HARDSHIP AND DELIVERANCE IN THE ISLAMIC TRADITION

THEOLOGY AND SPIRITUALITY IN THE WORKS OF AL-TANŪKHĪ

NOUHA KHALIFA

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Theology and Spirituality in the Works of Al-Tanūkhī

NOUHA KHALIFA

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أن اشكر لي ولوالديك إلي المصير

صدق الله العظيم

To My First *Shaykh*; My Father

To My First *Shaykha* My Mother: May God Bless her soul in the Highest *Firdaws* (Paradise).

Contents

Preface

In the midst of hardship, Man cannot see the light waiting for him in the distance or hear the voice of reason alone while battling with the wailing wind. Al-Tanūkhī (the subject of this study) dealing with the theme of Deliverance after Hardship takes into account Man's two sources of knowledge namely: the intellect and the heart. Hardship is a shocking reality in Man's life, but at the same time deliverance is also a reality; a happy one and both hardship and deliverance are a manifestation of Divine justice; the main Mu'tazilite doctrine. Hardship is a harsh learning process and when man learns the right deed and the right word, he will be able to see the light at the end of the tunnel and listen to the soft voice of both reason and heart. This is the message which al-Tanūkhī wishes to convey to his readers and the present study aspires to elucidate this message by studying his stories in the light of his Muʿtazilite belief and Islamic theology and spirituality.

The present study is based on a doctoral thesis submitted to The School of Oriental and African Studies early in 2003 under the supervision of Dr Stefan Sperl. I would like to thank him for his invaluable comments and kindness.

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Introduction

> Man utters speech intending by it, for example, one meaning among others that are implied by the speech. But if such speech is interpreted to have an implied meaning which differs from the intended meaning of the speaker; then the interpreter disclosed some of the potential [meanings] of the utterance, even if the [disclosed] meaning does not agree with the intention of the speaker.
>
> (Ibn ʿArabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1972, 2/296)

Since man found himself on earth, he has faced all sorts of hardship and suffering, which makes him fall into melancholy and despair. Man becomes vulnerable and is in desperate need for help. The question thus arises: 'How can Man alleviate his hardship and suffering, and how is his deliverance achieved thereby?' Al-Tanūkhī, the subject of this study, after having personally experienced hardship, wrote his book *al-Faraj Baʿda al-Shidda* (Deliverance after Hardship), out of his generosity and sympathy, for the purpose of helping other sufferers to achieve deliverance.

The aim of this book is to answer the previous question by examining the antithesis 'Deliverance after Hardship' in al-Tanūkhī's stories. Three major themes are identified in the stories, namely *the journey*, *love*, and *generosity*. These themes have a significant role in unveiling the message that al-Tanūkhī wishes to convey to his readers, which is '*So truly with hardship comes ease, truly with hardship comes ease*' (Q: 94: 5–6 translaltion Arberry). His unshakeable conviction in the necessity of deliverance is rooted in his Muʿtazilite belief in the justice of God.

This study highlights the relationship between literature and Islamic theology and shows how religious themes play a role in al-Tanūkhi's vibrant stories, which combine elements of both reality and fiction.

This book consists of an introduction and three chapters; in Chapter 1 I study the theme of the journey, in Chapter 2 the theme of love and in Chapter 3 the theme of generosity.

In this Introduction I examine historical, cultural and literary contexts in fourth/tenth century Iraq, al-Tanūkhī's life and works, and Muʿtazilism in al-Tanūkhī's compilations.

HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND LITERARY CONTEXTS IN FOURTH/TENTH CENTURY IRAQ

Historical context

The ʿAbbasid call began around 100 AH/718 CE[1] as a rebellion against the Umayyad caliphate (41–132/661–750).[2] In 132/749 Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ (d. 136/754) was announced to be the first ʿAbbasid caliph after the defeat of the Umayyad army.[3] In 136/753 Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr succeeded al-Saffāḥ after his death in al-Anbār.[4] Historians consider al-Manṣūr to be the true founder of the ʿAbbasid caliphate, its strength and glory.[5] In 145/762, al-Mansūr (d. 158/774) began building the city of Baghdād and moved to it in 146/763[6] and Baghdād became the civilized queen of the medieval world, the capital of the ʿAbbasid caliphate.

Al-Maʾmūn, who became the seventh caliph in 198/813, was among the most important ʿAbbasid caliphs.[7] In 218/833 al-Maʾmūn started what is called *al-miḥna*, or the inquisition,[8] for the purpose of imposing his view that the Qurʾān is created. The inauguration of the *miḥna* is interpreted as an attempt by al-Mam'ūn to assert his caliphal religious authority, 'which had indeed been familiar in the time of the Umayyad caliphate'.[9] Jurists, judges and traditionalists were examined and among them was Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who was imprisoned because of his refusal to say that the Qurʾan was created.[10] Al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833) was described as intellectual, knowledgeable, intelligent and wise. He encouraged the spreading of knowledge and the translating of books into Arabic, and *Bayt al-Hikma* (the house of wisdom) became an important centre in which Greek texts and other ancient texts were translated into Arabic. He also used to participate in many intellectual discussions that took place in his presence.[11] Al-Maʾmūn's policy regarding the inquisition was followed by his two immediate successors al-Muʿtaṣim bi-Allāh (d. 227/841) and al-Wāthiq bi Allāh (d. 232/846). Al-Maʾmūn, al-Muʿtaṣm and al-Wāthiq are known to be 'the Muʿtazilite caliphs'.[12]

Al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh succeeded al-Wāthiq in 232/846.[13] He stopped the inquisition and sided with the traditionalists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*). He encouraged ḥadīth transmission and discouraged disputation.[14] The failure of the *miḥna* meant that the caliphs had no role to play in deciding religious matters, it is the '*Ulamā*' who will define Islam. Moreover, this failure 'permitted the unchecked development of what in due course would become recognizable as Sunnism'.[15] After the death

of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the power of the Turks and other elements increased and dominated the ʿAbbasid caliphs.[16]

The ʿAbbasid caliphate was huge and, throughout its history, independent states were established and powerful ruling dynasties took control of various regions of the state.[17]

The fourth/tenth century witnessed the disintegration of the caliphate into a varaiety of states; during the time of our author, al-Tanūkhī, the Buwayhīd's dynasty was in control of Baghdād. In 334/945 Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Buwayh seized Baghdād and al-Mustakfī bi-Allāh, the ʿAbbasid caliph, bestowed upon him the title of 'Muʿizz al-Dawla'.[18] The Buwayhīds encouraged and supported Muʿtazilite and Shiʾite groups; Cahen believes that they were politically Twelvers.[19] During the Buwayhīd control of Baghdād, the ʿAbbasid caliph had no power left except for land estates, which would suffice his needs.[20] Muʿizz al-Dawla died in 356/966 and was succeeded by his son Bakhtiyār (ʿIzz al-Dawla).[21] However, ʿIzz al-Dawla (Chief Amīr) was removed in 367/977 by ʿAḍud al-Dawla al-Buwayhī[22] who established himself as a powerful ruler and put an end to the revolts of Arab tribes in Iraq.[23] ʿAḍud al-Dawla died in 372/982[24] after having divided the Buwayhīd districts among his three sons, among whom there were to be civil wars.[25] Ibn al-Athīr praises ʿAḍud al-Dawla as a wise and virtious man who loved good deeds and their doers.[26] Despite the wars he faced, as an intellectual ʿAḍud al-Dawla used to find time to read, and to take good care of scholars and of scholarly institutions. He was passionate about *adab* and language matters, especially grammar. He was therefore called 'the rider (*fāris*) of the sword and the pen'.[27]

The caliphs' influence was reduced to the palace and the real power was vested in the office of the Chief Amīr, which the Buwayhīds occupied. However, the Buwayhīd power continued until its fall at the hands of the Saljūq ruler Ṭughril Beg in 447/1055.[28]

The fourth century witnessed the development of various religious and theological groups that had had their origin in the first three centuries. Among the most important of these for this study are the Sunnis,[29] the Sūfīs,[30] the Muʿtazilites (to be treated later in this introduction), and the Shīʿīs.[31] Among the most important Shīʿī groups in Baghdād in the fourth century were the imāmīs or Twelvers. Twelver Shīʿism 'developed as a system of belief and as a religious community' during the Buwayhīds period.[32] In the fourth/tenth century the doctrine of (*al-ghayba al-kubrā*) the greater occultation of the twelfth imām (al-

Mahdī) was accepted. Kennedy observes that three factors distinguish fourth/tenth-century Shīʿism from mere reverence for ʿAlī and political support for the Alīds. These elements are:

- denigration of the first two rightly guided caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar;
- turning the tombs of the ʿAlīds into places of pilgrimage; and
- establishing two public practices, namely the public lamentations of *ʿĀshūrā'* (the anniversary of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn), and celebrating the festival of Ghadīr Khumm.[33]

The policies of Muʿizz al-Dawla and his son Bakhtiyār of instituting and supporting these three elements increased the tension between Sunnis and Shīʿīs in Baghdād and led to the emergence of armed groups and the division of the city between these two factions. The definite break between Sunnism and Shīʿism is attributed to the events of this century.[34] On the intellectual front, the tension between Sunnis and Shīʿīs produced much theological writing and helped to define the identity of each group in relation to the other. The political disintegration of the caliphate in this period had a positive impact on the cultural life to the extent that some writers called this period the 'Renaissance of Islam'.

Cultural and literary context

The translation movement during the second/eighth and third/ ninth centuries began to bear fruit in the fourth/tenth century when creativity in disciplines such as Islamic philosophy, *ʿilm al-kalām* and *adab*, was at its peak. 'This cultural efflorescence was in some ways a product of the political fragmentation of the time, which provided new sources of patrongage for authors.'[35] The courts of the early ʿAbbasid caliphs, their viziers and local rulers became a forum for discussion, debates and literary exchanges and these prominent people became patrons of learning. In the fourth/tenth century, Buyid princes and viziers continued this practice in their quest for glory and prestige 'Fame and glory were, as it were, insubstantial in the absence of poets to eulogize them, courtiers to flatter them, astrologers to advise them, physicians to pamper them and scholars to instruct them.'[36] The courts became magnets for wandering poets, scholars and philosophers in their search for sponsors. Following Adam Mez in his book *Die Renaissance des Islams*,[37] Kraemer also called this period the 'Renaissance of Islam'.

For Kraemer this term means 'classical revival and cultural flowering within the soil of Islamic civilization' and the main representative of this renaissance was philosophical humanism 'that embraced the scientific and philosophical heritage of antiquity as a cultural and educational ideal'.[38] The philosophical humanism was also accompanied by literary humanism 'epitomized in the word *adab*, cultivated by litterateurs, poets and government secretaries'.[39] Fakkar considers al-Tanūkhī to be a humanist addressing not only Muslims but the wise men of all nations.[40]

Adab in the fourth/tenth century was a term used to cover a wide range of disciplines such as philosophy, mysticism, art and linguistics. Within this period various types of *adab* flourished; our concern here is with one particular type which is narrative because al-Tanūkhī's works come under this genre.

Narrative is a reflection of the society in all its aspects; it contains history and thought in addition to flying imagination, entertainment and humour. It is a mixture of reality and fiction that takes the reader to other worlds. Narrative goes back to pre-Islamic times, in their cities and hills, or in the silence of their vast desert nights; Arabs used to recite poetry and tell stories that they had heard on their travels.

Those pre-Islamic orally transmitted – but sometimes written – stories used to be about their battles, kings, heroes, paupers, lovers and what they used to witness in their own and other people's travels.[41]

Islamic narrative began with Qurʾanic narrative, with its distinctive style; it has the effect of evoking enjoyment, suspense, setting an example, and persuasion all at the same time and, as Norris observes, provides 'a rich store of ideas which had a dynamic potential for Muslim thinkers in every age and in all parts of the Muslim world'.[42] At the beginning of Islam, narrative had a religious aim, which was to preach, remind and set an example.

At the time of the Umayyad caliphate, narrative gained more importance. A storyteller was designated to every chief mosque (*al-Masjid al-Jāmiʿ*) to preach to the people. Moreover, storytellers used to accompany soldiers in their conquests.[43]

During the ʿAbbasid caliphate, storytelling widened immensely with different types and styles. There were two types of storytellers – eloquent scholars who used stories for preaching and teaching, and professional storytellers who used to earn money from the public with this kind of profession. Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) depicts humourous details of the characters of storytellers: their appearances, movements, voices and

their circles. However, some critics of the time looked upon storytellers as fabricators because, since their aim was to entertain and give pleasure, they added their own imaginative details to historical anecdotes.[44]

Perhaps the best-known translated book in the field of narrative was *Kalīla wa Dimna*, which Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 142/ 759) translated from Persian. The book is a collection of fables about animals and it contains proverbs, wisdom morals, education and politics. *Kalīla wa Dimna* is of Indian origin and was translated into Arabic after being translated into Persian.[45]

Another well-known collection is *Alf Laylā wa Laylā* (*The Thousand and One Nights*). Marzolph states that:

> Preserved in its Arabic compilation, the collection is rooted in a Persian prototype that existed before the ninth century CE, and some of its stories may date back even further to the Mesopotamian, ancient Indian, or ancient Egyptian cultures. The collection was shaped into its present form by pre-modern Arabic culture and came to be known as *Alf Laylā wa-Laylā* … (*The Thousand and One Nights*).[46]

Al-Jāḥiẓ, a famous Muʿtazilite and scholar of *adab* with an encyclopaedic knowledge, was a master in the art of narration. He had a fertile imagination, was skilled in portrayal and description, was precise in depiction and had the ability to observe small details. His inclination for narrative was obvious in the numerous books in which he based his characters on real people and therefore his stories were thought to depict his time, environment and society. His well-known humourous book, *Al-Bukhalā* (*The Misers*), is a testimony to his ability and mastery of the art of narration.[47]

One of the most important writers in the fourth/tenth century was Abu Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) who recorded the debates and discussions in the forums he attended. His literary products offer 'insights both into the thought and background of some of the leading figures of his day and into more general aspects of Islamic culture'. In his writings he depicted various aspects of social life, including the morals, habits and sayings of the people of Baghdād. Many disciplines are reflected in al-Tawḥīdī's works such as philosophy, mysticism and *kalām*, and for this reason he is regarded as a typical *adīb* of the fourth/tenth century.[48]

During that century, narrative continued to develop by widening its

depiction of various groups and themes. There were stories about lovers, political chaos and aiming at self-discipline. Authors such as Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 310/ 922), ʿUmar b. Yūsuf (d. 328/939) and Ibn al-Dāya (d. 340/951) wrote books on deliverance after hardship, patience and reward, doing good deeds, satisfaction and abstinence. But perhaps the most notable of those was our author, al-Tanūkhī.[49]

In the last quarter of the fourth/tenth century, Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) developed a new type of narrative called *al-Maqāmāt*. These are 'fictional narrative vignettes in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*), interspersed with verse, designed to show off [al-Hamadhānī's] verbal artistry'. There are two characters – the protagonist Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī, a rogue who exploits 'his eloquence to trick a gullible public. His identity often being revealed only in a surprise ending', and the narrator, ʿIsā b. Hishām.[50]

Beeston contends that Al-Hamadhānī's 'originality lay first and foremost in the use of *sajʿ* as a vehicle for anecdotes of the kind collected by al-Tanūkhī' for example 'the theme of a ragged and destitute person who nevertheless proves to be a miracle of witt and eloquence appears in Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda*'.[51]

AL-TANŪKHĪ'S LIFE AND WORKS

Family name and origin

In his book entitled *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, Ibn Khallikān cites al-Tanūkhī's given name as follows:

> ʿAbū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin b. Abī al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fahm Dawūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Tamīm al-Tanūkhī.[52]

The first to be identified in the tribe of *'Tanukh'* is Ḥassān b. Sinān al-Tanūkhī.[53] In his book *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara*, al-Tanūkhī states that Ḥassān was of Christian origin; he says that he was born in al-Anbār in the year 60/679 – 'Christianity was his religion and that of his ancestors, then he converted to Islam and became a good Muslim.' Ḥassān transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Anas b. Mālik (the servant of the prophet Muḥammad); however, his daughter remained a Christian who, when she was about to die, bequeathed all her wealth to the monastery (*Dayrat Tanūkh*) in al-Anbār.

According to al-Tanūkhī, Ḥassān spoke, read and wrote in the Arabic,

Persian and Syriac languages. Because of this fluency in Persian, his resolute religiosity and his honesty, he became scribe to Rabīʿa al-Raʿī – the judge of al-Anbār. Ḥassān died at the age of 120.[54]

Al-Tanūkhī is wholly cognisant of his Christian origins. This awareness seems to be reflected in some of his stories, particularly those that talk about the ties of mercy and compassion between Christians and Muslims, even in times of hostilities.[55] The story that perhaps best exemplifies al-Tanūkhī's view of the ideological relationship between Christianity and Islam, is the following:

> On one of his travels, Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad passes close by the hermitage of a [Christian] monk. Night falls and al-Khalīl fears the dangers of the desert, so he knocks at the monk's door and asks for refuge. The latter agrees on condition that al-Khalīl can give him convincing answers to three questions. The monk then asks al-Khalīl questions about the knowledge of God and the people of Paradise – the story ends with al-Khalīl answering all the questions satisfactorily; whereupon, the monk allows him in and treats him with complete hospitality.[56]

This story symbolizes the affiliation between al-Tanūkhī's Christian origins and his Islamic religion. The relationship between both religions is based on dialogue and mutual understanding, as depicted by the monk's questions and al-Khalīl's responses; in the end, this leads to the monk's act of generosity (the offer of refuge). The foregoing dialogue and generosity, signifies al-Tanūkhī's Christian roots welcoming and accepting the 'new' religion of Islam.

In the broader sense, the story illustrates the universal relationship between Christianity and Islam – one that is based on Love, Mercy, Knowledge and Generosity.

Al-Tanūkhī's life

Al-Tanūkhī was born in al-Baṣra, where his father was a judge, in 327/938 or possibly 329/940.[57] Yāqūt transmits al-Thaʿālibī's description of the similarity between al-Tanūkhī and his father. He says: 'the crescent [al-Tanūkhī] of that moon [his father], the branch of that tree, the just testifier of his father's glory and merit, the offspring who resembles his lineage, who represents him in his life, and who takes his place after his death.'[58]

Fahd also stresses this similarity between al-Tanūkhī and his father;

he says that the author's family was famous for its men of jurisprudence and letters.[59]

Ibn al-ʿImād describes al-Tanūkhī's own son as: '[He was] a man of letters and merit, a poet and a transmitter of much of poetry. He was the companion of Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī and he learned a lot from him. The members of his family are all men of virtue, of letters, and gracefulness.'[60] The three Tanūkhīs (al-Tanūkhī, his father and his son) are all described as 'a family of meritorious judges'.[61] Al-Tanūkhī transmits some of his stories from his father – he lived in a rich intellectual environment. Al-Tanūkhī studied in a *kuttāb* in al-Baṣra; he says that he was still studying there in 335/946, the same year in which Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī died.[62] He began his study of the *ḥadīth* in 336/947[63] and the *hadīth*s that he heard were from trustworthy sources.[64] Al-Tanūkhī then carried on transmitting the *ḥadīth* until his death in 384/994.[65] In 346/957, al-Tanūkhī worked as the official 'responsible for controlling weights and measures at the market of al-Ahwāz'[66] and, at the age of 20, he served as an official witness in the Sharīʿa court of the judge of al-Ahwāz Ibn Sayyār.[67]

In the year 349/960, the vizier Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī arrived at al-Sūs where al-Tanūkhī was living at the time. Al-Tanūkhī became the companion of al-Muhallabī, who took good care of him.[68] Al-Muhallabī gave him the opportunity to accompany him to Baghdād; once there, al-Muhallabī asked the chief judge Abū al-Sāʾib to help him. The latter assigned al-Tanūkhī as the judge of Saqī al-Furāt – thus Abū al-Sāʾib ʿUtba b. ʿAbd Allāh was the first to appoint al-Tanūkhī as a judge, his age at the time was 22.[69] In Baghdād, al-Tanūkhī had the chance to meet men of knowledge, poets, and scholars of literature and the arts; in addition, he met statesmen such as judges, viziers and princes.[70] In the same year, al-Tanūkhī became a judge in al-Qaṣr, Bābil and the surrounding districts; then al-Muṭīʿ li-Allāh promoted him to the judiciary in ʿAskar Mukram, Īdhaj and Rāmahurmuz, as well as several other places.[71]

In 356/966 al-Tanūkhī became judge in, among other places, al-Ahwāz, Nahr Tīra, al-Anhār, al-Asāfil, Suq Rāmahurmuz and the adjacent plain and mountains; he lived at the time in al-Ahwāz.[72] However, in 359/969 the vizier, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās, dismissed him from his posts and expropriated his country estates; thereafter, al-Tanūkhī travelled to Baghdād.

So, after years of absence from Baghdād, al-Tanūkhī returned only to find that most of the learned men (from whom he used to hear about the

different creeds, kingdoms and nations) had died. He soon realized that caliphs and eminent authorities needed to hear these old stories to encourage flawless morality. So, in 360/970 he began to write his book *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara* in an endeavour to preserve the stories he himself had memorized, as well as those others that were extant.[73] Al-Tanūkhī's misfortune (hardship) thus forced him to return to Baghdād – the effects of his journey had a positive and profound impact on him.

In 362/972 al-Tanūkhī was restored to authority and returned to al-Ahwāz to become governor (in addition to his previous posts), including Wāsiṭ and its suburbs,[74] but in 365/975 he suffered great injustice at the hands of Ibn Baqiyya.[75] He fled to al-Baṭīḥa and asked for refuge from its prince, Muʿīn al-Dawla Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿImrān b. Shāhīn al-Sulamī. While there he heard a *ḥadīth* that talked of deliverance after hardship; and four months later he and his companions were indeed delivered.[76]

In al-Baṣra that same year – in the middle of *shaʿbān* – al-Tanūkhī's son, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī was born.[77] These circumstances bring to mind one of al-Tanūkhī's stories in which Sulaymān b. Wahb, while in the midst of his hardship, received the uplifting news of the birth of his son ʿUbayd Allāh.[78]

Al-Tanūkhī spoke of other hardships he suffered. For example, in the story of Yūnus[79] al-Tanūkhī also talks about how he was delivered from great hardship when he recited the verse of the Qurʾān mentioned in the story.[80] In another story he mentioned how God protected him from a vicious enemy and delivered him from his oppression by repeating the *sūra* quoted in the story.[81] In addition, he related a further hardship, which he suffered at the hands of the ruler.[82] Al-Tanūkhī was a man-of-justice and an intellectual; he was a spiritual man who endured his hardships with fortitude by relying on God and praying to Him, in the certainty of His deliverance.

Al-Tanūkhī was the companion of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, as is apparent from some of his stories.[83] Moreover, on Tuesday the 9th day of *Dhū ʿl-qaʿda* in 369/979, he delivered a speech at the marriage of al-Ṭāʾiʿ li-Allāh to ʿAḍud al-Dawla's eldest daughter.[84] ʿAḍud al-Dawla was hoping for a grandson who would be the caliph's heir and, thereby, the caliphate would pass to Banū Buwayh. However, al-Ṭāʾiʿ divined his intention so he did not lie with his wife for three years.[85] ʿAḍud al-Dawla asked al-Tanūkhī to intercede but the latter, after having slipped and hurt his leg, declined the task.[86] ʿAḍud al-Dawla sent his slave to

al-Tanūkhī to find out what had happened. When the latter suggested that al-Tanūkhī was not really indisposed, ʿAḍud al-Dawla became enraged and imprisoned him in his house.[87] Al-Tanūkhī's imprisonment continued until the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 372/982.[88] Fahd suggests that al-Tanūkhī fled from ʿAḍud al-Dawla to al-Baṭīḥa, which explains why he only mentioned the hardship that faced him but did not describe it more fully.[89]

ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī says that we do not know anything of al-Tanūkhī's life after the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. However, information in the book entitled *al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* states that after al-Tanūkhī's death (in 384/994), his posts were taken up by the judge Ibn Maʿrūf. ʿAl-Shāljī concludes that this means that, following ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death, al-Tanūkhī returned to the judiciary and continued writing his *Nishwār* (which he started in 360/970). As for his book *al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda*, it is probable, according to al-Shāljī, that he started it in 373/983.[90]

Al-Tanūkhī belonged to the Hanafī school of law, and he is mentioned in Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ's book *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍiyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafiyya*.[91] He also was a Muʿtazilite by creed, as is apparent from some of his stories,[92] as were his father and, later, his son.[93] Al-Tanūkhī's death is recorded as the year 384/994.[94] Various sources describe our author as a judge, a man-of-knowledge *(ʿallāma*) and letters, a poet, a transmitter of anecdotes and *ḥadīth* and the author of compilations.[95]

Al-Tanūkhī was survived by his son Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Muḥassin about whom al-Maʿarrī composed a poem that begins with the following verse:

hāti l-ḥadītha ʿani l-Zawrāʿi aw Hītā
wa mawqidu l-nāri lā tukrā bi-Takrītā

Bring forth the talk about al-Zawrā' or Hīt
As the fire-hearth is never extinguished in Takrīt'.

The foregoing verse is a metaphor for the people of Takrīt's generosity and hospitaliy; their fire is always kindled. Al-Jāḥiẓ says: '[The Arabs] praise the people who kindle fire [so making themselves visible to potential guests] and censure those who extinguish it.'[96] Therefore, the one who is lost will see the fire from afar and follow it in order to find shelter, refuge and food. In his poem, al-Maʿarrī describes al-Tanūkhī's son as a man of knowledge, generosity and merit.[97]

AL-TANŪKHĪ'S BOOKS

Al-Tanūkhī authored three compilations during his life, as well as a [lost] volume of poetry and a book entitled *ʿUnwān al-Ḥikma wa al-Bayān*. His three compilations are as follows:

- *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara* (*Nishwār* or *Nish.*, in my notes), 1971.
- *Al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda* (*Faraj* or *Far.*, in my notes), 1978.
- *Al-Mustajād min Faʿalāt al-Ajwād* (*Mustajād* or *Must.*, in my notes), 1992.

Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara

In this book al-Tanūkhī explains that he began writing it in 360/970 because, after returning to Baghdād, he found that many of the narrators had died. He felt that, to prevent their loss, it was important to collect what he had memorized of these stories and to record what was left of them because he found out that whoever heard these stories began to make changes to them. He stated that the aim of writing his book was to encourage high morality and generosity, qualities that would be invaluable in elevating the lives of knowledgeable and prominent people and scholars. Al-Tanūkhī stresses the importance of oral transmission in this book:

> These are speeches that I collected from the people who narrated them. … No one previously wrote such anecdotes … but I have gathered them orally from the narrators … except for poetry which perhaps, to [the best of] my knowledge, some of that which I transmitted had been transmitted in other books.[98]

Al-Tanūkhī says that the reason he chose the title *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara* was because, if what he had forgotten [of the narrated stories] had survived, then it would have been: 'An art useful to be taught and memorized (*al-mudhākara*) and a kind of *nishwār* ('fine speech').'[99]

Al-Tanūkhī spent 20 years writing the 11 volumes of his Nishwār.[100] This book includes descriptions and references to various contemporary socio-political events, in addition to the fictional stories. A substantial part of the book deals with the theme of 'deliverance after hardship'.

Al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda[101]

Al-Tanūkhī faced several hardships in his life, during which he found other books relating to the same subject. He says: 'I came across five or six sheets collected by Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī under the title *al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda wa al-Ḍīqa* in which he collected anecdotes on this subject. I found that these stories were good ones, but they are not exhaustive.'[102] He also came across a book by Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Dunyā, about which he says: 'He [Ibn Abī al-Dunyā] had called it *Kitāb al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda* comprising 20 pages, most of which were *ḥadīth*, the anecdotes of his [the Prophet's] companions and their followers, speeches about prayer, patience (*ṣabr*), reliance upon God and remembrance of death.'[103] However, al-Tanūkhī did not find these subjects appropriate for such a title.

While facing his hard times al-Tanūkhī also came across a book compiled by the judge Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿUmar (son of the judge Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf) which, he says, consisted of 50 pages under the title *Kitāb al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda*. Abū al-Ḥusayn transmitted most of what al-Madāʾinī had narrated, and he added other anecdotes; however, he did not transmit anything from Ibn Abī al-Dunya's book. Al-Tanūkhī notes that neither Ibn Abī al-Dunyā nor Abū al-Ḥusayn mentioned al-Madāʾinī in their books. He says: 'If they did not know about it [al-Madāʾinī's book] then this is strange, but if they knew about it and did not mention it in order to attract attention to their books and to overshadow that of al-Madāʾinī, then this is even stranger.'[104]

The hardships our author faced, and the books he read during his times of suffering, filled his heart with compassion for others and provoked him to try to relieve their sadness. The foregoing are the reasons that encouraged him to write his *Faraj*; in acknowledgement, he borrowed the title of his book from the books he read.[105] As a result, in the year 373/983 al-Tanūkhī started writing his *Faraj*; he drew a lot of his stories from his *Nishwār*, according to ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī in the book's 'Introduction'.[106] Al-Tanūkhī says that he wrote his book to be read by people facing hardship; he opines that reading about other people's hardships (and how they were delivered) would encourage the person to endure his hardship with patience (*ṣabr*), placing reliance upon God and encouraging greater faith in Him. Thus, he says, those people who can reason will be uplifted from their suffering when they read such a book.[107]

Al-Tanūkhī's book contains stories of socio-political events and fictional stories that have the theme of 'deliverance after hardship'. The book begins with Qurʾānic verses, and ends with verses of poetry – hence, it begins with God's Word and ends with Man's.

Al-Mustajād min Faʿalāt al-Ajwād

According to Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, the editor of the book, Al-Tanūkhī composed this book after his *Faraj*. Al-Tanūkhī repeated some of the stories narrated in his two previous books.[108] In his introduction to the book, al-Tanūkhī addresses somebody whom, he claims, asked him to gather the best anecdotes about 'generous people'. This imaginary person is a common literary device in some classical books, one that al-Tanūkhī also employs in his *Mustajād*. In this book al-Tanūkhī mainly draws his stories from other books, but he does include some oral transmission. As the editor Kurd ʿAlī states: 'The reason for this, is that the author [in his *Mustajād*] narrates historical stories while in his *Nishwār* he narrates the stories of contemporary people.'[109] There is, in this sense, a contrast between al-Tanūkhī's *Mustajād* and his *Nishwār* – it is there in order to relate his present to his past.

His *Mustajād* deals with the theme of 'deliverance after hardship', which is in parallel with his *Faraj*. However, in his *Faraj*, al-Tanūkhī focuses on the recipient (where the reader's concern is to know how the protagonist is delivered), whereas in his *Mustajād* he focuses on the generous donor (where the reader follows what the protagonist does in order to deliver the person in hardship). At first sight, al-Tanūkhī's *Mustajād* seems to be in contrast with al-Jāḥiẓ's *Bukhalā'*. However, in reality, both books are in parallel: the former talks directly about 'generosity', while the latter illuminates the same theme through the comic attitudes of the misers. Where most of al-Tanūkhī's protagonists are Arabs, most of al-Jāḥiẓ's protagonists are non-Arabs. The two books are devoted to defending the Arabs against the strong movement of *al-Shuʿūbiyya*,[110] which was active at the time; its aim being to attack the Arabs in every aspect of their lives, but particularly their generosity.

Most of the stories in *al-Mustajād* have a historical basis, but the book includes some that are clearly fictional. Seidensticker contends that al-Mustajād 'is often ascribed to al-Tanūkhī, but rather seems to be written by an anonymous author'.[111] Even if the authenticity of *Al-Mustajād* is disputed, the general theme of 'deliverance after hardship' is found and the themes of 'the journey' 'love', and 'generosity' are also present. For the above reasons *al-Mustajad* is treated in this study.

Al-Tanūkhī's 'Lost Dīwān'

Various sources identify al-Tanūkhī as a poet, as mentioned above. He includes some of his poetry in his works; and some is found in other sources.[112] Ibn al-ʿImād mentions a now lost *Dīwān* by al-Tanūkhī, which he says was 'more voluminous than that of his father'.[113]

ʿUnwān al-Ḥikma wa al-Bayān

Margoliouth says of this book that it is 'a collection of wise Sayings … of which there is a MS copy in the Bodleian Library'.[114] Seidensticker says about the book that it is 'a collection of gnomic wisdom, arranged according to classes or social groups of persons uttering them; in the first two thirds of the book, the names of the persons uttering the maxims are given, whereas in the rest anonymously quoted sayings prevail'.[115]

The theme of deliverance after hardship is treated in all Al-Tanūkhī's books; his belief in the temporality of suffering and the inevitability of deliverance can be observed from his interpretation of the Qurʾanic verses:

> *fa-inna maʿa l-ʿusri yusrā. Inna maʿa l-ʿusri yusrā*
> So truly with hardship comes ease, truly with hardship comes ease.[116]

Al-Tanūkhī explains these two Qurʾānic verses by quoting a saying by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (or ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). He said that the word '*al-ʿusr*' is modified by the definite article ('the'), whereas the word '*yusr*' is not so modified. In Arabic, if the modifier and its noun are repeated then the latter has the same meaning as the former. For example, in the verses, *al-ʿusr* is modified with *al*, and then the word is repeated (*fa-ʾinna maʿa ʾl-ʿusri yusrā, inna maʿa ʾl-ʿusri yusrā*); therefore, the second *ʿusr* is the same as the first *ʿusr*. But if the unmodified word is repeated, then this repeated word gives a double emphasis to the sentence, for example in the verses the word *yusr* is not modified with *al*, so the second *yusr* is not the same as the first *yusr*.[117] Thus, in the end deliverance ('ease') always vanquishes hardship. This firm belief in the need for deliverance after hardship, which resonates in all al-Tanūkhī's witings on the subject, reflects the main Muʿtazilite doctrine – the justice of God.

However, when studying al-Tanūkhī's stories an anomaly between

the former's fundamental beliefs and published narratives is observed. I do not claim that al-Tanūkhī was a Sūfī; indeed, he followed the Muʿtazilite theology – this grants importance to 'reason' as being the prime source of knowledge. However, in all three of his works, al-Tanūkhī deals with one single spiritual aspect of human life – principally 'deliverance after hardship'. Furthermore, he tells stories that show the spiritual relationship between man and God, such as prayers answered by God or dreams delivering protagonists. To unveil the dialectic between the rationality of al-Tanūkhī as a Muʿtazilite and the spirituality found in his stories, the Sūfī binary concepts of exoteric and esoteric (*ẓāhir–bāṭin*) are employed in this study. This binary formula derives from the Sūfī perception of existence. Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd states: 'According to the Sūfīs, existence in all its forms, from the highest to the lowest levels, from the world of pure spiritual beings to the world of materiality with all its elements: all these forms are manifestations of one esoteric reality, which is the Divine Reality (*al-ḥaqīqatu l-ilāhiyya*).'[118] Symbolic interpretation is, thus, the search for the spiritual meanings that reside within the heart of the word.

I have made use of these Sūfī concepts in order to unveil the contrast between al-Tanūkhī's rational creed and the spiritual elements found in some of his stories, and to convey the specifically Islamic 'spiritual meaning and message' that these stories may be said to evoke. Once the text is written, it acquires a life of its own away from its author. It is the reader who defines the meaning through his or her interaction with the text, which might not concur with the intention of the author as illustrated by the great Sūfī master Ibn ʿArabī in his quotation at the beginning of this introduction.

MUʿTAZILISM IN AL-TANŪKHĪ'S COMPILATIONS

The Muʿtazilite movement started in al-Baṣra in the first half of the second/eighth century. Its founder is believed to be Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748) and it eventually became one of the most influential schools of theology in Islam. From the early period, the Muʿtazilite movement was divided into two schools, namely the school of al-Baṣra and the school of Baghdād (the terms refer to doctrinal differences and not to geographical places).

The Muʿtazilite school lasted roughly five centuries; Gimaret divides the age of Muʿtazilism into three periods. The first is the 'heroic' period, or the period of the 'great ancestors'. The second period is the 'classical'

period of Muʿtazilism or 'Golden Age', which lasted from the last quarter of the third/ninth century to the middle of the fifth/eleventh century and in which the doctrine of the Muʿtazilites was elaborated and standardized. Among the notable figures of this period from the school of al-Baṣra are Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/933) and his son Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933). The third period, which can be called the post-classical one, lasted from the arrival of the Saljūqs in Baghdād in (447/1055) to the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century CE.[119] In this section the two main principles of Muʿtazilism will be outlined, then explicit Muʿtazilism in al-Tanūkhī's works will be examined.

The doctrine of Muʿtazilism

The classical doctrine of Muʿtazilism is based on five principles: divine unity, divine justice, the intermediate position of the grave sinner, promise of reward and threat of punishment in the hereafter and, finally, enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil. Only the first two principles will be outlined here because of their centrality to the Muʿtazilite school and for their relevance to this study.

Divine unity (al-Tawḥīd)

By speculative reasoning, man knows God and that He is One, Eternal and the Creator of everything.[120] God is existent, living, knowing, and powerful 'because of His essence' *li-dhātihi*.[121] He is ever living and therefore He is all hearing and all seeing.[122] Josef van Ess argues that:

> Unity then also means that the attributes ascribed to God in the Qurʾān are identical with Him and not different entities or hypostases. This is true at least for 'essential attributes' such as knowledge, power, or life; they are eternal and unchangeable like God himself and merely tell us something about certain aspects of His nature.[123]

Moreover, Muʿtazilites emphasize the absolute transcendence of God; He has no body, form or limbs and therefore He cannot occupy a place and cannot be seen by eyes in this world and the Hereafter.[124] Therefore, all anthropomorphic verses in the Qurʾan should be interpreted metaphorically. Divine speech:

> is an attribute of the action. He creates [His speech] in bodies when He wishes to address His creatures with commands and

> prohibitions, promises and threats, scolding (*zajr*) and awakening of desires (*targhīb*). When He sent prophets and made them bear laws, He addressed them with His speech and He sent them with His scriptures so that they will deliver [His laws] on His behalf. God acts cannot be eternal.[125]

God's speech is His act and is therefore created by Him.[126]

Divine Justice (al-ʿadl)

The Muʿtazilites believe that Man can discern between what is morally good or evil by his reason alone. Therefore, injustice, ingratitude, destruction are all recognized as morally bad and showing gratitude to a benefactor, and repaying a debt are all recognized as morally good. Moreover, what is just and unjust for Man is also applied to God: 'this is why, from the Muʿtazilī point of view, the necessary justice of God is not only fact, it is for Him a permanent obligation; in the name of His justice, God is required to act in such and such a fashion, since otherwise He would be unjust.'[127]

Since God is all knowing, He knows everything including the immorality of all unethical acts and He is also (*ghaniyy*) self-sufficient; therefore, God does not choose to do what is morally bad (*al-qabīḥ*) and everything He does must be morally good and wise.[128] Every immoral act that takes place in the world must have a human origin because it is impossible for God to act immorally as 'His saying in the Qurʾān:[129] But God wills no injustice to His servants.'[130]

The justice of God necessitates human free will, in other words 'human acts are not created by God but they are done with His knowledge' because it would be impossible 'for God to create erroneous behaviour in (humans) and then punish them, thus saying why do you disbelieve?'[131] Therefore, Man is responsible for his actions and it is his choice to believe or disbelieve, to follow the law or not follow the law. Obligations and sanctions make sense only if Man is the author of his own actions and in the Day of Judgement God rewards him or punishes him according to his deeds.[132] Although we find in the Qurʾān that God 'leads astray (*yuḍillu*) whom He wills and guides (*yahdī*) whom He wills,[133] but these terms can be interpreted otherwise than envisaged by the proponents of predestination'.[134]

Since God is wise, self-sufficient and it is impossible for Him to act immorally, all Muʿtazilites 'agree in saying that God has created men for their advantage (*li-yanfaʿahum*)'.[135] Furthemore, God has an

obligation to do for human beings *al-aṣlaḥ lahum fī dīnihim* (what is the best for them in the hearafter) and therefore He has to bestow on them all the graces (*alṭāf*) to enable them to carry out His commands. Only the Baghdādī school of Muʿtazila and few early figures like Abū al-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām believed that 'God is obliged to do for men that which is to their greatest advantage both "in their future life and their terrestrial life" (*fī dīnihim wa-dunyāhum*).'[136]

Regarding the problem of evil and suffering, ʿAbd al-Jabbār defines what is morally good (*al-Khayr*) as the good gain and what is evil (*al-Sharr*) as the bad detriment. Moreover, God is deemed high above doing what is evil and His acts are good.[137] On the issue of suffering, ʿAbd al-Jabbār contends that there is a lesson to be learnt and benefit to be derived from suffering for humans because when a man is sick he is much more likely to be mindful of disobedience, fearing Hellfire, and to act obediently desiring Paradise. God stated this warning: 'See they not that they are tested every year [one or twice? Yet they turn not in repentance and they take no heed].'[138] Furthermore, all suffering inflicted by God will be greatly recompenced in the hereafter to the extent that those who suffered would wish their suffering had been greater.[139]

Explicit Muʿtazilism in al-Tanūkhī's compilations

Al-Tanūkhī was a judge who followed the Ḥanafī school of law and was a Muʿtazilite by creed[140] and this creed is manifest in many places throughout his writings. In this section I trace explicit Muʿtazilite doctrine related to their first two principles and rationality in al-Tanūkhi's writings in order to ascertain the extent of Muʿtazilite influence in his compilations, keeping in mind that his aim in his writings was humanitarian, moral and to record the socio-political events of his time and the previous times rather than to offer a theological exposition of the Muʿtazilite creed.

Divine unity (al-Tawḥīd)

1. 'Praise be to God The One, The Just' (*al-ḥamdu li-Allāhi l-wāḥdi l-ʿadl*)[141]

With praying to God by combining divine unity with divine justice, al-Tanūkhī begins his introduction to his Nishwār with the two main principles of Muʿtazilism.

2. In the story of Jonah, al-Tanūkhī quotes the Qurʾanic verse: *wa inna yūnusa la-mina l-mursalīn, ʿidh abaqa ilā l-fulki l-mashḥūn, fa-sāhama fa-kāna mina l-mudḥaḍīn, fa-l-taqamahu l-ḥūtu wa huwa mulīm, fa-lawlā annahu kāna mina l-musabbiḥīn, la-labitha fī baṭnihi ilā yawmi yubʿathūn, fa-nabadhnāhu bi-l-ʿarāʾi wa huwa saqīm, wa anbatnā ʿalayhi shajaratan min yaqṭīn, wa arsalnāhu ilā miʿati alfin aw yazīdūn*.

   Jonah too was one of the Envoys; when he ran away to the laden ship and cast lots, and was of the rebutted, then the whale swallowed him down, and he blameworthy. Now had he not been of those that glorify God, he would have tarried in its belly until the day they shall be raised; but We cast him upon the wilderness, and he was sick, and We caused to grow over him a tree of gourds. Then We sent him unto a hundred thousand, or more.[142]

Al-Tanūkhī comments on these verses:

> *aw* here apparently denotes doubt and some people believed that. But it is wrong because doubt cannot be attributed to God the Almighty, the All-Knowing and whose knowledge is because of His essence (*al-ʿālimu li-nafsihi*) Who knows everything before its existence. It was narrated on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās – which is the right opinion – that he said 'or more (*aw yazīdūn*)' [meaning] rather more (*bal yazīdūn*) … so it is proved that 'or' (*aw*) here is on the meaning of 'rather' (*bal*). Al-Farrāʾ and Abū ʿUbayda also were of this opinion. Others said that or (*aw*) here has the sense of 'and more' (*wa yazīdūn*).[143]

Al-Tanūkhī here rejects the apparent interpretation of this verse because it contradicts his Muʿtazilite beliefs. Divine unity is obvious in describing God as all-knowing and His knowledge because of His essence (*al-ʿālimu li-nafsihi*). This last statement indicates that al-Tanūkhī follows Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī's view on the relationship between the attribute of God and His essence, which indicates that he follows the Muʿtazilite school of al-Baṣra regarding this issue. If God is all-knowing then how can doubt be attributed to Him? It is impossible, because doubt denotes ignorance, which cannot be attributed to God. This is why according to the Muʿtazilites, God's knowledge is because

of His essence 'without learning and with nothing other than Him which made Him all-Knowing'.[144] The use of grammar, lexicography and Arabic language in general to serve theological considerations is a common Muʿtazilite practice for example a later Muʿtazilite interpretation for 'or more' (*aw yazīdūn*) is that of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143). He says:

> 'or more' (*aw yazīdūn*) in the sight of the one who witnesses them; meaning that when the person witnesses them he would say: they are one hundred thousand or more. The purpose is to describe their large number. It was recited also 'and more' (*wa yazidūn*) with a *waw* (and)'.[145]

Clearly, the purpose for these interpretations is not to attribute any imperfection to God.

3. One of the stories is narrated by Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tanūkhī who says: 'Ismāʿīl al-Ṣaffār al-Baṣrī was one of our fellow Muʿtazilite masters. People at the time exerted pressure on the people of truth [the Muʿtazilites] and were in sharp contrast in their disagreement with them [the Muʿtazilites].'

   He [the narrator] said: one night, a thunderbolt fell in the street where Ismāʿīl used to live in al-Baṣra. In the morning he said to his servants: sweep up the door-step and spread a mat on it for me, or else my opponents would spread disquieting news [about me]. So the servants did and he sat at his door step.

   A prominent man of religion (*shaykh*) of al-Baṣra from the opponents [of the Muʿtazilites] passed by. When he saw him [Ismāʿīl] he said: were not we told that God has sent a thunderbolt on you? [Ismāʿīl] replied: why? Do I say that I see God openly (*jahratan*)?[146]

ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī comments on this story that Ismāʿīl accuses the *shaykh* of disbelief because he is an anthropomorphist (*mushabih*); whoever says that God has a body that can be seen openly by sight, a thunderbolt will fall on him. Al-Tanūkhī refers to the Qurʾanic verses:

> *wa idh qultum yā mūsā lan nu'mina la-ka ḥattā narā Allāha jahratan fa-akhadhatkumu l-ṣāʿiqatu wa antum tanẓurūn*

> And when you said, 'Moses, we will not believe thee till we see God openly'; and the thunderbolt took you while you were beholding.[147]

The narrator and our author are both Tanūkhīs and Muʿtazilites. Therefore the Muʿtazilites are described in this story as the 'people of truth (*ahlu l-Ḥaqq*)'. This story is a clear manifestation of the Muʿtazilite belief in the transcendence of God and that He cannot be seen with eyes either in this life or in the Hereafter. In this story, Ismāʿīl takes precautions to have his doorstep cleaned, with a mat spread on it, since he predicts what will be said about him. Ismāʿīl sat at his clean doorstep showing confidence and ready for any confrontation. He does not want his opponents to rejoice in this incident and to spread news about God warning or punishing him. The confrontation ends with the Muʿtazilite's victory against his anthropomorphist opponent; if the thunderbolt is a punishment or warning from God then it should fall upon those who think they can see God openly in the hereafter as happened to those mentioned in the Qurʾān who wanted to see God with their own eyes. Ismāʿīl's victory against his opponent denotes the victory of the Muʿtazilites against the anthropomorphists.

4. As we have seen above the issue of the creation of the Qurʾan (*Khalqu l-Qurʾan*) is related to divine unity and this issue is reflected in the following story:

One of the companions of Ismāʿīl (who is a Muʿtazilite), declaims that the Qurʾān was created, in front of a mob of public. The mob capture the man and send him to the Prince of al-Baṣra Nizār al-Ḍabbī, who in turn imprisons him.

Ismāʿīl gathers more than a thousand Muʿtazilite men. In the morning, they all hasten to the Prince seeking permission to talk to him. Ismāʿīl then says,

> May God honour the Prince, we have heard that you have imprisoned a man because he says that the Qurʾān was created; and so we came to you. We are a thousand men and we all say that the Qurʾān was created. Behind us are many times as many as our number who [also] say as we do; so either you imprison us all with our brother, or you release him unto us.

The Prince fears that if he refuses it will cause such sedition that he could not be sure of the outcome. And so, discretion being the better part of valour, he releases the prisoner whereupon they hurriedly leave.[148]

Knowledge creates solidarity between people and engenders love between them – hence it engenders generosity and bravery. Ismāʿīl and his companions challenge the Prince, which symbolizes the power of knowledge challenging earthly power; resulting in victory for the former.

What at first seems to be a parallel (between the generosity of the helpers and that of the Prince) is in fact a contrast between the genuine generosity of the men of knowledge (Ismāʿīl and his companions), and the superficial one of the Prince whose generosity demonstrates the diplomacy of power.

Divine justice

This principle is reflected in the following stories:

1. In the course of his talk about the story of Moses, al-Tanūkhī mentions the Qurʾanic verse:

wa la-qad dharaʾnā li-jahannama kathīran mina l-jinni wa l-insi
We have created for Gehennam many jinn and men.[149]

Al-Tanūkhī comments:

> meaning that the consequence of their deeds and their choice for themselves, will lead them eventually to Hell (*jahannam*) and hence they end up in it. Because God the Almighty did not create them with the intention to torture them in Hellfire. God is far above to do such an injustice.[150]

Divine justice is obvious here; God does not do what is morally bad. He is deemed exalted above doing injustice. So how can He create people with the intention of torturing them? Man with his own free will chooses to do what is morally good and what is morally bad. Then God calls him to account and rewards or punishes him according to his deeds, because He created Man with an intellect and bestowed upon him health and everything that makes him a free human being with the free will to know right from wrong and to choose between them.

2. In anoher story, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib teaches a Bedouin a prayer which begins as follows:

> Purify your intention, obey God and say:
>
> O, God, I ask You for forgiveness from every sin which my body strove to do, despite Your rendering me healthy, and [every sin] I have committed, despite Your favour upon me, or I stretched forth my hand to [commit] it despite the ample sustenance [You bestowed upon me]. Or when fearing it; I relied on Your patience, or trusted Your tolerance, or I depended in it on the benevolence of Your pardon.
>
> O, God, I ask You for forgiveness from every sin in which I betrayed my trust, or I undervalued myself, or I favoured my pleasure or I preferred my desire, or I plotted against others, or I misled whoever followed me, or I prevailed because of my cunning, or I have attributed it to You O my Lord. However, You did not take me to task for my deed even though You – Glory be to You – hate my offence. However, Your knowledge preceded my choice which I used in order to fulfil my purpose and preferring myself. However, you tolerated me. You did not compel me to do it and You did not incite me to do it forcibly and You did not oppress me in anything; O, the Most Merciful of those that have mercy.[151]

The Muʿtazilite idea of divine justice is obvious in this prayer:

> God bestowed upon man all kinds of favours and all sorts of strength, capability and health. Therefore man has the free will to choose between good and bad and both are his deeds. God does not force, incite or create sins in his servants then punishes them for their deeds because it is considered to be an injustice which He does not do; indeed God does not do what is morally bad and He dislikes the disobedience of His servants. However, since He is all-knowing and His knowledge because of His essence, He knows what they are going to choose. As al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār says, 'God either punishes them for their bad deeds or He pardons them just like the debtor who either frees the indebted of his obligations or retrieves his debt – except for the acts which are mentioned in the Qurʾan that God chooses to punish their doers.[152] When man sins he should turn to The Most

> Merciful, he has to turn to his Creator and ask Him for forgiveness. The relationship between man and The Merciful should always be present.

In this prayer actually we find that there are three Muʿtazilite principles – divine justice, intermediate position and promise and threat.

Al-Tanūkhī and Muʿtazilites' rationalism

Muʿtazilites' rationality deemed certain beliefs as irrational as the following two stories demonstrate:

1. The Muʿtazilites' attitude towards possible contact between humans and genies is reflected in the following story:

> Al-Tanūkhī says: I heard a group of our fellow [Muʿtazilites] saying: 'one of the blessings of the Muʿtazilites is that their children do not fear genies.' Then he narrates the following story:
>
> A thief breaks into the house of a Muʿtazilite man. The Muʿtazilite senses his presence in his home so he goes after him, but the thief descends into a well in the house.
>
> The Muʿtazilite protagonist takes a stone to throw it down at the thief who fears death. So the thief says to him: 'Night is for us and day is for you, trying to make him believe that he was a genie.'
>
> The Muʿtazilite protagonist answers: then share with me half the rent[153] and he throws the stone injuring him. The thief says: 'your family will not be safe of genies.' The protagonist says: 'leave this [nonsense] and come out.' The thief comes out of the well and the protagonist lets him go.[154]

There is a contrast here between the Muʿtazilite protagonist who considers any contact between humans and genies irrational and non-Muʿtazilites who believe in the possibility of such contact. The Qurʾān says about Satan and his tribe of genies: *innahu yarākum huwa wa qabīluhu mi ḥaythu lā tarawnahum* 'Surely he sees you, he and his tribe, from where you see them not.'[155] The thief, not knowing he is in a Muʿtazilite home, thinks he can trick him as he can trick other people to frighten him and save himself. But the comic reply comes from the Muʿtazilite.

Another contrast in the story is between evil and good, the thief breaks into the protagonist's home to rob him but the protagonist teaches him a lesson and then pardons him. The thief is a coward who runs away and hides in a well, which in this story symbolizes the abyss into which evil people fall by their evil deeds and the lowliness of evil. On the other hand, the Muʿtazilite protagonist is a good brave man who chases the thief and then pardons him.

2. The second story that reflects Muʿtazilite's rationality is about a righteous old Muʿtazilite woman who fasts and prays a great deal. She has a son who works as a money-changer and every evening he hides his money with his mother after work, then he spends his night out drinking and stays over wherever he drinks.

One evening, a thief follows him and hides in the old lady's house without the young man noticing him. The old woman hides the bag of money in a room with an iron door and wood-panelled walls. Then she sits alone to break her fast. The thief thinks to himself that, after eating, the old lady will sleep. But the old lady begins her prayer so the thief thinks that she will do her night prayer and then she will go to sleep. But half of the night passes and the old lady is still praying.

Afraid to be discovered at sunrise, the thief finds a new gown, which he wears, and incense, which he lights. He steps down a stair shouting with a thick loud voice (to frighten the old lady), but the old Muʿtazilite woman has a strong heart. She realizes that he is a thief and, pretending to be frightened, says: 'who is this?' The thief replies: 'I am the messenger of God; The Lord of the worlds. He has sent me to your son the transgressor in order to preach and deal with him so as to prevent him from committing wrongdoings.'

The old lady pretends to be weak and to faint out of fear, then she says: 'O Jibrīl [Gabriel] by God be kind to him; he is my only child.' The thief replies: 'I was not sent to kill him.' The old lady says: 'then what do you want? And what are you sent for? The thief replies: 'To take his bag and break his heart with it, but if he repents then I will return it to him.' The old lady says: 'do as you were ordered O Jibrīl.' The thief says: 'step aside', and as soon as he enters the room the old lady walks slowly to the iron door and locks it. The thief tries to find an outlet but could not find one. Then he says to the old lady: 'open the door, your son has learned a lesson.' The old lady replies: 'O, Jibrīl, I fear that I will lose my eyesight from observing your light if I open the

door.' The thief replies: 'I will switch off my light so that you will not lose your eyesight. The old lady says: 'O, Jibrīl you are the messenger of The Lord of the worlds you can leave through the ceiling or you [can] pierce the wall with a feather of your wing to leave. Do not oblige me risk my eyesight. The thief senses that the old woman has a strong heart and begins to talk kindly to her and promise her that he will repent. But the old woman refuses to let him go; she prays until sunrise when her son returns home and brings a policeman who captures the thief.[156]

In this story there is a contrast between the righteous Muʿtazilite woman and her son. She denotes the spiritual life and he denotes the worldly life. The house (*manzil*) belongs to the young man as well as to his mother. However, he does not live in it; he only hides his money with his mother and leaves it.

Manzil (house) derives from the root (*n.z.l*) from which *manzila* 'honourable station or rank'[157] is derived and it denotes the honourable spiritual rank of the Muʿtazilite mother. The young man hides his money with his mother, which denotes that Man needs both spiritual and worldly lives in order to survive happily.

Another contrast between mother and son is that the old mother is described in the story as a Muʿtazilite, which denotes reason, and her son drinking *nabīdh*[158] symbolizes the loss of reason. Indeed, the worldly life attracts man away from his heart, his spirituality. This attraction makes Man unaware of Satan (symbolized by the thief) following him, hiding in his home (heart) to steal his treasure in the darkness of his sins. Indeed, Satan tries to trick the old lady but her love for God and spirituality defeats him. This brings to mind the Qurʾanic verse:

> *inna ʿibādī laysa la-ka ʿalayhim sulṭānun illā man ittabaʿaka mina l-ghāwīn*
>
> over My servants thou shalt have no authority, except those that follow thee.[159]

The son returns home after sunrise; he returns to his heart and spirituality when he wakes up of his sins and therefore he brings the policeman (who symbolizes religion) to capture Satan and throws him out of his heart. The son's habit and deed let the thief into his and his mother's home, but his mother's spirituality and reason make of her a

strong old lady who rescues him. Muʿtazilites are portrayed through the old woman's actions as pious and spiritual, but at the same time as rational people who do not believe in the possibility of having physical contact with spiritual beings. Muʿtazilism is not confined to the elite such as scholars and judges; it includes people from all walks of life, like the two Muʿtazilites in the two foregoing stories.

Every writer's beliefs, life experiences and whatever he or she witnesses are manifest in his or her writings. Although al-Tanūkhī was a judge and a man of letters, his Muʿtazilite beliefs are clearly manifest in his works either explicitly, as we have seen from the foregoing examples, or implicit as we shall see in the proceeding chapters.

Chapter 1
The Journey

In al-Tanūkhī's three compilations, there appear two types of story – spiritual stories and socio-political stories. In each kind of story the journey theme will be studied, together with their patterns and elements; and a detailed analysis of some chosen examples of both will be provided. As an introduction, I begin this chapter with 'The journey in the Islamic tradition'.

THE JOURNEY IN THE ISLAMIC TRADITION

For the purpose of analysing the journey theme, selected verses in the Qurʾān that contain key words with the roots *syr* and *jry*[1] were identified in order to select those that relate the different objectives of the journey. Furthermore, the journey theme in the compilations of the early Sūfīs was also utilized, since they give this topic importance in their written works.

In the Islamic tradition, 'the journey' holds great significance, since it symbolizes the relationship between man and his creator. In the Qurʾān:

> *a-fa-lam yasīrū fi l-arḍi fa-takūna lahum qulūbun yaʿqilūna bi-hā aw ādhānun yasmaʿūna bi-hā fa-'innahā lā taʿmā l-abṣāru wa lākin taʿmā l-qulūbu l-latī fi l-ṣudūr*
>
> What, have they not journeyed in the land so that they have hearts to understand with or ears to hear with? It is not the eyes that are blind, but blind are the hearts within the breasts.[2]

The main purpose of the journey is, therefore, knowledge.

The word *qulūbun* ('hearts') can be understood to denote the spiritual knowledge of God. The word *yaʿqilūna* – though derived from the root *ʿql* (meaning 'reason', 'to comprehend') it refers to the intellect – describes the function of the heart in this verse, which

means that the heart is the repository of divine knowledge. Elsewhere in the Qurʾān:

> *a-lam tara anna l-fulka tajrī fi l-baḥri bi-niʿmati Allāhi li-yuriyakum min āyātihi inna fī dhālika la-āyātin li-kulli ṣabbārin shakūr*
>
> Hast thou not seen how that the ships run upon the sea by the blessing of God, that He may show you some of His signs? Surely in that are signs for every man enduring, thankful.[3]

As he journeys, Man faces adversities on the way, which is why the word *ṣabbār* ('wholly patient') is used in the intensive form. However, as he travels forth Man can still contemplate the graces of the Lord and all His glory – it is knowledge of God that he gains thereby, and this is why the word *ṣabbār* is followed by the word *shakūr* ('thankful'). Indeed, Man contemplates God's glory while travelling, despite the hardship he faces. We also read in the Qurʾān:

> *qul sīrū fi l-arḍi fa-nẓurū kayfa badaʾa l-khalqa thumma Allāhu yunshiʾu l-nashʾata l-ākhirata inna Allāha ʿalā kulli shayʾin qadīr*
>
> Say: Journey in the land, then behold how He originated creation; then God causes the second growth to grow; God is powerful over everything.[4]

The journey on earth takes the path of knowledge and faith through appreciation of all creatures that manifest the first creation, which is thus proof of the last creation. In the Qurʾān:

> *a-wa lam yatafakkarū fī anfusihim mā khalaqa Allāhu l-samāwāti wa l-arḍa wa mā baynahumā illā bi l-Ḥaqqi wa ajalin musammā wa inna kathīran mina l-nāsi bi-liqāʾi rabbihim la-kafirūn. A-wa lam yasīrū fi l-arḍi fa-yanẓurū kayfa kāna ʿāqibatu l-ladhīna min qablihim*
>
> What, have they not considered within themselves? God created not the heavens and the earth, and what between them is, save with the truth and a stated term; yet most men disbelieve in the encounter with their Lord. What, have they not journeyed in the land and beheld how was the end of those before them?[5]

In these verses, the relationship between knowledge and the journey is apparent: in the course of the journey Man gains wisdom, since he makes both his inner journey (*yatafakkarū fī anfusihim*) and his corporeal one (*yasīru fī l-arḍi*). However, the journey also serves other purposes in the life of Man. In the Qurʾān, we find the verse:

> *rabbukum l-lladhī yuzjī lakumu l-fulka fi l-baḥri li-tabtaghū min faḍlih innahu kāna bi-kum raḥīma*
>
> Your Lord it is who drives for you the ships on the sea that you may seek His bounty; surely He is All-compassionate towards you.[6]

When Moses made his journey God spoke to him:

> *falammā qaḍā mūsa l- ajala wa sāra bi-ahlihi ānasa min jānibi l-ṭūri nāran qāla li-ahlihi ʾmkuthū innī ānastu nāran laʿallī ātīkum min-hā bi-khabarin aw jadhwatin mina l-nnāri laʿallakum tṣṭalūn. fa-lammā atāhā nūdiya min shāṭiʾi l-wādī l-ʾaymani fi l-buqʿati l-mubārakati mina l-shajarati an yā mūsā innī ana Allāhu rabbu l-ʿālamin*
>
> So when Moses had accomplished the term and departed with his household, he observed on the side of the Mount a fire. He said to his household, 'Tarry you here; I observe a fire. Perhaps I shall bring you news of it, or a faggot from the fire, that haply you shall warm yourselves.' When he came to it, a voice cried from the right of the watercourse, in the sacred hollow, coming from the tree: 'Moses, I am God, the Lord of all Being'.[7]

The verses mentioned above describe journeys upon the earth. However, there is yet another kind of journey in Islamic tradition, that of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and thence to Heaven. The following verse alludes to this journey:

> *subḥāna l-ladhī asrā bi-ʿabdihi Laylān mina l-masjidi l-ḥarāmi ʾilā l-masjidi l-aqṣā l-ladhī bārakna ḥawlahu li-nuriyahu min āyātinā innahu huwa l-samīʿu l-baṣīr*
>
> Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque the precincts of which We

> have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs. He is the All-hearing, the All-seeing.[8]

In his explanation of this verse al-Zamakhsharī says: '‘Āʾisha (the Prophet's wife) said, "I swear to God that the body of the Messenger of God – God's blessings and peace be upon him – was not missing, but that he ascended with his soul".' Al-Ḥasan said that it was a vision that the Prophet saw – however, most opinions are to the contrary.[9]

In the *tafsīr* of al-Qāshānī we find the following Sūfī interpretation: 'from *al-masjid al-ḥarām*, means from the level of the sacred heart (*muḥarram*) to the mosque of al-Aqṣā, which is equivalent to the distance of the soul from the body [and from there] to the level of a witness of the attributes of God.'[10] The journey also serves the function of bringing salvation – as in the story of Joseph when he was cast down a well. In the Qurʾān :

> *wa jāʾat sayyāratun fa-ʾarsalū wāridahum fa-ʾadlā dalwahu qāla yā bushrā hādhā ghulāmun wa asarrūhu biḍāʿatan wa Allāhu ʿalīmun bi-mā yaʿmalūn*
>
> Then came travellers, and they sent one of them, a water-drawer, who let down his bucket. 'Good news!' he said. 'Here is a young man.' So they hid him as merchandise; but God knew what they were doing.[11]

In the same story of Joseph, we read in the Qurʾān:

> *wa lammā faṣalati l-ʿīru qāla Abūhum innī la-ʾajidu rīḥa yūsufa lawlā an tufannidūni. Qālū ta-Allāhi innaka la-fī ḍalālika l-qadīm. fa-lammā an jāʾa ʾl-bashīru alqāhu ʿalā wajhihi fa rtadda baṣīran qāla alam aqul lakum innī aʿlamu mina Allāhi mā lā taʿlamūn*
>
> So, when the caravan set forth, their father said, 'Surely I perceive Joseph's scent, unless you think me doting.' They said, 'By God, thou art certainly in thy ancient error.' But when the bearer of good tidings came to him, and laid it on his face, forthwith he saw once again. He said, 'Did I not tell you I know from God that you know not?'[12]

In the course of his discussion about the journey theme, al-Ibshīhī

mentions a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad: 'If people knew how great the mercy of God is for the traveller they would always travel; it is the balance of ethics, God is merciful for the traveller.' Al-Ibshīhī continues: 'And it is said: "Movement is fertile (*walūd*) and stillness is barren", and Haykam said: "the journey reveals the morals of men".'[13]

We find al-Ṭabarsī similarly transmits several *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet Muḥammad that show the value of the journey, for both the body and the soul. He says:

> The Messenger of God – God's blessings and peace be upon him – said: *sāfirū taṣiḥḥū, wa jāhidū taghnamū, wa ḥujjū tastaghnū* 'Travel and you will be more healthy; strive and you will thrive; and go on pilgrimage and you will be free from want.'
>
> The Prophet says: *sāfiru, fa-ʾinnakum ʾin lam taghnamū mālan afadtum ʿaqlan* 'Travel, if you do not gain money thereby, you gain understanding. …
>
> Abū ʿAbd Allāh said: *idhā sabbaba Allāhu lil-ʿabdi l-rizqa fī arḍin jaʿala la-hu fī-ha ḥājatan* 'If God preordained Man to live in a Land, He gives him the need to travel to that place.'[14]

Al-Ghazālī says:

> *wa l-safaru safarān: safarun bi-ẓāhiri l-badani ʿani l-mustaqarri wa l-waṭani ilā l-ṣaḥārī wa l-falawāti, wa safarun bi-sayri l-qalbi min asfali l-sāfilīna ilā malakūti l-samāwāt*
>
> There are two kinds of journey: the physical journey when Man travels from his homeland to the desert and wilderness; and the other journey of the heart [when Man retreats] from baseness (i.e. materiality [al-Ghazālī uses the phrase *min asfali l-sāfilīn*]) to the realm of The Heavens (i.e. spirituality).[15] The inner journey is the most honourable.

