Al-Shāfiʿī's Written Corpus: A Source-Critical Study

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I. NORMAN CALDER'S THESIS REVISITED

The publication of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) multi-volume magnum opus *Kitāb al-Umm* and his groundbreaking legal-theoretical treatise *al-Risāla* more than a century ago[1] opened up an unprecedented view into Islamic legal thought in the formative period of the late second/eighth century. In addition to the ideas of al-Shāfiʿī himself, the *Umm* preserves a wealth of legal material, including works or fragments of works by al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796), Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804 or 805), as well as countless debates between al-Shāfiʿī and various named and unnamed but identifiable scholars. The text is further elucidated by the inserted comments of al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān al-Murādī (d. 270/884), al-Shāfiʿī's student and the compiler of the *Umm*. Al-Shāfiʿī's corpus is thus by far the richest source available for the study of early Islamic law,[2] and has been used as such for seminal works on the subject, most notably Joseph Schacht's *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*.

In his 1993 book *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, the late Norman Calder put forward the radically revisionist thesis that the *Umm*, along with the founding texts of the Mālikī and Ḥanafī schools of law, is in fact the product of organic textual growth, "the end-product of school discussions arising generations after [al-Shāfiʿī's] death."[3] Far from representing the work of al-Shāfiʿī, Calder argued, the *Umm* is a composite text, born of the collective juristic efforts of later, anonymous Shāfiʿī scholars, who simply attributed their writings back to the "founder." For Calder, the mechanism behind this process of textual accumulation and misattribution lies in the non-public nature of early Islamic scholarship, whereby scholars wrote and circulated private notebooks based on oral lectures they had attended. Each scholar acquiring such a notebook, Calder believed, felt at ease to amend and add to its contents anonymously, because a robust concept of individual authorship had not yet developed.[4] In this context, books, like ancient cities, accrued layers upon layers of sedimented elements. Later generations of scholars then accepted as real the nominal attribution of the accumulated texts to the school founders, and subsequently treated them as the works of identifiable individuals.

1. First published as al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, 7 vols. in 4 (Bulaq: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1903–1907); and al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla* (Bulaq: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1903). Both editions were financed and overseen by Aḥmad Bek al-Ḥusaynī (1854–1914).

2. All the more so since the recent appearance of a critical edition of the *Umm* (which includes the *Risāla*): al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, ed. Rifʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, 11 vols. (Mansoura: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 2001). All subsequent references to the *Umm* as well as to the *Risāla* are to this edition; references to the *Risāla* also include paragraph numbers as given in the commonly used edition of the *Risāla* by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1940).

3. Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 84.

4. Calder, *Studies*, chap. 7.

Since Calder's bold dismissal of the authenticity of the *Umm* and other key early works, a half-hearted agnosticism regarding the reliability of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus as a source has descended upon the field of Islamic legal history. Subsequent studies have challenged Calder's claims with respect to Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, al-Shaybānī's *Āthār*, and al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla*, and its immediate textual history,[5] but to date there has been no systematic study of the *Umm*, probably due to the work's sheer size as well as its complex, even chaotic, structure. As a result, books on early Islam that draw on the *Umm* tend to begin with a caveat acknowledging that the work's authorship and origin are disputed and can probably never be established with confidence, but then proceed without further reference to this point.[6] This phenomenon has led Chase Robinson to note that Calder's results "continue to be wished away."[7]

It is high time, therefore, for a source-critical study of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus to assess the authenticity of this text that so stubbornly continues to shape our vision of early Islamic law. This paper offers such a study. Through a detailed analysis of the *Umm* and a broad survey of third/ninth-century legal literature, I demonstrate that (1) Calder's textual arguments rest on untenable assumptions and on a misunderstanding of the text; (2) the sophisticated and critical culture of scholarship in the third/ninth century makes a misattribution of the texts comprising the *Umm* to al-Shāfiʿī an extremely unlikely proposition; and (3) a vast body of evidence, in the form of numerous accurate quotations, lists of contents, and abridgments of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus dating to the third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries, overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that the text of today's *Umm* is substantially unchanged from the form in which al-Shāfiʿī originally composed it. More broadly, the evidence presented in this paper provides a detailed portrait of the written culture of ninth-century Muslim scholarship and its practices of authorship, transmission, and quotation.

Calder's thesis is based on two principal claims: first, that al-Shāfiʿī's putative intellectual contributions "had no tangible influence on juristic thought, before perhaps the beginning of the fourth century";[8] and second, that the *Umm* exhibits textual features that betray its heterogeneous and layered nature. I will first examine the latter claim, pointing out the overall weaknesses of Calder's approach, and then turn to an evaluation of the evidence regarding the reception and impact of al-Shāfiʿī's work in the third/ninth century.

Calder's methodology for proving his hypothesis of organic textual accumulation consists of the application of literary analysis to a short section at the very beginning of the *Umm* that deals with ritual purity. Using tools borrowed from the methodology of biblical

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5. See, in particular, Yasin Dutton's review of *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* in *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5 (1994): 102–8; Miklos Muranyi, "Die frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion," *Islamic Law and Society* 4 (1997): 224–41; Behnam Sadeghi, "The Authenticity of Two 2nd/8th Century Ḥanafī Legal Texts: The *Kitāb al-āthār* and *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī," *Islamic Law and Society* 17 (2010): 291–319; Joseph Lowry, "The Legal Hermeneutics of al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Qutayba: A Reconsideration," *Islamic Law and Society* 11 (2004): 1–41; and John Burton, "Rewriting the Timetable of Early Islam," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 453–62. See also Andreas Görke, *Das Kitāb al-Amwāl des Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām: Entstehung und Überlieferung eines frühislamischen Rechtswerkes* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2003), for a critique of Calder's approach. A recent book by Mohyddin Yahia, to which Joseph Lowry alerted me when this article was already in press, identifies many of the structural aspects of the *Umm* that I discuss below in the section on standards of authenticity. Yahia's goal, like mine, is to challenge Calder's thesis. However, beyond the impressive text-internal evidence, Yahia draws exclusively on later Shāfiʿī sources that would probably have left Calder unconvinced. See Yahia, *Šāfiʿī et les deux sources de la loi islamique* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009).

6. See, for example, Aisha Musa, *Ḥadīth as Scripture: Discussions on the Authority of Prophetic Traditions in Islam* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 32; Marion Holmes Katz, *Body of Text: The Emergence of the Sunnī Law of Ritual Purity* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2002), 254 n. 61; and Susan Spectorsky, *Women in Classical Islamic Law: A Survey of the Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 13.

7. Chase Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), 1.

8. Calder, *Studies*, 67.

criticism,[9] Calder dissects al-Shāfiʿī's prose, searching for narrative breaks, inconsistencies, and repetition which, he argues, indicate fissures between passages originating from different authors and periods. However, the unrefined application of techniques developed to analyze biblical narrative texts to al-Shāfiʿī's legal discussions is highly problematic. This is because al-Shāfiʿī's writing in the sample passage (and in much of the *Umm* as a whole) is not structured around a single sustained argument or narrative. Instead it is marked by a characteristic written style that is best described as segmented, consisting of a succession of concise, seemingly self-sufficient discussions on individual points of law (*masāʾil*, sing. *masʾala*), which are grouped loosely according to the area of the law with which they deal. Calder's approach is thus flawed from the outset, as there is no reason to expect that a series of individual, generally disconnected *masāʾil* in a legal text would exhibit the continuity of a narrative text.

In addition, many of Calder's specific points are based on an incorrect reading of the text or on neglect of its context. I will give two examples. Calder points to two consecutive passages in the *Umm*'s chapter on ritual purity that in his view are contradictory and thus reveal different origins.[10] According to the first passage (1.2), a dead fish or locust falling into a small quantity of water does not render the water ritually impure, while the next passage (1.3), in Calder's interpretation, claims that any living creature that falls into a small quantity of water after its death renders the water impure. However, the apparent contradiction is the product of a misreading of the text:

Calder's reading of the text (*Umm*, 2: 12)	Calder's reading in translation (*Studies*, 69)	The correct reading of the text	The correct reading in translation
[1.2.] ولو وقع حوت ميت في ماء قليل أو جرادة ميتة لم ينجس لأنهما حلال ميتتين [1.3.] وكذلك كل ما كان من ذوات الأرواح مما يعيش في الماء ومما لا يعيش في الماء من ذوات الأرواح إذا وقع في الماء الذي ينجس ميتا نجسه [1.4.] إذا كان مما له نفس سائلة	1.2. If a dead fish falls into a small quantity of water, or a dead locust, it does not become impure; because they are permissible when dead. 1.3. Likewise all things possessed of life, whether they live in water or otherwise, if they fall into water that is susceptible to impurity, being dead, they render the water impure. 1.4. That is if they have a blood-system.	[1.2.] ولو وقع حوت ميت في ماء قليل أو جرادة ميتة لم ينجس لأنهما حلال ميتتين وكذلك كل ما كان من ذوات الأرواح مما يعيش في الماء [1.3.] ومما لا يعيش في الماء من ذوات الأرواح إذا وقع في الماء الذي ينجس ميتا نجسه إذا كان مما له نفس سائلة	1.2. If a dead fish falls into a small quantity of water, or a dead locust, it does not become impure; because they are permissible when dead. This applies also to all things possessed of life that live in water. 1.3. Those things possessed of life that do not live in water, if one falls into water that is susceptible to impurity, being dead, it renders the water impure, if it has a blood-system.

Once the misreading is corrected, the resulting argument is fully consistent: The corpses of animals that are not water-dwellers and possess a developed circulatory system[11] do impart impurity, whereas those of water-dwelling animals do not. (Land animals without a circulatory system, such as insects, are discussed in subsequent sections.) The fish and the

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9. Calder, *Studies*, viii–ix.

10. Calder, *Studies*, 76. The paragraph numbers are his.

11. For a discussion of the difference between animals with and without a blood-vascular system, see Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī l-kabīr*, ed. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muʿawwad, 18 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1994), 1: 320.

locust, as animals that can be eaten even though they cannot be ritually slaughtered, form a special case.

In another instance, Calder argues that an apparent interjection by al-Rabīʿ in al-Shāfiʿī's discussion on purity in reality represents the earliest layer of the text, around which grew the other layers that were later falsely attributed to al-Shāfiʿī. Calder's sole evidence for this claim is the obviously simpler form and content of al-Rabīʿ's interjection in comparison to the surrounding material attributed to al-Shāfiʿī.[12] Calder's implicit, but unjustified, assumption is that comments on a text must necessarily be more sophisticated than the original text to which they relate. However, the history of transmission and teaching of the *Umm* suggests a more plausible and straightforward explanation for this feature. Given the explicit context of some of al-Rabīʿ's interjections in the text,[13] it seems likely that these comments originated as oral commentary that al-Rabīʿ's gave while teaching the text to his students, who wrote it down and appended it to the text. Since oral comments are not intended to extend or elaborate on the text, but rather seek to explain complicated and long-winded arguments succinctly, they are generally simpler in form and argument than the text being discussed.[14] In addition, oral comments provide answers to questions raised by students during instruction. In the instance discussed by Calder, for example, al-Rabīʿ's additional comment confirms the ritual purity of the sweat of menstruating Jewish or Christian women. This is an eminently practical question. One might imagine that some students in al-Rabīʿ's circle were growing impatient listening to al-Shāfiʿī's text expound on the purity implications of dead fish and bird droppings, and wanted to know the ramifications of al-Shāfiʿī's position on their own daily life with their (possibly Jewish or Christian) wives—especially in light of the position of the Mālikī school, dominant in Egypt at the time, which considered disbelief a form of ritual impurity.[15] Almost as an afterthought, al-Rabīʿ adds that the sweat of a Magian man is also ritually pure. Calder interprets this as a narrative break, given that before this point al-Rabīʿ had dealt with women.[16] Again there is a simpler explanation: in contrast to relations with Jewish and Christian women, al-Shāfiʿī did not consider marriage or other sexual relations with a Magian woman to be permissible for a Muslim.[17] The move from Jewish and Christian women to Magian men is therefore logical, since for the Shāfiʿīs there is no legal way in which a Muslim man could come into contact with the sweat of a Magian woman.

II. STANDARDS OF AUTHENTICITY

Judged according to the proffered textual evidence, Calder's arguments in favor of locating the birth of the *Umm* much after al-Shāfiʿī's (and perhaps even al-Rabīʿ's) lifetime clearly do not hold water. In addition, there are many reasons to question Calder's depiction of the written culture within which the *Umm* emerged as lacking an interest in correct attribution and accurate transmission. The evidence that can be gleaned both from al-Shāfiʿī's corpus and from other sources indicates that al-Shāfiʿī's students consciously sought to transmit information as accurately as possible and to credit it to its real originator.

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12. Calder, *Studies*, 75.

13. See, for example, *Umm*, 4: 498, which quotes al-Rabīʿ answering the question of an anonymous student regarding the text. I am grateful to Mairaj Syed for drawing my attention to this passage.

14. This characteristic of al-Rabīʿ's comments was also noted by Ḥusayn Wālī in "Kitāb al-Umm wa-mā yuḥīṭu bih," *Majallat Nūr al-Islām* 4 (1352/1933 and 1934): 656–88, at 680.

15. Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā*, 16 vols. in 6 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.; repr. of Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1322/1905 or 1906), 3: 107 (Kitāb al-liʿān).

16. Calder, *Studies*, 75.

17. *Umm*, 5: 670; 6: 17.

Al-Shāfiʿī himself exhibits a meticulous attention to accuracy in the *Umm*, critically interrogating his sources, comparing his notes with information that he has memorized and with alternative written and orally transmitted texts, and readily acknowledging weaknesses in his sources or his memory.[18] Al-Rabīʿ demonstrates a similar concern with the authenticity of the material that he transmits in the *Umm*. His comments in the text indicate a prima facie commitment to the standards of accuracy established by the rigorous protocol that scholars of hadith were developing for the transmission of hadith reports. The goal of this protocol was to ensure the accuracy of the transmitted material by preserving maximum information regarding the precise provenance and history of each text, and by subjecting the written text to aural scrutiny and approval. In his comments in the *Umm*, al-Rabīʿ shows great precision in specifying both the method of transmission used for particular passages and any departures from the proper protocol of transmission. He admits openly when, for example, he has copied a text from al-Shāfiʿī's documents without having studied it with him,[19] is aware of a missing section within the text,[20] suspects a copyist error,[21] has reproduced a passage from memory,[22] or has drawn on the notes of his peer Abū Yaʿqūb al-Buwayṭī (d. 231/846), another student of al-Shāfiʿī's.[23] Al-Rabīʿ frequently employs the specific terminology of hadith transmission; for example, he introduces al-Shāfiʿī's will, which is included in the *Umm*, with the phrase *wajadtu bi-khaṭṭih* (literally, "I found in his [own] handwriting"),[24] which hadith scholars use for sources written by a scholar in his own hand but not subjected to aural confirmation.[25] In another chapter al-Rabīʿ says, "I missed this part of the book, but I heard it *viva voce* (*samiʿtu*) from al-Buwayṭī, and I know that it is al-Shāfiʿī's words (*aʿrifuhu min kalām al-Shāfiʿī*)"; three pages later he notes, "my *viva voce* reception (*samāʿī*) from al-Buwayṭī ends here."[26] Al-Rabīʿ thus acknowledges that his formal chain of aural transmission (*isnād*) for this material runs through al-Buwayṭī. It is noteworthy that the four hadith that al-Rabīʿ quotes from al-Shāfiʿī within this section all include al-Buwayṭī in their chains of transmission; this contrasts with hadith quoted before and after this section, whose *isnād*s go straight from al-Shāfiʿī to al-Rabīʿ.

Clearly, some of al-Rabīʿ's practices—such as using someone else's notes as the basis of his transmission—would have been considered dubious in the context of hadith transmission. It seems that although al-Shāfiʿī's students generally modeled their transmission practices on hadith standards, their adherence to those standards with respect to the formal aspects (though not substantive content) of transmission was not always complete. We can assume that al-Rabīʿ was trying to reproduce al-Shāfiʿī's corpus in as comprehensive a form as possible given the sources at his disposal. His willingness to depart from the hadith transmission protocol where necessary is understandable since the material he was transmitting lacked the grave religious significance of hadith reports, and its source—al-Shāfiʿī—was accessible within his own lifetime, in contrast to the era of the Prophet from which this generation of scholars was separated by more than two centuries.

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18. For examples, see *Umm*, 2: 648; 4: 53–54; 9: 106; 10: 205; as well as the *Risāla*, in *Umm*, 1: 198–99 (para. 1184).

19. E.g., *Umm*, 7: 455.

20. E.g., *Umm*, 4: 498; 5: 208.

21. E.g., *Umm*, 3: 28.

22. E.g., *Umm*, 6: 21.

23. E.g., *Umm*, 2: 252–55; 4: 327.

24. *Umm*, 7: 455.

25. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth* (Kitāb Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth), tr. Eerik Dickinson (Reading, U.K.: Garnet Publishing, 2006), 125–27. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ notes that the Shāfiʿīs, in contrast to most Mālikīs, endorsed the acceptability of acting upon material transmitted through this method.

26. *Umm*, 2: 252 and 255.

The available evidence also indicates that the concern displayed by al-Shāfiʿī and al-Rabīʿ for correct textual transmission was shared by other third/ninth-century Egyptian scholars, and was applied to the works of the emerging Shāfiʿī school by contemporary observers. A representative example is furnished by Yūsuf b. Yazīd al-Qarāṭīsī (d. 287/900), who was involved in the Mālikī efforts to refute al-Shāfiʿī's criticism of Mālik.[27] Al-Qarāṭīsī is reported to have charged that "the material that al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān received aurally from al-Shāfiʿī was not reliable, and he took most of the books from the family of al-Buwayṭī after al-Buwayṭī's death."[28] The truth of this claim is here irrelevant.[29] What is significant is that al-Qarāṭīsī, a member of a rival school and a contemporary of al-Rabīʿ, was informed enough about the textual history of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus to make such a claim, and used this particular claim to denigrate al-Rabīʿ as a transmitter of al-Shāfiʿī's work. This demonstrates that there was a critical public of scholars outside the immediate Shāfiʿī circle who were willing to question the precise transmission of al-Shāfiʿī's works. The fact that al-Qarāṭīsī's challenge to the Shāfiʿīs consisted of the rather limited charge that al-Rabīʿ's transmission was based not on his own notes but on those of al-Buwayṭī is also telling, as it indicates the absence of concerns regarding the bigger issue of the content of the transmitted works and their attribution to al-Shāfiʿī. Had al-Qarāṭīsī any reason to suspect that al-Rabīʿ either alone or in concert with other Shāfiʿī scholars was actively manipulating the text, he would hardly have focused his criticism on such a minor detail.

