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Laying the Foundations

Arab-Islamic oratory seems to occupy a liminal space in Western historiography of Arabic and Islamic Studies, falling between the cracks of the scholarship on Arabic literature and the study of Islamic religious texts and ritual practices. The recent spate of monographs on classical Arabic prose literature have discussed the topic of oratory only in passing, despite the preservation of anthologies of the *khuṭab* of famous preachers and the treatment of oratory as a distinct category of literature within premodern belletristic compendia.[1]

Similarly, in its facet as a form of worship, the *khuṭba* has failed to maintain the attention of scholars of Muslim ritual beyond the early-twentieth-century inquiries into the origins of the Friday *khuṭba*.[2] Little attention has been given to preaching's vital role in festival celebrations such as the Prophet's birthday[3] or its prominent place in supererogatory devotional practices of the Sufi mystics and the festivities commemorating local saints.[4]

[1] See A. F. L. Beeston, et al. (eds.), *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and Roger Allen, *Introduction to Arabic literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). One exception is Qutbuddin, "Khuṭba," in Greundler and Cooperson (eds.), *Classical Arabic humanities*, pp. 176–273.

[2] The classic study is by C. H. Becker, "On the history of Muslim worship," originally published in 1912.

[3] On this festival, see N. J. G. Kaptein, *Muḥammad's birthday festival: Early history in the central Muslim lands and development in the Muslim west until the 10th/16th century* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1993); and Marion Holmes Katz, *The birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional piety in Sunni Islam* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2007).

[4] Taylor, "Saints, *ziyāra*, *quṣṣāṣ*."

One explanation for this oversight could be precisely that preaching, whether as an obligatory or voluntary act of worship, is encased within a larger ritual complex that has been the main focus of study, for example, the celebration of the Friday prayer, Ramaḍān, the Mawlid al-Nabī, and so forth.[5] Yet I would argue that the meaning and sociohistorical function of these ritualized expressions of piety are better understood by considering the role played by preaching. After all, it was the preacher's responsibility to remind the audience of the mythic events being commemorated, explain why the past has meaning, and articulate how mythic models and lessons may be applied in the lives of their contemporary congregations.

An analogous situation obtains in the study of civic rituals and ceremonies in the classical Islamic world. The historiographic turn in the 1970s focused on the oral and ritual dimensions of poetic performances in pre-Islamic and early Islamic cultures.[6] Yet ceremonial *khuṭab* were often delivered on these same occasions and fulfilled similar social, cultural, and political functions. The ceremonial orations pronounced in royal assemblies and other homiletic genres to be analyzed in the succeeding chapters are also cultural performances in which the orator negotiates, substantiates, or challenges the legitimacy of the ruler and "incorporates current events into the mythic expression of teleological history."[7] Hence these orations should be subject to similar interrogations into the oral and performative dimensions, structure, ritual functions, and sociohistorical and political roles that have nurtured the study of classical Arabic poetry.

Arab-Islamic oratory in all its forms is governed by what Pierre Bourdieu referred to as "liturgical conditions," meaning a socially recognized set of norms regarding the agency, time, and place that must be fulfilled in order for the ritual or performative utterance to acquire "magical efficacy." He emphasized the importance of discovering the "social institution" that created these liturgical norms.[8] The purpose of this chapter is to identify the various genres of premodern Islamic oratory, to classify the institutions that prescribe the liturgical conditions for their performance, and to lay the methodological foundations for their study.

[5] Yet see Kaptein's analysis of a *khuṭba* for the Mawlid al-Nabī attributed to Ibn `Abbād of Ronda in *Muḥammad's birthday festival*, pp. 130–4.
[6] E.g., Michael Zwettler, *The oral tradition of classical Arabic poetry: Its character and implications* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1978); Suzanne Pinckley Stetkevych, *Early Islamic poetry and poetics* (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2009).
[7] Pinckley Stetkevych (ed.), *Early Islamic poetry*, p. xviii.
[8] Bourdieu, *Language & symbolic power*, p. 73.

The multiple literary and juridical sources that must be consulted toward this end require an interdisciplinary methodological approach that differs from the fieldwork-based anthropological methods employed in the study of contemporary Muslim preaching.

