

ans of religion, is a real *Fundgrube*. For this, they can be grateful to the author.

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SCHMIDTKE, Sabine (ed. & tr.) — A Mu'tazilite Creed of Az-Zamakhsharī (D. 538/1144) (*al-Minhāj fī usūl ad-dīn*). (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band LI, 4). Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1997. (22 cm, 83). ISBN 3-545-06793-0. DM 72,-.

Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī from Khwārazm is best known for his commentary on the Qur'ān, "*al-Kashshāf 'an haqā'iq al-tanzīl*", even though it clearly expresses its author's Mu'tazilite creed. Indeed, he is one of the very last Mu'tazilites to have achieved wide renown. Although he did not consider himself a 'professional' theologian, al-Zamakhsharī did write a short credal tract on theology entitled "*al-Minhāj fī usūl al-dīn*". This text increases our insight — albeit not spectacularly — into the late Mu'tazilah and the discussions between its adherents and its opponents in the 5th/11th and at the beginning of 6th/12th centuries.

SABINE SCHMIDTKE is to be commended for making al-Zamakhsharī's "*Minhāj*" accessible in both the Arabic original as well as in an English translation. By way of introduction, SCHMIDTKE briefly discusses the author, al-Zamakhsharī, as well as characteristic features of theological disputation among later Mu'tazilites (part I, pp. 7-11); the body of her work is comprised by the text of *al-Minhāj* in English (part II, pp. 13-44) and a critical edition of the Arabic (part III, pp. 49-82). Short Indices of proper names (pp. 45 and 83, separately for English and Arabic) complete the publication.

1. The *Minhāj* and SCHMIDTKE's introduction: The "*Minhāj*" demonstrates that al-Zamakhsharī's notions are to a remarkable extent derived from ideas which had developed in the preceding generation of Mu'tazilites; such ideas had evolved from debates between the late but influential school of Abū l-Husayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) and the school of the Bahshamiyya, which was, at the turn of the 5th/11th century, represented by Abū l-Husayn al-Baṣrī's teacher, 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025). As is well known, Abū l-Husayn al-Baṣrī, affected as he was by the doctrines of Muslim philosophers, had developed independent theological views. 'Abd al-Jabbār, on the other hand, practised *kalām* in a rather 'traditional' way and was known for his critical attitude towards philosophy. The "*Minhāj*" makes it clear, according to W. MADELUNG, that al-Zamakhsharī was "largely under the influence of the views of the school of Abū l-Husayn al-Baṣrī" (p. 9, see also p. 20); it also indicates that he "was deeply influenced by the position of his teacher Ibn Malāḥimī" (p. 9), even though in the tract, he never mentions him or Abū l-Husayn al-Baṣrī by name.

It is somewhat unfortunate that in the publication under discussion, neither al-Zamakhsharī's style in presenting the particular issues at hand nor his basic method in outlining his subject have been given more detailed attention. For instance, it is precisely the pattern of question and answer ("if you were to say... I say"; *fa-in qulta... aqūlu*) which provides this text with a distinctive character. The pattern of *mas'alah/su'āl - jawāb* is known, of course, from other

scholarly writings of Medieval Islam.¹⁾ In the case of al-Zamakhsharī, (a) it serves the author throughout his text as a kind of thematic introduction to the particular subject of a paragraph, and (b) it enables him to present even contradictory points of view in a somewhat balanced way; further (c), it highlights the author's otherwise hidden theological agenda, especially since al-Zamakhsharī "usually refrains from indicating his own preferences, restraining himself" to presenting the conflicting views of the various schools on a question without himself ever entering those controversies (p. 9). Thus a more comprehensive approach to this work would have helped to gain new and broader insights into the intellectual world of the late Mu'tazilah.

The foregoing suggestions are closely paralleled by questions referring, e.g., to the way in which al-Zamakhsharī imparts 'knowledge' to his readers and how he instructs them by presenting — and (indirectly) judging — various arguments and thoughts. An inquiry into these dimensions of the text would further our understanding of the manner in which al-Zamakhsharī has accomplished his goal of presenting *al-Minhāj fī usūl al-dīn*, i.e., "The path to take in [understanding] the fundamentals of religion", or, as SCHMIDTKE puts it, "The Path about the Roots of the Religion" (p. 13).

