pulpit (*minbar*). Moreover, the two-part sermon is preceded in the Eid service and followed in the Friday service by a two-cycle ritual prayer—in Arabic *ṣalāt al-ʿīd* or *ṣalāt al-jumʿah*—communally performed behind the preacher. The ritual is historically traceable at least to the late 2nd/8th century, from which time the chapter on

¹ The prayer-for-rain sermon (*khuṭbat al-istisqāʾ*) is also in two parts. Cf. Nuʿmān, *Ṭahārah*, 123.

the Friday prayer in Mālik's *Muwatṭā* contains relevant remarks.² This is the standard medieval practice, as explained in granular terms by the 4th/10th-century Fatimid jurist Qāḍī l-Nu'mān, in his *Kitāb al-Ṭahārah*, and it parallels the ritual in other schools of jurisprudence:³

The prayer-leader ascends the pulpit, sits on the top-most stair, and greets the people. The muezzins rise and, standing in front of him, they give the call to prayer. When they have completed it, they sit down and the prayer-leader rises. He thanks and praises God as much as he is able, invokes blessings upon the Prophet, and counsels [the people] as much as he can. He ends the counsel with a verse or several verses from the Qur'an. Then he sits down briefly. Then he rises, thanks and praises God, invokes blessings upon the Prophet, and prays for the Imam and the believers as much as he is able. He then descends from the pulpit.

We have evidence to suggest that the early Friday and Eid sermon was broadly similar to these later ones in its ritual parameters. Alongside their expositions of the correct practice, Mālik and Nu'mān, as well as Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Ḥanbal, and Zayd ibn 'Alī, among many other hadith scholars, historians, and jurists, tell us that the Prophet's Sunnah formed the precedent for the ritual.⁴ Moreover, these prominent Sunni and Shi'a scholars from various schools of jurisprudence are unanimous in noting that the Prophet and early Companions delivered a two-part sermon for Friday and Eid prayers, with a brief period of sitting between the two parts.⁵ Most extant oratorical materials from our earlier period—such as Muḥammad's first Friday sermon, delivered in Qubā', cited in full later in the chapter—come in single, undivided texts rather than in two parts; as these are excerpts, we cannot use them for precise deconstruction of ritual. Yet, some indications from their content also support the two-part divi-

2 Mālik, 64–71.

3 Nu'mān, *Ṭahārah*, 103–104. See further quotes and discussion the Friday and Eid sermon in Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, 1:179–187.

4 On Muḥammad's Friday and Eid prayers, see Mālik, 71; Zayd, 144–145; Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, 1:181–185.

5 Although the sermon's format is similar across the different schools of law, its character is viewed differently by different groups. According to the Shi'a and the Shāfi'i Sunnis, the Friday service stands in lieu of the regular four-cycle, mid-day prayer (*ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*); the sermon take the place of two of its cycles, and the special ritual prayer takes the place of the other two (Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, 1:183; Ṣadūq, *Man lā*, 1:1265, § 1228; Bādaḥdaḥ, 1:97). According to the Ḥanafī, Ḥanbalī, and Mālikī Sunnis, the special Friday prayer is a mandatory ritual prayer distinct from the regular, mid-day prayer (see Bādaḥdaḥ, 1:97).

sion (more on that in the next section). Perhaps most significantly of all, the text of the first Friday sermon Muḥammad preached in Medina proper, after the sermon at Qubā', is recorded by Ibn Hishām in two distinct sermons, each beginning with a *taḥmīd* and ending with a greeting of peace.⁶

1.2 Structure

Friday and Eid sermons appear to have broadly the same structure as other types of oration from the early period, but they also have distinct features.

The Friday and Eid sermon begins with a standard praise-and-benediction (*taḥmīd*) formula. The text of Muḥammad's first Friday sermon—the first in Islam, delivered at Qubā'—(and, as just mentioned, each of the two parts of the first sermon Muḥammad preached after it, in Medina) begins with a regular *taḥmīd*, as do the sermons given by 'Alī in Kufa and Medina, and the sermon of an early Abbasid Bedouin deputy-governor in Ḍariyyah, a village in Iraq between Kufa and Basra.⁷

In addition to the *taḥmīd*, the formulaic introduction to Eid sermons also features the glorification phrase (*takbīr*) with multiple calls of *Allāhu akbar* (God is Great)—a refrain especially recommended by jurists for Eid, both within the sermon and outside it. Reports of two sermons by the Abbasid caliph Ma'mūn—one at 'Īd al-Aḍḥā and the second at 'Īd al-Fiṭr—note that he began them after proclaiming *takbīr* and *taḥmīd*.⁸

Interestingly, the report also notes the presence of *taḥmīd*, *ṣalawāt* (blessings on the Prophet), and *takbīr* in the middle of Ma'mūn's Eid sermon texts. I would venture to suggest that the formulae flag the beginning of the second of the two-part sermon. Likely from the time they were presented as two separate parts, perhaps as early as the Prophet's lifetime, each of the two parts of the Friday and Eid sermon began with the standard praise opening.

Like other types of early oration, both parts of the two-part Friday and Eid sermon continue on from the opening blessings with the regular transition phrase, which is followed by a vocative address to the audience, and various themes in the body.

The sermon often ends with a phrase of instruction to the congregation, "Stand up for your ritual-prayer," which is attested in Friday sermons of the Bedouin mentioned earlier and of Mu'āwiyah.⁹ The tag-phrase is not found in Eid sermons, because in this service, in contrast to the Friday service, the ritual

6 App. § 90.4, § 90.5.

7 App. § 90.3, § 90.4, § 90.5, § 31.5, § 43.1.

8 App. § 78.1, § 78.2.

9 (قوموا إلى صلاتكم). App. § 84.9, § 43.1.

prayer is performed before the sermon. And as mentioned earlier, each of the two parts of Muḥammad's Medina sermon ends with a greeting of peace.¹⁰

2 Themes of Piety and Politics

Friday and Eid sermons concentrate on pious themes and supplication. They also include religio-political arguments, as well as military and administrative instructions.

2.1 *Themes of Pious Counsel*

The thematic focus of the Friday and Eid sermons is piety and prayer. In a configuration going back at least to the 4th/10th century, the first of the two consecutive sermons preaches counsel, while the second consists mostly of supplication. This division is also conceivable for the earliest iterations of the Friday and Eid sermon, which—whether or not it was always divided into two distinct parts—would still have followed the general schema of early oration that I have described in Chapter Two, viz., themes of piety in the body of the oration, and a final segment containing prayer.

The pious themes of the Friday and Eid sermon are broad in spectrum and similar overall to the ethical and spiritual themes of the pious-counsel sermon. However, it would appear that the texts tagged as ritual sermons are relatively lighter on the mortality theme, and heavier on the themes of piety, virtue, and preparation for the hereafter. Some subthemes are more strongly in focus in the ritual sermon texts. The following are the most common pious themes and subthemes of the Friday and Eid sermon. Most sermons include guidance on how to live a godly life following the precepts of the Qur'an. Two main concepts expounded are exhortations to consciousness of God and good deeds. Alongside are found copious urgings to repent, encouragement to renounce worldliness and prepare for the hereafter, and reminders of the transience of earthly life. The opening praise formula often expands to include motifs of creation and God's oneness, such as in the Eid sermon delivered by the Umayyad governor Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh; and extended praise of Muḥammad in the testimony section, such as in the Friday sermon delivered by the Umayyad caliph Yazīd.¹¹ All ritual sermons are couched in passionate exhortatory language, and engage topics of Islamic doctrine and history.

¹⁰ App. § 90.4, § 90.5.

¹¹ App. § 72.3, § 155.1.

The supplications of the latter part of the Friday and Eid sermon typically comprise prayers for the well-being of the preacher, the audience, and the Muslim community at large, and a petition for forgiveness of sins. Frequently, they also include specialized appeals, such as prayers for God's aid, a pious life, and an honorable death.

Many of the themes listed above are found in a Friday sermon that 'Alī delivered just after the Battle of the Camel in 35/656 in Kufa. The sermon is presented in the historical record as one complete text with the opening *taḥmūd* and ending supplications:¹²

God be praised! I praise him, beseech his aid and guidance, and seek refuge in him from error. If someone has been guided aright by God, no one can lead him astray. If someone has been led astray by God, no one can guide him aright. I testify that there is no god but God, one without peer, and that Muḥammad is his servant and messenger. God selected him [to bring us his religion], and singled him out for prophecy [for he is] the most noble of God's creation, and the most beloved of them to him—he delivered his lord's message, counselled his community, and fulfilled his obligation.

I counsel you to be conscious of God—that is the best counsel God's servants can give each other, the closest to obtaining God's pleasure, and the best in terms of outcome in all things before God. You have been commanded to be conscious of God, and you have been created to do good deeds and obey him. Beware God's [retribution], which God himself has warned you of, for he has warned of a strong retribution. Fear God, without falling short.

إِنَّ الْحَمْدَ لِلَّهِ أَحْمَدُهُ وَأَسْتَعِينُهُ وَأَسْتَهِدُّهُ
وَأَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الضَّلَالَةِ مِنْ يَدِ اللَّهِ فَلَا
مُضِلَّ لَهُ وَمَنْ يَضِلَّ فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ. وَأَشْهَدُ
أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَنَّ
مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَتَجَبَّهَ لِأَمْرِهِ وَأَخْتَصَّه
بِالنَّبِيِّ أَكْرَمَ خَلْقِهِ وَأَحَبَّهُمْ إِلَيْهِ فَيُلَاقِ رِسَالَةَ
رَبِّهِ وَنَصِيحَ لَأُمَّتِهِ وَأَدَّى الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ.

وَأَوْصِيكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ تَقْوَى اللَّهِ خَيْرُ
مَا تَوَاصَى بِهِ عِبَادُ اللَّهِ وَأَقْرَبُهُ لِرِضْوَانِ
اللَّهِ وَخَيْرُهُ فِي عَوَاقِبِ الْأُمُورِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ.
وَبِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ أَمَرْتُمْ وَلِلْإِحْسَانِ وَالطَّاعَةِ
خَلَقْتُمْ. فَاحْذَرُوا مِنَ اللَّهِ مَا حَذَّرَكُمْ مِنْ
نَفْسِهِ فَإِنَّهُ حَذَّرَ بِأَسَا شَدِيدًا. وَأَخْشُوا اللَّهَ
خَشِيَّةً لَيْسَتْ بِتَعْذِيرٍ.

12 App. § 31.5.

Perform good deeds without seeking by them fame or renown. If anyone performs deeds for something other than God, God entrusts him to whatever he performed them for. If anyone performs sincerely deeds for God, God undertakes his reward.

وَأَعْمَلُوا فِي غَيْرِ رِيَاءٍ وَلَا سَمْعَةٍ. فَإِنَّ مِنْ عَمَلٍ
لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ وَكَلَّهُ اللَّهُ إِلَى مَا عَمِلَ لَهُ. وَمَنْ عَمِلَ
لِلَّهِ مُخْلِصًا تَوَلَّى اللَّهُ أَجْرَهُ.

Fear God's punishment. He has not created you in vain, nor given you an indefinite reprieve. He records your acts, knows what you do, and has decreed your life-spans. Do not be deceived by this world, for it is a master deceiver of its people. Anyone who is deceived by it is truly deluded. It will perish in its entirety. The hereafter is the abode of life—if only you knew.¹³

وَأَشْفَقُوا مِنْ عَذَابِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ يَخْلُقْكُمْ عَبَثًا
وَلَمْ يَتْرِكْ شَيْئًا مِنْ أَمْرِكُمْ سُدًى. قَدْ سَمِيَ
آثَارَكُمْ وَعِلْمَ أَعْمَالِكُمْ وَكُتِبَ أَجَالُكُمْ فَلَا تَغُرُّوا
بِالدُّنْيَا فَإِنَّهَا غُرَّارَةٌ بِأَهْلِهَا. مَغْرُورٌ مَنْ أَغْتَرَّ
بِهَا وَإِلَى فَنَاءٍ مَا هِيَ. وَإِنَّ الْآخِرَةَ هِيَ دَارُ
الْحَيَوَانِ لَوْ كَانُوا يَعْلَمُونَ.

I ask God to grant me the station of the martyrs, the company of the prophets, and the lifestyle of the blissful. Indeed, we exist for him and by him.

أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ مَنَازِلَ الشُّهَدَاءِ وَمُرَافَقَةَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ
وَمَعِيشَةَ السَّعْدَاءِ فَإِنَّمَا نَحْنُ لَهُ وَبِهِ.

Minqarī tells us that 'Alī had preached the same sermon earlier in Medina. Presumably this text contains 'Alī's standard Friday themes, and his preferred imagery and vocabulary, which he used weekly with some modifications. Reiterating certain pious themes in one's Friday sermon may in fact be common practice. Another example is the Abbasid governor Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, who, as Jāḥiẓ tells us, preached the exact same sermon every week.¹⁴

Themes found in 'Alī's sermon are the selfsame ones propounded by the sermon of pious counsel analyzed earlier, although, as I mentioned, the death theme is less ubiquitous. Also similar are corresponding vocabulary items and grammatical patterns. Thematic similarity with the sermon of pious counsel is also seen, although with more limited coverage, in the following Friday sermon by Ḥajjāj in Kufa:¹⁵

¹³ Modified quote from Q 'Ankabūt 29:64.

¹⁴ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:295; he does not cite the oration text.

¹⁵ App. § 51.15.

[Blessed is] the man who assesses his own actions, who is mindful of God, who rectifies his deeds, who thinks about what he may have to read tomorrow in the ledger [of his deeds] or see in his scales, who remembers [God] when he aspires [to worldly things], and rebukes [himself] when whim tempts, the man who holds the reins of his heart firmly, just as a man would hold firm his camel's halter. If it leads him to the truth, he follows it. If it leads him to disobedience of God, he restrains it. Indeed, we have not been created to perish. We have been created to live forever. All we do is travel from one abode to another.

أمرؤ حاسب نفسه أمرؤ راقب ربّه أمرؤ
زور عمله أمرؤ فكر فيما يقرؤه غداً في
صحيفته ويراه في ميزانه أمرؤ كان عند
همّه ذا كراً وعند هواه زاجراً أمرؤ أخذ
بعنان قلبه كما يأخذ الرجل بخطام جملة فإن
قاده إلى حقّ تبعه وإن قاده إلى معصية الله
كفّه. إنا والله ما خلقنا للفناء وإنا ما خلقنا
للبقاء وإنا ما ننقل من دار إلى دار.

As I have noted, it is possible that many texts that contain primarily pious counsel are in fact Friday or Eid sermons, even if they are not marked as such. This is almost certainly true for some. 'Alī's sermon, which is specified in Minqarī's *Waq'at Šiffīn* as a Friday sermon, is cited in Raḍī's *Nahj al-balāghah* without any historical or liturgical context. A sermon by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is cited in Jāhiz's *Bayān* without marking, but is marked in Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* as a Friday sermon.¹⁶ As also noted earlier, literary compilations are less likely to provide context than historical works. Moreover, clues in the text can indicate a possible ritual service, such as the concluding tag-phrase, "Stand up for your ritual-prayer," in what the sources call Abū Bakr's accession speech.¹⁷

Friday or Eid provenance is particularly likely for pious-counsel sermons attributed to caliphs and governors, for they delivered festival sermons regularly as part of their expected duties, without regard to personal pietistic inclination. Thus, we find sermons—probably delivered on Friday or Eid—attributed to Umayyad caliphs, such as Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd, 'Abd al-Malik, Sulaymān, and governors, including Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī, many of whom are widely represented in the historical sources as libertines. A large number of sermons are attributed to the so-called "pious Umayyad caliph" 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, many of which could well be Friday sermons—his remarks mentioned in the previous chapter about convening his audience to counsel them with an oration indicate that pious-counsel sermonizing outside of the

16 App. §140.10.

17 (قوموا إلى صلاتكم): App. §15.2; the phrase is cited only in the version of Ibn Hishām.

Friday and Eid context was uncommon enough to warrant explanation. For anti-establishment leaders, especially the Khārijites, counselling occurred also in political and military contexts, but we cannot rule out that their sermons with themes of piety were Friday sermons. Qaṭarī's famous sermon (translated fully in the previous chapter) could well have been delivered at the weekly service. In short, addresses of pious counsel by men in government—especially in the Umayyad period but not only then—were usually part of the ritual Friday and Eid prayer.

Finally—despite the overwhelming thematic similarities with the sermon of pious counsel—certain pious topics are particular to the Friday and Eid service. Friday sermons frequently include directions to be assiduous in upholding the Friday prayer service. ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā sermons commonly contain exhortations to perform the Hajj and the ritual animal sacrifice. ʿĪd al-Fiṭr sermons regularly make appeals to charity, since the annual alms-levy (*zakāt*) is paid by many in Ramadan. The following is an excerpt from ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Eid sermon at the breaking of the fast, in which he exhorts giving to the poor:¹⁸

By my life—and I swear this oath in truth—I hope there is not one among God's servants who has been afflicted with affluence, except that he sets aside a section of his wealth for the poor, the indigent, the orphans, and the widows. I begin by [counselling] myself and my family, then only after that, [do I say this to] others.

ولعمري وإنّ لعمري مني الحق لوددت
أنّه ليس من الناس عبد أبلى بسعة إلا نظر
قطيعاً من ماله فجعله في الفقراء والمساكين
واليتامى والأرامل. بدأت أنا بنفسي وأهل
بيتي ثمّ كان الناس بعد.

2.2 Political, Administrative, and Military Themes

In the texts of Friday and Eid sermons from our period, we see the moral advice of the pre-Islamic pious-counsel sermon assimilating with the evolving religious, political, and administrative aims of the nascent Islamic state. In addition to themes of counsel, themes of a temporal nature formed an essential component of the ritual sermon from its earliest phase.

The major political themes of the Friday and Eid sermon include policies and their justifications, executive commands, statements asserting the legitimacy of various power groups, and instructions to the subject populace primarily regarding obedience to the leadership. In a classic combination of administrative and spiritual themes, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said in a Friday sermon cited earlier in a different context, “By God, I am not sending you governors to flay

¹⁸ App. § 139.6.

your skin or to seize your wealth. I send them to you so they may teach you your religion and the preferred practice.”¹⁹

Military themes are also observable in Friday and Eid sermons, in the form of exhortations to fight in the path of God and defend the community. Jihad exhortations are found in ritual sermons as early as Muḥammad’s first Friday sermon in Qubā’, cited in full shortly. The practice continued after him. ‘Alī’s famous oration at the time that Mu‘āwiyah’s general Ḍaḥḥāk raided Ḥirah, chastising the Kufans for not fighting the Syrians, which is full of military themes, is described by Qāḍī l-Nu‘mān as a Friday sermon.²⁰ Another Friday sermon delivered during this same period of civil war is the following one by ‘Alī’s son Ḥasan, standing in for his father, who was unwell:²¹

Never did God send a prophet without choosing for him an agent, a clan, and a house. By the one who sent Muḥammad as a righteous prophet, never does someone denigrate our right—for we are his family!—without God correspondingly denigrating his deeds. Never are we prevailed upon [in a conflict] without the final outcome being in our favor, «and in time you will certainly hear its report.»²²

إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَبْعَثْ نَبِيًّا إِلَّا أَخْتَارَ لَهُ نَقِيًّا
وَرَهْطًا وَبَيْتًا فَوَالَّذِي بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا بِالْحَقِّ
نَبِيًّا. لَا يَنْتَقِصُ مِنْ حَقِّنا أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ أَحَدٌ
إِلَّا نَقَصَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ مِثْلَهُ وَلَا تَكُونُ عَلَيْنَا
دَوْلَةٌ إِلَّا وَتَكُونُ لَنَا الْعَاقِبَةُ ﴿وَلَتَعْلَمَنَّ نَبَأُهُ
بَعْدَ حِينٍ﴾.

The Kufans supported ‘Alī in theory, but they had lost enthusiasm for the fight against Mu‘āwiyah. In the context of the fight against the Syrians, Ḥasan proclaims in his Friday sermon the superiority of the Prophet’s family and chastises his audience for letting them down. In yet another example, the Zaydī Shi‘ite commander Abū l-Sarāyā, in his Friday sermon in 199/815, during his revolt in Kufa, chastises his audience for holding back from supporting the Prophet’s family and urges them to fight the Abbasids.²³

Ritual sermons in the Umayyad period—like other kinds of government orations from that time—often contained threats, both overt and implicit, for non-compliance. The Umayyad governor ‘Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān preached a Friday sermon in Mecca during the Hajj season in 41/661—this was at the beginning of that dynasty’s accession to the caliphate, not long after ‘Alī’s death and

19 App. § 140.10.

20 App. § 31.34.

21 App. § 55.4.

22 Q Ṣād 38:88.

23 App. § 23.1.

Ḥasan's abdication, and the residents of Mecca had no love for their new masters. 'Utbah threatened any would-be rebels in the following strong language:²⁴

People, we have taken charge of this sacred place, in which rewards are multiplied for those who do good, as are sins for those who transgress. We walk the path that leads to our goal. So do not stretch your necks toward another, lest they be cut off. Many a person who makes a wish finds death. Accept the security [we offer] as long as we accept it in you and from you. Beware [saying] "if only ...," for [this word] has tracked down those who came before you, and will not let those who come after you rest. I ask God to aid all against all.

أيها الناس إنّا قد ولينا هذا المقام الذي
يضاعف فيه للمحسن الأجر وعلى المسيء
فيه الوزر ونحن على طريق ما قصدنا. فلا
تمدّوا الأعناق إلى غيرنا فإنّها تنقطع دوننا
وربّ متمنّ حثفه في أمنيته. فأقبلوا العافية
ما قبلناها فيكم وقبلناها منكم. وإياكم ولوا
فإنّها أتعبت من كان قبلكم ولن تريح من
بعدهم. وأنا أسأل الله أن يعين كلّاً على كلّ.

Blessings and curses in the ritual sermon also served a political purpose. From Umayyad times, it became common practice to include a prayer for the well-being of the caliph, and this evolved into an important indicator of political allegiance. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the practice is reported in a nascent stage earlier, with 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, 'Alī's governor in Basra, habitually ending his sermons with the words, "God, help 'Alī to establish the truth!"²⁵ Jumping forward to an example from early Abbasid times, a Bedouin who had been appointed deputy by the governor Ja'far ibn Sulaymān delivered the following pithy Friday sermon in his provincial settlement, in which he preached piety, followed with a prayer for the caliph and the governor:²⁶

People, the world is an abode of passage and the hereafter is the abode of permanence. Take from your abode of passage for your abode of permanence. Do not rend your veils near the one who knows all secrets. Remove your hearts from this world before your bodies are removed from it. You live in the world, but have been cre-

أيها الناس إنّ الدنيا دار ممرٍّ والآخرة دار
مقرٍّ تغذوا للمقرّكم من ممرّكم ولا تهتكوا
أستاركم عند من يعلم أسراركم. أخرجوا من
الدنيا قلوبكم قبل أن تخرج منها أبدانكم. ففني
الدنيا حييتم وللآخرة خلقتكم. وإنا الدنيا

24 App. § 144.3.

25 (اللهم أنصر علياً على الحق): App. § 1.1.

26 App. § 43.1.

ated for the hereafter. The world is like deadly poison, only those who do not recognize its evil consume it. I say these words and seek forgiveness from God for me and for you. The one for whom prayers are offered is the caliph [Manṣūr], then the governor Jaʿfar. Stand up for your ritual prayer, may God bless you with his grace.

بمنزلة السمّ النافع يأكله من لا يعرفه. أقول
قولي هذا وأستغفر الله. والمدعو له الخليفة ثم
الأمير جعفر. قوموا لصلاتكم بارك الله فيكم.

Early in the Umayyad period, preachers were also required to curse ʿAlī and his family from the pulpit.²⁷ In the following centuries, cursing enemies of the state became a periodically recurring feature.

2.3 *Paradigms of Authority*

Like other orations in our period but even more stringently, Friday and Eid sermons were delivered by leaders in the community—the Prophet in his time, caliphs, governors, commanders, revolt leaders, and sometimes prayer-leaders designated by one of these. The preaching of the Friday and Eid sermon was itself a symbol of authority, and attending it was tantamount to accepting that authority. In an exception that demonstrates the rule, the Kufans who wrote to Ḥusayn urging him to rise up against the Umayyads indicated their active displeasure with Yazīd saying, “We have dedicated ourselves to you, and we do not attend the Friday service with [Yazīd’s] governor [Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr]—so come to us.”²⁸

Delivered by the ruling power, Friday sermons were an opportunity for the audience to petition for civic and other issues. As has been discussed previously, the early oration was interactive, and audience members would often ask questions during orations or immediately following them—as did ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in Medina to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, regarding a matter of blood-wit,²⁹ and a Bedouin in Mecca to ʿUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān, regarding disbursement of funds.³⁰

Merged with an exposition of Islamic monotheistic teachings and exhortations to piety, the preacher attempted to secure the audience’s political commitment through citation, narratives, assertions, directions, and prayers of a religio-political nature. Prayers we have just seen. Testimonial citation of poetry and Qurʾanic verses to shore up religio-political messaging is also common. Although such citation was practiced in all types of orations, Jāḥiẓ tells us

27 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 3:191; Ibn Sinān, 422, poem § 78, v. 5.

28 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:341; (Ṣafwat, 2:35).

29 App. § 140.10.

30 App. § 144.3.

that Qur'an citation was particularly encouraged in the Friday and Eid sermon, for it infused the sermon with "splendor, dignity, elegance, and an easy reception."³¹ In our texts, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd quotes several verses in what appears to be a Friday sermon.³² One of the sermons of his father, Mu'āwiyah—a particularly short one on a very hot day—comprises in its entirety a single line of counsel, followed by a single verse from the Qur'an.³³ Poetry citations are also found in our texts. Immediately following the standard praise opening, the counter-caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr launches into a Friday sermon in the Sacred Mosque in Mecca with testimonial verses from a poem composed by the poet Jamīl, touting his own and his brother Muṣ'ab's doughtiness; Muṣ'ab was his commander in Iraq, and these verses fortified his political agenda.³⁴

The Friday and Eid sermon was framed within a physical context that symbolically invoked the authority of the Prophet's mantle and the divine word. As has been mentioned several times before, it was delivered since early times from a pulpit, and the preacher carried in his right hand a ceremonial staff, sword, or bow as an emblem of authority. This was rooted in pre-Islamic practice, and because it was practiced also by Muḥammad, it became part of his exemplary Sunnah. Finally, the congregation was required to pay full attention to the preacher—later jurists write that speaking during the sermon is forbidden. These accoutrements, physical and admonitory, all exuded authority.

3 Illustration of the Friday Sermon: Oration by the Prophet Muḥammad

When Muḥammad migrated from Mecca in 1/622, he first arrived in the hamlet called Qubā' on the outskirts of Yathrib (later named Medina). Then four days later, on a Friday, he left Qubā' for Yathrib. The noon prayer time overtook him enroute, in the valley inhabited by the Sālim ibn 'Awf tribe, and this is when Muḥammad is said to have conducted the first public Friday service in Islam. His sermon is recorded by Ṭabarī as follows:³⁵

31 Jāhiz, *Bayān*, 1:118.

32 App. § 155.1.

33 App. § 85.1.

34 App. § 7.4.

35 App. § 90.3. Another Friday sermon by Muḥammad in two parts is recorded by Ibn Hishām (and following him, Idrīs) as the first sermon in Medina, presumably after Qubā' (App. § 90.4, § 90.5); Ibn Hishām mentions the Qubā' sermon a few pages earlier (2:313), but does not give a text. Yet another Friday sermon by Muḥammad is recorded in Bāqillānī, 129. The Prophet's first Eid sermon is noted by a late Indian scholar to be in 2/624, the year the fast

3.1 *Text and Translation*

God be praised! I praise him, and beseech his aid, forgiveness and guidance. I believe in him, I do not disbelieve in him, and I abhor those who disbelieve in him. I bear witness that there is no god but God, one without peer; and that Muḥammad is his servant and messenger, whom he sent with guidance, radiance, and counsel, after a period had gone by without messengers, when knowledge had become scarce and people had gone astray, when the age had neared its conclusion, the hour had drawn close, and the end had approached. Whoever obeys God and his messenger has been guided. Whoever disobeys them has sinned and gone far astray.

I counsel you to be conscious of God—that is the best counsel a Muslim can give a Muslim: urging him to seek the hereafter, and commanding him to be conscious of God. Beware God's [retribution], of which God himself has warned you. There is no better advice, nor better recommendation. Consciousness of God—if [you] act upon it, heeding and fearing your lord—is the best aid for obtaining what you desire of the hereafter.

If someone is righteous in doing the things God has commanded him to do, the things that are between himself and God, in public and in private, intending by them only God's [pleasure]—they will become a memorial for him in this world, and a treasure for him after death, at the time when a man is truly in need of [the deeds]

الحمد لله أحده وأستعينه وأستغفره
وأستهديه وأؤمن به ولا أكفره وأعادي
من يكفره. وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده
لا شريك له وأنّ محمداً عبده ورسوله أرسله
بالهدى والنور والموعظة على فترة من الرسل
وقلة من العلم وضلالة من الناس وأنقطع
من الزمان ودنو من الساعة وقرب من
الأجل. من يطع الله ورسوله فقد رشد
ومن يعصهما فقد غوى وفرط وضلّ
ضلالاً بعيداً.

وأوصيكم بتقوى الله فإنّه خير ما أوصى
به المسلم المسلم أن يحضّه على الآخرة وأن
يأمره بتقوى الله. فأحذروا ما حذركم الله
من نفسه ولا أفضل من ذلك نصيحة ولا
أفضل من ذلك ذكراً. وإنّ تقوى الله لمن
عمل به على وجل ومخافة من ربه عون
صدق على ما تبغون من أمر الآخرة.

ومن يصلح الذي بينه وبين الله من أمره في
السّر والعلانية لا ينوي بذلك إلا وجه الله
يكن له ذكراً في عاجل أمره وذخراً فيما بعد
الموت حين يفتقر المرء إلى ما قدّم. وما كان
من سوى ذلك يودّ لو أنّ بينها وبينه

of the month of Ramadan was mandated (Burhānpūrī, 1:20). App. §90.13 is an excerpt from an 'Īd al-Aḍḥā sermon by him.

he has set by. As for the things which he [has done] otherwise, he will wish that a great distance divided him from them. God warns you of himself, yet he is kind to his servants. [I swear] by the one who speaks truth and fulfills his pledge, that there is no dispute in this—he, the high and mighty, has said: «My word never changes, and I never oppress my servants.»³⁶

Remain conscious of God, now and later, in private and in public. If someone is conscious of God, God erases his bad deeds and magnifies his reward. If someone is conscious of God, he has attained a great victory. Consciousness of God protects you from his aversion. It protects you from his punishment. It protects you from his wrath. Consciousness of God makes faces gleam, pleases the lord, and raises rank.

Seize your share, but do not be remiss in tendering God's due. He has taught you his book and laid out for you his path, in order to differentiate between those who speak truth and those who are liars. Do good, for God has been good to you. Bear enmity to his enemies, and strive truly for him. He has singled you out and named you Muslims. «Anyone who perishes does so having seen clear proof, and anyone who lives does so having seen clear proof.»³⁷

There is no power save God's. Always remember God and act for what will come after today. Indeed, if someone is righteous in doing the things that are between himself and God, God suffices him the things that are between him and others. This is so because God ordains things for

أَمَدًا بَعِيدًا. وَيَحْذَرُكُمْ اللَّهُ نَفْسَهُ وَاللَّهُ رَءُوفٌ
بِالْعِبَاد. وَالَّذِي صَدَقَ قَوْلُهُ وَأَنْجِزْ وَعْدَهُ
لَا خَلْفَ لَكَ فَإِنَّهُ يَقُولُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ
﴿مَا يَبْدُلُ الْقَوْلُ لَدَيَّ وَمَا أَنَا بِظَلَّامٍ
لِّلْعَبِيدِ﴾.

فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ فِي عَاجِلِ أَمْرِكُمْ وَأَجَلِهِ فِي السَّرِّ
وَالْعَلَانِيَةِ فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ يَتَّقِ اللَّهَ يَكْفُرْ عَنْهُ سَيِّئَاتِهِ
وَيَعْظُمَ لَهُ أَجْرًا وَمَنْ يَتَّقِ اللَّهَ فَقَدْ فَازَ فَوْزًا
عَظِيمًا. وَإِنْ تَقْوَى اللَّهَ يَوْقِي مَقْتَهُ وَيَوْقِي
عَقُوبَتَهُ وَيَوْقِي سَخَطَهُ. وَأَنْ تَقْوَى اللَّهَ يَبْيِضُ
الْوَجْهُ وَيَرْضَى الرَّبُّ وَيَرْفَعُ الدَّرَجَةَ.

خُذُوا بِحُظْمِكُمْ وَلَا تَفْرُطُوا فِي جَنْبِ اللَّهِ. قَدْ
عَلَّمَكُمُ اللَّهُ كِتَابَهُ وَنَهَجَ لَكُمْ سَبِيلَهُ لِيَعْلَمَ الَّذِينَ
صَدَقُوا وَيَعْلَمَ الْكَاذِبِينَ. فَأَحْسِنُوا كَمَا أَحْسَنَ
اللَّهُ إِلَيْكُمْ وَعَادُوا أَعْدَاءَهُ وَجَاهِدُوا فِي اللَّهِ
حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ هُوَ اجْتَبَاكُمْ وَسَمَّاكُمْ الْمُسْلِمِينَ
﴿لِيَهْلِكَ مَنْ هَلَكَ عَن بَيْنَةٍ وَيَحْيَى مَنْ حَيَّ
عَن بَيْنَةٍ﴾.

وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ. فَاكْثُرُوا ذِكْرَ اللَّهِ وَاعْمَلُوا لِمَا
بَعْدَ الْيَوْمِ. فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ يَصْلَحْ مَا بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ اللَّهِ
يَكْفِهِ اللَّهُ مَا بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ النَّاسِ. ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ
يَقْضِي عَلَى النَّاسِ وَلَا يَقْضُونَ عَلَيْهِ وَيَمْلِكُ

36 Q Qāf 50:29.

37 Q Anfāl 8:42.

people, they do not ordain things for him. He rules over them, they do not rule over him. God is greatest. There is no power save God's.

من الناس ولا يملكون منه. الله أكبر ولا
قوة إلا بالله العظيم.

3.2 *Analysis*

A blueprint for the main doctrines of Islam, Muḥammad's first Friday sermon also forms the exemplar par excellence for one of the Muslim community's defining rites of worship. In terms of its ritual usage, exhortatory tone, standard structure with its various components, and its mostly pious themes but also some religio-political, it sets the standard for the ritual Friday sermon of Islam. In all these areas, perhaps most significantly in its pious themes—injunctions to be conscious of God and remember him, obey God and his Prophet, perform good deeds, and prepare for the hereafter—we see echoes in the vast majority of the Friday (and Eid) sermons that were to come. The following paragraphs outline the major thematic and structural features of Muḥammad's archetypal Friday sermon.

The counsel to consciousness of God (*taqwā*) is the first exhortation, an umbrella injunction that frames and underpins the whole. The body of the sermon opens with the standard formula of piety, "I counsel you to be conscious of God" (أوصيكم بتقوى الله). The subsequent line of explanation—"that is the best counsel a Muslim can give a Muslim" and its immediate linkage with success in the next world in the succeeding adverbial line, "urging him to seek the hereafter, and commanding him to be conscious of God"—serves to deepen the urgency of the command. The word "*taqwā*" occurs no less than eight times in the sermon, in various verbal and nominal derivations, not even counting the multiple pronominal references. Out of the six total paragraphs in my sectioning, two full paragraphs are devoted to enjoining *taqwā*. Each of these two paragraphs combines direct exhortations to *taqwā* with supplementary injunctions that stem from it and are paired with it, as well as outcomes of possessing or not possessing it.

As I pointed out earlier, the word *taqwā* is usually rendered by scholars as "fear of God," from its most common literal meaning of protecting oneself from someone or something. But the subtext of the word is the understanding that God sees you at all times, so in fear of God's retribution you should refrain from transgressing and oppressing. In this sermon, the injunction to *taqwā* has two faces: one is paired with other words of "fear" in the text such as wariness (*ḥadhar*), fear (*makhāfah*), and heeding (*wajal*), which are linked with injunctions to beware of God's punishment; and the other face is paired with God's pleasure and reward, gleaming visages, and lofty rank in the hereafter. Together, they signal constant awareness of God.

Other counsels in the sermon include exhortations to perform good deeds in public and private, be sincere in devotion, and seek only God's pleasure. They include advice to follow God's path and heed his guidance, always speak truth, and always do good, for God has always been good to you. They tell listeners in succinct terms to fully partake of the world, but to do so without losing mindfulness of God (again, an abstruse reference to *taqwā*), "Seize your share, but do not be remiss in tendering God's due"—an echo of the Qur'an verse, «Through the blessings that God has granted you, seek the abode of the hereafter, but do not forget to enjoy your share of this world.»³⁸

The pious counsel is shored up by aphoristic statements. Sprinkled throughout the sermon, they are copiously stacked together at the end: "God ordains," "He rules," "There is no power save God's." Another declamation used here is "God is greatest," *Allāhu akbar*, the *takbīr* formula that is an essential part of the Eid sermon, but is sometimes also used in other types of oration. Consistent with the sermon's exhortatory thematics, many of its lines hang on imperatives. Two citations from the Qur'an endorse the pious counsel, but no poetry is cited.

The sermon was delivered just after the Meccan phase of Muḥammad's mission. In keeping with the urgent flavor of Muḥammad's Meccan orations and of the Qur'anic surahs revealed there, its opening formula of praise has apocalyptic overtones, with insistent warnings of the approaching hour. Toward the end of the sermon, the consequences of not possessing *taqwā* and the rewards for having it—God's wrath versus gleaming faces—also remind the audience of the impending judgment.

Other commands anticipate the Medinan phase of the Prophet's career, which was just beginning, with Muḥammad at the head of a polity, and one with very real enemies—the Prophet's own tribe of Quraysh, who had driven him out of his hometown of Mecca and attempted to kill him. In this vein, two themes that overtly counsel piety may be characterized as implicitly religious-political. Among them is the command at the beginning of the sermon to obey God and his Prophet, which has spiritual as well as temporal implications. Another is the injunction toward the end to struggle against evil and battle God's enemies, to fight in defense of Islam and the Muslim community. As the conflict developed into a full conflagration, Muḥammad's later sermons and the Qur'anic revelations of Medina would bring more specific urgings to jihad. At this transitional stage, this sermon takes a philosophical rather than an action-oriented approach to defense. Muḥammad's later sermons in Medina—perhaps some of them Friday or Eid sermons, although not flagged

38 Q Qaṣaṣ 28:77.

as such—would also contain a quantity of legislative material. This first Friday sermon, in the form we have it today, does not contain overt legislation.

A single piece, the sermon displays what would become the customary structure of the first of the two-part Friday sermon. It opens with a formula of praise for God and testimony to his oneness and Muḥammad's own messengerhood. This is followed by several paragraphs of religious and some religio-political counsel. It concludes with two pious dicta, "God is greatest" (الله أكبر) and "There is no power save God's" (لا قوة إلا بالله العظيم). Their formulaic and universal tone imparts a sense of closure.

Two components of the Friday and Eid sermon that I have discussed earlier in the chapter are omitted. One is minor, the other more significant. The minor omission is the vocative address that usually comes between the opening formula and the body of the oration. This could simply be a transmitter's oversight, or maybe such an address was not a required feature. But the sermon also contains no supplication, which, we are told by the jurists, is a regular and required feature. Perhaps there were lines of entreaty in the text that inadvertently dropped out of the transmission. We could also surmise that a whole, lost sermon, consecutive to this one—the second of the two-part sermon—may have contained the prayer.³⁹

4 Concluding Remarks

Beginning with Muḥammad's first Friday sermon, delivered as he was arriving in Medina, the practice, which was to extend to the Eid sermon, endured through his lifetime and the fourteen centuries after his demise, and it thrives in Muslim communities today. Merging pious counsel and supplications with more immediate earthly matters, the Friday and Eid sermon became a platform for social, political, and economic change. Even as other oratorical types were gradually replaced and modified by newer literary forms, this type continued to flourish. Over time, the term "*khuṭbah*" came to denote almost exclusively the Friday and Eid sermon.

39 As mentioned earlier, the first Friday sermon Muḥammad preached in Medina, after Qubā', is recorded by Ibn Hishām in two discrete parts. App. § 90.4, § 90.5.

The Battle Oration

Horses and Swords, Strategies and Ethics, Urgings and Prayers

One of the four major types of Arabic oratory, the battle oration (*khutbat al-jihād*) was abundantly delivered in the combat arenas of our period. Orators roused warriors to fight and give them courage. They presented the bearing of arms as a religious duty, a validation of manhood, or as the only way to escape death and ignominy. They laid out character traits to be inculcated, military strategies to be deployed, and ethical rules to be followed. Many prayed for victory. They drove home their message using promises and threats, verses from the Qur'an and poetry, hadith and proverbs, rhythmic phrases and nature imagery. They orated from horseback or leaned on sword and bow. These elements are discussed in this chapter under the rubrics of battles and contexts, themes and functions, and special features of battle orations. Textual examples by famous and not-so-famous orators are provided densely throughout. The text, translation, and analysis of a celebrated battle speech attributed to the Umayyad commander who conquered Spain in 92/711, Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, wraps up the chapter.

Much has been written on war speeches in world history. I draw on a smattering of those insights and examples as a comparative foil to sharpen the outlines of early Arabic battle oratory. Although there are also clear singularities in culture and time that differentiate our themes and contexts, in their fundamental thematics they are similar to battle speeches from other societies. In David Chandler's words, "the essential problems of waging warfare ... under conditions of extreme stress and danger, remain unchanged, just as the essentials of human nature ... the essential bedrock ... of all conflicts in whatever age, location or format ... [is] immutable."¹

1 Battles and Contexts

The following summary list of major battles from our period and the assessment of contexts and modes of oration within these battles provides a frame-

¹ Chandler, 242.

work for the subsequent analysis of themes and features. Some armed confrontations derive from the pre-Islamic period, and many more originate from battles of defense, conquest, and revolt in the first two centuries of Islam.

1.1 *The Major Battles*

- Among the earliest military encounters noted on the Arabian Peninsula were the legendary pre-Islamic battles of Basūs (ca. 494–534AD) and Dhū Qār (late 6th or early 7th century AD).
- In Muḥammad's lifetime, battles between the first Muslims and the Meccan alliance in the Peninsula included Badr (2/624), Uḥud (3/625), Confederates/Trench (5/627), Khaybar (7/628), and the Conquest of Mecca (8/630).
- Abū Bakr fought the Wars of Apostasy (11–12/632–633) against the Arabian tribes who seceded from the Muslim polity immediately after the Prophet's death; these include the Battle of Yamāmah (11/632).
- During the expansion of the Islamic empire in the two decades following, several pitched battles were fought, including Yarmūk in Syria (15/636), Qādisiyyah in Iraq (bet. 14–17/635–638), and Nahāwand in Iran (21/642). Campaigns were also carried out successfully in Egypt (18–20/639–641) and Central Asia (ca. 30/651).
- The civil war during 'Alī's caliphate played out in the military engagements of the Camel (35/656), Šiffin, and Nahrawān (both 36/657).
- During the Umayyad period (41–132/661–750), the conquests continued in North Africa (45–70/665–689) and Andalusia (beginning in 92/711).
- Also in the Umayyad period, armed confrontations erupted regularly between the government and various rebel groups in Iraq, and also in Iran, Central Asia, and the Hījāz, including:
 - Confrontations with Shi'i supporters of the Prophet's family—such as the Battle of Karbala, where Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī was killed (61/680), and the retaliatory uprisings in Kufa of the Penitents (65/685) and Mukhtār (66–67/685–687), as well as the uprising of Zayd ibn 'Alī (122/740).
 - The lengthy conflict in Iraq and the Hījāz with 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr (62–73/681–692), with a pitched battle fought at Ḥarrah in Medina (63/683).
 - Continuing hostilities with the Khārijites.
- The Abbasid revolution (132/750) overthrew the Umayyads.

1.2 *Contexts and Modes of the Battle Oration*

The contexts and modes of our battle orations vary, based largely on when and where during the confrontation they were delivered. In his work on Western battle speeches, Richard Miller provides a useful generic division: the Pre-

sentation and Recruitment Speech, the Instructional Speech, the Pre-Invasion Speech, the Pre-Battle Speech, the Midst-of-Battle Speech, and the Post-Battle Speech; these broad-stroke categories apply to our period too. Within the time-scaffolding, another differentiator in our corpus is the orator's identity and religio-political background, as well as his ethical leanings. Although many battle orators utilize similar themes, we see different refrains in focus. For example, 'Alī's many orations, which are concentrated squarely on piety and righteousness, are different from Ṭāriq's oration, which enumerates worldly rewards, and both are different from the orations by Ḥajjāj, with their threats for noncompliance. Yet another factor causing divergence is the tier of leadership to which the orator belongs and the goal he is trying to achieve. Sometimes it is a commander or his lead associates speaking to the whole army or to tribal or city-based groups therein. Sometimes it is the commander's associates addressing the opposing commander. Sometimes it is the commander himself speaking post-battle to groups who had stayed back from supporting him. In a complex audience-set in Karbala, Zuhayr ibn Qayn addresses his Kufan opponents, but they are also potential allies against the Umayyad governor.² Moreover, in addition to single orations performed as solo speeches, we also see a number of grouped speeches, either in debate format or all arguing the same point, collectively trying to persuade the rank and file.

Most of our battle orations were delivered on the battlefield right before, during, or after a battle. Just before the battle started, leaders sometimes gave speeches one after the other, persuading warriors to galvanize, as did 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās at Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān. On the other side at Ṣiffīn, Mu'āwiyah, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, and Yazīd ibn Asad did the same. Orations by tribal leaders urging their groups to fight include the one by 'Alī's supporter 'Abdallāh ibn Budayl addressing his fellow Khuzā'ah tribesmen.³ In addition to addressing their own compatriots, orator-leaders often spoke to the enemy to persuade them to step down. Again, Ṣiffīn is a case in point, as is Nahrawān, as well as Karbala. During the battle, at key moments, leaders gave speeches urging courage in the face of hard fighting, such as the speeches of Mālik al-Ashtar and Khālīd ibn Mu'ammār of Rabī'ah at Ṣiffīn.⁴

Off the battlefield, military addresses were delivered at other junctures during a conflict. Some constituted a beginning point for the confrontation, far away from the actual scene. Caliphs, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar, gave speeches to their troops as they bade them farewell from Medina during the

² App. § 170.2.

³ App. § 3.1.

⁴ App. § 77.4, § 73.1.

Wars of Apostasy and the early Muslim wars of conquest, in which they urged them to fight and laid out ethical guidelines. Umayyad governors such as Ḥajjāj galvanized troops from Kufa to fight insurgents in Iraq, Iran, and Central Asia. Khārījite leaders such as Muʿadh ibn Juwayn gave speeches soliciting the pledge of allegiance from the audience to fight a certain enemy,⁵ as did Muʿāwiyah, who fired up the Syrians in Damascus, and his subordinate, Dhū l-Kalāʿ, who, in response to Muʿāwiyah's instructions to him, "address[ed] the people with an oration and incit[ed] them to fight 'Alī."⁶

In strategy sessions at home or on the battlefield, multiple orators gave quasi-orations, one after the other; orations by 'Alī and his counsellors in the run-up to Ṣiffīn are a case in point. They spoke similarly in tactical meetings at crucial moments during drawn-out conflicts, such as the pre-Ṣiffīn delegation 'Alī sent to negotiate with Muʿāwiyah, and the delegation sent by Muʿāwiyah to negotiate with 'Alī. Similar contexts are found in the post-Ṣiffīn orations of arbitration by Abū Mūsā l-Ashʿarī and 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and the orations after the arbitration delivered by 'Alī, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, 'Abdallāh ibn al-ʿAbbās, and 'Abdallāh ibn Jaʿfar.

Additionally, a number of post-battle orations are reported after the troops returned home, soon after the fighting ended. Examples include the oration by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, who, at 'Uthmān's behest, informed the Medinans of the successful raid he had led in North Africa, and 'Alī's oration after the Battle of the Camel, chastising the defeated Basrans.⁷

Discussed more fully in Chapter Ten, a handful of battle orations are attributed to women. Famously and most unusually, the Prophet's widow ʿĀ'ishah gave a rousing speech at the Battle of the Camel, legitimating her authority to command the Muslims on the basis of her relationship with Muḥammad and with Abū Bakr, her father. Three women among 'Alī's supporters gave orations at Ṣiffīn. Of them, 'Ikriṣhah bint al-Aṭash is further described as helping carry the warrior's sword belts, and Zarqā' bint al-'Adī al-Hamdāniyyah and Umm al-Khayr bint al-Ḥarīsh al-Bāriqiyyah as riding a camel between the pitched rows of opposing fighters. Using themes similar to those adopted by male orators and quoting verses from the Qur'an, all three praised 'Alī and urged the Iraqis to fight Muʿāwiyah. Post-battle orations were delivered in the aftermath of Karbala by Ḥusayn's sisters, Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm.

5 App. § 83.1.

6 App. § 46.1.

7 App. § 7.1; § 31.10.

2 Themes and Functions of Battle Oration

Our battle orations contain six major themes: they (1) urge warriors to fight, (2) delineate battlefield strategies, (3) propound battlefield ethics, (4) describe the moral qualities of a good warrior, (5) offer pious counsel, and (6) supplicate God for victory.

2.1 *The Central Theme: Urging Warriors to Fight*

Like most battle orations in world history, rallying warriors to fight is the Arabic battle oration's most prominent theme. How do they rally? Answering the need to impose a narrative on otherwise chaotic events, they rationalize the randomly-inflicted death and destruction of war in an effectively crafted historical reality. They instill confidence in their armies that they are on the side of truth, thus they can prevail. With carrot and stick, they motivate soldiers to fight. Miller's comments on this issue are worth citing:⁸

If command has a first principle, it is this: soldiers cannot simply be ordered to die—they must first be persuaded ... Soldiers' enthusiasm and interest must still be roused to join an army; roused to take instruction; roused again to perform, both before and during a battle; afterward, soldiers must be comforted and convinced that the battle was worth the price ... Battle speeches ... are an important means of accomplishing all of these things ... battle speeches are all about soldiers' *purpose* and *morale*.

Muslim military commanders in our period attempted to awaken their troops' fighting spirit in various ways. They offered religious assurances of heavenly reward, moral spurs to honor and valor, and worldly temptations of abundant riches and beautiful women. They shouted threats of harsh punishment, and warnings of debasement and ignominy. They expounded the righteousness of the orator's side and the wickedness of the other. They articulated truisms about death being assured for all, whether on the battlefield or in bed at home. Two or more arguments were often combined in a potent package of persuasion. Themes were common to many stripes of orators, but all arguments, even within our period, were not used equally. As mentioned earlier, particular circumstances prompted particular approaches, just as certain kinds of people were prone to using certain lines of argument. And although the point

⁸ Miller, 1–4.

was almost always to motivate fighting, orators sometimes found it expedient to turn a common theme on its head, arguing against the grain of what was expected.

2.1.1 Heavenly Reward

A common motif in the orator's persuasive repertoire was the assurance of heavenly reward. This was frequently coupled with declarations about the merit of defending Islam and the glory of jihad in God's path. The compound motif is conspicuous in 'Alī's oeuvre and that of his supporters, and in the repertoire of Umayyad-period Shi'ites and Khārijites. Here are some examples: Using the metaphor of a profitable trade, 'Alī said to his army before the battle at Šiffin, "God has told you about the commerce that saves from painful chastisement and leads to all good things: belief in God and his messenger, and jihad in God's path. He has promised to reward you with forgiveness of sins and exquisite mansions in the Garden of Eden. He has also informed you that he loves those who fight in his path."⁹ Similarly, the Azraqī Khārijite commander Zubayr ibn 'Alī al-Salīfī tried to revive the heat in his flagging followers by saying, "The trials [of jihad] efface sins and procure reward for believers, while for disbelievers they are a form of punishment and ignominy ... Trust [in God's pledge] that you will inherit the earth, for «the good outcome is reserved for the pious»."¹⁰ The Umayyad commander Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhili said to the Khurasanians he was mobilizing against the people of Ṭukhāristān (near Balkh, on the Oxus river), "[God] has promised those who fight in his path the most beautiful of rewards and the greatest of treasures."¹¹

In a longer segment, the leader of the Penitents, Sulaymān ibn Šurad, urged his fellow Kufans to fight, expanding the trade metaphor used earlier by 'Alī:¹²

9 إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ قَدْ دَلَّكُمْ عَلَى تِجَارَةٍ تَنْجِيكُمْ مِنْ عَذَابِ أَلِيمٍ تَشْفِي بِكُمْ عَلَى الْخَيْرِ الْإِيمَانَ بِاللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ) وَبِرَسُولِهِ وَالْجِهَادَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى ذَكَرَهُ وَجَعَلَ ثَوَابَهُ مَغْفِرَةَ الذَّنْبِ وَمَسَاكِنَ طَيِّبَةً فِي جَنَّاتِ عَدْنٍ ثُمَّ (أَخْبَرَكُمْ أَنَّهُ يُحِبُّ الَّذِينَ يِقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ App. § 31.19.

10 إِنَّ الْبَلَاءَ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ تَحِيصٌ وَأَجْرٌ وَهُوَ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ عِقَابٌ وَنَحْزِي ... وَثَقُوا بِأَنْتُمْ مُسْتَخْلِفُونَ فِي الْأَرْضِ) (﴿وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾ App. § 168.1, Q A'rāf 7:128.

11 (وَوَعَدَ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ أَحْسَنَ الثَّوَابِ وَأَعْظَمَ الذَّنْحِ) App. § 106.1.

12 App. § 129.3.

God is aware of the intentions with which you have marched and the goals that you seek. Indeed, there are “traders” who vie for this world, and others who vie for the hereafter. As for the trader who vies for the hereafter, he strives for it single mindedly. You never see him except standing and sitting, bowing and prostrating [in prayer]. He does not seek gold or silver or worldly pleasures. As for the trader who vies for this world, he is bent upon getting more and more. He wallows in it, not wanting to exchange it for anything else.

May God have mercy on you in your endeavor! Pray long in the deep of the night and remember God at all times. Seek to draw closer to God by performing all the good you are able. You will soon meet the enemy—that cruel shedder of illicit blood—and fight him. Nothing will bring you closer to your lord than jihad and prayer. Jihad is the “hump” of good deeds. May God place us among his pious servants who fight in his path and endure in times of adversity.

فإن الله قد علم ما تتوون وما خرجتم
تطلبون. وإنّ للدنيا تجارًا وللآخرة تجارًا. فأما
تاجر الآخرة فساع إليها متنصب بطلابها
لا يشتري بها ثمنًا لا يرى إلّا قائمًا وقاعدًا
وراكمًا وساجدًا لا يطلب ذهبًا ولا فضة
ولا دنيا ولا لذة. وأما تاجر الدنيا فكبّ
عليها رافع فيها لا يبتغي بها بدلًا.

فعلیکم یرحمکم الله فی وجهکم هذا بطول
الصلاة فی جوف اللیل وبذکر الله کثیرًا
علی کلّ حال. وتقرّبوا إلى الله جلّ ذکره
بکلّ خیر قدرتم علیه. حتّی تلقوا هذا
العدوّ والحمل القاسط فتجاهدوه. فإنّکم
لن تتوسّلوا إلى ربّکم بشيء هو أعظم
عنده ثوابًا من الجهاد والصلاة. فإنّ
الجهاد سنام العمل. جعلنا الله وإیّاکم من
العباد الصالحین المجاهدین الصابرين علی
الآواء.

2.1.2 Heavenly Retribution for Non-compliance and Societal Shame
Many a time, orators combined declarations about the heavenly rewards of jihad with warnings about God's anger for those who refused to fight or ran away from the battlefield. They frequently threw in for good measure reminders of some harsh, this-worldly consequences. The theme is common in the oeuvre of 'Alī and his supporters and in Khārijite orations. Here are some examples: 'Alī's commander Mālik al-Ashtar declaimed to his legion when they were pushed back at one point in Şiffin, “Be generous with your lifeblood, servants of God, in the preservation of your faith. God has assured you his reward. To God belong the gardens of bliss. Fleeing from the battle will strip you of your might and deprive you of your stipends. You will be humiliated in life and death,

shamed in this world and the hereafter. You will experience God's anger and his painful chastisement."¹³ A year later, following the raid on Anbār, north of Kufa, by Mu'āwiyah's commander, Sufyān al Ghāmīdī, 'Alī chastised his followers in Kufa in a famous speech. Although he began with a positive assertion about the merits of fighting in God's cause—"Jihad is a gateway to paradise"—he immediately segued into decrying their lack of spirit: "As for those who turn away from jihad, God will clothe them in ignominy. They will be plagued with calamities, struck with humiliation, covered in shame, and denied justice."¹⁴

Similarly, following Ḍaḥḥāk's raid on Ḥīrah, 'Alī chastised his followers in an effort to get them to move, attempting to shame them into defending their homes:¹⁵

People! You are together in body but divided in aspiration. Your words weaken the mighty rock and your actions encourage your enemies. In your gatherings you say this and that, but when battle approaches, you yell, "Be gone! Get away!" One whose mission depends on you is never on firm ground. His heart is never at ease. Excuses and falsehoods! You ask me to delay, like procrastinating debtors. Far be it! Men devoid of honor can never fight injustice. Truth can never be achieved except with earnest effort. Tell me—which home will you defend after this one is taken? With which Imam will you fight after I am gone?

أيها الناس المجتمعة أبدانهم المختلفة أهواؤكم.
كلامكم يوهي الصمّ الصلاب وفعلكم يطمع
فيكم عدوّكم. تقولون في المجالس كيت
وكيت فإذا جاء القتال قلتم حيدي حيا.
ما عزّت دعوة من دعاكم ولا أسترأح
قلب من قاساكم. أعاليل بأضاليل. سألتوني
التأخير دفاع ذي الدين المطول. هيات لا
يمنع الضيم الدليل ولا يدرك الحق إلا بالجد.
أيّ دار بعد داركم تمنعون أم مع أيّ إمام
بعدي تقاتلون.

The Khārijite commander Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ said in an exhortation on the battlefield that godlessness was rife within the community, and they absolutely needed to fight: "I do not understand what you are waiting for! Until when will you accept the spread of injustice and the disappearance of justice! Day by day

13 فطيبوا عباد الله أنفساً بدمائكم دون دينكم فإنّ ثوابكم على الله والله عنده جنّات النعيم وإنّ الفرار من (الزحف فيه السلب للعز والغلبة على الفياء وذلّ الحياء والممات وعار الدنيا والآخرة وسخط الله وأليم عقابه App. § 77.4.

14 إنّ الجهاد باب من أبواب الجنّة فمن تركه رغبة عنه ألبسه الله الذلّ وشمله البلاء ولزمه الصغار وسيم (الحسيف ومنع النصف App. § 31.35.

15 App. § 31.34.

these governors expand their extreme behavior. They go further and further away from the truth, and increase in bold transgression against the lord.”¹⁶

2.1.3 Certainty of Death

Adding to these warnings, orators reminded their audience that they would all eventually die anyway, whether they chose to fight or to hold back—so why not choose the honorable path? The following examples illustrate some of the ways in which this line of argument was articulated. This motif seems to be early; the pre-Islamic chieftain Hānī’ ibn Qubayṣah al-Shaybānī is said to have used it at the Battle of Dhū Qār, where he declaimed:¹⁷

O tribe of Bakr, a warrior who dies [fighting] is better than one who escapes by fleeing the battlefield. Caution does not save [one] from [his] fate. Endurance is a cause of victory. Death, yes, but never shame! Facing death is better than turning your back. A spearthrust in your breast is more honorable than one in your buttock or your back. O tribe of Bakr! Fight! For there is no escaping the fates!

يا معشر بكر هالك معذور خير من ناج
فرور. إنَّ الحذر لا ينجي من القدر وإنَّ
الصبر من أسباب الظفر. المنية ولا الدنية.
استقبال الموت خير من استدباره. الطعن
في ثغر النحر أكرم منه في الأعجاز والظهور.
يا آل بكر قاتلوا فما للنيايا من بدّ.

Going forward in time, all manner of Muslim commanders leveraged this line of reasoning. ‘Alī said in the speech at Ṣiffin quoted earlier, “I swear by God, even if you escape from this earthly sword, you will still not be safe from the sword of the hereafter.”¹⁸ In another speech there, when it looked like his right flank was falling back, he declared:¹⁹

Let the absconder know that he displeases his lord and destroys his soul. Fleeing from battle garners punishment from God, incessant disgrace, and unending shame. The absconder loses his share from the state treasury, and his life becomes inexorably difficult. Moreover, he does

وليعلم المنهزم أنّه مسخط ربّه وموبق نفسه.
إنّ في الفرار موجدة الله عزّ وجلّ والذلّ
اللازم له والعار الباقي وأعتصار الفيء من
يده وفساد العيش عليه. وإنّ الفارّ لا يزيد

16 ما أدري ما تنتظرون وحقّ متى أنتم مقيمون هذا الجور قد فشا وهذا العدل قد عفا ولا تزداد هذه)

17 App. § 122.2. (الولاء على الناس إلّا غلواّ وعتواّ وتباعداّ عن الحقّ وجرأة على الربّ

App. § 52.1.

18 App. § 31.19. (وايم الله لئن سلّتم من سيف العاجلة لا تسلبون من سيف الآخرة)

19 App. § 31.22.

not extend his lifespan by fleeing, while he does fail to please his lord. A man's honorable death, before any of that happens, is better than a life of constant perplexity.

الفرار في عمره ولا يرضي ربه. فموت المرء محققاً قبل إتيان هذه الخصال خير من الرضا بالتلبس بها والإصرار عليه.

At this time, 'Alī also sent Ashtar to rally the front line, instructing him to remind them, "Where will you run from death."²⁰ Yet another oration by 'Alī at Ṣiffin proceeds along similar lines thus:²¹

Death is an assiduous seeker. No one who stays at home escapes it, and no one who flees from the battlefield eludes it. The most honorable death is on the battlefield. By the God who holds the soul of Abū Ṭālib's son in his hand, a thousand sword strikes are easier to bear than a single death on your bed in a state of disobedience to God.

إنّ الموت طالب حثيث لا يفوته المقيم ولا يعجزه الهارب إنّ أكرم الموت القتلى. والذي نفس ابن أبي طالب بيده لألف ضربة بالسيف أهون من مائة واحدة على الفراش في غير طاعة الله.

The Khārijite Ṣāliḥ said in one of his exhortations on the battlefield, "Do not be afraid of being killed, for that is easier than dying in other ways—assuredly, someday you will all die."²²

In a poignant twist on the death motif, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī embraced the idea of martyrdom in a speech to his supporters when 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād's military unit first surrounded him at Dhū Ḥusum, in Iraq:²³

You see where we are at—this world has changed and grown alien to us. All its known goodness has turned back, leaving it totally bitter to the taste. Nothing remains of it save a few droplets like those that remain in a vessel after it is emptied out. A life of dishonor is noxious pasture. Do you not see that truth has no more takers, and evil finds none who desist? Let the believer look to

إنّه قد نزل من الأمر ما قد ترون. وإنّ الدنيا قد تغيّرت وتتكّرت وأدبر معروفها وأستمرت جدّاً. فلم يبق منها إلّا صبابة كصبابة الإناء وخسيس عيش كالمرعى الويل. ألا ترون أنّ الحقّ لا يعمل به وأنّ الباطل لا يتناهى عنه. ليرغب المؤمن في

²⁰ (أين فراركم من الموت): App. § 77.3.

²¹ App. § 31.76, § 31.23.

²² (ولا تجزعوا من القتل في الله فإنّ القتل أيسر من الموت والموت نازل بكم): App. § 122.1.

²³ App. § 62.3.

meeting God with honor. I do not see a death better than martyrdom, nor living with these tyrants anything but weariness. لقاء الله محققاً. فإني لا أرى الموت إلا شهادة ولا الحياة مع الظالمين إلا برماً.

2.1.4 Wealth and Women

A further line of oratorical argument urging troops to fight was the lure of riches, and sometimes also women, presumably as concubines and wives. Often, this was combined with reminders that there is no other option if they want to survive. This motif appears to have been used most often in the wars of conquest, both in the period of the first three Sunni caliphs, and those of the Umayyad era. For example, at Qādisiyyah, the Tamīmī chieftain ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Amr said in a speech to his troops, “God has made it legal for you [to subjugate] the people of these lands ... God is with you. If you practice fortitude and are true in wielding swords and hurling spears, you will soon possess their wealth, women, children, and lands.”²⁴

Orations used the promise of riches in different ways. In a typical two-part argument, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil contrasted the hardships of battle with the luxuries that would ensue from it. On the day he fought Yūsuf al-Fihri in the Battle of Muṣārah outside Cordoba in 139/756, he declaimed, “Today will decide what happens tomorrow: unending humiliation, or unending might. Be patient this hour in the face of hardship, for you will profit by it a lifetime of comfort.”²⁵ This is a powerful invocation, but general. Elsewhere, promises of wealth are more specific. At Qādisiyyah, the Bajalī chieftain Jarīr ibn ‘Abdallāh urged his tribal troops saying, “None among [your fellow warriors] will get a share of the fifth [of the booty reserved for the fighters] equal to yours—the commander of the faithful has promised you a full fourth of that fifth.”²⁶

Foregrounding honor in a reversal of the more common promise-of-wealth theme, the Zubayrid commander Muslim ibn ‘Ubayy said to his Basran troops as they mobilized to fight the Azraqī Khārījites in 65/685, “I do not fight in order

24 إن هذه بلاد قد أحل الله لكم أهلها ... والله معكم إن صبرتم وصدقتموهم الضرب والطعن فلكم أموالهم (ونسأؤهم وأبناؤهم وبلادهم): App. § 39.1.

25 هذا اليوم هو أش ما يبنى عليه إما ذل الدهر وإما عز الدهر فأصبروا ساعة فيما لا تشتهون وتربحوا بها (بقية أعماركم فيما تشتهون): App. § 12.1.

26 وليس لأحد منهم في هذا الخمس غداً من النفل مثل الذي لكم ولكم ربع خمسة نفلاً من أمير (المؤمنين): App. § 69.1.

to reap gold or silver ... There is no booty to be gained other than swords and spears. Let whoever wishes to fight come forward. Whoever prefers life should go back home.”²⁷

2.1.5 Threats

Hand in hand with promises of reward for those who fought, commanders used threats of punishment against those who did not. In particular, Umayyad commanders frequently used intimidating language toward their unenthusiastic Iraqi recruits, warning of harsh physical and monetary reprisals for noncompliance. Ḥajjāj thundered at the Kufans to mobilize against the Ṣufriyyah Khārījite leader Shabīb ibn Yazīd, “I swear by the one God, if you behave in this conflict the way you behaved in the previous ones, I shall give you over to a harsh keeper and deal with you with a heavy hand.”²⁸ Ḥajjāj’s general, Ibn al-Ash’ath al-Kindī, was as explicit in his threats. He said to the Kufans he was leading against the Turkoman Rutbīl in Sijistan in 80/699, “Do not think of deserting—any who do will bring [Ḥajjāj’s] retribution upon themselves.”²⁹ Although the Iraqis bore its brunt more often than not, this harsh language was not reserved for them alone. The Umayyad commander Muslim ibn ‘Uqbah said to his Syrian army, who were falling back at the attack on the Medinans at Ḥarrah in 63/683, “By God, as reward for this poor performance you will lose your stipends and be marched off to the farthest frontiers.”³⁰

Frequently, battle orators pointed out the desperation of their troops’ present situation. Continuing on from the promise of wealth and women cited earlier, ‘Āṣim at Qādisiyyah voiced a dark warning, “Do you not see that behind you are barren wastelands with nothing to drink and no haven for refuge?”³¹ Abū Sufyān also used the argument of desperate straits at Yarmūk, as did Ṭāriq in Andalusia.³²

27 إني ما خرجت لأمتيأر ذهب ولا فضة وإني لأحارب قوماً إن ظفرت بهم فإر وراءهم إلاً سيوفهم) (App. § 94.1.

28 (ورماحهم فمن كان شأنه الجهاد فلينهض ومن أحب الحياة فليرجع والذي لا إله غيره لئن فعلتم في هذا الوطن كفعلكم في المواطن التي كانت لأوليئكم كنفاً خشناً) (App. § 51.8. Lit.: “I shall lean on you with a heavy camel-breast.”)

29 (فإيأكم أن يتخلف منكم رجل فيحل بنفسه العقوبة) (App. § 63.1.

30 (أما والله ما جزأكم عليه إلاً أن تحرموا العطاء وأن تجبروا في أقاصي الثغور) (App. § 95.1.

31 (أولأ ترون أن الأرض وراءكم بسابس قفار ليس فيها نحر ولا وزر يعقل إليه ويمتنع به) (App. § 39.1. ‘Āṣim’s caution segues to the final motif, with the speech using the first category of heavenly reward and ending on a higher moral note, “Focus your aspirations on the hereafter” (اجعلوا همكم الآخرة).

32 App. § 24.3, § 134.1.

Other arguments played on the warriors' concern for their families. Some commanders warned troops that if they did not fight, their women and children would be exposed to violence and shame. Yazīd ibn Asad persuaded Mu'āwiyah's army at Ṣiffīn to fight, saying, "We know there are mature men among [Alī's troops] and others who are rabble; we cannot trust those rabble not to harm our women and children."³³ Mu'āwiyah himself rallied troops using the same motif, saying they should "defend their women and children."³⁴ Using the reverse argument, Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī pushed back against the wishes of his commander 'Alī and told the Iraqis to *stop* fighting or they would all die—and then what would happen to their families? He said, "If we continue to fight tomorrow, all the Arabs will perish, and sanctities will be rent. By God, I do not say this because I fear war, but I am an old man, and I fear for our women and children if we perish."³⁵ Continuing the theme of protecting women and children, Umayyad commanders frequently warned their troops about vicious reprisals from their enemies, telling them they know what the Khārijites are like and what anyone subjugated by them can expect. In one example, Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah said to his troops, "O people, you know the doctrine espoused by these Khārijites; if they overpower you they will destroy your religion and spill your blood ... your honor will be shamed, and your religion too, if they gain control over your stipends and molest your wives."³⁶

Post-battle orations also delivered threats, sometimes in the context of urgings not to lose heart in a continuing war, at other times focusing on chastisement. In an example of the latter, 'Alī, in his famous post-battle oration in Basra, criticized its inhabitants for bearing arms against him in the Battle of the Camel and predicted God's punishment for their city:³⁷

You were the woman's army and the camel's followers. When it bellowed, you answered. When it was killed, you fled. Your character is base,

كنتم جند المرأة وأتباع البهيمة رغا فأجبتكم
وعقر فهرتكم. أخلاقكم دقاق وعهدكم شقاق

33 (وقد علمنا أنّ في القوم أحلاماً وطغماً ولسنا نأمن طغاهم على ذرارينا ونسائنا) App. § 154.1.

34 (تذيون عن نسائكم وأبنائكم) App. § 84.6.

35 إنّنا نحن إن توافقنا غداً إنّّه لفيت العرب وضيعت الحرمات أما والله ما أقول هذه المقالة جزعاً من (الحرب ولكني رجل مسنّ أخاف على النساء والذراري غداً إذا فنيّا) App. § 38.2.

36 يأيها الناس إنّكم قد عرفتم مذهب هؤلاء الخوارج وأنهم إن قدروا عليكم فتتوكم في دينكم وسفكوا دماءكم (....) وعار عليكم ونقص في أحسابكم وأديانكم أن يغلبكم هؤلاء على فيئكم ويطنوا حريمكم App. § 87.1.

37 App. § 31.10.

your habit is dissension, your faith is hypocrisy, and your water is bitter. Those who reside with you are ensnared in sin, and those who leave are saved by God's mercy. I can see your mosque now, a ship's prow, God's punishment descended on it from above and below, and all within it drowned.

ودينكم نفاق وماؤكم زعاق والمقيم بين
أظهركم مرتهن بذنبه والشاخص عنكم
متدارك برحمة من ربه. كأني بمسجدكم
كجؤء سفينة قد بعث الله عليها العذاب
من فوقها ومن تحتها وغرق من في ضمنها.

2.1.6 The Leader's Rectitude and the Enemy's Corruption

A constant rallying theme at Şifîn was the righteousness of the orator's side and the wickedness of their opponents, often in back-and-forth declarations and responses. Within this rubric, praise of 'Alī's excellent character and unparalleled service to the nascent religion was a recurrent motif. On 'Alī's side, his governor, 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, rallied the Basrans to fight Mu'āwiyah as follows:³⁸

You will be fighting wicked tyrants who do not recite the Qur'an, acknowledge the rule of God's book, or practice the true faith—alongside the commander of the faithful, cousin of the messenger of God, who orders good and forbids evil, does what he does in all righteousness, and rules by the book of God. He cannot be bribed in a judgment, does not associate with the dissolute, and cares nothing if people censure acts he performs for God.

فإنكم تقاتلون المحلّين القاسطين الذين لا
يقرءون القرآن ولا يعرفون حكم الكتاب
ولا يدينون دين الحقّ مع أمير المؤمنين وأبن
عمّ رسول الله الأمر بالمعروف والناهي
عن المنكر والصادع بالحقّ والقيم بالهدى
والحاكم بحكم الكتاب الذي لا يرتشي في
الحكم ولا يدهن الفجار ولا تأخذه في الله
لومة لائم.

He used similar language after arriving at Şifîn, this time adding details to his praise of 'Alī and censure of Mu'āwiyah:³⁹

Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān has found support among the lowest dregs of humankind against the messenger of God's cousin and son-in-law, the first male to pray the ritual

إن معاوية بن أبي سفيان وجد من طغام
الناس أعواناً على ابن عمّ رسول الله
وصهره وأول ذكر صلى معه بدرّي قد

³⁸ App. § 1.2.

³⁹ App. § 1.3.

prayer with him, who fought at Badr alongside him, and was with him in all the great events where merit was to be earned. All this, while Mu'āwiyah was a polytheist worshipping idols ... 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib fought alongside God's messenger, proclaiming that "God and his messenger spoke truth," while Mu'āwiyah was saying, "God and his messenger spoke false."

شهد مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله كل
مشاهده التي فيها الفضل ومعاوية مشرك
كان يعبد الأصنام ... لقد قاتل علي بن أبي
طالب مع رسول الله وهو يقول صدق الله
ورسوله ومعاوية يقول كذب الله ورسوله.

Many on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffin made the same argument: Sa'īd ibn Qays proclaimed 'Alī's virtue and Mu'āwiyah's corruption, and added for good measure, "We have on our side seventy who fought with the Prophet at Badr"⁴⁰—men generally lauded by Muslims as being the first supporters of Islam. Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī named several of Mu'āwiyah's chief associates—presumably all notoriously corrupt and immoral—and warned the Iraqis that these would be their leaders if they did not fight.⁴¹ 'Alī himself censured his opponents' lack of rectitude, naming many who were presumably known to the Iraqis as iniquitous, with reminders that they were drinkers of wine, who were calling for a return to idol worship, while 'Alī himself was calling to Islam. He emphasized in contrast his own closeness to Muḥammad, saying he had always courageously "put his life on the line to protect the Prophet"; and reminding them that the Prophet had died with his head in 'Alī's lap, and that 'Alī had washed his body with only the angels helping him.⁴²

Ironically, some of Mu'āwiyah's own generals—such as Dhū l-Kalā'—felt compelled to acknowledge 'Alī's precedence in their speeches. But, they said, his holding back from protecting 'Uthmān had put him beyond the pale.⁴³ As is well known, seeking vengeance for the murdered caliph 'Uthmān's blood was Mu'āwiyah's chief battle cry. After he initially refused the newly succeeding caliph 'Alī's command to enter the fold, Mu'āwiyah explained to the Damascene public that he was "the governor appointed by the commander of the faithful 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and the commander of the faithful 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān ... and the latter's legal heir."⁴⁴ Here, and in many more speeches, he expounded—

⁴⁰ (معنا من البدرين سبعون رجلاً): App. § 120.1.

⁴¹ App. § 157.1.

⁴² (أقيه بنفسه في المواطن ...): App. § 31.16.

⁴³ App. § 46.1.

⁴⁴ أيها الناس قد علمتم أنني خليفة أمير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب وأمير المؤمنين عثمان ابن عفان عليكم ... (وإني ولي عثمان): App. § 84.1.

with a historical review tailored to his goal—that ‘Uthmān had been killed unjustly, and it was the Muslims’ duty to rise against ‘Alī, who was protecting his killers. When Mu‘āwiyah heard that ‘Alī was mobilizing to fight him, he “hung ‘Uthmān’s bloodstained shirt on the pulpit of Damascus, ringed around it seventy thousand (sic) shaykhs weeping profuse tears, and gave a speech” firing up the Syrians against ‘Alī.⁴⁵ He also used more general language, saying “you are on the path of truth, and you have a case,”⁴⁶ but this too seems to be a metonym for ‘Uthmān’s killing.

‘Alī’s supporters warned the Iraqis that seeking vengeance for ‘Uthmān’s blood was a ruse by Mu‘āwiyah for worldly gain. ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir said in a speech at Šiffīn:⁴⁷

By God, I do not believe they seek retribution for his spilled blood. Rather, they have tasted worldly pleasure and found it sweet and would like it to continue. Know that if the righteous caliph rules them he will come between them and the treasury from which they now consume without restraint. They have no precedence in Islam by which they could command obedience and allegiance, so they have tricked their followers, saying, “Our Imam was killed unjustly,” in order that they may continue to rule as mighty kings. This is a ruse they have used to prompt what you see before you. If not for it, not a single man would follow them.

والله ما أظنهم يطلبون بدم ولكنّ القوم
ذاقوا الدنيا فأستحلّوها وأستمرّوها. وأعلموا
أنّ صاحب الحقّ لو وليهم لخال بينهم وبين
ما يأكلون ويرعون منها. إنّ القوم لم يكن
لهم سابقة في الإسلام يستحقّون بها الطاعة
والولاية تخدعوا أتباعهم بأن قالوا قتل
إمامنا مظلوماً ليكونوا بذلك جبارة وملوكاً.
تلك مكيدة قد بلغوا بها ما ترون ولولاها ما
تابعهم من الناس رجل.

2.1.7 Tribal Glory

Contrary to the pre-Islamic period, in orations of the early Islamic period the tribal card is not often explicitly played, although we do see tribal praise used to enhance a legion’s pride and vigor. Ṭulayḥah ibn Khuwaylid al-Asadī said to his brethren at Qādisiyyah (in response to the Persian army charging the Muslims on elephants), “Charge upon them like ferocious lions. You have been named

45 قد ألبس منبر دمشق قيص عثمان مخضباً بالدم وحول المنبر سبعون ألف شيخ يكون حوله لا تحفّ (دموعهم على عثمان): App. § 84.2.

46 (إنكم لعلّى حقّ وبأيديكم حجة): App. § 84.5.

47 App. § 34.2.

the Asad [“lion”] tribe—charge like one!”⁴⁸ Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said also at Qādisiyyah, “You are the best of the Arabs, the choicest from each tribe.”⁴⁹ Sa’d does not praise any single tribe, but rather, he lauds these warriors as the best from every Arabian tribe.

2.1.8 Certainty of Victory

Motivating their troops from yet another angle, orators encouraged them, saying the enemy would soon scatter before their mightier force. Sometimes this line of argumentation comes while acknowledging that the enemy is strong. ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ pronounced to his troops at Yarmūk, using a desert image, “Do not be alarmed by their legions and their numbers. If you stay strong, they will scatter before you like partridge chicks.”⁵⁰ The rebelling Umayyad commander Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab used vivid images to convince his troops that the large imperial army they were facing could not stand up to them.⁵¹

People, I hear the rabble [among you] saying
 “Abbās has come!” “Maslamah has come!” “The
 Syrians are here!” What are the Syrians but nine
 swords, seven on my side, two raised against me!
 What is Maslamah but a yellow locust! As for
 ‘Abbās, he is a Nestorian Christian, and the son of
 a Nestorian Christian, who has come to you with
 an army of Somalians, Slavs, Syrians, Anatolians,
 Copts, Aramaic-speaking Iraqis, and a hodge-
 podge of people. Those fighting you are farmers
 and riff-raff, nothing but gnawed meatbones. By
 God, they have never seen a blade like yours, nor
 iron like yours! Lend me your arms for just one
 hour of this day, and we will slice off their snouts!
 We need just one morning, or one evening, until
 God judges between us. Indeed, he is the best of
 judges.

أيها الناس إني أسمع قول الرعاع قد جاء
 العباس قد جاء مسلمة قد جاء أهل
 الشام. وما أهل الشام إلا تسعة أسياف
 منها سبعة معي وأثنان عليّ. وما مسلمة إلا
 جرادة صفراء. وأما العباس فنسطوس ابن
 نسطوس أتاكم في برايرة وصقالبة وجرامقة
 وجراجمة وأقباط وأنباط وأخلاط من
 الناس. إنما أقبل إليكم الفلاحون والأوباش
 كأشلاء اللحم. والله ما لقوا قطّ حدًا كحدّكم
 ولا حديدًا كحديدكم. أعيروني سواعدكم ساعة
 من نهار تصفّقون بها خراطيمهم. فإنما هي
 غدوة أو روحة حتى يحكم الله بيننا وهو خير
 الحاكمين.

48 (وأقدموا عليهم إقدام الليوث الحربة فإنما سميت أسدًا لتفعلوا فعله) App. § 136.1.

49 (وأنتم وجوه العرب وأعيانهم وخيار كلّ قبيلة) App. § 113.1.

50 (فلا يهولنكم جموعهم ولا عددهم فإنكم لو صدقتموهم الشدّ تطايروا تطاير أولاد الخجل) App. § 24.3.

51 App. § 156.3.

At other times, the spirit-boosting talk is framed in the context of the enemy's weakness. 'Amr, once again, urged his troops in Şiffīn saying, "The Iraqis have fractured, their might has waned, and their blade has dulled. The Basrans will not obey 'Alī, since he fought and killed many of them. Their best warriors and the best warriors of Kufa have been slain in the Battle of the Camel. He marches with a few straggling fighters."⁵² Ḥajjāj's commander Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah encouraged his troops to fight the Khārijites under Shabīb, implying it would be easy to earn victory: "By God, they are not even two hundred men! Indeed, they are but a mouthful for one man! They are few, you are many; they are fractured, you are united."⁵³ Qutaybah ibn Muslim said to his troops, "You are the noble [ones] among the Arabs, the knights. God has honored you with his religion."⁵⁴

In a reversal of this theme, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī gathered his few remaining supporters on the eve of 'Āshūrā' and, after praising them and expressing appreciation for their loyalty, gave them leave to depart. His words imply certainty, too, but his certainty is not of winning the battle, but of death:⁵⁵

I do not know of companions more worthy and devout, or of family truer and more loving. May God reward you! Listen to me. I believe tomorrow will be the day our enemies attack. I have thought about this, and have decided to release you from your pledge. The night is dark, use it for cover. Each of you, take the hand of a [child] from my family. Scatter among the masses and in the cities, until God removes this calamity. These people want me, and if they kill or capture me, they will not pursue you.

إِنِّي لَا أَعْلَمُ أَصْحَابًا أَوْلَى وَلَا خَيْرًا مِنْ أَصْحَابِي
وَلَا أَهْلَ بَيْتِ آبٍ وَلَا أَوْصَلَ مِنْ أَهْلِ
بَيْتِي. فِجْزَا كَمَا اللَّهُ عَنِّي جَمِيعًا خَيْرًا. أَلَا وَإِنِّي
أَظُنُّ يَوْمَنَا مِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ الْأَعْدَاءِ غَدًا. أَلَا
وَإِنِّي قَدْ رَأَيْتُ لَكُمْ فَاتِنًا جَمِيعًا فِي حَلٍّ
لَيْسَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ ذِمَامٍ. هَذَا اللَّيْلُ قَدْ غَشِيَكُمْ
فَاتِنًا جَمَلًا. ثُمَّ لِيَأْخُذْ كُلَّ رَجُلٍ مِنْكُمْ بِيَدِ
رَجُلٍ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي. ثُمَّ تَفَرَّقُوا فِي سَوَادِكُمْ
وَمَدَائِنِكُمْ حَتَّى يَفْرَجَ اللَّهُ. فَإِنَّ الْقَوْمَ إِنَّمَا
يَطْلُبُونِي وَلَوْ قَدْ أَصَابُونِي لَهَوَا عَنْ طَلْبِ
غَيْرِي.

52 إِنَّ أَهْلَ الْعِرَاقِ قَدْ فَرَّقُوا جَمْعَهُمْ وَأَوْهَنُوا شُوكَتَهُمْ وَفَلَّوْا حَدَّهُمْ ثُمَّ إِنَّ أَهْلَ الْبَصْرَةَ مَخَالِفُونَ لِعَلِيٍّ قَدْ وَتَرَهُمْ

App. § 35.3. (وقتلهم وقد تفانت صنائدهم وصناديد أهل الكوفة يوم الجمل وأما سار في شردمة قليلة

53 (والله لا يكونون ماني رجل إنما هم أكلة رأس... وهم قليل وأنتم كثير وهم أهل فرقة وأنتم أهل جماعة) App. § 162.1.