The discussion so far elucidates that the journey in Islamic tradition is understood in two ways:

- An inner journey – within the soul, towards God and knowledge.

- A physical journey – which has high aims: such as pilgrimage, search for knowledge, visiting a place, striving, and achieving something of benefit.

Further examples of this former journey can be found in the works of al-Hajwīrī, al-Qushayrī and Ibn ʿArabī.[16] Al-Hajwīrī says here that the *darwīsh* ('dervish' or Sūfī devotee) should travel within himself, away from his pleasures. Examples of the latter journey above, can be found in al-Hajwīrī and Ṭāsh Kubrā Zāda.[17] In the above mentioned books of Sūfism, which expound on 'the journey', the use of the word *safar* is predominant when referring to the journey – this particular word has the connotation of 'revelation', for the journey 'reveals the morals of men' (*summiya l-safaru safaran li-annahu yusfiru ʿan akhlāqi l-rijāl*).[18]

THE JOURNEY IN AL-TANŪKHĪ'S COMPILATIONS: SPIRITUAL STORIES

The stories in al-Tanūkhī's works may be divided into two major categories, or story types – spiritual stories and socio-political stories. Spiritual stories include those concerning the Prophet(s) – for which al-Tanūkhī relies on Qurʾānic narration. They also include other stories about people's hardships – not necessarily Muslims – who ask God for help and whom He delivers from adversity.

Two patterns appear in this part of the journey theme:

- Hardship – journey (which may include further hardship); prayer; deliverance.
- Journey – hardship; prayer (or good deed); deliverance.

Elements of the journey theme in al-Tanūkhī's spiritual stories

This theme can be divided into four separate components – time; place; mode of transport; and nourishment.

Time

Al-Tanūkhī relates two types of story containing the journey theme – stories of the Prophets and others; and stories concerned with spiritual matters. The time/era within each story type is never definitively specified.

For the Prophets' stories we can estimate the time-frame from their

names, for example Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, Ayūb (Job), Yūnus (Jonah), Moses, Daniel and Muḥammad.[19]

For the spiritual stories we find a story,[20] entitled *man yatawakkal ʿalā Allāhi fa-huwa ḥasbuh* ('whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him').[21] In the foregoing story the *isnād* ends with al-Muʿtaṣim narrating the story.

There is also a story from the era of the people of Israel, which has several versions.[22] In the second version of the story, al-Tanūkhī cites the names of the direct transmitters from the Prophet Muḥammad. However, the first and the third versions of the same story have different *isnād*s.

Finally, we find a story entitled *ajāra ḥayyatan fa-arādat qatlahu, fa-khallaṣahu jamīlu ṣunʿihi* ('He rescued a serpent which then wanted to kill him, but his good deed saved him.') [23] This story has four versions, the first is narrated without *isnād*; instead, al-Tanūkhī uses the passive verb *yurwā* ('it is related'), and hence the time of the story is not identified. The second version is transmitted from Jaʿfar al-ʿĀbid in Rāmahurmuz, who read the story in the ancient books, so the time is similarly not identified. The third version is narrated with *isnād*, when the occasion of the story goes back to the time of the Israelites. The fourth version is narrated with a fuller *isnād* and the time of the story is specified by Sufyān b.ʾUyayna[24] – who asks an old man to narrate the story, the latter having transmitted from ʿAbd al-Jabbār. The time can also be deduced from the protagonist's name – Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd Allāh. The multi-*isnād*s, thereby, result in some differences in the narration for the same story. In other of the stories, the element of time is missing or omitted altogether.

Place

Place is the element that is identifiable in most of al-Tanūkhī's spiritual stories. The travels of his protagonists include the following journeys:

- From Heaven to earth (the story of Adam).[25]
- From Syria (*al-shām*) to Mecca (*wādin ghayri dhī zarʿ*) (the story of Abraham).[26]
- From Egypt to Madyan and back to Egypt (the story of Moses – in which Egypt is referred to through the Qurʾānic verses that tell the story of Moses and Pharaoh).[27]
- From Mecca to al-Madīna al-Munawwara (the journey of Muḥammad with Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq).[28]

- From an unspecified place 'people travelled by sea'[29] – the starting point is not mentioned – to an unspecified island, then on to al-Baṣra.[30] Another journey is that of the protagonist's companion, from al-Baṣra to the same island, then back to al-Baṣra.[31]
- From an unspecified place to the bridge of Sadūm in al-Baṣra.[32]

In the stories of the Prophets, al-Tanūkhī sometimes relies on the Qurʾānic verses in his narration, assuming that his reader already knows the story. Through these verses, it is his intention to shed light on 'adversity', which is followed by 'deliverance'. Therefore, he does not place great importance on the description of the journeys or the places.

Regarding the journey of Noah, for example, al-Tanūkhī only mentions the mountain to which the son journeyed.[33] According to al-Thaʿlabī (in his book *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*), some historians say that Noah was in al-Kūfa; others say Syria (*al-shām*); while others still say India.[34] As for the route of the ship, some say that it went towards Mecca, then sailed around it and dropped anchor in al-Mūṣil; while others say it anchored in a place near al-Jazīra.[35]

With respect to the journey of Jacob and Joseph, al-Thaʿlabī mentions that the well (into which Joseph was thrown by his brothers) was in Jordan, between Madyan and Egypt, while others say it was between Ṭabariyya and Jerusalem. Al-Tanūkhī, however, associates Joseph's destination with that of the rescuers who found him in the well – namely Egypt.[36]

Regarding Yūnus's journey, the only direction al-Tanūkhī describes is from land to the bottom of the sea.[37] In *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* we read: 'The historians say that he was in Nīnawā (a village of al-Mūṣil) others say he was in Palestine: he went to the shore [and] boarded a ship, then threw himself into the sea – where the whale swallowed him – and thence [journeyed] back to the land, in Nīnawā.'[38] There is no doubt that in the various books that relate stories of the Prophet(s), a lot of imagination has enhanced the descriptions of the journeys and places, whereas al-Tanūkhī unequivocally relies on the Qurʾān for his provenance.

Mode of transport

Al-Tanūkhī identified only two modes of transport – the ship, as in the journeys of Noah[39] and Yūnus[40] as well as the story above entitled 'whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him',[41] and the donkey, as in the story 'the result of oppression' (*ʿāqibatu l-ẓulm*).[42]

Nourishment
Al-Tanūkhī describes three kinds of nourishment:

- Milk, which is mentioned through the verses of the Qurʾān in the story of Moses: *wa awḥaynā ilā ummi mūsā an arḍiʿīhi* ('So We revealed to Moses' mother, 'Suckle him'.)[43]
- Water, as in the story of Moses when he went to Madyan and found two women trying to fill their jugs, whereupon Moses filled their jugs for them.[44]
- Bread, as in the story 'A morsel for a morsel' (*luqma bi-luqma*). [45]

However, food/nutrition may also be mentioned without being so specific, for example 'and there was something to eat',[46] or 'and I gave them their lunch'.[47]

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED STORIES

For a detailed study and analysis, I have selected three examples from the category of 'spiritual stories':

- The story of Adam.[48]
- The story entitled *man yatawakkal ʿalā Allāhi fa-huwa ḥasbuh* ('whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him.')[49]
- The story *ajāra ḥayyatan fa-arādat qatlahu fa-khallaṣahu jamīlu ṣunʿih* ('He rescued a serpent, it [then] wanted to kill him, but his good deed saved him.')[50]

The Story of Adam[51]

Al-Tanūkhī writes:

> God created him [Adam] in Paradise, taught him all names; made the angels prostrate themselves before him; and forbade him from eating from the tree. Satan whispered evil unto him, and that which the Merciful said in the Qurʾān – His Divine Book – came to pass:
>
> *wa ʿaṣā Ādamu rabbahu faghawā. Thumma jtabāhu rabbuhu fa-tāba ʿalayhi wa hadā.*
>
> And Adam disobeyed his Lord, and so he erred. Thereafter his Lord chose him, and turned again unto him, and He guided him.[52]

> All this happened after God banished him to earth and deprived him of the pleasures of Paradise. His way of life was lost, his hardship increased and his elder son killed his brother. When Adam's grief, weeping, and prayers for forgiveness became unrelenting, then God bestowed mercy upon him for his humiliation, submission and tears. Thus, He forgave him, guided him, relieved his pain and liberated him.
>
> Thereby, Adam became the first man to pray; to be answered; to be tested; and to be rewarded. He emerged from adversity and distress to redemption and plenitude … and was sure that God would renew His graces upon him, and that, whenever God was asked for mercy, He would provide it. … God rewarded Adam for his lost sons with the pious son Seth.[53]

Analysis

The first journey that the reader encounters in al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda, is Adam's journey from Paradise to earth:

> *fa-ʾinna Allāha khalaqahu fī l-janna, wa ʿallamahu l-asmāʾa kullahā, wa asjada lahu malāʾikatahu*
>
> God created him in Paradise, taught him all the names, and made the angels prostrate themselves before him.[54]

Knowledge thence follows creation. God breathed into Man of His spirit; in the Qurʾān:

> *wa ʾidh qāla rabbuka li-l-malāʾikati innī khāliqun basharan min ṣalṣālin min hamaʾin masnūn. Fa-ʾidhā sawwaytuhu wa nafakhtu fīhi min rūḥī fa-qaʿū lahu sājidīn*
>
> And when thy Lord said to the angels, ʾSee, I am creating a mortal of a clay of mud moulded. When I have shaped him, and breathed My spirit in him, fall you down, bowing before him!'[55]

As a result of God's granting knowledge to Adam, Adam became the source of all knowledge on earth – this is why he became the successor to God on earth.[56]

Because of this, the angels had to prostrate themselves before Adam. Angels and Man are both the creation of God, but Man possesses what angels do not have, namely 'knowledge'. However, this does not mean

that angels are unknowing, it just means that Adam has more knowledge than they[57] – therefore, God honoured him by ordering the angels to prostrate themselves.[58] There is thus a contrast between the angels (in the plural) and Adam (in the singular).

In Paradise, there stands the tree which God: 'forbade [Adam] to eat from; but Satan whispered evil unto him, and he did what the Merciful said in His perfect revealed book.'[59] Al-Tanūkhī here describes the rest of the story by using the Qurʾānic verse, although here again he assumes that his reader is familiar with the story from the Qurʾān. The verse refers to Adam's disobedience towards God, since he ate from the tree. It is seen that in primordial Paradise there are two contrasting types of food:

- food for the mind and soul, which is knowledge;
- food for body, which is the fruit of the tree.

This contrast denotes that even in Paradise there is evil (Satan) and temptation (the tree); this is along with goodness (the angels) and virtue (knowledge).

These contrasting elements may pose the question: 'Why is there both evil and seduction in heaven?' I think the answer may spring from the second principle of the Muʿtazilite, which is 'divine justice'. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār explains it as follows:

> 'God, knows the ugliness of the hideous' – since He is all-knowing and His knowledge is because of His essence – so He would never choose it for Man;[60] and everything God does is good.[61] Man is the creator of his own actions,[62] and God shows him the way to repentance.[63] This is why it is impossible for God to create the deeds of Man and then punish him for those bad deeds.[64]

Thus, God created Man; He made him alive and capable; He completed his intellect and enabled Man to like what is good and to avoid what is bad – the purpose of all this is such that Man may 'bear his burden' (*al-taklīf*).[65]

The second principle as elaborated by ʿAbd al-Jabbār can explain the presence of evil and temptation as well as goodness and virtue in Paradise. God honours Man, to whom He has given consciousness, knowledge and above all free will. As well as the contrasts: angels–man; food of the soul–food of the body; good–evil, there is also the

contrast of God–Satan. God represents the ultimate knowledge while Satan represents utter ignorance.

Adam's knowledge is Divine because it is God who taught him 'all the names' and 'breathed into him of His Spirit', but at the same time God's absolute knowledge to Adam's is as an ocean to a drop of water. This is why the relationship between Man and God is one of worship – it is the relationship between an inferior and a superior, that of the created towards his Creator. In the Qurʾān:

> *wa mā khalaqtul-jinna wa l-insa illā li-yaʿbudūn*
> I have not created jinn and mankind except to serve Me.[66]

Knowledge of God necessarily leads one to love and worship Him. Although Satan is not a part of Adam, the Qurʾān says:

> *Qāla ma manaʿaka allā tasjuda idh amartuka qāla anā khayrun minhu khalaqtanī min nārin wa khalaqtahu min ṭīn*
>
> Said He, 'What prevented thee to bow thyself, when I commanded thee?' Said he, 'I am better than he; Thou created me of fire, and him Thou created of clay.'[67]

Yet Satan could still divert Adam's mind when he whispered evil unto him. When Adam permitted Satan to propose evil to him, he allowed ignorance and arrogance to become a part of him. Adam ate from the tree – which by previous definition symbolizes Materiality – thereby, Adam becomes prey to materialism and thus to earthly, bodily things (see above). In the *Tafsīr* of al-Qāshānī, he says in the course of interpreting the verse:

> *fa-waswasa lahumā l-shayṭānu li-yubdiya lahumā mā wūriya ʿanhumā min sawʾātihimā*
>
> Then Satan whispered to them, to reveal to them that which was hidden from them of their shameful parts.[68]

Al-Qāshānī says that when Adam and Eve inclined towards fleshly things, namely emerged from spirituality to materiality, then God:

> revealed to them that which was veiled from them when [they] had been free from natural things [when they lived in

> spirituality] … with this [inclination from spirituality to materiality]. God then showed Adam and Eve the physical pleasures, the moral vices, the animal actions; and the beastly characteristics that Man is ashamed of showing, guilty of revealing, and [which] his sense of honour prompts him to hide; because they are hidden parts of the body that the mind disdains and finds [it] ugly.[69]

Adam then emerged from spirituality to materiality – and, as a result, he fell from paradise to earth. Al-Tanūkhī comments briefly on the aforementioned Qurʾānic verse: 'And Adam disobeyed his Lord, and so he erred. Thereafter his Lord chose him, and turned again unto him, and He guided him.'[70] He says: 'and after that God banished him to the earth (*al-arḍ*), and deprived him of the pleasure of Paradise' (*wa afqadahu ladhīdha dhālika l-khafḍ*). There is a contrast, here, between earth and paradise – expressed by the two words *arḍ* and *khafḍ*. The word *arḍ* means in its verb *taʾarraḍa*, 'to slow down, to wait, to supplicate, and to bear down upon the earth';[71] *khafḍ* means 'the contrast to raising, easily irrigated land, calm life', and the people (*khāfiḍūn*) who live peacefully by the water or lowland. The imperative verb *khaffiḍ* (used for the heart) means 'to slow it down'; when applied to a bird's wing it means that the bird folds it and brings it closer to its body, to slow its flight. Finally, the word occurs in the Qurʾānic verse about parents:

> *ʿwa-khfiḍ lahumā janāḥa l-dhulli mina l-raḥma*
> and lower to them (parents) the wing of humbleness out of mercy.[72]

This Qurʾānic expression is metaphorical, it means '[to] be humble'.[73] Thus, although the words *arḍ* and *khafḍ* are in contrast, they combine in the meaning of 'being cast down' – the former indicates descent with heaviness, sadness and humiliation; while the latter suggests ease, contentment and humility. When Adam: 'was cast down to the earth … his hardship became great. … When his grief, his weeping, pleading for mercy, and his prayers continued, God had mercy upon his humiliation, prayers, submission, and tears. So He forgave Adam, guided him, relieved his hardship, and rescued him.' There is thus a relationship between the meanings of the word *arḍ* (the harshness of life, humiliation, sadness, waiting, and pleading) and Adam's actions when

he was banished to earth (with all his adversities, sadness, tears, and pleading – awaiting God's mercy). Through his prayers and pleading, Adam is starting his return journey to God. He returns from ignorance to knowledge, from arrogance to humility. Adam's return journey is by means of the word – through prayer. Adam, therefore, has applied what God had taught him in Heaven – language – to rescue him upon earth. He finally finds the substitute for his lost Paradise – the forgiveness of God, his Guide and Salvation.

Adam is certain that God would restore His graces upon him, as he was sure of God's answer. This brings to mind the verses in the Qurʾān that speak of the necessity of having faith that God will answer Man's prayers. Faith in God springs from knowing Him, this leads to loving Him, which leads in its turn to hope, certainty and trust.

A story entitled: *man yatawakkal ʿalā Allāhi fa-huwa ḥasbuh*, whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him[74]

This story is about a group of people who sail across the sea. They hear a disembodied voice asking them: 'Who would cast a sum of money into the water, in return for a word that would save them, should they fall into distress or be about to die?' One man, who has this sum of money, throws it in, and then the voice teaches the man a Qurʾānic verse:

> *wa man yattaqi Allāha yajʿal lahu makhrajā. Wa yarzuqhu min haythu lā yaḥtasibu wa man yatawakkal ʿalā Allāhi fa-huwa ḥasbuhu inna Allāha bālighu amrihi qad jaʿala Allāhu li-kulli shaiʾin qadrā*
>
> And whosoever fears God, He will appoint for him a way out, and He will provide for him from whence he never reckoned. And whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him. God attains his purpose. God has appointed a measure for everything.[75]

The people on the ship say to the man, 'You have squandered your money', but he answers, 'No, this is a sermon the value of which I do not doubt.' Days later the ship sinks; everyone drowns save for the man who is carried on wreckage to an island where he finds a lofty palace in which he comes across a beautiful woman. She tells him she had been travelling with her father when their ship sank and she was kidnapped and taken to

the island. Then, she says, a devil (Satan) emerged from the sea, taunted and hurt her but did not copulate with her, and then returned to the sea. The woman urges the protagonist to run away before the devil returns. Suddenly the man sees a great darkness, he recites the verse that the voice taught him, '[and] suddenly he [Satan] tumbled down like a part of a mountain, and became ashes.'

The man and his beautiful companion spend their days on the shore and their nights in the palace. Days later, a ship finds them and carries them to her family in al-Baṣra where, finally, they get married, 'and today I am the richest among the people of al-Baṣra, and these are my children by her.'

Analysis

The story begins with a journey: 'people travelled upon the sea' (*anna qawman rakibū l-baḥra*). The word 'people' is an indefinite noun, while 'the sea' is definite, which means that it has a certain suggestion, since it is generalized. The people hear an unseen voice (*fa-sami'ū hātifan yahtifu bi-him*); the voice asks them to throw money into the sea in return for a word. The voice emanates from the sea, and may be seen to symbolize knowledge[76] – since it is asking them to cast away money (materiality) in return for a word of salvation (wisdom). 'One man aboard the ship, who has the money, throws it, and the voice teaches him a Qur'ānic verse'. The word of salvation then is a verse from the Qur'ān, in other words it is a spiritual word. This reveals the true nature of the sea – it is spirituality.

There is a relationship here between teaching the word (knowledge) and teaching the Qur'ānic verse (spirituality). In addition, there is a contrast between materiality (the money) and spirituality (the Qur'ānic word). In his article entitled, 'In the Second Degree: Fictional Technique in al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj ba'd al-Shidda*', Daniel Beaumont says:

> The shouter (*hātif*) is a familiar motif in Sūfī conversion tales. It is a voice that awakens one from his mundane dream to the real world of the spirit … the enigma of the sacrifice demanded by the shouter also recalls, to some degree, the call on Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac.[77] In a monotheistic tradition of a transcendent God, the meaning of such a sacrifice comes to be the incommensurate relation of the worldly and the spiritual.[78]

'All the people of the ship said to the man: you have squandered your

money. He said,"No, it is a sermon the value of which I do not doubt".' The man has the requisite sum of money, and the question may be posed here: 'What if the others do not have this amount of money?' The story answers the question because the others upbraid him for being foolish, saying that he has lost his money. So, whether they had the money or not, they would not have thrown it into the sea – hence, it is the intent that counts. Moreover, there is a contrast between Faith (that of the man's) and Doubt (that of the others on the ship).

'The ship sinks and the only survivor is the man who threw away his money'

The protagonist is borne on a plank to the island where he meets his companion. His hardship starts with the peril of drowning. The man who has been taught the verse from the Qurʾān , is saved by a plank. The word 'plank' or 'board' (*lawḥ*) brings to mind *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, the Divine Book:

> *bal huwa Qurʾānun majīd fī lawḥin maḥfūẓ*
> Nay, but it is a glorious Koran, in a guarded tablet.[79]

Divine intervention thus rescues the protagonist, by means of the verse from the Qurʾān that he has memorized. The Qurʾān then is the plank/board (*lawḥ*) upon the sea (spirituality). The clear distinction between the sea and the island (the land), explains the symbolism of the lofty palace with all its riches, and the beautiful woman. If the sea is spirituality, then by contrast the land (the island) is the rich material life, represented by the palace and the beautiful woman.

The woman's trial with the demon

We encounter here a story within a story. It too begins with a journey followed by hardship. The demon that emerges from the sea, brings to mind Satan in Paradise in the 'Story of Adam'. The protagonist holds knowledge within his heart (the verse of the Qurʾān) and the Qurʾān is the word of God. In contrast to this Divine knowledge – which is carried in the man's heart – the demon (Satan) once again represents ignorance. Satan first abuses and hurts the woman; however, he does not copulate with her, which demonstrates that ignorance is impotent.

The protagonist's confrontation with the satan (the demon)

Here the story describes the confrontation between knowledge and

ignorance, good and evil, faith and disbelief. Satan is pictured in the story as a huge darkness; the protagonist by contrast has in his heart the light of knowledge. This brings to mind the verse:

> *Allāhu nūru l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*
> God is the light of the heavens and the earth.[80]

There can be no doubting that the end of the confrontation – between knowledge (light) and ignorance (darkness) – will result in the conquest of the latter.

'The man and woman spending days on the shore, and nights in the palace'

There are two contrasts here – the shore (spirituality) and the palace (materiality) on the one hand; and day (light, knowledge) and night (darkness, ignorance) on the other hand. Day is connected to the sea or the shore, which means that the protagonist and his companion live within one realm of spirituality. However, they also need material life, in the form of the palace, which is linked in turn to the darkness of the night. After all, they are human beings; both their body and their soul are in coexistence. Being stranded on an unknown island is a form of hardship for the pair – they can do nothing but await their rescue, their salvation.

The return journey to al-Baṣra

Rescue comes by ship from the sea, that is from spirituality. The ship serves the same function of rescue as in the Qurʾānic story of Noah.[81]

Finally, the story ends with the reunion of the woman with her family, and her marriage to the protagonist. He declares, 'And today I am the richest among the people of al-Baṣra, and these are my children by her.'

There is thus a contrast between the demon (ignorance) and the protagonist (who carries divine knowledge) in their relationship with the woman. This symbolizes the contrast between impotence and marriage – the former is sterile and represents 'ending', whereas the latter is fertile and represents 'continuity'. Moreover, the relationship with ignorance is based on hatred, which harms the human being; whilst the relationship with knowledge is rooted in love and joy, which uplifts Man.

'He rescued a serpent, it [then] wanted to kill him; but his good deed saved him'[82]

This story has three narrative versions, with three different isnāds. The first version begins with hardship followed by journey, prayer, and deliverance.[83] The second version is not complete; al-Tanūkhī says 'and he [the narrator] guided the speech near to what was narrated previously'.[84] The third version is more structured as a narration.[85] It is this version that I have chosen for analysis. The story is about the devout Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, who goes to his place of worship. A serpent appears before him, asking him for his protection against an enemy who wants to kill it. The serpent proposes hiding itself in Ḥumayd's innards (*jawf*), and so it does. A man arrives with a drawn sword and asks Ḥumayd where the serpent is, the latter denies seeing it. When the serpent is sure that the danger has gone, it gives Ḥumayd his choice of two fates: death, either by crushing him or by crumbling his liver. The protagonist swears by God that it did not reward him for his good deed, but the serpent harks back to the old enmity between itself and Adam. Ḥumayd asks the serpent to give him time while he goes down to the foot of the mountain to dig a grave, and so it does. On the way [down], he meets a youth with a graceful visage, fragrant and with beautiful clothes. The youth asks Ḥumayd why he is so despairing of life. Ḥumayd answers: 'From an enemy within me who wants to kill me'. The youth gives Ḥumayd some medicine, and the serpent expires, rent to pieces. The youth then tells Ḥumayd that he is the 'favour' (*al-maʿrūf*) that God has sent to his aid, because it was Ḥumayd's intention to serve God with his (good) deeds.

Analysis

The story, then, begins with the journey: ʿḤumayd b. ʿAbd Allāh went to his place of worship' (*kharaja ilā mutaʿabbadihi*). This sentence denotes 'going out' (journeying), both physically and spiritually. Going out to worship also means departing from the material life, or going away from people, or moving towards a relationship between the soul and its Creator. Moreover, it is a journey in search of knowledge, since to worship God is to know Him. 'A serpent appeared before him': the word 'appeared' (*mathulat*) implies metaphorical appearance – this word has contrasts, it can mean to rise up or to cleave to the ground (the second meaning seems to be nearer to *mathulat* because the serpent is in a state of fear, so it would try to conceal itself). *Mathulat* is derived from the root *m.th.l*, from which several words are derived, such as:

- *tamatththala*, which means 'to cite by way of example';
- *timthāl*, which means 'picture', 'shadow' and 'statue'. *Maththala*, 'to picture/describe/visualize something to someone' (the verb in the past tense); it implies that it is as though the listener himself is seeing it. *Maththala* is also used to make something resemble something else. The phrase also means 'to imitate something in writing';
- *imtathala*, means, 'to follow in the steps of'.[86]

All these meanings conjure a picture, visualization or semblance – this is why the word *mathulat* – when used for the serpent – denotes metaphorical apparition. 'And it [the serpent] said to him: "Protect me, may God protect you under His shade".' This sentence gives the impression of sincere pleading for succour. The use of the word 'God' moves the feelings of the worshipper (who himself is close to His presence). The man said, 'Protect you from whom?' It said, 'From an enemy who wants to kill me'. He said, 'And where shall I hide you?' It said, 'In your innards (*fī jawfik*)'. Two observations are to be made here:

- First observation: Ḥumayd's graciousness prohibits him from asking who the serpent's enemy is, and why they would want to kill it;
- Second observation: The serpent wants to hide in his innards.

The word *jawf* means both 'the heart', and 'the abdomen or belly' – this gives dual interpretations – the physical and the metaphorical.

'He opened his mouth and when it settled down, a man came (*wāfāhu*) with a drawn sword.' The word *wāfa* is derived from the root *w.f.y*, which has the meaning of 'unalloyed loyalty'; and *al-wāfī* is 'he who gives the right and takes it' – so, what I derive from this last sentence is 'justice'. Ibn Ḥazm says in his book *al-Akhlāq Wa al-Syar Fī Mudāwāt al-Nufūs*: 'The limit of justice is to give the duty of yourself and to take it'.[87] The word *tawāfā* describing the people means 'they became complete' in their number. The word *al-muwāfāt* means 'to go at the right time when giving an appointment'.[88] All the foregoing meanings relate to the word *wāfāhu* in the story. The man with the sword, then, is the saviour whom God has sent to Ḥumayd, as if it had been preordained. He is the man who gives the right and takes it; and killing the serpent is the right deed.

'The serpent raised its head, and said "O, Ḥumayd, do you feel the man?"(*a-taḥussu ʾl-rajul*?). The serpent, which dwells within the heart

of the protagonist, raises its head, which denotes cunning – hence, the contrasts of heart and head, honesty and cunning. The serpent asks the protagonist whether he 'feels' the pursuer, it does not use the word 'see'. This gives the impression that the pursuer represents loyalty – one meaning of '*wafā*' is loyalty, while 'feel' refers to the heart.

The serpent will reward Ḥumayd with death

The serpent's nature is thus clear – betrayal. The sentence, 'choose from one of two fates', denotes that when danger appears the serpent hides and deceives, but when the threat has passed it shows its true nature, its *verité*. The liver in the Arabic language denotes 'the inside' (*jawf*), the centre of everything;[89] it also means 'the soul'.[90]

The serpent's intention is to kill Ḥumayd's love for God – since he was at His worship and in His presence, the Divine Love – hence, by contrast, the serpent represents hatred. The contrast between God and the serpent is, therefore, that between love and hatred – it is here that we encounter the hardship. The protagonist cries out to the serpent, 'By God, (*wa-Allāhi*) you did not reward me.' It said, 'You must know of the old enmity which was between your father Adam and I; and I have neither money to give you, nor a mount (*dābba*) to carry you.' The serpent here, then, is the same Satan/demon who appears in the two stories previously analysed – where God represents the Source of Knowledge and Satan represents utter ignorance. In this story Ḥumayd is in the presence of God; the love of God resides in his heart. The serpent (Satan) is an outcast that enters Ḥumayd's heart to destroy his love for God. Thus it cleaves to his innards, as if it had become a part of him, a part of his body – but it can never be a part of his soul, because he has God in his heart. This is why the serpent has the power to kill his body, yet it cannot kill his soul. The serpent is being sardonic when it answers Ḥumayd's cry, which denotes that evil is glad when deceiving Man; hence, after compromizing Ḥumayd, it reveals its true nature by its mockery.

'Ḥumayd says to the serpent "Give me time, until I go down to the foot of the mountain, and dig a grave for myself." It said "[So] do that".'

The phrase 'the foot of the mountain' means that Ḥumayd is on the summit of the mountain, that is the pinnacle of spirituality – since it is here that he is practising his faith, and conducting his spiritual relationship with God. Faith in God means acceptance of one's destiny and believing in God's justice; because to accept hardship and destiny –

as well as faith – gives Man the strength to face and bear it. Then Ḥumayd descends to meet his death.

Ḥumayd's meeting with the youth

In this part of the story, there is a contrast between life and death. Life is on the heights of the mountain with God, while death is down at its foot. This brings to mind Adam, when he listened to Satan's evil whispers, and was cast down from Paradise to earth. Ḥumayd believes the serpent's plight, although he 'recalls' the old enmity between it and Adam. He repeats the same mistake as Adam, and he journeys from life to death, from the summit of the mountain to its base. Yet, he is a man of true faith; he confronts his mistake and is ready to bear the consequences – to accept his destiny. His phrase, 'from an enemy inside me who wants to kill me', sheds light upon the true enemy of Man – it is Satan, or the evil inside Man. Therefore, whosoever wishes to find his enemy must search inside; just as whosoever wishes to know God must make his journey within himself. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib says:

> *man ʿarafa nafsahu fa-qad ʿarafa rabbahu*
> Who knows himself knows his Lord.[91]

'The youth rescues Ḥumayd and the serpent dies, rent into pieces'

Here we recall that the serpent wanted to shred Ḥumayd's liver and make it fall from him, in fact it is the serpent who dies, cut to pieces; we conclude therefore, that evil will seek to destroy Man. Moreover, the protagonist is a devotee; God addresses Satan in the Qurʾān:

> *inna ʿibādī laysa laka ʿalayhim sulṭānun illā man ittabaʿaka mina l-ghāwīn*
>
> over My servants thou shalt have no authority, except those that follow thee, being perverse.[92]

This is why Ḥumayd asks the youth who he is, whereupon the latter answers: 'I am the favour (*anā l-maʿrūf*). The people of Heaven have seen how this serpent has betrayed you and they asked God, the Great and Almighty, to invoke His protection upon you. And God said to me, "O, favour, rescue My slave, he sought Me with what he had done".' Salvation, then, comes from God and this brings to mind the Qurʾānic verse:

wa idhā mariḍtu fa-huwa yashfīni
and (Himself), whenever I am sick, heals me.[93]

The story, then, begins with the worship of God, and ends with Man's salvation.

SOCIO-POLITICAL STORIES

Al-Tanūkhī relates both social stories and political stories. The 'social stories' include some of the various subjects related to aspects of social and societal life, such as love, illness, robbery, financial hardship and confronting wild beasts. The 'political stories' incorporate and refer to the political events of the fourth century/tenth century, and preceding eras. Dual patterns appear in the socio-political stories in general: hardship–journey–deliverance (note: this pattern may be repeated in the same story); journey–hardship (which may be followed by a further journey)–deliverance (note: this pattern may be repeated in the same story). As subtext to the above: prayer, poetry, or oration may precede 'deliverance' within both patterns. Also, the story may end with or without a return journey.

Elements of the historical (socio-political) journey in al-Tanūkhī's works

Like the spiritual stories, this theme can be further divided into four components: time, place, mode of transport, and nutrition.

Time

There are two aspects to the element of time: the date of the story and the duration of the journey. For this first aspect of the time element, the date of the story is often indirectly identified – either by mention of the names of the protagonists, or the headman or caliph who are often prominent people. I have identified and tabulated many of the famous names that occur in al-Tanūkhī's stories dealing with the journey theme.

Poets and people of *adab*

Zayd al-Khayl	d. 9/630.[94]
Imruʾ al-Qays	d. 25/645.[95]
ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa	d. 93/712.[96]
al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī	d. 110/728.[97]
Muḥammad b. Sīrīn	d. 110/729.[98]

Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ	d. 131/748.[99]
Ḥammād – 'The Narrator' (*al-rāwiya*)	d. 155/772.[100]
al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad	d. 170/786.[101]
Ibn Harma	d. 176/792.[102]
Ibn Jāmiʿ – 'The Singer'	d. 192/808.[103]
al-Aṣmaʿī	d. 216/831.[104]
Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ	d. 291/904.[105]
Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī	d. 357/968.[106]
al-Tanūkhī (our author)	d. 384/994.[107]

Prophets, caliphs and political figures

The Prophet Muḥammad	d. 11/633.[108]
ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib	d. 40/661.[109]
al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī	d. 50/670.[110]
al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī	d. 61/680.[111]
Muʿāwiya	d. 60/680.[112]
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān	d. 86/705.[113]
al-Ḥajjāj	d. 95/714.[114]
al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	d. 96/715.[115]
Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik	d. 99/717.[116]
ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz	d. 101/720.[117]
Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	d. 105/724.[118]
Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik	d. 120/738.[119]
Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik	d. 125/743.[120]
al-Walīd b. Yazīd	d. 126/744.[121]
al-Manṣūr	d. 158/775.[122]
al-Mahdī	d. 169/785.[123]
al-Hādī	d. 170/786.[124]
Hārūn al-Rashīd	d. 193/809.[125]
Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn	d. 207/822.[126]
al-Maʾmūn	d. 218/ 833.[127]
al-Muʿtaṣim	d. 227/841.[128]
al-Wāthiq	d. 232/847.[129]
al-Mutawakkil	d. 247/861.[130]
al-Muʿtaḍid	d. 289/902.[131]
Ibn al-Furāt	d. 312/924.[132]
Muḥammad b.Ṭughj (al-Ikhshīd)	d. 334/946.[133]
Muʿizz al-Dawla	d. 356/967.[134]
Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī	d. 356/967.[135]
ʿAḍud al-Dawla	d. 372/983.[136]

Sometimes al-Tanūkhī directly identifies the period, such as ʿQayṣaba b. Kulthūm al-Sakūnī, a king who travelled on pilgrimage, since the Arabs used to go for pilgrimage in the pre-Islamic period (*al-jāhiliyya*)'.[137]

The above represents just some examples of how a reader can discern the date of the story. Among the famous names could be names of protagonists, or the era in which the story happened. Moreover, al-Tanūkhī's compilations cover all the eras of Arab history.

Use of historical names indicate that these stories are real and not imaginary, because it is al-Tanūkhī's aim to comfort people through his stories, and to reassure them that his stories are derived from actual experiences in life. Al-Tanūkhī is dealing here with real problems, which people must confront in their everyday lives, such as adversity or their spiritual and psychological desires to help them achieve their deliverance. The significance of the historical period springs from the contemporaneous events, and the people who lived during it. This is why we find that al-Tanūkhī only mentions the names of prominent people, and not the dates. Moreover, he always assumes that his reader will know the era, simply through mention of these people.

The second part to the aspect of time evokes the length or duration of the journey. This is not, however, of great significance in the stories, for it is only mentioned in a few of them – mostly in the social rather than the political aspect of the journey. The journey invariably depicts the protagonist as suffering hardship and seeking deliverance. Al-Tanūkhī stresses the achievement of deliverance, rather than emphasizing the protagonist's suffering – the author knows his reader needs a happy ending, not wanting to be downcast by descriptions of long periods of adversity. The time duration is depicted as walking day and night (for several days and nights), evening time, sunset, sunrise, morning, night, midday, nightfall, the early dawn, afternoon, the full moon, the heat of the sun, months and by darkness.[138] We read a time-related phrase, like, 'and the journey was long'[139] 'and [the distance] between us and al-Madāʾin [was] half-a-league.'[140]

The journey is rarely referred to in the political stories, for the stories emphasize political events rather than pure descriptions of the journey itself. Where a social event is described, there is no doubt that we find imagination contributing to the description. The events (or adversities) that occur on the journey are descriptions of suffering. Although they spring from reality – indeed, perhaps all the events are real – the words

and style of the author give these events a new dimension, one in which the author's own creativity plays a major role in giving the 'journey theme' its importance as a path between the two contrasts –hardship and deliverance.

The nature of the political story does not permit any description in which imagination plays a part. When al-Tanūkhī transmits political stories he actually heard or read, it is evident in his writing because those who narrated them orally do not describe the journey, for the people are only interested in descriptions of political events or political figures. We read, for example: 'I was with ʿUmar b. Hubayra when he escaped from prison, we walked until we arrived in Damascus after dark.'[141] In the examples above, the succession of day and night, light and darkness, mainly depict the length of the journey. This contrast reflects the alternation of life circumstances in some of these stories, or the period of hardship in other stories. Since the journey (with all its suffering) is the way to deliverance, it is the hope during hardship and the action that prevails over the length of the days and nights.

Place

In the stories there are two significant places (cities) to which people go, or depart from, during their adversities. These are Damascus (mostly during the Umayyads' reign) and Baghdād (mostly during the ʿAbbasids' reign). Other places are mentioned, for example Iraq, Syria and Iran. The protagonist's route can change according to the story's events. Sometimes he might pass by other places to rest for a short spell before continuing the journey.

To provide examples of the extent and direction of the journeys, I have tabulated and referenced stories in which the major destinations and places are described. For example, Table 1.1 depicts journeys that include Damascus; Table 1.2 depicts journeys that include Baghdād; and Table 1.3 depicts journeys that include neither Damascus nor Baghdād.

Table 1.1: Damascus

Origin of Journey	*Middle of Journey*	*End of Journey*
(Not identified)	Plains and wilderness	Damascus[142]
Damascus	Iraq	Africa[143]
Damascus	(Not identified)	Baghdād[144]
Byzantine territories	Syrian frontier	Damascus[145]
al-Kūfa	Damascus	al-Kūfa[146]

(Not identified)	Hayt, wilderness, river of al-Furāt (Euphrates) island, Hayt and Baghdād	Shīrāz[147]
al-Ramla	Wādī Ghāra and Ṭabariyya	Damascus[148]
(Not identified)	Damascus	Egypt[149]
al-Baṣra	Damascus	Egypt[150]
(Not identified)	Near Damascus and Damascus	Home (*baladī*)[151]

Table 1.2: Baghdād

Origin of Journey	*Middle of Journey*	*End of Journey*
al-Ahwāz (*Nahr tīra*)	Baghdād	al-Ahwāz[152]
Palestine	(Not identified)	Baghdād[153]
al-Madīna	Baghdād	al-Madīna[154]
Baghdād	Hayt; al-Samāwa; Damascus	Egypt[155]
Baghdād	Egypt	Baghdād[156]
Baghdād	al-Baṣra	Baghdād[157]
Baghdād	al-Shām (Syria)	Baghdād[158]
al-Baṣra	Baghdād	al-Baṣra[159]
al-Shām	(Not identified)	Baghdād[160]
Baghdād	Egypt	Baghdād[161]
Baghdād	Ajamat Bānqayyā; al-Ḥāʾir	Baghdād[162]
Baghdād	Ḥammām Aʿyun	al-Kūfa[163]
Baghdād	(Not identified)	Wāsiṭ[164]
Baghdād	Kulwādhā; near al-Madāʾin; the river of Maʿqil; al-Baṣra, al-Ubulla	al-Baṣra[165]
al-Ahwāz	Wāsiṭ; near Baghdād; Baghdād	al-Ahwāz[166]
al-Ahwāz	Baghdād	al-Ahwāz[167]
Egypt	(Not identified)	Baghdād[168]
Baghdād	India	Baghdād[169]
al-Sarāt	(Not identified)	Baghdād[170]
Baghdād	Qabr al-Nudhūr	Hamadhān[171]
Baghdād	(Not identified)	al-Baṣra[172]
al-Baṣra	(Not identified)	Baghdād[173]
Baghdād	Mecca	Baghdād[174]
al-Baṣra	(Not identified)	Baghdād[175]

The places of the journeys range between Iraq, al-Shām, Egypt, al-Ḥijāz, and Iran. In most of the journeys, we find either Damascus or Baghdād as a destination. However, the journey may also be between other places where we do not find these two cities. For example:

Table 1.3: Other places

Origin of Journey	*Middle of Journey*	*End of Journey*
The desert	(Not identified)	al-Madīna al-Munawwara[176]
al-Madīna	Fayd	al-Madīna
al-Munawwara		al-Munawwara [177]
Aleppo	Egypt	Aleppo[178]
Wāsiṭ	al-ʿĀqūl	Wāsiṭ[179]
Hayt	al-Zaytūna	al-Raqqa[180]
al-Baṣra	Mecca	al-Baṣra[181]
Naysābūr	al-Dīnawar	Naysābūr[182]
al-Ḥīra	(Not identified)	al-Sarāt[183]
al-Ubulla	al-Baṣra; al-Ubulla; al-Baṣra	al-Ubulla[184]
Banū Shaybān	al-Ḥīra; al-Milḥ; al-Ḥīra; al-Shaṭṭayn	al-Ḥīra[185]

Modes of transport

Modes of transport are rarely mentioned in the Social Stories, and hardly mentioned at all in the Political ones. This shows that al-Tanūkhī's intentions are to emphasise any events that lead from hardship to deliverance, on the Journey. What is important to him is the protagonist's destination – the city of his respite – as well as the people whom he would encounter along the way. The length of the journey, as we have seen, might have a certain importance in some of the stories, when needing to describe the length of suffering. However, the description of the means of transport has least importance within the two elements mentioned above.

The modes of transport identified are as follows:

- the boat on the river, since the places are generally in Iraq;[186]
- the ship on the sea; we find it in one of the stories about a journey from Baghdād to India;[187]
- on land, we find the camel,[188] the donkey,[189] the mule,[190] the horse[191] and the pack-animal.[192]
- We also find wild animals: the lion (which acts as a means of transport in one of the stories),[193] and the elephant.[194]

Each mode of transport thus has its own role and character in the stories, as well as being evocative of everyday social life. The boat/ship for example functions as a means of rescue (*zawraq* and *sammāriyya*), hope and happiness (*zallāl*), and hope and diversion (*safīna*). The camel is well known as the ship of the desert – hence, it is mentioned in association with desert trails '*al-Samāwa*',[195] or with religious conno-

tation, such as pilgrimage. The donkey is generally used for travelling between cities. As for the mule, it takes a complementary role to the donkey: it could be ridden by a slave,[196] or in support of the donkey, 'and if one of us became tired he would let him mount on one of his two mules.'[197] The horse is used for battle;[198] it relates to mounted riders, for example the horsewoman who rides and hunts[199] and the horseman Zayd al-Khayl;[200] or simply for riding before camels, which then follow the horse.[201]

Nourishment and apparel

Like transport, these two elements are, similarly, rarely mentioned within the socio-political stories. On nourishment, al-Tanūkhī mentions food generally without being specific.[202] Sometimes al-Tanūkhī identifies the provender, such as bread[203] or bread and its *idām* (whatever could be eaten with bread);[204] meat;[205] and fruit.[206] Fruit is specified in another of the stories 'and I had a donkey carrying watermelon.'[207] Sweetmeats are also mentioned.[208] With respect to beverages, we find water,[209] milk,[210] and *Nabīdh*.[211] Clothing and raiment are rarely mentioned in the stories. They may be employed for a specific purpose – that is for disguise. For example, scuffs and a wrap,[212] a sailor's clothes or sailor's robe,[213] turban,[214] shield,[215] a priest's costume,[216] and wretched garb.[217] Elsewhere in one of the stories, garments are used for salvation where warm clothes and blankets are mentioned.[218] There is also mention of fancy clothes and jewels.[219]

Social stories

I have chosen four stories of the 'social' type for detailed analysis. They are selected to illustrate some of the diverse adversities that people face. There is one on 'The Hardship of Love'; one on the 'The Hardship of Intellectuality'; and two on 'The Hardship of Poverty'. In addition, I incorporate one story of the 'political' type.

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED STORIES

The Hardship of Love

> *Fāraqa jāriyatahu thumma-jtamaʿa shamluhumā*
> He was separated from his concubine, and then they were reunited.[220]

The story begins in Baghdād with a man who inherits great wealth from

his father. He spends it on his concubine, with whom he is in love. He brings singers to teach her the art of song; he learns it too because of his love for her. He then loses all his wealth, but he refuses to make his concubine sing for others.

They both live in poverty until she persuades him to sell her, which will enable her to live in comfort and him to escape his impoverishment. He therefore takes her to the slave market and sells her to a Hāshimite youth (*fatā*) from al-Baṣra. The protagonist immediately regrets the trade and tries to withdraw, but to no avail. Later he is robbed while sleeping in a mosque. In despair he throws himself into the river, but is rescued. An old man (*shaykh*) takes him to his house and preaches to him for a while. The protagonist resolves to go to Wāsiṭ. There, by the book market he finds a ship; the sailors agree to take him aboard on condition he disguise himself in sailor's clothing. He hopes that he might covertly glimpse his concubine on the ship, which he does.

The ship sails and when they arrive at Kulwādhā he sees how sad his concubine has become through their separation – at first she refuses to sing, but, when eventually she does, the protagonist falls into a swoon. They pray in his ears and he revives. They arrive at al-Madāʾin, whereupon they leave the ship for respite – the protagonist seizes the opportunity secretly to alter the tuning of her lute. When the concubine discovers the manner in which her lute has been altered, she realizes that her beloved is aboard and seeks him out. The Hāshimite *fatā* sympathizes with him and promises to join them in marriage upon their arrival at al-Baṣra. Thus, they spend their days drinking and singing until they arrive at the river of Maʿqil, where the protagonist drunkenly leaves the ship. He falls into a stupor and wakes under the heat of the sun only to discover that the ship has sailed during the night.

A boat subsequently takes him to al-Baṣra where he purchases paper upon which to write in the hope that someone might help him find work. A merchant, a greengrocer by trade, admires his script, employs him and eventually marries him to his daughter. Two years later, the protagonist decides to go to al-Ubulla to celebrate Palm Sunday with the Christians. Once there he happens upon his beloved's boat. He discovers that his concubine had thought him dead – she took to mourning clothes and built a shrine in al-Baṣra to lament beside – and that she was still grieving for him. He hastens to her. He divorces his wife, whereupon the Hāshimite *fatā* marries them.

Analysis

After entering penury, the protagonist contemplates finding work but he finds none save the art of song (which, because of his love for his concubine, he learnt with her; when he was rich he had brought singers to her to promote her talent). The lovers have two contrasting aspects to their love – loss of wealth and the acquisition of skill in the art of song. It is taught that love leads to knowledge. Thus, there is an affinity here that unites the two contrasts – heart–mind.

The protagonist spurns the urging of one of his acquainttances and refuses to compel his concubine to sing for others, for money. He tells her that death is preferable to such ruin. The concubine in her turn endures the hardship of poverty with him, for a long period of time (al-Tanūkhī uses here the Arabic *shidda* for 'hardship' and *mudda* for 'time'). Love, then, shelters the beloved from humiliation. The protagonist is genuinely deeply in love, so elevates his beloved on high and consequently spurns using her as a tool to earn money.

The two words *shidda* and *mudda* indicate that the period of adversity is long: the word *mudda* is derived from the root *m.d.d*, which is the same root of the verb *madda* and means 'to prolong'. It is also seen that the beloved's determination to endure hardship, alongside the protagonist, shows that love engenders patience. The concubine implores the protagonist to sell her: 'Sell me, then you will have from my price something [money] with which you may gain a decent life, and be rid of this hardship, and I [too] will live in comfort; for certain, someone like me will only be bought by a wealthy man.' The concubine is thus sacrificing herself for him. How could she bear seeing him suffer in poverty? Yet he refuses to humiliate her by making her sing for people when she could redeem him with her price! She is talking directly to his conscience when she says, 'and I [too] will live in comfort'. The protagonist, in his turn, could not bear her living with him in poverty any longer, when he can give her the opportunity to live in comfort. So how could he refuse her? He takes her to the slave market, and the first to acquire her is a Hāshimite youth (*fatā*) from the populace of al-Baṣra. By describing the man as a Hāshimite *fatā*, al-Tanūkhī indicates that he is a nobleman.

Up to this point, we can identify just one hardship, but it is only the precursor to more severe hardship. The protagonist immediately regrets his deed, having pronounced the word (of sale). Upon receiving the money, the concubine and her lover lament together; he tries to retract from the trade but to no avail. The protagonist sells his beloved –

relinquishing spirituality for material wealth – but then, all too late, he realizes his mistake. This brings to mind Adam, who also realizes his error when God banished him to earth – whosoever commits a sin shall pay the price. Thus, the protagonist has to pay the price, and it is here that his real hardship begins.

He takes his money, but he cannot go back to his empty home without his concubine. He enters a mosque and falls asleep, placing the purse of money under his head as a pillow. He wakes to discover that the money has been stolen: 'I cried, I beat myself, and my hardship is greater than the before, and I cried, "I parted with the one I love, I sold her to avoid the need to live off charity, and now I am become poor and [am still] separated from the one I love".'

The message we receive here is that whoever trades spirituality for the sake of materiality loses both. Al-Tanūkhī uses the word *faqīr*, which means 'poor', and *mufāriq*, which means 'separated from' (*fa-qad ṣirtu l-ʿāna faqīran mufāriqan li-man uḥibb*). The two Arabic words are derived from two similar roots; the former comes from the root *f.q.r* and the latter from the root *f.r.q*. Both of them convey the notion of loss – *faqīr* implies loss of money, while *mufāriq* indicates loss of the beloved. The words 'poor' and 'separated from' are in disparity with 'money' and 'love', yet they unite in the generic meaning of 'loss'. A further contrast encountered is between the mosque (which is a holy place) and robbery (which is a grave sin).

The protagonist tries to kill himself by jumping into the River Tigris; some people rescue him, and he tells them his story: 'and I found myself among those who had compassion for me, and others who considered me foolish' (*bayna rāḥimin wa mustajhil*). An old man, a *shaykh*, takes him aside and preaches to him, telling him that he must hold on to his faith and trust in God. There is a contrast here between 'despair' (the protagonist jumping into the river), and 'hope' (the *shaykh* and his words of comfort). The title *shaykh* is indicative of a man of wisdom and knowledge; a master, the head of a tribe; as well as an elderly man. In this context, '*shaykh*' indicates the spiritual master (which in turn denotes a man of knowledge). By contrast, despair is ignorance. Yet again, we touch on the contrast of knowledge versus ignorance. In the same vein, we find people who feel compassion for the protagonist, and those who consider him senseless. Those who feel for his plight by definition understand; while those who do not are ignorant in that they do not understand. Thus, people are similarly divided by the contrast of knowledge versus ignorance. On this basis,

contrasts can similarly be seen between life and death; hope and despair; and knowledge and ignorance.

The *shaykh* accompanies the protagonist to his home and remained with him cheering him up and preaching him, until the protagonist felt tranquillity and he thanked the *shaykh*. The *shaykh*'s love and generosity are in parallel with the protagonist's love for his concubine. Human love is a part of the Absolute love. Therefore, the protagonist responds to the *shaykh*'s spiritual and religious preaching so he feels tranquillity. The influence of the word springing from the honest heart is indeed great. The protagonist feels lonely and he flees to one of his old friends of happy times who cries out of heart tenderness for him and offers him fifty dirhams.

Another manifestation of love and generosity encounters the reader, that of the protagonist's friend. They were friends during happy times and he proves to be a genuine friend during hard times. His love for his friend is manifest in shedding tears, offering money and advising him. The protagonist's friend advises him to go whither his heart tells him, and to obtain work as a scribe; the friend reminds him that he is the son of a scribe, and he writes fine hand writing, and has a great knowledge of *adab*; then perhaps God will do a good thing for him. The protagonist's friend advises him to follow his heart, which signifies spirituality in parallel with knowledge. In addition, the friend's description of the protagonist as having, 'fine hand writing and a great knowledge of *adab*', brings to mind the Qurʾānic verse:

> *iqraʾ wa rabbuka l-akramu l-ladhī ʿallama bi l-qalam ʿallama l-insāna ma lam yaʿlam*
>
> Recite: And thy Lord is the Most Generous, who taught by the Pen, taught Man that he knew not.[221]

Spirituality and knowledge, give rise to hope and a productive life. There is a parallel between the *shaykh* and the protagonist's friend; both of them have the love of God inside them and they love others for the sake of God. The Prophet Muḥammad says that among the seven people who are shaded by God in a day (the day of judgement) when there is no shade but His shade are 'two people who loved each other for the sake of God. They met each other and departed from each other for the sake of God'.[222]

The protagonist goes to the book market, intending to travel to Wāsiṭ (where he has relatives) and to find employment. When he arrives there he sees a riverboat (*zallāl*), which, he divines, is the boat of the Hāshimite who bought his concubine. On the quay is a large chest in which many cloths are shipped. He disguises himself in sailor's garb, hoping to see his concubine and he resolves to seek solace by hearing her singing until arrival in Wāsiṭ: 'He goes to the book market … to travel to Wāsiṭ … and there he sees the boat [owned by the Hāshimite]' – thus, there is a parallel between water and love, namely spirituality.

The protagonist aims to travel to Wāsiṭ, this is linked to the word *wāsiṭa* (meaning 'the middle', 'intermediary', or 'go-between'). This indicates that the protagonist is in the middle, halfway between hope and despair – it could also mean that his goal of Wāsiṭ is the intermediary or go-between, which is offering him hope of seeing his concubine again. The protagonist is a scribe (indicating knowledge), and the book market is by the river. Water indicates spirituality (as we have seen in a spiritual story above), and so we again find parallelism between knowledge and spirituality.

The *zallāl* ('riverboat') has the same root as another word *zalal*, which means 'making a mistake' – the protagonist is once again reminded of the mistake he made when he traded spirituality for materiality. The word 'chest' (*khizāna*), where clothes are kept, indicates the place where the beloved is kept, and this brings to mind the Qurʾānic verse:

> *hunna libāsun lakum wa antum libāsun lahunna…*
> they are a vestment for you, and you are a vestment for them.[223]

The word 'vestment' here, denotes protection and love. In the Interpretation of al-Zamakhsharī: 'as the man and the woman embrace each other and they contain each other while embracing each other, it was compared with vestment which is wrapped around all of his body'.[224] The protagonist disguises himself in sailor's garb in order to begin his journey, and here there is another contrast – the internal (he is still the suffering lover), and the external (appears to be a simple sailor). The protagonist then sets eyes upon his concubine and her two maids; and this mitigates his suffering, so he alters his destination from Wāsiṭ to al-Baṣra (where his beloved is going), hoping to become one of her master's companions, 'and she will not thwart me from her love, I believe in her.' Seeing his beloved again makes him change his

direction. Here there is contrast between imagination (the protagonist's yearning to listen to his beloved's songs *en route*), and reality (when he actually sees her). He changes his destination to hers – how could he see her yet continue his journey away from her? Moreover, love is faithful because he knows her in his heart. Here there is a parallel between 'trust' (knowledge) and 'love' (spirituality).

When they arrive at Kulwādhā, the protagonist overhears the Hāshimite fatā exhorting her: '"[and] how long have you been refusing to sing, how long must this sadness and weeping continue? You are not the first to be parted from her Master." So I knew [then] what she felt for me.' Thus, the journey begins. Although the protagonist is journeying with them, al-Tanūkhī uses the third person pronoun ('they descended … they went down the river'), which indicates that the protagonist is powerless, hidden – as if he is not with them. The Hāshimite youth and the concubine emulate the same relationship as the *shaykh* and the protagonist – both preach compassionately to alleviate the suffering.

The story continues: *nabīdh* is brought and the concubine is exhorted to sing, until she raises her lute and starts to sing sad love poems; she weeps and ceases singing, whereupon the protagonist falls into a swoon. A traveller whispers a prayer into his ear and they dash water into his face and, after a while, he revives; again, she sings and weeps and again he faints. They (the sailors) then decide to be rid of him, but when he hears this he resolves to find a way to let her know of his presence on the boat, to prevent them from marooning him. There are several contrasts here – between 'nabīdh and water', 'pleasure and prayer', and between them 'poetry and music', which has the heady effect of a *nabīdh*. The effect of poetry and music is powerful on loving hearts. It is the effect of the word (poetry) that makes the protagonist fall unconscious, and that of prayer that revives him. Again, we see a contrast here: on the one hand between *nabīdh*, poetry and music (which makes man lose his mind), and water and prayer (which return man to his senses) on the other. The concubine with her broken heart sings with the lute (*ʿūd*), which has the same root and spelling as the word *ʿawd*, which means 'return'.

The journey continues: they arrive close to al-Madāʾin, the passengers disembark when evening approaches. The boat was quiet and the protagonist 'went, steeling myself, until I came behind the curtain, I altered the tuning of her lute [to another] and I went back to my place on the boat'. The others then return to the boat, pushing it out under a full moon (*munbasiṭ*). Again, they entreat the concubine to sing.

Here there are the elements of place and time: al-Madāʾin (the plural of *madīna*) indicates a place of safety. In his book entitled *Ṭaʿṭīr al-Anām fī Taʿbīr al-Manām* ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī says, 'Whoever sees in his dream that he enters one of the cities (*madīnatan mina l-madāʾin*) his dream signifies that he will be safe from what he fears.'[225] The approaching evening, with its soft breezes, depicts that love is alive and breathing. The protagonist says, 'and we arrived near al-Madāʾin': he uses the word 'we', giving the impression that his role is about to start. The time is dusk, between evening and night; the concealed lover alters the tuning of the lute, denoting the imminent reunion of the separated lovers – but how?

After relaunching the boat, they ask the concubine to sing. She takes up the lute and upon examining it she sobs, until she feels about to die. She says, 'I swear to God, my Master retuned this lute the way he liked, when he would play it with me. I swear to God that he is here with us.' The sailors deny this, whereupon the protagonist reveals his presence, tells his story and the two lovers sob. The *fatā* feels compassion for him, cries out of heart tenderness for them, swears that he did not lie with the concubine or hear her singing before that day. Moreover, he promises to marry them, one to another, upon arrival at al-Baṣra. They sing happily and drink *nabīdh*, the joy continues for days. The full-moon, here, has significance: the word *munbasiṭ* comes from the root *b.s.ṭ*, from which several words emerge. As described by Ibn Manẓūr:

> One of the names of God is *al-bāsiṭ* because he provides livelihood to His servants and enlarges it with His Benevolence and mercy, and He breathes (*yabsuṭu*) the souls into their bodies. The verb *basaṭa* means to 'spread something out'; *al-basīṭa* is the name for the land; *al-bisāṭ* is the land which is full of flowers; the word also means expansive; and to describe a man's face as *basīṭu l-wajhi* means that his countenance is cheerful, the word also means happiness; and lastly virtue.[226]

Using this particular word to describe the moon, then, promises beginnings of happy times. What truly delivers the protagonist is the lute – it represents the art of music and song that he once learnt out of love – and once again we see knowledge coming to the rescue. The concubine is convinced that her beloved is on board; there is then a parallel between his trust in her, and her certainty of his presence. Love is trust and

certainty. The sailors deny him, out of fear. Between certainty and denial the protagonist steps forth – love is honest and brave.

The owner of the boat, the *fatā*, is chivalrous. He sheds tears of compassion and does not touch the concubine; neither does he force her to sing – although he has the right as her new master; ultimately, he promises to marry the lovers. This show of altruism explains why he is described as a Hāshimite *fatā*. There then follows days of happiness, *nabīdh* and song. When they arrive drunk at the river of Maʿqil, the protagonist goes ashore at night to relieve himself and he falls asleep. The boat sails away to al-Baṣra. The protagonist awakes in the sun to find them gone – then his hardship returns as brutally overwhelming as the very first day of the lover's separation.

The word *maʿqil*, is derived from the verb *ʿaqala*; one of its meanings is to 'tie down', or prevent someone from doing something. When the protagonist gets drunk, he has allowed himself to wallow in material pleasures. It causes him, yet again, to lose his beloved – leaving him tethered, imprisoned, by the river of Maʿqil. Drunkenness causes him to leave the boat on the water – so again he moves away (from spirituality); he deserts his beloved and once again she leaves him. The sun's power is the reality that makes him recognize his hardship; it also symbolizes harsh burning hardship. We see the contrast between the cool balmy night and the bright glaring sun – between these two contrasts it signifies that life is changing.

A boat (*sammāriyya*) passes and takes him to al-Baṣra. Once there he buys a paper from a 'greengrocer' – it being his intention to write to a man whom he saw passing but was too shy to accost personally. The greengrocer so admires his script that he hires him and comes to see his honesty. He eventually marries him to his daughter, 'but [he says] my soul was shattered, my energy was gone, and my sadness was clear … and I stayed like this for two [long] years'.

Salvation comes via the river, for he is a man in love and he deserves to be rescued. If his materiality has harmed him, then his spirituality saves him. Until now, hardship befalls him on land, while rescue and deliverance transport him upon water. His ability to write fine script is for him another means of his recovery. Therefore, his spirituality and his knowledge are what ultimately redeem him. Again, there is this parallel between spirituality and knowledge. He who possesses these two qualities is fundamentally honest, and this attribute paves the path of salvation. All the foregoing are vehicles of deliverance. The greengrocer is a man who has love and spirituality in his heart.

Therefore, he is moved by the protagonist's honesty and knowledge and marries him to the dearest person in his life, his daughter. While the protagonist's new circumstances gives constancy to life it is not true happiness – the man is in love, how can he fail to remember his beloved?

The institution of marriage in Islam aspires to peace and love. In the Qurʾān:

> *wa min āyātihi an khalaqa lakum min anfusikum azwājan li-taskunū ilayhā wa jaʿala baynakum mawaddatan wa raḥmatan inna fī dhālika la-ʾāyātin li-qawmin yatafakkarūn*
>
> And of His signs is that He created for you, of yourselves, spouses, that you might repose in them, and He has set between you love and mercy Surely in that are signs for a people who consider.[227]

His marriage to a woman whom he does not love does not fulfil his spiritual needs. Thus, he remains broken-hearted, languorous and with apparent sadness. Only love can breathe life into his soul. His life is desolate for two long years; he accepts his destiny with forbearance and stoicism, yet he is not happy.

