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ART. VIII.—*Emotional Religion in Islām as affected by Music and Singing.* Being a Translation of a Book of the *Ihyā ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn* of al-Ghazzālī with Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices. By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford, Conn.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON MUSIC IN RELATION TO EMOTION.

“WHOSOEVER is harmonically composed delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all Church-Musick. For my own part, not only from my obedience but my particular Genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and Tavern-Musick, which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion and a profound contemplation of the First Composer.” This is the confession of Sir Thomas Browne, and in that confession races the farthest apart join. The influence of music on the soul, the emotions it stirs, the fears and hopes it excites, all peoples, all climates, all ages have known. The negro at his camp-meeting, the darwīsh at his *dhikr*, are here kin with the English scholar

and physician. For him it may not have been such a cataleptic ecstasy as befalls the negro or the darwîsh, but the cause was one and the essential nature. All religions have drawn strength and exaltation from this which lies at the root of all religion; it has ever kindled and fed the flame of devotion. The one could picture it to himself as "a sensible fit of that harmony which intellectually sounds in the ears of God"; the other can but ignorantly feel it working on his heart and soul, and sweeping him far from all the bonds of mind and thought. The unknown opens before him and clothes itself with his fancy. Whatever be the music that he hears, coming with music's vague yearning and sense of wrong and loss, it brings to him his own wild thoughts. To him, as to Sir Thomas Browne, music is one; all leads to God, the God of the swaying, restless heart, not of the steadfast mind. He knows how it speaks in universal terms; how its beauty is the beauty of the sunset, not of a painting; how to it belong no clear outlines, but the mind which we bring limits and gives it form. The tides of its seas that set towards eternity meet no bar, break upon no shore. In it is limitless possibility, feeling apart from thought, a golden clime with the ever changing, melting towers of a dream city. One emotion floats over into another, its kin. The strands of life twist and twine, each with each. Melodies of sensuous love come to express the worship of the Divine; musical phrases that speak the fear of man come to speak the awe of the Unknown. And when to the breadth of music is joined the wide solution of the meaning of Arabic words, the bounds of possibility are opened, and dreamy suggestion comes in place of thought. Then a love-poem may turn to a song of pure content when heard with fitly tempered ears.

Sir Thomas Browne has touched this quivering nerve with the finger of genius. The negro camp-meeting has often been described from without, and some have even tried to analyze it from within. The fantastic orgies of darwîshes, dancing, howling, barking, and the rest—has not every Eastern traveller essayed upon them his pen, if not his

ridicule? It still remains to see them from within as they appeared to the sympathetic eyes of a great theologian who had himself part in them, and who applied the methods of science to the analysis of emotional effects. To transmit and interpret his results to Western readers is my object here. I trust that I have not met either the dream of the mystic or the intellectual subtleties of the scholastic with any lack of sympathy. There is much here that will require from the reader a healthy historical sense, much that will seem of kin to the wildest dreams of delirium; yet it should not be forgotten that our generation has seen a formal defence of the schoolmen, and that Lord Tennyson in his "Ancient Sage" has described and professed a perception through ecstasy that differs in nothing from the *wajd* of the Muslim saint.

Finally, I would ask the indulgence of the Arabist if I have not in all cases succeeded in grasping or adequately rendering the intricacies of my theologian's thought and style, and the indulgence of the non-Arabist if I have left in darkness any point necessary to his understanding. The notes could often have been made much longer and more minute in detail. But while I trust that sufficient has been done for the explanation of the text, I have endeavoured to keep the commentary within bounds, adding, however, such references as might form at least a beginning for further research. For an account of al-Ghazzālī himself I would refer to my paper on his life and religious experiences and opinions in vol. xx of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. It forms an almost necessary introduction to the present translation.

*The Book of the Laws of Listening to Music and Singing and of Ecstasy. It is the Eighth in the Section of Customs in The Book of the Re-vivifying of the Sciences of the Faith.*¹

IN the Name of God, the Merciful, Compassionate One.²

Praise belongeth unto God,³ who hath consumed the hearts of His chosen in the fire of His love, and hath enslaved their thoughts and their souls in longing unto meeting Him and looking upon Him, and hath fixed their sight and their insight upon consideration of the beauty of His presence until they have become drunken with inbreathing of the breeze that tells of union, and their hearts are distraught and confounded with considering the praises of Majesty, and they see not His equal in existence, visible and invisible, and are not mindful of aught except Him in The Two Abodes.⁴ If a form presents itself to their sight, their insight passes to Him that formed it; and if a melody strikes upon their ears, their secret thoughts pass hastily to the Beloved; and if there come to them a voice disturbing or disquieting or moving or making to sorrow or making joyous or making to long or stirring up, that they are disturbed is only unto Him, and that they are moved is only by Him, and that they are disquieted is only on account of Him; their sorrow is only in Him, and their longing is

¹ I translate from the edition of Cairo, 1302. I have also employed the commentary of the Sayyid Murtadā (referred to hereafter as SM.), *Itihāf as-Sāda*, 10 vols., Cairo, 1311. The *Book* translated comes in vol. vi, pp. 454–end.