The interest that third/ninth-century scholars had in ascertaining the real source of written material is demonstrated by the apparent outrage of al-Shāfiʿī's Iraqi student Abū ʿAlī al-Karābīsī (d. 248/862) upon discovering what he believed to be a case of blatant plagiarism of al-Shāfiʿī's work by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. probably 224/838 or 839). Al-Karābīsī read Abū ʿUbayd's works and claims to have noted that the author "uses al-Shāfiʿī's arguments and copies his wording (*yaḥkī lafẓahu*), but does not name him." This anonymous borrowing angered al-Karābīsī, and when he later met Abū ʿUbayd, he confronted him: "What is wrong with you, Abū ʿUbayd, that you say in your works, 'Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said,' and 'So-and-so said,' but you do not mention al-Shāfiʿī, even though you plagiarized (*saraqta*) his reasoning from his books?"[30] The fact that Abū ʿUbayd had named his other sources indicates that the expectation of proper acknowledgment was not limited to the Shāfiʿīs. There is also specific evidence to indicate that third/ninth-century scholars studying the work of al-Shāfiʿī expected the material that they received to be authentic. When the Ḥanafī judge of Egypt, Bakkār b. Qutayba (d. 270/884), set out to write a refutation of al-Shāfiʿī's critique of Abū Ḥanīfa, he dispatched two court witnesses to Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā

27. On al-Qarāṭīsī's biography, see Ibn al-Qaṭṭān al-Fāsī, *Bayān al-wahm wa-l-īhām al-wāqiʿayn fī kitāb al-Aḥkām*, ed. al-Ḥusayn Saʿīd, 6 vols. (Riyadh: Dār Ṭayyiba, 1997), 5: 554. One of al-Qarāṭīsī's students, Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Azdī al-Maghāmī (d. 288/901), wrote a refutation of al-Shāfiʿī; see Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ and Muḥammad Nuʿaym al-ʿArqasūsī, 25 vols. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1401–1409/1981–1988), 13: 337. On the other hand, his son Idrīs b. Yūsuf al-Qarāṭīsī (death date unknown) was a devoted Shāfiʿī; see Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaymarī, *Akhbār Abī Ḥanīfa wa-aṣḥābih*, ed. Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Afghānī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1985; repr. of Hyderabad: Lajnat Iḥyāʾ al-Maʿārif al-Nuʿmāniyya, 1974), 128.

28. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 12 vols. (Hyderabad: Dār al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1907–1909), 3: 246.

29. I discuss the claim briefly in "The First Shāfiʿī: The Traditionalist Legal Thought of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Buwayṭī (d. 231/846)," *Islamic Law and Society* 14 (2007): 301–41, at 339–40. This kind of borrowing was not limited to al-Rabīʿ: al-Muzanī is also said to have made use of al-Rabīʿ's notes for material that he had missed from al-Shāfiʿī. See Abū Yaʿlā al-Qazwīnī al-Khalīlī, *Kitāb al-Irshād fī maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. ʿUmar Idrīs, 3 vols. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1989), 1: 429: *al-Muzanī maʿa jalālatihi istaʿāna fīmā fātahu ʿan al-Shāfiʿī bi-kitāb al-Rabīʿ*.

30. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 2: 361.

al-Muzanī (d. 264/877), another of al-Shāfiʿī's principal students and the most prominent Shāfiʿī scholar at the time, to have him testify formally that the opinions included in his compendium (*mukhtasar*) of al-Shāfiʿī's work were indeed those held by al-Shāfiʿī.[31] And an unnamed student of al-Rabīʿ is reported to have insisted that al-Rabīʿ vouch for the content of his lecture explicitly by uttering the formula, "this is how it was read to me and how al-Shāfiʿī transmitted it to us," signifying authentic verbatim transmission.[32]

This and other evidence of the discerning attitudes of al-Shāfiʿī, al-Rabīʿ, and the latter's contemporaries regarding the authenticity of texts and the accuracy of their transmission make the hypothesis of intentional misattribution of the writings of al-Shāfiʿī's successors to al-Shāfiʿī himself an unlikely proposition. In addition, it seems clear that already in the third/ninth century there was a critical public of scholars in Egypt, including jurists of several different schools, who were closely familiar with and interested in al-Shāfiʿī's corpus and its transmission history. Yūsuf al-Qarāṭīsī's criticism of al-Rabīʿ's transmission of the *Umm* (but not, importantly, of its attribution to al-Shāfiʿī) has already been mentioned. Other non-Shāfiʿī scholars with intimate knowledge of al-Shāfiʿī's writings include the Mālikī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 268/882), who was both a student of al-Shāfiʿī and the author of the first refutation of al-Shāfiʿī's doctrines,[33] and the Ḥanafī jurist Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933),[34] who studied al-Shāfiʿī's works with al-Rabīʿ and with al-Muzanī, who was al-Ṭaḥāwī's uncle. Both Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and al-Ṭaḥāwī dedicated much of their efforts to defending their respective schools against the challenges posed by al-Shāfiʿī's teaching, but neither appears to have voiced any concerns regarding the authenticity or provenance of the positions that they attribute to al-Shāfiʿī. It seems impossible that these scholars, with their close ties to the inner circle of al-Shāfiʿī's students, would have remained unaware of a putative forgery; and it is highly unlikely, had they been aware of it, that they would have refrained from using such knowledge in their polemical engagement with Shāfiʿism. There are countless other scholars who studied with several of al-Shāfiʿī's students in Egypt and who must have closely observed the transmissions of these various students,[35] yet no sources either from this period or by later authors contain any indication of doubts regarding the general authenticity of the material attributed to al-Shāfiʿī—as distinct from concerns regarding the correct transmission or transmitter of particular opinions.[36]

The examples above demonstrate that al-Rabīʿ and his contemporaries adhered in theory to a strict protocol of accurate transmission and were ready to point out departures from this standard in their own work as well as in that of others. It remains to be shown whether this culture of accuracy was in fact successful in preserving al-Shāfiʿī's works in the form in which he wrote them. For this purpose, I present three layers of evidence to support the contention that the textual form and content of the *Umm* (here understood to include the *Risāla*)[37] as we know them today have, in overwhelming likelihood, remained essentially unchanged since the composition of these works in the early third/ninth century. The three layers of evidence

31. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt, or Kitāb el ʿumarāʾ (el wulāh) wa Kitāb el quḍāh of el Kindī*, ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1912), 511–12.

32. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, ed. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sawraqī and Ibrāhīm Ḥamdī al-Madanī (Medina: al-Maktaba al-ʿIlmiyya, 1980), 281.

33. I reconstruct this refutation in my dissertation, "From Tradition to Law: The Origins and Early Development of the Shāfiʿī School of Law in Ninth-Century Egypt" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 2009), 200–202.

34. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ, 16 vols. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1994), 9: 255.

35. A list of such scholars would probably number in the hundreds.

36. See, for example, Ibn al-Mundhir's comment below under section III, "Early Quotations."

37. As Rifʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the editor of the *Umm*, has argued, it is very likely that the *Risāla* was from the beginning transmitted as part of the *Umm*; see his introduction to the *Umm*, 1: 24.

come from verbatim or near-verbatim quotations in other contemporary works, tables of contents of the *Umm* reproduced by other writers, and the content and structure of the abridgments of al-Shāfiʿī's works authored by his students al-Muzanī and al-Buwayṭī.

III. EARLY QUOTATIONS

The first test of the authenticity of al-Shāfiʿī's transmitted corpus consists of locating quotations of al-Shāfiʿī's writings in other early works and assessing the accuracy of these quotations vis-à-vis the extant text of the *Umm*. This approach was employed by Christopher Melchert in his article "The Meaning of *Qāla 'l-Shāfiʿī* in Ninth-Century Sources."[38] Based on an analysis of quotations of the *Umm* in the works of four third/ninth-century Shāfiʿī scholars, Melchert argues that while much of the quoted material does match the known opinions of al-Shāfiʿī,[39] at least one of the scholars, Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d. 294/906), also "continually added to or outright distorted what his sources told him."[40] However, the specific evidence that he presents to justify this charge against al-Marwazī does not withstand scrutiny. For example, when comparing al-Marwazī's *Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ* with al-Shāfiʿī's *Umm*, Melchert claims that according to al-Marwazī, al-Shāfiʿī held sleep in any position to cause ritual impurity, even though the *Umm* makes an exception for sleep in a sitting position. In fact, al-Marwazī clearly acknowledges this exception in the very section that Melchert quotes: "Al-Shāfiʿī said that he must perform ablution regardless of the position in which he sleeps, except if he sleeps while sitting."[41] In another example, Melchert argues that the length of time that a female slave freed upon her owner's death must wait before marrying is given as one menstrual cycle by al-Marwazī in *Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ* but as two months and five days by al-Shāfiʿī in the *Umm*.[42] In fact, the issue concerns specifically a female slave who has borne her master a child, and both al-Marwazī and the *Umm* agree that the waiting period in this case is one menstrual cycle.[43] The other instances of alleged discrepancy between the two works that Melchert mentions likewise turn out to be illusory.[44]

Broadening the basis of comparison allows us to draw better-substantiated conclusions regarding the presence and form of al-Shāfiʿī's work in third/ninth-century literature. My far from exhaustive survey of the literature has yielded the following list of quotations of the *Umm* and the *Risāla* in the works of thirteen scholars who were contemporaries of al-Shāfiʿī or his students.[45] Some quotations are accurate to the letter, while others involve a paraphrase. Both types of quotations are generally introduced by the phrase *qāla al-Shāfiʿī*,

38. Melchert, "The Meaning of *Qāla 'l-Shāfiʿī* in Ninth-Century Sources," in *ʿAbbasid Studies*, ed. James E. Montgomery (Louvain: Peeters, 2004), 277–301.

39. Melchert notes that in many cases putative quotations of al-Shāfiʿī's work parallel but do not correspond exactly to the form of today's *Umm*. In the example he gives of Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī's (d. 279/892) *Sunan*, the explanation is that al-Tirmidhī does in fact quote verbatim, but his source is not the *Umm* but rather al-Buwayṭī's *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Shāfiʿī's work; see n. 99 below. Melchert is thus correct to surmise that al-Tirmidhī was drawing on a broader corpus of Shāfiʿī literature.

40. Melchert, "Meaning of *Qāla 'l-Shāfiʿī*," 288.

41. Al-Marwazī, *Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Sāmarrāʾī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1986), 28; cf. *Umm*, 2: 35.

42. Melchert, "Meaning of *Qāla 'l-Shāfiʿī*," 287.

43. Al-Marwazī, *Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ*, 163; cf. *Umm*, 6: 554.

44. On menstruation: *pace* Melchert, the position that al-Marwazī attributes to al-Shāfiʿī regarding the determination of the length of an uncertain menstrual period (*Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ*, 36) is, in fact, given in the text of the *Umm* at 2: 133–34. On stoning: *pace* Melchert, al-Shāfiʿī's opinion regarding the punishment due to an adulterous non-Muslim wife is found in the form quoted by al-Marwazī in *Umm*, 7: 391.

45. Locating the source of a putative quotation in the *Umm* is a time-consuming task, since a topic can be discussed in numerous places within this rambling work. I was able to trace the hundreds of quotations listed here (or, in the case of Ibn al-Mundhir's work, a representative sample) thanks to the digital database *al-Maktaba al-shāmila* (http://shamela.ws).

which, as Melchert notes, encompasses non-verbatim as well as verbatim transmission.[46] The list is arranged in chronological order according to the authors' death dates.

1. The celebrated traditionist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) is known to have met al-Shāfiʿī in Mecca and Iraq. His son ʿAbd Allāh reproduces a fifty-word verbatim quotation of the *Umm* from his father's handwritten copy of the work, which Aḥmad received *viva voce* from al-Shāfiʿī.[47] This quotation thus originates from before al-Shāfiʿī's departure to Egypt, which most likely happened in 198/814. Aḥmad (via ʿAbd Allāh) also gives a second quotation, which follows the *Umm* closely but does not correspond exactly with the extant text.[48] This discrepancy could be due to the fact that Aḥmad would have studied the so-called Iraqi version of al-Shāfiʿī's writings, which was superseded by al-Shāfiʿī's later Egyptian revision; the original text has been lost.

2. The hadith scholar Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889), who studied with al-Rabīʿ, includes in his famous *Sunan* a verbatim quotation of al-Shāfiʿī's interpretation of a hadith in the *Umm*.[49]

3. The Mālikī judge of Baghdad Abū Isḥāq Ismāʿīl al-Jahḍamī (d. 282/896) replicates a complete chapter of the *Umm* verbatim in his legal exegesis of the Qurʾan (*Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*).[50]

4. The extant fragment of a book authored by the Andalusian Mālikī scholar Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Azdī al-Maghāmī (d. 288/901) in defense of Mālik's teaching (*Ibānat madhhab Mālik*) contains a substantial verbatim quotation from the *Umm*.[51]

5. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d. 294/906) quotes al-Shāfiʿī extensively in his writings, even reproducing a complete chapter from the *Umm*.[52] In his book on the Sunna, al-Marwazī quotes both the *Umm* and the *Risāla* several times;[53] in fact, the whole latter part of the work is dedicated to a discussion of al-Shāfiʿī's contention in the *Risāla* that the Qurʾan cannot be abrogated by the Sunna.[54] As discussed above, he also quotes al-Shāfiʿī in his work on comparative law (*Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ*).[55]

6. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī's (d. 299/911 or 912) transmission of al-Muzanī's compendium forms the basis of the modern printed edition of that work. This transmission contains a cross-reference to and verbatim quotation of al-Shāfiʿī's *Umm* as al-Iṣbahānī had studied it with al-Rabīʿ.[56]

7. Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the great historian and exegete who studied with al-Rabīʿ, quotes al-Shāfiʿī's *Umm* through al-Rabīʿ in his Qurʾan commentary.[57] More

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46. Melchert, "Meaning of *Qāla ʾl-Shāfiʿī*," 297–98.

47. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-ʿIlal wa-maʿrifat al-rijāl*, ed. Waṣī Allāh ʿAbbās, 3 vols. (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1988), 2: 383; cf. *Umm*, 7: 321–22. This work contains writings by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal that were collected and circulated by his son.

48. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-ʿIlal*, 3: 422–24; cf. *Umm*, 5: 355–60.

49. *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī*, ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, 11 vols. (Kuwait: Muʾassasat Ghirās, 2002), 6: 146 (ḥadīth no. 1658); cf. *Umm*, 3: 332.

50. Abū Isḥāq Ismāʿīl al-Jahḍamī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2005), 116–18; cf. *Umm*, 6: 298–99.

51. Joseph Schacht, "On Some Manuscripts in the Libraries of Kairouan and Tunis," *Arabica* 14 (1967): 225–58, at 247–48; cf. *Umm*, 8: 620.

52. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī, *Taʿẓīm qadr al-ṣalā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Frīwāʾī, 2 vols. (Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1406/1986), 2: 981–82; cf. *Umm*, 2: 154–55.

53. Compare al-Marwazī's *Sunna*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Buṣayrī (Riyadh: Dār al-ʿĀṣima, 2001), 132 with *Umm*, 5: 383; *Sunna*, 39–40 with *Risāla*, in *Umm*, 1: 35 (para. 260); *Sunna*, 265 with *Risāla*, 1: 34 (para. 252).

54. *Risāla*, in *Umm*, 1: 44–47 (paras. 311–35).

55. Compare al-Marwazī, *Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ*, 177, with *Umm*, 3: 87.

56. Compare al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-Umm li-l-Shāfiʿī*, ed. Khalīl Shīḥā (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 2004), 28 (Bāb ṣifat al-ṣalā), with *Umm*, 2: 232.

57. Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, 24 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1954); see, for example, 3: 241; 9: 575; 10: 81 (references to the *Umm* are given in the notes).

significantly, the extant small fragments of al-Ṭabarī's work on comparative law (*Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā*) contain numerous verbatim quotations from the *Umm*. One of these fragments quotes the *Umm* about fifty times, the longest quoted passage consisting of over 350 words.[58]

8. Abū ʿAwāna al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 316/928 or 929), a student of al-Rabīʿ, gives in his hadith collection a very close paraphrase of al-Shāfiʿī's argument in the *Umm*.[59] His father, Abū Yaʿqūb al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 284/896 or 897), had studied with al-Muzanī and heard the *Umm* from al-Rabīʿ, demonstrating an early family continuity in adherence to Shāfiʿī teaching.[60]

9. The most extensive collection of quotations from al-Shāfiʿī's *Umm* that I have located is found in the works of Abū Bakr b. al-Mundhir (d. 318/930), who was a student of al-Rabīʿ. His shorter work on comparative law contains approximately four hundred verbatim quotations from al-Shāfiʿī's *Umm*.[61] His more extensive work on comparative law, which has not yet been fully edited, promises to yield even more such references, judging by the first eleven volumes that have already been published.[62] In a passage that remarkably encapsulates the culture of accuracy among early Shāfiʿī jurists, Ibn al-Mundhir mentions an alternative opinion attributed to al-Shāfiʿī, and goes on to say: "I do not find this opinion in his [al-Shāfiʿī's] Egyptian books which we read back to al-Rabīʿ, so I do not know whether this can be safely attributed to al-Shāfiʿī, since the person who related it to me did not mention having heard it from him."[63] The modern editor of Ibn al-Mundhir's works points out that fifth/eleventh-century Shāfiʿī scholars quoted this opinion via al-Shāfiʿī's student Ḥarmala (d. 243/858), whose work they still possessed, but which is now lost.

10. The above-mentioned Ḥanafī scholar and traditionist Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933), the nephew of al-Muzanī and student of al-Rabīʿ, quotes the *Umm* verbatim on several occasions in his major work on hadith (*Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*), specifying that he received a formal transmission from al-Rabīʿ and even mentioning the titles of the *Umm*'s chapters that he cites.[64] Furthermore, in his work on comparative law, which survives in the abridgment of the fourth/tenth-century jurist Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981), al-Ṭaḥāwī gives further verbatim quotations from the *Umm*.[65]

58. I have analyzed only the Cairo fragment of this work, edited by Friedrich Kern (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990), 27, 29–31; cf. *Umm*, 9: 309–12. In his study of the Istanbul fragment of the work, Joseph Schacht also concluded that al-Ṭabarī's quotations of al-Shāfiʿī are overwhelmingly accurate; see al-Ṭabarī, *Das konstantinopler Fragment des Kitāb Iḥtilāf al-fuqahāʾ des Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ǧarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī*, ed. Joseph Schacht (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933), xxi–xxiv.

59. Abū ʿAwāna al-Isfarāyīnī, *Musnad Abī ʿAwāna*, ed. Ayman b. ʿĀrif al-Dimashqī, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1998), 3: 304; cf. *Umm*, 6: 118.

60. Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1990), 2: 57.

61. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, *al-Ishrāf ʿalā madhāhib al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Ṣaghīr Aḥmad Muḥammad Ḥanīf, 10 vols. (Mecca: Maktabat Makka al-Thaqāfiyya, 2004). The editor of this work has done a remarkable job in tracking down Ibn al-Mundhir's citations. The helpful index permits quick location of the quotations of al-Shāfiʿī, and a random sample indicates these to be accurate.