One day the protagonist sees people passing with fruit, meat and *nabīdh*. He asks the reason and is told: 'Today is Palm Sunday, a time when people who seek pleasure and play go out with food, *nabīdh*, and singers; they observe the Christians, they drink and disport themselves.' The protagonist decides to go in order to distract himself, 'and I said "Perhaps I will find my friends there, or find some word of them. I think this is a place where they might go".'

He takes the boat and feasts and drinks *nabīdh*, until he comes to al-Ubulla. Suddenly, he sees his beloved's boat (*zallāl*) passing by on the river. When his friends see him they take him up; then they tell him that everyone thought that he had drowned in the river while drunk. They tell him that his concubine:

> Rent her clothes, broke the lute, cut her hair, cried and beat herself, '… and [they said] we did not prevent her from doing any of this.' When we arrived at al-Baṣra she said to her Master, 'O Master, do not prevent me fasting, wearing black and building a shrine in a room in the house, so that I may sit beside

> it and repent my singing.' We allowed her to do this, and to this day she sits there still.

The beginning of the protagonist's deliverance arrives on a spiritual day – Palm Sunday – when people are joyful on the journey to al-Ubulla. Spirituality is happiness – there being food, *nabīdh*, and song. In the Qurʾān wine has a spiritual significance because it is one of the pleasures of Paradise:

> *wa anhārun min khamrin ladhdhatin lil-shāribīn*
> and rivers of wine – a delight to the drinkers.[228]

Mention of *nabīdh* here provides two contrasting aspects:

- The material – when it refers to the pleasures of life, and results in making Man lose his mind,
- The spiritual – when it refers to religious symbols such as Palm Sunday or Paradise.

Therefore, the context determines what the word represents. The protagonist is harmonizing with his lost paradise, his beloved. Amid the mutual devotions and celebration between Muslims and Christians, the protagonist regains his love. So there is a parallel between universal love and happiness and the personal one. The protagonist always presumes that he will find his beloved – his belief is unfailing since love inspires insight and hope. His presumption is foresighted. However, there is a contrast between his hope and the concubine's despair (crying at his shrine and wearing black). She thinks that he is dead; she accepts what she believes to be the reality and renounces joyous life – this is why she breaks her lute (*ʿūd*); for her, there will be no return. The contrast here is between reality and illusion. The Hāshimite man allows her to build a memorial and to grieve for her beloved – at this point this man's gallantry and chivalry is manifest, he being a true Hāshimite *fatā*.

The story continues: 'They [the companions] took me with them, [and] when I entered I saw her as they had portrayed, and [when] she saw me, she cried out. … I took her in my arms, and we did not part for a long time.' The Hāshimite man sets her free and he marries them to each other. The protagonist divorces his first wife and gives her dowry to her. In time, he again acquires wealth, nearly as munificent

as at the start of his story: 'and I am living with my concubine even now.'

With this, we arrive at the resolution of the story – it is then 'deliverance'. There is further contrast here, between 'marriage and divorce'. The protagonist marries his beloved and divorces his (first) wife. Al-Tanūkhī wants to say here that true happiness in marriage is founded on love. The first marriage fulfils the role of acceptance of life as it is – despite hardship, life must go on. The reader cannot but help feeling sympathy for the first wife, yet at the same time cannot help feeling happy for the reunited lovers after all the hardships they have endured. Moreover, how could al-Tanūkhī spoil for his reader the great moment of warm reunion between them? He spares his reader the contradictory feelings of sympathy and happiness by declaring that the protagonist paid his first wife her dowry upon divorce. To the same end al-Tanūkhī does not describe the first wife's demeanour, he only says, 'The greengrocer marries him to his daughter.' If there is no love and no happiness, then it is not a true marriage. The first marriage in the story serves to deliver the message that life goes on, despite the hardships. However, the reader would not be happy if the story ends with permanent separation of the two lovers. The Hāshimite man's altruism is affirmed by the fact that he sets his concubine free; he then gives both lovers money and marries them. From his compassion and chivalry, we understand his description as Hāshimite *fatā*.

The story begins and ends in a circular manner. It begins with the protagonist living with his concubine in prosperity, and ends with him living with his wife (the concubine) with nearly the same wealth. He says at the end, 'and I am still living like this with my concubine, even now.' It is noted that he does not say, 'my wife'; this inspires the reader to see that she is the same woman with whom he first fell in love and whom he still loves. Despite her change of fortune (she is now a free woman), for him she is still that concubine whom he once loved and always shall. The story (the journey) also begins and ends with the city, albeit different cities. It begins in Baghdād and ends in al-Baṣra. Hardship begins in Baghdād, and deliverance comes to pass in al-Baṣra. The pattern of this story is as follows: hardship (loss of his beloved)–journey (with the suffering)–deliverance (the union of both lovers in marriage).

The hardship of intellectuality:
Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and al-Khawārij[229]

This story is about Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (he is believed to be the founder of the Muʿtazilite school) who is travelling with a group of companions. On the way an army of Kharijites intercepts them. Wāṣil orders his companions not to utter a word and to leave matters to him. He sets off towards them and tells them that he and his companions are a group of polytheists seeking the protection of the Kharijites. Upon request, one of the Kharijites reads from the Qurʾān to them. When he finishes Wāṣil says, 'We [have] heard the word of God so deliver us to our safe haven.' The story ends with Wāṣil and his companions continuing their journey under the protection of the Kharijites until they reach a place of safety over which the Kharijites had no authority.

Al-Tanūkhī explains the verse that Wāṣil makes reference to, he says; ʿAbū Ḥudhayfa meant by this what God-to Whom be ascribed all perfection and majesty says:

> *wa in aḥadun mina l-mushrikīna 'stajāraka fa-'ajirhu ḥattā yasmaʿa kalāma Allāhi thumma ablighu ma'manahu*
>
> And if any of the idolaters seeks of thee protection, grant him protection till he hears the words of God; then do thou convey him to his place of security.[230]

Analysis

'Abū Ḥudhayfa Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ started on a journey'

The story begins then, with a journey but there is no mention made of point of origin or destination, no indication from whence to where. The word used for the journey is (*safar*), an indefinite noun that means an 'unspecified journey'. 'He goes out with a party of his companions.' This indicates intellectual company since Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ is considered to be the founder of the Muʿtazilite school. 'On the way, an army of Kharijites (*al-khawārij*) intercept them.' The word *khawārij* indicates that this journey is a mental, intellectual one. There is contrast here between the Muʿtazilites and their antagonists the Kharijites. It represents the difference between the Muʿtazilites (people of independent opinion, free-will and thought) and the Kharijites (extremists – they who accuse sinners of infidelity).

The status of the sinner was the subject of debate between al-Ḥasan

al-Baṣrī, Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and the Kharijites. Is the sinner a believer or an unbeliever? This debate prompted Wāṣil (who was in the colloquium of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) to withdraw to a neutral corner of the mosque. He stated that he was in an intermediate state (*fī manzilatin bayna l-manzilatayn*) – an intermediate state, neither *muʾmin* ('believing') nor *kāfir* ('unbeliever'), but that of *fāsiq* ('transgressor'). This issue became one of the Muʿtazilite's founding principles.[231]

Thus, we have a group of Muʿtazilites and an army of Kharijites – this symbolizes the contrast between the power of the intellect and that of the sword. The Kharijites initiate the confrontation; they are the ones who intercept the Muʿtazilites. 'Wāṣil says to his companions, "None of you [shall] utter a word, and leave me with them". They replied, "So be it".' Wāṣil, clearly, is leader of the group and his companions are his followers; he is the one who is going to take the action. The words 'utter' (*yanṭiqu*) and 'army' (*jaysh*) mentioned earlier contrast two kinds of weapon and power – the weapon of the word versus the weapon of violence, the power of knowledge versus the power of the sword. 'Wāṣil headed towards them, and his companions followed; when they drew near the Kharijites made to attack them.' The Kharijites are the ones who threaten the Muʿtazilites, but the power of knowledge is fearless – Wāṣil heads towards the peril and reverses the situation, he turns from being the confronted to the one who confronts. Wāṣil says to the Kharijites:

> 'How can you do this, [and] you do not know who we are, and why we came?' They said, 'Yes, so who are you?' He said, '[We are] a group of polytheists coming to you, asking for protection to hear the word of God' … they desisted from attack, and one of them commenced to read the Qurʾān to them.

Wāṣil essays a ploy that relies on religious logic. The Kharijites are Muslims, so how can they refuse the demand of polytheists, wanting to hear the word of God (*kalāmu Allāh*)? The word of God here is the metaphorical sword with which Wāṣil turns aside the real swords of the Kharijites and that restores them to the Qurʾān – to the heart of knowledge. When the man finished (his reading) Wāṣil said: '"We [have] heard the word of God, so deliver us to our safe place, such that we might study the religion". They said, "This is our duty".' There is a parallel here between the word of God and the escort to the safe haven. The Qurʾān (knowledge and spirituality) leads (escorts) to safety (to

salvation), because it invokes religious sentiments in the hearts of Muslims. This is why the Kharijites say 'it is our duty'. The story continues with Wāṣil saying: 'And we walked and the Kharijites – by God – with their javelins, walking with us and protecting us, for several leagues until we reached a place where they had no authority.' Thus, they leave Wāṣil and his companions. Not only was Wāṣil, with his intellect, able to defend his companions and himself from attack by the Kharijites, but use of religious logic (the word of God) also turns the whole situation from one of being attacked to one of sanctuary. It is through the word and logic – the heart and intellect – that Wāṣil escapes peril.

Al-Tanūkhī explains that both Wāṣil and the Kharijites refer in their dialogue to Qurʾānic verse. It is the Qurʾān – spiritual knowledge – that saves Wāṣil and his companions. There is a parallel between the word and the deed. Wāṣil demands his right of protection from the Kharijites, and they apply what they heed as their obligation, through the Qurʾān. The pattern in this story is as follows: journey–Hardship–religious dialogue (the word)–journey–deliverance.

The hardship of poverty[232]

The story begins with a rainless year that destroys the produce of the tribe of Banū Shaybān. A man from the tribe travels with his family to al-Ḥīra to be near the king and, it is hoped, gain benefit from him. The man goes into the desert vowing not to return (to his family) unless he brings them succour. He walks a day and a night and, finding a tethered foal, he attempts to steal it. All at once he hears a voice ordering him to leave the foal and redeem himself, which he does. He walks for seven days until he comes upon a tent in which he sees an old man (*shaykh*) whose collar bones protrude like an eagle's wings. The protagonist hides behind the *shaykh*'s tent. After sunset, a splendid horseman riding a noble-eyed steed arrives with two slaves and some camels. The old man drinks one or two sips of the milk offered to him, but the protagonist drinks (steals) the rest. A second time, the protagonist drinks half of what remains, after which the old man drinks one sip. After dark, the protagonist steals the camels, led by their male, (and travels) until morning. At noon, he sees the horseman coming after him on his horse as if he were flying. When the protagonist sees the horseman's skill with the bow he surrenders; he mounts up behind the horseman. He recognizes the horseman's father's name (Muhalhil), and that he is Zayd al-Khayl.[233]

The story ends with Zayd attacking another tribe, after which he gives the protagonist some of the camels he has captured. Zayd then sends native guides with him to help him to travel between watering holes. The protagonist arrives at al-Ḥīra, where a Nabatean predicts the arrival of the Prophet Muḥammad. The protagonist is converted to Islam and buys land in al-Ḥīra with the price of a camel.

Analysis

The story begins with a hardship that forces the protagonist to leave his tribe and to travel to al-Ḥīra. It is then that his journey begins. Al-Tanūkhī uses one word that has two contrasting meanings: first, *aṣābat* as in *aṣābat Banī Shybāna sanatun*, which refers to the natural disaster that happens to the tribe of Banū Shaybān; second, *yuṣibkum* as in *kūnū qarīban mina l-maliki yuṣibkum min khayrihi*, which refers to receiving favour from the king. There are contrasts here between the desert and the city, the tribe and the king, and hardship and hope. The word 'return' denotes that this first journey will be followed by another, since the hardship still exists.

The story continues with the protagonist carrying food (*tazawwada zādan*). 'Then he walked all day until night, suddenly seeing a tethered foal circling around a tent, he said to himself, "This is the beginning of the bounty". He went to untie it and ride it away.' He is determined to return to his destitute family with supplies; otherwise he would prefer to die. He has walked a long time before he comes upon the foal. There is only one thing in his thoughts at this moment, his family. He is tired with walking all day under the heat of the desert sun. He sees the foal in the dead of night (darkness) – there is then hope within despair. When he decides to steal, it reminds us of Satan – the darkness – as described in earlier spiritual stories. The darkness of the night (Satan) whispers evil, telling him to steal the foal: the Arabic proverb says, 'Hunger is a kind of disbelief'. His sin is provoked by hunger and not by the desire to steal. As he goes to untie the foal:

> He was called, 'Leave it, and regain yourself', so he left it, and travelled for seven days until he arrived by sunset at a place where camels kneel down around a basin. Suddenly he sees a huge tent and a cupola of leather. He said, 'I said to myself, this tent must have its people, this cupola must have an owner, and this place for camels must have camels'.

The phrase in Arabic used for 'he was called' is *fa-nūdiya*; in the Qurʾān the same phrase is used when Moses was called by God:

> *nūdiya min shāṭiʾi l-wādī l-aymani*
> a voice cried from the right of the watercourse, in the sacred hollow.[234]

This denotes that it is a spiritual voice, the voice of God inside him – that of his conscience – that calls him. The inner voice orders him to leave the foal and redeem himself; it is saving him from the sin of the theft he is about to commit; he hears and obeys the voice. 'He walks for seven days and by sunset he arrives at a place where a tent is erected.' The word used for 'sunset' is (*tafṭīl*) from the root *ṭ.f.l*, which means 'the evening at the time of sunset'. He arrives at the tent as darkness (namely Satan) approaches – this presages that he is going to sin once more. The protagonist continues:

> I looked inside the tent, and I saw an old man (*shaykhun kabīr*) from whom his collar-bones protruded like eagle-wings. I sat behind him hiding, and when the sun disappeared, one of the greatest horsemen I have ever seen, on a noble-eyed and fast steed, with two black slaves walking beside him, and a hundred camels with their stallion which knelt down, and they [the camels] knelt down around it.

The *shaykh* in the tent has the vestiges of an eagle: the eagle is a bird that flies high, it has acute vision, it is all-seeing, and it spies every little thing upon the earth while proudly soaring high in the sky. Thus, this *shaykh* is denoted as a man of wisdom. The great horseman coming on his noble horse denotes chivalry, bravery and strength.

The protagonist drinks the milk the horseman offers to the shaykh
The horseman gives milk to the *shaykh*. This brings to mind the Qurʾānic verse describing milk in Paradise:

> *wa anhārun min labanin lam yataghayyar ṭaʿmuh*
> rivers of milk unchanging in flavour.[235]

It also relates to the *miʿrāj* story, in which the Prophet Muḥammad drank milk, but neither water nor wine, which is why his nation became

Muslims. 'If you have drunk all the milk [signifying Islam], then none of your nation would go to hell.' The Prophet Muḥammad has regrets and wants to drink what remains, but destiny is already writ.[236] In his book mentioned above, al-Nābulsī says, 'milk in the dream is the natural constitution (*fiṭra*) of Islam.'[237] Milk then represents Islam, or spirituality. Chivalry is the servant of wisdom. However, it is the protagonist who drinks the whole of the first jug and half the second one; it is he who receives the nourishment of chivalry and wisdom for his soul. Then, they eat meat but the protagonist does not eat with them. He waits until they are asleep, and he hears them snoring. He leaps to the male camel, unties its hobble and mounts up:

> It rushed me, and the [other] camels followed it, and I rode through night until the morning. I looked I saw no one so I moved swiftly until noon, then I turned. Suddenly I saw something, as if it were flying, approaching me until I saw him clearly, a horseman; it was my companion of yesterday. I tied the male camel; I took out my arrows from my quiver and stood between him and the camels.

Darkness again whispers evil to the protagonist. He repeats his sin of theft; he steals the camels – led by their male – which symbolizes that the powerful individual leads the weaker majority. To control the majority, one first has to control the strong. The same goes for humankind; one must search for the strong element within in order to control their acts. The sin takes place at night and continues into the early morning. At noon – when the sun is shining brightly and its light is clear and sharp – the protagonist is confronted by something apparently flying (recalling the eagle in the tent). He then identifies the horseman whom he saw the previous night. It is his commitment to chivalry that salves his conscience; the contrast between night and day, evil and good. The horseman prevents the protagonist continuing in his sin; but the latter is desperate and hobbles the male camel (which means that the other camels stop behind their male), then he decides to resist. Therefore, we notice the contrast between surrendering to the good (tying the camel) and fighting the good (taking his arrows from the quiver).

> The [horseman] held off at a distance, and he said, 'Untie its hobble.' I said, 'Never, I swear to God, I left my women in al-Ḥīra, and I swore not to return unless I brought supplies, or die.'

> He said, 'Then you are [already] dead, untie it.' I said, 'It is how I said.' He said, 'You are arrogant. Set up its reins and make five knots for me, from the hobble.' And so I did. He said, 'Where would you have me place my arrow?' I said, 'Right here.' [And] it was as if he had placed it with his hand. Then he began to shoot until he had hit all five [knots] with five arrows. So I returned my arrows to my quiver, I set down my bow, and I stood, in surrender.

The result of this confrontation between good and evil is a foregone conclusion. This is why the horseman says to the protagonist, 'Then you are dead': the sinner, when confronted, becomes arrogant in his defence. This arrogance leads to death, because it springs from ignorance. The protagonist thinks himself brave in facing the horseman, but he overlooks the strength of the latter, whereas, the horseman is modest with his true bravery, confident of his own strength and the protagonist's weakness.

Here again is the contrast between ignorance and knowledge. This confrontation is proof of the power of altruism, in that it [chivalry] does not want to harm the sinner; rather it wants to help and redeem him. This is why, the protagonist surrenders when he sees the horseman's skill in archery, which is so great it appears that the arrows have been placed by hand. The Arabic word used for 'hit' is *aṣaba*, which derives from the root *ṣ.w.b*, which also means 'to be right' – it is noted that this word is used for the third time in the story with yet a third meaning. The protagonist then says:

> He approached me, took the sword, and the bow, and he said, 'Mount up behind me.' He knew that I was the one who drank the milk in his place, so he said, 'What do you think of me?' I said, '[Only] the best thought.' He said, 'And how so?' I said, 'From the tiredness of the night that you have faced, God granted you victory over me.' He said, 'Do you think that we would harm you, when yesterday night you were in the company of Muhalhil?' I said, 'Are you [then] Zayd al-Khayl?' He said, 'Yes, I am Zayd al-Khayl.' I said, 'I am yours.' He said: 'Do not fear.' He returned to his place, and said, 'If these camels were mine, I would have gifted them to you, but they belong to the daughter of Muhalhil. However stay with me because I am about to go into raid (*ghāra*).'

The victory of chivalry and right is followed by pardon and mercy; otherwise, it would not be true chivalry. The Arabic equivalent for the word 'mount' is *irtadif*, from the root *r.d.f*, which means 'to follow'; it indicates that 'to surrender to the right means to follow it'. The protagonist drank from the milk of virtue, so he follows it. The protagonist recognizes the son from the father's name, which brings to mind the Arabic proverb: *hadhā l-shiblu min dhāka l-asad* ('this cub is from that lion' or in English 'like father like son'). The camels are held in trust for the daughter of Muhalhil and that trust cannot be betrayed. Yet, when Zayd al-Khayl makes war against Banū Numayr in al-Milḥ and gains a hundred camels he gives the protagonist some of them. He sends native guides with him, until they arrive at al-Ḥīra. Here, a Nabatean preaches the arrival of the Prophet Muḥammad. He says: 'A time will come when one of you will buy land for the price of a camel.' The protagonist says:

> I travelled with my family to a place, and while we were in al-Shaṭṭayn by the water … there came to us the messenger of God – God's blessings and peace be upon him. We converted to Islam; and only a few days had passed when I bought some land in al-Ḥīra with the price of one camel.'

With this, we arrive at the conclusion of the story, which is once more 'deliverance'. Zayd al-Khayl sends expert guides with the protagonist while moving 'from water hole to water hole' on the return journey to al-Ḥīra – as before, water denotes spirituality. Thus, the desert guides represent spiritual guidance for the protagonist on his journey of return, which is back to his normal life. Spirituality continues with the prediction of the Nabatean about the Prophet Muḥammad, and finally there is the conversion to Islam and the material gain of land in addition to spiritual gain. This demonstrates that the quest for spirituality leads to both spiritual and material gain: whereas, pursuit of materiality alone leads to the loss of both. This is exactly what happened to the protagonist when he tried to steal – he lost what he coveted. However, when he surrendered to what was right (spirituality), he gained both spiritually and materially. The pattern of this story is seen as: hardship–journey–(further hardships)–journey–deliverance.

He saw in his dream that his wealth is in Egypt[238]

The story is about a man from Baghdād who spends his inheritance and becomes very poor so he wishes to die. One night he sees in his dream a voice ordering him to go to Egypt where he will find his wealth. The protagonist manages to take a letter of recommendation (*kitāb*) from his neighbour Judge Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf before heading to Egypt. However, he cannot find a job there and his financial state deteriorates. One night as the protagonist is walking alone at night, a guard stops him, beats him and the protagonist tells him his story. The guard laughs at him and tells him that he too saw a dream that his wealth was in such and such a place in Baghdād and that he did not even think about the dream. But in fact the guard was describing the protagonist's home. The story ends with the protagonist returning home and finding his wealth.

Analysis

The protagonist says:

> I have inherited a great deal of money (*mālan jalīlan*) from my father but I spent it quickly (*fa-asraʿtu fīhi*) and wasted it until I reached [the result] of selling the doors and the ceilings of my home. I had no any other means of this world left and I remained for a time living off my mother's spinning, so I hoped to die.

The word *jalīl* signifies 'great in size' when describing a thing and when describing a man it signifies great 'in estimation, rank, or dignity'.[239] The protagonist's father not only was a rich man but he had high social and moral rank. The verb *asraʿtu* is derived from the root (*s.r.ʿ*), which has the meanings of being quick, expeditious or speedy.[240] According to Sībawayh, the difference between *asraʿa* and *saruʿa* is that the former signifies that the person asked for speediness and imposed it on himself, whereas *saruʿa* implies a natural inclination.[241] The protagonist then chooses to waste his wealth quickly on his material pleasures and the just result of his expeditious deed is to lose it all. There is a contrast between father and son, between reason and recklessness. This contrast leads to losing everything and to the shocking reality of poverty and shame after living in wealth and dignity. The protagonist then is full of shame; it is he who should earn his living and spend on his mother and not the other way round. He had enough wealth to allow him and his mother to lead a descent life. Instead, his mother is the one who has to

work and spend on him; what a shame. Where is his manhood? Seeing this misery and feeling ashamed of himself naturally will bring him down to depression and therefore he wishes to die.

Inherited wealth here denotes the spiritual wealth the protagonist possesses in his heart. When he sought a worldly life at the expense of his spirituality, he lost both of them. The mother (*umm*) denotes oneself. From the Qurʾan:

> *wa ammā man khaffat mawāzīnuh, fa-ummuhu hāwiya*
> but he whose deeds weigh light in the balance, shall plunge in the womb of the pit.[242]

Al-Zamakhsharī says:

> *fa-ummuhu hāwiya* is from their saying – when they invoke evil upon a man with perishing – 'may his mother fall' because when he falls (meaning when he perishes) his mother will perish out of bereavement and sadness. … So as if it was said, 'but he whose deeds weigh light in the balance, then he will perish'.[243]

Spinning (*ghazl*) denotes humiliation, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī says: 'If a man sees [in his dream] that he is spinning cotton or linen in which he imitates women then humiliation befalls him.'[244] This means that the protagonist falls into humiliation with his wrong deed of preferring materiality to spirituality. The protagonist is admitting his guilt. Wishing for death and running away from what he has done denotes despair of God's deliverance in this world on the one hand and it denotes hoping to run away to God the Merciful in order to find peace and rest from this miserable worldly life on the other hand. But in the Qurʾān:

> *wa huwa l-ladhī yunazzilu l-ghaytha min baʿdi ma qanaṭū wa yanshuru raḥmatahu wa huwa l-waliyyu ʿl-ḥamīd*
>
> And it is He who sends down the rain after they have despaired, and He unfolds His mercy; He is the Protector, the All-laudable.[245]

The protagonist continues: 'One night, I saw in my sleep as if someone is saying to me "your wealth is in Egypt, go there".' At the moment of despair and admitting his guilt, the protagonist receives a spiritual call.

God is saving him and Egypt is the land of safety. From the Qurʾān in the story of Josef:

> *fa-lammā dakhalū ʿalā Yūsufa āwā ilayhi abawayhi wa qāla udkhulū miṣra in shāʾa Allahu āmināīn*
>
> So, when they entered unto Joseph, he took his father and mother into his arms saying, 'Enter you into Egypt, if God will, in security.'[246]

In his interprtation of dreams, al-Nābulsī says: 'Whoever sees himself in the country of Egypt, ʿAyn Shams and al-Fayyūm then God will make his life good and he will have a long life.'[247] The protagonist continues:

> in the morning, I went to Judge Abū ʿUmar and I pleaded with him for the sake of neighbourhood and for the sake of a service which my father did to his father to help me and I asked him to provide me with a letter of recommendation (*kitāb*) to Egypt so that I can find an employment, so he did and I left.

In his dream, the protagonist hears the spiritual call that denotes the light of deliverance at night-time, which denotes his dark misery. He decides to follow the spiritual call. However, in the morning, which denotes the light of hope, he resorts to his neighbour who is a judge. The judge is a man of knowledge, spirituality and justice, which denotes that although the protagonist wasted his wealth on materiality, spirituality is near, guarding and rescuing him. The judge knows the protagonist's guilt in wasting his inheritance and therefore he should pay for his reckless deed. For this reason, the judge had to make it hard for the protagonist to get a letter (*kitāb*) from him because he has to be sure that the protagonist has repented and will not do another reckless act. Therefore, the protagonist had to plead with him, reminding him of a favour his father did to the judge's father and this shows that the protagonist's father was a prominent man. The judge is a loyal man and does not forget favours of others upon him or his father. God's breath in him moves his heart for the miserable protagonist and therefore agrees to write for him the letter of recommendation. The protagonist's father denotes his noble spiritual origin and his memory comes to the rescue. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī says:

> the father in dreams denotes achieving aims and the best thing that man sees in his dreams are his parents, his forefathers, or one of his relatives. Whoever sees his father in his dream, then if he was in need, his livelihood will come to him from where he does not expect.[248]

The letter of recommendation in classical Arabic is (*kitāb*), which denotes 'the obligation (*al-farḍ*), the judgement (*al-ḥukm*) and destiny (*al-Qadar*)'.[249] In the context of this story, destiny is at work and is preparing the protagonist – who responded to his spirtual call – to embark on his spiritual journey to find out where his treasure lies. The protagonist says: 'when I arrived at Egypt, I delivered the letter [of recommendation] and asked for employment. However, God sealed all ways until I could not gain any employment, nor has any work loomed to me.'

Despite a long journey and a letter of recommendation from Judge Abū ʿUmar, the protagonist could not find employment or any work whatsoever. What a disappointment! The protagonist submits to the spiritual call in his dream but not only did he not find wealth but he could also not even find work, any work. But, in reality, God is still testing him. He is testing the protagonist's patience and faith in Him. Moreover, the protagonist has to see for himself the result of his reckless deed so that he would regret more his mistakes and draws nearer to God. The role of the letter of recommendation (*kitāb*) is to encourage him to embark on his journey to the land of security, his inner journey to his own heart and spirituality. The protagonist says:

> my expenditure was exhausted, so I remained confused and I thought of begging and stretching my hand on the road. But [I] myself did not permit me to do so. So I said to myself: I go out at night-time and beg. I went out between evening and night prayers, I would walk on the road, but [I] myself refuses to beg and hunger would prompt me to beg and I would abstain from it. [I remained so] until a part of the night passed.

There is a contrast here between the protagonist's old status as the son of a wealthy prominent man and his new status as a poor humiliated man whom hunger is prompting to beg. This contrast leads to an inner struggle between his physical needs and his spirituality. His abstinence from begging is in parallel with the Qurʾanic verse:

> *inna Allāha huwa l-razzāqu dhū l-quwwati l-matīn*
> Surely God is the All-provider, the Possessor of Strength, the Ever-Sure.[250]

Indeed, man should only ask the All-provider for his sustenance and abstain from humiliating himself by begging.

The protagonist is walking exhausted and hungry in the dark night. His abstinence from begging denotes relying on God and accepting His destiny. He has lost everything and now he is a hungry stranger walking in a strange land alone at night. Suddenly:

> The night guard found me; he captured me and found me a stranger. He denied my state and asked me about my news. I replied 'I am a weak man'. But he did not believe me; he threw me down and whipped me. I shouted 'I will tell you the truth.' He [the guard] said: 'go on'. I told him my story from beginning to end and [I told him about] the dream [I had].

On top of all the hardship he suffered, the protagonist is suffering a new hardship. What is happening to him and why? He has acknowledged his mistakes; he followed the spiritual call and moved to Egypt. But the only thing he encounters there is new hardships; the protagonist is even more confused now. But what he does not know is what God is hiding for him. God makes man suffer for a reason. From the Qurʾān:

> *qul yā ʿibādī l-dhīna asrafū ʿalā anfusihim lā taqnaṭū min raḥmati Allāhi inna Allāha yaghfiru l-dhunūba jamīʿan innahu huwa l-ghafuru l-raḥīm*
>
> Say: 'O my people who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy; surely God forgives sins altogether; surely He is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate.[251]

The protagonist continues:

> He [the guard] said to me 'I have never seen a man more stupid than you. By God such and such years ago I have seen in my dream as if a man saying to me: In Baghdād, in such and such

> street, in such and such neighborhood' – and he mentioned my street and neighbourhood, so I remained silent and listened to him – the policeman continued his talk 'there is a house called the house of so and so' – and he mentioned my house and my name 'in which [the house] there is a garden and in it [the garden] there is a Lote-Tree (*sidra*)' – and there was a Lote-Tree in the garden of my house 'and there are thirty thousand dinars buried under the Lote-Tree' go and take it. But I did not think of this talk [of the dream] nor have I turned to it. But you O, stupid man, you left your country and came to Egypt because of a dream!'

The light of deliverance begins to appear. This guard has just described the protagonist's home. Is it possible? After all the hardships he suffered, he is just discovering that his wealth is in fact in his own home.

There is a contrast between the protagonist and the guard. Both of them heard the same spiritual call in their dreams but their attitudes towards it differed. The protagonist followed the spiritual call but the guard ignored it. This is a contrast between knowledge and ignorance, between spirituality and neglect. The guard had received the spiritual call long before the protagonist. Had he followed the spiritual call he heard in his dream he would have become wealthy both spiritually and materially, but he did not. When the protagonist received the spiritual call, he followed it and God used the night guard as a tool with which to direct the protagonist to the path of his wealth, which was already in his own home, in his own heart. The protagonist said:

> My heart became strong and the guard released me. I spent the night in one of the mosques and I left Egypt before daybreak. I arrived at Baghdād, cut the Lote-Tree, dug under it, and I found a bulging long-necked bottle (*qumqum*) in which there was 30,000 dinars. I took it; I withheld my hand and managed my affairs. Until today I am still living off these *dinar*s out of the land and property I bought with it [the money].

The story then ends with deliverance and wealth. Following the spiritual call strengthens the protagonist's heart. Spending the night in the mosque denotes washing off the misery of hardship resulting from selling spirituality for the sake of materiality. Leaving Egypt before

daybreak denotes the nearness of deliverance and the light that is about to lighten the protagonist's heart. The journey back home denotes the spiritual journey back to God, to the depth of the heart; and finding the wealth beneath the Lote-Tree denotes finding spiritual happiness, which is the paradise of the earthly life. From the Qurʾān about the Prophet Muḥammad's vision:

> *wa-laqad raʾāhu nazlatan ʿUkhrā, ʿinda sidrati l-muntahā, ʿindaha jannatu l-maʾwā, idh yaghshā l-sidrata mā yaghshā, mā zāgha l-baṣaru wa mā ṭaghā, la-qad raʾā min āyāti rabbihi l-kubrā*
>
> Indeed, he saw him another time by the Lote-Tree of the Boundary, nigh which is the Garden of the Refuge, when there covered the Lote-Tree that which covered; his eye swerved not, nor swept astray. Indeed, he saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord.[252]

Finally, holding onto his wealth and living in prosperity denotes holding onto his spiritual treasure and living in a spiritual paradise. Sinning causes hardship to man, but when he acknowledges his mistakes, he has to do his own spiritual journey back to find deliverance and happiness. But the spiritual journey is hard and needs a great deal of patience, relying on God and hope. Man thinks that his happiness is somewhere else, but when he journeys, he realizes that his true happiness and wealth are inside his own heart. Egypt is the land of safety and security, and it is there where the protagonist finds guidance to where his treasure is hidden.

He who sells spirituality for the sake of worldly pleasures, loses both and falls into hardship. But he who maintains his spirituality finds spiritual and material happiness. Man is responsible for his deeds, when he sins he falls into hardship and when he follows the spiritual call he finds deliverance and happiness. Thus divine justice is always at work, in this life and the hereafter. The pattern in this story is: hardship–journey–(further hardships)–journey–deliverance.

Political stories

The theme of the journey in al-Tanūkhī's political stories, holds much less importance than in his social stories. Apart from this, the only important element of the journey we find in the political stories is

'place'. The pattern that governs the journey is: hardship–journey–prayer (or speech)–deliverance. As one example of the political stories, I have chosen the following, because it starts with a political event, which forms the basis of the unfolding story.

Qaṭan b. Muʿāwiya al-Ghilābī surrenders to al-Manṣūr[253]

The story is about Qaṭan b. Muʿāwiya (a rebel) who flees from the caliph al-Manṣūr, after the latter kills his brother-in-arms Ibrāhīm.[254] He takes refuge in the desert, within the territory of several different tribes. He then decides to return and face al-Manṣūr. He goes first to al-Baṣra to solicit the opinion of a friend, who disapproves his decision. Despite his friend's opinion, he heads towards the city of al-Manṣūr (in Baghdād); once there he encounters al-Rabīʿ (the gatekeeper of al-Manṣūr) who promptly gaols the protagonist. A eunuch guardian then takes him before the caliph. The protagonist admits his culpability, and al-Manṣūr pardons him and returns his money and property.

Analysis

The protagonist himself narrates the story. He says: 'I was one of those who joined Ibrāhīm and fought strenuously by his side. When Ibrāhīm was killed [in battle], Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr] pursued me; I went into hiding, so he expropriated my money and houses.' The story thus begins with a political event engendering a hardship. This hardship compels the protagonist to hide from sight – hence there is a contrast between fomenting revolution (strength), and hiding (weakness). The event that turns the situation is the death of the revolution's leader (Ibrāhīm). It brings to mind a maxim from a story analysed above, namely that real power begins by first controlling the leader, the head, and thence the rest will follow.

The financial factor is crucial in political struggle; personal circumstances form part of political struggle since it places added pressure on the revolutionary. The aspects of personal pressure and political conflict are, in other words, a parallel between universal and personal struggle.

The protagonist continues his story: 'I ran away to the desert, to the territory of the tribe of Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya, Kilāb, Fazāra, Sulaym, then to the territory of Qays, until I was wearied of hiding. So I decided to go to Abū Jaʿfar, and face him.' Hardship compels the 'journey-of-escape'. The perfect place for flight is into the desert. However, once there, the protagonist does not rest in one place, he travels between one

tribal area and another – this shows the state of fear and distrust, which prompts his continuous passage. His prolonged desert journey of concealment is in its turn a further hardship – it forces the protagonist to go on yet another journey, to face his destiny. There is a contrast between the hardship of flight and concealment, and the hardship of the journey itself. This contrast provokes him to go and confront his fate. Thus, the journey and its consequent hardship are important in stiffening the protagonist's resolve.

The protagonist continues:

> I arrived at al-Baṣra, and lodged in a part of it, then I sent for Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ,[255] and he was faithful to me. I asked his opinion of what I intended to do. He denounced my intentions saying, 'By God, he [al-Manṣūr] will kill you, and you are helping [him] to do it.' I did not heed him; and I departed, until I arrived at Baghdād in which Abū Jaʿfar had built his city.

The protagonist then meets al-Rabīʿ who places him under guard:

> When I was arrested I bemoaned my fate, I remembered the advice of Abū ʿAmr, and felt remorse. Al-Rabīʿ came, he did not stay long before he brought a eunuch who took my hand … then he put me in an impregnable building, shut its door and left. My despondence became greater; I became certain of my fate and I began to upbraid myself. In the afternoon, the eunuch came to me with water; I washed for prayer and prayed, he brought me food and I told him that I was fasting. In the evening he again came to me with water, I washed for prayer and prayed. Night fell and I despaired of my life.

From this long description of his entry into al-Manṣūr's city, Qaṭan's courage in deciding to face al-Manṣūr is manifest (and contrary to his friend's denunciation). There is a contrast between fear and courage. We can see that the protagonist, once he has made his decision, simply seeks his friend's approval – which is why he sends for him to ask his opinion. The friend's advice (that al-Manṣūr will surely kill Qaṭan) engenders feelings of defiance within the protagonist. He needed this quality to harden his determination. His protracted desert flight makes him realize that confronting one's destiny is better than living in fear. The meeting with al-Rabīʿ starts his confrontation with dangerous

reality. He remembers his friend's advice and rues not following it; in consequence, he faces imprisonment after freedom.

The protagonist's custodian is a eunuch. This can symbolize cruelty and danger – since the eunuch is a man deprived of his manhood, and as a consequence becomes cruel towards other men.[256] The eunuch can also symbolize the humiliation of the revolutionary – since eunuchs mostly used to be guardians of women.[257] This last construction is more likely because there is no indication of violence against the protagonist while imprisoned – other than the long and heavy hours of waiting, fearing the worst. The eunuch brings him water and food at noon; the protagonist performs his ritual ablution, but refuses to eat as he is fasting. He is making his journey to God by praying, he needs spirituality in his time of fear. The same happens at dusk, but by night-time, he is in despair. There is a contrast here between the day (with its hope and spirituality) and the night (with its dark thoughts and despair). The protagonist continues his story, he says:

> I heard the doors of the city closing, its padlocks [being] latched, and I could not sleep. When the early part of the night passed, the eunuch came to me, opened [the door] and took me into a yard and up to a drawn curtain. A servant came to us and took us inside where I saw Abū Jaʿfar alone with al-Rabīʿ standing in a corner. Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr kept silent for a moment then he raised his head and said, '*hih*' (which signifies, 'At last here you are, so say what you must'). I said, 'O, Prince of the Faithful, I swear to God that I did my best to oppose you, I disobeyed you; I supported your enemy [and] I was trying very hard to dispossess you of your power. If you pardon me then [indeed] you are a man of mercy, and if you punish me then, with the smallest of my sins, you kill me.' [Abū Jaʿfar] was silent for a moment, then again he said, '*hih*'. I repeated my plea. He said, 'Then the Prince of the Faithful has pardoned you.' I said, 'O, Prince of the Faithful, I go behind your door, and cannot get to you. My lands and houses, are forfeit, so if the Prince of the Faithful sees fit to give them back to me, so shall he do.'

So the story continues. Al-Manṣūr orders al-Numayrī (who is in al-Baṣra) to give Qaṭan back his prerogatives. Finally, Qaṭan finds a friend, who carries him back [home]. The protagonist goes to al-Numayrī, and regains his wealth and position.[258]

In the above passage, al-Tanūkhī is still describing – through Qaṭan's thoughts – the inner feelings of stress and fear that preclude sleep. The night prevents him from seeing anything, and he can only hear the padlocks of the doors of the city closing. There is a parallel between darkness locking him inside his fear, and the doors of the city locking him inside the present danger – the Arabic is *arkhā ʿalayya ʾl-laylu sudūlahu* 'the night has loosened its veil on me'. This brings to mind the verse of the Muʿallaqat of Imruʾ al-Qays:[259]

> *wa laylin ka-mawji l-baḥri arkhā sudūlahu ʿalayia bi-anwāʿi l-humūmi li-yabtalī*
>
> Often has the night drawn her skirts around me, like the billows of the ocean, to make trial of my fortitude, in a variety of cares.[260]

Picture the critical moment: it takes place in darkness; the eunuch leads him before a hanging curtain, which makes the protagonist's apprehensions more acute. What is behind the curtain? At this point he passes beyond it to find al-Manṣūr in a state of deep thought (which suggests that he is ready to listen and not hasten to inflict cruel punishment – thought engenders wisdom when dealing with grave matters). This is why al-Manṣūr says nothing but '*hih*'. Silence signifies hidden thoughts and hidden words; sometimes it is far more expressive than speech. The caliph's quietude encourages the protagonist to speak, admitting his guilt and asking for pardon. The caliph remains silent and the protagonist reiterates his plea. The repetition of his words affects the caliph's heart and he pardons Qaṭan. There is a relationship here between the word and the heart. The word admits guilt, it expresses regret and sincere intentions; this unites with the deed that verifies the protagonist's integrity (after all it is he who decided to confront his fate when he went to al-Manṣūr). As a consequence of this parallel – between the deed and the word – Qaṭan not only gains the caliph's pardon, but he also regains all the material privileges that he had lost.

One could suggest that the caliph's posture with Qaṭan is not honest and springs from political motives, and thereby his pardon is false. In my judgement, both analyses of the caliph's behaviour are logical. Although the caliph is a politician, he is also a human being who has the breath of God within him. His pardoning of Qaṭan may be seen as a

mixture of human feelings and political interests – otherwise he would be deemed a tyrant.

Deliverance is further sustained by the protagonist's final journey, by boat to al-Baṣra. This is the 'return journey', which [by boat] signifies peace and happiness. The pattern of this story is: hardship (failure of revolution then exile)–the journey (which has two parts, the escape and the confrontation)–the speech (plea)–deliverance–the return journey.

CONCLUSION UPON THE THEME OF THE JOURNEY

The journey here, acts as a passage towards ultimate deliverance, one in which the protagonist endures his adversity with faith, patience (*ṣabr*), and hope. He places reliance on God and accepts His destiny. It is a strengthening factor for man. Although deliverance only springs out of hardship, we realize that the journey is the purpose of enduring the hardship. God has placed man in hardship such that he can make his journey; and on the way he can contemplate, reason and gain knowledge. Man then, makes his inner journey and strengthens his relationship with his creator, which leads him to have knowledge of God – this aim is the whole purpose of the journey in the Islamic tradition.

The journey represents a movement – from negative to positive – in which man contemplates and confronts right and wrong. It is through this movement that man gains the chance to make his inner journey into his soul. It stimulates him to thought. It helps him discover his inner strength by enduring, not only the hardship that forces him to flight but also the adversities he faces on his journey. This is why the journey has its metaphorical side and comprises several contrasts:

- Knowledge and ignorance;
- Spirituality and materiality;
- Alternation between day and night;
- Water and land;
- The summit of the mountain and its base;
- *Nabīdh* and water (or milk);
- Camels (used for pilgrimage, for peaceful journeys) and horses (used mostly for war).[261]

These elements are but manifestations of the one journey that man has

to make between earth and paradise – in other words between ignorance and knowledge.

On his journey man gains spiritual knowledge, which in the end is manifest through the word. Deliverance is at the journey's end, but in the main it is achieved after prayer, speech, dialogue or poetry. Thus, the word is either internalized (prayer/ supplication) or externalized (speech). The influence of the word is the result of the wisdom that man gains through his journey – it is accompanied by the right deed. This is why the word's influence is so great and powerful.

At the beginning is hardship, followed by a journey; however, within that pattern it can be seen that the most critical moment is the period between the journey and deliverance. It is here that the role of the 'right word' brings about final salvation. It brings to mind the time of the first creation: man was created, but it was the imperative word that gave him life – 'Be!' (*kun*). In the Qurʾān:

> *inna mathala ʿĪsa ʿinda Allāhi ka-mathali Ādama khalaqahu min turābin thumma qāla lahu kun fa-yakūn*
>
> Truly, the likeness of Jesus, in God's sight, is as Adam's likeness; He created him of dust, then said He unto him, 'Be,' and he was.[262]

Deliverance is the beginning of the new life that Man attains after the hardship he has endured – it is the resurrection of happiness following its death. We find the basis for the vital influence of the word in the Qurʾān – particularly in the verses that talk about the 'Day of Resurrection' where we find the theme of hardship in the Qurʾānic verse:

> *wa yasʾalūnaka ʿani l-jibāli fa-qul yansifuhā rabbī nasfā, fa-yadharuhā qāʿan ṣafṣafā , lā tarā fī-hā ʿiwajan wa lā amtā*
>
> They will question thee concerning the mountains. Say: 'My Lord will scatter them as ashes; then He will leave them a level hollow wherein thou wilt see no crookedness neither any curving'.[263]

What we can describe as the journey is the word (*yattabiʿūna*) that follows the description of the hardship in the Qurʾānic verse:

> *yawmaʾidhin yattabiʿūna l-dāʿī lā ʿiwaja lahu wa khashaʿtati l-aṣwātu lil-Raḥmāni fa-lā tasmaʿu illā hamsā*

> On that day they will follow the Summoner in whom is no crookedness; voices will be hushed to the All-merciful, so that thou hearest naught but a murmuring.[264]

Then finally; the word precedes deliverance as the following verse indicates:

> *yawmaʾidhin lā tanfaʿu l-shafāʿatu illā man adhina lahu l-raḥmānu wa raḍiya lahu qawlā*
>
> Upon that day the intercession will not profit, save for him to whom the All-merciful gives leave, and whose speech He approves.[265]

The main distinction between hardship and deliverance is therefore the contrast between ignorance and knowledge; materiality and spirituality; hatred and love. There are two patterns in the journey theme as described above. The first pattern, as we see, begins with hardship; while the second begins with the journey. In those stories that begin with a journey, we notice that this [first] journey leads to an experience of hardship – this is necessarily followed by the main journey, the one that intervenes between hardship and eventual deliverance. Thus, both

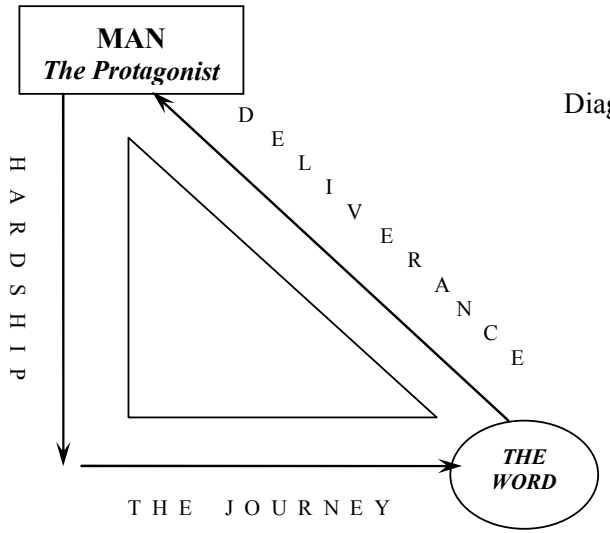

Diagram 1

patterns in fact unite within a single pattern: hardship–journey–deliverance. This foregoing pattern can be pictured diagrammatically as a triangle (Diagram 1 above):

The protagonist, Man, is at the summit; he then errs (or leaves his peaceful life for some reason) leading to a life filled with hardship (one where he must learn through endurance of adversity); this leads to deliverance, and return to a peaceful former life. The journey describes a path, a route for knowledge: man travels along it and as he goes, he can contemplate God and the creation. When he makes the journey into his soul he makes the right decision and, thus, he understands that deliverance is attained with the right word and the good deed.

At this point, it is meaningful to quote what al-Tanūkhī transmits, under the title 'From the Words (*aqwāl*) of the Sūfīs':

> *al-maʿrifatu bi-Allāhi dalīlun lā ḍayʿata maʿahu, wa l-ʿamalu l-ṣāliḥu zādun lā yukhāfu maʿahu ṭūlu l-safar*
>
> Knowing God is a guide with no fault, and the good deed is sustenance with which the long journey is not [to be] feared.[266]

Chapter 2
Love

In this chapter, the patterns, lexicon of love, characteristic themes and types of love will be examined before a detailed analysis of selected stories. This chapter begins with 'Love in the Islamic Tradition' as an introduction.

LOVE BETWEEN GOD AND MAN IN THE ISLAMIC TRADITION

God created Adam and breathed into him of his spirit; he ordered the angels to prostrate themselves in front of Adam. From the Qurʾān:

> *wa idh qāla rabbuka li-l-malāʾikati innī khāliqun bashara min ṣalṣālin min ḥamaʾin masnūn, fa-ʾidhā sawwaytuhu wa nafakhtu fī-hi min rūḥī fa-qaʿū la-hu sājidīn*
>
> And when thy Lord said to the angels, 'See, I am creating a mortal of a clay of mud moulded. When I have shaped him, and breathed My spirit in him, fall you down, bowing before him!'[1]

From this very beginning – from the dawn of creation – the story of the love between God and man begins. God gives example to man: love is giving something dear to you; love elevates the beloved to a higher plane. What raises this mortal clay higher than the angels is the spiritual essence that God breathed into him. For this reason, the Lord made man his vice-regent upon earth and blessed him with the grace of knowledge;[2] through which Adam and his descendants came to know their first beloved – their creator. However, Adam disobeyed God, who banished him to earth in order that he would know his sin.[3] Yet, God still gives the example of love by His compassion in punishment, and His knowledge of man's imperfection; thereby He gives him the chance to ponder the error of his ways. Adam realizes his sin, and the harm he

has done himself. And so, he receives (as guidance from God) the word of deliverance; with which he asks Him for His forgiveness – God, who has mercy upon His servant, forgives him.[4]

The 'right word' is a revelation, a gift from God, it performs a great role in achieving deliverance; hence man must learn to say his word before the Merciful. The word is the means by which the relationship between man and his Sustainer is manifest. 'Mercy', 'forgiveness', and 'tolerance' are the qualities of love: for this reason God describes Himself as *wadūd* ('loving').[5]

Man on earth then, holds a great secret within himself that he once forgot, but still feels. Since his first stirrings of consciousness, he has been in search of it – so what is this wondrous secret?

In his book entitled *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) says: 'In the heart of Man there dwells a natural inclination (*gharīza*): the Divine light (*al-nūru l-ilāhī*). It can be called the intellect (*al-ʿaql*), the insight (*al-baṣīratu l-bāṭina*), or it can be called the light of faith and conviction (*nūru l-ʾīmāni wa l-yaqīn*).'[6] Al-Ghazālī chooses to call this Divine light: 'The intellect with which Man knows God and all things.'[7]

In his book entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Ibn ʿArabī calls this nature the 'Divine presence' (*al-ḥaḍratu l-ilāhiyya*). He depicts the heart as a mirror that never tarnishes; but should it do so, its repolishing is achieved by invocation of words in praise of God (*dhikru Allāh*) and the reading of the Qurʾān. This tarnish, according to Ibn ʿArabī, represents the occlusion of the heart with other things that precludes the divine presence, which is always there and is never cloaked from us. When man's heart does not accept the divine presence (through religious word) – but instead adopts other words – the acceptance of such words is called 'rust' (*ṣadaʾ*), 'concealment' (*kinn*), 'lock-away' (*qufl*), 'blindness' (*ʿamā*), and 'rust overlying the heart' (*al-rān*).[8]

Knowledge is the light shining from within the dark clay; it is the natural aptitude with which man thinks and feels, and which leads him towards the knowledge of his creator. The diversity of words that express this ability – whether it be the intellect, the heart or the divine light – signifies that knowledge is the confluence of both emotion and thought. Al-Ghazālī states:

> Man loves that which brings him pleasure. … The delight of the intellect and heart is knowledge. … This is why each [one] feels happy if they are attributed with knowledge, and each [one] feels sad if attributed with ignorance. … Every kind of knowledge has

> its own pleasure that increases with the sublimity of knowledge, [and] the pleasure becomes more honourable according to its subject. … So is there anything that is more honourable and sublime than the Creator of all things? … There is no doubt that knowing the Divine secrets and the disposition of everything that exists, is the highest kind of knowledge, the most enjoyable and delectable.[9]

God kindled the light of knowledge within man, and he banished him to earth. Man, illuminated by this divine light, suffers from the contrast of his two origins: the earthly and the divine. Yet, he is in search of his creator. This is why the Merciful graced man with the emotion of pleasure, which stimulates him to follow wherever that light may lead. In the course of his discourse about the reality of love (in general), its causes and the Love of God (in particular) al-Ghazālī states that: 'Love can only be comprehended once knowledge has been attained, since Man loves only that which he knows.'[10]

This relationship between love and knowledge, which teeters on the brink of becoming one single emotion, leads us back to the moment of the creation when God (the source of love) breathed His spirit into man and taught him all the names. This is why 'Love for God is an ordinance';[11] and 'knowledge of God is the source of every [other kind] of knowledge'[12] – hence the love of God is the origin of every other form of love. According to al-Ghazālī, 'For this reason 'al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] said: "… [he] who knows God loves him".'[13] 'Love is the natural inclination towards what is pleasurable, when this feeling becomes stronger then it becomes *ʿishq*.' And, 'The stronger love becomes, the stronger pleasure becomes.' Hence, 'Pleasure follows love and the latter follows knowledge.'[14] Pleasure, love and knowledge together create a cycle in which one leads to the other. Pleasure is a necessity for man; this pleasure is a combination of the two elements from which man is formed: the spiritual and the physical.

Al-Ghazālī explains why only God deserves love; he elucidates five reasons for his conclusions, which I summarize below:[15]

1. Man loves his [own] existence; therefore, he who knows himself, and God, necessarily knows that the reason for his existence is his Lord.
2. Man loves the one who treats him with kindness and consoles him with money and kind words; and who supports him and defends him

against evil people. Nevertheless, if Man knows that the only beneficent being is God then he would love only Him.

3. Man loves kind and charitable people in general, even if he is not in need of their charity. God is charitable to all people, and so He is the only one who deserves to be loved.
4. Man tends towards the love of beauty (both external and internal), for example loving the prophets; loving the people-of-knowledge, and those of pure morals (*makārimu l-akhlāq*) and good conduct. God is all-knowing, all-powerful. He is above all imperfection – He is the Absolute Splendour.
5. Man tends to love what resembles himself. To resemble God is to acquire His manners. It means to be charitable, to be kind, and to inspire others with goodness and mercy – thus we find the *ḥadīth* '[and] God created Man in His own image'.

LOVE BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IN THE ISLAMIC TRADITION

There are two kinds of love observable between men and women: 'divine love' and 'profane love'. I examine each in turn:

Divine love

Several verses in the Qurʾān speak about the creation of men and women from '*one-soul*':

> *khalaqakum min nafsin wāḥidatin thumma jaʿala minhā zawjahā*
> He created you of a single soul, then from it He appointed its mate.[16]

Men and women are soul mates, inhabiting different bodies; hence, it follows that men and women are each in a spiritual search for their other parts. This brings to mind al-Ghazālī's fifth reason for the love of God (see above), namely 'The resemblance between both souls.' As the Prophet Muḥammad says:

> *al-arwāḥu junūdun mujannada fa-mā taʿārafa minhā ʾtalafa wa mā tanākara minhā khtalafa*
>
> The souls are recruited soldiers: the ones who know each other are in harmony, and those who are not in accord with each other differ.[17]

According to Ibn Manẓūr the foregoing means that: 'the souls are created in two parts: those which are in harmony with each other and those which differ from each other – like gathered soldiers when they meet facing each other.'[18] Therefore, the basis of true love is knowledge shared between souls. Love, between men and women, leads to the divine love of God. In his *Futūḥāt*, Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) states that what he calls 'cosmic love' is:

> the knowledge of interpenetration – which is the knowledge of conjoining and sexual union. It is on different levels: sensual, incorporeal, and Divine. So if you want to know its reality [cosmic love] you will have to study it first in the sensuous world; then in the natural world; then in its spiritual meanings; and finally in Divine knowledge.[19]

We understand from this that love, in all its aspects, conjoins into one love – that of God, which is the origin of all the kinds of love.

To understand divine love, man should begin with something more intimate to him, namely 'sensual love'. It is through Man's meditation of his own self (and upon the world around him), that he arrives at the understanding of his love for his creator. Thus, says Ibn ʿArabī, the Prophet's way was marriage and not celibacy – he considered marriage as a worship of the divine secret; and this secret does not exist except in women.[20]

The physical relationship, hence, is a form of worship and a reflection of the spiritual feelings that God breathed into man. According to Ibn ʿArabī:

> The first intellect (that is the first creature) is the greatest pen … it was influenced by what God had done, which is the emergence of the protected tablet from the pen, just as Eve emerged from Adam; so that the tablet will be the place where the Divine pen writes. … The relationship between pen and tablet is like matrimony, [one] that has a reasonable incorporeal marriage and a witnessed sensuous trace.[21]

Ibn ʿArabī perceives the relationship between men and women as a reflection of that between the pen and tablet.

Witness again the affiliation between knowledge and love: in its dual aspects 'the spiritual' and 'the physical'. The cycle that comprises love

consists of three elements: desire (pleasure)–knowledge–spiritual feelings. In his *Futūḥāt*, Ibn ʿArabī says:

> When Adam's body was formed there was no sexual desire within. But since in the Divine knowledge there was the creation of proliferation, propagation, and matrimony in this world … God reproduced Eve from the left rib of Adam because of the curving (*inḥinā'*) of ribs so that she will have compassion (*li-taḥnuwa*) for her children and husband. The compassion of the man for the woman is his compassion for himself because she is a part of him and that of the woman for the man because she was created from his rib, which is curved. God filled the emptiness inside Adam caused by the emergence of Eve, with physical desire for her. … So he longed for her out of longing for himself since she is a part of him. Eve yearned for Adam because he is her homeland where she existed.[22]

From all the foregoing, it is seen that love between men and women is a part of that divine love breathed into man – through human love man comes to know and feel the love of God. Again, the cycle is observed: God–love–man–love–God.

Profane love

Al-Ghazālī gives examples of the nature of divine love; from which can be abstracted the nature of the love between men and women, in order to understand better the love of God. He transmits several definitions of love:

> Abū Yazīd said: 'The one in love does not love worldly existence nor the eternal one; but he loves his master.' Al-Shiblī said: 'Love is a pleasurable bewilderment and confusion with exaltation.' It was said: 'Love is to wipe out your trace so that nothing of you returns to you.' It was said: 'Love is the nearness of the heart to the beloved, with cheerfulness and joy.' Al-Khawwāṣ said: 'Love is the erasure of wills and the burning of qualities and needs.'[23]

Among other definitions of love comes the opinion of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1063). He states that people are divided over the true nature of love, but in his judgement 'Love is a union between those parts of the

soul that were originally separate at their sublime root … that is to say the resemblance of souls [when] in their higher world.'[24]

Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) says of the kind of love known as *al-ʾishq* (adoration), that it is: 'a disease that cannot be eliminated … it is a disease that befalls the soul and consumes the body … *al-ʾishq* (adoration) is a combination of *al-ḥubb* (love) and *al-hawā* (intense desirous love) and of resemblance and *ilf* (love with strong affinity.' He also says:

> *Al-ḥubb* (love) is a noun that occurs in the meaning which is only for it [love] and there is no other explanation for it. It could be said that a person loves God and that God loves the faithful … but it is the beginning of *al-ʾishq* (adoration).[25]

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1351) says: '*Al-ʾishq* is "madness in love, supplication, and abiding by the beloved". *Al-wajd* is "overwhelming love". *Al-hawā* is "to follow love whether it is enticement or true guidance"; and love (*ḥubb*) incorporates all three.'[26]

Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), states that: 'Adoration (*al-ʾishq*) is the inclination of the soul towards a form that suits its nature, if the soul's thought gets stronger in that form, then it would imagine the possibility to obtain the beloved and hopes for it. The strength of this thought leads to illness.'[27] Among other interpretations of love, Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 500/1106) describes the definitions of love as opined by Thumāma, Abū Zuhayr al-Madīnī and Yaḥyā b. Muʾādh. Thumāma says:

> Love is a pleasurable companion, an amiable entertainer, a ruler whose ways are pleasant, and whose paths are obscure, and whose rule is tyranical. It [love] owns bodies with their souls, hearts with their thoughts, eyes with their sight, minds with their opinions – love has been handed the reins to their obedience, and has been given their leadership. The path of love is being concealed from sight and hearts are blind to its way.

Abū Zuhayr al-Madīnī states that love: 'is madness and humiliation and it is the disease of pleasant people.' Yaḥyā b. Muʾādh says: 'if this issue [love] is in my hand I would never torment lovers because their sins are ones of inevitability and not sins of choice.'[28]

The variety of definitions of love shows that human feelings of love

are diverse, and are dependent on the strength and nature of the emotions within each individual. In the Arabic language, we find different words that express the different levels of love. Love is variously described as a master, an oppressive ruler, a disease or a kind of madness in which the will of the one in love is negated. Love then is a power over which man has no control. 'A man said to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: "I saw a woman and I fell in love with her". ʿUmar said: "This comes from that which cannot be possessed [namely the heart]".'[29] Love is in fact a mirror, within which the lover sees reflected their own soul and sensibility, in the form of their beloved – in reality he loves only himself [his nature] and the one who resembles her.[30]

According to al-Jāḥiẓ, love is infectious – because of similarities between natures, the longing between spirits, and the closeness of souls. This is why we find love existing between two people who resemble each other in physique, character and attractiveness – or in inclination and nature.[31]

On the subject of the similarities between souls – Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya says:

> When the spirits resemble each other and the souls intermix and interact, the bodies also interact and seek a similar intermixing and nearness that exists between souls. The body is the device of the soul and its ship, so this is why God instilled sexual desire between male and female, in order that they may seek intermingling between the two bodies, like that between the two souls.
>
> This is why it [the intermingling] is called *jimāʿ* ('sexual intercourse'), *khilāṭ* ('intermixture'), *nikāḥ* ('marriage'), and *ifḍā'* ('leading to') because each one of them [both bodies] leads to its companion; such that the void (*faḍā'*) between them vanishes … after sexual intercourse love between husband and wife is greater than love before it: because naturally, the heart's desire is mixed with that of vision. If the eye sees then the heart desires; and if the body copulates with another body, then the heart's desire, the eye's pleasure, and that of sexual intercourse are gathered.
>
> But if he [the person] is separated from this state, then his inclination towards it [physical pleasure] will be stronger and his longing for it will be greater … the Prophet Muḥammad says: *ʿlam yura li-l-mutaḥābbayni mithlu l-nikāh* 'There is nothing for two lovers like marriage'.[32]

With respect to the affiliation of the spiritual feelings of love and physical attraction: Ibn al-Jawzī transmits the saying of one of the wise men. He says that:

> Souls pre-exist the bodies, and they cleave to each other. But when the souls are separated from each other, each to its own body, [then] love remains in each soul for that which used to be close to it. Therefore, when the soul finds that which is similar to itself in another soul – thinking that it is the one that was its companion – this spiritual similarity is called friendship and amicability; and if the similarity is spirituality that is connected to a form, then it is called [the kind of love called] adoration (*ʿishq*).[33]

Ibn al-Jawzī questions the reasoning behind the idea that motivation for love is the similarity between souls – how is it then possible that one might love someone who does not love him in return? In Ibn al-Jawzī's opinion, the answer is that the lover finds that his beloved's nature is similar to his own; whereas, the one who is beloved does not.[34]

Similitude between souls then, is the reason for love: but why might love lead to death in some cases? Ibn al-Jawzī transmits from Sufyān b. Zyad who asked a woman from Banū ʿUdhra:

> 'Why does love kill you, O people of ʿUdhra …?' The woman answered, 'Because we have beauty and abstinence, our beauty prompts us to chastity, which in its turn leads us to have tender hearts: so love kills us. Indeed, we see beautiful eyes beneath the veils, that you do not see.'[35]

In Ibn Ḥazm's opinion, the signs of love are:

> Craving to see the beloved and to follow him/her with your eyes whither the beloved may go. Talking only to the beloved and giving them sole attention when they speak. Hastening to where the beloved may be, and getting close to them. Becoming bemused upon suddenly seeing the beloved. Becoming confused upon seeing someone who resembles the beloved, or upon suddenly hearing their name. Giving everything one possibly could, in order to shed the best light on oneself. Stealing mementoes, one takes from the other. Winking at each other;

> bending towards each other; touching hands while talking; and caressing each other's conspicuous features. Drinking what is left from the beloved's vessel. Making certain where to meet them. Quarrelling and then quickly reconciling, returning to laughter and flirtation. Adoring hearing the name of the beloved and enjoying knowing their news. Loving to stay alone together and being intimate. Losing weight without any reason, and staying awake at night. Feeling trepidation and anguish if the beloved should turn their face away – the signs of this being: sighing, lethargy, and lamentation. Other signs of love being: weeping, distrusting of every word – and this is the undercurrent of gentle reproof between lovers. Finally, living up to the beloved's expectations and preserving everything the beloved does; searching for news of them, and following their movements. Then, when love grows stronger, there are the secret whispers to the total exclusion of everyone except the beloved.[36]

Profane love, then, is a harsh master whereby the lover exalts the beloved but yet fears the beloved's anger or rejection; or again, whereby they feel joy and happiness when the beloved is near. Love commands the heart and owns the body and the soul, which drives the lover to madness and humiliation. Profane love is a mirror wherein the lover sees himself reflected in the beloved, but its course is hidden from their gaze.