The text is somewhat sparsely annotated by footnotes to the English translation, and a more comprehensive discussion of the contents of the treatise and of some particularly interesting issues of the *Minhāj* would certainly have been helpful, given al-Zamakhsharī's importance as a religious scholar. By way of illustration, just a few examples follow:

The terms *muḥdath* and *muḥdith* occur at the very beginning of the treatise. *Muḥdath* is quite legitimately translated as "temporal" ('temporally originated' or 'created in time' might be possible alternatives); however, the particular importance of these two terms in Zamakhsharī's treatise would have merited some annotation in order to explain the use of the active and the passive participles of *aḥdatha* in medieval Arabic philosophical texts.

Another issue which should have been commented on is that of the *Divine will* (Engl. pp. 20-21 / Arab. p. 58); al-Zamakhsharī is critical both of the Ash'arite concept and that of al-Najjār. It would have been helpful to the reader if SCHMIDTKE had indicated that al-Zamakhsharī here implicitly supports the common Mu'tazilite position of the 'createdness' of the Divine will.

A third example of needing annotation may be given with regard to a statement which al-Zamakhsharī makes in the chapter "On the command of what is proper and the interdiction of what is reprehensible" (Engl. p. 40 / Arab. p. 77). There he sets forth the idea that a true Muslim believer should "start with the lightest (action) because the aim is to negate the reprehensible... And if it is achieved by the lightest (action), there is no point in undertaking the harder (... *idhā ḥuṣṣila bi-l-ashali fa-lā ma'nā li-takallufi al-ṣa'bi*)" — This reading of the passage does not necessarily agree with a concept widely accepted in Islam (and which is occasionally used by contemporary Muslims to prove their duties in society);²⁾

¹⁾ See also G. ENDREB, *Quaestio* und *Abhandlung*, in: *Geschichte der Arabischen Philologie*, Bd. II: *Literaturwissenschaft*, hrsg. von H. GAETJIE, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1987, pp. 464-465.

²⁾ See the long footnote explaining this issue in 'ABUL HAMĪD SHIDDĪQĪ: *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. Rendered into English*. New Delhi: Kitāb Bhavan, 1994¹⁰, Vol. I, p. 33.

this concept suggests that one should always undertake the more difficult action first, and only then turn towards the simpler one: "Anyone amongst you who sees something reprehensible (*munkar*), should change it physically ('with his hand'); if he is not able to do so, then verbally ('with his tongue'); if he is not able to do that (either), then in his mind ('heart'); [however,] that is the weakest [degree] of faith."³)

For support of his reading, al-Zamakhsharī appeals directly to the Qur'ān: God, exalted be He, said: "Put things right between them". Then He said: "Fight the insolent ones" (Surah 49:9).⁴) This may indeed appear to mean 'begin with the easy, then deal with the difficult'. But reading the verse in full shows a preference for peaceful action instead of the use of force, without suggesting that the former course of action was any less arduous than the latter.⁵)

2. Edition and translation: The edition of the text is based on two extant manuscripts; one is kept at the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Milan (cod. Arab D 465, fol. 95-101 a), and the other at the Leiden University Library (ms. Or. 2975; 22 pp.). The Ambrosian manuscript, "in a neat *naskhī* script" (p. 11) and signed by the copyist, dates from the end of the 17th century AD; the Leiden copy is anonymous and undated. The editor states that diacritical dots are more sparsely used in the Leiden (L) than in the Ambrosian manuscript (A) (p. 10); nevertheless she decided to base her edition upon the Leiden manuscript "whenever the (two) manuscripts offer equally acceptable variants", because L "seems to be the more reliable copy" (p. 11).

SCHMIDTKE does not advance any further explanation or objective criteria in support of her preference of the Leiden copy. In fact, her choice is not above argument, as the following examples will show; they will contrast L, which the editor adopted for her text, with variants from A, which she relegated to the apparatus.