IDENTIFYING THE GENRES

Multiple oratorical, homiletic, and paraenetic genres were practiced in the Arabian Peninsula in the pre-Islamic era and under Islam.[9] An overview of the various oratorical genres and nature of the sources in which the texts and information about preaching are found is a necessary first step on the path toward constructing a typology of medieval Islamic oratory. The sheer variety of terms used to designate them, *khuṭba*/*khaṭāba*, *wa`ẓ*/*maw`iza*, *tadhkīr*, *qaṣaṣ*, *waṣiyya*, and *qirā´at al-kursī*, point to a complex oratorical tradition. The terms *khuṭba* and *khaṭāba* derive from the same Arabic root *kh-ṭ-b*, the basic meaning of which is a "direct, public address," and secondarily from the noun *khaṭb*, which means "a momentous occasion" or a "calamity." *Khuṭba* (pl. *khuṭab*) may be translated as an oration, sermon, speech, harangue, address, exhortation, or admonition.[10] In all cases it refers to a formal, public, dignified, and rhetorically embellished speech delivered by a speaker who is usually standing upon an elevated place for ceremonial, ritual, or otherwise momentous occasions.

The expression "*khuṭba minbariyya* (pulpit sermon)" frequently appears in manuscripts of Friday liturgical sermons, which are usually organized according to the lunar calendar. Premodern Arabic chroniclers and belletrists also employed the verbal phrases "*sa`ada `alā l-minbar* (he ascended the pulpit)," "*khaṭaba `alā l-minbar* (he preached/delivered a sermon/speech upon the pulpit)," and "*qāma khaṭīban* (he stood up as a preacher/orator)" to describe the delivery of orations. The word *khuṭba* may also denote the preface invoking the praise (*taḥmīd*) of God and blessings upon Muḥammad in any written text. This latter usage of the

[9] Julia Ashtiany et al. (eds.), *Abbasid belles-letters*. Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Roger Allen, *The Arabic literary heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Beeston, et al. (eds.), *Arabic literature*.

[10] J. M. Cowan (ed.), *The Hans-Wehr dictionary of modern written Arabic*, 4th ed. (Ithaca: Spoken Language Services, 1979, rpt., 1994), p. 285; Edward W. Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon by Edward William Lane* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), p. 764. Accessed online at http://www.tyndalearchive.com//TABS/Lane/

term will not be the subject of study. The focus of attention will only be on the canonical sermon and other pulpit oratory.

Khaṭāba, the verbal noun of the form I verb *khaṭaba*, meaning to deliver a public address, recite aloud, make a speech, preach an exhortation, or propose marriage to a girl, is the act or the art of oratory or preaching.[11] The noun *khaṭāba* is sometimes used interchangeably with the term *balāgha* (eloquence), since rhetorical eloquence, identified as pure classical Arabic speech that is "carefully arranged in rhymed prose (*al-kalām al-manthūr al-musajja`*)"[12] is also a necessary precondition of *khaṭāba*. The derivative noun, *khiṭāba*, may be defined as "oratory or rhetoric" or the "office of the *khaṭīb*."[13]

Religious oratory also took the form of moral exhortation, known as *wa`ẓ* or its cognates, *maw`iẓa* and *`iẓa*, or, alternatively, as *tadhkīr*. The nouns *wa`ẓ*, *maw`iẓa*, and *`iẓa* stem from the form I verb *wa`aẓa*, which means to preach, counsel, give guidance, exhort, admonish, warn, command, or to instill fear.[14] The verb *wa`aẓa* "is employed in the Qur´ān as characteristic of the activity of the prophets" and the Qur´ān refers to itself, the Law of Moses, and the Gospel as *wa`ẓ*.[15] Likewise, the form I verbal noun *mawi`ẓa*, which in Quranic usage means an admonition or warning, may appear alongside other terms, as in Q 5:57 and Q 10:58, where it is used together with the notions of "guidance" or "counsel," or in Q 11:121, where it appears alongside the term "reminder (*dhikran*)." When the verb *wa`aẓa* appears on its own as an intransitive verb in postclassical literary sources, as in "*fulānu wa`aẓa*," the intended meaning is that "someone preached a hortatory sermon or a warning."