Although the various characterizations of profane love do not mention any relationship between profane love and God, there is clearly a spiritual connection between all lovers. God owns each body and every soul: the Muslim is described in Arabic as 'the slave' *(ʿabd*) of God, which shows that he is his servant – similarly, the lover is the slave of his beloved. The Muslim glorifies God and does what he commands; and so the one in love does his beloved's bidding. God cannot be seen; similarly, love is not visible to the eyes. The nature of love then, resembles that of God: and no wonder since love was breathed into man from the spirit of the source of love (God). Man is in search of the divine secret and is in search of his heart's secret. From this point, it seems that *profane love* flows into *divine love*: the former declares the relationship between profane love and the love of God, while the latter implies it without being explicit.

Hence, this study of al-Tanūkhī's love stories will be founded upon the premise that profane love has its origin the source of love (God).

LOVE IN AL-TANŪKHĪ'S COMPILATIONS

Under this heading, I have identified the following aspects for study:

- The patterns;
- The lexicon of love; and
- Characteristic themes.

The patterns

In his compilations al-Tanūkhī depicts social and domestic life in all its aspects, founded in the Arabic Islamic history of his time. Al-Tanūkhī sheds light on love, which is one of the aspects connected to man's life. *Al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda* contains a total of 32 love stories – most of which are found in one dedicated chapter entitled *fī-man nālathu shiddatun fī hawāhu, fa-kashafahā Allāhu ʿanhu wa mallakahu man yahwāhu* (about 'The one who suffered a hardship in love and was delivered by God who granted him possession of his beloved').

There are also love stories in al-Tanūkhī's *Faraj*: Where he talks of the different types of hardship that afflict people. So it is no wonder that he would describe the 'hardship of love', since it is human nature to be loving – so the reader who suffers from love sickness will find consolation therein, and the reader who suffers other hardships will find another world in which to escape, and be helped to endure his hardship. Al-Tanūkhī well knows that love makes hearts tender and encourages human values such as generosity, sacrifice, patience, tolerance and humility.

We also find love stories in al-Tanūkhī's *al-Mustajād min Faʿalāt al-Ajwād*, which observes the close relationship between love and generosity – there are 19 such love stories in this book. In *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara*, al-Tanūkhī tells love stories throughout the different volumes, but particularly in the fifth one – there are 45 stories in all. The stories in *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda* mostly have the benefit of happy endings; whereas in some of the stories from the other two compilations, there are tragic endings, while others end on a happier note.

There are two distinct patterns to al-Tanūkhī's stories of love:

- Love–separation–suffering–reunion (or marriage)
- Love–separation–suffering–death

Love, separation, suffering and reunion (or marriage)

In five of the stories, 'separation' is caused by the protagonist's error in selling his beloved (the concubine), thus losing her and as a result having to suffer and strive to win her back. These stories can be considered a reflection of the story of Adam – in which he commits the sin of disobedience to God, whereupon he loses his Paradise, and has to suffer in order to gain it back. By contrast, through other stories al-Tanūkhī depicts for us the 'right deed' when the protagonist recoils from selling his beloved. Al-Tanūkhī contrasts these two types of story: there is parallelism in the thought and deed in the first type [that is the protagonist contemplates selling his beloved, and then does so], which contrasts with the thought and deed in the second type [that is that the protagonist thinks of selling his beloved, but then recants].

In other stories, separation of the lovers is caused by different circumstances, but not necessarily because of the protagonist's error.

The main concept that can be sensed in the patterns of the stories is that loss performs a positive role; it makes the protagonist aware of the importance of what he had before his loss – in other words, he has to suffer and perform the right deed to retrieve his lost love, which is a metaphor for his lost Paradise. In this sense, we can say that loss is the way to self-knowledge. Moreover, loss reinforces feelings of love and goads the protagonist to search for his beloved. The protagonist suffers then from the contrasting conditions of both having his beloved yet losing her, which is the contrast between the fullness of his heart and the emptiness of his life. The physical reunion between lovers is a reflection of the spiritual reuniting of their souls (which brings to mind prayer and prostration: wherein physical movement is an expression and reflection of the spiritual connection to God). The physical aspect here is in parallel with the spiritual one. This is why we find that many of the stories conclude with reunion and/or marriage.

In some of the stories, suffering may lead to illness or even madness, yet recovery comes forth following marriage. Physical reunion is the aspect that predicates a happy conclusion, namely 'recovery'. These stories begin with the spiritual feelings of love; however, the absence of physical expression leads to sickness or insanity. Therefore, marriage – represented by corporeal union – is the rescue that delivers the protagonist from indisposition.

Love, separation, suffering and death

The main concept depicted in this pattern is that 'separation from the

beloved equals death'. There is a parallelism between life and love, or in other words life and spirituality – but if the protagonist cannot have his beloved, he withers and dies. Death stands here as the boundary between two differing states of life: the 'physical life-state' (which reflects spiritual life), and the 'eternal life-state' (in which the protagonist leaves his body to return to his divine love – God). To further pursue this direction the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet can be seen as apt: 'Whosoever loves, [and] is abstinent, and dies, is a martyr.'[37] He is a martyr because he dies for his spirituality, since human love is a part of the Source of Love (God).

This particular pattern can be generally pictured as a self-perpetuating cycle, one that links spirituality and the physical aspect – the former leads to the latter, while the latter leads in its turn to the maintenance of spiritual life.

Finally, it can be said that human love is the first step towards the love of God – since it is only through human love that man comes to understand the unique relationship of love – between his creator and himself. As the traditional Arabic proverb says: *li-kulli qāʿidatin shawādhdh* or 'every rule has [its] exceptions.' There are other patterns of love in the stories, that are not included in the two patterns mentioned above; for example: love–sacrifice–reunion (or marriage); poetry–marriage –love; love–singing–union.

THE LEXICON OF LOVE

Al-Tanūkhī uses many different terms to express love. The words that are repeated in all his love stories are: *kalaf*, *ḥubb*, *ʿishq*, *ghazal*, *taʿalluq*, *wajd*, *ilf*, *hawā*, *huyām*, *shawq*, *jawā*, *ṣabāba*, *gharām*, and *shaghaf*.

There is no doubt that the emotions and feelings of love have different depths, and so the words of love in their turn express each of these levels. This is why al-Tanūkhī may use more than one term in any one story. The leicon of love which appears in the stories are as follows:

Kalaf (to be fond of)[38] means intense and passionate love and attachement to the beloved while experiencing difficulty.[39]

ḥubb (love)[40] appears to express a higher level of love than the Arabic word *kalaf*. It denotes purity, the boiling of the heart and perturbation to meet the beloved strength and bearing difficulties.[41]

ʿIshq (adoration)[42] denotes passionate love and cleaving to the beloved with blindness to his or her defects. The lover becomes wasted and pallid, like a tree cut from its roots.[43]

Taʿalluq (attachement)[44] means lasting love that clings to the heart and that can never escape.[45]

Al-ʿakhdhu bi-Majāmiʿi l-qalb (taking hold of the whole heart)[46] denotes feelings that are centred on one woman after being diffused. So, the lover's heart seethes for the beloved and his emotions flow like rainwater upon the land.[47]

Wajd (overwhelming love)[48] is overwhelming and passionate love that has its times of sadness, sleepiness or anger, which proceeds from a loving heart.[49]

Al-wuqūʿ fī-l-nafs (serene love)[50] denotes serene, strong and tender love that quenches the thirst like the welcome first rain of autumn. This kind of love also generates joy and harmony.[51]

Al-Ilf (love with strong affinity)[52] denotes love with feelings of peacefulness, intimacy, harmony, gaining familiarity with each other, amicability and companionship.[53]

Al-hawā (intense desirous love)[54] is the 'passion that blows the heart, it takes away the mind and the will. It is the the burning fire and the intensity of love that ascesnds quickly within the heart.[55]

Al-huyām (absorbent love)[56] is intense and very passionate love. It is love madness or bewilderment arising from amourous desire that makes the lover wander aimlessly about. It also describes a lover with overwhelming love and a huge sadness (*shadīdu l-wajd*).[57]

Shaghaf (heart-smiting love)[58] means love that smites the heart, to the point that the one in love becomes ill.[59]

Walah (bewildering love)[60] is loss of reason caused by the loss of losing the beloved.[61]

ṣabāba (overwhelming tender love)[62] is strong, warm, tender yearning to the beloved.[63]

Gharām (tormenting love)[64] denotes tormenting love in which the lover is a captive and is impatient when away from the beloved. Gharām also denotes mad passion for women.[65]

Shawq (yearning for the beloved)[66] denotes the soul's yearning and longing for the beloved and the motion of love.[67]

Jawā (ardent love)[68] denotes inward ardour love with feelings of grief or sorrow.[69]

Lexical summary

The foregoing lexicon represents the words of love repeated throughout al-Tanūkhī's love stories. To explore al-Tanūkhī's range, I have chosen stories of his that include this lexicon of love, in order to see how the feelings of love ascend from one stage to another. The levels (the states) of love are listed in the following stories as follows:

Far., 4/354:	*hawā*, *ḥubb*.
Far., 4/393:	*ʿulūq*, *wajd*.
Far., 4/419:	*Ilf*, *ḥubb*, *wajd*.
Far., 2/198:	*hawā*, *ṣabāba*.
Nish., 5/102:	*aʿjabathu wa waqaʿt bi-qalbih*.
Nish., 5/105:	*ʿishq*, *wajd*.
Nish., 5/284:	*hawā*, *wajd*.
Must., p.102:	*hawā*, *kalaf*.

From the various meanings of the words of love,[70] it can be said that love is a part of man's core – it is his blood; the clot at the centre of his heart; the seed that grows when watered with knowledge (that of God and of the soul). This is why we find in al-Tanūkhī's stories, these examples of mutual love. Love follows knowledge – that of the beloved's soul and its creator. (However, we do also find a story of a one-sided love, one that occurred spontaneously when the protagonist merely saw a woman then fell in love.)[71]

Love is beautiful, tender, delicate, and satisfying – like smooth flowing water, successive waves, wine and green trees; like the quenching of the heart after thirst; and birds frequenting Mecca and al-Ḥaram. Love is man's true treasure. The contrast between these emotions and the circumstances of separation produces the other side of love – the cruel and painful side. The one in love suffers because of the

anguish in his soul, he stoops like the dying camel; he becomes pallid and yellow as do dying trees after being green. The lover's grief and sorrow is like that of a quarry, hobbled by rope. Love can be harsh like the strike of the sword; or like war and blood; or the gusting wind; or the plunge into a deep abyss. Sad love breaks the heart, which becomes like waves breaking upon the shore; it is the torment, from which one can never escape. The words of love are often associated with water (life) and, in the case of *ḥubb*, associated with wine – since man is created mostly from water. From the Qurʾān:

> *wa hua lladhī khalaqa mina l-māʾi basharan fa-jaʿalahu nasaban wa ṣihra.*
>
> And it is He who created of water a mortal, and made him kindred of blood and marriage.[72]

The Qurʾān, says this of Paradise:

> *wa māʾin maskūb*
> and out poured waters.[73]

It is worth mentioning here that one of the previous verses (to that above) describes the *ḥurīs* of Paradise:

> *wa ḥūrun ʿīn, ka-amthāli l-luʾluʾi l-maknūn*
> and wide-eyed *houris*, as the likeness of hidden pearls.[74]

The following verses describe these ḥūris:

> *innā anshaʾnāhunna inshāʾā, fa-jaʿalnāhunna abkārā, ʿuruban atrābā, li-aṣḥābi l-yamīn*
>
> Perfectly We formed them, perfect, and We made them spotless virgins, chastely amorous, like of age for the Companions of the Right.[75]

Wine symbolizes the pleasure of love – love is the wine of the heart. So, water and wine signify spiritual life and pleasure.

Each level of these terms for Love expresses depth and strength – love never begins out of weakness. For example, in one the stories: 'when Jaʿfar saw her he became enamoured before she spoke, but when

she did she captivated all of his heart.'[76] In this story, actual love begins with the concubine captivating Jaʿfar's heart; and not merely his attraction to her, which indicates the difference between the emotional states of 'liking' and 'desiring' beauty.

CHARACTERISTIC THEMES

Several recognizable themes reoccur in al-Tanūkhī's compilations upon love:

- helpers;
- *nabīdh*;
- poetry and song.

Helpers

The protagonist is in love. He is helpless and in danger of losing his beloved and, therefore, his life. The protagonist has lost his mind, his heart and his soul; he is in desperate need of help. In his book entitled *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Joseph Campbell says:

> The hero to whom such a helper appears is typically one who has responded to the call. The call, in fact was the first announcement of the approach of this initiatory priest. But even to those who apparently have hardened their hearts the supernatural guardian may appear, for we have seen: 'Well able is Allah to save.'[77]

The protagonists of al-Tanūkhī's stories have indeed responded to the call of love; hence, with God's grace, they find helpers for their quest. The helper might be a brother, a friend, an old man, or an eminent and powerful person. In one of the stories a man loves his wife's beautiful slave girl, but the wife knows of this love and keeps them apart. The protagonist suffers great hardship and feels overwhelming love (*wajd*). One night he has a dream in which the slave girl is beside him while he is weeping; when suddenly someone appears and recites poetry describing the protagonist's love and his suffering. He wakes up terrified and writes down the poetry he heard in his dream; then he recites it to his wife who agrees to grant him his beloved.[78]

The generosity of the wife to her husband represents sacrifice. She

sacrifices herself as a woman, and gives him her slave girl. There is a contrast between her natural jealousy as a woman whose husband loves another, and her acquiescence in granting him his beloved. There is a contrast here too, between marriage and love: the protagonist is married to his wife, but is in love with another woman. Another contrast encountered, is that between the free woman and the slave girl. The word in this story (the protagonist's dream) delivers the protagonist and upholds love; again, it is observed that loveless marriage retreats in the face of (true) love. The question posited here is: 'Does the woman love her husband?' From what was discussed above: if she is 'his-self' and he is her 'homeland'; and if both of them are created from one soul; then there would not be room between them for a third person in the relationship. In the Qurʾān:

> *mā jaʿala Allāhu li-rajulin min qalbayni fī jawfih*
> God has not assigned to any man two hearts within his breast.[79]

If love exists between the protagonist and his wife, then he would never fall in love with another woman – because he has only the one heart to be home for only one woman. It could be argued that the wife's act (to grant him his beloved) is given out of her love for her husband; hence, her deed is made out of her unlimited love and generosity. In my judgement: if the woman is truly in love with her husband she would never be able release him for another woman, because it is against human nature and the nature of love. Sacrifice can be made with life or money, but not with the beloved – the wife would be prepared to sacrifice everything else to gain her husband's heart. If the wife can relinquish her husband for another woman, this means that she does not truly love him. However, in her favour she may be described as extremely generous, because she gives preference to her husband over herself – she sacrifices her state as a wife and a woman.

The sequence, can be depicted as: love–the word–the generous deed. Further examples of these thematic sequences can be found in the compilations:

> Love–music and song [the word]–the generous deed.[80]
> Love–self-sacrifice–the generous deed.[81]
> Love–the word–the generous deed.[82]
> Love–the word–the generous deed.[83]
> Love–the word–the generous deed.[84]

Love–friendship and journey–generosity.[85]
Love–friendship and journey–generosity.[86]
Love–friendship and journey–generosity.[87]

Helpers: Conclusion

From the foregoing example and the other ones to which I have referred, we can say that love can engender generosity and even sacrifice on the part of the helper. If the protagonist who is in love 'responds to the call of love', then the helper 'responds to the call of generosity' – which is a part of the source of generosity (God) – since it is the breath of God within Man.

Helpers are either a part of the tableau (for example the one who bought the concubine), or they are outsiders whose chivalry prompts them to help the protagonist in love. Money and other material elements such as clothes, riding animals and slaves represent the way that (the helper's) generosity is manifest. The material aspect exists to serve the noble spiritual goal – love.

The generosity of these helpers can be described as 'the manifestation of love in another dimension'. The feelings and emotions of love, in reality, are the qualities from which generosity springs. If the love of a woman or the love of a man (which is part of divine love) drives the protagonist to madness, illness or desperation; then generosity (which can be described as the love of God) helps and saves them. Generosity and the love of God are two phrases expressing a single meaning. This is why the protagonist's love becomes, in reality, the helper's love: hence, the latter would sacrifice not only his money but his life – like the woman who gives her husband her slave girl. The generosity of the helper is either expressed through the material aspect, or by enduring/sharing with the protagonist each type of love.

There is the love of the protagonist within the '*cycle of love*': God–love–man–love–God. There is the love of the helper within the '*cycle of generosity*': God–generosity–man–generosity–God. Both the foregoing cycles unite within the source of generosity and the source of love – namely God. If generosity springs from love, then the generosity of the protagonist in love (who sacrifices even his soul and his life) is the quality that stimulates the generosity of the helper.

The hardship of Love is expressed through the word, which in its turn engenders generosity, which in turn leads to the union of lovers. The generous deed not only springs from love but it also leads to it; thus, another cycle is encountered here: love–the word–generosity–love. A

pattern can be observed in the foregoing examples (where the word has a significant role in achieving deliverance): 'The person in love needs a good friend to share their secrets with.'[88] As Ibn Ḥazm states: 'with him [the friend] there is complete amiability; grief is dispelled, time shortens, circumstances become better. The person [in love] will find in him [the friend] a graceful support and a good opinion.'[89]

Nabīdh

The word 'love' (*al-ḥubb*), as has been seen, is derived from the root *ḥ.b.b*; from which another word *ḥabab* (the intoxicating beverage called *nabīdh*) is also derived. Another term of love is derived from the root *ʿ.l.q*; from which is encountered the meaning of aged rare wine (*al-ʿilq*). In his book *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn Wa Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, Ibn Qayyim states that: 'The one in love becomes drunk with happiness when he sees his beloved: His speech becomes grabbled, his deeds change, [and] so he loses his mind … and when love intensifies and becomes stronger, the one in love becomes intoxicated.'[90] *Nabīdh*, he says, is the:

> drink of spirits, and melodies are the drink of souls; especially if it is connected with talk of the beloved and description of the state of the one in love, depending on his condition. With both, hearing beautiful voices and perception of suitable meanings … pleasure seizes the spirit, the soul, and the body. … Thereby, extreme drunkenness ensues.[91]

So how does *nabīdh* equate itself with love, in al-Tanūkhī's stories?

Al-Tanūkhī tells the story of a man who is deeply in love with a singer; he wants to buy her, but her mistress asks for 3000 *dīnar*s. The protagonist refuses the price, and so al-Muqtadir (the caliph) buys the singer instead. The story continues with the protagonist trying unsuccessfully to retrieve his beloved. He asks the help of al-Muttaqī (al-Muqtadir's son), who in turn asks his mother's help, who in her turn asks al-Muqtadir's mother. However, the latter finds this task improper. The protagonist tries to forget his beloved; he returns to his work and abandons drinking. He says:

> [and] then I missed drinking after I forbore it, since I lost the singer, until that day … and we [the protagonist and his friends] started drinking, talking, and playing chess. They stayed in my

> dwelling until I performed the night-time prayer, then they left and I stayed alone drinking one glass after another.

The story ends with al-Muqtadir's servants knocking at his door, with the singer and many other goods besides: like slaves, candles and clothes; and the two lovers are reunited. The concubine then tells the protagonist that al-Muqtadir asked her to sing and she did, but she could not stop herself from weeping. The caliph's mother then told her son the concubine's story, whereupon he resolves to return her to her beloved.[92]

Nabīdh here signifies seeking solace for the loss of the beloved – the protagonist drinks many glasses of *nabīdh* whereupon deliverance follows. *Nabīdh* here is also a sign of despair, but is followed by deliverance. The protagonist drains each lonely glass of 'suffering-in-love' down to the last drop, when he drinks his beverage. After night prayers he sits to drink alone: first he has drunk with his friends, then he prays, then he drinks solo. Beverage here then denotes grieving for lost love – drinking with his friends before prayer symbolizes finding consolation, whereas drinking alone at night after prayer symbolizes meditation.

In the previous chapter in this book, *The Journey*, another love story is exemplified,[93] in which *nabīdh* signifies joyful love, and being distracted by life's pleasures leads to loss;[94] finally, *nabīdh* functions as a spiritual symbol, when it is drunk on the occasion of Palm Sunday.[95]

Up to this point in the stories, beverage has been associated with prayer and religious occasion, for example two protagonists drink alone, and immediately they find their deliverance. Both protagonists accept their destiny: one returns to his labours and the other gets married and continues his work. Yet, both men immerse themselves in spirituality, either in prayer or by contributing to a religious ceremonial. Love must be earned before it can be given – and, to find deliverance, lovers must have faith in God (and in their love).

Nabīdh also signifies the sensual pleasures of love. One day Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī disguises himself and walks about the streets. Suddenly, he notices the delicious smell of food; he looks up and sees, through a window, a beautiful hand and wrist that drive him to forget about the food. He contrives to enter the house with two other noble guests – by giving the impression that he is one of the guests the host thinks that the other guests know him. The story continues with a description of sensual pleasures: food, nabīdh, and songs with the lute. They drink

from glasses and bowls (*bi l-kāsāti wa l-ṭāsāt*) until they become drunk. The story ends with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī revealing his real name, and thence marrying the woman with the beautiful hand and wrist.[96]

The hand and the wrist symbolize generosity. Ibrāhīm ends up marrying the beautiful woman whose hand first attracted him. The story depicts her father's generosity with his companions, and with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, when he marries his daughter to Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm is a powerful man, the girl has a beautiful hand, and her father is a generously rich man. These three aspects demonstrate elements of generosity: 'capability', 'beauty' and 'strength'. In this story then, *nabīdh* represents love of inner beauty as well as the outer kind.

Al-Tanūkhī narrates the story of a Byzantine youth, the son of a patriarch (and himself destined for the patriarchy). He is taken as a prisoner of war in the country of al-Burjān; he then becomes tutor to the king's daughter, whereupon he falls in love with her. The king discovers that the youth is the son of a king [also a patriarch],[97] and he agrees to give his daughter in marriage on condition that the suitor be buried alive with her should she die. Out of his *overwhelming tender love* for her (*ṣabāba*), the youth agrees. The princess falls into unconsciousness; thinking that she is dead, they bury both husband and wife in a well. She recovers, and they survive on some stale bread and *nabīdh* that they find in the well. The story ends with the patriarch and his wife being rescued, and with the reconciliation of Byzantium with the country of Burjān.[98] Bread and nabīdh can symbolize life and love. At the Last Supper:

> [Jesus Christ] … took bread, and gave thanks and brake it, and gave unto them, saying: 'This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.' Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.'[99]

In al-Tanūkhī's story; if the dry bread signifies the miserable fate of being buried alive in a well, then the old *nabīdh* symbolizes deep genuine love. Moreover, bread and *nabīdh* symbolize the spirituality of the two loving husband and wife, which delivers them. Further examples can be found in:

- *Far.*, 4/352f., in which *nabīdh* denotes love and romance;

- *Far.*, 4/394ff., in which *nabīdh* brings forth consolation and strengthens the heart; and
- *Far.*, 4/426ff., in which *nabīdh* symbolizes the love between husband and wife, and signifies reconciliation and joy.

Nabīdh, in all the examples, denotes serene, tender, deep and joyful love. It also signifies the patience and spirituality that consoles the protagonist in love, one who accepts his destiny with forbearance. *Nabīdh* can also be a sign of impending deliverance. For example, the protagonist who finds his beloved after drinking *nabīdh* on Palm Sunday;[100] or the protagonist whose beloved is returned to him while he is drinking nabīdh.[101] Nabīdh, being submerged in the pleasures of life, also indicates sensuous physical desire.

Within each story the context determines the symbolic significance of the *nabīdh*. If connected with prayer, then it symbolizes 'spirituality and faith'; if connected with beauty then it can stand for 'desire'; if connected with joy then it is the 'pleasure and happiness of love'. When *nabīdh* is connected with loss or desire then it signifies the 'material pleasures of life'. Love in reality is a *mélange* of all these aspects: a blend of faith and spiritual feelings; of happiness and pleasure; and of deliverance after suffering the hardship of love then finding ease. These aspects of love return to the cycle: love–God–love–man–love–God. In the stories, the drinking companion is usually the beloved; however, we also find the protagonist drinking with friends, sometimes alone.

Poetry and song

In Chapter 1, *The Journey*, it is seen that the influence of the 'right word' comes immediately before final deliverance. The form of this word is manifest in al-Tanūkhī's love stories, through poetry or song. In one of the stories set in al-Baṣra, the protagonist falls into extreme poverty and intends to sell his beloved concubine songstress. While accompanying al-Rashīd on pilgrimage, Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā hears of the singer and hastens to see her. He orders her to perform, so she plays and recites:

in yumsī ḥabluka baʿda ṭūli tawāṣulin
khalaqan wa yuṣbiḥu baytukum mahjūrā
fa-laqad arānī – wa l-jadidu ilā bilan –
dahran bi-waṣlika rāḍiyan masrūrā
jadhilan bi-mā-lī ʿindakum la abtaghī

badalan bi-waṣlika khullatan wa ʿashīrā
kunta l-munā wa aʿazza man waṭiʾa l-ḥaṣa
ʿindī wa kuntu bi-dhāka minka jadīrā

Now your rope is frayed after long conjoining,
And your house has become deserted.
Tho' each new thing must decay, long I found myself
Content and happy with you;
Exultant with what I had with you; never seeking
Intimacy or companionship with other than you.
As for me, you were all my desires, and the most
Cherished of whosoever stepped upon this earth.
And I am worthy of the same from you.

The singer becomes overwhelmed with emotion, and Jaʿfar and his companions hear her young lover weeping inside the house. Suddenly, the protagonist appears and says, 'I testify to God and you, that this concubine is free for the sake of God – Glory unto Him – and I ask you to marry us to each other.' The story continues with the protagonist explaining the reason for his manner; he describes how he came to fall in love with her and live with her. However, he says, he lost all his money and had to sell her. After hearing her song, he grieves when he thinks he will lose her; she says to him that if she were in his shoes she would never sell him, even if she died in poverty. He asks her to marry him and she accepts. The story finally ends with the marriage of the lovers. Jaʿfar gives them money and so does al-Rashīd, who also assigns the lover a position in his retinue.[102]

Poetry and music have great effect upon the heart. It has significant spiritual influence on the protagonist, who realizes that he cannot live without his beloved and he recants from selling her. The power of the concubine's love and her song heartens the protagonist's love and generosity. He determines to be with her and to endure poverty – until God delivers them or unto death. His acceptance of poverty, risking death from hunger, and relying upon God with fortitude: all these qualities equate to generosity. He has nothing else to give her, save his heart. The two lover's love and their generosity by their turn, encourage the generosity of Jaʿfar and al-Rashīd. Therefore, we observe the parallelism between love, song (the word), and generosity.

Poetry is one reason for love: As illustrated by al-Tanūkhī in the story of a hermit (a scholar and jurist) who used to attend to hear the

teachings of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar. One day, the protagonist hears a slave girl singing:

bānat Suʿādu fa-amsā ḥabluhā ʾnqaṭaʿā
wa ʾhtallati l-Ghawra fa l-Jaddayni fa l-Faraʿā
fa-ankaratnī wa ma kāna l-ladhī nakirat
mina l-ḥawādithi illā l-shayba wa l-ṣalaʿa

Suʿad has left and her cord is cut,
She went to al-Ghawr, al-Jaddayn, and al-Faraʿ,
She rejected me, but what she rejected
– of the misfortune of time – was only the hoariness and baldness.

The hermit falls in love with the singer and leaves his studies, until ʿAṭāʾ and Ṭāwūs castigate him; so he recites what a poet has written:

yalūmunī fīki aqwāmun ujālisuhum
fa-ma ubālī a-ṭāra l-lawmu am waqaʿā

Some of my companions blame me for my love for you,
But I care not whether their blame flies or falls.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar buys the slave girl and he gives her to the protagonist, and in addition he gives him money equalling her price.[103]

In this story, poetry serves two functions. On the one hand the girl's poetry is the reason the hermit falls in love and leaves his studies (thereby encountering criticism), whereas on the other hand the protagonist's poetry brings about his deliverance. So the cycle can be observed: poetry–love–poetry–generosity–deliverance. All the foregoing are examples of the effect of 'poetry and/or song', and its significance in bringing forth eventual deliverance. Deliverance is achieved through the harmony of feelings, words and deeds. What creates the word is the contrast between the strength of the protagonist's feelings and his weakness in facing his circumstances – be it poverty, oppression or any other reason of separation from his beloved.

Poetry is the might that forces the hardships to slacken, in the light of the protagonist's love. The power of the word then, is the reflection of the power of love – both these powers in their turn generate generosity in abundance, and thereby achieve deliverance.

THE TYPES OF LOVE

In the stories, I have identified two types of love:

- Love of the concubine;
- Love of the free woman.

Love of the concubine

As is seen in the discussion on patterns of love above, there are two types of dilemma depicted in the stories. The protagonist either sells his beloved, but then regrets it and strives to get her back, or he intends to sell her but recants at the last moment. Under this subject, I shall examine the following aspects:

- Mutual love;
- Knowledge;
- A spiritual and physical relationship;
- Features of the concubine.

Mutual love

The relationship between the protagonist and his concubine is based on 'mutual love', for example the story analysed in the previous chapter.[104] Before buying the concubine, the protagonist adored her (*yataʿashshaqu*). The Arabic phrase describes profound love, in which the one in love wastes away. He goes into decline because his beloved is not his own, so the danger of losing her is always present. This phrase only describes the protagonist's feelings, however, since he is the one who falls in love then must act to have his beloved. She is a concubine and he is a free man; she is powerless and he is powerful. There is a contrast between power and vulnerability, which is why the word *yataʿashshaq* describes the protagonist's feelings – love is an overpowering emotion. Moreover, the protagonist's love includes his love of himself (as Ibn ʿArabī says), since man is always in continuously search of himself.

After purchasing her, the description of love becomes the sentence *wa kānat tuḥibbuhu wa yuḥibbuhā* ('she used to love him and he used to love her'), where the word *ḥubb* signifies continuous happy and stable love. Their love progresses smoothly like successive waves; beautifully like morning dew on trees; their hearts are contained by love, as within vessels – they are enjoying every sip of their love, like

he who savours each mouthful of his wine.[105] They are slaking their thirst for love. The protagonist finds his soul mate and buys her, she in her turn finds her origin and returns to her homeland.

In another story,[106] the word *ḥubb* describes a man who is living with his concubine and who is sharing beautiful feelings of love with her. The relationship between them is like the affinity between love and knowledge. He raises her and teaches her, which recalls the cycle of love: desire–love–knowledge. Inevitably, any relationship between a free man and a concubine always leads to the sale of the beloved when poverty befalls, and so it happens. Both lovers accept their destinies, but they cry while saying goodbye and recite verses of poetry to describe their suffering.

The story ends with God delivering them from their hardship through the buyer Ibn Maʿmar, who returns the concubine to her master with her price, and thereafter the latter becomes rich.[107] However, unlike the previous story, this one does not end with marriage between the lovers – which implies that there is a risk of him becoming poor yet again, having to sell his beloved again remains a possibility.

In another story, the protagonist had serene love for his beloved and they had strong affinity with each other (*fa-waqaʿat fī nafsihi wa alifahā wa alifathu*) and she lived with him for years.[108] The protagonist first buys the concubine but then she affects his soul; the phrase *waqaʿat* means 'strong, tender feelings of love that fall in the heart with certainty'. These tender and confident feelings of love between both lovers lead to a peaceful and intimate relationship in which they enjoy strong affinity with each other (*wa alifahā wa alifathu*). So, the mutual feelings between the lovers are serene ones that have developed after they came to know each other.

The protagonist falls into debt and sells his concubine. However, he knocks at the narrator's door complaining of his yearning for her (*shawq*) and that he is prepared to go to gaol in order to get his concubine back. Both men go to the buyer who asks the concubine if she would like to return to her master, she answers, 'How can I choose someone else over you? Yet my master has the privilege, it is he who has educated me' – and so the buyer returns the concubine to her master. The lovers have mutually intense, yet serene feelings of love in which they enjoy profound companionship. The protagonist sells his beloved. As night falls, when he is alone with his lonely heart and the lonely night, he realizes that he cannot continue his life without his beloved. We encounter here the contrast between the fullness of the

heart and the emptiness of life – he chooses to face his fate and imprisonment in order to have his beloved back. He is prepared to sacrifice his life and future for the sake of the spiritual feelings he carries in his heart.

The concubine's answer – ('my master has the privilege [right], it is he who has educated me') – shows the culture of a well-educated woman, one who knows how to make her choice apparent without offending the man who bought her. This is why the new buyer answers, 'She is graceful and wise, take her'. The protagonist is a man of knowledge; he buys a concubine and carries profound feelings towards her, he then educates her; but he loses and then regains her – again turning to the cycle: desire–knowledge–love.

The foregoing examples signify that, in spite of the mutual love between the protagonist and his concubine, it does not stop him selling his beloved. However, the loss of his beloved leads him into madness and suffering. He realizes that he has lost a part of himself and cannot live without her. Love and suffering heighten his emotions: he experiences the melancholy of love, his heart is burning from sorrow; his soul is leaving his body. He therefore has to return her sale money or indeed make any other sacrifice (such as facing imprisonment) to have her back. This is why the protagonists in other stories regret selling their beloveds. It is their intention to sell their concubines out of poverty, but their hearts will not permit them to conclude the bargains; they are alert to their peril, they cannot cut out part of their souls.

In another story, Jaʿfar al-Barmakī intends to buy a concubine. Her youthful master upon hearing her singing and crying, weeps inside his house, she returns to him and Jaʿfar and his companions hear both lovers crying and sobbing. Suddenly, the youth comes out of the house, sets her free and asks Jaʿfar and his companions to marry them.[109]

The cycle of love – *desire–knowledge–love* – is obvious in this story. The contrast between spirituality (love) and squandering money on earthly pleasures (materiality) leads to him nearly losing his beloved, his soul mate. However, the protagonist fears the consequences of his deed and retracts. Does this mean that love in this part of stories is stronger than love in the previous part (that is where he actually sells his beloved)? In other words, are the *spiritual feelings* in this part stronger than those in the previous part?

There is no doubt that, at the moment when the protagonist sells his beloved, the material aspect is stronger than the spiritual aspect –

whereas, the protagonist's retreat from selling his beloved signifies that, in the end, the spiritual aspect is truly the stronger. In another story: Jaʿfar al-Barmakī orders two slavers to find him a Sūfī singer slave girl (*jāriya qawwāla*).[110] A man of religion (*shaykh*) hears the slavers talking and takes them to his home, where they find a beautiful slave girl. She first reads verses of the Qurʾān, which move their souls, and then she sings a fine poem that intrigues and enraptures them.

When Jaʿfar goes to the *shaykh*'s house to see her, 'he became enamoured of her before she spoke, but when she did [speak] she captivated all of his heart'. She sings for him, but then throws the lute out of her hand and cries, and the *shaykh* also cries. Then the *shaykh* testifies to Jaʿfar and his companions that he will set his concubine free, saying 'the soul is worthier of preservation than money, and God is the Provider'. The story ends with the *shaykh* returning to al-Kūfa with his concubine, with great wealth.[111]

The cycle of love – *desire–knowledge–love* – is still obvious here. The *shaykh*'s contrasting feelings – that of spirituality (his love for his concubine) and of materiality (selling her out of poverty) – is about to make him surrender to materiality. However, the concubine's songs and her lamentation (her spirituality) reawakens his spirituality, it obliges him to retract from selling his beloved. Love awakens love, the way generosity awakens generosity. When the protagonist's spirituality slumbers 'the word' is the spiritual aspect that awakens it – after all the *shaykh* denotes a man of religion (of knowledge) and the concubine recites from the Qurʾān and sings Sūfī love poetry. It means that when both lovers have knowledge of God, then together how can they not defeat the material temptation of earthly wealth?

Knowledge

As can be observed from the examples above, love for the concubine stimulates knowledge, for example[112] where out of his love for his concubine, the protagonist learns the singing craft with her. Knowledge is an important aspect in these stories; it shows the relationship between master and concubine, which is depicted as like that between teacher and student. For example, to enrich her singing skills, one of the protagonists brings professionals to teach his concubine;[113] and 'One of the men from al-Baṣra bought a concubine and educated her';[114] and the concubine of the man-of-knowledge chooses her master – when Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḥāmid asks her if she wants her master, and she answers, 'Yet, my master has the privilege, it is he who educated me'.[115]

Teaching the concubine with whom the protagonist falls in love can sometimes be the task of the mistress.[116] In al-Tanūkhī's love stories are found: the master (teacher) and concubine (student); or the mistress (teacher) and slave girl (student) – there is always a love story between the master and his concubine, or between the slave girl and the man who falls in love with her.

The affiliation with knowledge is a 'love relationship'. The relationship – *knowledge–love* – leads to knowledge and love of God, since in these stories materiality is renounced in the end for the sake of spirituality. The relationship of love and knowledge is a relationship between the power of knowledge (manifest by the teacher, master or mistress) and the weakness of ignorance (the student, concubine or slave girl). Yet, stories that end with marriage between the master and his concubine transform the weak concubine into a powerful mistress, since she then becomes a free woman. Love sets people free.

A spiritual and physical relationship

A loving relationship between master and concubine is a complete one, since it incorporates both aspects of love: the spiritual aspect and the physical one. The physical relationship between the two lovers is a reflection of the spiritual feelings between them, so the two aspects are in parallel. As an example the following quote: 'and they [the parents] agreed to give me the concubine. They prepared her the way the high-born prepare their daughters … and we had a beautiful party [like a wedding] and I enjoyed life with her for a long time.'[117] The intimate relationship between lovers enriches their spiritual feelings of love. The knowledge one for the other is manifest in its complete aspect, both physical and spiritual, which is why we find the protagonists and their beloveds leading stable lives.

The cycle of *love–pleasure–knowledge–love* manifests itself. However, loss of the beloved transforms this relationship into an incomplete form and the cycle cannot be completed. God filled Adam with desire for Eve when he created her from his rib[118]– in the same way, the protagonist has to return his cycle back to its normal state; he cannot afford to lose his soul mate after finding her, having experienced the taste of complete love. In some of the stories, the protagonist owns his concubine, he teaches her and falls in love with her – hence she is a reflection of him. In striving to gain her back, he is in reality striving to find himself again. As Ibn ʿArabī says, 'Man's love for Woman is in truth his love for himself, since Woman is created from his left rib.'

Features of the concubine

We have seen that the concubine is a woman who is well educated. She recites poetry, plays music and sings. The concubine is a loving woman who is loyal to her beloved master; but what do we know of her physical characteristics?

Al-Tanūkhī does not stress the physical features of the concubine, mainly because the importance of his stories dwells on the love between the protagonist and his beloved. However, in some stories we do find hints of the concubine's beauty and seductive characteristics.

The concubine has a beautiful face,[119] she is a 'crescent of the moon, swaying like a reed and she reads verses of the Qurʾān and poems.'[120] Her voice is a melody in addition to the beauty of her face.[121] She has a beautiful figure, an alluring glance, and a witty character.[122] The concubine is skilled, outstandingly beautiful and with a witty tongue.[123] Or she is simply beautiful and skilled in singing.[124] The foregoing descriptions demonstrate that there is a parallel between beauty and knowledge. Her description as 'the moon' symbolizes the reflection of her spiritual knowledge (her recitations from the Qurʾān), which is apparent in her visage, this spiritual beauty shines like the moon. The concubine then, is a woman who is physically beautiful and seductive in both body and charater in addition to the outstanding beauty of her soul and mind. Her complete beauty is the reason for the protagonist falling in love with her

Love of the free woman

Under this subject I shall examine the following aspects:

- Love of the maiden (two variations of love: mutual love and love as a secret);
- Love between husband and wife;
- Love outside marriage;
- Features of the free woman.

Love of the maiden

Stories of this type end with two conclusions: marriage or death. The stories ending in marriage are found in al-Tanūkhī's *Faraj* and *Mustajād*; in addition, some of the stories are found in his *Nishwār*. The latter, however, also contains stories that end with the death of the protagonist.

Mutual love

Love between the protagonist and his beloved is always mutual. Overwhelming love between Qays and Lubnā,[125] intense desirous love between the future patriarch who is captured in his youth (before he becomes a patriarch) and his beloved and student; the princess (the daughter of the king who captured him). However, when he asks his beloved to choose him (when her father asks her to choose a suitor) she becomes angry and says: 'How can I ask my father to marry me to a slave?' The future patriarch passes a test to prove that he is the son of a king, and her father agrees to marry him to his daughter on condition that the protagonist agrees to be buried with her if she dies, 'my overwhelming tender love for her (*al-ṣabāba*) drove me to say: "I accept".'[126]

Love sets the youth [the future patriach] free, and marriage to his beloved princess results. We can clearly see, however, that his love for her is stronger than hers for him. Her love for him contrasts with her status as a princess, and (for her) the latter takes precedence. In order to marry the princess he has to prove that he is worthy of her, that he truly is a prince. However, the story has another side. The protagonist in reality is a youth, and future patriarch (man of knowledge and religion); as such, he has strength of body, soul and mind. He has to be worthy of himself; of his beloved (see above) and of love itself; for this reason he has to be a free man. He carries a treasure within himself, but it is hidden – that is, he is a prince in the guise of slave – only love can reveal the hidden treasure in man, only love sets him free.

The princess's love appears in contrast to her feelings about her status; however, her anger and refusal to ask her father to marry her to a slave is, in reality, her anger at his acceptance of his own lowly status as a slave. A youth who has knowledge never accepts slavery, because knowledge is the power that sets man free; and love springs from knowledge, so how can the protagonist accept his slavery yet marry a free woman? True freedom springs from the depths within man.

In other stories we find women who take the initiative in love[127] in which love attracts love. In this story the protagonist responds to its call. As he goes to prayer: 'I went in the morning to the mosque of al-Aḥzāb prostrating myself in worship (*sājidan*) and bowing (*rāki'an*).'[128] His love of God engenders the love of Rayyā (the beloved), and so the two loves are in parallel.

There is the story of al-Nu'mān, who sees Dawūd b. Sa'd al-Taymī on the day of his misery. Dawūd is in love with a woman named

Warda, and so al-Nuʿmān asks him to choose either between being freed or being married to Warda for one week, after which he would be executed. Out of his love for Warda, Dawūd chooses the second option. At the end of the week the protagonist goes to al-Nuʿmān and recites poetry, in which he says that he comes after a week of his marriage, he thanks him for his deed and asks him either to implement his sentence (of death) or grant him forgiveness. The story ends with al-Nuʿmān releasing the protagonist and rewarding him for his poetry.[129]

Completing the cycle of love by marrying the beloved is more powerful than impending death. However, it is the power of the word that rescues the protagonist because it is a word that springs from a loving heart and a loyal man who fulfils his promise to al-Nuʿmān and faces him ready for death. A loving heart is always true to itself because love sets man free. As the Arabic proverb says, 'The promise of the free man places a debt upon him' (*waʿdu l-ḥurri daynun ʿalayh*), which is why the protagonist returns to al-Nuʿmān. In contrast with the stories of mutual love in al-Tanūkhī's works, we do encounter two stories about love that remains one-sided.[130]

Love as a secret

In most of the stories that end with the death of the protagonist, al-Tanūkhī depicts the effect that love has upon them. Secret love is found in the story of a man who studies the *ḥadīth*, as well as jurisprudence and *adab*. He has a sense of humour in addition to his unalterable piety, but he suddenly loses his joyful character and refuses to reveal anything to his brother. He loses his mind and sits on the doorstep of his house all day, asking people where they are going. One day one of his friends passes and, when the protagonist asks where he is going, the friend replies, 'I am going wherever you like, so do you need anything?' In response the protagonist asks him to deliver two verses of poetry, in which he greets the one he loves telling her of his suffering but his piety constrains his love. The friend disappears and returns to the protagonist with two verses (ostensibly from his beloved), asking him to visit her. The protagonist hastens to the beloved's house, whereupon his friend follows him and invents two further verses of poetry, which he attributes to the beloved, saying that she forbids him to visit her. As a result the protagonist secludes himself in his house, until he dies.[131]

Religious knowledge and love are in parallel, yet the protagonist's piety prevents him from visiting his beloved; hence, love has to stay a secret and only poetry may bespeak it. The protagonist's beloved is the

daughter of 'a man of generosity, reason and religion', so there is a resemblance (parallelism) between the protagonist and his beloved. Why then does the protagonist not ask for her hand? The protagonist's heart is full to the brim with love – love for both God and for his beloved – and since the relationship of love between Man and God is mutual, the relationship of human love is necessarily a mutual one too. However, the protagonist's unshakeable piety prevents him from visiting his beloved to tell her of his love because he wants to protect her reputation. He is in conflict and turmoil, so loses his mind. When he hears the false call of love he hastens to see his beloved. How can he not hasten while his mind is lost to his beloved? The contrast between his hope to see her and his disappointment when his hopes are dashed, leads to his death. The protagonist's friend is a false one because he conjures to decieve and does nothing to help the pious lover. Revealing the secret of love must aspire to aiding the lover, not merely knowing the hidden secret.

Keeping the secret of love in order to protect the beloved's reputation is apparent in the poetry of another protagonist, whose father is trustee to the business of a virtuous woman. One day the man sends his son to the woman's house for some reason, and the youth falls in love with the woman's daughter. The boy pines away and loses his mind; he recites poetry in which he declares that he will not reveal the name of his beloved. The protagonist's family secretes him in a room; and he recites poetry in which he tells the night about his love, and stays in this condition until he dies.[132]

Knowledge and love are in complicity, but they contrast with the ignorance of the social conventions of love whereby the woman in love can be held up to censure and her reputation can be jeopardized. Fearing God and loving Him obligates him not to damage his beloved's social standing. There is contrast between knowledge and ignorance; love and hatred; the spiritual concept and the social one. There is no doubt that these conflicts lead to the protagonist's madness and death, because of his heart's refutation of the social mores of love; yet his actions must remain in harmony with the social circumstances of his beloved.

An open declaration of love, viewed within stringent traditional social contexts, is a source of shame. This is why we find in some stories that the woman's father refuses to marry his daughter to the protagonist after he has expressed his love to her in front of others. For example, the protagonist expresses his feelings of love with a verse of

poetry and his beloved replies with a verse of her own poetry in return. When the protagonist asks for his beloved's hand from her father, the latter ruminates: 'If he had come forward with this before he [openly] declared [his love] we would have accepted, instead he has exposed her, and I would never confirm what people say about her by marrying them to each other.'[133]

When viewed from the societal perspective, spiritual feelings of love necessarily imply its physical expression; and so people talk badly about the two lovers. This is why an open declaration of love in the Arabic social tradition is shaming. Marrying the daughter to her beloved would mean that her father thereby conspires with an illicit relationship, as people may assume, hence the marriage shall not take place. In one of the stories of Qays and Laylā we read: 'When Qays declaimed love poetry about Laylā – and his love [for her] became well-known – her family spoke to him and prevented him from speaking to her or visiting her, and they threatened to kill him.'[134]

The fear of people talking badly about the woman leads to death threats. The contrast between openly declared love and the social norms incites murder. The question that can be asked here is: 'Why does the protagonist declare his love through poetry, when he knows that this public declaration will in the end prevent him from gaining his beloved?' It seems that the answer springs from within the nature of love itself. Love represents a state of complete extinction of the lover's soul, and is a part of the the source of love. The protagonist is overwhelmed by his feelings, he cannot contain them, and thus his love pours forth through his word. Love, and its expression through poetry, represents rebellion against the social repression of spirituality (since man oppresses himself by obeying something other than God, namely social traditions).

Asʿad Khairallāh contends that 'Arabic literature was able to develop the figure of a love-mad poet, who became the symbol of rebellion against social and rational norms.'[135] Love then, is the power that triumphs over any social convention, whether this love ends with marriage or death – the word (with which love is expressed) is the protagonist's condemnation of the social repression of love down the centuries. From the examples mentioned above we can clearly perceive the absence of any physical relationship between the protagonist and his beloved maiden (save for hints of minor physical contact, such as kissing the beloved's hand),[136] or climbing her wall and entering her room.[137]

The foregoing examples of platonic love depict the pure relationship between the protagonist and the maiden, and this is in parallel with the religious concept of love. However, the social mores consider that an open declaration of love is shameful – the fact that marriage is then proscribed contrasts with the religious tradition that encourages marriage and prohibits fornication. Prevention of their marriage invariably leads to the protagonist's death; hence, the tragic end can be seen as a revolutionary act against the social norms.[138]

Love between husband and wife

There are five stories on this theme, in which al-Tanūkhī stresses the strength of the love between husband and wife. For example, ʿIsā b. Mūsā was greatly in love with his wife (*kāna yuḥibbu zawjatahu ḥubban shadīdan*).[139] And 'I married in the time of my youth a woman from the family of Wahb … I adored her severely and a great thing [feeling] for her was fixed in my heart (*fa-ʿashiqtuhā ʿishqan mubarriḥan wa tamakkana lahā min qalbī amrun ʿaẓīm*).[140] However, we also find the expression of uncomplex mutual love between husband and wife. For example, 'I married a cousin of mine, I adored her (*wa kuntu lahā ʿāshiqan) and she admired me (wa kānat muʿjabatan bī*).'[141] It is clear here that the protagonist's love is greater than that of his wife's. These stories run parallel with the purpose of marriage in Islam, namely love and mercy. As expressed in the Qurʾān:

> *wa min āyātihi an khalaqa lakum min anfusikum azwājan li-taskunū ilayhā wa jaʿala baynakum mawaddatan wa raḥma*
>
> And of His signs is that He created for you, of yourselves, spouses, that you might repose in them, and He has set between you love and mercy.[142]

Love outside marriage

In some stories, we observe love and a relationship between the protagonist and a married woman. For example, a man called al-Ashtar, 'had intense desirous love (*kana yahwā*) for a woman from his tribe named Jaydā', and she was married'. The news of his love for her spread, and he was prevented from visiting her. His love for her prompts him to visit her with his friend who lies in her bed [as decoy], in order for al-Ashtar to have the chance to be alone with Jaydā'.[143]

Love between al-Ashtar and Jaydā' represents a rebellion against the

tyranny of her husband, who beats al-Ashtar's friend, thinking him to be his wife.[144] Their love also represents revolt against the social convention that tolerates marriage without love or mercy. Marriage without love or mercy is, in essence, in conflict with the true purpose of marriage as stated in the Qurʾān (see above).

In another story we encounter Jamīl, who visits his beloved Buthayna in her tent while her cousin Umm al-Ḥusayn was there; the three talk together and then they go to sleep but Jamīl falls asleep until morning, when her husband sends his slave to her with milk. The slave sees them asleep [together] and tells the husband. Buthayna's other cousin, Laylā, also sees the slave, so she sends her slave girl to warn them while she keeps the slave busy by talking to him. Buthayna manages to persuade Jamīl to hide underneath the bed pallet, while Umm al-Ḥusayn lies beside Buthayna. Buthayna's husband enters the tent with her father and brother to see Umm al-Ḥusayn sleeping beside her, and so the husband becomes ashamed of himself. Her cousin Laylā scolds them: 'Shame on you, every day you scandalize a woman in your courtyard.' Both father and brother blame Buthayna's husband, so Jamīl remains under the bed pallet until night, whereupon he takes leave of his beloved Buthayna.[145] Buthayna's husband sends her milk with his slave, but he does not live with his wife in the same tent. It is clear from this that there is neither love nor life between them.

A complete relationship

The nature of the relationship between the 'protagonist and his wife' shows a parallel to that of the relationship between the 'protagonist and the concubine' (see above). Both relationships follow the complete cycle of love: the spiritual feelings followed by the physical expression of these feelings. The harmony in such relationships is sometimes shaken, for some reason.

For example, ʿIsā b. Mūsā, out of his love for his wife, says to her, 'I would divorce you if you were not prettier than the moon.' His wife draws back and says to him, 'By saying these words, you have just divorced me!' The protagonist passes a horrible night, and in the morning he tells al-Manṣūr his issue with his wife and says, 'If she is divorced my soul will perish out of distress and I will prefer death than life.' Al-Manṣūr asks the opinion of men of jurisprudence and all of them judge that the woman is divorced – except for one man of jurisprudence from the Abū Ḥanīfa school of law, who recites the Qurʾānic verse:

wa l-tīni wa l-zaytūni, wa ṭūri sīnīn, wa hādhā l-baladi l-amīn, la-qad khalaqnā l-insāna fī aḥsani taqwīm

By the fig and the olive, and the Mount Sinai, and this land secure, We indeed created Man in the fairest stature.[146]

The man from the Abū Ḥanīfa school of law continues, 'and nothing is more beautiful than Man' – thereby al-Manṣūr judges that the woman is not divorced.[147]

The strength of the protagonist's love constrains him to endanger the love of his beloved wife; however, his spirituality saves him. Salvation comes from the Qurʾān, the sacred word of God and from the Abū Ḥanīfa school of law, which is known for its religious clemency.

Religion is founded on love and mercy, and not on punishment and extreme judgement; if it were, the latter would promulgate the sin of separating two loving souls. The spiritual knowledge within this story – that of the Qurʾān – hastens to the rescue. Again, deliverance is achieved through the word, and the sequence is recognized: love–the word–deliverance. There is clemency implicit in the Abū Ḥanīfa school of law and the Holy Book is described as *al-Qurʾānu l-karīm* ('the noble Qurʾān'); *karīm* also denotes 'generosity'. God is the source of 'generosity', and the Qurʾān is the expression of His generosity. The word of God and the deed of man – when he applies his word – are in parallel. The Ḥanafī judge is knowledgeable, religious and intelligent; thus these qualities engender the right opinion, which is in harmony with religion.

A normal domestic quarrel shakes the stability of the relationship between the husband and his wife. This leads to the wife's anger and to her abandonment of her husband. The protagonist uses all his efforts to mollify his wife, but to no avail. He weeps at her door, laying his cheek on her doorstep and asking her to relent; he says whatever could be said, but all to no effect. He spends three nights on her doorstep in despair, so he goes to his bathroom[148] to wash himself. Suddenly his wife comes out singing with her slaves, and carrying plates of food and rose-water; whereupon she apologises to him.[149]

What drives the wife to desert her husband is, as the wife admits, the 'stubbornness of the beloved one'; but this stubbornness has led her to follow 'Satan', which is the reason for her continuous neglect of him. The beloved tends sometimes towards arrogance, which can overwhelm even the strongest feelings of the one who loves. There is

a contrast then, between the humility of the one in love and the arrogance of the beloved. When the wife comes upon two verses of poetry, the unsentimental and hard nature of her heart is softened by the spirituality of the word – it reminds her that life is too short to be wasted in reproach.

Features of the free woman

Al-Tanūkhī sometimes describes the physical attributes of the free woman, albeit with great brevity. For example, Imruʾ al-Qays sees a girl '[radiant] like the full moon'.[150] And when Qays is passing in the neighbourhood of Khuzāʿa he stands by the tent of Lubnā to ask for water to drink and she emerges with the water, 'and [she] was a tall woman, with blueish-black eyes, and beautiful in the way she looks and in the way she speaks'.[151] Here the woman's beauty is perceived as both internal and external. While walking outside al-Madīna for a promenade, the protagonist sees a young woman 'as like a willow reed sparkling with dew, she was looking from eyes whose fleeting glances would captivate the one who perceives them'.[152] The protagonist here is fascinated by the woman's beauty, he is strongly attracted to her body and eyes; he compares her with a willow reed bright with dew – which denotes love, apropos the word 'dew', which is one of the meanings of the root (*ḥ.b.b*), from which the word *ḥubb* (love) is derived.

In another story the protagonist says: 'When I was young I married a woman from the family of Wahb, she was rich, good looking and well mannered, and had great integrity.'[153] The woman here is of generous character. Generosity, as seen above, is a combination of three elements: 'ability', 'beauty' and 'morality'. In another story the protagonist sees women 'swaying like sand grouse, and among them there was a young woman of high ancestry, famous in her time for her complete gracefulness, her light was shining, and her perfume was fragrant'.[154] The woman is well known because of her noble lineage. She has inner and outer beauty, which have a parallel – her brightness brings to mind the godly light kindled within man, and her perfume has both sensuousness and spiritual attraction. Al-Tanūkhī says: 'His [the protagonist's] uncle had a daughter named Ṣafwa, she was a woman of beauty and reason.[155] Inner and external beauty is clearly apparent in this story.

In another story al-Tanūkhī says: 'In the tribe of Banū ʿUmayr there was one of the most beautiful women who had [both] reason and morals.'[156] Again, the parallel between internal and external beauty is depicted. A woman from al-Ṭāʾif is described as 'chaste and virtuous

while her mother is the best of all people, endowed with generosity and religion'. The protagonist enters their house 'and saw her, and she was beautiful'.[157] In this story, al-Tanūkhī stresses inner beauty, though he does allude to external beauty. The inner beauty of the young woman is expressed through the virtuousness of both her and her mother; so again, we recall the adage 'this cub is from that lion[ess]'. A man sees a woman asking for charity in Mecca 'with a face like the rounded moon or like the luminous sun'.[158] In this description, the divine light is symbolized by both the moon that illuminates the darkness of the night, and the sun that lights the day. This light also signifies the holy place of Mecca. Moreover, it can be seen that the spiritual aspect bestows beauty upon the physical aspect.

The foregoing examples serve to show that spiritual (inner) beauty has influence upon physical (external) beauty. The light, the moon and the sun; all these descriptions are the reflection of the inner spiritual beauty of the beloved. Her mind, wisdom and speech/voice all reflect the knowledge and intelligence of the beloved. A woman's beauty is a combination of the three aspects – soul, mind and body. It is to all these attributes that the protagonist is attracted; and thus he readily falls in love.

In the stories, the beloved has a beautiful face and beautiful body; or long hair and perfect teeth; even the colour of her eyes may be mentioned or the potency of her glance. The question that may be posed here is: why is the beloved (whether a concubine or a free woman) always a physically beautiful woman? The answer springs out of the heart and nature of the subject, namely love. The beloved is always beautiful in the eyes of the beholder, he who is in love with her. This is why most of the protagonists of the stories describe or allude to their beloved's beauty. Moreover, love beautifies a woman whether she is in love, or is beloved, or both; her outward appearance is affected by the inner spiritual feelings of her love or by her enjoyment of knowing that she is loved and is seen as beautiful.

Love, then, is the wellspring of beauty, and is a part of the source of love, the love of God:

> *Inna Allāha jamīlun yuḥibbu l-jamāl*
> God is beautiful and loves beauty.[159]

So how can the lover (or the beloved) be anything except beautiful?

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED STORIES

In the section above I analysed the theme of 'love for the concubine', which has the pattern – *love–sale of the beloved–suffering–reunion*. The other pattern, resembling the foregoing, again concerns 'love for the concubine', namely *love–intent to sell the beloved–retraction from the sale*. (The only difference here is that, in the latter pattern, the protagonist foresees the dire consequences of proceeding with the sale of his beloved. His heart does not allow him to execute the deal, so he resolutely accepts his poverty; whereupon God rewards him for his right decision and deed.)

For further analysis, I have selected those of al-Tanūkhī's stories focusing on the free woman. My analysis of the stories will be based on two of the patterns previously described in my text, namely:

- Love–separation–suffering–reunion and/or marriage;
- Love–separation–suffering–death.

In addition, I include one story that incorporates two of the types of love, 'love for the maiden' and 'love between husband and wife'.

Love–separation–suffering–reunion and/or marriage

I have selected the story of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and al-Jaʿd b. Mihjaʿ al-ʿUdhrī.[160]

The story

Abū al-Mishar al-Jaʿd b. Mihjaʿ al-ʿUdhrī falls in love with a beautiful woman while she is out hunting on her horse, they talk under a lofty tree and drink *nabīdh*, then the woman rides away, leaving the protagonist with a sad heart. He meets his friend ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa in Mecca, and the latter determines to help his friend. Both men travel to the tribe of the protagonist's beloved; once there they ask her father for her hand in marriage, whereupon the two lovers are married.

The analysis

The story begins in Mecca. Al-Jaʿd is the protagonist upon whom love has a profound effect, as it does upon his friend (the narrator) ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, a famous love poet. It is said of Jaʿd that he 'was not a fornicator when left alone with women, neither did he quickly forget his loves' (*lā ʿāhira l-khalwa wa lā sarīʿa l-salwa*). The protagonist clearly

has a tender heart, and when he falls in love it is overwhelming and with warm yearning (*ṣabāba*). Al-Jaʿd then, may be seen as a true and a serious lover – here is encountered a loving heart, within the holy place of Mecca.

The protagonist is in the habit of going on pilgrimage every season; if he is late then people spread the news and other pilgrims wait until he arrives [in Mecca]. The protagonist is of the ʿUdhra tribe, which is famous for its love martyrs; he is not only a tender and warm lover but also a devout worshipper of God. Every season he goes on his pilgrimage to Mecca; every season he makes his devotions. He completes his cycle of love – *God–love–man–love–God* – around *al-Kaʿba*. His love for women and his love of God are in parallel, since human love springs from the source of love (God). There is a parallel here between religion and love; hence, as a devout man he is temperate in his affairs of love; since Islam prohibits fornication and encourages love.

The relationship between the protagonist and his friend ʿUmar is based on staunch friendship; both have the same tender loving hearts. Another kind of love is encountered here; that of the friendship between people who resemble each other in their souls. Adoration, love and friendship; all these elements combine to form the character of the protagonist's soul.

The protagonist is late for the *ḥajj* and ʿUmar becomes worried. He awaits the arrival of the pilgrims from the tribe of ʿUdhra to search for his companion (*fa-ataytu l-qawma anshudu ṣāḥibī*). He finds a youth who sighs and says: 'You ask about Abū al-Mishar? … he became – by God – neither so helpless (to the point of death) to be left [alone] nor hopeful (ill but with hope that he might live) to be cured.'

The protagonist's nickname is *Abū al-Mishar*, this Arabic word is derived from the same root as the word *sahar*, which means 'to burn the midnight oil'. The word *sahar* signifies suffering in love, which renders the protagonist into a state between life and death – his heart is alive with his love, but his beloved's physical absence leaves his life empty, like a body without its soul. When ʿUmar asks the youth from what ailment al-Jaʿd suffers, the latter replies: 'The same as that which you suffer [namely love of women]; from out of your impudence and rashness in going astray, and your towing the train of loss as if you had never heard of Paradise or Hell.' The youth's response demonstrates the contrast between religion manifested within social norms and the spiritual dimension of religion; indeed in the social context, love is seen as a shameful feeling – at variance with religion.

ʿUmar discovers that the youth is the protagonist's brother and he asks him, 'My nephew, why do you not follow his [al-Jaʿd's] ways, … but I can see that you and he are in contrast.' Fraternity does not imply resemblance between brothers, unlike friendship which is based on the similarity between friends. The protagonist is also a poet (like his friend ʿUmar); the cycle *adoration–love–friendship–poetry* not only characterizes the protagonist's soul, but also forms the mutual bonds between the friends.

ʿUmar journeys towards ʿArafāt, and there he comes upon a man (the protagonist) whose complexion has changed and whose appearance has indeed degenerated. ʿArafāt is the most important among the rituals of pilgrimage. The Prophet says: 'The pilgrimage is ʿArafāt' (*al-ḥajju ʿArafa*). The word ʿArafāt is derived from the root *ʿ.r.f*, from which another word springs *ʿarafa* ('to know'); so ʿArafāt signifies 'knowing God', which is the whole basis of love, see above. The description of the protagonist as having 'degenerated' reminds us of the word *ʿishq*; in context it means that the one in love 'withers like the tree' (*ʿashaqa*).