54 (وأنتم دهاقين العرب وفرسانهم وقد فضلكم الله بدينه) App. § 106.2.

55 App. § 62.5.

Ḥusayn's candid admission of impending death constitutes—in Miller's terminology—a 'Truth Speech.' In contrast to Miller's examples, however, it was explicitly an attempt not to galvanize but to release. Yet, it did galvanize. In passionate response speeches, Zuhayr ibn Qayn and other core supporters declared unswerving loyalty and refusal to abandon Ḥusayn.⁵⁶

2.1.9 Retribution for the Blood of the Prophet's Family

After Ḥusayn's killing, vengeance for the blood of the Prophet's family spilled by the Umayyads became a major rallying theme. Speeches of the Penitents who rose up in 65/685 in Kufa soon after the Karbala massacre are filled with this rhetoric. Their leaders—including Musayyab ibn Najabah al-Fazārī, Rifā'ah ibn Shaddād, Khālīd ibn Sa'd, Sa'd ibn Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, 'Ubaydallāh ibn 'Abdallāh al-Murri, and Sulaymān ibn al-Ṣurad—lamented Ḥusayn's killing, and their own iniquity in not defending him, and they urged one another to rise up and fight to the death.⁵⁷ A year later, this theme continues in the speeches of Mukhtār, who, in an address to the "assembly of Shi'a" in Kufa says "the Imam" [Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah] has commanded them to "seek vengeance for the blood of your Prophet's venerable family."⁵⁸ The Abbasid revolution was also based in large part on this slogan, and the dynasty originally came to power on the wave of this rallying call: The theme is ascribed to a commander of the Abbasid revolutionary forces, Qaḥṭabah ibn Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī, who rallied his Khurasanian army to face the enormous Syrian army by asserting that "the [unnamed] Imam" had predicted victory, and, speaking to our point here, by enjoining them to seek retribution for the blood of the Prophet's family spilled by the Umayyads.⁵⁹

2.1.10 Three World-Comparisons of Theme and Method

To further hone our view of early Arabic oratory, we can harness a broad comparison with speeches from the Western heritage on points of theme, rhetorical method, and authority. In a turn-of-the-last-century study, Theodore Burgess analyzed a large number of ancient speeches to derive twelve types of battle appeals used by Greek and Roman generals.⁶⁰

- (1) Remember your glorious ancestry ... they have prevailed over this enemy before.
- (2) Do not disgrace your heritage.
- (3) A comparison of

56 App. § 170.1; Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:419–420, (Ṣafwat 2:50–51).

57 Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:552–561, (Ṣafwat 2:58–64).

58 App. § 91.2.

59 App. § 101.1.

60 Burgess, 212–214; discussed in Miller, 22. The twelve themes have some internal overlap.

our forces with those of the enemy. (4) In war, it is valor, not mere numbers, that prevails. (5) Great prizes await the victors. (6) The auspices are favorable, the gods are our allies. (7) Death in battle is glorious. (8) Defeat equals disgrace. (9) We have conquered this enemy before. (10) The wrongs suffered from this enemy; the war is just. (11) Patriotism. (12) Our commander is superior to that of the enemy.

Despite the differences between the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome, on the one hand, and early Islamic Arabia on the other, we find remarkable similarities in battle topoi, which, in turn and as stated earlier, indicate similarities in essential human concerns. Numerous kinds of appeals, worldly and other-worldly, are present in both bodies of texts. Perhaps the main variance is the appeal to a nationalistic patriotism in the ancient Greek and Roman speeches, which is transmuted into a mostly religious and sometimes tribal group identity in our texts. Although Iraqis and Syrians feature as opposing blocs in the battles of our period, they are set up as inhabitants of geographic locations rather than nations. Another difference is the Muslim speeches' focus on the moral rectitude of their leader, versus the Greek and Roman emphasis on the (presumably military) superiority of their commander.

Another aspect of convergence is metonymy. Citing Napoleon's fleeting mention of the French Revolution in the opening to his "Proclamation to the Youth of France" in the year 1800, Miller writes of the importance of this trope in Napoleon's speech, and more widely in the corpus of Western battle speeches:⁶¹

All battle-speech historical narratives must begin with some past event. Since few battle speeches bother with much explanation (there is rarely time), the battle speechmaker essentially wagers that his audience will recognize the past event and provide the desired significances from its own stock of associations.

As seen in our speeches, metonymy is an important method of persuasion. But in contrast to Napoleon's eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century French speeches, the "past event" evoked in early Muslim battle speeches is frequently centered in a Qur'anic world-view of prophetic history. An example is the allusion to past communities who challenged God's prophets and were punished, seen in Zaynab's post-Karbala speech, discussed in Chapter Ten.

61 Miller, 56, 59.

My third comparison is regarding the divine sanction invoked in both bodies of texts to justify the taking up of arms. Like the early Muslim battle speeches that draw on religious concepts to urge fighting, there are plenty of speeches in the Western oratorical tradition that rely on scriptural and doctrinal affirmation of a “just war.” This claim is amply certified, for example, by Gilles Teulié and Laurence Lux-Sterritt’s collection of essays on the genre, *War Sermons*, which showcases religious arguments in Western speeches from the time of rising church power and Crusade rhetoric in the mid-twelfth century, through the religiously hued battle speeches of the Reformation, to the “war sermons” of Abraham Lincoln delivered during the American Civil War, up to the BBC’s multi-faith “mini sermons” broadcast during the Second World War. A full comparison would range beyond the possibilities of this book, and the rights and wrongs of such issues are not its subject. But given the nature of the chapter, and the Islamophobia current in many quarters in the present time, I will go out on a limb and state the obvious, viz., that the concept of jihad is also a deep and ubiquitous presence in Western Christian societies.

2.2 *Battlefield Strategies*

Another prominent theme in the early Muslim battle oration addresses strategies of battle. Although we see some larger battle plans addressed, most directions focus on best practices for hand-to-hand combat. And while commanders sometimes add brief rationales, most instructions are given in a series of staccato commands. The most commonly urged fighting tactics include injunctions to stay close in tight rows, bite down hard on molars, keep spears pointed forward, not indulge in idle chatter, and focus the gaze low, presumably to maintain heightened awareness of immediate local danger. Other fairly frequent directions instruct troops to stick to their positions, guard their banner staunchly, and go down on their knees to point their spears. Yet other directives remind fighters to use shields for defense, (and in the Umayyad period) to bring horses close together, keep the heavily armed in front and those without helmets behind. They warn soldiers not to be alarmed if the ablest of enemy fighters bears down. They instruct troops to wait until the commander gives the word, then attack all at once. Taken together, these instructions and strategies give us a good sense of the nature of armed combat in our period.

Advice about how to brace oneself for the fight is found in some Yarmūk orations. Abū ‘Ubaydah gave instructions to his troops to make ready for battle thus: “Do not step out of line. Do not take steps toward the enemy or begin the fighting. Straighten your spears. Take cover behind your shields. You may call on God, but otherwise stay silent. Wait until I give the word, [and I shall,]

God willing!"⁶² 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ gave some of the same injunctions and added more, "Focus your gaze low, go forward on your knees and point your spears. If they charge, wait, until they are almost upon the tips of your spears, then jump forward in their faces like lions."⁶³ Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn similarly enjoined his army to stick to their positions, let the heavily armed be in front and those without helmets behind, and attack all together.⁶⁴ On 'Alī's side, Mālik al-Ashtar gave instructions to his troops to bite down hard on their molars and face the enemy with strength and passion.⁶⁵ Later in a battle fought by Ḥajjāj's army against the Khārījites under the leadership of Shabīb, the Umayyad commander Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah went to the right and left flanks, urging his brethren to fight, saying, "Focus your eyes low and draw your spears. Do not charge until I give the command."⁶⁶

Some of the most copious battle instructions are found in 'Alī's speeches at Ṣiffīn, where he mixes urgings to fight with instructions. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Abbās narrates one such speech from 'Alī, who, with "a white turban on his head, and eyes shining like two oil lamps," addressed a contingent of his followers with a host of standard and tailored directives:⁶⁷

Muslims! Clothe yourselves with fear of God, lower your voices, and envelop your bodies with calm. Put on full armor, carry light shields, and rattle your swords in their sheaths before you are called upon to draw them. Glower fiercely at the enemy, and throw your spears from the right and the left (or: aim at the upper part of the body, or: throw them forcefully—I have heard all these narrated.) Fight with your blades, and leap forward so that they pierce your enemy. If spears

معشر المسلمين أستشعروا الخشية وعنوا الأصوات وتجنبوا السكينة وأكلوا اللؤم وأخفوا الجن وأقلقوا السيوف في الغمد قبل السلة وأخطوا الشرز وأطعنوا الشرز (أو التترأو اليسر كلاً قد سمعت) وناخوا بالظبي وصلوا السيوف بانخطى والرماح بالنبل وأمشوا إلى الموت مشية سيجاً (أو

62 فلا تبرحوا مصافكم ولا تخطوا إليهم خطوة ولا تبدءوهم بقتال وأشرعوا الرماح وأستروا بالدرق وآلزموا) (الصمت إلا من ذكر الله حتى أمركم إن شاء الله). App. § 26.1.

63 غصوا الأبصار وأجثوا على الركب وأشرعوا الرماح فإذا حملوا عليكم فأمهلوهم حتى إذا ركبوا أطراف) (الأسنة فثبوا في وجوههم وثبة الأسد). App. § 35.1.

64 App. § 84.5.

65 App. § 77.4.

66 (غصوا الأبصار وأستقبلوهم بالأسنة ولا تحملوا عليهم حتى أمركم). App. § 162.1.

67 App. § 31.18.

fall short, use arrows. Approach death with gentle courage. Go for the pitched tent. Cut off its center pole, for Satan is hiding in its flap, heaving his flanks, spreading out his arms. He has a hand in front ready to attack, and a foot at the back ready to flee.

سجحاء). وعليكم الرواق المطنّب فأضربوا
ثجبه فإنّ الشيطان راكد في كسره ناخج
حضنيه مفترش ذراعيه قد قدّم للوثبة يداً
وأخر للنكوص رجلاً.

The speech includes a specific guideline to target Mu'āwiyah's central command tent, which may be read in light of 'Alī's concern for preserving life. The armies are said to have numbered a hundred and fifty thousand on each side⁶⁸—even if the number is exaggerated, it serves to convey that the armies were huge—and 'Alī had previously challenged Mu'āwiyah to a duel, saying they should fight it out in single combat.

Directions whose rationale is known are more likely to be followed, and commanders sometimes added points of explanation. In another speech at Šiffin, 'Alī gave further battle directions and described their benefits:⁶⁹

I am informing you that «God loves those who fight in his path in ranks, as though they were a solid edifice.»⁷⁰ Compact your ranks like a solid edifice. Put forward those who are wearing helmets, and put back those whose heads are not protected. Bite down on your molars, for that will blunt the blades that strike at your heads. Hug your spearshafts to your bodies, for that will protect your teeth. Focus your eyes low, for that will calm your hearts. Kill idle talk, for that will boost your courage and preserve your dignity. As for your banners, do not tilt them, or lower them, or give them to any but your bravest warriors. Only those who are known to defend honor and have fortitude in the face of death can be trusted with defending them, for they will guard them from both sides, from

ثمّ أخبركم «يُحِبُّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ
صَفًّا كَانَهُمْ بِنْيَانٌ مَرصُوصٌ»
فسوّوا صفوفكم كالبنيان المرصوص.
وقدّموا الدارع وأخروا الحاسر وعضّوا
على الأضراس فإنّه أنبى للسيوف عن
الهام. والتّوا في أطراف الرماح فإنّه أصون
للأسنة. وغضّوا الأبصار فإنّه أربط للجأش
وأسكن للقلوب. وأميتوا الأصوات فإنّه
أطرد للفشل وأولى بالوقار. راياتكم فلا
تميلوها ولا تزيلوها ولا تجعلوها إلّا بأيدي
شجعاتكم. فإنّ المانع للذمار والصابر عند نزول
الحقائق هم أهل الحفاظ الذين يحفون

68 Minqarī, 156.

69 App. § 31.19.

70 Q Šaff 61:4.

the back, and from the front, and never put them down.

برأياتهم ويكنفونها يضربون حفافها خلفها
وأمامها ولا يضعونها.

Going forward a few decades, Mukhtār's associate Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar urged his troops to fight the Umayyad commander Ibn Muṭī'. In a theme I have not encountered in earlier orations, he speaks of clustering the horsemen—perhaps an indication of the increased number of mounted cavalry in battle by this time.⁷¹

Bring your horses close together and charge the enemy with swords drawn. Do not be alarmed if someone shouts "Shabath ibn Rib'ī is upon you," or "the clan of 'Utaybah ibn al-Nahās is upon you," or "the clan of Ash'ath is upon you," or "the clan of Yazīd ibn al-Ḥarith is upon you," or "the clan of so-and-so is upon you," and he named the well-known clans of Kufa. Then he said: If these people encounter the heat of your swords, they will scatter and run from Ibn Muṭī' as sheep scatter before a wolf.

قربوا خيولكم بعضها إلى بعض ثم أمشوا
إليهم مصلتين السيوف. ولا يهولتكم أن
يقال جاءكم شبت بن ربي وآل عتيبة بن
النهاس وآل الأشعث وآل يزيد بن الحارث
وآل فلان فسمي بيوتات من بيوتات أهل
الكوفة. ثم قال إن هؤلاء لو قد وجدوا بهم
حر السيوف قد أنصفقوا عن ابن مطيع
أنصفاق المعزى عن الذئب.

Instructions regarding larger military strategies include the following: Khālid ibn al-Walīd urged leaders of the disparate contingents at Yarmūk to unite under his leadership.⁷² 'Alī's instructions to target Mu'āwiyah mentioned earlier may also be viewed as a larger strategy. Ṭāriq, the Umayyad invader of Andalusia, similarly enjoined his troops to home in on the Visigoth king.⁷³ Additionally in this category we can chalk up speeches at Šiffīn delivered by various leaders within 'Alī's army, debating whether or not to accept Mu'āwiyah's proposal of arbitration.⁷⁴ We can also classify here Ḥasan ibn 'Alī's speech announcing he was likely to accept Mu'āwiyah's terms of truce.⁷⁵

71 App. § 65.1. Earlier, for example, we have Ibn Hishām's (1:446) report of just four horses, all with special, personal names, in the Muslim troops at Badr, and a hundred in the Meccan troops.

72 App. § 74.2.

73 App. § 134.1.

74 Ibn Qutaybah, *Imāmah*, 1:139–146 (Šafwat 1:375–385 § 260–279).

75 App. § 55.8.

2.3 *Battlefield Ethics*

A noteworthy theme in battle oratory is ethics. The main ethical themes—usually expounded in the form of directives against doing certain things—include injunctions against killing non-combatants, particularly, children, women, and old men. This category of non-combatants also extended to warriors fleeing the battlefield, and the wounded or captured. Orators forbid torture and mutilation, and enjoin troops not to begin the fighting. They prohibit the destruction of crops. Many of these same rules—alongside injunctions against all forms of illicit and random violence—are also found in the jihad chapters of legal tomes, as well as in literary anthologies.⁷⁶ The modern historian Uways Karīm Muḥammad devotes a chapter in his book to ‘Alī’s battle speeches, which include several on battle ethics.⁷⁷

Several ethical themes come together in a few choice texts, beginning with a piece attributed to Muḥammad. The report states that whenever the Prophet sent forth a battalion, he would say to them:⁷⁸

Fight in the name of God and in God’s path those who disbelieve in him, but do not hate, cheat, torture, or mutilate. Do not kill woman or child.	اغزوا بسم الله وفي سبيل الله تقاتلون من كفر بالله لا تغلّوا ولا تغدروا ولا تمثلوا ولا تقتلوا امرأة ولا وليداً
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Similar texts with additional directions are attributed to the first two Sunni caliphs, who gave ethical guidelines to the troops leaving Medina. Abū Bakr is reported to have counseled Usāmah ibn Zayd and his troops when he sent them to Syria, using some of the Prophet’s language:⁷⁹

Do not deceive, hate, cheat, torture, or mutilate. Do not kill a young child, an old man, or any woman. Do not uproot a date palm or burn it. Do not chop down a fruit tree. Do not slaughter a sheep or a cow or a camel, except for eating.	لا تخونوا ولا تغلّوا ولا تغدروا ولا تمثلوا ولا تقتلوا طفلاً صغيراً أو شيخاً كبيراً ولا امرأة. ولا تعقروا نخلاً ولا تحرقوه ولا تقطعوا شجرة مثمرة. ولا تذبحوا شاة ولا بقرة ولا بعيراً إلا لما كلة.
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76 E.g., Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im*, 1:369, *Pillars*, 1:457; Mālik, 278–279; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 1:115–120; Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, 1:185–202.

77 Uways Karīm Muḥammad, 222–241. See also text of the instructions called out by ‘Alī’s crier on the battlefield of Basra and Šiffīn, Mufid, *Amālī*, 45; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 1:115.

78 App. § 90.8. A similar oration is attributed to him in Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, 1:185.

79 App. § 15.6.

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is reported to have said to his troops each time their banners were knotted in readiness for war:⁸⁰

Fight in the path of God against those who disbelieve in him but do not transgress, for «God does not love transgressors.»⁸¹ Do not become cowardly when you meet the enemy, but also do not mutilate or torture if you win. Do not be overzealous with victory, and do not kill an old man, or any woman or child. Be careful not to hurt those when the two legions meet, when the fighting heats up, and when raids are quick and heavy.

فقاتلوا في سبيل الله من كفر بالله ولا
تعتدوا ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُعْتَدِينَ﴾^{٨٠}
لا تجبنوا عند اللقاء ولا تمثلوا عند القدرة
ولا تسرفوا عند الظهور. ولا تقتلوا هرمًا
ولا امرأة ولا وليدًا وتوقوا قتلهم إذا التقى
الزحفان وعند حمة النهضات وفي شن
الغارات.

Abū ‘Ubaydah said in a single-line directive at Yarmūk, “Do not start the fighting.”⁸² Similarly, the Khārījite commander Ṣāliḥ said to his fellow warriors the following words, urging reticence in beginning the fight; his greater detail befits his more complicated context of dissent within the Muslim community:⁸³

Do not rush to kill anyone unless they bear malice toward you and intend to attack you. You have revolted in anger for God, because his prohibitions have been rent and the earth has been corrupted. Blood has been spilled illicitly and property has been seized without right. Do not condemn an action only to engage in it yourself.

ولا تعجلوا إلى قتال أحد من الناس إلا
أن يكونوا قومًا يريدونكم وينصبون لكم.
فإنكم إنما خرجتم غضبًا لله حيث انتهكت
محارمه وعصي في الأرض فسفكت
الدماء بغير حلها وأخذت الأموال
بغير حقها. فلا تعيبوا على قوم أعمالًا ثم
تعملوا بها.

Another such oration by Sulaymān, leader of the Penitents, describes how to deal with enemy Muslim warriors, and he ascribes this ethic to ‘Alī:⁸⁴

80 App. § 140.14.

81 Q Baqarah 2:190, Mā'idah 5:87.

82 (ولا تبءءوهم بقتال): App. § 26.1.

83 App. § 122.2.

84 App. § 129.4, see oration by ‘Alī in Ṣiffin with similar wording (Idrīs, 3:153).

Do not kill any of the enemy who have turned their backs and are attempting to flee. Do not kill the wounded. Do not kill a captive of your faith unless he attacks you after his capture, or unless he was among our brethren's killers at Karbala. This was the practice of the commander of the faithful 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib when fighting Muslims.

لا تقتلوا مدبراً ولا تجهّزوا على جريح ولا تقتلوا أسيراً من أهل دعوتكم إلا أن يقاتلكم بعد أن تأسروه أو يكون من قتلة إخواننا بالطف رحمة الله عليهم. فإن هذه كانت سيرة أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب في أهل هذه الدعوة.

A different genre of ethical counsel is how to talk about enemies. This piece is not from a battle oration per se, but 'Alī is said to have spoken it in a public address to his followers in the context of armed conflict just before Ṣiffin. It also reveals his hope that the Syrians would come back to the fold in peace:⁸⁵

I do not like you to constantly curse and slander. Rather, if you describe the enemy's evil deeds and say their practice is such and such, or their deeds are such and such, that would be more balanced and equitable. Instead of curses and declarations of disassociation, say, "God, preserve their blood and ours, make peace between us, and guide them from their errant ways, such that the ignorant among them learn the truth, and the hostile turn away from sin and enmity." If you take this approach, it will be more pleasing to me and more worthy for you.

كرهت لكم أن تكونوا لعّانين شتّامين تشتمون وتبرءون. ولكن لو وصفتم مساوي أفعالهم فقلتم من سيرتهم كذا وكذا ومن أفعالهم كذا وكذا كان أصوب في القول وأبلغ في العذر. وقلتم مكان لعنكم إياهم وبراءتكم منهم اللهم أحقن دماءهم ودماءنا وأصلح ذات بينهم وبيننا وأهدهم من ضلالتهم حتى يعرف الحق منهم من جهله ويرعوى عن الغي والعدوان منهم من لهج به لكان أحب إلي وخيراً لكم.

2.4 Moral Qualities of a Good Warrior: Endurance and Courage

Battle orators frequently reference qualities required of warriors if they are to achieve victory and God's reward. Two qualities mentioned frequently and often together are endurance (*ṣabr*) and courage (*ṣidq*). Both these Arabic words have complex meanings: although *ṣidq* in common parlance means

85 App. § 31.12. On the other hand, it is also reported that 'Alī pronounced maledictions on rebel leaders, including Mu'āwiyah, 'Amr, Abū Musā, and Abū l-A'war, in every prayer (Idris, 3:393).

“truth,” in the context of battle it is synonymous with *quwwah* (= courage, strength, vigor, hardiness, and power) and *shiddah* (= hardness, compactness, steadfastness, and firmness of heart). The word *ṣabr* is also multivalent, and additional English terms used to denote it include fortitude, patience, forbearance, and restraint.⁸⁶

The endurance-courage binary is highlighted in battle orations across different periods in early Islam as essential qualities of warriors: Āṣim ibn ‘Amr declared at Qādisiyyah, “God will be with you if you show endurance and courage in the face of spears and swords.”⁸⁷ Abū Sufyān asserted at Yarmūk, “Nothing will save you from this army, or obtain for you God’s pleasure, except courage in battle and endurance in hard combat.”⁸⁸ Similarly, the Umayyad general Ṭāriq declared to his men in Andalusia, “By God, there is no refuge for you except courage and endurance.”⁸⁹ ‘Alī enjoined at Ṣiffin, “Seek strength in courage and endurance, for with endurance comes victory from God.”⁹⁰ Also at Ṣiffin, ‘Alī’s supporter Sa‘īd ibn Qays directed, “Remain conscious of God, and maintain perseverance, resolve, courage, and endurance, for «God is with those who endure»,”⁹¹ here Sa‘īd pairs our binary with two further traits, resolve and perseverance. ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās makes a similar pairing, when he says at Ṣiffin, “Remain conscious of God, and maintain perseverance, resolve, and endurance.”⁹²

Although courage was endurance’s twin in battle urgings, sometimes orators urged their troops to one of them singly. The single-trait urgings were frequently paired with explanations of why the trait was indispensable. Abū ‘Ubaydah spoke of the benefits of endurance at Yarmūk, saying “Muslims, be patient and endure! For endurance bestows salvation from disbelief, garners the lord’s pleasure, and washes away shame.”⁹³ Ḥasan spoke to the Kufans as he rallied them against Mu‘āwiyah after ‘Alī had been killed, “God has commanded jihad and called it a hardship, and he has said to believers who engage

86 See Lane, s.v. “ṢDQ” and “ṢBR”.

87 (وَاللّٰهُ مَعَكُمْ إِن صَبَرْتُمْ وَصَدَقْتُمُوهُمْ الضَّرْبُ وَالطَّعْنُ): App. § 39.1.

88 (لَا يَنْجِيكُمْ مِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ الْقَوْمِ وَلَا يَبْلُغُ رِضْوَانُ اللَّهِ غَدًا إِلَّا بِصِدْقِ اللَّقَاءِ وَالصَّبْرِ فِي الْمَوَاطِنِ الْمَكْرُوهَةِ): App. § 24.3.

89 (وَلَيْسَ لَكُمْ وَاللّٰهُ إِلَّا الصَّدَقُ وَالصَّبْرُ): App. § 134.1.

90 (وَأَسْتَعِينُوا بِالصَّدَقِ وَالصَّبْرِ فَإِنَّ بَعْدَ الصَّبْرِ يَنْزِلُ اللَّهُ النَّصْرُ): App. § 31.19.

91 (فَعَلَيْكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ مِنَ الْجِدِّ وَالْحَزْمِ وَالصَّدَقِ وَالصَّبْرِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ ﴿١٠٠﴾): App. § 120.1. Q Anfāl 8:46.

92 (فَعَلَيْكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ وَالْجِدِّ وَالْحَزْمِ وَالصَّبْرِ): App. § 1.3.

93 (يَا مَعْشَرَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ أَصْبِرُوا فَإِنَّ الصَّبْرَ مَنْجَاةٌ مِنَ الْكُفْرِ وَمَرْضَاةٌ لِلرَّبِّ وَمُدْحَضَةٌ لِلْعَارِ): App. § 26.1.

it, «Endure, for God is with those who endure.» Know that you will not gain what you hope for except by enduring in the face of hardship.”⁹⁴

Another pair of traits lauded from time to time in the sources is calm (*sakīnah*) and dignity (*waqār*). When a group of Syrians in Şiffin under the leadership of Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah passed by shouting curses at ‘Alī, ‘Alī said to his own followers “Rise and go toward them with the calm and dignity of Islam, and the demeanor of the pious.”⁹⁵

Declaring that his guidance comes from God, a speech by Muḥammad at the Battle of Uḥud—one of five pre- and post-battle speeches that I have found attributed to him⁹⁶—brings together many of the above-mentioned traits and more, including conviction, vitality, resolve, and obedience to God and his messenger. The speech also contains injunctions against certain traits, including conflict, quarreling, and frustration:⁹⁷

People, I counsel you with the counsel given to me by God in his book: practice obedience to him, and stay away from his prohibitions. Today you are in a waystation where one who is mindful of his action and trains his soul to endurance, conviction, perseverance, and vitality can stock up on God’s reward and supplies for the hereafter. Jihad against the enemy is hard. Few can endure its harsh conditions, except those whom God has granted the firm resolve to follow the right path. Truly, God is with those who obey him, and Satan is with those who disobey God. Place endurance in jihad at the head of your deeds,

أيها الناس أوصيكم بما أوصاني الله في كتابه
من العمل بطاعته والتناهي عن محارمه. ثم
إنكم اليوم بمنزل أجر وذخر لمن ذكر الذي
عليه ثم وطن نفسه على الصبر واليقين والجد
والنشاط. فإن جهاد العدو شديد كربه
قليل من يصبر عليه إلا من عزم الله رشده.
فإن الله مع من أطاعه وإن الشيطان مع
من عصاه. فاستفتحوا أعمالكم بالصبر على
الجهاد واتمسوا بذلك ما وعدكم الله. وعليكم

94 فإن الله كتب الجهاد على خلقه وسمّاه كرهاً ثم قال لأهل الجهاد من المؤمنين ﴿أَصْبِرُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ

الضَّالِّينَ﴾: App. § 55.6. Q Anfāl 8:46. فلستم أيها الناس نائلين ما تحبون إلا بالصبر على ما تكرهون

95 (انهدوا إليهم عليكم السكينة والوقار وقار الإسلام وسبوا الصالحين): App. § 31.17.

96 The other four battle speeches attributed to the Prophet are at Badr (§ 90.6), promising God’s reward to those who fight in his path; at Khaybar (§ 90.10), forbidding certain actions with regard to the war booty; after the Conquest of Mecca (§ 90.16), containing post-battle instructions and legislation; and after Hunayn, addressing the Allies, some of whom were unhappy at not receiving a share of the war booty (§ 90.17).

97 App. § 90.9. Unusually for a battle speech, it continues with jurisprudential directives regarding routine religious practice. One possibility is that this latter section is from another context and has been erroneously tacked on here.

and seek the reward God has promised you. Make sure you carry out my command, for I am eager to guide you aright. Conflict, quarreling, and frustration cause incapacity and weakness. God dislikes them, and will not grant aid and victory to those who engage in them.

بِالَّذِي أَمَرَكُمْ بِهِ فَإِنِّي حَرِيصٌ عَلَى رَشْدِكُمْ.
إِنَّ الْإِخْتِلَافَ وَالْتِزَاعَ وَالتَّثَبُّطَ مِنْ أَمْرِ
الْعِزِّ وَالضَّعْفَ مِمَّا لَا يُحِبُّ اللَّهُ وَلَا يُعْطِي
عَلَيْهِ النَّصْرَ وَالظَّفَرَ.

2.5 *Pious Counsel in Battle Speeches and Qaṣaṣ*

While urgings to obey God and prepare for the hereafter are abundantly present in orations of different stripes, the pietist theme of death's imminence is especially suited to warfare. Battle orations frequently contain copious amounts of pious counsel. The theme is prominent in orations by 'Alī and his supporters, and, during the Umayyad period, by the Shi'a and the Khārijites, especially Abū Ḥamzah and Qaṭarī. Commanders in the early battles of conquest, such as Abū Sufyān, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, and 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ, also included themes of piety.

I have mentioned the homiletic public address produced on the battlefield called *qaṣaṣ*. *Qaṣaṣ*-oration appears to have been consciously promoted by commanders, particularly in the early battles of conquest and among the Khārijites, as a spur to Muslim troops. It also appears to have been a specialized performance by certain speakers. Mu'ādh ibn Jabal and 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ are reported to have delivered *qaṣaṣ* addresses at Yarmūk, as are many Khārijites in their battles against the Umayyads.

Ṭabarī provides a distinctive report of the content and context of *qaṣaṣ*. When Ḥajjāj sent 'Attāb ibn Warqā' to fight the Khārijite commander Shabīb at Madā'in, 'Attāb is reported to have gone to each contingent, under every banner, "urging them to be conscious of God and patiently endure, and narrating many homilies, *qaṣaṣ*," of which the following was passed down:⁹⁸

Martyrs have the fullest share of paradise. God is pleased to reward none other in the manner in which he is pleased to reward those who endure. Do you not see that he says «Endure, for God is with those who endure.»⁹⁹ If God is pleased with your action, what a high station you will have! God hates no one as much as he hates the treach-

إِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ نَصِيبًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ الشَّهَدَاءُ
وَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ بِأَحَدٍ مِنْهُ
لِلصَّابِرِينَ. أَلَا تَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُ يَقُولُ ﴿أَصْبِرُوا
إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾. فَمَنْ حَمَدَ اللَّهَ
فَعَلَهُ مَا أَكْثَرُ دَرَجَتِهِ وَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ لِأَحَدٍ

98 App. § 40.1.

99 Q Anfāl 8:46.

erous. Do you not see that your enemy is putting Muslims to the sword, believing all the while that it will garner them closeness to God? They are the most evil of all the people of the earth, and the dogs among the people of the fire.

أَمَقَّتْ مِنْهُ لِأَهْلِ الْبَغْيِ. أَلَا تَرَوْنَ أَنَّ عَدُوَّكُمْ
هَذَا يَسْتَعْرِضُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِسَيْفِهِ لَا يَرُونَ إِلَّا
أَنَّ ذَلِكَ لَهُمْ قُرْبَةً عِنْدَ اللَّهِ. فَهُمْ شَرُّ أَهْلِ
الْأَرْضِ وَكَلَابِ أَهْلِ النَّارِ.

What follows in this report speaks to *qaṣaṣ* being a familiar genre in battle: when no-one responded positively to his urgings, ‘Attāb said “Where are the [other] declaimers (*quṣṣās*)? Let them speak their *qaṣaṣ* to the troops and urge them to fight!” The report continues with another goad, mentioned briefly earlier: When no one answered his first query, ‘Attāb said, “Who will recite the poems of ‘Antarah?” ‘Antarah is, of course, the famous warrior-poet of pre-Islamic times. The battle did not end well for ‘Attāb and the Umayyads, but not for lack of *qaṣaṣ* and poetic urgings!

2.6 Prayer for Victory and Protection

Toward the end of all varieties of early Muslim orations, orators frequently articulate words of supplication to God. In their battle orations, this supplication focuses on a prayer for aid (*naṣr*) and victory (*fath*). ‘Alī supplicated in Ṣiffīn, “God willing, we expect speedy aid from him!”¹⁰⁰ On the other side of the battlefield, Mu‘āwiyah petitioned the same, telling his army, “I ask God for aid and victory, for he is the best of conquerors.”¹⁰¹ Also common are pleas for God to provide protection to the speaker’s side and swift destruction of the enemy. ‘Alī supplicated again in Ṣiffīn (in response to the shouted curses by the enemy mentioned earlier in the chapter), “God, break up their concord, fragment their unity, and destroy them for their transgressions. Truly, those you love are never humiliated, and those you hate never become mighty.”¹⁰² ‘Alī’s close companion ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir implored, “Aid us, God, for long have you given us aid. If you must give the enemy the upper hand, then keep in store for them a painful punishment in requital for the evil they have done your servants.”¹⁰³ Another supporter, Sa‘īd ibn Qays, beseeched, “May God protect us with the protection

100 (وَأَنْتَظَرُوا النَّصْرَ الْعَاجِلَ مِنْ اللَّهِ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ): App. § 31.13.

101 (أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ لَنَا وَلَكُمْ النَّصْرَ وَأَنْ يَفْتَحَ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ قَوْمِنَا بِالْحَقِّ وَهُوَ خَيْرُ الْفَاتِحِينَ): App. § 84.6.

102 (اللَّهُمَّ فَافْضُضْ خِدْمَتَهُمْ وَشَتِّتْ كَلِمَتَهُمْ وَأَبْسِلْهُمْ بِخَطَايَاهُمْ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَذَلُّ مَنْ وَالَيْتَ وَلَا يَعْزُّ مَنْ عَادَيْتَ): App. § 31.17.

103 (اللَّهُمَّ إِنْ تَنْصَرْنَا فَطَلَمَا نَصَرْتَ وَإِنْ تَجْعَلْ لَهُمُ الْأَمْرَ فَادْخِرْ لَهُمْ بِمَا أَحْدَثُوا لَكَ الْعَذَابَ الْأَلِيمَ): App. § 34.2.

he has rendered to his saints. May he place us among those who obey and fear him. I seek forgiveness from God Almighty for me, you, and all believers.”¹⁰⁴ Using verses from the Qur’an to appeal to God, and simultaneously to warn the enemy, Ḥusayn intoned in Karbala, «I have taken refuge in my lord and your lord from your stoning!» «I take refuge in my lord and your lord from every arrogant man who does not believe in judgment day!»¹⁰⁵ Rarely, battlefield orations also begin with a prayer, as in ‘Alī’s opening supplication in his speech debating with the Khārijites at Nahrawān.¹⁰⁶

3 Special Features of the Battle Oration

Battle orations share with other types of orations features of structure, style, and orator-audience dynamics, but certain attributes are unique. These include citation of Qur’anic verses supporting battle themes, memorable lines specific to battle, orating from the back of a horse, and orating leaning on a sword or bow.

3.1 *Qur’an Citation in the Battle Oration*

Using instruments of persuasion similar to other types of orations, battle orators cite Qur’anic verses, poetry, hadith, and proverbs to endorse their point of view. Within these, they highlight proof texts—particularly the Qur’an—promoting endurance and courage, and referencing God’s reward and punishment.

Quoted most frequently, the following two Qur’anic verses advocate endurance:

- «God is with those who endure» ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ عصمنا الله وإياكم بما عصم به أوليائه وجعلنا وإياكم ممن أطاعه وآتقاه وأستغفر الله العظيم لي ولكم (والمؤمنين): App. § 120.1.

¹⁰⁵ عباد الله ﴿إِنِّي عُدْتُ بِرَبِّي وَرَبِّكُمْ أَنْ تَرْجِعُونَ﴾ أَعُوذُ ﴿بِرَبِّي وَرَبِّكُمْ مِنْ كُلِّ مُتَكَبِّرٍ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِيَوْمِ﴾ (الْحِسَابِ): App. § 62.7, Q Dukhān 40:20, Ghāfir 44:27.

¹⁰⁶ App. § 31.28.

¹⁰⁷ Q Baqarah 2:153 and *passim*. Cited by Mu‘adh ibn Jabal at Yarmūk: App. § 82.1; the Umayyad commander ‘Attāb ibn Warqā’, fighting the Khārijites: § 40.1; ‘Alī’s supporter Sa‘d ibn Qays, at Šiffin: § 120.1; Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī, urging the Kufans to fight Mu‘āwiyah: § 55.6; Sulaymān ibn Šurad to the Penitents: § 129.4; and the Abbasid revolt commander Qaṭṭabah ibn Shabīb to his Khurasanian army: § 101.1.

- «With God's permission, many a small contingent may overpower a larger one; God is with those who endure» ﴿كَمْ مِنْ فِئَةٍ قَلِيلَةٍ غَلَبَتْ فِئَةً كَثِيرَةً بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾.¹⁰⁸ This verse adds the element of hope in the face of challenging odds.

Also cited often, two verses refer to the inevitability of death, stating that the ultimate victory, whether on earth or in the afterlife, is reserved for the pious:

- «We belong to God, and to him we shall return» ﴿إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ﴾. This is the verse customarily cited by Muslims upon hearing of someone's death and also when facing danger.¹⁰⁹
- «The earth belongs to God. He bequeaths it to whomsoever he chooses among his servants. The good outcome is reserved for the pious» ﴿إِنَّ الْأَرْضَ لِلَّهِ يُورِثُهَا مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾.¹¹⁰

Quoted on a more ad hoc basis, twelve verses cited by battle orators address themes of piety, the hereafter, jihad, and, again, endurance:

- «Do not think that those who have been slain in the path of God are dead. No indeed, they are alive, with God, who gives them sustenance» ﴿وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءُ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزُقُونَ﴾.¹¹¹
- «If wounds afflict you, know that wounds also afflict your enemy» ﴿إِنْ يَمَسُّكُمْ قَرْحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ الْقَوْمَ قَرْحٌ مِثْلُهُ﴾.¹¹²
- «[God] sent his messenger with guidance and the true faith—he will make it victorious over all others, despite the polytheists' loathing» ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ﴾.¹¹³
- «[I] have written in the Psalms, after the Remembrance, that my pious servants will inherit the earth» ﴿لَقَدْ كَتَبْنَا فِي الزَّبُورِ مِنْ بَعْدِ الذِّكْرِ أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ يَرِثُهَا عِبَادِيَ﴾.¹¹⁴

108 Q Baqarah 2:249. Cited by 'Umar in reference to Abū Bakr's efforts in the Wars of Apostasy: App. § 140.13; and by Mu'ādh, in Syria: § 82.2.

109 Q Baqarah 2:156. Cited at Šiffin by Mu'āwiyah's associates 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ: App. § 35.3; and Yazid ibn Asad: § 154.1; and by 'Alī, post-Šiffin: § 31.33.

110 Q Aʿraf 7:128. Cited by 'Alī's supporter Abū l-Haytham ibn al-Tihān at Šiffin: App. § 19.1; the Umayyad commander Muhallab ibn Abī Šufrah, fighting the Azraqī Khārijites: § 87.2; and on the other side of the battlefield, Zubayr ibn 'Alī, the Azraqī leader: § 168.1.

111 Q Āl 'Imrān 3:169. Cited by Umm Kulthūm bint 'Alī, post-Karbala: App. § 142.1; and the Umayyad commander Qutaybah ibn Muslim: § 106.1.

112 Q Āl 'Imrān 3:140. Cited by the Umayyad Muhallab ibn Abī Šufrah: App. § 87.2; and the Khārijite Zubayr ibn 'Alī: § 168.1.

113 Q Tawbah 9:33. Cited by Qutaybah ibn Muslim: App. § 106.1.

114 Q Anbiyā' 21:105. Cited by Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ at Qādisiyyah: App. § 113.1.

- «For whosoever is killed as an innocent victim, we shall give power to his next of kin—but let him not go to extremes in avenging. He has God's aid.»
﴿وَمَنْ قُتِلَ مَظْلُومًا فَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا لَوْلِيهِ سُلْطَانًا فَلَا يَسْرِفُ فِي الْقَتْلِ إِنَّهُ كَانَ مَنْصُورًا﴾.¹¹⁵
- «If God had so willed they would not have fought, but truly, God does what he wills» ﴿وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ مَا أَقْتَلْتُمْ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يَفْعَلُ مَا يُرِيدُ﴾.¹¹⁶
- «Fleeing from death and from fighting will not help you; you are given but a brief respite» ﴿لَنْ يَنْفَعَكُمْ الْفِرَارُ إِنْ فَرَرْتُمْ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ أَوِ الْقَتْلِ وَإِذَا لَا تَمْتَحُونَ إِلَّا﴾ ﴿قَلِيلًا﴾.¹¹⁷
- «God loves those who fight in his path, lining up in ranks as though they were a solid edifice» ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ صَفًّا كَانَهُمْ بِنْيَانٌ مَرْصُوصٌ﴾.¹¹⁸
- «Do you fear them? God is more deserving of being feared, if you are believers» ﴿أَتَخْشَوْنَهُمْ فَأَلَّهِ أَحَقُّ أَنْ تَخْشَوْهُ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ﴾.¹¹⁹
- «We will test you until we know those who engage in jihad and endure, until we test your reports» ﴿وَلَنَبْلُوَنَّكُمْ حَتَّى نَعْلَمَ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ مِنْكُمْ وَالصَّابِرِينَ وَنَبْلُوًا﴾ ﴿أَخْبَارَكُمْ﴾.¹²⁰
- «I take refuge in my lord and your lord from every arrogant man who does not believe in the day of judgment» ﴿إِنِّي عَذْتُ بِرَبِّي وَرَبِّكُمْ أَنْ تَرْجُمُونِ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّي﴾ ﴿وَرَبِّكُمْ مِنْ كُلِّ مُتَكَبِّرٍ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِيَوْمِ الْحِسَابِ﴾.¹²¹
- «Gather provisions—and the best provisions are piety» ﴿وَتَزَوَّدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ﴾ ﴿التَّقْوَى﴾.¹²²

3.2 *Orating on Horseback or Leaning on Sword and Bow*

Battle orations were frequently delivered from atop a horse. Since the point has been discussed in various contexts earlier, just a few examples will suffice to illustrate battle practice: Ashtar spoke from the back of a black horse at Şiffin.¹²³ Ḥusayn called for his horse named Lāḥiq and mounted it before addressing the Kufan army.¹²⁴ Dhū l-Kalā' addressed the Syrian army at Şiffin

115 Q Isrā' 17:33. Cited by Mu'āwiyah pre-Şiffin: App. § 84.1.

116 Q Baqarah 2:253. Cited by Mu'āwiyah at Şiffin: App. § 84.6.

117 Q Ahzāb 33:16. Cited by 'Alī at Şiffin: App. § 31.19.

118 Q Şaff' 61:4. Cited by 'Alī at Şiffin: App. § 31.19.

119 Q Tawbah 9:13. Cited by 'Alī's supporter 'Abdallāh ibn Budayl at Şiffin: App. § 3.1.

120 Q Muḥammad 47:31. Cited by Umm al-Khayr at Şiffin: App. § 141.1.

121 Q Ghāfir 40:27. Cited by Ḥusayn: App. § 62.7.

122 Q Baqarah 2:197. Cited by Ḥusayn: App. § 62.6.

123 App. § 77.2.

124 App. § 62.7.

after mounting his horse.¹²⁵ If orating standing, the orator frequently leaned on a sword or bow; in contrast to other kinds of orations, a staff is never mentioned. At Şiffin, ‘Alī is reported to have leaned on a bow while delivering an oration,¹²⁶ as did ‘Amr ibn al-Āṣ,¹²⁷ while another of Mu‘āwiyah’s associates, Yazīd al-Bajalī “stood up to deliver an oration to the Syrians at Şiffin, wearing a silk shirt and black turban, grasping his sword and leaning on it with its point in the ground.”¹²⁸

3.3 *Memorable Lines*

Like other types of orations, battle orations produced some memorable lines, which also reflect the category’s major themes and metaphors. Many have already been translated in the preceding pages; the following list is a sample.

Lines with striking animal imagery:

- ‘Amr ibn al-Āṣ said at Yarmūk, “If you are courageous and stand strong, they will scatter from you in terror like partridge chicks” (فإنكم لو قد صدقتموهم الشدة) ¹²⁹(لقد أنذعروا أنذعار أولاد الحجل).
- Tulayḥah ibn Khuwaylid said to his compatriots from the tribe of Asad at Qādisiyyah, “Charge at them like ferocious lions. You have been named Asad [“lion”] in order that you emulate its action” (وأقدموا عليهم إقدام الليث الحربة فإثما) ¹³⁰(سميتم أسداً لتفعلوا فعله).
- The rebelling Umayyad governor Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab said to his Khurasanian army, “Lend me your limbs for an hour this day, and you shall strike off the enemy’s snouts” (أعبروني سواعدكم ساعة من نهار تصفقون بها خراطيمهم) ¹³¹.
- Ḥajjāj said to the Iraqis, “I shall envelop you in a rough embrace, and crush you with a heavy camel-chest” (الأولينكم كفّاً خشناً ولأعركنكم بكلكل ثقیل) ¹³².

Lines with powerful human-lifeworld metaphors:

- ‘Alī said to the Kufans, “Jihad is a gateway to paradise” (إنّ الجهاد باب من أبواب الجنة) ¹³³.

¹²⁵ App. § 46.1.

¹²⁶ App. § 31.15.

¹²⁷ App. § 35.3.

¹²⁸ وقام يزيد بن أسد البجلي في أهل الشام يخطب الناس بصفين وعليه قباء من خز وعمامة سوداء آخذاً) (بقائه سيفه واضعاً نصل السيف في الأرض متوكفاً عليه) App. § 154.1.

¹²⁹ App. § 35.1.

¹³⁰ App. § 136.1.

¹³¹ App. § 156.3.

¹³² App. § 51.8.

¹³³ App. § 31.35.

- Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad said to the Kufan Penitents, “We are the traders of the hereafter” (نحن تجّار الآخرة).¹³⁴
- Abū Sufyān said at Yarmūk, “Fight with your swords and through them gain closeness to God. Let them be the fortresses in which you take refuge” (فأمتنعوا).¹³⁵ (سيفوكم وتقرّبوا بها إلى خالقكم ولتكن هي الحصون التي تلجئون إليها وبها تمنعون)
- The Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik said to the Iraqis, “We have known war and she has known us. We have understood her and gained familiarity with her ways. We are her children and she is our mother” (وقد زبنتنا الحرب وزبناها).¹³⁶ (فعرفناها وألفناها فنحن بنوها وهي أمنا)

Lines with interesting word-play:

- The Khārijite commander ‘Abd Rabbih said to his following, “Receive their spears with your chests and their swords with your faces. Gift your lives to God in this world, and he will give them back to you in the hereafter” (فتلّقوا).¹³⁷ (الرماح بخوركهم والسيوف بوجوهكم وهبوا أنفسكم لله في الدنيا يهبها لكم في الآخرة)
- The Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil said to his army as he entered Spain, “This is the day that will be the foundation for the future: either humiliation forever, or might forever. Endure just one hour of this hardship, and you will spend the rest of your lives enjoying luxury” (هذا اليوم هو أش ما يبني عليه إمّا ذلّ).¹³⁸ (الدهر وإمّا عزّ الدهر فأصبروا ساعة فيما لا تشتهون وتربحوا بها بقية أعماركم فيما تشتهون)

4 Illustration of a Battle Speech: Oration at the Conquest of Andalusia by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād

In 92/711, the Umayyad governor of North Africa, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, sent his commander Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād with a Berber army across the Strait of Gibraltar to raid Andalusia. Learning of Ṭāriq’s landing at the Rock of Gibraltar—which came to be named after Ṭāriq, the word being a mutation of the Arabic phrase “Jabal Ṭāriq,” or Ṭāriq’s Mountain—the Visigoth king Roderic (Ar. Ludhariq) brought forth an army of seventy thousand warriors to fight him. Ṭāriq’s own men, reportedly twelve thousand, were vastly outnumbered. To motivate them to stand their ground, he cut off retreat by burning his own ships. Then he delivered a rousing speech urging his men to fight, which would go down as one of

¹³⁴ App. § 129.3.

¹³⁵ App. § 24.1.

¹³⁶ App. § 8.6.

¹³⁷ App. § 10.1.

¹³⁸ App. § 12.1.

the most celebrated Arab battle speeches of all time. The text of the speech, along with its historical context, is cited by Ibn Khallikān in *Wafayāt al-a'yān*.¹³⁹

4.1 *Text and Translation*

People! Where will you flee? The sea is behind you and the enemy in front. By God, there is nothing for you now but courage and endurance. Know that you will glean fewer morsels in this peninsula than orphans at the table of a miserly wretch. The enemy has confronted you with his army, and his weapons and provisions are abundant. You, meanwhile, have no refuge but your swords, no provisions but those you can wrest from his hands. If days go by in this destitution, your force will lose steam. If you do not swiftly execute your mission, hearts now afraid of you will become bold. Fight off that humiliating end by battling this tyrant. Ejected from his fortress, he is out in the open for you to seize, if only you fight fiercely in the face of death. Listen to me. I do not warn you of something and shield myself from it. I do not urge you to action in which lives are cheap and excuse myself from it.

أيها الناس أين المفر البحر من ورائكم
والعدو أمامكم وليس لكم والله إلا الصدق
والصبر. وأعلموا أنكم في هذه الجزيرة أضيع
من الأيتام في مآدب اللئام. وقد استقبلكم
عدوكم بجيشه وأسلحته وأقواته موفورة
وأنتم لا وزر لكم إلا سيوفكم ولا أقوات
إلا ما استخلصونه من أيدي عدوكم. وإن
امتدت بكم الأيام على افتقاركم ولم تنجزوا
لكم أمراً ذهب ربحكم وتعوّضت القلوب
من رعبها منكم الجرأة عليكم. فادفعوا عن
أنفسكم خذلان هذه العاقبة من أمركم
بمناجزة هذا الطاغية فقد ألقى به إليكم
مدينته الحصينة وإن أنتهاز الفرصة فيه
لممكن إن سمحتم لأنفسكم بالموت. وإني لم
أحذركم أمراً أنا عنه بنجوة ولا حملتكم على
خطّة أرخص متاع فيها النفوس أربأ فيها
بنفسي.

139 App. §134.1. An argument made against the authenticity of this speech is that Tāriq was an Amāzigh Berber, as were all but a few of his troops, and soon after the conquest of North Africa, they would not have spoken fluent Arabic. For a discussion of the various renderings of the speech, and a comparison of its themes to medieval European battle orations, see Herrero Soto, "La arenga de Tariq b. Ziyad: un ejemplo de creación retórica en la historiografía árabe," *passim*.

If you can endure this hardship for a little while, you will long enjoy delectable luxury. Do not turn away from me. Your share of delights will be more abundant than mine. Surely you have heard of the beautiful, obsidian-eyed women nurtured by this land? Proud daughters of Greece, trailing long robes, decked in pearls and coral, and garbed in pure gold weave, they are secluded in the palaces of crowned kings.

The commander of the faithful Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik has picked you out, all unmarried men, from among his warriors. He has selected you as sons-in-law for the kings of this land. He knows you will be unruffled by spear thrusts and generous with your lives when fighting these knights. As his share, all he wants is divine reward for advancing God's word and propagating his religion. The booty will be all yours. Not his, not anyone else's. Almighty God will help you win, and your hard efforts today will build an enduring memorial in this world and the next.

Listen! I will be the first to answer this call. When the armies clash, I will attack Roderic, and, God-willing, I will kill him. Attack with me! If I am killed, having killed him, you will have won the day, and will have no difficulty finding a heroic warrior to lead in my stead. If I am killed before reaching him, then you must carry out my resolve and attack. The conquest of this peninsula will be essentially achieved by killing the tyrant. When he is dead, the rest will soon be subjugated.

وأعلموا أنكم إن صبرتم على الأشقّ قليلاً
استمتعتم بالأرفه الألدّ طويلاً. فلا ترغبوا
بأنفسكم عن نفسي فيما حظكم فيه أوفر
من حظي. وقد بلغكم ما أنشأت هذه
الجزيرة من الحور الحسان من بنات اليونان
الرافلات في الدرر والمرجان والحلل
المنسوجة بالعقيان المقصورات في قصور
الملوك وذوي التيجان.

وقد آتخبتكم الوليد بن عبد الملك أمير
المؤمنين من الأبطال عزباً ورضيكم
ملوك هذه الجزيرة أصهاراً واختاناً ثقة منه
بأرتاحهم للطعان وإسماحهم بمجادلة الأبطال
والفرسان. ليكون حظهم منكم ثواب الله
على إعلاء كلمته وإظهار دينه بهذه الجزيرة
وليكون مغنمها خالصاً لكم من دونه ومن
دون المؤمنين سواكم والله تعالى وليّ إنجادكم
على ما يكون لكم ذكراً في الدارين.

وأعلموا أنّي أوّل مجيب إلى ما أدعوكم إليه
وأني عند ملتقى الجمعين حامل بنفسي
على طاغية القوم لذريق فقاتله إنشاء
الله. فأحملوا معي فإن هلك بعدة فقد
كفيت أمره ولن يعوزكم بطل عاقل تسندون
أموركم إليه. وإن هلك قبل وصولي إليه
فأخلفوني في عزيمتي هذه. وأحملوا بأنفسكم
عليه وأكتفوا المهم من فتح هذه الجزيرة
بقتله فإنهم بعده يخذلون.

4.2 *Analysis*

Not only is Ṭāriq's speech among the most famous of battle orations, it also displays some of its basic features. Urging his men to fight, enjoining them to uphold the qualities of true warriors, strategizing the battle, and invoking divine aid and reward, its pithy and memorable lines align with some of the common themes and characteristics discussed in this chapter.

The main theme of the speech is exhortation to fight, set up in a dually coercive and persuasive frame. Having burned his ships, Ṭāriq had already taken unilateral action forcing his troops to muster. Now, he drives home its import with threats of annihilation, saying, "Where will you flee? The sea is behind you and the enemy in front." The persuasive half of the package consists of worldly temptations. Particularly alluring is the prospect Ṭāriq holds out to them of bedding handsome, exotic, highborn ladies in marriage, saying, "Surely you have heard of the beautiful, obsidian-eyed women nurtured by this land? Proud daughters of Greece, trailing long robes, decked in pearls and coral, and garbed in pure gold weave, they are secluded in the palaces of crowned kings ... [The caliph] has selected you as sons-in-law for the kings of this land." Additionally, he assures them that the splendid booty from the battle will belong to them alone and that the caliph has forsworn his share and promised that none other will have a part of it. Assurance of God's reward is brought in obliquely as something aspired to by their caliph. It is also harnessed more directly to Ṭāriq's appeal to his soldiers, packaged with a prayer for victory, "Almighty God will help you win, and your hard efforts today will build an enduring memorial in this world and the next." The two qualities emphasized by most battle orators are included early in the exhortatory mix: immediately after the warning that there is no place for them to flee, Ṭāriq says, "there is nothing for you now but courage and endurance."

Battle ethics are not part of this text, but strategy is clearly articulated: Kill the enemy leader. The final paragraph gives instructions in some detail. When the fighting begins, they are to attack Roderic himself. Killing him is a priority, because with his death, the enemy, headless, will disperse and be easily subjugated.

In terms of context, Ṭāriq's speech is one of the most typical—an oration by the army commander to his troops just before a battle, urging them to fight. Whether or not Ṭāriq was mounted on a horse, or was leaning on a sword or bow, our sources do not say. In terms of content, the piece is typical of Umayyad speeches. An illustration of a battle speech by an anti-Umayyad orator—Ḥusayn's oration on the day of 'Āshūrā' in Karbala—has been cited and analyzed earlier to highlight the dynamic of orator-audience engagement and negotiation of authority. Ḥusayn's speech contains copious Qur'an cita-

tions and religious language. In contrast, Ṭāriq's speech is top-down and coercive, and has far less pietistic material. It focuses on a particular group of themes from the battle orator's palette: worldly rewards (food, riches, women), and threats of annihilation if they do not fight. No Qur'an verses are cited, or hadith, poetry, or proverbs. Only oblique reference is made to God's pleasure, none to fighting in God's path, or paradise, or piety, or good deeds, all themes that are eminently present in most non-Umayyad battle orations.

One possible reason for the speech's fame is its powerful language, vivid metaphors, and pithy lines. Among the most memorable are the opening two lines cited earlier as well, "Where will you flee? The sea is behind you and the enemy in front." A subsequent line contains another graphic metaphor, "Know that you will glean fewer morsels in this peninsula [if you do not fight] than orphans at the table of a miserly wretch." There are many others. Rhetorical questions, antithetical parallelism, prose rhyme, and emphatic structures, all add spice to the mix.

An endorsement of the speech's fame comes, sadly, in the form of a Hollywood portrayal of Arab/Muslim terrorists. The 1994 movie "True Lies" has a scene in which the terrorist Salim Abu Aziz, played by Art Malik, gives an Arabic speech just before he sets off the bomb that is going to destroy the United States—the speech starts with the first two lines from Ṭāriq's speech (the rest of the speech is not clearly audible). Obviously, Ṭāriq's invasion of Andalusia was an act of aggression, but the dynamics of the invasion are complex, and include entreaties by local Andalusian groups for military help against Roderic. At the very least, it was a battle between two armies, not a mindless killing of innocent victims.

In a scene, time, and aesthetic far removed from Ṭāriq's eighth-century Andalusian speech, Colonel Edward Cross orated thus to his Union soldiers in the American Civil War's Battle of Antietam, Maryland, in 1862:¹⁴⁰

Officers and soldiers, the enemy are in front and the Potomac river is in their rear. We must conquer this day or we are disgraced and ruined. I expect that each one will do his duty like a soldier and a brave man. Let no man leave the ranks on any pretense. If I fall leave me until the battle is won. Stand firm and fire low. Shoulder arms! Forward march!

As is probably clear at first glance, Cross's opening is almost a direct transposition of Ṭāriq's first line. However, it is the Confederate Army and not his

140 Cross, 47.

own that is backed up against the Potomac, so the purpose of Cross's antithetical statement is to show the Union army's advantage rather than its desperate strait. But still, the similarity of the assertion is striking. Also parallel are the broad-strategy instructions about continuing to fight until victorious, even if the commander falls. And the on-the-ground directives about standing firm and firing low are reflective of many early Muslim generals' instructions to bite down on molars and point spears.

5 Concluding Remarks

The battle oration is a cornerstone of early Arabic speechmaking and abundantly present in the sources. Overlapping with other types of speeches and sermons in pious themes, and also in oral aesthetic, structure, and orator-audience dynamic, it diverges from them in its focus on military topics firmly entrenched in physical warfare. As we have seen, themes of urging to fight, or to desist from fighting, are the most visible. Myriad subthemes include heavenly or worldly reward, threats of exacting punishment, and expositions on the inevitability of death for all. Battlefield ethics, as well as battle strategies are expounded, as are the moral qualities of a good warrior. Citations of specific Qur'an verses are commonly found. The texts and contexts of the battle oration enrich our understanding of the military—and the intertwined religious and political—issues of the period.

The Political Speech

Succession and Accession, Control and Policy

Political speeches are particularly well known to us in the twenty-first century. The business of campaigning for elections and steering people toward policies depends largely on forceful public speaking. Eminent United States presidents have been eloquent orators, from George Washington and Abraham Lincoln in yesteryears, to Barack Obama in our time.¹ Among activists, the speeches of Martin Luther King promoting racial equality are legion. Worldwide, in East and West, politicians today use the microphone to direct their populations. In the early Islamic period, caliphs and governors also used the vehicle of oratory to engage with political issues.² As a broad-strokes canvas, some of their public-speaking categories are familiar to us in our own times. Others were distinct to their age and culture.

An important medium for developing policy among elite groups, the early Islamic political speech was also a primary means of communicating policy to the masses. Its most prominent theme was leadership, and this theme played out in various tracks. Speeches attributed to the pre-Islamic period interlocked with issues of tribal leadership, particularly regarding genealogical superiority. In the early Islamic period, their political purview expanded to include speeches of succession, policy, and control. Moreover, many battle orations, as well as Friday and Eid sermons and pious-counsel sermons, contained political material, and conversely, urgings to piety and military themes bolstered arguments for leadership and policy in political speeches—a clear nod to the essentially intertwined nature of religion, politics, and war in this period. Drawing closely on texts and contexts, this chapter analyzes the themes, functions, and language of the political speech, and assorted negotiations of leadership. A speech to his Kufan subjects by the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj—with text, translation, and analysis—completes the chapter.

1 For an analysis of the use of oratory as an instrument of power in early American history, see, e.g., Gustafson, *Eloquence Is Power*.

2 The classical sources do not use a particular term to classify political speeches. Modern academic Arabic renders it as *khutbat al-siyāsah*, or *al-khutbah al-siyāsiyyah*.

1 Themes and Functions of Political Speeches

The early Islamic political speech contained five major themes: (1) succession, (2) accession, (3) threats and maintenance of order, (4) fiscal policy, and (5) pious counsel.

1.1 Succession Speeches

A number of speeches in the early Islamic period are proclamations announcing a successor and soliciting a pledge of allegiance to him. They point us toward electoral and appointment practices of this time. Moreover, they exhibit the prime use of oration, alongside testaments and private conversations, for this crucial aspect of the period's religio-political life. The most famous (and perhaps the most contentious) is the oration of Ghadīr Khumm attributed to Muḥammad, in which, according to the Shi'a, he appointed 'Alī as his successor. The basic elements of the speech are accepted as genuine by most medieval Sunni scholars, but they interpret it differently, maintaining that the speech extolled 'Alī but had no succession content.³ The following excerpt from *Sharḥ al-akhbār* by Qāḍī l-Nu'mān (d. 363/974) provides the text, context, and Shi'a interpretation of the oration:⁴

[Zayd ibn Arqam narrated:] We accompanied God's messenger on the farewell pilgrimage. On our return, when we came to the oasis of Khumm, he struck camp. It was a sweltering hot day, and he instructed palm branches to be collected and positioned for shade. He then gave the call among the people to gather, "Prayer unites." They gathered together, their largest gathering ever, for there were few among the Muslims who had not come to perform the pilgrimage with the messenger. When they had all gathered, he stood up and spoke. After praising God, he said:

- 3 Ibn Mājah, Ibn Ḥanbal, Tirmidhī, and Bayhaqī (from listing in App. § 90.19). See the assessment of this sermon by the Mu'tazilites Iskāfī (210–218) and 'Abd al-Jabbār (20.2:125–126), who argue for its indicating 'Alī's superiority, and say it means that he was someone whom all should befriend, and they argue against both the Shi'ite and the non-*taḥḍīlī* Sunni interpretations. They also cite 'Umar's felicitation to 'Alī at this time, saying "You have become my *mawlā* and the *mawlā* of all believing men and women." The Sunnis interpret the word "*mawlā*" variously, including "relative," and "patron."
- 4 Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 1:99, also cited on 1:104, 106. See other Twelver and Ismā'īlī source references in App. § 90.20. The Shi'a understand the word "*mawlā*" used by the Prophet, to mean "master," in an echo of the Qur'anic verse, "God is the master (*mawlā*) of the believers, while the unbelievers have no master" ﴿ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَأَنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ لَا مَوْلَى لَهُمْ﴾ (Q Muḥammad 47:11).

People ... my time has drawn near, but I leave with you two weighty things: God's book and my descendants. As long as you hold on to them, you shall not go astray.

Then he took 'Alī's hand and brought him up next to him, raising 'Alī's hand with his own so high that people glimpsed the white in his armpits. He asked them: Who is your master? They replied: God and his messenger know best. He said: Am I not your master? For God has said «The Prophet is the believers' master».⁵ They responded: By God, you are.

He then said: For whomever I am master (mawlā), 'Alī is his master. God, befriend those who befriend him, and challenge those who challenge him! [Help those who help him. Demean those who demean him. Keep the true religion by his side, wherever he may go.]⁶ Do you listen and obey? They replied: Yes, we do. He exclaimed: Bear witness, God!

Nu'mān follows the text with an explanation of the succession content of the speech:

The messenger of God's words, "For whomever I am master (*mawlā*), 'Alī is his master," means: For whomever I am a religious leader (*walī*—same root and meaning as *mawlā*) in religion, 'Alī is his religious leader, referring to the person upon whom he should rely in matters of religion and in all matters. This is the station of God's prophets among their communities, and the station of each Imam after them among the people of his age.

Another Shi'a text describes the pledge of allegiance that Muḥammad solicited for 'Alī, asserting that all the Muslims there, beginning with the leading Emi-

آيها الناس ... وإني أوشك أن أدعى
فأجيب وإني تارك فيكم الثقلين ما تمسكتم
بهما لن تضلوا كتاب الله وعترتي.

ثم أخذ بيد علي فأقامه ورفع يده بيده حتى
رؤي بياض [إبطيه]. وقال من أولى بكم
من أنفسكم. قالوا الله ورسوله أعلم. قال
ألسن أولى بذلك لقول الله عز وجل
﴿النبي أولى بالمؤمنين من أنفسهم﴾. قالوا
اللهم نعم.

قال فمن كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم
وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه وأنصر من
نصره وأخذل من خذله وأدر الحق معه
حيث دار. هل سمعتم وأطعتم قالوا نعم
قال اللهم أشهد.

⁵ Q Aḥzāb 33:6.

⁶ The lines in parentheses are not included in Nu'mān's first report in the *Sharḥ al-akhbār* (1:99), but are included in another, similar report that he cites a few pages later (1:104).

grants, came forward at the end of the oration to clasp Muḥammad's hand and offer their covenant to 'Alī. The process took three full days.⁷

Muḥammad died soon thereafter, and Abū Bakr was nominated the first Sunni caliph.⁸ Two years later, he fell ill, and he too made a declaration of succession, appointing 'Umar. Rather than orating, however, he is said to have dictated a testament to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān in which he said:⁹

This is the testament of Abū Bakr ibn Abī Quḥāfah in his last moments in this world, as he is leaving it upon his entry into the hereafter ... I appoint over you after me 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, so listen to him and obey him ... if he is just, that is what I expect from him. If he changes the accepted practice, he will answer for his deeds. My intention is good, but I do not know the unseen.

He then sent this testament to be read out to the people who had gathered around and commanded them to pledge allegiance to 'Umar.

After Abū Bakr, the next two caliphs did not make an individual appointment of succession. 'Umar appointed a committee of six members to choose the next caliph from among themselves, and they chose 'Uthmān, who, in his turn, did not make any public comments naming a successor; given the circumstances of his killing, he was not in a position to do so. After them, 'Alī appointed his son Ḥasan, and several testaments and personal statements to that effect are recorded in the sources.¹⁰

During the Umayyad caliphate, Mu'āwiyah spoke in Medina among its leaders, urging them to accept his nomination of his son Yazīd, saying:¹¹

I have reached an advanced age, my bones have weakened, and my end is near. I shall soon be called, and I must answer the call. I have seen fit to appoint Yazīd over you after me.

فإني قد كبر سنّي ووهن عظمي وقرب
أجلي وأوشكت أن أدعى فأجيب. وقد
رأيت أن أستخلف عليكم بعدي يزيد.

The sources record a series of follow-up speeches by Umayyad partisans and Medinan nobles arguing for and against the appointment. From the Umayyad side we find speeches by Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihri, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn

7 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, 2:113; text of oration 2:112–113.

8 See 'Umar's comments on Abū Bakr's succession, also in an oration: App. § 140.12.

9 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3:429; Ibn A'tham, 1:121–123; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:253.

10 Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 2:443, 447–449; Idrīs, 3:483.

11 App. § 84.11.

‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī, Thawr ibn Ma‘n al-Sulamī, ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Iṣām al-Ash‘arī, ‘Abdallāh ibn Mas‘adah al-Fazārī, ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq, Yazīd ibn al-Muqni‘, and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, all proposing Yazīd. On the Medinan/Iraqi side we find speeches by Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās, ‘Abdallāh ibn Ja‘far, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, Aḥnaf ibn Qays, and ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Umar, all of them opposing Yazīd.¹²

1.2 Accession Speeches

Caliphs, governors, and commanders regularly delivered speeches upon accession to the post. As in speeches of appointment, they solicited a pledge of allegiance, expounded on their own righteousness, and laid out broad policies regarding their mode of governance. The focus in our texts is on obedience to authority. Also highlighted are treasury disbursements, anti-corruption measures, and law and order issues. Another refrain specific to the socio-military ethos of the period is not keeping troops too long in the field.

1.2.1 Caliphal Accession Speeches

In the first speeches they gave as head of the community, the earliest Muslim caliphs laid out their broad policies and delineated the foundations and nature of their authority. They stressed the importance of obedience, drove home the necessity of jihad, and intertwined remarks on policy with injunctions to piety. This is the speech attributed to the first Sunni caliph, Abū Bakr, immediately after he accepted the pledge of allegiance:¹³

People, I have become your leader, but I am not the best of you. If you see that I am righteous, help me. If you see that I am unjust, set me aright. Obey me as long as I obey God in ruling you. If I disobey him, I forego your obedience. Listen! The strongest of you in my eyes is the weak, and I wish to wrest for him his rights. The weakest among you in my eyes is the strong, and I wish to wrest from him what he owes. I speak these words, and I beg God for forgiveness for me and for you.

أيها الناس إني قد وليت عليكم ولست
بخيركم. فإن رأيتموني على حق فأعينوني
وإن رأيتموني على باطل فسدّدوني. أطيعوني
ما أطعت الله فيكم فإذا عصيته فلا طاعة لي
عليكم. ألا إن أقواكم عندي الضعيف حتى
أخذ الحق له وأضعفكم عندي القوي حتى
أخذ الحق منه. أقول قولي هذا وأستغفر الله
لي ولكم.

12 Ibn Qutaybah, *Imāmah*, 1:188–214; Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl*, 146–147; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:344–349; (Ṣafwat, 2:236–262).

13 App. § 15.3.

Abū Bakr was tentative in asserting his authority. He declared that his jurisdiction would depend on his righteousness, and asked the Medinan Muslims to admonish him if he erred. The Shi'a read this as an acknowledgment of 'Alī's superior right to the caliphate. The Sunnis read it as a mark of Abū Bakr's humility. In any case, because of Abū Bakr's diffidence, the audience comes across as peers rather than subjects. In addition to the politics of rule, moreover, the terminology focuses on the Qur'anic terms "right," "wrong," and "obedience." Interestingly, as mentioned earlier, this speech may have been delivered as part of a Friday sermon: In Ibn Hishām's version, the speech ends with the words, "stand up for your ritual-prayer," perhaps referring to the Friday prayer.

Several accession speeches are attributed to 'Umar, either parts of a single speech, or separate speeches he gave early in his caliphate. True to the sources' portrayal of his sternness, 'Umar took a stance tougher than Abū Bakr in his speeches right from the beginning. In one of these, he says:¹⁴

The Arabs are like a haughty, pierce-nosed camel
led by a driver. Let the driver be alert as to where
he drives them. As for me, by the lord of the
Ka'bah, I shall keep you on the path!

إِنَّمَا مِثْلُ الْعَرَبِ مِثْلُ جَمَلٍ أَنْفٌ آتَبَعُ قَائِدَهُ
فَلْيَنْظُرْ قَائِدُهُ حَيْثُ يَقُودُهُ. وَأَمَّا أَنَا فَوَرَبُّ
الْكَعْبَةِ لِأَحْمِلَنَّهُمْ عَلَى الطَّرِيقِ.

In another speech, after a few lines of pious counsel, 'Umar declared that he would maintain a transparent relationship with the public treasury. Using another striking camel image, he promised restraint and clean dealings:¹⁵

Recite the Qur'an and you will be known by it.
Act according to its guidance and you will be
counted among its people. No one who disobeys
God has a right to obedience from others.

اقْرَءُوا الْقُرْآنَ تَعْرِفُوا بِهِ وَأَعْمَلُوا بِهِ تَكُونُوا
مِنْ أَهْلِهِ. إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَبْلُغْ حَقَّ ذِي حَقٍّ أَنْ يَطَاعَ
فِي مَعْصِيَةِ اللَّهِ.

Listen! With regard to the treasury, I consider
myself a guardian, like one who is in charge of
an orphan. If I can do without, I shall restrain
myself entirely from touching it. If I am in need,
I will take a little, as is allowed to me, just as a
camel nibbles thorny bushes with the edges of its
teeth, rather than grinding down on them with
its molars.

أَلَا وَإِنِّي أَنَزَلْتُ نَفْسِي مِنْ مَالِ اللَّهِ بِمَنْزِلَةِ
وَالِي الْيَتِيمِ إِنْ أَسْتَغْنَيْتُ عَفَفْتُ وَإِنْ
أَفْتَقَرْتُ أَكَلْتُ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ تَقَرَّمُ الْبَهْمَةُ
الْأَعْرَابِيَّةُ الْقَضْمَ لَا الْخَضْمَ.

¹⁴ App. § 140.2.

¹⁵ App. § 140.6.

In yet another speech, 'Umar promised to be a strong leader and deal with matters of governance personally. If delegation became necessary, he vowed to ensure his appointees carried out their duties with fairness:¹⁶

God has tested you with me, and tested me with you after my friend's passing. By God, any matter that is brought before me and is within my physical purview, I shall deal with it myself. Any matter that is outside my physical purview, I shall delegate to people of honesty and integrity. If they do their job well, I shall be good to them. If they are wayward, I shall punish them and make an example of them.

إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَتَلَاكُمْ بِي وَأَتَلَانِي بِكُمْ بَعْدَ صَاحِبِي.
فَوَاللَّهِ لَا يُحْضِرُنِي شَيْءٌ مِنْ أَمْرِكُمْ فِيهِ أَحَدٌ
دُونِي وَلَا يَتَغَيَّبُ عَنِّي قَالُوا فِيهِ عَنْ أَهْلِ
الْجَزَاءِ وَالْأَمَانَةِ. وَلَئِنْ أَحْسَنُوا لِأَحْسَنٍ إِلَيْهِمْ
وَلَئِنْ أَسَاءُوا لَأَنْكَلَنَّ بِهِمْ.

Distinct from 'Umar's, 'Uthmān's accession speech is reminiscent of Abū Bakr's in its reticence. Reflecting his acceptance of the election council's condition—that he would follow the practices of Abū Bakr and 'Umar—he declared that he was a follower and not an innovator:¹⁷

I have been given a burden to carry, which I have accepted. Listen! I am a follower and not an innovator. Listen! In addition to following God's book and his prophet's practice, I promise you three things more: I shall follow the practice of those who went before me, a practice which you have accepted. In things which [previous caliphs] have not left a legacy, I shall follow the practice of the pious. And I shall not demand from you except those things that are mandatory obligations.

أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنِّي قَدْ حَمَلْتُ وَقَدْ قَبِلْتُ. أَلَا وَإِنِّي
مَتَّبِعٌ وَلَسْتُ بِمُتَّبِعٍ. أَلَا وَإِنَّ لَكُمْ عَلَيَّ بَعْدَ
كِتَابِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ
عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ثَلَاثًا أَتَّبَعُ مَنْ كَانَ قَبْلِي فِيمَا
اجْتَمَعَتْ عَلَيْهِ وَسُنَّتُهُمْ وَسُنَّةُ أَهْلِ الْخَيْرِ
فِيمَا لَمْ تَسْنُوا عَنْ مَلَأَ وَالْكَفِّ عَنْكُمْ إِلَّا فِيمَا
أَسْتُجِبْتُمْ.

Listen! This world is green and tempting, and many have turned to it. Do not depend on the world, do not trust it. It is not trustworthy. Know that it will not leave alone any except those who abjure it.

أَلَا وَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا خَضِرَةٌ قَدْ شَبِهَتْ إِلَى النَّاسِ
وَمَالَ إِلَيْهَا كَثِيرٌ مِنْهُمْ فَلَا تَرْكَنُوا إِلَى الدُّنْيَا
وَلَا تَتَّقُوا بِهَا فَإِنَّهَا لَيْسَتْ بِثِقَةٍ وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّهَا
غَيْرُ تَارِكَةٍ إِلَّا مَنْ تَرَكَهَا.

16 App. § 140.15.

17 App. § 146.3.

In contrast to 'Uthmān's, 'Alī's accession speech was marked by an absence of references to his predecessors' practices. He opened the oration by asserting his own veracity and acknowledging the divided state of the community in the wake of 'Uthmān's murder. He then stated that right was right and wrong was wrong, implying that he was in the right and his opponents were wrong, and that his righteousness was the foundational basis of his authority:¹⁸

I guarantee the truth of what I say and stand by my pledge: Those who are cautioned by history's lessons are protected by their piety from galloping headlong into the abyss of doubt.

Listen! You are being tested today, as you were on the day God sent his Prophet. I swear by the one who sent him with the truth that you will be tossed about, sifted as in a sieve, and mixed and melded as in a boiling pot. Many lowly folk will rise, and others who are in high positions will fall. Some who had straggled behind will race to the front, and others who were way ahead will fall behind.

By God, I have never held back a true word, or spoken a single lie. I was told of the coming of this station and this day.

Listen! Sins are recalcitrant steeds, reins slack, galloping with their riders speedily into the fire. Listen! Piety is a compliant mount, steadily carrying its riders, reins firmly in their hands, to paradise.

There is truth and there is falsehood. Each has its folk. If falsehood prevails, that would be nothing new. If truth has few followers, that is entirely possible. Seldom does something which has turned away come back.

ذمّتي بما أقول رهينة وأنا به زعيم إنّ من
صرّحت له العبر عمّا بين يديه من المثلثات
حجّرتة التقوى عن تقحّم الشبهات.

ألا وإنّ بليّتكم قد عادت كهيئتها يوم بعث
الله نبيه. والذي بعثه بالحقّ لتبلبلنّ بلبلة
ولتغربلنّ غربلةً ولتساطنّ سوط القدر
حتّى يعود أسفلكم أعلّامكم وأعلّامكم أسفلكم
وليسبقنّ سابقون كانوا قصّروا وليقصّرنّ
سبّاقون كانوا سبقوا.

والله ما كتمت وشمة ولا كذبت كذبة
ولقد نبّئت بهذا المقام وهذا اليوم.

ألا وإنّ الخطايا خيل شمس حمل عليها أهلها
وخلعت لجمها فتقحّمت بهم في النار. ألا
وإنّ التقوى مطايا ذلل حمل عليها أهلها
وأعطوا أزمّتها فأوردتهم الجنة.

حقّ وباطل ولكلّ أهل. فلئن أمر الباطل
لقد يميّأ فعل. ولئن قلّ الحقّ لربّما فلربّما ولعلّ.
ولقلّما أدبر شيء فأقبل.

18 App. § 31.3, in Raḍī's version, and it includes a further section urging piety.

In the version of 'Alī's accession speech recorded by Jāḥiẓ, 'Alī went on to rebuke the community, and then in the following lines, he reminded them of the virtues and precedence of the Prophet's family:¹⁹

Listen! Truly, my virtuous descendants and pure kin are the most mature in childhood and the most knowledgeable as adults. Listen! We are the people of a family who receive knowledge from God, who judge according to his judgment, and who give ear to true words. If you follow our traces, you will be guided by our vision. If you do not, God will destroy you at our hands. The banner of truth is with us. Whoever follows it will catch up and whoever holds back will drown. Listen! Through us the believers' defeat is repelled. Through us the yoke of shame is removed from your necks. Through us the prize is won. Through us God has granted victory, not through you. And through us all things will end, not through you.

أَلَا إِنَّ أَبْرَارَ عَتَرَتِي وَأَطْيَابِ أَرْوَمَتِي أَحْلَمَ
النَّاسِ صَغَارًا وَأَعْلَمَ النَّاسِ كِبَارًا. أَلَا وَإِنَّا
أَهْلُ بَيْتٍ مِنْ عِلْمِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْنَا وَبِحَكْمِ اللَّهِ
حَكَمْنَا وَمِنْ قَوْلٍ صَادِقٍ سَمِعْنَا. وَإِنْ تَتَّبِعُوا
آثَارَنَا تَهْتَدُوا بِبَصَائِرِنَا وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلُوا يَهْلِكْكُمْ
اللَّهُ بِأَيْدِينَا. مَعْنَا رَايَةَ الْحَقِّ مِنْ تَبِعِهَا لَحِقَ
وَمَنْ تَأَخَّرَ عَنْهَا غَرِقَ. أَلَا وَإِنْ بَاتَرَدَّ دَبْرَهُ
كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَبِنَا تَخْلَعُ رِبْقَةُ الذَّلِّ مِنْ أَعْنَاقِكُمْ
وَبِنَا غَنِمَ وَبِنَا فَتَحَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَبِنَا يَخْتَمُ لَا بِكُمْ.

Going forward into the Umayyad period, we find a number of speeches of accession recorded for various caliphs. Walīd buried his father, 'Abd al-Malik, then spoke in the mosque in Damascus, praising him and praying for him. Then he spoke of his own accession, with a typical Umayyad warning against revolt:²⁰

People, obey me and stay with the community. Satan is the companion of the stray, while he steers wide of the community. Know that whosoever exposes himself to us, we will strike off the part of his body that holds his eyes. Whosoever remains silent [and does not protest] dies in his illness [without the government hurting him].

فَعَلَيْكُمْ أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ بِالطَّاعَةِ وَلِزُومِ الْجَمَاعَةِ.
فَإِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ مَعَ الْفِتَى وَهُوَ مِنَ الْجَمَاعَةِ أَبْعَدُ.
وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّهُ مَنْ أَبْدَى لَنَا ذَاتَ نَفْسِهِ ضَرَبْنَا
الَّذِي فِيهِ عَيْنَاهُ وَمَنْ سَكَتَ مَاتَ بِدَائِهِ.

19 App. § 31.3, in Jāḥiẓ's version, narrated from the Basran Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā, on the authority of the Shi'i Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq; reported also by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:276. It is interesting that the Shi'i Raḍī does not include this section, but the Sunni Jāḥiẓ does. For a summary and discussion of the sermon's themes and context, see Madelung, 150–151.

20 App. § 149.1.

ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in his accession speech broke the mold. Instead of warning against insubordination, he explained the uprightness of his governance and voiced the expectation that any who sought to participate in it must also be upright.²¹

People, those who wish to partake of my company must adhere to five principles, or else stay away: They must convey to me the petitions of those who cannot do so themselves; help me to [govern justly]; inform me of avenues of good [governance] that I may be unaware of; not say spiteful things to me about my subjects; and not meddle in things which do not concern them.

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ مِنْ صَحْبِنَا فَلْيَصْحَبْنَا بِخَمْسٍ
وَالْأَوَّلُ فَلَا يَقْرَبُنَا. يَرْفَعُ إِلَيْنَا حَاجَةً مِنْ لَا
يَسْتَطِيعُ رَفْعُهَا. وَيُعِينُنَا عَلَى الْخَيْرِ. وَيَدُلَّنَا
مِنْ الْخَيْرِ عَلَى مَا لَا نَهْتَدِي إِلَيْهِ. وَلَا يَغْتَابُنَّ
عِنْدَنَا الرِّعْيَةَ. وَلَا يَعْتَرِضُ فِيمَا لَا يَعْنِيهِ.

Ibn al-Jawzī writes that poets and preachers fell away from him after this speech, and only jurists and renunciants stayed by his side.²²

Yazīd III delivered his accession speech in the strident aftermath of internal revolt, and it is again different in tone. With the support of the tribal Yemeni faction and the religious Ghaylānī, Yazīd had taken up arms against his cousin, the incumbent Umayyad caliph, Walīd II, notorious among his subjects for his lavish desert palaces, and killed him. Upon taking up the caliphate in Damascus, he gave a speech which, in the words of Gerald Hawting, “he concluded by stating that, if he failed to live up to his promises, the people would have the right to depose him if he did not respond to their calls to change his ways. Furthermore, if they wished to give allegiance to someone whom they thought better fitted for office, Yazīd offered to be the first to give him allegiance and accept his commands.”²³ Hawting cites the speech as a possible indication that Yazīd was one of the proponents of free will (Qadariyyah), in contrast to the generally predestinarian (Jabriyyah) Umayyads.²⁴ Yazīd prefaced these avowals with lines defending the righteousness of his revolt, and a list of abuses he promised to avoid, presumably abuses of power attributed by the dissatisfied populace to his predecessor, which he cataloged as follows:²⁵

21 App. § 139.2.

22 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sīrah*; 227.

23 Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, 93.

24 Hawting, “Yazīd (111) b. al-Walīd (1),” *EI*2.

25 App. § 158.1.

People, I promise you this: I shall not place stone upon stone, or brick upon brick. I shall not build new canals. I shall not hoard revenues or bestow them to a wife or a son. I shall not transfer them from one town to another, until all poverty in that town is eliminated. If there is a surplus, I shall transfer it to the adjoining town. I shall not keep soldiers for long periods in remote postings, such that they and their families may be harmed by it. I shall not close my door in your face, such that the strong subjugates the weak. I shall not burden *jizyah* payers [Christians and Jews] so heavily that they have to leave their lands and their line is cut off. I shall pay your stipends every year, and your sustenance money every month, such that the livelihoods of all Muslims will stabilize. The noble will be treated like the humble among you.