Engl. p. 14, line 19 / Arab. p. 53, line 4: *fa-law tasalsalat al-ḥawādithu ilā ghayri nihāyatin la-sābaqa wujūduhā 'adamahā wa-'stawā al-sābiq wa-l-masbūqu*; SCHMIDTKE translates "if there were an endless regress of temporal things with no end, their existence would compete with their non-existence and the preceding and the preceded would be equal." — The reading of A, *la-sāwā*, would appear to make better sense: And if the [aforementioned] happenings formed a [linear] chain with no end [or just: an endless stream], then both their existence and their non-existence would be equivalent, and the preceding and the preceded would be equal.

p.17, line 7 / p. 55, line 5: instead of *li-annahū laysa bi-jismin wa-lā ḥāllin fī l-jismi* (L), the clause *li-annahū laysa bi-jismin wa-lā ḥāllin* bi-jismin (A) seems to be preferable because of the parallelism of definite and indefinite nouns.

³) Prophetic saying, transmitted on the authority of Abū 'Abdallāh Tāriq ibn Shihāb (a *ṣaḥābī*), relying on Abū Bakr who transmits the saying of the Prophet: *Man rā' a minkum munkaran fa-l-yughayyirhū bi-yadihī; fa-in lam yastaṭī' fa-bi-lisānihī; fa-in lam yastaṭī' fa-bi-qalbihī; fa-dhālika aḍ'afu l-'imāni*. See *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Ed. 'Abd al-Bāqī (Ed. Cairo 1955-56), *K. al-'Imān*, *ḥadīṡ* Nr. 49; it is also to be found in the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah and several times in the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal.

⁴) *Qāla Allāhu ta'ālā: "fa-aṣliḥū baynahum" thummah qāla: "fa-qātilihū allatī tabghī"*, cf. SCHMIDTKE, pp. 40, 77.

⁵) "And if two parties [of the believers] fight each other, then make peace between them. And if one of them is insolent against the other, then fight the insolent until it reverts to God's commandment. Then, if it reverts, make peace between them in justice and act equitably. Surely God loves the just people." (Q 49:9).

p. 36, line 36/ p. 74, line 3: *Fa-in qulta: li-ma wajaba al-dawāmu? Qultu: li-anna al-madḥa wa-l-dhamma yastahiqqāni da'imayni*⁶) *li-annā lā nantahī ilā zamānin illā 'stahsannā fī-hi madḥa al-muḥsini wa-dhamma al-muṣī'i mā lam yahbiṭā...* SCHMIDTKE renders this passage as "If you were to say: 'Why must (praise and blame) necessarily be eternal?' I would say: 'Because praise and blame are deserved eternally since we can never reach a time when we would cease to approve of praising the one who does good and to blame the evildoer as long as either (good and evil) is not cancelled by the other'...". — Her version does not adequately express the author's intention; an alternative might read: 'Why must [praise and blame] be permanent?' I would say: 'Because we will not reach a time without appreciating the praising of the one who does good and the blaming of the one who does evil as long as both of them exist.'

3. The use of ARBERRY's translation of the Qur'ān: The fact is striking that al-Zamakhsharī thoroughly bases his reasoning in this tract on quotations from the Qur'ān. By means of these quotations, he supports or contradicts a given idea or argument. These quotations are essential constituents of his text. Thus the editor's decision to give all Qur'ānic citations in ARBERRY's translation (London 1955¹) turns out to have momentous consequences. However, quoting the Qur'ān from a specific translation, even one as widely accepted as ARBERRY's, does not relieve one of cross-checking the given passages against the Qur'ānic text itself along with other translations. In the book under discussion, the omission of this step may have contributed to the reviewer's impression that the translation of al-Zamakhsharī's text is at times obscure. This is especially noticeable where the editor-translator took an entire Qur'ānic clause from ARBERRY's translation rather than limiting herself to al-Zamakhsharī's actual quotation:

pp. 23/60: the English translation reads: "So God leads astray whomsoever He will". — The initial *fa* is extant in the Qur'ānic text, and accordingly in ARBERRY's translation, but not in al-Zamakhsharī's quotation ("yuḍillu Allāhu man yashā'u").

pp. 39/76: "But whoso disobeys God..." (*wa-man ya'ṣi Allāh*, Q 4:14) is given according to ARBERRY. However, this does not really fit al-Zamakhsharī's argument. — "And whoso" is what is intended, and this would also be closer to al-Zamakhsharī's text and not contravene his reasoning, proferring as he does proof positive "that persistent (offenders) will stay eternally in the fire whereas the Murḡi'ites hold that they get out from it".