62. Ibn al-Mundhir, *al-Awsaṭ fī l-sunan wa-l-ijmāʿ wa-l-ikhtilāf*, ed. Ṣaghīr Aḥmad Muḥammad Ḥanīf, 11 vols. (Riyadh: Dār Ṭayyiba, 1985–1999). Regarding the existence of Ibn al-Mundhir's still more comprehensive work, on which the two shorter books are based, see the editor's introduction, esp. 1: 22–26.

63. *Awsaṭ*, 1: 130; *Ishrāf*, 1: 66.

64. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 7: 228: "al-Rabīʿ gave us a [certificate of] permission to transmit (*ijāza*) from al-Shāfiʿī in his book on wills"; cf. *Umm*, 5: 206.

65. Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Mukhtaṣar Ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Nadhīr Aḥmad, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyya, 1996); compare, for example, 4: 173 with *Umm*, 4: 496; 4: 76 with *Umm*, 7: 203; and 2: 331 with *Umm*, 8: 149.

11. Abū Bakr b. Ziyād al-Naysābūrī (d. 324/935 or 936), who studied with al-Rabīʿ and al-Muzanī, quotes the *Umm* several times verbatim in his addenda to al-Muzanī's compendium.[66]

12. The traditionist Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938) quotes the *Umm* in his Qurʾan commentary[67] and the *Risāla* in both his work on hadith transmitters (*al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*) and his work on broken chains of transmission (*al-Marāsīl*).[68] Both of these quotations are transmitted through al-Rabīʿ.

13. Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm (d. 346/957), one of the most important students of al-Rabīʿ, extracted the hadith from al-Shāfiʿī's corpus of works, which he had studied with al-Rabīʿ. He taught the resulting text, which became known as *Musnad al-Shāfiʿī*, for sixty years until his death. In it he reports, "We completed studying al-Shāfiʿī's work from beginning to end by reading it back to al-Rabīʿ (*qirāʾatan ʿalayh*) on Wednesday in the middle of Shaʿbān in the year 266 [March 880] . . . I am not aware of anything that we failed to study from al-Shāfiʿī's books."[69] The *Musnad* contains 1,837 hadith that, based on a representative sample, match the hadith found in our copy of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus, with the exception of a handful of hadith in two chapters that are based on a text by al-Shāfiʿī entitled *Kitāb al-Amālī*, which is not part of the extant *Umm*.[70] In addition, the *Musnad* contains verbatim quotations of al-Shāfiʿī's discussions in the *Umm*.[71] Al-Aṣamm's transmission of the *Umm*, through his student Abū Saʿīd al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣayrafī (d. 421/1030), is further quoted in al-Bayhaqī's (d. 458/1066) book on the hadith underpinning the work of al-Shāfiʿī. For example, al-Bayhaqī quotes al-Shāfiʿī's important statement of the hierarchy of sources from the Aṣamm transmission, which matches the extant text of the *Umm*.[72]

The abundance and extent of verbatim and near-verbatim quotations of al-Shāfiʿī's writings in sources from the third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries are remarkable—all the more so considering that only relatively few works from this period survive. The quotations above most likely represent only the tip of the iceberg: there are surely others in extant texts that I have not found, and many more in works that have been lost over the centuries. These quotations demonstrate the significant impact of al-Shāfiʿī's teaching already during the lifetime of his students, and decisively disprove Calder's claim that al-Shāfiʿī's writings remained unknown to the generation of scholars that immediately followed him.[73]

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66. Ibn Ziyād al-Naysābūrī, *Ziyādāt ʿalā kitāb al-Muzanī*, ed. Khālid b. Hāyif b. ʿUrayj al-Mutayrī (Riyadh: Dār Aḍwāʾ al-Salaf, and Kuwait: Dār al-Kawthar, 2005), 315, 355, 399, 497–98, 555, 578 (the references to the *Umm* are given in the notes).

67. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, ed. Asʿad Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib, 10 vols. (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, n.d.), 5: 1651; cf. *Umm*, 5: 306.

68. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, 4 vols. in 9 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1952–1953), 2: 29–30; cf. *Risāla*, in *Umm*, 1: 170–71 (paras. 1000–1002); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, ed. Shukr Allāh b. Niʿmat Allāh Qūzhānī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1977), 7, 14; cf. *Risāla*, in *Umm*, 1: 214 (paras. 1263–64).

69. Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, *Musnad al-Imām Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. Rifʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyya, 2005), 2: 2000.

70. Al-Aṣamm, *Musnad al-Shāfiʿī*, 1: 306–32; 2: 1942–72.

71. See, for example, al-Aṣamm, *Musnad al-Shāfiʿī*, 2: 1781; cf. *Umm*, 9: 307.

72. Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, *Maʿrifat al-sunan wa-l-āthār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Amīn Qalʿajī, 15 vols. (Aleppo: Dār al-Waʿī, 1991), 1: 183–84; cf. *Umm*, 8: 764.

73. Calder bases his claim on a single third/ninth-century author, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), in whose work he found only one marginal reference to al-Shāfiʿī. However, Ibn Qutayba was in fact well acquainted with al-Shāfiʿī's teaching through the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Buwayṭī, which he received from al-Rabīʿ via correspondence; see his *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jabbūrī, 3 vols. (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀnī, 1397/1997), 1: 200, and below under section V, "The Two Compendia."

A detailed comparison of these quotations with the text of the *Umm* itself allows us to appreciate the nature and accuracy as well as the limitations of intertextuality in a manuscript culture. I will now offer illustrative excerpts from the three longest continuous quotations of the *Umm* that I have found (each of which is at least three hundred words long); each excerpt is accompanied by the text of the *Umm* according to its modern-day edition. All differences between the two texts are highlighted. To facilitate easy comparison, the location of sections that are found in only one text is marked in the other text with blocks of highlighting.

The first example is taken from al-Marwazī's *Taʿẓīm qadr al-ṣalā*; I have selected this passage specifically because it contains relatively more discrepancies with al-Shāfiʿī's text than the rest of al-Marwazī's long quotation. The comparison demonstrates the high degree of accuracy of al-Marwazī's reproduction of al-Shāfiʿī's writing. The only differences in the text concern linguistic details, involving the substitution, addition, or omission of prepositions, interjections (*qāla*), suffixes, and terms of reverence (*ʿazza wa-jall*).[74] The form of the text, in contrast, is unaltered, as is the legal position expressed.
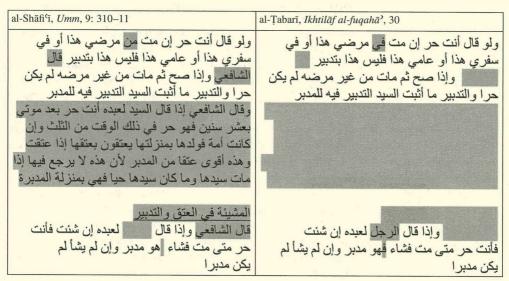
al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, 2: 154	al-Marwazī, *Taʿẓīm qadr al-ṣalā*, 2: 981
فإن غلب على عقله في ردته لمرض أو غيره قضى الصلاة في أيام غلبته على عقله ▮ كما يقضيها في أيام عقله ▮ فإن قيل فلم لم تجعله قياسا على المشرك يسلم فلا تأمره بإعادة الصلاة قيل فرق الله تعالى بينهما فقال ▮ "قل للذين كفروا إن ينتهوا يغفر لهم ما قد سلف" وأسلم رجال فلم يأمرهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم بقضاء صلاة ومن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم على المشركين وحرم الله ▮ دماء أهل الكتاب	وإن غلب على عقله في ردته لمرض أو غيره قضى الصلاة في أيام غلبتها على عقله قال كما يقضيها في أيام عقله قال فإن قيل فلم لم تجعله قياسا على المشرك يسلم فلا تأمره بإعادة ▮ صلاة قيل فرق الله تعالى بينهما فقال عز و جل "قل للذين كفروا إن ينتهوا يغفر لهم ما قد سلف" وأسلم رجال فلم يأمرهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم بقضاء صلاة ومن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم على المشركين وحرم الله تعالى دماء أهل الكتاب

The second example is taken from al-Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*. Beyond minor discrepancies similar to those seen in al-Marwazī (the replacement of *min* with *fī*, the addition of *fa-*, the omission of *qāla*, and the insertion of an additional word, *al-rajul*), al-Ṭabarī omits a substantial section of text that is present in today's *Umm*. However, the omitted passage is found a few pages earlier in al-Ṭabarī's book, attributed—as is the entire passage excerpted here—to al-Shāfiʿī via al-Rabīʿ.[75] Al-Ṭabarī's lengthy quotation also omits an earlier passage of approximately the same length, which constitutes a digression from the core argument pursued in the *Umm* at that point.[76] The absence of this passage in al-Ṭabarī's quotation, together with its apparent lack of relevance to the argument at hand, could be seen as an indication that it represents a later addition to the text of the *Umm*, along the lines suggested by Calder. However, the omitted passage in the example below demonstrates that al-Ṭabarī clearly felt free to quote his source selectively, and it is very possible that he simply chose to leave out the second, seemingly superfluous, passage.
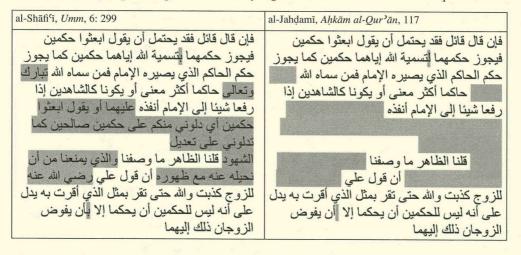
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74. It should be noted that while the *Umm* is available in a critical edition that draws on multiple manuscripts, the same is not true of the works of al-Marwazī, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Jahḍamī, which may amplify the apparent discrepancies.

75. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*, 27.

76. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*, 30–31.

al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, 9: 310–11	al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*, 30
ولو قال أنت حر إن مت من مرضي هذا أو في سفري هذا أو عامي هذا فليس هذا بتدبير قال الشافعي وإذا صح ثم مات من غير مرضه لم يكن حرا والتدبير ما أثبت السيد التدبير فيه للمدبر وقال الشافعي إذا قال السيد لعبده أنت حر بعد موتي بعشر سنين فهو حر في ذلك الوقت من الثلث وإن كانت أمة فولدها بمنزلتها يعتقون بعتقها إذا عتقت وهذه أقوى عتقا من المدبر لأن هذه لا يرجع فيها إذا مات سيدها وما كان سيدها حيا فهي بمنزلة المدبرة المشيئة في العتق والتدبير قال الشافعي وإذا قال لعبده إن شئت فأنت حر متى مت فشاء هو مدبر وإن لم يشأ لم يكن مدبرا	ولو قال أنت حر إن مت في مرضي هذا أو في سفري هذا أو عامي هذا فليس هذا بتدبير وإذا صح ثم مات من غير مرضه لم يكن حرا والتدبير ما أثبت السيد التدبير فيه للمدبر وإذا قال الرجل لعبده إن شئت فأنت حر متى مت فشاء فهو مدبر وإن لم يشأ لم يكن مدبرا

The third and final example, taken from a long quotation in al-Jahḍamī's *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, also features several instances of omission. The first of these concerns the deferential phrase *tabāraka wa-taʿāla* and is meaningless; but the second most likely represents an accidental oversight, given that without the omitted passage, the hypothetical objection to al-Shāfiʿī's position being discussed here makes little sense. The third omission immediately afterwards, on the other hand, is of a short subordinate clause that is neither necessary for the meaning of the overall sentence nor adds anything substantial to the outlined position. It is difficult to imagine a reason for its later addition to the text, and it seems probable that it, too, is the victim of inadvertent exclusion by al-Jahḍamī or a later copyist. Another likely copyist error, this time of the *saut du même au même* variety, is found in a quotation located a page before the section reproduced below in al-Jahḍamī's work, where a passage of several lines between two very similar phrases (*ghayrihimā wa-kāna* and *ghayrihimā wa-idhā kāna*) has been omitted.[77] It should be noted that while al-Marwazī and al-Ṭabarī were Shāfiʿīs who studied the *Umm* with al-Rabīʿ, al-Jahḍamī was a Mālikī and is not known to have studied the text with a Shāfiʿī scholar. This may explain in part the relatively higher occurrence of errors in his quotation.

al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, 6: 299	al-Jahḍamī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 117
فإن قال قائل فقد يحتمل أن يقول ابعثوا حكمين فيجوز حكمهما لتسمية الله إياهما حكمين كما يجوز حكم الحاكم الذي يصيره الإمام فمن سماه الله تبارك وتعالى حاكما أكثر معنى أو يكونا كالشاهدين إذا رفعا شيئا إلى الإمام أنفذه عليهما أو يقول ابعثوا حكمين أي دلوني منكم على حكمين صالحين كما تدلوني على تعديل الشهود قلنا الظاهر ما وصفنا والذي يمنعنا من أن نحيله عنه مع ظهوره أن قول علي رضي الله عنه للزوج كذبت والله حتى تقر بمثل الذي أقرت به يدل على أنه ليس للحكمين أن يحكما إلا بأن يفوض الزوجان ذلك إليهما	فإن قال قائل فقد يحتمل أن يقول ابعثوا حكمين فيجوز حكمهما لتسمية الله إياهما حكمين كما يجوز حكم الحاكم الذي يصيره الإمام فمن سماه الله حاكما أكثر معنى أو يكونا كالشاهدين إذا رفعا شيئا إلى الإمام أنفذه قلنا الظاهر ما وصفنا أن قول علي للزوج كذبت والله حتى تقر بمثل الذي أقرت به يدل على أنه ليس للحكمين أن يحكما إلا أن يفوض الزوجان ذلك إليهما

77. Al-Jahḍamī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 117. On *saut du même au même*, see Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 234.

What these examples demonstrate is that third/ninth-century authors were successful in transmitting works, copying them, and reproducing substantial quotations from them in other works with a high degree of accuracy. This is especially remarkable in view of the inevitable pitfalls of a manuscript culture: the mediation of teachers and scribes in the transmission of a text creates countless openings for both accidental mistakes and intentional modifications that may alter the text and thereby obscure the original authorial intention.[78] In the three examples analyzed above, none of the authors has added anything of his own to the text, beyond a few individual words and phrases of little significance. Two of the three texts do omit sections that are found in today's *Umm*; however, most of these are passages that are integral to the argument being made, and therefore are likely to represent accidental omissions rather than conscious attempts at modification or indications of later accretions to the *Umm*. (As Behnam Sadeghi has noted, omission of text in the process of copying can often plausibly be explained as the result of sincere error, but this is less frequently the case with addition of new material.[79]) Other omitted passages may have been left out deliberately or reproduced elsewhere, as is the case with the section that was excluded by al-Ṭabarī; third/ninth-century literature evidently did not have conventions comparable to the modern use of ellipses to indicate omissions within quotations. These and other comparisons, made possible by the substantial extent of the material reproduced from the *Umm* in other early works, allow us to conclude that within the inherent limitations imposed by a manuscript culture, the *Umm* has been transmitted with a high degree of accuracy.

IV. BOOKS AND CHAPTERS

A second indication of the authenticity of the present-day text of al-Shāfiʿī's works can be gleaned from the *Umm*'s chapter divisions. Although the order and in some cases the titles of the *Umm*'s chapters remained fluid at least until the second generation of Shāfiʿī scholars, the broad contents of the *Umm* appear to have possessed a remarkable degree of stability already in the mid-ninth century. This can be seen through a close comparison of the chapters of the *Umm* as we have it today with different versions of the *Umm*'s table of contents that can be found in the works of Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm,[80] Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995),[81] al-Bayhaqī,[82] and Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229),[83] as well as in the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Buwayṭī.[84]

The present-day *Umm*, based on the transmission of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥaṣāʾirī (b. 242/856 or 857; d. 338/950),[85] comprises seventy-seven books (*kutub*) with hundreds of sub-divisions, including both chapters (*abwāb*) and other titled sections. The bulk of the work contains the usual chapters of positive law (*furūʿ*), beginning with the rules of purity and other aspects of ritual law and going on to cover the laws of sales, inheritance, marriage, and divorce; penal

78. Richard Trachsler, "How to Do Things with Manuscripts: From Humanist Practice to Recent Textual Criticism," *Textual Cultures: Text, Contexts, Interpretation* 1 (2006): 5–28, at 14–22.

79. Behnam Sadeghi and Uwe Bergmann, "A Codex of a Companion of the Prophet and the Qurʾān of the Prophet," *Arabica* 57 (2010): 343–36, at 387 n. 84.

80. Al-Aṣamm, *Musnad al-Shāfiʿī*, 3: 2772–75.

81. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, 2 pts. with 2 vols. each (London: Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2009), pt. 1, 2: 39–41.

82. Al-Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, 1971), 1: 247–54. On the lists given by Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Bayhaqī, see also Bilal Aybakan, *İmam Şâfiî ve fıkıh düşüncesinin mezhepleşmesi* (Istanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2007), 117–23.

83. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb [Muʿjam al-udabāʾ]*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 9 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 6: 2416–18.

84. This work is discussed further below; see also my "First Shāfiʿī."

85. See the editor's introduction in the *Umm*, 1: 50–51. The only exceptions seem to be *Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* and *Kitāb al-Ḥajj*, which were transmitted by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sayf al-Sijistānī (d. 315 or 316/927-29) and an unknown scholar respectively; see *Umm*, 10: 5 and 3: 269.

law and the law of war; and slavery and manumission, to name only a few. The remaining sections, representing roughly a third of the total length, are a collection of discrete treatises, including refutations and polemical works (such as *al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan* and *Ikhtilāf Mālik*), as well as writings on legal theory (*Risāla*, *Jimāʿ al-ʿilm*, and *Ibṭāl al-istiḥsān*). Some scholars, both classical and modern, have described the positive law sections of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus as the *Umm* proper,[86] and treat the other writings as addenda. However, there is no indication that al-Shāfiʿī had intended to publish a single work on positive law and then wrote other polemical or legal-theoretical works. Rather, it seems likely that he wrote and re-wrote individual treatises on various legal subjects, both substantive and polemical/theoretical, which were then gathered by his students into the book that came to carry the name of the *Umm*.[87] An indication of this is the fact that the placement of the putative addenda varies considerably in the later lists of contents. The *Risāla*, for example, is mentioned variously as the first (Ibn al-Nadīm), the twenty-second (al-Aṣamm), or the twenty-sixth (Yāqūt) book of the *Umm*, while *Ibṭāl al-istiḥsān* is listed as number 29 (al-Aṣamm), number 104 (Ibn al-Nadīm), or number 122 (Yāqūt).