Tadhkīr is a verbal noun of the form II Arabic verb *dhakkara*, meaning to remind or call one's attention to something, but also to admonish or exhort to obedience,[16] making it a near synonym to the verb *wa`aẓa*. The Quranic contexts in which this term and its variants, *tadhkira* and *dhikran* (a reminder, admonition), appear (Q 11:121, Q 51:55, Q 73:19, Q 74:49 and 54, among others) highlight the conceptual affiliation

[11] Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, p. 762.
[12] See the entry for "*kh-ṭ-b*" in the dictionary by the Arab lexicographer Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1312), *Lisān al-`Arab* (The language of the Arabs), 15 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Sadr, 1955–6). Cited in the online version downloaded from website, http://www.studyquran.co.uk/ArabicDictionaries.htm
[13] Cowan, *Hans-Wehr dictionary*, pp. 285–6.
[14] Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, p. 2953; Cowan, *Hans-Wehr dictionary*, p. 1268.
[15] Johannes Pedersen, "The Islamic preacher," in Samuel Lowinger and Joseph Somogyi (eds.), *Ignace Goldziher memorial volume* (Budapest: Globus, 1948), pp. 226–51, p. 227.
[16] Cowen, *Hans-Wehr dictionary*, pp. 358, 359; Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, p. 969.

between reminding and warning. The reminders of the punishments that befell past unbelievers are intended to serve as admonitions to remember and obey God, and to be mindful of the inevitability of death and the Last Judgment.

Premodern literary critics, belletrists, as well as preachers usually employ the term *wa`ẓ* to refer to the act of preaching or the preaching event, *maw`iẓa* (pl. *mawā`iẓ*) to describe the oral or literary text of the hortatory sermon, and *wā`iẓ* or *mudhakkir* to designate this type of preacher. I have found in the Andalusi and Maghrebi sources a few conjoined uses of the terms "*wā`iẓ-mudhakkir*," but no preacher identified only as a *mudhakkir*. Nor have I seen the terms *`iẓa* or *tadhkīr* used to indicate the act of preaching except in generic references in juridical and biographical works to "*kutub al-tadhkīr* (books of reminding [or admonitions])."

Another genre of Islamic preaching is *qaṣaṣ*, which derives from the Quranic use of the form I verb, *qaṣṣa*, meaning "to tell a story, narrate, or to give a circumstantial account of some happening."[17] Khalil `Athamina translates *qaṣaṣ* simply as "religious preaching,"[18] since in its origins *qaṣaṣ* encompassed various edifying and instructional activities, including narrating stories (*qiṣaṣ*, s. *qiṣṣa*), which were essential to spreading Islam and teaching the Qur´ān, particularly among the masses and non-Arabic ethnic groups in the first centuries of Islamic expansion.[19] These religious narrators were usually called *quṣṣāṣ* (s. *qāṣṣ*), although the Iraqi *ḥadīth* scholar Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/998) indicates that they were also called "*aṣḥāb al-karāsī* (the keepers of the stands)," in reference to the wooden stand in the mosque consisting of the seat on which the preacher would sit to deliver his homily and the desk upon which he would place a copy of the Qur´ān.[20] They continued to be known by this name as late as the fourteenth century, although by this time they were more famous,

[17] Ch. Pellat, "Qiṣṣa," *EI²*, vol. V, pp. 185–205, p. 185. See also the Quranic verses, Q 4:152, 164; Q 6:57; Q 7:6–7, 99, 101; and Q 11:100, 102, 120, 121.

[18] Khalil `Athamina, "Al-Qaṣaṣ: Its emergence, religious origin, and its socio-political impact on early Muslim society," *Studia Islamica* 76 (1992), 53–74, p. 53; al-Najm Wadi`a Taha, *al-Qaṣaṣ wa-l-quṣṣāṣ fi l-adab al-Islāmī* (The homiletic story and the storytellers in Islamic belles-letters) (Kuwait, 1972); and Berkey, *Popular preaching*, p. 13.

[19] `Athamina, "Al-Qaṣaṣ," pp. 59–60.

[20] Johannes Pedersen, "Masdjid," *EI²*, vol. VI, pp. 644–706, citing Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal al-shar` al-sharīf* (Introduction to the noble Law), ed. (s. n.), 4 vols. (Cairo: Matba`at Mustafa al-Babi, 1960, rpt. Dar al-fikr, 1981), vol. II, p. 13.

indeed infamous, for conducting their activities on the roadways, in cemeteries, and other public places.[21]