أيها الناس إن لكم عليّ ألا أضع حجراً على حجر ولا لبنّة على لبنّة ولا أكرّي نهراً ولا أكنز مالاً ولا أعطيّه زوجاً ولا ولداً ولا أنقل مالاً من بلد إلى بلد حتّى أسدّ فقر ذلك البلد وخصاصة أهله بما يغنيهم فإن فضل فضل نقلته إلى البلد الذي يليه ممّن هو أحوج إليه منه. ولا أجمركم في ثغوركم فأفتنكم وأفتن أهليكم. ولا أغلق بابي دونكم فيأكل قوايكم ضعيفكم. ولا أحمل على أهل جزيتكم ما أجلبهم به عن بلادهم وأقطع به نسلهم. ولكم عندي أعطياتكم في كلّ سنة وأرزاكم في كلّ شهر حتّى تستدّر المعيشة بين المسلمين فيكون أقصاهم كأدناهم.

The Abbasid caliph Manṣūr is reported to have delivered an accession speech to a semi-public audience of his family members and generals, in which he declared his personal disinterest in the caliphate and his resolve, nevertheless, to govern by the Sunnah of the Prophet.²⁶

1.2.2 Governor Accession Speeches

Similar to caliphal accession speeches but at a local level, the sources record speeches by newly appointed governors. In some cases, a new governor is sent by a new caliph to assume charge of a major town. His accession speech lays out policies, enjoins obedience to the caliph and to him, and solicits the pledge of allegiance for both. In other cases, a caliph who is already in power sends a new governor to bring a recalcitrant populace under control. His accession speech contains threats for disobedience, reminders that he holds the sword, and promises of just government.

ʿUthmān appointed his cousin Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ as governor of Kufa after his former governor, Ibn Abī Muʿīṭ, had garnered complaints for drinking wine, an

²⁶ App. § 80.1.

act considered a grave sin in Islam. In Saʿīd's tough accession speech, he warned the Kufans against sedition:²⁷

By God, I am an unwilling appointee sent to you, who had no recourse once commanded but to take up the charge. Listen! Sedition has raised its snout and opened its eyes. By God, I shall strike its face until I crush it, or it crushes me. Today, I shall be my own guide.

والله لقد بعثت إليكم وإني لكاره ولكني لم
أجد بداً إذ أمرت أن أتم. ألا إن الفتنة
قد أطلعت خطمها وعينها والله لأضرب
وجهها حتى أقعها أو تعينني. وإني لرائد
نفسي اليوم.

ʿAlī's governors in their accession speeches echoed his claims to righteousness. In a speech set in the wake of ʿAlī's accession to the caliphate, Qays ibn Saʿd in Egypt solicited the pledge of allegiance to his master, praising his virtue, and promising fair Islamic governance based on the Qurʾan and the practice of the Prophet. Qays's choice of these particular motifs may be understood in the immediate aftermath of ʿUthmān's last few years, and the accusations made against him for supporting corrupt and degenerate governors:²⁸

People, we have given the pledge of allegiance to the best person we know after our Prophet Muḥammad. Stand up and pledge him allegiance for a rule based on God's book and his messenger's practice. If we do not rule thus, you shall be absolved of your pledge.

أيها الناس إنا قد بايعنا خير من نعلم بعد محمد
نبينا. فقوموا أيها الناس فبايعوا على كتاب
الله عز وجل وسنة رسوله. فإن نحن لم
نعمل لكم بذلك فلا بيعة لنا عليكم.

Three years later, the last of ʿAlī's three governors to Egypt, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, echoed the same themes in his accession speech as Qays had, promising just, godly governance:²⁹

Praise God who guided me and you when others left the path of truth; who gave me and you the discernment to see the reality the ignorant were blind to.

الحمد لله الذي هدانا وإياكم لما اختلف فيه
من الحق وبصرنا وإياكم كثيراً بما عمي عنه
الجاهلون.

²⁷ App. § 119.1.

²⁸ App. § 104.1.

²⁹ App. § 88.1.

Listen! The commander of the faithful has put me in charge of your affairs, and he has given me a testament that you have just heard. He also counselled me with many of its points orally and face to face. I shall do my best to govern you well, seeking guidance from no one but God, placing my trust in him, and seeking forgiveness from him. If you see my governorship and my tax collection to conform with obedience to God and consciousness of him, then praise God for it, for he is my guide. If you find any of my agents to be corrupt, bring the matter to me with a rebuke—I will be happier if you do, and you have a right to do so. May God in his mercy guide me and you to perform good deeds.

ألا إنَّ أمير المؤمنين ولّاني أموركم وعهد إليّ ما قد سمعتم وأوصاني بكثير منه مشافهة. ولن ألوكم خيراً ما أستطعت وما توفيقي إلّا بالله عليه توكلت وإليه أنيب. فإن يكن ما ترون من إمارتي وأعمالي طاعة لله وتقوى فأحمدوا الله عزّ وجلّ على ما كان من ذلك فإنّه هو الهادي. وإن رأيتم عاملاً لي عمل غير الحقّ زائفاً فأرفعوه إليّ وعاتبوني فيه فإنّي بذلك أسعد وأنتم بذلك جديرون. وفقنا الله وإياكم لصالح الأعمال برحمته.

The accession speeches of the Umayyad governors of Iraq and the Hijāz are punitive, and their harsh tone reflects the uneasy relationship between the caliph in Damascus and his recalcitrant subjects in these two heartlands. One famous, lengthy speech attributed widely to Ziyād ibn Abīhi when he arrived in Basra as Mu'āwiyah's governor is set against the larceny and immorality rampant at the time, and articulates Ziyād's attempt to control the situation of deteriorating law and order. Ziyād was a powerful orator. Following are several excerpts from his speech that speak to various policies of governance, especially proper security and effective punishment for delinquency. He opens the speech with strong lines of chastisement, then goes on to delineate tribal protectionism as the source of Basra's high incidence of urban crime:³⁰

You do not realize that your innovations defile Islam. You have let the weak be subjugated in your midst, their property seized, brothels set up, women robbed in broad daylight! Your numbers are not small! Are there not among you those who could prevent offenders from going abroad at nightfall and attacking in the day? No, you protect your relatives and reject religion! You proffer excuses and avert your eyes from the thief! Each

ولا تذكرون أنكم أحدثتم في الإسلام الحدث الذي لم تسبقوا إليه من تركم الضعيف يقهر ويؤخذ ماله وهذه المواخير المنصوبة والضعيفة المسلوقة في النهار المبصر والعدد غير قليل. ألم يكن منكم نهاية تمنع الغواة عن دجل الليل وغارة النهار. قرّبتم

30 App. § 166.5.

man among you defends his own fool, this being the act of a person who does not fear a reckoning or hope for paradise. You are not mature people. No, you follow the path of the fools, continuing to shield them, while they violate the inviolable and creep into hiding behind you. May food and drink be unlawful for me, until I level the wrongdoers' edifice to the ground, demolishing and burning!

القرابة وباعدتم الدين تعتذرون بغير العذر
وتغضون على المختلس. كلّ امرئ منكم
يذّب عن سفيه صنيع من لا يخاف عاقبة
ولا يرجو معاداً. ما أنتم بالحلّاء ولقد آتبعتم
السفهاء. فلم يزل بكم ما ترون من قيامكم
دونهم حتّى أنتهكوا حرم الإسلام ثمّ
أطرقوا وراءكم كنوساً في مكائس الريب.
حرام عليّ الطعام والشراب حتّى أسويها
بالأرض هدماً وإحراقاً.

He then declares that he will punish any who shelter the criminals:

By God, I shall punish the owner for the offense committed by his slave, the resident for the offense committed by the absconder, the one present for the offense committed by the fugitive, the obedient for the offense committed by the disobedient, the sound for the offense committed by the ill. When you meet your brother, this is what you will say: (Save yourself, Sa'd, for Sa'id has perished!)³¹ This will be your fate unless you straighten your spear shaft. But if your property is breached, I will be the guarantor for anything stolen.

إني أقسم بالله لأخذنّ الوليّ بالمولى والمقيم
بالظاعن والمقبل بالمدير والمطيع بالعاصي
والصحيح منكم في نفسه بالسقيم حتّى يلقى
الرجل منكم أخاه فيقول أنج سعد فقد هلك
سعيد أو تستقيم لي قناتكم. من نقب منكم
عليه فأنا ضامن لما ذهب منه.

Beware of going abroad at nightfall! If such a person is brought to me, I shall spill his blood ... Beware of evoking tribal solidarity of the age of ignorance! If anyone calls to it, I shall cut out his tongue.

فإياي ودلج الليل فإني لا أوتى بمدلج إلا
سفكت دمه ... وإياي ودعوى الجاهليّة
فإني لا أجد أحداً دعى بها إلا قطعت
لسانه.

31 Sa'd and Sa'id were the sons of Ḍabbah ibn Udd who left home in search of their father's camels. Sa'd found them and brought them back, but Sa'id was killed. See etiology of this proverb in Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. "s'd"; Ṣafwat 2:272, n. § 2.

Next, he outlines forms of retribution in some extraordinarily strong, parallel, anaphora-based lines:

You have come up with bad innovations, and I too shall prescribe for every transgression a creative punishment: Whoever drowns people, I shall drown him. Whoever burns people, I shall burn him. Whoever breaches a house, I shall breach his heart. Whoever digs up a grave and robs it, I shall bury him in it alive. Restrain your hands and tongues from me and I will restrain my hand and tongue from you. If anyone challenges the majority position, I shall strike his neck.

وقد أحدثتم أحداثاً لم تكن ولقد أحدثنا
لكلّ ذنب عقوبة. فمن غرق قوماً غرقناه
ومن أحرق قوماً أحرقناه ومن نقب بيتاً
نقبنّا عن قلبه ومن نبش قبراً دفناه حياً فيه.
فكفّوا عني أيديكم وألسنتكم أكفّ عنكم
يدي ولساني. ولا تظهر من أحد منكم ريبة
بخلاف ما عليه عامتكم إلا ضربت عنقه.

In the next part, Ziyād promises oversight and availability, and he vows to ensure his subjects' real-world well-being by disbursing regular stipends from the treasury and instituting a compassionate program of military draft:

Know that whatever my faults, I shall not fail to provide three things: I shall not veil myself from any among you who brings a petition, even if he knocks on my door in the night. I shall not delay the payment of salaries and stipends. I shall not unduly detain your battalions in enemy lands.

وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنِّي مَهْمَا قَصَّرْتُ عَنْهُ فَلَنْ أَقْصُرَ عَنْ
ثَلَاثَ لَسْتُ مُحْتَجِجاً عَنْ طَالِبِ حَاجَةٍ مِنْكُمْ
وَلَوْ أَتَانِي طَارِقاً لَيْلٍ وَلَا حَابِساً عَطَاءٍ وَلَا
رِزْقاً عَنْ إِبَائِهِ وَلَا مُجَرّاً لَكُمْ بَعْثاً.

In the last few lines, he stresses the obedience due to him and his masters. The severe disciplinary measures for criminal behavior that Ziyād outlined in this speech appear to have been effective—Ṭabarī reports that “a [coin] would fall from someone’s hand, and no one would approach it until its owner returned for it. A woman would sleep without locking her door.”³²

A large number of speeches similarly threatening would-be rebels are attributed to other Umayyad governors. Ḥajjāj gave a famous speech when he arrived in Kufa as its governor and threatened death and destruction for as much as a whiff of disobedience (this text is cited in full in the final segment of this chapter).³³ ʿUthmān ibn Ḥayyān al-Murri gave a lengthy speech in Medina soon after he arrived there as governor, in which he warned the Medinans

32 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:222.

33 App. § 51.3.

against colluding with the Iraqis, and against being taken in by their promotion of 'Alī's family. Here is an excerpt:³⁴

People, I have seen you conspire against the commander of the faithful in past times and recent ones. Moreover, you have given refuge to men who will bring you misery and ruin—Iraqis, all dissenters and hypocrites. By God, they are hypocrisy's nest and the egg from which it emerges. By God, I have never found an Iraqi who does not find the best of men to be one who believes what he believes about Abū Ṭālib's descendants. But they are not real followers of the Ṭālibids. No indeed, they are enemies to them and to everyone else. God has not yet willed that their blood be spilled, but this will come. If I find that any of you have given any of them shelter, or rented them a house, or put him up in his own, I will demolish his home and give him his proper due.

أيها الناس إننا وجدناكم أهل غشٍّ لأُمير المؤمنين في قديم الدهر وحديثه وقد ضوى إليكم من يزيدكم خبالاً أهل العراق هم أهل الشقاق والنفاق. هم والله غشّ النفاق ويبضته التي تفلقت عنه. والله ما جربت عراقياً قط إلا وجدت أفضلهم عند نفسه الذي يقول في آل أبي طالب ما يقول وما هم لهم بشيعة وإنهم لأعداء ولغيرهم ولكن لما يريد الله من سفك دماءهم. فإني والله لا أوتي بأحد آوي أحداً منهم أو أكراه منزلاً أو أنزله إلا هدمت منزله وأنزلت به ما هو أهله.

Ibn Ḥayyān goes on to castigate the Iraqis and their country in language closely resembling that used by his contemporary Ḥajjāj.

In a twist on the governor accession speech, we find the Basran speech of Ziyād's son, 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād, notorious for his leading role in killing Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, ostensibly offering to resign from his position as governor when his patron, the caliph Yazīd, died in Damascus.³⁵ The speech vaunts the strength and prosperity he has brought to the Iraqis, underscores his humble origins as a man of the people, and is followed by the Basrans insisting on renewing their pledge of allegiance to him. The narrator appends an ironic note about the swift decline of 'Ubaydallāh's authority among the Iraqis following the pledge.

1.3 *Threat and Intimidation*

Many of the accession speeches you have just read contain threats. Barring the addresses of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, "sword" and "whip" are among the most

34 App. § 147.1.

35 App. § 138.4.

commonplace items in the lexicon of Umayyad caliphs and governors. From an orality perspective, we may view these stylized verbal lashings through the lens of Ong's characterization of orally based articulations as "extraordinarily agonistic in their verbal performance."³⁶ But extreme expressions of violent retribution are mostly found only in the speeches of the Umayyad governors. Other speeches of the time, and those by earlier rulers, are agonistic in their strong engagement with lifeworld situations, but they do not verbally wield sword and whip. In the face of a recalcitrant populace, usually of Iraq and also the Hījāz and Egypt, the Umayyads buttressed the political and military authority they wielded on the ground with threats of physical violence made from the pulpit. As the following further examples abundantly demonstrate, intimidation was a hallmark of Umayyad speeches.

The Umayyad governor in Egypt, 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān, chastised the Egyptians in a speech, saying "People of Egypt, beware lest you become a harvest for the sword" (يا أهل مصر إياكم أن تكونوا للسيف حصيداً).³⁷ In another speech, he expands on the theme, adding mention of the whip:³⁸

Bearers of the basest noses mounted between eyes! I clipped my talons to make my touch gentle. I asked you to be law-abiding, or else your rot would return to hurt you. But if you insist on maligning your rulers and slandering your forebears and caliphs, by God, I shall split the bellies of whips upon your backs. I hope that will contain your spreading illness. If not, then the sword is coming up right behind you. How many of my counsels have you listened to with deaf ears! How many of my rebukes have your hearts chewed upon and spit out! If you are generous with disobedient acts, I shall not be stingy with

يا حاملي ألأم أنوف ركبت بين أعين إثمًا
 قلت أظفاري عنكم ليلين مسي إياكم
 وسألتكم صلاحكم لكم إذ كان فسادكم
 راجعاً عليكم. فأما إذا أبيتتم إلا الطعن على
 الأمراء والعتب على السلف والخلفاء فوالله
 لأقطعن بطون السياط على ظهوركم. فإن
 حسمت مستشري دائكم وإلا فالسيف
 من ورائكم. فكم من عظة لنا قد صمت عنها
 أذانكم وزجرة منا قد مجتّها قلوبكم. ولست

36 Ong, 43–44: "Many, if not all, oral or residually oral cultures strike literates as extraordinarily agonistic in their verbal performance and indeed in their lifestyle. Writing fosters abstractions that disengage knowledge from the arena where human beings struggle with one another. It separates the knower from the known. By keeping knowledge embedded in the human lifeworld, orality situates knowledge within a context of struggle."

37 App. § 144.1.

38 App. § 144.2.

punishment! But there is no need to despair. You can still have a good life if you follow the road of righteousness and piety.

أبخل عليكم بالعقوبة إذا جدم علينا بالمعصية
ولا مؤسسا لكم من المراجعة إلى الحسنى إن
صرتم إلى التي هي أبر وأتقى.

Strong speeches are attributed to Yazīd's governor 'Ubaydallāh in the lead up to the Battle of Karbala. As he was leaving Basra for Kufa, 'Ubaydallāh gave a speech in which he echoed the language of his father Ziyād's famed accession speech there, warning the Basrans against stepping out of line:³⁹

By God, a willful camel is no match for a rider like me. I am not one to be spooked by the rattling of dry water skins. I am a scourge for any who challenge me and poison for any who fight me. <Qārah has given full measure to the tribe that began shooting arrows.>⁴⁰ ... Beware of opposition. By the one God, if I hear that any man among you has disobeyed [my deputy], I shall kill him, and his aide, and his friend. I shall hold the man nearby accountable for the transgression of the distant, until you toe the line and no opposer or challenger remains. I am Ziyād's son. Out of all who have walked the earth, it is he whom I resemble, a resemblance undiluted by uncle or cousin.

أما بعد فوالله ما تقرن بي الصعبة ولا يقمع
لي بالشنان وإني لنكل لمن عاداني وسمّ
لمن حاربني أنصف القارة من رامها ...
وأيّاكم والخلاف والإرجاف فوالذي لا
إله غيره لئن بلغني عن رجل منكم خلاف
لأقتلنه وعريفه ووليّه ولأخذنّ الأذنّى
بالأقصى حتّى تستمعوا لي ولا يكون فيكم
مخالف ولا مشاقّ. أنا ابن زياد أشبهته من
بين من وطئ الحصى ولم ينتزعني شبه خال
ولا ابن عمّ.

Arriving in Kufa, 'Ubaydallāh found that 18,000 men had pledged allegiance to Ḥusayn, at the hands of his emissary, Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, and that Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, a leading Kufan chieftain, was a key supporter. Stepping up to the pulpit, 'Ubaydallāh gave a warning speech, in which he said, "I shall be a kind father to those among you who obey. Any who challenge me and disobey will taste my whip and my sword."⁴¹ Then under 'Ubaydallāh's orders, a Kufan noble named Kathīr ibn Shihāb instructed Muslim's supporters to disperse, also using vocabulary from Ziyād's speech—which appears to have resonated strongly with the

39 App. §138.3.

40 Proverb, see Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 85, §92.

41 App. §138.2. (فأنا لمحسنكم ومطيعكم كالوالد البرّ وسوطي وسيفي على من ترك أمرى وخالف عهدي)

Iraqis—saying the governor would “penalize the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, and the present for the crimes of those absent.”⁴²

The Umayyad governor Khālīd ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī made similar threats in the wake of an insurgency in Mecca:⁴³

People, you reside in the most sacred of God’s lands, which he selected from among all locations on earth for his own house. Then he decreed that his servants should perform the pilgrimage to it, whosoever has the wherewithal to do so. People, be obedient and stay with the unified community. Beware of doubt and dissent. By God, if any person is brought to me having slandered his Imam, I shall crucify him in the sacred mosque. God has placed the caliphate in a [high] station, so conform and obey. Do not whisper this and that. If the caliph commands, there is no option for you but to execute his orders. If revolutionaries come to you and set up residence in your towns, beware of granting refuge to anyone who has left the unified community. Know that if I find any one of them in any one of your homes I shall demolish it. Be careful whom you invite to stay. Cleave to the unified community and to obedience. Dissension is a great trial.

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّكُمْ بِأَعْظَمِ بِلَادِ اللَّهِ حَرَمَةٍ وَهِيَ
الَّتِي اخْتَارَ اللَّهُ مِنَ الْبِلَادِ أَنْ يَضَعَهَا فِي بَيْتِهِ
ثُمَّ كَتَبَ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ حُجَّهً مِنْ أَسْطِطَاعِ إِلَيْهِ
سَبِيلًا. أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ فَعَلَيْكُمْ بِالطَّاعَةِ وَلِزُومِ
الْجَمَاعَةِ وَإِيَّاكُمْ وَالشُّبُهَاتِ فَإِنِّي وَاللَّهِ مَا
أَوْفَى بِأَحَدٍ يَطْعَنُ عَلَى إِمَامِهِ إِلَّا صَلَبْتُهُ
فِي الْحَرَمِ. إِنَّ اللَّهَ جَعَلَ الْخِلَافَةَ مِنْهُ بِالْمَوْضِعِ
الَّذِي جَعَلَهَا فَسَلِّمُوا وَأَطِيعُوا وَلَا تَقُولُوا
كَيْتٌ وَكَيْتٌ. إِنَّهُ لَا رَأْيَ فِيمَا كَتَبَ بِهِ
الْخَلِيفَةُ أَوْ رَأَاهُ إِلَّا إِمْضَاؤُهُ. وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّهُ
بَلْغَنِي أَنْ قَوْمًا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْخِلَافِ يَقْدُمُونَ
عَلَيْكُمْ وَيَقِيمُونَ فِي بِلَادِكُمْ فَإِيَّاكُمْ أَنْ تَنْزِلُوا
أَحَدًا مِمَّنْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّهُ زَائِعٌ عَنِ الْجَمَاعَةِ فَإِنِّي
لَا أَجِدُ أَحَدًا مِنْهُمْ فِي مَنْزِلٍ أَحَدٍ مِنْكُمْ
إِلَّا أَهَدَمْتُ مَنْزِلَهُ فَانْظُرُوا مَنْ تَنْزِلُونَ فِي
مَنَازِلِكُمْ. وَعَلَيْكُمْ بِالْجَمَاعَةِ وَالطَّاعَةِ فَإِنَّ الْفِرْقَةَ
هُوَ الْبَلَاءُ الْعَظِيمُ.

The Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik is said to have thundered in Mecca, presumably after his governor Ḥajjāj had defeated Ibn al-Zubayr:⁴⁴

42 (يَأْخُذُ الْبَرِيءُ بِالسَّقِيمِ وَالشَّاهِدُ بِالْغَائِبِ): App. § 71.1.

43 App. § 72.1.

44 App. § 8.3. The interjections are from the chronicler.

People, by God, I am not the weak caliph (he meant ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān), or the cajoling caliph (he meant Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān), or the feeble-minded caliph (he meant Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah). Whosoever signals with his head thus, I’ll reply with my sword so.

آيها الناس إني والله ما أنا بالخليفة
المستضعف يريد عثمان بن عفان ولا
بالخليفة المداهن يريد معاوية بن أبي سفيان
ولا بالخليفة المأفون يريد يزيد بن معاوية.
فمن قال برأسه كذا قلنا له بسيفنا كذا.

In another speech, he said:⁴⁵

People, God has prescribed certain boundaries and mandated certain actions. You keep increasing in sin, and I keep increasing the punishment, until the sword has brought us together.

آيها الناس إن الله حدّ حدوداً وفرض
فروضاً فما زلتّم تزدادون في الذنب وزداد
في العقوبة حتى آتجمعنا نحن وأنتم عند
السيف.

Ḥajjāj’s threatening speeches in Iraq are legion. Arriving in Basra as its governor, he gave a menacing speech set in in powerful imagery and parallel, rhymed phrases:⁴⁶

People—Whoever is debilitated by illness, I have the cure. Whoever expects a long road to the end, I shall make him reach it sooner. Whoever finds his head to be heavy, I shall relieve him of its weight. Whoever has lived a long life, I shall shorten the remainder. Satan shows his specter, and the ruler shows his sword. Whoever conceals diseased intent, his punishment shall be sound. Whoever is debased by his sin shall be elevated by his crucifixion. Whoever is not encompassed by well-being [in cleaving to the community], perdition will not find it hard to gather him in. Whoever is outraced by the words escaping his mouth, his body will race toward its bloody end. I give you clear warning and shall offer no further respite.

آيها الناس من أعياه داؤه فعندي دواؤه
ومن استطال أجله فعليّ أن أعجله ومن ثقل
عليه رأسه وضعت عنه ثقله ومن استطال
ماضي عمره قصرت عليه باقيه. إنّ للشيطان
طيفاً وللسلطان سيفاً. فمن سقمت سريره
صحت عقوبته ومن وضعه ذنبه رفعه صلبه
ومن لم تسعه العافية لم تضق عنه الهلكة
ومن سبقته بادرة فه سبق بدنه بسفك
دمه. إني أنذر ثم لا أنظر وأحذر ثم لا أعذر
وأوتعد ثم لا أعفو. إنّما أفسدكم تزييق ولا تكم

45 App. § 8.5.

46 App. § 51.5.

I give you cautionary notice and shall offer no forgiveness. I give you strong admonition and shall offer no pardon. The cause of your corruption is the weakness of your governors. If someone wears a loose breast-halter, his manners degenerate. Determination and resolve have snatched away my whip and given me in its stead the sword. Its hilt is gripped in my hand, its scabbard is slung around my neck, and its blade shall ornament the neck of whoever disobeys me. By God, if I command one of you to use this door to leave the mosque and he uses the one next to it, I shall strike off his head.

ومن أسترخى لبيه ساء أذبه. إنَّ الحزم
والعزم سلباني سوطي وأبدلاني به سيفي
فقاتمه في يدي ونجاده في عنقي وذبابه
قلادة لمن عصاني. والله لا أمر أحدكم أن
يخرج من باب من أبواب المسجد فيخرج
من الباب الذي يليه إلا ضربت عنقه.

1.4 *Fiscal Policies*

A few speeches in the historical record delineate fiscal policies. These generally focus on the distribution of stipends to those who were active participants in the state and fought in the conquests. They also address the matter of the caliph's share, and the need for clean and transparent accounting. We have fleetingly encountered these issues earlier in accession speeches by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Yazīd III. The most pertinent oration in this regard is a speech attributed again to 'Umar, in which he lays out a new system for distributing treasury money. Beginning with lines naming individuals who should be approached for information on various matters, he goes on to state that all questions regarding the treasury should be directed to him. He then declares that henceforth all stipends would be disbursed according to a scale based on early conversion to Islam, which would be set up in his new register of names (*dīwān*), thus privileging Arabs over later converts, many of whom were Persians. Here is the text of the speech:⁴⁷

People, whoever wishes to ask about the Qur'an should approach Ubayy ibn Ka'b. Whoever wishes to ask about inheritance shares should approach Zayd ibn Thābit. Whoever wishes to ask about religious practice should approach Mu'adh

آيها الناس من أراد أن يسأل عن القرآن
فليأت أبي بن كعب ومن أراد أن يسأل
عن الفرائض فليأت زيد بن ثابت ومن
أراد أن يسأل عن الفقه فليأت معاذ بن

47 App. § 140.4.

ibn Jabal. And whoever wishes to ask about the treasury should come to me, for God has made me its keeper and distributor.

جبل ومن أراد أن يسأل عن المال فليأتني
فإن الله جعلني له خازناً وقاسماً.

First on the list to receive stipends, I place the messenger's widows. Then the first Emigrants who were displaced from homes and property, [that is] me and my companions. Then the Allies who settled in this town earlier and who accepted Islam. Then according to the order of a man's immigration. For those who hastened to immigrate, I shall hasten to give them stipends. For those who tarried, I shall tarry in giving them stipends; if they wish to place blame, they can blame the timing of their camel's arrival.

إنِّي بادئ بأزواج رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم فمعتبين ثم المهاجرين الأولين الذين
أخرجوا من ديارهم وأموالهم أنا وأصحابي
ثم بالأنصار الذين تبوءوا الدار والإيمان
من قبلهم ثم من أسرع إلى الهجرة أسرع
إليه العطاء ومن أبطأ عن الهجرة أبطأ عنه
العطاء فلا يلومنّ رجل إلاّ مناخ راحلته.

‘Umar’s detailed speech is an anomaly, but copious material on early fiscal policies may be found in narrative records of early practice, and in treaties and testaments. The most important precedent was the record of Muḥammad’s mode of collection and distribution in the early community, especially with regard to the universal alms levy, the “fifth” of the war booty, and land tax on the conquered territory of Khaybar. The monetary dealings of the first four historical caliphs are also considered sound precedents by Sunnis. For ‘Alī’s reign, we have an extraordinary amount of documentary material transmitted by historical and literary sources, which lay out policies curbing the reach of the state’s collection agents and urging them to fair and compassionate practice. Uways Karīm Muḥammad has a chapter on ‘Alī’s fiscal pronouncements in letters to his governors.⁴⁸ In ‘Alī’s speeches, moreover, we see much urging to pay the alms levy and give generously in charity and interest-free loans. For the Umayyad period, the testament that is now called the Fiscal Rescript of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz is important.

1.5 *Pious Counsel*

Religious themes, as we have amply observed, bolstered political speeches. Injunctions to piety, invocation of prayers, and testamentary Qur’an (and sometimes hadith) citations shored up a leader’s authority in a general fashion,

48 Muḥammad, *Mu’jam*, 271–279.

and they helped him persuade the audience to accept and deploy his policies. The connection of pious counsel with the political message at hand was made through a variety of modes. Frequently orators stitched pious counsel loosely onto a polythematic oration. Examples include Abū Bakr's speeches in Medina early in his caliphate, which disparaged material wealth and pomp,⁴⁹ 'Umar's intonation in one of his first caliphal speeches of a series of prayers for himself to be a good caliph and a good Muslim,⁵⁰ and 'Uthmān's accession speech, which included censure of the world, along with a large number of Qur'an quotations.⁵¹ 'Alī's speeches are exemplars that project the permeation of pious counsel into all aspects of life and governance. Zamakhsharī says that 'Alī "seldom ascended the pulpit without saying at the beginning of his oration the following words [of counsel]:"⁵²

People, always remain conscious of God. Humans are not created in vain—you must not waste your lives in frolic. You are not given an indefinite reprieve—you must not expend your time in idle chatter. This world that you find so pleasing is no substitute for the hereafter that you find distasteful. Indeed, the fool who wins the largest share of this world falls far short of the man who wins the smallest part of the hereafter.

أيها الناس اتقوا الله فما خلق أمرؤ عبثاً فيلهو
ولا ترك سدى فيلغو وما دنياه التي تحسنت
له بخلف من الآخرة التي قبّحها سوء النظر
عنده وما المغرور الذي ظفر من الدنيا بأعلى
همته كالآخر الذي ظفر من الآخرة بأدنى
سهمته.

In a second mode of usage, religious material was closely integrated into the oration's political structure. Orations by 'Alī, again, and by Khārijite leaders—such as Qaṭarī, 'Abdallāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Ibādī, and Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ—mixed copious amounts of religious material with political and military matters. Similarly, the speech of 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān contained a political message couched in a religious frame. Arriving in Iraq as 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's envoy, with a mandate to cut off the Persian enemy's supply lines, 'Utbah rallied the Basrans with pious counsel, hadith citations, and declarations of his own and his companions' service to Islam.⁵³

49 App. § 15.5.

50 App. § 140.5.

51 App. § 146.2, § 146.3.

52 App. § 31.5.

53 App. § 145.1.

People, this world has turned back and informed its residents of its impending end. What remains from it is the measure of the remaining drops of water in an emptied vessel. Listen! There is no doubt that you will leave her, so make sure you leave her with the best of provisions. Listen! I have heard something wondrous from God's messenger: (A huge rock is thrown into the fire from its lip and it continues to fall for seventy years. Hell has seven doors, and the time to journey between any two doors is five hundred years. A crowded, choking hour shall soon come upon you.)

I was with God's messenger, the seventh of the seven [who were the first to accept Islam]. We had no food other than the serrated leaves of the balsam tree that cut the insides of our mouths. Sa'd ibn Mālik and I found a date and we split it between us, each taking half. I found a piece of cloth, and tore it into two. I used one half as a loincloth and he used the other half. And each of us is today commander over a populous town. Prophecy has never come to a community except that predestinarians have sought its invalidation. I ask God to protect me from thinking myself great, while I am lowly in others' eyes. Indeed, you will experience other commanders after me. You will be pleased with some, and displeased with others.

In a third mode of usage, orators frequently framed their pieces with the concept of obedience to God, sometimes with, at other times without, an associated injunction to general piety, going on to translate obedience to God into obedience to the orator himself or his party. The Khārijite Abū Ḥamzah, after the pious opening injunction "I enjoin you to be conscious of God and obey him," went on to encourage the audience to "disobey God's servants [the Umayyad rulers] in order to obey God, for [and what follows is a Prophetic hadith] [no obedience is due to a creature of God if it means disobeying

أما بعد فإن الدنيا قد تولّت حذاء مدبرة
وقد آذنت أهلها بصرم وإتمام بقي منها صباية
كصباية الإناء يصطبها صابها. ألا وإنكم
مفارقوها لا محالة ففارقوها بأحسن ما
يخضركم. ألا وإن من العجب أي سمعت
رسول الله يقول إن الحجر الضخم يلقي في
النار من شفيرها فيبوي فيها سبعين خريفاً
ولجهنم سبعة أبواب ما بين البابين منها
مسيرة خمسمائة سنة ولتأتين عليها ساعة
وهي كظيظ بالزحام.

ولقد كنت مع رسول الله سابع سابعة
مالنا طعام إلا ورق البشام حتى قرحت
أشد أقنا فوجدت أنا وسعد بن مالك تمر
فشققتهما بيني وبينه نصفين وألتقطت بردة
فشققتهما بيني وبينه فأتررت بنصفها وأترر
بنصفها وما منّا أحد اليوم إلا وهو أمير على
مصر من الأمصار. وإنه لم يكن نبوة قط
إلا تناخنتها جبرية. وأنا أعوذ بالله أن أكون
في نفسي عظيماً وفي أعين الناس صغيراً.
وستجربون الأمراء من بعدي فتعرفون
وتتكررون.

God).⁵⁴ He further declaimed that he and his companions “called to God’s book and the Prophet’s practice,” and they “heard a caller [their leader, ‘Abdal-lāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Kindī] calling to the merciful God’s obedience and the Qur’an’s judgment.” Toward the end of his speech, Abū Ḥamzah added, “If you, people of Medina, aid [the Umayyad caliph] Marwān and his family, God will annihilate you with a punishment directly from him or at our hands.”⁵⁵

Some Umayyad orations show more unusual usages of religious material. Combining exhortations to ponder death with praise of his father’s religious deeds, the succeeding Umayyad caliph, Walid ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, also warned the populace to obey him, or else for each person who opposed him, he would “strike off the part of his body that holds his eyes.”⁵⁶ The governor of Egypt ‘Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān asked to be carried to the pulpit just before he died, and in his last speech he asked the audience to forgive him for his transgressions against them.⁵⁷

1.5.1 Citation of Qur’an and Hadith

As we have already seen in the materials cited in this chapter, Qur’an citation was an important mode of pious counsel in political speech. Ibrahim al-Jomaih, in *The Use of the Qur’an in Political Argument: A Study of Early Islamic Parties* (35–86 A.H./656–705 AD), analyzes its use in political discourse—including oration—from ‘Alī’s caliphate to the end of ‘Abd al-Malik’s. He also describes techniques of handling the Qur’anic text, such as paraphrase and modifications of a text, to make it more appropriate to a particular situation. Some of his findings help fine-tune our discussion: The most prominent political issues expressed in Qur’anic terms are political authority, God’s assistance, his power over events, his prescribed punishments, collective punishment versus personal responsibility, and the lawfulness or unlawfulness of shedding the blood of Muslims. Jomaih writes that Muslims used Qur’anic allusion to imply comparisons between themselves and believers, on the one hand, and with their opponents and unbelievers, on the other. He argues that the Qur’an provided religious sanction to political claim, and was used to secure public support, justify defeat or victory, and publicize political beliefs.

Among the Umayyads, the clearest example of Qur’an citation in a political context is found in the addresses of Ḥajjāj. In a speech eulogizing ‘Abd al-Malik, for example, he mapped the Qur’anic verses addressed to Muḥammad to the

54 Qudā’ī, *Shihāb*, § 6.34.

55 App. § 18.4.

56 App. § 149.1.

57 App. § 144.4.

recent death of the Umayyad caliph: «You will die, and they will die», «Muḥammad is naught but a messenger, other messengers have preceded him. If he dies or is killed, you will turn back in your steps».⁵⁸

Like Abū Ḥamzah and ‘Utbaḥ ibn Ghazwān whose hadith citations you have just read in the previous section, Ḥajjāj also quoted Prophetic hadith in political speeches, albeit much less frequently than the Qur’an. In an ironic use in one of his speeches addressing the Iraqis, he threw his audience’s testimonial use of hadith back in their faces.⁵⁹

Iraqis, it has come to my notice that you cite your Prophet saying, (Whoever wields authority over ten Muslims will be brought to be judged with his hands fettered to his neck. Either his past justice will free him, or his injustice will carry him into the fire.) By God, I prefer to be resurrected with Abū Bakr and ‘Umar in fetters than to be resurrected with you free of chains.

يأهل العراق بلغني أنكم تروون عن نبيكم أنه قال من ملك على عشر رقاب من المسلمين جيء به يوم القيامة مغلولاً يده إلى عنقه حتى يفكه العدل أو يوقه الجور. وأيم الله إني لأحب إلي أن أحشر مع أبي بكر وعمر مغلولاً من أن أحشر معكم مطلقاً.

2 Assorted Negotiations of Command

Sundry parleys of power discourse can be seen in two unusual sets of circumstances: Influential individuals at times debated leadership issues in clusters of speeches, and Ziyād negotiated his role as governor with the incumbent caliph, Mu‘āwiyah, over the course of several private epistles and public orations.

2.1 *Leadership Debates Professing the Superiority of an Individual or Group*

Certain politically charged situations produced grouped speeches, which to some extent resemble contemporary speeches in parliament.⁶⁰ These formal addresses by one individual then another debate the relative merits of potential successors to the tribal leadership or the Muslim caliphate. These ensemble speeches are among the few that include political speeches by individuals

⁵⁸ App. § 51.11: Verses cited are Q Zumar 39:30 ﴿إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ وَإِنَّهُمْ مَيِّتُونَ﴾ and Āl ‘Imrān 3:144 وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ أَفَإِنْ مَاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ انْقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَى أَعْقَابِكُمْ وَمَنْ يَنْقَلِبْ عَلَى عَقْبِهِ عَذَابُهُ عَظِيمٌ. Ḥajjāj’s Qur’an citations are analyzed by Jomaih, 242–248.

⁵⁹ App. § 51.10.

⁶⁰ I thank Jocelyn Sharlet for this observation.

who were not in the seat of governmental authority. In pre-Islamic times, we see contesting “vaunts” (*munāfarah* or *muḥākharah*), such as the verbal battle between two paternal cousins of the Banū ‘Āmir over leadership of their tribe.⁶¹ In the early Islamic period, one instance may be found in the clustered speeches of ‘Umar, Abū ‘Ubaydah, and some of the leaders of the Allies at the Saqifah of Banū Sā‘idah after Muḥammad’s death, which culminated in a pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr. Another may be perceived in speeches of the members of Shūrā council—‘Alī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf, Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and ‘Uthmān (Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubaydallāh was out of town)—after ‘Umar’s death, which ended in the succession of ‘Uthmān.⁶² Mu‘āwiyah’s proposal of Yazīd as his successor, along with the response speeches of his supporters and opponents, offers yet another case.⁶³ Speeches are recorded by various Umayyad leaders early in the dynasty on the death of Mu‘āwiyah II ibn Yazīd I in 64/684, proposing different candidates for the throne; the winner, as we know, was Marwān.⁶⁴ Another category of grouped speeches professed the superiority of an individual or group, particularly in the context of a delegation arriving to see a ruler. Examples are the speeches of the pre-Islamic delegations to the Persian monarch,⁶⁵ those of various tribal leaders who came to Muḥammad in Medina,⁶⁶ and those of others who came to ‘Umar.⁶⁷

2.2 *Negotiations between a Caliph and His Governor: the Case of Ziyād ibn Abīhi*

Ziyād ibn Abīhi has been mentioned several times already. He is well known as having been a strong and eloquent Umayyad governor, who consolidated that dynasty’s position in Iraq. But his route to becoming an Umayyad agent has interesting ramifications for political machinations in our period. What makes this issue particularly germane is that the milestone events of the saga of his rise were announced in public speeches and epistles. Earlier, Ziyād had been governor for ‘Alī in a province of Iran. When ‘Alī was killed, Mu‘āwiyah saw in Ziyād the means to secure Iraq and attempted to win him over before Ziyād could solidify in his support for Ḥasan. Mu‘āwiyah’s first attempt was a threat,

61 App. § 24.1.

62 App. § 11.1.

63 App. § 84.11.

64 App. § 110.1, § 27.1.

65 App. § 100.1.

66 App. § 143.1, § 135.1.

67 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 4:75; Nuwayrī, 7:239–240; (Ṣafwat 1:449–452).

to which Ziyād responded in a public speech vilifying Mu‘āwiyah and his parents, Abū Sufyān and Hind. Ironically, Mu‘āwiyah would later announce—and Ziyād would accept—that Abū Sufyān was Ziyād’s own father. Ziyād orated:⁶⁸

I wonder at the son of [Hind] the liver-chewer, who murdered God’s lion [the Prophet’s uncle Ḥamzah], and of [Abū Sufyān,] the root of the opposition [to the Prophet], a sly hypocrite, leader of the confederacy [against Islam], who spent his wealth trying to extinguish God’s light.⁶⁹ I wonder that he writes to me with thunder and lightning, banking on an empty cloud that holds no water, which will soon be cut into shreds by the wind. What really shows me his weakness is the fact that he makes threats he is incapable of carrying out ... Why should I fear him, when between him and me stands the son of God’s messenger’s daughter [Fāṭimah] and cousin [‘Alī], with a hundred thousand warriors of the Emigrants and Allies? By God, if [Ḥasan] permits me or asks me to do so, I will show [Mu‘āwiyah] the stars in the daytime and stuff mustard water up his nose. Today we talk, tomorrow we meet, and then we shall discuss and decide, God-willing.

العجب من ابن آكلة الأكباد وقاتلة أسد
الله ومظهر اختلاف ومسرّ النفاق ورئيس
الأحزاب ومن أنفق ماله في إطفاء نور
الله. كتب إليّ يرعّد ويبرق عن سخابة
جفل لا ماء فيها وعمّا قليل تصيرها الرياح
قزعاً والذي يدّليّ على ضعفه تهدّده قبل
القدرة ... كيف أرهبه وبينه وبينه ابن
بنت رسول الله وآله وابن ابن عمّه في مائة
ألف من المهاجرين والأنصار. والله لو أذن
لي فيه أو ندّيني إليه لأرينّه الكواكب نهائراً
ولأسعطته ماء الخردل دونّه. الكلام اليوم
والجمع غداً والمشورة بعد ذلك إن شاء الله.

Ziyād then wrote a similarly harsh response to Mu‘āwiyah. Mu‘āwiyah responded by sending the Kufan chieftain Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah to persuade him with blandishments of wealth and stature. Ziyād rejoined with a long list of requirements. Mu‘āwiyah, in a handwritten letter, agreed to them all. He then invited Ziyād to Damascus, where he announced from the pulpit that Ziyād was his father Abū Sufyān’s (illegitimate) son, and thus his brother, with a claim to

68 App. § 166.3. Mu‘āwiyah’s exchanges with Ziyād are recorded in several sources, including Ibn A‘tham, 4:298–302; and Thaqaṭī, 2:646–652, 660.

69 Mu‘āwiyah’s mother was Hind, who promised a man she would sleep with him if he killed the Prophet’s uncle Ḥamzah at the Battle of Uḥud. The report says the man hid and struck Ḥamzah from behind. Hind then cut open Ḥamzah’s belly and chewed on his liver (Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, 2:502, 524–525; Idrīs, 1:218, 225–229). Mu‘āwiyah’s father was Abū Sufyān, who had been the leader of the Meccan confederacy against Muḥammad. He accepted Islam after Muḥammad’s conquest of Mecca, when the Meccans were compelled to offer allegiance.

the nobility of the Umayyad house; he had witnesses publicly testify to Abū Sufyān's declaration of paternity. In an about-face from his earlier speech in Kufa, Ziyād orated:⁷⁰

People, this is an affair whose beginning and end I know nothing of. But the commander of the faithful [Mu'āwiyah] has said what you just heard, and witnesses have testified to it. Praise God who raised the stature of one whom people had deemed humble, and preserved for me what they had squandered. As for 'Ubayd [Abū Sufyān], he was either a kind father or a cherished foster-parent.

أيها الناس هذا أمر لم أشهد أوله ولا علم لي بآخره. وقد قال أمير المؤمنين ما بلغكم وشهدت الشهود بما سمعتم. فالحمد لله الذي رفع منّا ما وضع الناس وحفظ منّا ما ضيعوا. فأما عبيد فإنما هو والد مبرور أو ربيب مشكور.

Following his induction into the Umayyad family, Ziyād returned to Iraq as Mu'āwiyah's governor. His speeches there, and those of his son 'Ubaydallāh, who became governor later and orchestrated the Karbala massacre, have been discussed earlier in this chapter.

2.3 *Oration by a Revolt Leader: the Khārijite Abū Ḥamzah al-Shārī in Medina*

Political speeches by leaders of the opposition are usually set in a military context, but some lay out their bases of legitimate command without being set directly in a battle scene. The Khārijite leader Abū Ḥamzah gave a famous speech threatening the people of Medina, and laying out in detail the Khārijite view of the historical caliphate—namely, that Muḥammad was the Prophet of Islam, Abū Bakr and 'Umar were his rightful successors and righteous caliphs, 'Uthmān had good and bad traits, 'Alī was not righteous, the Umayyads after him stained the name of Islam, the Shi'a were misguided in their doctrine of allegiance to the family of the Prophet, and the Khārijites were the only real Muslims, because they prayed, fasted, and gave their lives for God. The speech is lengthy, and I have translated a substantial section in an earlier article; the following excerpt is from the final portion praising the Khārijites:⁷¹

⁷⁰ App. §166.4.

⁷¹ App. §18.3. Trans. T. Qutbuddin, "*Khuṭba*," 259–264.

I have heard that you criticize my companions. You say they are youths of tender age and harsh Bedouins. Woe to you, people of Medina! Were the Companions of the messenger of God, whom you have heard reports about, other than youths of tender age? ... [My companions] are youths who have attained the maturity of the old, their eyes are averted from evil, their feet hold back from the path of wrongdoing, they are emaciated by worship, gaunt from night vigils. They have traded lives that will end tomorrow for souls that will never die ... Alas, alas, for the loss of my brothers! May God have mercy upon their bodies! May he admit their souls into paradise!

وقد بلغني أنكم تنتقصون أصحابي قلتم هم شباب أحداث وأعرا ب جفاة. ويحكم يا أهل المدينة وهل كان أصحاب رسول الله المذكورون في الخبر إلا شباباً أحداثاً ... شباب والله مكتهلون في شبابهم غضيفة عن الشر أعينهم ثقيلة عن الباطل أرجلهم أنضاء عبادة وأطلاح سهر باعوا أنفسهم تموت غداً بأنفس لا تموت أبداً ... آه آه على فراق الإخوان. رحمة الله على تلك الأبدان وأدخل أرواحهم الجنان.

3 Illustration of Political Speech: Oration by Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī upon Accession to the Governorate of Kufa

In 75/695, Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī arrived in Kufa as the newly appointed governor representing the Umayyad caliph in Damascus, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, who feared the town’s population would rise up against him with the Khārijites. Ḥajjāj began his tenure with a speech of introduction, of accession. The speech is narrated widely and by a large number of early historians and litterateurs. This is the context and text, in the version of Jāhiz:⁷²

Ḥajjāj left [Medina] for Iraq as its incoming governor, in the company of twelve horsemen mounted on purebreds. He entered Kufa unexpectedly, and at a time when daylight had just spread. [The deceased governor] Bishr ibn Marwān had sent [the Umayyad commander] Muhallab [ibn Abī Ṣufrah] to fight the Ḥarūriyyah Khārijites. When Ḥajjāj—his face veiled by [the flap of] a red silk turban—suddenly appeared in the mosque, climbed its pulpit, and called out “People, gather around,” they thought he and his companions were Khārijites and drew close. When all the people had gathered, Ḥajjāj uncovered his face, and declaimed:

⁷² App. § 51.3.

3.1 *Text and Translation*

أَنَا ابْنُ جَلَا وَطَلَّاعُ النَّيَا
مَتَى أَضَعُ الْعِمَامَةَ تَعْرِفُونِي

I am morning's child, an intrepid scaler of heights.
When I doff my turban, you shall know who I am.

Indeed, by God, I shall contain evil by its own
scabbard, have it shod with its own shoe, and
reward it with its like. Beware! I see heads ripe for
plucking, and I am the one to gather them in. I
see blood oozing in the space between turbans
and beards.

أما والله إنِّي لأحتمل الشرَّ بحمله وأحذوه
بنعله وأجزيه بمثله. وإنِّي لأرى رؤوساً قد
أينعت وحن قطافها وإنِّي لصاحبها. وإنِّي
لأنظر إلى الدماء ترقق بين العمامم واللحى.

War has girded its loincloth revealing its calf, so gird
up, you two!

قَدْ شَمَّرَتْ عَنْ سَاقِهَا فَشَمِّرَا
ثم قال

This is the time to race hard, so go forth, Ziyam.
Night has found you sped forward by a harsh driver.

هَذَا أَوْانُ الشَّدِّ فَاشْتَدِّي زَيْمٌ
قَدْ لَقَّهَا اللَّيْلُ بِسَوَاقٍ حُطَمَ
لَيْسَ بِرَاعِيٍّ إِلَّا بِلٍ وَلَا غَنَمَ
وَلَا بِجَزَّارٍ عَلَى ظَهْرٍ وَضَمَ
وقال أيضا

Night has found you sped on by an 'Aşlabî warrior,
a noble chieftain, one who knows how to beat the
wilderness, an Emigrant, not a Bedouin.

قَدْ لَقَّهَا اللَّيْلُ بِعَصَلِيٍّ
أَرْوَعَ خَرَّاجٍ مِنَ الدَّوِيِّ
مُهَاجِرٍ لَيْسَ بِأَعْرَابِيٍّ

Iraqis—dissenters, hypocrites, and people of
wicked morals! By God, my sides cannot be
squeezed for freshness like a fig! I am not one to
be moved by a rattling water skin! My teeth have
been checked for maturity, I have been ridden
and tested, and have galloped past the final post.
The commander of the faithful scattered the
contents of his quiver and bit down on his arrow

إنِّي والله يا أهل العراق ومعدن الشقاق
والنفاق ومساوىء الأخلاق ما أغمر تغماز
التين ولا يقمقع لي بالشنان. ولقد فررت
عن ذكاء وقتشت عن تجربة وجريت من
الغاية. إنَّ أمير المؤمنين كبَّ ككأته ثم عجم

shafts. In me he found the one with the strongest wood and the hardest column. He shot me in your direction, for you have long been quick to sedition, lying in the bed of error, and walking the path of sin.

عيدانها فوجدني أمرّها عوداً وأصلبها عموداً
فوجّهني إليكم فإنكم طالما أوضعتم في الفتن
وأضطجعتهم في مراقد الضلال وسنتم سنن
الغي.

By God, I shall skin you like a rod, strike you like a flint, wrap you like a salamah tree, and beat you like a stray camel. You are like the people of a town «that was protected and at ease, abundant in sustenance, who recompensed God's favors with ingratitude; because of their actions, God clothed them in hunger and fear.»⁷³

أما والله لألحونكم لحو العصا ولأعصبنكم
عصب السلمة ولأضربكم ضرب غرائب
الإبل. فإنكم لكأهل قرية ﴿كَانَتْ آمِنَةً
مُطْمَئِنَّةً يَأْتِيهَا رِزْقُهَا رَغَدًا مِنْ كُلِّ مَكَانٍ
فَكَفَرَتْ بِأَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ فَأَذَاقَهَا اللَّهُ لِبَاسَ الْجُوعِ
وَالْخَوْفِ بِمَا كَانُوا يَصْنَعُونَ﴾.

Beware, for I do not promise without carrying out, resolve without following through, or measure cloth without cutting. Beware my wrath! Be wary of assemblies, of speaking this and that, of saying “What do you think?” and “Where do you stand?” By God, you shall keep on the straight path, or I shall bequeath to each man among you some preoccupation in his body.

إني والله لا أعد إلا وفيت ولا أهم إلا
أمضيت ولا أخلق إلا فريت. فإياي وهذه
الجماعات وقال وقيل وما تقول وفيهم أنتم
وذاك. أما والله لتستقيمن على طريق
الحق أو لأدعن لكل رجل منكم شغلاً
في جسده.

If I find three days from now any man who has not joined up with Muhallab's troops, I shall spill his blood and seize his property.

من وجدت بعد ثلاثة من بعث المهلب
سفكت دمه وأنتهبت ماله.

Ṭabarī in his report of Ḥajjāj's arrival in Kufa also narrates the events following the speech:

[Ḥajjāj] then called his policemen and said to them, “Make sure all the men join up with Muhallab, and bring me the vouchers of their arrival. Do not close the gates to the bridge night or day until the [three] days are up.”

3.2 *Analysis*

This is an accession speech by an Umayyad governor taking up his post in Kufa. Set in the context of intense, ongoing conflict between the ruling Umayyads in Syria and their pro-ʿAlid Iraqi subjects, it showcases the cutting verbiage of an authority wary of an unruly populace and ready to wield the sword against them. There is nothing of other governmental policies, fiscal issues, law-and-order related matters, or softer aspects of administration, and this is true of numerous other Umayyad governors' speeches as well. The focus is solely on control and intimidation. Yet, when viewed from the safe distance of fourteen hundred years, the speech, with its stirring imagery, strong language, and rhythmic cadence, is harshly beautiful. Even among the sizeable set of severe and articulate Umayyad governors, Ḥajjāj stands out as unforgivingly ruthless and exceptionally eloquent.

The speech opens with Ḥajjāj reciting a testamentary verse of poetry warning his audience of his tough leadership skills, by the early poet Suhaym ibn Wathīl al-Riyāḥī, evoking the accumulated muscle of legendary Arabian valor and strength, "I am morning's child, an intrepid scaler of heights. When I doff my turban, you shall know who I am."⁷⁴ He then expands on the allusion in the verse by spelling out his plans for Kufa: "Indeed, by God, I shall contain evil by its own scabbard, have it shod with its own shoe, and reward it with its like. Beware! I see heads ripe for plucking, and I am the one to gather them in. I see blood oozing in the space between your turbans and beards." He continues with the citation of several more verses that make the same point, by three other early poets: one by Rashīd ibn Ramīḍ al-Riyāḥī⁷⁵ and two whose attribution I have not been able to locate. As we have seen, citing poetry to bolster one's argument was common practice. Ḥajjāj—who as a young man was a schoolmaster in Ṭāʾif—was given to copious quotation of poetry.

Following the punishing verses of poetry, Ḥajjāj tweaks the opening line of customary address to ram home his disdain for his subjects even further, characterizing them notoriously for posterity as: "Iraqis—dissenters, hypocrites, and people of wicked morals!" (يا أهل العراق ومعدن الشقاق والنفاق ومساوىء) (الأخلاق). Rhymed, parallel, and pithy, the memorably excoriating line became as famous in Arabic oration as the opening line of Imru' al-Qays's *Muʿallaqah* in Arabic poetry. It also became a characteristic of Ḥajjāj's relationship with

74 The verse is the opening line of Aṣmaʿī, poem § 1, 17.

75 See etymology in Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 2:308, n. 4.

his Iraqi subjects. Ḥajjāj would go on to use the same opening line again, time after time,⁷⁶ to underline his views of the Iraqis and to highlight his power over them—for they had to stay quiet and listen to his insults over and over. Twenty years later, another Umayyad governor would echo these sentiments: in a speech cited earlier in this chapter, ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān al-Murrī warned the Medinans against colluding with the Iraqis, whom he characterized with the same Ḥajjājian line.⁷⁷

Using oaths and metaphors, Ḥajjāj goes on to declare that he is an experienced leader: “By God, my sides cannot be squeezed for freshness like a fig! I am not one to be moved by a rattling water skin! My teeth have been checked for maturity, I have been ridden and tested, and have galloped past the final post.” The archaic phrase “I am not one to be moved by a rattling water skin!” (لا يقمع لي بالشنان) is also used by another Umayyad governor, also from Ḥajjāj’s tribe of Thaqif, Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar, addressing the Iraqis with similar threats when he had killed Zayd ibn ‘Alī in 122/740.⁷⁸ Ḥajjāj goes on to announce that the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik has chosen him for this job precisely because he is an iron-willed taskmaster: “The commander of the faithful scattered the contents of his quiver and bit down on his arrow shafts. In me he found the one with the strongest wood and the hardest column. He shot me in your direction ...”

Next, Ḥajjāj reiterates his opening threats in additional graphic images of Arabian life, promising vicious retribution, laced with oaths and the emphatic verbal suffixes *-nna*: “By God, I shall skin you like a rod, strike you like a flint, wrap you like a salamah tree, and beat you like a stray camel.” Using a Qur’anic verse to give religious sanction to his actions, he says, “You are like [the people of] a town «that was protected and at ease, abundant in sustenance, who recompensed God’s favors with ingratitude; because of their actions, God clothed them in hunger and fear.»”⁷⁹ With further warnings both in plain assertions and metaphorical pronouncements, he warns them, “Beware, for I do not promise without carrying out, resolve without following through, or measure cloth without cutting. Beware my wrath! Be wary of assemblies, of speaking this and that, of saying ‘What do you think?’ and ‘Where do you stand?’ By God, you shall keep on the straight path, or I shall bequeath to each man among you some preoccupation in his body.”

76 App. § 51.4, § 51.12, § 51.13.

77 App. § 147.1.

78 App. § 159.1.

79 Q Nahl 16:112.

The final segment wraps up the threats with an immediate command—also spiked with dire warnings of death and destruction—to join with the troops fighting the Khārijites; in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s version, the draft instructions are attributed directly to the caliph in Damascus: “The commander of the faithful has commanded me to give you your pay, and to send you to battle your enemy [the Azraqī Khārijites] under the command of Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah. I swear by God that if I find a man who, after taking his pay, has stayed behind three days, I shall spill his blood, seize his property, and demolish his house.”

Ḥajjāj’s reputation had preceded him. The speech he gave in Kufa and the actions he took thereafter had been anticipated by at least one Kufan. Just before Ḥajjāj’s arrival, Ghaḍbān ibn al-Qaba‘tharā⁸⁰ orated, “Iraqis, Kufans, ‘Abd al-Malik has appointed over you a man who will not requite in kind those who do good, nor forgive those who transgress—he is the black tyrant Ḥajjāj.” Calling Ḥajjāj “fiendishly wicked” (*khabīth*), Ghaḍbān went on to advise his fellow Kufans to kill him before he had a chance to “ascend their pulpit, sit on their throne, and take up residence in the halls of the governor’s palace.” The speech emphasizes the importance of the pledge of allegiance, for he goes on to say that killing Ḥajjāj after he assumed command would not be possible, since that would count as treachery. The Kufans did not heed Ghaḍbān, and decided to wait and see what Ḥajjāj would do. When Ḥajjāj arrived in Kufa and learned of Ghaḍbān’s speech, he ordered him imprisoned for three years.

Ḥajjāj gave a host of other speeches in the same threatening vein, some of which have been cited earlier in this chapter. Yet others were spoken in the context of revolts and military conflicts, the longest running of them being the uprising of ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr from 61/680 to 73/692.⁸¹ In contrast, he also delivered a multitude of pious-counsel and Friday sermons advocating disengagement from this world and preparing for the hereafter.⁸² As mentioned earlier, Ḥajjāj did not escape strong criticism for his hypocrisy. A couple of years after he died, Ibn Abī Burdah ibn Abī Mūsā l-Ash‘arī declaimed saltily to the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik—whose exclusion from the caliphate Ḥajjāj had supported, and accordingly no love was lost between the two of them—that “God’s enemy Ḥajjāj adorned himself like a whore, ascend-

80 App. § 48.1.

81 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 5:482–626 (end), 6:1–193; (Ṣafwat, 2:287–302).

82 App. § 51.14, § 51.15, § 51.16, § 51.17, § 51.18.

ing the pulpit and spouting the discourse of the pious, but when he descended the pulpit his acts were the acts of Pharaoh, and he was more comfortable spouting lies than the antichrist.”⁸³

4 Concluding Remarks

As we have seen, the political speech is a cornerstone of early Arabic oration. Sharing features of style, structure, and theme with related categories of speechmaking, it is set apart by its chiefly political context. The succession and accession of caliphs and governors provide a primary setting. Declaration of authority forms the chief subject. Other themes include maintenance of law and order, fiscal policies, anti-corruption practices, and administrative procedures. Most political speeches are by incumbent and incoming caliphs and governors. Political speeches by anti-establishment leaders more often than not contain a distinctly military tone, and those were discussed in the Battle Oration chapter. However, in the context of group deliberations regarding succession, these speeches are dominated by political themes. In general, and like other categories of oration, the political speech is reinforced with religious themes and peppered with pious counsel; most political speeches of the time are in fact religio-political.

83 Jāhīz, *Bayān*, 1:397; (Şafwat, 2:417).

Additional Categories

Legislative, Theological, Oracular, and Marriage Orations

In addition to the four major types of orations discussed, we find smaller groups of early orations that (1) expound themes of legislation or (2) theology, (3) preface a marriage contract (*khuṭbat al-nikāḥ*), or (4) serve as oracular pronouncements (*sajʿ al-kuhhān*). The next few pages offer illustrative examples with contextualizing remarks.

1 The Legislative Oration

In certain contexts, the oration served as a vehicle for expounding Shariʿah rules, enacting and disseminating ritual, civic, and criminal legislation. It should be noted that the Shariʿah encompasses legislation for both secular and religious affairs, and the legislative pronouncements of Muḥammad and the early leaders moved fluidly between the two spheres. What our corpus of legislative orations excludes, however, is the forensic type of speech prominent in ancient Athens.¹

Judicial themes are most prominent in orations attributed to the Prophet. In the famous sermon he delivered on Mount ʿArafāt during his last pilgrimage, when a large number of the Muslims from different parts of the Arabian Peninsula were gathered together, Muḥammad reminded them of Islam’s prohibition of usury and blood-vengeance. As the penalty for murder, he affirmed the option of execution, and for accidentally causing someone’s death, the payment of a hundred camels as blood-wit. Here is the piece from the oration that speaks to these themes:²

People! Your lives and property are sacrosanct for all time, until you meet your lord, like the sanctity of this day of yours, in this month of yours, in

آيها الناس إنّ دماءكم وأموالكم عليكم
حرام إلى أن تلقوا ربكم كحرمة يومكم

1 On Greek legal speeches, see, e.g., Allen, 147–196, and *passim*; Harris, “Law and Oratory.”

2 App. § 90.19. Other orations by him that speak to criminal law as well as the worship rites (which are also considered part of Shariʿah law), include one at the beginning of the fasting month of Ramadan (§ 90.14), and another at the Conquest of Mecca (App. § 90.16).

this city of yours. Listen! Have I conveyed the message? God bear witness! Whosoever has charge of a thing in trust must return it to the one who entrusted him with it.

هذا في شهركم هذا في بلدكم هذا. ألا هل
بلغت اللهم أشهد. فمن كانت عنده أمانة
فليؤدها إلى الذي أتمنه عليها.

All usury balances from the age of ignorance are cancelled. The first usury balance I cancel is that of my uncle ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

وإن ربا الجاهلية موضوع وإن أول ربا أبدأ
به ربا عمي العباس بن عبد المطلب.

All outstanding instances of vengeance for blood spilled in the age of ignorance are cancelled. The first blood vengeance case I cancel is that of [my relative] ‘Āmir ibn Rabī‘ah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

وإن دماء الجاهلية موضوعة وإن أول دم
أبدأ به دم عامر بن ربيعة بن الحارث بن
عبد المطلب.

All posts of distinction from pre-Islamic times are cancelled, except for the custodianship [of the Ka‘bah] and the providing of water [to pilgrims].

وإن ما أثر الجاهلية موضوعة غير السدانة
والسقاية.

Willful [murder] is punishable by retaliation in kind, the slaying of the slayer for the slain. Death by stick or stone is next to willful murder in criminality, and is punishable with a fine of one hundred camels; any who increase [this number] belong to the age of ignorance.

والعمد قود وشبه العمد ما قتل بالعصا
والحجر ففيه مائة بعير فمن زاد فهو من أهل
الجاهلية.

Another oration with legislative content is the latter half of Muḥammad’s speech said to have been delivered at the Battle of Uḥud; the first half was cited earlier in Chapter Seven. Lawmaking material in the heat of battle seems unlikely and could have possibly been transferred erroneously by the sources from a different context. This section of the oration contains—interspersed with more general moral exhortations—one firm piece of applied legislation, viz., mandatory attendance at the Friday prayer for all free men, and one piece of theoretical legislation, viz., enjoinder to avoid areas of ambiguity, lest they lead you into the range of the forbidden:³

3 App. § 90.9.

People, the thought was cast into my heart that whosoever is in the way of sinning, God will grant him distance from it, and whosoever breaks away from it for God's sake, God will forgive his sin. Whosoever blesses me, God and his angels will bless ten times over, and whosoever performs good deeds, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, God guarantees his reward in the here and now as well as in the hereafter.

Mandated for all who believe in God and the last day is the Friday prayer; children, women, the sick, or enslaved are excused from this command. Whosoever dispenses with it, God will dispense with him; God is all sufficient, praiseworthy.

I have not come to know any deed that brings you closer to God save that I have commanded you to do it. I have not come to know any deed that brings you closer to the fire save that I have forbidden you from doing it.

The Trustworthy Spirit [Gabriel] has placed in my heart the promise that no soul will die until it has acquired its full sustenance. It may be late in coming, but sustenance decreed will never be reduced. Be conscious always of God your lord, and be restrained in seeking sustenance. Its lateness in arriving should never prompt you to seek it by sinning against your lord. God has clarified for you the licit and the illicit, but between them is an area of ambiguity that only those whom God has protected understand how to navigate. Whosoever leaves off entering it has guarded his honor and his faith. Whosoever strays into it is like a shepherd who strays too close to another's private pasture—he may very well enter it. Every king has a fortress—God's fortress is the sum of his prohibitions. A true believer among the

أيها الناس جدّد في صدري أنّ من كان على حرام فرّق الله بينه وبينه ومن رغب له عنه ابتغاء ما عند الله غفر الله له ذنبه. ومن صلى عليّ صلى الله عليه وملائكته عشراً ومن أحسن من مسلم أو كافر وقع أجره على الله في عاجل ديناه أو في آجل آخرته.

ومن كان يؤمن بالله واليوم الآخر فعمله الجمعة إلّا صبيّاً أو امرأة أو مريضاً أو عبداً مملوكاً ومن استغنى عنها استغنى الله عنه والله غنيّ حميد.

ما أعلم من عمل يقربكم إلى الله إلّا وقد أمرتكم به ولا أعلم من عمل يقربكم إلى النار إلّا وقد نهيتكم عنه.

وأنّه قد نفث في روعي الروح الأمين أنّه لن تموت نفس حتّى تستوفي أقصى رزقها لا ينقص منه شيء وإن أبطأ عنها. فاتّقوا الله ربكم وأجملوا في طلب الرزق ولا يحملنكم استبطاؤه على أن تطلبوه بمعصية ربكم فإنّه لا يقدر على ما عنده إلّا بطاعته. قد بين لكم الحلال والحرام غير أنّ بينهما شُبهاً من الأمر لم يعلمها كثير من الناس إلّا من عصم. فمن تركها حفظ عرضه ودينه ومن وقع فيها كان كالراعي إلى جنب الحمى أو شك أن يقع فيه. وليس ملك إلّا وله حمى ألا وإنّ حمى الله محارمه. والمؤمن من

faithful is like the head to the body. If the head is afflicted, the whole body collapses.

المؤمنين كالرأس من الجسد إذا اشتكى
تداعى عليه سائر الجسد.

Legislative material does not seem to be present in any significant quantity in speeches by other leaders. An oration with fiscal legislation regarding distribution of stipends—a matter that is not part of the Shari'ah per se—is attributed to 'Umar, and has been cited earlier in Chapter Eight. A relatively large amount of legislative material is attributed to 'Alī, but most of it is in the form of letters and testaments to his judges, as well as ad hoc statements, rather than orations.⁴

2 Theology

Doctrinal material is plentiful in the early oration. Chapters Five through Eight on the four major types of oration have each discussed to some degree themes of piety and ethics, as well as ideas of community and leadership based on Islamic precepts. Themes that would later become part of core Islamic theology are also found from time to time in the early oratorical material.

Several sermons are attributed to 'Alī that discuss God's oneness (*tawhīd*) in a sophisticated, philosophical vein, presenting God as a being beyond imagination, transcendent above all created things. Some are collected in Qāḍī l-Nu'mān's unpublished compilation and commentary that focuses on the topic, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd min khuṭab amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib* (The Book of God's Unity: Orations of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib). A partial manuscript of the work that I have examined from the University of Mumbai Rajabai Tower Library's collection contains two long sermons on God's unity, titled *Durrah* (The Pearl), and *Waḥīdah* (The Unique Sermon).⁵ Various published compilations of 'Alī's sermons also contain orations on *tawhīd*, such as the following dense piece:⁶

The first part of religion is knowledge of God.
Knowledge of him is perfected by declaration
of his oneness. Declaration of his oneness is

إنَّ أولَ الديانة معرفة الله تعالى وكال
معرفة توحيده وكال توحيده الإخلاص

4 Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, 2: 527–541, "*Ādāb al-quḍāh*," *Pillars*, 2:524–549.

5 App. § 31.90–91.

6 App. § 31.84. See also similar piece in Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 157; Ṣadūq, *Amālī*, 263–264, § 52.

perfected by sincere allegiance to him. Sincere allegiance to him is achieved by negating all attributes from him, by the testimony of every attribute that it is other than the thing described, the testimony of every described thing that it is other than the attribute, and the testimony of both of these that they have newly come into being and thus cannot be eternal. Whoever describes God has circumscribed him. Whoever circumscribes him has quantified him. And whoever quantifies him has invalidated his eternity. Whoever asks "How?" has sought a description of him. Whoever asks "In what?" has confined him. Whoever asks "On what?" has made another space empty of him. Whoever asks "Where?" has defined him. Whoever asks "Where to?" has made him cross over a path. God was knowledgeable when there was nothing to be known, powerful when there was nothing to wield power over, lord when there was no one to be lord over, creator when there was nothing created. This is our lord, blessed and elevated, beyond any description.

له والإخلاص له نفي الصفات عنه
بشهادة كل صفة أنّها غير الموصوف وشهادة
الموصوف أنّه غير الصفة وشهادتهما جميعاً
بالتنبيه على أنفسهما بالحدث الممتنع من
الأزل. فمن وصف الله عزّ وجلّ فقد حدّه
ومن حدّه فقد عدّه ومن عدّه فقد أبطل
أزله. ومن قال كيف فقد استوصفه ومن
قال فيم فقد ضمّنه ومن قال علام فقد أخلّ
منه ومن قال أين فقد نعتّه ومن قال إلى
فقد عدّاه. عالم إذ لا معلوم وقادر إذ لا
مقدور وربّ إذ لا مربوب ومصوّر إذ لا
مصور. فكذلك ربّنا تبارك وتعالى وفوق ما
يصفه الواصفون.

Another similar piece by 'Alī on God's oneness is the following:⁷

God is one without likeness, everlasting without having come into being, creating without effort, existent without locatability, describable only as ceaseless, known only as unbounded, remaining forever without having been assembled, unceasingly mighty, ancient in primeval existence. Hearts quiver from awe of him. Minds are struck with wonder when contemplating his majesty. Heads bow to his power. Hearts cannot plumb the depth of his essence. The imagination

إنّ الله عزّ وجلّ واحد بغير تشبيه ودائم
بغير تكوين خالق بغير كلفة قائم بغير منصبه
موصوف بغير غاية معروف بغير محدوديّة
باق بغير تسوية عزيز لم يزل قديم في القدم.
زاغت القلوب لمهابته وذهلّت الأبواب
لعزّته وخضعت الرقاب لقدرته. لا يخطر

7 App. § 31.85. See also § 31.77 titled *Ashbāh*, § 31.78 titled *Gharra'*, and § 31.92 (which also contains pious counsel and battle themes).

cannot adequately grasp the execution of his will. Learned scholars with their intellects and thinkers with their powers of prediction know nothing of the Almighty beyond what he has described of himself.

على القلوب له مبلغ كنه ولا يعتدّ ضمير
التسكين من التوهم في إمضاء مشيئته. لا
تبلغه العلماء بألبابها ولا أهل التفكر بتدبير
أمرها بأكثر مما وصف جلّ وعزّ به نفسه.

Another quasi-oratorical piece on God's transcendence is said to have been spoken in answer to a Jew who asked, "When did God come into existence?" to which 'Alī replied:⁸

God was never brought into existence such that he should become existent. "When did he come into existence?" is said of a thing that was not in existence then afterward came into existence. He is existent without coming into existence, existent unceasingly. He has no before, for he is before the before, before the first limit. All limits end with him, for he is the limit of every limit.

لم يكن ربّنا عزّ وجلّ فكان وإنما يقال متى
كان لشيء لم يكن فكان. هو كائن بلا
كينونة كائن لم يزل ليس له قبل فهو قبل
القبل وقبل الغاية. أنقطعت الغايات عنده
فهو غاية كل غاية.

For all other sermons by 'Alī on *tawhīd*, I have not located contextual information, audience, location, or placement within the spectrum of oratorical functions. I have also not located similar orations attributed to his contemporaries. Some may see this as a reason to doubt their authenticity. However, the traces of 'Alī's discourses on God's oneness are found copiously going forward in the tradition, which bolsters the possibility of 'Alī's having delivered such orations. All denominations of Shi'a view 'Alī as Muḥammad's legatee, the divinely guided interpreter of the Qur'an, and the source of divine knowledge, of which the first and most important branch is knowledge of God. In their discussions on the subject, they cite 'Alī as the first teacher in explaining Muḥammad's monotheistic message. The Sunni Mu'tazilites—who are largely "*tafdīlī*" (professing 'Alī's superiority to all others after Muḥammad)—also trace their scholarly lineage to him, and they base their theology primarily on God's transcendent unity and justice. In his commentary on 'Alī's *Nahj al-balāghah*, Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1257), himself a *tafdīlī* Sunni Mu'tazilite, declares:⁹

⁸ App. § 31.86.

⁹ Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:17. See also Subḥānī, 3:187–192: "*al-Mabādī' al-fikriyyah li-l-i'tizāl wa-khuṭab al-imām 'Alī*."

The noblest branch of learning is knowledge of God ... its fire lit from 'Alī's words, transmitted from him, and originating with him. The Mu'tazilites, who profess God's unity and justice, who are masters of dialectic and from whom all others learned this skill, are 'Alī's students and followers. Their founder, Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā, was a student of Abū Hāshim ... Abū Hāshim was a student of his father, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, who was a student of [his father,] 'Alī.

Similarly, Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), the famous author of some of the earliest surviving Mu'tazilī works, states in his magnum opus *al-Mughnī* that 'Alī was their source for knowledge of God's unity and justice:¹⁰

[T]he principles of God's unity and justice are to be attributed to ['Alī], and are established as being learned from him. They were narrated [to us] by Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā, who learned them from Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah] and Abū Hāshim ... It is also established that sophisticated discourse on the principles of faith was learned from 'Alī, such as his negation of the vision [of God] ... and his negation of God's being in a location, and his attribution of justice to God.

In their expositions on God's oneness, extant Mu'tazilite theological works do not quote 'Alī's sermons as testimonial texts on a regular basis; perhaps this is because entire sermons would be too long for the dialectical format of these works.¹¹ Among their earliest theologians, Iskāfī (d. 220/854)—who recorded the piece responding to the Jew in answer to the question of God's origin, cited above—noted that non-Mu'tazilite theologians and preachers (*quṣṣās*) in his time regularly poached material from 'Alī's sermons. Iskāfī addressed his fellow Mu'tazilites with the following:¹²

The corpus of ['Alī's] words that we have cited, and those we have not, of his sermons on God's unity, praise, and remembrance, and his pious counsel, are words with which most theologians and preachers adorned their own discourses. The *quṣṣās* earned a livelihood through 'Alī's words, for it was because of their citation of these materials that "people of remembrance" [pious folks? early Sufis?] thronged their assemblies. The

10 'Abd al-Jabbār, 20.2:137, ch. on 'Alī's superiority (*tafḍīl*).

11 I thank Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke for this observation and the Mu'tazilah references.

12 Iskāfī, 294.

quṣṣāṣ led the audience to believe that these words were their own, and you attributed what you heard of these ideas to them, [as you did with] Manṣūr ibn ‘Ammār and other similar *quṣṣāṣ*, without checking Manṣūr’s sources, because of your ignorance of ‘Alī’s knowledge and sermons, and your lack of discernment between what reaches you of his words versus the words of others.

A few decades after ‘Alī, early Mu‘tazilite orations and texts espouse a similarly transcendent monotheism, using similar language and precepts, particularly on the subject of God’s oneness and justice. The following is an excerpt from Wāṣil ibn ‘Aṭā’s famous sermon, which eschews the letter R, because he could not pronounce it. Expounding doctrines of rationalist theology, Wāṣil opens the sermon with a praise formula in which he delineates the nature of God and his creation of the world *ex nihilo*.¹³

Praise God! Timeless without beginning, eternal without end, elevated in his nearness, near in his elevation. Time does not contain him, place does not compass him, and protecting his creation does not tire him. He did not create it based on a prior model. He produced it from nothing, and crafted it evenly and imbued with his justice. He made beautiful each thing he created, completed his intent, and made clear his wisdom, and thus he demonstrated his divinity. Glory be to God! No one can refute his command. No one can prevent the execution of his decree. Everything humbles itself in the face of his greatness. Everything is subservient in the face of his power. His generosity extends to everything. The measure of a single grain does not escape his notice. He is all-seeing, all-knowing. I bear witness that there is no God but God, one, a God whose names are blessed, whose favors are great, who is exalted above the characteristics of every creature, and disassociated from similarity with every crafted thing.

الحمد لله القديم بلا غاية الباقي بلا نهاية
الذي علا في دنوه ودنا في علوه فلا يحويه
زمان ولا يحيط به مكان ولا يؤوده حفظ
ما خلق. ولم يخلقه على مثال سبق بل أنشأه
ابتداءً وعدله أصطناعاً فأحسن كل شيء
خلقه وتمم مشيئته وأوضح حكمته فدلّ على
ألوهيته. فسبحانه لا معقب لحكمه ولا دافع
لقضائه تواضع كل شيء لعظمته وذللّ كل
شيء لسلطانه ووسع كل شيء فضله. لا
يعزب عنه مثقال حبة وهو السميع العليم.
وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا مثل له
إلهاً تقدست أسمائه وعظمت آلاؤه. علا
عن صفات كل مخلوق وتبرّه عن شبه كل
مصنوع فلا تبلغه الأوهام ولا تحيط به

13 App. § 151.1. More extensive partial trans. T. Qutbuddin, “Khuṭba,” 264–267.

Thoughts cannot reach him, intellects and minds cannot encompass him. When he is disobeyed he forebears. When he is invoked he hears. He accepts his servants' repentance, and forgives their transgressions. He sees everything you do.

العقول ولا الأفهام. يعصى فيعلم ويدعى فيسمع ويقبل التوبة عن عباده ويعفو عن السيئات ويعلم ما تفعلون.

Khārijite orations also contain well-defined statements on doctrine. A speech by the Ibādī commander 'Abdallāh ibn Yahyā l-Kindī in Yemen in 129/747 contains a blueprint of sorts for Khārijite belief—with clear political implications—including a focus on following the Qur'an and Sunnah, fighting in the path of God, and disenfranchisement of those who commit grave sins:¹⁴

We call you to the book of God and the practice of his Prophet, and ask you to answer those who call to both. Our faith is Islam, our Prophet Muḥammad, our direction of prayer the Ka'bah, and our leader the Qur'an. We accept the licit as licit, not seeking any substitute for it, and not selling it off for a paltry price. We deem the illicit as illicit and throw it behind our backs. There is no power or strength save in God. We put our complaints to God and our trust in him.

إِنَّا ندعوكم إلى كتاب الله تعالى وسنة نبيه وإجابة من دعا إليهما. الإسلام ديننا ومحمد نبينا والكعبة قبلتنا والقرآن إمامنا. رضينا بالحلal حللاً ولا نبيغي به بديلاً ولا نشترى به ثمناً قليلاً وحرّمنا الحرام ونبدناه وراء ظهورنا. ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله وإلى الله المشتكى وعليه المعول.

Whoever fornicates is a disbeliever. Whoever steals is a disbeliever. Whoever drinks wine is a disbeliever. Whoever has a suspicion that he may be a disbeliever is a disbeliever.

من زنى فهو كافر ومن سرق فهو كافر ومن شرب الخمر فهو كافر ومن شكّ في أنّه كافر فهو كافر.

We call you to clear mandates, distinct signs, and traces that are followed. We testify that God is true in his pledge, just in his ruling. We call to the oneness of the lord, certainty in his promise and his threat, performance of the mandated rites, commanding the good, forbidding the evil, paying allegiance to those who pay allegiance to God, and enmity to God's enemies.

ندعوكم إلى فرائض بينات وآيات محكمات وآثار مقتدى بها. ونشهد أنّ الله صادق فيما وعد عدل فيما حكم. وندعو إلى توحيد الربّ واليقين بالوعد والوعد وأداء الفرائض والأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر والولاية لأهل ولاية الله والعداوة لأعداء الله.

14 App. § 6.1.

People, it is part of God's mercy that he has appointed in every age remnants of the people of knowledge, who call the errant to the path of guidance and endure pain for the sake of God. They are killed on the path of truth, [like the] martyrs in past eons. God has not forgotten them. God never forgets.

آيها الناس إنّ من رحمة الله أن جعل في كلّ فترة بقايا من أهل العلم يدعون من ضلّ إلى الهدى ويصبرون على الألم في جنب الله تعالى يقتلون على الحقّ في سالف الدهور شهداء فما نسيتهم ربهم وما كان ربك نسيّاً.

I counsel you to be conscious of God, and to undertake righteously what God has entrusted you to undertake. Face all trials with courage for the sake of God, follow his commands and prohibitions. I say these works and seek God's forgiveness for myself and for you.

أوصيكم بتقوى الله وحسن القيام على ما وكلّكم الله بالقيام به فأبلوا الله بلاء حسناً في أمره وزجره. أقول قولي هذا وأستغفر الله لي ولكم.

3 The Marriage Oration

The sources term the oration pronounced at the commencement of a marriage ceremony as the "*khuṭbah*." Like the oration more broadly, it is a public address, albeit narrow and specialized. Called "the marriage oration" (*khuṭbat al-nikāḥ* or *khuṭbat al-zawāj*), it is delivered by the person officiating at the ceremony. It consists of a few lines praising God and setting up the marriage contract. This is followed by the groom asking for the bride's hand in marriage and stating the dower, then the bride's agent, typically her paternal grandfather, father, or brother, accepting those terms. The term "marriage oration" is usually reserved for the magistrate's introductory praise formula, but at times it is also expanded to include the speeches of the groom and the bride's agent. Books of Islamic jurisprudence lay out rules for marriage oration in some detail, among them the necessity of including a reference to following the Shari'ah and the Prophet's Sunnah. Jāḥiẓ records a brief formulaic version of the pre-Islamic marriage *khuṭbah* used by the Quraysh, and he calls it, unusually, an "oration [proposing to] women" (*khuṭbat al-nisā'*):¹⁵

¹⁵ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:408.

In your name, God. Such-and-such a woman has been mentioned. Such-and-such a man is enamored of her. In your name, God. For you is what you ask for. For us is what you give.

بِأَسْمِكَ اللَّهُمَّ ذَكَرْتُ فُلَانَةَ وَفُلَانَ بِهَا
مَشْغُوفٌ. بِأَسْمِكَ اللَّهُمَّ لَكَ مَا سَأَلْتُ وَلَنَا مَا
أَعْطَيْتُ.

The earliest example, if authentic, would be the *khutbah* pronounced by Muḥammad's uncle and guardian, Abū Ṭālib, officiating at his marriage to Khadijah, fifteen years before his being anointed the Prophet of Islam. After the initial praise formula, which contains praise to "Allah," Abū Ṭālib outlines Muḥammad and Khadijah's merits, and states the payment of the dower:¹⁶

Praise God! He created us from the seed of Abraham and the descendants of Ismā'īl, giving us a sacred city and a veiled house, and making us rulers over the people.