There is also no consensus regarding the total number of chapters in the *Umm* in the classical literature. In contrast to the seventy-seven books in today's *Umm*, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm's *Musnad al-Shāfiʿī* lists a total of seventy books (*kutub*) of al-Shāfiʿī. Ibn al-Nadīm gives a list of 104 books that constituted Abū Bakr al-Sijistānī's copy of the *Umm*. Al-Bayhaqī's work on al-Shāfiʿī gives another list of 128 books, while Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentions 130 books within the *Umm*. Al-Buwayṭī's compendium, which, as will be seen below, closely follows the structure of the *Umm*, includes in some manuscripts as many as 152 chapters.[88] However, the broad range of these numbers is not a reflection of different conceptions regarding the actual contents of the *Umm*. Rather, it is the product of variance in methods of counting and categorizing subsections within the text. For example, the subheadings used in two manuscripts of al-Buwayṭī's compendium do not discriminate between sections that are complete books and those that are formed by individual *masāʾil* of only a few lines. Of the resulting total of 152 sections, twenty-five consist of brief *masāʾil* that in other manuscripts are incorporated into bigger chapters. More significantly, many of the secondary tables of contents list sections that in the *Umm* are categorized as chapters (*abwāb*) rather than books (*kutub*); as mentioned above, the former greatly outnumber the latter. An illustrative example is a work that in the *Umm* carries the title "Bāb Ṣifat al-aʾimma" and forms part of the book on prayer,[89] but that in Yāqūt's list of contents appears as a separate book with the name *Kitāb Faḍāʾil Quraysh wa-l-Anṣār*.[90] The designation of the work as a book vs. a chapter and its actual title are different, but its content is the same: an argument in support of the special position of certain tribes (the Anṣārī tribes and the Quraysh) as the natural leaders (*aʾimma*) of the community. Although I have not traced every book or chapter named in later sources to its original in the *Umm*, extensive sampling has yielded only a single work that does not

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86. See, for example, al-Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī*, 1: 247, and Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), 338.

87. It should be noted that al-Shāfiʿī's other students, including al-Muzanī, Ḥarmala, and al-Zaʿfarānī, compiled their own collections of al-Shāfiʿī's writings under various titles. For al-Muzanī's *Mabsūṭ*, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tawālī l-taʾnīs bi-maʿālī Ibn Idrīs*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kandarī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2008), 170; al-Muzanī himself refers to *al-Jāmiʿ* in the *Mukhtaṣar*, e.g., at 168 (Mukhtaṣar al-shufʿa min al-Jāmiʿ). For Ḥarmala's *Umm*, see al-Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī*, 2: 347; and for al-Zaʿfarānī's *Mabsūṭ*, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, pt. 1, 2: 42.

88. See, for example, Abū Yaʿqūb al-Buwayṭī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Buwayṭī*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Murad Molla, ms 1189 (196 fols., copied 625/1228). Subsequent references to al-Buwayṭī's *Mukhtaṣar* are to this manuscript, unless otherwise specified.

89. *Umm*, 2: 309–10.

90. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 6: 2417.

seem to be found in the *Umm*, namely, *Kitāb al-Amālī*, which is mentioned by al-Aṣamm[91] and appears to be lost. (Melchert's assertion that today's *Umm* is missing the treatise entitled *Siyar al-Wāqidī* is incorrect.[92])

On the other hand, it seems probable that many chapters in the *Umm* received their titles from al-Shāfiʿī himself. This is indicated by the existence of internal references in the work.[93] For example, al-Shāfiʿī notes in the introduction to his book on judgments (*Kitāb al-Aqḍiya*) that "the explanation for this is found in the book on judgments, namely, the book on the witness and the oath (*Kitāb al-Shāhid wa-l-yamīn*)."[94] This reference corresponds to a section approximately 150 pages later, entitled "What is judged according to an oath and a witness" (*mā yuqḍā fīhi bi-l-yamīn maʿa l-shāhid*).[95] Although the existing title differs slightly, al-Shāfiʿī's reference nevertheless points to a clearly recognizable chapter by indicating its subject matter (judgments based on a witness statement and an oath) and its location in the larger entity of the book on judgments. The latter serves to distinguish this section from the similarly titled "Bāb al-Yamīn maʿa l-shāhid" in the book on punishments.[96] Similar examples of cross-referencing within the work can be found dozens of times.[97] While in most cases the indicated section can be easily located, in one instance al-Shāfiʿī refers to the book on duress (*Kitāb al-Ikrāh*), which al-Rabīʿ, in an added comment, admits that he does not possess.[98]

Comparing the chapters of today's *Umm* with the versions given by other authors, we find little substantive difference. The titles differ on occasion, but not to an extent that would render them unrecognizable; the most significant alteration that I have encountered is the above-mentioned example of the section on the superiority of the Quraysh. The hierarchy of books (*kutub*) and chapters (*abwāb*) that would become common in later Arabic works was not used consistently in the *Umm*, and as a consequence the later transmissions differ on whether to label particular sections *kitāb* or *bāb*. Al-Aṣamm's list of contents mentions only the major sections, whereas al-Buwayṭī includes individual *masāʾil*, but the basic parts of the *Umm* remain identifiable in all lists, even if the ordering of these parts clearly differs in the various transmissions. While the accuracy of the quotations discussed earlier indicates that at least the quoted sections of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus had acquired their current textual form already by the third/ninth century, the broad concordance between the extant *Umm* and secondary sources regarding the overall contents of the work gives prima facie support to the extension of this conclusion also to other, unquoted sections.

V. THE TWO COMPENDIA

In addition to quotations and lists of chapters, abridgment of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus represents another form of literary reception. The compendia authored by al-Buwayṭī and al-Muzanī are composed primarily of abridged and paraphrased sections of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus. Not only are the two works extant in full, but they have also left their own trail of quotations in third/ninth-century literature. Al-Buwayṭī's *Mukhtaṣar* is quoted in Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* and *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, as well as in Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī's *al-Sunan*.[99]

91. Al-Aṣamm, *Musnad al-Shāfiʿī*, 1: 306–32; 2: 1942–72.

92. Melchert, "Meaning of *Qāla ʾl-Shāfiʿī*," 278. For the treatise, see *Umm*, 5: 641–721.

93. Some of these references are written in the first person ("as I mentioned in . . ."), making it unlikely that they were added by later scholars. See, for example, *Umm*, 3: 113; 5: 69.

94. *Umm*, 7: 487.

95. *Umm*, 7: 633.

96. *Umm*, 8: 194–95.

97. See, for example, *Umm*, 5: 297, 683; 6: 720; 8: 309.

98. *Umm*, 4: 498.

99. In Ibn Qutayba's *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, compare 1: 186 with al-Buwayṭī's *Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 43b (Bāb Zakāt al-ghanam wa-l-baqar); 1: 200 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 122a (Masʾala fī l-diyāt); 2: 163 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 91a (Kitāb al-Ḥajj);

It seems likely that Ibn Qutayba's *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* was composed no later than the year 236/850, [100] i.e., no more than five years after al-Buwayṭī's death. [101] Al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar* is quoted extensively in Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī's work *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār* [102] as well as in the work of the hadith scholar Abū ʿAwāna al-Isfarāyīnī. [103] The compendium also served as the source for Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Kinānī's (d. 289/902) refutation of Shāfiʿism. [104]

Most abridged sections in the two compendia can be identified in their original form in the *Umm*. Al-Buwayṭī's compendium digests al-Shāfiʿī's writing to a much lesser degree than does al-Muzanī's work: the chapter divisions of the original are kept and each chapter is abridged separately. The following comparison of a section in al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla* and its abridgment in al-Buwayṭī's compendium demonstrates how closely al-Buwayṭī followed the original text, simply reducing it down to its core:

al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 1: 164–65 (paras. 961–65)	al-Buwayṭī, *Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 172a (Bāb Fī l-Risāla)
فقال لي قائل ما العلم وما يجب على الناس في العلم فقلت له العلم علمان علم عامة لا يسع بالغا غير مغلوب على عقله جهله قال ومثل ماذا قلت مثل الصلوات الخمس وأن لله على الناس صوم شهر رمضان وحج البيت اذا استطاعوه وزكاة في أموالهم وأنه عليهم حرم الزنا والقتل والسرقة والخمر وما كان في معنى هذا مما كلف العباد أن يعقلوه ويعملوه ويعطوه من أنفسهم وأموالهم وأن يكفوا عنه ما حرم عليهم منه وهذا الصنف كله من العلم موجودا نصا في كتاب الله وموجودا عاما عند أهل الاسلام ينقله عوامهم عن من مضى من عوامهم يحكونه عن رسول الله ولا يتنازعون في حكايته ولا وجوبه عليهم وهذا العلم العام الذي لا يمكن فيه الغلط من الخبر ولا التأويل ولا يجوز فيه التنازع	قال لي قائل ما العلم وما يجب على الناس من العلم قلت العلم علمان علم العامة لا يسع البالغ جهله وذلك مثل أن الصلوات خمس وأن لله على الناس صوم شهر رمضان وحج البيت إن استطاع إليه سبيلا وعليهم الزكاة في أموالهم وأنه حرم عليهم السرقة والزنا والخمر وما كان في معنى هذه مما كلف العباد أن يعلموه وأن يعطوه من أموالهم وأنفسهم وأن يكفوا عما حرم الله عليهم منه

Al-Muzanī, in contrast, does not adhere to al-Shāfiʿī's chapter division, but rather condenses and reorganizes al-Shāfiʿī's material in chapters of his own design. However, he prefaces most chapters by naming the works of al-Shāfiʿī on which that chapter draws. In

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2: 325 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 158a (Bāb Fī l-jihād wa-ghayrih); 2: 336 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 32b (Bāb Taqsīr al-musāfir); and 2: 648 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 160b (Bāb al-Aḥkām). In Ibn Qutayba's *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Najjār (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1972), compare 314 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 180b (al-Waḍʿ ʿalā Mālik). In Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ [al-Sunan]*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir et al., 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1980–1989; repr. of Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1975–1978), compare 1: 14 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 9a (Bāb Ghusl al-jumuʿa); 1: 43 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 2a (Bāb al-Maḍmaḍa wa-l-istinshāq wa-l-mash bi-l-raʾs wa-l-khimār); 1: 228 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 8b (Bāb al-Tayammum mā huwa); 4: 119 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 157b (Bāb Fī l-jihād wa-ghayrih); and 4: 122 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 158a (Bāb Fī l-jihād wa-ghayrih).

100. Gérard Lecomte's dating, quoted in Joseph Lowry, "Ibn Qutayba: The Earliest Witness to al-Shāfiʿī and His Legal Doctrines," in *ʿAbbasid Studies*, ed. Montgomery, 303–19, at 305.

101. For a more detailed argument for the authenticity of al-Buwayṭī's *Mukhtaṣar*, see my "First Shāfiʿī," 338–41.

102. Compare, for example, al-Ṭaḥāwī's *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 1: 90 with al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar*, 286 (Bāb Kayf al-liʿān); 11: 64 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 438 (Bāb Taʿjīl al-kitāba); and 15: 246 with *Mukhtaṣar*, 354 (Bāb ʿAdad ḥadd al-khamr).

103. Abū ʿAwāna al-Isfarāyīnī, *Musnad Abī ʿAwāna*, 3: 227; cf. al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 427 (Bāb ʿItq al-shirk fī l-ṣiḥḥa wa-l-maraḍ wa-l-waṣāyā fī l-ʿitq).

104. Fragments of al-Kinānī's work are extant in manuscript form, and these are quoted in Muḥammad Abū l-Ajfān, "Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar min khilāl kitābihi *al-Ḥujja fī l-radd ʿalā l-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*," *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya* 29 (1985): 713–47, at 734.

this process he veers further from the original form of al-Shāfiʿī's writing, but the text of the *Umm* nevertheless remains generally recognizable:

al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, 7: 504 (Mushāwarat al-qāḍī)	al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 401–2 (Kitāb Adab al-qāḍī)
ولا يشاور في أمره إلا عالما بكتاب وسنة وآثار وأقاويل الناس و عاقلا يعرف القياس ولا يحرف الكلام ووجوهه ولا يكون هذا في رجل حتى يكون عالما بلسان العرب ولا يشاوره إذا كان هذا مجتمعا فيه حتى يكون مأمونا في دينه لا يقصد إلا قصد الحق عنده ولا يقبل ممن كان هكذا عنده شيئا أشار به عليه على حال حتى يخبره أنه أشار به من خبر يلزم وذلك كتاب أو سنة أو إجماع أو من قياس على أحدهما ولا يقبل منه وإن قال هذا له حتى يعقل منه ما يعقل فيقهه عليه فيعرف منه معرفته ولا يقبله منه وإن عرفه هكذا حتى يسأل هل له وجه يحتمل غير الذي قال فإن لم يكن له وجه يحتمل غير الذي قال أو كانت سنة فلم يختلف في روايتها قبله وإن كان للقرآن وجهان أو كانت سنة رويت مختلفة أو سنة ظاهرها يحتمل وجهين لم يعمل بأحد الوجهين حتى يجد دلالة من كتاب أو سنة أو إجماع أو قياس على أن الوجه الذي عمل به هو الوجه الذي يلزمه والذي هو أولى به من الوجه الذي تركه وهكذا يعمل في القياس لا يعمل بالقياس أبدا حتى يكون أولى بالكتاب أو السنة أو الإجماع أو أصح في المصدر من الذي ترك ويحرم عليه أن يعمل بغير هذا من قوله استحسنت لأنه إذا أجاز لنفسه استحسنت أجاز لنفسه أن يشرع في الدين وغير جائز له أن يقلد أحدا من أهل دهره وإن كان أبين فضلا في العقل والعلم منه ولا يقضي أبدا إلا بما يعرف	ولا يشاور إذا نزل به المشكل إلا عالما بالكتاب والسنة والآثار وأقاويل الناس والقياس ولسان العرب ولا يقبل وإن كان أعلم منه حتى يعلم كعلمه أن ذلك لازم له من حيث لم تختلف الرواية فيه أو بدلالة عليه أو أنه لا يحتمل وجها أظهر منه

The two compendia also provide an opportunity to assess the extent to which foundational Shāfiʿī texts were manipulated by later scholars to reflect changing legal positions. Though such doctrinal streamlining represents an important aspect of Calder's thesis, the six manuscript copies of the *Umm* on which Rifʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib has based his critical edition do not seem to contain any differences that would indicate deliberate manipulation of the content. The manuscripts of the compendia, in contrast, do contain some evidence of later alteration. However, an examination of these cases shows not only that later streamlining was limited to minute, easily discoverable details, but more significantly that it was the students' writing, not the original work of al-Shāfiʿī, that was subjected to amendment.

The first example is drawn from a comparison of two of the extant manuscripts of al-Buwayṭī's compendium.[105] Short comments by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890) that are identified as such in one manuscript have, in another, been either integrated into the text

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105. The above-quoted Süleymaniye manuscript and Abū Yaʿqūb al-Buwayṭī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Buwayṭī*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, ms 1078 (107 fols., copied 868/1464).

without Abū Ḥātim's name or omitted altogether where they disagree with al-Shāfiʿī. Of the former instances, the most dramatic alteration concerns the addition to the text of a few words originating in Abū Ḥātim's commentary. On the subject of impure substances recently added to a large body of water, al-Shāfiʿī was of the opinion that although such substances did not negate the purity of the water, their removal would be preferable. In the older manuscript, al-Shāfiʿī's position is followed by this interjection: "Abū Ḥātim said, 'That is what he said, and it is [meant to be] recently added and distinct on the water.'" In the later manuscript, however, most of the interjection is excised, leaving only the words "distinct on the water" (*ẓāhir ʿalā l-māʾ*), which now appear as part of al-Shāfiʿī's statement.

Süleymaniye ms, fol. 6a	Topkapı ms 1078, fol. 3b
وإن كانت تلك النجاسة التي وقعت فيه شيئا مستجدا قال أبو حاتم : هكذا قال وإنما هو مستجد ظاهر على الماء أحببت إذا كانت جيفة أن ينزع	وإن كانت تلك النجاسة التي وقعت فيه شيئا مستجدا ظاهرا على الماء أحببت إذا كانت جيفة أن ينزع

A second example is found in al-Buwayṭī's discussion of the case of a man claiming paternity of his former slave's child. The original opinion attributed to al-Shāfiʿī by al-Buwayṭī is that this claim is not accepted, and consequently the child will not carry his name. This position, however, contradicts al-Shāfiʿī's opinion as it appears in the *Umm*, namely, that the former owner is considered the father of the child.[106] In order to remedy this contradiction, three letters in the text of the other manuscript have been altered in order to bring al-Buwayṭī's statement into accord with the *Umm*:

Süleymaniye ms, fol. 89a	Topkapı ms 1078, fol. 100b
وإن باع جارية ومعها ولد ثم ادعى البائع أن الولد ولده ثم يصدق وجعل ابنه	وإن باع جارية ومعها ولد ثم ادعى البائع أن الولد ولده لم يصدق وجعل عبده

Thus the statement, "He is not believed and he is declared his slave," becomes "Then he is believed and he is declared his son." The manipulation, however, remains visible—first, because of the manifest awkwardness of the resulting sentence, and second, because later Shāfiʿī scholarship preserved and faithfully reproduced al-Buwayṭī's narration, even drawing attention to the discrepancy.[107]

A similar instance is found in al-Muzanī's compendium, where al-Muzanī disagrees with al-Shāfiʿī's position regarding the accidental use of perfume during the pilgrimage. The manuscript that forms the basis of the printed version of the compendium simply cuts out one word, *laysa*, from al-Muzanī's objection, thus changing "That does not constitute evidence" into "That does constitute evidence."[108] However, the rest of al-Muzanī's objection is left intact, resulting in an illogical statement. Another manuscript avoids this problem by omitting al-Muzanī's interjection in its entirety,[109] while a third includes the correct statement on the margin.[110]

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106. *Umm*, 4: 327.
107. See, for example, al-Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr* (supra n. 11), 11: 348.
108. Al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 98 (Bāb Fī mā yamtaniʿu ʿalā l-muḥrim min al-lubs).
109. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, ms Fiqh Shāfiʿī 268 (234 fols., copied 798/1395 or 1396).
110. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, ms Fiqh Shāfiʿī 242 (211 fols., copied 698/1298 or 1299).