George Makdisi identified another genre of preaching, the "*qirā´at al-kursī* (reading or recitation from the chair)," which resembles *qaṣaṣ* except that in the former, as the name suggests, the reader-preacher (*qāri´*) did not preach live sermons, but rather read from texts – scripture and *ḥadith*, devotional literature, anthologies of litanies (*adhkār*), exhortations (*mawā`iẓ* and *tadhkīr*), or "stories of the prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā´*)" while seated in the wooden chair of the mosque, *madrasa* (Islamic college), or Sufi lodge. By contrast, the *wā`iẓ* and the *khaṭīb* usually delivered their sermons standing, although for lengthier orations, such as nuptial sermons, the *khaṭīb* could remain seated.[22] I have not encountered the term *qāri´ al-kursī* in the Andalusi or Maghrebi sources; however, there is evidence that some hortatory preaching sessions consisted of readings rather than or in addition to the delivery of live sermons.[23]

To avoid confusion, I follow the scholarly consensus in translating *qaṣaṣ* as "homiletic storytelling" in order to distinguish it from the other genres of *khaṭāba* and *wa`ẓ*. While this consensus stems from the definitions given by one Iraqi hortatory preacher, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200),[24] the Andalusi and Maghrebi juridical and biographical sources likewise differentiate between homiletic exhortation (*wa`ẓ*) and homiletic storytelling (*qaṣaṣ*), and their respective practitioners.

Related to the aforementioned genres of hortatory preaching are the terms *majlis* (pl. *majālis*), *maqāma* (or *maqām*, pl. *maqāmat*), and *mashhad* (pl. *mashāhid*), which refer to an oratorical assembly. The term *majlis* often appears in a noun construct with either *wa`ẓ* or *qaṣaṣ*, hence "*majlis al-wa`ẓ* (a hortatory preaching assembly)" and "*majlis al-qaṣaṣ* (a storytelling assembly)." Additionally, authors or compilers of anthologies of homiletic exhortations or stories employ the term *majlis* to designate each individual chapter or episode.[25]

[21] See, Ibn al-Ḥājj, *al-Madhkal*, vol. II, p. 13.
[22] George Makdisi, *The rise of colleges: Institutions of learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press, 1981), p. 218.
[23] See Chapter 6.
[24] Merlin L. Swartz, *Ibn al-Jawzī's "Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa'l-mudkhakkirīn"* (Beirut: Dar al-Machreq, 1986), p. 96.
[25] See Teresa Garulo, "Limosna y recompensa divina en algunas obras de *adab*," in Ana María Carballeira Debasa (ed.), *Caridad y compasión en biografías islámicas* (Madrid: CSIC, 2011), pp. 17–36.

Arabists familiar with the famous *maqāmāt*, "assemblies" or "sessions" of al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008), al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), and the lesser known al-Saraqusṭī (d. 538/1143), will recall that the colorful rogue protagonists of these fictional works so impressed their unsuspecting audiences with their eloquent sermons that the public rewarded them with generous alms and sumptuous gifts.[26] Andalusi and Maghrebi literary sources likewise apply the term *maqām/a* to the ascetic assemblies (*maqāmāt al-zuhd*) in which hortatory preaching featured among the ritual devotions performed. Finally, the word *mashhad* refers to the orations delivered in political assemblies hosted by rulers and in the public sessions in which the pre-Islamic Arabs would "boast and vie among themselves" to determine who was the most eloquent speaker.[27]

A genre of oratory related to the *khuṭba* and the *wa`ẓ* is that of the *waṣiyya* (pl. *waṣāyā*) or "spiritual testament." In the pre-Islamic era the *waṣiyya* referred to the ethical wills, moral counsel, directives, or admonitions usually addressed to a private audience as part of a final bequest or legacy.[28] The Qur´ān applies the term to the divine counsel given to the prophets, the directives the prophets issue to the people, and in the sense of property inheritance. The Islamic *waṣiyya* retained the pre-Islamic function of private moral or spiritual counsel, but was also used to address the broader public. It usually consisted of Qur´ān- or *ḥadīth*-inspired sentenciae and exhortations.[29]

The broad range of oratorical and homiletic genres and the variety of contexts and occasions in which they were pronounced indicates that the data for the study of premodern Arab-Islamic oratory are not

[26] Badī` al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. Muḥammad `Abdūh (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Kathulikiyya, 1889.); Ibid., *The Maqāmāt of Badī` al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī: Translated from the Arabic with an introduction and notes*, trans. W. J. Prendergast (London: Curzon Press, 1915, rpt. 2004); Abū Muhammad al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ed. `Īsā Saba (Beirut: Dar Sadr, 1970); Abū l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Saraqusṭī, *al-Maqāmāt al-luzūmiyya li-l-Saraqusṭī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Badr Aḥmad Ḍayf (Alexandria: al-Hay´at al-Misriyyat al-`Ammah li-l-Kitab, 2001); and Ibid., *al-Maqāmāt al-luzūmiyya*, trans. James T. Monroe (Leiden: Brill, 2002). See also Devin J. Stewart, "The *maqāma*," in Roger Allen and D. S Richards (eds.), *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*. Cambridge History of Arabic Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 145–58.