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مِنْ زَرْعِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ
وَذُرِّيَّةِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَجَعَلَ لَنَا بَلَدًا حَرَامًا وَبَيْتًا
مَحْجُوبًا وَجَعَلَنَا الْحَكَّامَ عَلَى النَّاسِ.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh, my nephew, is one against whom no youth of Quraysh can be weighed without finding Muḥammad's scale heavier in goodness and merit, generosity and intelligence, glory and nobility. If there is scarcity in wealth, wealth is but a passing shadow, a loan that is to be returned. He desires to wed Khadijah bint Khuwaylid, and she him. Whatever you [plural] wish in terms of dower, I take upon myself.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ابْنَ أَخِي مِنْ لَا
يُوزَنُ بِهِ فَتَى مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ إِلَّا رَجَحَ عَلَيْهِ بَرًّا
وَفَضْلًا وَكَرَمًا وَعَقْلًا وَمَجْدًا وَنَبَلًا. وَإِنْ كَانَ
فِي الْمَالِ قَلٌّ فَإِنَّمَا الْمَالُ ظِلٌّ زَائِلٌ وَعَارِيَةٌ
مُسْتَرْجَعَةٌ. وَلَهُ فِي خَدِيجَةَ بِنْتِ خُوَيْلِدٍ رَغْبَةٌ
وَلَهَا فِيهِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ. وَمَا أَحْبَبْتُمْ مِنَ الصَّدَاقِ
فَعَلِيَّ.

Nahhās and a few other sources record an oration by the Prophet Muḥammad when he gave his daughter Fāṭimah in marriage to 'Alī.¹⁷ In a two-page section, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih cites seven early Islamic texts of marriage orations with their historical contexts.¹⁸ One of these is Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's typical oration at a marriage ceremony:¹⁹

¹⁶ App. § 25.1.

¹⁷ App. § 90.7.

¹⁸ Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:136–137.

¹⁹ App. § 56.4.

(Praise to God). With this marriage, God has united disparate clans and diverse family lines. It is a practice endorsed by God's religion and a path shown through his command.

(الحمد لله والثناء عليه). أمّا بعد فإنّ الله جمع
بهذا النكاح الأرحام المنقطعة والأنساب
المتفرقة وجعل ذلك في سنة من دينه
ومنهاج من أمره.

So-and-so has asked for your [daughter's] hand. By God's grace, he has plenty, and he offers as dower such-and-such. Ask God to guide you in your response, and answer in a good spirit. May God have mercy on you all.

وقد خطب إليكم فلان وعليه من الله نعمة
وهو يبذل من الصداق كذا فأستخيروا الله
ورددوا خيراً يرحكم الله.

Jāḥiẓ tells us that the marriage *khutbah* was the only oration habitually delivered sitting.²⁰ Its function was not to persuade a general audience, but rather to enact a legal contract. Its denotation by the term *khutbah* could indicate its liturgical praise opening, the public nature of the ceremony, or both.

4 The Soothsayer Rhyme

A distinctive subset of oration is found in the oracular pronouncements of the pre-Islamic period called “soothsayer rhymes,” *sajʿ al-kuhḥān*, whose texts were characterized by unmitigated consonant rhyming and rare vocabulary. They were short. A beginning oath section exuberantly and extensively evoked natural objects and phenomena, and was followed by a section containing the point of the oracular pronouncement: mantic judgment regarding issues of leadership, divination about outcomes of battles, meanings of dreams, or possibilities for rain. The following piece, attributed to a soothsayer from the Khuzāʿah tribe (fl. 6th ca. AD), offers judgment in favor of Muḥammad's forebear Hāshim ibn ʿAbd Manāf over his cousin Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams. The text contains anti-Umayyad material—whether it is later propaganda or a genuine early pronouncement remains to be determined. As a specimen of soothsayer rhymes, it showcases the characteristics just outlined—oaths by auspicious natural objects (moon, stars, rain) followed by judgment, full consonant rhyme, syntactic parallelism, and staccato sentences.²¹

²⁰ Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:118.

²¹ App. § 76.1.

By the glorious moon, by the shining star, by the
rain-pouring cloud, by the bird[s] in the air, by
the beacon that guides the traveler, one going up
to the high plain and another down to the val-
ley: Indeed, Hāshim has outstripped Umayyah to
glorious deeds. There is a first in this and a last.²²
Abū Hamhamah knows this.²³

والقمر الباهر والكوكب الزاهر والغمام
الماطر وما بالجو من طائر وما أهدى بعلم
مسافر من منجد وغائر لقد سبق هاشم أمية
إلى المآثر أول منه وآخر وأبو مهممة بذلك
خابر.

In contrast to the predominance of male speakers among regular orators, soothsayers were as often female as male.²⁴ On a different note, and like the two examples I have cited, many of the preserved soothsayer pieces are linked to the Prophet and his mission. It is conceivable that early Muslims were motivated to preserve materials that spoke to their new faith.

Oracular pronouncements are found scattered among the same historical and literary sources that contain *khuṭbah* material.²⁵ Although these are not referred to by the term *khuṭbah*, they may be considered a special subset of the genre, given the overlap in some contextual and textual features. The following example illustrates this point. Ibn Hishām reports that a soothsayer of the Janab tribe in Yemen was asked by his fellows to speak about Muḥammad, at a time when his name was becoming known in the Peninsula. Leaning on a bow, the soothsayer stood in front of his people, raised his head to the sky, leaped around, then made this rhymed, three-sentence pronouncement:²⁶

People, God has honored Muḥammad and
selected him, and cleansed his heart and innards.
His time among you, O people, will be short.

آيها الناس إن الله أكرم محمداً وأصطفاه
وطهر قلبه وحشاه. ومكنه فيكم آيها الناس
قليل.

22 This is the best I could make of this line. “First” (*awwal*) could also be read in the genitive case, as a partial appositive (*badal al-juz’ min al-kull*) of “glorious deeds” (*ma’āthir*)—thus, “Hāshim has outstripped Umayyah to glorious deeds, the first of them and the last”—but the problem here is that the pronoun in “*minhu*” is masculine so it cannot be the referent of “*ma’āthir*,” a broken plural.

23 Abū Hamhamah was Umayyah’s father-in-law and present at the arbitration.

24 Şafwat’s anthology contains sections of almost equal length for each (1:78–118).

25 Mas’ūdī, 2:176–196. See discussion of soothsayer rhymes in section on oratory in Mannā’, 42–43, 95–104.

26 App. § 68.1.

The piece is differentiated from regular oration by full consonant rhyme, the oracle's leaping around, and raising his face to the sky. Other features—standing among the audience, leaning on a bow, addressing the audience as “O people”—are similar to the oration.

5 Concluding Remarks

As we have seen, Arabic orations include discourse containing legislation, theology, marriage oration, and pre-Islamic soothsayer rhyme. Many features set them apart, but sustained, formal, public address endorses their categorization as smaller spheres of oration.

Women's Orations

Kinship-Based Authority and Silence-Breaking Trauma

Of the thousands of speeches and sermons recorded by the sources, the vast majority in our period are by men. Given that orations were delivered by individuals in authority, and since leadership roles were held for the most part by men, it is to be expected that men typically had the lion's share of the public voice. However, a few significant orations are attributed to women. So who were these women orators, and what circumstances prompted them to break the silence? Moreover, what were the special characteristics, if any, of their public address? In previous chapters, I have analyzed characteristics of various aspects of oratory by looking at a large number of texts collectively and identifying patterns. Since we have few texts to draw on for this chapter, I transcribe three full and famous orations, by Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad, ʿĀishah bint Abī Bakr, and Zaynab bint ʿAlī, and analyze them alongside other texts to tease out issues of subject, style, identity, and power, especially compared to the orations of men. While we find that women's orations are similar to men's in terms of orality, structure, style, and some of their themes, we also find two fundamental points of singularity, viz., much more than men, women orators' authority derives from kinship, and their orations are grounded in trauma. Against the grain of the culture's mores, we find that a handful of high-born women in our period delivered public speeches at moments of societal rupture.

1 The Identity of Women Orators and the Subject and Context of Their Orations

The sources record piecemeal a limited number of women's orations. In pre-Islamic times, the quasi-oratorical genre of soothsayer rhymes was engaged by male soothsayers as well as by female oracles, such as Zabrah, ʿĀrifat al-Khayr, Salmā al-Ḥamdāniyyah, ʿUfayrā,¹ and Shaʿthā.¹ As seen earlier, they are typologically distinct from other kinds of Arabic speeches, while internally they show no significant gender-based difference; for these reasons, they are

1 Ṣafwat, 1103–118.

not discussed in this chapter. From the era before Islam, we have just one record, in Syriac translation, of a non-soothsayer Arabic speech, delivered by the female Hārithid Christian martyr Ruḥaymah bint ‘Aẓamah, in the marketplace of Najrān, just before her execution by the Jewish Ḥimyarite king of Yemen.²

From the early Islamic period, a cluster of women’s orations are compiled in the unique anthology of women’s orations, poetry, descriptions, and repartee—titled *Balāghāt al-nisā’*, “Women’s eloquent verbal productions”—by the 3rd/9th-century author, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr. Interspersed with other literary materials attributed to women, the anthology records the reports and texts of a total of twelve orations for eleven female orators, some of whom have been mentioned in earlier chapters. The following inventory lists them according to context and sequence:

- An oration (in three versions) by the Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’, in the assembly of Abū Bakr and other Companions, arguing for her right to inherit the lands of Fadak and the right of her husband, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, to succeed the Prophet.³
- Eulogy orations by daughters of the first three Sunni caliphs (the first two also wives of the Prophet), ‘Ā’ishah bint Abī Bakr, Ḥaṣṣah bint ‘Umar, and ‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Uthmān, at the death of their fathers; a fourth by ‘Uthmān’s wife Nā’ilah bint al-Farāfiṣah, for her husband; and a fifth by an Iraqi Tamīmī tribeswoman named Ṣafīyyah bint Hishām al-Minqariyyah, for her cousin Aḥnaf (ibn Qays).⁴
- A further oration by ‘Ā’ishah bint Abī Bakr urging her supporters to fight against ‘Alī in the Battle of the Camel.⁵
- Orations by the Iraqi tribeswomen Zarqā’ bint al-‘Adī al-Hamdāniyyah, Umm al-Khayr bint al-Ḥarīsh al-Bāriqiyyah, and ‘Ikriṣhah bint al-Aṭash, urging their tribesmen to fight for ‘Alī against Mu‘āwiyah in the Battle of Ṣiffīn.⁶
- Orations in captivity by the Prophet’s granddaughters Umm Kulthūm bint ‘Alī and Zaynab bint ‘Alī, after the Umayyads’ killing of their brother Ḥusayn and other male kin at Karbala, chastising the Kufans who had betrayed their pledge to him and challenging the Umayyad leadership.⁷

2 App. § 111.1, preserved in a contemporary Syriac translation.

3 App. § 47.1.

4 App. § 28.1; § 29.1; § 49.1; § 98.1; § 116.1.

5 App. § 28.5. Three more are recorded in other sources, App. § 28.2–4, and yet another in Idrīs, 2:347–349.

6 App. § 163.1; § 141.1; § 66.1.

7 App. § 165.2 (full transcription follows shortly); § 142.1 (trans. and analyzed in T. Qutbuddin, “Orations of Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm”).

If early Muslim women did not generally hold public positions, how did they learn the skills of oratory? For ancient Greek society, Michael Gagarin argues that because women did not study rhetoric or participate in court, the handful of forensic speech texts attributed to women are likely produced or at least heavily doctored by their male logographers.⁸ In the society studied in the present volume, we have no reason to assume weaker authenticity for women's orations than men's, purely on the basis of gender. In our society too, women did not typically speak in public address, and thus were not practiced public speakers. Yet in contrast to ancient Greece, they were regularly exposed to orations, for as we have seen, they were not infrequently part of the male orator's audience. This point is noteworthy, because neither male nor female orators in our context studied oratory formally. In addition to on-the-job practice, passive learning by participating in the audience was the chief method by which most male speakers in early Islamic society also learned the art of public speaking.

2 Oration by Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad: Text and Translation

When the Prophet Muḥammad died and Abū Bakr became the first Sunni caliph in 11/632, he revoked Fāṭimah's ownership of the lands of Fadak bequeathed to her by Muḥammad, announcing that he had heard him say, "We prophets have no heirs; whatever we leave behind is charity."⁹ In the following celebrated speech, Fāṭimah establishes her right to inherit Fadak from her father, and her husband 'Alī's right to the caliphate. She addresses her oration "from behind a curtain" to Abū Bakr and the companions gathered around him:¹⁰

«A messenger from your community came to you, one who felt for your sufferings and was concerned for your wellbeing, who was compas-

﴿لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ

8 Gagarin, 176 and *passim*.

9 (نحن الأنبياء لا نورث ما تركناه صدقة): Bukhārī, § 7305, Muslim, § 1757–1759, Nisā'i, *Sunan*—s.v. "*Kitāb al-farā'id*."

10 App. § 47.1. Two more versions of the same oration are provided in Ṭayfūr, 58–66, in which Fāṭimah, in support of her right to inherit from Muḥammad, cites the Qur'anic verse "Solomon inherited from David" (وَوَرَّثَ سُلَيْمَانُ دَاوُودَ) (Q Nahl 16:27). Khāqānī provides a commentary on the oration, *Sharḥ Khutbat al-ṣiddīqah*, 170–240.

sionate and merciful toward believers.»¹¹ If you know him, you know that he is my father, not yours, my cousin [and husband 'Alī's brother, not yours.¹²

He delivered warning, announced the message, blocked the polytheists, crushed their backs, seized their necks, smashed their idols, and severed their skulls, until he had defeated them and they showed their backs to him in flight. Night gave way to morning, truth gleamed forth, religion's voice dominated, and Satan's camel-frothings subsided. At that time, you had been at the precipice of the fire, a draught for the drinker, an opportunity for the covetous, booty easily grasped by the swift, trampled underfoot. You had been drinking water urinated in by camels and eating leaves from trees. You were lowly and humble, fearful that neighboring nations would swoop down to attack.

God saved you through his messenger. This, (after the small calamity and the big one.)¹³ He was attacked by strong warriors, Bedouin wolves, and turncoat Jews. Each time they kindled «a battle-fire, God extinguished it.»¹⁴ Whenever the horn of error appeared over the horizon, whenever a polytheist maw opened wide, [Muḥammad] threw his brother into its jaws—and ['Alī] would not return until he had stamped its ear with his soles, dampened its blaze with his blade. His

رُؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ ﴿١٠﴾. فَإِنْ تَعْرِفُوهُ تَجِدُوهُ أَبِي
دُونَ آبَائِكُمْ وَأَخَا أَبْنِ عَمِّي دُونَ رَجَالِكُمْ.

فبَلِّغِ النَّذَارَةَ صَادِعًا بِالرَّسَالَةِ مَائِلًا عَلَى
مَدْرَجَةِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ضَارِبًا لَثْبَجَهُمْ آخِذًا
بِكُظْمِهِمْ يَهْشِمُ الْأَصْنَامَ وَيَنْكُثُ الْهَامَ.
حَتَّى هَزَمَ الْجَمْعَ وَوَلَّوْا الدِّرَ وَتَعَرَّى اللَّيْلُ
صَبْحَهُ وَأَسْفَرَ الْحَقُّ عَنْ مَحْضِهِ وَنَطَقَ زَعِيمُ
الدِّينِ وَخَرَسَتْ شَقَاشِقُ الشَّيَاطِينِ. وَكُنْتُمْ
عَلَى شَفَا حَفْرَةٍ مِنَ النَّارِ مَذْقَةَ الشَّارِبِ
وَنَهْزَةَ الطَّامِعِ وَقَبْسَةَ الْعَجَلَانِ وَمَوْطِئَ
الْأَقْدَامِ تُشْرِيُونَ الطَّرِيقَ وَتَقْتَاتُونَ الْوَرَقَ
أَذْلَةً خَاشِعِينَ تَخَافُونَ أَنْ يَخْطِفَكُمْ النَّاسُ مِنْ
حَوْلِكُمْ.

فَأَنْقَذَكُمْ اللَّهُ بِرَسُولِهِ بَعْدَ اللَّتْيَا وَالَّتِي وَبَعْدَ مَا
مُنِيَ بِهِمُ الرِّجَالُ وَذُؤْبَانُ الْعَرَبِ وَمَرْدَةُ
أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ. كُلُّهَا حُشُوا ﴿نَارًا لِلْحَرْبِ
أَطْفَاءَهَا﴾ وَنَجْمُ قَرْنٍ لِلضَّلَالِ وَفُغْرَتِ
فَاغْرَةٍ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ قَذَفَ بِأَخِيهِ فِي لَهْوَاتِهَا
فَلَا يَنْكُفِي حَتَّى يَطَأَ صِمَاحَهَا بِأَنْحَصِهِ وَيَنْجِدُ
لَهَا بِجَدِّهِ مَكْدُودًا فِي ذَاتِ اللَّهِ قَرِيبًا مِنْ

11 Q Tawbah 9:128.

12 Refers to Muḥammad's pairing of 'Alī with himself, when he paired his Companions as "brothers." See Ibn Hishām, 1:320; Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 1:193–194.

13 Proverb signifying all sorts of calamities; etiology in Maydānī, 1:257.

14 Q Mā'idah 5:64.

intention was only to serve God. He was intimate with God's messenger, a leader among God's elect. All this toil, while you remained calm and secure in ample circumstances.

When God took back his prophet to the abode of the prophets, hypocrisy's thorns showed themselves among you. Religion's robes frayed, the coveters' anger broke free, the murky shadows emerged, and the vicious camel bellowed and wagged his tail in your courtyard. Satan raised his head from sleep. He shrieked at you and found you quick to answer his call, attentive to his deception. He roused you and found you swift to rise. He incited you and found you easy to anger. You rose up to brand camels that are not yours, and bring them to drink at a watering hole that is not yours. Even though the Prophet's passing is recent, the gash vast, the wound unhealed.

Beware and make haste! You claim that you did what you did from fear of discord. «Listen! They have fallen into the pit of discord—disbelievers will go to hell!»¹⁵ May you be flung afar! Where do you go?! Why do you lie?! God's book is before you, its warnings unmistakable, its proofs bright, its commands clear! Do you turn away from it because you don't like what it says? Or do you have another book by which you judge? «What an evil trade for oppressors!»¹⁶ «Whosoever seeks a religion other than Islam, it will not be accepted from him, and he will be among the losers in the hereafter.»¹⁷

رسول الله سيداً في أولياء الله وأنتم في
بلهنية وادعون آمنون.

حتى إذا اختار الله لنيه دار أنبيائه ظهرت
خلة النفاق وسمل جلاباب الدين ونطق
كاظم الغاوين ونبغ خامل الآفلين وهدر
فنيق المبطلين فخطر في عرصاتكم وأطلع
الشیطان رأسه من مغرزه صارخاً بكم
فوجدكم لدعائه مستجيبين وللغرة فيه
ملا حظين فاستهضكم فوجدكم خفافاً
وأجشمكم فألفاكم غضاباً فوسستم غير إيلكم
وأوردتموها غير شربكم هذا. والعهد قريب
والكلم رحيب والجرح لم يندمل.

بدار زعمتم خوف الفتنة ﴿ألا في الفتنة
سَقَطُوا وَإِنَّ جَهَنَّمَ لَمُحِيطَةٌ بِالْكَافِرِينَ﴾.
فهيات منكم وأتى بكم وأتى توفكون.
وهذا كتاب الله بين أظهركم وزواجره بينة
وشواهد لائحة وأوامره واضحة. أرغبة عنه
تدبرون أم بغيره تحكون ﴿بئس للظالمين
بدلاً﴾ ﴿وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْإِسْلَامِ
دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنَ
الْخَاسِرِينَ﴾.

15 Q Tawbah 9:49.

16 Q Kahf 18:50.

17 Q Al 'Imrān 3:85.

You did not wait for grief's boiling to subside.¹⁸ *(You drank in big gulps, hiding your intentions and pretending to sip froth,)*¹⁹ while we endured your slashing daggers. And now you claim that I cannot inherit. «Do you mete out a judgment from the age of ignorance? Who is a more favorable judge than God, for those who possess conviction!»²⁰ Woe to you, Emigrants! Am I to be stripped of my father's inheritance?! Does the book say you can inherit from your father and I cannot inherit from mine? «What you say is a lie!»²¹ Take it then! Muzzled and saddled, it will meet you on the day of your resurrection. God is the best judge, Muḥammad is the best leader, and the day of reckoning will come! At that hour, impostors will suffer defeat. «Every tidings will be fulfilled at its appointed time, as you will come to know.»²²

ثُمَّ لَمْ تَرَيْثُوا إِلَّا رَيْثَ أَنْ تَسْكُنَ نَفْسُهَا
تَشْرَبُونَ حَسَوًا وَتَسْرُونَ فِي أَرْتَغَاءٍ. وَنَصْبِرُ
مِنْكُمْ عَلَى مِثْلِ حَزَّ الْمَدَى وَأَنْتُمْ الْآنَ
تَزْعُمُونَ أَنْ لَا إِرْثَ لَنَا. «أَفَحُكْمَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ
تَبْغُونَ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا لِقَوْمٍ
يُوقِنُونَ؟» وَيَهَا مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ أَأَبْتَزَّ
إِرْثَ أَبِي آفِي الْكَتَابِ أَنْ تَرِثَ أَبَاكَ وَلَا
أَرِثَ أَبِي «لَقَدْ جِئْتَ شَيْئًا فَرِيًّا».
فَدُونَكُمَا مَخْطُومَةٌ مَرْحُومَةٌ تَلْقَاكَ يَوْمَ
حَشْرِكَ. فَنَعْمَ الْحُكْمُ لِلَّهِ وَالزَّعِيمِ مُحَمَّدٍ
وَالْمَوْعِدُ الْقِيَامَةِ وَعِنْدَ السَّاعَةِ يَخْشَرُ الْمَبْطُلُونَ
و«لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ مُسْتَقَرٌّ وَسَوْفَ تَعْلَمُونَ».

3 Oration by 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr: Text and Translation

When 'Alī became caliph in 35/656, 'Ā'ishah and two of the Prophet's Companions, Ṭalhah and Zubayr, rallied the people of Basra to fight him, claiming he was complicit in killing the previous caliph, 'Uthmān. The result was the Battle of the Camel, so called after the camel 'Ā'ishah rode onto the battlefield. In the following famous speech, she urges her supporters to fight 'Alī, defending her stance and proclaiming her maternal right:²³

18 I.e., after Muḥammad's death.

19 Proverb, said of one who pretends one thing when he means another. See Lane, s.v. "RGhW".

20 Q Mā'idah 5:50.

21 Q Maryam 19:27.

22 Q An'ām 6:67.

23 App. § 28.5. 'Ā'ishah's reference is to the Qur'anic verse which characterizes the Prophet as the believers' spiritual father and his wives as their mothers, Q Aḥzāb 33:6. This point is discussed further in the following section on Women's Oratorical Authority.

I have the right of motherhood over you and the privilege of counsel. Any who chastise me have disobeyed their lord. God's messenger died with his head on my chest, and I will be one of his wives in paradise. God has put me aside for him and safeguarded me from having any other mates. Through me he differentiated believers among you from hypocrites,²⁴ and because of me God gave you license in Abwā' to [do the lesser ablution with] earth.²⁵

My father is the second of two, whose third is God. My father is the fourth of the earliest four Muslims and the first to be called "true believer" (*ṣiddīq*). God's messenger died happy with him, and entrusted him with leading the prayer. Then faith's rope strained, and he held it together. He patched together its strengths, crushed hypocrisy, contained the flood of apostate revolts, and extinguished the fires lit by Jews.

In those days, while you were looking on in shock, viewing the treachery and hearing the shouts, he contained the sedition, put ropes back on the handleless bucket, dug you out of the pit, and eradicated the root of the illness.

إِنَّ لِي عَلَيْكُمْ حَقَّ الْأُمُومَةِ وَحَقَّ الْمَوْعِظَةِ.
لَا يَتَّهِنُنِي إِلَّا مَنْ عَصَى رَبَّهُ. قَبِضَ رَسُولُ
اللَّهِ بَيْنَ سِجْرِي وَنَحْرِي وَأَنَا إِحْدَى نِسَائِهِ فِي
الْجَنَّةِ. لَهُ أَدَخَرَنِي رَبِّي وَحَصَّنَنِي مِنْ كُلِّ
بَضْعٍ. وَبِي مِيزَ مُؤْمِنَكُمْ مِنْ مَنَافِقِكُمْ. وَبِي
أَرْخَصَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ فِي صَعِيدِ الْأَبْوَاءِ.

ثُمَّ أَبِي ثَانِي أَتَيْنِ اللَّهُ ثَالِثَهُمَا أَبِي رَابِعَ أَرْبَعَةٍ
مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَأَوَّلَ مَنْ سَمِيَ صَدِيقًا مَضَى
رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَهُوَ رَاضٍ وَقَدْ طَوَّقَهُ
وَهَفَ الْإِمَامَةُ. ثُمَّ اضْطَرَبَ حَبْلُ الدِّينِ
فَأَخَذَ بِطَرْفِيهِ وَرَتَقَ لَكُمْ أَثْنَاءَهُ فَوَقَدَ النِّفَاقَ
وَأَغَاضَ نَبْعَ الرَّدَّةِ وَأَطْفَأَ مَا حَشَّ يَهُودُ.

وَأَنْتُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ تَحْظُرُ الْعَيْنُ تَنْظُرُونَ الْعَدُوَّةَ
وَتَسْمَعُونَ الصَّيْحَةَ فَرَأَبَ الثَّأِي وَأَوْزَمَ
الْعَطْلَةَ وَأَمْتَاخَ مِنَ الْمَهْوَاةِ وَأَجْتَحَى دَفِينَ
الدَّاءِ.

24 She refers to the story of the "heinous lie" in Q Nūr 24:11, when the Qur'an exonerated her of adultery. See explanations in the exegetical works of Ṭabarī, Zamaksharī, Ibn Kathīr, Qurṭubī, and others.

25 'Ā'ishah relates that she was with Muḥammad on a journey when her necklace broke in Abwā', and the group was delayed looking for it and had to stay overnight. There was no water in that location, and in the morning, God revealed to Muḥammad the verse permitting performance of the lesser ablution using earth rather than water. See Bukhārī, Muslim, s.v. "*Bāb al-tayammum*."

Your community became unified, tied to his rope, then he appointed over your affairs a man who was harsh in God's path, quick to obey him, expansive like the space between the two stony tracts [encompassing the city of Medina], tolerant and forbearing. Then God took him—a man who had crushed the skulls of hypocrisy and lit battlefires against polytheists, who spent his nights wakeful, protecting Islam, who was patient in the face of ignorant folks' jabs, and humble of character and disposition. He walked the path of those who had preceded him.

I take refuge in God from a calamity that has unified the front of sedition, and splintered the community brought together by the Qur'an.

As for why I have marched this march—I have not sinned, nor caused sedition, nor brought you to revolt. I say this in truth and justice, with warning and counsel. I ask God to bless Muḥammad, his servant and messenger, and to give you a leader who is worthy of succeeding God's messengers.

ثمَّ انتظمت طاعتكم بحبله فولّى أمركم رجلاً
شديداً في ذات الله عزّ وجلّ مدعناً
إذا ركن إليه بعيداً ما بين اللّاتين عركة
للأذاة يجنبه. فقبضه الله إليه واطئاً على
هامات النفاق مذكياً نار الحرب للمشرّكين
يقظان الليل في نصرة الإسلام صفوحاً
عن الجاهلين خشاش المرأة والمخبرة. فسلك
مسلك السابقية.

تبرأت إلى الله من خطب جمع شمل الفتنة
ومزّق ما جمع القرآن.

أنا نصب المسألة عن مسيري هذا. ألا
وإني لم أجرد إثماً أدرعه ولم أدلس فتنة
أو طكّوها. أقول قولي هذا صدقاً وعدلاً
وأعتذاراً وتعذيراً وأسأل الله أن يصلي
على محمد عبده ورسوله وأن يخلفه في أمته
بأفضل خلافة المرسلين.

4 Oration by Zaynab bint 'Ali: Text and Translation

When Ḥusayn's womenfolk were brought to Yazid's court in Damascus in 60/680, Yazid stood them before him shackled and unveiled, and had Ḥusayn's decapitated head placed in a basin. Grasping a cane, he struck Ḥusayn's mouth saying mockingly, "You have such beautiful teeth!" Then he recited some verses:²⁶

26 The first three verses are from a lampoon against Muḥammad composed by the pagan poet 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zibā'rā at the Battle of Uḥud (Ibn Hishām, 2:102); I have cited only the second of the first three, which Zaynab cites in her speech. The next three are presumably by Yazid, composed on the spot. Khazraj is the name of one of the tribes of Medina who supported Muḥammad. The elders referred to are the pagan Meccans whom Ḥamzah

... I wish my venerable forefathers at the Battle of Badr had witnessed
 The panic of the Khazraj in the face of our spears ...
 They would have declaimed: Praise God and shine forth in joy!
 And said: Yazīd, may your hands never wither!
 I've avenged my elders at Badr
 The ledger is balanced
 I would not be the son of my great forebears
 If I did not kill Aḥmad's sons in vengeance.

Zaynab stepped forward to challenge Yazīd's actions. She addressed her speech overtly to Yazīd, but simultaneously to all people present in his court, lamenting Ḥusayn, castigating Yazīd, and using sacred texts to profess the authority of the Prophet's family.²⁷

God and his messenger spoke the truth, Yazīd:
 «Evildoers obtain an evil end, for they reject
 God's signs and ridicule them.»²⁸ Do you think
 that because we have been driven as captive
 slaves, and forced to traverse the far reaches
 of the earth with no shelter but the sky, we are
 insignificant in God's eyes and you have honor?
 That all this happened because of your immense
 stature? You raise your nose and look about you,
 gay and happy, seeing the whole world flocking to
 you and under your control. Truly, this is nothing
 but a respite and a lull. God says, «Let not disbe-
 lievers think that our respite is a good thing for
 them. Indeed, we give them respite so that they
 may increase in trespass, and a shameful punish-
 ment awaits them.»²⁹

صدق الله ورسوله يا يزيد ﴿ثُمَّ كَانَ عَاقِبَةَ
 الَّذِينَ أَسَاءُوا السُّوءَ أَنْ كَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِ
 اللَّهِ وَكَانُوا بِهَا يَسْتَهْزِئُونَ﴾. أظننت يا
 يزيد أنه حين أخذ علينا بأطراف الأرض
 وأكاف السماء فأصبحنا نساق كما يساق
 الأسارى أن بنا هواناً على الله وبك عليه
 كرامة وأن هذا لعظيم خطرك. فشمخت
 بأنفك ونظرت في عطفك جدلاً فرحاً
 حين رأيت الدنيا مستوسقة لك والأمر
 متسقة عليك. وقد أمهلت ونفست وهو
 يقول ﴿وَلَا يَحْسِبَنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَنَّمَا نُثَلِّي
 لَهُمْ خَيْرَ لِنَفْسِهِمْ إِنََّّمَا نُثَلِّي لَهُمْ لِيُزَادُوا إِثْمًا
 وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُبِينٌ﴾.

and 'Alī killed at the Battle of Badr, Yazīd's forebears 'Utbaḥ ibn Rab'īah, Walid ibn 'Utbaḥ, and Shaybah ibn Rab'īah. Aḥmad is another name for Muḥammad.

27 App. § 165.2. This speech is discussed at some length in this chapter with regard to aspects of authority and trauma. For a line-by-line analysis of the sisters' speeches in terms of gender and martyrdom, see Qutbuddin, "Orations of Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm."

28 Q Rūm 30:10.

29 Q Āl 'Imrān 3:178.

Is it just, O freedmen's son, for you to veil your women and concubines, while you drive forward God's messenger's daughters thus, veils torn, grieving, voices hoarse with weeping? Jolted by speeding camels, herded from town to town by rancorous enemies, ungarded and undefended? Those near and far speaking to them directly, without shame? For they have no male protector to shield them! How to stop those who stare at us with coveting and rancor, hatred and malice!

Do you dare to say, (I wish that my venerable forefathers at the Battle of Badr could have witnessed Ḥusayn's killing!) Do you not understand that it is a sin, a major transgression? You dare to strike Abū 'Abdallāh [Ḥusayn's] teeth with your cane! But all this can happen, for you have picked the wound and extirpated the root by spilling the blood of the messenger's children, stars of the earth from the line of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. But wait. Soon you too shall come before God, as they have done, and you will wish that you had been born blind and dumb, that you had never intoned, "Praise God and shine forth in joy!"

God, grant us our rights, and give us vengeance from those who oppressed. By God, [Yazīd], you have pared naught but your own skin, incised naught but your own flesh. You shall come before God's messenger, despite yourself. His children, his family, will be with him in the garden. That day, God will bring them together, gathered after long separation. That is Almighty God's pledge, «Don't think that those killed in the path of God are dead. They are alive and sustained in their

أمن العدل يابن الطلقاء تخديرك نساءك
واماءك وسوقك بنات رسول الله قد
هتكت ستورهن وأحسلت صوتهن
مكتنبات تخدي بهن الأباغر ويحدو
بهن الأعادي من بلد الى بلد لا يراقبن
ولا يؤوين يتسوفهن القريب والبعيد ليس
معهن ولي من رجالهن. وكيف يستبطأ
في بغضتنا من نظر إلينا بالشنق والشنآن
والإحن والأضغان.

أقول (ليت أشياخي بيدر شهيدوا) غير متأثم
ولا مستعظم وأنت تنكت ثنايا أبي عبد
الله بخصرتك. ولم لا تكون كذلك وقد
نكأت القرحة وأستأصلت الشافة بإهراقك
دماء ذرية رسول الله ونجوم الأرض من
آل عبد المطلب. ولتردن على الله وشيكا
موردهم ولتردن أنك عميت وبكمت وأنك
لم تقل (فأسئلوا وأهلوا فرحا).

اللهم خذ بحقنا وانتقم لنا ممن ظلمنا. والله ما
فريت إلا جلدك ولا حرزت إلا في لحمك.
وسترده على رسول الله برغمك وعترته ولحمته
في حظيرة القدس يوم يجمع الله شملهم
ملبوسين من الشعث وهو قول الله تعالى
﴿وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا
بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ﴾. وسيعلم

lord's presence.»³⁰ The man who put you in this place and gave you charge over the lives of believers—[Mu'āwiyah]—will learn his lesson. The day will come when God will be your judge, Muḥammad will be your adversary, and your own limbs will bear witness against you. «What a terrible barter the oppressors get!»³¹ [You will learn] «who gets the most terrible abode, and who has the weakest army.»³²

By God—O enemy of God and son of his enemy—I find your stature small and your oppression great. But my eyes are full of tears, my breast burns with grief. And yet, that does nothing. For Ḥusayn has been killed. And here, Satan's host has stood us before an assembly of fools, hoping to be rewarded from God's treasury for violating sanctities God has proclaimed. Your hands drip with our blood. Your mouths foam from our flesh. As for those pure bodies!—wild wolves approach them in the gloom.

You treat us as booty to be plundered, but when the hour comes and you hold nothing except the actions of your two hands, you will find you have hoarded sin. You will scream, "O son of Marjānah ['Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād]," and he will scream for you. You, with your followers, will howl when you come to the celestial weighing scales, when you find that the best provision Mu'āwiyah left to you was the act of killing

من بؤاك وممكنك من رقاب المؤمنين إذا
كان الحكم الله وانلصم محمد وجوارحك
شاهدة عليك ﴿يُنْسِلُ لِلظَّالِمِينَ بَدَلًا﴾
﴿أَيْكُمْ شَرُّ مَكَانًا وَأَضْعَفُ جُنْدًا﴾.

مع آتي والله يا عدو الله وآبن عدوه أستصغر
قدرك وأستعظم تقريعك. غير أن العيون
عبرى والصدور حرى وما يجزي ذلك وما
يغني عنا وقد قتل الحسين وحزب الشيطان
يقربنا إلى حزب السفهاء ليعطوهم أموال
الله على آتتهك محارم الله. فهذه الأيدي
تنطف من دمائنا وهذه الأفواه تتحلب من
لحومنا وتلك الجثث الزواكي يعتامها عسلان
الفلوات.

فلئن آتخذتنا مغنماً لتتخذن مغرمات حين لا
تجد إلّا ما قدّمت يداك تستصرخ يا بن
مرجانه ويستصرخ بك وتبعاوى وأتباعك
عند الميزان وقد وجدت أفضل زاد زودك
معاوية قتلك ذرية محمد. فوالله ما أتقيت إلّا
الله ولا شكواي إلّا إلى الله. فكذلك

30 Q Āl 'Imrān 3:169.

31 Q Kahf 18:50.

32 Q Maryam 19:75.

Muḥammad's children! By God, I fear no one but God, and I complain to no one but him. Plot your plot, extend your efforts, and wage your war! By God, the shame of what you have done to us will never be washed away!

وأَسع سعيك وناصب جهدك فوالله لا
يرحض عنك عار ما أتيئت إلينا أبدًا.

I offer praise to God, who granted a felicitous culmination ornamented with his forgiveness to the chiefs of the youth of paradise,³³ and stationed them in his garden. I ask God to raise their standing, and to grant them ever-increasing grace and blessing. He is loving, and powerful over all things.

والحمد لله الذي ختم بالسعادة والمغفرة
لسادات شبّان الجنان فأوجب لهم الجنة.
أسأل الله أن يرفع لهم الدرجات وأن
يوجب لهم المزيد من فضله فإنه وليّ قدير.

5 Similarities with Men's Orations in Orality, Structure, Style, and Theme

In their oral substrate, and thus in structure, style, and some themes, orations by women resemble those by men. In their structure, they follow the regular sequence of segments, with a formulaic praise opening, transition phrase, vocative address to the audience, various themes in the body of the oration, and a capstone ending of prayer or greeting. Although all components are not recorded for the three texts transcribed here—as is also the case for men's orations—examples of individual structural frame segments are copious in women's texts: Ṭayfūr's second version of Fāṭimah's oration includes an opening praise invocation and vocative address, Nā'ilah includes a praise opening, Umm Kulthūm's and Ḥaḥṣah's orations contain *taḥmūd* as well as a transition phrase, Zarqā' includes a vocative, Ḥaḥṣah's and Zaynab's orations end with prayer, ʿĀ'ishah ends with the standard phrase, "I say these words ...," and prayer, and Umm al-Khayr with the greeting of peace.

In their style too, women's orations use an aesthetic approximating that of men, being rhythmic and graphic, citing Qur'an, poetry, and proverbs, and containing profuse audience engagement features, such as rhetorical questions and emphatic constructions. For example, Fāṭimah uses structural parallelism in describing Muḥammad's bringing of Islam, "Night gave way to morning,

33 Meaning Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, referring to the Prophetic hadith: "Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the chiefs of the youth of paradise," (Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 3:76; Balādhurī, 3:268), cited earlier by Ḥusayn in his 'Āshūrā' speech, App. § 62.7.

truth gleamed forth, religion's voice dominated, and Satan's camel-frothings subsided." In these lines, and in numerous other places in the oration, she uses lifeworld imagery, particularly metaphors stemming from camel physiognomy and behavior: "When God took back his prophet to the abode of the prophets, hypocrisy's thorns showed themselves among you. Religion's robes frayed, the coveters' anger broke free, the murky shadows emerged, and the vicious camel bellowed and wagged his tail in your courtyard ... You rose up to brand camels that are not yours, and bring them to drink at a watering hole that is not yours ... Take it then! Muzzled and saddled, it will meet you on the day of your resurrection." In another example, 'Ā'ishah uses parallelism, assonance, and lifeworld imagery to praise Abū Bakr's actions following Muḥammad's demise: "[H]e contained the sedition, put ropes back on the handleless bucket, dug you out of the pit, and eradicated the root of the illness."

Qur'an citation—a feature also common in men's speeches—appears to be particularly prominent in women's orations, especially those delivered in a situation of trauma, such as those by Fāṭimah, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm. Zaynab begins her Damascus speech with a verse from surah Rūm: "God and his messenger spoke the truth, Yazīd: «Evildoers obtain an evil end, for they reject God's signs and ridicule them»,³⁴ as does Fāṭimah, who opens her speech with the verse endorsing prophets' inheritance, and Umm Kulthūm, who begins with the verse condemning disloyalty.³⁵ Their verbatim quotations of the Qur'an across the rest of the speech are in addition to the many allusions to Qur'anic concepts throughout, evoking God's omnipotence and the eventual triumph of good over evil. Furthermore, their Qur'an citations are metonymical. By citing the surah Rūm verse for example, Zaynab also alludes to the previous, uncited verse—«Have they never journeyed in the earth and seen what happened to those who lived before their time, who were stronger than they, cultivated the earth and built on it more widely than they? Their messengers brought them evidence of the truth. It was not God who wronged them, but it was they who wronged themselves»³⁶—thereby linking the Umayyads with past communities who opposed God's prophets. 'Ā'ishah quotes no Qur'an in her battle speech, but she references Qur'anic material, such as the Prophet's wives

34 Q Rūm 30:10.

35 Q Tawbah 9:128, Nahl 16:92. Both also cite a number of other Qur'anic verses.

36 Q Rūm 30:9. *أَوَلَمْ يَسِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَيَنْظُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ عَاقِبَةُ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ كَانُوا أَشَدَّ مِنْهُمْ قُوَّةً وَأَثَارُوا الْأَرْضَ وَعَمَرُوهَا أَكْثَرَ مِمَّا عَمَرُوهَا وَجَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُهُم بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ فَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيَظْلِمَهُمْ وَلَكِنْ كَانُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ يَظْلِمُونَ.*

being mothers of the faithful (more on this shortly); in her earlier speech at Abū Bakr's death she uses a verbatim Qur'anic quote.³⁷

Rhetorical questions and other agonistic features, such as oaths and particles of emphasis, are sprinkled profusely throughout, reflecting their delivery in a situation of trauma. Zaynab poses a series of questions, saying for example to Yazīd, "Do you think that because we have been driven as captive slaves, and forced to traverse the far reaches of the earth with no shelter but the sky, we are insignificant in God's eyes and you have honor? That all this happened because of your immense stature?" She means here the womenfolk from the family of the Prophet, and her questions are rhetorical, meant not to elicit information but to drive home her point, to show that Yazīd's earthly dominion and her own apparent helplessness are not the real measure of their worth. Fāṭimah berates her audience, asking, "Woe to you, Emigrants! Am I to be stripped of my father's inheritance?! Does the book say you can inherit from your father and I cannot inherit from mine?"

In addition to rhythm, imagery, and audience engagement features, women's speeches—like men's orations from the period—contain a significant amount of archaic vocabulary, such as Fāṭimah's *shaqāshiq* (camel-frothings) and *ṭarq* (water urinated in by camels), 'Ā'ishah's *buḍ'* (mates) and *awzama* (put ropes back on a handleless bucket), and Zaynab's *shamakhta* (you raised your nose) and *yatashawwafuhunna* (speak directly to them without shame). Also like male orators, we see that the texts of our female speakers maintain at all times a formal, direct, and eloquent language register.

Moreover, two types of oration prominent in Ṭayfūr's women's anthology are also a staple in speeches by men. The first of these gender-neutral orations are those inciting battle—such as the speech by 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr at the Battle of the Camel, and the orations by Zarqā', Umm al-Khayr, and 'Ikriṣhah, at Ṣiffin. All but 'Ikriṣhah orate from the back of a camel (described further as red or ash-colored), while she and Zarqā', and perhaps also 'Ā'ishah, deliver their speeches in the thick of the fray, "between the two fighting armies" (*bayna l-ṣaffayn*). In terms of content, 'Ā'ishah's speech—in which she mostly attempts to defend her action in fighting 'Alī—is atypical, in that it lacks overt battle themes, but it is also possible that such themes existed in the original speech and were dropped from Ṭayfūr's version. The speeches by women supporting 'Alī at Ṣiffin have more traditional themes of battle. They each urge the audience to fight, praising 'Alī's righteousness, castigating Mu'āwiyah's pursuit of worldly ambition, citing Qur'anic verses urging jihad, and promising the enemy's quick rout-

37 Q Baqarah 2:15, App. § 28.1.

ing. An earlier speech attributed to the two-period (*mukhaḍramah*) poet Khan-sā' at Qādisiyyah is similar in its theme of urging battle but is more circumscribed in audience, being addressed in private to her four sons.³⁸

From a different genre, women's verse of battlefield goading (*taḥrīd*) is commonly found in the sources. While she and other women beat drums behind their menfolk in the Battle of Uḥud, Hind bint 'Utbah (Mu'āwiyah's mother and Abū Sufyān's wife) improvised lines of poetry urging the Meccans to fight against Muḥammad and promising physical intimacy as reward.³⁹ She and other women recited the same and other similar verses on the Muslims' side at Yarmūk.⁴⁰ Although the goal of urging battle is alike in Hind's verses and our orations, their themes and settings appear to be wholly different. Perhaps the sources may yet yield pre-Islamic and earlier Islamic instances of women's orations urging battle, but I have not yet located such reports.

The second type of gender-neutral oration is the funeral eulogy—such as orations by the two 'Āishahs, Ḥafṣah, Nā'ilah, and Ṣafiyyah, lamenting their dead kin and praying for them, and, in the case of 'Uthmān's daughter and wife, also urging blood vengeance. Ṣafiyyah and 'Āishah bint 'Uthmān cite the Qur'anic verse conventionally recited in the context of death, "We are of God and to God we return."⁴¹ Ṣafiyyah, Nā'ilah, and 'Āishah bint Abī Bakr in one version, all end with verses of poetry. Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm's orations also contain themes of eulogy for the slain Ḥusayn, but as we shall see shortly, their starker context of trauma, killing, and extended captivity sets them apart.

6 Women's Oratorical Authority Grounded in Male Kinship

One of two main aspects in which women's orations in this period are distinct from men's is the nature of the authority they wield, which derives largely from lineage or marriage, and is bolstered by piety, learning, and political influence. The case is far from black and white, because political influence for both men and women itself derives in part from blood ties, and familial affiliation is also conspicuous as a path of legitimation in male orators' speeches, especially those from the Prophet's family. But kinship as the chief source of authority is especially prominent in speeches by women. The three women whose ora-

38 Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, 1:438. I thank Jordi Ferrer Serra for this reference.

39 Ibn Hishām, 2:50, trans. Guillaume, 374; Idrīs 1:215–216. I thank Nizar Hermes, Alyssa Gabbay, Yasmin Amin, and Suzanne Stetkevych for this observation and reference.

40 Wāqidi, *Futūḥ*, 1:195–196, trans. Kindī, 331–333.

41 Q Baqarah 2:156.

tions you have read were closely related to the Prophet as well as to other top leaders in the community: As mentioned earlier, Fāṭimah was the Prophet's daughter and 'Alī's wife, Zaynab was the Prophet's granddaughter and 'Alī (and Fāṭimah's) daughter, and 'Ā'ishah was the Prophet's wife and Abū Bakr's daughter. Four others whose orations Ṭayfūr transcribes were similarly connected to the Prophet and/or the first historical caliphs: Umm Kulthūm was the Prophet's granddaughter and 'Alī (and Fāṭimah's) daughter (also 'Umar's wife, but she does not reference him), Ḥaṣṣah was the Prophet's wife and 'Umar's daughter, 'Ā'ishah was 'Uthmān's daughter, and Nā'ilah was 'Uthmān's wife. Connections of lineage and marriage were the most significant bulwark of their oratorical authority.

In addition to the historical fact of their family network, statements women make in their speeches also support this claim, for they mention no source of authority except kinship. In Ṭayfūr's second version of Fāṭimah's speech, she begins by underlining her relationship to the Prophet, "I am Fāṭimah and my father is Muḥammad."⁴² The small, familiar audience of Muḥammad's Medinan Companions presumably knew well who she was, so the statement is one of emphasis rather than information. In all three versions, she goes on to speak of the benefits her father had provided the community she is addressing—being the vehicle through which God sent the guidance of Islam and bestowed on his followers a life of plenty—and of her husband's unparalleled service in establishing the faith; in both cases, she underscores her relationship to them. The context of 'Ā'ishah's speech delivered at the Battle of the Camel is more akin to speeches by male leaders, but what sets it apart is the presentation of her authority in a particularly female matrix as "a mother's right over her children."⁴³ Going forward in the speech, she focuses on the Muslims' indebtedness to her husband, and after his passing, on her father's efforts to preserve Islam. Establishing her own authority with these weighty connections, she declares that as the community's mother she has every right to expect their obedience.

Through the full length of their post-Karbala speeches, both of the Prophet's granddaughters emphasize their lineage (as had their brother Ḥusayn, discussed in an earlier chapter). At the outset of Umm Kulthūm's speech chastising the Kufans, she uses the formula of praise itself—"I begin with praise of God and benedictions on *my* grandfather"—to remind the audience that her fam-

42 (أنا فاطمة وأبي محمد): App. § 47.1, Ṭayfūr 61.

43 As mentioned earlier, referring to the Qur'anic verse which characterizes the Prophet as the believers' spiritual father and his wives as their mothers, Q Aḥzāb 33:6. See also App. § 34.1, where 'Ammār ibn Yāsir declares to the Kufans before the Battle of the Camel that "God has afflicted you with choosing between the claim of your religion and the sanctity of your mother ['Ā'ishah]."

ily was the Prophet's family; that Muḥammad, the man her audience believed to be God's messenger, was her grandfather. She continues in this vein for the rest of the speech. Zaynab's speech is also entirely undergirded by statements about her lineage. In her chastisement of Yazīd for his dishonorable treatment of her family, she refers to them as the "messenger's daughters," saying "Is it just, O freedmen's son, for you to veil your women and concubines, while you drive forward God's messenger's daughters thus, veils torn, grieving, voices hoarse with weeping? Jolted by speeding camels, herded from town to town by rancorous enemies, unguarded and undefended? Those near and far speaking to them directly, without shame."⁴⁴ In the pensive musing that follows, she again emphasizes the family connection, "But all this can happen, for you have picked the wound and extirpated the root by spilling the blood of the messenger's children"—fleshing out the pedigree further in the next, descriptive phrase—"stars of the earth from the line of [Muḥammad's grandfather] 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib." In the next segment, Zaynab declares to Yazīd that the tables will be turned on the oppressors in the final accounting, by highlighting that Ḥusayn is Muḥammad's grandson and she is his granddaughter, and that Yazīd will have God's messenger to answer to on judgment day: "You shall come before God's messenger, despite yourself. His children, his family, will be with him in the garden. That day, God will bring them together, gathered after long separation." The end of her speech puts the final stamp on this theme, warning him of an evil end, while again referring to her family as "Muḥammad's children."

My claim that kinship was the source of female oratorical authority comes with exceptions, since not all female orators wielded such exalted family stature. Four women orators named by Ṭayfūr were not related to the top leadership of the community. On the battlefield at Šiffin, three women, otherwise unfamiliar from the annals—'Ikriṣṣah, Umm al-Khayr, and Zarqā—gave speeches urging their tribesmen to fight Mu'āwiyah.⁴⁵ The fourth is another otherwise unknown woman named Šafīyyah, who eulogized her deceased cousin Aḥnaf.

44 Derogatory term referring to those of the Quraysh who remained committed enemies of Islam until forced to capitulate upon the Muslims' conquest of Mecca. On that day, instead of being forced into captivity, according to standard warfare practice, Muḥammad pardoned them and granted them their freedom—thus, "freedmen." See Muḥammad's oration to the Meccans on the day of the conquest, in which he says to them "You are free[d] men" (App. § 90.16; trans. T. Qutbuddin, "*Khuṭba*," 229–230). The use of the term sets up Zaynab's subsequent chastisement: this is how Yazīd is repaying Muḥammad's magnanimity—by dishonoring his granddaughters.

45 App. § 66.1, § 141.1, § 163.1. See also reports of early Muslim women reciting verse urging their menfolk to fight at Yarmūk, Ibn A'tham, 2:202–203.

But Aḥnaf was a chieftain of Tamīm, which means that Ṣafiyyah herself was a daughter of the tribe's leading family. The other three may also be women with notable kinship ties within their tribes.

The proposition of kinship playing a major role in women orators' authority also holds true in our single example from pre-Islamic times. The Arab Christian Ruḥaymah bint 'Aḏamah of Najrān, who gave a speech in the marketplace before she was killed for her faith, was a noblewoman. Her contemporary, Bishop Simeon, who records her speech, notes her "high position, her lineage, and her beauty," and adds that "the woman whose face no one had ever seen outside the door of her house (presumably because of her rank, since highborn ladies were more likely to veil) ... stood before the whole city with her head uncovered."⁴⁶ In the oration itself, Ruḥaymah underscores her elevated socio-economic station, saying, "You know my lineage and my family ... and that I have gold and silver and slaves and handmaids and field produce and that I lack nothing."⁴⁷

The indirect and anomalous nature of female authority is accentuated by the fact that we are told of no accoutrements of authority accompanying their speeches. They did not speak from the pulpit, wield a staff, sword, or bow, or—except for 'Ā'ishah at the Battle of the Camel, and Zarqā' and Umm al-Khayr at Ṣiffin, who spoke, as was mentioned, from the back of a camel—ever orate from a physically higher location. On the contrary and unlike most (but not all) male speakers, some women's speeches—such as Fāṭimah's and Zaynab's—were addressed in the first instance to a single person, one who wielded the highest political authority.

7 Women's Public Oratory Prompted by Trauma

The second core characteristic that sets women's orations apart in the early period is that they frequently take place in an atmosphere of trauma, which, paradoxically, releases women's public voice. Early Islamic society produced many strong women, including some close to the Prophet Muḥammad among his family and followers, and there is no indication that women did not have a voice in the private sphere. But formal public address to a large number of unrelated males was not sanctioned by the society's views on modesty, and most orations by females in our sources are subversive of expected gender roles. It

⁴⁶ Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 54, 57.

⁴⁷ App. § 111.1. See comments by Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 332–333.

would appear that from time to time unusual situations arose that necessitated the speaking out in public of otherwise veiled females. Orations by men in our period are also sometimes prompted by situations of trauma, and conversely, not all orations by women are set in victim situations. Yet, traumatic circumstances are more commonly the stimulus for women to orate in public than is the case for men, for whom numerous other public platforms existed. The nature and harshness of the trauma varies, yet it is present to some degree and in some way in most women's orations. The Şiffin orations by women urging their tribesmen to battle are set in the liminal context of bloodshed. The oration by Ruḥaymah is framed by her imminent execution. The oration by Fāṭimah is provoked by her father's sudden death, the assumption of the caliphate by Abū Bakr, and his revocation of her inheritance. The eulogies by the two ʿĀ'ishahs, Ḥaḫṣah, and Nā'ilah lament the death of their fathers or husband, the first three Sunni caliphs, of whom both ʿUmar and ʿUthmān died brutally by assassination. Şafīyyah's eulogy hails Aḥnaf as "a martyr." And finally, the orations by Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm are triggered by the tragic and bloody events in and after Karbala.

Postcolonial thinkers, among other gender theorists, have focused on the silenced female voice. In her groundbreaking essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Gayatri Spivak explains the muzzling of women's voices in colonial India by Western feminisms and patriarchal structures. This phenomenon holds true in many contemporary as well as medieval societies, and it is also true of early Islamic times, where women's voices are often silenced in the public sphere, where we mostly hear of them, rarely from them. In tandem, trauma studies scholars have done illuminating work on victims' voices, often female, and they usually analyze how traumatic experiences silence the voice: Judith Herman discusses how domestic violence shuts down the victim, and Elaine Scarry writes of how pain stifles language and creativity. For many of our female speakers, in contrast, we see a reverse manifestation, with their voices not subdued, but freed by their ordeal. It is in the face of devastation, particularly violent death, that the silence is broken. The trauma they undergo removes the muzzle of propriety placed on women's public voices by society, and allows them, even prompts them, to declaim freely and publicly, to challenge and censure the highest political and military powers of their time. As mentioned earlier, topics covered by these women's orations are not altogether dissimilar from men's, but the context of shock and suffering changes the presentation. As is the case with men's orations, pious counsel, battle themes, and political topics are prominent in orations by women, but here they usually arise from a seat of victimization and defiance in the face of the political power.

Among circumstances of trauma, the context of martyrdom—either of oneself (unusual for a female in this society, as in the case of Ruḥaymah), or of a close male relative (more common, as in the case of Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm)—could be said particularly to give women a public voice. Their trauma is referenced over and over in their speeches, an indication also of its crucial role in prompting the public address. Castigating Yazīd, Zaynab's speech contrasts the respect he accords to his harem with the shame and misery he has heaped on the daughters of the man he acknowledges as God's prophet. In the beginning lines, Zaynab references herself and her female kin being “driven as captive slaves, and forced to traverse the far reaches of the earth with no shelter but the sky.” Going forward, she laments that they have “no male protector to shield them” and exclaims, “How to stop those who stare at us with coveting and rancor, hatred and malice!”

Female ritual mourning of a fallen male warrior loomed large in the pre-Islamic society that preceded Zaynab's by a century: its pre-eminent poet, Khansā', is credited with a set of elegies mourning her slain brother Ṣakhr and urging her tribesmen to avenge him.⁴⁸ Suzanne Stetkevych explains the liminality that bestowed pre-Islamic noblewomen a public voice, and their fulfillment, in that space, of ritual obligation, in the following lines:⁴⁹

It appears that for the class of “free” or “freeborn” women, that is, the kinswomen of the lords and warriors, puberty was marked by confinement and veiling (the inverse of the male liminal expulsion or “protection,” which is the dominant sign of their elevated status throughout their lives). The protection or privacy (especially pudical) of free women set them in opposition, above all, to female captives and slaves, who were not secluded and veiled but rather defiled by every hand and eye ... [C]onfinement and privacy thus constitute an expression of “purity” or, in ritual terms, aggregation; hence, to be expelled, unveiled, to appear or speak in public, is an expression of “defilement,” of liminality. It is therefore only in the liminal (defiled/sacral) states of a kinsman's death or of warfare that the women of the warrior class have a public—and hence poetic—voice.

48 Laylā l-Akhyaliyyah (*Dīwān*, 64–66, 68, 71–74) from the Umayyad period also mourns in verse her lover Tawbah, who had fallen in battle.

49 Stetkevych, “The Obligations and Poetics of Gender,” 165 (Arabic terms removed). A similar emancipation of public voice is remarked in funeral laments of other societies, such as the Chinese Hakka of Hong Kong, in Johnson, “Grieving for the Dead, Grieving for the Living,” 141: “During a funeral in Kwan Mun Hau [a district of Hong Kong], priests and lineage leaders speak. Male mourners, however, keep silent. These men, who normally speak in public

With their context of death and trauma, speeches of the Prophet's granddaughters reflect some of Khansā's cultural ethos. But they also break away from her conventions in important ways: The qualities they praise in their slain brother are virtue, spiritual eminence, righteous leadership, and his relationship with the Prophet of Islam, versus Ṣakhr's typically pre-Islamic praise-motifs of courage and generosity. Their weeping is not a ritual obligation, but a personal expression. The vengeance they seek is solicited not from humans, but from God. Most significantly, their unveiling is not of their own choice, but a shame brought on them by their captors. Their public speaking is forced on them by circumstances visited by the enemy, not a ritual prompted by the tribe. Ironically, it is the Umayyads' public shaming of Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm that is the impetus for their public speeches.

7.1 *"Flesh-Witnessing:" Remarks on Zaynab's Post-Karbala Oration at Yazīd's Court in Damascus*

The context of trauma in women's orations can be further explored by harnessing Yuval Harari's theory of "flesh-witnessing." The case of Zaynab (and Umm Kulthūm too, though not expanded upon here) is particularly apt. To use Harari's terms, Zaynab is not just an eyewitness who has seen Ḥusayn's killing and the Karbala tragedy, but she is a flesh-witness who has suffered personally and intensely its physical and emotional travails. This explains both the passion in her rendering of the events of Karbala, and her muzzling of any moral or legal defense by Yazīd. Harari demarcates the narrative authority of the two types of witnesses thus:⁵⁰

Eyewitnessing and flesh-witnessing are very different types of authority which produce different types of narratives. Eyewitness narratives are interested in conveying "objective" facts and deserve to be called "eyewitness accounts" whenever their authors have directly witnessed the events they describe. In contrast, flesh-witness narratives seem to be interested in conveying experiences and may be considered "flesh-witness accounts" only if their authors have themselves undergone the described experiences. One can often be an eyewitness to an experience one has not undergone.

and control public activities, must be silent and relinquish all control to others. They also do not express themselves through lamentation, although they may weep silently. Women, who are normally expected to be quiet on formal occasions and who follow the orders of men, are permitted to express themselves, giving vent to their personal feelings."

50 Harari, 221.

Although Harari's setting of the First World War is far removed from Zaynab's world in time, place, and cultural context, several of the points he makes are relevant: Zaynab was personally involved in the battle she is relating. She endured suffering, which can never be fully understood by those who did not suffer in the same manner. Therefore, she wields a subjective authority in narrating Karbala, which is germane to her silencing of Yazīd. Harari's further remarks on the nature and purpose of flesh-witnessing are instructive:⁵¹

Very often flesh-witnesses are possessed by their past experience. They are messengers speaking on behalf of countless others who did not live to tell the tale. The past experience and especially the dead victims of that experience thrust upon survivors a sacred and often unwanted burden of changing the world. Narrating the experience is their way of gaining the power necessary to change the world. In this, flesh-witnesses again resemble religious visionaries and prophets who are possessed by some transcendent power and who speak—often against their will—in order to change the world rather than merely to transmit information.

Flesh-witnesses, as just quoted from Harari, carry a “sacred ... burden of changing the world,” thrust on them by the dead. Ḥusayn has departed the world but his sister, a flesh-witness to his courageous stance in the face of Yazīd's oppression, continues to carry his banner. At the time of her speech, she is in the Umayyad ruler's power. He has already killed Ḥusayn and many of her kin, and subjected her and her sisters and nieces to abject suffering. She is standing before him, surrounded by his armed guards, and he could potentially do her even more harm. But despite her anguish and her precarious position, her words articulate conviction that she is on the side of truth, that there will be a reckoning for the oppressor, and that God is with her always. Voicing deep anger at the Umayyad leadership and their followers, she characterizes both masters and servants as godless: Those who participated in killing Ḥusayn are “Satan's host” and the Umayyad ruling party are an “assembly of fools” that has taken illegal control of God's own treasury. In the penultimate section of the speech, Zaynab comes full circle, in loose ring-composition,⁵² to her earlier opening theme of how the tables will be turned in the hereafter: “You treat us as booty

51 Harari, 222.

52 In Mary Douglas's definition (*Thinking in Circles*, x, and *passim*), ring composition is a construction of parallelisms that opens a theme, develops it, and rounds it off by bringing the conclusion back to the beginning.

to be plundered, but when the hour comes and you hold nothing except the actions of your two hands, you will find you have hoarded sin ... By God, I fear no one but God, and I complain to no one but him. Plot your plot, extend your efforts, and wage your war! By God, the shame of what you have done to us will never be washed away!" As a flesh-witness, Zaynab's speech asserts that although the Battle of Karbala is over, the fight for truth and justice will never end. With her concluding words, the positions of captive speaker and dominant addressee are fully inverted. The powerful ruler has become chained to his deeds, and the oppressed Imam and his family have attained the ultimate victory. In Ibn Tāwūs's version of Zaynab's oration, we are told that many in Yazīd's court wept, while Yazīd himself was silent. In some ways, Zaynab's gender is irrelevant; her speech echoes the same arguments expressed by Ḥusayn before he was killed. In other ways, her gender is what allows her to speak in her fraught situation, as a surviving flesh-witness, when her male relatives have been silenced by the sword.⁵³

8 Concluding Remarks

Women's orations are an anomaly in our corpus, but the few cited in the sources are particularly powerful and stirring pieces. Although no women in the first two centuries of Islam were caliphs, governors, or (with one significant exception) army commanders, a number had distinctive stature and commanded the respect of their male and female peers. Deriving their authority from kinship to the Prophet and the early caliphs, they orate in moments of unusual distress. Drawing heavily on the Qur'an, they chastise, berate, and declaim. Even though few, they stand shoulder to shoulder in their artistry and impact with the most eloquent speeches by men.

53 Ibn A'tham (5:122) and Ṭabarī (5:457) record Zaynab's strong retort to the Umayyad governor, Ibn Ziyād, in Kufa and his initial reaction—relevant to the issue at hand—of anger, then, in response to a reminder from his companion 'Amr ibn Ḥarīth al-Makhzūmī that "women cannot be punished for what they say," his comment, "This is true courage. By my life, your father was a poet and brave!"

The Oration's Influence on Arabic Prose Viewed in a Hybrid Oral-Written Continuum

A fundamental question in the field of classical Arabic literature is the nature of the link between the oral and the written. I submit that the prime locus of this link centers in the complex relationship between the oration (*khutbah*) and the chancery epistle (*risālah*).¹ In the late 2nd/8th century, as the society began its move from a predominantly oral to a highly literate milieu, the oration's once powerful reach waned swiftly. But as the oration's dominance declined in the face of the epistle's ascendancy, it left behind a powerful legacy in the enduring saga of Arabic prose. A written form of the Friday and Eid sermon that perpetuated many conventions of the oral period continued to be declaimed on a regular basis from the pulpits of the Muslim world. Even more significantly, oral period oration enormously influenced the art and idiom of written artistic prose. Many of its functions were transferred onto the chancery epistle, and its style, structure, and themes penetrated the newly emerging genre, infusing it with a rhythmic and graphic aesthetic derived from oral mnemonics. As the first written prose form in Arabic, which gained currency in the late Umayyad period, the epistle continued the parallelism and themes of early oration, but had longer sentences and more complex syntax, and eventually full consonant rhyme. Through the epistle, oration would have a continuing impact on evolving genres of written Arabic prose.

In the following pages, I grapple with these intricate issues and interdependent relationships: I first frame the society's transformation from an oral to a writing culture. I then examine the influence of early oration texts on medieval scribes (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib*) and preachers, and the convergent styles of epistle and sermon and their divergent functions, assessing religious versus political utility. I close with remarks on oratorical influence on the *maqāmāt* prose genre and on literary theory. Overall, this chapter teases out strands of oral-written

¹ For an overview of the epistle and the scribe in this period, see Sellheim and Sourdél, "Kātib," *EI2*; and the following *EI3* entries: Astrid Meier, "Archives and Chanceries: Arab World"; Maaïke L.M. van Berkel, "Archives and Chanceries: pre-1500, in Arabic"; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Adab a) Arabic, Early Developments"; as well as Riḍā, *al-Rasā'il al-fanniyyah fi l-'aṣr al-Islāmī*, and Durūbī, *al-Rasā'il al-fanniyyah fi l-'aṣr al-Abbāsī*. Used nearly synonymously with *risālah*, the term *kitāb* is also used in this period to mean epistle.

hybridity in post oral-period literature, while also establishing the essential influence of oration on the development of Arabic prose.

Scholars of medieval Muslim oration have analyzed important historical and thematic religio-political aspects. Paul Walker provides an anthology of Friday and Eid sermons from the 4th/10th- to 6th/12th-century Fatimid dynasty of North Africa and Egypt. Linda Jones focuses on different kinds of Muslim preaching in Spain from the 6th/12th through the 9th/15th centuries. Jonathan Berkey discusses preaching in the same time period, particularly in Egypt, as a manifestation of the flowering of popular Sufi practices. Daniella Talmon-Heller examines the battle-theme orientation of Friday sermons at the time of the Crusades in 6th/12th- and 7th/13th-century Syria under the Zangids and Ayyubids. Scholars of the Abbasid period have also done a tremendous amount of work on various aspects of its literary scene. I draw on these studies for insights on medieval Muslim preaching, while relying on the chancery and literary-critical works of the period to trace the influence and interaction between oration and epistle.

1 Transformation from a Predominantly Oral to a Highly Literate Culture

A synopsis of the story of early Arabian society's transformation from an oral to a writing culture will set the stage for the subsequent discussion on the interaction of oration and epistle. As discussed at length in Chapter One, the largely oral societies of 1st/7th- and early 2nd/8th-century Arabia laboriously inscribed their important documents, using unwieldy materials. Their Byzantine and Sassanian neighbors were more writing-oriented societies, but they too had recourse to only parchment and papyrus. In the early or mid-2nd/8th century, Muslim armies and settlers in Central Asia came into contact with Chinese populations who taught them the art of paper-making.² Paper was cheaper to produce and simpler to use, and suddenly writing in Islamic lands became easier and more affordable. Authors began consciously producing books for dissemination through written publication. Meanwhile, in the late 1st/7th century, the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik had converted the language used by government scribes from Greek, Persian, and Syriac squarely to Arabic. By the late Umayyad and early Abbasid period, a stylized epistolary genre for writing

2 Tha'libī, *Laṭā'if*, 126, s.v. "Samarqand"; see details of the introduction and dissemination of paper in the Islamic world in Bloom, 8–9, 42–45 and *passim*, and Rustow, *Lost Archive*, ch. 4.

official epistles and edicts had emerged from the state chancery as a powerful aesthetic and political force. By the end of the 2nd/8th century, a number of eminent scribes had made their mark on the Arabic literary scene. Propitiously for the move to a writing-oriented society, the introduction of paper and the shift to Arabic as the language for chancery records coincided with the growth of an imperial, urban culture. The Abbasids had extended their rule over a wider spread than the Umayyads, and the governance of their realms was directed in large part from their capital, Baghdad. They immediately began using paper for imperial decrees. Scholarly writing in Baghdad and other metropolitan centers blossomed. Within a century, books of ten, twenty, and thirty volumes were being composed, thousands of tomes were being copied and disseminated, sizeable libraries with up to a million and a half manuscripts were being built, and the earlier, oral productions of poetry, hadith, historical reports, and orations were being systematically transcribed. In the twinkling of a metaphorical eye, the scholarly and elite milieu of this largely oral society had been transformed into a highly literate culture.

Written and oral forms of literature had co-existed—albeit unequally—even in the oral period. The same people often practiced both, and a number of famous early orators are known to have composed epistles. Muḥammad wrote epistles to contemporary rulers inviting them to Islam,³ and ‘Alī wrote epistles to governors and adversaries, as did Mu‘āwiyah.⁴ Two eloquent Umayyad governors had ties to the emerging state chancery: Ziyād rose to prominence in his youth as an official scribe in Iraq,⁵ and Ḥajjāj also composed several epistles.⁶ However, the earliest epistles had been brief and to the point. As writing took over as the principal form of artistic verbal production, characteristics of written literary production, such as consistent rhyming, complex syntax, and longer sentences, began to take hold. Nonetheless, features of early oratory, such as parallelism, nature imagery, and emphatic particles, continued to be used extensively in sermons. These features also filtered into the epistle, which imbibed the stylistic and functional traits of its oral parent.

3 See texts and provenance of these epistles in Ḥamidallāh, *passim*.

4 Raḍī, ch. on “Epistles,” 490–624. ‘Alī’s epistles, and replies by Mu‘āwiyah and others, are collected by Ḥaydar, *Rasā’il al-imām ‘Alī*.

5 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 4:29. Ziyād was scribe for ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb’s governor.

6 Ṣafwat, *Jamharat rasā’il al-‘arab*, 2:140–253, *passim*.

2 Early Oration Texts as Models for Post Oral-Period Epistle and Sermon

In the post-oral period, earlier oration texts were held up as exemplars for both epistle and sermon.

2.1 *The Scribe's Exemplar: Chancery Manuals Prescribe Study of Oration Texts*

Chancery scribes of the 2nd/8th century incorporated the themes, images, and parallelism of early orators into the genre of literary epistle newly emerging from their pens. Among the best known was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, whose elegant epistles are deemed the founding texts of written Arabic prose. When 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was asked about his training in the art of the word, he replied—as mentioned earlier in Chapter Three—that he had learned eloquence by memorizing the words of that most famous of orators, 'Alī. In fact, in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's version of the reply, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd specified, "I memorized seventy orations from the orations of 'Alī, and they flowed and flowed."⁷ Within a hundred and fifty years after 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, memorizing exemplary orations had become part of the formal curriculum of a scribe's training. Toward the end of the 3rd/9th century, we see the first chancery manuals appear, at the forefront of a genre that would become known as "the scribe's culture" (*adab al-kātib*). Over the next few centuries, a large number of books were written in this genre. They lay out a host of skills and qualifications that a scribe must master in order to be successful at his job, as well as sources he should draw on and models he should emulate. Prominent among these sources and models was the oration.

Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. ca. 257/ 870), a high official in the court of the Abbasid caliph Mutawakkil, composed one of the first treatises in the genre of chancery manuals,⁸ calling it, because of the freshness of the field it addressed, *al-Risālah al-'adhrā'* (The Virgin Treatise).⁹ Among the curricular materials he lists for the scribe, he includes grammar and lexicography, rules of writing, fine epistles, historical narratives, logic, Arabic and Persian proverbs, and Persian testaments, and—the genre relevant to our discussion—orations.¹⁰ Likewise, he

7 (حفظت سبعين خطبة من خطب الأصلع ففاضت ثم فاضت), *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 1:24.

8 On this genre, see Rudolf Veselý, "Chancery Manuals," *EI*3.

9 See Gottschalk, "Ibn al-Mudabbir," *EI*2.

10 Ibn al-Mudabbir, 177. The Arabic terms he uses are *khuṭab* and *maqāmāt*, the latter meaning not the fictional genre that would be invented by Badī' al-Zamān a century later, but oratorical admonitions by ascetic preachers addressing powerful rulers.

enjoins scribes to follow the way of orations, i.e., by stating at the onset of their epistle the point of their communication.¹¹ Additionally, he sets up contemporary orators (along with master scribes and poets) as adjudicators of good scribal writing, instructing the novice to use them as a sounding board in order to check his own skill.¹²

About half a century later, the eminent Egyptian philologist Abū Jaʿfar al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950) devoted one of ten sections in *Ṣināʿat al-kuttāb* (Craft of the Scribes) to the oration. Describing the study of oration texts as an integral component in a scribe's training (referring, I think, particularly to their rhymed praise openings), he says, "They are among the most valuable resources of the scribe."¹³ In his earlier section titled "Eloquence," Naḥḥās had already allocated four full chapters to orations and maxims by ʿAlī.¹⁴ In the later section titled "Oratory," he provides model texts by those he considered master orators, in this order: Muḥammad and his family, again including ʿAlī; ʿAlī's son Ḥasan, and his great-grandson Zayd; the first two Sunni caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar; the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar; the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj; and the Abbasid caliph Maʾmūn. Naḥḥās characterizes Zayd's sermon of pious counsel as being "among the most beautiful of orations," adding that it was "one that scribes and litterateurs avidly memorize."¹⁵

The scholar who discoursed most fully on early oration as a vital component of the scribe's training was Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), author of the celebrated 14-volume encyclopedia of the chancery sciences titled *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fi ṣināʿat al-inshā* (Morning of the Night-Blind: A Book about the Craft of Epistolary Writing). Qalqashandī's emphasis is normatively pitched, and indicates not only the continuing influence of early oratorical materials on scribal writing in his time, but also its effect on the epistolary genre earlier, when it had first emerged. He cites Naḥḥās's line that orations "are among the most valuable resources of the scribe," then validates the statement as follows:¹⁶

11 Ibn al-Mudabbir, 182.

12 Ibn al-Mudabbir, 186.

13 (وهي من أوك ما يحتاج الكاتب إليه): Naḥḥās, 253. Qalqashandī (1:210, more on him soon) quotes this line by Naḥḥās.

14 Naḥḥās, 219–222, 225–227.

15 (ومن حسن ما في هذه الخطب مما يرى الكتاب والمتأدبون حفظها خطبة زيد بن علي): Naḥḥās (257–259) includes the *isnād* and the oration text.

16 وذلك أنّ الخطب من مستودعات سرّ البلاغة ومجامع الحكم. بها تفاعرت العرب في مشاهدهم وبها نطق الخلفاء والأمرء على منابرهم. بها يتميز الكلام وبها يخاطب الخاصّ والعام. وعلى منوال الخطابة نسجت الكتابة وعلى طريق الخطباء مشّت الكتاب. (Qalqashandī, 1:210 (pace the editor, who incorrectly reads them as lines coming from Naḥḥās himself)).

This is because orations are repositories of the secrets of eloquence and stores of wisdom. Bedouins used orations to propagate their glories when they assembled, and caliphs and princes delivered them from their pulpits. Oration bestows distinction to the art of speech, and it can be used to address the select few as well as the general public. It is on the loom of oratory that epistolary writings are woven, and on the path trodden by orators that scribes walk.

In a following chapter, Qalqashandī records orations of seventeen early orators that scribes must study. His list overlaps with the one cataloged by Naḥḥās, but also has important differences. It includes, chronologically: pre-Islamic orators, including Muḥammad's ancestor Ka'b ibn Luwayy, his uncle Abū Ṭālib, and Quss ibn Sā'idah (also lauded elsewhere in *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, along with Saḥbān al-Wā'ilī);¹⁷ orators of early Islam, viz., Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, and Ḥasan ibn 'Alī; several Umayyad caliphs and governors, viz., Mu'āwiyah, 'Utbah, Ziyād, 'Abd al-Malik, Ḥajjāj, Abū Bakr ibn 'Abdallāh, and Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh; and the Khārijite commander Qaṭarī. He also praises the oratorical eloquence of the Umayyad caliph 'Umar, and the Abbasid caliphs Maṣṣūr, Rashīd, and Ma'mūn.¹⁸

Following the texts, Qalqashandī explains why memorizing eloquent orations was vital to a scribe's rhetorical success:¹⁹

If the [scribe] diligently memorizes a large number of eloquent orations, learning from them themes of oratory, sources of pure language, and grounds of eloquence; if he gains close acquaintance with brilliant, famous orators; then, his domain in the art of the word will expand, rough regions of prose will become smooth, unruly motif-camels will become docile, and all these things that have lodged between his ribs will flow smoothly upon his tongue. He can now instinctively position them within his prose and include them within his epistles. He does not need to brood

17 Qalqashandī, 1:226.

18 Qalqashandī, 1:211–225.

19 فإذا أكثر صاحب هذه الصناعة من حفظ الخطب البليغة وعلم مقاصد الخطابة وموارد الفصاحة ومواقع البلاغة وعرف مصاقع الخطباء ومشاهيرهم اتسع له الحال في الكلام وسهلت عليه مستورات النثر وذلت له صعاب المعاني وفاض على لسانه في وقت الحاجة ما كمن في ذلك بين ضلوعه فأردعه في نثره وضمنه في رسائله فأستغنى عن شغل الفكر في استنباط المعاني البديعة ومشقة التعب في تتبع الألفاظ (Qalqashandī, 1:225–226).

over the extraction of novel themes, nor does he have to weary himself by assiduously searching for pure Arabic expressions. His own thoughts would not have been able to come up with their like even if he had tried his utmost. His imagination would not have arrived at their like even if he had done his best.

“Orations,” he continues, “are an intrinsic part of chancery writing,” because scribes have to use them (referring to the praise formulae of orations in particular) in the openings of their epistles, pledges, and decrees.²⁰ Moreover, says Qalqashandī, the best scribes were acutely aware of their oratorical forebears: Qāḍī l-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200) and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Qurṭubī (d. 657/1259)—eminent scribes themselves—cited the pre-Islamic orators Quss and Saḥbān as models of eloquence.²¹

As we have seen from the remarks made by Ibn al-Mudabbir, Naḥḥās, and Qalqashandī, many scholars strongly advocated that scribes study early orations. To be sure, other prescriptive works did not, among them *Risālah ilā l-kuttāb* (Letter to the Secretaries) by the aforementioned Umayyad scribe ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd,²² *Adab al-kātib* (Rules for the Scribe) by the Abbasid literary critic Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889),²³ and *Qānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil* (The Chancery Rule Book) by the Fatimid chancery official Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147).²⁴ Nevertheless, these authors too display an awareness of oratory as a field relevant to scribal training. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, as mentioned earlier, credited ʿAlī’s orations for his training in Arabic literary arts. Ibn Qutaybah declared that the scribe should study the histories and words of Muḥammad and his Companions, who were the epitome of “wisdom and judgment” (*ḥikmah* and *faṣl al-khiṭāb*).²⁵ Ibn al-

20 إنَّ الخطيب جزء من أجزاء الكتابة ونوع من أنواعها يحتاج الكتاب إليها في صدور بعض المكاتبات وفي البيعات والعهود والتقاليد والتفاويض وكبار التواقيع والمراسيم والمناشير على ما سيأتي بيانه في موضعه إن شاء الله تعالى وما لعله ينشئه من خطبة صدق أو رسالة أو نحو ذلك: Qalqashandī, 1:226.

21 Qalqashandī, 1:226.

22 Although ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd does not list orations specifically among the tools of the scribe, the genre may perhaps be indicated within other, wider categories that he does list, namely, the accounts of the battle days of the Arabs (*ayyām al-ʿarab*) and their sayings (*aḥādith*) and life stories (*siyar*), (*Risālah ilā l-kuttāb*, in Jahshiyārī, 75).

23 Ibn Qutaybah, *Adab al-kātib*, 15–16; his list includes hadith, law, narratives, philology and logic. See Lecomte, 45–64.

24 Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 10–12: his list includes rhetoric, Qurʾan, poetry, and philology.

25 Qurʾanic reference to the Prophet Dāʾūd (the biblical King David), Q Ṣād 38:20; Ibn Qutaybah, *Adab al-kātib*, 12. Ibn Qutaybah also differentiated between speech and writing, saying some words are hard to pronounce, and should be avoided in speech, but others

Şayrafī included in his list of curricular items “eloquence” (*balāghah*), in which oratorical materials have traditionally played a large part.²⁶ In contrast, ʿIyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) in *al-Mathal al-sāʿir* (Popular Proverbs) enjoins the aspiring scribe not to bother with memorizing prose because it is not sufficient in quantity, while poetry is in abundance and contains the bulk of literary themes; he should memorize lots of poetry and then “untie” it (*ḥall al-naẓm*, a technical term) in his writings.²⁷ But elsewhere in the same work he changes his tune and says “familiarity with the poetry *and prose* [my emphasis] of the ancients is replete with benefits, because from these we can learn about their aspirations and the fruits of their thought, and from those we can learn the goals of each group among them.”²⁸

Over the ensuing centuries, medieval scribes gave more prominence to written exemplars, but they also appear to have continued to study oration texts. A case in point is provided by the 365-folio catalog of the Topkapi Palace Library of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid in Istanbul, dated 908/1502. The catalog’s ten-page section on chancery works—presumably used by Ottoman chancery scribes as references—lists mostly writing manuals, but it includes three works with the word “oration” in the title—*Khuṭab Ibn Nubātah* (The Orations of Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb, post-oral period, more on him momentarily), *Uṣūl al-khuṭab bi-l-ʿimārah al-Murādkhāniyyah* (Principles of Orations in Murād Khān’s Edifice), and *al-Ṣalāḥ bayn al-qarīḍ wa-l-khuṭab* (Reconciling Poetry and Oration)—presumably as scribal training material.²⁹

2.2 *The Preacher’s Exemplar: the Early Oration’s Influence on the Medieval Friday Sermon*

Although the medieval production of scribes and orators was manifested in crafted works, preachers also continued to be influenced by the more spontaneous style of master orators of yesteryear. Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1470) tells us

are *waḥshī l-gharīb* (strange and rare words) and *taʿqīd al-kalām* (overly complicated language), and should be avoided in writing (Ibid., 19).

26 Ibn al-Şayrafī, 10.

27 Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, 1:99. On *ḥall al-naẓm*, see Thaʿālibī, *Kitāb Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿiqd*.

28 Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, 1:46; Makdisi (237) translates (incorrectly) the pronoun referring to these materials as “writings.”

29 MS Török F. 59, fols. 218–228 (see forthcoming ed. by G. Necipoglu et al. as *Treasures of Knowledge*), which list chancery materials as a subsection of the chapter on literary materials, and they include books on proverbs, chancery manuals and collections of letters, accounting, and ciphers. On the use of these texts as scribal curricular materials, see T. Qutbuddin, “Books on Arabic Philology and Literature.”

that in the 4th/10th century, the famous preacher of Aleppo, Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb, had memorized a large number of the orations of ‘Alī (as had the Umayyad scribe ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, mentioned earlier).³⁰ Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1257) affirms this point in his presentation of Ibn Nubātah’s battle orations, in which he finds clear echoes of a piece by ‘Alī.³¹ Ibn Nubātah’s sermons in turn were used by many as model orations.³² Moreover, the influence of past orators, early and medieval, was not confined to the Islamic East. Describing the curriculum of medieval preachers in Andalusia, Linda Jones affirms that they studied from written collections of sermons. The Valencian historian, poet, and chancery official Ibn al-‘Abbār (658/1260) stated that Muḥammad ibn [...] ‘Abd al-Jabbār of Murcia (d. 599/1203), for example, “studied the written orations of Abū ‘Āmir ibn Sharwīyyah.”³³

Since the Friday and Eid sermon was a platform for both political and religious authority, it was not only the state that was invested in its mores. Eventually, its practice came firmly under the domain of jurists. Scholars of different legal schools expounded on the importance of the ritual sermon, as well as on the details of its contents and structure. In the 8th/14th century, the Damascene Sunni Shāfi‘ī jurist Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār (d. 724/1324) composed a treatise devoted to the subject, titled *Adab al-khaṭīb* (The Preacher’s Culture). In the mode of works on prescriptions for rulers and judges, he describes the qualifications, duties, and comportment of the preacher, and the components and etiquette of the Friday and Eid sermon. By his time, these rules had become rigidly stipulated. For example, Qur’anic citation, a visible though not an essential feature of the sermon in early Islam, appears to have become a requisite component. Jāḥiẓ had stated that quoting verses from the Qur’an was already favored in the Friday and Eid sermons of early Islam.³⁴ Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār makes this a mandatory “pillar,” alongside praise of God, blessings on the Prophet, exhortations to piety and obedience, and praying for believers (and he proscribes the citation of poetry). He lists, moreover, standard Qur’anic verses that must be cited.³⁵ A

30 Ibn Taghribirdī (4:150) says Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb had memorized the entire *Nahj al-balāghah*, but this cannot be accurate, since Ibn Nubātah died in 374/985, a quarter-century before the compilation of the *Nahj* in 400/1010. Perhaps what he means is that Ibn Nubātah had memorized a large quantity of ‘Alī’s orations and sayings—by Ibn Taghribirdī’s time, the *Nahj* was recognized as the major collection of the words of ‘Alī.