Printed edition, p. 98	Cairo ms 268, fol. 54b	Cairo ms 242, fol. 45b
ولم يأمره في الخبر بفدية قال المزني في هذا دليل أن ليس عليه فدية إذا لم يكن في الخبر وهكذا روي في الحديث عن النبي في الصائم يقع على امرأته فقال النبي أعتق وافعل ولم يذكر أن عليه القضاء وأجمعوا أن عليه القضاء قال الشافعي وما شم من نبات الأرض مما لا يتخذ طيبا أو أكل تفاحا أو أترجا أو دهن جسده بغير طيب فلا فدية عليه	ولم يأمره في الخبر بفدية وما شم من نبات الأرض مما لا يتخذ طيبا أو أكل تفاحا أو أترجا أو دهن جسده بغير طيب فلا فدية عليه	ولم يأمره في الخبر بفدية قال المزني ليس في هذا دليل أن ليس عليه فدية إذا لم يكن في الخبر وهكذا روي في الحديث عن النبي في الصائم يقع على امرأته فقال النبي أعتق وافعل ولم يذكر أن عليه القضاء وأجمعوا أن عليه القضاء قال الشافعي وما شم من نبات الأرض مما لا يتخذ طيبا أو أكل تفاحا أو أترجا أو دهن جسده بغير طيب فلا فدية عليه

As in the second example from al-Buwayṭī's compendium, a later copyist of al-Muzanī's work evidently attempted to erase the discrepancy between the opinion of al-Shāfiʿī and that of his student through either complete omission or minute manipulation of the offending passage. And as in the case of al-Buwayṭī's compendium, the Shāfiʿī commentary tradition highlighted the manipulation by preserving the original dispute. [111]

What these examples show is that streamlining and textual manipulation did occur in the secondary Shāfiʿī literary tradition, but the small scale of these instances demonstrates the level of respect that Shāfiʿī scholars had toward their texts. Even in those instances where they chose to emend the writings of al-Shāfiʿī's students in order to expunge the latter's disagreements with the master (while many other overt disagreements remained unaltered both in the compendia and in the *Umm* itself[112]), these later Shāfiʿīs limited their interventions to minute textual changes. They did not seem to feel free to completely rewrite sections. Such restrained editing has a historical parallel in the one-letter emendations of the Torah, which similarly represented a compromise between the opposing imperatives of guarding a text's integrity while neutralizing contents that were deemed unacceptable. [113]

Further, manipulations carried out by the later Shāfiʿī scholars were individual in nature, and can consequently be uncovered by comparing manuscripts. The authors of the extensive commentary works of the fifth/eleventh century had so many sources at their disposal that they did not fall for these manipulation attempts, and they evinced no inhibitions in pointing out the discrepancies between al-Shāfiʿī's teachings and those of his students. In fact, the very existence of streamlining in the two compendia demonstrates their secondary status vis-à-vis al-Shāfiʿī's corpus. Criticisms of al-Shāfiʿī by his students did not cause his works to be rewritten to keep abreast of the new developments; rather, it was the writing of his students that was streamlined to bring it into line with the master's written corpus—i.e., the primary source.

111.　Muḥammad Nabīl Ghanāyim, *al-Muzanī wa-atharuhu fī l-fiqh al-shāfiʿī* (Cairo: Dār al-Hidāya, 1998), 203, quoting the judge Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī's (d. 450/1058) commentary on al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar*, still extant in manuscript form.

112.　See, for example, al-Buwayṭī, *Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 122a (Masʾala Fī l-waṣiyya); al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 98 (Bāb Fī mā yamtaniʿu ʿalā l-muḥrim min al-lubs); and *Umm*, 4: 327.

113.　Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E.–IV Century C.E.* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), 28–37.

VI. AL-SHĀFIʿĪ OR AL-RABĪʿ?

It is noteworthy that, like the *Umm* itself, most of the direct quotations from the *Umm* in third/ninth-century literature listed above originate in the transmission of al-Rabīʿ. This is not surprising: already during his lifetime al-Rabīʿ was recognized as the most reliable transmitter of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus,[114] and his student Abū Ismāʿīl al-Tirmidhī (d. 280/893) is said to have compiled a list of those who transmitted al-Shāfiʿī's books from al-Rabīʿ which contained two hundred names.[115] Given al-Rabīʿ's dominant position in the transmission history of the *Umm*, one might reasonably query whether he, rather than his illustrious teacher, in fact represents the real author of the work. However, there is significant evidence to discount this hypothesis.

(1) Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's direct quotation of al-Shāfiʿī's *Umm*, mentioned above, dates to a period before al-Rabīʿ had even met al-Shāfiʿī. (2) The earlier, "Iraqi" version of al-Shāfiʿī's written corpus, predating his later revisions in Egypt, remained extant in the recension of his Iraqi student Abū ʿAlī al-Zaʿfarānī (d. 260/874) for generations; when Ibn al-Nadīm compared this to al-Rabīʿ's recension, he found it to differ only slightly.[116] (3) The first-person account of Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī (d. 264/878), who studied with al-Rabīʿ in Egypt, tells us that the Shāfiʿī corpus taught by al-Rabīʿ and that taught by another student of al-Shāfiʿī, Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā, were interchangeable.[117] (4) The compendia of al-Muzanī and al-Buwayṭī, which, as was seen above, closely parallel the text of the *Umm*, are based on their authors' direct contact with their teacher al-Shāfiʿī, unmediated by al-Rabīʿ.[118] (5) As discussed earlier, the existence of what I have here called a critical public of scholars, both within the school and without, would have made the successful concealment of al-Rabīʿ's misattribution of his work to his teacher unlikely. (6) Finally, al-Rabīʿ's style of writing, as visible in the single substantial section of his prose to be found in the *Umm*, appears markedly different from that of al-Shāfiʿī, with longer sentences but less complex and elegant syntax.[119]

Taken together, these pieces of evidence exclude the possibility that al-Rabīʿ could have authored the *Umm* himself and then circulated it under the name of his teacher.

VII. CONCLUSION

Norman Calder included in his textual analysis of the *Umm* just nine out of its almost 6,500 pages, and limited his investigation of the *Umm*'s reception to a single third/ninth-century work. What, however, the present study has demonstrated is that Calder's conclusions regarding the shadowy provenance of the *Umm* are simply not tenable. A close reading of the evidence that is available in surprising abundance gives us a detailed view into the mechanics and reliability of knowledge transmission among third/ninth-century Shāfiʿīs. This reveals that the teaching and transmission of al-Shāfiʿī's works took place against the background of standards of authenticity based on the formal protocol of hadith transmission. The second generation of al-Shāfiʿī's students expected their teacher al-Rabīʿ to transmit to them al-Shāfiʿī's words exactly as he had heard them from or read them to al-Shāfiʿī, and

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114. According to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (d. 233/847), as quoted by Abū Zakariyyā al-Nawawī in *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa-l-lughāt*, 4 vols. (Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibāʿa al-Munīriyya, 1927), 1: 60.

115. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Intiqāʾ fī faḍāʾil al-aʾimma al-thalātha al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (Aleppo: Maktab al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Islāmiyya, 1997), 177.

116. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, pt. 1, 2: 42.

117. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, 1: 344–45.

118. Al-Rabīʿ did transmit al-Buwayṭī's compendium; see my "First Shāfiʿī," 338–40.

119. *Umm*, 2: 124–27.

he clearly claimed to have done so, freely specifying those instances in which he had fallen short of this standard. We thus find a continuous awareness of the gap between ideal practice and reality, leading to open, self-reflective admission of the limitations and shortcomings of the written material. This characteristic gives the textual corpus of al-Shāfiʿī the complex texture of a historical and authentic text.

Beyond the meticulous scholarship of the early Shāfiʿīs themselves, the hundreds of accurate verbatim quotations, the lists of contents, and the two abridgments of al-Shāfiʿī's writings that can be found in third/ninth-century literature attest to the stability of al-Shāfiʿī's corpus and the reliability of its transmission. In turn, the presence in the *Umm* of extensive quotations of other important early works—Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, al-Shaybānī's *Radd ʿalā ahl al-Madīna*, and Abū Yūsuf's *Ikhtilāf al-ʿIrāqiyyayn*—lends support to the authenticity of these works also. While the ordering of the *Umm*'s chapters and some of their exact titles are the work of al-Shāfiʿī's students and/or the latter's students, there is no evidence to support the thesis that the substantive content of these chapters, beyond signposted interjections, was authored by anyone other than al-Shāfiʿī himself.

My conclusion then is that the corpus of al-Shāfiʿī's writings as available today is authentic to the extent that a manuscript culture can reproduce a text authentically—i.e., with inevitable occasional copyist mistakes. Of course, none of the evidence presented here can conclusively prove that every last word attributed to al-Shāfiʿī in the *Umm* really is his, but it creates an overwhelming presumption in favor of the integrity of the text. The *Umm* can thus legitimately claim its role as the single most important source for Islamic legal history in the formative period of the late second/eighth and early third/ninth centuries.

Typological Figuration and the Meaning of "Spiritual": The Qur'anic Story of Joseph

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INTRODUCTION

The Qur'an is not without a center of narrative gravity despite its notoriously challenging narrative flow. This becomes especially apparent when we are being told about the experience of particular prophets or messengers with their proper community. History and the rise and fall of civilizations and cultures are punctuated by the appearance of these special envoys, according to the Qur'an—thus their epic struggles in the divinely inspired effort to guide humans from ignorance to enlightenment and from savagery to civilization in whatever community they have existed (prophets have been sent to all of them, according to Q 16:36). However, such narrative continuity is frequently difficult to detect "on the page." In these instances, certain characteristic Qur'anic literary features maintain the integrity and coherence of the whole in the absence of explicit and continuous, unbroken narrative dramatic movement.

The following is an attempt to discuss, in sequence, (1) typological figuration as it pertains to (2) the story of Joseph, concluding with a focus on one of the main "characters" in the story, namely, the famous shirt (*qamīṣ*), which functions as a touchstone of narrative continuity and as a symbol of Joseph's spiritual journey and travails. This exploration starts from a premise that the Qur'an and *tafsīr* are both literature. Typological figuration, a venerable and powerful literary device, is in both instances one of the central keys to an otherwise sometimes opaque Qur'anic narrative continuity. In this article it will be seen that typological figuration functions beyond the confines of "mere" literature to inform Islamic piety and religious thought.[1]

I. TYPOLOGICAL FIGURATION

While typological figuration has long been recognized as an important and persuasive literary feature of the Bible and even its exegesis, the Qur'an and the vast literary web that it generated have not yet been subject to the same kind of thorough examination we find, for example, in Leonhard Goppelt's classic study. There it was demonstrated beyond any possible doubt that the authors of the New Testament saw in the life and teachings of Jesus a typological fulfillment (*cum* repetition) of a variety of distinctive themes and motifs and "promises" of the Old Testament. The New Testament is, through typological exegesis, a

1. This is in line with Frye's observation (1990: xv) that the Bible is "a work of literature plus."

tafsīr of the Hebrew Bible and the mission of Jesus is perfectly and seamlessly identified (at least for the authors and their readers) with what has come before. As a result, there is no doubt about the identity of such Old Testament types as "the Lamb of God" or "the Suffering Servant." Even the experience of Jonah in the belly of the whale is seen as a prefigurement of the mission and role of Jesus, especially his period in the tomb before the resurrection. [2]

Typological figuration is, of course, found frequently in many other contexts outside the strictly religious. Since Goppelt's foundational work on the power and prevalence of typological figuration at work in the New Testament, we have grown accustomed to recognizing this literary figure and its persuasive rhetorical and poetic efficacy in various settings. It represents history in a series of conceptual, as distinct from verbal, rhymes. Often we see it at work in studies of history and historiography, ancient, modern, and contemporary. In the "logic" (which transcends logic) of typology, Augustus can be both Aeneas and Romulus redivivus at the same time. It has been suggested that our own confidence in the process of—and one might add the structure we give to—history is probably derived, whether wittingly or unwittingly, from the compelling symmetry and meaning that typological figuration delivers. [3]

Typology says that the old world has ended, a new one is about to be born. Those who perceive this shift and are sympathetic to it, such as the early followers of the Prophet Muḥammad, will be persecuted and ostracized for merely "understanding." The understanding is that Muḥammad represents the new return of the life-giving, divine, ancient and eternal, prophetic spirit. Therefore, this new and numerically insignificant community depends upon the revelation for encouragement, solace, and promise that "it will all work out" despite the serious hardships and obstacles it will undoubtedly be its fate to encounter and suffer. (Paradise, for example, is typically described in the Qurʾan when the Hour or the Last Day is mentioned. [4]) Typology is a figure that unites time, harmonizes it, and gathers it together: "the type exists in the past and the antitype in the present, or the type exists in the present and the antitype in the future." [5] This reflects a basic attitude toward the world and one's place in it with regard to the passing of time. What was formally mere time past is now, as a result of the prophetic imagination, History. So it assumes heretofore-unimagined importance and, at the same time, the mystery of this great secret/importance is revealed. [6] The past is now seen as part of a process through which "meaning" may be identified with human experience. Interpreting Shiʿi theological philosophy on the problem of time and history, Henry Corbin's well-known observation is impossible to ignore: "Our thinkers perceive the world not as 'evolving' in a horizontal and rectilinear direction, but as ascending: the past is not behind us

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2. Goppelt 1982. For Lamb of God, Suffering Servant, and Jonah as typological prefigurations of Jesus as antitype, see pp. 189 and 72–73, respectively. See also Goppelt's near contemporary: Auerbach 1984. On repetition, see Kierkegaard 2009.

For a good example of how the "typological perspective" has permeated Western art and culture, note the numerous interlocking typological pairs depicted in the Sistine Chapel, both around the walls and on the ceiling. The walls present a parallel history of the "epic of the Hebrews" compared with the history of Jesus and his followers. The ceiling, to cite just one example, portrays Jonah with the fish beside him turned towards God, as a prefiguration of the resurrection, symbol of the New Covenant that takes the place of the Old Covenant.

3. Funkenstein 1993: 74–87.

4. "In the Qurʾān, descriptions of the hereafter appear in relation to the arrival of a day, 'the hour' *(al-sāʿa)*, 'reckoning day' *(yawm al-ḥisāb),* 'the day of judgment' *(yawm al-dīn),* 'the last day' *(al-yawm al-ākhir),* or 'the day of resurrection' *(yawm al-qiyāma). . . ."* Kinbergh 2004: 12a. See also Lawson forthcoming a.

5. Frye 1982: 80.

6. Frye 1969: 272.

but 'beneath our feet'."[7] Such a statement actually may go to the heart of a general Islamic view of time and history, and thus has implications far beyond an understanding of Corbin's basic sources, as in this statement from the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*:

> The entire world in all its variety was created by the one creator at one particular moment. It follows that oneness was the ideal state for it at all times and that to which it should always aspire. As the beginning was one, so the expected end of the world is one for everyone and everything. Whatever is and takes place in between these two definite points of created time, no matter how varied in detail, follows a set overall pattern. Thus the history of the past and of the future, including that of the present, is fundamentally uniform. No distinction between the three modes of time need be made by the observer of human history.[8]

This may be akin to what al-Qurṭubī was referring to when he characterized the Night of Power as the point where all time meets, *jamīᶜ al-dahr*. Michael Sells has spoken eloquently in this same connection about what one might call a "sacrament of time and history" or perhaps better an "icon of time and history" and its centrality for Islamic religion in his classic article on the Night of Power:[9]

> The Christian mystics, John the Scot Erigena and Meister Eckhart, both emphasized the combination of perfect and imperfect tenses as essential to an intimation of the "eternal moment," the moment that for Eckhart always has occurred and always is occurring, and which in his Christian interpretation corresponds to the eternal birth of the son of God in the soul. . . . (p. 249 n. 27)

> Through such aural, syntactic, and thematic inter-twining among the *rūḥ* passages involving creation, revelation, and *yawm ad-dīn*, of which the above example is only one of many that could be cited, the spirit takes on a temporal multivalence. The occurrence of the term *rūḥ* within these three distinct moments engenders an intertextual acoustical-semantic dynamic that plays against the separation of the three moments and transforms normal understandings of time. (p. 254)

> The connection between *rūḥ* and *qadr* in *sūrat al-qadr* suggests that this transformation of time into a primordial unity is an aspect of *qadr*. . . . Translators of the Qur'an have tended to choose terms like "power" for *qadr*, terms that express only one side of the semantic field. It is my view that "destiny" might come closer to expressing the mutivalence of the term, though no single English term would seem sufficient. (p. 255)

> The classical interpreters emphasize the storing up of future events in the *laylat al-qadr*, a phenomenon that represents the containment of a span of time (whether one year or all time) within a single moment. (p. 256)

Even if all of the details of this new "meaning" are not completely clear now, they will be made clear in due course. When this happens, the present magically becomes the antitype or repetition of previous history but with the added luminosity of truth revealed, and fulfilled:

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7. Corbin 1993: 5.
8. Rosenthal 2002: 430. Frye (1969: 247) shares the apposite rhetorical musing:

   It would perhaps be difficult to prove completely the axiom that objects do not cease to exist when we have stopped looking at them. Yet it is hard to see how we could maintain a consistent sense of reality without assuming it, and everyone does so assume it in practice and would even assert it as the first article of common sense. For some reason it is more difficult to understand that events do not necessarily cease to exist when we have stopped experiencing them, and those who would assert, as an equally obvious fact, that all things do not dissolve in time any more than they do in space are very rare.

   Compare William Faulkner's now even more famous line in *Requiem for a Nun*: "The past is never dead. It's not even past." Thus an otherwise "spiritual" perspective seems central, at least in the mind of Faulkner, to the making of what we call "art."
9. Sells 1991.

the code cracked.[10] We now understand, and a mystery we may not even have recognized as existing previously is now solved. Such understanding may also acquire the features of revolution, as when the past is simply obliterated and rendered no longer pertinent. Northrup Frye uses the image of waking from sleep:

> When we wake up from sleep, one world is simply abolished and replaced by another. This suggests a clue to the origin of typology: it is essentially a revolutionary form of thought and rhetoric. We have revolutionary thought whenever the feeling "life is a dream" becomes geared to an impulse to waken from it.[11]

The prominence of typology in the Qur'an and *tafsīr* as a hermeneutic presupposition or strategy suggests an association of this literary conceit with what has so aptly been described as the "apocalyptic imagination."[12] It is important to observe that not only does typology move through time and transcend time (Frye's words), but, in fact, typology frequently erases or collapses time. It does this by insisting that in the presence of God all things are somehow happening at once.[13] Time is that which "sorts them out" for human consumption. It is the obliteration of time—perhaps centripetally analogous with the splitting of the atom—that would seem to summon up the powerful literary energies and concerns of bona fide revelation and focus them into an apocalypse.

The constant occurrence of the pervasive figure of typology throughout the Qur'an provides one bank, if you like, for the narrative stream flowing through the Qur'an from "beginning" to "end."[14] The overall structure is much the same as that described in sura Yūsuf some years ago: circular[15] and chiastic.[16] The Qur'an has no beginning and no end, although it contains within its sphere numerous discrete narratives, each with their own beginnings, middles, and ends, whether explicit or implicit.