On a few other occasions, ARBERRY's version should have been reconsidered in the light of al-Zamakhsharī's intentions in quoting the Qur'ān:

pp. 18 and 56: The expression *kalām Allāh* (Q 9:6) is translated as "the words of God". — Most translators prefer 'the Word of God' (cf. also the translations by YUSUF ALI, PICKTHAL, SHAKIR).

pp. 22 and 59: in the passage on "what is good and evil," *wa-mā anā bi-zallāmin li-l-'abīdi* (Q 50:29) is given as "I (God) wrong not My servants" (p. 22). — Al-Zamakhsharī's intention would be more precisely expressed by 'and I am not unjust to [My] servants'; cf. also YUSUF ALI's and

⁶) *Yastahiqqāni dawāmahunna*, as given in A, may be preferable, of course, in the correct grammatical form, which would be *dawāmahumā*; cf. p. 74, fn. 17.

SHAKIR's translations; PARET translates it similarly: "Ich bin nicht gewohnt, den Menschen (...) Unrecht anzutun".

pp. 24 and 61: Zamakhsharī's quotation of Q 40:31, "God desires not wrong for his servants" – again, *ẓulm* means 'injustice' (cf. also PARET: "Unrecht").

p. 23, fn. 35: the reference to Sūrah 29:44 should be corrected to Sūrah 29: 41.

The reviewer's comments and suggestions are by no means intended to detract from the importance and value of S. SCHMIDTKE's book. It does, however, become clear that al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Minhāj fi uṣūl al-dīn* bears further study as an important late Mu'tazilite witness.

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SOBIEROJ, Florian — Ibn Ḥafīf aṣ-Ṣīrāzī und seine Schrift zur Novizenerziehung. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 57). Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1998 (24 cm, IX, 500). ISBN 3-515-06450-8. DM/sFr 166,-.

Cet ouvrage est issu de longues et minutieuses recherches qui ont abouti à l'élaboration d'une thèse, préparée sous la direction du professeur Bernd Radtke et soutenue, en 1990/91, à Fribourg-en-Brigau. L'auteur s'est formé à la mystique en suivant les enseignements du père Richard Gramlich, disciple de Fritz Meier. D'où sa bonne connaissance de la littérature mystique à la fois arabe et persane.

Méthodiquement parlant, cette étude est exemplaire. Partant d'un texte (*k. al-Īqtiṣād*) qu'il commence par éditer et traduire en allemand, l'auteur procède à une analyse très fouillée de son contenu. Et pour bien comprendre ce contenu, il réunit les sources et les études susceptibles de fournir des données sur la vie et l'enseignement de l'auteur, Ibn Ḥafīf (m. 371/982), les maîtres dont les enseignements ont influencé le sien (traditionnistes et mystiques), ses nombreux voyages (en Perse, Arabie, Iraq, Syrie, Palestine, Liban), s'arrêtant longuement sur sa patrie d'origine, Ṣīrāz et ses milieux intellectuels riches et diversifiés (traditionnistes, groupes mystiques d'orientations diverses, juristes, théologiens). C'est une véritable histoire des mouvements soufis à l'époque d'Ibn Ḥafīf, une histoire caractérisée par une minutie qui contraste avec le flou qu'on rencontre dans certains travaux sur la mystique.

Ensuite, l'auteur passe à Ibn Ḥafīf, ses transmetteurs, ses disciples, le rang qu'il occupait entre traditionnistes et aṣ'arites, son enseignement et ses écrits.