Al-Jaʿd draws his camel up close to ʿUmar's, he embraces him and weeps. The camel is the animal most frequently described in the words of love; it is upon the camel that people make their long journeys of pilgrimage across the desert (to fulfil their love for God) – the ship of the desert symbolizes spirituality. The suffering of the protagonist in love resembles that of the camel, on its long arduous journey through the hard and dry desert wilderness. ʿUmar says to him: 'O, Abū al-Mishar this is the time when the people come from the east of the world and its west, so if you pray to God Almighty then hopefully you will get what you need.' The Arabic phrase for people coming to pilgrimage is *innahā sāʿatun tuḍrabu ilayhā akbādu l-ibili*. The word *akbād* (singular *kabid*) meaning 'liver' signifies the soul as mentioned in the chapter 'The Journey', and the camel denotes spirituality and love. Pilgrimage is the expression of the divine love of God and both loves – that of God and that of man – are in parallel.

The protagonist begins to supplicate to God (*al-duʿāʾ*). At sunset, when people begin to come down from ʿArafāt (*wa hamma l-nāsu an yafīḍū*), ʿUmar hears the protagonist reciting poetry in which he laments to God about his suffering and his love-sickness (*ḍana*) since 'the day of the lofty tree' (*al-dawḥa*). Sunset is the time when the protagonist can be alone with God, since the others start their descent from ʿArafāt. The word that describes the descent of people is *yafīḍū*, which is derived from the root *f.y.ḍ*; and the verb *fāḍa* means 'overflow',

'outflow', 'super abundant' and 'to reveal'. Having regard to these meanings, it can be seen that profuse love is flowing and spilling out of the protagonist's heart. As he beholds the scenes of spirituality upon ʿArafāt (where people pray to God and express their love for Him), it inflames the feelings of love in his heart – the connection between divine love and human love is again observed.

The protagonist's love is revealed as his body withers and his health declines; he maintains his existence between life and death, and through his crying and prayer, his physical condition reveals the hidden love. The protagonist expresses his suffering in love as *ḍanā*, which denotes continuous illness and pain; the one in love strives to overcome his feelings, but every time he thinks he has succeeded, he relapses.[161] The severe pain of suffering makes him want to overcome its cause, that is love; but a man in love is not master of his own heart.

At this point the introduction to the story ends. It is the protagonist's turn to become the narrator of his own story, which he calls *yawmu l-dawḥa* ('the day of the lofty tree'). The protagonist begins his own story by stating that he is a man of wealth and property, rich in sheep and camels. The term used to express the word 'herd' is *niʿam*, which brings to mind the word *niʿma* which means 'grace'. It also recalls the Qurʾānic verse:

> *amaddakum bi-anʿāmin wa banīn*
> [He] succoured you with flocks and sons.[162]

This suggests that the protagonist has the grace of love in his heart, and the only true riches that man can possess – those within the soul.

The protagonist fears for his herd because of drought, whereas rain falls upon the land of Kalb, so he repairs to his maternal uncles from that tribe. They give him pride of place and allow him use of their well, which has plenty of water, and he lives happily with them. The Arabic word used to express 'rain' is *ghayth*, which evokes God's grace and mercy. From the Qurʾān:

> *wa huwa l-ladhī yunazzilu l-ghaytha min baʿdi ma qanaṭū wa yanshuru raḥmatahu wa hwa l-waliyyu l-ḥamīd*
>
> And it is He who sends down the rain after they have despaired, and He unfolds His mercy; He is the Protector, the All-laudable.[163]

The protagonist resorts to his maternal uncles with whom he has ties of kinship, that in Arabic are called 'relationship of the womb' (*ṣilatu l-raḥim*). This relationship is seen here as a parallel to mercy – between God and man on the one hand, and between the protagonist and his uncles on the other. The Arabic word used to express 'the guest's precedence' is *ṣadr*, which also means the chest wherein resides the heart. The watering hole (well) evokes the notion of love; since water is the element used mainly in the meanings of the word *ḥubb* ('love').

One day the protagonist decides to lead his camels to the source of water, so he mounts his horse and takes some *nabīdh* with him, that is a present from one of his relations. Near the tribal area and the sheep pasture, the protagonist sees a lofty tree. He dismounts, and ties his horse to one of the tree's branches and sits down in its shade. Water and *nabīdh* symbolize love. *Nabīdh* is like water, one of the meanings of love '*ḥubb*'. The horse is the symbol of bravery in battle, as Yaḥyā al-Jabbūrī says it represents the fighter's honour, and it is 'the companion of the Arab in his desert and city'; hence, the Arabs 'favoured their horses above themselves and preferred them in what they owned'.[164] The horse then, symbolizes bravery (in conflict), companionship, and pride. These aspects in their turn generate love between a man and his horse. Moreover, the horse signifies insight, because the word *faras* (mare/horse) is derived from the root *f.r.s*; from which another word appears that is *firāsa* (insight). In his book entitled *Asās al-Balāgha*, al-Zamakhsharī says: 'he is a horseman whose insight is faultless (*fārisun ṣāʾibu l-firāsa*). *Farusa fulān* [meaning] he became skilled in the matters of horses … [describing someone as] *farusa* [means] that he became a man of opinion and knowledge of various matters.'[165] In the *ḥadīth*:

> *ittaqū firāsata l-muʾmini fa-innahu yanẓuru bi-nūri Allāh*
> Beware of the faithful's insight, because he sees with God's light.[166]

The tree, under which the protagonist rests signifies firmly rooted and strong love; it also symbolizes seduction (since Adam and Eve were seduced to eat from the tree in Paradise). The tree is the bond between love and loyalty, because the protagonist ties his horse to the tree.

Suddenly, the protagonist sees dust swirling up (in the distance) and he discerns three moving objects; he sees that they are a horseman chasing a wild ass and a she ass. The protagonist observes the rider

wearing a yellow shield and a black silk turban. The horseman's locks of hair flutter at his waist (or thighs), the protagonist says, 'So I said: "[This is] A newly married youth, whom the pleasure of hunting so hurried him that he left his own robes and wore those of his wife".' Some time later, the horseman kills both the ass and the she ass, and heads towards the protagonist while reciting a verse of poetry, in which he boasts of his strength.

The Arabic word used to describe the swirling of the dust is *saṭaʿa*, which also means 'glaring': love is radiant in the protagonist's heart. The symbol of the hunter on a horse signifies a strong and honourable person; it could also denote one who follows (pursues) their desires (*hawā*). Ibn Sīrīn says:

> *wa l-farasu l-ḥiṣān* is 'power and honour' … and who sees [in his dream] that he is on a horse that is running away with him … might mean 'his desires' (*hawāhu*), as one says such person 'rode his desires' (*rakiba fulānun hawāhu*) and 'his desires ran away with him' (*jamaḥa bi-hi hawāhu*).[167]

The colour of the shield the horseman brandishes is yellow. This colour recalls the 'suffering of love': according to one of its meanings, the one in love declines and becomes yellow in colour because it evokes the beginning of the story when ʿUmar sees the protagonist whose complexion has changed colour. The shield symbolizes a protected maiden. The black silken turban indicates a free noblewoman since the colour black in Arabic is *sawdāʾ*: it is derived from the root *s.w.d*, from which two other words are derived: *suʾdud* (honour) and *siyāda* (sovereignty). The horseman has long hair flaps at his waist (or thighs). The long hair denotes freedom and power, in addition to its suggestion of femininity.

The protagonist initially thinks that the horseman must be a newly married youth (*ghulām*) so hastened by the anticipation of the hunt that he dressed in his wife's robes. In reality, the protagonist divines that the rider is a woman. However, there is a great contrast between her femininity (her long hair and robes) and her guise as a horseman who hunts and kills; this contrast confuses the protagonist; it is as if he does not believe his eyes. The word *ghulām* (youth) is derived from the root *gh.l.m* from which another word is derived, *ghulma* meaning libido. Another significant meaning of the word *ghulām* is bravery and courage.

The horsewoman then hunts the protagonist's heart the way she pursued the asses. To this end, she heads towards him reciting a verse of poetry. The rider is like the protagonist, she is a poet like him (and like the protagonist's friend ʿUmar). It has been shown that love in all its guises, whether between men and women or between friends, is based on the similarity between souls. The protagonist says:

> I said: 'You have tired yourself and your horse, so why do not you come down?' *He* bent *his* leg, came down, and tied *his* horse to one of the branches of the tree. *He* threw down *his* quiver, and approached until *he* sat down and began to talk to me and *his* talk reminded me of the verse of Abū Dhuʾayb (in which the poet describes the speech of his beloved as '… like milk sweetened with honey').

The rider is proud of her strength, while the protagonist is humble with his spirituality, which is why he asks the rider to dismount – to descend to his level. The protagonists's heart is telling him something, so his invitation to the rider is in fact a call of love; to which the horsewoman responds. The fatigued rider on her horse symbolizes the weariness of life without a companion; but now it is time for her to take her rest.

Bending of the leg upon dismount signifies submission to the call of love. The rider ties her horse to the same tree as the protagonist; the mutual love between them is beginning to reveal itself. The rider throws down her quiver: the horsewoman disarms herself and so surrenders her heart to love, her speech reveals her internal beauty. The protagonist says:

> I rose to my horse and set it right, when I returned I found that *he* had taken off *his* turban to see a youth whose face was like the engraved *dinār*. I said: 'Glory to God, how great is Your might and how beautiful is Your creation.' *He* said: 'Why is that?' I said: 'Because of your beauty which fascinates me and your light which dazzles me.' *He* said: 'What excites you in the one who is a prisoner of dust and an eater of animals, [one] who does not know if he is going to lead a life of comfort or if he is going to be miserable?' I said: 'God will only do good to you.'

The protagonist rises to set his horse right, which indicates that he has finally found tranquillity after travelling and struggling in search of water (water signifying love). He finds love at last, since his action occurs after the horsewoman has tied her own horse to his tree and sits down close to him. At the same time, she removes her turban, which indicates the mutuality of her love. The rider's beauty excites the protagonist and reminds him of the greatness of his creator. Thus, there is a parallel between divine love and human love, between the divine beauty and the human beauty. Her beauty shines forth, like that light which is a part of the Absolute light. As described in the Qurʾān:

> *Allāhu nūru l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*
> God is the light of the heavens and the earth.[168]

The rider despairs about her life, behind all this bravery and beauty there hides a deep feeling of sadness; but the protagonist trusts in God and is sure that He will bring relief to the youth (young woman). There is a contrast between despair (that of the young woman) and hope (that of the devout protagonist): faith and love strengthen the soul of man.

The story continues with the protagonist and the young woman conversing and then the former offers her some *nabīdh*. The latter drinks and taps her first front teeth with the whip, whereupon the protagonist cries out: 'Desist! I fear that you will break them.' The *youth* says, 'Why?', and the protagonist says, 'Because they are beautiful and sweet'. The *youth* then sings two verses of poetry.

The talk between the protagonist and the *youth* reveals the inner beauty that makes the protagonist draw close to his companion (her speech is as sweet as milk sweetened with honey), she then drinks *nabīdh* (love is affecting the womanly heart, since *nabīdh* indicates love). She strikes her front teeth with her whip, signifying that love is strongly affecting her heart, but is worried and afraid of it. Teeth are related to the word love (*ḥubb*) (see *ḥ.b.b*). Her teeth are beautiful and sweet, which denotes the physical manifestation of love – the poetry she recites reveals this desire, in the form of kissing. But what is she afarid of? The answer to this question will follow in the course of the story.

The youth rises to set her horse right and returns. When the protagonist glimpses behind the shield there flashes a breast, shaped like a small cup of ivory. He continues:

> I said: 'By God, are you a woman?' She said: 'By God, I am.' Yea, she abhors disgrace but dallies with flirtation. Then she sat and began to drink with me, and nothing deprived us [of] our pleasure until I looked into her eyes and saw they were the eyes of a frightened antelope. By God, what excited me was her drunken compliance under the tree. Satan, by God, magnified perfidy within me and beautified it in my eyes, but He [God] restrained me so I sat [myself] at a distance from her.

Until the beginning of this paragraph, the description of the woman in the text is in the masculine gender, for example 'then he rose to his horse, sat it right, and returned.' The woman is setting her horse right, which indicates that she falls in love in her turn. However, when she returns her femininity is exposed. In addition to her obvious outward signs of femininity and physical desirability, the exposed breast symbolizes love since the heart lies behind it. The 'cup' descriptive also signifies love, in one of the meanings under the root *ḥ.b.b*.

The protagonist still cannot trust his eyes and he asks her if she is a woman, whereupon the youth confirms the protagonist's thoughts. What his eyes see has to be confirmed, love can be felt but needs to be confirmed with words. The woman's actions reveal her love, but the protagonist needs to hear her word in order to be sure of her feelings towards him.

The beloved abhors disgrace (copulation) but likes to flirt. The contrast between these two concepts means that flirtation is not shameful, since it is natural between lovers. In the Qurʾān, flirtation is described as *lamam* (small sins); in the verse:

> *al-ladhīna yajtanibūna kabāʾira l-ithmi wa l-fawāḥisha illā l-lamama inna rabbaka wāsiʿu l-maghfira*
>
> Those who avoid the heinous sins and indecencies, save lesser offences surely thy Lord is wide in His forgiveness.[169]

Al-Zamakhsharī says of the word *lamam*:

> that it is … what is 'inconsiderable' (*qalla*) and 'diminutive' (*saghura*), and from [its meanings] the 'touch of craziness and foolishness'; and *alamma bi-l-makān* if he 'stays in the place for a little while'; and *alamma bi-l-ṭaʿām* if he 'eats a small

> amount'; and from this meaning also *liqāʾu akhillāʾi l-ṣafā limāmu* ('finding sincere friends is rare'). What is meant [by the word *lamam* in the verse] is the 'small sins'. … Abū Saʿīd al-Khudri said *al-lamam* is 'the glance, eyewink, and the kiss' … al-Kalbī said that (*lamam*) is 'every sin for which God does not mention any punishment (*ḥadd*).'[170]

The beloved reveals her love and encourages him to flirt with her. After her statement, the role of the *nabīdh* comes into play: they drink together, and enjoy the pleasure of love and flirtation. The following sequence of events is depicted:

- The protagonist first, sets his horse right;
- The woman removes her turban;
- He offers her *nabīdh* and she drinks;
- The beloved sets her horse right;
- The protagonist discovers that she is a woman;
- [After which] they drink together.

Each time the horse is set right love is made manifest (either by the protagonist or by his beloved); each time something more about her is revealed – such that love reveals the hidden beauty and treasure inside man. The beloved's eyes are beautiful, like those of an antelope (*mahā*), which recalls the poet's verse:

> *ʿuyūnu l-mahā bayna l-ruṣāfati wa l-jisri*
> *jalabna l-hawā min ḥaythu adrī wa lā adrī*
>
> The eyes of antelopes between al-Ruṣāfa and al-Jisr
> brought love from where I know, and from where I do not.[171]

The symbol then, of 'eyes like the antelope' indicates love as well; and the beloved is drunk with love. However, she is frightened of it. She becomes drunk under the tree, and Satan tempts the protagonist. The contrast between Satan and God recalls the story of Adam – the theme links God, Adam and the tree in Paradise. Satan's art is to beautify what is ugly. Beauty and ugliness are two concepts that depend on the human perspective on life, which is derived from man's faith or religion. Therefore, fornication with the free beloved is a sin, a perfidy in the protagonist's religion. Fornication is the disgrace that the beloved fears:

her abhorence of disgrace and the protagonist's love of God, are seen as parallel threads. He continues:

> Then she woke up frightened, put on her turban, mounted her horse, and said: 'May God reward you for your companionship.' I said: 'Won't you provide me with provision?' (*alā tuzawwidīnī zādan*). She gave me her hand and I kissed it; by God I scented from it the fragrance of bedewed youth.

The protagonist asks where he may meet her again, but she tells him that she has hard-hearted brothers and a jealous father. She says, 'and by God, for me to please you is better than that I should harm you.' His beloved rides away, 'and I followed her with my eyes until she disappeared. It is she, by God, O Ibn Abī Rabīʿa who has placed me in this condition and brought me into this state.'

The beloved wakes up from her drunken stupor, from her dream of love: but she must open her eyes to the reality of her life; she cannot continue being drunk on the pleasures of love. Thus, she dons her turban once more and mounts her horse, meanwhile concealing her love. The protagonist asks her to supply him with provision (*zād*), which derives from the root (*z.w.d*), from which another word – *ziyāda* meaning 'increase' – is derived; he wishes more of her love, something meaningful, a keepsake, a memory; and so she gives him her hand. The hand here symbolizes generosity (see above).

The beloved's brothers and her jealous father signify the contrast between her desire for love yet her fear of it. Now the reader understands why she was tapping her upper front teeth; in his interpretations of dreams, al-Nābulsī says:

> All teeth denote family, clan, boys and girls of sons … teeth also denote trusts, secrets and man's family: the upper teeth are men of the father's side and the lower ones are women of his mother's side … the two front upper teeth are the father and the uncle … if he does not have a father or an uncle, then they [the upper front teeth] are two sons.[172]

The lover's attitudes are in parallel at this point: he protects her from Satan's seduction while she protects him from society's constraints that prevent her from loving freely. The result is that the beloved goes away: as she departs the protagonist follows her with his eyes, with his

innermost being, since the eyes are the windows to the soul. The conflict between love and social norms (those that suppress love) results in temporary victory for the latter. As the protagonist's beloved rides away and disappears from his sight, the middle part of the story ends. The story resumes back in Mecca, from where it all began.

The protagonist weeps uncontrollably and ʿUmar says: 'Do not cry … even if it costs me all my wealth and my soul to obtain your heart's desire, I shall not rest until I have secured it.' The protagonist's suffering affects ʿUmar's heart and engenders his generosity. Love is the power from which generosity springs: love begets love, and generosity is love manifest in another form, namely friendship and generosity of both wealth and soul. After the pilgrimage season, both men depart together with a slave for the country of [the tribe] Kalb. They carry with them, a marriage tent of red leather, which once belonged to Ibn Abī Rabīʿa, as well as a thousand *dīnārs* and a silken garment (*miṭraf*).

The sentence used for departing is *shadadtu ʿalā nāqatī wa shadda ʿalā nāqatihi* (I hastened on my camel and he hastened on his camel). The word *shadda* also means 'to pull'; the word *shidda* means 'strength or power' in addition to its usual meaning of 'hardship'. This sentence denotes the ability of the qualities of love and generosity to unite the lovers in marriage; in unison, they can overcome all hardships. In anticipation of this outcome the men take a marriage tent with them. The word used to describe the slave is *ghulām*, which means 'a young man'; it symbolizes the chivalry of ʿUmar, who is determined to release his friend from his suffering.

Their journey is from Mecca after the season of pilgrimage; the friends go forth to bring about marriage between the lovers – from the divine love of God to human love. They arrive in Kalb, and find that the father of the young woman is master of his tribe (*sayyidu l-qawm*). ʿUmar undertakes the task of asking for the young woman's hand in marriage on behalf of the protagonist. Upon hearing the request, her father firmly states that he only allows his daughters to marry within this branch of the Quraysh tribe. However, when he sees that ʿUmar is nonplussed he relents and says, 'I will do for you what I have not done for anyone … I will let her choose.' At this, ʿUmar starts to protest, but the protagonist makes a sign for his friend to let the woman choose; whereupon she says, 'I would not trust any opinion other than the man of Quraysh [ʿUmar]; and the choice is in his speech and judgement.' ʿUmar then marries the lovers, who spend the night under the tented dome.

The next day the ecstatic protagonist tells ʿUmar that 'she showed me – by God – a lot of what she hid from me on the day when I met her.' He says 'and when I asked her about the reason she said [in poetry], that when she saw me [she became] afraid and thought I only wanted pleasure, and so she hid her feelings of love for me, but inside her, overwhelming love for me (*wajd*) tormented her.' The story ends with ʿUmar departing alone, leaving the protagonist with his bride.

The young woman's father is described as 'master' (*sayyid and shaykh*). The first word signifies 'power' and the second 'wisdom'. ʿUmar and the girl's father are from the same tribe, Quraysh: This is why it is ʿUmar who undertakes to speak, indicating that influence is more effective between people of similar backgrounds. Clearly, ʿUmar is the strong character who helps the weak protagonist (albeit weak in circumstance but strong in his feelings of love). The conflict between his inner strength and his external weakness is the reason he needs a helper; in his favour the helper is a well-known poet who also comes from a noble tribe (that of the Prophet Muḥammad). The beloved's father is a *shaykh*, a man of wisdom, and so he reverses custom and leaves the choice of suitor to his daughter. A wise man knows how to change according to circumstances, he is one who does not stubbornly insist on rigid customs; he does not oppose love; he respects the rights of others, including that of his own daughter.

ʿUmar starts to protest against the *shaykh*'s judgement, whereas the protagonist agrees to let his beloved make her choice; there is a contrast here between their different attitudes, indicating the confidence and trust that the protagonist has in his beloved. The beloved also proves her wisdom by letting her beloved's generous friend make her choice for her. She is wise to trust that he will marry her to her beloved; after all, she is the daughter of a wise *shaykh* – the proverb is again recalled, 'this [female] cub is from that lion'.

After the lovers are married, the protagonist tells his friend that his wife showed him much of what she hid, the day he first met her. The physical union between two lovers expresses the spiritual union between them; and thereby their hidden love is revealed.

Love–separation–suffering and death

To illustrate this part of al-Tanūkhī's work, I have chosen two of the stories about Qays and Laylā. The reason for this choice is that the stories of Majnūn Laylā depict love in its purest form. The stories portray the rebellion of spiritual feelings against the social norms that

imprison love, preventing true unity between loving souls. The story of al-Majnūn is about the rebellion of freedom against social authority, and his subsequent death exemplifies the victory of spirituality. Qays similarly dies for the sake of a noble cause, the way a martyr dies for the sake of God. The story of Majnūn Laylā is the personification of the *ḥadīth*: 'The one who loves, is abstinent, and [then] dies, is a Martyr.'

The stories of Majnūn Laylā in al-Tanūkhī's *Nishwār*, are but a small extract from the larger Majnūn Laylā story cycle. Asʿad Khairallāh illustrates the 'early versions of the legend' first collected by Ibn Qutayba (d. CE 889), then Ibn Dāwūd (d. CE 910), and finally by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. CE 967):

> The figure of Majnūn was already firmly established before the last quarter of the ninth century [CE]. … Whereas Ibn Dāwūd presents a fragmented image of Majnūn (through poetic excerpts scattered amongst different love topics), Ibn Qutayba presents Majnūn as a unified character and gives a narrative account of his story or legend. In either case, the material included does not exceed a fourth of what Aghānī was to include, in the second half of the tenth century [CE] … however, the figure of Majnūn was unmistakably drawn by Ibn Qutayba.[173]

First story: '*Majnūn Laylā loses his mind*'[174]

The story is about Qays who falls in love with Laylā and asks for her hand in marriage, but her family refuses to allow him to marry her; as a result, he loses his mind.

Analysis of the story

Qays has not known Laylā for some time; then [after knowing her], he adored her (*ʿashiqaha*). Love follows knowledge; it begins powerfully, as seen above. Qays asks for her hand in marriage but is refused; his suffering becomes greater, his overwhelming love (*wajd*) increases and the news of his unrequited love spreads among the people. The contrast between the fullness of Qays's heart and the emptiness of his life (because of the refusal of Laylā's family) is the cause of his suffering and sadness. Suffering in love heightens the emotions; when a person is overwhelmed by the suffering of love they are unable to hide their feelings, since it is their emotions that are in control of their mind, not their reason.

Qays's cousin meets him and says, 'Brother, fear God for your own sake, the state in which you find yourself is Satan's doing, so keep him [Satan] away from you.' Qays replies with two verses of poetry, in which he says that if Laylā's love is the doing of Satan, then his deeds are delightful. The contrast between his cousin's advice and Qays's reply is the contrast between reason and emotion, between the head and the heart, between him who is outside the circle of love and the one who is inside it. The cousin thinks that Qays can restrain his feelings, but how can the one who is overwhelmed by love restrain himself? The cousin thinks that love is Satan's deed, whereas Qays knows that his love is the deed of God, and that only He owns his heart. This contrast between the two men is the contrast between knowledge and ignorance; only the one who experiences love knows its true nature. Ibn ʿArabī says:

> It is He, who in every beloved being, is manifested to the gaze of each lover and none other than He is adored; for it is impossible to adore a being without conceiving the Godhead in that being; so it is with love – a being does not truly love anyone other than his Creator.[175]

Qays then, has arrived at the point of perceiving God in his beloved Laylā.

In the opinion of Qays's cousin, suffering for love is an act of self-destruction, which is why he entreats the protagonist to fear God. However, according to the *ḥadīth* cited above, dying for the sake of love is an act of martyrdom. The verses recited by Qays show that his love represents a state of defiance based upon his certainty that his love is part of the source of love (God). This certainty of knowledge does not emanate from any creed or ideology; it springs from the natural knowledge (the light) that God kindled within man.

Qays absent-mindedly sits with people; he does not comprehend what they say. This particular condition of love is described in the introduction to this chapter – the one in love constantly repeats the name of his beloved in both his heart and mind, even when he is in the midst of others. This emotional state simulates the holy ritual of the repetition of words in praise of God (*dhikr*).

Qays loses his mind; he wanders from place to place and he rends every garment he wears. The protagonist finds himself lost to his beloved's soul; he becomes imprisoned within his own body; it

prevents him from being united with his beloved and he finds no place to obtain solace. Qays's beloved is his soul and abode; she is his whole life and world.

The protagonist is unable to comprehend the conversation around him; however, if his beloved's name is mentioned he 'responds to the call with her name' (*ajāba l-nidāʾ*), and his mind returns to him. Love is the reason Qays has lost his mind, yet mention of his beloved's name is the reason his mind returns to him – but how can this be? Love springs from mutual knowledge between two souls, and continuous repetition of the beloved's name is one of love's expressions. Qays constantly proclaims Laylā's name in his heart, which proves that he is fully in a state of inner awareness and in the knowledge of the source of his love (God). Qays is just like the one who is in the state of *dhikr*, like one in full knowledge of his divine love.

According to Ibn ʿArabī, the heart can be likened to a mirror that is tarnished when occupied with other than God, and it can only be repolished through *al-dhikr* or reading the Qurʾān. Qays polishes his own mirror when he recalls Laylā, since, '… it is He who in every beloved being is manifested to the gaze of each lover'.[176] Therefore, Qays does not distract himself by engaging in other people's talk.

In the eyes of those around him Qays is mad, whereas in his own mind he is just in love. This is why, when hearing his beloved's name outside his heart, his mind returns to him; he responds to her name wherever he hears it. In truth, he is living in a complete state of spirituality, which preoccupies his whole mind; when this spirituality is expressed in his external world he regains his senses – the people around him see that 'his mind returns to him'. In reality, Qays journeys from his inner soul to the outside world.

Al-Tanūkhī's story ends at this point in his book. However, Qays's story does not end. In his *Nishwār* al-Tanūkhī writes the conclusion in a second story.

Second story:
'You are my occupation and my mind is lost unto you'

Nawfal b. Musāḥiq sees Qays playing with dust; he draws near to him and talks to him, but Qays does not reply to Nawfal's questions. One of Qays's relatives says to Nawfal, 'If you wish him to talk properly with you, just mention Laylā's name to him'. Nawfal does so and Qays recites some poetry about Laylā. Nawfal brings Qays back home, he restrains him and tries to cure him; however, the latter

gnaws the flesh of his arms and hands. Nawfal releases Qays who goes and sleeps with the wild beasts. Al-Tanūkhī says that Qays:

> had a nursmaid whom he used to trust and no one except her could approach him. She used to search him out in the desert, carrying bread and water for him; he might eat some of it or he might not eat at all. He remained like this until he died.[177]

Analysis of story

In the analysis of al-Tanūkhī's previous story it is seen how love causes madness, and how the protagonist regains his senses upon hearing the name of his beloved. It is also seen that Qays rends his clothes, and is restless moving from place to place. If Qays cannot tolerate being imprisoned within his own body or to stay in one place, then how can he tolerate being bound? It is no wonder that he rends his own flesh. Qays goes out into the desert, signifying that he is in the level of *huyām*, one of its meanings is 'the desert without water'.

The protagonist's nursemaid signifies the religion in which he was raised – he has to eat or else he will be committing suicide, which is a sin; however, he only eats the minimum barely to sustain life, just some bread and water. The protagonist is in a total state of spirituality, one in which he is not aware of his body; it is only his soul that he has to keep alive. His body withers, but his soul is Laylā, the one with whom he wants to unite. At his end, he leaves his body to unite with his beloved in the Absolute love – their divine creator.

Love between husband and wife

One of al-Tanūkhī's stories will be included that incorporates two of the types of love; *Love for the Maiden* and *Love between Husband and Wife*. To illustrate this theme I have chosen the story from the *Faraj* entitled, *The anecdotes of Qays and Lubnā*, since this story recounts love for the free woman, in her two conditions – both as a maiden and as a wife. The story is about Qays who happens to pass through the encampment of the tribe Kaʿb b. Khuzāʿa, while the men of the tribe are absent. The protagonist stops at a tent for water, and a beautiful woman named Lubnā serves him; the protagonist falls in serene love as he drinks. After overcoming several obstacles, he manages to marry his beloved; the two lovers live happily until Qays's mother becomes jealous of Lubnā and of her son's total absorption with his new wife. She uses her guile to force Qays to divorce his wife.

The story continues with descriptions of the suffering of both lovers following their divorce. Later, when Lubnā marries another man Qays's grief increases, but with Ibn Abī ʿAtīq's and al-Ḥusayn's help, the protagonist succeeds in regaining his wife.[178]

Analysis of the story

The story begins with Qays who hails from the city of al-Madīna (*min ḥāḍirati l-madīna*); this signifies his noble spiritual origin, since al-Madīna is the place to where the Prophet migrated and where he died – the word *ḥāḍira* denotes 'presence' and 'importance'.

The protagonist Qays is in a state of instability; he wanders and passes by Lubnā's tribe while the men are elsewhere, and so he comes upon Lubnā's tent. This indicates that fate is preparing the meeting between him and the woman, since the men are not there. Qays and love are destined to meet; he is about to discard the trappings of his travels. There is a contrast between the protagonist, who is from the city (*ḥāḍiratu l-madīna*), and Lubnā, who is a Bedouin – this contrast symbolizes the unity between civilization and the natural world. Qays asks for water and Lubnā gives it to him. Water signifies love (see above), Qays's heart is thirsty for love and Lubnā quenches his thirst.

Lubnā is a tall elegant woman with bluish-black eyes; she is beautiful in appearance, in her manner and in her speech. Being tall indicates that she is a generous woman. The word that expresses her height is *madīda*, which is derived from the word *madda*, which has several meanings such as 'to spread', 'to extend', 'to help' and 'to support'. Lubnā's eyes are bluish-black; black signifies mastership, as mentioned above. Blue indicates purity and clarity; since this is the colour of the sky when it is clear of clouds, in the bright sun.

Lubnā is described as beautiful in her looks and speech; this signifies that she has both inner and external beauty. Lubnā can be seen as a noble, pure, intelligent and beautiful woman. When Qays sets his eyes upon her he instantly falls in serene love with her, and drinks of the proffered water – the eyes are the mirror of the heart, windows of the soul; the protagonist sees Lubnā and falls in love, thus she quenches his parched heart.

Lubnā says, 'Would you stay with us?' and he replies 'Yes'. Her father returns and treats him with the utmost hospitality. Lubnā's invitation indicates that she has also fallen in love with him. Her father's hospitability indicates his blessing upon their love. The offer

and gift of hospitality denotes generosity; Lubnā's generosity again brings to mind the proverb, 'This [female] cub is from that lion.' This also shows the Bedouin society in which a woman can welcome men without raising any suspicion. Therefore a woman is not prevented from exercising her chivalery and hospitality. Qays returns home with his heart afire with love; and so he creates poetry about his beloved, spreading the news of his love for her. Poetry is the sign of overflowing, superabundant love; it is the material expression of the feelings of love. If love is the heart's secret, then its overflowing reveals this secret through the word.

Sometime later Qays returns to visit Lubnā as his love and overwhelming love (*wajd*) become stronger; she appears, greets him and welcomes him. Qays tells her of his suffering because of his love for her; she cries and tells him the same. Each lover knows what resides in his companion's heart.

The question that can be asked here is why does Qays feel sadness and suffering in love when her father treats him with such hospitality? In addition, why does Qays return home to create poetry before returning to his beloved? The answer to these questions is that, despite the sudden eruption of love it needs time to settle into the heart; separation of the lovers makes their love stronger; it has to reach its peak in order to be expressed. Overflowing love is expressed first through poetry, then through the declaration of love. The protagonist first has to be certain of his beloved's feelings; true love can only be mutual.

Qays asks his father to marry him to Lubnā, but the latter refuses because he does not want his wealth to go to a stranger. He asks his son to marry one of his cousins instead. The contrast between the protagonist and his father is the contrast between spirituality and materiality. In despair, Qays turns to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to ask for his help. Al-Ḥusayn asks for Lubnā's hand on Qays's behalf; whereupon her father says:

> O, son of the Prophet's daughter, I would never refuse you anything, and we do not reject the young man; but we prefer that Dhurayḥ [Qays' father] himself asks for her hand and gives his consent. I fear that if his father hears about this it will place a shame upon us.

Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī is grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad; he symbolizes the strength of spirituality and generosity that supports love.

Lubnā's father here (unlike in other stories) does not refuse Qays – in spite of the fact that the latter declaims poetry about his love for his daughter out loud. He submits to the spiritual call. However, as Lubnā's generous father he protects his daughter's pride: he insists that she be married only with the approval of Qays's father. The contrast between the lovers' fathers is clear. Al-Ḥusayn then asks that Qays's father be the one who asks for Lubnā's hand, the latter acquiesces to the request, whereupon the lovers get married. Materiality has to submit to the demands of spirituality, and love reigns victorious in the end.

Qays is the most pious of his mother's sons; she becomes sad and jealous seeing her son giving his attention to his wife. She takes cruel advantage of her son's illness; she convinces her husband to persuade Qays to remarry, in order to have children, claiming that Lubnā is barren. The spiritual protagonist Qays is a pious and dutiful son. His heart is full of love not only for his wife, but also for his mother. However, his mother's love is possessive, it drives her to jealousy. She determines to destroy her son's home – she commits the sin of separating the two loving souls.

Qays's mother concocts a story of Lubnā's barreness and persuades her husband to support her son's divorce. Qays's mother performs the same deed as Satan, when he persuaded both Adam and Eve to eat from the tree – jealousy is an endeavour of Satan. The mother's power lies in her influence over her husband; she uses her frailty as a woman and applies subtle persuasion, she exploits her apparent concern as a worried mother while concealing her true motive: jealousy. This Satanic deed brings to mind the verse:

> *innahu min kaydikunna inna kaydakunna ʿaẓīm*
> This is of your women's guile; surely your guile is great.[179]

Jealousy is an indicator of weakness and both are in parallel. Love is a sign of strength and contrasts with jealousy; hence Qays's mother's love is in reality only for herself.

The protagonist's father insists that his son must divorce his wife. To gain his purpose, he exposes himself to the heat of the sun, all the while Qays stands beside him and shades him with his robe. Qays then returns to his wife, embraces her and they both cry. Lubnā implores her husband, 'Do not obey your father, you will die and so shall I.' Qays replies, 'I would never obey anyone against you.' This impasse continues for a year. A contrast is observed between the two wives; between Lubnā and

Qays's mother – it is the contrast between love and jealousy. If the former springs from knowledge then, by contrast, jealousy is founded upon ignorance. There is another contrast, which is between the two husbands, Qays's father and Qays himself. The former submits to jealousy and ignorance, whereas Qays submits to love and knowledge. The former represents weakness and the latter represents strength.

To obtain his way the protagonist's father stands under the burning sun; which signifies that he exposes himself to the burning jealousy of his wife. However, Qays shades his father and he is the one who in the end becomes burnt. There is a contrast between the heartless father and the merciful son. Lubnā begs her husband not to obey his father; in reality she is asking him not to respond to importunate jealousy (his mother). Nevertheless, the protagonist responds in the end to the call of jealousy, and he divorces his wife. No sooner has he done so than he loses his mind; he laments and sobs.

When Lubnā learns the bad news, she sends for her father to take her away; and the latter arrives with a howdah on a camel, and with many other camels to carry her possesssions. Qays falls into a swoon; then he cries and follows after Lubnā and her father. When the protagonist sees that he is offending Lubnā's father, he ceases to look at his wife and weeps until they disappear. Qays returns home, following the tracks of Lubnā's camel and throws himself down kissing the tracks; he kisses the place where she sat and the trace of her feet; he scents her fragrance, reproaching himself for divorcing her.

Qays makes the gross error of divorcing his beloved wife; hence, he pays the bitter price. Responding to the lure of jealousy (Satan) always leads to loss; just like Adam and Eve when they followed Satan and ate from the tree. There is a parallelism here between the divorce of a wife and the sale of a loved concubine[180] – both deeds unsettle the spiritual feelings of love and disturb its physical expression. All too late, the protagonist realizes his mistake, thus increasing his depths of suffering. What is there left for him to cleave to, after losing his beloved wife? There is nothing save her ephemeral traces and the spoor of her camel to embrace and lament over.

Lubnā's father collects her by camel – this indicates sadness in spirituality; since the camel is used to symbolize some of the meanings of love such as 'sadness', 'illness' and 'madness in love', and also the camel is the animal that is used for the long desert journey to Mecca. Lubnā's departure brings to mind all the other departures of *al-aṭlāl*, described by the pre-Islamic poets. Lubnā and her father accept their

destiny and depart. Their deed can be seen in parallel with that of Qays, when he desists from following his wife out of respect for her father's will, and thereby accepts his destiny. Spirituality is based on acceptance of God's destiny and endurance of suffering.

Lubnā's father complains to Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān that Qays tries to see Lubnā after the divorce, and the latter threatens to kill Qays if he tries to see her again. Lubnā remarries and Qays's suffering increases. He cries, goes to her dwelling, descends from his camel, and showers her abode with his tears. (Al-Tanūkhī says that there are other stories about Qays meeting Lubnā after her second marriage; and about their suffering, and madness.)

Lubnā's new marriage stands as the shocking reality that Qays has to face. However, her marriage initiates the approach of the deliverance for both lovers. In Islam a divorced woman (the final divorce is called *bāʾin baynuna kubrā*) cannot return to her first husband unless she marries another man who divorces her in his turn. Lubnā's new marriage does not prevent Qays from seeing her; but their meetings are purely platonic, and so they suffer and lose their minds. There is a parallel between their chastity and that described in the stories of platonic love (above). There is a contrast between the fullness of their hearts and the emptiness of their lives; the circle of their love is severed; hence, they suffer and lose their minds. Finally, the story ends with Ibn Abī ʿAtīq's way of remarrying both lovers – by divorcing her.

The generosity of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and that of Ibn Abī ʿAtīq can be seen in parallel, this generosity is the continuation of the generosity of the Prophet Muḥammad (the grandfather of al-Ḥusayn) and Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (the grandfather of Ibn Abī ʿAtīq); again the proverb 'This cub is from that lion' comes to mind. Lubnā's second husband's generosity lies in his respect for the presence of both noble men, and in honouring his promise to fulfil their request whatever it may be. Love and generosity appear in parallel in the story, and both words can apply to one meaning: 'love'. In conclusion, it can be said that love defeats hatred; and that spirituality defeats materiality – because human love is a part of the absolute love, a part of God.

CONCLUSIONS UPON THE THEME OF LOVE

God is the source of each kind of love upon earth. Men and women are created from one soul; hence they seek their divine origin, which God breathed into man at the time of the creation. This search resides in and

is expressed by the love between them – since human love originates from divine love. Love is the form of spiritual meditation that makes man comprehend his love for his own creator.

Each spiritual feeling has its own expression and reflection. Man's knowledge and love for his creator is expressed through prayer; and man's love of his soul mate is expressed through physical relations between the lovers. Knowledge is the foundation of love; hence man has to know his creator in order to love Him. This knowledge results from knowing himself and that, in turn, can be found in the spiritual knowledge of his soul mate, his beloved. This is why a man who is in search of his beloved is in reality in search of himself. This knowledge is connected with the pleasure with which God blessed man upon his search for his lost Paradise, which is his love. If the foundation of love is knowledge and if pleasure follows love (as al-Ghazālī states, see above), then the three elements form another cycle within man's *life journey*: knowledge–love– pleasure

The cycle *knowledge–mutual love–the expression of love* is the cycle that forms man's stability in love. Knowledge shared between souls leads to love between them: mutual love so engendered leads to the necessity of its expression – this manifests itself as the physical relationship between two lovers. This is why in al-Tanūkhī's stories the protagonist either reunites with his beloved, or else he dies.

The relationship between man's spiritual feelings and their physical expression resembles that between 'meaning' and its expression through 'the word'. If meaning does not find the word that expresses it, then it dies – in other words for man there is no meaning without a word; even silence implies hidden words. This is why the ritual repetition of God's name is the way the spiritual meaning of the word polishes man's heart, the mirror of his soul.

Loss is an important aspect that strengthens the protagonist's love. Loss of the beloved makes him appreciate the treasure that he has lost and realize his need for his beloved. Hence, he must search for her and he must act decisively in order to gain her back. The beloved can be seen as man's spiritual reflection, in which he sees his own self. By losing her, he loses himself – he realizes the importance of what he once had and lost. From Ibn ʿArabī (see above): 'the Divine secret dwells within women.'[181]

The word (manifest in poetry and song) is the aspect of love that influences the hearts of others, and prompts them to generosity. The word spans between love and the generous deed, the one that brings

forth the deliverance. Generosity is a further spiritual reflection of love. This other side of love is expressed through sacrifice of material things – for the sake of the spiritual feeling inside man. In other words, these spiritual feelings find their material expression through the unselfish act of generosity.

In conclusion, it is seen that '*Human Love*' is a direct reflection of the '*Divine Love of God*', which is based on knowledge.

Love is the great secret that man holds within his heart.

Chapter 3
Generosity

In this chapter, the pattern, lexicon of generosity, the characteristic themes and types of generosity will be studied before detailed analysis of selected stories.

GENEROSITY IN ISLAMIC TRADITION: THE GENEROSITY OF GOD

In this section, the theme of generosity from various Islamic sources will be examined in order to place al-Tanūkhī's works in the larger context of the Islamic tradition. This section contains two headings: the generosity of God and human generosity. God, the source of generosity, breathed into man of His own spirit.[1] God, thereby, gives the example of generosity to man – generosity is to give of yourself. God ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam.[2] One attribute of generosity is the donor's respect for the recipient – respect forms the foundation of generosity. God taught Adam all the names.[3] The relationship between God and man resembles that between the teacher and his student – the teacher gives from his knowledge, from himself. Adam disobeyed God and as a punishment He banished him to earth.[4] When Adam pleads for forgiveness, God so provides. This demonstrates further; God's generosity – *pardon and mercy*.

Man is honoured to have the breath of God within his heart; he takes the example of his creator – hence man's generosity is a manifestation of God's. Man's heart is the mirror in which God's generosity is reflected. This concept is the keystone of *generosity* within the Islamic tradition. In his book *al-Bukhalāʾ*, al-Jāḥiẓ explains the relationship between man and God as follows:

> God is generous and does not refrain from giving; He is truthful and does not lie; He is loyal and does not betray; He is tolerant and does not hasten [to punish]; He is just and does not oppress.

> God ordered us: to be generous and forbade us to be miserly; to be honest and forbade us to lie; to be tolerant and forbade us impatience; to be just and forbade us to oppress; and he ordered us to be loyal and forbade us to betray. He ordered us to be all that He had chosen for Himself; and [He] forbade us that which He did not accept of Himself.[5]

God sets Himself to be the example for man – which demonstrates His humility. God's generosity is manifest when He orders man to accept that which He accepts of Himself. Thus man, in his turn, must pass on to others what he likes and accepts for himself.

Generosity is a combination of flawless morality and donation – material donation is an expression of that exceptional morality. *Truthfulness*, *loyalty*, *tolerance* and *justice* are some pure morals that imbue generosity. These examples of pure morals may therefore be defined as types of '*spiritual generosity*'.

The Qurʾān is described as *al-Qurʾānu l-karīm* ('The Noble [Generous] Qurʾān'); in which God's generosity is manifest – both spiritual generosity and material generosity. In his book *al-Bukhalāʾ*, al-Jāḥiẓ transmits a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: *al-Qurʾānu māʾidatu Allāh* ('The Qurʾān is the Banquet of God'.[6] In his book *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih says: 'The importance of generosity (*al-karam*) lies in the fact that the generous person is imbued with one of the attributes of God, since He is the Supremely Generous One. Thus the person who is generous by nature is named after the generosity of God and follows His attribute.'[7] Thus, the generous person is honoured, and his generosity safeguards his honour. In the opinion of al-Niffarī, generosity is a part of God and it springs from the spiritual feelings of sympathy and love. In his book entitled *Kitāb al-Mawāqif*, he says:

> 'What is Paradise?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of blessing'. He said, 'What is blessing?' I answered, '… one of the qualities of mercy'. He said, 'What is mercy?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of generosity'. He said, 'What is generosity?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of sympathy'. He said, 'What is sympathy?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of love'. He said, 'What is love?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of friendship'. He said, 'What is friendship?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of approval'. He said, 'What is

> approval?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of election'. He said, 'What is election?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of regard'. He said, 'What is regard?' I answered, 'One of the qualities of essence'. He said, 'What is essence?' I answered, 'Thyself, O God'. He said, 'Thou hast spoken the truth'. I answered, 'It is Thou that didst make me to speak [thus]'. He said, 'That thou mayest see My kindness'.[8]

In his book *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Ibn ʿArabī remarks that God's generosity began with the creation of Man. He says:

> We are of Him and for Him, as written in the *ḥadīth*. If we observe ourselves and our potentiality (*imkānuna*), we spring from Him, and our potentiality orders us to observe and to need Him, because He is the one who created us by His generosity, from His [own] existence (*bi-jūdihi min wujūdihi*).[9]

God's generosity (which manifested itself when He breathed into man of His spirit) is proof of His existence.

In this life, man embarks on his journey in order to know his creator and to return to Him. In his *Futūḥāt*, Ibn ʿArabī is telling us the way to return to the source of our existence. Ibn ʿArabī interprets the Qurʾānic verse thus:

> *wa min ḥaythu kharajta fa-walli wajhaka shaṭra l-masjidi l-ḥarām*
>
> From whatsoever place thou issuest, turn thy face towards the Holy Mosque.[10]

Ibn ʿArabī says:

> This verse means the time of [your] emerging from non-existence to existence. We also understand from His words, when He says, '… in the manner in which you emerged from God (*al-Ḥaqq*) to your potentiality and to beholding yourself' (*fa-walli wajhaka shaṭra l-masjidi l-ḥarām*), then He means, 'Return by learning, receiving, and being compelled to the One whom you emerged from because there is nowhere to return to, except Him.'[11]

Knowledge then is that worship of God by which man makes his return

journey – back to his creator. Ibn ʿArabī writes that God gave man two kinds of knowledge:

> the 'Inspired Knowledge' (*al-ʿilmu l-wahbī*) and the 'Acquired Knowledge' (*al-ʿilmu l-kasbī*). … [Acquired knowledge] is that knowledge which we achieved from our thoughts and senses; [inspired knowledge] is that knowledge which we did not obtain by ourselves, but is a gift from God Almighty, which He revealed in our hearts and hidden selves, and which we found without a clear reason. … So know this (in order that you do not confuse the realities of the Divine Names): the word *wahhāb* ('the Ever giving') is the one whose gifts are at that limit, and this Divine name differs from the Divine Names *al-karīm, al-jawād*, and *al-sakhiyy*; since the person who does not know the reality of things does not know the reality of the Divine Names – And, [he] who does not know the Divine Names does not know the manner of praising God.[12]

Knowledge then is the gift from God by which man comprehends the 'Divine Names'. Knowing the divine names leads, in turn, to the true way of worshipping and praising God – this is the purpose for which man was created. From the Qurʾān:

> *wa mā khalaqtu l-jinna wa l-insa illā li-yaʿbudūni*
> I have not created *jinn* and mankind except to serve Me.[13]

God's generosity is forever reflected in all His creatures, and is seen in His benevolences and His books. Ibn ʿArabī says:

> I heard our *shaykh* al-Shanakhatta one day saying while he was crying, 'O, people, do not do what is inappropriate to His generosity. He created us while we were nothing; He taught us that which we did not know; and He firstly bestowed upon us: faith in Him, in His books and in His messengers, when we did not have reason; [so] do you think that He would torment us after we acquired awareness and believed? I deem His generosity far above this.' He [the *shaykh*] made me cry out of joy and those in attendance cried also.[14]

Love begets generosity (as described in the previous chapter on Love).

Generosity in its turn begets mercy; hence, it is not possible for God to torment man after being so munificent with him. Therefore, if he takes the example of God, the truly generous donor would not castigate the recipient after granting them his favour. Ibn ʿArabī says that God's generosity is apparent through:

> His 'hidden graces' (*fī alṭāfihi l-khafiyya*). And through Him being identified with human characteristics – such as feeling joy for them [His servants]; being joyous with them; greeting them kindly and cheerfully when they come to Him [in prayer] (*wa l-tabashbushi li-qudūmihim*); and wanting to talk to Him intimately (*yuriduna munajatihi*) in His house.[15]

God's love, humility and generosity are apparent when He attributes human characteristics to Himself, such as joyfulness, kindness and laughter. Ibn ʿArabī explains the relationship between God's love and His generosity. He says:

> God says to each of them [his servants], 'O, My servant … if you run away from Me I ask you to return to Me, through the time of prayer, and I ask you [to return to Me] through the word, which is the call for prayer (*al-adhān*). O, My servant, even if you disobey me I shield you by covering you from the eyes of the one whom I entrust to punish you and the one who resembles you, and I do not reproach you. I show My love for you (*wa taḥabbabtu ilayka*) through favours … and I trailed over [the marks of] your sin the 'cloak of generosity' (*wa jarartu ʿala khatīʿatika dhayla l-karam*) … and My generosity wipes out its [the sin's] traces, and my graces call you to come to Me; thus if you return to Me I [shall] accept you despite all your sins. Who does this for you, despite My powers to dispense with you and your need of him, except Me?[16]

Both God's material and spiritual generosity are signs of His love for His servants. God grants pardon without reproach. He shows His love to His servants and asks for their love through all the graces He bestows upon them; and He welcomes them when they return to Him. These signs of God's generosity are the signs of His love, and man must follow the example of his creator. A loving person is, therefore, by essence a generous person.

HUMAN GENEROSITY

I have divided the theme of human generosity into several elements:

- Generosity as a manifestation of pure morals (*makārimu ʿl-akhlāq*);
- Generosity and hospitality: cheerful welcome;
- The dual aspects of generosity: material and spiritual;
- Ibn ʿArabī's theme of human generosity.

Generosity as a manifestation of pure morals

In his book entitled *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, Miskawayh describes many different types of virtue. He says: 'the virtue of 'Decency' (*al-ʿiffa*) is composed of the following qualities: … "shyness" (*ḥayāʾ*), "gentleness" (*al-daʿa*), "patience" (*al-ṣabr*), "generosity" (*al-sakhāʿ*), "freedom" (*al-ḥurriyya*), "contentment" (*al-qanāʿa*), "courteousness" (*al-damātha*), "steadfastness" (*al-intiẓām*), "good guidance" (*ḥusnu ʿl-hadyi*), "peacefulness" (*al-musālama*), "dignity" (*al-waqār*), and "piety" (*al-waraʿ*).'[17] Generosity, when it appears under the virtue of 'decency' (*al-ʿiffa*), combines with all the other qualities that make up the same virtue. All these qualities and virtues together constitute 'pure morals' (*makārumu l-akhlāq*), as defined above. These pure morals (or more properly 'the spiritual aspect of generosity') have their own form of material expression – through [material] donation.

In his book *Kitāb Adab al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn*, al-Māwardī, explains the basis of pure morals (that by turn engender generosity). He says:

> The Prophet Muḥammad said: 'Whoever deals with people without oppressing them, [or] talks to them without lying, [or] makes promises without reneging on them, [then] he is a man whose chivalry is perfected, whose justice is demonstrated, and whose friendship is indispensable' (*fa-huwa mimman kamulat murūʾatuh wa ẓaharat ʿadalatuh, wa wajabat ukhuwwatuh*). … One of the Wise Men was asked about the difference between reason and chivalry (*al-murūʿa*) he said, 'Reason orders you with what is more useful and chivalry orders you with what is more beautiful'. Al-Māwardī also says that one of the conditions of *al-murūʿa* is to observe the self and maintain its faultless morals; [and] no one can follow it, and its heavy obligations, except he who finds difficult things easy, wishing for praise and

> ignoring pleasures, fearing to be censured. This is why it was said, 'The master of the people is [he who is] their most wretched' (*sayyidu l-qawmi ashqāhum*).[18]

Al-Māwardī then quotes the following verse of al-Mutanabbī:

> *lawlā l-mashaqqatu sāda l-nāsu kulluhumu*
> *al-jūdu yufqiru wa l-iqdāmu qattālu*
>
> If it were not for difficulties then indeed, all people would become masters,
> Generosity renders the generous person poor and heroism kills him.[19]

Chivalry (*al-murūʿa*) then is the basis of both pure morals and generosity. The generous person endures hardship yet he maintains his faultless morality – hence he becomes a master. Al-Māwardī says that *al-murūʿa* 'is not a person's natural morality, but implies endurance of hardship for the sake of maintaining noble morals within the soul'.[20]

In his book entitled *Nūr al-Haqīqa wa Nawr al-Hadīqa*, al-Hārithī sees pure morals as the reason for man's state of happiness. He says: 'Pure morals (*makārimu l-akhlāq*) are the reason for Man's happiness, and are essential for his honour; because when a person has pure morals, the number of people who love him increase, and his enemies decrease; the difficult things become easy for him, and angry hearts become tender.'[21] Man's happiness then, lies within himself – it relies on his pure morals and his generosity, which in turn safeguards his honour. The relationship between pure morals, generosity and love is clear from the foregoing text. In his book, al-Hārithī describes the obligations of generosity as follows:

- Being hidden (the donor should be discrete about his gift);
- (The gift) being deemed small or little (by the donor);
- Not reminding the recipient of the favour, lest it hurt his feelings.

Al-Hārithī transmits the following *ḥadīth*: 'The Prophet says, "Do not ever remind others of your favour [generosity], because this deed thwarts gratitude and belittles the reward".' In the same book, al-Hārithī quotes the Qurʾānic verse:

> *lā tubṭilū ṣadaqātikum bi-l-manni wa l-adhā*
> void not your freewill offerings with reproach and injury.[22]

The sensitive recipient requires a sensitive donor, one who gives with good countenance. In his Rasāʾil, al-Jāḥiẓ says:

> The wise men claimed that giving a small amount with good grace, has greater effect on those people, who have a sense of honour, than giving a large amount with much grimacing and a grudging heart … [the] free men prefer a welcome and deprivation rather than no welcome and being given gifts.[23]

The respect of the donor for the recipient is one of the pure morals that material generosity reflects. Honouring the recipient enhances the donor's honour and increases his respect in the eyes of the recipient. Al-Hārithī speaks about the recipient's response, he says: 'as for the recipient, he must reward the donor if he can, but if not, then he must thank the donor, pray for him and spread goodwill about the donor's generosity.'[24] The Prophet Muḥammad said: '[he] who does not thank people, does not thank God.'[25] In his book *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* al-Ghazālī stresses this issue of the relationship between generosity and pure morals. To this end, he transmits several *ḥadīth*s on the topic.[26]

In her book entitled *Ibn Arabi: L'Initiation à la Futuwwa*,[27] Laylā Khalifa makes a connection between 'pure morals' (*al-futuwwa* in its general meaning) and 'generosity' (namely the specific concept of *al-futuwwa*). Khalifa says that Ibn ʿArabī explains the spiritual aspect of *al-futuwwa*, which is manifest in prophethood – the Prophet's death represents the end of prophethood because He is:

> Sceau des prophètes. Mais c'est par cette *futuwwa* même qu'il veillera à ce que le monde ne soit jamais dépourvu d'un héritier (*khalīfa*), dont la fonction sera celle d'un pôle autour duquel l'univers continuera de tourner, et par qui la sainteté (*walāya*), les *makārim* et la gnose seront réservés et transmis … c'est par la *futuwwa* que la continuité entre le Créateur et Sa création sera maintenue: 'Le temps de la *risāla* ("mission") et de la prophétie est terminé, mais la Révélation continue par la voie de la *futuwwa* (*wa baqiya l-waḥyu futuwwa*).'[28]

Generosity and hospitality: cheerful welcome

The combination of pure morals and generosity is manifest in the giving of hospitality (*al-ḍiyāfa*).

In his book *al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasa*, al-Tawḥīdī says, 'The host must welcome his guest with cheerfulness, joyfulness, [and] smiling at him and conversing with him, in addition to offering food.'[29] This serves to remind us of God's joy when his servants come to him in prayer, as described above.

In his *Muḥāḍarāt*, al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī explains the etiquette of hospitality, he says: 'The host must eat with his guest, since the latter is embarrassed to eat alone, [and] not least the host must serve his guest, which is why God says: *hal atāka ḥadīthu ḍayfi Ibrāhīma l-mukramīn* "Hast thou received the story of the honoured guests of Abraham?"[30] He describes them as such because he served them personally.'[31]

For the Arab, hospitality is one of the most important expressions of generosity, and kindling a fire is one of its icons. This is because whosoever sees the fire knows that he will find hospitable people, who will offer him food and shelter. This pre-Islamic and tribal concept of hospitality is expressed in Arabic poetry. Al-Jāḥiẓ says:

> [The Arabs] praise the people who kindle fire [so making themselves visible to potential guests] and censure those who extinguish it. A poet says:
>
> *la-hu nārun tashubbu bi-kulli rīḥin*
> *idhā l-ẓalmāʾu jallalati l-qināʿa*
> *wa ma in kāna aktharahum sawāman*
> *wa lākin kāna arḥabahum dhirāʿā*
>
> He has a fire that flares up with every wind
> When the darkness wraps its veil
> He was not the richest in cattle
> But he was the most generous.
>
> And whenever the fire is higher, the one who kindles it is considered to be more generous and exalted, because more people see it from afar … al-Khansāʾ al-Sulamiyya said:
>
> *wa inna Ṣakhran la-taʾtammu l-hudātu bi-hi*

kaʾannahu ʿalamun fī raʾsihi nāru

Sakhr was the guide that one guided by
As a peak on whose top was fire.[32]

In direct contrast to the foregoing concept of hospitality, the person who eats alone is always shunned.[33]

Al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī observes that welcoming guests is a sign of respect as important as offering food. This again, demonstrates the close relationship between pure morals and generosity. Al-Iṣbahānī transmits the following verses from a poet:

uḍāḥiku ḍayfī qabla inzāli raḥlihi
wa yakhṣubu ʿindī wa l-maḥallu jadību
wa mā l-khaṣbu lil-aḍyāfi an yakthura l-qirā
wa lākinnamā wajhu l-karīmi khaṣību

I laugh with my guest before unloading his burden
My guest becomes the fecundity of my barren place
Generosity for the guest is not [just] in the plenty of food
But the face of the generous man is [of itself] generosity.

And he transmits from another poet:

absuṭu wajhī lil-ḍuyūfi l-nuzzali
wa l-wajhu ʿunwānu l-karīmi l-mufaḍḍiliʾ

I show joyfulness for my guests coming to my place
And the face announces the generous man.[34]

The subject of generosity, expressed by poetry, depicts the generous donor. In his book *al-ʿUmda*, Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī tells us that in the pre-Islamic era, the poet would show gratitude to the donor with poetry rather than use it as a means to seek favour or rewards. The first of the poets to create panegyric in return for money was al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, who praised monarchs – in particular al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir – thus his status was diminished.[35]

In the Islamic state, panegyric in return for money became more common – the poet seeking the favour of the ruler would create verses praising him. In his book *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, Stefan Sperl states that the sovereign 'keeps his promise and gives nourishment to

the needy. In his bounty, he rejuvenates his subjects and dispels all danger. His acts are at one with divine ordinance; his dynasty is rooted in a sacred past and faces a glorious future.'[36]

The dual aspects of generosity: material and spiritual

In his Rasāʾil, al-Jāḥiẓ says: 'The generous person is forgiving, and the tolerant person overlooks [the faults of others] (*wa l-karīmu ṣafūḥun, wa l-ḥalīmu mutaghāfil*).'[37]

Generosity, in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's opinion, is a characteristic that springs from a compassionate heart. In his book *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih says: 'The most noble clothes in the world, the most beautiful ornament that brings about praise and which shuns disapproval and covers disgrace, are a generous nature with which the kind, magnanimous person and the generous individual adorns himself.'[38] This text depicts the relationship between love (the compassionate heart) and material donation. Generosity springs from the spiritual feeling of magnanimity (*al-samāḥa*), which was breathed into the heart of man by his creator. Thereby, the donor's generosity safeguards his honour. Moreover, generosity brings forth the praise of both the recipient and the witnesses – this is the manifestation of the feelings of love and gratitude welling up in the recipient's heart. In the relationship between donor and recipient, there appears the following cycle: generosity–love–generosity–love and so on.

Al-Tawḥīdī transmits a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad in which the relationship between spiritual feelings and material donation is evident. In his book *al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasa*, al-Tawḥīdī says: 'The Prophet Muḥammad said: "The hardest of things to do [are three in number]: Giving others their rights at your expense (*inṣāfu l-nāsi min nafsika*); comforting your friend with your wealth; and thanking God in all matters".'[39]

In his book entitled *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, Miskawayh determines that what generates generosity in the first place is the donor's love and devotion – this is why generosity leads to mutual love between donor and recipient. Miskawayh says: 'Love between donor and recipient is [both] greater and lesser, I mean that the love of the donor is stronger than that of the recipient.'[40] Once again, there is a cycle of events: love–generosity–love. (The first 'love' represents that of the donor for the recipient, while the second 'love' represents that of the recipient for the donor.)

Generosity is the blessing of God placed upon man. It maintains his

honour and brings about people's love and respect. In his *Iḥyāʾ*, al-Ghazālī transmits one of the *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet, he says:

> God says, 'Ask for favour from the [most] merciful of my servants so as to live in their shadow, because I have placed My mercy within them, and do not ask for it from the hard-hearted people because I have placed My anger within them.'
>
> ʿIbn ʿAbbās said: 'The Messenger of God said "ignore the sin of the generous person, because God helps him whenever he stumbles".'[41]

By asking for favour from the generous person, the honour of the recipient is maintained. The generous donor – he with God's mercy in his heart – grants his favour with faultless morality. This is the reason that, when generosity is applied with pure morals, it will lead to God's forgiveness. Al-Ghazālī says, 'the requirements of forgiveness are the offering of food, the spreading of peace, and making graceful discourse'.[42] The generous person does not differentiate between those who are deserving of his generosity and those who are not – because it springs from the very depths of his character. Al-Ghazālī transmits the following *ḥadīth*:

> The Prophet said, 'Grant favour to the one who deserves it and [also] to the one who does not deserve it. Thus, if the recipient deserves it then you have done right to he who deserves it, and if you have done it to he who does not deserve it, then you are a man of munificence.'[43]

This is why generosity leads not only to God's love but to the love of people as well. Al-Ghazālī transmits the following *ḥadīth*: 'The generous person is near to God, near to people, near to Paradise, and far from Hell.'[44] The love and respect of the people for the generous person places him on a higher plane and makes him a master. Al-Ghazālī says:

> Ibn al-Sammāk said, 'I become astonished about he who buys slaves with his money, but does not buy free men with his favour.' One of the Bedouin was asked, 'Who is your master?' He said, '[He] who endures our offence, gives to our beggars, and ignores the failings of our ignorant'.[45]

Therefore, mastership springs forth from humility and compassion – not out of oppression.

Ibn ʿArabī's theme of human generosity

Just as man emulates the example of his creator (by his generosity), so he also takes as exemplars those men of noble morality. In his *Futūḥāt*, Ibn ʿArabī describes these people as: 'The men of tender hearts and Godly compassion they have sympathy for the servants of God, the faithful, and the unbeliever. They see all creatures through the eye of generosity and existence (*bi-ʿayni l-jūdi wa l-wujūd*), not by the eye of judgement and resolution.'[46] Generosity, then, springs from the compassionate heart. The mercy of the generous person is inclusive of all people – it does not distinguish between the believer and the non-believer. The spiritual feelings of love and mercy engender liberality and freedom from prejudice. Of such people Ibn ʿArabī says:

> God does not put them in charge of any obvious authority, such as judgeship or governance, because their spirituality and their status do not allow them to rule over people. They are always with God (*al-Ḥaqq*) in the Absolute Mercy, about which God said: '*wa raḥmatī wasiʿat kulla shay'*'[47] 'and My mercy embraces all things'.[48]

Ibn ʿArabī explains the different forms of generosity: The first of its forms is 'Honesty with God'[49] – it predicates honesty with oneself; hence, he who is honest both with God and himself can also be honest with others.