Note that typological figuration applies to both the prophets and their communities. The first Muslims compared—and in some sense identified—themselves with the ordeals experienced by the Children of Israel and the followers or *qawm* of all other prophets. And, in the nature of things, this was as it should be. To quote from a scholar of Jewish apocalyptic:

> In the pressing need to define spiritual identity in the face of challenge, and to sustain hope, a basic perspective is nevertheless identifiable around which apocalyptic systems grow: it is the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology which furnishes a way of viewing reality which denies the apparent superior position of opposing groups of any validity vis-à-vis divine purpose.[17]

The typological iteration or rendering of Muḥammad's prophethood points to the erasure of time and history in a persuasive and compelling gesture of the prophetic imagination. All time is dissolved or redissolved into the original moment characterized by the Qur'an as the day of the covenant (Q 7:172), a time outside of time in a place beyond place that may indeed

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10. Frye 1982: 80–81.
11. Ibid., 82–83.
12. As in the title of the book by John Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (1989).
13. Such a radical mode of reading has been identified by Auerbach (1984: 42) vis-à-vis Augustine:
    Even though Augustine rejects abstract allegorical spiritualism and develops his whole interpretation of the Old Testament from the concrete historical reality, he nevertheless has an idealism which removes the concrete event, completely preserved as it is, from time and transposes it into the perspective of eternity.
14. The other is the constant interplay of duality, symmetry, and opposition, viz. Qur'anic enantiodromia. See Lawson 2008.
15. Waldman 1986: 55.
16. Mir 1986.
17. Hanson 1979: 433.

be seen as a symbol or metaphor for what has recently come to be discussed in other, more scientistic settings as the birth of consciousness.[18] The apocalyptic secret is revealed: The chaos of mutually exclusive, historical religions is now transformed into a harmony of periodic divine revelation, the reading of which is made possible by the newly proclaimed (yet simultaneously ancient, viz., *badī'*)[19] alphabet of prophets and divine messengers who are shown to be profoundly related and of one purpose. This new alphabet forms the language for the proper reading of the past. The nightmare of history is dealt with by demonstrating exactly how illusory and ephemeral "history as time" is. It is awareness, consciousness, understanding, and their like that are, by comparison, substantial and permanent (though atemporal and supraspatial) and therefore superior to (as in *ṣāḥib* 'owner, master of') history. This is one reason why it may be possible to translate *islām* as 'enlightenment'. Obviously, this is not a literal translation. However, based on the philology of Ignaz Goldziher and Toshihiko Izutsu, it is arguable that the true opposite of *jahl* 'ignorance, savagery' is not *'ilm* 'knowledge' but rather *ḥilm* 'moderation, patience, civility' for which Islam, especially in its adjectival form *islāmī* and used in diametrical opposition to *jāhilī* and its permutations, may be seen as a near synonym.[20] "'The *ḥalīm* is the civilized man', as opposed to the *djāhil,* the 'barbarian'."[21]

Based on comparison and contrast between two principles, typological figuration—ultimately dependent upon symmetry and duality so clearly and unambiguously at work in the Qur'an—may be thought to articulate in a special and distinct way the characteristic apocalyptic élan of the Qur'an by standing for that great secret that the Prophet Muḥammad and the Qur'an unveiled to the chaos of religions that confronted him and that he himself confronted on behalf of God. The secret is none other than the interconnectedness and kinship of all prophetic messages, their prophets, and their followers.[22] This is what is called in the Islamic tradition "spiritual truth" or "reality." The shirt of Joseph (about which more below) is a perfect emblem or symbol of this spiritual truth.

Another key characteristic of typological figuration is that it is generative. Once the basic pattern is introduced, it becomes a matter of the natural, fluent, and unstoppable "logic of

18. See Lawson 2008: 39–40 and Lawson 2010. Note the implication such movement or "return to the beginning" has for the power of the Joseph myth to gather the heretofore scattered energies and resources of "Israel." In such a way does the Qur'an's Joseph have implications for consolidation and individuation on both the communal, societal level and the individual, existential level. Frye's discussion of the myth of *sparagmos* may be suggestive here (1969, esp. 394–97 and 287; see also 289, 403). On the distinctive and characteristic understanding of history in the Qur'an, see Neuwirth 2008; Rosenthal 2002. See now also the recent discussion by Stewart 2010.

19. *Badī'* means, in a passive sense, "innovated, discovered," but because it also evokes God the Originator/Innovator par excellence—one of the so-called ninety-nine names (see Q 2:117; 6:101) it denotes ancientness, timelessness, and pre-eternity. The rhetorical and literary *coincidentia oppositorum* in this word is possibly one reason the virtuoso 'Abbāsid poets used the term to describe—and not in a self-effacing way—their own poetry. Consult, for example, Khalafallah 1960.

Again, Auerbach's (1984: 58) observations are apposite:

These two comparisons, with allegory on the one hand and with the symbolical, mythical forms on the other, disclose figural prophecy in a twofold light: youthful and newborn as a purposive, creative, concrete interpretation of universal history; infinitely old as the late interpretation of a venerable text, charged with history, that had grown for hundreds of years.

20. Lawson 2010: 190–91.

21. Pellat 1971, partly quoting Goldziher 1888–90, 1: 319ff.

22. The juxtaposition of the duality of experience and the universality of truth is a major preoccupation of the complex and singular polymath, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) in his Qur'an commentary, *Mafātīḥ al-asrār,* recently beautifully explicated and analyzed in Toby Mayer 2009: 25–35.

the imagination"[23] to apply it to a number of different contexts and subjects. Thus we see typological iterations of the Prophet Muḥammad in the characterizations of such subsequent figures of religious authority (viz., *walāya, khilāfa, imāma*) as the first four caliphs (and, in a sense, all subsequent caliphs), the imams of the Shiʿa, the great imams of the legal tradition and religious culture (cf., e.g., al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla* for the distinctive image of the Prophet Muḥammad that inhabits that work), and last but certainly not least, the sufi sheikh, who may be considered a holographic or "virtual" reiteration (viz., *maẓhar*) of prophetic authority. Thus typological figuration together with other similarly ubiquitous and characteristic literary structures of the text is clearly communicated—both in meaning and form—to a vast readership and audience far beyond Arabic linguistic boundaries.[24]

II. THE STORY OF JOSEPH IN THE QURʾAN AND EXEGESIS

With such a clear, consistent, and paradigmatic basic message, it is perhaps in the nature of what might be termed "anti-narratological relief" that the Qurʾan itself is far from presenting a unitary discrete narrative, from its "beginning" to its "end."[25] The only sura of the Qurʾan universally recognized to have a "proper" beginning, middle, and end is the sura of Joseph (Q 12).[26] Thus it is possible that the main protagonist of the sura, as a paragon of beauty, is also a paragon of order and meaning and typological figuration, which has its own inherent beauty or aesthetic.[27] For our purposes here I would only point out that the conclusion of this sura emphasizes the happy reunion of Joseph with his people and most significantly with his father, Jacob. In the course of telling the story of Joseph and the relationship implied for the current audience, Muḥammad himself is seen, by virtue of his spiritual/typological kinship with all of the prophets and messengers, as being reunited with his true family, who in the very act of reunion/recognition (cf. *ʿirfān, maʿrifa*) are given a new measure of divine guidance, another revelation.[28] Such a reading would seem to be in line with the distinctively Qurʾanic formal and stylistic identity between history's movement (type/antitype) and the pervasive Qurʾanic motif of "pairing" (*zawj/tazawwuj*).[29] Typologi-

23. Neuwirth 1984: 454 [12].

24. This calls to mind Umberto Eco's (1994: 508) widely quoted comment: "I would define the poetic effect as the capacity that a text displays for continuing to generate different readings, without ever being completely consumed."

25. This is a question that arises from viewing the text from a particular perspective. Viewed from another angle, there is neither beginning nor end.

26. This very feature was one of the reasons it was rejected as being an authentic part of the Qurʾan by a faction of the Khārijites, according to al-Shahrastānī. The ʿAjārida, the followers of ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAjrad, and especially, it seems, the subgroup of the ʿAjārida called the Maymūniyya (followers of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ), rejected the sura of Joseph on the grounds precisely that it was a complete, consistent narrative ("a [mere] story") and a love-story at that.

27. A question awaiting a satisfactory answer is just how it came to be that most of the other clear and characteristic attributes of the Qurʾanic Joseph seem to dissolve into insignificance in the presence of his beauty. The picture presented by the Qurʾan is one of a very powerful, independent, and pious mind capable of controlling an entire society. Yet it is beauty that emerges as the most important of his many qualities, according to the tradition. This is the case with many of the Qurʾanic prophets: one key trait, at the expense of many others, becomes identified with this or that specific prophetic figure. See Tottoli 2002.

28. It has been observed (Waldman 1986) that Muḥammad can serve, simultaneously, as the antitype for both Joseph and Jacob. See the very suggestive comments by Frye (1969: 196), whose study of apocalypse and epic has much relevance for the study of the Qurʾan. I am not addressing here the many ways in which Joseph functions as a type for Jesus, the antitype.

29. Zwettler 1990. For a more thorough engagement with and assessment of the late Michael Zwettler's seminal ideas and their relationship to developing a notion of "the spiritual," see Lawson 2008.

cal figuration expresses a longed-for consolidation of scattered, exiled, dissipated forces, in the life both of the individual and of society.[30]

On the model of the New Testament (the New Covenant) as a commentary on the Hebrew Bible (the Old Covenant), the Qurʾan is a commentary on earlier scriptures, their traditions, and their faith communities. Through the typological identification of the Prophet Muḥammad with all previous prophets (both known and unknown), the Qurʾan may be thought to decode the great baffling and terrifying "nightmare of history" and its chaos of religions—and point a way out.[31] It reveals or perhaps more accurately, lifts the veil (Ar. *kashf* = Grk. *apokalypsis*) covering the true nature of the relationship between historical reality, spiritual reality, and social reality. Most importantly, of course, it makes clear and nonnegotiable the relationship between God and the world through prophethood and messengership without which there would be no understanding or meaning. And inasmuch as the heart of this revelation or apocalypse is articulated in the "return" of the prophetic reality to his people (as, for example, the type of the reunion of Joseph with his tribe), then it may be thought an apocalypse of union or reunion and recognition.[32]

The story of Joseph in the Qurʾan is among the favorites of Muslims in general. It is considered the "best of stories" (Q 12:3), because it is a more or less extended and consistent narrative, unlike other suras of the Qurʾan.[33] According to al-Thaʿlabī (d. 428/1036), the author of a *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, the story of Joseph is the most beautiful "because of the lesson concealed in it, on account of Yūsuf's generosity and its wealth of matter, in which prophets, angels, devils, jinn, men, animals, birds, rulers, and subjects play a part."[34]

The contents of the sura present something of an integrated expression of the fundamental thrust of Islam, whether from the point of view of personal religiosity and spirituality, or from the broader perspective of humanity's communal religious life. As with many suras of the Qurʾan, this one also emphasizes the connection of Islam with previous religions. The number of verses in sura 12 approximates the number of suras in the Qurʾan itself.[35] And the sura of Joseph has been singled out[36] by various exegetes throughout *tafsīr* history as one that lends itself to discussion, because, unlike many other suras of the Qurʾan, it presents a comparatively sustained narrative. At the same time, like other suras, it is replete with many topics considered to be key to the Islamic religion in general and the authority, role, and vocation of prophethood in particular. Thus this sura is seen as bringing together all of the various concerns, themes, and otherwise perhaps disparate aspects of the Qurʾanic vision under one roof, in one place. (Or, in line with the central metaphor informing the word "text," it may be seen as weaving together in one "tapestry" those elements so distinctive

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30. It is a puzzle why Eliade in *Myth of the Eternal Return* (1971) did not pay more attention to Islam.

31. The formulation "chaos of religions" was first coined and elaborated in Lawson 2010: 189–91, on the pattern of other parallel English plural formulae, such as "a pride of lions" or "an exaltation of larks." It is meant to suggest the social and religious disarray obtaining at the rise of Islam portrayed in the traditional Islamic histories. A timely, related reading of the same history is in Donner 2010.

32. Note the role of Tahep in Samaritan theology, a theology in which Joseph has a prominent role. Macdonald 1964: 332–44.

33. *Pace* Wansbrough who analyzes the commentary on sura 12 of Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 148/765). Wansbrough (1977: 131) maintains that, notwithstanding the claim of narrative consistency by *mufassirūn*, the story of Joseph is "elliptic, often unintelligible without exegetical complement."

34. Brinner 2002: 646. See now Brinner and Thackston for translations of al-Thaʿlabī and al-Kisāʾī.

35. According to the usual numbering of verses, sura 21 has 112 verses, while suras 17 and 12 both have 111 verses. No sura has 114 verses, the number that corresponds exactly to the total number of suras in the Qurʾan.

36. By devoting discrete works of exegesis to this sura alone. See the following.

to the Qurʾan.) The same is said of *sūrat al-baqara*,[37] but the difference between the two is clear. With regard to uniting the message of the Qurʾan in one compelling and entertaining narrative, the frankly operatic sura of Joseph "outstrips" *sūrat al-baqara* by many leagues.

The figure of Joseph as a spiritual hero and prophet has also been the subject of several works. For example, Ibn al-ʿArabī took up the Qurʾanic Joseph in his *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* as a basis for his discussion of the spiritual imagination *and* the role of interpretation or "proper understanding" (*taʾwīl*) of the signs of God, because this topic is also central to the unfolding of the Qurʾanic story.[38] The sura has also been the subject of commentaries and elaborations. To Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) is ascribed a mystical *tafsīr* on this sura.[39] The same work has been ascribed to Abū Ḥāmid's younger brother Aḥmad (d. 520/1126) and is published as *Aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ*.[40] Other titles for this work are *al-Durra al-bayḍa* and *Baḥr al-maḥabba wa-asrār al-mawadda fī tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf.* The latter title was apparently published in Bombay in 1894. Verifying the precise authorship of this "Ghazālian" work remains to be done. Another example of the interest in the sura is the eighteenth-century *Natījat al-tafāsīr fī sūrat Yūsuf* by one Shaykh Yaʿqūb b. Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Khalwatī, completed in the year 1133/1720. This work collects excerpts from commentaries by a variety of authors including al-Māturīdī, al-Nasafī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Qurṭubī, al-Qushayrī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Zamakhsharī, and the "books of preachers."[41] In addition to these commentaries, *GAL* lists several others with some duplication.[42] A *Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf* is ascribed to Mullā Ṣadrā, although the catalogue cited lists only a *Tafsīr sūrat Yā Sīn* for this author.[43] There is mention of another work with the title *Aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ*, this time by *tāj al-ʿulamāʾ* al-Naqavī, grandson of the famous Dildār Naṣīrābādī (d. 1236/1820), who studied in Mashhad and Karbalāʾ,[44] and who was apparently "the first Indian to return to India as a recognised mujtahid, having studied under Bihbahānī in Karbalā. He was instrumental in establishing the Uṣūlī school in Oudh and also for a campaign against Sufism."[45] This work was published in ʿAẓīmābād, presumably sometime before 1894, the year of the author's death. Another *Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf* is ascribed to one Aḥmad b. Asad b. Isḥāq, about whom no other details are given.[46]

In addition to studies in Arabic and other Islamic languages, the sura of Joseph has also attracted attention from "Western scholarship"; as of this writing there are a few monographs available on the Qurʾanic Joseph story.[47] Those who have studied the sura have approached it

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37. Reda El-Tahry 2010 analyses and critiques the existing scholarship and offers a new approach.

38. Ibn al-ʿArabī 1966, 1: 99–106. See also Ibn al-ʿArabī 1980: 119–27. For the importance of the figure of Yūsuf and his ordeal with Potiphar's wife in early Sufi *tafsīr*, see Böwering 1980: 256.

39. Al-Ghazālī 1895.

40. Delhi 1900. See *GAL* S I: 747 for a list of several manuscripts of this work with the name *Sirr al-ʿālamayn fī tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf.*

41. *GAL* mentions this work in several places. Twice Brockelmann gives the name of the author as al-Khalwatī (*GAL* II: 440 and S II: 653), and once as "Yaʿqūb ʿAfawī vom Orden der Ğalwatīya" (S II: 663). In all three places, the work listed (printed in Istanbul, 1266 [1849]) and the author's death date (1149/1736) are the same.

42. See *GAL* II: 204, 437; S II: 135.

43. *GAL* S II: 589. The catalogue in question is *Fihrist kitābkhāna-yi madrasa-yi Sipahsālār,* 1: 128. *Dharīʿa* appears to be the source of this error in *GAL*, see below.

44. *GAL* S II: 853.

45. Momen 1985: 145.

46. *GAL* S II: 984.

47. De Prémare 1989; Goldman 1995; Fatoohi 2007; Kugel 1990 (and the translation into English of Bajouda 1992) . See also several references in later works by Annemarie Schimmel to a monograph in progress entitled *The Shirt of Joseph* (Schimmel 1999: 45 n. 1; Schimmel 1994: 109 n. 5). As far as I know, it was never completed.

from a variety of angles. Biblical and Qur'anic comparison is probably the best represented.[48] However, there are discussions of its exegesis,[49] dramaturgical "subtext,"[50] its general literary features,[51] the symbolism (of the cloak, e.g.[52]), the portrayal of love,[53] ambiguity, betrayal, reunion, filial piety, and cosmology[54]—in short, "all things (*Kullu-Shay'*)."[55]

An indication of the importance that the story of Joseph has had for the Shiʿa is the many titles of *tafāsīr* devoted solely to it in *Dharīʿa*, a multi-volume bibliographic survey of Twelver Shiʿism. Volume one lists three separate works, two of which were written in the nineteenth century.[56] Volume four lists ten separate entries, one of which is the previously mentioned work of *tāj al-ʿulamāʾ*.[57] The first entry (no. 1512) is the above-mentioned work by Mullā Ṣadrā. The first line of the work, which al-Ṭihrānī quotes, is the same as that said to begin the *Tafsīr sūrat Yā Sīn* [Q 36] in the Sipahsālār catalogue quoted by *GAL*. The ninth entry is ascribed to yet another descendant of Dildār, one Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī Naqavī al-Naṣīrābādī al-Lakhnavī (d. 1326/1908). Given the well-attested antipathy of the Uṣūliyya toward the Shaykhīs, and by extension the Bābīs, it is most interesting that the descendants of the great Indian Uṣūlī scholar felt called upon to compose commentaries on the sura of Joseph, perhaps as a corrective to the by then well-known, or at least infamous, imitation of the Qur'an by the Bāb. The Bābī enormity may have also been behind the decision to publish (in 1266/1849) the above-mentioned *Natīja* by al-Khalwatī.

The sura of Joseph has particular meaning for Shiʿism. In addition to the distinct relevance of the motif of hiddenness, pointed out some years ago by Abbas Amanat, the sura may be thought especially relevant to and reflective of the syntax and morphology of the grammar of Shiʿi piety in a number of other instances.[58] Not least among such resonances is the role played by the perfect transformation of time into history, a history in which betrayal and injustice are changed for faithfulness and justice. The symmetry of the narrative is the first signal of this. As already mentioned, this sura is prized by the greater Muslim tradition as the shining example of Qur'anic narrative perfection. Unlike all of the other 113 Qur'anic suras, this one is structured by the three sine qua non elements of both myth and story as such: a beginning, a middle, and an end. Thus, on the one hand, it may be thought most artificial (as in literary artifice) and, on the other, a most accurate reflection of the Islamic religious ethos, which includes the proper ending of the story of humanity with the Day of Judgment. Its special attraction for Shiʿism comes into play in the drama of the envy, jealousy, betrayal, and lies of Joseph's brothers.[59] In addition, the theme of patience (*ṣabr, ṣabr jamīl*) is personified in Jacob and is especially pertinent to the religious idea of "waiting [viz.,

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Of course, Joseph is tremendously important to the Christian tradition as well, as is evidenced, inter alia, by Thomas Mann's self-described masterwork, *Josef und seine Brüder*, composed in four separate substantial books between the years 1926 and 1943. His artistic rendering has recently become the focus of such scholars as Assman 2006 and Bal 2008. Of interest also is McGaha 1997.

