

whether bishop, martyr, ascetic, monk, nun, etc., some indication of date if known, a short summary of the traditions concerning the saint, and then a list of sources for this information and relevant bibliography. The list covers saints from Western and Eastern Syriac churches, drawn from calendars of all periods and covering both major and minor figures.

It is interesting to survey the type and distribution of names, though the book could hardly be used for a fully scientific statistical survey. Names are frequently Persian, Arabic, Greek or Latin, depending to some extent on the saint's origin. However, names found in the Bible are at least as common. The mainly New Testament names John/Yochanan and Simeon (as in Simon Peter) are the most popular, with 27 occurrences for John and 14 for Simeon. There are four Pauls and four Thomases listed. The commonest Old Testament names are frequently those of figures associated with Mesopotamia. Jacob is particularly popular among Syriac bishops, writers, and saints from the region of northern Mesopotamia, the most famous being of course the Jacobs of Serugh, Nisibis, and Edessa, plus Jacob Baradaeus. In fact there are 12 different Jacobs recorded in Fiey's list. They are closely followed by ten Abrahams, and three Benjamins, but only three Isaacs: is it any coincidence that according to the Bible, Isaac was not born in the region of Aram? There are nine Daniels and six Jonahs (Yawnan), perhaps reflecting the proximity of Babylon and Nineveh respectively. Other Old Testament names are far fewer: Isaiah (3), 1 Ezekiel (1), no Jeremiahs, Moses (3), Joseph (4, perhaps also influenced by the husband of Mary), Samuel (1), Elijah (5), and Elisha (2). Angel names include Michael (4) and Gabriel (4). These names may not all have been baptismal ones but were perhaps adopted on entering monastic life. Rifqa Rayyis, a Maronite nun of the nineteenth century, was christened Butrusiya (Pierrette) but took the name of her deceased mother, Rifqa (= Rebecca), on entering an enclosed order. Theophoric names such as Isho'yaw ("Jesus gave"), Isho'sawran ("Jesus [is] our hope") and the similar Sawrishi', Ithallah ("there is a God!") may be based on Hebrew or Greek models, but to modern ears are reminiscent of Quaker names.

Though the book depends largely on tradition (given the difficulties of research in this field), and cannot therefore be a fully scientific work, the present reviewer has none the less found it a useful tool. Syriacists owe Professor Conrad a debt of gratitude for his efforts in ensuring its publication.

Alison Salvesen

SULEIMAN ALI MOURAD:

Early Islam between Myth and History: Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 CE) and the Formation of His Legacy in Classical Islamic Scholarship.

(Islamic Philosophy Theology and Science, LXII.) xi, 339 pp.
Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006. 90 04 14829 9.

The life and teaching of the renowned Umayyad preacher and religious leader al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī has repeatedly been examined by prominent Western scholars such as L. Massignon, H. H. Schaeder, H. Ritter and more recently J. van Ess. The public impact of his sermons and scholarly activity was evidently great but varied in his lifetime. After his death diverse schools of

religious thought claimed parts of his spiritual legacy and over centuries gradually transformed his image into that of a legendary saint. The author of the present study focuses, as the title indicates, on this development of a “myth” of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and suggests that most modern scholars “have based their studies of al-Ḥasan on selective and partial use of the sources, rendering the confusing and contradictory accounts into what appear to be smooth, clearly-focused narratives” (p. 1).