Ibn ʿArabī mentions other forms of generosity: 'beneficence for the beneficent'; 'disregarding the offensive person'; 'forgiving of faults'; 'raising the fallen'; 'accepting apologies'; 'pardoning the guilty'; 'and all other similar qualities that comprise noble morals'.[50]

'Fulfilling [the] promise', is another form of generosity. Ibn ʿArabī quotes the Qurʾānic verse:

> *in kāna waʿdu rabbinā la-mafʿūlā*
> Our Lord's promise is performed.[51]

Upon which Ibn ʿArabī comments:

> [It] means it happens as He promised. 'Promise' is given [both]

> for good and in evil; whereas 'Threat' is particularly used for evil. The promise of good by God is inevitable; and, as for threat, He might forgive; this is also the characteristic of the generous person among the Arabs. Their poet says:
>
> *wa innī idhā awʿadtuhu aw waʿadtuhu*
> *lamukhlifu'īʿādī wa munjizu mawʿidī*
>
> 'And I, if I threatened him or promised him
> Forego my threat and fulfil my promise'.[52]

The material manifestation of 'granting favour' takes different forms; and each form has its own terms that are explained by the various sources. According to Ibn ʿArabī: 'there are eight kinds [of granting favour] that have eight terms. These terms are: "donation" (*al-inʿām*); "the endowment" (*al-hiba*); "charity" (*ṣadaqa*); "the present" (*al-hadiyya*); and [four kinds of] generosity (*al-karam*, *al-jūd*, *al-sakhāʾ*, and *al-īthār*).'[53] According to him all these types of donation are reciprocal between Man and God except for *al-īthār* – this word means to 'give what you need', however God has no 'need' in that sense.[54] In her book, Khalifa says that according to Ibn ʿArabī existence is the manifestation of the divine generosity, hence:

> Le Shaykh al-Akbar peut-il parler de *futuwwa* divine (*al-futuwwatu l-ilāhiyya*) bien que le mot *fatā*, comme il le fait lui-même observer, ne figure pas parmis les Noms divins. Il s'agit plutôt d'un attribut divin (*naʿt*) qui en implique le sens mais pas le nom. … La *futuwwa* est une forme d'abnégation, de renoncement. Or, Dieu, Le Riche (*Al-Ghaniyy*), n'a pas de besoins. Etant *ghaniyy ʿan al-ʿālamīn*, à quoi renoncerait-il?
>
> Dieu a préféré créer l'Univers pour les créatures plutôt que de le garder pour Lui seul. Il a créé les hommes afin qu'ils jouissent de l'existence et les a fait sortir du mal du néant (*sharr al-ʿadam*) en leur donnant la possibilité d'acquérir (*al-takhalluq*) les Noms divins et de s'en vêtir pour être dignes de devenir ses successeurs (*khalaf*). Tel est le plus haut degré d'abnégation. Il est propre à Dieu. Dieu préfère l'homme à Lui-même. Nous voici à la source première de la *futuwwa*.[55]

In the opinion of Ibn ʿArabī, all the kinds of generosity mentioned above are considered to be charity (*ṣadaqa*) that affects people. Whereas, God's generosity is called *al-wahb*, 'which is to bestow His graces upon them [the people] and not for any other reason, so God is in reality *al-wahhāb* in all [the many] kinds of His generosity'.[56] Ibn ʿArabī explains the word *ṣadaqa* ('charity'), he says: 'God says to His prophet: *khudh min amwālihim ṣadaqatan* 'Take of their wealth a freewill offering'[57] – meaning 'that which they find [most] difficult to give'.[58] Ibn ʿArabī continues, 'The Arabs say *rumḥun ṣadqun* ("indomitable spear") meaning "difficult and strong"; which asserts that the soul finds it difficult to give [the] money for the sake of God.'[59] Of this type of charity (*ṣadaqa*), Ibn ʿArabī says:

> [It] comes from the hand of the Merciful before it reaches the hand of the recipient so that the favour will be from God and not from the donor, therefore the recipient will not feel reluctant to ask for charity. As for the donor, God calls this charity 'a loan' (*qarḍ*) that He will increase for the donor, hence the donor becomes generous and saves himself [from] miserliness.[60]

Generosity cleanses the soul, as water cleanses the body – Ibn ʿArabī interprets the washing of the hands (during performance of the ritual ablution) as, 'to wash them with generosity'.[61] Ibn ʿArabī says: '[The hands] are the means of grasping and avarice, so purify them with reaching-out and spending out of generosity (*fa-ṭahhirhumā bi-l-basṭi wa l-infāqi, karaman wa jūdan wa sakhāʾā*).'[62] We are reminded of the Qurʾānic verse:

> *khudh min amwālihim ṣadaqatan tuṭahhiruhum wa tuzakkīhim bi-hā*
>
> Take of their wealth a freewill offering, to purify them and to cleanse them thereby.[63]

According to Ibn ʿArabī, losing money as a consequence of generosity must not be dreaded because God always compensates and rewards – Ibn ʿArabī interprets 'washing of the arms' [in the performance of ritual ablution] as 'reliance upon God'.[64]

Conclusion

The theme of generosity, in the various Islamic sources above,

illustrates the relationship between both God's and Man's generosity – profane generosity is seen as the manifestation of the divine.

Man is created of both body and soul; therefore, God's generosity is manifest in him through both spiritual and material donation, in which the former is the wellspring of the latter. Every spiritual feeling has its material expression; the source is from inner depths within the soul and manifests itself externally as the material expression of spiritual values. Thus, every external material sense is a symbol of the internal spiritual one. The word, likewise, has its exoteric meaning that symbolizes its internal (esoteric) spiritual meaning. For this reason the dialectic of this chapter will be based on the symbolic analysis of al-Tanūkhī's stories.

GENEROSITY IN AL-TANŪKHĪ'S COMPILATIONS

The Pattern

Al-Tanūkhī narrates stories about generous people in all three of his compilations. His *Mustajād* is entirely dedicated to the subject of generosity since it tells stories about the good deeds of generous people. The question that may be posed here is: 'Why does generosity command such importance in al-Tanūkhī's stories?'

God, the source of generosity breathed of His spirit into man – thereby the first act of generosity was God's. Therefore He is the source of every act of generosity on earth. Generosity thus occurs naturally within man's heart and this nature is part of God's spirit. Al-Tanūkhī's stories aim to reveal this disposition; generosity here appears as the natural light that emanates from love and streams forth (as seen in Chapter 2 here, in which I discuss the theme of love). This relationship between love and generosity forms a new cycle: love–generosity–love. Man's heart then, is where God's attributes are reflected.

Man is also a creature who sins and suffers and through his hardship, he can understand the attributes of his creator. Man sins and asks God for forgiveness. In this manner the attributes of God – such as mercy (*raḥma*) and pardon (*maghfira*) – are truly manifest. Al-Ghazālī says:

> *wa l-raḥmatu tastadʿī marḥūman*
> Mercy requires an object of [that] mercy.[65]

The Prophet Muḥammad says:

> *wa l-ladhī nafsī bi-yadihi law lam tudhnibū la-dhahaba Allāhu bi-kum wa la-jāʾa bi-qawmin yudhnibūna fa-yastaghfirūna Allāha fa-yaghfiru lahum*
>
> By Him in Whose hand my soul is, if you did not sin, God would have eliminated you and would bring people who sin so that they ask God for forgiveness, and He forgives them.[66]

Suffering in life is man's fate. It is by suffering that God tests his servant's faith – through patience, prayer and acceptance of His destiny. Through his suffering man truly comes to understand the word 'generosity' (*karam*), when he turns to his creator (*al-karīm*), whose attributes are expressed in the Noble generous Qurʾān (*al-Qurʾān al-karīm*).

The relationship between God and man resembles that between strength and weakness. This relationship is also manifest in the relationship between he who suffers, and the one who delivers him with generosity – in truth his deliverance is orchestrated by the generosity of God; for it is He who causes the generous man to meet the one who is suffering.

The sufferer must seek his own deliverance. If he has sinned then he must ask for pardon; if he is in a hardship then he must seek help – but if timidity prevents him from seeking help then, if he turns to God, He will place a helper (or a generous person) in his path. The one in hardship has to be honest and brave; he must be patient and must trust his Lord. Deliverance is always forthcoming when the suffering person says the '*right word*' and does the '*right deed*'.

The right word in al-Tanūkhī's stories is manifest through poetry and speech. The word conveys the spiritual element that encourages courage and generosity. The pattern that appears in al-Tanūkhī's stories is: hardship–generosity–deliverance. Man suffers and man delivers – by the grace of God who kindled the divine light in the heart of the generous – hence the heart is the place where this value (generosity) resides.

However, the level of generosity differs from person to person, and is dependent upon the strength of spiritual feelings that dwell within his heart. Man is in fact expressing his love for his creator, when he endures his hardship with patience and with acceptance of God's destiny, in the hope of His mercy and deliverance. Man the lover endures hardship for the sake of his beloved. The generous person

expresses his love for his creator through and by, his generosity. Man expresses his love for his creator both through endurance of hardship and proffering of generosity – thereby bringing forth deliverance. The victim of hardship accepts his suffering with patience, and with faith in God and in the certainty of His mercy upon him. Faith in God encourages him to trust in the divine generosity (breathed into man's heart) and seek deliverance through the right word and deed – he does this by either actively asking for help, or passively being rescued from danger.

Generosity is the spiritual voice within the heart of the generous person that urges him to have mercy upon others through material donation; the generous person 'responds to the call' of generosity through pardon, mercy, sacrifice and material generosity. In fact, he is responding to the call of love and the human values breathed into him from the source of ultimate love and generosity.

God, out of His love for his servant exposes him to hardship in order to give him the chance to express his love for the Almighty – through enduring his suffering with patience (*ṣabr*) and acceptance of God's destiny. He who loves endures hardship for the sake of his loved one, and accepts everything from him. Hardship allows man to approach close to his creator, and thereby know him and worship him. This is why man must thank God in times of adversity as well as in times of deliverance. Thus, both hardship and deliverance are the expression of God's love and generosity. God also expresses his love for his servant by confronting him with other's needs. He thereby gives man the chance to express his love for his creator (and other men) through donation. The generous person, through whom others achieve deliverance, wins love. He wins the love of God, the love of the suffering person who is relieved, and the love of the people who witness, hear or read about his act of generosity.

As described above, generosity springs out of love, it wells up from it. This is why, in some of al-Tanūkhī's stories, the reader finds the suffering protagonist expressing his gratitude to the generous man who delivers him. Generosity, may thus be depicted as two cycles:

- *First cycle*: God–generosity–man–generosity–God. (The first 'generosity' represents that of God; and the second 'generosity' represents that of man.)
- *Second cycle*: love–generosity–love. (The first 'love' represents that of the generous man for the sufferer and his creator; and the second

'love' represents that of the sufferer for the generous person and God.)

THE LEXICON OF GENEROSITY

Al-murūʾa (chivalry)[67] denotes natural feelings of manly perfection that adhere to man's heart and encourage him to have pure morals and virtuous actions. *Murūʾa* preserves man's soul from unlawful, disgracing and filthy actions.[68]

Al-īthār (altruism).[69] In the Islamic tradition, the word *īthār* is interpreted differently by various sources. In *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Ibn ʿArabī says it means: 'To give what you are in need of, or what you think that you are in the need of. God says:

> *wa yuʾthirūna ʿalā anfusihim wa law kāna bi-him khaṣāṣa*[70]
> and preferring others above themselves, even though poverty be their portion.[71]

The state of *need* may be defined in different ways, and is dependent upon how each person perceives it. Man's corporeal needs are those things that sustain his life, such as: food, shelter, medicine, or that safeguards his honour (saves him from the humiliation of seeking charity). However, a person might think that he is in need of something; still giving up that sort of a need for the sake of others is considered to be *īthār*.

In *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih discusses the word *īthār*. He says, 'The Prophet Muḥammad says: "The best donation is that which is from a poor person to a poor one".'[72] Generosity then cannot be measured by the abundance of the donation; instead, it must be measured by the wherewithal of the donor.

In his *Muḥāḍarāt*, al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī says: 'A man praised another by saying, "His purse is loosened and his money is granted. He would feed you himself if you [would] eat it, and give you his soul to drink if you do".' Referring to this quotation, one of the poets of Ghaṭafān says:

> *wa law lam ajid li-nazīlī qiran*
> *qaṭaʿtu lahu baʿḍa aṭrāfiyah*

> And if I do not find for my guest food
> I would cut for him one of my limbs.'

Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ says:

> *wa law lam yakun fī kaffihi ghayru rūḥihi*
> *la-jāda bi-hā fa-lyattaqi Allāha sāʾiluh*
>
> If in his palm there is nothing save his soul
> He would grant it generously, so the one who asks him must fear God.[73]

This last verse of poetry depicts the relationship between donor and recipient. The generous person would sacrifice even his own self for the sake of the recipient – therefore the recipient, knowing of his donor's generosity, must not take advantage of him.

Al-jūd (munificence)[74] Ibn ʿArabī opines that in the Islamic tradition, the term *jūd* means 'donation before asking'.[75] In his *ʿIqd*, under the title 'munificence with poverty' (*al-jūdu maʿa l-iqlāl*), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, quotes the Qurʾānic verse:

> *wa yuʾthirūna ʿalā anfusihim wa law kāna bi-him khaṣāṣatun wa man yūqa shuḥḥa nafsihi fa-ʿulāʾika humu l-mufliḥūn*[76]
>
> And preferring others above themselves, even though poverty be their portion. And who so is guarded against the avarice of his own soul, those they are the prosperers.[77]

Generosity with poverty then, is the equivalent of *īthār* because the poor person sacrifices those things that he is in need of, for the sake of others. All the foregoing is equivalent to the word *īthār*. In his *Bukhalāʾ*, al-Jāḥiẓ says that the Prophet Muḥammad: ʾprefers the effort of the poor person rather than the favour of the rich one'.[78] Ibn Ḥazm discusses the word *jūd* in his book *Kitāb al-Akhlāq wa al-Siyar*. He says:

> The limit of generosity (*jūd*), and its purpose, is granting all kinds of favour for all acts of beneficence. The best being: that which is granted to the neighbour in need; to the poor maternal relative; to the person who has lost his wealth; and to the poorest person. Abstaining from these acts of favour is called miserliness.[79]

Ibn Ḥazm discusses the difference between *jūd* and *īthār*:

> If you give your sustenance (*qūt*) to the one who needs it more than you, then it is a favour and *īthār*, and it is better than *al-jūd* – but refraining from this kind of favour is neither praised nor censured … and giving people their rights is not considered to be *jūd* but it is one's due (*Ḥaqq*).[80]

In *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, al-Qushayrī says of the word *jūd*:

> *wa ḥaqīqatu l-jūdi an la yaṣ ʿuba ʿalayhi l-badhl*
>
> The reality of *al-jūd* is not to find it difficult to grant liberally.[81]

It can be concluded that munificence (*al-jūd*) springs from the loving heart of he who is not attached to material things; hence, he may readily give them up.

al-sakhā ʿ (reasonable generosity).[82] In his *Futūḥāt*, Ibn ʿArabī, says of the term *sakhā ʾ*:

> To give only the amount of the need, with no excess for any [other] benefit that the donor perceives, because if he gives more the donation may be the cause of the recipient's downfall. God says: *wa law basaṭa Allāhu l-rizqa li-ʿibādihi la-baghaw fi-l-arḍi wa lākin yunazzilu bi-qadarin mā yashā ʾ*.[83] 'Had God expanded His provision to His servants, they would have been insolent in the earth; but He sends down in measure whatsoever He will.[84]

In his *Iḥyā ʾ*, al-Ghazālī dedicates a chapter to generosity under the title: 'The Virtue of *al-sakhā ʾ* and the Stories of the Generous People (*al-askhiyā ʾ*)'. Al-Ghazālī, speaks about generosity in its general sense; it is seen that he does not give the word *sakhā ʾ* its specific meaning of 'giving to the amount of the need' (see above). Moreover, al-Ghazālī remarks on the contrast between generosity (*al-sakhā ʾ*) and miserliness, and he transmits the different interpretations in the word *jūd*. He says:

> It is said: *al-jūd* is granting without asking. And it is said: *al-jūd*

> is showing happiness for the beggar and being joyful with granting that which is possible. And it is said: *al-jūd* is granting with knowing that the money is for God, and the servant is for God, so the servant of God gives the money of God without consideration of poverty. It is said: [he] who gives some money is a person of *sakhāʾ*; [he] who gives more and keeps some of it for himself is a person of *jūd*; [he] who suffers hardship and prefers others with his subsistence then he is a person of *īthār*; but [he] who gives nothing, is a miser.[85]

Moreover, al-Ghazālī determines that money is created for people's own good. It has to be spent or not, depending on the circumstances. To keep it when it has to be spent is miserliness; and to spend it when it has to be kept is profligate. What lies between the two conditions is commendable – from which *al-sakhāʾ* and *al-jūd* should spring. In al-Ghazālī's opinion, *al-sakhāʾ* should spring from the tender heart – thus if the donor gives while his heart is not content, then he is just merely 'feigning generosity' (*mutasakhkhīn*) and is not '[truly] generous' (*sakhī*).[86]

In *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, Miskawayh, describes the virtues under the word *sakhāʾ*. These virtues are: '*al-karam* (see below) and *al-īthār*' (see above); 'nobility' (*al-nubl*); 'consolation' (*al-muʾāsāt*); 'magnanimity' (*al-samāḥa*); and 'forgiveness' (*al-musāmaḥa*).[87]

Al-sakhāʾ then, has two meanings: a universal indication of generosity as a whole, and the more specific meaning defined above. Miskawayh considers *al-samāḥa* as one of the types of generosity – which is: 'To give what is not obligatory' (*badhlu baʿḍi ma la yajib*).[88]

Al-karam (generosity).[89] Ibn Manẓūr says:

> *Al-Karīm* is one of the attributes of God and one of His names, so He is The Benevolent, The Beneficent, The Generous, and The Giver whose favour never diminishes. He is the Absolute generous Being (*wa huwa l-karīmu l-muṭlaq*).
>
> The grapevine is called *karma* because of the nearness of its bunches when they ripen and they are plentiful … and because it has no thorns that hurt the one who picks the grapes.
>
> Abū Bakr said that *al-karm* is so-called because the wine that is made from it induces generosity, and incites pure morals (*li-anna l-khamrata l-muttakhadhata minhu taḥuththu ʿalā l-sakhāʾi*

> *wa l-karami wa taʾmuru bi-makārimi l-akhlāq*) … also wine is called *rāḥ* because its drinker feels exulted by giving.[90]

Al-karam signifies generosity in its general sense. Therefore God is *al-Karīm* (the absolute generous Being). For man, *al-karam* indicates a spiritual quality that emanates from God *Al-Karīm*. In the Islamic tradition *al-karam* denotes 'giving after being asked'.[91] In *Kitāb al-Akhlāq wa al-Siyar*, Ibn Ḥazm says:

> The definition of generosity (*al-karam*), is to give rights to others, from yourself willingly, and to give up your rights for others out of the ability to so do. This is also a favour (*faḍl*) and every *jūd* is *karam* and favour but not every *karam* is a favour and *jūd*. Favour is more universal and *jūd* is more specific. For example tolerance is considered to be a favour and not *jūd*, so the favour is an ordinance with a supererogatory performance (*wa l-faḍlu farḍun zīdta ʿalayhi nāfila*).[92]

When generosity is expressed through the word favour (*faḍl*) then it denotes: 'any gift whereof the giving to the recipient thereof is not obligatory; i.e. a free gift, or gratuity; and an act of bounty or grace; a favour; a benefit; and bounty as an abstract term.'[93] However, when generosity is expressed through the word *jūd*, then it denotes as mentioned above giving before being asked. From Lane: '*jāda bi-mālihi* [he was liberal with his property] … *Jāda bi-nafsihi* he gave up his spirit at death; like as one gives away his property.'[94] In his *Iḥyāʾ*, al-Ghazālī transmits al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī's explanation of the word *karam*. He says it means, 'granting [the] favour before asking, offering food, and having mercy upon the beggar with the grant'.[95] Miskawayh in his *Tahdhīb* says he finds that *al-karam* indicates, 'giving largesse with ease in the soul, in great matters that have great benefit, as it should be'.[96]

As previously mentioned, the word *karm* (grapevine) is derived from the word *karam* because, 'wine made from the grapes engenders generosity and good deeds'.[97] On this subject, however, al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī observes that the Arabs abjure praising someone who is generous with his money when drunk. So they derogate the verse of ʿAmr [b. Kulthūm]:

> *idhā mā l-māʾu khālaṭahā sakhīnā*
> When water is mixed with it [the wine] we become generous.

But, they liked the verse of Imruʾ al-Qays:

yunālu jūduka fī ṣaḥwin wa fī sukri
Your generosity is acquired in [both] sobriety and drunkenness.

And, the verse of Zuhayr is also considered to be good:

akhū thiqatin lā yuhliku l-khamru mālahu
wa lākinnahu qad yuhliku l-māla nāʾiluh"

He is a trustworthy man as wine does not destroy his money
But the one who destroys it is its victor.[98]

Conclusion

Generosity has different levels. Each level has its own term that expresses the strength of the spiritual feelings inside the heart, and which is manifest through material donation and pure morals (*makārimu l-akhlāq*). This is why the generous person bestows his favour upon those who deserve it and those who do not – just like the rain that falls on all kinds of terrain and is the reason of prosperity to all kinds of people, like the abundant land that feeds all people. Generosity eases the life of the recipient, just like the fire that cooks and warms the food to be gratefully and readily eaten. The generous person is drunk with love for God (and hence the recipient) and thereby he bestows his favour upon others. For this reason wine (or intoxicating beverage) is one of the significations of generosity (*karam*).[99]

CHARACTERISTIC THEMES

In his compilations, al-Tanūkhī explores several characteristic themes. To further expound upon the topic of generosity some of his themes, listed below will be developed:

- Love;
- Knowledge;
- Spirituality;
- The influence of the word – in the Qurʾān, poetry and speech;
- Helpers;
- Humility;
- Nabīdh;
- Cleanliness.

Love

Profane love can be an incitement to generosity as mentioned in the previous chapter. Profane love engenders feelings of mercy and sympathy, which are other forms of love and a part of the source of love and mercy, namely God. For example, one of the stories takes place in a year when there is a shortage of ice in Baghdād. Shājī, the concubine of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (Prince of Baghdād), is stricken with an illness. The prince is in so love with her; she is his soul. Shājī asks him for ice, and the father of the narrator Ibn Sulaymān al-Thallāj (the ice-merchant) is the only one who has some ice left (in store). When the prince's agent asks him for ice, he demands 5000 dirhams since he knows the story of Shājī's illness. The agent does not dare to buy the ice (at that price) and returns to the prince, who becomes angry with him and orders the agent to buy the ice at any cost. Each time the agent asks the ice merchant for ice the latter demands a higher price until Shājī swallows the last pound of ice and recovers. Then ʿUbayd Allāh donates money to charity, he thanks the ice merchant because he is the one who, after God, has given him back his own life by saving his beloved's; and later he hires him.[100]

The contrast between the spiritual feelings of love and material consideration is obvious in this story. The prince's heart is full of love and the ice merchant's heart is full of avarice, it drives him to take advantage of the prince's loving heart. For the sake of love, the prince submits himself to the greed of the ice merchant. What appears to be weakness (demonstrated by his submission) is in fact the strength of his spiritual feelings. The lover, although he appears weak and ineffectual, is in reality a strong person since the breath of *al-Wadūd* in him is manifest. The one in love is of necessity generous, not only with his beloved but also with all others. This is why the prince grants charity to the poor and rewards the ice merchant for rescuing his beloved's life, without reproaching him for taking advantage of her illness for profit.

Granting charity and rewarding the ice merchant are also clear signs of the prince's love of God. He gives thanks to Him for bestowing His mercy upon him, by rescuing his beloved. Generosity then, is a material expression of love: the love of God, the love of the beloved and love for all people.

Knowledge

Knowledge is a significant quality that leads to generosity. It performs the role of salvation. In one of the stories, the Caliph al-Rashīd is

grieving over some matter. The Judge Abū Yūsuf[101] attends upon the caliph's court because the latter needs his advice. On his way there, Abū Yūsuf discerns outside a handsome young man (*fatā*) who makes a sign to Abū Yūsuf signalling for help, but the latter is unable to understand him. Abū Yūsuf is led into al-Rashīd's presence, whereupon the caliph asks the judge for his opinion concerning an *imām* who has seen a man committing the act of copulation. He questions whether the man should be punished. Abū Yūsuf demurs, whereupon al-Rashīd prostrates himself in adoration of God. Thereby, Abū Yūsuf divines that one of the caliph's children (the one outside who had asked him for help) must have committed the act of fornication. Al-Rashīd then raises his head and asks the reason for the judge's answer. Abū Yūsuf replies, 'Because the Prophet said: "Avert prescribed punishments in the event of doubt (*idraʾū l-ḥudūda bi-l-shubuhāt*)"; and in this case the accusation is considered to be doubtful so that the punishment cannot be applied.' Nevertheless, the caliph asks, how can it be in doubt when the physical act had been witnessed? Abū Yūsuf replies, 'Seeing means only to know what happened, which is not enough to carry out the punishment.' The caliph asks him why, and he replies that, 'The punishment is to be applied by confession and evidence; and not [only] by knowing what has happened [that is witness to the actual act of unlawful sexual intercourse].' Al-Rashīd prostrates himself once more, he rewards Abū Yūsuf who becomes a wealthy and important man, and al-Rashīd appoints him as chief judge.[102]

In this story, Abū Yūsuf's knowledge of the *ḥadīth* and of jurisprudence saves the caliph's son. Al-Rashīd's sense of justice and honour is self-evident. He applies Islamic law to his son; indeed, he even asks the opinion of a jurist before doing so. The caliph's attitude seems to indicate that there are two contrasting feelings struggling within his heart. As a father, he has feelings of love and mercy towards his son and is greatly pained at having to punish him. On one hand this conflict compels him to scrutinize the punishment for unlawful sexual intercourse, in order to find a loophole for his son – on the other hand the caliph is a man who fears God, and hence does not want to violate the Islamic law of punishment.

There is a parallel between al-Rashīd and Abū Yūsuf, in the manner of their fear of God. The generosity of Abū Yūsuf's knowledge engenders that of al-Rashīd's – the former's generosity is spiritual (expressed through knowledge) and the latter is a spiritual feeling of love and gratitude (expressed through material reward).

Spirituality

Spirituality in al-Tanūkhī's stories is manifest, in the main, as two aspects – first in *citations*, and second in *dreams/visions*.

The first spiritual aspect (citations)

This manifests itself in citations from the Qurʾān; the *ḥadīth*; and the stories of the Prophets. Al-Tanūkhī relates such passages and anecdotes to reassure the person (in hardship) that deliverance will follow, and to teach him the way to obtain deliverance, that is through patience and prayer to God. There are many stories of people who obtain deliverance through their prayers to God.[103]

The second spiritual aspect (dreams/visions)

Al-Tanūkhī dedicates a whole chapter to this aspect in his *Faraj*.[104] This story illustrates both the foregoing aspects (but with emphasis first on the spiritual aspect of *citations*): there is a scribe who reads two *sūra*s that must be repeated on seven consecutive nights by a clean and pure person. On one of these nights, he reads, someone will appear in a dream/vision and will tell the person (the dreamer) the way to achieve deliverance.

Some years later the scribe is imprisoned for a long time by ʿAbdūs (the treasurer to Muʿizz al-Dawla) and he falls into despair. One day he recalls the prayer and applies it. On the fourth night a man speaks to him in his dream saying: 'Your salvation is in the hands of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm'. The protagonist wakes surprised, because he does not know anyone of that name. Two days later a young man helps to get the protagonist released from gaol, whereupon he is told that this man's name is ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, a friend of the man who had imprisoned the scribe, so his family had asked him for help. He guaranteed to pay a ransom on his behalf and thus obtained his release.[105]

The protagonist is a scribe; hence, he obtains knowledge through his vocation. Spiritual knowledge must be applied for it to have effect. Thus, there is a parallel between the word and the deed. Another parallel is between knowledge and the protagonist's spirituality – when he endures the long period of imprisonment with forbearance.

Nevertheless, when he succumbs to despair, salvation comes to him through the Qurʾān – it kindles within the protagonist the light of hope. He applies the two *sūra*s – 'The Sun' (*al-shams*)[106] and 'The Night' (*al-layl*)[107] – and prays to God. The link between man and his creator, through supplication (*al-duʿāʾ*), is the determining factor that redeems the protagonist.

Al-duʿāʾ (supplication), of man to his creator, engenders His generosity – this manifestation of love, by turn engenders human generosity. The relationship between love and generosity brings to mind the Qurʾānic verse:

> *am man yujību l-muḍṭarra idhā daʿāhu wa yakshifu l-sūʾa wa yajʿalukum khulafāʾa l-arḍi a-ilāhun maʿa Allāhi qalīlan ma tadhakkarūn*
>
> He who answers the constrained, when he calls unto Him, and removes the evil and appoints you to be successors in the earth. Is there a god with God? Little indeed do you remember.[108]

Also the verse:

> *wa qāla rabbukum ʿudʿūnī astajib lakum…*
> Your Lord has said, 'Call upon Me and I will answer you.'[109]

As an illustration of the second spiritual aspect (*dreams/visions*): the following story deals with the Caliph al-Mahdī waking at night, feeling frightened. He calls for someone named al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, who languishes in the dungeons. The caliph orders the release of the man. He offers him money, and the choice of settling down in Baghdād, free honoured and happy, or to return home. The man is released from his imprisonment in a miserable condition, and chooses to return to al-Madīna.

Just as the ʿAlawī man is about to depart; the head of the guard asks the reason that led the caliph to release him. The man replies:

> By God, whilst I was sleeping tonight, I saw the Prophet – may the blessings of God and peace be upon him – in my dream. He awoke me and said: 'O, My son, did they oppress you?' I said, 'Yes, O, Messenger of God'. He said: 'Get up, pray two prostrations, and after finishing, say: "O, Ye The Eternal One; Hearer of the voice; the One who resurrects the dead. Bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad, and bestow upon me deliverance and a way out. You know and I do not know. You are omnipotent and I am not, and You are the omniscient of the things unseen; O, the Most Merciful".'

The protagonist prayed and kept repeating the words until sent for. When the head of the guard tells al-Mahdī the story the latter replies, 'By God, he tells the truth. The Messenger of God – God's blessings and peace be upon him – came to me in my dream and ordered me to release the man.'[110]

In this story, spirituality is manifest through the combination of dream and prayer. The messenger of God guides the protagonist to pray in the hope that God will deliver him, and so he does. The relationship with God must be expressed in prayer, with both heart and body. The Prophet thus inspires al-Mahdī to release the protagonist. As such, the Prophet in this story can be taken to represent the guiding light of the 'Muḥammadan reality' (*al-haqīqatu l-muḥammadiyya*). In her book entitled *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, Suʿād al-Ḥakīm says it is Ibn ʿArabī's opinion that:

> *Al-haqīqatu l-muḥammadiyya* means: 'The principle of the creation of the world and its origin'. It is the light that God created before the creation of anything else and from it [the light] everything else was created … from the Sūfī's view the Muḥammadan reality is the lantern from which all Prophets and saints obtain the inner knowledge.[111]

The spirituality of the protagonist and that of the caliph is in parallel: spirituality manifested in a dream/vision thereby rescues Man.

The influence of the word

In some stories, the word is the element that opens the door to final deliverance (as seen in the previous Chapter 2, Love). The influence of the word is great, it emanates from an anguished heart, thereby it touches the heart of the generous man. The word is found in several different forms, such as: verses from the Qurʾān, poetry, speech or simply a dialogue in which the person in hardship pronounces the 'right word'.

The Qurʾān

In one of the stories, the narrator Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī observes that Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid (the vizier to Caliph al-Manṣūr) is grieving, because of a letter in which one of his most beloved concubines is accused of betraying him with another man. Moreover, two of his most trustworthy servants bear witness against her. Al-Ṣūlī opens the Qurʾān,

in order to read a good omen and take inspiration from it. He comes upon the verse:

> *ya ayyuhā l-ladhīna āmanū in jāʾakum fāsiqun bi-nabaʾin fa-tabayyanū an tuṣībū qaman bi-jahālatin fa-tuṣbiḥū ʿalā mā faʿaltum nādimīn*
>
> O believers, if an ungodly man comes to you with a tiding, make clear, lest you afflict a people unwittingly, and then repent of what you have done.[112]

Al-Ṣūlī doubts the veracity of the betrayal, hence he speaks gently to the two servants; they confess that Aḥmad's wife was behind the letter and that she has bribed them to testify against the concubine. The story ends with Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī hurrying to Aḥmad with his good news, only to find that the wife has also sent him a letter, in which she confesses her conspiracy with the two servants. She confesses that she is the one who wrote the original letter, out of her jealousy of the concubine; and she announces her repentance to God for such a deed. The concubine's innocence is revealed, Aḥmad's grief disappears, and he rewards his concubine.[113]

In this story, the word of God saves the concubine from execution. Aḥmad's wife's deed reminds us of the story of Qays and Lubnā – in which Qays's mother's jealousy leads to separation between Qays and his wife Lubnā;[114] here, the Qurʾānic verse comes to mind:

> *inna kaydakunna ʿaẓīm*
> surely your guile is great.[115]

The contrast between the Qurʾānic verse and Aḥmad's wife's letter brings to mind the contrast between God and Satan as depicted in the story of Adam.[116] The light of God (as shone into man) enlightens Aḥmad's wife's conscience – hence she confesses the truth and repents. To confess one's guilt is an action of honesty, and a kind of generosity. God's illumination within man overcomes the darkness of the misdeed. This contrast between light and darkness reminds us again of the contrast between the light of God's word and the darkness of Satan.[117]

In the story, God's generosity is manifest in His word; Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī's generosity is manifest in his help; and Aḥmad's wife's

generosity is manifest in her retraction of her evil deed and her repentance to God after confession. All the foregoing combines to engender Aḥmad's generosity towards his concubine.

Another contrast that the reader encounters in this story is between the two letters written by the wife. In the first letter, Aḥmad's wife accuses the concubine of infidelity; in the second letter she confesses her own sin. The difference between the two letters reveals proof of the concubine's innocence. However, the second letter only reaches Aḥmad after Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī speaks to the servants. The advent of the second letter gives the impression that Aḥmad's wife (when she sees that her conspiracy is about to be uncovered), prefers to admit her guilt, in the hope of pre-empting the consequences. She announces her repentance to gain her husband's mercy and pardon. It seems, however, that the former interpretation is the more likely. It is al-Tanūkhī's aim to show how deliverance is achieved through God's generosity (manifest in his word and in human generosity) – it is not his aim to show how the sinful wife is punished.

Poetry

In one of the stories, al-Aṣmaʿī has the habit of visiting a man (a scholar) known for his generosity (*li-karamih*). One day the doorkeeper prevents him from entering, telling him that the reason is the man's poverty. So, al-Aṣmaʿī writes to him:

idhā kāna l-karīmu la-hu ḥijābun
fa-mā faḍlu l-karīmi ʿalā l-laʾīmi

If the generous man is screened away
How does the generous man surpass the miser?

The man dispatches 500 dīnārs, with a reply on the back of al-Aṣmaʿī's letter:

idhā kāna l-karīmu qalīla mālin
tasattara bi-l-ḥijābi ʿani l-gharīmi

If the generous man has little money
He screens himself from the debtor with the veil.

Al-Aṣmaʿī then goes to the caliph, and tells him the story. He shows him the money, describing the man as generous with both his wisdom

and money. The caliph observes his own seal on the money; and he realizes that it came from the same man who once complained to him of his poverty. The caliph had given money to the man, and he in his turn donated the money to al-Aṣmaʿī for a verse of poetry. The caliph, thus suspects that the man lied to him. The caliph confronts the man with his suspicions, whereupon the latter tells him that he did not lie to him but he felt ashamed, in the eyes of God, to fail al-Aṣmaʿī – just like the way that the caliph himself did not fail him. The caliph admires the man's generosity and rewards him with 1000 dīnārs in addition to making him one of his companions. Al-Aṣmaʿī then asks for his reward as well, so the caliph rewards him too.[118]

The scholar, who is well known for his generosity with both his knowledge (spiritual generosity) and his money (material generosity), enters into the hardship of poverty. God rewards the generous man with a generous person, the caliph.

Generosity is a disposition, as described above, causing the generous man to fall yet again into poverty (when he gave al-Aṣmaʿī the money which he obtained from the caliph); here may be recalled al-Mutanabbī's verse cited above:

> *al-jūdu yufqiru wa l-iqdāmu qattālu*
> Generosity renders the generous person poor and heroism kills him.

Again, God rewards the generous man with the Caliph's generosity.

What finally leads to the scholar's deliverance then, are in fact three qualities: the man's patience (*ṣabr*) in enduring his poverty; the man's generosity; and al-Aṣmaʿī's generous help (in transmitting the story to the caliph).

Life is a cycle. The generous man moves through the cycle to become in his turn in need of another's generosity – and thus shall he request it. Generosity signifies the strength of spiritual feelings – its reflections (through material donation) are continuously manifested. The fragility of poverty cannot thwart the strength of generosity.

Speech

In one of the stories, one of the Kharijites rebels against Caliph al-Rashīd who sends an army to capture the man. When the man appears in the presence of al-Rashīd the latter asks him, 'What would you have me do with you?' The man answers, 'The same as you would

wish God to do with you, when you come to stand before Him'. Al-Rashīd hangs his head for a while, then raises it and orders the man's release. One of his attendants says, 'O, Prince of the Faithful, he kills your men, reduces your wealth, and [yet] you release him after one speech? Ponder this matter, because it will encourage other evildoers to do likewise.' Al-Rashīd orders the man to be brought back. The man realizes that someone has been impugning him. As soon as he stands before al-Rashīd the man says, 'O, Prince of the Faithful, do not heed their words against me, if God had taken heed (*fa-law aṭāʿa Allāhu fī-ka*) He would not have made you His viceroy for one moment.' Al-Rashīd then orders the man to be released again and says to his men: 'none of you shall speak about the matter of this man again.'[119]

In this story, the protagonist reminds al-Rashīd of his sins before God and his hope for forgiveness – this in truth is the same forgiveness that he expects from the caliph. In his spiritual speech, the protagonist admits his guilt with courage, hence al-Rashīd forgives him. However, the caliph then listens to the man, who warns him of the danger in releasing the protagonist; so, he orders him brought back. Again, the protagonist reminds al-Rashīd of God, who did not listen to the angels when he created Adam, but rather made him His viceroy. The protagonist refers to the Qurʾānic verse:

> *wa idh qāla rabbuka li-lmalāʾikati innī jāʿilun fi l-arḍi khalīfatan qālū a-tajʿalu fī-hā man yufsidu fī-hā wa yasfiku l-dimāʾa wa naḥnu nusabbiḥu bi-ḥamdika wa nuqaddisu la-ka qāla innī aʿlamu mā lā taʿlamūn*
>
> And when thy Lord said to the angels, 'I am setting in the earth a viceroy.' They said, 'What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood, while we proclaim Thy praise and call Thee Holy?' He said, 'Assuredly I know that you know not.'[120]

The man's words yet again affect the caliph's heart, engendering his generosity, so he releases him once more.

The protagonist's words mirror those of God; there is a parallel between the protagonist's spiritual word and al-Rashīd's spiritual feelings. The caliph's heart is like the rich earth that absorbs the reviving rain of the spiritual word, the consequence being the caliph's pardon.

In the context of his discussion about the relationship between the word and its meaning, al-Jāḥiẓ says:

> *fa-idhā kāna l-maʿnā sharīfan wa l-lafẓu balīghan, wa kāna ṣaḥīḥa l-ṭabʿi baʿīdan mina l-istikrāhi, wa munazzahan ʿan l-ikhtilāli, maṣūnan ʿani l-takallufi, ṣanaʿa fi-l-qulūbi sanīʿa l-ghaythi fi-l-turbati l-karīma*
>
> If the meaning is noble and the word is eloquent, natural, unforced, free from faultiness, preserved from mannerism then its effect upon the heart is like the effect of the rain on the bountiful soil.[121]

Helpers

The helper is an integral part of the protagonist achieving his deliverance. The person in hardship may not be able to encounter a generous person save through the help of a third party – it might be that he is under oppression and needs the help of someone to save his life, or help can be the force that rescues a man from the ruler. The helper thus is also a generous man because without his help the protagonist cannot achieve his own deliverance.

In one of the stories, al-Afshīn is determined to kill Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. ʿİsā al-ʿIjlī because he envies the latter his generous favour and good fortune. Abū Dulaf sends for his friend, Chief Judge Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād, asking for aid. Aḥmad gathers witnesses and he hastens to find al-Afshīn, who is seated while Abū Dulaf is being forced to stand before him. Al-Afshīn is surprised to see the judge entering without permission, so Aḥmad says, 'O, Prince, I am the messenger of the Prince of the Faithful and he orders you not to do anything to al-Qāsim without his permission.' Then Aḥmad turns to the witnesses and asks them to testify that he has delivered the caliph's message. As soon as Aḥmad leaves the place he hastens to al-Muʿtaṣim and tells him what has passed, whereupon the latter praises his deed. After a while, al-Afshīn comes to al-Muʿtaṣim who confirms that he indeed sent the message concerning Abū Dulaf via Ibn Abī Duʾād, and he warns him not to harm Abū Dulaf.[122]

In this story, the contrast between 'hatred' (al-Afshīn) and 'love' (Abū Dulaf al-ʿIjlī, who is a man of favour) can be observed. This contrast is between earthly and spiritual powers. Although earthly power seems to be stronger – since it places al-ʿIjlī (the protagonist) who has

the spiritual power in mortal danger – this contrast in fact reflects the weakness of earthly power. This is why al-Afshīn decides to be rid of Abū Dulaf, because he cannot compete with him in his good fortune and favour.

Another contrast is that between al-Afshīn and Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād who is the protagonist's friend; the contrast is between enmity and friendship – again, the contrast between hatred and love is manifest. This contrast produces the victory of love and deliverance for the oppressed protagonist. Hatred can expose love to danger but, in the end, the latter will always be victorious.

The intellect of the chief judge and his *murūʿa* (chivalry) rescue Abū Dulaf from death. Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād's lie is not considered to be such a heinous untruth because his aim is noble – saving a life. He confesses to the caliph who approves of the lie. When al-Afshīn appears before him, al-Muʿtaṣim's lie is no lie anymore because he already knows of the matter, thus he gives orders not to harm Abū Dulaf. Therefore, the helper's generosity and that of the caliph are in parallel.

Humility

The generous person is in essence humble, which is a mark of respect for the recipient. In one of the stories a man asks something of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who says to the man:

> Your request is greatly respected by me and it places me under an obligation. What you are worthy of is greater than what I can give, and no matter how plentiful my donation is, it will be all too little in the face of God's generosity. Anything that I possess, is for the purpose of thanking you; so I ask you to accept what I have and save me the difficulty of being imaginative and worrying about my responsibility towards you, in order to grant what you ask.

The man answers, 'O, Son of the Prophet's daughter, I accept whatever you give me, I thank you for it, and I excuse the impediment.' The story ends with al-Ḥasan giving everything he possesses to the man, his slaves warn him, 'By God, we have not even one dirham left.' Whereupon al-Ḥasan replies, 'But I hope that I shall have great recompense from God.'[123]

Need compels the man to humiliate himself by asking for alms thereby the one in need becomes vulnerable – his request could either

be refused or it might be scornfully granted. Al-Ḥasan is a noble and honourable man, thus he safeguards the man's honour with his words. In the man's reply, there is a similar kind of generosity: he accepts the token amount, gives thanks for the donation, and excuses the impediment. This last phrase signifies his generosity – the man is saving al-Ḥasan from embarrassment should he have nothing to give.

Material generosity is an expression of spiritual feelings – of the love for God – and is a part of His generosity. This is why al-Ḥasan says, 'and the plenteous is but little before God's generosity'. The comparison between the generous donor and the impoverished recipient is the contrast between strength and weakness. Al-Ḥasan is modest and humble; he thus gives everything he owns hoping to be rewarded by God. The first imperative of generosity then, is to give in the spirit of true respect.

In another story two men, one from the descendants of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī and the other from Thaqīf, travel from al-Madīna to Iraq to ask for the favour of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayr b. Kurayz, the governor of al-Baṣra. When they are near al-Baṣra, the man from al-Anṣār suggests they rest their mounts and pray to God to thank Him for what He has given them upon their journey. After prayer, the man from al-Anṣār decides to return home because he feels ashamed of asking a favour from someone other than God. He prays that God bestow upon him a decent livelihood, as he has done for Ibn ʿUmayr, he then returns home to al-Madīna.

When the man from Thaqīf arrives at the court of Ibn ʿUmayr, he tells him what happened to Ibn Jābir. Ibn ʿUmayr weeps and says that he knows that Ibn Jābir did not say those words of prayer out of insolence or ingratitude, but out of his knowledge that God is the giver of livelihood. Ibn ʿUmayr then orders 4000 *dīnār*s, clothes, and presents for the man from Thaqīf and twice as much again for the Anṣārī.[124]

In this story there is a parallel between Ibn Jābir's faith in God and that of Ibn ʿUmayr. Ibn Jābir's faith makes him rely totally upon God – which saves the protagonist from the humiliation of asking another man for a favour. Ibn ʿUmayr's own faith in God makes him recognize Ibn Jābir's spirituality. Ibn ʿUmayr is thereby, humbled because he realizes that his livelihood, and that of any person, is from God – his wealth then is God's wealth.

Ibn Jābir's exploits and that of his companion appear in contrast; the former returns home while the other continues his journey. The former

relies on the Absolute generosity while the latter hopes for that generosity breathed into man by his creator.

What seems to be a contrast between both men is in fact, congruence – it is seen that the man from Thaqīf's role is instrumental in helping Ibn Jābir, since it is he who continues his journey to tell the story to Ibn ʿUmayr. The neediness of the man from Thaqīf, his long journey and his wait at Ibn ʿUmayr's door engender generosity in the latter. Whereas, Ibn Jābir's need (and faith in his creator's generosity) engenders Ibn ʿUmayr's favour, twice as much as his generosity for the man from Thaqīf.

The hardship of both travellers compels them to make the journey, but in reality they journey within their souls and towards God because along the way they decide to rest and pray. The journey causes each of them to make a decision; the right course for Ibn Jābir is to return home hoping for God's generosity. The right course for the man from Thaqīf, he believes, is to continue his journey. This contrasting decision indicates that one person's journey towards his creator differs from another's. Although both men make the same physical journey, towards the same man (Ibn ʿUmayr) and the same spiritual journey towards God – their paths diverge widely.

Nabīdh

As seen above, *nabīdh* has different connotations depending on its context within the stories. One of its connotations is generosity. In one story ʿUrayb, a singer whom Ibn al-Mudabbir used to love in his youth (and upon whom he lavished much of his wealth), arrives in her boat (*ṭayyār*). She has come to visit her old beloved, out of yearning for him following a long separation. The reason for her visit she claims is to renew memories of old times, and so she wants to drink *nabīdh* with him. They pass a joyful interlude eating, drinking and singing. Ibn al-Mudabbir cherishes ʿUrayb's visit and appreciates her singing for him, despite her renunciation of that art, and he decides to reward her. The protagonist explains the dilemma to his slave girls, he asks them to help him and contribute what they can. They give him their jewels, which he adds to a golden vessel he possesses, in which there is a hundredweight (*mithqāl*) of gold (424 grammes).

He accompanies ʿUrayb to her boat, but just before embarking she asks him for a favour; she asks for the authority to buy land that has been bought by the mother of his children, and that is located next to her own. Ibn al-Mudabbir then realizes the real reason for her visit; so,

he asks the mother of his children to give up the land and guarantees her money. He offers ʿUrayb the land, worth 1000 *dīnār*s, as a gift from him. In total, her visit costs him 2100 *dīnār*s.[125]

In this story, there is a close relationship between love, *nabīdh* and generosity. The protagonist and ʿUrayb drink for the sake of past love. They renew memories of their love; thus *nabīdh* in this story indicates joyful love. Love and *nabīdh* engender generosity. Intoxicating beverage is one of the meanings of love (*ḥubb*), as seen in the previous chapter on love; it is also one of the meanings of generosity (*karam*), previously mentioned. Moreover, the verb *irtāḥa* (to be at ease) indicates the meaning of the word *rāḥ* (intoxicating beverage) as described above, under the word *karam*.

The true purpose of ʿUrayb's visit is a material one, whereas Ibn al-Mudabbir's aim is to renew old feelings of joyous love. Hence, there is a contrast between the aims of the two companions – which is the contrast between spirituality and materiality. However, the loving and generous soul grants favour unconditionally. So, Ibn al-Mudabbir, despite discerning the real purpose of ʿUrayb's visit, offers her all that he has, not to mention his slave girls' generosity in giving their ornaments for the sake of their master.

Cleanliness

Cleanliness in al-Tanūkhī's stories symbolizes the beginning of deliverance. In one of the stories al-Jāḥiẓ is brought in chains to the vizier Aḥmad (b. Abī Duʾād) after the disaster (*nakba*) that had beset Muḥammad (b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt). Ibn Abī Duʾād accuses al-Jāḥiẓ of being disloyal to those who had shown him preference. Al-Jāḥiẓ replies:

> Calm down, by God, it is better that you grant me favour rather than I grant it to you. It is better that you do me a good deed whilst I harm you, rather than mutually harming each other. It is more beautiful for you to pardon me even though you have the capacity to take revenge.

Ibn Abī Duʾād then accuses al-Jāḥiẓ of hypocrisy. But when al-Jāḥiẓ is made to stand in his chains, Ibn Abī Duʾād orders his slave to go after him and release him; he orders that he be taken to a bathhouse, given new clothes and taken to a furnished house where he be given 10,000 *dirham*s. In the morning, al-Jāḥiẓ is seen to be elevated to the highest

rank in Ibn Abī Duʾād's court. He wears one of Ibn Abī Duʾād's garments and one of his elegant high caps (*ṭawīla min qalānisih*)[126] and Ibn Abī Duʾād is turning towards him and showing favour to him and saying, 'Speak to us, O, Abū ʿUthmān.'[127]

In this story, it is observed that the first indication of redemption and deliverance is when al-Jāḥiẓ is taken to a bathhouse to cleanse himself of the ordeal he has undergone. To cleanse the body then, symbolizes serenity of the soul and feelings of security, since the body is the external expression of the soul.

The contrast between al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Abī Duʾād is between the disadvantaged and the powerful. This contrast masks a parallel between both men, which is the parallel between knowledge (both men are Muʿtazilites) in addition to justice (Ibn Abī Duʾād). The word of knowledge intercedes for its advocate and influences the man of justice; thereby deliverance is achieved and cleanliness is its first sign.

The generous person complements his generosity with respect for the recipient. Thus, in the morning, in the light of deliverance and spirituality, al-Jāḥiẓ is seen sitting on high with Ibn Abī Duʾād. This signifies that justice places a duty on the man of power to respect the man of knowledge. When he asks al-Jāḥiẓ to speak, Ibn Abī Duʾād addresses him with the epithet (Abū ʿUthmān); this signifies that earthly power is struck dumb in front of the spiritual power of knowledge – the former yields with love and respect to the latter.

THE TYPES OF GENEROSITY

Generosity is the reflection of spiritual feelings of mercy, as expounded above. The expression of generosity varies, depending on the need of the person in hardship. Thus, if the sufferer is poor then expression of generosity will be material donation. If he is in danger, then generosity is manifest in the form of rescue. If he sins, then generosity will be expressed through pardon. If a person is careless in speech or deed, then generosity will be expressed through tolerance and restraint from humiliation. It is seen that generosity is manifest in various forms:

- Sacrifice (life/self-sacrifice and material sacrifice);
- Protection (or provision of refuge);
- Hospitality;
- Pardon;

- Tolerance;
- Bravery;
- Honesty.

Sacrifice

Life/self-sacrifice

On the day of al-Yarmūk battle, Ḥudhayfa al-ʿAdawiyy searches among the injured fighters for his cousin, carrying water with him. He finds his cousin, and is about to slake his thirst when they hear a man moaning. His cousin signals Ḥudhayfa to give the water to the moaning man, whereupon he discovers that he is Ḥishām b. al-ʿĀṣ. Just as Ḥudhayfa is about to give him the water, they hear a third man moaning. Ḥishām, in his turn, gives the sign to Ḥudhayfa to rescue this third man. Ḥudhayfa goes to the man, only to find that he is dead; he goes back to Ḥishām and finds him dead, then he returns to his cousin to find him dead as well.[128]

This story depicts the struggle between life and death. The dying men sacrifice their lives, each for the sake of the other – they give consideration to others with the very sip of water that might save their own lives, thus they die. However, this death is in fact the beginning of another life – Eternal Life. What appears as contrast between life and death is in fact, a parallel between the two sorts of life. Water in this story symbolizes earthly life, since man's body is created mostly from water; in the Qurʾānic verse:

> *wa huwa l-ladhī khalaqa mina l-māʾi basharan*
> And it is He who created of water a mortal.[129]

However, although man knows that through death he will meet his creator (and dwell in His Paradise), he still cleaves to his earthly life and to the body that carries his soul. The dying men are human beings strongly bound to their earthly life, yet they favour others with this very life; hence, their death is the manifestation of their gallantry and generosity. God rewards them by taking them to eternal life – to His Paradise.

Material sacrifice (īthār)

Al-Wāqidī has two friends; one is a Hāshimite man and the other is Nabatean.[130] The three friends are as one soul. Al-Wāqidī becomes very poor. The *ʿīd* arrives and his wife says to him, 'As for us, we can

endure the misery, but it breaks my heart to think of our children like this. They see the neighbour's children well-dressed while ours are in this condition, so if you do get some money we would buy them new clothes.' Al-Wāqidī writes to his Hāshimite friend who sends him a closed purse, which he opens to find 1000 *dirham*s. No sooner does he find the money, than his other friend writes to him, for the same reason that he wrote to his Hāshimite friend. Al-Wāqidī, in his turn, sends him the bag of money; he then proceeds to the mosque where he passes the night, feeling ashamed to face his wife. Returning home, he finds that his wife approves of what he has done; suddenly his Hāshimite friend enters with the original sealed purse. They find out that the Hāshimite man had asked for money from the Nabatean, after having sent his money to al-Wāqidī (who in turn had sent it on to the Nabatean), thus, he got his own money back. Consequently, al-Wāqidī gives his wife 100 *dirham*s, and the three friends divide the rest equally, each taking their share. The story ends with the Caliph al-Maʾmūn hearing their story and giving them 7000 dīnārs, 1000 for al-Wāqidī's wife and 2000 each for the three friends.[131]

In this story there is contrast between the happy event *ʿīd* (which entails spending money on celebrations) and poverty. This contrast engenders misery, but the protagonist and his wife endure their hardship with forbearance. As parents, however, their feelings for their children drive them to act; and the only solution is to borrow money from their dear friend. The companion's friendship, in this story, is described as 'like one soul' (*ka-nafsin wāḥida*), which is one of the manifestations of the divine love of God. Thus, the protagonist is not embarrassed to ask money from his generous friend, whom he knows will help him without hesitation.

The generosity of the three men is in parallel; each gives all that he has to his friend(s). Al-Wāqidī sends the money sent to him by his Hāshimite friend and retreats to the mosque; he knows he can rely on God but at the same time is ashamed to face his wife. There is a contrast then, between the love for his friend (which engenders generosity) and his love for his family. In other words, there appears to be a contrast between duty and love; yet, this contrast turns out to be comparable because al-Wāqidī's wife has the same integrity and sense of duty as her husband. The wife is man's self,[132] hence she embodies reality. Both al-Wāqidī and his wife have the same feelings of compassion and love for their children, and identical feelings of sympathy and duty towards their poor friend, who suffers as they do. Hardship

then, is a positive factor in man's life because it amplifies the natural feelings of sympathy and understanding in his heart, when other people suffer.

Generosity begets generosity; therefore, the three men and al-Wāqidī's wife are rewarded for their generosity, and delivered from their misery. Man should never fear poverty out of generosity, because God will always provide for the generous hearted person.

Protection or provision of refuge (*al-ijāra*)

Al-ijāra has been an important aspect of Arabic tradition since the pre-Islamic era. It represents generosity in its highest form because it includes sanctuary, provision of shelter and food (hospitality). It also implies keeping the secret of the guest, not to mention treating him with utmost respect. While escaping from the Caliph al-Saffāḥ, Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik comes upon a tent in al-Ḥīra. There the owner welcomes the protagonist and provides him with refuge and protection, without troubling him with any questions. The protagonist sees that the man rides out daily on his horse. When he asks him the reason, the man replies that he is searching for Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān who killed his (the host's) father, in order to take revenge upon him. Ibrāhīm is astounded by the destiny that has driven him to his death (here) in the house of the man who seeks his blood, so he reveals his identity to his host. The man is incredulous at first, until Ibrāhīm describes the manner of the father's death. The man's face changes because of anger, and he keeps silent for some while. The story ends with the man asking the protagonist to leave and offering him money, but Ibrāhīm refuses the money and leaves.[133]

In this story, the tenets of *al-ijāra* are fully manifest. There is provision of refuge, shelter and hospitality, without asking the guest anything about himself – neither his name, nor what he has done, nor from whom he flees. Thus, the man's attitude towards the protagonist can be described as *murūʿa* (chivalry).

In his life, man travels a cyclical route. At one point in time he is a strong person with power, yet at another he is powerless and in need of help and mercy. This is what happens to Ibrāhīm. He was powerful when he killed the man's father, but he failed to give thanks to God for His generosity in granting him power. The wheel of life turns: the powerful ruler loses everything and his life is thrown into jeopardy. God teaches him the lesson of mercy and generosity; the protagonist says, 'destiny has driven me to my death in to the house of the one who

is seeking my blood'. Nevertheless, the man cannot kill the person whom he has first protected – not only that, he permits him to leave in safety and he offers him money. The man succeeds the test of generosity and his *murūʿa* reveals itself, in all its splendour.

One of the signs of generosity manifest in this story is the suppression of rage or anger. When he is convinced of Ibrāhīm's identity, the man maintains his silence for a long time. This signifies that he is in shock at meeting his enemy in his own dwelling: thereby, he is preventing himself from rushing to murderous anger; he is in deep thought – his *murūʿa* is at work.

The contrast between the demeanour of each man is clear. There is the contrast between Ibrāhīm's meanness and cruelty on the one hand, and the man's generosity and mercy on the other.

Although *al-ijāra* is one of the characteristics of tribal society, this concept is to be found in the city as well. In one of the stories al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ flees from the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, who then proclaims that whosoever captures the protagonist will be rewarded; and when he is found the one who is harbouring him will be severely punished. A soldier (who used to work in al-Faḍl's house when he was a vizier) recognizes the protagonist and attempts to capture him, but he pushes the soldier who falls, and he escapes. All at once, al-Faḍl sees a woman at the door of her house; he rushes over and asks her for protection. She hides him in one of the rooms, but he discovers that the woman is the soldier's wife, so he gives thanks to the woman and leaves the house. Further, along his way the protagonist meets a Byzantine barber, who is about to open his door. The latter offers him refuge and treats him with respect. The protagonist stays in the house for three nights; he thanks the barber for his hospitality and departs. He travels to an old woman, one of his slaves, but she denounces her master and al-Faḍl is arrested and taken to the caliph. When al-Maʾmūn sees al-Faḍl he prostrates himself for a long time – the caliph gives thanks to God, not for capturing al-Faḍl, but for inspiring him and giving him the grace to pardon the protagonist. When the protagonist tells the caliph his story, the latter punishes the old woman and the soldier, who have betrayed al-Faḍl's generosity to them, and rewards the soldier's wife and the Byzantine man.[134]

In this story, two characters help the protagonist for the sake of God. One is the soldier's wife and the other is the Byzantine man. Both of them provide refuge to the protagonist without asking any personal question of him; this kind of generosity is given unconditionally. Both

the soldier's wife and the Byzantine man are strangers to the protagonist, as he is to them.

In contrast to the two characters above, there are the other two characters (the soldier and the old woman) on whom the protagonist places his favour. Both of them betray his generosity when he becomes a weak man running for his life. The vizier's hardship then reveals to him the true natures of the two traitors to whom he granted his favour. This incident brings to mind the traditional Arabic proverb:

> *ittaqi sharra man aḥsanta ilayh*
> Beware of the evil recompense of the one to whom you have granted your favour.

The contrast between the two pairs of characters symbolizes the contrast between spirituality and materiality. The love of God inspires the soldier's wife and the Byzantine man to help the protagonist, whereas love of money reduces the solider and the old woman to betrayal. However, in the end spirituality defeats materiality, the generous people are rewarded and the avaricious people are punished.

The caliph's generosity is manifest in pardoning the protagonist. He prostrates himself before God to thank Him for making him capable of granting the favour of pardon. Human generosity is a gift from God – the Ultimate generosity.

There is contrast between the two stories above. In the first story (the generous man who protects Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik), the man is not rewarded for his generosity. His generosity is the manifestation of 'natural generosity' – which emanates from pure morals (namely *al-murūʿa*), and which bestows honour upon the generous one. The first story then shows the tribal concept of generosity. In the second story (of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ) the religious sense is manifest. God rewards generous people and punishes malevolent ones. The caliph rewards the generous people (the soldier's wife and the Byzantine man) on the one hand and punishes the evil people (the soldier and the old woman) on the other. God's breath in the caliph is obvious; He symbolizes divine and earthly power. In his interpretations of dreams, al-Nābulsī states that in dreams the sovereign denotes: 'The Almighty and seeing him [in dreams] content then this denotes the contentment of God the Almighty and his discontentment is a warning of the Almighty's discontentment.'[135]

In a parallel between the stories, each protagonist ends his travails in

the dwelling of his enemy. In the first story: Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik finds himself in the tent of the man who seeks revenge upon him. In the second story: al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ finds himself first in the house of the soldier who wants to capture him and later in the house of his old servant woman who betrays him. The fact that danger appears to man in the very place where he believes himself to be safe, recalls the traditional proverb:

min maʾmanihi yuʾtā ʿl-ḥadhir
From his safe place the cautious faces danger.

Hospitality

Hospitality is one of the most important expressions of generosity. Hospitality is not only the reflection of spiritual feelings and human values, but it also conveys the social interaction between people. In one of the stories for example, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar become thirsty and hungry while travelling on pilgrimage. On their way, they pass an old woman in a tent whose only possession is a small ewe. They ask her for something to drink, so she asks them to milk the ewe. Then they ask her for something to eat, so she asks them to slaughter the ewe so that she might cook it for them. They eat and rest. They then tell her that they are from the tribe of Quraysh and ask her to visit them in order that they may reward her. When her husband returns and hears her story, he becomes angry. He says, 'Woe unto you, you slaughter my ewe for people whom you do not know, then you were naïve to believe that they are people from Quraysh!' Some time passes and poverty drives the old couple to travel to al-Madīna seeking work. The old woman passes by al-Ḥasan's house, he recognizes her and calls to her; he reminds her of himself and his companions. He gives her 1000 ewes and 1000 *dīnār*s; al-Ḥusayn gives her the same and he in turn sends her to ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar who gives her 2000 ewes and 2000 *dīnār*s.[136]

The generosity of the old lady in this story expresses the meaning of the word *īthār*. The poor woman offers her guests all that she has, though she is in dire need herself. There is a contrast between her generosity and her husband's anger (though he cannot be deemed miserly because, in truth, he owns nothing more than his ewe). Nevertheless, the woman's generous nature does not let her prevent hungry people from eating her only ewe.

We have seen that generosity is the expression of the love of God.

Hence, to be asked for a favour is a test of one's generosity. The nature of man's life is cyclical; at one time he will be asked for a favour, yet another time he will be in need of a favour. Man's life is in continual transition. God rewards the one who is generous when they themselves suffer hardship. This is why the generous person must grant his favour with humility, and remember that one day they too may be in need of the favour of a generous person. This indeed is what happens to the old couple when poverty compels them to travel to al-Madīna. The old woman grants her favour to strangers, so her generosity is genuine, she does not expect reward; but the generous person inevitably gets their reward.

Thus, there is parallel between the woman's generosity and that of the three companions (from a generous family; that of the Prophet Muḥammad), hence generosity is a natural characteristic, and hospitality is one of its expressions.

Pardon

Pardon is one of the expressions of spiritual generosity that leads the oppressed person to pardon his oppressor – for when the cycle of life turns and the one who is oppressed becomes powerful, he can recall how much he needs the Merciful's pardon when he sins. Thus, he pardons and relinquishes his right – thereby the spiritual feelings breathed into man of his creator, triumph over anger and the desire of revenge.