31 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:80–85, 93, comm. on orations § 27, 28.

32 Ibn Khallikān, 3:339; cited by Talmon-Heller, 104.

33 Jones, *Power of Oratory*, 197–208, and 204–205, citing Ibn al-‘Abbār, *Takmilah*, 2:80.

34 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:118.

35 Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, 127–129.

curious example of Qur'anic referencinɡ is found in a sermon by the Marrakesh judge 'Iyād ibn Mūsā (d. 544/1149), in which he inserts the names and themes of all 114 surahs, playing on them to create a preaching narrative.³⁶ While some features of oration, such as direct address and public audience, persisted, others, such as improvisation, use of Qur'anic and poetic quotations, and the praise introduction format, were steadily modified.

The influence of early oration on later forms was not confined to style and theme. Sword, staff, and lance continued to be deployed as physical symbols of power. The custom appears to have been a matter of some controversy, judging from the fact that Jāḥiẓ, in the early Abbasid period, had to defend its use. Citing the Qur'anic examples of Solomon and Moses, he says both prophets used a staff for preaching.³⁷ Elsewhere he states: "The orator may preach—if he must—without a wrapper, robe, gown, or cloak, but he must don a turban and carry a staff."³⁸ The Fatimid imam-caliphs used a staff studded with precious gems, and Musabbihī (d. 420/1030) presents his own eyewitness report of Zāhir (r. 411–427/1021–1036) preaching a Friday sermon in Ramadan of the year 415/1024 in the Anwar Mosque (also known as the Mosque of Ḥākim), carrying "the jeweled staff" of the dynasty, and shaded by "the parasol circled with gold thread."³⁹ In another account, Musabbihī tells us that "in [Zāhir's] hand was the staff, he was girded with a sword, and he carried the lance, as was usually done."⁴⁰ Also like some early state orators, medieval caliphs sometimes had principal office bearers ascend the pulpit with them. Ibn Zūlāq says of Mu'izz (r. 341–386/953–96) that "with him on the pulpit were Jawhar, 'Ammār ibn Ja'far, and Shafi', bearer of the royal parasol."⁴¹

The *ubi sunt* content of the early oration, among other themes of politics and warfare, is also carried forward. In an interesting nod to this tradition, the anonymous 3rd–4th/9th–10th-century group known as "Pure Brethren" (also rendered as "Brethren of Purity," Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'), in their treatise on *The Case*

36 App. § 67.1; see also § 118.1.

37 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:30–31, citing Q Saba' 34:14, Ṭāhā 20:63. Elsewhere, he says in a tongue-in-cheek assessment that the preacher's use of a staff [to lean on] was a sure sign that the oration would be long (Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:117).

38 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:92. Jāḥiẓ describes the kinds of staffs used by orators, with regard to their size and appearance, as well as the species of wood from which they were fashioned.

39 Musabbihī, 64; paraphrased by Maqrīzī in *Itti'āz*, 2:160, full passage translated in Walker, *Orations*, 32. Another report of Zāhir carrying "the jeweled staff" is for 'Īd al-Aḍḥā of the same year in Musabbihī, 80; Maqrīzī paraphrase in *Itti'āz*, 2:167; translated by Walker in *Orations*, 33.

40 Musabbihī, 65; paraphrased by Maqrīzī in *Itti'āz*, 2:161, trans. Walker, *Orations*, 32.

41 Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, 1:137, after Ibn Zūlāq, trans. Walker, *Orations*, 23.

of the Animals versus Man before the King of the Jinn, clothe “the preaching lark” (*al-qunbur al-khaṭīb*) in a “dusky turban” and have this reverend bird “ascend a pulpit,” trilling lines of an *ubi sunt* homily.⁴²

Where are the intelligent and the thoughtful?
 Where are the traders and those who heaped profits?
 If they had planted one seed in the stony ground,
 They would have reaped seventy times its count:
 Gifts from the one, forgiving God.
 Take heed, O people of perception!

3 Oral and Written Hybridity in Post Oral-Period Literature

The oration-epistle relationship of the medieval Islamic world was a two-way street. Oral and written interacted vigorously, and at times it became difficult to categorize a text definitively as one or the other. Just as chancery officials studied oration texts as part of their epistolary training, on occasion they drafted sermons to be delivered by state-appointed preachers in all the mosques in the empire’s domains. In addition, as Friday sermons began to be prepared in writing, epistles were formulated as texts for public proclamation. Overlapping style, theme, and presentation ensured that the line between oral and written continued to remain fuzzy.

3.1 *Orality of the Epistle*

Although a written genre, epistles were read out from the pulpit, which continued to be a physical locus of religio-political power.⁴³ In addition to victory and policy epistles, an associated genre—the appointment letter for government officials (*taqlīd*)—was also composed in the chancery then read out from the pulpit. In Fatimid Cairo, the decree appointing ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān as chief judge was read out in 366/976 in the Azhar Mosque; and Yāzūrī’s decree of investiture as chief missionary (in addition to his duties as vizier) was read out among the people in 442/1050.⁴⁴ Epistles and decrees were probably often recited at the time of the Friday prayer; since the public would be gathered then, it was

42 *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*, 2:251–252; *The Case of the Animals*, 106 (Arabic), 166–167 (trans. Goodman), my translation here differs.

43 An example is found early in the Abbasid period, in 145/763, when Riyāḥ al-Murri, governor of Medina, read out the caliph Maṣṣūr’s epistle from the pulpit (Ya’qūbī, 2:375).

44 ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān: Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf’*, 281–282. Yāzūrī: Mu’ayyad, *Sīrat*, 88; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 76.

a logical time for dissemination of vital information. Oral delivery of chancery epistles facilitated the message reaching the still largely unlettered populace.

The blending of the oral and the written resulted in amalgamated traits. We have an interesting example of the confusingly similar presentations of oration and epistle in the early Abbasid era. In *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, the Muʿtazilite scholar Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. ca. 655/1258) challenged the categorization of an Abbasid text recorded in Ṭabarī's *History*.⁴⁵ Ṭabarī had introduced the text as an epistle written in 284/897 by the caliph Muʿtaḍid's vizier ʿUbaydallāh ibn Sulaymān to his governors, to be read out from the pulpit in various towns.⁴⁶ But Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd contended—in an intricate argument based on the text's presentation and function—that it was an oration and not an epistle:⁴⁷

This is Ṭabarī's rendering of the epistle, but to me it is an oration and not an epistle, because that which is delivered as an oration is an oration. An epistle is written to a governor or a prince or someone like them. It may be read out from the pulpit, thus seeming like an oration, but it is not an oration; rather, it is an epistle that has been read out to the public. Perhaps this piece was composed as an epistle, to be dispatched to the far corners of the empire, ordered to be read out to the public; this, after it had first been read out to the people of Baghdad (as an oration).

Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd pauses to acknowledge that the text ended with a statement that it was “written by ʿUbaydallāh ibn Sulaymān in the year 284H,” but he explains away the irregularity, saying the piece was written because it was meant to be read out in the mosques of Baghdad (as an oration) and not because it was an epistle.

The confusion between categorizing the text as an oration or an epistle probably arises from the fact that by this time they were stylistically so similar that there was little to distinguish between them. It is interesting that despite what appears to be strong evidence to the contrary—Ṭabarī's earlier categorization, and the tag specifying a chancery official had written the text—Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd insists on calling it an oration. The text itself offers no definitive evidence for categorization. It is long, and it would seem that epistles were generally longer

45 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 15:180. The epistle contains instructions to the populace to curse Muʿāwiyah and the Umayyad caliphs, prefaced by several pages documenting Muʿāwiyah's challenge to ʿAlī, and Yazīd's killing of Ḥusayn, among the Umayyads' heinous crimes against Islam.

46 Full text in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 15:173–180.

47 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 15:180.

than orations, but then again, not always. In any case, the disagreement is a manifestation of the overlap of style, form, and even content between the two genres. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's remarks show that by his time, in the 7th/13th century, perhaps even much earlier, when the piece was composed in the late 3rd/9th century, the stylistic fabric of oration and epistle had become almost uniform.

Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) explains the similarities between oration and epistle (and also the differences between those two genres together versus poetry) in a rich passage in *Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatayn: al-kitābah wa-l-shiʿr* (Book of the Two Crafts: Epistolary Writing and Poetry). Noting resemblances in the two prose genres' use of assonant phrases (*fawāṣil*) and choice of vocabulary, he asserts that one could easily be converted into the other:⁴⁸

You should know that epistles and orations are so similar because they are both forms of speech not circumscribed by meter or rhyme. They are also similar in terms of their words and assonant units. In their simplicity and sweetness, words spoken by orators resemble words written by scribes. Likewise, assonant units in orations are similar to assonant units in epistles; there is no real difference between the two, except that the oration is spoken and the epistle is written. With very little effort, an epistle can be turned into an oration, and an oration can be turned into an epistle. This is not true of poetry; changing a poem to an epistle would require an enormous amount of work. In the same way, an epistle or oration cannot be turned into a poem except with great exertion.

In another chapter, Abū Hilāl insists that parallelism is required in both oration and epistle.⁴⁹ It would seem that the syntactically balanced phrases characterizing the epistolary oeuvres of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ reflect a direct influence of the early oration and indicate a continuity in expectations of what constituted good Arabic prose.

Although these centuries saw an efflorescence of writing, the materials they produced were permeated with an oral ethos. Reflecting the long-standing primacy of the spoken word, dictionaries, beginning with Khalīl's (d. 175/791) *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (and including later works, such as Azharī's (d. 370/980) *Tahdhīb al-lughah*), arranged words according to a phonetic system that differentiated between guttural and labial sounds. Later dictionaries would be arranged

48 Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 136, quoted twice by Qalqashandī, 1:210, 225. See Kanazi's (139–140) analysis.

49 Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 159.

alphabetically according to the "Abjad" register, and even later, according to the resequenced alphabet of "A, B, T, Th" based on orthographic conventions.⁵⁰

In the legal sphere, although the increased use of documents forced the question about which was better evidence, jurists still gave primacy to a witness's oral word over a written record.⁵¹ Oral testimony was considered more reliable because there was no doubt that the witness, in person, vouched for the veracity of his or her statement. A judge, if he wanted to question further and assess, had the witness right in front of him. Whereas written materials could be fabricated or fudged; in order to be considered fully effective, they needed a living person's oral testimony to back them up.

Toorawa notes that one of the curious effects of writing is that it does not reduce orality but, rather, enhances it by organizing into an art the principles by which it is practiced. In Greece, this produced rhetoric. This was partly the result of assumptions that oral verbalization was the same as written verbalization.⁵² Even as the societies we are looking at shifted from a largely oral to a largely written state of being, they continued to speak much and write some, and they wrote almost as they spoke. This was a culture—to use Ong's term—with massive oral residue.⁵³

3.2 *Inscription of the Oration*

Just as oration impacted epistle writing, epistle writing also impacted oration. Responding to the transition from an oral culture to an increasingly written milieu, and from a tribal, nomadic lifestyle to a progressively urbanized way of life, orations that were prepared first as written texts became common. Written notes had been in use for teaching sessions in history and hadith even earlier, from the late 1st/7th century.⁵⁴ As early as the latter part of the 2nd/8th century, some preachers transcribed their orations beforehand, or had someone write them for them. The Abbasid caliph Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809) is said to have been the first who committed to memory sermons prepared by others and then delivered them as his own. His son the caliph Amīn (r. 183–189/809–13) instructed his teacher, the distinguished philologist Aṣmaʿī, to prepare for him ten model sermons.⁵⁵

50 On Arabic orthography and lexicography, see Tilman Seidensticker, "Lexicography: Classical Arabic," *EALL*; Beatrice Gruendler, "Arabic Alphabet: Origin," *EALL*.

51 Wakin, 4–10.

52 Toorawa, 11 and *passim*.

53 Ong, 36.

54 See Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written*, and *The Genesis of Literature in Islam*.

55 Tanūkhī, 3:163–164; cited by Mez, 318. For a Friday sermon by Rashīd, see App. § 107.1.

By the 3rd/9th century, we have numerous reports of oration texts being prepared in writing, often relying on model orations and other written materials. The texts were then memorized and delivered pseudo-extemporaneously to a live audience, usually with a smaller or larger quantity of spontaneous embellishment. It is true that we continue to find examples of eloquent master orators who discoursed fluidly and extemporaneously, such as the Fatimid imam-caliph Maṣṣūr (d. 341/953).⁵⁶ Many of the appointed mosque-preachers presumably also preached in a relatively impromptu fashion, drawing on standard formulae and themes. But we also find reports indicating that the use of written texts had become common practice. Maṣṣūr himself is reported to have written his own sermon for ʿĪd al-Fiṭr and delivered it—his son and successor Muʿizz showed the text to Qāḍī l-Nuʿmān.⁵⁷ Ibn Nubātah's (d. 374/985) sermons originated as written texts.⁵⁸ Al-Muʿayyad al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078) writes about a missionary in the East (probably referring to himself), who “prepared a sermon” for the Shiʿite Eid of Ghadīr Khumm, which he “read out over the heads of numerous witnesses.”⁵⁹ For the Islamic West, Linda Jones points to the preserved Sufi sermons of Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda (d. 792/1390), and the profusion of anonymous medieval collections probably used by professional preachers as model sermons.⁶⁰ We also have reports of chancery scribes producing sermons that a caliph or governor read out from the pulpit. Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (d. 617/1220) narrates that he saw the Fatimid-Hafizī caliph (perhaps ʿĀḍid, r. 555–567/1160–1171), who ascended the pulpit in Cairo on a Friday, then “delivered a short sermon from a prepared text presented to him by the chancery.”⁶¹ A report about the ʿUqaylid ruler of northern Iraq, Qirwāsh ibn al-Muqallad, who switched allegiance from the Abbasids to the Fatimids, states that in 401/1010 he handed a written text to the mosque preacher in Mosul to read out, signaling the change. The sermon, whose text is preserved, and which was presumably drafted by the chancery, contained a prayer for the Fatimid imam-caliph Ḥākim—a key embedded religio-political message. This sermon was then sent to other cities, where it was also read out from the Friday pulpit.⁶²

56 Ibn Ḥammād, 22; Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 2:129–180, § 780; Nuwayrī, 28:118; Nuʿmān, *Majālis*, 126 (with synopsis of contents—arguments establishing the Imamate and exposing the usurpers’ oppression). See also discussion in Walker, *Orations*, 13–14.

57 Nuʿmān, *Majālis*, 239–240.

58 See texts of his collected orations in *Dīwān Khuṭab Ibn Nubātah*, and text of two orations in Mez, 319–325.

59 Muʿayyad, *Majālis*, § 254.

60 Jones, *Power of Oratory*, 27.

61 Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, 174. The full passage is translated by Walker, *Orations*, 48–50.

62 Ibn Taghrībirdī, 4: 225–228; see discussion of this event and further references in Walker, *Orations*, 3–5.

Both oration and epistle in this period gradually came to use consistent consonant rhyme (*saġ'*)—its emergence as the primary rhetorical device of stylized prose is perhaps the most important aesthetic development in the post-oral period. The earliest attestations of full consonant rhyme—pre-Islamic soothsayers' rhymed pronouncements—are oral. The Qur'an also deploys it in short surahs from the Meccan period, although most sections of the Qur'an maintain rhythm through the use of assonance and parallelism, rather than consonant rhyme. Full consonant rhyme in oral-period texts was manifested in pithy pieces averaging two to five lines. In the 4th/10th century, however, consonant rhyme became de rigueur for any artistic prose worth its salt. Moving away from the light-rhyme, heavy-parallelism style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffa', and also from the freer essay style of Jāḥiẓ and Tawḥīdī, artistic prose came to be dominated by the so-called "chancery style" (*inshā'*), for which the most visible feature was consonant rhyme.⁶³ Among the major early collections are the epistles of Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994), Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 360/970), Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995), Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī (d. 383/993), Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008, also the author of the *Maqāmāt*—more on them later), and Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), as well as the collection of model chancery letters of Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī's grandson, Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī (d. 448/1056). In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī's and Ibn al-'Amīd's epistles already contained a large quantity of consonant rhyme; a few lines here and there are not rhymed, and some of the rhyme is of a lighter variety, based on pronominal suffixes and on assonance rather than repeated end-consonants.⁶⁴ Going forward a generation and more, Ṣāhib's, Khwārazmī's, and Badī' al-Zamān's epistles are almost wholly rhymed,⁶⁵ as are those by Hilāl al-Ṣābī and Sharīf al-Raḍī.

Orations produced as written collections traversed the same stylistic route as the epistle. They continued to employ parallelism, vivid nature imagery, and emphatic particles, features inherited from the oral-period Arabic oration. But

63 For the development of the *inshā'* style, see Julie Meisami, "Artistic Prose," *EAL*.

64 See samples of Ibn al-'Amīd's writing in Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, 3:190–197, and of Ṣābī's in *Rasā'il al-Ṣābī*.

65 E.g., Ṣāhib's epistle § 10. Everett Rowson ("al-Ṣāhib," *EAL*) writes: "He was an influential proponent of the trend towards increasing elaborateness in artistic prose, and his own famed correspondence, both official and private, displays a persistent reliance on parallelism and rhyme, combined with complex word play, which contrasts with the more chaste style of his predecessor Ibn al-'Amīd and his contemporary the Baghdad secretary Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī, whom he saw as his chief rival." And, e.g., Khwārazmī's epistles, 66–67. And, e.g., Badī' al-Zamān, *Rasā'il*, 99.

now, rhyme supplanted parallelism as the predominant aesthetic trait. Abū Hilāl, as we have seen, required parallelism in both oration and epistle. He also issued a warning against forcing consonant rhyme, an indication that people may have begun to do so to a point that alarmed him.⁶⁶ At about this same time in the late 4th/10th century, Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb, mentioned earlier, was writing his book of model sermons—themselves influenced in themes and imagery by the sermons of ‘Alī—although his, unlike ‘Alī’s, were entirely rhymed. This stylized, or “mannerist,” feature would take wings and fly. Some orations and almost all literary epistles would from now on be fully rhymed. Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) writes in his travelogue that he heard an extempore sermon delivered by Ibn al-Jawzī in Baghdad in full rhyming prose.⁶⁷

Oration and epistle also shared features of structure. Both genres began with a formulaic praise-to-God introduction, and, as we have seen, chancery writers such as Naḥḥās and Qalqashandī used the word “*khuṭbah*” to signify this laudatory preamble. Curiously, the term “*khuṭbah*”—in addition to its primary meaning of oral oration—also denotes the praise preface of an epistle (or book).⁶⁸ This is probably a result of the epistle’s adoption of three of the oration-opening’s features—formulaic structure, parallelism, and consonant rhyme—as well as its content of praising God and blessing the Prophet.⁶⁹ The celebrated critic ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. ca. 474/1081) stated that the epistle’s opening “*khuṭbah*” should “consciously include parallelism and rhyme.”⁷⁰ Ibn Manẓūr emphasized the connection between rhyme and the term “*khuṭbah*” even more strongly, claiming that *any* rhymed prose may be termed “*khuṭbah*.”⁷¹ Additionally, both oration and epistle employed the phrase “here is what comes after” (*ammā ba’d*), which signaled transition from the praise preface to the body of the oration. Routinely found in the earliest orations, the phrase is also found in a few epistles from the early period.⁷² But given the paucity of its use in early epistles, it is more likely that the required appearance of the phrase in medieval epistles is a carry-over from its use in the oration, rather than from earlier epistolary practice.

66 Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 159.

67 Ibn Jubayr, 196–198.

68 See examples in Qalqashandī, 1:302, 14:353.

69 The sense of direct address conveyed by the root KhṬB would appear at first glance to be the connecting feature between the epistle and the oral *khuṭbah*; but this is not the case, for although the epistle has a direct addressee, the *taḥmīd khuṭbah* of the epistle often takes the third grammatical person.

70 Jurjānī, 9.

71 Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. “Kh-Ṭ-B.”

72 See the use of the “*ammā ba’d*” phrase in an epistle attributed to Muḥammad, Ḥamīdallāh, 166; and two attributed to ‘Umar, *ibid.*, 192, 198.

The medieval preacher's training seems to have been less formal than the scribe's, and the sources do not say much about it. Nuggets of data here and there provide clues that this training was also linked to the chancery. When Jāḥiẓ claimed that the orator acquired his skills by pure inspiration and osmosis,⁷³ he was referring to pre-Islamic and early Islamic orators. By his time, in the 3rd/9th century, there are indications that preachers underwent some form of training. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih tells us that "the orator Ibrāhīm ibn Jabalah" of the early 3rd/9th century was "teaching some youths oratory" (most likely for the Friday pulpit), when the Iraqi Mu'tazilite leader Bishr ibn Mu'tamir (d. 210/825) came along and handed him a parchment on which he had written a detailed account of important oration skills.⁷⁴ This source mentions early preacher training independent of the chancery, but another offers advice about composition to both groups in a single breath: Qudāmah ibn Ja'far (d. 337/948), who lists parallel, rhymed, and homonymous words in his *Jawāhir al-alfāẓ* (Jeweled Essences of Words), states that he has composed this book for the benefit of orators and scribes.⁷⁵ Three centuries later, Ibn al-Athīr, in *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr fī ṣinā'at al-manẓūm min al-kalām wa-l-manthūr* (A Large Compendium of Materials for the Craft of Verse and Prose), discusses the importance of choosing beautiful language to convey significant ideas, and he asserts the importance for scribe, poet, and orator to edit and polish their words (*tanqīḥ*, lit. "pare the knots of a palm trunk"), presumably before presenting.⁷⁶ Ibn al-Athīr's comments capture the ethos of the 7th/13th century. We have moved far away from the oral, spontaneous production of early oration.

Concurrently with oration, other genres of preaching were also being composed in writing and then read out, and they overlapped in form, style, and function. Among these written-to-oral genres were the Fatimid *majālis al-ḥikmah* (assemblies of wisdom) taught by the missionary agents of that dynasty, prime examples being the works of Nu'mān (d. 363/974) and Mu'ayyad (d. 470/1078).⁷⁷ These "assemblies" included features of oration, such as the

73 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3:12–13, 27–28.

74 Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:52–53. Jones has a relevant section on "The Making of a Medieval *khaṭīb*" (*Power of Oratory*, 197–208).

75 Qudāmah, *Jawāhir*, 2. A list with examples and comparisons with Naḥḥās and Khwārazmī, as well as with Qudāmah's own *Naqd al-shi'r*, are provided in Heinrichs, "Early Ornate Prose" 220–228.

76 Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi'*, 23. His magnum opus, the 4-volume *Mathal*, does not say much about orations.

77 Texts of these *majālis* are collected in Nu'mān, *Asās al-ta'wīl* and *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im*, and Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*. For references to their being prewritten and then read out, see Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 89–90; Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, 111–112; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:391. For analysis of the Fatimid

praise opening, direct address, and prayer ending, and they contained homiletic material that was also part of the oration's repertoire. The converse was also practiced, where materials initially presented orally were subsequently written down as texts. The genre of *amālī* (dictations) is well known, including the *Amālī* of Qālī (d. 356/967), Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), and Ibn al-Shajāri (d. 542/1148), which are teaching sessions recorded by students that have come down to us in several recensions. Related to the hybridity of oral and written forms, the practice of voicing written scriptures is a remnant from the transitional phase in this saga, straddling both oral and written milieus.⁷⁸

4 Divergent Function of Oration and Epistle: Religion versus Politics

Oration and epistle may have converged in style, but in function they gradually moved apart, the oration ceding to the epistle both literary and utilitarian primacy. Many of the oration's earlier political services of communication and governance were taken over by the new written form. As the chancery began composing epistles to be read out from pulpits all over the empire, the oration's domain receded almost wholly to that of the ritual religious sermon given at the mosque on Fridays and at the prayer ground on Eid, largely devoid of substantial political and military content. Abū Hilāl makes a stark distinction on this count, maintaining that while the two are twin supports of Islam, oration serves religion, while the epistle serves the state:⁷⁹

It is also well known that unlike poetry, oratory and epistle writing are dedicated to religion and state; the house of Islam depends on them. The state depends upon epistle writing, and oratory possesses the largest share in religion. The oration is a part of the foundation of religion, the ritual-prayer. Its performance is required at the Eid festivals, Fridays, and prayer-gatherings. It includes advice that the imam is duty bound to proffer to his subjects, so that the traces of God's revelation will be continually sown in their hearts. And there are many more benefits of oration.

majālis see T. Qutbuddin, *al-Muʿayyad al-Shirāzi*, 85–86, and idem, "Principles of Fatimid Symbolic Interpretation"; Halm, 17–29; Walker, "Fatimid Institutions," 182–186.

78 I thank Edmund Hayes for this observation.

79 Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 136. A lengthy comparison follows between epistles/orations and poetry.

By the heyday of the Abbasid dynasty, oration had lost much of its political clout to the epistle. While both were public expressions, the changing nature of authority and governance, in addition to the ready availability of paper, led to the epistle's gradual assumption of the oration's political functions. In the time of the Prophet, the early caliphs, and the Umayyads, the government had been relatively egalitarian. Policies were negotiated on the basis of tribal power blocs. Although some groups and individuals were more powerful than others, especially in the Umayyad period, all males at the center of events (and some high-ranking females) potentially had a say in government. In Umayyad times, Iraqi towns were major centers of power and numerous orations are recorded from Kufa and Basra. Abbasid polity had a more spread-out constituency. The general public was no longer an active part of the government, and policies formulated behind the closed doors of palaces and bureaus were made known to the public as *fait accompli* through the epistolary form (a seamless development perhaps from the speeches of Umayyad governors, which for the most part also notified rather than negotiated). With the centralization of power, combined with the caliph's increased seclusion from public view, the epistle became the voice of the ruler. As a text that could be read out to multiple audiences across the empire, it reached the far corners of his domain.

But Abū Hilāl's dictum notwithstanding, oration did not completely relinquish its political relevance. Although confined within the domain of Friday and Eid sermons, preachers continued to fold political messages into their preaching. One particular feature of the Friday sermon—praying for the ruler by name—became a strategic symbol of rule, along with the minting of coinage (*sikkah*). An element that had originated in *ad hoc* fashion in the Umayyad period, perhaps even earlier, inserting the ruler's name into the Friday sermon became a prime political tool in Abbasid and Fatimid polities. Entreaties to God to grant the ruler aid, long life, and prosperity became *de rigueur*, and they indicated, among other things, the divinely sanctioned nature of the caliph's authority. Moreover, because naming a caliph constituted a proclamation of allegiance, it became an important religio-political implement. The Fatimid imam-caliph Āmir used the metaphor of the pulpit when he announced the birth of his son and successor, Ṭayyib. In an imperial epistle—*Sijill al-bishārah* (Register of Glad Tidings)—written in 524/1130 to the Ṣulayḥid queen al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah, who was head of the Fatimid mission in Yemen, Āmir connected Ṭayyib's name to the pulpit and thus to the leadership of the Muslim community with the line, “The royal pulpits revel in the fragrance (*ṭīb*) of the mention of his [name].”⁸⁰ Across the medieval Islamic world, local princes

80 Idrīs, 7:301.

often indicated a switch of allegiance to one of the two caliphates, Abbasid and Fatimid, from the pulpit.⁸¹ I have earlier mentioned Qirwāsh's switching allegiance in this manner. Alongside the caliph, the name of the regional prince was also often invoked; history books repeatedly indicate which prince was in power and when, by saying so-and-so was named in the Friday sermon on a certain date.⁸² The flip side of that coin was cursing the enemies of the state. As discussed earlier, the Umayyads had required their governors to curse 'Alī and his family from the pulpit. The Fatimids, who claimed descent from 'Alī, in their turn pronounced maledictions on the earlier Umayyads and also on the Spanish Umayyads, who were cursing them in their sermons.⁸³

Some announcements of a political nature continued to be made in the Friday sermon. In the aftermath of the devastating Khārijite revolt of the so-called Dajjāl, or Antichrist, the chamberlain of the Fatimid imam-caliph Maṣṣūr, Ja'far al-Ḥāḡib, delivered a sermon in the mosque in Kairouan in 335/946, in which he announced that Maṣṣūr had remitted all state taxes for the year, "out of kindness to them, and to aid them in refurbishing their land and steppes."⁸⁴ Maribel Fierro notes a diplomatic use of oration in 4th/10th-century Andalusia, mentioned in several medieval sources: Upon the arrival there of the Byzantine emperor's emissary, the Spanish Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had a courtier deliver a sparkling oration in order to show his visitor the power of Arab-Muslim speech and the refinement of their culture.⁸⁵

In *Mawādd al-bayān* (Stores of Eloquent Speech), the Fatimid chancery official 'Alī ibn Khalaf (d. after 437/1046) did not preclude oration's share in the workings of government. First, deeming the art of epistolary writing nobler than the art of oratory, he argued that the functions of oratory are more circumscribed. But then—deeming oratory, in its turn, nobler than poetry—he explained that this is because, among other things, the Friday sermon brings together "religion" (*dīn*) and "state" (*sulṭān*).⁸⁶ This seems to be a statement on

81 Data for certain switches of this nature, and a discussion of the implications of these switches, is provided in Walker, "Islamic Ritual Preaching." See also examples in Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, 2:254, cited in Walker, *Orations*, 10.

82 Kraemer, 38. See also numerous entries on individual rulers in *EI2* that speak to this issue and provide primary references, e.g., "Mukhtār b. 'Awf al-Azdī," "al-Malik al-Raḥīm," "al-Kundurī," "Alaṣ Mirzā," "al-Nasawī," "Toghriī (11)," "Šamšām al-Dawla," "Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn," "Ozbeḡ b. Muḥammad Pahlawān," "Fasandjūs," "Sayyids," "Ibn Ṭabāṭabā."

83 Idrīs, 5:218–220; Nu'mān, *Majālis*, 176, 285, 294; Walker, *Orations*, 5, 91–92.

84 Idrīs, 5:393–394; Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 2:138–139; trans. Walker, *Orations*, 100.

85 Fierro, "Khuṭba," after Bunnāhī, Ḥumaydī, Yāqūt, and Zubaydī.

86 'Alī ibn Khalaf, 160–161. He also ranks oratory higher than poetry because Muḥammad had been an orator and not a poet, and because orations are "based on truth and pious coun-

the practice in his time. Be that as it may, as the Andalusian scholar Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095) pointed out, “oratorical eloquence”—compared to “compositional” and “epistolary” eloquence—was “pure seriousness,” presumably referring to its propagating preparation for the hereafter.⁸⁷

As is evident from the mixed religious and political content of the Friday and Eid sermon, the boundary between state and religion in the medieval Islamic world was not clear cut. In addition to praying for the caliph by name in the sermon, the preachers who preached these sermons were themselves appointed by the state. Rulers themselves most often did not separate state priorities from issues of religion. Fatimid rulers asserted full spiritual authority as imams who stood in place of the Prophet Muḥammad. Even Abbasid caliphs, whose claims did not rise as high, viewed themselves as religious heads of an Islamic state. Consequently, policies of their states continued to be grounded in religious rhetoric and oration was a prime blend of the secular and the spiritual.

5 Influence of the Arabic Oration on *Maqāmāt* and Literary Theory

In addition to its fundamental influence on the medieval epistle and Friday sermon, oration also played a smaller role in (1) the development of the genre of *maqāmāt* and (2) the discipline of literary criticism.

5.1 *Influence on the Maqāmāt Genre*

I have already discussed the oration's impact on the chancery epistle in some detail. The epistle, in its turn, played a part in the development of the picaresque, rhythmic, rhymed, quasi-novel with an eloquent rogue as its hero, termed *maqāmāt*. The *maqāmāt* was the first genre of self-proclaimed fiction in the high literature of Arabic, and emerged from the pen of a prose-writer from Hamadnan nicknamed Marvel of the Age, Badī' al-Zamān (d. 398/1008). The evolution of the *maqāmāt* has been a matter of some interest for scholars of Arabic literature, who believe that its prime antecedent in content and form is the anecdotal, anthology-oriented (*adab*) works of early Abbasid authors such

sel,” and poetry is not. Ibn Khalaf's presentation is a bit tangled. Describing oration types and themes in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, he focuses solely on pious counsel, and mentions nothing of political speeches and battle orations.

87 (والبلاغة تنقسم ثلاثة أقسام ... بلاغة خطبية وبلاغة تأليفية وبلاغة رسالية. فالخطبية جد محض): Ḥumaydī, *Tashīl*, 6, full passage quoted in Arabic and translated in Heinrichs, “Early Ornate Prose,” 215.

as Ibn al-Muqaffa', Jāḥiẓ, and Tanūkhī. But in style, the *maqāmāt* draw mainly on the epistle. Badī' al-Zamān himself authored a number of ornate epistles, and his *Maqāmāt* echo that genre in parallelism and rhyme. Indeed, because of their similarity in style, the terms *maqāmah* and *risālah* were sometimes used interchangeably.⁸⁸

In addition to the oration's indirect influence on the *maqāmāt* through the epistle, four direct links may also be suggested: (1) By this time, some orations—like those by Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb—were fully rhymed, and, along with the rhymed epistles of the time, they could have exerted influence on the *maqāmāt*'s mannerist aesthetic. (2) One proposed etymology of the term *maqāmāt*, from the verb *qāma* ("he stood"), refers to the verbal artist's "standing." It contrasts with another medieval verbal art form, the *majālīs*, from the verb *jalasa* ("he sat"), which refers to a mostly unrhymed discourse presented in a teaching assembly in which the scholar speaks while sitting.⁸⁹ (3) Elements in the *maqāmāt* parody the oration: Douglas Young points out that Badī' al-Zamān's "Asylum" and "Exhortation," Ḥarīrī's "Basra," and Saraquṣṭī's unnamed twenty-first *maqāmah* subvert the sermon's sententious discourse through irony, transforming it into a parodic counter-genre.⁹⁰ As Young also points out, Saraquṣṭī includes twelve fictionalized sermons in his *Maqāmāt*.⁹¹ (4) The *maqāmāt* are a performative genre, continuing the performative tradition of the oration. David Wacks explains the similarity thus:⁹²

The importance placed on oratory in Arabic culture lends its literature a performative aspect ... The *maqāma* displays traits of such rhetorical performance. The *maqāma*'s name itself suggests a public act of oratory. Since *maqāma*, like *majlis*, can be defined as an assembly of important people, and since such a meeting is a common forum for eloquent oratory, it is a natural metonymy for the word *maqāma* to denote the act of oratory itself.

88 See examples in Blachère, "Maḳāma," *EI2*.

89 Beeston, "al-Hamadhānī," 126–127. Blachère and Masnou (*Choix de maqāmāt*, 132) list five authors with compositions styled as *maqāmāt*, which are simply orations clothed in *saḥ*; it seems there was enough overlap between orations and *maqāmāt* (in addition to the overlap between epistles and *maqāmāt*, and between epistles and orations) to cause further confusion in terminology.

90 Young, *Rogues*, 47.

91 Young, "Preachers and Poets," *passim*, where he discusses the popular sermon in Andalusian *Maqāmāt*.

92 Wacks, 183–184, expanding on the ideas of Brockelmann and Pellat.

Maqāmāt flourished through the late medieval and early modern periods, and Devin Stewart and Régis Blachère, who have written major articles on the genre, concur that it exerted influence on diverse modern Arabic literary forms including drama, the novel, the short story, and even the newspaper article.⁹³ Through epistle and *maqāmāt*, then, one can find traces of the oration in many different forms of Arabic literature.

5.2 *Influence on Literary Criticism*

The oration's influence extended beyond Arabic prose to impact the fields of rhetoric and poetics. The earliest critics of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries equated the indigenous term for rhetoric/eloquence "*balāghah*," with the term "*khaṭābah*," which denoted the art of oratory. 'Attābī (d. ca. 220/835), a poet and prose-writer in the court of the Abbasid caliphs Rashīd and Ma'mūn, was asked "What is *balāghah*?" and he replied, "If you wish to have a tongue that dazzles all others and is envied by every *orator*, then do such and such"—note the use of the word "orator" to answer a question on "eloquence." 'Attābī's pronouncement was cited by major litterateurs, including Jāḥiẓ, Ḥuṣrī, and Abū Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī.⁹⁴ Jāḥiẓ focused front and center on oratory as the face of *balāghah*, and a large number of the selections in his literary anthologies were orations. He also used the two terms interchangeably: apparently assuming them to be identical, he switched back and forth between them without clear distinction.⁹⁵ Another important early critic, Mubarrad (d. 286/900), affirmed that he had studied and memorized many orations and epistles as part of his literary training.⁹⁶ While exhorting scribes to memorize orations, Qalqashandī, cited earlier in this chapter, affirmed that orations are "repositories of the secrets of eloquence."⁹⁷ The scribe and critic Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kātib (fl. 4th/10th c.) characterized *balāghah* as the use of rhymed prose and deemed it a com-

93 Stewart, "Maqāma," 145; Blachère, "Maqāma," *EI2*.

94 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:113, Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 1:106, Abū Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, 66. Equating *balāghah* with *khaṭābah*, Abū Ṭāhir (64) quotes an Indian treatise: "the first part of *balāghah* is gathering the instruments of *balāghah*, namely, that the orator should be composed, still, and so on."

95 E.g., Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1:92. Moreover, under his category of "the best person in terms of *khaṭābah*," (*akḥṭab al-nās*), he often mentions the popular preacher and storyteller (*wā'iz* and *qāṣṣ*), indicating that he considers *khaṭābah*, at least in this context, to be the more general concept of eloquence, rather than one defined within the narrower context of the ritual sermon (*ibid.*, 1:291, and *passim*).

96 Mubarrad's words cited in Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi'*, 22.

97 Qalqashandī, 1:210.

ponent of *khaṭābah* and epistle-writing.⁹⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm (d. ca. 388/998), in contrast, differentiated between *khaṭābah* and *balāghah* along the fault-line of oral versus written eloquence.⁹⁹ Jurjānī (d. ca. 474/1081) mentioned *khaṭābah* alongside poetry as an art that draws essentially on the imaginary (*takhyīl*).¹⁰⁰ Characterizing *khaṭābah* through the lens of Greek rhetoric, Muslim philosophers such as Fārābī (d. 339/950) and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198, known in the West as Averroes) focused on logic, the syllogism, and persuasion, alongside subordinate concerns about style and delivery.¹⁰¹

In a carefully reasoned article on the “rhetorization” of Arabic poetics, Wolfhart Heinrichs argued that the notion of *balāghah* originated in discussions of the oration, which he called “the earliest avatar of Arabic artful prose.”¹⁰² In an earlier entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Heinrichs had already contended that the real founders of literary criticism were chancery scribes.¹⁰³ In the “rhetorization” article, he analyzes Qudāmah’s *Jawāhir al-alfāz*—the manual of word-phrase lists for orators and scribes mentioned earlier—alongside the same author’s work on poetics, *Naqd al-shiʿr* (Assaying Poetry), and works by other early critics to take this thesis further. This is the three-part gist of Heinrichs’ proposition: (1) *balāghah* originally referred to the ornate prose of early orators and scribes, (2) which was embodied in figures of speech later subsumed under the term *badīʿ*. (3) Gradually, these figures of speech invaded poetry and produced its “rhetorization.” Noting the segue from ora-

98 Ishāq, 191.

99 Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 181) lists orators under “*khaṭabā*” and scribes under “*bulaghā*.”

100 Jurjānī, 270.

101 Fārābī wrote a commentary on Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* titled with the very term *al-Khaṭābah*, in which (1, 25) he defined “*khaṭābah*” (= oratory/rhetoric) as “a syllogistic skill (*ṣināʾah qiyāsīyyah*), the goal of which was persuasion (*iqnāʾ*).” He went on to say—highlighting an aspect of Greek rhetoric that overlaps with Arabic oratory—that *khaṭābah* used modes of persuasion that were “not specialized, but shared by all.” Ibn Rushd reiterated these ideas in his gloss, *Talkhīṣ al-khaṭābah*. The lexicographer Fīrūzābādī (s.v. “KhṬB”), after defining *khaṭābah* in its oratorical aspect as “a literary prose art, whose purpose was the persuasion of the audience, or [its] counsel,” added that “in the science of logic, [*khaṭābah*] was a syllogism consisting of premises”—also touching on an aspect overlapping with Arabic oratory—that were axiomatic or assumed” [= Aristotle’s enthymeme]. Ibn Manẓūr (s.v. “KhṬB”), wrote a slightly longer but similar definition of the philosophical *khaṭābah* in his *Lisān al-ʿarab*, in which he included examples of syllogisms. He stated that the active participle of *khaṭābah*, its agent, was, like the orator, called a *khaṭīb*. Cheikhō in *ʿIlm al-adab* (vols. 3–4) discusses *khaṭābah* from these and other philosophical and ethical sources.

102 Heinrichs “Early Ornate Prose,” 215–234.

103 Heinrichs, “Naqd,” E12.

tory to scribal writing to poetics, Heinrichs argued that the concept of *badīʿ* (here, rhetoric) originated in the scribes' critical handling of the twin genres of oration and epistle.

6 Concluding Remarks

In the oral period, oratory had served dynamic political, ethical, religious, and military functions. With the rise of a more centralized system of government in the late Umayyad and early Abbasid period, coupled with a rapid increase in the volume of writing after the introduction of paper to the Islamic heartlands in the early to mid-2nd/8th century, the oration's functions were progressively taken over by the chancery epistle, while the oration was gradually circumscribed within the sphere of Friday and Eid services. This transformation dramatically altered the literary landscape. But even as the epistle took over many of the oration's functions, norms set by early masters of oratory shaped the style of the emerging epistolary genre, and aspiring scribes studied, memorized, and used early oration texts as models. Chancery writing adopted conventions and practices of early oration. Moreover, although the epistle was produced as a written text, it was commonly meant for aural consumption, to be read out to large, public audiences; and conversely, chancery scribes themselves frequently produced Friday and Eid sermon texts to be delivered by state-appointed preachers—there was abundant give and take between the oral and the written. Just as oration influenced epistolary writing, epistolary writing also influenced oration. This two-way engagement resulted in a hybrid style, where early epistles—which straddled the oral-written divide—employed the oration's parallelism-based oral mode.

For many centuries of world history, public speaking remained the paradigm of all discourse. For the ancient Greeks, the idea of eloquence had been connected with speechmaking; *rhētorikē*, or rhetoric, meant public speaking. A similarly archetypal role can be posited for oration vis-à-vis Arabic belles-lettres. The oration exerted tremendous stylistic, thematic, performative, and structural influence on the chancery epistle as it developed in the late-oral and post-oral 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. It also influenced the development of the picaresque novel of the *maqāmāt* genre and the elaboration of literary criticism. Even as its earlier powerful reach rapidly declined, the oration continued to play a vital role in these literary, religious, and political spheres. For all these reasons, we can state in no uncertain terms that oration was a foundational genre in Arabic literature.

The Influence of the Classical Arabic Oration on Contemporary Muslim Sermons and Speeches

Contemporary Muslim societies engage with a host of political, social, economic, military, religious, technological, linguistic, and literary elements far removed from the culture of the Middle East in the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries.* Relatively widespread literacy has now prevailed for hundreds of years, and the exigencies of daily life today diverge greatly from the activities of societies that were home to classical Arabic oration. The changes are too many and too vast to be listed here. Nevertheless, the continuities are no less significant. Present-day Muslims look to their Islamic and Arabic heritage to guide them. The scriptural legacy of the Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad, and additionally, for the Shi'a, the sayings of 'Alī and the Imams, continue to inspire. The literary heritage of poetry and prose, and the scholarly tradition of history, theology, and law continue to shape thought and action. In tandem with the stimulus of heritage, Muslim preaching has come full circle, with copious new forms of secondary orality—sermons disseminated via television, radio, YouTube, cassettes, and other media—that nevertheless depend on writing and print.¹ The ritual Friday and Eid sermon continues to be a major part of the lives of millions of Muslims globally, and it too is frequently broadcast on airwaves and in cyberspace. Significantly for our topic, present-day orators of various religious and political stripes continue to draw on techniques and themes of public speaking developed in the nascent Islamic world; and the multivalent functions of the classical Friday sermon—liturgical, educational, societal, political, and military—continue to be in play. As I demonstrate in this

* In order to facilitate looking up media references, I transcribe names of contemporary preachers, politicians, and authors in popular Latinate transcription without diacritics; transliteration of authors' surnames is provided in the Bibliography.

1 For a discussion of secondary orality, see Ong, 133–135. On cassette sermons promoting upright behavior in Cairo, see Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape* and “Experiments in Devotion Online.” On the life and work of Muhammad Metwali Alsharawi, Minister of Endowments in Egypt and a beloved preacher with a popular TV program, see Brinton, *Preaching Islamic Revival*. On female radio preachers in Mali, see Schulz, “Dis/embodying Authority.” In an article published in the *Christian Science Monitor* on April 9, 2010, Sarah Topol attributed the loss of al-Azhar University's clout in part to the rise of “TV imams” reaching larger audiences.

chapter, the contemporary Friday sermon and other forms of formal religious-political discourse continue to be powerfully influenced by the classical Arabic oration.

Public address and preaching in the contemporary Muslim world are two large, overlapping topics, and a number of scholars have explored myriad aspects touching on their politics, religion, culture, sociology, and ethics. Studies by Lisa Wedeen, Ofra Bengio, Charles Hirschkind, Patrick Gaffney, Annabelle Mohammadi, and Ali Mohammadi highlight their importance in political and social life. Ami Ayalon and Yasir Suleiman offer studies of language as political discourse and as a form of cultural identity. Nelly van Doorn-Harder presents a broad-stroke assessment of Muslim preaching. Studies on the modern Middle East more generally are too many to enumerate. I claim no great expertise on contemporary political and ethnographic commentary, but that is not the target of this chapter. Drawing on studies by experts on the modern Middle East and South Asia to underpin my analysis of contemporary Friday sermons, I focus on the heritage material within them, material which I have cataloged and analyzed at length in the prior chapters of this volume.

Based largely on site visits from 2009, 2011, and 2017, and using copious print and online materials, I examine the Friday sermon and touch briefly on political speeches in four countries with large Muslim populations: Egypt, Iraq, India, and Turkey. For each of these countries, I draw on private interviews, personal observations, sermon videos made available on YouTube, government websites, media news articles, and published sermon collections, text books, chap books, and other materials collected during my field trips. I use these to assess granular aspects related to classical oration in the preacher's training and curriculum, state supervision and regulations, preacher resources, influence and divergences in the sermon text, and authority and its symbols manifested in the preacher-audience interaction. I selected these locations partly because it was possible for me to travel and interview there, but also because they are large countries representing diverse languages, faith denominations, and political systems: Iraq is majority Twelver Shi'a and Egypt is Ḥanafī Sunni with some Shāfi'ī and Mālikī pockets; both are Arabic-speaking countries. Turkey and India are each majority Ḥanafī Sunni, but Turkey is Turkish speaking and India hosts a myriad of languages. All four are technically democracies, but they have varying degrees and modes of military and religious control. Since the point is not to explore any particular region for its own sake but rather to show the continuing influence of the early oration across a diverse spectrum, these distinct sites serve well. Additionally, I offer brief remarks on select facets of Friday preaching in seven other Middle Eastern and West African countries, each of which has its own languages, denominations, and political systems: Saudi

Arabia (whose Salafist-Wahhabi influence is observable to a smaller or larger degree internationally, also mentioned here in the sections on Egypt, India, and Turkey), Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Tunisia, Nigeria, and Senegal. These remarks are based on what I could find online and in print resources, and in some cases from observations and interviews during brief visits. Though admittedly sketchy, they broaden the purview of my examination of the classical oration's influence. The final section of the chapter combines individual country findings into an amalgamated narrative, in an attempt to harness the contours of classical Arabic oration to decode contemporary Muslim public address. The chapter conclusion—which is also the conclusion of the book—argues for the importance of paying close attention to classical oration, in mapping out a conceptual and linguistic framework for studying contemporary Islamic societies.

Overlapping as well as distinct political, social, and economic concerns, and corresponding as well as discrete histories are found in all these countries. These include the four I treat in detail, as well as the seven for which I offer ad hoc remarks; and there are numerous countries of equal significance, such as Indonesia and Malaysia, which have Muslim majorities, and the United States, Australia, Germany, France, Belgium, the United Kingdom (almost 5% Muslim), and other European countries, which are host to Muslim diaspora communities, which I have not been able to touch on at all. In the Friday sermons in the countries I analyze, some features intersect, indicating a common colonial past or contemporary religio-political influence. Others are regionally distinct with significant markers of local identity. Some are tightly regulated by the state and others are more grassroots-oriented. The combination of features in every region is unique. Moreover, preachers from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and other influential Arab countries are often invited to preach in other countries, such as Yemen, India, and Nigeria, so there is much cross-pollination. The relationship between preachers and government also varies widely inside and between countries. Just as some preachers use the pulpit to incite violence, others use it to appeal for peace and pluralism.² Nonetheless, Muslim preachers in all these countries ultimately look to the classical Arabic oration as their supreme model.

2 Preachers are often overt or subtle critics of the government, and several authors—including Bruce Borthwick, Richard Martin, and Malika Zeghal—have explored aspects of this phenomenon.

1 Areas of Contemporary Muslim Preachers' Influence by and Divergence from the Classical Oration

Major influences on the Muslim Friday sermon in various countries include the following practices: the ritual of the Friday sermon itself; frequent use of the pulpit; focus on classical Arabic as language register and on the classical structure; use of religious formulae to open and end, including verbatim recitation of the Prophet's standard *tahmīd*; some stylistic influence in terms of graphic metaphorical imagery and repetition;³ injunctions to piety; themes of doctrine, history, and ethics; blatant or subdued political messages; regular Qur'an and hadith citation, sometimes also poetry and proverbs; and occasional ritual use of a staff or ceremonial sword, or a modern weapon, such as a machine gun. Like their classical counterpart, Friday preachers are almost always male, while congregations in most countries include both men and women, although the majority again is usually male (since attendance at Friday sermons is considered mandatory for males, and encouraged but not required for females).⁴ The preachers I interviewed also listed relevance to contemporary issues and brevity as particularly reflective of the Prophetic heritage.

Areas of the contemporary sermon's divergence from the classical oration include the following practices: there is minimal stylistic influence vis-à-vis many features of orality, especially rhythm—the use of parallelism and rhyme outside the opening formulae is limited, plus there is little graphic imagery. In

3 Barbara Johnstone (74–75, 108, 117, and *passim*) equates repetition in modern Arabic speech to an autocratic societal outlook, arguing that unlike the case in Western rhetoric, repetition in Arabic is crucial to the argument, that without it there would be no argument, for it is the argument. Notwithstanding her interesting parsing of the texts, the inflammatory conclusion she reaches is a leap unsupported by the evidence. Although there is much in Middle Eastern—and also in Western—speechmaking that is not rationally convincing, there is also much that is based on logical argument. The repetition we see in modern Arabic, in addition to adding emphasis, is largely a result of the continuing influence of residual oral mnemonics.

4 A handful of female preachers have given sermons in Europe and the U.S. In terms of the makeup of the congregation, the majority Sunni denominations in India do not permit women entry to the mosque, although there is a slight movement toward change in a related area: according to Riyaz Ahmed whom I interviewed, Jamaat-i Islami has in the past 20 years opened a number of madrasas for women, who graduate as “scholar” (the terms are *‘ālimah* and *fāḍilah*, similar to the terms applied to men), and who then teach women and children in their home towns. He says there is a great shortage of these and a great need. In other kinds of preaching, there are several cases of female preachers, especially those speaking to women's study groups. Infrequently, they also address a mixed-gender audience; case studies on these have been penned for Mali and Morocco by Dorothea Schulz and Deborah Kapchan. From time to time, female speakers—like the Egyptians mentioned in this chapter, Hoda Sharawy famously and Suzanne Mubarak, and many others—also give political speeches.

places where Arabic is the spoken language of the people, a mixed register of classical, standard, and colloquial Arabic is occasionally used; in places where Arabic is not the spoken language, either a bilingual register is used, with the formulae in classical Arabic and the body of the sermon in local languages, or the sermon is in classical Arabic, purely liturgical, usually accompanied by a lecture in the local language. Intermittently, in various venues other than a mosque, a lectern is used for the sermon. These areas of influence and divergence are explored in some detail in the following presentation about public address in individual countries of the Middle East, South Asia, and West Africa.

2 Egypt

The Friday sermon in Egypt is controlled by the Ministry of Religious Endowments (Wizārat al-Awqāf), in partnership with the government-funded al-Azhar Mosque and University.⁵ In the present time, after the the assumption of power by President Abdel Fattah Sisi in 2014, all mosques (*masājīd al-waqf*, sing. *masjid*; or *jāmiʿ*) and other designated public prayer spaces (called *zawāyā*, sing. *zāwiyah*) are strictly supervised by the ministry, and subscribe to Egypt's majority Ḥanafī Sunni denomination of Islam; for each mosque, the ministry appoints an individual to lead the ritual prayer and preach the sermon on Fridays and the Eid festivals. All preachers preach a “unified sermon” (*khutbah muwahḥadah*) nationwide, being given a single theme and guidelines for their sermon each week.⁶

At the time that I interviewed there in 2009, about ten percent were smaller independent mosques (*masājīd ahliyyah*) not supervised by the ministry, and preachers had a small degree of choice in designing their sermon texts. Since the Arab Spring in 2011, Egypt has experienced major upheavals in government—the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak, the election and then deposing of President Muhammad Morsi, and the accession of President Sisi in 2014. Much has changed, including a further tightening of control over clerics, and I reference the changes by citing print and on-line materials from the Morsi and Sisi presidencies. Nevertheless, many curricular and practical components of preaching remain close to what they were in the late Mubarak era, particularly

5 I thank Aziz Qutbuddin for help conducting interviews in Egypt and Iraq, and Hala El Badry for introductions in Egypt.

6 Posted on the ministry's official website <http://ar.awkafonline.com/?cat=20> (accessed October 25, 2018). I thank Magda Gamal El-Ghitany for this information.

those that pertain to issues of heritage stimulus. My remarks serve to assess the continuing influence of the classical oration on preaching and speechmaking in Egypt in the early twenty-first century.

A sermon is called “*khutbah*” in Egypt, but the genre of preaching is usually referred to by the larger functional goal, “*da‘wah*” (lit. “call” to the true faith). Preachers (called *khutabā’*, referenced usually in their singular form of *khaṭīb*) are also subsumed under the category of “callers” (*du‘āt*, sing. *dā‘ī*, also used in the intensive form *dā‘īyah*).

2.1 *Training and Appointment of Preachers*

According to public statements made by President Mubarak’s Minister of Endowments Mahmoud Zakzouk in 2007 and 2009, ministry-supervised mosques in Egypt numbered about fifty thousand, and, including prayer spaces outside of mosques, about a hundred thousand; non-government sponsored mosques numbered three to four thousand, and the government hoped to bring them under its jurisdiction.⁷ Zakzouk tallied the number of preachers at forty-five thousand, and said the ministry appoints three thousand annually. On February 24, 2009, I interviewed the ministry’s director in Cairo’s Ḥusayn district, Sheikh Gamal Abdel Nasser, who said (giving a number lower than Zakzouk’s) that there were at that time in Egypt twenty-two to thirty thousand salaried preachers. Of these, 14,600 were in Cairo.

Sheikh Gamal explained that Egyptian preachers were products of two different kinds of training:

1. Officially-appointed preachers (sing. *khaṭīb rasmi*) were graduates of al-Azhar University’s Islamic Dawa College (Kulliyyat al-Da‘wah al-Islāmiyyah),⁸ some with additional MA and PhD degrees from that institution. Preachers were also appointed from eight other al-Azhar Colleges.
2. Part-time salaried preachers (sing. *khaṭīb mukāfa‘ah* or *khaṭīb ghayr rasmi*) were licensed by the ministry after a two-year course of study at its Institute for Preacher Training (Ma‘had I’dād al-Du‘āt), followed by a period of practical training. A branch of this institute was established in every district administered by the ministry, and its curriculum was set by al-Azhar.

⁷ Zakzouk, interview in Ahram by Mubashir, “Ḥiwār ma’a wazīr al-awqāf” and “Kalimat al-Iftitāḥiyyah,” 8; Zakzouk gave this inaugural address at a 2007 conference convened by the ministry to discuss its recently published guidelines for preachers (Emara, *Dalīl al-imām ilā tajdīd al-khiṭāb al-dīnī*). I thank Ahmed Kamal Aboul Magd for a copy of the proceedings volume.

⁸ Al-Azhar University Islamic Dawa College website: <http://islamicdawa.com/>.

Authorization to preach was granted to trainees from both groups after passing exams in related Islamic-studies fields, and selection through preaching competitions.

2.2 *Supervision of Preachers*

When I interviewed in Cairo during Mubarak's presidency, the ministry loosely supervised the content of Friday sermons. As Sheikh Gamal explained, the ministry gave preachers a weekly topic, and they prepared their own sermons using relevant Qur'an verses and hadith quotes. For the most part, topics were religious and ethical, speaking to occasions like the Prophet's birthday or his ascension, or to themes such as prayer, sincerity, and tolerance. Most topics—in contrast to classical oration—skirted overt politics. From time to time, they enfolded a political message such as combating terrorism, endorsing the authorities, and promoting harmony among the country's different denominations. Inspectors checked for conformity and the ministry fired preachers who crossed the political line. On February 22, 2009, there was a terrorist attack in the Khan El Khalili Cairo market popular with tourists, and on Friday, February 27, the ministry instructed all preachers to condemn terrorism. This was the time of my own field visit to Cairo, and I attended that service at the Ḥusayn Mosque, during which the preacher prayed for the safety of all Muslims and all Egyptians, and for God's swift reprisal against those who kill the innocent. Most preachers across Egypt did the same, according to Zakzouk, who reiterated their compliance in his published interview.

In July 2016, as part of President Sisi's campaign against extremism, his Minister of Endowments, Mohamed Gomaa, announced that clerics would be required to read identical weekly sermons pre-written by ministry officials and senior clerics from al-Azhar, in consultation with members of parliament, sociologists, and psychologists, for reasons of "timing and cohesive preaching."⁹ The topic has since been the subject of disagreement between the ministry and al-Azhar, and recently, they have agreed that the ministry would provide themes and guidelines, but the preachers would be allowed to craft their own texts.

2.3 *Curriculum and Resources of the Preacher*

The Egyptian preacher's curriculum and resources include orations of the Prophet, revered early leaders, and eloquent speakers—a small but visible

9 See Abdellah and Aboulenein, "Egypt orders Muslim preachers to deliver identical weekly sermons," Reuters news article.

component within the larger, Qur'an-and-hadith focused material.¹⁰ In earlier decades, collections of famous model sermons by contemporary or near contemporary preachers were mined for material; in the first decades of the twenty-first century, preachers are supposed to know the primary sources and to position themselves at the center of Islamic textual authority.¹¹ In al-Azhar University's curriculum, a strong emphasis on classical Arabic philology and literature also links with the oratorical heritage.

Sheikh Gamal spoke of texts used by preachers to prepare sermons, and he singled out thematic works by Yusuf al-Qaradawi (b. 1926) and the late Mohammed al-Ghazali (d. 1996).

Ghazali was an influential Egyptian cleric and scholar who authored ninety-four books, many of them on preaching, used heavily by preachers, including *Khuluq al-Muslim*, *al-Da'wah al-Islāmiyyah*, and *Ma'a llāh*. Looking through these books, we find some direct reliance on classical oration: In *al-Da'wah al-Islāmiyyah* and *Khuluq al-Muslim*, Ghazali cites no classical orations per se, except that some of the hadith in *Khuluq al-Muslim* are from orations attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad.¹² In *Ma'a llāh*, however he pens a section titled "Provisions for Preachers" which includes a large number of texts (tagged specifically as orations) by the first four Sunni caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī; the Khārijite commander Abū Ḥamzah; the Umayyad caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz; and the Abbasid caliph Ma'mūn.¹³ He cautions his audience of preachers that these oration texts are examples for reading, contemplating, and internalizing, and not for memorizing and parroting.

Qaradawi is an Egyptian theologian living in exile in Qatar who previously had a prominent role in the intellectual leadership of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁴ Arguably one of the most influential living scholars of Islam, he has

10 Adawi's reference book for preachers, *Miftāḥ al-khaṭābah wa-l-wa'z* (Key to Preaching and Counsel), arranges scriptural texts by theme.

11 I thank Noha Aboul Magd Forster for this observation.

12 Ghazali, *Ma'a llāh*, 46, "Each of you is a shepherd, and each is accountable for his flock" (كَلِمَ رَاعٍ وَكَلِمَ مَسْئُولٍ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِهِ).

13 Ghazali, *Ma'a llāh*, s.v. "Zād li-l-du'āt," 387–445.

14 Qaradawi is chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, and best known for his program "Sharia and Life" broadcast on *Al-Jazeera*, with an estimated audience of 40–60 million worldwide. He is also known for IslamOnline, a website he helped found in 1997 and for which he serves as chief religious scholar. On him, see Gräf and Skovgaard-Petersen, ed., *Global Mufti: The Phenomenon of Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī*. In 2011 after the Arab Spring, Qaradawi returned to Egypt and led the Friday prayer in Taḥrīr Square on 18 February, where he addressed in his sermon a combined physical and virtual audience of two

published more than a hundred and twenty books, prominent among them *Thaqāfat al-dā'iyyah* (Cultural Heritage of the Preacher), with essays on various Islamic subjects (Qur'an, Sunnah, jurisprudence, doctrine, Sufism, and history). In this book, Qaradawi includes a brief chapter on "The Literary and Philological Cultural Heritage [of the Preacher],"¹⁵ which he calls the "tools and means" to achieve expertise in the religious sciences. Highlighting the importance of classical Arabic oration (among other genres of literature) to the preacher, he asserts the following:¹⁶

Literature—with its poetry and its prose, its maxims and its proverbs, its testaments and its orations—is important for the preacher to learn, for that will refine his tongue, improve his style ... and place his hand firmly on hundreds, even thousands, of eloquent testamentary texts (*shawāhid*) which he can use in his preaching as needed.

Other books used for preacher training and preparation also speak of the classical Arabic oratorical heritage. In the introduction to his compilation of Friday sermons, the Saudi scholar and popular cassette-preacher Aid al-Qarni (whose work was also used in Egypt in 2009—I bought a copy of his compilation from a bookstore outside al-Azhar), holds up early orators as the best exemplars of Islamic preaching: first and foremost Muḥammad, also Abū Bakr and Tāriq ibn Ziyād, and especially 'Alī, of whom he writes "'Alī is eloquence and eloquence is 'Alī."¹⁷ Abdel Jalil Shalabi's book *al-Khaṭābah wa-ī'dād al-khaṭīb* (Preaching and the Preparation of the Preacher) includes remarks on principles of oratory and copious and wide-ranging textual examples, including orations by Muḥammad above all, pre-Islamic preachers of pious counsel, the first four Sunni caliphs and other Companions of the Prophet, caliphs, governors, opposition leaders of the Umayyad period, and the early Abbasid caliphs;¹⁸ he too calls 'Alī "the

million. In January 2018 he was tried in absentia in Egypt and sentenced to life in prison, but his works are still available widely there, and his broadcasts still accessed.

15 Qaradawi, s.v. "al-Thaqāfah al-adabiyyah wa-l-lughawiyah," 98–103.

16 Qaradawi, 99.

17 A. Qarni, 14.

18 Pre-Islamic: Ma'mūn al-Ḥārithī, Quss, Aktham; Muḥammad; Early Caliphate: Abū Bakr and others at the Saqīfah, 'Uthmān; Umayyads: Mu'āwiyah I and II, 'Abd al-Malik, 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān, Ziyād ibn Abīhi, Ḥajjāj, Khālīd al-Qasrī, Yazīd ibn al-Walīd, Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrah, Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab, Tāriq; 'Alids: 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ashtar; Zubayrids and other opposition leaders: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr, Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭalhah, Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad, Ṣukhayr ibn Ḥudhayfah, Qaṭarī; and Abbasids: Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, Saffāh, Manṣūr, Sulaymān ibn 'Alī, Rashīd, Ma'mūn.

most famous of all preachers in his age.”¹⁹ It is clear that Shalabi considers the classical Arabic oratorical heritage essential for today’s preachers.

2.4 *Influence and Divergence Manifest within the Sermons*

Contemporary Egyptian Friday sermons do not appear to cite texts of classical Arabic oration, with or without attribution, to any noticeable degree. Furthermore, their imagery is different from the graphic natural imagery of classical oration. But diffuse influence can be observed in language and theme. Additionally, in certain usages of structural molds, formulae, and Qur’an (and hadith) citation, and in a soft mix of religion and politics, Egyptian sermons distinctly echo classical Arabic orations. Contrary to what I was told by my interviewees, preachers also appear to cite from time to time verses of medieval or modern Arabic poetry of the classical *qaṣīdah* form.

Formulae display thematic, and sometimes even verbatim, influence. The opening praise formula (*taḥmīd*) carries the clear stamp of early Islamic oratory. Often, preachers recite Muḥammad’s standard *taḥmīd*, cited and discussed in Chapter Two, verbatim or slightly modified. Although they do not name the source in the sermon, the near-verbatim rendering of the text, coupled with its presence in preaching manuals as a recommended opening (sometimes mentioning the attribution to the Prophet), suggests that preachers are consciously quoting the Prophet’s *taḥmīd*. Qarni, whose compilation I mentioned above, uses the Prophet’s *taḥmīd* for all his Friday sermons.²⁰ Another compiler, Ahmad Farid, uses it in one of his sermons.²¹

We find specific recommendations for the beginning and ending formulae in the introduction to a compilation titled *Khuṭab al-jum‘ah wa-l-īdayn* authored by an unnamed group of al-Azhar scholars: For the first part of the two-part Friday sermon, they offer different options in each of their fifty-eight sample sermons, drawing on themes from the Prophet’s *taḥmīd*. For the beginning of the second part, they recommend the following generic and rhymed *taḥmīd* (which they call *dībājah*, or “opening”):²²

Praise God, who aids those who perform [good] deeds. I bear witness that there is no god but God, who is the master of the pious. I bear

الحمد لله موفّق العاملين. وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وليّ المتقين. وأشهد أن محمداً رسول الله

19 Shalabi, 259.

20 A. Qarni, 21 and *passim*.

21 Farid, 11.

22 Al-Azhar scholars, 7.

witness that Muḥammad is God's true and trustworthy messenger. God, bless our leader Muḥammad, and his descendants, his Companions, and the followers.

الصادق الأمين. اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد وآله وأصحابه والتابعين.

For the end of the second part, they offer a selection of preferred prayers. For the final closing, they recommend reciting the Qur'anic verse, «God commands justice, kindness, and generosity to relatives, and forbids immorality, abomination, and tyranny. He counsels you so that you may take heed.» **إِنْ** **اللَّهُ** **يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَيَنْهَىٰ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ** **تَذَكَّرُونَ** ²³ The verse is recited at the end of sermons in many countries today, but was not seen in the classical oration texts I examined.

Echoes of classical oratorical formulae, and of themes, structure, citation, and function, can be seen in the text of the following three Friday sermons by Egyptian preachers (YouTube links for these and all other sermons referenced in this chapter are listed in the Bibliography):

A Friday sermon preached by the aforementioned Minister of Endowments Mohamed Gomaa at the Ḥusayn Mosque in Cairo on June 2, 2017, in the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan, is a religiously and culturally couched plea against extremism. He begins with a free-flowing *tahmīd* impregnated with Qur'anic verses and prayers. This is followed by the transition marker “and after that” (*wa-ba'd*). Without pronouncing a vocative address phrase, he launches directly into his main theme, compassion for people of all faiths and creeds (*tasāmuḥ*). With Qur'an verses, Prophetic hadith, and examples from Islamic history, he argues against intolerance. In support of his appeal he cites verses by two poets, one Muslim—the Egyptian poet Ahmad Shawqi (d. 1932)—and the other—unusually, but aptly for this theme—Lebanese-Mexican Christian, Mahbub El Khoury El Shartuni (d. 1931). The sermon ends with prayer, and with the preacher voicing the formula, “Perform the ritual prayer” (*aqim al-ṣalāh*), also used by early preachers, followed by the Qur'an verse «Ritual prayer is mandated for believers» **إِنَّ الصَّلَاةَ كَانَتْ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ كِتَابًا مَوْقُوتًا** ²⁴

Another high-level example is the Friday sermon preached in the al-Azhar Mosque on February 24, 2017, by Ahmad Omar Hashem, former president of al-Azhar University, emphasizing the importance of religious education and the high station of Islamic scholars, and holding up his institution as a beacon

23 Q Nahl 16:90; al-Azhar scholars, 7–8.

24 Q Nisā' 4:103.

of learning. He too begins with a spontaneous *taḥmīd*, containing the usual formulae of praise and benediction, but using his own words. This is followed by the transition marker “and here is what comes after” (*ammā ba’d*), and the vocative address “O assembly of Muslims (*ma’shar al-muslimīn*).” Like Gomaa, Hashem cites scriptural and historical material to make his case. He too quotes verses of poetry, this time from the famed *Mantle Ode* by the Berber Sufi poet Būṣīrī (d. 693/1294) in praise of Muḥammad. He also quotes several verses of his own composition (Poem for Muḥammad’s Community, *Qaṣīdat Ummat al-Muṣṭafā*), beginning with the line “O community, unite and stand together for truth, for discord leads to bereavement and loss.”²⁵ He begins the second part of the two-part sermon with the vocative address, “O Muslims all around the world”—a clear nod to the larger, virtual audience. He ends the sermon with the Qur’an verse «God commands justice and kindness ...»²⁶ mentioned earlier as the al-Azhar scholars’ recommended ending.

The third example is that of an influential television preacher Amr Khaled, who from time to time also offers formal mosque sermons. Focusing on moderate Islam, he too, like the Azharite government preachers, rejects all forms of extremism. In a Friday sermon delivered as a visitor in the Ṣālīḥ Mosque in Sanaa, Yemen, in 2010, he emphasizes the “middle way” lauded by the Qur’an in the verse «We have made you a community of the middle way, so that you bear witness over all mankind, and that the messenger bears witness over you» ﴿وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِتَكُونُوا شُهَدَاءَ عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْكُمْ شَهِيدًا﴾.²⁷ Khaled employs the standard Prophetic *taḥmīd* praise formulae to open, and prayers to end.

All three sermons—and others by these and other well-known government preachers or independents—are broadcast on YouTube. For the two government sermons, a picture-in-picture inset offers a simultaneous sign language interpretation, rendered by a veiled female.

2.5 Preacher and Audience

A major symbol of the orator’s authority in early Islam was preaching in the mosque from a pulpit; this practice continues throughout the Muslim world.

25 يَا أُمَّتِي وَحَدُّوا فِي الْحَقِّ صَفْكُمْ ﴿١﴾ إِنَّ التَّنَازُعَ لِلْخُسْرَانِ عَقَبَاهُ
The poem’s opening line—which Hashem does not cite—censures “the West” and prays for God to “protect Muslims from its malice”

26 رَبِّهِ أَذْرِكْ بَنِي الْإِسْلَامِ رَبَّهُ ﴿٢﴾ فَالْغَرْبُ يَحْمِلُ حَقْدًا فِي حَنَائِهِ
Q Nahī 16:90.

27 Q Baqarah 2:143.

In his book on Egyptian preaching, Gaffney describes the pulpit as representing Prophetic authority, and the ritual space of the mosque as a primary metaphor for encompassing a sacred mission extending to all aspects of society.²⁸ A related symbol of authority—carrying a ceremonial staff or sword—has dropped out of use in Egypt.

Additional orator-audience aspects of the contemporary Egyptian Friday sermon relevant to the classical oration include extempore preaching, adherence for the most part to a classical language register, and audience response. On February 29, 2009, I interviewed Husayn Taha, an employee of the Ḥusayn Mosque in Cairo, whom I have known since the 1980s, when I was a student at Ayn Shams University. Taha had attended Friday sermons at the Ḥusayn Mosque throughout the previous three decades, had sat with many audiences, and heard many preachers. This is what he had to say: Among preachers he had heard, Sheikh Nagdy Salih, who preached there for twenty years, towered head and shoulders above the rest. He preached fluently and extemporaneously, a well-crafted, cohesive sermon, doing full justice to a single topic, such as the Hajj, laying out in detail the relevant regulations as per Islamic law. He would prepare for the sermon from Sunday to Thursday, consulting works of hadith, jurisprudence, and history. He would never read his sermon. Less adept preachers in smaller mosques read from written papers, but never the preachers of big mosques like the Ḥusayn Mosque and al-Azhar Mosque. Though not disallowed, it is a sign of weakness. Amr Khaled, in the sermon I referenced earlier, can be observed in the pulpit holding, but not looking at, a sheet of paper; presumably he has jotted down points and refers to them as needed. The other two preachers can be observed speaking without notes.

Commenting on the language used by the Azharite preachers of the Ḥusayn mosque, Taha said they use mostly classical Arabic, with rare colloquial interjections in the explanation of a hadith or other text. (Amr Khaled, in contrast, preaches in a mix of Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian colloquial.) Applauding a particularly effective section of the sermon, Taha says, the audience sometimes collectively exclaims the name of God, “Allah!” (meaning, I assume, *subḥān Allāh*, “Glory be to God!”). Contrary to the freer orator-audience interaction in classical oration, there is no two-way verbal engagement.

28 Gaffney, 25–26; trans. of three pulpit sermons from 1978–1979 in Cairo, 271–316; ch. on preacher’s authority, 27–55.

2.6 *Militarist Preachers: Political Opposition of a Religious Bent*

In 2009, a number of militarist preachers—including Salafists and the Muslim Brotherhood—were delivering Friday sermons in mosques not supervised by the ministry. They often criticized the government, and their discourse embodied political opposition of a religious bent. In September 2013, the authorities barred fifty-five thousand unlicensed clerics from preaching in mosques, after the military ousted the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohamed Morsi from the presidency. The preachers were accused of supporting the Brotherhood and inciting violence.²⁹ Like many politicians and religious leaders across the world who use “dog whistle” rhetoric, Salafist preachers used historical references as code language so that security forces could not pin them down. They referred to the Medinan Jewish tribe of Naḍir to condemn Israel. They praised the virtues of the first Sunni caliph Abū Bakr to denounce the Shi'a and the so-called “Shi'ite expansion” (*al-madd al-Shi'i*). They made assertions that may appear innocuous to the general population, but had an additional, different, or more specific resonance for a targeted subgroup.

More explicit references also abound. One example is found in a Friday sermon from February 8, 2013, in Mansoura by the Salafist preacher Muhammad Hassan, who, after berating the Shi'a for denouncing some of the Prophet's Companions, says, “We reject the infiltration of the Shi'ite expansion in this pure land. The 'Ubaydī state [a polemical reference to the Shi'ite Fatimids, who ruled Egypt in medieval times] shall not, after these long years past, succeed in throwing to the ground this [Sunni] denomination in this pure land.”³⁰

One indication of Salafism in the Friday sermon is the addition in the opening praise formula of a hadith attributed to Muḥammad, (The worst affairs are those that are new—all innovations are heresies, and all heresies will burn in the fire) (شَرُّ الْأُمُور مُحَدَّثَاتُهَا وَكُلُّ بَدْعٍ ضَلَالَةٌ وَكُلُّ ضَلَالَةٍ فِي النَّارِ). This version of the Prophet's standard *tahmīd* is used by Salafist preachers in Egypt and elsewhere. The hadith was made prominent by the medieval Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328), widely considered the father of the Salafist movement and a major figure in today's Saudi Wahhabi ideology. The Salafist al-Azhar professor Muhammad Okasha—who straddles both worlds, the academic and the religious, and who appears to have continuing legitimacy vis-à-vis the Egyptian state—adds this hadith to the Prophet's *tahmīd* in his published commentary, in which he also declares the Shi'a, Mu'tazilah, and some other Muslim denominations to be heretics.³¹ Al-Azhar is mostly supportive of the government, but

29 Reported by Saleh on Reuters, “Egypt bans mosque preachers in crackdown on Islamists.”

30 27 Rabī al-Awwal 1434, minutes 10.55–11.17 of YouTube recording.

31 Okasha, 93.

some faculty support a Salafist ideology. Scholars often go to Saudi Arabia, where there is more money to be made, and often come back to spread the Wahhabi influence—which is large and growing in many segments of society, including the preaching establishment.³²

Orators with a popular physical and/or online presence in Egypt include several who are conservative Salafists, such as the leading Saudi scholar Muhammad Salih Uthaymeen; the aforementioned Muhammad Hassan, who preaches in his own (not government-supervised) mosque in Mansoura; Abu Ishaq Al Heweny from the Kafr el-Sheikh governorate; the Alexandrian Muhammad Husayn Yaqub (also not government-sponsored) who, although Salafist, emphasizes reverence for the Prophet's family and exhibits some Sufi inclinations; and Wagdi Ghunaym of the Muslim Brotherhood, now in exile in South Africa. Their sermons are widely available online. Of these preachers, some are militarist, others quietist. With the exception of Uthaymeen, they usually cite the heresy hadith in their opening praise formula. Their language is almost always in the classical Arabic register, without any colloquial. Unusually, Ghunaym in his Friday sermon in Sfax, Tunisia, on February 17, 2012, also carries a staff.

2.7 *Political Speeches, Government, and Opposition*

In contrast to the Friday sermon, political speeches by Egyptian government officials manifest little influence from classical Arabic oration. So too—outside of the Brotherhood and other militarist groups—is the case for speeches by the political opposition. On February 25, 2009, I interviewed Hani Enan, businessman and founder of the opposition movement Kefaya (Lit. Enough!), whose primary agenda at the time was to prevent President Mubarak from passing the baton to his son. (Enan withdrew from Kefaya later that year, and since 2011, the movement itself has weakened). He stated that there is little Islamic or classical Arabic heritage material in political speeches of the present time, except for the opening “Basmalah”—taking the name of God. This too, he said, is considered a cultural, rather than a religious custom. If a speaker does use Islamic terms and themes, it means something, it tells you that the speaker subscribes to a particular ideology that is not democratic and liberal, and is perhaps militarist. Opposition speeches are always improvised and spontaneous, and their language register is mixed, with about sixty to seventy percent Modern Standard Arabic, and the rest Egyptian colloquial. Government speeches, which are written and vetted beforehand, are mostly in the standard language. Citation

32 In addition to those listed in the notes above, many more sermons (and sit-down “lessons,” *durūs*) that reflect this influence are available on YouTube and websites such as Islamway.com, Islamiccity.com, and dorar.net.

of classical poetry and other heritage materials and practices were more prevalent in earlier decades. The primary models now are Western. There is little emphasis on eloquent expression, on rhetoric.

On the previous day, in 2009, I had interviewed a former aide and speechwriter for then First Lady, Suzanne Mubarak. She stated that political speechwriters in Egypt have no specific training, and no Islamic studies background. Mrs. Mubarak's speeches, she said, contained few references to religious topics and usually no Basmalah. If Mrs. Mubarak did speak on a topic connected with religion, she solicited ideas from Azharite and Coptic clergy. Sometimes she took religious leaders with her, and they shared the podium and bolstered her speech with their own speeches, with religious arguments supporting her drive. Female political speakers are much fewer than their male counterparts. An earlier, famous example is Huda Sharawy (1879–1947),³³ who gave a speech at the Arab Feminist Conference in Cairo in 1944.

A powerful political orator of the past century was President Gamal Abdel Nasser, whose oratory played a large role in the success of his presidency in Egypt and in raising the stature and influence of Egypt across the Arab world. An *AlJazeera* reporter writes, "Nasser, who was the president of Egypt between 1956 and 1970, wielded great influence on the Arab intelligentsia and masses alike. His weekly speeches brought Arab streets to a standstill as the people listened, mesmerized, to his every sentence broadcast on Egyptian radio."³⁴ In Nasser's speeches, we also find instances of parallelism and anaphora, as well as a fluent standard Arabic lexicon, but no specific instances of the influence of classical Arabic oration. The speeches of his successor, President Anwar Sadat, are similar in their secularity in the earlier part of his presidency, but, in a re-Islamization of Egyptian politics, aimed at legitimizing the government after the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel, Sadat began opening his speeches with the Basmalah, a practice that President Hosni Mubarak continued.³⁵

3 Iraq

The Friday sermon in today's turbulent Iraq is strongly and openly political. Unlike the case in Egypt, the sermon in post-Ba'ath, post-2003 American-invasion-era Iraq is not controlled by the state, although some preachers are aligned with the government and others are in opposition. Within the Twelver

33 Her surname is also spelled as Sharawi, Shaarawy, or Shaarawi.

34 Andoni, "In search of a great Arab leader?"

35 I thank Ghenwa Hayek for this observation.

Shi'a majority there are several different groups, and each uses this platform to preach religio-political views. I focus on their sermons in Najaf and Karbala, home to the shrines of 'Alī and Ḥusayn, respectively, and the heart of the Shi'a scholarly and religious establishment in Iraq. I also assess a sermon-rally by an anti-Shi'a, pro-ISIS Sunni preacher in Ramadi, attended by hundreds of thousands.

3.1 *Training, Curriculum, and Resources of the Preacher*

Shi'a preachers in Iraq (often called "preacher and disseminator," *khaṭīb mubaligh*) are trained in a religious seminary (*hawzah 'ilmīyyah*), and their curriculum and resources include early orations, especially those by the Prophet and his family. On November 7, 2009, I interviewed Sheikh Abbas al-Khuzai, Director of the School of Preaching and Dissemination (Madrasat al-Khaṭābah wal-Tabligh), in the preeminent Najaf seminary, who explained their training as follows:

The curriculum aims to accord the preacher expertise in classical Arabic philology and rhetoric; Qur'an exegesis, both Sunni and Shi'a; hadith of the Prophet and the Prophet's family; *Nahj al-balāghah*, the famous 4th/10th-century compilation of the sermons, epistles, and sayings of 'Alī (this has been an ongoing practice—an example from the early twentieth century is the famous preacher Sayyid Salih al-Hilli, who had memorized a large selection);³⁶ orations of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah, and his granddaughter Zaynab; literature, classical Arabic prose and poetry. The preacher should memorize a good quantity of these orations.

The seminary has three stages of learning. The beginning stage is for introductory training in subjects including logic, philology, doctrine, and philosophy, and lasts five years. The second stage is for intermediate training and lasts two years. The final stage is for the advanced seminars and research, and the writing of a dissertation (*baḥth khārijī*), which lasts up to another seven years. Students can complete the full course or part of it. In theory, all graduates can give sermons; there is no official appointment.

Important resources for the preacher are constituted by treatises written by senior clerics (*mujtahids*), called ayatollahs, which contain their particular expositions on the Qur'an and Sunnah. Jurisprudential treatises include Khoei's *Minhāj al-ṣāliḥīn*, Sistani's *al-Fatāwā l-muyassarah*,³⁷ and Ansari's *Kitāb al-Makāsib*. Works on doctrine include Muhammad Rida Muzaffar's *al-'Aqā'id*

36 Hasan, *Mu'jam al-khuṭabā'*, 1:59–60.

37 Arabic with English translation available on Sistani's website.

al-Imāmiyyah, Muhammad Hasan Muzaffar's *Dalā'il al-ṣidq*, Subhani's *Man-shūr-i 'aqā'id-i Imāmiyyah*, and Tabatabai's *Taṭawwur al-mabānī l-fikriyyah li-l-tashayyū'*. Other important treatises include Muhammad Baqir Sadr's *Iqtī-ṣādunā*, Mutahhari's *Sīrat al-a'immah al-aṭhār*, and Haeri's *Shajarat Ṭubā*.

Foundational components of the Friday sermon are invocation of the name of God and blessings on the Prophet and his family, and recitation and exegesis of a Qur'anic verse. In addition to this religious material, the sermon also contains political and social themes. Preachers prepare sermons carefully in writing beforehand, and during the delivery read quotes from primary sources verbatim in full classical Arabic; there can be some Iraqi colloquial in the rest of the sermon, which is spontaneous. Among the testamentary materials cited are verses of poetry by early Shi'ite poets such as Farazdaq (d. 110/728), Kumayt (d. 128/744), and Di'bīl (d. 246/860), as well as proverbs. The Friday sermon lasts about half an hour to forty-five minutes. The preachers do not carry a staff or sword, although this was done in the past. They preach from a pulpit or podium. Women attend services in large numbers, sitting separately from the men.

A second major form of preaching among the Twelver Shi'ite majority in Iraq is the mourning assembly for Ḥusayn (*al-majlis al-Ḥusaynī*), which consists of sit-down discourses, especially during the month of Muharram, on a range of religious, literary, and historical topics. Sheikh Abbas lauded Sheikh Ahmad al-Waeli (1928–2003) as a learned Ḥusaynid preacher, and many of his discourses are available and widely viewed online. Many of these explicate orations by 'Alī, and also by Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'. Although I was unable to locate any books on Friday preaching in Najaf or Karbala bookstores, nor any works on Iraqi Friday sermons on WorldCat, the online catalogue of books published worldwide, I was able to find several that speak to the art and content of preaching the Ḥusayn Assembly, among them works by Muhammad Baqir Maqdisi and Mur-tada Milani, both titled *Fann al-khaṭābah al-Ḥusayniyyah*; a work by Mahmoud Bustani on the orations of Fāṭimah, and works by Muhammad Husayn Kashif al-Ghita and Sheikh Faisal al-Kazimi, containing collected texts of these assemblies.