In an introductory chapter Mourad analyses al-Ḥasan’s life and career in the light of his later “glorification and sanctification”, which offered contradictory reports on many aspects of his biography. Against the general view of modern scholars that al-Ḥasan was not involved in the anti-Umayyad revolt of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash‘ath, he first argues that al-Ḥasan was an active participant. In Part I, on Piety, asceticism and mysticism, he criticizes the common opinion of modern scholars that al-Ḥasan significantly influenced the formation and development of mysticism, suggesting that there is no historical evidence to justify any claim that he was associated with Sufism. Such a claim, he argues, was probably put forward first by Abū Ṭālib al-Makki in the later fourth/tenth century in his *Qūt al-qulūb*. Next he deals with the authenticity of the correspondence between al-Ḥasan and the caliph ‘Umar II, including a *Risālat al-Zuhd* that, according to Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ḥasan sent to the caliph. Mourad argues that some of the letters are definitely inauthentic and that the rest cannot be used to establish the views of al-Ḥasan so long as there is “no mechanism” to verify which ones are genuine. In a further chapter the authenticity of five works on piety and mysticism attributed to al-Ḥasan is examined. Four of them are found to be falsely attributed, rather than cases of intentional pseudepigraphy. The fifth, a *Kitāb al-Ikhlāṣ*, may have been authentic but does not seem to be extant. Part II of the book, on theology, deals specifically with al-Ḥasan’s position in the dispute about *qadar*, predestination versus free-will, but not with al-Ḥasan’s other theological views. In agreement with the view of most Western scholars, Mourad concludes that al-Ḥasan was a *qadarī* in the sense of a supporter of human free will. He argues, however, against the authenticity of al-Ḥasan’s letter to the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in defence of the thesis of free-will first published by H. Ritter. The authenticity of this letter was initially accepted in Western scholarship, but doubts about it have been expressed more recently by several scholars including J. van Ess, who at first supported it. After detailed examination Mourad suggests that the epistle was forged during the late fourth/tenth century in the circle of the famous Mu‘tazilī Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, perhaps by a Zaydī theologian.

The reader hoping to learn more about the historical al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī will be disappointed. At the outset we are assured by the author that it is not his purpose “to suggest that al-Ḥasan is a legendary figure ... Al-Ḥasan must have been a celebrated figure during his lifetime. Several factors must have contributed to that; notable among them are his piety ...” (p. 54). The exceptional piety of al-Ḥasan had been the focus of H. Ritter’s article entitled “Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī”. The image of particular piety is, however, quickly demolished in the course of the book. Al-Ḥasan “was perceived as one out of hundreds of early Muslim pious figures – the founding fathers – whose sermons and life-stories were intended and used as guidelines for later generations of Muslims. In these early sources, the presentation of al-Ḥasan as an exemplar of piety was not unique” (p. 64). What kind of piety is indeed left if al-Ḥasan, as suggested by the author, accepted gifts from a hated governor and then did not hesitate to join an armed

rebellion against him? The author's eagerness to demonstrate widespread "myth creation", meaning fabrication without any historical foundation, in later Muslim scholarship inevitably leads to questionable negative conclusions about the actual al-Ḥasan. Yet it must be obvious that the extent of outright myth-making can only be judged on the basis of an understanding of his real life and personality. There is a wide range of possibilities between truthful reporting and pure fiction. Pseudepigraphy may present the alleged author's views accurately as well as misrepresenting them. The historical al-Ḥasan in turn can only be understood in the setting of his time. The challenge here, as the author sees it, is that "the first century of Islam, the period to which al-Baṣrī belongs, is probably the most problematic era for researchers in Islamic history" (p. 2). He speaks of a "demonization process of the Umayyads under the early 'Abbāsids" and goes on to describe the early 'Abbāsīd historian al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* as "aggressively anti-Umayyad" (p. 43). The claim that the early 'Abbāsids and their historiography grossly denigrated the Umayyads and distorted their history has unfortunately become a cliché in modern Western scholarship that hampers rather than encourages sound critical research. In reality anyone taking an unbiased look at al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* must be struck by the abundance of unadulterated pro-Umayyad reports in it.

The author's radical conclusions cannot be discussed here in detail for lack of space. Only a few points may be noted. Al-Ḥasan's presence in the camp of Ibn al-Ash'ath does not mean that he backed the armed rebellion. The reports indicating that he was there to oppose any fighting between Muslims must be taken seriously. The experience of Muslims fighting and killing each other in large numbers had been traumatic for many ever since the first *fitna* in the time of 'Uthmān and 'Alī. Even at that time there had been those who felt obliged to oppose the fighting in public rather than withdraw quietly. That Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his school in the third/ninth century were among the first to denounce participation in *fitna* (p. 69) is untenable.