In one of the stories, Khuzayma b. Bishr, who is known to be a generous and truly virtuous man falls into the hardship of poverty. ʿIkrima al-Fayyāḍ, the governor of al-Jazīra hears about Khuzayma's misery. So, one night al-Fayyād goes secretly to Khuzayma's house and knocks at his door in order to give him money. Upon being asked his name, he claims he is 'The helper of the generous ones when they falter' (*jābiru ʿatharāti l-kirām*). ʿIkrima returns home to find his wife in a terrible state. Because of his absence she has been thinking that he has betrayed her with either another wife or concubine, so he is forced to tell her the secret of his absence. Khuzayma travels to Palestine to meet Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and tells him his story about the unknown benefactor who named himself *jābiru ʿatharāti l-kirām*. At this point the caliph gives him ʿIkrima's governorship. Khuzayma then settles the accounts of the exchequer with ʿIkrima, whereupon they find a shortfall but ʿIkrima cannot pay the loss so Khuzayma imprisons him. After a month or more of ʿIkrima suffering in gaol, his wife tells

Khuzayma the true name of *jabiru ʿatharāti l-kirām*; the latter becomes ashamed of himself and gathers the elders of the country. He asks ʿIkrima for forgiveness and the latter forgives him. Khuzayma wants to be punished in the same manner as al-Fayyād, but the latter refuses. Khuzayma takes ʿIkrima to his house and prepares the bathroom for ʿIkrima and himself and, after having cleansed themselves, Khuzayma takes ʿIkrima back to his wife and apologizes to her. The story continues with both men going to Sulaymān in al-Ramla, whereupon the latter gives ʻIkrima the post of governor in al-Jazīra, Armīnya and Adharbījān, as well as money and clothes, and all he desires. The story ends with Sulaymān allowing ʿIkrima to decide whether to allow Khuzayma to keep his position or dismiss him. He decides to let him keep his post.[137]

In this story Khuzayma's and ʿIkrima's generosity are parallel. The generosity of the former motivates that of ʿIkrima: the generous person in his turn gets into hardship and so finds a generous person to help him. Life is a cycle, and the strong man becomes weak.

Generosity has to be granted in confidence. Hence, ʿIkrima donates the money secretly and does not even tell his wife; in addition he refuses to tell Khuzayma his name. The generous person safeguards the honour of the one to whom he grants his favour and does not expect a reward in return. Khuzayma in his weakness regains his strength (power) with ʿIkrima's donation. The cycle goes round again and the weak becomes strong. ʿIkrima the strong man is travelling the cycle of life and becomes weak in his turn. This brings to mind al-Mutanabbī's verse:

> *al-jūdu yufqiru wa l-iqdāmu qattālu*
> Generosity renders the generous person poor and heroism kills him.

ʿIkrima has no money left to pay his debts. At this point one sees the contrast between ʿIkrima's outlook, which is based on knowledge, and Khuzayma's, which is based on ignorance. Therefore, the attitude changes when Khuzayma knows the true *jābiru ʿatharāti l-kirām* and so asks al-Fayyāḍ's forgiveness. To confess the sin and to ask for penance is a kind of generosity, one that is rewarded with forgiveness. The rule of forgiveness then is based on the attitude of the offending person – forgiveness has to be requested. As a result, it is observed that the attitude and demeanour of both men is in parallel. Al-Fayyāḍ's generosity springs from the spiritual feelings breathed into man from

his creator. Thus, he is perceived to be generous with his money and virtuous in his forgiveness.

In another story Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī (the Prince of al-Baṣra) owned lavish jewellery that was stolen. The prince becomes angry and orders his soldiers to find the thief. Months later, one of his soldiers comes to him with a man whom he has found in the pearl market trying to sell a luxuriant pearl from the stolen jewellery. The soldier takes the man and beats him until he confesses to the theft. The prince permits the man to enter and when the latter sets eyes upon Jaʿfar he appeals for help and his weeping touches Jaʿfar's heart. The prince takes pity upon him and says to him, 'Did you not ask me to give you this pearl in such-and-such a time? And did I not give it to you?' The man replies, 'Indeed so [I did].' Then Jaʿfar orders the soldiers to release the man and search for the real thief.[138]

Pardon in this story is connected to the aspect of relinquishing the prerogative. The prince not only pardons the thief, but he also allows him to keep the pearl and protects him from being punished. There is a contrast between the base attitude of the thief and the noble generosity of the prince. This contrast leads to the prince relinquishing his prerogative and pardoning the thief. The prince is the owner of the jewels, which symbolize spirituality; hence, the prince is a spiritual person. By contrast, the thief symbolizes material avarice that reduces man to the lowly ranks of theft and dishonesty. Feelings of love, mercy and sympathy originate from spirituality – it elevates its bearer (the prince) to the ranks of forgiveness. Materiality on the other hand drags its bearer (the thief) to the depths of humiliation.

Tolerance

Tolerance is an expression of spiritual feelings that makes the person understand the vulnerabilities of others and hence to treat them with kindness and courtesy. A man forges a letter under the name of the vizier, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt, and he takes it to Abū Zanbūr the governor of Egypt. Abū Zanbūr, who suspects the letter's provenance, sends the letter back to Ibn al-Furāt with a covering letter in which he explains his suspicions to the vizier. Ibn al-Furāt explains the problem to his companions who each give different opinions of how to punish the forger. Ibn al-Furāt reproaches them, he describes them as 'far away from honour' because, he says, the man did not do what he did except out of his need and hope for charity. The man thus endured a long journey, hoping to use us as the means of his deliverance. Ibn al-Furāt

turns the forged letter over and on the reverse he writes to Abū Zanbūr reproaching him for questioning the letter. He claims that the man (the forger) was one of the people who helped when his life was in turmoil, during the days of his exile; he orders Abū Zanbūr to grant the man favour. Some time later a handsome man, well-dressed and accompanied by slaves, visits Ibn al-Furāt. The man weeps and kisses the ground before the vizier, who does not recognize him. The latter confesses that he was the one who forged the letter to Abū Zanbūr. The vizier laughs and engages him as a scribe, and causes him to earn a great deal of money.[139]

The contrast between the man's forgery (deception) and the protagonist's tolerance reflects the parallel between the vizier's actions and his spiritual feelings. His spiritual feelings of love and mercy allow him to understand the reason why the man forged his signature – it was in his neediness and his hope, and the high esteem in which he holds the protagonist. Thus, love and mercy engender the vizier's understanding, and his generosity.

There is a contrast between the vizier and his companions; it is the contrast between humility and arrogance. The former invokes pardon and grace, while the latter leads to the path of anger and retribution. Honour resides in the spiritual feelings of tolerance.

Time passes, but the man does not forget Ibn al-Furāt's good deed, he attends his court in order to thank him for his generosity and his deference. Again, it is seen that the relationship between donor and recipient is based on mutual love and respect.

Generosity emanates from a benevolent heart with its feelings of love, mercy and sympathy. Thus, a generous man can view the sins of a weak person from an amused perspective. Ibn al-Furāt laughs with the recipient when the latter comes to him weeping and confessing his guilt; and he rewards him for his honest approach by engaging him as a scribe.

Bravery

Man's refusal to bow to tyranny leads him to defend the rights of others by challenging authority. This challenge is a form of generosity whereby the protagonist exposes himself to danger and to the ruler's anger. Bravery reflects strength of character – it champions the weak against the tyranny of oppression and it reflects the spiritual feelings of love and mercy (breathed into man by God). In one of the stories during the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid, Judge Wakīʿ worked for the judge Abū Khāzim as trustee of certain entailed estates (*wuqūf*), among them the

estate of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. The caliph extends his palace buildings (called *al-Ḥasanī*) and some of Ibn Sahl's entailed estates adjoin it, and are appropriated. Wakīʿ collects money from the entailed estates at the end of the fiscal year, in order to distribute it for different purposes to the benefit of the poor (*ahlu l-waqf*). However, he does not collect what was due from al-Muʿtaḍid when he appropriated the estate of Ibn Sahl. When Judge Abū Khāzim asks Wakīʿ if he has collected the money from the caliph, the latter replies, 'And who dares to demand money from the caliph?' Abū Khāzim answers, 'By God, you cannot distribute the collected money until you collect all that he has to pay; and if, by God, he does not pay I will never take charge of any [more] work for him.' Wakiʿ tells al-Muʿtaḍid what has happened between Abū Khāzim and himself. The caliph thinks for some time and says, 'Abd al-Hamīd (Abū Khāzim) is right', and he pays all that is due, which is 400 *dīnār*s.[140]

Abū Khāzim's bravery in challenging the caliph is a form of generosity – it is quite apparent that his brave attitude protects the right of the people. What seems to be a parallel between the generosity of both Abū Khāzim and al-Muʿtaḍid is in fact a contrast between the legitimate bravery and generosity of Abū Khāzim and the political generosity of the caliph. The generosity of the former reflects spiritual feelings, the love of God, whereas the generosity of the latter reflects the protection of his interests as a powerful caliph. This is why al-Muʿtaḍid takes time to think before conceding to the demands of Abū Khāzim.

The caliph is a wise man; he is aware that refusing to pay the money will harm his reputation as a just ruler, so he pays. However, people's deeds cannot always clearly be classified as either completely genuine or totally false generosity. The caliph ponders for a while before giving the money, indicating that he is thinking of what is best for his reputation; nevertheless, his humanity – the spiritual feelings breathed into him – cannot be denied. He is one who hears the word of truth that makes him regain his sense of justice. Thus, it can be said that al-Muʿtaḍid's attitude is a mixture of genuine generosity mixed with self-interest as a ruler, one who wants to maintain a good image of himself in the eyes of his people.

Honesty

In one of the stories the caliph becomes angry at his vizier Ibn al-Furāt and imprisons him. A man who had worked for the vizier offers him 500 *dīnār*s, despite his wife's advice not to do so (in case the

vizier disparages the gift and him, the donor). Ibn al-Furāt accepts the money, but asks the protagonist to hold it for him in trust. The latter feels humiliated and returns to his wife who reproaches him for not heeding her advice. The caliph (later) releases the vizier who returns to his post and when the protagonist visits him, the vizier lowers his eyes and does not look at him. The protagonist regularly visits Ibn al-Furāt who keeps avoiding him until the day when he has spent all his money and begins to sell his possessions. One day the vizier sends the protagonist to al-Baṣra to collect the customs tolls and Ibn al-Furāt's dues from ships arriving from India. When the protagonist returns to Baghdād, Ibn al-Furāt orders him to hand over the custom monies and to hold his dues, which amount to 25,000 *dīnār*s. So, the protagonist takes the money and watches over it all night. The vizier sees the protagonist's poverty and knows that he has been guarding the money for him; he then tells him that he has not given him the money to hold in trust, but rather it was a gift to him in gratitude for his generous deed during his imprisonment. The protagonist then returns home a wealthy man.[141]

Generosity begets generosity. The generosity of the poor protagonist (he who gave what he had) engenders the vizier's generosity. However, there is another kind of generosity; it is the protagonist's honesty in guarding money, which he believes the vizier has entrusted to him, despite his extreme poverty.

The generous person is necessarily honest with other people's money, which brings to mind the relationship between pure morals and material generosity, mentioned above. Spiritual feelings of mercy and honesty are reflected in the protagonist's material generosity, when he proffers what little money he has (to the vizier), and when he guards the huge sum of money with which he is entrusted. These selfless acts are in parallel with Ibn al-Furāt's spiritual feelings of mercy and gratitude towards the protagonist; they are by turn reflected through his own material donation. The contrast between the protagonist and his wife symbolizes the contrast between the heart (compassion) and the head (reason).

The cycle of life reduces the powerful vizier to a weak prisoner in need of alms, and it elevates the weak protagonist into a powerful man, one who is generous with his money. The wheel of life keeps on turning, the weak prisoner becomes, again, the powerful vizier who then bestows his money on the poor weak protagonist, who becomes in his turn a powerful and rich man.

In another story a man travels on pilgrimage, dressed with a belt round his waist full of money and jewels. Along the way, the protagonist loses his belt but anticipates God's reward for his loss. Another man finds the belt and, since he is a religious man, he keeps it as a trust. Years pass and the protagonist suffers several hardships and descends into poverty. After accepting charity, he leaves his country with his pregnant wife and goes to one of the villages. The pangs of labour afflict his wife one rainy night and she gives birth. And so the protagonist, who has only one-and-a-half small silver coins, goes out blindly into the darkness and the rain to a greengrocer for supplies. The man takes pity on him and gives him fenugreek and oil, which are his most valuable commodities, in a bowl of clay. On his way home the protagonist slips and the bowl breaks, so he strikes his face and cries out. A man looks from his window and asks him for the reason for his despair, so the protagonist tells him his story. The man takes care of the protagonist and his wife as his guests; he gives the protagonist 20 *dīnār*s daily, then he gives him 200 *dīnār*s for him to trade.

After some months the man gives him his profit and shows him the belt he found. He tells him that the money he has been giving him all this time is from his own belt; he had not told him earlier because he was afraid that his gallbladder would sunder apart from joy. The protagonist takes his belt and prays to God in favour of the man. He returns to his country, trades with the money and after a few years he becomes greatly enriched, to the sum of 10,000 *dīnārs*.[142]

In this story there is a parallel, between the protagonist and the man who finds his belt – the connection is 'faith in God'. The protagonist trusts God's eventual reward for his loss, whereas the man keeps the belt safe and untouched for many years. The man's generosity is evident, not only by giving the protagonist back his belt, but also in the hospitality he shows to the protagonist and his family and allowing him to work for him. His generosity is also evident in his sensibility in returning the money slowly, before telling him about his recovered belt, his aim being to protect him from the shock of joy.

The start of his wife's labour and the greengrocer's generosity symbolize the beginning of deliverance – his new life. When the protagonist flounders in the darkness of night it symbolizes his suffering in his hardship and despair, which reaches a peak when the protagonist slips and breaks the bowl (which holds promise of salvation). At the very moment of his deepest despair, his deliverance truly begins when the

man who holds his belt in safekeeping awakes. In the course of his life, man has to walk the old path in order to come upon the new one – the old path of hardship has to be walked in order to find the new path of deliverance.

Maintaining secrets is one of the expressions of honesty. In one of the stories al-Walīd b. Yazīd intends to travel on pilgrimage. Some people conspire against him wanting to kill him; they ask Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī to join with them, but he refuses, whereupon they ask him to keep their secret and he agrees. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī asks the son Khālid b. al-Walīd b. Yazīd to tell his father not to go on pilgrimage that year. When the latter asks him the reason, al-Qasrī answers '[because] I fear for him'. Khālid b. al-Walīd b. Yazīd tells his father this, whereupon the latter demands that al-Qasrī name the conspirators, but he refuses even though he is threatened by being sent to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar. Indeed, Al-Qasrī is eventually sent to the latter who tortures him so severely that he dies without revealing the names of those who entrusted him with their secret.[143]

In this story, there is contrast between al-Qasrī's attitude and that of al-Walīd. Al-Qasrī acts to preserve the life of the latter, whereas al-Walīd sends al-Qasrī to his certain death. Al-Qasrī's generosity in keeping the secret, gives the group their lives while it takes his own. Keeping a secret signifies keeping one's honour – a confidence must never be revealed, even under pain of torture and in the face of death. Fulfilling a promise is one of the types of honesty.

In one of the stories, in the year 335/946 three very poor men, brothers, take a claim to al-Tanūkhī's father (the judge). They claim that they have an inheritance from Abū bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī. The author's father demands that the three brothers bring two trustworthy witnesses to substantiate their claim. They become confused and for several months remain constantly outside his door. One day, the elder brother asks our author (still a youth) how much money he would grant him when he becomes a judge like his father. The latter replies that he would give him 500 *dīnār*s, the brother asks for this in writing; under his teacher's guidance al-Tanūkhī does so. Some days later, the veracity of the three brother's claim is proven, whereupon they gather their inheritance and depart. When our author takes charge of the judgeship in the year 356/966, the elder brother reintroduces himself to al-Tanūkhī and reminds him of the promise he gave him in his youth. Al-Tanūkhī recalls the incident and gives thanks to God, but he asks the man to accept the money (which he truly regards as a debt) by instalments because he does

not have all of the money, and so the man accepts. Al-Tanūkhī then offers him several different jobs.[144]

In this story, our author's and his father's honesty are manifest; it brings to mind the proverb: 'This cub is from that lion'. Al-Tanūkhī's father's honesty is demonstrated when he delivers Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī's money to the brothers (after making sure of the veracity of their claim) since the inheritance is a trust for which he is responsible. The author's honesty is also manifest in fulfilling his promise years later, after he grows up to be a judge. He gave his promise as a youth, yet it is as a man that he fulfils it; he regards it as an honourable debt that he has to repay.

The youthfulness of our author is represented by the word *fata*, of which *al-murūʿa* is a part; *ʿal-murūʿa* (chivalry) is a branch of *al-futuwwaʾ*.[145] Thus, his teacher (the one who had guided him to write his promise down) can be seen as a symbol of the spiritual voice of knowledge, which urges al-Tanūkhī's *murūʿa*.

MAN LEARNS FROM WHAT IS BENEATH HIM

Just as the angels learned from man how to favour others,[146] man in his turn learns from the animals. There is a story of al-Tanūkhī's, which recounts the tale of a dog that saves a man from starvation by favouring him with its daily food, consisting of a loaf of bread.[147]

We find other stories about animal's generosity in several different forms in the stories. As examples of generosity in the form of 'loyalty', Al-Rabīʿ b. Badr dies and leaves behind his dog, which trembles at its master's grave until it dies. The same thing happens to the dogs belonging to ʿUmayr b. ʿAntara.[148] In another story, al-Aʿmash prevents boys from beating a dog, so it follows al-Aʿmash whenever it sees him walking in the street.[149]

Another story is about an elephant. It attacks and kills the men who have eaten its calf, yet it rewards the only man who refused to eat because of a vow he made. The elephant then bears the protagonist on its back for a long distance, until it sets him down safely near a large town.[150]

With regard to generosity in the form of 'bravery', a man travels into the desert, a dog follows him but he beats it and injures it. Despite the protagonist's bad deed, the dog persists in following him. Some men attack the man who is badly injured; they then entomb him down a well. Throughout all this the dog attacks the men, who stone it. The men leave

the place thinking that the victim is dead, but the dog remains at the well, barking and digging until the protagonist's head is uncovered and he can breath. Some travellers see the dog and pull the protagonist free.[151] Regarding generosity in the form of '*self-sacrifice*', a dog rescues his master, the king, just as he is about to eat *tharīda* in which, unknown to the king, a venomous snake has supped of the yoghurt. The dog leaps onto the table, laps up the yoghurt and instantly falls dead.[152]

Regarding generosity in the form of '*mercy and love*' (as manifest by the maternal instinct), a whole family is afflicted by plague and all die, except for one baby. Their house is shuttered up but people do not realize that the baby is inside still alive. Month's later relatives inherit the house; they open the shutters and find the baby playing with a dog's pup. When the boy sees the mother of the pup, he crawls to it and it lets him suckle its milk.[153]

In another story, a trader travels the road to Yemen carrying with him a great many *qalansuwa*s (headwear). After a shower of rain, the man spreads the *qalansuwa*s out in the sun to dry. A large troop of monkeys appears; the elder male picks one of the items up and puts it on its head, so the other monkeys do the same. The man bemoans his loss, but after a while the monkey puts it down and the other monkeys do the same. The monkeys leave and the man gathers up his *qalansuwa*s, and continues on his way.[154]

These foregoing examples of al-Tanūkhī's stories serve two functions: first, they reflect the greatness of God through His varied creatures; and second, they teach man humility by showing him all the forms of generosity manifest in lowly creatures below him. Animals, which cannot reason, prove that they have the capacity to be more heroic, loyal and generous than man himself. Once man accepts this, then how can he but refrain from acting less generously than an animal?

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED STORIES

I have chosen two stories, to illustrate 'generosity'. The *first story* represents 'protection' or 'providing refuge' (*al-ijāra*), since this particular type of generosity includes most of its variants, such as bravery, hospitality, humility and honesty. The *second story* represents knowledge that incorporates two aspects:

- the spirituality of scholars and their generosity,
- the generosity that knowledge engenders for its holder.

Protection or provision of refuge (*al-ijāra*)

The story is about Muḥriz b. Nājiya al-Ruṣāfī, who is accused of a matter relating to the currency of Egypt during the reign of al-Wāthiq. The caliph pursues him so relentlessly that he cannot find refuge in al-Ruṣāfa or any other city. The protagonist flees into the desert (*al-bādiya*) seeking a strong man to petition for his protection. The protagonist comes upon the tribe of Banū Shaybān, where he finds sanctuary and where he lives happily until al-Wāthiq's death.[155]

Analysis

The protagonist stands accused in a matter related to currency (a material issue), so he escapes to the open desert (*al-bādiya*) seeking the protection of a powerful man whose house is fortified (a spiritual quest). The protagonist thus escapes from the confinement of earthly life to the open nature of spiritual life, one where he aspires to find support, strength and refuge. The desert thereby, symbolizes spirituality. Ibn Manẓūr says:

> In the *ḥadīth* [the Prophet] would go forth to the desert (*al-badwi*) whenever he felt distressed. However, Ibn al-Athīr says, '[It is] more likely that he [the Prophet] used to do so in order to keep himself away from people and in order to go on retreat' (*li-yabʿuda ʿani l-nāsi wa yakhluwa bi-nafsihi*).[156]

In his stories about Qays b. al-Mulawwaḥ, al-Tanūkhī describes how Majnūn retreated into the desert when he became lovesick for Laylā and lost his mind.[157] The first contrast encountered here is between the city and the desert, between materiality and spirituality. The material dimension drives the protagonist to alarm. The spiritual aspect is embodied in the place to which the protagonist escapes to find sanctuary and protection. Our protagonist continues:

> until I reached the tribe of Banū Shaybān. Suddenly a tent overlooking the plain loomed into my sight (*fa-rufiʿa lī baytun mushrif*) on top of an impregnable hill. In the courtyard of the dwelling there was a tethered horse, and there also leant a spear the point of which was burnished, and underneath the spear there lay a huge garment.

The phrase 'until I reached' indicates that the protagonist is in con-

stant motion; he is in perpetual search of the light of spirituality within his heart. This brings to mind Ibn ʿArabī's metaphor of polishing one's own mirror in search of God within the heart. The material embodiment of the protagonist's dilemma is like a rusted surface (*al-rān*); his escape to the desert moving from one place to another, to and fro, symbolizes the act of burnishing of the mirror.

The Arabic sentence describing the tent overlooking the plain that is loomed into the protagonist's sight is *fa-rufiʾa lī baytun mushrif*. The verb *rufiʿa* is derived from the root *r.f.ʿ* which is connected to meanings of height, honour, light and vision from afar. From Lane:

> *wa idh yarfaʿu Ibrāhīmu l-qawāʿida mina l-bayt* [And when Abraham] was rearing or uprearing or making high or lofty [the foundations of the House of God at Mecca] … *Rufiʿa liya l-shayʾu* [the thing was, as it were, raised into view] … I saw the thing from afar … with the utmost celerity … *Irtafaʿati l-ḍuḥā* [The morning became advanced]; meaning the sun became high. … *Rafīʿ* High, elevated, exalted, lofty, or eminent, in rank, condition, or state; noble, honourable, or glorious.[158]

The protagonist beholds the light of God from afar – thus the meaning of Lane's phrase, 'the sun becoming high'. This light honours the protagonist, who is in search of his creator within his heart – thus the phrase 'noble and honourable'. The protagonist then fully sees the light; hence he is lifting himself up to it, he is shaping his own heart with the spiritual light – just as Abraham and Ismāʿīl (Ishmael) built the *kaʿba* for the purpose of adoration of God. In the Qurʾān:

> *wa idh yarfaʿu ibrāhīmu l-qawāʿida mina l-bayti wa Ismāʿīlu rabbanā taqabbal minnā innaka anta l-samīʿu l-ʿalīm*
>
> And when Abraham, and Ishmael with him, raised up the foundations of the House: 'Our Lord, receive this from us; Thou art the All-hearing, the All-knowing'.[159]

Use of the Arabic word *bayt* (dwelling) to describe the tent reminds us of *al-baytu l-ʿatīq* – which is the *kaʿba*, and the *kaʿba* signifies the heart. Ibn ʿArabī says: *al-baytu l-ʿatīq* '[the ancient house] is the pious and pure heart of the knowing servant of God whose heart has become enlarged for the Ultimate truth (praise be to Him).'[160] The word *mushrif*

describing the dwelling is derived from the root *sh.r.f*, from which the word *sharaf* (honour) is derived, which (like the root *r.f.ʿ*) means 'being high, exalted in honour', as well as meaning 'glory, dignity or nobility'.[161]

The indomitable hill, the tethered horse and the leaning spear all denote that the dwelling is peaceful and honourable, yet it is staunchly protected. The huge garment (*ḥullatun ʿazīma*) symbolizes the great and honourable man who owns the place. The protagonist says: 'I drew near, dismounted [from the horse] and approached. I greeted (*fa-sallamtu*) the people of the dwelling, and the women behind their screen curtain (*sajaf*) greeted me back. They drew near and raised the gauze (*khalal*) of their veils and beheld me, with eyes like those of fawns.' In this story, the horse symbolizes both war and man's companion. Al-Mutanabbī says:

fa-l-khaylu wa l-laylu wa l-baydāʾu taʿrifunī
wa l-sayfu wa l-rumḥu wa l-qirṭāsu wa l-qalamu

The horses, the night, and the desert know me
The sword, the spear, the paper, and the pen also.[162]

The protagonist draws [cautiously] near on his horse, to signify that he is still in fear for his life and ready for combat. When he gets closer, he gets down from his horse, which shows his feelings of serenity, passivity and humility. He then approaches on foot. The light of God and His Holy House disseminate peace into the heart of him who approaches in humility – thus, the protagonist has to dismount from his horse, he has to humble himself.

The protagonist hails and greets the people in the dwelling; the verb *sallamtu* is derived from the root *s.l.m* from which the word *salām* (peace) is derived. Those who return his greeting are women – Woman symbolizes Man's self (*al-nafs*).[163]

The women greet him from behind their screen curtain, symbolizing the imparting of spiritual secrets. The women draw close to the man, signifying that spirituality draws close to he who approaches it. In his *Futūḥāt*, Ibn ʿArabī says: 'God said, "Remember Me I remember you. … [He] who approaches Me one span of the hand, I approach him one cubit" (*wa man taqarraba ilayya shibran taqarrabtu ilayhi dhirāʿan*). The Ultimate truth is with the servant on the amount the servant is with the Ultimate truth and even more.'[164] The protagonist moves closer to

the spiritual aspect of his heart – spirituality draws him near.

After approaching the protagonist the women raise their veils – the spiritual secrets are revealing themselves, revealing their truth unto the protagonist. In his discourse about 'learning why the woman should be concealed', al-Qāshānī says:

> Learning this is through the self (*al-nafs*). Woman is the self, and her hidden parts are all the thoughts of the self (*al-khawāṭiru l-nafsiyya*). He who excludes the face, the hands and the feet [he] does so because the face is the focus of knowledge; [for] if you do not know the significance of the issue (*li-anna l-masʾalata idhā lam taʿrif wajhahā*) then you do not know it. If the point of the thing (*wajhu ʿl-shayʾ*) is not apparent [to you] then, you do not know it, and you are ordered to know the thing, thus you are ordered to uncover the significance of what you are ordered to know (*fa-anta maʾmūrun bi-l-kashfi ʿan wajhi mā anta maʾmūrun bi-l-ʿilmi bi-hi*). The face, then, need not be concealed due to regarding it as one of the hidden parts, because it is not so … the gnostic says, 'My face prostrated itself' (*sajada wajhī*) which means 'my truth' (*haqīqatī*) because the face of the thing (*wajhu ʿl-shayʾ*) is its essence (*haqīqatuh*).[165]

The protagonist gazes into the women's beautiful eyes, like those of the fawn (*ka-akhshāfi l-ẓibāʾ*). He continues: 'Then one of them [the women] spoke, she said "… be reassured O townsman. You have halted at the place of a good friend" (*fa-la-niʿma munākha l-ṣadīqi anakhta*).' The Arabic word *akhshāf* is derived from the root *kh.sh.f*. From Lane:

> *Khashafa* He, or it, made a sound, or what is termed *ḥiss* [that is a low, faint, gentle, or soft sound]. … And *khashafa fulānun*. Such a one journeyed away, went away, or departed, or became hidden or concealed, … *Khashafa* He [a man] went, or travelled, by night.
>
> … And he was bold. Or daring, in night-journeying … *khashīf khāshif* and *mikhshaf* … which signifies camels that journey by night … *khashīf*. … A sharp, or penetrating, sword; and so *khāshif* and *khashūf*.[166]

The eyes of these women reveal the soft, gentle and clear spiritual

secrets (hence the significance of '*ḥiss*' in Lane's reference, which is a soft and gentle sound). The eyes are the windows of the soul (mirrors of the heart) – he who beholds these eyes becomes lost in them (hence the significance of journeying and seeking a hiding place in the land). The eyes reveal their secrets to he who goes boldly in search of the light, through the darkness of his night (hence the significance of men and camels travelling by night in Lane's translation). The women's eyes pierce the heart like a sharp sword (there is here the significance of the keen blade, the penetrating sword).

The gesture of raising the veil (revealing the secret) is followed by speech (a soft whisper). There is a parallel then, between language of the eye and language of the word. The word *munākh* and the verb *anakhta* are derived from the root *n.w.kh*. From Lane:

> *nawwakha Allāhu l-arḍa ṭarūqatan li-l-māʾ* 'God made, or may God make, the land capable of receiving the water [of the rain; so as to be impregnated, or fertilized, or soaked, thereby].' *Anākha* and *nawwakha*, 'He [a man] made a camel to lie down upon his breast with his legs folded, as is done on the occasions of mounting and dismounting. *Nawkhā*': a remaining, staying abiding, or dwelling in a place. *Munākh*: a place in which camels are made to lie down upon their breasts [with their legs folded] … a nightly resting-place of camels … A time at which camels so lie. *Al-munīkh*: the lion.[167]

The protagonist then, is like a thirsty and tired camel wandering in the desert. He finally, finds the place where he can rest, where his soul can become replenished when the rain of spirituality soaks into it, like the fertile land. The owner of this dwelling is brave like a lion; so, the protagonist [finally] finds the place where he can be sheltered by a friend (*al-Ṣadīq*) – this has the same root of the word *ṣidq* (truth). In addition, there are other meanings under the root *ṣ.d.q*. From Lane:

> *taṣaddaqa ʿalayhi*: He gave him (i.e. the poor) what is termed *ṣadaqa* meaning (an alms, or) what is given for the sake of God … *ṣadq*: applied to a man and to a woman … as meaning true in hardness and strength and goodness … *ṣidq*: signifies truth … it is also syn[onymous] with *shidda* (meaning Hardness; firmness, compactness, or soundness; strength, power, or force; vigour, robustness, sturdiness, or hardiness); and courage, bravery, or

> firmness of heart … *Rajulu ṣidq*: man of good nature or disposition or character … *Ṣadāqa*: friendship … true firmness of heart in love or affection.[168]

The owner of the dwelling then is a staunch loving, brave, powerful and true friend of every person seeking refuge. The protagonist continues: 'I said, "And how can the wanted [one] be reassured and the one in fear be safe without betaking himself to a mountain that protects him, or a fortress that defends him. The one who is wanted by the ruler can barely rest, and fear is overwhelming him".' Fear drives the protagonist to despair. There is a contrast between hope that is engendered from spirituality, and despair that emerges from worldly fear. The mountain that the protagonist speaks of calls to mind the story of the son of Noah, who takes refuge on the mountain, to save himself from the flood:

> *qāla saʾāwī ilā jabalin yaʿṣimunī mina l-māʾi qāla lā ʿāṣima l-yawma min amri Allāhi illā man raḥima wa ḥāla baynahumā l-mawju fa-kāna mina l-mughraqīn*
>
> He said, 'I will take refuge in a mountain, that shall defend me from the water.' Said he, 'Today there is no defender from God's command but for him on whom He has mercy.' And the waves came between them, and he was among the drowned.[169]

The protagonist speaks to the women, one of them replies:

> O, Urbanite, your tongue has confessed a big sin and [shown] a little heart. By God, you have halted at the courtyard (*fināʾ*) of a dwelling where no one is oppressed or hungry as long as this neighbourhood is protected. This is the dwelling of al-Aswad b. Qinān, whose maternal uncles are al-Arāqim and whose paternal uncles are Shaybān. He is a pauper (*suʿlūk*), amongst his neighbours in his wealth, and [yet] he is their master in his deeds. He is the protector, he fuels the fires of hospitality, and he is the executant of blood-revenge (*la-hu l-jiwāru wa waqudu l-nāri wa ṭalabu l-thār*). He is a man whom no one disputes, nor fights with.

Despair of God is a sin, it indicates a little (diminished) heart. From the Qurʾān:

qala wa man yaqnuṭu min raḥmati rabbihi illā l-ḍāllūn
[Abraham] exclaimed: 'And who despairs of the mercy of his Lord, excepting those that are astray?[170]

The word *finā'*, which means 'courtyard', is derived from the root *f.n.y*. 'In the language of the mystics *fānin fi Allāhi* means "lost in contemplation of God, and insensible to all else".'[171] The courtyard of the dwelling also symbolizes protection, such that the protagonist finds his safe place under the protection of God where no one is oppressed.

The phrase *la yajū'u fī-hi kabid* means that 'no one goes hungry', and the word *kabid* (liver) denotes the soul (see above). In his *Tafsīr al-Aḥlām*, Ibn Sīrīn says that the word *kabid* is 'the place of anger and mercy, and it is said that the liver [symbolic of the soul] signifies children and life'.[172] The protagonist then not only finds protection but he also finds spiritual nourishment – he finds mercy, love and life.

The protector of the neighbourhood is called al-Aswad; this name is derived from the same root of the word *siyāda* (mastership), as defined in the previous chapter.

The word *ṣu'lūk* calls to mind the *sa'ālīk* of pre-Islamic poetry, which indicates the generosity of al-Aswad, leaving nothing of his own money for himself. There is a parallel between al-Aswad's generosity and his deeds – his generosity renders him a pauper in wealth, but a prince in his generous deeds.

In the sentence 'He is the protector, he fuels the fires of hospitality, and he is the executant of blood-revenge'; there is a parallel between bravery and chivalry (*murū'a*), between generosity and honour.

The woman recites the poetry of Umāma bint al-Julāḥ al-Kalbiyya. The poet describes al-Aswad as a youth (*fatā*) who has tolerance (*ḥilm*), munificence (*jūd*), mastership (*su'dud*), and bravery (*ba's*); he is fair like the maiden whose face is as luminous as the moon; he is pious, he keeps his word and fulfils his promises, and he is courageous in battle.[173] The description of al-Aswad in this poetic style, stresses the connection between material generosity and pure morals. The protagonist says: 'I said to her: "The fear is diminishing and the sadness of loneliness [too] subsides so, who would take me to him?".' The speech and the poetry with which the woman describes al-Aswad, soothes the protagonist's heart and turns his emotions from fear to peace. He continues:

> She said: "O, slave-girl, call your Master". The slave-girl went out through the back of the tent, and after a little while she returned with him [her Master] accompanied by a group from the neighourhood. I beheld a youth whose moustache was like down, and the two sides of his beard grew forth from his cheeks, and [he] is being feared.

The slave girl leaving through the back of the tent (the interior) means that the protagonist and the other women are in front of the dwelling (the exterior). The slave girl then comes back with her master. When all the actions are traced back, the following pattern emerges:

1. The protagonist sees the dwelling (the tent);
2. The protagonist beholds the women;
3. One of the women speaks to the protagonist;
4. The youth emerges from the back of the tent.

From these four points we can deduce that the dwelling and the women symbolize the exterior, or exoteric (*al-ẓāhir*), of spirituality; the youth (*al-fatā*) symbolizes the interior, or esoteric (*al-bātin*), of spirituality. The women are the images and words that the protagonist sees and hears; the youth is the meaning that dwells within the words. Ibn ʿArabī says: 'The exterior divine name … gives the form of the whole world, and the interior … gives the meanings hidden by these forms.'[174] The description of the youthfulness and the strength of al-Aswad are indications of *al-futuwwa*. One of the examples Ibn ʿArabī gives as the morality that 'leads to usefulness such as generosity and *al-futuwwa*'.[175] He says: 'Know that *al-futuwwa* has the rank of strength … [he] who does not have strength does not have *futuwwa*.'[176] The protagonist continues:

> I rose and greeted him. He greeted me back; he welcomed me and approached me. He said, 'What sort of benefactor are you?' The woman interrupts, she says, 'O, Abū Murhaf, this is a man who loves your presence, and requests your neighbourhood. His homeland has shunned him, his Ruler has perturbed him, and his time has run out; so we have guaranteed, on your behalf, what someone like you would guarantee for someone like him.' He said, 'May God reward you for your fine speech' (*balla Allāhu fāki*).

The protagonist rises to greet the youth, which is a sign of respect. His host's greeting in return, his welcome and approach to him are indicators of generosity. There is a parallelism between the morals of both men. The protagonist's arrival at his dwelling is a generous deed, because the youth regards it as the sign of humility and respect that the generous donor holds for the weak sensitive recipient. Moreover, as the recipient would not ask for favour except from a generous man, the youth thereby regards the protagonist's arrival as an indication that he is considered a generous donor. This attitude may be construed as a type of generosity.

When the woman interrupts, it is to spare the protagonist the embarrassment of asking for a favour. Generosity is based on both mutual respect and self-respect. The sentence that expresses the meaning 'May God reward you for your fine speech' is *balla Allāhu fāki*. The verb *balla* is derived from the root *b.l.l* which among its meanings:

> *ballati l-ibilu aghmārahā* [the camels damped their thirst] i.e. drank a little, *Mā baliltu min fulānin bi-afwaqa nāṣil* meaning I got a perfect man; *baliltu bi-hi* I was tried by him *munītu bi-hi* (app. Meaning *bi-ḥubbihi* by love of him) … *billatun* good, good fortune, prosperity, or wealth: and sustenance, or means of subsistence. Health; soundness; or freedom from disease … the tongue's fluency, and chasteness of speech.[177]

The word *balla* denotes 'happy and continuous' spiritual life; the symbolism (in Lane) of the camels quenching their thirst, by drinking little water, signifies sustenance of life. The spiritual context is clear through the meanings of perfection and love, and elegant and chaste speech. Finally, happy life is demonstrated through the meanings of wealth, prosperity and good fortune.

The mouth is the place where the external aspect articulates the inner meaning, that is through the word. The protagonist continues:

> He [the youth] said, 'Be seated' and so I did and [he placed] his hand in mine. He turned to the group (*wa aqbala ʿalā l-jamāʿati bi-wajhih*), and then he said, 'O, people of my father and those of my maternal relations. I ask you to witness that this man is in my environs and [therefore] under my protection, so he who wishes him good then he wishes me good, and he who plots against him then he plots against me.'

The youth's offer of his (open) hand signifies generosity, and this is why it is placed in the protagonist's hand. Al-Qāshānī says:

> The palms of the hand (*al-kaffān*) are the places of munificience (*al-jūd*) and donation. You are ordered to ask for favour, so the donor has to stretch [out] his hand with what he is giving without concealing his palm; since he is the owner of the grant that you are asking for, hence you have to take it if he grants it to you (*idhā jāda ʿalayka bi-hā*).
>
> In Islamic law, man is obligated to be manificient and generous (*al-jūdu wa ʿl-karam*). In the *ḥadīth*, 'The highest hand is better than the lowest one' (*al-yadu l-ʿulyā khayrun mina l-yadi l-suflā*); so he [the Prophet] speaks about the hand of the recipient and that of the donor. The donor has to give and the recipient has to take.[178]

The youth approaches the group (*wa aqbala ʿalā l-jamāʿati bi-wajhih*). His face (*wajh*) is guileless; it displays the truth of things. Ibn ʿArabī says, 'and the face of the thing (*wajhu l-shayʾ*) is its reality'.[179] The spiritual quality within his heart is his truth; it is what protects the protagonist.

The youth addresses his speech to his paternal relatives (*ya maʿshara banī abī*). The father (*ab*), in Ibn ʿArabī's opinion, is 'the mental and spiritual origin with which the son is endowed, … in contrast to the physical and natural origin which is his mother.'[180] The paternal relatives symbolize the protagonist's spiritual origins. The description of the maternal relatives is *wa dhawī raḥimī*. *Al-raḥim* (womb) is derived from the root *r.ḥ.m*; from which the word *raḥma* (mercy) is derived. The protagonist says:

> then he ordered that a tent (*bayt*) be pitched for me next to his own dwelling, and he gave me all that I needed. I stayed with him until al-Wāthiq perished, whilst I was in his neighbourhood, enjoying a most pleasant life. I [then] left him and [I] am the most grateful of all people.

He who makes his inner spiritual journey, into his heart, must return. Al-Wāthiq symbolizes the earthly ruler. The protagonist resorts to God inside his heart, he lives within His shade and enjoys the spiritual life until he [outlives and thereby] defeats the ruler of his earthly (material)

inclinations that burden his shoulders; and thus, as a free-man he returns to his worldly life.

Knowledge

The story is about the impoverished scholar al-Aṣmaʿī who seeks knowledge in his native Baṣra. A greengrocer who lives in his street advises him to seek a more lucrative trade and to turn all his useless books into pulp. Al-Aṣmaʿī decides to avoid the man by only going out at night; all the while his circumstances further deteriorate.

One day Prince Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī asks for him; he provides him with food and clothes and then sends him to the caliph al-Rashīd in Baghdād where he becomes the tutor of the caliph's son. The story ends with al-Aṣmaʿī returning to al-Baṣra a rich man, while the greengrocer has fallen on hard times, whereupon al-Aṣmaʿī treats him kindly and hires him as his agent.[181]

Analysis

> I was in al-Baṣra seeking knowledge (*aṭlubu l-ʿilm*) and was very poor. At the gateway to our lane there was a greengrocer who, when I went out in the early morning, would [accost me] and ask, 'Where do you go?' and I would say, 'To so-and-so, the transmitter of the *ḥadīth*'; and, when I returned in the evening he would ask me 'Where have you come from?' and I would say, 'From so-and-so, the storyteller or the linguist.'

The first contrast that the reader encounters here in dialogue is between the spiritual richness of knowledge and material poverty of earthly things. When al-Aṣmaʿī seeks the knowledge of the *ḥadīth* (from its transmitter), it is observed to be early morning, dawn which indicates the light of the Prophet Muḥammad (as defined earlier).

The lane symbolizes the protagonist's soul, whose inner parts are spiritual but whose exterior aspect (the gateway) is obstructed by his unfulfilled material need (the importunate greengrocer). Within al-Aṣmaʿī's emotions there reside two contrasting inclinations: one of them is directed towards spiritual nourishment (which is fulfilled by acquisition of knowledge); the other is directed towards bodily nourishment (but which remains unfulfilled because of his poverty).

Material need (embodied by the greengrocer) castigates the protagonist by repeatedly asking him where he goes and from whence he comes. In reality, al-Aṣmaʿī is questioning the meaningfulness of his

present life, whereby he steadfastly acquires wondrous knowledge but wholly neglects his bodily needs.

> He [the greengrocer] would say, 'O, you (*ya hādhā*). Take my advice you are a young man, so do not ruin yourself, seek a job that will benefit you. Give me all of the books you possess so that I may throw them into a wine jar and pour on, for every ten books four jars of water, and make a beverage from them in order to make something of use from them. By God, if you ask me for a sprig of herbs in exchange for all your books I would not give it to you.'

The two contrasting needs of the protagonist are pulling his thoughts in different directions. His spiritual need is stronger than his physical one, and is being fulfilled; however, his physical, bodily need is urging him to forsake knowledge and seek employment that will satisfy it. The protagonist thus asks himself what is the use of all these books, what is their value? If he gives them all away, they will not bring him even the cost of a handful of herbs. He continues:

> I became very distressed with him; [the greengrocer] continuously repeated such talk, until it became my custom to leave my home only at night, [and] to return only by night. My situation at that time worsened, until I ended by selling the foundation stones of my house. I could not pay my daily expenses, my hair became long, my garments became shabby and my body became unclean.

The protagonist still cleaves to spiritual nourishment, while enduring his poverty. He makes his spiritual journey in the darkness of the night. It is in the darkness of his poor life then that the protagonist keeps the flame of his spiritual quest alight. When al-Aṣmaʿī makes his journeys by night (to escape the greengrocer's importuning) it denotes that he is fleeing from his poverty, his reality. He is running away from the voice inside, the voice that goads him.

Hunger and need is expressed by neglect of his appearance; the unkempt hair, the worn garments and the unwashed body all indicate the extent of the hardship and suffering of the protagonist. The contrast between spiritual riches and bodily poverty has reached its height. At this moment a new development occurs:

> Whilst I was like this, confused about my condition, the servant of the prince Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī came to me and said, 'The prince asks you to attend upon him.' I said, 'What does the prince want from a man whose poverty has turned him into what you see?' When he saw my pitiful condition and the wretchedness of my appearance, he left and told Muḥammad b. Sulaymān about me. The servant came back with chests of clothes, sacks of incense and a purse of a thousand *dīnār*s. He said, 'The prince has ordered me to take you to the bathhouse, clothe you in these garments, and to leave the rest for you; [I am] to give you this food (I saw a large buffet laden with all manner of foods) and to perfume you with the incense.' I felt very happy, I prayed for him, I did what he said, and went with him until I came to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī. I greeted him; he approached me and raised me up. Then he said, "O, ʿAbd al-Malik, I have chosen you to teach the son of the Prince of the Faithful, so go to his door and see what occurs."

Al-Aṣmaʿī's faith in God is proven by his spirituality, and by his endurance of his hardship with fortitude and acceptance of God's destiny – it is the expression of man's love for his creator, the element that maintains man's honour. The protagonist is confused about his condition, which shows that, though he listens to the voice (trying to make him abandon his knowledge) he does not follow it – he cleaves to his spirituality. God the Ultimate generosity rewards His true servant by sending him deliverance through prince Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī whose name reflects his noble origin, the clan of the prophet Muḥammad. There is a relationship between al-Aṣmaʿi's search for the *ḥadīth* and deliverance, which starts with prince al-Hāshimī. The protagonist seeks the light of the Prophet that sends him deliverance through the prince; again *al-haqīqatu l-muḥammadiyya* (Muḥammadan reality), mentioned earlier, is recalled. The prince is thus a symbol of spiritual help.

Uncleaness signifies hardship, whereas cleanliness heralds the beginning of deliverance. The same water that al-Aṣmaʿī refused to pour on his books now purifies his body and soul with deliverance. Al-Aṣmaʿī cleanses his body of poverty and his soul of hardship; he dons new clothes and eats good food so that his soul may return to him (*li-tarjiʿa ilayka nafsuk*). This last sentence signifies the parallel

between body and soul, which is why when poverty-stricken al-Aṣmaʿī becomes depressed, whereas the act of cleansing his body, wearing new clothes and eating transforms him from a miserable wretch to a happy man.

The prince is the symbol of spiritual power, and al-Aṣmaʿī is a man of knowledge (scholar). When he greets the protagonist, approaches him, and raises him up, the prince demonstrates that spiritual power is rewarding the scholar for his spirituality:

> I thanked him, prayed for him, and said, 'I hear and obey (*samʿan wa ṭāʿa*), I will take up some of my books and go.' He said, 'Say farewell to me and be on the road tomorrow.' I kissed his hand, took the books I needed and stored the rest in a room; I then locked the door; and I made a relative, an old woman, stay in the house and guard the books.

Al-Aṣmaʿī's gratitude in thanking the prince represents the relationship between donor and recipient. The benevolence of the donor reflects the spiritual feelings of love and mercy, likewise the protagonist's thanking and kissing the prince's hand reflects his feelings of love and appreciation. Again, the following cycle is seen: love–generosity–love. The old woman symbolizes wisdom; old people accumulate wisdom throughout their years. By taking only some of his books and leaving the rest under the care of an old woman, the protagonist denotes that wisdom [the old woman] is inspiring him not to disclose all of his knowledge, but to secrete some, hidden within his heart. His mission is to teach the caliph's son, thereby granting spirituality to the earthly power. But not everything can or should be revealed; to recall al-Jāḥiẓ's saying in his book entitled *al-ḥayawān*:

> *li-kulli maqāmin maqāl, wa li-kulli zamānin rijāl, wa-li-kulli saqiṭatin lāqiṭa wa li-kulli ṭaʿāmin akala*
>
> Every place has its speech, every time has its men, every dropped grain has its chicken that pecks it up, and every kind of food has its gourmand.[182]

He continues: 'In the morning, the messenger of the prince Muḥammad b. Sulaymān came. He took me to a boat (*zallāl*), especially for me, where I found everything I needed. He sat with me and paid my

expenses until I arrived at Baghdād.' The journey starts in the light of the morning, symbolizing the light of knowledge. The point of departure is al-Baṣra, the place of hidden knowledge and spiritual endurance. The port of arrival is Baghdād, the place of powerful, publicly available knowledge and hope of deliverance. The journey thus leads from the esoteric (*bāṭin*) to the exoteric realm (*ẓāhir*).

The boat (*zallāl*) brings to mind the story (described above) in which the lovelorn and miserable protagonist goes to the book market, located by the river, where the protagonist takes the boat (*zallāl*) only to discover that it belongs to a Hāshimite youth, also from al-Baṣra.[183] Al-Aṣmaʿī finds all his needs on the boat, meaning provisions (*zād*), which recalls the Qurʾānic verse:

> *wa tazawwadū fa-inna khayra l-zādi l-taqwā,*
> And take provision; but the best provision is godfearing.[184]

The protagonist continues:

> I entered into the presence of the Prince of the Faithful al-Rashīd. I greeted him and he greeted me back. He said, 'Are you ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣmaʿī?' I said, 'Yes, I am the servant of the Prince of the Faithful, Ibn Qurayb al-Aṣmaʿī.' He said, 'You should know that a man's son is the blood of his heart and its fruit. Herewith, I am giving you my son Muḥammad with the trust of God; do not teach him anything that may corrupt his religion. I hope that he will be a leader for the Muslims.' I said, 'I hear and obey (*al-samʿu wa ʿl-ṭāʿa*).'

The protagonist greets the Prince of the Faithful, indicating that knowledge (in the embodiment of al-Aṣmaʿī) is the servant of both the religious and earthly powers (al-Rashīd). The power of faith entrusts the protagonist with its fruit (the son of the caliph), it offers him the chance to reveal his secreted knowledge; and thus will it deliver him and reward him. According to Ibn ʿArabī: '[The father is] … the mental and spiritual origin [that] the son is attributed to, in contrast to the physical and natural origin (the mother). Every trace (or son) is a result which does not exist except out of two introductions, which are the two origins mentioned above.'[185] The protagonist, then, is harvesting the fruit of his adherence to knowledge; and his endurance of hardship is the result of this in the promise of riches and glory.

The relationship between faith, knowledge and love is conspicuous in al-Rashīd's description of his beloved son. Al-Aṣmaʿī continues:

> He [al-Rashīd] gave him [his son] to me, we moved to a house which had been vacated especially for the teaching of him. I was offered all kinds of servants, furnishings and a salary of ten thousand *dirham*s each month. He [al-Rashīd] ordered for me a buffet table daily, so I remained with the Caliph's son. I [would] also fulfil other people's needs, accepting their large gifts (*al-raghāʾib*). I would send all which I would gather one by one to al-Baṣra. I built my house, bought town and country-estates. I remained with him until he read the Qurʾān, became knowledgeable in religion, poetry and language and knew the history of people. Al-Rashīd examined him, praised him and said, 'O, ʿAbd al-Malik, I want him to lead the prayer on Friday, so choose for him a sermon and teach it to him.' I taught him ten sermons, he went out and led the prayer and I was with him. Al-Rashīd admired him, the people of both the higher ranks and the public showered *dirham*s and *dīnār*s upon him, and I received a lot of prizes and gifts from everywhere.

The story continues with al-Rashīd rewarding al-Aṣmaʿī with vast sums of money, clothes, fine perfume, slaves and furnishings.

Teaching is a sacred duty; hence, the teacher is honoured. Al-Aṣmaʿī's generosity in giving of his knowledge and spirituality engenders material generosity, which is the expression of love. These gifts come not only from the caliph but also from the populace. Again, it is seen that generosity begets generosity. Al-Aṣmaʿī is careful to send everything he gathers to al-Baṣra (it is where he left the rest of his books and where he builds his house and buys estates). It signifies that he will be returning to the spiritual source of his knowledge as a rich man – money in this instance is the spiritual and earthly reward of God.

Al-Aṣmaʿī receives the caliph's permission to return to al-Baṣra, who orders the people there to attend upon him, and to greet him, and honour him for three days, and this happens. Al-Aṣmaʿī recognizes the greengrocer among the crowd (now become shabby in appearance) who greets him and addresses him by his initial name. Al-Aṣmaʿī laughs at his temerity in addressing him the same way that al-Rashīd did; but he replies: 'I took your advice and gathered all the books I possessed, I threw them into a jar, as you ordered, and I poured on them water – for

each of the ten books, four jars of water – and you see before you the result!' Al-Aṣmaʿī then treats him kindly and hires him as his agent. Knowledge honours its bearer; it raises him to the ranks of the eminent. The greengrocer (the voice of the earthly life) is ultimately unsuccessful.

The earthly (material) life, for all its wealth, bows before the seeker of knowledge and spirituality whose path leads him to the summit. By contrast, the earthly life casts its seeker down to the depths. There is a contrast between the greengrocer's addressing the poor Aṣmaʿī with the phrase, 'O, you (*ya hādhā*)!' which denotes arrogance and sarcasm; and later addressing the wealthy Aṣmaʿī with his initial name, which denotes love and nearness. This contrast makes al-Aṣmaʿī laugh at the man's foolishness, which denotes his kindness, humility and sense of humour. The spiritual man of knowledge is of necessity a generous man. Al-Aṣmaʿī is not only generous with his knowledge but he is also generous with his money. He grants the greengrocer his favour and makes him his agent. The earthly life becomes the subordinate of the spiritual life.

CONCLUSIONS UPON THE THEME OF GENEROSITY

Man's generosity is a part of the Absolute generosity; hence man's generosity is the manifestation of God's. Generosity is the expression of the spiritual feelings of love within the donor's heart, and his love for his Lord and the recipient. Thus, generosity leads to mutual love between donor and recipient, as exemplified in the cycle: love–generosity–love. As much as the spiritual feelings of love pervade the heart, so the expression of these feelings (generosity) is manifest. This is why in Arabic, several different terms are found that express the different ranks of generosity:

Murūʾa, *Ithār*, *Jūd*, *Karam*, *Sakhāʾ*

If knowledge is the foundation of love – and love is the foundation of generosity; then it follows that knowledge is also the foundation of generosity. This is why, in some of al-Tanūkhī's stories, he describes the generosity of knowledge – in other words stories of people of knowledge (scholars and the like) achieving their deliverance through their knowledge.

The influence of the word found in the Qurʾān, poetry, and speech is the expression of the generosity of knowledge. A knowledgeable, yet silent person cannot bring forth deliverance in others – it is only

through the word that he can do so. The recipient obtains generosity, hence his deliverance by cleaving to his spirituality (his faith in God); by enduring his hardship with patience (*ṣabr*); and by his right word or good deed.

Generosity is the indicator of pure morals; its source is *al-samāḥa* (the serenity that the donor finds in his heart, which allows him to grant his favour to others). The donor's love and *samāḥa* (expressed through pure morals and his generosity) gains in turn the recipient's love and respect. Love, respect and honour are God's reward to the generous person. Thereby, generosity is the testament to man's freedom. The generous person is necessarily humble for two reasons:

1. The donor knows that his money in truth belongs to God, and that the recipient is the servant of God. Therefore, in reality he is giving God's money to His servant. This is why the generous person must grant favour to the recipient with utmost respect.
2. The generous person is aware that life is a cycle. Today he may be a strong generous donor, but tomorrow he might become a feeble, needy supplicant.

Only God never changes – as He says in His Noble Book *al-Qurʾānu l-Karīm*:

> *wa yabqā wajhu rabbika dhū l-jalāli wa l-ikrām*
> But forever will abide thy Sustainer's Self, full of majesty and glory.[186]

Epilogue

Al-Tanūkhī's aim in all his stories dealing with the theme of deliverance after hardship is to comfort his readers in the same manner that he himself was when he had to face his own hardship(s). The Muʿtazilite doctrine of 'Divine Justice' is reflected throughout his stories where the protagonist falls into hardship as a result of his reckless choice. The protagonist then attains deliverance after making the right choice, doing the right deed or uttering the right word. Man is the creator of his deeds and by making the right choice it is guaranteed that God will reward and deliver him. In other stories, however, the protagonist falls into hardship and suffers because of reasons outside his control. Nevertheless in this type of story the protagonist has to do the right deed or say the right word in order to attain deliverance because God is just and will compensate him for his suffering.

The staunch Muʿtazilite deals with a sensitive aspect of human life – the one that involves man's feelings and vulnerabilities, one that makes man need other people's help and the mercy of God rendered unto him. In such circumstances, the one in hardship is in need of what would strengthen him as he faces his hard times – but how can he be strong if his soul weakens in the face of hardship? The answer to this question lies in the spiritual nourishment that enables man to make his inner journey towards his creator. Al-Tanūkhī thus conveys a spiritual message through his stories. This message is given in order to have an effect on the dual aspects of man – his *heart* and his *intellect*. This is why al-Tanūkhī's steadfast Muʿtazilite narrative leaps between fiction and reality, between rational and spiritual stories. This is why he transmits his stories from all the various doctrines, schools of law, creeds and sects of Islam. Between heart and intellect (the rational and the spiritual), al-Tanūkhī's reader may become confused about the resolute Muʿtazilite. The stories appear to show a contrast between the author's rationality and his stories dealing with the main theme that reflects his spiritual inclinations. This anomaly might demonstrate that rationality has its limits when it comes to the issue of suffering and rationality stops where spirituality begins.

In his stories, al-Tanūkhī tells the story of man upon earth. Man falls upon hardship for some reason, and his distress drives him to make a journey from which he gains wisdom and the knowledge of God. Man thus gains a deeper understanding of himself and of the reason for his distress. He thereby learns the right word and he does the right deed, which is the critical confluence to achieve deliverance. It is seen that the influence of 'the word' derives from its being the manifestation of spirituality and wisdom, gained through the journey.

The link between hardship and the journey is the contrast between *ignorance* and *knowledge*; the parallel between the journey and deliverance is that between *knowledge* and *prosperity*.

Man's life comprises many contrasts between hardship and deliverance. These contrasts are reflections of the singular contrast of man's destiny – life on earth (hardship and journey) and life after death (deliverance). Life on earth is the journey that man makes whereby he gains the knowledge of God; thus, he endures his hardship with fortitude, patience, prayer and acceptance of God's destiny. What generates final deliverance is man's good deeds and the word that he learns during his journey on earth; through these he returns to his Sustainer and hence God forgives him and accepts his word.

Profane love is part of the *Absolute love*. Through the former man comes to understand his love for his creator. Knowledge is the basis of love; hence, there is a parallel between the journey (which denotes knowledge) and love.

Man's love for God is manifest through ritual prayer; supplication (*al-duʿāʾ*); and invocation of the name of God (*dhikr*). Man needs to express his spiritual feelings of profane love by being united with his beloved, as well as by the word (poetry or speech). Unrequited love causes the lover to fall into sadness and distress, and hence to suffer hardship. Love is the strength that allows the lover to endure his hardship and become determined to reunite with his beloved, either in his earthly life or in the hereafter.

This is why some stories end with the death of the lover; he chooses death in order to achieve the eternal reunion with his beloved, in the form of return to God the *Absolute* love. The distressed lover expresses his deep sadness through the word (poetry or speech) and it affects the hearts of others, who help him reunite with his beloved. *Generosity* is a part of the *Ultimate benevolence*. It is the material manifestation of spiritual feelings of love and pure morals. Generosity is the expression of man's love for his creator and for others. Love and generosity are the

manifestation of the relationship between hardship and deliverance. Both themes are in parallel – *love* is engendered from knowledge and is expressed through *the word*: *generosity* is engendered from love and is expressed through *the deed*. The right word and the right deed are in parallel. Through generosity man provides deliverance for the distressed, and he achieves his own deliverance through the approval of God with his generous deed. God forgives him his sins and rewards him for his good deed.

Man's life is a cycle. At one time he is the generous donor; at another time he is the recipient in need. When giving favour, man must always bear in mind that he is not superior to the recipient because one day he might become the recipient receiving favour. This is why humility is one of the fundamental tenets of generosity.

The relationship between the donor and the recipient rests on the respect of the former for the latter. This respect safeguards the recipient's honour as he receives the favour. Thus, the latter feels love, gratitude and respect for the donor; hence, he spreads the news about his generosity. When the donor respectfully offers his favour to the recipient he is, in reality, respecting himself and preserving his own honour.

The influence of the *right word* is the leitmotif that is constant in the foregoing themes of the three chapters. Man's right word (speech or poetry) is an inspiration from God. Man's word is a part of God's word and hence both words are in parallel. What brings about deliverance is the recipient's word; and what brings about God's forgiveness for man (and thus his eternal salvation) is man's word before the Merciful.

The three themes represent Man's cycle in respect to his relationship with God – taking in account the relationship between hardship and deliverance. The cycle is as follows:

Hardship–journey–knowledge–love–word/deed–God's generosity–deliverance.

Notes

Introduction

1. Throughout the book, the first date refers to AH (Anno Hegirae) and the second date refers to CE (Common Era).
2. Al-Dūrī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿAabbāsī al-Awwal* [Dirāsat Fī al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī wa al-Idārī wa al-Mālī], Baghdād, 1945, pp. 21ff.
3. Ibn al-Athīr, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī al-Karam al-Sahybānī (ʿIzz al-Dīn) (d. 630 AH/CE 1232) *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh*, Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī (ed.) Beirut, 1987, pp. 5/63, 73ff.
4. Ibid., pp. 5/99.
5. ʿUmar, Fārūq, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya: Dirāsa fī al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li al-Dawla al-ʿArabiyya al-Islāmiyya fī al-ʿAṣr al-ʿAbbāsī*, Baghdād, n.d., pp. 31, 81.
6. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil, pp. 5/165, 177ff.
7. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 5/371, 402ff. And see al-Dūri, *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿAabbāsī al-Awwal*, 188ff.
8. A Muʿtazilite issue related to their first principle 'Divine Unity', which states that the Qurʾān was created in time by God and is not eternal.
9. Hinds, *miḥna*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, VII/5.
10. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 6/3ff.
11. al-Dūri, *al-ʿAṣr al-ʿAabbāsī*, p. 203.
12. ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, pp. 213ff.
13. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 6/94.
14. Crone, Patricia, *Medieval Islamic political thought*, Edinburgh, 2004, p. 132.
15. Hinds, *miḥna*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, VII/6.
16. ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, p. 349ff.; see also Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 6/136ff.
17. See these independent states in ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, p. 439 and for more details see Kennedy, Hugh, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, Edinburgh, 2004, chapters 9–12.
18. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 7/206.
19. Cahen, 'Buwayhīds', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd, vol. I/1350, and see also ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, pp. 481ff.
20. Ibn al-Athīr, , al-Kāmil, 7/207ff.
21. Miskawayh, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Tajāribu al-Umam*, H. F. Amedroz (ed.) Baghdād, n.d., 2/231ff.
22. ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, p. 471.
23. ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, pp. 476ff.
24. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 7/404.

25. ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, p. 479.
26. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 7/404.
27. ʿImrān, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *al-Adab al-ʿArabī fī balāṭ ʿAḍud al-Dawla al-Buwayhī*, Damascus, 2002, pp. 26ff.
28. ʿUmar, *al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, p. 507.
29. The Sunnis believe that there are three main sources of religious authority, namely the Qurʾān, the Sunna of the Prophet and *(ijmāʿ)* the consensus of the umma (the community) as defined by the *ʿUlamāʾ* who had the upper hand in defining Islam especially after the *miḥna* (see Berkey, Jonathan P., *The formation of Islam: religion and society in the Near East, 600–1800*, Cambridge, 2003, 128ff.; and Crone, *Medieval Islamic political thought*, 125ff., 219ff.).
30. By the fourth/tenth century, Sūfism as a mystical dimension of Islam had become a very strong trend throughout the Muslim world. Sūfism has its roots in the ascetic movement that was a reaction against the social and political changes that took place after the establishment of the Umayyad caliphate (see P. J. Awn's article on Sūfīsm in *Encyclopaedia of Religion*). Two further developments over the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries paved the way for a fully developed articulation of Sūfism later on, namely the articulation of certain mystical concepts such as esoteric knowledge and annihilation and, second, 'the routinization of the mystical experience' one form of this being 'the bestowal by the master on his disciple of a *khirqa*, a worn and patched garment symbolic of the individual's indifference to worldly wealth' (see Berkey, *The formation of Islam*, p. 156). Generally speaking the Muʿtazilites were critical of the Sūfīs as they perceived them as 'antirational obscurantists at best and ignorant imposters at worst', especially with regard to the reports about miracles that were attributed to the Sūfīs, which they consider as 'plain sorcery' (see Karammustafa, Ahmet T., *Sūfīsm: the formation period*, Edinburgh, 2007, p. 22).
31. The *Shīʿa* of ʿAlī was a name given to those who believed that ʿAlī (the Prophet's cousin and son in law) should have been the leader of the Muslim community after the Prophet. The main belief within shīʿism, as developed in the following centuries, centres on the convention that leadership of the community passed from ʿAlī to his descendants after him.
32. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, p. 225.
33. Ghadīr Khumm is the place where the Prophet is said to have acknowledged ʿAlī as his successor in 10/632 during his farewell pilgrimage. See Cahen, *Buwayhids*, I/1350, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, p. 226.
34. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, pp. 225–8.
35. Ibid., p. 199.
36. Kraemer, Joel L., *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam*, Leiden, 1986, p. 52.
37. Mez, Adam (ed.) *Die Renaissance des Islams*, edited by H. Reckendorf,

Heidelberg, 1922, translated into English by S. K. Bukhassh and D. S. Margoliouth as *The Renaissance of Islam*, London, 1937.

38. For more details about Islamic humanism, see also Arkoun, Mohammed, *L'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle: Miskawayh, philosophe et historien*, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1982; and Makdisi, George, *The rise of humanism in classical Islam and the Christian West: with special reference to scholasticism*, Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
39. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam*, p. vii.
40. Fakkar, Rouchdi, *La délivrance après l'angoisse*, Cairo, 1955, p. 107.
41. Al-Najm, Wadīʿa Ṭaha, *al-Qaṣaṣ wa al-Quṣṣāṣ Fī al-Adab al-Islāmī*, Kuwait, 1972, pp. 11 ff; and Shaykh Mūsā, Muḥammad Khayr, *al-Nazʿa al-Qaṣaṣiyya fī al-Adab al-ʿArabī ḥattā al-Qarn al-Rābiʿ al-Hijrī: Dirāsa fī al-Nashʾa wa al-Taṭawwur wa al-mawqif al-Naqdī Min al-Qaṣṣ*, Kuwait, 2006, p. 13.
42. Norris, H. T., 'Qiṣaṣ elements in the Qurʾān', in A. F. L. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, R. B. Searjeant and G. R. Smith (eds) *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 259; Shaykh Mūsā, *al-Nazʿa al-Qaṣaṣiyya*, p. 19ff.
43. Shaykh Mūsā, *al-Nazʿa al-Qaṣaṣiyya*, p. 24.
44. Ibid., pp. 24ff., 29, 31.
45. Allen, Roger, *An introduction to Arabic literature*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 140; see Introduction to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, ʿAbd Allāh, Kalīla wa Dimna, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Azzām (ed.) 1981; Shaykh Mūsā, *al-Nazʿa al-Qaṣaṣiyya*, pp. 34ff.
46. Ulrich Marzolph, Richard van Leeuwen and Hassan Wassouf, *The Arabian Nights encyclopedia*, California, 2004, 1/xxiii.
47. See the introduction of Ṭāha, al-Ḥājirī to: al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr, al-Bukhalāʾ, Ṭāha al-Ḥājirī (ed.) Cairo, 1990, pp. 18ff; Shaykh Mūsā, *al-Nazʿa al-Qaṣaṣiyya*, pp. 43ff.
48. Bergé M., 'Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī', in Julia Ashtiany, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Latham, R. B. Serjeant and G. Rex Smith (eds) *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 115ff.
49. Allen, *An introduction to Arabic literature*, p. 148; Shaykh Mūsā, *al-Nazʿa al-Qaṣaṣiyya*, pp. 49ff.
50. Rowson, E. K.,'*Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*' in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Litetrature*, 1/123ff.
51. Beeston, A. F. L., Johnstone, T. M. Searjeant, R. B. and Smith, G. R. (eds) *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 127, 129.
52. Ibn Khallikān, Abū al-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [d. 681 AH/CE 1282], *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās (ed.), Beirut, 1971, 4/159.
53. In her article, 'Min Tārīkh Baghdād al-Ijtimāʿī Fī al-Fatratayn al-Buwayhiyya wa al-Suljūqiyya', Ṣafiyya Saʿāda charts the family tree of

the 'al-Tanūkhī's', commencing with Ḥassān b. Sinān (see Saʿāda, Ṣafiyya, *Dār Amwāj*, 1988).

54. Al-Tanūkhī, al-Qādī Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara*, ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī (ed.) 1971, 6/100.
55. *Nishwār*, 1/56; al-Tanūkhī, al-Qāḍī Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī, *Kitāb al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda*, ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī (ed.) 1978, 2/29.
56. *Nishwār*, 8/149ff.
57. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 4/162; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, *Tarīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām*, Beirut, n.d., 13/156, *Nishwār*, 3/136; *al-Faraj*, 3/262ff.; Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ: Irshād al-Arīb ilā Maʿrifat al-Adīb*, Iḥsanʿ Abbās (ed.), Beirut, 1993, 5/2280.
58. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2281.
59. Fahd, Badrī Muḥammad, *al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī wa Kitāb al-Nishwār*, Baghdād, 1966, p. 10.
60. Ibn al-ʿImād, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Falāḥ ʿAbd al-ḥayy b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAkarī al-Ḥanbalī al-Dimashqi [d. 1089 AH/CE 1679], *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab*, Maḥmūd al-Arnaʾūṭ (ed.) Damascus, 1989, 4/447.
61. Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ, al-Qurashī al-Ḥanafī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. Sālim, al-Jawāhir al-Muḍiyya Fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (ed.), Imbāba, 1993, 3/422. See the article on judges in al-Tanūkhī's *Nishwār* in Tillier, Mathieu, 'L'exemplarité chez al-Tanūkhī: les cadis dans le Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara', *Arabica*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2007.
62. *al-Faraj*, 3/262.
63. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/446.
64. Al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ and Akram al-Būshī (eds) 1989, 16/525. His teachers were Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Athram, Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī, Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān al-Nasawī, Abū Bakr Ibn Dāsa, Wāhib b. Muḥammad (the companion of Naṣr al-Jahḍamī), Wāhib b. Yaḥyā al-Māzinī, Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār (see Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, 1989, 16/525; Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tarīkh Baghdād, 13/155; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 4/159ff.).
65. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tarīkh Baghdād*, 13/155.
66. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/446.
67. *Nishwār*, 4/79.
68. Ibid., 4/79ff.
69. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, 1989, 16/525.
70. See ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, 'Introduction', *al-Faraj*, 1/35ff.
71. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/446.
72. *al-Faraj*, 3/263.
73. *Nishwār*, 1/1ff; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2280.

74. *al-Faraj*, 3/266; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2280. Al-Tanūkhī says that it was three years and a few months after being dismissed (in 359/969), that he returned to al-Ahwāz to take charge of Wāsiṭ as well (*al-Faraj*, 3/266). In one of his stories he confirms that he was reinstated by ʿAlī b. Hishām to Wāsiṭ, in the year 362/972 (see *al-Faraj*, 4/293).
75. In his Introduction to *al-Faraj*, ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī says that Iraq faced civil war in 364/974. The cause was the disagreement between ʿAḍud al-Dawla and his cousin ʿIzz al-Dawla [who in the end takes over the rule of Iraq]: so Ibn Baqiyya, the vizier of Bakhtyār, persecuted the Iraqis – he killed them, he confiscated their property, and expatriated the citizens. Al-Tanūkhī was one of those who were expelled, and he took refuge in al-Baṭīḥaʾ (ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, see 'Introduction', *al-Faraj*, 1/40).
76. *al-Faraj*, 1/173ff.
77. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 4/162.
78. *Al-Faraj*, 2/97ff.
79. Ibid., 1/73ff.
80. Ibid., 1/74.
81. Ibid., 1/106.
82. Ibid., 1/152. The editor ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī says that most likely the hardship to which al-Tanūkhī refers is when ʿAḍud al-Dawla became angry with him, in 371/981 – when the latter imprisoned al-Tanūkhī in his own house (*Al-Faraj*, 1/152, footnote 1).
83. *Al-Faraj*, 1/134, 2/188; see *Nishwār*, 4/82ff, 259ff; see ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī's 'Introduction' to *Al-Faraj*, 1/41ff.
84. *Nishwār*, 4/262. See the wedding speech in full in the book entitled *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa* by Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (translated by Elie A. Sālem, 1977, pp. 117ff.).
85. ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, 'Introduction', *Al-Faraj*, 1/43; ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, Introduction, *Nishwār*, 4/100, footnote no. 2.
86. ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī suggests that it seems to be that al-Tanūkhī feared the task, or else he felt that there was no point in becoming involved in such a matter. He felt that he was caught between two fires: if he were to talk to the caliph the latter would become angry, yet if he were to apologize ʿAḍud al-Dawla would become angry. Thus, he feigned illness (see ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, Introduction, *Al-Faraj*, 1/43).
87. Al-Tanūkhī talks of another hardship that he faced at the hands of ʿAḍud al-Dawla prior to this incident. He says that he was in Hamadhān with ʿAḍud al-Dawla when the latter was negotiating with the Qarāmiṭa. The messenger of the Qarāmiṭa (the negotiator between them and ʿAḍud al-Dawla) Abū Bakr b. Shāhawayh tells al-Tanūkhī that the latter intends to arrest al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād. When al-Tanūkhī was in the company of Abū al-Faḍl b. Abī Aḥmad al-Shīrāzī, he was indiscreet and told him what he had heard. Abū al-Faḍl then told ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who became angry with al-Tanūkhī (see *Nishwār*, 4/93ff.).
88. *Nishwār*, 4/100f; ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, 'Introduction', *Al-Faraj*, 1/43ff.

89. Fahd, *al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī*, p. 17.
90. ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, 'Introduction', *Al-Faraj*, 1/44.
91. Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ, *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍiyya*, 3/422f.
92. *Nishwār*, 2/207ff., 340, 342.
93. ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, 'Introduction', *al-Faraj*, 1/45.
94. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 16/525; Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tarīkh Baghdād*, 13/156; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/446; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 4/162; Ibn Taghrī Bardī al-Atābikī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhira*, Cairo, 1930, 4/168; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2280.
95. Al-Dahabī, *Siyar*, 16/525; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tarīkh Baghdād*, 13/155; Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ, *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍiyya*, n.d., p. 151; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/446; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 4/160; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, 4/168; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2280.
96. Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, Ṭaha al-Ḥājirī (ed.), Cairo, 1948, p. 224.
97. See the poem in Saqt al-Zand, al-Maʿarrī, Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, *Dīwān Saqt al-Zand*, N. Riḍā (ed.), Beirut, 1965, p. 178ff., and the beginning of the first verse is mentioned in Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/448.
98. *Nishwār*, 1/1, 12ff.
99. ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī, *Nishwār*, 'Introduction', 1/5 ff; *Nishwār*, 1/10.
100. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2280.
101. Ibn Abī al-Dunyā wrote a book entitled *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda* (Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd b. Sufyān, Mawsūʿat Rasāʾil Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, 1993) in which the author transmits *ḥadīth*(s), some stories and poetry on this subject. It is worth mentioning here that several of these *ḥadīth*s and stories are found in al-Tanūkhī's compilation of the same title – indeed al-Tanūkhī mentions the name of Ibn Abī al-Dunyā in his transmission. (See for example the *ḥadīth*: 'Ask God from His grace, God likes to be asked and the best worship is waiting for that deliverance granted by God'. This *ḥadīth* appears in Ibn Abī al-Dunyā's book, *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda*, pp. 11ff.; also in al-Tanūkhī's book *al-Faraj Baʿd al-Shidda*, 1/109f.).
102. *Al-Faraj*, 1/52.
103. Ibid., 1/53.
104. Ibid., 1/53.
105. Ibid., 1/54.
106. Ibid., 1/44.
107. Ibid., 1/52.
108. Al-Tanūkhī, Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī, *al-Mustajād min Faʿalāt al-Ajwād*, Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (ed.), Beirut, 1992, 'Introduction', p. 3; and see Fakkar, Rouchdi, *La délivrance après l'angoisse*, Cairo, 1955, p. 31. Fakkar says: 'nous avons découvert 15 autres anecdotes reprise dans le *Mustajād* et qui se trouvent déjà dans le *Faraj*. On peut constater que ces

anecdotes sont moins détaillées dans le premier ouvrage que dans le second: al-Tanūkhī les aurait donc résumées (Fakkar, *La délivrance*, p. 31).

109. Kurd ʿAlī, *al-Mustajād*, 'Introduction', p. 3.
110. In his book entitled *ʿal-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasa* al-Tawḥīdī exemplifies how the non-Arabs attacked them – notwithstanding, al-Tawḥīdī refutes their claims (see Al-Tawḥīdī, Abū Ḥayyān [d. 400AH/ CE1010], *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasa*, Aḥmad Amīn and Aḥmad al-Zayn (eds), Beirut, n.d., 1/70–96).
111. Seidensticker, T., 'al-Tanūkhī', in Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds), *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*, vol. 2, London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 757f.
112. Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ, *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍiyya*, 3/422f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/447; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 4/160f; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2281f.
113. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 4/446; see also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 5/2281.
114. Al-Tanūkhī, al-Qādī Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa Akhbār al-Mudhākara,* translated by D. S. Margoliouth, *The table-talk of a Mesopotamian judge*, London, 1922, p. v.
115. Seidensticker, ʿal-Tanūkhī, 2/757.
116. Qurʾān 94: 5–6.
117. *Al-Faraj*, 1/ 59f.
118. Abū Zayd, Naṣr Ḥāmid, *Ishkāliyyāt al-Qirāʾa wa Āliyyāt al-Taʾwīl*, Casablanca, 1994, p. 81.
119. Gimaret, 'Muʿtazila', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, VII/783.
120. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, ʿal-Mukhtaṣar Fī Uṣūl al-Dīnʾ (pp. 161–253) in ʿAmāra, Muḥammad (ed.), *Rasāʾil al-ʿAdl wa al-Tawhīd*, Cairo, 1971, pp. 170ff., 174ff., 199.
121. This is the view of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī about the attributes of the essence. On the other hand, his son Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933) held the same opinion, but for him, 'because of His essence' meant 'because of his states' (*aḥwāl*) or in other words 'by that which He is upon in His essence' (*li-mā huwa ʿalayhi fī dhātihi*), the majority of the Muʿtazilites including ʿAbd al-Jabbār followed this view of the attributes of the essence (see Gilliot, C., 'Attributes of God', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 3, edited by Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas and Everett Rowson, Brill, 2008).
122. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, p. 180ff.
123. Van Ess, '*Muetazilah*', in *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, 2nd edn, vol. 9, p. 6317.
124. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 184ff., 190ff.
125. Ibid., p. 193.
126. Ibid., p. 193ff.
127. Gimaret, 'Muʿtazila', VII /783.

128. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 202ff.
129. Qurʾān 40: 31.
130. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār [d. 415AH/CE1025], *Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa* (Book of the five fundamentals), translated by Richard C. Martin and Mark R. Woodward and Dwi S. Atmaja, Oxford, 1997, p. 96.
131. Ibid., p. 97.
132. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, p. 208ff.; see also Van Ess, '*Muetazilah*'.
133. Qurʾān 14: 4, 16: 93.
134. Gimaret, 'Muʿtazila', p. 783.
135. *Makālāt*, 251, l. 4 cited by Gimaret, 'Muʿtazila'.
136. Gimaret, 'Muʿtazila'.
137. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, p. 211.
138. Qurʾān 9:126. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa*, p. 97.
139. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, p. 227.
140. Muʿtazili theology continued to exert a certain attraction in Baghdād and in Iran, among jurists belonging to the school of Abū Ḥanīfa (Van Ess, '*Muetazilah*', p. 5). The connection between these two schools is reflected in the following story: 'Al-Tanūkhī transmits from Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Qannash who says that he was in the court of Sayf al-Dawla [al-Ḥamdanī] where he used to attend with Abū Naṣr al-Binṣ. The narrator says that al-Binṣ was one of our fellow men in the two schools. Al-Tanūkhī comments meaning: in jurisprudence [he followed] Abū Ḥanīfa and in theology the school of The People of Justice and Unity' (*Nishwār*, 1/95). The Muʿtazilites preferred to call themselves 'The People of Justice and Unity' (*ahlu l-ʿadli wa l-tawḥīd*).
141. *Nishwār*, 1/1
142. Qurʾān 37: 139–47.
143. *Al-Faraj*, 1/73ff.
144. Al-Qaḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, p. 180.
145. Al-Zamakhsharī, Abū al-Qāsim Jār Allāh Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar [d. 538 AH/CE 1144], *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanzīl wa ʿUyūn al-Aqāwīl fī Wujūh al-Taʾwīl*, n.d., 3/354.
146. *Nishwār*, 2/207.
147. Qurʾān 2/55. See *Nishwār*, 2/207, footnote 4.
148. *Nishwār*, 2/208.
149. Qurʾān 7: 179.
150. *Al-Faraj*, 1/76.
151. Ibid., 1/143–4.
152. See, al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 233ff.
153. ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī explains this answer by saying that since they are sharing the house, then this genie should pay half its rent (see *Nishwār*, 2/342 footnote 1).
154. *Nishwār*, 2/342.
155. Qurʾān 7: 27.

156. *Nishwār*, 2/339 ff.
157. See Lane, E. W., *Arabic–English lexicon*, revised format, Cambridge, 1984, *n.z.l.*
158. *Nabīdh* is 'a kind of beverage, made of dates, and of raisins, that is must; and of honey; i.e. mead; and of wheat, and of barley … which one throws into a vessel or skin of water, and leaves it until it ferments and becomes intoxicating, or not so long as to become intoxicating' (Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *n.b.dh*).
159. Qurʾān 15: 42.

Chapter 1: The Journey

1. I have also searched for the root *sfr,* but the verses that contain the word *safar* do not manifest the journey theme. As for the root *r.ḥ.l*, I found only the verses: *li-īlāfi qurayshin, īlāfihim riḥlata l-shitāʾi wa l-ṣayf*. 'For the composing of Koraish, their composing for the winter and summer caravan!' (Qurʾān 106: 1).
2. Qurʾān 22: 46.
3. Qurʾān 31: 31.
4. Qurʾān 29: 20.
5. Qurʾān 30: 8–9.
6. Qurʾān 17: 66.
7. Qurʾān 28: 29–30.
8. Qurʾān 17: 1.
9. Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, n.d., 2/437.
10. al-Qāshānī (attributed to Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥyi al-Dīn) *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, Muṣṭafā Ghālib (ed.), Beirut, 1978, 1/705f.
11. Qurʾān 12: 19.
12. Qurʾān 12: 94, 96.
13. Al-Ibshīhī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf*, ʿAbd Allāh Anīs al-Ṭabbāʿ (ed.), Beirut, 1981, p. 284.
14. Al-Ṭabarsī, Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Aʿlamī (ed.), Beirut, 1972, p. 240.
15. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad [d. 505 AH/CE 1111], *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Beirut, n.d., 2/223.
16. Al-Hajwīrī [d. 469 AH/CE 1077] *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, dirāsa wa tarjama wa taʿlīq Isʿād ʿAbd al-Hādī Qandīl, Egypt, 1974, 2/591; al-Qushayrī, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd Ibn al-Sharīf (eds) n.d., 2/566; and Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥyi al-Dīn [d. 638 AH/CE 1240] *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, ʿUthmān Yaḥyā, Cairo (11 vols), 1977, 5/423; Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1981, 7/69f, 111f.
17. al-Hajwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, 2/591; Ṭāsh Kubrā Zāda, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Ṣiyāda: fī mawḍūʿāt al-ʿUlūm*, Kāmil Kāmil Bakrī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abū al-Nūr (eds) Cairo, n.d., 3/276.
18. See also, by way of example, al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, p. 284; al-Qushayrī,

al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya, 2/570; and Ṭāsh Kubrā Zāda, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda*, 3/276.

19. See *Al-Faraj*, pp. 66ff.
20. Ibid., 1/99.
21. Qurʾān 65: 3.
22. *Al-Faraj*, 1/125ff.
23. Ibid., 1/198.
24. Abū Muḥammad Sufyān b. ʿUyayna b. Abī ʿImrān Maymūn al-Hilālī. Born in al-Kūfa in 107/725, he later travelled with his father to Mecca. He was an *imām*, a scholar, a reliable authority and pious ascetic; it is unanimously agreed as to the authenticity of his *ḥadīth*s. A man said that one day he was walking with Sufyān and a beggar asked for charity, but he had nothing to give, so he cried. When the narrator asked Sufyān the reason for his tears the latter answered: 'What disaster is greater than when someone hopes to get something good from you, yet he does not receive it'. Sufyān died in Mecca in the year 198/813 (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 2/391–3).
25. *Al-Faraj*, 1/65.
26. Ibid., 1/67.
27. Ibid., 1/76f.
28. Ibid., 1/82.
29. Ibid., 1/100.
30. Ibid., p. 101.
31. Ibid., pp. 100f.
32. Ibid., 3/96.
33. Ibid., 1/66.
34. Al-Thaʿlabī, Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ al-Musammā ʿArāʾis al-Majālis*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sayyid al-Ahl (ed.) Singapore, 1963, p. 70.
35. Ibid., pp.74f.
36. *Al-Faraj*, 1/70.
37. Ibid., 1/73.
38. Al-Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, pp. 553ff.
39. *Al-Faraj*, 1/66.
40. Ibid., 1/73.
41. Ibid., 1/99.
42. Ibid., 3/96.
43. Qurʾān 28:7; *Al-Faraj*, 1/75.
44. Narrated in verses of the Qurʾān; see *Al-Faraj*, 1/76f.
45. Ibid., 4/133.
46. Ibid., 1/101.
47. Ibid., 1/126.
48. *Al-Faraj*, 1/65f.
49. Ibid., 1/99f. Note: the title of this story is a part of a verse from the Qurʾān, 65: 3.

50. Ibid., 1/198.
51. *Al-Faraj*, 1/65f.
52. Qurʾān 20: 121–2.
53. *Al-Faraj*, 1/65f.
54. Ibid., 1/65.
55. Qurʾān 15: 28–9.
56. Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, n.d., 1/271. See the explanation of the Qurʾān attributed to Ibn ʿArabī. As his interpretation of verse (Qurʾān 2: 30); he interprets, 'a successor (*khalīfa*) who adopts My morals, to be characterized with My attributes, who carries out My order, rules My creatures … calls them to My obedience' (*Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, 1/36).
57. See Qurʾān 1: 30–3.
58. See the interpretation by Ibn Kathīr, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl [d. 774 AH/CE 1373], *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*, Beirut, 1966, 1/126.
59. *Al-Faraj*, 1/65.
60. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad [d. 415 AH/CE 1025], *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa*, ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān (ed.), 1965, p. 302.
61. Ibid., p. 309.
62. Ibid., pp. 323f.
63. Ibid., p. 331.
64. Ibid., pp. 333ff.
65. Ibid., p. 510. '*Taklīf*' means imposing a requisition or constraint upon someone. It demands an action in which there is problem and difficulty. The verb is used seven times in several forms in the Qurʾān, to express the concept that Allah does not require of anyone what is beyond his capacity. Technically, it means the necessity that bears upon the creatures of Allah to believe and act as He has revealed unto them. It is therefore defined legally (by the majority of canonists), as the requiring (*ilzām*) of an action that is intrinsically difficult and troublesome. By this definition, it applies only to those things necessarily required and to those things forbidden (*al-wājib* and *al-ḥarām*). (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 8, p. 631).
66. Qurʾān 51: 56.
67. Qurʾān 7: 12.
68. Qurʾān 7: 20.
69. Al-Qāshānī (attributed to Ibn ʿArabī), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾan al Karīm*, 1978, 1/426ff.
70. Qurʾān 20: 121f.
71. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Beirut, 1956: *a.r.ḍ.*
72. Qurʾān 17: 24.
73. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *Kh.f.ḍ.*
74. Qurʾān 65: 3. Al-Faraj 1/99ff.
75. Qurʾān 65: 2–3.
76. Daniel Beaumont says that a 'sea voyage [is] a commonplace metaphor

for life' (Beaumont, Daniel, 'In the second degree: fictional technique in al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shiddaʾ Arabic and Middle Eastern Literature*, vol. I, no. 2, 1998, pp. 125–39.

77. According to Firestone, 'The Muslim exegetes of the first two Islamic centuries differed about which of his sons Abraham was commanded to sacrifice. They approached the question in different ways and no consensus prevailed. … A quantitative study of the early exegetical literature suggests that most Qurʾanic exegetes until about the middle of the second/ninth century, regarded Isaac as the intended victim, but later the choice of Ishmael gained favour and this has prevailed until the present day. See Reuven Firestone, 'Abraham', in Jane Dammen McAuliffe (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, Brill, 2001, vol. 1, p. 10.
78. Beaumont, 'In the second degree', p. 129.
79. Qurʾān 85: 21–2.
80. Qurʾān 24: 35.
81. *Al-Faraj*, 1/66.
82. Story from *Al-Faraj*, 1/198ff.
83. Ibid., 1/198.
84. Ibid., 1/199.
85. Ibid., 1/200f.
86. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *m.th.l.*
87. Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Akhlāq wa al-Siyar aw Risāla fī Mudāwāt al-Nufūs wa Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq wa al-Zuhd fī al-Radhāʿil*, Iyra Riyāḍ (ed.), Absala, 1980, p. 32.
88. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *w.f.y.*
89. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *k.b.d.*
90. See the poetry of Ibn al-Dumayna and Qays b. Dhurayḥ in the book entitled *Khalq al-Insān Fi al-Lugha* (Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Aḥmad Khān (ed.) 1986, pp. 253ff.); see also Al-Mutanabbī [d.354 AH/CE 965], *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barqūqī (ed), Beirut, 1980, 3/283f.
91. Ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAlī [d. 40 AH/CE 661], *Sajʿ al-Ḥamām fī-Ḥikam al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ʿAlī al-Jundī, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maḥjūb (eds), Beirut, n.d., p. 409.
92. Qurʾān 15: 42.
93. Qurʾān 26: 80.
94. *al-Mustajād*, p. 68.
95. *Al-Faraj*, 4/378.
96. Ibid., 4/402.
97. Ibid., 1/189.
98. Ibid., 2/316.
99. *Nishwār*, 2/205.
100. *Al-Faraj*, 1/356.
101. *Nishwār*, 8/149.
102. *Al-Faraj*, 3/16.

103. Ibid., 3/5.
104. Ibid., 3/16; *al-Mustajād*, p. 121.
105. *Al-Faraj*, 4/129.
106. *Nishwār*, 1/225.
107. *Al-Faraj*, 1/173; *Nishwār*, 4/93.
108. *Al-Faraj*, 1/6.
109. Ibid., 1/77.
110. Ibid., 1/251; *al-Mustajād*, p. 11.
111. Ibid., 1/251; *al-Mustajād*, p. 11.
112. *al-Mustajād*, p. 120.
113. *Al-Faraj*, 2/191.
114. Ibid., 1/379, 4/49.
115. Ibid., 1/194.
116. Ibid., 1/287.
117. Ibid., 2/144.
118. Ibid., 2/144.
119. Ibid., 2/29.
120. Ibid., 2/164; *al-Mustajād*, p.144.
121. Ibid., 1/356; *Nishwār*,7/130.
122. *Al-Faraj*, 1/180.
123. Ibid., 3/326.
124. Ibid., 3/326.
125. Ibid., 1/270, 2/34, 2/180.
126. Ibid., 1/281.
127. Ibid., 3/166.
128. Ibid., 2/26.
129. Ibid., 3/323.
130. Ibid., 1/249, 274; *Nishwār*, 3/104, 6/34.
131. *Nishwār*, 1/329, 331.
132. Ibid., 1/56.
133. *Al-Faraj*, 3/119.
134. *Nishwār*, 3/264, 8/178.
135. *Al-Faraj*, 4/63, *Nishwār*, 3/20.
136. *Nishwār*, 3/93, 5/36, 7/262.
137. *Al-Faraj*, 2/168.
138. *Al-Faraj*, 1/249, 2/36, 2/40–1, 3/139ff., 4/141ff., 4/162ff., 4/300f., 4/319ff.; *Nishwār*, 3/105, 5/146, 7/98.
139. *Nishwār*, 2/166.
140. *Nishwār*, 5/146.
141. *Al-Faraj*, 2/167.
142. See *Al-Faraj,* 1/202f. This story is about a man who commits a crime during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He runs away to the mountains and wilderness. He then decides to petition ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān – thereby, we understand from mention of the caliph's name that the man went to Damascus.

143. See *Al-Faraj,* 1/287ff. In this story, it is Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik who dispatched the protagonist to Iraq, which means he was sent from Damascus. The protagonist's enemy then captured him in Africa. However, it is not mentioned whether he returned to Damascus before travelling to Africa.
144. Ibid., 2/36, 40, 41.
145. Ibid., 2/191.
146. See *Al-Faraj*, 3/206f. The editor states 'al-Baṣra' in another manuscript. In this story, the places are identified indirectly through the name of the protagonist, and Caliph Muʿāwiya. However, the destination of the return journey 'al-Kūfa' is actually given in the story.
147. See *Al-Faraj,* 4/140ff. In this story, the protagonist is supposed to go to Damascus by the way of al-Samāwa. But on the way war breaks out and the protagonist returns to Hayt then Baghdād. From there, he was sent to Shīrāz.
148. Ibid., 4/181ff.
149. *Nishwār*, 2/172.
150. *al-Mustajād*, pp. 120f.
151. Ibid., pp. 144ff.
152. *Al-Faraj*, 1/240, 242.
153. See *Al-Faraj,* 1/376. Baghdād is identified indirectly through the name of the Caliph al-Manṣūr.
154. See *Al-Faraj*, 2/180. Al-Madīna is identified indirectly through the protagonist's name. Moreover, the return journey is not mentioned – al-Tanūkhī says, 'and he went quickly (after running away from prison) until he was safe'.
155. Ibid., 2/254ff.
156. Ibid., 2/268f.
157. Ibid., 3/61ff.
158. Ibid., 3/119ff.
159. Ibid., 3/124.
160. Ibid., 3/168.
161. Ibid., 4/83ff.
162. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/135f. The story is about a group going to al-Ḥāʾir, in Ajamat Bānqayyā, a lion carries off one of them. The protagonist retrieves the man's donkey and all it carries; he intends to take it to the man's family in Baghdād, but he first continues his journey to al-Ḥāʾir (thence to Baghdād). It is the protagonist's hardship to think that a lion killed one of his friends. However, the lion did not kill the friend, instead, it devoured a pig. The man escapes and returns home to Baghdād. When the protagonist completes his journey to al-Ḥāʾir and returns to Baghdād, he goes to his friend's family to give them the belongings of his friend, and it is there that he finds his friend alive and well.
163. Ibid., 4/170f.
164. Ibid., 4/238.

165. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/316ff. The protagonist first aims to travel to Wāsiṭ, but when he finds out that his beloved is going to al-Baṣra he changes his destination to hers.
166. *Nishwār*, 1/215f.
167. See *Nishwār,* 2/18ff. Baghdād is mentioned indirectly 'when we arrived in the presence of the Caliph to complain'. The return journey also is intimated by the sentence 'and we went out' (*wa kharajnā*).
168. Ibid., 2/37f.
169. Ibid., 3/104ff.
170. Ibid., 3/161.
171. See *Nishwār,* 5/36f. Baghdād is referred to as *madīnatu-l-salām*, and the encampment of the caliph (with his retinue) is a place near *qabru l-Nudhūr*, which they passed by.
172. Ibid., 5/135.
173. Ibid., 5/141.
174. Ibid., 7/262f.
175. *al-Mustajād*, p. 53f, 63.
176. See *Al-Faraj*, 1/177. Neither places are mentioned, but we can interpolate them from ''Alī b. Abī Ṭālib', and Aʿrābī'.
177. See *Al-Faraj*, 3/211ff. The protagonist's initial destination is ʿal-Kūfaʾ, but he finds deliverance on the way, in Fayd.
178. Ibid., 4/63ff.
179. Ibid., 4/234ff.
180. Ibid., 4/241ff.
181. *Nishwār*, 2/143.
182. Ibid., 4/206f.
183. Ibid., 5/90ff.
184. Ibid., 7/85ff.
185. *al-Mustajād*, p. 66ff.
186. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/144 *zawraq*; *Al-Faraj*, 4/318ff *Zallāl*; *Al-Faraj*, 4/323 *sammāriyya*; *Al-Faraj*, 4/325 *safīna*; *Nishwār*, 8/173 *sufun*.
187. See *Nishwār,* 3/105. Here, the ship is mentioned indirectly 'I stayed at sea for months.'
188. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/141, 403ff, 408; *al-Mustajād*, p. 67ff.
189. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/135f, 170; *Nishwār,* 1/215, 329f, 7/250.
190. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/170f; *Nishwār*, 1/175, 7/250.
191. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/141f, 405ff.; *Nishwār,* 3/264ff., 7/250, 8/173; *al-Mustajād*, p. 67ff.
192. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/171; *Nishwār*, 1/175, 7/251.
193. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/142ff.
194. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/131.
195. *Al-Faraj*, 4/141; *al-Mustajād*, p. 76ff.
196. *Al-Faraj*, 4/170.
197. *Nishwār*, 7/250.
198. *Al-Faraj*, 4/141f; *Nishwār*, 3/265, 7/250, 8/173.

199. *Al-Faraj*, 4/405ff.
200. *al-Mustajād*, p. 67.
201. *Al-Faraj*, 4/405.
202. *Al-Faraj*, 2/193, 197, 4/319ff, *Nishwār*, 3/79, 7/124.
203. *Al-Faraj*, 4/133f, *Nishwār*, 7/87.
204. *Al-Faraj*, 4/319.
205. *Al-Faraj*, 3/140, 4/324, *Nishwār*, 7/87.
206. *Al-Faraj*, 4/324, *Nishwār*, 3/79.
207. *Nishwār*, 1/329.
208. *Nishwār*, 7/87.
209. *Al-Faraj*, 4/144, *al-Mustajād*, p. 121f.
210. *Al-Faraj*, 3/140, *al-Mustajād*, p. 51, *al-Mustajād*, p. 121f.
211. *Al-Faraj*, 4/323, 4/234, 4/ 325, *Nishwār*, 5/145, *al-Mustajād*, p. 144.
212. *Al-Faraj*, 4/37.
213. *Al-Faraj*, 4/319.
214. *Al-Faraj*, 4/405.
215. *Al-Faraj*, 4/405.
216. *Nishwār*, 8/272.
217. *Nishwār*, 2/37.
218. *Nishwār*, 1/56.
219. *Al-Faraj*, 2/29ff.
220. *Al-Faraj*, 4/316ff.
221. Qurʾān, 96: 3–5.
222. Muslim, Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Abū Qutayba Naẓar b. Muḥammad al-Fāriyābī (ed.), Saudi Arabia, 2004, 1/457.
223. Qurʾān, 2: 187.
224. Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, 1977, 1/338.
225. Al-Nābulsī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām fī Taʿbīr al-Manām*, Beirut, 1991, p. 619.
226. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 1956, *b.s.t.*
227. Qurʾān, 30: 21.
228. Qurʾān, 47: 15.
229. *Nishwār*, 2/205f.
230. Qurʾān, 9: 6.
231. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 6/8; see also Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa*, p. 697ff.
232. *al-Mustajād*, pp. 66ff.
233. Zayd b. Muhalhil al-Ṭāʾī. He was well-known to be a courageous, brave, tolerant and generous equestrian and poet. He attended upon the Prophet Muḥammad and was converted to Islam. The Prophet named him Zayd al-Khayr (the good). On his way back to his tribe of Ṭayʾ he caught fever and died (Al-Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj [d. 356 AH/CE 967], *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Aḥmad Ṣaqr (ed.), Beirut, n.d., 17/172ff.).
234. Qurʾān, 28: 30.
235. Qurʾān, 47: 15.

236. See Al-ʿAẓma, Nadhīr, *al-Miʿrāj wa al-Ramz al-Ṣūfī (qirāʾa thāniya li-al-Turāth)*, Beirut, 1982, the section on Hādhā Miʿrāj al-Nabī, p. 130.
237. Al-Nābulsī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, p. 580.
238. *Al-Faraj*, 2/269f. In *The Thousand and One Nights*, the same story is found with slight differences: (1) there is no mention of the neighbour judge. (2) In Egypt the protagonist sleeps in a mosque near a house. (3) Thieves break into the house, the governor comes to the rescue with his guards but the thieves escape, the protagonist is found in the mosque, he is beaten and imprisoned for three days then brought before the governor of Egypt who is the one who laughs at the protagonist and is the one who saw three times in his dream that he was going to find his wealth in Baghdād (describing the protagonist's home). (4) Finally, the governor gives the protagonist money for his return journey back home where he finds his wealth (see MacNaghten, W. H., *Alf Layla wa Layla*, India, 1839, 2/209–10). Daniel Beaumont makes a comparison between al-Tanūkhi's version and that of *The Thousand and One Nights*. Describing similarities and differences between both stories, Beaumont states that: 'Those things found in al-Tanūkhī's version, but not in Shahrazād's version, add many nice social details to the former, and this reader considers al-Tanūkhī's version much superior' (Beaumont, 'In the second degree', p. 133). The same story is found in Paulo Coelho's *The Alchemist*. The story is about a young shepherd who – in a wrecked church in Andalusia – sees in his dream that his treasure is in Egypt. He travels to Egypt where he is found by Arab 'refugees from the tribal wars', he is beaten by them 'He was bruised and bleeding, his clothing was torn to shreds, and he felt that death was near. And, although his mouth was bleeding and swollen, he told his attackers that he had twice dreamed of a treasure hidden near the Pyramids of Egypt. The man who appeared to be the leader of the group … said: "and you'll learn that a man shouldn't be so stupid. Two years ago, right here on this spot, I had a recurrent dream, too. I dreamed that I should travel to the fields of Spain and look for a ruined church where shepherds and their sheep slept. In my dream there was a sycamore growing out of the ruins of the sacristy, and I was told that, if I dug at the roots of the sycamore, I would find a hidden treasure. … The boy stood up shakily, and looked once more at the Pyramids … his heart bursting with joy because now he knew where his treasure was"' (Paulo Coelho, *The Alchemist*, Harper, 2006, pp. 154–5). The story ends with the boy returning back to the wrecked church in Andalusia, digging and finding his treasure.
239. Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *j.l.l.*
240. See Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *s.r.ʿ*.
241. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *s.r.ʿ*.
242. Qurʾān, 101: 8–9.
243. Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, n.d., 4/280.
244. Al-Nābulsī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, p. 490.

245. Qurʾān, 42: 27.
246. Qurʾān, 12: 99.
247. Al-Nābulsī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, pp. 619f.
248. Al-Nābulsī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, p. 40.
249. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *k.t.b*.
250. Qurʾān 51/58.
251. Qurʾān 39: 53.
252. Qurʾān 53: 13–18.
253. *Nishwār*, 6/124–8.
254. [Ibrāhīm] b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. He rebelled against al-Manṣūr when the latter persecuted the dynasty of Abū Ṭālib. He was killed in Bākhamrā in 145/762 (see al-Iṣfahānī, *ʿAbū al-Faraj, Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Aḥmad Ṣaqr (ed.), Beirut, n.d., p. 315ff; Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī wa huwa Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk wa man kāna fi Zamāni Kullin Minhum*, Ṣidqī Jamīl al-ʿAṭṭār (ed.), Beirut, 1998, 9/210ff; Al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān [d. 748 AH/CE 1348], *Tarīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa al-Aʿlām*, ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (ed.), 1991, *ref*: the years 141–160/758–76, pp. 36ff.).
255. Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAmmār b. al-ʿAryān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ḥuṣayn al-Tamīmī al-Māzinī al-Baṣrī. Born in Mecca in 56/675, 68/687 or 70/689. He was one of the seven reciters of the Qurʾān. A scholar of the Qurʾān, Arabic language, grammar, *adab* and poetry. Abū ʿAmr died in al-Kūfa in 154/770, 156/772, or 159/775 (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 3/466ff.).
256. Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr [d. 255 AH/CE 869], *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, ʿAb al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (ed.), Cairo, 1965, 2/124.
257. Ibid., p. 163.
258. See this last continuation detailed in *Nishwār*, 6/127f.
259. Imruʾ al-Qays [d. before 80 AH/CE 545], *Dīwān*, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ed.), Egypt, 1958, p. 18.
260. Clouston, W. A. (ed.) *Arabian poetry for English readers*, London, 1986, p. 10.
261. The horse may also be employed for love and chivalry; in the case of Zayd al-Khayl the horse is a spiritual element.
262. Qurʾān, 3: 59.
263. Qurʾān, 20: 105–7.
264. Qurʾān, 20: 108.
265. Qurʾān, 20: 109.
266. *Nishwār*, 2/144.

Chapter 2: Love

1. Qurʾān, 15: 28–9.
2. See Qurʾān, 2: 30–1.
3. See Qurʾān, 2: 36, 38 and 20: 123.
4. See Qurʾān, 2: 37 and 7: 23.

5. See Qurʾān, 11: 90.
6. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 4/283.
7. Ibid., 4/283.
8. See Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1972, 2/82f. As for *al-rān* it is mentioned in al-Futuḥāt. The verb is *rāna* (see Qurʾān, 83: 14) and the verbal noun is *al-rayn*.
9. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 4/283.
10. Ibid., 4/272.
11. Ibid., 4/271.
12. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1974, 3/101.
13. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 4/271.
14. Ibid., 4/273, 290ff.
15. Ibid., 4/276ff.
16. Qurʾān, 39: 6.
17. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 4/281.
18. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *j.n.d*.
19. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1974, 3/101.
20. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1972, 2/340.
21. Ibid., 2/313f.
22. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1972, 2/248f.
23. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 4/330.
24. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma fi al-Ilf wa al-Ullāf*, Fārūq Saʿd (ed.), Beirut, 1975, p. 61.
25. Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (ed.), Cairo, 1964, 2/166f.
26. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, Ṣābir Yūsuf (ed.), Beirut, 1982, p. 119.
27. Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [d. 597 AH/CE 1201], *Dhamm al-Hawā*, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (eds), 1962, p. 293.
28. Ibn al-Sarrāj, Abū Muḥammad Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn [d. 500 AH/CE 1106], *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUshshāq*, Beirut, 1958, 1/11f.
29. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 122.
30. Ibid., p. 65.
31. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, 1964, 2/169f.
32. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, pp. 73, 173.
33. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Dhamm al-Hawā*, p. 297.
34. Ibid., p. 299.
35. Ibid., p. 228.
36. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, pp. 70f.
37. Ibid., p. 258.
38. *Al-Faraj*, 4/306.
39. For the different forms and meanings of the root(*k.l.f*), see Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-ʿArab and Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon* (*k.l.f*) and see Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 33.

40. *Al-Faraj*, 4/306.
41. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *ḥ.b.b*, and see Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 26.
42. *Al-Faraj*, 4/306.
43. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *ʿs.h.q*.
44. *Al-Faraj*, 4/333.
45. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *ʿ.l.q.*
46. *Al-Faraj*, 4/340.
47. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *j.m.ʿ*
48. *Al-Faraj*, 4/343.
49. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *w.j.d*.
50. *Al-Faraj*, 4/345.
51. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *w.q.ʿ*
52. *Al-Faraj*, 4/345.
53. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *a.l.f.*
54. *Al-Faraj*, 4/349.
55. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *h.w.y*, see also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 30f.
56. *Al-Faraj*, 4/416.
57. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *h.y.m*, see also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 52f.
58. *Al-Faraj*, 2/289.
59. See Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *sh.gh.f*.
60. *Al-Faraj*, 2/289.
61. See, Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, (*w.l.h*); see also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 53.
62. *Nishwār*, 5/89.
63. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon* (*ṣ.b.b*); see also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 31f.
64. *Nishwār*, 5/89.
65. See, Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *gh.r.m* ; see also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 52.
66. *al-Mustajād*, p. 50.
67. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, (*sh.w.q*).
68. *al-Mustajād*, p. 50. *Rasīsu l-jawā* Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya states that although some people consider the word *rasīs* as one of the words of love, he himself does not. Accordingly, he says: ʿ*al-rasīs* is a constant thing, and when referring to love it signifies love in its constant and lasting form. This word could be from '*rass*', to describe a fever that is at its beginning, so they [people] attribute the heat and burning of love to the burning (*rasīs*) of a fever' (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 48).
69. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon (j.w.y)*; see also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, p. 35.
70. See the different meanings derived from the same root of each term of the

lexicon of love in Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-ʿArab and Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*.

71. See *Nishwār*, 5/89.
72. Qurʾān, 25: 54.
73. Qurʾān, 56: 31.
74. Qurʾān, 56: 22–3.
75. Qurʾān, 56:35–7.
76. *Al-Faraj*, 4/340.
77. Campbell, Joseph, *The hero with a thousand faces*, London, 1993, pp. 73–4.
78. *Al-Faraj*, 4/393.
79. Qurʾān, 33: 4.
80. *Al-Faraj*, 4/316ff.
81. *Al-Faraj*, 4/345ff.
82. *Al-Faraj*, 4/328ff.
83. *Nishwār*, 5/168f.
84. *al-Mustajād*, pp. 126ff.
85. *Al-Faraj*, 4/354ff.
86. *Nishwār*, 6/256ff.
87. *al-Mustajād*, pp. 49ff.
88. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, p. 137.
89. Ibid., pp. 137f.
90. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, pp. 128f.
91. Ibid., p. 130.
92. *Al-Faraj*, 4/309ff.
93. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/316ff.
94. Ibid., 4/323.
95. Ibid., 4/325ff.
96. *al-Mustajād*, pp. 55ff.
97. The youth (future patriarch) said: 'The people of the Burjān call the Roman Patriarch – who is in charge of the frontier [with the Burjān] – "The King of the Romans"' *(Al-Faraj*, 2/199).
98. *Al-Faraj*, 2/196ff.
99. The Holy Bible, St Luke, Chapter 22, verses 19–20.
100. *Al-Faraj*, 4/325.
101. *Al-Faraj*, 4/309.
102. *Al-Faraj*, 4/331ff.
103. *al-Mustajād*, pp. 19f.
104. *Al-Faraj*, 4/316ff.
105. See the other meanings derived from the root *ḥ.b.b* in Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-ʿArab and Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*.
106. *Al-Faraj*, 4/328ff.
107. *Al-Faraj*, 4/329f.
108. *Al-Faraj*, 4/345ff.
109. *Al-Faraj*, 4/331ff.

110. The editor ʿAbbūd al-Shāljī says that the *qawwāl* refers to 'the one who sings Sūfī love-poetry (see *al-Faraj*, 4/339; Footnote no. 4).
111. *Al-Faraj*, 4/ 339ff.
112. *Al-Faraj*, 4/16 and see Ibid., 4/333.
113. Ibid., 4/316.
114. Ibid., 4/328; *Nishwār*, 5/168.
115. *Al-Faraj*, 4/347.
116. Ibid., 4/333, 4/418.
117. Ibid., 4/334. For further examples see (*Al-Faraj* 4/310, 4/345, *al-Mustajād*, p. 25f, p. 163).
118. See Ibn ʿArabī above.
119. *Al-Faraj*, 4/331f.
120. *Al-Faraj*, 4/340.
121. *Al-Faraj*, 4/359.
122. *Al-Faraj*, 4/372.
123. *al-Mustajād*, p. 115.
124. Ibid., p. 160.
125. *Al-Faraj*, 4/384.
126. *Al-Faraj*, 2/198ff.
127. See for example *al-Mustajād*, pp. 128f.
128. Ibid., p. 128.
129. *Al-Faraj*, 4/411ff.
130. *Nishwār*, 5/89, *Nishwār*, 5/90ff.
131. *Nishwār*, 5/162ff.
132. *Nishwār*, 5/166f.
133. *Al-Faraj*, 4/397.
134. *Nishwār*, 5/108.
135. Khairallāh, Asʿad, *Love, madness and poetry: an interpretation of the Majnun legend*, Beirut, 1980, p. 96.
136. *Al-Faraj*, 4/407.
137. Ibid., 4/306. Nonetheless, two of the stories in the compilations *do* hint at a physical relationship taking place between the protagonist and a free woman (*Al-Faraj*, 2/122f.; and *Nishwār,* 5/129ff.).
138. For further examples of this theme see *Nishwār,* 5/157; and *Nishwār,* 5/158f.
139. *Al-Faraj*, 4/377.
140. Ibid., 4/426.
141. *al-Mustajād*, p. 241.
142. Qurʾān, 30: 21.
143. *Al-Faraj*, 4/354f.
144. Ibid., 4/355ff.
145. *Al-Faraj*, 4/423ff.
146. Qurʾān, 95: 1–4.
147. *Al-Faraj*, 4/377.
148. Since Muslims had to do the ritual ablution five times daily in addition to

taking baths at least once a week on Fridays in these times, they had bathrooms in their homes as well as bath houses (see examples in *Nishwār*, 1/68, 2/173, 4/39). See also the description of a bathroom in a wealthy man's house in al-Maqāma al-Maḍīriyya (al-Hamadhānī, Maqāmāt Abī al-Faḍl Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (ed.), Cairo, 1923, p. 136) and see for example the forty-sixth night in *The One Thousand And One Nights* (Alf Layla wa Layla, Beirut, 1987, 1/166ff). The context determines whether it is a bathroom or a bath house.

149. *Al-Faraj*, 4/426ff.
150. *Al-Faraj*, 4/379.
151. Ibid., 4/384.
152. *Al-Faraj*, 4/396.
153. *Al-Faraj*, 4/426.
154. *al-Mustajād*, p. 128.
155. *Nishwār*, 5/91.
156. *Nishwār*, 5/102.
157. *Nishwār*, 5/166.
158. *Al-Faraj*, 2/360.
159. Ṣaḥīh Muslim, *The Book of Faith*, ḥadīth no. 147, 1/93.
160. *Al-Faraj*, 4/402ff.
161. See Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *ḍ.n.y*.
162. Qurʾān, 26: 133.
163. Qurʾān, 42: 28.
164. Al-Ghassānī, ʿAlī b. Dāwūd b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Mujāhid al-Rasūlī [d. 764 AH/CE 1363], *al-Aqwāl al-Kāfiya wa al-Fuṣūl al-Shāfiya "fī al-Khayl"*, Yaḥyā al-Jabbūrī (ed.), Beirut, 1987, p. 7.
165. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jar Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar, *Asās al-Balāghā*, Lebanon, 1989, p. 469.
166. Al-Qushayrī, ʿAbd al-Karīm [d. 465 AH/CE 1072], *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya ʿfī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf'*, Maʿrūf Zurayq and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Balṭah-Jī (eds), Beirut, 1990, p. 231.
167. Ibn Sīrīn [d. 110 AH/CE 729], *Tafsīr al-Aḥlām al-Kabīr*, Beirut, 1982, p. 213.
168. Qurʾān, 24: 35.
169. Qurʾān, 53: 32.
170. Al-Zamakhsharī, al-Kashahāf, n.d., 4/32.
171. ʿAlī b. al-Jahm [d. 249 AH/CE 863], *Dīwān*, Khalīl Mardam Bik (ed.), Beirut, n.d., p. 141.
172. Al-Nābulsī, *Taʿtīr al-Anām*, p. 334.
173. Khairallāh, *Love, madness and poetry*, pp. 49ff.
174. *Nishwār*, 5/105f.
175. Corbin, Henry, *Alone with the alone 'creative imagination in the Sūfism of Ibn ʿArabi'*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1997, p. 146.
176. Ibid.

177. *Nishwār*, 5/112ff.
178. *Al-Faraj*, 4/383ff.
179. Qurʾān, 12: 28.
180. See al-Tanūkhī's other stories.
181. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1972, 2/340.

Chapter 3: Generosity

1. See Qurʾān, 15: 29.
2. See Qurʾān, 2:34, 15: 29.
3. See Qurʾān, 2: 31.
4. See Qurʾān, 2: 35–8; 20: 121–3.
5. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, p. 143.
6. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, p.195.
7. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [d. 328 AH/CE 940], *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Beirut, 1987, 1/188.
8. Al-Niffarī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār [d. 354 AH/CE 965], *Kitāb al-Mawāqif wa yalīhi Kitāb al-Mukhāṭabāt* (edited and translated by A. J. Arberry), Cambridge, 1987, p. 115.
9. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 6/167f.
10. Qurʾān, 2: 149.
11. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 6/167f.
12. Ibid., 4/119ff.
13. Qurʾān, 51: 56.
14. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 4/432f.
15. Ibid., 7/199.
16. Ibid., 7/199.
17. Miskawayh, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [d. 421 AH/CE 1030], *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq (ed.) Beirut, 1966, p. 20.
18. Al-Māwardī, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, [d. 450 AH/CE 1058], *Kitāb Adab al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn*, 1315 [AH] Egypt, p. 210f.
19. Ibid., p. 210f.
20. Ibid., p. 211.
21. Al-Ḥārithī al-Hamadānī al-ʿĀmilī, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, *Nūr al-Haqīqa wa Nawr al-Hadīqa fī ʿIlm al-Akhlāq*, Muḥammad Jawād al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī (ed.), 1983, p. 245.
22. Qurʾān, 2: 264; al-Hārithī, *Nūr al-Haqīqa*, 1983, p.241f; see also al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, Abū al-Qāsim Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, *Muḥāḍrāt al-Udabāʾ wa Muḥāwarāt al-Shuʿarāʾ wa al-Bulaghāʾ*, Beirut, 1961, 2/606f.
23. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, 1964, 1/130.
24. Al-Hārithī, *Nūr al-Haqīqa*, 1983, pp. 241f.
25. See al-Ḥārithī, *Nūr al-Haqīqa*, 1983, 243f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 1/234.
26. See al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 3/229.
27. The phrase *futuwwa* is derived from the root *f.t.w* which has the meanings of 'youthful', or 'in the prime of life' *(fatā)*, 'a generous man'; 'a

possessor of *futuwwa*'. Hence the saying: "*lā fatā illā ʿAlī* ('There is no one endowed with generosity but, or other than, [meaning like] ʿAlīʾ)' (Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *f.t.w*). Khalifa explains the term *futuwwa* according to Ibn ʿArabī, she says: '*Futuwwa* (générosité, vigueur de la jeunesse et sagesse), soufisme, blâme (*malāma*), amour et *fidèle d'amour* ces notions s'enchaînent, dans l'œuvre akbarienne afin de représenter une seule histoire, celle du voyage de retour vers Allāh' (Khalifa, Laila, *Ibn ʿArabī: l'Initiation à la Futuwwa*, Beirut, 2001, p. 17). Khalifa illustrates the evolution of this term, beginning with the time of pre-Islam (*al-Jāhiliyya*) in which the phrase *fatā* denotes: 'l'homme libre (*ḥurr*), noble, vertueux, généreux, indulgent, courageux, sage et ferme: la perfection virile' (Khalifa, *Ibn ʿArabī*, p. 17f.).

28. Khalifa, Laila, *Ibn ʿArabī*, pp. 200f.
29. Al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasa*, 1/83.
30. Qurʾān, 51: 24.
31. See al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabāʾ*, 2/652f.
32. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, p. 224, and see Al-Kansāʾ [d. 24 AH/CE 645], *Dīwān*, translated by A. Wormhoudt, 1973, p. 30.
33. See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, p. 153.
34. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabāʾ*, 2/654.
35. See Al-Qayrawānī, Abū al-Ḥasan b. Rashīq [d. 463 AH/CE 1071], *al-ʿUmda Fī Maḥāsin al-Shiʿr wa Ādābih wa Naqdih*, Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (ed.), Egypt, 1963, 1/80.
36. Sperl, Stefan, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry: a structural analysis of selected texts (3rd century AH/9th century AD—5th century AH/11th century AD)*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 19.
37. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, 1/329.
38. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 1/188.
39. Al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasa*, 2/92.
40. Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 152.
41. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 3/229.
42. Ibid., 3/229.
43. Ibid., 3/230.
44. Ibid., 3/230.
45. Ibid., 3/231.
46. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 11/313f.
47. Qurʾān, 7: 156.
48. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 11/313f.
49. Ibid., 4/434.
50. Ibid., 4/293, and 11/486.
51. Qurʾān, 17: 108.
52. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 7/403; see also the verse in al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabāʾ*, 2/562.
53. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 8/455.
54. See Ibid., 8/455f.

55. Khalifa, *Ibn ʿArabī*, pp. 190f.
56. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 8/460.
57. Qurʾān, 9: 103.
58. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 8/460.
59. Ibid., 8/191.
60. Ibid., 8/188.
61. Ibid., 5/193.
62. Ibid., 5/150.
63. Qurʾān, 9:103.
64. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 5/193.
65. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid, *al-Maqṣad al-Asnā fī Sharḥ Maʿānī Asmāʾ Allāh al-Ḥusnā*, Fadlou Shehadi (ed.), Beirut, 1986, p. 65.
66. Muslim, Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī [d. 261 AH/CE 875], *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Mūsā Shāhīn Lashīn and Aḥmad ʿUmar Hāshim (eds), Beirut, 1978, 17/71.
67. *al-Mustajād*, p. 15.
68. See Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *m.r.ʾ*, and see Khalifa, *Ibn ʿArabī*, p. 73.
69. *al-Mustajād*, p. 10.
70. Qurʾān, 59: 9.
71. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 8/460; see also: Ibn Ḥazm [d. 456 AH/CE 1064], *Kitāb al-Akhlāq wa al-Siyar aw Risāla fī Mudāwāt al-Nufūs wa Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq wa al-Zuhd fī al-Radhāʾil*, Iyra Riyād (ed.), Absala, 1980, p. 25; Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 22; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 3/241.
72. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 1/196.
73. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍrāt al-Udabāʾ*, 1961, 2/585.
74. *al-Mustajād*, p. 125f.
75. See Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 8/458; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 1/200; al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍrāt al-Udabāʾ*, 2/548, 579.
76. Qurʾān, 59: 9.
77. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 1/196.
78. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, p 152.
79. Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Akhlāq*, p. 25; see also al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, 1/112.
80. Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Akhlāq*, p. 25.
81. Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, p. 247.
82. *al-Mustajād*, p. 17f.
83. Qurʾān, 42: 27.
84. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 8/459f; Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 20.
85. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 3/242ff.
86. Ibid., 3/243.
87. Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 22.
88. Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 23.

89. *al-Mustajād*, p. 27.
90. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*; *k.r.m*.
91. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 8/458.
92. Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Akhlāq*, p. 26.
93. Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *f.d.l*.
94. Lane, Arabic–English lexicon, *j.w.d.*
95. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, 3/231.
96. Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 20.
97. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *k.r.m*.
98. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍrāt al-Udabāʾ*, 2/592.
99. See the different meanings derived from the same root of each term of the lexicon of generosity in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisan al-ʿArab* and Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon.*
100. *Nishwār*, 1/125ff.
101. The Ḥanafī Judge Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb b. Khunays b. Saʿd b. Ḥabta al-Anṣārī (113–182/731–798). Born in al-Kūfa, and settled in Baghdād. Famous for his knowledge; he was appointed as Chief Judge to three ʿAbbasid *caliphs*; al-Mahdī, al-Hādī and al-Rashīd (Ibn Kallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyan*, 6/378f, 388).
102. *Nishwār*, 1/252f.
103. See, for example, stories in *Al-Faraj*, 1/ 71ff.
104. See ibid., 2/209ff.
105. *Al-Faraj*, 1/94ff.
106. Qurʾān, 91.
107. Qurʾān, 92.
108. Qurʾān, 27: 62.
109. Qurʾān, 40: 60.
110. *Al-Faraj*, 2/239f.
111. al-Ḥakīm, Suʿād. *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, Beirut, 1981, p. 348.
112. Qurʾān, 49: 6.
113. *Al-Faraj*, 1/243f.
114. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/383f; see also Chapter 2, Love.
115. Qurʾān, 12: 28.
116. *Al-Faraj*, 1/65f; see also Chapter 1, The Journey herein.
117. *Al-Faraj*, 1/99ff; see also Chapter 1, The Journey herein.
118. *al-Mustajād*, p. 197f.
119. *al-Mustajād*, p. 190.
120. Qurʾān, 2: 30.
121. Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, ʿAbd al-Salam Muḥammad Hārūn (ed.), Cairo, 1960, 1/83.
122. *al-Mustajād*, p. 148f.
123. *al-Mustajād*, p. 10f.
124. *Nishwār*, 5/265f.
125. *Nishwār*, 1/270ff.
126. *Qalansuwa* is ‘a cap, generally high and pointed, but sometimes close-

fitting, which was worn by the Arabs, sometimes alone, and sometimes beneath the turban: there was also one kind which was round, like a melon' (Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *q.l.s*).

127. *Al-Faraj*, 1/361.
128. *al-Mustajād*, p. 180.
129. Qurʾān, 25: 54.
130. Nabateans are 'people who alight and abide in the Baṭāʾiḥ between the two Iraqs … or in the *sawād* of Iraq … they were called Nabaṭ because of their fetching out by labour what comes forth from the lands' (Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *n.b.ṭ*).
131. *al-Mustajād*, p. 110; *Nishwār*, 7/10f.
132. See Chapter 2 on Love.
133. *al-Mustajād*, 32f.
134. *Al-Faraj*, 4/293ff.
135. Al-Nābulsī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, p. 297.
136. *al-Mustajād*, p. 11ff.
137. *al-Mustajād*, p. 26ff.
138. *Al-Faraj*, 3/182.
139. *Nishwār*, 1/57.
140. *Nishwār*, 8/20ff.
141. *Nishwār*, 7/237ff.
142. *Al-Faraj*, 2/373ff.
143. *al-Mustajād*, p. 181ff.
144. *Al-Faraj*, 3/262ff. Their mutuality continues with the man betraying al-Tanūkhī. He curses him and speaks badly about him; trying to harm him. Al-Tanūkhī is dismissed from the judgeship in the year 359/969. Three months later al-Tanūkhī returns to al-Ahwāz as governor; and he is reinstated to his original post. The man comes to apologize to him, and al-Tanūkhī asks him the reason for his bad deeds. He says that he once saw al-Tanūkhī wearing a *qalansuwa* on his head which he asked for, but al-Tanūkhī refused. Days later the man sees the headgear on the head of the theologian Ibn Naẓīf; he says, this incident remained in his heart. The man asks al-Tanūkhī for his pardon, the latter is astounded by the man's malice [for so trivial an incident] but he does not harm him; however, he does not grant him any more favour (*Al-Faraj*, 3/265ff).
145. Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, p. 227.
146. In the story of the angels Jibrīl and Mīkhāʾīl. They learn the generosity of 'self/life-sacrifice' from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (see *al-Mustajād*, p. 10).
147. *Nishwār*, 4/206f.
148. *Nishwār*, 7/218.
149. *Nishwār*, 7/219.
150. *Al-Faraj*, 4/129ff.
151. *Nishwār*, 7/222f.
152. *Nishwār*, 7/224f.
153. *Nishwār*, 4/154.

154. *Nishwār*, 2/347.
155. *al-Mustajād*, p. 216ff.
156. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *b.d.w*.
157. *Nishwār*, 5/111, 116). See also the story told by al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Iṣbahānī in his book entitled *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ*, about Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī and the man whose love for God drove him to wander in the wilderness for 20 years (Al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh [d. 430 AH/CE 1038], *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ*, Cairo, 1983, 9/364).
158. Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *r.f.ʿ*.
159. Qurʾān, 2: 127.
160. Al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, p. 226.
161. See Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *sh.r.f*.
162. Al-Mutanabbī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, 4/85.
163. See al-Qāshānī (attributed to Ibn ʿArabī), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, 6/180.
164. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1987, 11/413.
165. al-Qāshānī (attributed to Ibn ʿArabī), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, 6/180, 346f.
166. Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *kh.sh.f*.
167. Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *n.w.kh*.
168. Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *ṣ.d.q*.
169. Qurʾān, 11: 43; see also *Al-Faraj*, 1/66.
170. Qurʾān, 15: 56.
171. See Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *f.n.y*.
172. Ibn Sīrīn, *Tafsīr al-Aḥlām al-Kabīr*, p. 110.
173. See *al-Mustajād*, p. 217.
174. Al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, p. 754.
175. Ibid, p. 872.
176. Ibid., p. 872.
177. Lane, *Arabic–English lexicon*, *b.l.l*.
178. al-Qāshānī (attributed to Ibn ʿArabī), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, 6/180.
179. Al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, p. 1142.
180. Al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, p. 35.
181. *Al-Faraj*, 3/161ff.
182. Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (ed.), Beirut, 1969, 1/102.
183. See *Al-Faraj*, 4/318.
184. Qurʾān, 2: 197.
185. Al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, p. 36.
186. Qurʾān, 55: 27.

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