3.2 *Influence and Divergence: Sermons by Establishment and Anti-government Twelver Shi'a, and Pro-ISIS Anti-government Sunnis*

The influence of classical Arabic oration on the Iraqi sermon is visible in many facets, and the sermons I describe below bear out and add detail to Sheikh Abbas's broad-stroke description of formulae, structure, preacher-audience dynamics, and testamentary citation.

3.2.1 Establishment Twelver Shi'a Sermons among Sistani's Followers in Karbala

A typical example of majority Twelver Shi'a preaching in Iraq is found in a YouTube recording of the Friday sermon of July 28, 2017, delivered in the shrine sanctuary of Imam Ḥusayn in Karbala by the high-ranking Ayatollah Abdul Mahdi Karbalai. The Grand Ayatollah Sistani, who lives in Najaf, does not deliver public sermons, and he releases official statements through Karbalai, which are later posted to his official webpage. Karbalai is notable for having announced Sistani's edicts obligating Iraqis to vote and to join the military to oppose ISIS. Sistani's following represents the pro-government, pro-unity, pacifist establishment in Iraq.

The recording I discuss contains the full second part of the two-part Friday sermon, and is relatively brief, just over twelve minutes. Karbalai begins with a complex, well-crafted praise and blessings formula that echoes the classical oration in language, style, and theme. In the blessings (*ṣalawāt*) formula he names Muḥammad, 'Alī, Faṭimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and the rest of the Twelve Imams, ending with the Imam of the Age. He adds a few lines of prayer for believers, then returns to recite the blessings formula. In response, the audience collectively chants "God, bless Muḥammad and the descendants of Muḥammad" (اللهم صل على محمد وآل محمد). He reads throughout from a prepared sheet but extemporizes from time to time, and both the reading and the spontaneous comments are in fluent classical Arabic. The address is to "brothers and sisters" (*ayyuhā l-ikhwah wa-l-akhawāt*). His explicit inclusion of female audience members is different from early oration and also uncommon in most contemporary Muslim countries.

After the benediction that precedes the second part of the two-part sermon, Karbalai announces that he will speak about "how to live harmoniously with the other in terms of culture and belief" (*kayfiyyat al-ta'āyush al-thaqāfī wa-l-'aqā'idī*); he reminds the audience that in the first of the two-part sermon he had discussed social harmony. In the second part, he offers principles by which this goal may be achieved, which include focusing on nodes of harmony, such as belief in the unity of God, the ritual prayer, and so on. He emphasizes the common good of the nation and of Muslims everywhere. He reads his prepared piece ("*maqrū'ah*") without stating who wrote it, saying he is going to read for the sake of precision. He quotes a Prophetic hadith encouraging unity among Muslims and a Qur'anic verse asserting that differences exist because they are willed by God, to show that Islamic scriptures teach peaceful coexistence; according to these scriptures, no Muslim may be deemed beyond the pale of Islam because of difference in details of doctrine and practice. He ends

with a prayer permeated with Qur'anic phrases, and with the blessings formula, which is again reiterated collectively by the audience.

3.2.2 Anti-government Twelver Shi'a Sermons in Najaf: Muqtada Sadr and the Anṣār al-Mahdī

Two brands of militant anti-government Twelver Shi'a sermons from Najaf are also available on YouTube. Among them are the sermons of Sayyid Muqtada Sadr, founder of the Sadrist movement, the Mahdi Army (Jaysh al-Mahdī), and the Peace Companies (Sarāyā l-Salām). Son of the famous Iraqi Ayatollah Muhammad Sadiq Sadr (1943–1999), and son-in-law of Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir Sadr (1935–1980), Muqtada Sadr himself is not a trained cleric. Two sermons with different texts that he preached in September 2015 and December 2016 in the grand mosque of Kufa (a historic city, now a suburb of Najaf) offer yet another case for analyzing influence from classical oration. In both these sermons, he preaches from a podium, reads most of his material, and outside of the read pieces, which are in classical Arabic, he uses an abundance of Iraqi colloquial. He too pronounces the blessings formula on the Prophet and his family, naming the Twelve Imams, praising God and praying to him. His audience too chants the blessings formula, with the added phrase “God, give them swift deliverance, and curse their enemies,”³⁸ which in this context denotes a militant approach. These audiences are more participatory than in other events I have examined. Early in each of these sermons, members of the audience respond with chants of “O God” (*Yā Allāh*) to Sadr's lines of prayer; then they chant “We answer you, O beloved of God [Muḥammad];”³⁹ and, at Sadr's request, phrases repeating his own, beginning “This, this [*sic*] is our prophet.”⁴⁰ Employing a belligerent tone and speaking passionately to a loudly responsive audience, Sadr tells his listeners a few times to be quiet, else he will leave. Religious content is brought in when he reads a lengthy sermon by his father, the late Ayatollah Muhammad Sadiq Sadr, and explains it (he also praises him at length, saying he was the first to lead true Friday prayers here after the Imams). The rest of each of the sermons is almost wholly political, calling for an end to militias and infighting. He ends one sermon with a recitation of the Qur'an's Surah of Kawthar.⁴¹

38 (وَجَلَّ فَرَجُهُمْ وَالْعَن عَدُوَّهُمْ).

39 (لَبَّيْكَ لَبَّيْكَ يَا حَبِيبَ اللَّهِ).

40 (هَذَا هَذَا نَبِينَا).

41 Q 108.

Another set of sermons available online are delivered in the seminary in Najaf of Anṣār Imam Mahdī (Allies of the Mahdī), an apocalyptic Twelver Shi'a group founded in ca. 2002 by Sheikh Ahmad Hasan Yamani (b. ca. 1968 in Basra), who claims to be the awaited savior, the Mahdī. Two Friday sermons from 2014 by one of their prominent leaders, Sayyid Hasan Hamami, provide a case for studying influence from heritage oratorical materials. The April 4 sermon contains just one part of the two-part sermon, and the August 1 sermon contains both parts of the two-part sermon. The sermons contain the traditional praise and blessings formulae in language that echoes the classical orators, and the standard Prophetic *tahmīd*. Like preachers of all Shi'a denominations, Hamami pronounces blessings also on the Prophet's family, and from time to time instructs the audience to chant the blessings formula, which they do collectively, adding the words "the Imams, the Mahdīs" to the more established Twelver Shi'ite formula "God, bless Muḥammad and the descendants of Muḥammad."⁴² Each of the two sermons is bookended by and punctuated with this formula. Playing on the name of the group, he addresses his audience frequently as "God's allies" (*anṣār Allāh*). The customary injunction to piety (*taqwā*) is pronounced in the old formula "I enjoin you—and myself—to consciousness of God," and he adds the Qur'anic verse commonly seen in this context in the classical oration, «Gather provisions. Indeed, the best of provisions is piety.»⁴³ Hamami warns against sedition and condemns ISIS (using its Arabic acronym "Daesh"), calling the group "the antichrist" (*al-dajjāl al-akbar*), and asserting that its followers kill Muslims and do not follow the Prophet Muḥammad. He prays for believers toward the end of the first part of each of the two-part sermons (typical in the classical oration), beseeching God's protection and seeking his aid for the Mahdī. He ends the first part of the August 1 sermon with the classical phrase "I say these words and ask forgiveness for myself and all believing men and women."⁴⁴ Both sermons are in fluent classical Arabic, part spontaneous orating, and part reading from prepared notes. The second part of the two-part August 1 sermon is devoted almost wholly to a reading from a discourse by the group's founder, Yamani, whom Hamami praises as "the Mahdī, and son of the Mahdī," and for whom he offers his own life as ransom. As he reads, he adds commentary, and calls out Qur'anic surah-and-verse references, which is unusual in a sermon, whether classical, medieval, or contemporary.

42 (اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ الْأَنْمَةِ وَالْمُهَدِّينَ وَسَلِّمْ تَسْلِيمًا).

43 ﴿وَتَزَوَّدُوا فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ التَّقْوَى﴾: Q Baqarah 2:197.

44 (أقول قولي هذا ...).

He ends the first part of the August 1 sermon with a recitation of the Surah of Victory.⁴⁵ The April 4 sermon's ending is not recorded.

A sermon by another leader of the Anṣār Imam Mahdī, Sheikh Nazim Uqayli, offers yet more detail: Like Hamami, Uqayli speaks from a podium in classical Arabic. He addresses his audience as “allies of the Mahdī,” where Hamami’s sermons had “allies of God.” The theme of the sermon is emulating Imam Ḥusayn, not just mourning him, especially in Ḥusayn’s revolutionary activity for the sake of God. He cites the well-known expression “Every place is Karbala and every day is ‘Āshūrā” as a clarion call for military opposition to the government. He pronounces blessings on Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and the rest of the Twelve Imams by name. The lengthy sermon—a little under an hour—is fully *ex tempore*, mostly in classical Arabic, with a small smattering of Iraqi colloquial. He too ends his sermon with the Surah of Victory.

3.2.3 Pro-ISIS Anti-government Sunni Sermon in Ramadi

Diametric contrast to both kinds of Twelver Shi’a sermons discussed above is found in the sermon of the pro-ISIS leader and preacher Abdul Munim al-Badrani, delivered in Ramadi, the capital of Iraq’s western Anbar province, on February 22, 2013.⁴⁶ Following the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq in 2011, the city was contested by the Iraqi government and ISIS. Ramadi fell to ISIS in May 2015, and was retaken by the Iraqi government in December 2015. In February 2013, when this sermon is preached, the mounting power of ISIS in the city is clear: huge, surging crowds of what appears to be hundreds of thousands of men (and some male children), hundreds of tents, presumably to house incoming fighters, and a strong visual show of solidarity and strength—on the podium a total of about fifty men dressed in cloaks and turbans or keffiyahs stand on four rows of risers just behind the preacher (echoing a practice adopted occasionally in medieval times). A large banner hanging above the preacher pits Prime Minister Nouri Maliki against the country itself, and characterizes the rally as a choice between them, naming the day and the service in it as “Friday of Either Maliki or Iraq” (*Jum’at al-‘Irāq aw al-Mālīkī*). The sermon draws on distinct heritage aspects, many not seen elsewhere in this chapter, including graphic nature imagery and verbatim citations from classical oratorical texts.

Badrani begins the first part of the two-part sermon with the Prophetic *taḥmīd*, in which he blesses the Prophet, and, collectively, his Companions, wives,

45 Surah al-Naṣr, Q 110.

46 I thank Sulayman Hasan for this identification. Another Ramadi preacher with a similar approach is Haidar al-Muhammadi, whose sermon is also available on YouTube.

and descendants, and in which he includes the Salafist heresy hadith, (The worst affairs are those that are new—all innovations are heresies, and all heresies will burn in the fire) (شَرُّ الْأُمُور مُحَدَّثَاتُهَا وَكُلُّ بَدْعَةٍ ضَلَالَةٌ وَكُلُّ ضَلَالَةٍ فِي النَّارِ). He employs the standard transition phrase, “this is what comes after” (*ammā ba’d*), and addresses his audience as “O brothers in Islam” (*yā ikhwat al-Islām*), echoing a formula most commonly (but not exclusively) used in early times by the Khārijites. Note that this is also a common form of address used by Osama Bin Laden in his speeches broadcast online.⁴⁷

Badrani declares that the Muslim community are the Prophet’s legatees and caliphs (*awṣiyā’* and *khuluf*) in “ordering good and forbidding evil,” a common Qur’anic concept cited here in a Salafist context: commanding good is protecting the faith, and forbidding evil is fighting the institutionalized evil of Shi’ism—which, in an interesting flashback to the vivid imagery of the classical oration, he calls “the spotted snake.” Its head is in Iran (“the land of Kisrā”), its spine is in Iraq and Syria, its tail is in Lebanon (“Ḥizb al-Lāt”—exchanging the word Allah in Hezbollah for the name of a pre-Islamic pagan deity). Echoing the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj’s Kufa sermon, he says that this snake has “laid eggs and hatched chicks” in Yemen, southern Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Kuwait.⁴⁸ He says it is important to precisely define the nature of the snake’s heritage as the pre-Islamic Persian empire in its aggression against the Arabs, the medieval Safavid dynasty’s imposition of Shi’ism in Iran and southern Iraq, and the earlier Fatimid dynasty’s Shi’a rule in the Islamic world.

Badrani next articulates a “message” (*risālah*) for different groups of people; the term has echoes of Prophetic function and deepens the preacher’s appropriation of it referred to at the outset with the “commanding good” theme. The messages are as follows: The U.S. and the E.U. should beware of meddling. Masoud Barzani (president of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region and leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP) should support his fellow Sunnis and Iraqis, for he is the descendant of the Kurdish Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who defeated “the enemies of Islam, the Fatimids and Crusaders.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (president of Turkey), likewise, should support his fellow Sunnis. The Iraqi Shi’ites should return “to their roots, the Prophet’s Sunnah, the true religion.” The Iraqi security forces, army, and police, should protect the Iraqi people. The Gulf countries should get involved in pushing back the enemy, for they are the Shi’a’s real target. Admonishing his audience, the preacher cites a line from the first

47 Ibrahim, 268; see analysis of one speech in Miller, 356–364.

48 (باض و فرخ) App. § 51.6.

oration by the Prophet Muḥammad in Mecca, “I am the naked warner.”⁴⁹ In addition to the fire in the phrase itself, the line metonymically invokes the following phrase from the Prophet’s sermon, “in advance of a harsh punishment.”⁵⁰ It further yokes the history of early Islam—Muḥammad’s early struggles and his eventual victory—to the ISIS movement. Toward the end, Badrani cites lines from the Prophet’s farewell-pilgrimage oration urging Muslims to do what is right, here, to extirpate the Shi’a and protect the true brethren. He ends the first part of the two-part sermon with the traditional line, “I say these words and seek forgiveness from God for me, for you, and for all Muslims.”

Badrani begins the second part of the two-part sermon with a single line of praise and blessings, and says his final message is for his direct audience, true and good Muslims all, who must be the ones to bring change, drawing on their truth and fortitude. He cites several verses from the Qur’an promoting these traits. The ending praise formula is notable (like the beginning of the segment) for its deliberate exclusion of the Prophet’s descendants, saying “God, bless our leader Muḥammad, as you blessed the descendants of Abraham.” He ends with a few lines of prayer, supplicating God for victory for “the brothers in Syria,” and the traditional Qur’anic line, «[Our] last prayer is praise to God, lord of the worlds.»⁵¹

Throughout, the preacher speaks in fluent classical Arabic, extemporaneously, and in a raised voice and impassioned tone. The dignitaries standing behind him listen impassively, raising their hands during the supplication. After the sermon and the ritual prayer completes the service, another individual takes the microphone and encourages the huge audience to shout slogans, including the anti-government chant heard across the Middle East in the Arab Spring, “The people—desire—to topple—the regime.”⁵² Someone else (or perhaps Badrani himself—the identity of the speaker is unclear in the video) stridently declaims the word “*takbīr*,” soliciting and getting from the audience long and sustained chants of “God is great” (*Allāhu akbar*)—the “*takbīr*” formula is a required religious formula for Muslims to recite during and after prayers on the occasion of the two Eid feasts, but it is sometimes used militantly, as it is here, to denote a religiously driven revolution.

49 (أنا النذير العريان) App. §90.2.

50 (بين يدي عذاب شديد) App. §90.2.

51 Modified version of Q Yūnus 10:10 ﴿وَأَخِرُ دَعْوَاهُمْ أَنِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ﴾.

52 (الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام).

4 India

Different from Egypt and Iraq in many respects, India is a large country with many spoken languages that do not include Arabic, many ethnic groups, and many Muslim denominations. My assessment focuses on the Sunni Ḥanafī majority, among whom the Friday sermon is considered part of the ritual prayer. Purely liturgical and enfolding religious and ethical themes, it remains untouched by mundane concerns and changing mores. As required by medieval jurists such as Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, it is delivered across the country liturgically in Arabic.⁵³ It is usually accompanied by a discourse in the local language, a teaching circle where both the preacher and the audience are sitting, which expands on the sermon's main theme, but also includes references to immediate local concerns, including regional and national politics. The sermon eschews the multivalent functions of classical Arabic oration, but adheres closely to its language and ritual. Preachers are appointed by elected local councils of religious leaders, not affiliated with the government. The selection is from the ground up, and there is much variation in approach and quality.

Sunni congregations in India identify with one of two main schools of thought, Deobandhi or Barelwi, affiliated with two seminaries in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh.⁵⁴ The Deobandhi mother institution is Darul Ulum Deobandh, in Deobandh, Saharanpur District, which, according to several of my interviewees, has in the past few decades taken an increasingly Salafist path. The Barelwi mother institution is Darul Ulum Ashrafiya, in Mubarakpur. It follows a Sufi-influenced path, and evinces reverence for the descendants of the Prophet. The Ulama boards of each of the two institutions issue juridical decrees, which are followed by their subordinate institutions and constituents all over India, and to some extent Pakistan. The particular formulae they use demarcate their denominational identity. In recent decades, in many villages and towns in northern India physical clashes have erupted between the two groups over the correct practice of the Friday sermon.

4.1 *Training and Curriculum of Preachers*

Indian preachers train in Arabic madrasas across the country, and the curriculum of these seminaries is based on the Dars-e Nizami, a list of texts set in the eighteenth century by a Lucknow scholar.⁵⁵ On July 27, 2009, in Mum-

53 Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, 134.

54 Also, less commonly, a third school called Ahl-e Hadis.

55 On the Dars-e Nizami, Arabic seminaries, and other aspects of the language in India, see T. Qutbuddin, "Arabic in India."

bai, I interviewed Maulana Riyaz Ahmed, Vice President of the Indian Ulama Council and of the Maharashtra chapter of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (founded by the pro-theocracy Pakistani theologian Abul Ala Maududi, 1903–1979), who trained in the Madrasat al-Islah seminary in the town of Saraymir of the Azamgarh District of Uttar Pradesh. He spoke about aspects of preacher training as follows: All major Indian Sunni madrasas offer an eight- to ten-year course, beginning at age seven or eight (before that, children go to a “*maktab*” for two to three years). Students graduate with a degree of “*‘ālim*” (scholar), or, if they complete two more years of postgraduate work, with a degree of “*‘ālim fāḍil*” (excellent scholar). All over India, both Deobandhis and Barelwis follow the Dars-e Nizami curriculum. Riyaz Ahmed says although small parts of this curriculum have been fruitfully modified from time to time, this is far from enough; it does not answer sufficiently to the needs of modern times and a major overhaul is required. Of the preachers who are appointed by mosque boards, some are just “*hāfiẓ*,” meaning they have memorized the Qur’an; the preference is to appoint individuals who are both “*hāfiẓ*” and “*‘ālim*.” All these points also apply to Pakistan. However, Pakistan now has more Taliban and Saudi influence (manifest in the heresy clause that appears frequently in sermons, and the overall militarist rhetoric), perhaps because it identifies as an Islamic Republic, while India identifies as a secular state. Unlike in India, moreover, some aspects of preaching in Pakistan are regulated by the state.

In Mumbai, the Darul Ulum Mohammadiya at Minara Masjid Dongri follows the Barelwi path. In July 2009 I interviewed its principal, Hafiz Athar, who talked about the program and students and shared with me a copy of their curriculum. The medium of instruction is Urdu, and students are also taught Persian and Arabic. The syllabus—which follows the Dars-e Nizami, with some modifications—includes medieval texts, anthologies, and commentaries in the areas of language, grammar, theology, hadith, Qur’an exegesis and recitation, logic, major Persian poets, some Arabic poets, Arabic prose, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, jurisprudence, and history. Within this, they study the orations of the earliest Muslim leaders.

4.2 *Resources of the Preacher*

Like their Egyptian counterparts, Indian preachers focus on texts of the Qur’an and hadith, and on the doctrinal and legal concepts they propound. But some features in their presentation, and in the resources they use for that presentation, are unique to the Indian context. Their Friday and Eid sermon is in full classical Arabic, and most preachers rely on model sermons, which they recite, either directly from the book or from memory. Compilations abound, and works by some famous preacher-scholars are popular. Among these is the

thematic compilation of the pre-Independence Deobandhi-Sufi scholar Ashraf Ali Thanvi (d. 1943), titled *Khuṭubāt al-aḥkām li-jumu‘āt al-‘ām*, first published in 1930, which has been published in many editions with commentaries and translations, and is also current in Pakistan. The themes in his fifty sermons are related to worship rites such as ritual prayer, Qur’an, ritual purity, and mandatory almsgiving; character traits such as forbearance, gratitude, and penitence; and special rites and virtues associated with various months and days of the year, including Ramadan, Sha‘ban, and Muharram. These texts—just two pages each—are to be used for the first part of the two-part sermon, one every week for the whole year. The compilation also includes one short text for the second part of the two-part sermon, to be repeated every Friday. Additionally, the compilation has a single two-part sermon for each of the two Eids, a sermon for the prayer-for-rain ritual (*istisqā’*), and another for the marriage ceremony (*nikāḥ*). This schema is common in most compilations published after Thanvi, although many of these new ones now list each of their sermons under a dual heading—thematic and chronological—usually five (sometimes four) sermons for each lunar month.

Another well-known full-year compilation is by Mohammad Abdul Hai Lakhnawi (d. 1887), also used both in India and Pakistan. Yet another that I found both in Surat and Mumbai is titled *Khuṭubāt Dār al-‘Ulūm*, produced by an anonymous group of scholars from Darul Ulum Bharuch, Mahmudnagar, in Gujarat state. A compilation of Friday sermons by Abu Nasir Zakir-Husain Ubaydi published in Bangalore in South India is called “Sermons of Pious Counsel” (*Khuṭubāt-e maw‘izat*), a title that indicates the first part of the two-part sermon’s overarching theme of pious counsel. Others include the collection of Abdul Munim Nazir from Kalusta, in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra; and the collection of another Mohammad Abdul Hai, with three options for the second of the two-part Friday sermon. Some authors offer a handful of model sermons, as do Mohammad Ismail Shahid Deobandhi and Ahmed Riza-Khan of the Qādiriyyah Sufi order in Delhi.

Some of these compilations are available in libraries of Western educational institutions. Others appear to be available only locally, and include many chapbooks I purchased in small bookstores in the predominantly Muslim neighborhoods of Dongri and Bhendi Bazaar in South Mumbai, and Zampa Bazaar in Surat. The compilations hail from different parts of India and represent different denominational approaches. Some popular works are issued by multiple publishers.

Among resources for preachers, we find a smaller but direct conduit from classical oration. I located two anthologies of orations by early Muslim leaders, one each from India and Pakistan. Mohammad Tasin’s *Khuṭubāt ma‘thūrah* was

published in Karachi in 1966, and contains orations by Muḥammad, the four Sunni caliphs, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Tasin prefaces each oration text in the compilation with the standard Prophetic *tahmīd*. He lists his sources as follows: (the medieval works) *Kanz al-Ummāl*, *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-ladunniyyah*, *Nahj al-balāghah*, *al-Iqd al-farīd*, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, and (the early twentieth-century anthology) *Jamharat khuṭab al-‘Arab*. He offers an Urdu translation for each sermon, presumably to be used for the preacher’s commentary. Muhammad Idris Turui’s *Khuṭubāt-i nabawī* was published in Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh, in 1993, and offers sixty-two reports and texts of the Prophet’s occasional orations in Urdu translation; two further texts are titled Friday sermons, and these include the Arabic text and the standard Prophetic *tahmīd*—presumably these two Arabic sermons, and not the others in Urdu, are meant to be recited by preachers.

4.3 *Influence and Divergence*

Certain features in the Indian sermon are a near facsimile of the earliest Islamic Friday sermons, while several other features also display some influence: The *tahmīd* of the first part of the two-part sermon varies, but its concepts and vocabulary echo the glorification of God, testimony to his oneness and to the messengership of Muḥammad, and benedictions on him found in the classical Arabic oration. For the second part of the two-part sermon, preachers almost always recite the standard Prophetic praise-of God verbatim. The heresy hadith is infrequently included, and its presence usually indicates Salafist leanings, as in the Deobandhi Shahid volume.⁵⁶

The blessings formula in the second part of the two-part sermon blesses by name the following, in this order: the Prophet Muḥammad, the four Sunni caliphs (collectively referred to as the “Rāshidūn” and with individual laudatory epithets), the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’ (“mistress of the women of paradise”), his grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (“chiefs of the youth of paradise”), his wives (without naming them), his uncles Ḥamzah (“God’s lion”) and ‘Abbās (and sometimes his descendants), the Medinan Emigrants and Allies, “the ten who are promised paradise,” and all Muḥammad’s followers.⁵⁷ Attested in all published sermon collections, these formulae were also included in two sermons recorded by my interviewees: a Barelwi sermon by Maulana Siraj from Bihar state on July 24, 2009, in Mumbai’s Tokra Gali, Phoolwali Masjid, and a Deobandhi sermon by Maulana Mohammed Farouk on August 7, 2009, in

56 Shahid, 40; he emphasizes the heresy issue further, saying “Cleave to the Sunnah ... beware of heresy” (38–39).

57 Thanvi, 219–220; Riza-Khan, 3, 15–18; Shahid, 43–44; Abdul Hai, *Jum’ah ké khuṭbé*, 332.

Surat's Safai Masjid (more on them shortly). Riyaz Ahmed, whose interview I mentioned earlier, explained his understanding of the blessings formula, saying, "In early Umayyad times, Mu'āwiyah and the caliphs who came after him instituted a system of cursing 'Alī and the Prophet's family, which was a very bad thing. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz reversed that policy and instituted instead a system of invoking blessings upon various personages, including the family of the Prophet, which continues to this day." Pace Riyaz Ahmed, official invocation of blessings on the Prophet's family in the Umayyad period seems quite unlikely even by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz who walked back some of the earlier anti-'Alid practices, and I have not found a classical source for that claim—but as noted in the report of Jāhīz in Chapter Two, he did stop the pulpit cursing.⁵⁸ The blessings formula used presently by Indian (and in part by Turkish) preachers appears to be an Abbasid Ḥanafī formula, spread with the promulgation of Ḥanafī Islam in the Abbasid and later the Ottoman period, as signaled by the inclusion of blessings on the Prophet's uncle 'Abbās, in tandem with the occasional addition of "his sons," the Abbasid caliphs.⁵⁹ The few YouTube videos of Indian sermons I located online, including those of the Deobandh madrasah's Rasheed Masjid, do not name individuals from the Prophet's family.⁶⁰ Also, Sufis do not appear to bless their saints by name within the sermon.

In the first part of the two-part sermon, the conventional transition phrase, "As for what comes after" (*ammā ba'd*), is standard. Also standard is a conventional address to the congregation, using formulae such as "servants of God" (*ibād Allāh*), "Assembly of Muslims" (*ma'shar al-muslimīn*), "Assembly of brothers" (*ma'shar al-ikhwān*), "O believers" (*ayyuhā l-mu'minūn*), "O people" (*ayyuhā l-nās*), and "O believers" (*yā ayyuhā l-ladhīna āmanū*). Also common is the formula, "I counsel you to godfearing piety" (*uṣikum bi-l-taqwā*).

Qur'an and hadith citations form the backbone of the sermon. Poetry citation appears to be disallowed, although Urdu verse—especially by Mohammad Iqbal (d. 1938), popular because of his ideas on rejuvenating Islam—is often cited in the accompanying lecture. I have not heard any poetry cited in the sermons I have listened to—Ahmed Riza-Khan, in the introduction to his compilation, says poetry citation is discouraged, but occasional Arabic counsel verses

58 Per Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:56–57.

59 I thank Shawkat Toorawa for bringing to my notice the practice of reciting the Prophet's *taḥmīd* in South Asian Ḥanafī mosques, and for his observation on the Abbasid blessings formula.

60 See 2013 sermon by Qari Muhammed Abdul Mannan at the Hibatul Jabbar Mosque in Hyderabad, and 2016 sermon by Mufti Affan Deobandhi at Rasheed Mosque in Darul Ulum, Deobandh.

are acceptable.⁶¹ In a case of what would appear to be a mistaken understanding of early Islamic practice, Shahid (who is Deobandhi) says poetry citation is reprehensible in any language, as it is against the Sunnah.⁶²

The classical oration's ending prayer-formula, "I seek forgiveness for myself, and for all believing men and women," is used verbatim, both in the first and second part of the two-part sermon. Sometimes, it is preceded by the classical phrase, "I say these words, and ..." ⁶³ Other prayers are invoked in the second part of the two-part sermon, echoing the final placement of lines of prayer in the classical oration. The second part of the two-part sermon nearly always ends with the Qur'an verse, «God commands justice and kindness ...». ⁶⁴ This verse is followed by the line, "Believers, remember God and he will remember you, pray to him and he will answer your prayer"—as in Maulana Siraj's 2009 sermon in Mumbai. Unlike the classical oration, there is no prayer at the end for a named ruler. Riza-Khan says it is illicit to describe a ruler in the sermon as "master of the necks of the community."⁶⁵

The sermon is in classical Arabic, and Indian scholars—both Barelwi and Deobandhi—assert that this is a requirement for validity, as they believe the two-part sermon stands in for the two cycles of the ritual noon prayer.⁶⁶ The case is different in diaspora Indian Sunni communities in the U.S. and U.K., where sermons are usually given in English and sometimes Urdu, with the framing formulae in Arabic. Presumably because of its liturgical nature, the Friday sermon in India is short, averaging just four to five minutes. With a nod to its liturgical context, it is sometimes even chanted by the preacher as in the 2016 Friday sermon by Maulana Hafiz Abdul Qadir in an unnamed location in India, and the 2009 sermon by Maulana Mohammad Farouk in Surat.

4.4 *Preacher and Audience*

Orator and audience together adhere to practices that reflect classical oration. These are explained in the introductions to model sermon compilations, which are usually written in Urdu. Details were added by my three interviewees, who are regular attendees at the Sunni Ḥanafī Friday services in Mumbai, Gujarat, and Uttar Pradesh, and who are working or have worked in Mumbai, and whose mother tongue is Gujarati or Urdu (interviewed July 2009): Mehboob Khalifa

61 Riza-Khan, 13. Abdul Hai, 31.

62 Shahid, 20.

63 Riza-Khan, 13.

64 Q Nahl 16:90.

65 Riza-Khan, 3.

66 Shahid, 13.

of Virdi in Gujarat; Madir Ahmed Teli of Gokula village in Faizabad District of Uttar Pradesh; and Jabbar Ali Khan of Dhamapur in Partapgarh District of Uttar Pradesh. The following points summarize these findings:

In a mosque, the preacher preaches from a pulpit, and in more ad hoc prayer spaces, he preaches standing on the ground facing the congregation. Frequently, he carries a staff in his hand.⁶⁷ Although I have learned of no preachers wearing ceremonial weapons, Shahid theorizes that political symbols in lands ruled by Islamic law are desirable, such as the preacher wearing a sword to celebrate a victory.⁶⁸

There are also customs binding the congregation, who, in Indian Sunni mosques, are comprised only of males (a convention that prevented my own personal observation). Speech is strictly forbidden, and this rule is adhered to more strictly here than, for example, in Egypt. Most sit in the posture of the ritual prayer, mostly looking straight down at the spot at which they would look in the ritual prayer. Some congregations say “*āmīn*” (amen) to the ending supplications. In the discourse before the sermon, they sometimes interject phrases expressing appreciation, such as, in Arabic/Urdu, “Glory to God!” (*subhān Allāh*), “What wonders God has willed!” (*mā shā’ Allāh*), or, in Urdu, “Wonderful!” (*kyā khūb*).

Mehboob said that with the exception of some learned people who might be present, the audience does not understand the Arabic sermon at all, and they listen to it “as a Sunnah.” But regular attendees, who are well aware of the conventions, are familiar with certain parts—praise and blessings formulae, names of religious personages, Qur’an verses and hadith—and they can follow the gist of the sermon. Ahmed said he understands the Arabic sermon “because it is from the Qur’an.” He said that at a sermon he attended in South India during Muharram a few years ago the preacher often brought in the names Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and he understood that the preacher was extolling the grandsons of the Prophet. He says the audience does not understand the full import of the sermon, but they pick up on names. If a name were dropped or added from the blessings formula, it would create a stir.

Unlike its classical Arabic model, which included edificatory, social, political, and military directives, the Friday sermon in contemporary India is confined to religious ritual. But the wider edificatory function is fulfilled by adding a fifteen- to twenty- minute sit-down discourse (*taqrīr*), given in Urdu (the language most often used for this function everywhere in India except for South

67 E.g., Shahid, 20; Nazir, 5.

68 Shahid, 14.

India), or another local language—such as Tamil in Tamil Nadu, Malayalam in Karnataka, etc. The *taqrīr* is usually delivered before the sermon, sometimes between the first and second parts of the two-part sermon, and is usually based on the theme of the Arabic sermon. Ubaydi's compilation of Arabic sermons contains an Urdu commentary on each sermon, presumably to be used for the *taqrīr*. In recent years, some Salafist groups have violently disallowed the *taqrīr*, claiming that it contravenes the purity of the Arabic service. On March 5, 2009, several men were arrested in the Kolihi locality of Agra, following brickbattling between the Deobandhis and the Barelwis—the former wanted to stop the latter from delivering a *taqrīr*.

4.5 *Shi'a Sermons, and Speeches by Both Sunni and Shi'a*

In contrast to the Sunnis, the Indian Twelver Shi'a perform the Friday sermon in a local language, bookended and infused with classical Arabic formulae of prayer and blessings. An example is the 2016 Friday sermon of Maulana Alamdar Husain, given in the Shi'a Jama Masjid of Juhi Safed Colony, Kanpur, in Uttar Pradesh. Another example is the 2011 last Ramadan Friday sermon by Ayatollah Muhammad Hussain Najafi, who recites an Arabic blessings formula and a few lines of counsel, before launching into Urdu. Note in the videos the staff in both preachers' hands. The Ṭayyibī-Ismā'īlī Shi'a consider the Friday sermon in abeyance during the seclusion of the Imam.

Both communities—Ṭayyibīs and Twelvers—hold assemblies (*majālis*, sing. *majlis*) in Muharram to commemorate the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn in Karbala, where they also draw on early Islamic oratorical materials and techniques, especially the *taḥmīd* opening and prayer ending; Toby Howarth describes the Twelver mourning sermons of Hyderabad, and he speaks of sermons by women. In community speeches by Muslim leaders of all denominations, it is common practice to begin with the Basmalah, often followed by blessings on the Prophet and his descendants, and ending with a praise verse, "our final prayer is this: praise God, lord of the worlds."⁶⁹

5 Turkey

Similar to Egypt, Iraq, and India in some ways and different in others, the Friday sermon in contemporary Turkey also looks to the early Islamic sermon as

69 (وَأَخِرُ دَعْوَانَا) أَنْ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ): Q Yūnus 10:10 with pronoun modified from third to first person.

a model. In formulae and citation of sacred texts, in several aspects of function and theme, and in the use of precedents in the form of the Prophet's farewell pilgrimage sermon and the accession speeches of the four Sunni caliphs, the Turkish Friday sermon today displays some interesting points of influence from the classical Arabic oration.⁷⁰ In the present day, there are about eighty thousand mosques in Turkey in which the Friday sermon is delivered weekly and the Eid sermon biannually, and as many preachers. These sermons uphold doctrines of the majority Sunni Ḥanafī denomination. Since the formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the framing formulae are pronounced in Arabic and reflect the Prophet's standard peroration and the classical conventions, while the main part of the sermon is in the country's primary spoken language, Turkish. Earlier, in the Ottoman period, full sermons were delivered in Arabic, as they still are in India, and were thus more liturgical than educational, since the majority of the people did not understand Arabic. Preachers are appointed and supervised by the government ministry named the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı).

5.1 *Training, Curriculum, and Appointment of Preachers*

Most preachers in Turkey are graduates of "imam-hatip" government high schools (Ar. *imām-khaṭīb*), which were originally established in 1924, closed in 1933, and reopened in 1952, and currently number about five hundred, named for their training of prayer leaders and preachers.⁷¹ About ten percent of Turkish preachers also have bachelor's degrees, having graduated from various faculties of theology, and the ministry prefers them for imam-hatip appointments. A minority are graduates of secular high schools who have obtained an additional certificate in preaching. The ministry also sends trained preachers to other countries with large Turkish diaspora populations, especially Germany.

The imam-hatip school curriculum includes courses in Qur'an, exegesis, hadith, and Arabic, in addition to secular subjects, such as mathematics and physics. A special course on oratory (*hitabet*, Ar. *khaṭābah*) teaches students about the role of the sermon, including its requirements according to the various Sunni schools of jurisprudence, appropriate gestures for use in preaching, voice modulation, and desired length of the sermon. It also teaches the liturgical formulae that should frame the sermon, which the students are required

⁷⁰ My heartfelt thanks to Ayşe Polat, who organized research interviews for me in Istanbul and served as interpreter. I also thank Hakan Karateke, Abdurrahman Atcil, and Ertugrul Okten for introductions and materials.

⁷¹ See entry by Bahattin Akşit, "İmam Hatip Schools," *E13*.

to memorize. These are collectively called (in Turkish, without Arabic diacritics) “*dua*”; the introduction is called “*muqaddimah*,” and is broken down into “*hamdalah*” and “*salwalah*.” Turkish preachers assiduously study the Prophet’s farewell sermon, and also the accession speeches of the four Sunni caliphs.

The training includes practical training sessions and competitions, in which—according to the website of Istanbul’s Beyoğlu district imam-hatip schools—judges grade students based on memorization and recitation, fluent and effective Turkish declamation, appropriate posture and gesture, efficient use of time, “control over the audience,” appropriateness of theme, and richness of content. A separate competition is held specifically with students declaiming the Prophet’s farewell sermon from memory in Arabic and Turkish.

In March 2011, I interviewed preachers from three venues in Istanbul about their training. They spoke of the imam-hatip school and its curriculum, and I have presented those collective observations above. They also talked of their own personal experiences, and about what is important in preacher education, which I turn to now:

My first interviewee was Emrullah Hatipoğlu, Imam-Hatip of the Sultanahmet Mosque (popularly known as the Blue Mosque, one of the best known Ottoman imperial mosques in Istanbul).⁷² I attended his Friday sermon, and spoke with him afterward about it, and about his training at the imam-hatip school. He mentioned the oratory course and the theoretical materials taught there, but said the most crucial thing was practice, and advanced students who are about to graduate are taken to the mosque to give a sermon in front of teachers and peers. He himself trains students who come to practice with him. What he looks for is measured and clearly enunciated speech. He says it is essential that the preacher understand what he is presenting. Asked about studying classical oration in his training, he mentioned that he had memorized the traditional Prophetic *taḥmīd* opening, but did not name any more orators or orations from the classical period.

My next two interviewees were Hüseyin Kösebalaban and Yahya Özkul, Imam-Hatips of the smaller Çilehane Mosque, in the Üsküdar district. They too spoke of the oratory class in imam-hatip school as well as the one in their university faculty of theology, and emphasized the practical aspect of the training. They mentioned studying and memorizing the Prophet’s farewell sermon,

72 Emrullah Hoja worked in Istanbul, at the Beylerbeyi Mosque for 10 years, then at Yeni Mosque in the Eminonu district, and Teşvikiye Mosque in the Şişli district. He then trained for two and half years at the Diyanet ministry’s Pendik Haseki Education Center in Istanbul. Since then, for the past 33 years, he has been imam-hatip of the Sultanahmet Mosque (see his write-up on the mosque’s website).

and the accession sermons of the four Sunni caliphs. They emphasized that it was important to maintain the traditions, but it was also important to make the traditions relevant to contemporary needs.

My next interviewee was Dr. Kâmil Yaşaroğlu, Director of İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM), an academic research center and major library for Islamic studies operating under the auspices of the ministry of religion. İSAM also publishes the ministry's encyclopedia of Islam, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, which includes entries on subjects related to Turkish preaching. Dr. Yaşaroğlu holds a PhD in Islamic law, and he—although not a professional mosque preacher like the others—gives the Friday sermon at İSAM, which he writes himself. About a hundred and fifty researchers and staff members attend.

5.2 *Production of Sermon Texts and Resources*

Since 2006, sermon texts have been produced by the bureau of clerics (Müftülüğü) of the various towns and districts, and are also sent to Turkish embassies abroad for use in the diaspora. Beginning in 1980, sermons for preachers across Turkey were written by the main Diyanet office in Ankara. Before that, from 1968, the ministry's Gazette had begun to include model sermons, which preachers were encouraged to use. Even further back, all preachers used to prepare their own sermons, using various resources. Today, there is strong state control, and most preachers read sermons produced by their town's state bureau. The centralizing move in 2006 appears to coincide with the rise in the national political sphere of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who became prime minister in 2003, and who went on to become president in 2014.

Also during my March 2011 visit, I interviewed Mufti İsmail (Turkish: Müftü) of the imperial Fatih Mosque district's ministry office, who explained the process. (Earlier, for six years, he worked in the main mufti office of Istanbul.) Mufti İsmail said that sermon preparation in Istanbul is supervised by the city's chief mufti, assisted by a commission of five experts. The commission chooses a topic, such as ritual prayer. Then they contact professors of the two prominent university faculties of theology in Istanbul, as well as certain mosque preachers, asking two or three individuals to prepare a sermon. Topics can range into the secular sphere—physicians could be asked to prepare a sermon on a health-related topic, which the commission then renders in the appropriate structure and language. For submissions by preachers from smaller mosques, Mufti İsmail's Fatih Mosque commission vets texts to send to the Istanbul commission. The main Istanbul commission meets every Tuesday to select a submission, modifies or shortens it, and sends it to the city's chief mufti. Sometimes the mufti adds announcements at the end of the sermon, such as a call

for earthquake relief donations. On Thursdays, the final text is uploaded to the bureau's website. This is the first part of the two-part sermon. The second part, which is one or two minutes only, is supplicatory and usually recited from memory; it is included in the list of formulae supplied by the ministry. Mufti Ismail said the state supervises sermons closely to ensure that they are well prepared, but it is also important and good that one prepare one's own sermon.

Mufti Ismail shared with me a six-page white paper sent to muftis all across Turkey by the head of the Diyanet ministry, Ali Bardakoğlu, on February 17, 2006, with the directive for sermons to be henceforth prepared by the mufti in each city. It explains the rationale for the policy change as the need to make sermons "more productive by taking into account local needs and priorities," and lists a set of principles to be followed in sermon preparation and criteria for evaluating the submissions received by the local mufti's office. These principles and criteria highlight the function and aim of the contemporary Turkish sermon. They are:

- Plan: topic, central problem, aim, expected benefit, basic aspect (emotion, persuasion, information), and references to Qur'an, hadith, and other cited material.
- Elements: thesis statement and concrete examples from daily life and from the historical record.
- Criteria for evaluation: clarity of expression; appropriateness of conceptual problem; suitability to location; balance between positive and negative approaches; harmony with the Qur'an, Sunnah, and scientific facts; absence of expressions that would threaten national unity or insult any groups; compliance with the ministry's mission to enlighten society about faith, worship, and morality.

In line with these objectives, sermons steer away from divisive topics. This is a delicate issue, since relevance to contemporary issues is also considered important. Mufti Ismail said it was imperative to take into account the needs of the local people, and speak, for example, on agricultural topics in rural areas and topics relevant to urban populations in cities, address topics related to Ramadan and Hajj during those seasons, and engage with present-day concerns, such as the preservation of forests. He asserted that the sermon should have no political content, no praise, or negative remarks about anyone, and it was important not to hurt anybody's feelings. What may be voiced regarding current affairs, for example, is warning of an illness that may be spreading and information about the government's efforts to stop it. Describing the development of the Friday sermons in Turkey vis-à-vis the state, Ceren Kenar writes that they attempt to balance the basic premises of Islam and the tenets

of Kemalism. She finds that the ministry utilizes its administrative apparatus to disseminate “an unthreatening interpretation of Islam that reifies the state power.”⁷³

In preparing Friday sermons, an important resource is found in the sermon collections of eloquent Turkish preachers from past decades. Mufti Ismail said the ministry uses them heavily, deleting parts they disagree with. He mentioned particularly the collections of the Fatih Mosque preacher Abdurrahman Şeref Güzelyazıcı (1904–1978), the Diyanet official and preacher Ismail Coşar (b. 1933), and the Süleymaniye Mosque preacher Ömer Öztop (1945–2012). Mufti Ismail said the ministry also uses some of the contemporary sermons given (by Hanbali-Wahhabi preachers appointed by the Saudi government) in the mosque of Mecca. He said the Qur’an and Sunnah form the backbone of any sermon, sayings of the Companions are important resources, and books of history, exegesis, and jurisprudence are also used.

All the preachers I interviewed say they frequently use these same resources, in addition to the ministry’s sermons, to prepare their own. Emrullah Hoja uses Güzelyazıcı, and the Çilehane Mosque preachers use Öztop, as well the collection of the Süleymaniye preacher Ali Rıza Demircan (b. 1945). Dr. Yaşaroğlu said there are about fifty Turkish books of sermon collections, and the Diyanet monthly Gazette has two to three sermons. He described his preparation process thus: he chooses a topic, a related Qur’an verse and hadith, and relevant quotations of the Companions; his sermons are short, about seven to eight minutes. He reiterated that in a few places in Turkey, preachers prepare their own sermons. The Çilehane Mosque preachers said the preacher knows his community, so he should prepare the sermon, in order to have it be relevant to their concerns. Mufti Ismail too worked earlier as a preacher for six years in Germany, where he wrote his own sermons.

The İSAM research library collection—comprising a wider range of texts not necessarily used by the ministry or the majority of preachers—contains a large number of sermon collections by modern preachers and early Muslim leaders (a total of eighty-eight in my 2011 search). They include the orations of the Prophet (in editions by Fuat Yavuz, Ahmet Tekin, Cemal Ögüt, Murat Gökalg,

73 Kenar, 125, 193–194. For a discussion of “minimally counterintuitive” religious concepts in Turkish sermons, see Gibbon, “God is great, God is good.” For an analysis of the linking of nationalism and religion as ideologies, see Aydemir, “The Promotion of Nationalism in Turkey by the State.” Aydemir (citing in translation Mehmet Katar, 55) quotes Atatürk, “Holy pulpits of the mosques are the most fertile sources for the ethical and spiritual necessity of people. Heard the voice coming from the pulpit, a Muslim’s spirit gets refreshed, his ideas purified, his faith reinforced.”

and Ebu Nasr Abdullah b. Ved'an Mevsili) and the four Sunni caliphs (edited by Tacettin Uzun), and several editions of 'Alī's *Nahj al-balāghah*. Mufti Ismail said the *Nahj al-balāghah* is studied and used by preachers, but the ministry "neither encourages nor discourages" its use. The İSAM library also holds single copies of Fāṭimah's Fadak oration, the sermons of Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb, and from modern times, the speeches of Atatürk and Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim.

Emrullah Hoja's Friday sermon on March 18, 2011, in the Blue Mosque, which I attended, is a prime example of the ministry's sermons. Although he told me he often gives his own sermons on topics including piety, prayer, and morality, on this day he read out the ministry's sermon. March 18 is the anniversary of Turkey's Victory Day in World War I, celebrating the 1915 Ottoman triumph over the Allied Forces of Russia, Britain, and France in the Battle of Gallipoli, also called the War of Dardanelles. It was in this battle that Atatürk first gained prominence as commander. The topic of the sermon was martyrdom and sacrifice for faith and country, structured around Qur'an verses and hadith promoting these nationalist and religious ideals.

5.3 *Influence and Divergence*

I asked Mufti Ismail my stock question regarding influence, and his response tells us how Turkish preachers view their oratorical inheritance. He said that the themes are contemporary, but they are presented in the format of the classical sermon, with standard prayers in Arabic, and with Qur'an and hadith citations. The brevity of the sermon is inspired by the Prophet's sermon. From time to time, he said, we just translate a full sermon of the Prophet and read it out, citing it,⁷⁴ or a sermon by Abū Bakr or 'Umar, and people are appreciative. This summary statement is borne out—and more details are added—by the preachers I interviewed, and by Emrullah Hoja's sermon that I observed in the Blue Mosque in March 2011.

These points are also illustrated in sermons by preachers of various backgrounds, in different cities, and smaller and larger mosques, published on YouTube, of which the following list is a sample:

- Mehmet Görmez, former Diyanet ministry president, and thus the highest level cleric in Turkey: Friday sermon in the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, published January 16, 2015; and at the Dicle University Mosque in Diyarbakir, published April 10, 2012.

74 The Prophet's farewell sermon (Turkish: *veda hutbesi*) is available copiously online, including an Arabic-Turkish recital of the sermon by two unnamed preachers, and a Turkish translation and annotation on the Diyanet ministry website. App. § 90.19.

- İsmail Coşar, former Diyanet ministry vice president, Friday sermon at the main Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara, published December 24, 2012.
- Mehmet Emin Ay, Qur'an reciter, devotional singer, and preacher, at the Grand Mosque of Bursa, Ramadan Eid sermon, published on August 8, 2013.
- Ibrahim Yildirim, preacher of the Kocamustafapaşa Sümbül Efendi Mosque in Istanbul, Friday sermon, published on September 16, 2010.

The Diyanet ministry's publication *Minberden öğütler* cites Arabic praise formulae and other supplications the preacher should recite verbatim or with minor modifications before and during the sermon, and the ministry also lists them on the Diyanet Imamhatipliyim website, as follows:⁷⁵ The opening praise formula for the first part of the two-part sermon follows the standard Prophetic *taḥmīd* (without the heresy hadith added by the Salafists). This is followed by the traditional transition phrase, "as for what comes after," and the vocative, "O servants of God." Next comes an injunction to "be conscious of God," sometimes with the addition "and obey him," followed by the Qur'an verse, «God is with the pious, the generous.»⁷⁶ The next line introduces the main Qur'an verse of the sermon, "God said in his noble book," followed by the formula, "I seek refuge in God from the evil Satan. I begin in the name of God, compassionate, merciful." All this is pronounced in Arabic, as is the following Qur'an verse and Prophetic hadith. The preacher then commences his Turkish translation and explication of these materials. At the end of the first part of the two-part sermon, he should say, "The best words and the most far reaching system is that of the words of God, the omniscient, mighty king, as God said, «When the Qur'an is recited, keep silent and listen, and you will receive [God's] mercy.» «The true faith, in God's eyes, is Islam.»"⁷⁷

At the beginning of the second part of the two-part sermon, the preacher begins with a short line of praise, and recites the Qur'an verse, «God and his angels bless the Prophet, O believers, bless him and pronounce greetings on him.»⁷⁸ He follows with the blessings formula on the Prophet and his descendants, then blesses the four Sunni caliphs by name, and (often but not always with) "the rest of the ten promised paradise, and the Emigrants, the Allies and

75 Derin and Onay, 13–16; the list includes formulae the preacher is supposed to voice softly before and after the sermon.

76 ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا وَالَّذِينَ هُمْ مُحْسِنُونَ﴾. Q Nahl 16:128.

77 ﴿إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ﴾ : Q A'rāf 7:204. ﴿وَإِذَا قُرِئَ الْقُرْآنُ فَاسْتَمِعُوا لَهُ وَأَنْصِتُوا لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ﴾ : Q Āl 'Imrān 3:19.

78 ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا﴾ : Q Aḥzāb 33:56.

those who came after them till the day of recompense.”⁷⁹ This is followed by a prayer for forgiveness for all Muslims. At the end, the Qur’an verse «God commands justice and kindness»⁸⁰ is recited, similar to what is done in the Indian and Egyptian sermons. Sometimes—as we see in the sermon by Ibrahim Yildirim—the preacher recites this verse in formal Qur’an recitation style, “*tajwid*.” Additionally, the Eid sermon ends with the Qur’an verse, «Say: Praise God who did not beget a son, who has no partner in his kingdom, no weakness and thus no need of one to aid him. Extol his greatness.»⁸¹ Mehmet Emin Ay recites the verse in his sermon in beautiful *tajwid*. As mentioned before, the “*tabbīr*” formula of “God is great!” (*Allāhu akbar*) is a required formula for the preacher and the congregation to recite during and after prayers on the occasion of the two Eid feasts.

Other features within the text of the sermon that display influences and divergences from classical oration are as follows: The preacher always recites at least one verse from the Qur’an (in Arabic) at the outset of the sermon, after the praise formula and the formal address to the congregation, and usually also a hadith. These are explained in the course of the sermon. From time to time, the preacher recites verses of poetry, in Turkish, and rarely in Persian and classical Arabic. The Çilehane Mosque preachers mentioned that they sometimes cite the medieval Persian verse of Sa’dī. They also mentioned citing the sayings of the medieval Sufi saint ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (or Gīlānī) and proverbs. In Ottoman times, the sermon was read in the name of the sultan (as it was in the classical oration). With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, this custom was superseded by the exercise of praying for the whole nation.⁸² Collections of older sermons have *taḥmīd* formulae for every sermon, contextualized to the sermon topic—as Emrullah Hoja explained—like the sermons of Güzelyazıcı. Moreover, in those sermons, the Arabic *taḥmīd* is rhymed, but not the Turkish body of the sermon, which, however, does have strong imagery. The Çilehane Mosque preachers remarked that classical orations were relevant to

79 This is similar to the Ḥanafī formula used by Indian preachers to open the second part of the two-part sermon; it omits, however, the names of the Prophet’s family—earlier the names were mentioned in Turkey too, and they are found within the blessings formula in the 1966 collection of Güzelyazıcı, 1:51–52. Ottoman imperial mosques inscribe on their ceilings, alongside the names of the Prophet and the four Sunni caliphs, the names of the Prophet’s grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

80 Q Naḥl 16:90.

81 وَقُلِ أَحْمَدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَخْذَ وَلَدًا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ شَرِيكٌ فِي الْمَلِكِ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ وَلِيٌّ مِنَ الذَّلَالِ وَكَبَرَهُ
﴿تَكْبِيرًا﴾: Q Isrā’ 17:111.

82 Baktur, 18:427–428.

their own time, and while in many places in the Islamic world they are perceived to be so no longer, the tradition's continuity is still upheld in Turkey. Dr. Yaşaroğlu explained that although Ottoman sermons were in Arabic, in late Ottoman times people began contacting the Sheikh-ul-Islam to ask if it was licit for the sermon to be delivered in Turkish; this can be seen in the pages of the late Ottoman journal *Ayine*. After the change of alphabet from Arabic script to roman in the Republic, Atatürk ordered the sermon changed to Turkish and sermon books to be prepared in Turkish.

5.4 Preacher and Audience

Continuing classical custom, the Turkish preacher preaches from the pulpit. Turkish pulpits, especially in the Ottoman imperial mosques, are exceptionally tall, and the preacher stands about halfway up. Remarking on the sanctity of the pulpit, Emrullah Hoja mentioned that the preacher is at the station (*maqām*) of the Prophet, and therefore, he should say what God and the Prophet said, that is, he should focus on citations of Qur'an and hadith. Speaking to the same point, the ministry prescribes the following supplication, which the preacher should voice softly as he climbs the pulpit, "God, this affair and this place are not mine" (اللهم هذا الشأن ليس بشائي وهذا المكان ليس بمكاني), meaning that he is not worthy of them.

Staff and sword—two additional symbols of the classical orator's authority—are used no longer. My interviewees did not recall any preachers in recent memory holding a staff, but they mentioned that some decades ago preachers of the Bayezit and Eyyup mosques in Istanbul used to gird themselves with a ceremonial sword, as was customary in cities conquered by Muslims. Mufti Ismail recalled that in his youth, a famous preacher who preached in the Bayezit Mosque named Abdurrahman Gürses (who preached there from 1944 to 1979, d. 1999) girded himself with a sword.

Some miscellaneous preacher-audience related items are the following: Few people preach extemporaneously. Most rely on prepared and memorized sermons, their own or those sent by the ministry. Of the sermons available on YouTube listed earlier, only Mehmet Görmez is seen preaching without notes. The majority of attendees are men, but a large number of women also participate; for them, Ottoman mosques have covered spaces in the back as well as spacious balconies. There is no verbal contribution from the audience, but many people raise their hands in prayer during the ending supplication.

5.5 *Political Speeches*

My interviewees concurred that their politicians do not use the Arabic formulae used by mosque preachers. Since the secularization of Turkey under Atatürk in the 1920s, this is more or less the norm. President Erdoğan, who on occasion uses the Basmalah, is an exception. My interviewees added that this, and the fact that he gives good speeches, is the fruit of his imam-hatip schooling. Erdoğan's revival of Ottoman tradition and his move toward what may be considered religiously tinged policies are also relevant to his use of the Islamic opening in his speeches.

6 Other Countries with Large Muslim Populations

In the following segments, I broaden the chapter's purview by discussing assorted aspects of preaching in seven countries, related to their engagement with the classical heritage. For Saudi Arabia, Iran, Lebanon, and Syria, I offer a few remarks based on online and print research. For Tunisia, I offer brief impressions based on attendance at a local mosque service, and for Nigeria and Senegal, based on short interviews of scholars.

6.1 *Saudi Arabia*

In Saudi Arabia—which is majority Sunni-Ḥanbalī-Wahhābī and currently a major political player in the region—the state appoints preachers and regulates sermons. Contrary to what many would expect, the sermons I read and heard appear to exclude the heresy hadith used by Salafist preachers in Egypt, India, and elsewhere. Furthermore, they modify the standard Prophetic praise formula instead of citing it verbatim (details follow). Nevertheless, they articulate militant anti-Shi'a and anti-Jewish rhetoric, strict literalist ideology, and corresponding Salafist interpretation of the classical oration.

A sermon delivered on Friday, March 30, 2013, in Mecca by Sheikh Abd al Rahman Sudais is a case in point. Sudais is the appointed preacher of the Great Mosque, president of the government ministry in charge of Mecca and Medina, and a famous Qur'an reciter. In his sermon—which he reads in full classical Arabic from a prepared text—he offers a contextualized praise formula, which includes some of the standard Prophetic lines, and a blessings formula, which includes the four Sunni caliphs, and Muḥammad's descendants, Companions, and followers. The sermon's overall theme is condemnation of several groups of people (Muslims and non-Muslims) whom he characterizes as Islam's enemies. In line with his militant rhetoric, he cites the Qur'an verse often cited by classical orators in battle (rather than in the Friday sermon): «If wounds afflict

you, [know that] similar wounds afflict [your enemies]. We deal out such days in turn among people.»⁸³ He ends the first part of the two-part sermon with the traditional line, “I say these words and seek forgiveness for me and for all Muslims.” Interestingly—and distinct among present-day Muslim sermons—he prays for the Saudi king by his title, “our imam, servant of the two noble sanctuaries,” then seeks God’s protection for “his heir, his brothers, and his helpers,” and asks God to keep the country’s leaders on the path of truth. He prays too for “our [Sunni] brothers in Syria” and invokes maledictions on “the [Shi’a] tyrant of Syria,” and prays for the Aqsa Mosque to be liberated from “the oppression of transgressing Jews.” In June 2011, Sudais also gave a Friday sermon in the Rasheed Mosque of the Deobandhi Darul Ulum in Deobandh, India (the text of the speech is not included in the YouTube video).

Here are further resources for assessing Saudi preaching: Saleh Fawzan’s sermons delivered in a mosque in Riyadh in recent years are available in a collected volume. Fawzan is a member of the Council of Senior Scholars, Saudi Arabia’s highest religious body, which advises the king on religious matters, and his collection is published and used in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere, including Lebanon. Abdallah Khayyat’s sermons in the great mosque of Mecca in the 1960s are similarly published, as are Abu Bakr Jabir al-Jazairi’s sermons delivered in the Prophet’s mosque in Medina, and a late 19th-century collection by the judge of Kharaj, in Najd, Abdallah al-Makhdub. The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of Provisions for Preachers* (*Zād al-khuṭabā’*) by Ali ibn Umar Badahdah—a preacher and university professor in Jeddah—contains a variety of materials for the preacher. The first three volumes include a philosophical introduction, instructions on preparation and delivery, and materials for liturgy and prayer. The next three include pious counsel, wise classical quotations, and poetry. The seventh and final volume contains thematically arranged model sermons.

6.2 Iran

Iran is a majority Twelver Shi’i Persian-speaking country, and yet another major political player in the region. Its Friday sermons—which are considered in the present time of the Imam’s occultation an optional yet encouraged religious duty (as in Twelver communities in Iraq, India, and elsewhere)—are delivered in Persian, framed by Arabic formulae. The mixing of Arabic and local languages is not a modern phenomenon. As early as the 7th/13th century, Ibn Jubayr reports that a preacher of Khurasan addressed his audience in both

83 Q Āl ‘Imrān 3:140. ﴿إِنْ يَمْسَسْكُمْ قَرْحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ الْقَوْمَ قَرْحٌ مِّثْلُهُ وَتِلْكَ الْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ﴾

Arabic and Persian.⁸⁴ I have written in some detail of the views and practices regarding the Friday sermon in premodern Iran elsewhere, and note a few relevant points here (to the best of my knowledge, similar work remains to be done for the other countries treated in this chapter):⁸⁵ The early Safavid shahs, who converted the country to Shi'ism in the early 10th/16th century, saw the sermon as a means to support their regime and the new faith, and their preachers habitually included benedictions for the Twelve Imams and ritual maledictions on their enemies. In the Qajar period (1785–1925), the sermon was increasingly used to express dissent, and the Friday preacher emerged as a figure of political opposition.⁸⁶ During the reign of the Pahlavi shahs (1925–1979), both the political and religious significance of the Friday sermon declined. But ironically, the sermons of numerous mullahs across Iran were instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the Pahlavi regime.⁸⁷ The Iranian Revolution of 1978–1979 was largely mobilized through the speeches and rhetoric of Ayatollah Khomeini. Khomeini employed the Friday sermon as a tool for legitimating the Islamic Republic and perpetuating his doctrine of *velayat-e faqih* (authoritative rule of the jurist), according to which the highest political authority was vested in the clerics. Just as the classical oration contained blessings for the ruler, and just as earlier Shi'i sermons contained benedictions for the Imams, preachers in revolutionary Iran would frequently also pray for Khomeini (but not for elected officials), linking his name with God and the Hidden Imam.⁸⁸

In contemporary Iran, the classical Arabic oration continues to influence function, theme, structure, and language. As in Iraq, clerics study 'Alī's sermons, and many memorize large parts of his *Nahj al-balāghah* compendium. Moreover, as in Egypt and Turkey, the Friday sermon is regularly used to propagate the state's point of view on current affairs. The Tehran sermon is broadcast nationally on television and radio every week. These sermons—including sermons by the Ayatollahs Taleqani, Montazeri, Khamenei, Rafsanjani, Emami-Kashani, and Ardabili—are published by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance (Vezarat-i Irshad-e Islami) and in newspapers such as *Ittīlā'āt* and *Kayhān*, and are widely available in independent compilations and on YouTube. Traditional

84 Ibn Jubayr, 178; see discussion in Dorpmüller, 177.

85 T. Qutbuddin, "Khoṭba," *Elr*.

86 Among the manifestations of the preacher's power was the fatwa issued from the pulpit in 1891 prohibiting the use of tobacco—to protest tobacco concessions accorded by Naser-al-Din Shah to the British colonial power. The pulpit ruling was accepted throughout the country, forcing the shah to cancel the concession (Keddie, 67, 76, 95 and *passim*).

87 Bakhshash, *passim*.

88 See for example the 1981 sermon by Rafsanjani (in anon., ed., *Dar maktab-i jum'ah* 4:9), and the 1982 sermon of Emami-Kashani (*ibid.*, 4:292).

Arabic formulae, including a contextualized praise and benediction opening, Qur'anic verses, hadith of the Prophet, sayings of the Imams, and injunctions to piety provide an authoritative framework of legitimacy to their message.⁸⁹ When the preacher mentions the Prophet's name, the audience responds in unison with a formula of benediction on him and his descendants. As Haggay Ram explains, preachers use four important Shi'ite themes—martyrdom, millenarianism, Islamic government, and Islamic unity—in advancing the state's goals. Preaching in Persian, clerics are fully able to connect with the audience. With a nod to tradition and an eye to politics, they lean on a staff and sometimes on a rifle.⁹⁰ Alongside the primary ritual-liturgical function, the sermon serves a significant socio-political and military function.

6.3 *Lebanon*

High-school and middle-school curricula in Lebanon include the study and memorization of classical orations, especially the famous texts of 'Alī, Ṭāriq, and Ḥajjāj. These are viewed as part of the Arabic literary heritage, rather than belonging to Shi'ism or Sunnism, or even to Islam. Colleagues and friends of different faiths and denominations who grew up in Lebanon—including Shady Nasser, Leila Imad, Ghenwa Hayek, and Dimitry Azar—report memorizing these orations.

Hezbollah's Hasan Nasrallah uses religious formulae to begin his political speeches. See for example his speech on June 23, 2017, on the occasion of International Jerusalem Day, and on July 18, 2012, on the sixth anniversary of the Lebanon-Israel July War. The formulae he uses include the Basmalah, praise to God and blessings on the Prophet, his descendants, his Companions, and all the prophets (the Twelver Shi'a audience responds by collectively chanting the benediction formula). They also include a few lines of supplication. The formulae are pronounced in classical Arabic. The rest of the speech—which focuses on contemporary political issues—is a mix of Modern Standard Arabic and colloquial Lebanese.

Christian preacher-scholars from 17th-, 18th-, and early 19th-century Lebanon and into the the Arab Renaissance (*nahḍah*), have produced an interesting literature that looks both at early Arabic orators and the medieval Arabic philosophical tradition, also drawing on Aristotelian and Graeco-Roman ideas of rhetoric. Important milestones are found in the works of Jarmanus Farhat (d. 1732), Louis Cheikho (d. 1927), and Said Shartuni (d. 1912). Abdulrazzak

89 Examples in Azodanloo, *passim*.

90 Ram, 30; Antoun, 69.

Patel's work provides a window into Shartuni's attempt to "fill a lacuna in available Arabic works on oratory by assimilating western rhetoric into the Arab literary perception."⁹¹

6.4 *Syria*

The Friday sermon by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in the Nuri Mosque in Mosul in June 2014 announcing his caliphate deliberately echoes the classical oratorical tradition, and especially those parts of it that underscore ISIS ideology. The speech is available on YouTube, as is the Arabic transcript, and parts in English translation. Calling on Muslims to wage jihad, he quotes copious Qur'anic verses supporting his call. He then proclaims himself caliph of the Muslims, reciting verbatim, albeit without overt attribution, several lines from the accession speech of his namesake, the first Sunni caliph, Abū Bakr, saying he has been "appointed their leader but is not the best among them." If the Muslims "see him to be righteous, they should assist him, and if he errs, they should correct him." They should "obey him as long as he obeys God." Updating the classical practice of carrying a sword or a bow in times of war, Baghdadi carries a machine gun.

Syrian Wahhabi groups in Germany also follow Salafist sermon practices. According to a 2016 Reuters article, a non-Wahhabi Syrian man named Abed al-Hafian expressed alarm at the heresy hadith quoted by the preacher at the Nūr mosque in Berlin, which prompted him to switch to a milder Turkish mosque, even though he does not speak Turkish.⁹²

6.5 *Tunisia*

In a conversation on April 9, 2017, with a local taxi driver enroute from Mahdia to Kairouan, I learned the following.⁹³ Before the 2010–2011 Arab Spring in Tunisia, the Friday sermon was sent every week by the government's Ministry of Religious Affairs (Wizārat al-Shu'ūn al-Dīniyyah), from its head office in the capital, Tunis, to preachers of all mosques in Tunisia. After the revolution for about a year, around fifteen hundred mosques were taken over by Salafist preachers, who "preached murder and mayhem," and advocated uprisings against the government. The Salafist preachers—"Daesh types"—enjoined their congregations "to kill" the President of Lebanon, Michel Aoun, who had earlier signed an alliance with Hezbollah and visited Assad in Syria.

⁹¹ Patel, 233.

⁹² See Nasr, Reuters, "In Germany, Syrians find mosques too conservative."

⁹³ Whether the details are exact or not, this is the popular understanding of what happened, and I witnessed the toned-down preaching in the sermon I attended (details below).

They enjoined their congregation “to kill the evil Shi’a.” They then held a conference in Kairouan, where they said similar things. The following year, they planned another conference, but the government denied them permission and arrested all their leaders. Currently the sermon is again sent by the state, and is not supposed to have any political or sectarian content.

Two days earlier, on April 7, I had observed a Friday sermon in the Sulaymān Ḥamzah Mosque, in the historic medina of Mahdia, which embodied the current government-dictated sermonic mode. The contents were focused on pious counsel, and studded with Qur’an verses and hadith exhorting piety, good character, and the importance of being good members of society.⁹⁴ The preacher spoke largely in classical Arabic, but he also used Tunisian colloquial to explain quotations. The first part of the two-part sermon ended with the traditional line “I ask God to forgive you and me and all Muslims,” with an added local Tunisian tag, “and our parents and yours.” The praise opening of the second part of the two-part sermon was a recitation of the standard Prophetic *taḥmīd*.

6.6 West Africa: Nigeria and Senegal

In a conversation at a Carnegie Workshop in Washington DC in 2008, M. Sani Umar—who is originally from Nigeria and whose research engages with religious discourse in the country—described Muslim practice there as follows: The Friday sermon in Nigeria used to be a five- to ten-minute ritual. It was completely in Arabic, memorized, and recited, and the audience did not understand.⁹⁵ The sermon itself was traditional, containing the praise and blessings formula, the injunction to piety, and the Qur’an verse instructing justice and generosity. It was seen as an exact equivalent of the two cycles of the ritual prayer. Sometimes it was followed by a lecture explicating the earlier Arabic sermon. This lecture was usually in English, since there are five different local languages; the British colonial legacy ensures that most people understand English. In the past twenty to twenty-five years, there has been a movement away from this ritualistic agenda to a more communicative one. The sermon itself is now in English, with just the framing formulae in Arabic. It is authored by various institutions in the country, and sent to preachers of all the mosques. A handful of sermons may be viewed on YouTube.⁹⁶

94 E.g., «Do not forget to take your share of this world» ﴿وَلَا تَنْسَ نَصِيبَكَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا﴾ Q Qaṣaṣ 28:77; «As you treat others, they will treat you» ﴿كَأَمْ تَدِينُ تَدَانِ﴾, hadith.

95 Preachers of neighboring Benin in the late 19th century and their Arabic sermons are described in R. Cornevin, “Kotonou,” *EI2* entry.

96 See the 2014 sermon of Sheikh Abdul Baqi in Osogbo, explaining the meaning of the Hajj rituals in three languages, Arabic, English, and Yoruba; the 2013 sermon of Amir Sahib

In a conversation in November 12, 2010, at the University of Chicago, Babacar Samb, a Senegalese scholar of Islam, described to me sermon-related practices: The Friday sermon in Senegal used to be completely in Arabic, which most attendees did not understand. In the present time, the first part of the two-part sermon is in Arabic. The second part is in Wolof (or another regional language, and sometimes French), and is basically an explanation of the first. I found a fatwa about the language of the Friday sermon solicited from Cairo's al-Azhar by a group of Senegalese students in 1953, reported in its magazine. The president of the fatwa committee, Muhammad Abdel Fattah Enani, says a local language may be used in the sermon, because its purpose is to give pious counsel. But the committee also encouraged congregations to learn Arabic in order to understand the Qur'an and hadith.⁹⁷

7 Using the Map of Classical Arabic Oration to Decode Contemporary Muslim Public Address

In the following section, I combine findings from the preceding analysis of individual countries to generate an amalgamated narrative. Using the map of classical Arabic oration to decode heritage aspects of contemporary Muslim public address, we see what it means politically when present-day preachers use certain religious formulae, religious and political chants, and reference certain lines from the classical oration.

The religious formulae that begin and end Friday sermons across the Muslim world and that open the speeches of some political leaders, such as Hezbollah's Hasan Nasrallah in Lebanon and President Tayyip Erdoğan in Turkey, impart an air of sacral authority to the text by framing it as an interaction with God as well as with the audience. Qur'an quotation is common among all stripes of Muslim preachers as a testamentary technique that endorses the message and enhances the authority of the speaker. As can be expected, it is used for polar opposite ends. In Egypt and Iraq, for example, government or establishment preachers quote Qur'an verses (and also hadith and poetry) to exhort unity and condemn terrorism. Militarist preachers cite them to exhort acts of violence.

Dr. Mashood Adenrela Fashola (Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at) in Lagos; and the 2017 sermon of Jasser Auda, a visiting Egyptian scholar, on the theme of Muslim unity, also in Lagos, which includes post-sermon interviews with members of the congregation, men and women.

97 *Majallat al-Azhar*, 24:851–852.

Denominational affiliation can be usually ascertained by language used in the opening and ending formulae. The *ṣalawāt* blessings formula on the Prophet recited at the opening (and also at the end and at various times during the sermon) indicates sectarian background. Shi'a preachers always include Muḥammad's descendants (*āl-i Muḥammad*), frequently naming Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (the "Five Pure Ones"). Twelver Shi'ite preachers also name the rest of their Twelve Imams, ending with the "awaited savior," al-Mahdī l-Muntazār. Often but not always, preachers of all Shi'a denominations include a line blessing Muḥammad's Companions and followers. Sunni preachers name Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī. They also mention without naming them the "ten who are promised paradise," as well as Muḥammad's wives, Companions, and followers. Sunni Salafist preachers occasionally include the Prophet's family. Sunni Ḥanafī preachers always do, and they often name 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, and sometimes also the Prophet's uncles, Ḥamzah and 'Abbās. In India, inclusion in a Sunni sermon of the names of members of the Prophet's family signals a Barelwi-Ḥanafī mindset. Inclusion of the heresy hadith in the opening *taḥmīd*, in India, and also in Egypt and elsewhere, indicates a Salafist (in India, a Deobandhi) outlook. In Saudi Arabia, preachers often end with extended maledictions on groups they consider enemies of Islam, especially Israeli Jews and Shi'a Muslims, and this language too signals a Salafist outlook.

Audiences of contemporary Muslim sermons often respond with collective chants as part of the expected ethos, which mean different things in different sectarian, political, or ritual settings. The locution "God is great" (*Allāhu akbar*) signals simple devotion when chanted during the Eid prayer, where it is required litany, jubilation if chanted at the reception of joyous news, and militancy if chanted at rallies of political opposition. In Twelver Shi'a sermons, audiences commonly respond to the preacher's invocation of blessings by chanting in unison the *ṣalawāt* blessings formula. When Iranians chant *marg bar Āmrīkā* they do not mean the genocidal statement "Death to America," which is the literal translation from Farsi.⁹⁸ Rather, they mean "Down with America," which is an idiomatic translation echoing maledictions pronounced on political opponents in classical Arabic oration and more accurately representative of the spirit in which it is pronounced—namely, a rhetorical response to the two countries' political hostility.

98 BBC World News covered a Tehran rally on November 3, 2008, showing footage of placards that read "*marg bar Amrīkah*: Down with America."

To persuade the audience of their religio-political goals and to legitimize them, ISIS preachers in particular echo the language of orations from the early Islamic period, sometimes even quoting parts verbatim. An example is Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's inclusion of lines from the accession speech of his namesake, the first Sunni caliph, Abū Bakr, in the point in his speech where he announces his own caliphate: "I have become your leader, but I am not the best of you. If you see that I am righteous, help me. If you see that I am unjust, set me aright."⁹⁹ Another example is the Iraqi Ramadi preacher's extended description of the Shi'a as a "spotted snake" stretching out across Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, that has (imitating the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj's metaphor) "laid eggs and hatched chicks" in countries far and wide.¹⁰⁰ He characterizes himself using a line from one of the Prophet Muḥammad's earliest Meccan speeches, as "a naked warner ahead of a harsh punishment."¹⁰¹ More too than other groups whose orations I have examined, ISIS echoes the stylistic features of classical oratory, including mnemonic devices of repetition and nature imagery, to persuade their audience to violent confrontation. Moreover, militarist sermons are almost always in full classical Arabic, while colloquial interjections are more common in pro-establishment and pacifist preachers. However, classical Arabic is also used in India and other non-Arabic speaking countries because the sermons are liturgical—the use of classical Arabic there (and elsewhere) does not automatically signal a militarist mindset. In addition to language, preachers use coded historical references. In Egypt, for example, militarist preachers talk about the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of Naḍīr from Medina to threaten Israel, and they reference the accession of Abū Bakr and other aspects of early Islamic history to attack the Shi'a.

8 Concluding Remarks

Early oratorical materials provide a direct window into the language and themes of the politics, the forms of authority and community, and the theological issues of their time. But in addition to their importance as a tool for understanding the early Islamic world, study of the religio-political rhetoric of classical Arabic speeches and sermons is crucially relevant to scholars of con-

⁹⁹ App. §15.3.

¹⁰⁰ App. §51.6.

¹⁰¹ App. §90.2.

temporary Muslim societies. The oratorical tradition permeates and shapes the language and concepts of politics in the modern Islamic world, and a deep study of the genre and its historical contexts contributes to forming a solid knowledge base of the Islamic religio-political heritage—a knowledge base that is needed to facilitate meaningful communication between the Western and Islamic worlds.

Western scholars who analyze speeches and sermons of Muslim leaders in their efforts to understand the contemporary Islamic world apply a conceptual and linguistic framework completely Western in its origins to a tradition that is far removed from it.¹⁰² European and American political systems share a vocabulary. This vocabulary includes words like “democracy,” “theocracy,” “pluralism,” “progress,” “tolerance,” “rights and obligations of individuals and communities,” and other such phrases. This vocabulary has been cultivated over centuries within the traditions that emerged in Greece and Rome and were subsequently modified through the various historical evolutions of the European and then European-American political and cultural universe. Our vocabulary has a history. We use it easily and almost without thinking, partly because historians of political thought have built a canon that runs from Plato and Aristotle through Augustine, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and so on, into the present. In building such a canon (and in developing more complex versions of it), historians of political thought have secured a political vocabulary that supports and sustains both our understanding of the current structure of our institutions and our understanding of their potential points of malleability. Western political scholarship lacks an understanding of the earliest oratorical bases that would enable them to precisely analyze political discourse in Arabic-speaking countries (or in Muslim countries with the Arabic underpinnings of the religious texts), in the same fashion. As a consequence, scholars who work on politics in Europe and the U.S. have scarcely begun to build an effective vocabulary for understanding political discourse in Arabic-speaking countries of the world. The only way to develop this knowledge is to commit to the same philological and cultural work that undergirds our own Western canon of political thought.

The Western canon also begins with oratory and with ideas of the relation between public speech and politics that lie at the heart of Greek practice. Understanding the role language plays in the Arabic tradition in shaping communal and political life significantly advances our capacity to engage with the political discourse of the Arabic-speaking world (as well as with speakers of

102 I thank Danielle Allen for the observations made in this paragraph and the next.

Persian, Urdu, etc.). Cultural awareness is the basis of meaningful engagement. It is not the end or the whole of what is needed, but no real communication can get underway without it.

Today, Muslim clergy and politicians worldwide rely heavily on the speech and sermon to disseminate ideologies. Speeches are a particularly crucial political tool in non-democratic countries where there is heavy media censorship, a description that applies to most Islamic countries today. In many contemporary Islamic countries, political leaders deliver speeches that arouse as well as reassure. In Syria, Iraq, and elsewhere, symbols and language are important components of asserting political power and cultivating obedience to the regime. Government-appointed preachers wield the Friday sermon as a tool to legitimate the government and inculcate support for its policies. Conversely, speeches and sermons are also an effective method of anti-establishment activity, with exemplars including the words of Ayatollah Khomeini in the mobilizations leading up to the overthrow of the Shah in the 1970s in Iran, those of Hasan Nasrallah in the past few years in southern Lebanon, those of ISIS in the past few years in Iraq and Syria, and those of the Muslim Brotherhood and other militarist groups in Egypt. In addition to their political functions, sermons play an important role in promoting Islamic ethics within the community. In all these cases, the speech and sermon are crucial tools of public address used to promote a variety of political, religious, ethical, and social goals. The phenomenon is widespread, despite the enormous differences between the various Muslim countries, some more secular than others, some monarchies and some dictatorships, some Sunni and some Shi'a, some Arabic speaking and some speaking other languages.

To gain legitimacy among Muslim scholars and laymen alike, preachers and politicians of diverse persuasions emulate the style and form of classical Arabic oratory. In the modern world, which is also influenced by such phenomena as nationalism, globalism, and colonialism, Muslim leaders appropriate and manipulate symbols of the past to fit their own context. They combine medieval techniques with new Western modes of propaganda, such as TV sermons, cassettes, and the Internet. But whether they speak Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Gujarati, Urdu, Wolof, French, or English, all Muslims revere Arabic as the sacred language of Islam and the Qur'an and emulate—or at least attempt to mimic—the literary aesthetics of Arabic-based culture. They draw heavily on canonical oratorical norms that were originally formulated in the earliest known periods of Arabic literary production, namely, the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods of the 7th and 8th centuries AD. They learn the classical traditions and memorize the early oratorical texts in schools, particularly those with a religious coloring. In Shi'a madrasas, young students avidly peruse and

even memorize the orations of the first Imam, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, taking them as normative models for both content and style.

Analysis of classical Arabic oration provides sensitive tools with which to decode the forms of public address used by mosque-imams and political leaders in our contemporary world. When one listens to Muslim leaders, one has to understand the codes, the conventions. When we know the codes, the conventional blocks, we get the message more accurately. We can distinguish expressions that are largely formulaic from those which are real messages. We can also see where the speaker is tweaking traditional formulae to serve his agenda and context. Since modern speeches and sermons are rooted in the traditional canon, some of the most effective keys to unlocking the nuances of meaning in current public address are found in these conventions. Identifying these mechanisms is vital to understanding the nature of public discourse in the contemporary Islamic world. Knowledge of the stylistic, structural, thematic, generic, and authority features of classical Arabic oration can be brought to bear on key elements of modern religio-political symbolism. It can also help us apprehend the nature of a sermon’s appeal. Neither the mindset of the contemporary speaker nor the resonance of the oratorical form with its modern audiences can be fully understood without an awareness of the classical roots—the etymology of the Arabic and Islamic political vocabulary, the evolution of Arabic and Islamic political thought, and the history of its traditions.

Appendix of Orations: References and Index

This reference list, though not exhaustive, enumerates all primary sources I was able to locate.¹ Their versions vary to a smaller or greater extent. For block quotations cited in the present volume, the first source listed refers to the version transcribed. The Index column lists pages in the present volume where orations are quoted or referenced. Orators are listed alphabetically, and their orations are listed in chronological sequence.

	No.	Key lines	Place
1. ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Abbās	1.1	اللَّهُمَّ أَنْصِرْ عَلِيًّا عَلَى الْحَقِّ	
	1.2	فَإِنَّكُمْ تَقَاتِلُونَ الْمُحَلِّينَ الْقَاسِطِينَ	Basra
	1.3	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الَّذِي دَحَا تَحْتَنَا سَبْعًا ... سَاقَنَّا قَدْرَنَا إِلَى مَا	Ṣiffin
	1.4	تُرُونَ إِنَّ لِلْحَقِّ أَنَاسًا	Kufa
	1.5	قَدْ جَاءَنِي مِنْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَا مَرْيَمُ بِإِشْخَاصِكُمْ	Basra
	1.6	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَلْهَمَنَا أَنْ نَحْمَدَهُ	Damascus
	1.7	نَعَمْ هَلَكَ إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ ... وَقَدْ بَلَغَنِي الَّذِي أَظْهَرْتَ مِنْ	Damascus
	1.8	الْفَرْحِ وَأَعْجَبَا كُلَّ الْعَجَبِ لِأَبْنِ الزَّيْرِيعِ بْنِ هَاشِمٍ وَإِنَّمَا شَرَفَ هُوَ	Mecca
	1.9	وَأَبُوهُ وَجَدَهُ بِمَصَاهِرَتِهِمْ عَلَى رَسْلِكَ آيَتِهَا الْقَاتِلِ فِي أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ وَالْخُلَافَةُ	Medina
2. ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Ahtam	2.1	فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ خَلَقَ الْخَلْقَ غَنِيًّا عَنْ طَاعَتِهِمْ	Damascus
3. ‘Abdallāh ibn Budayl	3.1	إِنَّ مَعَاوِيَةَ أَدْعَى مَا لَيْسَ لَهُ	Ṣiffin

¹ References to Ṣafwat’s (modern) anthology of orations are placed in parentheses. For many texts, he presents an “amalgamated” version, and he flags this (to me, problematic) approach in his Introduction (Ṣafwat, 1:5).