The author's assertion that there is no historical basis for associating al-Ḥasan with the development of Sufī asceticism and mysticism must be questioned in the light of his own discussion of the ascetic movement of the Baṣran Abū 'Amr al-Hujaymī (d. 200/815). Al-Hujaymī's teacher was 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd, a disciple of al-Ḥasan. Both 'Abd al-Wāḥid and al-Hujaymī are accused of Qadarī views, which they presumably adopted from al-Ḥasan. That al-Hujaymī traced his esoteric knowledge through al-Ḥasan to the Companion Ḥudhayfa and to the Prophet does not turn his connection with al-Ḥasan into late fiction (p. 101). Al-Ḥasan may well have expressed particular admiration for Ḥudhayfa's pious views and political stand without ever having met him.

In discussing the authenticity of al-Ḥasan's epistle to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, the author does not take into account its support of what J. van Ess has described as al-Ḥasan's "asymmetrical view" on *qadar*. Al-Ḥasan categorically affirmed universal divine determinism, yet excluded human sins from it. This apparently contradictory position evidently reflects al-Ḥasan's pietism, but could not easily be sustained in a rational theology like that of the Mu'tazila. Al-Ḥasan's asymmetrical position is also described in the report of Sulaymān b. Arqam, an early follower of the founder of the Mu'tazila Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', quoted by al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (pp. 125, 194). There is no valid reason to doubt the authenticity of this report. The Mu'tazila would thus have had no motive to transmit the epistle if they had had its text at an early date. If it was forged, this must have been done early, when there were still advocates of al-Ḥasan's asymmetrical doctrine to hand it down. The school of 'Abd al-Wāḥid

and al-Hujaymī could have played a part. However, none of the arguments so far put forward by the author and other scholars that the extant text of the epistle anachronistically reflects terminology and debates of an age later than al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī can be considered conclusive.

W. Madelung

RICHARD M. FRANK:

Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism in Medieval Islam: Texts and Studies on the Development and History of Kalam, Vol. 1. Edited by Dimitri Gutas.

(Variorum Collected Studies Series.) x, 392 pp. Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. £62.50. 00 86078 977 2.

This is the first volume in a three-volume set to be published by Ashgate. It features fifteen articles by the great scholar of Islamic theology, philosophy and mysticism, Richard Frank. In the particular case of theology (*kalām*), the work of Richard Frank (and that of notable scholars like Josef van Ess and Wilferd Madelung) lays down the foundation, especially in terms of establishing a methodology, for a more extensive examination of *kalām*, our understanding of which is still lacking in comparison with other areas of intellectual and religious knowledge in medieval Islam. Frank's articles still retain their impact on modern scholars and scholarship, despite the fact that some of them were written half a century ago. A number of these articles were originally published in proceedings or less accessible journals; indeed, the great contribution of this collection is that it makes these very valuable studies accessible to scholars who would otherwise have to spend considerable time and effort in locating some of them.

Dimitri Gutas has done a fine job of organizing the articles into relevant themes and topics. Articles 2–5 of this first volume comprise studies on the Graeco-Arabic translations and terminology: article 2 on Ishāq b. Ḥunayn's translation of Aristotle's *De Anima*; article 3 on the Oriental versions of Themistius' paraphrase of Book *A* of the *Metaphysics*; article 4 on the Arabic philosophical term *ammīya* and its use; and article 5 on John Scythopolis's use of *Enneads*, which, along with article 4, provides a context that explains the way such Plotinian terms and ideas passed, through the medium of Syriac, into Arabic. Articles 6–13 are concerned with theology and philosophy: article 6 discusses the early development of *kalām*, in particular as it relates to the concept of *qudra*; article 7 compares *kalām* and *falsafa* with regard to reason and revealed law; article 8 examines the debate within Sunni Islam regarding God's relation to the world and to man; article 9 is on the neoplatonism of Jahm b. Ṣafwān; article 10 investigates al-Ghazālī's concept of *taqlīd*, and article 11 examines his use of Avicenna's philosophy; articles 12 and 13 engage respectively two fundamental terms: *ma'nā* according to early grammarians, and *lam yazal* in theological discourse. The last two articles (14 and 15) provide an edition and translation of two short dogmatic treatises by the famous mystic Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī: *Luma' fī al-i'tiqād*, and *al-Fuṣūl fī al-uṣūl*.

Gutas is also to be commended for overseeing the production of the two exhaustive indexes (one on names and subjects, the other on Arabic terms), which make the fifteen articles searchable and enhance their usability for scholars of Islamic studies.