Du début jusqu'à la fin, cet ouvrage nous renseigne, d'une manière détaillée, sur l'état du soufisme au IV^e/X^e s. D'abord, dans la section relative aux maîtres dont Ibn Ḥafīf s'inspira, d'après la *Ṣīra* que lui consacra son disciple Abū l-Ḥusayn 'Alī ad-Daylamī. Sont présentés 42 *muḥaddiṭs* (pp. 35-49), 52 soufis (pp. 50-109), sur lesquels F.S. fournit des informations précieuses, recueillies à travers la riche bibliographie qui précède (pp. 13-33). Certains d'entre eux étaient les maîtres d'Ibn Ḥafīf à Ṣīrāz et ses environs (pp. 148-210); d'autres il les a rencontrés au cours de ses voyages (pp. 111-147). Tous ces maîtres font l'objet de recherches minutieuses, permettant de connaître la situation de la mystique et de la jurisprudence dans les villes visitées (voir, en particulier, les groupes mystiques à Ṣīrāz et dans le Ḥurasān, p. 152 sqq.).

La dernière section est consacrée à l'œuvre d'Ibn Ḥafīf, auquel ad-Daylamī attribue plus de trente titres, classés en 7 écrits à caractère dogmatique (pp. 306-308), 2 à caractère juridique (p. 308), 22 à caractère parénétiq et mystique (pp. 308-312), dont F.S. établit la chronologie (pp. 312-314), cite les appréciations de certains de ses contemporains (p. 314), les transmetteurs de ses écrits et les auteurs qui en ont fait des extraits (pp. 314-316).

La section qui constitue le noyau de cet ouvrage et à laquelle les autres sections préparent, c'est celle consacrée à l'enseignement d'Ibn Ḥafīf; elle repose essentiellement sur *k. al-Īqtiṣād*, édité et traduit par l'auteur. Cet ouvrage se présente comme un manuel d'éducation destiné à ceux qui souhaitent entrer dans la mystique (les *murīdīn*, les «novices»). Partant de la méfiance affichée par Ibn Ḥafīf à l'endroit des hommes au pouvoir (sultans, vizirs, chambellans, juges), F.S. situe l'ouvrage par rapport à son milieu historique (pp. 249-261) et entreprend l'analyse des grands thèmes qu'il contient: le maître des novices et ses qualités requises, la foi et ce qu'elle comporte (corr. p. 261, 1.5 *a fine*: *wadī'a* et non *wadī'a*), la conversion du *murīd*, la vérocité et la sincérité, le renoncement au monde, l'ascèse et la piété, la crainte de Dieu... Ces thèmes sont largement développés et confrontés aux idées en cours dans les milieux mystiques (pp. 261-303).

Cet enseignement a été transmis par des auteurs d'écrits mystiques (10), ds traditionnistes (16), un théologien (al-Bāqillānī) et par les disciples d'Ibn Ḥafīf (31). Les informations réunies autour de ces transmetteurs montrent, encore une fois, l'importance des courants mystiques aux IV^e-V^e/XI^e siècles (pp. 211-241). C'est l'un des mérites indéniables de l'auteur de cet ouvrage, lequel s'achève par trois index qui en démontrent la richesse.

De tels travaux sont vivement souhaités. Les fonds de manuscrits, en Turquie et ailleurs, abondent en textes du genre qui attendent de tels chercheurs.

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TAYLOR, Chr. S. — In the Vicinity of the Righteous. Ziyārā and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt. (Islamic History and Civilization, 22). E.J. Brill Publishers N.V., Leiden, 1999. ISSN 0929-2403. Nlg. 159,- / US\$ 93.50.

The first chapter of this interesting book is entitled "Al-Qarāfa: 'A Great Medium of Divine Blessing'" (this characterization is borrowed from Ibn Battūta) and gives a description of the extensive graveyard of al-Qarāfa, south of the Cairo Citadel. It is shown that this site is not a single cemetery, but a patchwork of graveyards and various types of funerary architecture, where many saints and holy persons, like Imam al-Shāfi'ī, are buried. Chapter two, entitled "The Ziyāra", is based largely on a number of guides to al-Qarāfa, compiled for the pilgrims and deals with the devotional practices which the visitors to the graves performed. Taken as a whole, these guides provide an insight into the actual activities of the pilgrims at certain tombs, and into what is considered the proper conduct of a pilgrim (the *adab al-ziyāra*). The third chapter, "Images of Righteousness and Piety", highlights one particular activity which was performed during the *ziyāra* to the