Context	References	Index
habitual oration ending	Ibn Khaldūn, 269; Ibn al-Azraq, 1:244	84, 284
rallying the Basrans to fight Mu'āwiyah	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:187; (Şafwat, 1:326)	305
encouraging the Iraqis to fight Mu'āwiyah	Minqarī, 317–318; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:251; Idrīs, 3:192–193; (Şafwat, 1:350–351)	73, 128, 305, 319
after Arbitration chastising Abū Mūsā and 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:326; Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:7; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:158; Idrīs, 3:388–389; (Şafwat, 1:393)	180
encouraging the Basrans to join 'Alī in fighting the Khārijites	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:78–79; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:689–690; (Şafwat, 1:394)	179
response to Mu'āwiyah's call for oath of allegiance to Yazīd	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:194; (Şafwat, 2:247)	68, 74, 82
eulogy of Ḥasan ibn 'Alī at Mu'āwiyah's court	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 4:71–72; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:197; (Şafwat, 2:99–100)	210
response to Ibn al-Zubayr's insult of Hāshimids	Ābī, 1:289; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 20:129; (Şafwat, 2:123)	144, 215
another response to Ibn al-Zubayr's insult of Hāshimids	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 20:132; (Şafwat, 2:119–120)	215
homily addressed to the caliph	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:117–118; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:85–87; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 97; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 156; (Şafwat, 2:420–421)	83
encouraging his tribesmen to fight Mu'āwiyah	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:16; Minqarī, 234; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:186; (Şafwat 1:352)	294, 325

	No.	Key lines	Place
4. 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far al-Ṭayyār	4.1	الحمد لله أهل الحمد ومنتهاه	Damascus
5. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Muṭī'	5.1	فإن أمير المؤمنين عبد الله بن الزبير بعثني على مصركم وثغوركم	Kufa
	5.2	فقد علمت الذين صنعوا هذا منكم من هم	Kufa
6. 'Abdallāh ibn Yahyā al-Ibāḍī	6.1	إنّا ندعوكم إلى كتاب الله	Yemen
7. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr	7.1	الحمد لله الذي آلف بين قلوبنا	Medina
	7.2	إن فيكم رجلاً قد أعمى الله قلبه	Mecca
	7.3	إن أهل العراق غدر فجر إلا قليلاً... أفيعد الحسين نطمئن إلى هؤلاء القوم	Mecca
	7.4	ألا وإنه قد أتانا خبر من العراق	Mecca
	7.5	إن مصعباً قدّم أيره وأخر خيره	Mecca
	7.6	إن الموت قد تغشاكم سحابه	Mecca
	7.7	يا آل الزبير لو طبتم لي نفساً عن أنفسكم	Mecca
8. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān	8.1	اللهم إن ذنوبي قد عظمت	multiple
	8.2	وقد زبلتنا الحرب	Kufa
	8.3	إني والله ما أنا بالخليفة المستضعف	Mecca
	8.4	إن الله حدّ حدوداً وفرض فروضاً	unspecified

Context	References	Index
response to Mu'āwiyah's call for oath of allegiance to Yazīd	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:196; (Şafwat, 2:247)	74
arriving as Ibn al-Zubayr's tax collector	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:10; Ibn A'tham, 6:225; Ibn al-Athīr, 3:291; (Şafwat 2:76–77)	200, 215
during Mukhtār's attack on him	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:31; Ibn Ṭāhir, 32; Ibn A'tham, 6:238–239; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Muntaẓam</i> , 6:55; Balādhurī, 6:394; (Şafwat, 2:83–84)	68
following the Khārijite victory	Balādhurī, 9:288; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 23:193; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:107–108; Şafadī, 17:360; (Şafwat, 2:465–466)	68, 83, 97, 189, 377
informing 'Uthmān and the Medinans about the successful Muslim raid in North Africa	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:99–100; (Şafwat, 1:278–280)	177, 199, 295
insulting 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:385–386; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 20:129–130; (Şafwat 2:123–127)	215
upon hearing of Ḥusayn's death	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:474–475; Ibn Kathīr, 3:199–200; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 268; (Şafwat, 2:168–169)	189, 213
on learning that Muş'ab had been killed	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:166. Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 19:97–98; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:100–101, 384–385; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:262–263; Mubarrad, 1:238; Mas'ūdī, 3:121; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:262, 299, 4:384–385, 20:138, (Şafwat, 2:175–177)	74, 87, 88, 120, 135, 188, 200, 244, 286
ditto, criticizing Muş'ab	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:95; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 11:125; (Şafwat, 2:177)	88
on the day he was killed by Ḥajjāj	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:389–390; Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. “ḌMKH”; (Şafwat, 2:179)	121, 123
on the day he was killed by Ḥajjāj	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:191; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 20:121; (Şafwat, 2:180)	77, 87
habitual prayer at oration ending	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:83; (Şafwat, 3:361)	83
addressing Iraqis after killing Muş'ab ibn al-Zubayr	Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:11; (Şafwat, 2:194–195)	137
after defeating 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:244–245; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:83, 375; (Şafwat, 2:192)	182, 351
unspecified	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:375; (Şafwat, 2:192)	258, 259

	No.	Key lines	Place
	8.5	اعملوا لله رغبة ورهبة فإنكم نبات نعمته وحصيد نعمته	unspecified
	8.6	خير الأمور أبعدها من التكلف	Damascus?
9. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hashim	9.1	إن الله تعالى آيها الملك أحلك محلاً رفيعاً ... نحن آيها الملك أهل حرم الله	Yemen
10. 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr	10.1	يا معشر المهاجرين إن قطرياً وعبيدة هربا	Medina
11. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf	11.1	يا هؤلاء إن عندي رأياً وإن لكم نظراً	Medina
12. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil	12.1	هذا اليوم هو أس ما يبني عليه إمّا ذلّ الدهر وإمّا عزّ الدهر	Cordoba
13. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Shurayḥ	13.1	يا معشر الشيعة ... قدمنا على المهديّ ...	Kufa
14. Abū Bakr ibn 'Abdallah	14.1	إنّي قاتل قولاً فن وعاه وأدّاه فعلى الله جزاؤه	Medina
15. Abū Bakr (first Sunni caliph)	15.1	اللهم أجعل خير زمانى آخره	Medina
	15.2	إن الله بعث محمداً رسولاً ... نخص الله المهاجرين	Medina
	15.3	وليكنم ولست بخيركم فإن جهلت فقوموني	Medina
	15.4	إمّا أنا مثلكم ... فإن استقممت فتابعوني وإن زغت فقوموني	Medina
	15.5	إن الله لا يقبل من الأعمال ... أين الجبارون	Medina
	15.6	يا معشر الأنصار ... فتنحنا وأنتم كما قال طفيل الغنويّ جزى الله عنا جعفرأ	Medina
	15.7	قفوا أو صيكم بعشر ... لا تخونوا ...	Medina

Context	References	Index
unspecified	Ibn Ḥamdūn, 6:292; Ābī, 3:22; (Şafwat, 2:483)	116, 130, 352
Friday sermon	Thaʿālibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 2:28	327
address to Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan upon his victory over Ethiopia	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 1:280–281; Ibn Zafar, 11; (Şafwat, 1:76–77)	109, 170, 237
on the night before he was killed in battle by the Umayyad commander Muhallab ibn Abī Şufrah	Mubarrad, 3:284; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:211; Balādhurī, 7:436; (Şafwat 2:458)	76, 327
during Shūrā	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:234; Ibn Aʿtham, 2:331; (Şafwat, 1:266)	124, 177, 359
Battle of Muşārah	Maqqarī, 3:42; (Şafwat 3:162)	302, 327
in support of Mukhtār's uprising	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:14; (Şafwat 2:80)	76
lengthy Friday sermon castigating the people for criticizing the Prophet's Companions	Nuwayrī, 7:256; Qalqashandī, 1:220–223; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 6:276; (Şafwat 3:227)	32
ending lines for all his sermons	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:61–62; (Şafwat, 3:361)	83
Saqifah speech	3:491; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:219–220; Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 3:297; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:254; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:24; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:55–56, 245–246; (Şafwat 1:174–176)	281
accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:210; Ibn Hishām, 2:491; Nuʿmān, <i>Daʿāʾim</i> , 1:85; Bāqillānī, 137; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:56; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:254; Idrīs, 2:46–47, 85; (Şafwat, 1:180)	82, 175, 241, 337, 477, 481
re-sending Usāmah's battalion	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:224; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 17:159; (Şafwat, 1:181)	113, 241
sermon of pious counsel early in caliphate	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:224; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:56–57; Ibn Kathīr, 6:334; (Şafwat, 1:182)	112, 355
chastising the Allies regarding their objections to his distribution of treasury funds	Qalqashandī, 13:108; (Şafwat, 1:186)	316
counselling Usāmah and his troops	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:226; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:196; (Şafwat 1:187)	136

	No.	Key lines	Place
	15.8	الحمد لله أحمده وأستعينه ... إني أوصيكم بتقوى الله العظيم في كل أمر	Medina
	15.9	فإن إخوانكم المسلمين معافون مكثون	Medina
16. Abū l-Dardā'	16.1	اسمعوا مقالة أخ لكم ناصح	Damascus
17. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī	17.1	من عرفني فقد عرفني ومن جهلني فأنا جندب بن جنادة أنا أبو ذر ... أحدثكم بما سمعته من رسول الله ... إني تارك فيكم الثقلين	Mecca
18. Abū Ḥamzah al-Shārī	18.1	سألناكم عن ولائكم هؤلاء	Medina
	18.2	مررت بكم في زمن الأحوال	Medina
	18.3	قد بلغتني مقاتلكم لأصحابي ... ولّى أبا بكر صلواتهم	Mecca or Medina
	18.4	أوصيكم بتقوى الله ... سمعنا داعياً يدعو إلى طاعة الرحمان وحكم القرآن	Medina
	18.5	ما لي رأيت رسم الدين فيكم قياً	Medina
19. Abū l-Haytham ibn al-Tihān	19.1	ليس بينكم وبين الفتح في العاجل والجنة في الآجل إلا ساعة من النهار	Ṣiffin
20. Abū Lahab	20.1	إنّ هذا إنّما يدعوكم أن تسلبوا اللّات والعزى من أعناقكم	Minā

Context	References	Index
unspecified	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:57–58; Wāqidi, <i>Maghāzī</i> , 1:71; Tha'ālibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 26; (Şafwat, 1:184–185)	67, 83, 87, 133, 135, 241, 257
when he heard that Caesar had gathered forces to fight the Muslims in Antioch	Azdi, 116–117; Kalā'ī, 2:183; (Şafwat, 1:201)	74
unspecified	Azdi, 389–390; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 3:109; Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 3:136; Ibn Abī Shaybah, 7:110; Qurṭubī, 10:3; Ibn al-Mubārak, 290; Abū Dā'ūd, <i>Zuhd</i> , 219; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, <i>Qīṣar</i> , 169; Ṭarṭūshī, 15; Kalā'ī, 2:318; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:154; Ibn 'Asākir, 47:131; (Şafwat, 1:262)	68, 80, 177, 241
orating to Muslim pilgrims	Samarqandī, 161–162; Nu'mān, <i>Da'ā'im</i> , 1:27–28, 270; idem, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:499–503; Ṭabrisī, <i>Ihtijāj</i> , 1:157; Idrīs, 2:200–201	80, 145, 177
upon entering the city after defeating Umayyad army	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:394–395; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:132–133; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 23:201; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:114; (Şafwat, 2:467–468)	189
soon after entering the city	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:395; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 23:201–202; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:114; (Şafwat 2:468)	189
lengthy speech responding to the Medinans' criticism of his Khārijite brethren	Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 23:204–207; Ibn Khayyāt, 251–252; Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:122–125; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:271–272; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:131–132; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:114; (Şafwat 2:469–476)	76, 109, 189, 361
unspecified	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:396; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 23:202–203; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih 4:132–133; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:115; (Şafwat 2:476–477)	146, 189, 234, 357
castigating the Medinans	Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 23:203–204; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:116–117; (Şafwat 2:478–480)	76, 189, 254
encouraging the Iraqis to fight Mu'āwiyah	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:190; (Şafwat 1:352)	119, 324
rebuttal of Muḥammad's oration inviting to Islam tribes gathered for the pilgrimage	Ibn Hishām, 1:267	172

	No.	Key lines	Place
21. Abū Mūsā l-Ash'arī	21.1	إِن تَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ بَادِيًا وَتَطِيعُونِي ثَانِيًا	Kufa
	21.2	أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا قَدْ نَظَرْنَا فِي أَمْرِ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ	Dūmat al-Jandal
22. Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī	22.1	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي حَمَدَ نَفْسَهُ وَاخْتَارَ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا لِعِبَادِهِ	Medina
23. Abū l-Sarāyā	23.1	يَا أَهْلَ الْكُوفَةِ يَا قَتْلَةَ عَلِيٍّ يَا خَذَلَةَ الْحُسَيْنِ	Kufa
24. Abū Sufyān	24.1	أَنْتُمَا كَرَكَبْتِي الْبَعِيرَ الْأَدْرَمَ	Mecca
	24.2	يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ إِنَّكُمْ وَاللَّهِ مَا أَصْبَحْتُمْ بَدَارَ مَقَامٍ	Medina
	24.3	أَصْبَحْتُمْ فِي دَارِ الْعَجَمِ مَنْقُطَعِينَ عَنِ الْأَهْلِ	Yarmūk
25. Abū Tālib	25.1	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مِنْ ذُرِّيَّةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ ... ثُمَّ إِنَّ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَبْنَ أَخِي مِنْ لَا يُوَازِنُ بِهِ فَتَى مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ إِلَّا رَجَحَ عَلَيْهِ	Mecca
	25.2	يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ أَنْتُمْ صَفْوَةُ اللَّهِ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ	Mecca
26. Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāh	26.1	انصروا الله ينصركم ويثبت أقدامكم	Yarmūk
27. Aḥnaf ibn Qays	27.1	أَنْتُمْ إِخْوَانُنَا فِي الدِّينِ وَشُرَكَائُنَا فِي الصَّهْرِ	Basra
	27.2	وَاللَّهُ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ... وَمَا يَكُ مِنْ خَيْرٍ أَتَوْهُ فَإِنَّمَا ... تَوَارَثَهُ آبَاءُ أَبَائِهِمْ قَبْلَ	Damascus
	27.3	أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّ مَعَاوِيَةَ أَمَرَنِي أَنْ أَلْعَنَ عَلِيًّا ... اللَّهُمَّ أَلْعَنَ ... الْبَاغِي مِنْهُمَا	Damascus
28. 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr	28.1	أَيُّهَا مَا أَبَاهُ ... وَذَاكَ طُودٌ مُنِيفٌ	Medina

Context	References	Index
discouraging the Kufans from supporting 'Ali ahead of the Battle of the Camel	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:482–484; Ibn A'tham, 2:459–460; Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 1:384; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:587–588; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, 14:14; Idrīs, 2:396; (Ṣafwat, 1:295–297)	69, 74, 179, 244
disclosing the outcome of the Arbitration	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:70–71; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:323–324; Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:143; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:156; Mas'ūdī, 2:394; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:255–256; (Ṣafwat, 1:390)	179
when he performed the Hajj during Saḥfah's reign	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 7:161–162; (Ṣafwat, 3:20–22)	191
Friday sermon delivered during Zaydī revolt against Abbasids in Kufa in 199/815	Abū l-Faraj, <i>Maqātil</i> , 441–442	79, 283
arbitrating between the 'Amirī claimants to the tribal chieftainship	Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 16:193–203; Qalqashandī, 1:382–389; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 7:399–403; (Ṣafwat, 1:41–45)	121, 169, 327, 359
urging the Meccans to retreat during the Battle of the Trench	Ibn Hishām, 2:169	7, 173
encouraging the Muslims to fight the Byzantines	Azdī, 325; Kalā'ī, 2:283; (Ṣafwat 1:205)	303, 308, 319
at marriage of Muḥammad with Khadijah	Ya'qūbī, 2:20; Bāqillānī, 153; Qalqashandī, 1:213; Mubarrad, 18; Jarīrī, 638; Abū Hilāl, <i>Awā'il</i> , 113–114; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkhirah</i> , 302; Idrīs, 1:30–31; (Ṣafwat, 1:77)	72, 74, 237, 379
deathbed testament	Ṣāliḥī, 2:429; Ālūsī, 1:327–328; (Ṣafwat, 1:161)	77, 95, 237
urging Muslims to fight the Byzantines	Azdī, 323; Ibn A'tham, 2:195; Wāqidī, <i>Futūḥ</i> , 1:202; Kalā'ī, 2:281–282; (Ṣafwat 1:203)	176, 313, 317, 319
pacifying the Azd when an Azdī governor was killed	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:135; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:526; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:122–123; (Ṣafwat, 2:333)	359
with the Iraqi delegation to Mu'āwiyah's court	Ḥuṣrī, 88; (Ṣafwat, 2:365)	139
responding to Mu'āwiyah's demand for him to curse 'Ali	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:27–28; Nuwayrī, 7:237; (Ṣafwat 2:357)	86
after the death of her father	Ṭayfūr, 35–39; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Gharīb</i> , 2:476; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:249; Nuwayrī, 7:231; Qalqashandī, 1:247–248; (Ṣafwat, 1:207–209)	82, 148, 384, 396

No.	Key lines	Place
28.2	إِنَّ الْفَوْغَاءَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْأَمْصَارِ	Mecca
28.3	كَانَ النَّاسُ يَتَجَنَّبُونَ عَلَى عُثْمَانَ ... وَيَأْتُونَنَا بِالْمَدِينَةِ	Basra
28.4	فَإِنَّا كُنَّا نَقْمُنَا عَلَى عُثْمَانَ ضَرْبَ السُّوْطِ	Basra
28.5	إِنَّ لِي عَلَيْكُمْ حَقَّ الْأُمُومَةِ	Basra
29. 'Ā'ishah bint 'Uthmān	يَا ثَارَاتِ عُثْمَانَ	Medina
30. Aktham ibn Ṣayfī	إِنَّ أَفْضَلَ الْأَشْيَاءِ أَعَالِيهَا	Madā'in
30.2	إِنَّ أَهْلَ هَذِهِ الدَّارِ سَفَرٌ	Yemen?
30.3	لَا تَحْضُرُونِي سَفِيحاً	Yemen?
31. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ²	أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّهُ لَا يَدْخُلُ الْجَنَّةَ كَافِرٌ وَلَا يَخْرُجُ بَعْدَ الْعَامِ مُشْرِكٌ	Mecca
31.2	فَإِنَّكَ إِنْ أَشْخَصْتَ أَهْلَ الشَّامِ مِنْ شَامِهِمْ	Medina
31.3	ذَمِّتِي بِمَا أَقُولُ رَهِينَةً ... شَغَلَ مِنَ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ أَمَامَهُ	Medina
31.4	إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى أَنْزَلَ كِتَاباً هَادِياً ... تَخَفَّفُوا تَلَحُّقُوا	Medina

² All 'Alī's orations in Raḍī's *Nahj al-balāghah* compilation are also cited in its commentaries, including those by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, Rāwandī, and Baḥrānī, which I have not noted separately. Many of his homiletic orations are cited here primarily from Raḍī's *Nahj al-balāghah*—many

Context	References	Index
when she learned of 'Uthmān's killing	Ibn al-Athīr, 2:570; Nuwayrī, 20:26; Ṭayfūr, 41–44; (Şafwat, 2:515)	115, 384
lead-up to Battle of the Camel	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:464; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:575; (Şafwat, 1:286–287)	83, 84, 384
Battle of the Camel	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 6:227; (Şafwat, 1:305)	384
Battle of the Camel	Ṭayfūr, 41–44; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:118–119, 294–295; Ibn 'Asākir, 30:390–391; a single line cited by Ya'qūbī, 2:127; (Şafwat 1:306–307)	82, 384, 388–389
eulogy for her father	Ṭayfūr, 147–149	384
among delegation of Arabs to the court of the Sasanian emperor	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 1:270–271, 1:94; (Şafwat, 1:56)	171
condolence speech to the “king of the Arabs”	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 3:269–270; Nuwayrī, 5:167; (Şafwat, 1:37)	115
inviting his tribe, Tamīm, to Islam	Maydānī, 3:505–506; Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 32–33; (Şafwat, 1:159)	76
when delivering the Surah of Barā'ah on the Prophet's behalf to the Quraysh, declaring the end of their truce	Ibn Hishām, 2:403–404; Idrīs 1:416–417	173
within series of speeches by Companions advising 'Umar regarding the conquests	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:125; Miskawayh, 1:383; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:393; Ibn A'tham, 1:293–295; Nuwayrī, 19:252; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Muntaẓam</i> , 4:273; Dinawarī, <i>Akhbār</i> , 134; Sibṭ, <i>Mir'āh</i> , 5:302; (Şafwat, 1:236)	74, 236, 260
caliphal accession speech	Raḍī, 68–72 § 16; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 1:126; Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:50–51; Nu'mān, <i>Da'ā'im</i> , 1:97–98, 396; idem, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 1:368–373; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:62–63; Kulaynī, 1:1140–1141; Quḍā'ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , 140–141; Idrīs, 2:244–249	178, 235, 249, 258, 340, 341
homily early in his caliphate	Raḍī, 341–342 § 165; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:436	116, 235, 244, 247, 255, 258, 259

are also found in early historical texts, of which I have identified some; deep exploration of sources is beyond the scope of this book.

No.	Key lines	Place
31.5	إِنَّ الحمد لله ... وأعملوا في غير رياء ولا سمعة ... أسأل الله منازل الشهداء	Medina and Kufa
31.6	إِنَّ عائشة سارت إلى البصرة	Medina
31.7	الحمد لله على كل أمر وحال	Dhū Qār
31.8	إِنِّي قد ناشدت هؤلاء القوم	Basra
31.9	أيها الدائم للدنيا المغترّ بغرورها	Basra
31.10	كنتم جند المرأة وأتباع البهيمة	Basra
31.11	الحمد لله الذي نصر وليه ... إِنَّ أخوف ما أخاف عليكم اثنتان ... فكونوا من أبناء الآخرة	Kufa
31.12	كرهت لكم أن تكونوا لعانين شتامين	Kufa
31.13	إِنَّ الله أكرمكم بدينه ... فَإِنَّ الذود إلى الذود إبل	Kufa
31.14	فإِنَّ الله بعث محمداً بالحق ... ونحن آل رسول الله	Şiffin
31.15	فإِنَّ الخيلاء من التجبر	Şiffin
31.16	الحمد لله الذي لا يبرم ما نقض	Şiffin

Context	References	Index
first Friday sermon in both places	Minqarī, 10; Thaqaḥī, 1:155–156; Raḍī, 81–83 § 23; Kulaynī, 1:231; Ya'qūbī, 2:207; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 1:39; Idrīs, 3:12	67, 87, 237, 277, 279, 355
lead-up to Battle of the Camel	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:233; (Ṣafwat, 1:287)	108, 109
lead-up to Battle of the Camel	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd 1:309–311; Idrīs, 2:365–367, 413–414; (Ṣafwat, 1:303)	71, 75, 84, 322
lead-up to Battle of the Camel	Ibn A'tham, 2:468; Ṭūsī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:172; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:305–306; (Ṣafwat, 1:288)	244
homily after the Battle of the Camel	Ya'qūbī, 2:208; Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> 2:190–191; Jāḥiẓ, <i>Maḥāsīn</i> , 1:113; Mas'ūdi, 2:413–414; Raḍī, 655–657; Ḥarrānī, 138–139; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 153; Bayhaqī, <i>Maḥāsīn</i> , 1:265–266; Dīnawarī, <i>Mujālasah</i> , 1:210; Tawḥīdī, 1:51; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 1:28–29; Ābī, 1:185; Ḥuṣrī, 1:51; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, <i>Tārīkh Baghdād</i> 7:297; Ibn 'Asākir, 42:498–499, 58:79–80; Rāghib, 2:403; Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah, 1:215–216; Ibn Abī l-Iṣba', 277–279; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 1:73; Qurṭubī, 6:414–415; Idrīs, 2:125–126; Ṣafadī, 18:7; Suyūṭī, <i>Jāmi'</i> , 15:353; Ṣāliḥī, 11:304; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, 3:292; Ibn Abī al-Iṣba's versification in Ṣafadī, 18:6–7	247
following the Battle of the Camel	Raḍī, 65–67 § 13; Dīnawarī, <i>Akḥbār</i> , 151–152; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>ʿUyūn</i> , 1:315–316; Mas'ūdi, 2:365; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:75, 306, Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 79–80; Idrīs, 2:511–512	150, 295, 304
first oration there after Battle of the Camel	Minqarī, 3–4; Ibn A'tham, 2:490–491; Raḍī, 116 § 42; Ḥarrānī, 151; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, <i>Qīṣar</i> , 50; Mufid, <i>Amālī</i> , 82–84; Abū Nu'aym, 1:76; Ya'qūbī, 2:208–209; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>ʿUyūn</i> , 2:381; Mas'ūdi, <i>Murūj</i> , 2:414; Ibn Kathīr, 7:342; Kulaynī, 1:240; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Tabṣīrah</i> , 1:156; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 1:40; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 122–123; Mufid, <i>Amālī</i> , 129, § 23; Sulaym, 2:718; Idrīs, 3:7–9	113, 115, 247, 253, 258
prohibiting his supporters from slandering Mu'āwiyah	Minqarī, 103; Dīnawarī, <i>Akḥbār</i> , 165; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:181; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 154 (Ṣafwat 1:321)	318
urging Iraqis to fight Mu'āwiyah	Minqarī, 113; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:113; Idrīs, 3:97–98; (Ṣafwat, 1:324)	142, 322
lead-up to the Battle of Ṣiffīn	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:7–8; Minqarī, 201; (Ṣafwat, 1:336–337)	82
just before the Battle of Ṣiffīn	Ḥarrānī, 149; Ṭūsī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:10; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:181; (Ṣafwat, 1:345–346)	193, 326
during the Battle of Ṣiffīn	Minqarī, 225; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:13; Ibn A'tham, 3:171; Nuwayrī, 20:120; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:647; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:182; (Ṣafwat 1:346)	70, 108, 306

No.	Key lines	Place
31.17	انهدوا إليهم السكينة والوقار	Şiffin
31.18	استشعروا الخشية وتجليبوا السكينة	Şiffin
31.19	إنَّ الله قد دلَّكم على تجارة تنجيكم من العذاب ... عضوا على الأضراس	Şiffin
31.20	إنَّ هؤلاء لن يزولوا عن موقفهم دون طعن دَرَاك	Şiffin
31.21	الحمد لله على نعمه الفاضلة ... لا يسبقني بصلاة مع رسول الله أحد	Şiffin
31.22	إني قد رأيت جولتكم وأنحيازكم عن صفوفكم	Şiffin
31.23	وأيَّ أمرئ منكم أحسَّ إنَّ الموت طالب حثيث ... وكأني أنظر إليكم تكشون كشيش الضباب	Şiffin
31.24	ألا وإنَّ هذه الدنيا التي أصبحتم تتنَّونها	Şiffin?
31.25	الحمد لله وإنَّ أتى الدهر بالخطب الفادح	Kufa
31.26	كلمة حق يراد بها باطل	Kufa
31.27	إني والله ما ألوم نفسي على التقصير	Kufa
31.28	اللهمَّ إنَّ هذا مقام من أفلج فيه كان أولى بالفلج يوم القيامة	Nahrawān
31.29	يا هؤلاء إنَّ أنفسكم قد سَوَّلت لكم فراق هذه الحكومة	Nahrawān
31.30	ما لكم ... أفَّ لكم لقد سمَّت عتابكم ... أرضيتم بالحياة الدنيا من الآخرة ... فإنَّ لي عليكم حقًّا وإنَّ لكم عليَّ حقًّا	Kufa

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during the Battle of Şifīn	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:45; Idrīs, 3:191–192; (Şafwat 1:349)	320
during the Battle of Şifīn	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 1:188–189; Ibn A'tham, 3:49; Ibn 'Asākīr, 42:460; Quḍā'ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , § 6.3; Raḍī, 139; Zamakhsharī, <i>Fā'iḳ</i> , 2:126; Idrīs, 3:237–238; (Şafwat, 1:347)	76, 119, 313
during the Battle of Şifīn	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:16–17; Minqarī, 235–236; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 1:216; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:187; Idrīs, 3:198–199; (Şafwat 1:348–349)	119, 136, 297, 300, 314, 319, 325
during the Battle of Şifīn	Minqarī, 392; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:45; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:251; (Şafwat, 1:350)	115, 211
Friday sermon during the Battle of Şifīn	Minqarī, 313; Şadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 363–365, § 63; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:247; (Şafwat, 1:353)	133, 196, 214
during the Battle of Şifīn	Minqarī, 256; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:25; Kulaynī, 1:689; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 7:179; (Şafwat, 1:362)	300
urging his supporters to fight	Raḍī, 267–269, § 122; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:315; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmāh</i> , 1:172–173; Mufīd, <i>Jumal</i> , 190; Mufīd, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:274–275, 1:253; Thaqaḍī, 2:511–512	108, 301
homily, responding to some of his supporters who asked for larger stipends from the treasury	Raḍī, 348–349 § 171; Ḥarrānī, 135–137	251
after the Arbitration failed	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:77; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:688; Raḍī, 107–108; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmāh</i> , 163; Ibn Kathīr, 7:317; Balādhurī, 3:140; Ābī, 1:216; Nuwayrī, 20:169; Idrīs, 3:386–387; (Şafwat, 1:391)	71, 78
responding to the Khārijite slogan, “No rule but God's!”	Nu'mān, <i>Da'ā'im</i> , 1:393; idem, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:9; Raḍī, 114, § 40	214
upon hearing that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, his governor in Egypt, had been killed	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:108–109; Ibn Bakkār, 348; Thaqaḍī, 1:290–292; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 6:92; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:710; Idrīs, 3:405–406; (Şafwat, 1:400)	121
debating with the Khārijites	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:65–66; Mubarrad, 3:134; Ibn A'tham, 4:269; Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:37–38; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:327–329; (Şafwat, 1:402–406)	323
warning the Khārijites	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:84; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:693; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmāh</i> , 168–169; (Şafwat, 1:414)	77
summoning his troops to fight Mu'āwiyah	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:90; Thaqaḍī, 1:35–38; Balādhurī, 3:235–226; Ibn A'tham, 4:260–261; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmāh</i> , 1:170; Raḍī, 105–107; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:698–699; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 106; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:189; (Şafwat, 1:420–423)	109, 110

No.	Key lines	Place
31.31	ليتأس صغيركم بكبيركم ... لو لم تتخاذلوا عن نصره الحقّ	Kufa?
31.32	ما يدريك ما عليّ تمالي	Kufa
31.33	كلّما سمعتم بمنسر من مناسر أهل الشام أظلمكم أنجحركلّ أمرئ منكم في بيته وأغلق بابه	Kufa
31.34	أيّها الناس المجتمعة أبدانهم المختلفة أهواؤهم	Kufa
31.35	إنّ الجهاد باب من أبواب الجنّة ... يا عجباً من جدّ هؤلاء القوم في باطلهم	Kufa
31.36	أما والله لقد تقصصها فلان	Kufa?
31.37	إنّك لقلق الوضين ... ودع عنك نهباً	Kufa? Şifîn?
31.38	إنّ أحقّ الناس بهذا الأمر أقواهم عليه	Kufa
31.39	ولقد علم المستحفظون من أصحاب محمد	Kufa?
31.40	والله لأنّ أبيت على حسك السعدان مسهداً	Kufa
31.41	فالمتّقون فيها هم أهل الفضائل	Kufa?
31.42	أوصيكم أيّها الناس بتقوى الله ... وأوصيكم بذكر الموت	Kufa?
31.43	الحمد لله الذي جعل الحمد مفتاحاً لذكره	Kufa?

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chastising the Iraqis for dithering	Raḍī, 339–341 § 164; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:290	235
responding to Ash'ath ibn Qays's challenge	Raḍī, 76–77 § 19; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 21:15	214
when Mu'āwiyah's commander al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr raided 'Ayn al-Tamr	Thaqafi, 2:450–453; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:134; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:724; Idrīs, 3:459; (Şafwat 1:424)	122, 324
Friday sermon, when Mu'āwiyah's commander Ḍaḥḥāk raided Ḥīrah	Jāḥiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:56; Thaqafi, 2:482–483; Ibn A'tham, 4:257–259; Raḍī, 95–97 § 29; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 170; Bal-ādhurī, 3:154–155; Nu'mān, <i>Da'ā'im</i> , 1:391; idem, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:73–74; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:273; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:67; Idrīs, 3:449–450; (Şafwat, 1:425–426)	78, 283, 299
when Mu'āwiyah's commander Sufyān ibn 'Awf raided Anbār	Raḍī, 89–92 § 27; Thaqafi, 1:42–43, 2:472–478, 2:493–495; Jāḥiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:53–55; Ibn A'tham, 4:236–238; Mubarrad, 1:21; Balādhurī, 3:201–202; Nu'mān, <i>Da'ā'im</i> , 1:390; idem, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:75–76; Dīnawarī, <i>Akhbār</i> , 211–212; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:257–258; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:65–67; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 16:181–182; Kulaynī, 1:681; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:74–80; Idrīs, 3:455–457; (Şafwat, 1:427–430)	109, 116, 123, 151, 201, 244, 299, 326
"Shiqshiqiyah" expresses his right to Muḥammad's succession	Raḍī, 50–58 § 3; Şadūq, <i>Ma'ānī</i> , 360–364; Şadūq, <i>Ilal</i> , 1:144–146; Mufid, <i>Amālī</i> , 99; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:287–289; Idrīs, 2:8–11; Ābī, 1:187; Sibṭ, <i>Tadkhirah</i> , 124–127; Ibn Manẓūr, <i>Lisān</i> , s.v. "FT"; Zabīdī, s.v. "FT"	123
responding to a question about Muḥammad's succession	Raḍī, 326–327 § 160; Ṭabarī, <i>Mustarshid</i> , 371–373; Şadūq, <i>Ilal</i> , 1:148; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:294–295; Ibn al-Athīr, <i>Nihāyah</i> , 5:199	39
regarding Muḥammad's succession	Raḍī, 348–349, § 171; Ḥarrānī, 130	237, 251
describing his righteousness	Raḍī, 424–425 § 195; Şadūq, <i>Man lā</i> , 4:1531, § 5901	235
describing his response to his brother 'Aqīl's request for money from the treasury, and Ibn al-Ash'ath's attempt to offer him blandishment	Raḍī, 467–469 § 221; Sibṭ, <i>Tadkhirah</i> , 155–156; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 3:34; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 1:97; 'Amilī, 2:21	123
"Khuṭbat Hammām," homily describing the pious	Raḍī, 413–418 § 191; Ḥarrānī, 119–121; Şadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 510–514, § 84; Sulaym, 2:849–852; Sibṭ, <i>Tadkhirah</i> , 138–139	68, 231
homily	Raḍī, 385–386 § 186; Tha'ālībī, <i>I'jāz</i> , 40–41	237, 257
homily	Raḍī, 314–316 § 155; Ibn Athīr, <i>Nihāyah</i> , 2:191, 2:510	76, 232, 237, 250, 251

No.	Key lines	Place
31.44	إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ أَدْبَرَتْ وَأَذْنَتْ بَوْدَاع	Kufa?
31.45	نحمده على ما كان ونستعينه من أمرنا على ما يكون	Kufa?
31.46	فَنَ الْإِيمَانُ مَا يَكُونُ ثَابِتًا ... سَلُونِي قَبْلَ أَنْ تَفْقِدُونِي	Kufa?
31.47	أَمْرُهُ قَضَاءٌ وَحَكْمَةٌ	Kufa?
31.48	اتَّبِعُوا بَيَانَ اللَّهِ ... الْقُرْآنُ هُوَ النَّاصِحُ	Kufa?
31.49	عِبَادَ اللَّهِ إِنَّ مَنْ أَحَبَّ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ إِلَيْهِ	Kufa?
31.50	حَتَّى يَبْعَثَ اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدًا	Kufa?
31.51	يَعْلَمُ عَجِيجَ الْوَحُوشِ فِي الْفُلُوتِ	Kufa?
31.52	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَظْهَرَ مِنْ آثَارِ سُلْطَانِهِ	Kufa?
31.53	فَإِنَّ تَقْوَى اللَّهِ مِفْتَاحُ سَدَادٍ ... إِنَّ الْمَوْتَ هَادِمُ اللَّذَاتِ	Kufa
31.54	قَدْ عَلِمَ السَّرَائِرَ وَخَبَرَ الضَّمَائِرَ ... إِنْ أَنْصَحَكُمْ لِنَفْسِهِ أَطُوعَكُمْ لِرَبِّهِ	Kufa?
31.55	بَعَثَهُ بِالنُّورِ الْمُضِيِّ وَالْبُرْهَانِ الْجَلِيِّ ... أَوْصِيَكُمْ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ	Kufa?
31.56	وَطَاعَتِهِ فَإِنَّهَا النِّجَاحُ غَدًا اتَّخَذُوا الشَّيْطَانَ لِأَمْرِهِمْ مَلَكَ	Kufa?
31.57	فَبَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا بِالْحَقِّ	Kufa?
31.58	أَرْسَلَهُ عَلَى حِينِ فِتْرَةٍ مِنَ الرِّسْلِ	Kufa?

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homily, common phrases in his speeches according to Thaqaḫ	Minqarī, 3–4; Thaqaḫ, 2:633–635; Jāḫiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:52–53; Ya'qūbī, 2:208–209; Ibn al-Mubārak, 1:86; Ibn Abī Shaybah, 7:100; Ibn Ḥanbal, <i>Faḫḫā'il</i> , 1:530; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:256; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, <i>Qīṣar</i> , 1:26, 50; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, <i>Zuhd</i> , 1:130; Ḥarrānī, 113–116; Naḫḫās, 255–256; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:65; Maṣ'ūdī, 2:414; Bāqillānī, 1:146; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 1:63; Muwaffaq Khwārazmī, 262	110, 116, 152
Friday sermon	Raḫī, 219–220 § 98; Ṣaḫūq, <i>Ma'ānī</i> , 198; Ṣaḫūq, <i>Man lā</i> , 1:1267, § 1262	115
homily	Raḫī, 386–387 § 187; Tha'ālibī, <i>Ijāz</i> , 41–42; Ṣaḫūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 304–308, § 55; Ibn Ṭāwūs, <i>Yaqīn</i> , 489, § 196; Sulaym, 2:941–942; Idrīs, 3:418–420	118
homily	Raḫī, 318–323 § 158; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 4:383–384	124, 143, 237
homily	Raḫī, 352–357 § 174; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 2:100–101; Ṣaḫūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 224–225; Barqī, 6; Kulaynī, 1:259	145, 262
homily, and criticism of Umayyads	Raḫī, 179–183 § 86	117, 231, 232
homily, and criticism of Umayyads	Raḫī, 228–230 § 104; 'Alī ibn Ibrāḫīm, 1:384; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:284	237
homily	Raḫī, 425–430 § 196	232, 235, 237
homily	Raḫī, 420–422 § 193	232, 244, 257
homily, funeral oration	Raḫī, 474–476 § 227; Thaqaḫ, 2:238–239; Sibṭ, <i>Tadkhirah</i> , 131–132	232, 240, 246, 258
“Dībāj,” homily	Raḫī, 177–179 § 85; Dīnawarī, <i>Akhbār</i> , 152–153; Ḥarrānī, 113–116; Barqī, 233–234; Mufid, <i>Amālī</i> , 128, § 23	234, 251, 260
homily	Raḫī, 324–325 § 159	234, 257
homily	Raḫī, 62–63 § 7; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 1:224; Ibn al-Athīr, <i>Nihāyah</i> , 2:50; Idrīs, 3:369	235
homily	Raḫī, 295–297 § 145; Kulaynī, <i>Kāfī</i> , 1204–1205	236
homily	Raḫī, 317–318 § 156; Ibn al-Athīr, <i>Nihāyah</i> , 3:197; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:64–65	237, 241

No.	Key lines	Place
31.59	فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ وَبَادِرُوا آجَالَكُمْ بِأَعْمَالِكُمْ تَزِدُّوا فِي الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا فَمَا خَلَقَ أَمْرُؤَ عَبَثًا فَيَلْهُو	Kufa?
31.60	فَاعْلَمُوا وَأَنْتُمْ فِي نَفْسِ الْبَقَاءِ	Kufa?
31.61	تَجَهَّزُوا وَرَحِمَكُمُ اللَّهُ فَقَدْ نُوْدِيَ فَيَكُمُ بِالرَّحِيلِ	Kufa?
31.62	إِنَّمَا أَنْتُمْ فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا غَرَضٌ	Kufa?
31.63	كُلُّ شَيْءٍ خَاشِعٌ لَهُ ... أَسْكَنْتَهُمْ سَمَاوَاتِكَ	Kufa?
31.64	وَأَحْمَدُ اللَّهَ وَأُسْتَعِينُهُ عَلَى مَدَاحِرِ الشَّيْطَانِ وَمَزَاجِهِ	Kufa?
31.65	إِنَّا أَصْبَحْنَا فِي دَهْرٍ عَنُودٍ ... فَلْتَكُنِ الدُّنْيَا أَصْغَرَ فِي أَعْيُنِكُمْ مِنْ حَثَالَةِ الْقَرْظِ	Kufa?
31.66	فَلْيَنِي أَحَدُكُمْ الدُّنْيَا فَإِنَّهَا حُلُوهُ خَضِرَةٌ ... أَكَّالَةٌ غَوَالٍ	Kufa?
31.67	أَلَا وَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا دَارٌ لَا يُسْلَمُ مِنْهَا إِلَّا فِيهَا	Kufa?
31.68	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْفَاشِي فِي الْخَلْقِ حَمْدُهُ	Kufa?
31.69	أَوْصِيكُمْ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ بِالرَّفْضِ لِهَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا التَّارِكَةِ لَكُمْ	Kufa?
31.70	الزَّهَادَةُ قَصْرُ الْأَمَلِ	Kufa?
31.71	أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ أَنْظَرُوا إِلَى الدُّنْيَا نَظَرَ الزَّاهِدِينَ فِيهَا ... رَحِمَ اللَّهُ أَمْرًا تَفَكَّرَ فَأَعْتَبَرَ	Kufa?
31.72	فَتَبَارَكَ اللَّهُ ... اْعْمَلُوا رَحِمَكُمُ اللَّهُ عَلَى أَعْلَامٍ بَيِّنَةٍ	Kufa?
31.73	أَدْحِضْ مَسْئُولَ حُجَّةٍ	Kufa?
31.74	إِنَّمَا الدُّنْيَا دَارُ مَجَازٍ ... فَفِيهَا اخْتَبَرْتُمْ وَلَغِيْرَهَا خَلَقْتُمْ	Kufa?
31.75	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَبَسَ الْعِزَّ وَالْكَبْرِيَاءَ ... وَلَوْ أَرَادَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَخْلُقَ آدَمَ مِنْ نُورٍ	Kufa?
31.76	إِنَّمَا بَدْءُ وَقُوعِ الْفِتَنِ أَهْوَاءُ تَتَّبَعُ	Kufa
31.77	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَا يَفِرُّهُ الْمَنْعُ وَالْجُمُودُ	Kufa?

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homily	Raḍī, 134–136 § 63; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabīʿ</i> , 1:39	237, 250
homily	Raḍī, 481–482 § 234	239
homily	Raḍī, 435–436 § 202; Ṣadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 447, § 75; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:234; Mufid, <i>Amālī</i> , 124, § 23	240, 261
“Wasilah,” homily	Raḍī, 293–294 § 143; Ḥarrānī, 76–81; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:238; Ibn Kathīr, 9:311	240
“Zahrāʾ,” homily	Raḍī, 237–242 § 108; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:71–75; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabīʿ</i> , 1:218	96, 240, 242, 246
homily, warning against sedition	Raḍī, 301–304 § 149; ʿAlawī, 1:170	246
homily, warning against sedition	Raḍī, 99–102 § 32; Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 3:60–61 (attrib. by his source to Muʿāwiyah, Jāḥiẓ attrib. to ʿAlī); Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:259–260	246
homily	Raḍī, 243–247 § 110; Ḥarrānī, 134–135; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabīʿ</i> , 1:19; Quḍāʿī, <i>Dustūr</i> , § 2.14. Also attrib. to Qaṭarī	246, 258, 268
homily	Raḍī, 133–134 § 62	247
homily	Raḍī, 390–394 § 189	247
homily	Raḍī, 219–220 § 98; Ṣadūq, <i>Maʿānī</i> , 198; idem, <i>Man lā</i> , 1:1267, § 1262; Ṭabrisī, <i>Mishkāt</i> , 209	247
homily	Raḍī, 158 § 80; Ḥarrānī, 165; Ṣadūq, <i>Maʿānī</i> , 251; idem, <i>Khiṣāl</i> , 16; Barqī, 234; Ṭabrisī, <i>Mishkāt</i> , 208; Fattāl, 434	247
homily	Quḍāʿī, <i>Dustūr</i> , 58–59, § 2.12; Raḍī, 225 § 102	249, 261
homily	Raḍī, 212–213 § 93; Kulaynī, 1:31	251
homily	Raḍī, 464, § 220; ʿAlawī, 2:144	253, 259
homily	Raḍī, 435 § 201; Ṣadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 97–98, § 23; idem, <i>Uyūn</i> , 1:267; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:295–296; Ṭabrisī, <i>Mishkāt</i> , 468; Sibṭ, <i>Tadkhirah</i> , 132; Warrām, 66	249, 258
“Qāsiʿah,” homily, Eid sermon	Raḍī, 394–413 § 190; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabīʿ</i> , 1:231; Kulaynī, 1:557, 1:37; Ṣadūq, <i>Man lā</i> , 1:1278, § 1486; Māwardī, <i>Aʿlām</i> , 143–145	36, 78
homily after Ṣiffīn	Raḍī, 123–124 § 50; Yaʿqūbī, 1:191; Barqī, 1:208; Kulaynī, 1:13; Tawḥīdī, 1:36	301
“Ashbāḥ,” theological homily	Raḍī, 188–208 § 90; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:139–140; Ṣadūq, <i>Tawḥīd</i> , 49; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabīʿ</i> , 1:215–218	36, 373

No.	Key lines	Place
31.78	الحمد لله الذي علا بحوله ... إنكم مخلوقون اقتداراً	Kufa?
31.79	بعثه حين لا علم قائم	Kufa?
31.80	الحمد لله غير مقتنوط من رحمته	Kufa?
31.81	وأحذركم الدنيا فإنها منزل قلعة	Kufa?
31.82	ما أصف من دار أولها عناء	Kufa?
31.83	وأعلموا عباد الله أن المتقين ذهبوا بعاجل الدنيا وآجل الآخرة	Kufa?
31.84	إن أول الديانة معرفة الله ... فتق الأجواء	Kufa?
31.85	إن الله عز وجل واحد بغير تشبيه	Kufa?
31.86	لم يكن ربنا عز وجل فكان وإتما يقال متى كان لشيء لم يكن فكان	Kufa
31.87	الناس ثلاثة أصناف زاهد معتمز	Kufa?
31.88	حق المسلم على المسلم سبع خصال	Kufa?
31.89	الإيمان على أربع دعائم	Kufa?
31.90	الحمد لله القديم الدائم الحيّ	Kufa?
31.91	الحمد لله الذي خلق الأرواح والأجسام	Kufa?
31.92	الحمد لله الذي إليه مصائر الخلق ... لم يولد سبحانه فيكون في العزّ مشاركاً	Kufa?
32. 'Ali Zayn al-Ābidīn	32.1 أنا عليّ بن الحسين بن عليّ بن أبي طالب أنا ابن المذبح بشطّ الفرات	Kufa
	32.2 أنا ابن مكة ومنى وزمزم والصفاء	Damascus
33. 'Āmir ibn Wāthilah	33.1 فإنّ الحجاج والله ما يرى بكم	Kufa

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“Gharrā,” homily	Raḍī, 160–176; Ḥarrānī, 155–156; Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , 66; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:69–71; Abū Nu’aym, 1:78	36, 373
homily	Raḍī, 423–424 § 194	245, 257, 259
Eid sermon	Raḍī, 119 § 45; Ṣadūq, <i>Man lā</i> , 1:1278, § 1486	258
homily	Raḍī, 248–249 § 112; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī’</i> , 1:28	245, 259
homily	Mubarrad, <i>Kāmil</i> , 1:85; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 3:172; Ḥarrānī, 148; Raḍī, 159 § 81; Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , § 2.1; Sibṭ, <i>Tadkhirah</i> , 136	247
homily	Raḍī, 516–517, § 265; Thaqaḥī, 1:235–247; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī’</i> , 2:27–28; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 1:81	249
theological homily	Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , § 7.23; Thaqaḥī, 1:170–176; Ḥarrānī, 1:59–62; Raḍī, 34–46, § 1; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī’</i> , 1:53–54	372
theological homily	Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , § 7.24; Ibn Ṭawūs, <i>Durū’</i> , 166	373
theological homily	Iskāfī, 259; Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , § 5.8; Ṣadūq, <i>Tawḥīd</i> , 77	374
homily	Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , § 7.20	24
homily	Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> § 7.19. Attrib. to the Prophet by Ibn Mājah, 1:461 § 1433; Tirmidhī, 4:377 § 2736	24
homily	Thaqaḥī, 1:135–147; Ḥarrānī, 122–125; Raḍī, <i>Nahj</i> , 631, § 30; Quḍā’ī, <i>Dustūr</i> , 134 § 5.14; Kulaynī, 1:178–179; Sulaym, 2:613–617	34
“Waḥīdah,” theological homily on God’s oneness	Nu’mān, <i>Tawḥīd</i> , MS, beginning cited in Poonawala, 154–155	372
“Durrah,” theological homily on God’s oneness	Nu’mān, <i>Tawḥīd</i> , MS, beginning cited in Poonawala, 155	372
theological homily on God’s oneness, plus pious counsel and battle	Idrīs, 3:463–467	373
addressing the Kufans after Karbala	Ṭabrisī, <i>Iḥtijāj</i> , 2:305–306; Mufid, <i>Irshād</i> , 2:106; Mufid, <i>Jumal</i> , 185	81
addressing Yazīd and his courtiers	Ibn A’tḥam, 5:132–133; Ṭabrisī, <i>Iḥtijāj</i> , 2:311; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, 3:305; Majlisī 45:138–139	81
urging Kufans to pledge allegiance to Ibn al-Ash’ath and fight Ḥajjāj	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:335–336; Balādhurī, 7:313; (Ṣafwat 2:341–342)	8, 213

	No.	Key lines	Place
34. 'Ammār ibn Yāsir	34.1	أيها الناس أخو نبيكم وابن عمه يستغفركم لنصر دين الله	Kufa
	34.2	انهضوا معي عباد الله إلى قوم يزعمون أنهم يطلبون بدم ظالم	Şiffin
35. 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ	35.1	غضّوا أبصاركم وأجثوا على الركب	Yarmūk
	35.2	فقد برئت ذمة الله من رجل من أهل عهدنا	Jordan
	35.3	إن أهل العراق قد فرقوا جمعهم	Damascus
	35.4	الحمد لله العظيم في شأنه... فإنّا لله وإنا إليه راجعون والحمد لله رب العالمين	Şiffin
	35.5	دونك يا أمير المؤمنين الضبّ الضبّ	Damascus
36. 'Amr ibn Kulthūm	36.1	فإنه لا يخبر عن فضل المرء أصدق من تركه تزكية نفسه	unspecified
37. 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-Ashdaq	37.1	ما بالكم يا أهل المدينة ترفعون إليّ أبصاركم كأنكم تريدون أن تضربونا بسيوفكم	Medina
38. Ash'ath ibn Qays	38.1	إن عثمان رحمه الله ولّاني أذربيجان	Azerbaijan
	38.2	قد رأيتم يا معشر المسلمين ما قد كان في يومكم هذا الماضي	Şiffin
39. Āṣim ibn 'Amr	39.1	إن هذه بلاد قد أحلّ الله لكم أهلها	Qādisiyyah
40. 'Attāb ibn Warqā'	40.1	يا أهل الإسلام إن أعظم الناس نصيباً في الجنة الشهداء	Kufa
41. 'Awf ibn Rabī'ah (soothsayer)	41.1	من الملك الأصهب	Tihāmah
42. Bakārah al-Hilāliyyah	42.1	من عاش كبر ومن مات قبر	Medina

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enjoining 'Alī's followers to fight at the Battle of Šiffin or Camel	Minqarī, 237; Ibn A'tham, 2:460; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:189; Idrīs, 2:389–391, 397–398; (Šafwat, 1:294–295)	107
during the Battle of Šiffin	Minqarī, 319; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:39; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:252; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:660; Idrīs, 3:199–200; (Šafwat 1:357–358)	307, 322
urging Muslims to fight the Persians	Azdī, 324; Kalā'ī, 2:282; (Šafwat, 1:204–205)	177, 266, 313, 326
when the people of Jordan broke their oath to the new Muslim government	Azdī, 260–261; Kalā'ī, 2:257; (Šafwat, 1:254–255)	177
urging Syrians to fight 'Alī	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:563; (Šafwat 1:338)	309, 324, 326
urging Syrians to fight 'Alī	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:193–194; (Šafwat, 1:338–339)	73
when the news of 'Alī's killing reached Syria	Mas'ūdī, 3:18; (Šafwat, 2:141)	129
unspecified	Jāhīz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:141; (Šafwat 1:37)	74, 170
governor accession speech	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:121–122; Ibn Khayyāt, 144–145; (Šafwat, 2:228–229)	183, 195, 211
governor asking for the pledge of allegiance for 'Alī when 'Uthmān died	Minqarī, 21; Ibn A'tham, 2:503; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:107; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:307; Idrīs, 3:24; (Šafwat, 1:309)	67, 82, 133, 179
during the Battle of Šiffin	Minqarī, 481; Ibn A'tham, 3:50; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:215; (Šafwat, 1:358)	82, 87, 304
urging Muslims to fight the Persians	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:531; (Šafwat 1:230)	302, 303, 319
urging Iraqis to fight Shabīb and his Khārījite supporters	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:263–264; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:266; (Šafwat 2:464)	76, 140, 321, 323
soothsayer predicting that the Asad would kill Ḥujr ibn Ḥārith, father of the poet Imru' al-Qays	Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 9:63; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Shi'r</i> , 1:108; Ibn Athīr, 1:464; (Šafwat, 1:79–80)	171
addressing Mu'āwiyah and his court	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 1:336–337; Ṭayfūr, 93–94; (Šafwat, 2:380–381)	85, 199

	No.	Key lines	Place
43. Bedouin (anon.)	43.1	فإن الدنيا دار ممرّ	Ḍariyyah, village in Iraq between Kufa and Basra
	43.2	الحمد لله غير ملال لذكر الله	unspecified
44. Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays	44.1	أنا ابن قيس وأنا أبو عنيس	Kufa
45. Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī	45.1	الحمد لله شكراً شكراً الذي أهلك عدونا	Kufa
46. Dhū l-Kalā'	46.1	ولتكن النيات لله	Şiffīn
47. Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'	47.1	﴿لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ...﴾ فإن تعرفوه تجدوه أبي دون آبائكم	Medina
48. Ghaḍbān ibn al-Qaba'tharā	48.1	إن عبد الملك قد ولى عليكم من لا يقبل من محسنكم	Kufa
49. Ḥaṣṣah bint 'Umar	49.1	فكلّ العجب من قوم زين الشيطان أفعالهم	Medina
50. Ḥāḣib ibn Zurārah	50.1	ورى زندك... إن العرب أمة قد غلظت أكبادها	Madā'in
51. Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī	51.1	ألا إن ابن الزبير كان من أحبار هذه الأمة	Mecca
	51.2	موج ليل التظم وأنجلي بضوء صبحه	Mecca
	51.3	أنا ابن جلا وطلاع الثنايا... إني والله يا أهل العراق ومعدن الشقاق والنفاق	Kufa
	51.4	يا أهل العراق يا أهل الشقاق والنفاق ومساوئ الأخلاق	Kufa

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Friday sermon	Ibn Bakkār, 73–74; Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:253–254; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:138; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 2:275; Mubarrad, 4:90; (Şafwat, 3:243–244)	34, 249, 258, 278, 277, 284
Friday sermon?	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:6.	73
threatening any who would denigrate ‘Uthmān	Thaqafi, 2:436–437; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:121; (Şafwat; 2:278–279)	100, 200, 212
upon the Abbasid victory over the Umayyads, during the pledge of allegiance to Saffāḥ	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:426–428; Ibn Khayyāt, 251–252; Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 1:332; Ibn Kathīr, 10:45; (Şafwat, 3:8–10)	191
during the Battle of Şiffin	Minqarī, 240–241; Ibn A‘tham, 3:50–51; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:191–192; (Şafwat, 1:340–343)	108, 109, 124, 145, 295, 306, 326
in court of Abū Bakr, regarding Fadak	Ṭayfūr, 54–66; Nu‘mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 3:35–40; Ṭabrisī, <i>Ihtijāj</i> , 1:97–109; Ibn Ṭāwūs, <i>Malḥūf</i> , 215–218; Idrīs, 2:50–55	81, 109, 118, 121, 143, 175, 384, 385, 398
when Ḥajjāj was made governor of Iraq	Mas‘ūdī, 3:157; (Şafwat, 2:337)	367
eulogy for her father	Ṭayfūr, 78–81	244, 384
speech addressed to the Persian monarch	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 1:271; (Şafwat, 1:57)	149
after he had killed Ibn al-Zubayr	Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 184; Ibn ‘Asākir, 12:120; (Şafwat, 2:287)	200
after he had killed Ibn al-Zubayr	Ibn Ḥamdūn, 6:247; (Şafwat, 2:287–288)	123
when he arrived there as governor	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:308–310, 393–394; Ibn A‘tham, 7:7–10; Mubarrad, 1:298; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:110–112, 5:16–17; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:202–204; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 2:265–266; Qalqashandī, 1:218–220; Mas‘ūdī, 3:136–138; Ibn al-Athīr, 3:420; Ibn ‘Asākir, 12:127; (Şafwat, 2:288–291)	81, 110, 116, 124, 138, 148, 195, 347, 362
three days after he arrived as governor	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:137–138; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:206; Ibn Bakkār, 101; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:106; Bāqillānī, 150; Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 176–177; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:343; (Şafwat, 2:291–292)	76, 79, 108, 136, 366

No.	Key lines	Place	
51.5	من أعياء داؤه فعندي دواؤه	Basra	
51.6	إنّ الشيطان قد استبطنكم فخالط اللحم والدم	Kufa	
51.7	يا أهل الكوفة إنّ الفتنة تلتح بالنجوى	Kufa	
51.8	يا أهل الكوفة أخرجوا مع عتاب بن ورقاء بأجمعكم	Kufa	
51.9	إنّ الله كفانا مثونة الدنيا ... إنّني أعلم بشراركم من البيطار بالفرس	Basra	
51.10	بلغني أنّكم تروون عن نبيكم	Kufa or Basra	
51.11	إنّ الله نعى نبيكم ... فمات رسول الله ومات الخلفاء الراشدون	Kufa or Basra	
51.12	إنّني أريد الحجّ وقد استخلفت عليكم أبني محمداً	Kufa or Basra	
51.13	إنّ طائفة من أهل العراق ... مات الحجاج	Kufa or Basra	
51.14	قد أصبحتم في أجل منقوص	Basra	
51.15	امرؤ حاسب نفسه امرؤ راقب ربّه	Kufa or Basra	
51.16	اقدعوا هذه الأنفس ... فإن رأيت الصبر عن محارم الله	Kufa or Basra	
51.17	اللهم أرني الغي غياً فأجتنبه	Kufa or Basra?	
51.18	فإنّ الله كتب على الدنيا الفناء	Kufa or Basra?	
52. Hānī' ibn Qubayṣah	52.1	يا معشر بكر هالك معذور خير من ناج فرور	Dhū Qār, in southern Iraq
53. Harim ibn Qutbah	53.1	أنتما كركبتي البعير الأدرم	unspecified
54. Ḥārith ibn Ka'b	54.1	“Truly, if the raiment I have on were made visible to you ...” (Shahid trans., <i>Byzantium and the Arabs</i> , 57, from the medieval Syriac—original Arabic lost).	Yemen

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arriving there as governor	Nuwayrī, 7:244; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:108; Qalqashandī, 1:220; Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 184–185; (Şafwat 2:292)	352
following the Battle of Dayr al-Jamājim	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:138–140; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:106–108; Nuwayrī, 7:245; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:344; Mas‘ūdī, 3:141; Ibn ‘Asākir, 12:132; (Şafwat, 2:293)	117, 235, 454, 481
comparing Iraqis and Syrians	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:346; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 6:275; (Şafwat, 2:295)	131, 137
instructing Kufans to mobilize with ‘Attāb to fight the Khārijites under Shabīb	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:262; (Şafwat, 2:463)	213, 303, 326
as governor	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:108; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:102 (Şafwat, 2:296)	122
as governor	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 5:38; (Şafwat, 2:297)	146, 358
when ‘Abd al-Malik died	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:112; (Şafwat, 2:298)	244, 358
when he deputized his son as governor and went for Hajj	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 1:387; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:109, 5:38–39; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 2:267; Mas‘ūdī, 3:154; Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 181; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:346; (Şafwat, 2:298–299)	79, 241
when the people mistakenly celebrated his death	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 2:266–267; Mas‘ūdī, 3:152; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:113–114, 5:38; Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 185; (Şafwat, 2:300)	79
Friday sermon?	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:103; (Şafwat 2:301)	104, 233, 241, 367
Friday sermon	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 2:273–274; Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:173; Ḥar-rānī, 154; Ābī, 5:20; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:108; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:102; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 6:301–302 (Şafwat, 2:302)	237, 258, 280, 367
Friday sermon?	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 2:269; Mubarrad, 1:131; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī‘</i> , 3:13; Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 184; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:102 (says more commonly attrib. to ‘Alī); (Şafwat, 2:302)	234, 367
Friday sermon?	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:137; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:105–106; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:101–102; (Şafwat, 2:303)	259, 367
Friday sermon?	Mas‘ūdī, 3:159; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 2:102; (Şafwat 2:303)	367
during the Battle of Dhū Qār	Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:169; (Şafwat, 1:37)	169, 300
arbitrating between the ‘Āmirī claimants to the tribal chieftainship	Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 16:193–203; Qalqashandī, 1:382–389; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 7:399–403; (Şafwat, 1:41–45)	121, 169
just before he was killed by the Jewish king	Simeon, 50–51	44

	No.	Key lines	Place
55. Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī	55.1	الحمد لله العزيز الجبار... إن أمير المؤمنين عليّ... بعثني إليكم يدعوكم إلى الصواب	Kufa
	55.2	إنّ ممّا عظم الله عليكم من حقّه	Kufa
	55.3	أيّها الناس قد أكثرتم في أمر أبي موسى وعمرو	Kufa
	55.4	إنّ الله لم يبعث نبياً إلّا اختار له نقيباً ورهطاً وبيتاً	Kufa
	55.5	لقد قتلتهم اللّيلة رجلاً... من عرفني فقد عرفني... أنا الحسن بن محمد رسول الله	Kufa
	55.6	فإنّ الله كتب الجهاد على خلقه	Kufa
	55.7	نحن حزب الله المفلحون وعتره رسول الله الأقربون	Kufa?
	55.8	الحمد لله... فوالله إني لأرجو أن أكون قد أصبحت بحمد الله ومنه	Madā'in
	55.9	أنا الحسن وأبي عليّ وأنت معاوية وأبوك صخر أنا ابن مكّة ومنى	Kufa
	55.10	أمّا بعد فإنّكم شيعتنا وأهل مودّتنا	Kufa
	55.11	فما هؤلاء شتموني ولكّنك شتمتني	Kufa?
56. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī	56.1	يا بن آدم بع دنياك بآخرتك تربحهما جميعاً... الثواء ههنا قليل	Basra
	56.2	رحم الله عبداً كسب طيباً وأنفق قصداً	Basra
	56.3	الزموا رجالكم وكفّوا أيديكم	Basra
	56.4	فإنّ الله جمع بهذا النكاح الأرحام المنقطعة	Basra

Context	References	Index
urging the Kufans to support 'Alī against the prior to the Battle of the Camel	Minqarī, 237; Ibn A'tham, 2:460; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:189; Idrīs, 2:385–387; (Şafwat, 1:293–294)	84, 87
lead-up to Şiffin	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:185–186; Idrīs, 3:99; (Şafwat, 1:325).	138
addressing the Iraqis following the failure of the Arbitration	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:112; Idrīs, 3:387–388; (Şafwat, 1:392–393)	180
Friday sermon during his father 'Alī's caliphate	Mas'ūdī, 3:7; Idrīs, 2:514; (Şafwat, 1:430)	283
when 'Alī was killed	Ibn A'tham, 4:282; Ḥarrānī, 176; Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 2:436; Şadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 284, § 52; Ibn Kathīr, 7:368; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 16:30; Idrīs, 4:47; Idrīs, 4:67; (Şafwat, 2:7–8)	80, 180, 213
urging Iraqis to fight Mu'āwiyah after 'Alī was killed	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 16:38; Ibn A'tham, 4:283; (Şafwat, 2:9–10)	320, 323
during his caliphate	Mas'ūdī, 3:7; (Şafwat, 2:17–18)	132, 180
just before he made peace with Mu'āwiyah	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 16:40–41; Ibn A'tham, 4:287; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 198–199; Idrīs, 4:51, 53–54; (Şafwat 2:10–11)	181, 213, 315
response to Mu'āwiyah's cursing of his father	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 16:47; Şadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 158, § 34; Idrīs, 4:56–59; (Şafwat 2:14–15)	86, 181, 211
responding to those of his followers who were refusing to accept his treaty with Mu'āwiyah	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:186; Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 3:105; (Şafwat, 2:16–17)	181
response to Mu'āwiyah's supporters' accusations against his father	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 6:288–294; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 200–202; (Şafwat, 2:22–30)	68, 141, 145
homily	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 3:132–137; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 1:180; (Şafwat 2:485–487)	77, 104, 105, 124, 247, 253, 259, 261
homily	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 3:135–136; Ibn 'Asākir, 48:445; (Şafwat 2:489)	97, 113, 246
cautioning Iraqis against following Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab in his uprising against the Umayyads	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:594; (Şafwat 2:354)	190
his usual marriage oration	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:100; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:136	379

	No.	Key lines	Place
57. Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf	57.1	أنتم سادة العرب	Mecca
	57.2	نحن آل إبراهيم وذرية إسماعيل ... وسكان الحرم	Mecca
58. Ḥayyān ibn Ṣabyān	58.1	إنه قد بلغني أنّ أخاكم ابن ملجم أخا مراد قعد لقتل عليّ	Rayy
59. Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir	59.1	يا معشر الأنصار أملكوا عليكم أمركم	Medina
	59.2	يا معشر الأنصار أملكوا على أيديكم ... أنتم والله أحقّ بهذا الأمر منهم ... (أنا جدي لها المحكك وعديقتها المرجب)	Medina
60. Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān	60.1	أيها الناس من سرّه أن يلحق بأمر المؤمنين حقاً حقاً فليلحق بعليّ	Medina
61. Ḥurr ibn Yazīd	61.1	لأنكم الهبل والعبر دعوتومه حتى إذا أتاكم أسلمتموه	Karbala
62. Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī	62.1	لن يؤدّي القاتل وإن أظنّب في صفة الرسول من جميع جزءاً	Damascus
	62.2	أيها الناس فإنكم إن تتقوا وتعرفوا الحق لأهله	Dhū Ḥusum in Iraq
	62.3	إنه قد نزل من الأمر ما قد ترون	Dhū Ḥusum in Iraq
	62.4	إن رسول الله قال من رأى سلطاناً جائراً ... ألا وإن هؤلاء قد لزموا طاعة الشيطان	Biḍāh in Iraq
	62.5	فإنّي لا أعلم أصحاباً أولى ولا خيراً من أصحابي ولا أهل بيت أبرّ ولا أوصل من أهل بيتي	Karbala
	62.6	يا عباد الله ... إن الدنيا لو بقيت على أحد ... لكانت الأنبياء أحقّ بالبقاء	Karbala
	62.7	أيها الناس أسمعوا قولي ولا تعجلوني حتى أعظكم ... فأنسبوني فأنظروا من أنا	Karbala

Context	References	Index
urging Quraysh to show hospitality to Ka'bah pilgrims	Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 15:211; Kalā'ī, 1:95; Ṣāliḥī, 1:270; Idrīs, 1:30–31; (Ṣafwat, 1:74)	7, 113, 170, 196, 237
mediating between Quraysh and Khuzā'ah	Kalā'ī, 1:95; Ṣāliḥī 1:270; (Ālūsī, 1:322; Ṣafwat 1:75–76)	170, 237, 260, 261
informing his fellows of 'Alī's killing	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:173; (Ṣafwat 2:435–436)	76, 212, 213
during the Saqīfah, after Muḥammad's death	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:220; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:190; (Ṣafwat 1:176)	76
during the Saqīfah, after Muḥammad's death	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:220–221; Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 3:296; (Ṣafwat, 1:177)	76, 120, 143, 148
encouraging the Medinans to support 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel	Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 1:387	178
attempting to persuade the Umayyad army to desist from killing Ḥusayn	Balādhurī, 3:397; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:428; (Ṣafwat 2:56–57)	187, 196, 225
response to Mu'āwiyah's call for oath of allegiance to Yazīd	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:208; Ibn A'tham, 4:339; (Ṣafwat, 2:255)	68, 82
enroute to Kufa addressing the Umayyad vanguard under Ḥurr	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:402; Ibn A'tham, 5:76–77; (Ṣafwat, 2:46–47)	186
enroute to Kufa addressing the Umayyad vanguard under Ḥurr	Ṭabarī, 5:403–404; Ibn A'tham, 5:78; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:356; (Ṣafwat, 2:47)	115, 213, 301
enroute to Kufa addressing the Umayyad vanguard under Ḥurr	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:403; Balādhurī, 3:181; Ibn al-Athīr, 3:159; Nuwayrī, 20:419; (Ṣafwat, 2:48)	74, 87, 187, 222
the night before he was killed	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:418–419; Ibn A'tham, 5:94–95; Ṣadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 138, § 30; (Ṣafwat, 2:49)	309
the morning of the day he was killed	Ibn 'Asākir, 14:218; Qayrawānī, 1:100; (Ṣafwat 2:51)	252, 325
when the Umayyad army closed in for the killing	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:409, 424–426; Ṣadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 140–141, § 30; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:356; Ibn al-Athīr, 3:169–170; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 251–253; Nuwayrī, 20:440–442; (Ṣafwat, 2:52–53)	68, 80, 84, 131, 203, 217, 323, 325, 394

	No.	Key lines	Place
63. Ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī	63.1	إِنَّ الأَمِيرَ الْحِجَاجَ وَلَا نِي نَعْرُكُم	Sijistan
	63.2	إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْ عَدُوِّكُمْ إِلَّا كَمَا يَبْقَى مِنْ ذَنْبِ الْوَزْغَةِ	Basra
64. Ibn Mas'ūd	64.1	أَصْدَقُ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ	Medina?
65. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar	65.1	قَرَّبُوا خِيُولَكُمْ بَعْضُهَا إِلَى بَعْضٍ	Kufa
66. 'Ikriṣṣah bint al-Aṭash (or: Aṭrash)	66.1	إِنَّ الْجَنَّةَ دَارٌ لَا يَرْحَلُ عَنْهَا مِنْ قَطْنِهَا	Şiffin
67. 'Iyād ibn Mūsā	67.1	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَفْتَحَ بِالْحَمْدِ كَلَامَهُ وَبَيَّنَّ فِي سُورَةِ الْبَقَرَةِ أَحْكَامَهُ	Marrakesh or Granada
68. Janab soothsayer	68.1	إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَكْرَمُ مَحْمَدًا وَأَصْطَفَاهُ وَطَهَّرَ قَلْبَهُ وَحْشَاهُ	Yemen
69. Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī	69.1	إِنَّكُمْ وَجَمِيعٍ مِنْ شَهِدَ هَذَا الْيَوْمَ ... وَلَيْسَ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ فِي هَذَا الْخَمْسِ غَدَا	Iraq
	69.2	أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ هَذَا كِتَابُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَهُوَ الْمَأْمُونُ عَلَى الدِّينِ وَالْدُنْيَا	Hamadhan
	69.3	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَحْمُودِ بِالْعَوَائِدِ ... إِنَّ أَمْرَ عِثْمَانَ قَدْ أَغْيَا مِنْ شَهِدِهِ فَكَيْفَ بَيْنَ غَابَ عَنْهُ	Hamadhan
70. Ka'b ibn Luwayy	70.1	اسْمَعُوا وَعُوا وَتَعَلَّبُوا وَتَعَلَّبُوا وَتَفَهَّمُوا وَتَفَهَّمُوا	Mecca
71. Kathīr ibn Shihāb	71.1	الْحَقُّوْا بِأَهَالِيكُمْ وَلَا تَعْجَلُوا الشَّرَّ	Kufa
72. Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qasri	72.1	إِنَّكُمْ بِأَعْظَمِ بِلَادِ اللَّهِ حَرَمَةٍ	Mecca
	72.2	نَافِسُوا فِي الْمَكَارِمِ	Wāsiṭ
	72.3	كَنتَ كَذَلِكَ مَا شِئْتَ أَنْ تَكُونَ	Mecca or Iraq?