² Strictly ‘the merciful Raḥmān,’ but though the word was a proper name for God, standing beside Allāh, even before Muḥammad, yet the use in Islām is rather as I have rendered it. It is not a proper name, but an epithet noun.

³ Lane, *sub voce*, p. 638c, translates *praise be to God*, but by *be* he seems to mean only an emphatic, ejaculatory assertion, not a prayer, *du‘ā*. See his letter to Fleischer in ZDMG., xx, p. 187, where he explains in that way his rendering *tabāraka-llāh*, ‘Blessed is,’ or ‘be, God.’ That it is to be taken as an assertion is plain from al-Bayḍawī, i, p. 6, ll. 3 ff. The precise force of both the *Basmala* and the *Hamdala* has been much discussed by Muslim divines. See, for example, the elaborate examination in al-Bājūrī’s *Sharḥ* on the *Kifāya al-‘awāmm* (Cairo, A.H. 1303).

⁴ The Two Abodes are this world and that which is to come, *ad-dunyā wal-ākhirā*.

only unto that which is with Him, and their being aroused is only for Him, and their coming and going is only around Him. From Him is their hearing and unto Him is their listening, and He hath locked their eyes and ears from aught besides Himself. They are those whom God hath chosen to be his Saints and has separated from His chosen ones and His peculiar ones. And blessing be upon Muḥammad, who was sent with His message, and upon his Family and Companions, leaders and guides in the truth, and much Peace!¹

Lo! hearts and inmost thoughts are treasuries of secrets and mines of jewels. Infolded in them are their jewels like as fire is infolded in iron and stone, and concealed like as water is concealed under dust and loam. There is no way to the extracting of their hidden things save by the flint and steel of listening to music and singing, and there is no entrance to the heart save by the ante-chamber of the ears. So musical tones, measured and pleasing, bring forth what is in it and make evident its beauties and defects. For when the heart is moved there is made evident that only which it contains like as a vessel drips only what is in it. And listening to music and singing is for the heart a true touchstone and a speaking standard; whenever the soul of the music and singing reaches the heart, then there stirs in the heart that which in it preponderates. Since, then, the heart is by nature obedient to the ears, to the degree that its secret things plainly show themselves through them and its defects are uncovered by them and its beauties made evident, an explanation is needed of what has been said with regard to listening to music and singing and with regard to ecstasy, and also a statement of what advantages are in these things and what disadvantages and of what is recommended in them of laws and modes, and of what pertains

¹ On the Muslim theory and practice of benediction on the Prophet and others, see Goldziher in ZDMG., I, pp. 97 ff. My translations here make no attempt to be final on a very difficult question. After a time I do not translate these benedictory formulae at all. The *Sharḥ* of al-Bājūrī cited above suggests that this also is an assertion to be translated, 'Benediction is upon . . .'; i.e., it is *ikhbārī* and not *inshā'ī*.

to them of disagreement on the part of the learned as to their being either forbidden or allowed. We will expound that in two chapters: the first as to the allowableness of listening to music and singing, and the second as to its laws and the effects which music and singing produce upon the heart, consisting of ecstasy, and upon the members of the body, consisting of dancing and crying out and tearing of garments.

I.

The First Chapter, treating of the disagreement of the learned as to the allowableness of Listening to Music and Singing, and revealing the truth as to that allowableness.

1.

A statement of the sayings of the learned and of the Ṣūfīs as to its being lawful or forbidden.

Know that the listening comes first, and that it bears as fruit a state in the heart that is called ecstasy; and ecstasy bears as fruit a moving of the extremities of the body, either with a motion that is not measured and is called agitation or with a measured motion which is called clapping of the hands and swaying of the members. Let us, then, begin with the rule as to listening—it comes first—and we will adduce with regard to it those sayings which express clearly the views which have been held on it. Thereafter, we will mention what points to its permissibility, and follow that up with an answer to what has been laid hold of by those who assert that it is forbidden.

As for the adducing of views, the Qāḍī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī¹ has related from ash-Shāfi'ī² and Mālik and

¹ Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib; d. 450. See Wüstenfeld's *Schäffiten*, No. 393, pp. 263 ff.

² Ash-Shāfi'ī; d. 204. For his life see Wüstenfeld, pp. 29 ff., and for a remark on his attitude to music, p. 41. The SM. notes that the book here mentioned, *Kitāb ādāb al-qaḍā*, is part of the *Kitāb al-amm*, No. 9 on p. 45 of Wüst. On rejecting of testimony, see note below.