[27] Aḥmad ibn `Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a`shā*, ed. M. M. Mūsā, 14 vols. (Cairo: al-Hay´at al-Misriyya al-`Amma li-l-Kitab, 2006), vol. I, p. 210.

[28] Pedersen, "The Islamic preacher," p. 23; Cowen, *Hans Wehr dictionary*, p. 1075; and Karima Bouras, "La *waṣiyya* de `Alī del manuscrito aljamiado 614 de la Bibliotèque National de Argelia (estudio, edición y materiales)," unpublished Ph.D thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (2007).

[29] See Qutbuddin, "Khuṭba," p. 196; Vizcaíno, "Las obras de *zuhd*," pp. 425–9, for the works composed or disseminated in al-Andalus.

restricted to a single source. Hence I will start by identifying the principal texts describing the liturgical conditions of Arabic oratory in the pre-Islamic and early Muslim periods and then outline the kinds of sources available for studying postclassical oratory and hortatory preaching. A final section on methodology suggests that a multidisciplinary approach is required to adequately interpret and assess the power and efficacy of medieval Islamic oratory.

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC PREACHING

Preliminary Remarks

There is no Muslim equivalent to Schneyer's massive *Repertorium* of medieval Latin sermon manuscripts from throughout Western Europe.[30] Nevertheless, from the ninth century, philologists and belletrists began to assemble anthologies of Arabic oratory attributed to famous orators from the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic period. A typical example is Abū `Ubayd Qāsim b. Sallām's (d. 224/838) compilation of sermons of the prophets, *al-Khuṭab wa-l-mawā`iẓ* (Orations and exhortations).[31] Specimens of famous sermons and speeches of pre-Islamic and Muslim orators were also preserved in historical chronicles and literary anthologies (see the following section on the sources for the rhetorical-aesthetic dimension), which modern scholars have culled to produce compilations of classical Arab-Islamic oratory.[32] These premodern and contemporary anthologies tend to be delimited chronologically, rarely extending beyond the "golden era" of the Abbasids, as well as geographically, focusing on the Middle East. Following the consolidation of the Islamic empire in the mid eighth century, liturgical preaching was delegated to a professional *khaṭīb* appointed in charge of this office, often in conjunction with leading the communal prayer, giving rise to the figure of the "*ṣāḥib al-ṣalāt wa-l-khuṭba* (head of the ritual prayer and liturgical preaching)."[33]

[30] J. P. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols. (Münster/Westphalia: Beiträge zur Geschicte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, 1969–1990).

[31] Abū `Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-Khuṭab wa-l-mawā`iẓ* (The book of canonical sermons and homiletic exhortations), ed. Ramaḍān `Abd al-Tawwāb (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniyya, 1996).

[32] See the Bibliography for the list of premodern and contemporary anthologies.

[33] Wensinck, "Khuṭba," p. 75.

The painstaking task of perusing the catalogs of manuscripts to locate the sermons of these professional preachers, as well as collections of anonymous or model *khuṭab*, remains to be undertaken. Orations and references to preachers and to the preaching event can be found in other sources as well.

A. J. Wensinck identified three broad categories of homiletic sources for the study of the *khuṭba*: texts that record Muḥammad's orations, belletrist anthologies (*adab*) that preserve the sermons and speeches of orators from the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, and the sermonaries of famous preachers used by professional orators.[34] Wensinck considered Muḥammad's orations to be the indispensable starting point for any inquiry into Islamic preaching. Although this seems obvious, some explanation is required for the emergence of Muḥammad as the archetypal preacher, since the *khuṭba* as a genre of public oratory pre-dates Islam.[35] This means, following Bourdieu, that the institutional edifice of the *khuṭba* is founded partly on the "liturgical conditions" defined by the praxis of Muḥammad and partly by other preexisting rhetorical or aesthetic norms. For the sake of convenience, I will divide the sources for the study of Islamic oratory into two broad camps, one ritual-juridical and the other rhetorical-aesthetic, which intersect but could occasionally clash due to differing criteria regarding the ultimate aims of the genre.