Context	References	Index
rallying the Sijistanis to fight against the Turk Rutbil	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:328; (Şafwat, 2:340)	303
rallying his troops to fight Ḥajjāj	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:155; Mubarrad, 1:217; Ābī, 5:60; (Şafwat, 2:342)	122
homily	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:119; Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:56–57; Bāqillānī, 147; (Şafwat 1:280). Attrib. to Muḥammad in Ibn Kathīr, 5:17; many phrases from this text are attrib. to Muḥammad in Quḍā'ī, <i>Shihāb</i> , §1.40, 41, 42, and <i>passim</i>	262
battle instructions in Mukhtār's fight against the Umayyad commander Ibn Muṭī'	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:30; Ibn A'tham, 6:238; (Şafwat, 2:83)	122, 315
during Battle of Şiffin	Ṭayfūr, 151–152; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 1:341–342; Qalqashandī, 1:253–254; (Şafwat, 1:368–369)	384, 399
unspecified, referencing all Qur'an Surahs	Maqqarī, 7:333; (Şafwat, 3:219–221)	415
foretelling Muḥammad's prophecy	Ibn Hishām, 1:127	192, 381
during the conquest of Iraq	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:469; Ibn A'tham, 1:212, 281; (Şafwat, 1:229)	302
governor asking for the pledge of allegiance to 'Alī when 'Uthmān died	Minqarī, 16; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:111; (Şafwat, 1:308)	179
also asking for the pledge of allegiance to 'Alī	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:114; Ibn A'tham, 2:501; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:76; (Şafwat, 1:309–310)	179
advising the Quraysh to revere the Ka'bah	Qalqashandī, 1:211–212; Abū Hilāl, <i>Awā'il</i> , 43; (Şafwat, 1:73)	170, 237
encouraging Kufans to step back from supporting Muslim, Ḥusayn's emissary	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:370; (Şafwat, 2:39)	119, 351
urging obedience to the Umayyad authority	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:464; (Şafwat: 2:321)	351
Friday sermon?	Qalqashandī, 1:223; Nuwayrī, 7:256; (Şafwat, 2:323)	82, 235, 351
Eid sermon	Dīnawarī, <i>Mujālasah</i> , 3:326; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:268–269; (Şafwat, 2:324)	278

	No.	Key lines	Place
	72.4	سبحان من الجرادة من خلقه	Mecca or Iraq?
	72.5	إنّ إبليس كان ملكاً من الملائكة	Mecca
73. Khālid ibn Mu'amar	73.1	يا معشر ربعة إنّ الله قد أتى بكلّ رجل منكم من منبته	Şifin
74. Khālid ibn al-Walīd	74.1	الحمد لله ... فإنّ خليفة رسول الله كتب إلينا يحضّنا على طاعة ربّنا	Yamāmah
	74.2	إنّ هذا يوم من أيّام الله لا ينبغي فيه الفخر ولا البغي أخلصوا جهادكم	Yarmūk
75. Khanthar ibn 'Ubaydah	75.1	يا معشر قيس أطاعة الشيطان أثر عنكم من طاعة الرحمان	Şifin
76. Khuzā'ī soothsayer	76.1	والقمر الباهر والكوكب الزاهر	'Uṣfān, near Mecca
77. Mālik al-Ashtar	77.1	الحمد لله الذي منّ علينا فأفضل ... لعمرى يا أمير المؤمنين ما أمر طلحة والزبير وعائشة علينا بخيل	Medina
	77.2	الحمد لله الذي خلق السماوات العلى ... ثمّ قد كان ممّا قضى الله وقدر أن ساقتنا المقادير إلى أهل هذه البلدة من الأرض	Qinnaṣrīn, near Şifin
	77.3	أين فراركم من الموت ... عضضتم بصتم الجنادل	Şifin
	77.4	عضّوا على النواجز من الأضراس	Şifin
78. Ma'mūn (Abbasid caliph)	78.1	إنّ يومكم هذا يوم أبان الله فضله	Baghdad
	78.2	ألا إنّ يومكم هذا يوم عيد وسنة	Baghdad
79. Ma'mūn al-Ḥārithī	79.1	أرعوني أسماءكم	Arabian Peninsula

Context	References	Index
unspecified	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>ʿUyūn</i> , 2:269; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:135; (Şafwat 2:324)	208
Friday sermon	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:123–124 (Şafwat 2:322–323)	86
during Battle of Şifḥīn	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:35; Minqarī, 292; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 5:229; (Şafwat 1:363)	294
responding to Abū Bakr's summons to fight in Iraq	Azdī, 141; (Şafwat, 1:188–189)	176
at the Battle of Yarmūk	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:395; Wāqidi, <i>Futūḥ</i> , 1:44; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:255–256; Kalāʾī, 2:296; (Şafwat 1:202–203)	315
during Battle of Şifḥīn	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:32; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 5:224–225; (Şafwat 1:364–365)	140
arbitration between Hāshim and Umayyah	Ibn al-Athīr, 1:619; Ḥalabī, 1:10; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 2:254, does not cite the text but records its background narrative; (Şafwat, 1:78)	126, 380
lead up to Battle of the Camel	Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 1:311; (Şafwat, 1:304)	77
during the Battle of Şifḥīn	Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 5:190; Ibn Aʿtham, 3:49–50; Idrīs, 3:193–194; (Şafwat, 1:359)	128, 134, 196, 325
during the Battle of Şifḥīn	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:19; Minqarī, 250–251; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 5:199–200; (Şafwat 1:360–361)	301
during the Battle of Şifḥīn	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:23; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 5:203; (Şafwat 1:361)	294, 299, 313
Eid al-Adḥā sermon	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:97; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>ʿUyūn</i> , 2:277–278	277
Eid al-Fiṭr sermon	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:97–98; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>ʿUyūn</i> , 2:278–279	277
homily	Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:273; (Şafwat, 1:39)	79, 102, 126, 170

	No.	Key lines	Place
80. Maṣṣūr (Abbasid caliph)	80.1	إِنَّمَا أَنَا سُلْطَانُ اللَّهِ فِي أَرْضِهِ	Mecca
81. Marwān ibn al-Muhallab	81.1	قَدْ بَلَغْنِي أَنَّ هَذَا الشَّيْخَ الضَّالَّ الْمَرَائِيَّ يَنْبُطُ النَّاسَ	Basra
82. Mu'adh ibn Jabal	82.1	يَا قَرَأَ الْقُرْآنَ وَمُسْتَحْفَظِي الْكِتَابِ	Yarmūk
	82.2	إِنَّ أَوَّلَ مَا أَنَا ذَاكَرُ حَمْدِ اللَّهِ ... أَدْعُوكُمْ إِلَى اللَّهِ أَنْ تَوَدَّعُوا بِاللَّهِ وَحْدَهُ	Byzantine camp in Syria
	82.3	تَوَبُّوا إِلَى اللَّهِ مِنْ ذُنُوبِكُمْ	Syria
83. Mu'adh ibn Juwayn	83.1	يَا أَهْلَ الْإِسْلَامِ إِنَّا وَاللَّهِ لَوْ عَلِمْنَا أَنَّ إِذَا تَرَكْنَا جِهَادَ الظُّلْمَةِ	Kufa
84. Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān	84.1	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَ الدُّعَاءَ ... عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ خَلِيفَةَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عُمَرَ ... وَأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عُثْمَانَ	Damascus
	84.2	يَا أَهْلَ الشَّامِ قَدْ كُنْتُمْ تَكْذِبُونَنِي فِي عَلِيٍّ	Damascus
	84.3	إِنَّ أَوَّلَ مَا عَرَفْتُ فِيهِ سَفْهَكَ	Şifīn
	84.4	كَأَنَّكَ إِنَّمَا جِئْتَ مَتَهَدِّدًا	Damascus
	84.5	أَعِيرُونَا جَمَاعَتَكُمْ وَأَنْفُسَكُمْ	Şifīn
	84.6	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي دَنَا ... كَانَ فِيمَا قَضَاهُ اللَّهُ أَنْ سَاقَتْنَا الْمَقَادِيرُ إِلَى هَذِهِ الْبُقْعَةِ	Şifīn
	84.7	فَإِنَّهُ كَانَتْ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ يَدَانِ يَمِينَانِ قَطَعْتَ إِحْدَاهُمَا يَوْمَ صَفِّينَ وَقَطَعْتَ الْأُخْرَى الْيَوْمَ	Damascus
	84.8	فَلِئَلِيَّ وَاللَّهِ مَا وَلَيْتَهَا بِحَبَّةٍ عَلِمْتُهَا مِنْكُمْ	Medina
	84.9	إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ خَلَقَكُمْ فَلَمْ يَنْسِكُمْ	Damascus
	84.10	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى مَا نَحْنُ فِيهِ ... فَرُبَّ خَيْرٍ مُسْتَوَرٍّ	Damascus

Context	References	Index
unspecified	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 8:39; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>ʿUyūn</i> , 2:274; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:91; Thaʿālibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 2:29; (Şafwat, 3:27)	191, 343
criticizing Ḥasan al-Baṣrī	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:594; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Muntaẓam</i> , 7:79; (Şafwat, 2:355)	190, 233
during Battle of Yarmūk	Azdī, 323–324; Ibn Aʿtham, 2:200; Kalāʾī, 2:282; (Şafwat 1:204)	177, 323
responding to Byzantine commanders	Azdī, 206; Ibn Aʿtham, 1:142–145; Kalāʾī, 2:230–231; (Şafwat, 1:246–249)	324
during conquest of Syria when Abū ʿUbaydah died	Azdī, 380–381; Ibn Aʿtham, 1:237–238; (Şafwat, 1:258)	177, 244
responding to Ḥayyān's call to the Khārijites to arms	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:310; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Muntaẓam</i> , 5:291; (Şafwat 2:443)	76, 295
after the arrival of ʿAlī's emissary, Jarīr al-Bajalī	Minqarī, 31; Ibn Aʿtham, 2:509; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:78; (Şafwat 1:310–311)	116, 180, 202, 306, 325
when he heard of ʿAlī's mobilization against him	Minqarī, 127; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 3:195–196; (Şafwat 1:327).	180, 215, 307
responding to ʿAlī's emissaries Bashīr and Shabath	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:574; Minqarī, 1:17; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:637; (Şafwat, 1:329)	74, 180
responding to ʿAlī's emissary ʿAdī ibn Ḥātim	Ṭabarī, 5:5; (Şafwat, 1:331–332)	180
during the Battle of Şiffin	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:180; (Şafwat, 1:339)	80, 119, 180, 307, 313
urging Syrians to fight ʿAlī	Minqarī, 296; Ibn Aʿtham, 3:172; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:232; (Şafwat 1:365)	73, 180, 304, 322, 325
upon hearing of the death of Mālik al-Ashtar	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:96; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 6:76; (Şafwat, 1:431)	124
when he visited as caliph after Ḥasan's abdication	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:75–76; (Şafwat, 2:182–183)	182, 200
very brief Friday sermon	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:77; Waṭwāt, 199; (Şafwat 2:185)	182, 277
responding to ʿUbaydallāh ibn Ziyād	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:78–79; (Şafwat, 2:283)	78

No.	Key lines	Place
84.11	الحمد لله الذي أمرنا بحمده ... قد كبر سنيّ	Damascus
84.12	يا أهل المدينة لقد هممت ببيعة يزيد	Medina
85. Mu'āwiyah ibn Yazīd	فإني قد نظرت في أمركم فضعفت عنه	Damascus
86. Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah	فإنّ لذي الحلم قبل اليوم ما تفرع العصا	Kufa
86.2	فقد علمتم أيها الناس أنّي لم أزل أحبّ لجماعتكم العافية	Kufa
87. Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah	إنكم قد عرفتم مذهب هؤلاء الخوارج	Iraq
87.2	والله ما بكم من قلة	Sulāf
88. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr	الحمد لله الذي هدانا ... فإن يكن ماترون من إمارتي وأعمالي	Fustat
88.2	طاعة لله وتقوى فأحمدوا الله	Fustat
88.2	فإنّ القوم الذين كانوا ينتهكون الحرمه	Fustat
89. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah	رحمك الله أبا محمد ... ولنعم الروح روح تضمنه بدنك	Medina
89.2	فأما ما ذكرتم مما خصنا الله به من فضل ... أقول قولي هذا	Medina?
89.3	يا معشر قريش شأهت الوجوه أينقص عليّ وأنتم حضور	Mecca?
90. Muḥammad (Prophet of Islam)	إني رسول الله إليكم يأمركم أن تعبدوا الله	Minā
90.2	إنّ الرائد لا يكذب أهله أرايتم لو أخبرتكم أنّ خيلاً تخرج بصفح هذا الجبل كنتم مصدقيّ	Mecca
90.3	الحمد لله أحمدوه وأستعينه وأستغفره ... من يطع الله ورسوله فقد رشد	Medina (Qubā')
90.4	أيها الناس فقدّموا لأنفسكم ... إنّ أحسن الحديث كتاب الله	Medina

Context	References	Index
calling for oath of allegiance to his son Yazid (plus the speeches of his respondents)	Ibn A'tham, 4:329–343; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:188–214; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:344–349; (Şafwat, 2:236–262)	206, 336, 359
calling for oath of allegiance to his son Yazid	Ibn A'tham, 4:336–337; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:211; (Şafwat, 2:258–260)	206
unspecified	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:530–531; (Şafwat, 2:190–191)	202, 286
governor accession speech	Ṭabarī, 5:253; Ibn al-Athīr, 3:69; (Şafwat, 2:184)	137
warning the Kufans against supporting the Khārijites	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:184; (Şafwat, 2:438)	74
urging his troops to be vigilant against the Khārijites	Mubarrad, 3:227; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:148; (Şafwat 2:448–449)	304
after the Khārijites defeated his troops	Mubarrad, 3:229; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:150; (Şafwat 2:449)	324
governor accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:556; (Şafwat, 1:398)	78, 344
when 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ arrived there	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:103; Thaqafi, 1:281–282; (Şafwat, 1:398–399)	179
eulogy for his brother Ḥasan ibn 'Alī while burying him	Mas'ūdi, 3:7; Idris, 4:102; (Şafwat, 2:31–33)	244
responding to Mukhtār and his followers	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:13; (Şafwat, 2:79)	82
responding to Ibn al-Zubayr's criticism of his father, 'Alī	Mas'ūdi, 3:86; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:62; (Şafwat, 2:90–91)	109
to tribes gathered for the pilgrimage inviting them to Islam	Ibn Hishām, 1:267	172
first sermon in Mecca	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 2:319; Balādhuri, 1:136–137; Ibn Athīr, 1:659; Ḥalabī, 1:405; (Şafwat, 1:147)	9, 82, 111, 172, 196, 455, 481
first Friday sermon	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 2:394–396; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Muntaẓam</i> , 3:66–67; Ibn Kathīr, 3:259; Suyūṭī, <i>Muḥāḍarāt</i> , 412; Qurṭubī, <i>Tafsīr</i> , 18:99; Tha'labī, 9:309; (Şafwat 1:148–149)	66, 75, 78, 103, 133, 173, 277, 286
Friday sermon—first of two parts	Ibn Hishām, 1:317; Idrīs 1:160–161	66, 69, 277, 278, 286, 291

No.	Key lines	Place
90.5	إِنَّ الْحَمْدَ لِلَّهِ أَحْمَدُهُ وَأَسْتَعِينُهُ نَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ شُرُورِ أَنْفُسِنَا وَسَيِّئَاتِ أَعْمَالِنَا	Medina
90.6	وَالَّذِي نَفْسُ مُحَمَّدٍ بِيَدِهِ لَا يِقَاتِلُهُمُ الْيَوْمَ رَجُلٌ ... إِلَّا أَدْخَلَهُ اللَّهُ الْجَنَّةَ	Badr, near Medina
90.7	الحمد لله المحمود بنعمته	Medina
90.8	اغزوا بسم الله ... لا تقتلوا وليدًا ولا شيخًا كبيرًا ولا امرأة	Medina
90.9	أوصيكم بما أوصاني الله ... ثم إنكم اليوم بمنزل أجر	Uḥud, near Medina
90.10	لَا يَحِلُّ لِمَرءٍ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ أَنْ يُسْقِيَ مَأْوَهُ زَرْعَ غَيْرِهِ	Khaybar
90.11	أَلَا إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا خَضِرَةٌ حُلُوهٌ	Medina?
90.12	أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ كَأَنَّ الْمَوْتَ فِيهَا عَلَى غَيْرِنَا قَدْ كَتَبَ	Medina?
90.13	هَذَا يَوْمُ الشَّجِّ وَالْعَجِّ	Medina? Minā?
90.14	إِنَّهُ قَدْ أَظْلَمَ شَهْرٌ عَظِيمٌ	Medina?
90.15	اللَّهُمَّ اسْقِنَا غَيْثًا مَغِيثًا	Medina
90.16	لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ... صَدَقَ وَعْدُهُ وَنَصَرَ عَبْدُهُ وَهَزَمَ الْأَحْزَابَ وَحْدَهُ	Mecca
90.17	يَا مُعَشَرَ الْأَنْصَارِ مَا مَقَالَةٌ بَلَغْتَنِي عَنْكُمْ	Ji'rānah, near Tā'if
90.18	فَرَبِّ حَامِلِ فَقِهِ إِلَى مَنْ هُوَ أَفْقَهُ مِنْهُ	Khayf Mosque, Minā
90.19	اسْمَعُوا قَوْلِي فَإِنِّي لَا أَدْرِي لَعَلِّي لَا أَلْقَاكُمْ بَعْدَ عَامِي هَذَا	Mount 'Arafāt

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Friday sermon—second of two parts	Ibn Hishām, 1:318; Bāqillānī, 130; Idrīs 1:160–161 (Şafwat, 1:152)	66, 67, 78, 108, 133, 231, 244, 277, 278, 286, 291
at the Battle of Badr	Ibn Hishām, 1:417; Idrīs, 1:180	320
sermon given when he married his daughter Fāṭimah to ‘Alī	Naḥḥās, 254–255; Ibn ‘Asākir, 52:444; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Mawḍū‘āt</i> , 417; Muḥibb al-Dīn, 30	379
habitual battle ethics counsel	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih 1:117; Nu‘mān, <i>Da‘ā‘im</i> , 1:369; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 1:185	316
at the Battle of Uḥud	Wāqidī, <i>Maghāzī</i> , 1:221–223; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 14:232–233; (Şafwat 1:149–150)	104, 108, 320, 370
after the Battle of Khaybar	Ibn Hishām, 2:248; Idrīs, 1:313	173, 320
“late afternoon”	Bāqillānī, 133; Tha‘ālibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 2:26; (Şafwat, 1:151)	258
unspecified	Ya‘qūbī, 2:100; Makkī, 1:139; Ibn Ḥibbān, 3:49; Rāmahurmuzī, 1:37; Qalqashandī, 1:213; Ibn ‘Asākir, 2:1052; (Şafwat, 1:153)	115, 151, 239
‘Id al-Adḥā sermon	Nu‘mān, <i>Da‘ā‘im</i> , 1:184; idem, <i>Mukhtaṣar</i> , 1:130	287
sermon at the beginning of Ramadan	Nu‘mān, <i>Da‘ā‘im</i> , 1:268–269; Şadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 82–84, § 20	369
praying for rain	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 14:80; (Şafwat, 1:154–155)	198
during Conquest of Mecca, at the door of the Ka‘bah	Ibn Hishām, 2:313–314; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:61; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:125; Idrīs, 1:355–356; (Şafwat, 1:154)	102, 196, 320, 369, 399
after the Battle of Ḥunayn	Ibn Hishām, 2:371–372; Idrīs, 1:400–401	320
during last pilgrimage	Ya‘qūbī, 2:102, 109; Şāfi‘ī, 286–289; Nu‘mān, <i>Da‘ā‘im</i> , 1:80, 378; Ḥarrānī, 43; Şadūq, <i>Amālī</i> , 313, § 56; Bāqillānī, 133; Quḍā‘ī, <i>Shihāb</i> , § 14.2; Sulaym, 2:654; (Şafwat, 1:151)	31, 36
“farewell sermon” during last pilgrimage	Ibn Hishām, 4:446–447; Ya‘qūbī, 2:102–112; Wāqidī, <i>Maghāzī</i> , 2:468–469; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:150–151; Ḥarrānī, 37–38; Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:31–33; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:53–55; Bāqillānī, 131–132; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:166–167; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 1:127–128; Idrīs, 470–472; (Şafwat, 1:155–158)	32, 34, 66, 67, 74, 80, 87, 104, 108, 111, 133, 174, 197, 203, 212, 334, 369, 469

No.	Key lines	Place
90.20	من كنت مولاه فعليّ مولاه	Ghadir Khumm
90.21	إنيّ أحمد إليكم الله ... وإنّه قد دنا منّي خفوق من بين أظهركم	Medina
91. Mukhtār al-Thaqafi	91.1	Kufa
	91.2	Kufa
	91.3	Kufa
	91.4	Kufa
	91.5	Kufa
92. Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr	92.1	Basra

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appointment of 'Alī as successor, according to Shi'a	Shi'a sources: Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 1:99, 104, 106; idem, <i>Da'ā'im</i> , 1:15–19; idem, <i>Majālis</i> , 327–329; 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, 2:112–113; Thaqaḥ, 2:658–659; Ya'qūbī, 2:112; Ṣadūq, <i>Ma'ānī</i> , 65–74; idem, <i>Amālī</i> , 2, § 1, 108, § 26, 317–318, § 56, 514, § 84; Ṭabrisī, <i>Ihtijāj</i> , 1:55–67; Mufīd, <i>Irshād</i> , 1:174–177; idem, <i>Amālī</i> , 44; Fattāl, 350; Sulaym, 2:644–649; Idrīs, 1:480–487. For a comprehensive coverage of early primary sources narrated from a Twelver Shi'ite perspective, see Amīnī, <i>al-Ghadīr</i> , vol. 1, <i>passim</i> ³ Sunni sources: Ibn Mājah, <i>Sunan</i> , s.v. " <i>faḍā'il aṣḥāb rasūl Allāh</i> "; Ibn Ḥanbal, <i>Musnad</i> , s.v. " <i>al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn</i> "; Tirmidhī, <i>Sunan</i> , s.v. " <i>al-manāqib</i> "; Bayhaqī, <i>I'tiqād</i> , 354–357; Iskāfī, 210–218; 'Abd al-Jabbār, 202; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:291; Zamakhsharī, <i>Rabī'</i> , 1:31; Sibṭī, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 29–34, 62; Dhahabī, <i>Sīyar</i> , 7:333; Ghazālī, <i>Faḍā'il</i> , 136 (Dhahabī and Ghazālī classify it as a " <i>mutawātir</i> " hadith)	174, 202, 334
last oration before his death	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:189; Suyūṭī, <i>Muḥāḍarāt</i> ; 'Abd al-Razzāq, 9:469; Kalā'ī, 2:42; Ṣāliḥī, 12:242; (Ṣafwat, 1:158)	66, 74, 87, 148, 197, 198
lead-up to his revolt	Balādhurī, 6:380; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:550; Ibn al-Athīr, 3:259; Nuwayrī, 21:10; (Ṣafwat, 2:74–75)	68, 188
lead-up to his revolt, after a group of Shi'ites went to consult Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:14; Ibn A'tham, 6:228; (Ṣafwat 2:79–80)	76, 310
lead-up to his revolt	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:16; Ibn 'Asākir, 45:357; Suyūṭī, <i>Mā rawāhu</i> , 8; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Muntaẓam</i> , 7:33; idem, <i>Mir'āh</i> , 10:186; Yāfī'ī, 182; Ibn Kathīr, 9:238; Ājurri, 56; Zamakhsharī, 5:267; Ibn Qudāmah, 81; (Ṣafwat, 2:81–82)	68
after defeating the Umayyad commander	Ibn A'tham, 6:240–241; (Ṣafwat, 2:84–85)	69
when he learned that Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr was marching from Basra against him	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:95; Ibn A'tham, 6:285–286; (Ṣafwat, 2:88)	78
governor accession speech, composed entirely of Qur'anic verses	Jāhīz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:299–300; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:567; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:124; (Ṣafwat 2:181)	132, 200

3 I thank Sulayman Hasan for the last three references.

	No.	Key lines	Place
93. Musayyab ibn Najabah	93.1	فإنّا قد آتينا بطول العمر... لا والله لا عذر دون أن تقتلوا قاتله والموالين عليه أو تقتلوا في طلب ذلك	Kufa
94. Muslim ibn 'Ubays	94.1	إنّي ما خرجت لأمتيأر ذهب ولا فضة	Basra
95. Muslim ibn 'Uqbah	95.1	أما والله ما جزأؤكم عليه إلّا أن تحرموا العطاء	Medina
	95.2	يا أهل الشام إنكم لستم بأفضل العرب في أحسابها ولا أنسابها	Medina
96. Mustawrid ibn 'Ullifah	96.1	فإنّ هذا الخرف معقل بن قيس قد وجّه إليكم وهو من السبئية المفتريين الكاذبين	near Kufa
97. Muṭarrif ibn Mughīrah	97.1	إنّ الأمير الحجاج أصلحه الله قد ولّاني عليكم	Madā'in
98. Nā'ilah bint al-Farāfiṣah	98.1	عثمان ذو النورين قتل مظلوماً	Medina
99. Nu'mān ibn Bashīr	99.1	يا قيس بن سعد أما أنصفكم من دعاكم إلى ما رضي لنفسه	Ṣiffin
100. Nu'mān ibn Mundhir	100.1	أما أمتك أيّها الملك... مع معرفتهم الأشياء وضربهم للأمثال	Hīrah
101. Qaḥṭabah ibn Shabīb	101.1	هذه البلاد كانت لأبائكم الأولين	Jurjān
102. Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah	102.1	فإنّي أحذركم الدنيا فإنّها حلوة خضرة حقت بالشهوات	unspecified
	102.2	أوصيكم بتقوى الله وطاعته والعمل بكتابه وسنة نبيّه	Medina
103. Qays ibn Mushir	103.1	إنّ هذا الحسين بن عليّ خير خلق الله ابن فاطمة بنت رسوله وأنا رسوله إليكم وقد فارقت بالهاجر فأجيبوه	Kufa
104. Qays ibn Sa'd	104.1	الحمد لله الذي جاء بالحقّ... أيّها الناس إنّا قد بايعنا خير من نعلم بعد محمد نبيّنا	Fustat

Context	References	Index
lead-up to Penitents' rebellion	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:552; Ibn A'tham, 6:203–204; (Şafwat, 2:58–59)	82, 188
mobilizing to fight Azraqī Khārijites in Ahwaz	Mubarrad, 3:212–213; (Şafwat, 2:446–447)	303
lead up to Battle of Ḥarrah	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:488–489; (Şafwat, 2:327)	303
lead up to Battle of Ḥarrah	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:489; (Şafwat, 2:328)	77
urging his Khārijite troops to fight Ma'qil ibn Qays, Mughirah's commander	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:193; (Şafwat 2:441)	76
governor accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:284; (Şafwat, 2:338)	68
eulogy for her husband 'Uthmān ibn al-'Affān	Ṭayfūr, 143–146	244, 384
addressing 'Alī's supporters from Mu'āwiyah's side	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:130; Ibn A'tham, 3:167; (Şafwat, 1:366)	179
addressed to the Persian monarch	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 1:266–270; Mas'ūdī, 2:127–128; Abū l-Faraj, 19:134–145; (Şafwat 1:50–64)	99, 170, 359
urging Abbasid rebellion troops to fight Naşr ibn Sayyār and his Umayyad army	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:391; Ibn al-Athīr, 4:383 (Şafwat, 2:513–514)	310, 323
“on the pulpit of the Azraqī [Khārijites]”	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:126–129; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:129–131; Qalqashandī, 1:223–235; Nuwayrī, 7:250–253; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:272–273; Sharīshī, 1:232–233; (Şafwat 2:454–458). Also attrib. to 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib. A few lines also attrib. to Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:82; (Şafwat, 2:190)	112, 131, 132, 200, 246, 258, 259, 268
unspecified	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:132–133	257
Ḥusayn's emissary	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:394–395; <i>History</i> , 19:85; Ibn A'tham, 5:82–83; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 245	86
governor accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:549, Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 6:59; (Şafwat, 1:285)	75, 344

	No.	Key lines	Place
	104.2	والله ما كنت أراك يا نعمان تجترئ على هذا المقام	Şifîn
105. Quss ibn Sā'idah	105.1	اسمعوا وعوا من عاش مات ومن مات فات	'Ukāz, near Mecca
106. Qutaybah ibn Muslim	106.1	إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَحْلَمَ هَذَا الْمَحَلَّ لِعِزِّ دِينِهِ	Khurasan
	106.2	إِنَّ عَدُوَّكُمْ قَدْ رَأَوْا بَلَاءَ اللَّهِ عِنْدَكُمْ	Soghdia
	106.3	أَتَدْرُونَ مِنْ تَبَايَعُونَ	Khurasan
	106.4	يَا أَهْلَ الْعِرَاقِ أَلَسْتُ أَعْلَمُ النَّاسَ بِكُمْ	Khurasan
107. Rashīd (Abbasid caliph)	107.1	الحمد لله نحمده على نعمه	Baghdad
108. Rifā'ah ibn Shaddād	108.1	فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ هَدَاكَ لِأَصُوبِ الْقَوْلِ ... أَقُولُ قَوْلِي هَذَا	Kufa
109. Riyāḥ ibn 'Uthmān	109.1	يَا أَهْلَ الْمَدِينَةِ أَنَا الْأَفْعَى أَبْنُ الْأَفْعَى أَبْنُ عَثْمَانَ أَبْنِ حَيَّانَ	Medina
110. Rawḥ ibn Zinbā'	110.1	إِنَّكُمْ تَذْكُرُونَ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ ... وَأَمَّ مَرْوَانَ بْنَ الْحَكَمِ	Medina?
111. Ruḥaymah bint 'Aẓamah	111.1	"O women of Najrān, my Christian, Jewish, and Pagan companions, hearken." (Shahīd trans., <i>Byzantium and the Arabs</i> , 57, from the medieval Syriac—original Arabic lost).	Yemen
112. Ṣabrah ibn Shaymān	112.1	يَا مَعْشَرَ الْأَزْدِ إِنَّا قُلْنَا يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ نَمْنَعُ مَصْرَنَا	Basra
113. Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ	113.1	إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ الْحَقُّ	Qādisiyyah

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retort to Nu'mān ibn Bashīr's pre-battle oration	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmāh</i> , 1:130; Ibn A'tham, 3:167–178; (Şafwat, 1:367)	179
homily addressed to the Arabians gathered at the annual fair	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 1:308–309; Sijistānī, 123–126; Kirmānī, 65, 96–97 (trans.); Ishāq, 197–198; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 15:164–165; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:117–118; Maydānī, 1:302–303; Bāqil-lānī, 151; Suyūṭī, <i>Mu'tarak</i> , 3:177; Māwardī, <i>Tafsīr</i> 5:386; Naqqāsh, 1:46; Qalqashandī, 1:212–213; Qazwīnī, 85; Abū Hilāl, <i>Awā'il</i> , 67; <i>Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'</i> , 2:259–260 (verses); (Şafwat, 1:38–39)	7, 34, 80, 108, 112, 126, 141, 170, 238
governor accession speech, urging locals to fight for the Umayyads	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:424; (Şafwat 2:304–305)	122, 184, 297, 324
during his siege of the Soghdians	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:476–477; (Şafwat, 2:306–307)	309
when Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik was deposed	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:132–133; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:1156; Ābī, 5:63; (Şafwat, 2:310)	112
unspecified	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:133–134; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:116; Ābī, 5:63; (Şafwat, 2:310)	112
Friday sermon	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:95–96	419
lead-up to Penitents uprising	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:553; Ibn A'tham, 6:204; Ibn al-Athīr, 3:249; (Şafwat, 2:59)	82
governor accession speech	Yā'qūbī, 2:374; Māturīdī, 1:23	117
supporting Marwān after death of Mu'āwiyah ibn Yazīd	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:536; (Şafwat, 2:336)	359
just before she was killed by the Jewish king	Simeon, 57–58	384, 400
urged his Azdī tribesmen to support Mu'āwiyah	Thaqafi, 2:393; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:43–44; (Şafwat 1:436)	76
urging Muslims to fight the Persian army	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:531; (Şafwat 1:229–230)	308, 324

No.	Key lines	Place
113.2	إِنَّ عَدُوَّكُمْ قَدْ أَعْتَصَمَ مِنْكُمْ بِهَذَا الْبَحْرِ	Behrasir (also Bahurasir, or Beh-Ardashir), on the banks of the Tigris
114. Sa'd ibn Hudhayfah	114.1 فَإِنَّكُمْ قَدْ كُنْتُمْ مَجْمَعِينَ مَزْمَعِينَ عَلَى نَصْرِ الْحُسَيْنِ	Madā'in
115. Saffāḥ (Abbasid caliph)	115.1 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَصْطَفَى الْإِسْلَامَ لِنَفْسِهِ تَكْرِمَةً	Kufa
116. Šafiyyah bint Hishām	116.1 لِلَّهِ دَرَكٌ مِنْ مَجْنٍ فِي جَنِّ	Kufa
117. Saḥbān ibn Zufar al-Wā'ilī	117.1 إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا دَارُ بَلَاغٍ وَالْآخِرَةُ دَارُ قَرَارٍ	unspecified
118. Sa'īd ibn Aḥmad al-Maqqarī	118.1 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَفْتَحَ بِفَاتِحَةِ الْكِتَابِ سُورَةَ الْبَقَرَةِ	unspecified
119. Sa'īd ibn al-ʿĀṣ	119.1 وَاللَّهُ لَقَدْ بَعَثَ إِلَيْكُمْ وَإِنِّي لَكَارِهِ	Kufa
120. Sa'īd ibn Qays	120.1 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِدِينِهِ ... مَعْنَا مِنَ الْبَدْرِيِّينَ سَبْعِينَ رَجُلًا	Šiffin
121. Šālīḥ ibn ʿAlī	121.1 يَا أَعْضَادَ النِّفَاقِ وَعِبَدَ الضَّلَالَةِ	unspecified
122. Šālīḥ ibn Musarriḥ	122.1 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ ... لَا تَجْزِعُوا مِنَ الْقَتْلِ فِي اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ الْقَتْلَ أَيْسَرُ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ وَالْمَوْتَ نَازِلٌ بِكُمْ	Dārā, near Mosul
	122.2 اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ وَلَا تَعْجَلُوا إِلَى قِتَالِ أَحَدٍ	Dārā, near Mosul
123. Ša'sa'ah ibn Šūḥān	123.1 أَمَّا قَوْلُكَ يَا مُعَاوِيَةَ إِنَّا قَدِمْنَا الْأَرْضَ الْمُقَدَّسَةَ فَلَعُمْرِي مَا الْأَرْضُ تَقْدَسَ النَّاسُ	Damascus
	123.2 إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَلَهُ الْحَمْدُ كَثِيرًا ... قَلَّمْتُ أَنْتُمْ لَا تَزِيدُونَ إِلَّا أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ	Kufa
124. Sawād ibn Qārib	124.1 وَالسَّمَاءُ وَالْأَرْضُ وَالْغَمَرُ وَالْبَرُصُ وَالْقَرُصُ وَالْفَرُصُ	Arabian Peninsula

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urging his troops to cross the river, swimming?	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:9; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:339; Ibn Kathīr, 7:74; Kalā'ī, 2:512; (Şafwat 1:233)	176, 213
urging 'Alid supporters to answer Sulaymān ibn Şurad's call to arms	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:557; (Şafwat, 2:62)	111, 213
caliphal accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:425–426; Tha'ālibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 2:28–29; (Şafwat, 3:6–8)	191
eulogy for her cousin Aḥnaf ibn Qays	Ṭayfūr, 119–123	384
homily	Mubarrad, 4:90 (attributed to an anonymous Bedouin by al-Aşma'ī); Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, 147; (Şafwat, 2:482)	147, 249
mentioning all Qur'an surahs	Maqqarī, 7:335; (Şafwat, 3:222–225)	415
governor accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:279; Ibn A'tham, 2:382–383; Ibn 'Asākir, 21:121; Nuwayrī, 19:437; (Şafwat 1:278)	344
urging his tribe to fight with 'Alī	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:189; (Şafwat 1:355)	82, 306, 319, 323
unspecified	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:92; Tha'ālibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 2:30–31; (Şafwat, 3:18)	191
homily	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:216–218; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:226; (Şafwat 2:459–461)	76, 131, 189, 261, 301
to his supporters the night before he was killed in battle	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:220; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:227–228; (Şafwat, 2:461–462)	128, 133, 300, 317
during an Iraqi delegation visit to Mu'āwiyah	Nu'mān, <i>Sharḥ al-akhbār</i> , 1:170; Ibn Abī Rabbih, 3:318; Ibn Munqidh, <i>Lubāb</i> , 350; Idrīs, 4:94–95; (Şafwat, 2:369–372)	68
urging Iraqis to fight Mustawrid and his Khārijite supporters	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:185; (Şafwat, 2:439)	76
oracle	Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 2:289; (Şafwat, 1:83–86)	126

	No.	Key lines	Place
125. Shabīb ibn Yazīd	125.1	يا معشر المسلمين إن الله قد كان ينصركم عليهم وأنتم مائة ومائتان	Madā'in
126. Shaddād ibn Aws	126.1	أيها الناس راجعوا كتاب الله وإن تركه كثير من الناس	Homs
	126.2	الحمد لله الذي أقترض طاعته على عباده ... وإن الله إذا أراد	Damascus
	126.3	بالعباد صلاحاً عمل عليهم صلحاؤهم ألا إن الدنيا عرض حاضر يأكل منها البر والفاجر	unspecified
127. Shaymān ibn 'Ukayf al-Azdi	127.1	يا معشر الأزد ما أبقت عواقب الجمل عليكم إلا سوء الذكر	Basra
128. Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik	128.1	إن الدنيا دار غرور ومنزل باطل	Damascus?
129. Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad	129.1	ألا أنهضوا فقد سخط ربكم ولا ترجعوا إلى الحلائل والأبناء حتى يرضى الله	Kufa
	129.2	أيها الناس من كان إنما أخرجته إرادة وجه الله	Kufa
	129.3	فإن الله قد علم ما تنوون وما خرجتم تطلبون وإن للدنيا تجاراً وللاخرة تجاراً	Kufa
	129.4	فقد أتاكم الله بعدوكم الذي دأبتم في المسير إليه آناء الليل والنهار	'Ayn al-Wardah
130. Ṭahfah ibn Abī Zuhayr	130.1	يا رسول الله أتيناك من غوري تهمامة بأكوار الميس	Medina
131. Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydal-lāh	131.1	إن في ذلك إعزاز دين الله وسلطانه	Basra
132. Ṭarīf ibn al-ʿĀṣī	132.1	والأصنام المحجوبة والأنصاب المنصوبة	Yemen
133. Ṭarīfat al-Khayr	133.1	والنور والظلماء	Yemen
134. Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād	134.1	أين المفر البحر من ورائكم والعدو أمامكم	Gibraltar

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urging his Khārijite troops to battle	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:262; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 4:265; (Şafwat 2:463)	76, 203
homily during the conquest of Syria	Azdī, 389; Kalāʾī, 2:317; (Şafwat, 1:261–262)	68, 177
response to Muʿāwiyah's command to insult ʿAlī	Jāhīz, <i>Bayān</i> , 4:69–70; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:230; (Şafwat, 2:387)	85
homily	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:123. Parts attrib. to ʿUbādah ibn al-Şāmit	250
urging his Azdī tribesmen to support ʿAlī	Thaqafi, 2:392–393; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 4:43–44; (Şafwat 1:436)	76
Friday sermon?	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:84; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:269; (Şafwat 2:200)	115, 236, 246
lead up to Penitents revolt	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:554; Ibn Aʿtham, 6:204–205; (Şafwat 2:60)	113, 202, 205
urging the Penitents to fight the Umayyads	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:585; Ibn Aʿtham, 6:210; (Şafwat, 2:68)	193
urging the Penitents to fight the Umayyads	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:588; (Şafwat, 2:71)	84, 87, 120, 297, 327
urging the Penitents to fight the Umayyads	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:596; (Şafwat, 2:72)	317, 323
delegation paying tribute to the Prophet	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 1:299–300; (Şafwat, 1:165–166)	149, 174
Battle of the Camel	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:464; (Şafwat, 1:286)	73, 180
vaunt oration against Ḥārith ibn Dhubyān	Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:72–73; (Ālūsī, 3:46; Şafwat, 1:15)	109
foretelling the collapse of the Maʿrib dam	Ibn Badrūn, 100; (Şafwat, 1:106)	109, 125
addressing his troops after landing in Andalusia	Ibn Khallikān, 5:320–321; Maqqarī, 1:213–214; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmāh</i> , 2:87; (Şafwat, 2:314–316)	108, 111, 303, 315, 319, 328

	No.	Key lines	Place
135. Thābit ibn Qays	135.1	الحمد لله الذي السماوات والأرض خلقه	Medina
136. Tulayḥah ibn Khuwaylid	136.1	يا عشيرته إن المنوّه بأسمه الموثوق به ... ستمّيت أسداً لتفعلوا فعله	Nahāwand
137. 'Uḇadah ibn al-ṣāmit	137.1	ألا إن الدنيا عرض حاضر	Homs
138. 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād	138.1	صريح العقوق مكاتمة الأذنين	Damascus
	138.2	فإن أمير المؤمنين أصلحه الله ولا في مصركم ... فأنا لمحسنتكم ومطيعكم كالوالد البرّ وسوطي وسيفي على من ترك أمري	Kufa
	138.3	فوالله لا تقرن بي الصعبة ولا يقعقع لي بالشنان	Basra
	138.4	يا أهل البصرة أنسبوني فوالله ما مهاجر أبي إلا إليكم	Kufa or Basra
139. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz	139.1	إنّي قد أبتليت بهذا الأمر عن غير رأي كان منّي فيه	Damascus
	139.2	يا أيّها الناس من صحبنا فليصحبنا بخمس	Damascus
	139.3	من ألم بذنب فليستغفر الله عز وجل وليتب	Damascus
	139.4	إنكم ميتون ... من يقدر له رزق برأس جبل	Damascus
	139.5	إن الدنيا ليست بدار قرار	Damascus
	139.6	ولعمري وإنّ لعمري منّي الحقّ	Damascus
	139.7	فلا يطولنّ عليكم الأمد	Damascus
	139.8	إنما يراد الطبيب للوجع الشديد ألا فلا وجع أشدّ من الجهل	Damascus
	139.9	إنّي لم أجمعكم لأمر أحدثه ولكنّي نظرت في أمر معاكم	Damascus
	139.10	إن لكل سفر زاداً لا محالة فتزوّدوا لسفركم من الدنيا إلى الآخرة	Damascus
	139.11	من وصل أخاه بنصيحة ... أجل الدنيا في أعناقكم	Damascus
	139.12	وددت أنّ أغنياء الناس أجمعوا	Damascus

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responding to the Tamīm delegation who had come to see the Prophet	Ibn Hishām, 2:415–416; Ibn Shabbah, 2:524; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:116; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 4:113; Ibn al-Athīr, 1:153; Ibn ‘Asākir, 10:272; Qalqashandī, 1:373; (Şafwat, 1:163–164)	70, 72, 82, 127, 174, 359
urging his tribe of Asad to fight the Persians	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:538–559; (Şafwat 1:230–231)	177, 308
homily during the conquest of Syria	Azdī, 388–389; Kalā‘ī, 2:317; (Şafwat, 1:261)	68, 101, 110, 115, 130, 176
after Ziyād’s death, addressing Mu‘āwiyah	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:77–78; (Şafwat, 2:281–283)	77, 194
lead-up to Battle of Karbala	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:358–359; Ibn A‘tham, 5:39; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Maqātil</i> , 100; (Şafwat, 2:38)	184, 202, 349, 350
lead-up to Battle of Karbala	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:358; Ibn A‘tham, 5:39–40; Ibn Kathīr, 8:170–171; (Şafwat 2:45)	143, 350
after Yazīd’s death, addressing the Iraqis, soliciting their pledge of allegiance to him as governor	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:508; Ibn Khayyāt, 160; Jāhīz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:130; (Şafwat, 2:330–331)	213, 348
caliphal accession speech	Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, 41; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> ; 65; (Şafwat, 2:203–204)	68, 83, 213
caliphal accession speech	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> ; 227; (Şafwat, 2:204)	146, 342
lines he used commonly in his orations	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 229; (Şafwat 2:208)	116, 118, 234
homily	Bāqillānī, 150; Ibn ‘Asākir, 68:197; (Şafwat, 2:205)	262
homily	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 228; (Şafwat, 2:205–206)	245
Eid sermon	Abū Nu‘aym, 5:297; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 233; (Şafwat, 2:206)	282
homily	Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, 42; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 236; (Şafwat, 2:206–207).	146, 195
homily	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> ; (Şafwat, 2:207).	260
homily	Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> ; 247; Maşrī, 41; (Şafwat 2:208)	264
homily	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:84–85; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:150; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 228; (Şafwat, 2:209)	232, 233, 241, 254
homily	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:572; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 238; (Şafwat, 2:210)	116, 242, 250, 262
Eid sermon	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:85; (Şafwat, 2:211)	211

No.	Key lines	Place
139.13	رحمك الله يا بني فقد كنت براً بأبيك	Damascus
139.14	إنما الدنيا أمل مخترم	Damascus
139.15	إنكم لم تخلقوا عبثاً ولم تركوا سدى	Damascus
140. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb		
140.1	اللهم لا تدعني في غمرة	Medina
140.2	إنما مثل العرب مثل جمل أنف	Medina
140.3	إني قد وليت عليكم ولولا رجاء أن أكون خيركم لكم ... ما توليت ذلك منكم	Medina
140.4	إن الله عز وجل قد ولاني أمركم	Medina
140.5	يا أيها الناس إني داع فأمنوا اللهم إني غليظ فليتي لأهل طاعتك	Medina
140.6	اقرأ القرآن ... ألا وإني أنزلت نفسي من مال الله بمنزلة والي اليتيم	Medina
140.7	إن بعض الطمع فقر	Medina
140.8	من أراد أن يسأل عن القرآن فليأت أبي بن كعب ... ومن أراد أن يسأل عن المال فليأتني	Medina
140.9	الحمد لله الذي أعزنا بالإسلام ... فإن الله قد صدقكم الوعد بالنصر	Medina
140.10	اللهم إني أشهدك على أمراء الأمصار ... إني والله ما أرسل إليكم عملاً ليضربوا بأبشاركم	Medina
140.11	أيها الناس لا تغالوا في صدقات النساء	Medina
140.12	كانت بيعة أبي بكر فلتة ... فن عاد إلى مثلها فأقتلوه	Medina
140.13	إني سأخبركم عني وعن أبي بكر	Medina
140.14	بسم الله وبالله ... قاتلوا في سبيل الله من كفر بالله	Medina

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eulogy for his son ‘Abd al-Malik	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:341; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Sīrah</i> , 299; (Şafwat, 2:217)	244
homily	Mubarrad, 4:90; Ābī, 2:19; (Şafwat, 2:484)	261
homily, last sermon	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:87–88; Tha‘alibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 2:27–28; (Şafwat, 2:211–212)	237, 261
ending lines for all his sermons	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:62; (Şafwat, 3:361)	83
caliphal accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:433; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:268; Ibn Abd Rabbih, 4:61; (Şafwat 1:211)	121, 175, 212, 236, 338
caliphal accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:214–215; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 12:108–109; (Şafwat 1:212)	108, 175, 324
caliphal accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:215; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 12:109; (Şafwat, 1:212–213)	175, 353
caliphal accession speech	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:61; (Şafwat, 1:213–214)	175, 355
caliphal accession speech	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 2:255; Ibn Abd Rabbih, 4:59; (Şafwat 1:211–212)	133, 338
policy and homily	Balādhurī, 10:365; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:215; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 12:110; Ibn Mundhir, 46; Suyūṭī, <i>Durr</i> , 2:101; Işbahānī, 144; (Şafwat, 1:214)	68, 148, 175
fiscal policy	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:58–59; Ibn ‘Asākir, 7:310; Abū ‘Ubayd, <i>Amwāl</i> , 312; Ibn Zanjawayh, 499; Ibn al-Jawzī, <i>Manāqib</i> , 1148; (Şafwat, 1:217)	66, 75, 103, 175
unspecified	Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:59; Wāqidī, <i>Futūḥ</i> , 1:229–230; (Şafwat, 1:217–218)	66
policy	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:204; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4:60; Qalqashandī, 1:214; (Şafwat, 1:218–220)	212, 281, 283, 285
legislative	Nu‘mān, <i>Da‘ā’im</i> , 1:85; Abū Dā‘ūd, <i>Sunan</i> , 3:444; Qurṭubī, exegesis of Q Nisā’ 5:99	203
succession rules	Nu‘mān, <i>Da‘ā’im</i> , 1:85; Bukhārī, § 6830; Sibṭ, <i>Tadhkirah</i> , 61; Idrīs, 2:138	336
when he heard that some favored him over Abū Bakr	Mubarrad, 1:306; (Şafwat, 1:221)	324
whenever battle banners were made ready	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>‘Uyūn</i> , 1:185; Tha‘alibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 2:26–27; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 1:117–118; (Şafwat 1:227)	317

	No.	Key lines	Place
	140.15	إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَتَبَلَّكُمْ بِي وَأَتَبَلَّانِي بَكُمْ بَعْدَ صَاحِي	Medina
141. Umm al-Khayr bint al-Ḥarīsh al- Bāriqiyyah	141.1	اتَّقُوا رَبَّكُمْ إِنَّ زَلْزَلَةَ السَّاعَةِ شَيْءٌ عَظِيمٌ	Şifīn
142. Umm Kulthūm bint 'Alī	142.1	يَا أَهْلَ الْخَيْلِ وَالْخِزْلِ	Kufa
143. 'Uṭārid ibn Ḥājib	143.1	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَهُ عَلَيْنَا الْفَضْلُ ... فَنُثْنِي فِي النَّاسِ	Medina
144. 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān	144.1	يَا أَهْلَ مِصْرَ يَا كَمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا لِلسَّيْفِ حَصِيدًا	Fustat
	144.2	يَا حَامِلِي الْأُمِّ أَنْوَفَ رَكْبَتِ بَيْنَ أَعْيُنِ	Fustat
	144.3	إِنَّا قَدْ وَلِينَا هَذَا الْمَقَامَ الَّذِي يَضَاعَفُ فِيهِ لِلْمَحْسَنِ الْأَجْرُ	Mecca
	144.4	يَا أَهْلَ مِصْرَ لَا غَنَى عَنِ الرَّبِّ وَلَا مَهْرَبُ مِنْ ذَنْبِ	Fustat
145. 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān	145.1	إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ تَوَلَّتْ حَذَاءَ مَدِيرَةٍ	Basra
146. 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān	146.1	أَرَى يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْ تَكْتُبَ إِلَى أَهْلِ الشَّامِ	Medina
	146.2	إِنِّكُمْ فِي دَارِ قَلْعَةٍ	Medina
	146.3	فَإِنِّي قَدْ حَمَلْتُ وَقَدْ قَبِلْتُ أَلَا وَإِنِّي مُتَّبِعٌ	Medina
	146.4	إِنْ أَوَّلَ مَرْكَبٍ صَعَبَ	Medina
	146.5	يَا هَؤُلَاءِ الْعَدَى اللَّهُ اللَّهُ	Medina
	146.6	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ أَحْمَدُهُ ... فَإِنَّكُمْ لَمْ تَعْدُوا فِي الْمَنْطِقِ	Medina

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early in his caliphate	Ibn Sa'd, 3:208; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:59	339
during the Battle of Šifīn	Ṭayfūr, 96–98; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 1:344–346; Qalqashandī, 1:248–252; (Šafwat, 1:369–372)	325, 384, 399
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spokesman for his Tamīm tribe, when their delegation came to the Prophet	Ibn Shabbah, 2:524; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:116; Ibn Hishām, 2:415; Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 4:113; Ibn al-Athīr, 1:153; Ibn 'Asākir, 10:272; Qalqashandī, 1:373; (Šafwat, 1:163)	70, 75, 174, 359
governor speech, threats	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:125; (Šafwat, 2:220)	116, 183, 349
governor speech, threats	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:126; Qalqashandī, 1:216; (Šafwat, 2:221)	78
Friday sermon during the Hajj	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:127; Jāhīz, <i>Bayān</i> , 4:89–90; Ibn Bakkār, 327–328; Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:236; (Šafwat, 2:223)	183, 212, 284, 285
asking forgiveness, just before he died	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:126; (Šafwat, 2:224)	357
governor accession, homily	Jāhīz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:57–58; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 3:592; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:120; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:317; (Šafwat 1:232)	115, 145, 148, 198, 355
within series of speeches by Companions advising 'Umar regarding the conquests	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:124–125; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 9:99–100; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:392–393; Dīnawarī, <i>Akhbār</i> , 134; Miskawayh, 1:383; Nuwayrī, 19:252; (Šafwat, 1:235)	73
caliphal accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:243; Ibn Kathīr, 7:166; (Šafwat, 1:270)	115, 178, 241, 259, 355
caliphal accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:422; (Šafwat, 1:271)	339, 355
caliphal accession speech	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:255; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:62, 134; (Šafwat, 1:271)	166
responding to those who were demanding his abdication	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:352–353	77
responding to those who were demanding his abdication	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:376; (Šafwat, 1:275)	67, 74, 214

	No.	Key lines	Place
147. 'Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān	147.1	أيها الناس إنا وجدناكم أهل غشٍّ لأمر المؤمنين ... أهل العراق هم أهل الشقاق والنفاق	Medina
148. 'Uzzā Salimah	148.1	والأرض والسماء والعقاب الصقعا	Arabian Peninsula
	148.2	ذهب ذو جسد أربد ... أحكم بالضيء والظلم	Arabian Peninsula
149. Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik	149.1	إنه لا مؤخر لما قدم الله	Damascus
150. Walīd ibn 'Uqbah	150.1	أما بعد فإن معاوية بن أبي سفيان كتب إلي يخبرني أن الروم	Mosul
	150.2	يا بني هاشم إنكم كنتم أحوال عثمان	Kufa?
151. Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā'	151.1	الحمد لله القديم بلا غاية	unspecified
152. Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān	152.1	فإن كتاب أمير المؤمنين عمر المبارك الفاروق أتاني يخبرني على المسير إلى قيسارية	Qaysariyyah
153. Yazīd ibn Anas	153.1	يا معشر الشيعة قد كنتم تقتلون وتقطع أيديكم وأرجلكم	Basra
154. Yazīd ibn Asad	154.1	الحمد لله الواحد الفرد ... ثم كان من قضاء الله أن جمعنا وأهل ديننا في هذه الرقعة من الأرض	Şifīn
155. Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah	155.1	الحمد لله أحمدته وأستعينه ... ثم إليّ أحذركم الدنيا	Damascus
	155.2	سافروا بأبصاركم في كراجلديدين	Damascus
156. Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab	156.1	يا أمير المؤمنين إن بلاءكم عندنا أحسن البلاء	Damascus
	156.2	يا أهل العراق يا أهل السبق والسباق ومكارم الأخلاق	Wāsiṭ

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governor accession speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:485–486; (Şafwat, 2:316–317)	79, 348, 366
divination and arbitration	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 1:290; (Şafwat, 1:100)	126, 171
divination and arbitration	Maydānī, 1:158–159; Yāqūt, <i>Muʿjam al-buldān</i> , 5:403; (Şafwat, 1:98–100)	171
caliphal accession/ burial speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:423; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:83; Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 1:409; (Şafwat 2:199)	202, 244, 341, 357
urging Iraqis to mobilize to help Muʿāwiyah fight the Byzantines during the conquests in ʿUmar's time	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 4:247–248; (Şafwat 1:277)	76
denigrating ʿAlī at Muʿāwiyah's court	Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 6:287; (Şafwat 2:21)	177
theology and homily	Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, <i>Zuhd</i> , 43; Wāṣil (ed. Daiber), 22–37; (Şafwat, 2:501–503)	112, 115, 130, 241, 376
pre-battle oration	Azdī, 392; Ibn Aʿtham, 1:244–245; Kalāʾī, 2:319; (Şafwat 1:262–263)	176
with Mukhtār, urging Shiʿa to fight Ibn Muṭṭiʿ and the Umayyads	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:26; (Şafwat 2:82)	76
urging Syrians to fight ʿAlī	Abū l-Faraj, <i>Aghānī</i> , 22:8–9; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:193; (Şafwat, 1:343–344)	74, 78, 193, 195, 304, 324, 326
Friday sermon?	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 4:82; (Şafwat, 2:189–190)	67, 133, 182, 257, 259, 259, 278, 286
Friday sermon?	Tawḥīdī, 8:202; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 6:292; Ābī, 3:22; (Şafwat, 2:483—attrib. to Muʿāwiyah)	258
asking Walīd protection from Ḥajjāj	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:425; Balādhurī, 8:286; Ibn Kathīr, 9:95; Ibn Bakkār, 192; Sibṭ, <i>Mirʾāh</i> , 10:8; Ibn Khallikān, 6:294; (Şafwat, 2:350)	68
urging his troops to fight the Umayyads	Jāḥiẓ, <i>Bayān</i> , 1:410; (Şafwat, 2:354)	79

	No.	Key lines	Place
	156.3	إني أسمع قول الرعاع قد جاء العباس	Wāsiṭ
157. Yazīd ibn Qays	157.1	إنّ المسلم من سلم دينه ورأيه وإنّ هؤلاء القوم ما يقاتلوننا على إقامة دين	Şiffin
158. Yazīd ibn al-Walīd	158.1	أيّها الناس والله ما خرجت أشراً ولا بطراً... إنّ لكم عليّ آلا أضع حجراً على حجر	Damascus
159. Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar	159.1	يا أهل المدرّة الخبيثة إنّّي والله ما تقرن بي الصعبة	Kufa
	159.2	اتّقوا الله عباد الله فكم من مؤمّل أملاً لا يبلغه	Kufa or Yemen
160. Ṣabyān ibn Ḥaddād	160.1	الحمد لله الذي صدع الأرض بالنبات	Medina
161. Zabrah	161.1	واللّوح الخافق واللّيل الغاسق	Yemen
162. Zā‘idah ibn Qudāmah	162.1	عباد الله إنّكم الطيّبون الكثيرون وقد نزل بكم الخبيثون القليلون	Iraq
163. Zarqā’ bint ‘Adī	163.1	إنّكم في فتنة غشتكم جلايب الظلم	Şiffin
164. Zayd ibn ‘Alī	164.1	الحمد لله الواصل حمده بالنعمة والشكر	Kufa?
165. Zaynab bint ‘Alī	165.1	يا أهل الكوفة يا أهل الختر والخذل	Kufa
	165.2	صدق الله ورسوله يا يزيد	Damascus
166. Ziyād ibn Abihi	166.1	يا معشر الأزد إنّكم كنتم أعدائي فأصبحتم أوليائي	Basra
	166.2	يا معشر الأزد إنّ هؤلاء كانوا أمس سلماً	Basra

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urging his troops to fight the Umayyads	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 1:292–293; Ibn A'tham, 7:225–226; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:117; Mas'ūdi, 3:207; (Şafwat, 2:353)	68, 308, 326
urging Iraqis to fight Mu'āwiyah	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:17–18; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 5:194; (Şafwat 1:355)	306
caliphal accession speech	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:141–142; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:268–269; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:270–271; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:88–89; (Şafwat 2:218–219)	87, 124, 146, 182, 342
addressing Iraqis after suppressing uprising of Zayd ibn 'Alī and killing him	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 7:191; Balādhurī, 3:450; Ibn A'tham 7:293; (Şafwat, 2:325)	79, 366
Friday sermon?	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:143; Ibn Bakkār, 90–91; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:273; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:123; Nuwayrī, 7:255; (Şafwat, 2:324)	233, 257
spokesman of the Madhhij delegation submitting to Muḥammad	Ibn Rabbih, 1:288; (Şafwat, 1:167)	127
oracle urging Quḍā'ah to fight	Qālī, <i>Amālī</i> , 1:126–127; (Şafwat, 1:111)	125
urging his Şufriyyah Khārijite warriors to fight the Umayyads	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 6:245; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:251; (Şafwat, 2:462)	76, 309, 313
urging her tribesman to fight Mu'āwiyah	Ṭayfūr, 91–92; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 1:337–339; Ibn A'tham, 3:87–88; Qalqashandī, 1:252–253; (Şafwat, 1:373–374)	384, 399
at the beginning of his uprising	Naḥḥās, 257–259	31, 164
post Karbala in court of Ibn Ziyād	Tha'alibī, <i>Iqtibās</i> , 1:93–95; Ibn A'tham, 5:121–122; Mufīd, <i>Amālī</i> , 198–199; Ṭabrisī, <i>Ihtijāj</i> , 2:303–305; Ibn Ṭāwūs, <i>Mal-hūf</i> , 192–193. Also attributed to Umm Kulthūm.	115, 124
post Karbala in court of Yazīd	Ṭayfūr, 70–73; Ṭabrisī, <i>Ihtijāj</i> , 2:307–310; Ibn Ṭāwūs, <i>Mal-hūf</i> , 192–193; Ibn Ḥamdūn, 6:262; Ābī, 4:17; Majlisī, 45:133–135; (Şafwat, 2:136–139)	104, 108, 115, 384
urging the Azdis to fight Mu'āwiyah's commander 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī	Thaqafi, 2:392; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:43; (Şafwat, 1:435)	76
urging Azdis to support 'Alī	Thaqafi, <i>Ghārāt</i> , 2:404; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:50; (Şafwat, 1:439)	73, 179, 391

No.	Key lines	Place
166.3	العجب من ابن آكلة الأجداد وقاتلة أسد الله	Fars
166.4	أيها الناس هذا أمر لم أشهد أوله	Damascus
166.5	فإن الجهالة الجهلاء ... من غرق قوماً غرقناه	Basra
166.6	أيها الناس لا يمنعكم سوء ما تعلمون منا أن تنتفعوا بأحسن ما تسمعون منا	Kufa
166.7	أيها الناس إنني قد رأيت خلالاً ثلاثاً ... تهدي الأمور بأهل الرأي ما صلحت	Basra?
167. Ziyād ibn Ka'b	167.1 إنّه من لم يكفه القليل لم يكفه الكثير	Azerbaijan
168. Zubayr ibn 'Alī	168.1 إنّ البلاء للمؤمنين تحييص وأجر وهو على الكافرين عقوبة ونحزي	Arrajān
169. Zufar ibn Qays	169.1 إنّ علياً كتب إليكم بكتاب	Hamadhan
170. Zuhayr ibn Qayn	170.1 قد سمعنا هداك الله يا بن رسول الله مقاتلك والله لو كانت الدنيا لنا باقية	Dhū Ḥusum
	170.2 يا أهل الكوفة نذار لكم من عذاب الله نذار	Karbala

Context	References	Index
rejecting Mu'āwiyah's overtures to him initially after 'Alī was killed	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:170; Ibn A'tham, 4:298–299; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 16:181–182; (Şafwat, 2:266–267)	183, 360
responding to Mu'āwiyah's declaration of his relationship	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:104; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 16:187; (Şafwat, 2:269–270)	361
"Batrā" governor accession speech	Jāhiz, <i>Bayān</i> , 2:62–65; Ibn A'tham, 4:302–305; Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:220–221; Qalqashandī, 1:216–218; Qālī, <i>Dhayl</i> , 3:185–186; Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Uyūn</i> , 2:263–265; Ibn Bakkār, 302–306; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:100–103; Ibn al-Athīr, 2:41; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 16:200–201; (Şafwat 2:270–274)	98, 108, 116, 149, 184, 215, 345
unspecified	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 4:104; (Şafwat, 2:276–277)	87, 138
unspecified	Ibn Bakkār, 311–312; Ibn 'Asākir, 19:188	87
'Alī's emissary to Ash'ath ibn Qays, earlier 'Uthmān's governor	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:111–112; (Şafwat, 1:308–309)	179
urging his Azraqī Khārījite troops to fight the Umayyads	Mubarrad, 3:236–237; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 4:156; (Şafwat, 2:451)	87, 132, 134, 297, 324
'Alī's emissary to Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh, who was earlier 'Uthmān's governor	Ibn Qutaybah, <i>Imāmah</i> , 1:110; (Şafwat, 1:307–308)	179
responding to Ḥusayn's speech	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:404; (Şafwat, 2:47–48)	187, 214, 310
addressing the Umayyad army	Ṭabarī, <i>Tārīkh</i> , 5:426–427; Ibn Kathīr, 8:194; (Şafwat 2:54–55)	196, 227, 294

Early Arabic Orators

This chronological list offers dates and brief biographies for all Arabic orators from the early, oral period mentioned in the present volume.¹

ʿAbdallāh ibn al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/686), Muḥammad's cousin, and ʿAlī's cousin, governor and strong supporter, prolific hadith narrator and scholar cited in both Sunni and Shiʿi sources.

ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Aḥtam (d. after 99/717), ascetic preacher, admonished the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAmir (or *ʿAmr*) *al-Ḥaḍramī* (d. 38/658), supporter of Muʿāwiyah, tried to wrest Basra from ʿAlī's governor.

ʿAbdallāh ibn Badīl (d. after 37/657), chieftain of the Khuzāʿah tribe, among ʿAlī's supporters at Ṣiffin.

ʿAbdallāh ibn Jaʿfar (d. after 80/699), ʿAlī's nephew, son-in-law, and supporter.

ʿAbdallāh ibn Muṭṭiʿ al-ʿAdawī (d. 73/692), Ibn al-Zubayr's tax collector in Kufa, key player in Medinan revolt against Umayyads.

ʿAbdallāh ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī (d. 38/658), Khārijite leader from Bajīlah tribe, killed fighting against ʿAlī at Nahrawān.

ʿAbdallāh ibn Yaḥyā al-ʾIbādī al-Kindī (d. after 129/747), Khārijite commander, conquered parts of Yemen.

ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Zubayr (d. 73/692), son of Companion Zubayr ibn al-Awwām, claimant to the caliphate, controlled the Ḥijāz and Iraq for a decade, often referred to as Ibn al-Zubayr.

ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 86/705), Umayyad caliph.

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim (d. ca. 579AD), patriarch of the Hāshim clan of Quraysh, Muḥammad's paternal grandfather.

ʿAbd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr (d. after 75/694), Azraqī Khārijite leader.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil (d. 172/788), Umayyad prince who set up the dynasty's rule in Spain.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf (d. ca. 31/652), early Muslim convert from Quraysh, supporter of Abū Bakr, one of the Shūrā Council.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Shurayḥ (d. after 66/686), supporter of Mukhtār's pro-ʿAlid Kufan revolt.

¹ Information on these orators has been culled from multiple sources, including *EI2*, *EI3*, *EIr*, medieval biographical dictionaries, and a variety of online searches.

Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (d. 52/672), Companion of the Prophet and supporter of ‘Alī, took part in the conquest of Egypt and later in Mu‘āwiyah’s expedition against Constantinople.

Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abdallāh (or *ibn Muḥammad*) (d. after 100/719), Umayyad governor of Medina.

Abū Bakr ibn Abī Quḥāḫ (13/23), Muḥammad’s father-in-law (father of ‘Ā’ishah), first of the four Sunni caliphs.

Abū l-Dardā’ al-Anṣārī (32/652), Muḥammad’s Companion, “brother” to Salmān al-Fārisī, Qur’an reciter and judge of Damascus.

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, *Jundub ibn Junādah* (d. ca. 32/652), Muḥammad’s Companion, ‘Alī’s strong supporter, ascetic preacher, exiled by ‘Uthmān to Rabadhah.

Abū Ḥamzah al-Shārī (d. 130/748), Khārijite commander of the Azd tribe, native of Basra, occupied Mecca and Medina.

Abū l-Haytham Mālik ibn al-Tihān (d. 37/657), early Companion of Muḥammad from the Allies, supporter of ‘Alī who fought with him, killed at Ṣiffīn.

Abū Lahab (d. 2/624), Muḥammad’s paternal uncle and enemy, consigned by the Qur’an with his wife to hellfire.

Abū Mūsā l-Ash‘arī (d. after 40/660), appointed governor of Basra by ‘Umar, took part in the conquest of Iraq, arbiter from ‘Alī’s side at Ṣiffīn, moved to depose his master ‘Alī.

Abū l-Sarāyā l-Sarī ibn Manṣūr al-Shaybānī (200/815), Zaydī revolt leader in Kufa in 199/815, under the command of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭabāṭabā.

Abū Sufyān ibn al-Ḥarb (d. 32/653), of the Umayyad clan, leader of the Quraysh against Muḥammad, converted to Islam when the Muslims conquered Mecca, participated in Syrian conquests, Mu‘āwiyah’s father.

Abū Ṭālib ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 620 AD), patriarch of the Hāshim clan of Quraysh, ‘Alī’s father, Muḥammad’s paternal uncle and foster-father, protected him in Mecca.

Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 17/638), Muḥammad’s Companion, played an important part in the election of Abū Bakr, commander in the conquest of Syria.

Abū Zaynab ibn ‘Awf (d. 36/657), of the Azd tribe, killed fighting for ‘Alī at Ṣiffīn.

‘Adī ibn Ḥātim (d. 68/687), son of the celebrated poet Ḥātim al-Ṭā’ī, supporter of ‘Alī.

Aḥnaf ibn Qays (d. 72/691), chieftain of the tribe of Tamīm and resident of Basra, born before Islam, lived to an old age and garnered a reputation for sagacity; fought on ‘Alī’s side at Ṣiffīn, later allied with the Umayyads to fight against the Khārijites and Shi‘ites.

‘Ā’ishah bint Abī Bakr (d. 58/678), wife of Muḥammad and daughter of Abū Bakr, led forces against ‘Alī at the Battle of the Camel.

‘Ā’ishah bint ‘Uthmān (d. after 41/662), daughter of the third Sunni caliph, also composed poetry.

Aktham ibn Ṣayfī (d. 9/630), Tamīmī judge known for wise testaments, preached in the pre-Islamic period and lived to embrace Islam.

- Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib* (d. 40/661), Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, first male to accept Islam, first Shi'a Imam and fourth Sunni caliph.
- Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn* (d. 95/713), known by the epithets Zayn al-Ābidīn (ornament of worshippers) and Sajjād (one who constantly bows down in prayer), Shi'a Imam following his father, Ḥusayn, present at Karbala, ill, did not take part in the fighting.
- Āmir ibn Wāthilah al-Kinānī, Abū Ṭufayl* (d. 100/718), Kufan poet and orator, of the Kinānah tribe, standard-bearer for 'Alī, supporter of Mukhtār, reputedly the last of the Prophet's Companions to die.
- Ammār ibn Yāsir* (d. 37/657), Companion of the Prophet and strong supporter of 'Alī, killed at Ṣifīn.
- Amr ibn al-Āṣ* (d. ca. 42/663), Mu'āwiyah's main advisor at Ṣifīn, earlier commander of the Islamic conquest of Egypt for 'Umar, and later governor there for the Umayyads.
- Amr ibn Kulthūm* (d. 584AD), pre-Islamic orator of pious counsel, *mu'allaqah* poet and chieftain of Taghlib.
- Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Āṣ al-Ashdaq* (d. 70/689), Umayyad governor and general.
- Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib* (d. ca. 50/670), 'Alī's brother, who was vocal in his support for him but accepted sponsorship from Mu'āwiyah.
- Ash'ath ibn Qays* (d. 40/661), Kufan noble of the Kindah tribe among those who revolted at the death of the Prophet, later repented and fought at Yarmūk; among those who fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣifīn, he was instrumental in forcing 'Alī to accept the Arbitration and Abū Mūsā as Arbiter.
- Ashtar*, see Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar
- Āṣim ibn 'Amr* (d. after 14/635), Tamīmī chieftain who played an active role during the Muslim conquest of Persia.
- Attāb ibn Warqā' al-Riyāḥī* (d. 77/696), Umayyad commander in Iraq under Ḥajjāj.
- Awf ibn Rab'ah* (fl. late 6th c. AD), pre-Islamic soothsayer of the Asad tribe.
- Ayyūb ibn al-Qirriyyah* (d. 84/703), a Bedouin whose eloquence became proverbial, supported Ibn al-Ash'ath against Ḥajjāj, executed.
- Daḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihri* (d. 64/684), Mu'āwiyah's commander, active at Ṣifīn and in its aftermath.
- Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī* (d. 133/751), uncle of the first Abbasid caliph, Saffāḥ, governor of Mecca and Medina.
- Dhū l-Kalā' al-Himyarī* (d. 37/656), Mu'āwiyah's general, who was killed at Ṣifīn.
- Faḍl ibn 'Isā* (fl. before 132/750), late Umayyad orator.
- Fātimah al-Zahrā' bint Muḥammad* (d. 11/632), Muḥammad's daughter, 'Alī's wife, and mother of the Shi'a Imams Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.
- Ḥaṣṣah bint 'Umar* (d. ca. 45/665), daughter of the second Sunni caliph 'Umar, and wife of the Prophet Muḥammad.
- Ḥājib ibn Zurārah* (d. ca. 620AD), pre-Islamic chieftain of the Dārim clan of Tamīm.
- Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī* (d. 95/714), Umayyad governor of Iraq.

Ḥamzah ibn Sinān al-Asadī (d. 39/659), Khārijite leader killed fighting against ‘Alī at Nahrawān.

Hānīʾ ibn Qubayṣah al-Shaybānī (d. early 7th c. AD), pre-Islamic chieftain of Bakr ibn Wāʾil, fought at Dhū Qār.

Ḥanzalah ibn al-Rabīʿ al-Tamīmī (d. after 38/658), fought for ‘Alī at Ṣiffīn.

Harim ibn Qutbah ibn Sinān al-Fazārī (fl. early 7th c. AD), pre-Islamic chieftain.

Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb (fl. 6th c. AD), Christian martyr from the Ḥārithid clan of Najrān.

Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), pro-Umayyad Qadarī ascetic and preacher.

Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (d. 50/670), grandson of the Prophet, Shi’a Imam following his father, ‘Alī, caliph succeeding his father in Kufa for a few months, abdicated.

Hāshim ibn ‘Abd Manāf (d. ca. 497 AD), Muḥammad’s paternal great-grandfather, custodian of the sanctuary in Mecca, who travelled to Syria to trade, died in Gaza.

Hāshim ibn ‘Utbah al-Mirqāl (d. 37/656), tribal chieftain of Kufa, nephew of the Prophet’s Companion Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, one of ‘Alī’s prominent supporters, killed at Ṣiffīn

Ḥayyān ibn Zabyān al-Sulamī (d. 58/678), Khārijite leader wounded fighting against ‘Alī at Nahrawān and pardoned, killed by Umayyad forces while leading a revolt in Kufa.

Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir al-Anṣārī (d. bet. 13/634 and 23/644), of the Medinan Khazraj tribe, after the Prophet’s death he proposed there be a leader from the Allies and from the Emigrants.

Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān al-Absī al-Ghaṭafānī al-Qaysī (d. 36/656), Companion of the Prophet and staunch supporter of ‘Alī, took part in the conquest of Iraq, and ‘Umar appointed him governor of Madāʾin.

Ḥujr ibn ‘Adī (d. 40/660), Kufan noble of the Kindah tribe, staunch supporter of ‘Alī, fought with him at the Battle of the Camel and at Ṣiffīn, challenged Umayyad cursing of ‘Alī, tortured by Ziyād and executed by Mu’āwiyah.

Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhayr al-Sa’dī (d. 36/657), Khārijite leader of the Bajilah tribe, killed fighting against ‘Alī at Nahrawān.

Hurr ibn Yazīd (d. 61/680), Kufan noble from the Tamīm tribe, killed fighting for Ḥusayn at Karbala, earlier commander in the Kufan army against Ḥusayn.

Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (d. 61/680), Muḥammad’s grandson, Shi’a Imam following his brother Ḥasan, killed by the Umayyads at Karbala, famous in Shi’a lore as “Prince of Martyrs” (*sayyid al-shuhadāʾ*).

Ibn al-Ash’ath al-Kindī, *‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad* (d. 85/704), grandson of Ash’ath ibn Qays, erstwhile Umayyad commander who revolted against Ḥajjāj at Dayr al-Jamājim.

Ibn Mas’ūd, *‘Abdallāh* (d. ca. 32/652), early Companion of the Prophet, of Bedouin origin, Qur’an reciter and hadith transmitter.

Ibn al-Zubayr, see ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar (d. 72/691), fought with his father on ‘Alī’s side at Ṣiffīn, one of

- Mukhtār's commanders in his insurgency against the Umayyads to exact vengeance for Ḥusayn, killed 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād.
- Ikriṣṣah bint al-Aṭash* (d. after 40/661), among 'Alī's supporters, gave speech urging her tribesmen to fight at Ṣiffin.
- Ja'far al-Ṣādiq* (d. 148/765), Shi'a Imām, great-grandson of Ḥusayn, lived in Medina, revered also by Sunni Muslims for his learning and piety.
- Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī* (d. after 55/675), converted to Islam shortly before Muḥammad's death, settled in Kufa, 'Alī's emissary to Mu'āwiyah in the lead-up to Ṣiffin, later his governor in Hamadhan.
- Ka'b ibn Luwayy* (b. ca. 305 AD), Meccan noble of Quraysh, Muḥammad's 7th-generation forebear.
- Kathīr ibn Shihāb al-Ḥārithī* (d. after 61/680), pro-Umayyad Kufan noble, served Ziyād against 'Alī's supporter Ḥujr, and served 'Ubaydallāh against Ḥusayn's emissary Muslim ibn 'Aqīl.
- Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qaṣrī* (d. 126/744), Umayyad governor in Mecca and Iraq.
- Khālīd ibn Mu'ammār al-Shaybānī* (d. after 37/657), chieftain of the Rabī'ah tribe, among 'Alī's supporters at Ṣiffin.
- Khālīd ibn Sa'd ibn Nuḥayl* (d. 65/684), a leader of the Kufan Penitents, killed fighting the Umayyads, seeking vengeance for the killing of Ḥusayn.
- Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān* (d. 135/752), homiletic orator of Basra, of the Minqarī clan of Tamīm, companion of the Umayyad caliphs 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and Hishām.
- Khālīd ibn al-Walīd* (d. 21/642), Meccan of Makhzūm clan of Quraysh, lauded by Sunnis for his prominent role in the conquests of Iraq and Syria, condemned by the Shi'a for his antagonism toward 'Alī.
- Khanthar ibn 'Ubaydah* (d. after 36/657), from the Muḥārib tribe, wounded fighting for 'Alī at Ṣiffin, later withdrew support.
- Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī* (d. ca. 37/658), tribal chieftain of the Madhhij tribe of Kufa, one of 'Alī's strongest supporters, sent as governor to Egypt, where he was said to have been poisoned at Mu'āwiyah's behest; earlier, among the group who called for 'Uthmān's resignation.
- Mālik ibn Namaṭ* (d. after 9/631), poet and orator who came with the tribal delegation of Hamdān in 9/631 from Yemen to Medina and accepted Islam.
- Ma'mūn* (d. 218/833), Abbasid caliph.
- Ma'mūn al-Ḥārithī* (fl. early 7th c. AD), pre-Islamic orator of pious counsel.
- Manṣūr*, Abū l-Dawānīq (d. 158/775), Abbasid caliph.
- Mu'ādh ibn al-Jabal* (d. 18/639), Medinan from the clan of Salamah ibn Sa'd who pledged allegiance at 'Aqabah, learned man, sent by Muḥammad to Yemen, later participated in the Syrian conquest and died of the plague.
- Mu'ādh ibn Juwayn al-Ṭā'ī al-Sinbisī* (d. 58/678), Khārijite leader, wounded fighting against 'Alī at Nahrawān and pardoned, killed by Umayyad forces while participating in Ḥayyān ibn Ḍabyān's revolt in Kufa.

Mu'āwiyah (d. 60/680), first Umayyad caliph, led the Syrian forces against 'Alī at Ṣiffīn. *Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah* (d. bet. 48/668 and 51/671), of the Thaḳīf tribe of Ṭā'if, known as a "man of cunning" (*dāhiyah*), governor of Basra for 'Umar, and for Mu'āwiyah in Kufa.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh (d. 11/632), Prophet of Islam.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (d. ca. 38/658), Abū Bakr's son and 'Alī's ward, served briefly as his governor in Egypt before he was captured and killed by Mu'āwiyah's governor, 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah (d. 81/700), son of 'Alī and half-brother of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; Mukhtār called his rebellion in Iraq in Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah's name.

Mukhtār al-Thaḳafī (d. 67/687), leader of revolt seeking vengeance for Ḥusayn's killing, claimed to be representative of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah.

Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr (d. 72/691), son of the Companion Zubayr ibn al-Awwām, brother of the claimant to the caliphate 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubayr and his commander in Iraq.

Musayyab ibn Najabah al-Fazārī (d. 65/684), a leader of the Kufan Penitents, killed fighting the Umayyads, seeking vengeance for the killing of Ḥusayn.

Muslim ibn 'Ubays (d. after 65/685), commander for Ibn al-Zubayr who fought against the Azraqī Khārijites in Iraq and Iran.

Muslim ibn 'Uqbah (d. 63/683), of the Murrah tribe, Umayyad commander at the Battle of Ḥarraḥ in Medina.

Mustawrid ibn 'Ullifah al-Taymī (d. 43/664), Kufan noble and Khārijite leader wounded while fighting against 'Alī at Nahrawān and pardoned, killed in Iraq while fighting the Umayyads.

Muṭarrīf ibn Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah (d. 77/ 697), Umayyad governor of Madā'in, allied with the Khārijites and fought against the Umayyads, defeated and killed by Ḥajjāj.

Nā'ilah bint al-Farāfiṣah (d. after 35/655), wife of the third Sunni caliph, 'Uthmān, who, after her husband's assassination, sent his bloodied shirt to Mu'āwiyah urging vengeance.

Nu'mān ibn Bashīr (d. 65/684), son of Bashīr ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī, supporter of Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn, Umayyad governor in Kufa.

Nu'mān ibn Mundhir (d. 602AD), last Lakhmid king of Ḥīrah, vassal of the Persian emperor, panegyricized by the famous *mu'allaqah* poet Nābighah al-Dhubaynī.

Qaḥṭabah ibn Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī (d. 132/749), Abbasid revolt commander in Khurasan.

Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'ah (d. ca. 79/698), of the Tamīm tribe, last Azraqī Khārijite leader.

Qays ibn Mushir (d. 60/680), Kufan noble of the Ṣaydā' clan of Asad, Ḥusayn's emissary to Kufa, executed by 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād.

Qays ibn Sa'd (d. ca. 59/678), son of the Prophet's Companion Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah al-Anṣārī, 'Alī's governor in Egypt and supporter at Ṣiffīn.

Quss ibn Sā'idah al-Iyādī (d. ca. 600AD), of Najrān, pre-Islamic preacher, Christian

- bishop or Abrahamic monotheist, model of eloquence and wisdom, whose famous 'Ukāz sermon was witnessed and praised by Muḥammad.
- Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhili* (d. 96/715), Umayyad commander who fought the Soghdians for the Umayyads in Khurasan, then revolted against the Umayyads.
- Rashid, Hārūn al-* (d. 193/809), Abbasid caliph.
- Rawḥ ibn Zinbā' al-Judhāmī* (d. 84/703), Umayyad commander prominent in the fight against Ibn al-Zubayr.
- Rifā'ah ibn Shaddād al-Bajalī* (d. 66/685), Kufan chieftain, 'Alī's judge in Ahwaz, fought with him at the Battle of the Camel and Šiffin, where he was his tribe's standard bearer, killed fighting in Mukhtār's revolt to avenge Ḥusayn.
- Riyāḥ ibn 'Uthmān al-Murri* (d. after 145/763), Abbasid governor of Medina under Manṣūr, his father 'Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān was governor of Medina under the Umayyad caliph Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik.
- Ruḥaymah bint 'Aḏamah* (fl. 6th c. AD), Christian martyr from the Ḥārithid clan of Najrān.
- Šabrah ibn Shaymān al-Azdī* (d. after 40/661), leader of the Azd against 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel, later urged his Azdī tribesmen in Basra to support Mu'āwiyah.
- Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāš* (d. bet. 50/670 and 58/677), Companion of the Prophet, commander of the Arab armies during the conquest of Iraq, one of the Šūrā council, remained "neutral" in the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah.
- Sa'd ibn Ḥudhayfah* (65/685), son of the Prophet's Companion Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, a leader of the Kufan Penitents killed fighting the Umayyads seeking vengeance for the killing of Ḥusayn.
- Saffāh* (d. 136/754), first Abbasid caliph.
- Šafīyyah bint Hishām al-Minqariyyah* (d. after 72/691), paternal cousin of the Tamīmī chieftain Aḥnaf ibn al-Qays.
- Šaḥbān ibn Zufar* (fl. early 7th c. AD), of the tribe of Wā'il, proverbial pre-Islamic orator who lived to embrace Islam.
- Sahl ibn Hunayf al-Anṣārī* (d. 38/658), of the Medinan Aws tribe, 'Alī's governor in Medina.
- Sa'īd ibn al-Āš* (d. 59/678), from the Umayyad clan, 'Uthmān's governor of Kufa and Mu'āwiyah's governor of Medina.
- Sa'īd ibn Qays* (d. after 39/660), of the Hamdān tribe, 'Alī's supporter, fought for him at Šiffin.
- Šālīḥ ibn Musarriḥ* (d. 76/695), Iraqi of the Tamīm tribe, commander of the Šufriyyah Khārijites.
- Ša'sa'ah ibn Šūḥān* (d ca. 56/676), from the 'Abd al-Qays tribe of Bahrain, devoted supporter of 'Alī who fought in all his battles, exiled by Mu'āwiyah to Bahrain.
- Sawād ibn Qārib al-Dawsī* (fl. 6th or 7th c. AD), pre-Islamic soothsayer.
- Shabīb ibn Shaybah* (d. ca. 162/778), Basran of the Minqarī clan of Tamīm, homiletic orator.

Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī (d. ca. 77/697), from Mosul, commander of the Ṣufriyyah Khārijites after Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ.

Shaddād ibn Aws al-Ṭāʾī (d. 58/677), son of the Companion Aws ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, nephew of the Prophet's poet Ḥassān ibn Thābit, governor of Homs for 'Umar, migrated to Jerusalem, refused Mu'āwiyah's command to curse 'Alī.

Shaymān ibn 'Ukayf al-Azdī (d. after 38/659), Basran of the Azd tribe, absent from the Battle of the Camel (where his son Ṣabrah led the Azd against 'Alī), urged his tribesmen to support 'Alī and reject Mu'āwiyah's emissary.

Shurayḥ ibn Awfā al-'Absī (d. 37/657), Khārijite commander killed fighting against 'Alī at Nahrawān.

Suhayl ibn 'Amr al-Āmirī (d. after 15/636), a Quraysh leader, fought against Muḥammad, captured at Badr and pardoned, converted to Islam after the Muslim conquest of Mecca, participated in the Battle of Yarmūk, migrated to Jerusalem.

Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik (d. 99/715), Umayyad caliph.

Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad (d. 65/685), leader of the Penitents, who sought vengeance for the killing of Ḥusayn and were killed en masse by the Umayyad army at 'Ayn al-Wardah.

Ṭahfah ibn Abī Zuhayr (d. after 9/631), orator who came with the tribal delegation of Nahd in 9/631 to Medina and accepted Islam.

Ṭalhah ibn 'Ubaydallāh (d. 35/656), of the Taym clan of Quraysh, Companion of the Prophet, took part in the conquest of Syria and Egypt, one of the Shūrā Council, killed leading the fight against 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel.

Ṭarīfat al-Khayr (fl. late 6th c. AD), pre-Islamic soothsayer from Yemen, predicted the destruction of Ma'rib.

Ṭarīf ibn al-Āṣī al-Dawsī (fl. late 6th c. AD), pre-Islamic chieftain, grandfather of the Prophet's Companion, Ṭufayl ibn 'Amr.

Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād (d. after 95/714), Umayyad Berber commander, conquered Spain in 92/711.

Thābit ibn Qays ibn al-Shammās al-Anṣārī (d. 11/632), of the Ḥārith clan of Khazraj, killed at the Battle of Yamāmah fighting for the Muslims in the so-called Wars of Apostasy.

Ṭulayḥah ibn Khuwaylid al-Asadī (d. 21/642), soothsayer and chieftain of the Faq'as tribe of Asad in pre-Islamic times, claimed to be a prophet, defeated in the so-called Wars of Apostasy, repented during the caliphate of 'Umar, fought on the Muslim side at in Iraq and Iran, killed in the Battle of Nahāwand.

Ubadah ibn al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī (d. 34/655), of the Khazraj tribe of Medina, Muḥammad's Companion who pledged allegiance at 'Aqabah, one of the main commanders in the conquest of Egypt, migrated to Jerusalem.

Ubaydallāh ibn 'Abdallāh al-Murrī (d. 65/684), one of the leaders of the Kufan Penitents, killed fighting the Umayyads seeking vengeance for the killing of Ḥusayn.

Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād (d. 67/686), son of Ziyād ibn Abihī, Umayyad governor of Kufa

- and Basra, organized the killing of Ḥusayn at Karbala, himself killed in Mukhtār's rebellion.
- ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (d. 101/720), Umayyad caliph.
- ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* (d. 23/644), of the ʿAdī clan of Quraysh, second of the four Sunni caliphs, major Muslim conquests took place during his reign.
- Umm al-Khayr* (d. after 40/661), daughter of Ḥuraysh ibn Surāqah ibn Mirdās al-Bāriqī, among ʿAlī's supporters, gave speech urging her tribesmen to fight at Ṣiffin.
- Umm Kulthūm* (d. after 61/681), granddaughter of the Prophet, daughter of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah, accompanied her brother Ḥusayn to Karbala.
- Uṭarid ibn Ḥājib ibn Zurārah* (d. after 9/631), son of the chieftain of the Dārim clan of Tamīm, came with the tribal delegation of Tamīm in 9/631 to Medina and accepted Islam.
- ʿUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān* (d. ca. 44/665), Muʿāwiyah's brother, Umayyad governor in Mecca, then Egypt.
- ʿUtbah ibn Ghazwān* (d. 17/638), of the Māzin tribe, Companion of the Prophet, ʿUmar's commander in the conquest of Iraq, built the mosque and governor's house in Basra.
- ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān* (d. 35/655), of the Umayyad clan of Quraysh, third of the four Sunni caliphs, major Muslim conquests took place during his reign, later accused of nepotism and killed by a group of Muslims.
- ʿUthmān ibn Ḥayyān al-Murrī* (d. after 104/723), Umayyad governor of Medina, commander in the raid on Caesaria.
- ʿUzzā Salimah* (or Salamah) *ibn Abī Ḥayyah* (fl. 6th or 7th c. AD), pre-Islamic soothsayer.
- Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik* (d. 96/715), Walīd I, Umayyad caliph.
- Walīd ibn ʿUqbah* (d. 61/680), of the Umayyad clan, son of the pagan ʿUqbah killed at Badr, half-brother of ʿUthmān, who appointed him governor of Kufa, removed from office because of his licentious behavior and wine-drinking, supported Muʿāwiyah against ʿAlī.
- Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭā* (d. 131/748), theologian, student of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, reportedly left his circle and became the founder of the Muʿtazilites.
- Yazīd ibn Anas al-Asadī* (d. 66/685), a commander in Mukhtār's uprising to avenge Ḥusayn.
- Yazīd ibn Asad al-Bajalī* (d. after 37/657), chief of the Bajilāh tribe in Syria, fought on Muʿāwiyah's side at Ṣiffin.
- Yazīd ibn ʿĀsim al-Muḥārībī* (d. 37/657), Khārijite who challenged ʿAlī in Kufa and was presumably killed at Nahrawān.
- Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah* (d. 64/683), Yazīd I, Umayyad caliph, ordered the killing of Ḥusayn.
- Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah* (d. 102/720), Umayyad governor of Khurasan, rebelled against the Umayyads.
- Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī* (d. after 37/657), fought for ʿAlī at Ṣiffin and Nahrawān, appointed governor of Rayy, Hamadhan, and Isfahan.

Yazīd ibn al-Walīd (d. 126/744), Yazīd III, Umayyad caliph.

Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī (d. 127/745), Umayyad governor in Yemen then Iraq, suppressed the uprising of Zayd ibn 'Alī and killed him.

Zabrā' (fl. late 6th c. or early 7th c. AD), pre-Islamic soothsayer of the Banū Ri'ām tribe.

Zabyān ibn Ḥaddād (d. after 9/631), orator who came with the tribal delegation of Madhḥij in 9/631 to Medina and accepted Islam.

Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah (d. 76/696), of Thaqīf, Umayyad commander sent by Ḥajjāj to fight the Khārijite Shabīb ibn Yazīd, killed.

Zarqā' bint 'Adī (d. after 40/661), of the Hamdān tribe, among 'Alī's supporters, gave speech urging her tribesmen to fight at Šiffin.

Zayd ibn 'Alī (d. 122/740), grandson of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn, Imam of the Zaydī Shī'a, killed leading revolt against Umayyads in Kufa.

Zayd ibn Ḥusayn al-Ṭā'ī (d. 37/658), Khārijite who had supported 'Alī at Šiffin, died fighting against him at Nahrāwān.

Zaynab (d. after 61/681), granddaughter of the Prophet, daughter of 'Alī and Fāṭimah; accompanied her brother Ḥusayn to Karbala.

Ziyād ibn Abīhi or Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (d. 53/673), claimed by Mu'āwiyah as his illegitimate half-brother and governor of Iraq, earlier 'Alī's supporter.

Ziyād ibn Ka'b (d. after 35/655), Prophet's Companion, 'Alī's emissary to Azerbaijan, sent to inform 'Uthmān's governor Ash'ath ibn Qays and the people of Azerbaijan of 'Alī's incumbency to the caliphate.

Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī (d. after 37/658) of Madhḥij, fought for 'Alī at Šiffin and Nahrāwān, subcommander under his tribesman Mālīk al-Ashtar.

Zubayr ibn 'Alī al-Salṭī (d. 68/688), of the Tamīm tribe, Azraqī Khārijite commander who fought against the Umayyads in Iraq and Persia.

Zubayr ibn al-Awwām (d. 35/656), cousin and Companion of the Prophet, one member of the Shūrā Council, led the fight against 'Alī at the Battle of the Camel, left the battlefield but was killed shortly thereafter.

Zufar ibn Qays (d. after 35/655), 'Alī's emissary to Hamadhan, sent to inform 'Uthmān's governor Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh and the people of Hamadhan of 'Alī's incumbency to the caliphate.

Zuhayr ibn Qayn (d. 61/680), of the Bajīlah tribe, one of Ḥusayn's chief supporters who fought and died with him in Karbala.

Arabic Literary Terms

adab al-kātib “the scribe’s culture,”
prose genre

adab collection of anecdotes and
quotable material, prose genre

akhbār, sing. *khavar* historical reports

amālī “dictations,” prose genre

amthāl, sing. *mathal* proverbs

ayyām al-‘arab “battle days of the
Arabs,” prose genre

badī‘ word play, figures of speech

balāghah rhetoric or eloquence

dīwān government bureau, collection
of poetry, sometimes collection of
orations

gharīb rare words

ḥadīth sayings of the Prophet Muḥam-
mad, hadith

ḥāfiẓ, pl. *ḥuffāẓ* Qur’an memorizer

ḥikam, sing. *ḥikmah* maxims, lit. wis-
dom

iqā‘ rhythm, beat

isnād chain of transmitters

isti‘ārah metaphor

izdīwāj parallelism

jinās ishtiqāq paronomasia of deriva-
tion

kāhin, pl. *kuhhān*, fem. *kāhinah*, pl.

kawāhīn soothsayer

kātib, pl. *kuttāb* scribe or chancery
official

khaṭābah oratory

khaṭīb, pl. *khuṭabā‘* orator or preacher

khuṭbah, pl. *khuṭab* oration

khuṭbah siyāsiyyah political speech

khuṭbat al-‘id Eid sermon

khuṭbat al-jihād battle oration

khuṭbat al-jum‘ah Friday sermon

khuṭbat al-nikāḥ/al-zawāj marriage
oration

khuṭbat al-wa‘ẓ sermon of pious coun-
sel

kināyah metaphorical expression with
extended substitution

majālis “assemblies,” prose genre

majāz mursal synecdoche or
metonymy

maqām, pl. *maqāmāt* ascetic’s pub-
lic admonishment to ruler, prose
genre

maqāmāt, sing. *maqāmah* rhymed
picaresque tales, prose genre

mu‘allaqah, pl. *mu‘allaqāt* pre-Islamic
ode, one of seven or ten singled out
as exemplary

mukhaḍram poet or orator whose life
spanned two distinct historical peri-
ods

mumāthalah morphological equiva-
lence

muwāzanah assonance

qārī‘, pl. *qurrā‘* Qur’an reciter

qaṣaṣ homiletic lecture

quṣṣāṣ, sing. *qāṣṣ* homiletic orators

radīf repeat suffix coming after the
rhyme consonant

rāwī, pl. *ruwāh* narrator of historical
reports, hadith, poetry, or ora-
tions

rāwīyah master narrator

risālah, pl. *rasā’il* epistle or treatise

riwāyah bi-l-lafẓ verbatim transmission

riwāyah bi-l-ma'nā non-verbatim transmission

sajʿ consonant rhyme

sajʿ al-kuhhān soothsayer rhyme

shāʿir, pl. *shuʿarāʾ* poet

shawāhid, sing. *shāhid* testamentary texts

shiʿr poetry

sūrah Qurʾan chapter, Surah

taḥmīd praise-and-benediction formula opening orations

tabbūr the religious formula "God is great" (*Allāhu akbar*)

takhyīl fantasy

takrār repetition

tamthīl extended metaphor

taqdīm wa-ta'khīr changing standard word order, Latin: *hysteron-proteron*

tashbīh simile

tarṣīʿ combined rhyme and parallelism

ṭibāq, muṭābaqaḥ antithesis

waṣīyyah testamentary address

wa'ẓ homiletic discourse

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