48. Macdonald 1956a and b; Waldman 1986; Abdel Haleem 1990; Bernstein 2006.
49. Beeston 1963; Keeler 2006, esp. 278–309.
50. Johns 1981; Rendsburg 1988; Morris 1994.
51. Neuwirth 1980; Waldman 1986; Mir 1986 and 2000.
52. Lawson 2011: ch. 4; Schimmel 1999; Lawson 2000; Subtelny 2007.
53. Johns 1981.
54. See the resumé of much of this work in Renard 1996: 259–72 and the comprehensive Firestone 2002.
55. Amanat 1989: 202.
56. *Dharīʿa*, 1: 288.
57. *Dharīʿa*, 4: 344–46.
58. Amanat 1989: 190–91.
59. On the myth and motif of the hostile brothers in classical and modern Arabic literature, see Günther 1999.

for the hidden imam]," *intiẓār*. The characteristically Shiʿi institution of *walāya* is signaled at Q 12:101 and alluded to rather obliquely at Q 12:84. God and His representative are the proper rulers of society (no other prophet except Solomon is cast as a ruler). Thus Joseph assumes the features of the *verus propheta* so frequently discussed by Corbin in his studies of Ismaʿilism and Shiʿism as such. This is not to minimize the idea of interpretation (*taʾwīl*) mentioned more times in this sura than in any other. Another distinctive feature of sura 12 relevant to Shiʿism is that the word *bāb* or its plural *abwāb* occurs in it more than in other suras. For this reason it might have been thought to represent more fully than others the—again—characteristically Shiʿi mystery of *bābiyya,* that is, the way in which divine authority is made present and operative in the world: identifying the "door" through which it enters the world and through which the world accesses the divine. There is exegetically productive ambiguity in the term centered on the problem of whether the "door" is to God Himself or to the hidden imam.[60] Finally, *sūrat Yūsuf* is an appropriate subject in Shiʿism because of a long tradition that reveres the story of Joseph as representing the spiritual mystery of *taqiyya,* or pious concealment, which is so important to Shiʿi religiosity in general. Here the absence of the imam may be regarded as a species of *taqiyya.*[61]

In the Shiʿi *ḥadīth* literature, it is said that the *ṣāḥib hādhā l-amr* (i.e., the Qāʾim) bears a certain resemblance to Joseph, one example being that this expected "proof" (*ḥujja*) is to attain eventual sovereignty over the world at some particular time (*waqt min al-awqāt*), just as Joseph gained sovereignty over Egypt.[62] In another report the story is told of how Joseph discovered the signs of *nubuwwa* in himself,[63] and an explanation of how Joseph became a *ḥujja* is given.[64] In the *Ikmāl al-dīn* of Ibn Bābawayh, it is mentioned that God has named Joseph "Unseen" (which is also one of the names of the Qāʾim) in Q 12:102 when He said "That is of the tidings of the Unseen";[65] and the proper greeting for the Qāʾim is *al-salām ʿalayhā yā baqiyyat allāh.*[66] The word *baqiyya,* which denotes the divine remnant and also perhaps indicates, through a related "cloth association," the shirt (*qamīṣ*) of Joseph, is a major topic in messianic Shiʿi discourse, where the term *baqiyyat allāh* is always a reference to the imams' authority, *walāya,* in addition to being an honorific for the hidden imam, based partly on the exegesis of Q 11:86: *baqiyyatu llāh khayrun lakum in kuntum muʾminīn. . . .*[67]

Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī is quoted as saying that the *ṣāḥib* of "this cause" bears resemblance to four prophets, Moses, Jesus, Joseph, and Muḥammad, and that the prison of Joseph (*sijn*) symbolizes the occultation of the imam.[68] The Mahdī will have a basket in which he carries relics of all the prophets, including the "cup" of Joseph.[69] When the Qāʾim comes, there will be great disagreement about the Qurʾan[70] and he will know all of the Qurʾanic sciences, including *tafsīr, taʾwīl, maʿānī,* and *nāsikh wa-mansūkh.*[71] It is mentioned that the

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60. On this, see, for example, Amir-Moezzi 2002; see also Lawson 2011: ch. 2.
61. Strothmann 1974: 562. See now also Amanat 1989: 200–1; Clarke 2005.
62. *Burhān,* 2: 270 no. 7 (from *Kāfī*).
63. *Burhān,* 2: 271 no. 12 (from Qummī's *tafsīr*).
64. *Burhān,* 2: 272 no. 23.
65. *Ikmāl al-dīn*: 18.
66. *Ikmāl al-dīn*: 613. Elsewhere it is mentioned that the Qāʾim will announce his message to the "east and west" that he is *baqiyyat allāh* (*Biḥār,* 52: 191–92 no. 24).
67. *Mirʾāt*: 105.
68. *Biḥār,* 52: 347 no. 97.
69. *Biḥār,* 53: 36.
70. *Ikmāl al-dīn*: 621.
71. *Ikmāl al-dīn*: 620.

Qā'im will appear between the *rukn* and the *maqām* (reference to the sanctuary in Mecca), and the people will take an oath on a new book.[72]

In a very long commentary on a verse in his major work, *Ziyārat al-jāmi'a*, in which reference is made to the "return" (*raj'a*) of the imams, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī (d. 1826), founder of the above-mentioned Shaykhī school, mentions several, sometimes conflicting, *ḥadīth*s on the subject. The return of the Qā'im will take place during the month of Jumādā I, and before his advent (*khurūj*) there will be seven years of famine and little rain, "like the years of Joseph."[73] This obviously refers to Joseph's interpretation of the dream of the "king" (Q 12:46–49). Here al-Aḥsā'ī also mentions the tradition from Majlisī, which says that the Qā'im will say what none other has said, and will promulgate a new book that will be difficult for the Arabs [to accept] (*kitāban jadīdan wa-huwa 'alā l-'arab shadīd*).

III. THE SHIRT OF JOSEPH AND THE MEANING OF "SPIRITUAL"

If Joseph is an emblem of order and meaning, then his most famous possession, his shirt, may be thought a metonym for the same. It is therefore of the most serious interest that this shirt, whose origins according to Islamic tradition are to be sought in the furthest remote past, represents the origins of prophethood itself and the clothing of Adam.[74] The shirt or mantle (*kisā'*), in some form, becomes the credential of all subsequent prophets, playing a number of discrete roles within the sura and Islamicate cultural life. That is, every subsequent prophet is both himself and the actual "shirt of Joseph" that carries his scent—a complex scent redolent of many connotations, themes, and motifs.[75]

Scent is a frequent metaphor for "spiritual" reality.[76] Despite its requiring a caveat here, one of the reasons "spiritual" continues to be useful, especially in the context of Islamic[ate] material, is that it captures in religious language the energy and vitality of what in other contexts may be considered from a literary angle: it is precisely the powerful literary device of typological figuration that is captured by the term.[77] The ultimate symbol of this literary/spiritual process or dynamic, this metaphorical and metonymical creative and revelatory

72. *Biḥār*, 52: 394.

73. Al-Aḥsā'ī 1420/1999, 3: 75. The actual commentary on this verse begins on p. 48 and ends on p. 101. Much of this is taken up with the quotation of and ancillary commentary on the notoriously long apocalyptic *ḥadīth* transmitted by Mufaḍḍal from al-Ṣādiq.

74. Ricks 2000: 203. See also Bernstein 2000.

75. Note the etymological relationship between *'arf*, one word for 'scent', and *'irfān/ma'rifa* 'recognition, knowledge, gnosis'.

76. Classen 1998, esp. 60. Inverted commas are used because of the skittishness the word can provoke. One assumes that such skittishness is the honest response to a semantic, semiotic, or usage problem, perhaps specific to English. The technical efficacy of the term may be thought vitiated to the degree that it seems to be applied with equal confidence and force in a number of heterogeneous contexts which may or may not have a great deal in common. However, whether as a translation of the perfectly good Arabic word *rūḥānī*—as it happens, the particular "scent" at play in the story of Joseph is an etymological relative: *rīḥ*—or simply as reference to cognate phenomena, persons, ideas, and forms, the term does say something that other words appear unable to evoke, connote, or denote. See also Classen, et al. 1994: 13, 20, 45, 69, 86, for the special interest in the aroma of garments. For scent and smell in the Qur'an and Islam, specifically in the story of Joseph, see Stewart 2006; Schimmel 1999; Lawson 2011: chs. 2, 4; Lawson 2000, and Subtelny 2007.

77. This is not to suggest, however, that the Islamicate meaning of "spiritual" is exhausted by the literary device of typological figuration. But it is certainly one important component of the broader category of "spiritual." Other layers of the notion would include ethics, comportment, and learning itself, as represented by the categories *adab* and *akhlāq*, which rescue the idea of "spiritual" from pertaining solely to abstract intellectual constructs, tying it to practice in the here and now. But this is not the subject at hand.

energy, is Joseph's garment, which the Qurʾan calls a shirt (*qamīṣ*) and the Hebrew Bible calls a coat of many colors (*kethoneth*).

Like a number of other important terms in the remarkable sura of Joseph, the shirt appears in several key contexts that may be thought to mark important narrative transitions in the story. In the first mention, the idea of the garment, if not the actual garment itself, is used by the perfidious brothers to demonstrate that they had done nothing wrong (Q 12:18). The false garment's appearance with false blood marks the departure of Joseph from Canaan and his journey to Egypt. The second appearance is when Joseph's actual garment exonerates him from the crime and sin of lust (Q 12:25–27), and by extension ingratitude (*kufr*). It marks the beginning of his imprisonment, when his true gifts as a man of God and divine knowledge are destined to be revealed and as a result of which his status in Egypt is elevated beyond what anyone might have reasonably predicted. The third appearance is after the truth has been revealed, the dénouement, as it were. For all intents and purposes the story has ended, needing only the quick succession of the events that follow to burn the truth of these events into the minds of the audience. Joseph tells his astonished brothers—who could never have imagined that their despised brother might have achieved such success, notoriety, and power in Egypt—to take his shirt with them back to Canaan where Jacob languishes blind, in grief and separation from his beloved son, Joseph, and, by association and dramatic action, Benjamin (Q 12:93). They are commanded to lay the shirt on Jacob's face so that the "magical" divine healing power of the shirt—its smell, fragrance, perfume—will restore Jacob's eyesight, eyesight that was "washed away" in weeping for his beloved son (Q 12:84). In a subsequent complex scene, the power of the shirt and its perfume is dramatized in a most compelling manner.

The instant the Canaan-bound caravan of Joseph's brothers crosses the border from Egypt there is what would be called in cinema a cutaway to Jacob's bedside. There is probably no more moving or powerful vignette in the Qurʾan. The grieving, languishing, aged prophet and patriarch of Israel, despairing of the continuance of his prophetic line and the loss of his two favorite sons, is suddenly stimulated, practically resurrected, to new life and joyous hope. His beloved Joseph lives:

> And as soon as the caravan [with which Jacob's sons were traveling] was on its way [and out of Egypt], [94] their father said [to the people around him]: "Behold, were it not that you might consider me a dotard, [I would say that] I truly feel the breath of Joseph [in the air]!"

Both Sunni and Shiʿi exegetes agree that the reason Jacob knew his son was alive was because of the special scent the shirt bore, the shirt that the brothers had with them in the returning caravan. The final scenes of the sura represent a circular closure[78] of a narrative exemplified in what I have called elsewhere an apocalypse of reunion.[79] Here the love of Jacob for Joseph, also originally (if tacitly in the Qurʾanic text) symbolized by the shirt, is consummated in the migration of the entire family from Canaan to Egypt, to live in exalted status more or less "happily ever after" as a vindication and dramatic proof of the efficacy of the God of Jacob, His power and, of course, superiority.[80] The story of Joseph, whether in

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78. Mir 1986.

79. Lawson 2011: ch. 4.

80. Obviously, this is a somewhat ironic usage. But the Qurʾan ends the story of Joseph on a note of "happily ever after" to emphasize the wisdom and salvific value of obedience and *tawḥīd*. After all, this was not just any family who was thus rescued, but the "holy remnant" of Abrahamic monotheism for which Islam is the most recent dispensation. Thus it is also representative of the rescue of "true Islam." Later, of course, in this specific historical circumstance, the fortunes of the Children of Israel in Egypt take a turn for the worse. Again, Israel (and therefore

the Hebrew Bible and Tradition or in the Qurʾan, represents also what may be thought a true model of the epic drama of the Hebrew people and, as in the case of the Qurʾan, the Muslims. Such an epic may be on the grand historical scale, or on the scale of the interior spiritual life of the soul. [81] In the Qurʾan the story of Joseph has an added function in that it represents the thickening or intensification and perfection of heretofore imperfectly completed narrative gestures in its partial and somewhat aborted telling of the stories of other prophets. The sura of Joseph is a crescendo of the Qurʾanic narrative art and, coming as it does "protected" near the center of the *muṣḥaf*, it functions as a reminder, an unambiguous statement of the Qurʾanic "theory of prophethood and salvation" that may be only incompletely or partially detected elsewhere in the Book. [82] It thus functions in the same way as the clear statement of a melodic theme does in the context of what might otherwise be challenging or opaque improvisation and variation. [83] It is here that the reader is given the whole truth about the prophetic office. It delineates in dramatic form and much detail the basic curve of the life and career of one chosen by God to carry and relate a special message, a revelation. In reading "the best of stories" one can readily contemplate and understand the life of the Prophet Muḥammad: his birth, his destined greatness from an early age, his rejection by his relatives, his love of women, his piety and steadfastness, his ability to reveal the true meaning of events, his position as wielder of political and social authority, his wisdom, beauty, fairness, patience, betrayals, the hiddenness of his true greatness until the appointed time, his concern with "the Hour," with law, with forgiveness, and, of course, with civilization. [84]

Previous discussion of typological figuration in the Qurʾan has concentrated not on the sura of Joseph, but on the sura of the Poets (*al-shuʿarāʾ*, Q 26), where it is demonstrated that the sura actually functions as a catalogue of prophetic types (sg. *zawj*) and their opposites (in this case precisely not antagonists, but rather antitypes or reflections of the original type) in order categorically to identify Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh as one of their number. [85] To be sure, Michael Zwettler did address the problem of the antagonist or "enemy" of the prophet. It is not Iblīs or Shayṭān or even the Quraysh, at least not on the literary level. Rather it is the poet. And here is where we gain another important insight. The Qurʾan is not poetry. But this is not because it is not "poetic" or artistically compelling. [86] It is because the Prophet Muḥammad was not a poet. The social function of the poet was utterly different and in many ways antithetical to the social function of the prophet. The poet was the champion of the status quo at best, as we are familiar with his pre-Islamic avatar. The prophet was the champion of change. The poet's talents were for hire; he was not expected to enunciate a moral

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ultimately the future Islam) is rescued by the prophet Moses. This is doubtless part of the contemporary reception of the sura of Joseph: the audience (i.e., Muḥammad's audience) is led to see themselves as the heroes of the Abrahamic line and the guardians of Islam. As mentioned earlier, typological figuration applies to both the prophetic figures and their communities. On the importance of Joseph to the identity of Israel, see Kugel 1990, esp. 13–27: "Indeed, relatively early in the biblical period, the figure of Joseph came to be profoundly affected by political change. . . . if there nevertheless remained a hope that 'the Lord, the God of hosts, may be gracious to the remnant of Joseph' (Amos 5:15), this hope became dimmer and dimmer." (p. 17) But it did not die.

Joseph's coffin was carried by Moses and his fellow exiles from Egypt to the Promised Land. But first they had to find it. On this, see Benin 2000: 32.

81. As in Philo or the Sunni and Sufi ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī, whose influential theory of the interior prophets of the individual soul is studied in Corbin 1978: 121–31; and generally by Elias 1995.

82. For an exceptionally lucid analysis, which emphasizes the important fact that typlogical figuration flows in two directions, see the recent discussion in Stewart 2010.

83. For a general comparison between prose writing and musical improvisation, see Jarrett 1999.

84. This point is made, somewhat incompletely, in Stern 1985.

85. Zwettler 1990.

86. For an unapologetic insistence upon the artistic nature of this sura, see Bajouda 1992.

or ethical code, much less exemplify one; and most importantly, the source of his inspiration was not God through an angel, rather it was any one of a number of lesser pneumatic beings, jinn or gods, the acceptance of which entailed the unforgivable sin identified by the Qurʾan as *shirk*. By ranging the whole history of monotheistic prophecy against the concerns of the institution of Arabic poetic culture, the Qurʾan identifies the experience of Muḥammad with the experience of earlier prophets from Abraham to Jesus. As is well known, so congenial was such a typological argument that later Islamic tradition posited the existence of 124,000 prophets to account for the whole sweep and progress of earthly human history, even if the history of humanity has its beginning in a much more mysterious realm.[87]

A concise and persuasive example of the centrality of typological figuration may be seen in the comparison and ultimate identification of Muḥammad's mission with that of another prophet, Ṣāliḥ. The journey from history to myth to apocalypse and the return to history is charted in the typological relationship established between Ṣāliḥ and Thamūd and the Prophet Muḥammad and his community. Jaroslav Stetkevych has illuminated the way in which Islam sees Muḥammad's mission as an identification with and fulfillment of Ṣāliḥ's mission in his discovery of the golden bough that was buried in the apocalyptic ruins of Thamūd.[88] The great apocalyptic scream (*ṣayḥa*) here represents the totality of the drama of prophecy and its rejection in one near-synaesthetic gesture.[89] Al-Thaʿlabī's version of the cataclysm is instructive:

> There came upon them a *scream* from heaven, in which there was the sound of every thunderbolt and the voice of every thing on earth that has a voice, and it cut through their hearts and breasts, and they all perished, young and old.[90]

Typology requires symmetry. Symmetry requires duality. Duality is a sine qua non of typological figuration. By virtue of the compelling symmetry and therefore sacred meaning, the scream continues to be heard behind the music of every Qurʾanic verse. It is this looming divine intervention that contributes so much to the electric sense of presence (viz., *sakīna*) in an encounter with the Qurʾan.[91]

Typological figuration is more powerful than logical argumentation precisely because its rhetorical verve is felt to derive from some supra-logical region. There is a similarity between "causality" and "typology." Both are rhetorically effective. The main difference is that causality is dependent upon ratiocination, investigation of phenomena, and the "scientific" method. As such it is concerned mainly with the past "on the principle that the past is all we genuinely or systematically know." Typology does relate to the future, and the facul-

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87. Such beginnings are rooted in the mythopoeic Q 7:172, the day of the covenant or day of *alast*. The classic treatment of the motif in Sufism is Böwering 1980. On this central theme, see al-Qāḍī 2006; see also Lawson 2009.

88. Stetkevych 1996.

89. *ṣayḥa*: also 'shout' as in 'battle cry'. Similar Qurʾanic words, such as *nidāʾ* 'voice', 'call', also afford messianic and apocalyptic resonances in both the Qurʾan and exegesis. For the Shiʿi messianic understanding of the same scream, see Madelung 1978.