Sources for the Ritual-Juridical Conditions of Islamic Preaching

The ritual-juridical tradition provides the model for the "apt performance" of the Muslim liturgical and other pulpit sermons. Talal Asad understands ritual as the "apt performance of what is prescribed," presupposing the acquisition of abilities according to rules that are sanctioned by those in authority.[36] The obligatory rites (*arkān*) and customs (*sunna*) of the *khuṭba* are derived from the Qur´ān and the *ḥadīth* or "reports" of Muḥammad's express commands concerning the ritual, the reports of the established practices (*`amal*) and customs that Muḥammad and his most distinguished Companions habitually performed during the *khuṭba*, as well as the utterances and deeds of others whom Muḥammad saw or heard

[34] Ibid.
[35] Badawi, *Fann al-khaṭāba*, pp. 33–40; Nazir Muhammad al-Maktabi, *Khaṣā´iṣ al-khuṭba wa-l-khaṭīb* (The characteristics of the sermon and the preacher) (Beirut: Dar al-Basha´ir al-Islamiyya, 1998), pp. 15–24; and al-Rifa`i, *khuṭbat al-jum`a*, pp. 53–66.
[36] Asad, *Genealogies*, p. 62.

and explicitly or tacitly approved.[37] At the instigation of the Umayyad caliph `Umar b. `Abd al-`Azīz (r. 99–101/717–719), these traditions about Muḥammad began to be systematically gathered into collections. The salient point is that despite the notorious problems of the lack of concordance or authenticity of many *ḥadīth*,[38] by the eighth century CE, *ḥadīth*-oriented juridical compendia, such as the *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭa´a* ("The book of the smoothed path") of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795),[39] cited legal norms governing the delivery, performance, and ritual validity of the *khuṭba* based on the traditions about Muḥammad and the community at Medina.

Scholars agree that Muḥammad's privileged position as a personal exemplar for pious Muslims is the historical outcome of theological and political conflicts dating from the ninth century.[40] During this process competing communities textualized their memories of Muḥammad in two distinct forms, the *sunna*, and the sacred biography of Muḥammad's life known as the *Sīra*. Ibn Hishām's (d. 218/833) edition of Ibn Isḥāq's *Life of the Prophet*[41] and the "two most sound" Sunni collections of *ḥadīth*, compiled by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875) and Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and known collectively as the *Ṣaḥīḥān*, were produced in the ninth century.[42] The ninth century and the following one also witnessed the composition of histories of Muḥammad's military expeditions (*maghāzī*) and of the exploits of

[37] Wael B. Hallaq, *A history of Islamic legal theories: An introduction to Sunni uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 58–68; and Yasin Dutton, "Amal v. hadith in Islamic law: The case of *sadl al-yadayn* (holding one's hands by one's side) when doing prayer," *Islamic Law and Society* 3, no. 1 (1996), 13–40.

[38] On the debate over the authenticity of the *ḥadīth*, see Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, *Ḥadīth literature: Its origin, development and special features* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), pp. 31–6, 124–5 and the bibliography therein.

[39] Mālik b. Anas, *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭa´a* (Beirut, n. p., 1981); Aisha Abdurrahman Bearley, *Al-Muwaṭṭa of Imām Mālik Ibn Anas: The first formulation of Islamic law* (London: Kegan Paul, 1989). See also Yasin Dutton, *The origins of Islamic law: The Qur´ān, the Muwaṭṭa´ and Madinan `amal* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999).

[40] G. H. A. Juynboll, *Studies on the origins and uses of Islamic ḥadīth* (Aldershot: Varorium, 1996); Gordon D. Newby, *The making of the last prophet: A reconstruction of the earliest biography of Muḥammad* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 12, 13.

[41] Alfred Guillaume, *The life of Muḥammad: A translation of Ibn Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[42] al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*; Muslim b. al-Hajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, eds. Mūsā Shāhīn Lāsīn and Aḥmad `Umar Hāshim (Beirut: Mu´assasat `Izz al-Din, 1987). Unless otherwise stated, I use the English translations of the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* provided by the Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement, University of Southern California (see Chapter 1, note 1).