90. Stetkevych 1996: 61, translating al-Thaʿlabī 1298h. For the scream, see Q 11:67, 94; 15:73, 83; 23:41; 29:40; 36:29, 49, 53; 38:15; 50:42; 54:31; 63:4. See Klar 2009. Al-Thaʿlabī's role as a seminal figure in the history of *tafsīr* has recently been elucidated and convincingly argued by Saleh 2004.

91. Such compelling literary "moments" are not, of course, restricted to the Qurʾan. Recall the "Qurʾanic ambiance" in the opening lines of Gerard Manley Hopkins "God's Grandeur":

> The World is charged with the grandeur of God.
> It will flame out, like shining from shook foil;
> It gathers to a greatness, like the ooze of oil
> Crushed. Why do men then now not reck his rod?

See A. H. Johns 1993: 43 for an earlier comparison of the work of Gerard Manley Hopkins with the Qurʾan.

ties by which it is enlivened are "faith, hope, and vision." Logical, causal thinking functions in one "tense" whereas typological thinking assumes a future, and can even transcend time itself. Typological thinking bespeaks a desire to awaken from the "nightmare of history" and is "essentially a revolutionary form of thought and rhetoric."[92]

The shirt of Joseph is an especially apt emblem of typological figuration. The typological weaving, generation, and embellishment of this unique textile (< text, credential, revelation, information) narreme (a word not admitted to the OED) is a distinctively Islamic process, fascinating to trace throughout the exegetic literature.[93] In a sense, all fabrics are related, either positively or negatively, to the shirt of Joseph. That is, it may be seen to represent "fabric" itself, a metonym for culture, civilization, the cross-connected lines of the various fates of humans and human fate as such.[94] As a fabric it is related to all clothing, including veils, and as such is capable of concealing and revealing, frequently at the same time. This suggests the mystical process of *iltibās* or amphiboly that Corbin analyzed in the writings of Rūzbihān Baqlī.[95] The shirt is also a symbol or emblem of the passage of time and narrative development and by association all narrative continuity. It is a bearer of the heavenly scent of Joseph and all prophets, because of its intimate relationship (viz., *walāya*) to both the prophets and its point of origin, God. Like *walāya* itself, a category explicitly mentioned in Q 12:101 and obliquely alluded to in Q 12:84, it protects, distinguishes, comforts, and identifies its bearers and those who participate in (affirm) their *walāya*.[96] That the shirt is one symbol for all salvation history—*Heilsgeschichte*[97]—is also suggested by the fact that it only occurs in the sura of Joseph and that this sura, based on features of its form and content discussed above, may be seen as a kind of Qurʾan "in miniature."[98] That is to say, if the shirt is the centerpiece of the sura, and the sura itself is the centerpiece of the Qurʾan with regard to narrative art and coherence, then its primacy is compelling. This would appear to be one of the points of traditional exegesis, whether Sunni or Shiʿi. In this vast body of literature, there is a clear consensus that Joseph's shirt is one of those "divine artifacts" or "evidences" that come from the unseen realm.[99] This is in addition to the striking way in which its own

92. Frye 1982: 82–83.

93. "Narreme" is a technical term in the relatively recent science known as "narratology." It is defined as a selfstanding unit of a narrative composition on the model of "morpheme" or "mytheme." For a narrative approach to the Qurʾanic story of Joseph, see Gasmi 1977 and 1986.

94. That the woven fabric represents a "manifestation" of the coincidence of opposites (warp ≠ woof) may also be of interest.

95. Corbin 1971, vol. 3, index (ibid., vol. 4), s.v. "amphibolie, *iltibās*." A cognate perspective is found in William Blake as discussed by Frye 1969: 381–82:

> This is the power of seeing the physical appearance as the covering of the mental reality, yet not conceal-ing its shape so much as revealing it in a fallen aspect and so not the clothing but the body or form of the mental world, though a physical and therefore a fallen body or form. If we try to visualize this develop-ment of the "clothing" symbol, we get something more like a mirror, a surface which reveals reality in fewer dimensions than it actually has.

96. While it may reasonably be questioned whether such a subtle occurrence of the root *w-l-y* here in Q 12:84 can be so significant, it should be remembered that in Shiʿi *tafsīr* such otherwise apparently "weak" occasions may serve the exegete in surprising ways. This has been amply demonstrated in Lawson 2004: 163–97.

97. When used to speak about Islam, *Heilsgeschichte* must always be understood to emphasize the entering of the divinity or holiness into actual history through the agency of prophecy. Thus it may also be translated as "divine history," which in some ways may actually be closer to the German, where "salvation" is actually *Erlösung*.

98. See above, p. 227.

99. Following (in alphabetical order) are some of the Sunni authors who read the Qurʾan this way at Q 12:93: Abū Ḥayyān, Abū Suʿūd, al-Baghawī, Baqlī, al-Biqāʾī, al-Fayruzabādī, al-Ghāʾinati, al-Ḥalabī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Sallām, Ibn ʿĀjiba, Ibn ʿAṭīya, Ibn ʿĀdil, Ibn al-Jawzī, pseudo-Ibn al-ʿArabī (i.e., al-Kāshānī), Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī, al-Khāzin, Mujāhid, Muqātil, al-Nasafī, al-Qummī, al-Naysabūrī, al-Qurṭubī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Thaʿlabī, al-Thaʿālabī,

specific narrative structure, brilliantly explicated by Mustansir Mir, offers numerous clues for the way in which the Qur'an itself may be read, thus cracking another code.

The symbol of the cloak may be seen to have developed out of the ancient practice of holy men and diviners, who kept the "exterior world at a distance" by wearing a special robe.[100] In Shiʿi works reference is often made to "the people of the cloak" (*ahl al-kisā'*), who are specified as Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn.[101] Whether Twelver or Sevener, Shiʿi writers use this designation to express the idea that Muḥammad's special qualities were transmitted to his progeny through contact with his mantle. Corbin called attention to the powerful role of exegetical typological figuration in the early consolidation and identity building of Twelver Shiʿism. He pointed out that it represents a major moment when the famous scene of the *mubāhala* is typologically identified in the *Tafsīr* ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī with the annunciation of Jesus:

> The vastness of theological meaning found in this scene by Shiite meditation may be measured by the fact that the *tafsīr* attributed to Imām Ḥasan ʿAskarī, the eleventh Imām of the Duodeciman Shiites, expressly establishes a typological relation between the Koranic verses [esp. Q 33:33, see also Q 53:3–4 and 81:19–29] evoking the Annunciation and the conjunction of the Holy Spirit with Jesus, and this scene in which Gabriel the Holy Spirit joins the five hypostases of the original Imāmate. It is precisely here that Shiism inaugurates the transition from Angel Christology to Imāmology.[102]

The word *qamīṣ* appears in the Qur'an only in sura 12, where it is mentioned six times. First at 12:18, where Joseph's brothers are described as having put false blood on his shirt in an attempt to deceive Jacob, claiming that a wolf had eaten their brother. At 12:25–28 the *qamīṣ* figures prominently in the well-known episode with Zulaykha, Potiphar's wife, where the guilt or innocence of Joseph is determined by whether the shirt is torn at the front or the back.[103] An interesting comment on this scene occurs in the *tafsīr* of the Sufi Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896). The entire ordeal has as its purpose a demonstration of the efficacy of divine "proof" (*burhān*) without which Joseph would have been abandoned to his "defeated" (*maghlūb*) condition because "he had permitted the desire for Potiphar's wife to rise in his lower self."[104] In the context of the entire narrative, such "defeat" is dramatically contrasted with Joseph's eventual role of powerful minister, which he wins as a result of properly interpreting the Pharaoh's dream. Indeed, so important is this ultimate rise to power and victory—which in the event must also include victory over the self as well as over the perfidious

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al-Zamakhsharī. Accessed through www.tafsir.com, July 2010. As far as the heavenly origin of the shirt is concerned, there is no disagreement across sectarian boundaries.

100. Meier 1966: 421. See now also Greifenhagen 2009.

101. See the *ḥadīth al-kisā'*, related on the authority of Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad, in *Mafātīḥ*, 386–89, with its specific reference to the "sweet fragrance" (*rā'iḥa ṭayyiba*) of the prophet's mantle (lit. "Yemeni cloak," *al-kisā' al-yamānī*). Here, Ḥasan and other members of the *ahl al-bayt* exclaim in turn upon entering Fāṭima's house, "I detect something like the fragrance of my grandfather." The spiritual reality of the cloak and the physical reality of the Prophet have become one. My thanks to Arsheen Devji for drawing my attention to this important spiritual drama. See also Momen 1985: 14.

102. Corbin 1983: 75.

103. In the early exegetical work *Kitāb Asās al-ta'wīl*, by the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974), the interesting comment is made to the effect that the "front" and "back" of the shirt refer to exoteric and esoteric knowledge respectively (p. 144). The *qamīṣ* in verse Q 12:93 is seen as representing *imāma* (p. 163). See al-Nuʿmān 2008.

104. Böwering 1980: 256.

brothers—that the key phrase is repeated in this sura: "Thus did we empower Joseph over the land," *wa-kadhālika makkannā li-Yūsuf fī l-arḍ* (Q 12:21, 56).[105]

Finally, for the present discussion the most important mention comes at Q 12:93. Joseph's brothers have finally recognized him as a highly placed official in Egypt, whereupon Joseph instructs them: "Go, take this my shirt, and cast it on my father's face, and he shall recover his sight; then bring me your family altogether." When Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was asked about the shirt of Joseph, he responded that when Abraham was burning in the fire (Q 21:68–69), Gabriel came down with the shirt and clothed him with it so that he would not be harmed. Abraham gave this shirt to Isaac, who gave it to Jacob. When Joseph was born, Jacob gave the shirt to him. It was this shirt, originally sent from heaven, by which Jacob detected the scent of Joseph (Q 12:93).[106] Al-Ṣādiq was then asked what became of this shirt, to which he responded that the shirt stayed with the descendants of Joseph and is now in the possession of "our Qāʾim" because all the prophets inherit knowledge and other things from one another.[107]

The author of the encyclopedic Akhbārī Shiʿi lexicon *Mirʾāt al-anwār* says of *qamīṣ* that its exoteric meaning is well known, but that its *taʾwīl* is connected with the words *thiyāb* and *libās*.[108] The first word is defined as representing the knowledge with which the imams have been endowed, and by extension refers to *walāya* proper.[109] The second word carries a complex of meanings that include, together with the idea of garment, "deception."[110] For the former, al-ʿĀmilī-Iṣfahānī refers to several verses in the Qurʾan, among which is 2:187, where it is stated that spouses are as a garment to each other. For the latter, he cites Q 2:42 in which those who disguise the truth with falsehood are condemned. Ultimately, however, the word *libās* is seen as a symbol of the *walāya* of the imams.[111]

In his commentary on *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya*, Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī (d. 1843–44) takes the opportunity to dilate on the implications of the word *qamīṣ*, which occurs in one of its verses.[112] The poet has compared the curtain (*satr*) of the tomb of the Prophet with the *qamīṣ* of Joseph, stressing that the spiritual "fragrance" of the former is far greater than that of the latter.[113] Rashtī says that however powerful the fragrance of the shirt of Joseph might have

105. The same phrase occurs one other time, in Q 18:84, where it is used to describe how God gave "security throughout the land" to Dhū l-Qarnayn, frequently identified with Alexander the Great in *tafsīr*.

106. Sufi literature on the initiatory *khirqa* speaks of its heavenly origin also, and mentions the *qamīṣ* of Joseph (with which the *khirqa* is compared) as that which protected Abraham from the fire. Al-Suhrawardī 1965: 95–102. For a broader survey of Sufi writers on the robe, see Elias 2001 and now the useful article "Joseph" by Dadbeh et al. in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

107. *Nūr*, 2: 462 no. 187. The compiler adds that a similar tradition is found in *Kāfī*. (This tradition from *Kāfī* is found in *Burhān*, 2: 269 no. 1.) *Nūr* (2:463 no. 191) quotes the *Ikmāl al-dīn*: "When the Qāʾim comes forth, the shirt of Joseph will be on him, and he will have the staff of Moses and the ring of Solomon." The heavenly origin of this shirt was also taught by the early exegete al-Kalbī (d. 150/767) in what Wansbrough (1977: 134) termed "a reflex of Rabbinic descriptions" of the robe in Genesis.

108. On Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmilī-Iṣfahānī, the author of *Mirʾāt al-anwār*, see Amir-Moezzi 2010.

109. *Mirʾāt*: 110.

110. As in the famous title of Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talbīs Iblīs*.

111. *Mirʾāt*: 294–95. In discussing the connotations of "deception" that the word carries, this author refers to Q 6:72 ("those who do not clothe their faith in darkness"), and says that this refers to those who did not confuse *the walāya* with the *walāya* of "so-and-so and so-and-so." It might be asked whether *fulān wa-fulān* is an editorial substitution for more derogatory appellations in reference to the first three caliphs of Sunni Islam, such as those found in Kohlberg and Amir-Moezzi 2009: e.g., 161.

112. Rashtī 1270: 68. The verse is *aʿṭaytu mā lam yaḥẓa Yaʿqūb bihi idh jāʾahu bi-shadhā l-qamīṣ al-shamāl*.

113. The fascinating relationship—typological and otherwise—between the celebrated mantle or *burda* of the Prophet Muḥammad is, unfortunately, not pursued here due to lack of space. See the recent magisterial study of the poetry in S. P. Stetkevych 2010, where Joseph (but not his shirt) appears on pp. 96, 130, 172.

been, it cannot compare with the much stronger power of the curtain of the Prophet's mausoleum. Interestingly, the power of the shirt comes from Joseph's having worn it, rather than from the heavenly origin of the shirt. Jacob could detect its perfume from a great distance, because both he and Joseph were a "single aspect" of the "seal of the prophets" (*lamā kāna Yaʿqūb wa-Yūsuf ʿalayhumā al-salām wajhan min wujūḥ khātam al-anbiyāʾ*). Presumably this means that Jacob could detect his son's presence precisely because he also was a bearer of *walāya* and therefore in reality they were one and the same. Since Joseph's shirt acquired its "fragrance" (i.e., power) from physical contact, the "fragrance" acquired from physical closeness to the Prophet's tomb must be even stronger. Therefore, while it was the power of the fragrance of the shirt of Joseph that caused Jacob's physical sight to be restored, the perfume of his "shirt" (i.e., the *satr* of the tomb) is incomparably stronger and will give spiritual sight to those who regard it with the "eye of reality." [114]

In an interesting, if marginalized, literary gesture in *Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf* by ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī (d. 1850), known to history as the Bāb, it is argued that the *qamīṣ* of Joseph represents a power equivalent to the *satr* of the tomb of the Prophet. The symbol of the shirt of Joseph is immediately associated with the bees mentioned in Qurʾan 16 (*sūrat al-naḥl*), which reflects an early Shiʿi identification of these bees with the imams, for just as the bees produce honey "in which there is a healing for mankind" so the imams dispense healing knowledge. [115] Such an apparently incongruous and abrupt association of the bees with Joseph's shirt is quite typical of the Bāb's method throughout this commentary. The Bāb seems to take the bees out of thin air. This air is actually the exceedingly rich atmosphere of the Shiʿi exegetical tradition.

CONCLUSION

The story of Joseph has a special place in Islam and in the Qurʾan. It may be offered that while Abraham and/or Moses have frequently been considered the ideal exemplar for Muḥammadan prophecy, [116] a study of the shirt of Joseph suggests that this *qamīṣ* may have also served as a veil for another possibility. It is actually Joseph who represents a truer type—or at least a more complete type—for the Prophet, whether among Sunni exegetes or Shiʿi. In this amplitude of Qurʾanic detail and narrative there is rhetorical power.

There is a special attraction in Shiʿism for the story of Joseph, but it is central to Islamic religion for a number of reasons. The *qamīṣ* of Joseph is an efficient emblem of the Islamicate notions of prophethood, revelation, and *walāya* because it bears their scent, a scent that is at once complex and unmistakably borne upon the shirt, or cloak, that both reveals and conceals. In poetry, the shirt of Joseph is equated with the "Muḥammad (*centifolia*) rose," recognized as having the most complex perfume of any of the roses. The *Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf* ascribed to al-Ghazālī lists seven different types of scent borne upon the *qamīṣ* of Joseph. [117] Furthermore, because of its function as a marker of narrative progression in the sura of Joseph, it is also a symbol of historical continuity-within-change, eschatological hope and order in the face of chaos. This scent carries all of the information we have been given in the sura and in the Tales of the Prophets, in addition to summoning up the remembrance of the primordial covenant, a reunion of all of those "children of Adam" (humanity) who before time joined in their assent to the sovereignty of God. Perfume is the perfect conveyor of this

114. Ibid.

115. Lawson 2004: 164; see also Lawson 2011: ch. 4 and appendices for a closer look at the Bāb's commentary.

116. On Abraham as model and exemplar, see Firestone 1990; see also Paret 1971. On Islam/Muḥammad's similar esteem for Moses, see now Wheeler 2002. See also the very interesting discussion by Moreen 1994.

117. Al-Ghazālī 1895: 198.

experience because it manages to communicate simultaneously both absence and presence, a powerful coincidence of opposites and one that distinguishes itself among all other sensory experiences because of the way it conjures the past, making it one with the present, and giving the experience of an obliteration of distance between the subject and the object.[118]

While the focus here on Shiʿi and Bābī texts may raise questions as to the applicability of minoritarian views to an overall picture, it should be recalled that in all cases the point of departure has been the Qurʾan. Joseph is no less or no more a symbol of the Beloved in any of these intellectual or pietistic traditions than he was, say, for Avicenna.[119] It is not the business of the scholar to adjudicate claims of self-identifying Muslims. By offering a wide spectrum of Muslim, or if preferred, Islamicate, interpretation, a fuller picture of Islam emerges.[120] By mining these frequently marginalized sources it is hoped to shed light on heretofore unsuspected or insufficiently understood and emphasized features of the Islamic tradition, including the importance of typological figuration as a distinctively Islamic mode of iconic spiritual encounter and contemplation.[121]

118. Classen et al. 1994: 60. See also the fascinating and inspiring study of the "anthropology of air, scent, and wind," Parkin 2007. Scent also distinguishes itself from other senses by acting directly on the brain without intermediary.

119. Corbin 1980: 75. See also Corbin 1996: 86. Another source—perhaps equally "marginal" but from another tradition—would be that at the center of the study by Ebied and Young 1975.

120. For the prominence of Joseph in the post-Bābī religious development known as the Bahaʾi faith, see Lawson forthcoming b. The recent book referred to here is Cragg 2009. For a related and most stimulating study from the perspective of the Western literary tradition, including the Qurʾan, see Bal 2008.

121. In line with an axiom of the discipline of religious studies that so-called "heresies" say as much about their corresponding "orthodoxies"—and vice-versa—as they do about themselves.

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