Abū Ḥanifa and Sufyān and a number of the learned, expressions which indicate that they viewed it as forbidden. He said, "Ash-Shāfi'ī (may God have mercy on him!) said in *The Book of the Laws of giving Judgment*, 'Singing is a sport which is disliked and which resembles what is false; he who meddles much with it is light of understanding, you shall reject his testimony.'" Further, the Qādī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib said, "That a man should listen to a woman who is not within the prohibited degrees of kinship is unlawful according to the followers of Ash-Shāfi'ī, equally whether she is in plain view or behind a curtain, is free or a slave." Further, he said, "Ash-Shāfi'ī (may God be well pleased with him!) said, 'If the possessor of a slave-girl gather men together to listen to her, he is of light understanding, you shall reject his testimony.'" And he narrated further from ash-Shāfi'ī: "He disliked beating time with a stick [*qaḍīb*], and was wont to say that freethinkers¹ made use of that to divert their attention from hearing the Qur'ān. And ash-Shāfi'ī said, 'On account of tradition, playing at backgammon is disliked more than playing on any kind of musical instrument. And I do not like playing at chess; I dislike all the games which men play, because play does not belong to the actions of the people of religion and manly virtue' [*murū'a*]. And as for Mālik² (may God have mercy on him!), he has forbidden singing. He said, 'When a man buys a slave-girl and finds that she is a singer, then it is his duty to send her back.' That is the view of the rest of the people of al-Madīna except Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd³ alone. And

¹ *Zindīqs*, a very general term. The SM. interprets it of those who hold by no law and assert the eternal pre-existence of the world. Very frequently it means those who externally profess Islām, but do not believe in their hearts. See Huart, *Les Zindīqs en droit musulman*, Eleventh Congress of Orientalists, part iii, pp. 69 ff.

² Mālik b. Anas al-Himyārī al-Madani; d. 179. Wüstenfeld's *an-Nawawī*, pp. 530 ff. On his relation to music and singing, see also Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, p. 79, note.

³ Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Awf al-Qurashī az-Zuhri Abū Ishāq al-Madani Nazil Baghdād; 108-185. He was one of the shaykhs of ash-Shāfi'ī, and handed down traditions especially from Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri. The SM. has a lengthened notice of him under this occurrence, giving anecdotes of his love of music and singing and of his interviews with ar-Rashīd and others.

as for Abū Ḥanīfa¹ (may God be well pleased with him!), he disliked it and made hearing singing a sin; and so all the people of al-Kūfa, Sufyān ath-Thawrī² and Ḥammād³ and Ibrāhīm⁴ and ash-Sha'bī⁵ and the rest."

All this the Qādī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī has adduced. But Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī⁶ adduced the allowableness of listening to music and singing from a number of the first believers. He said, "Of the Companions, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far⁷ and 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr⁸ and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba⁹ and Mu'āwiya¹⁰ and others listened to music and singing." He said further, "Many of the excellent first believers, both Companions and Followers,¹¹ have done that along with pious works." And he said, "The people of al-Ḥijāz with us in Makka did not cease to listen to music and singing even in the most excellent of the days of the year, and these are The Few Days¹² in which God

¹ Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān b. Thābit; 80-150. Ibn Khall., iii, 555 ff.; Ibn Hajar al-Haytamī al-Makkī (d. 973), *Al-khayrāt al-ḥasanāt*, Cairo, 1304.

² Sufyān ath-Thawrī; 95-161. Ibn Khall., i, p. 576; an-Naw., pp. 286 ff. For anecdotes of him, see Kosegarten's *Chrestomathia Arabica*, pp. 61 f., and *Lawāqih* of ash-Sha'rānī, vol. i, pp. 38 ff., of ed. of Cairo, 1316.

³ Abū Ismā'il Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān Muslim; d. 120. Ibn Khall., iii, p. 564, n. 5; an-Naw., p. 135.

⁴ Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd an-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī; d. 96. An-Naw., pp. 135 ff.

⁵ 'Amir b. Sharāḥīl ash-Sha'bī; d. 104, 5. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, pp. 229 ff.

⁶ The author of the *Qūt al-qutūb*; d. 386. See note 2 on p. 91 of *Life of al-Ghazzālī* (Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. xx).

⁷ 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; d. 80. An-Naw., pp. 337 ff.; Ibn Qut., 104. The SM. gives some details as to his love of music and singing. See, too, a story about him and his singing-girl 'Ammāra given by Derenbourg and Spiro in their *Chrestomathie* from the *Aṣwāq al-ashwāq* of al-Biqā'i.

⁸ 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, killed by al-Ḥajjāj in Mecca in 73. An-Naw., pp. 341 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 112 ff.; Quatremère in JA., sér. II, ix, 289, 385; x, 39, 137. The SM. again gives further details on his love of music.

⁹ Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba b. Abī 'Āmir ath-Thaqafī; d. 50. An-Naw., pp. 572, misprinted 576, f.

¹⁰ Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān al-Umawī, the Khalifa; d. 60.

¹¹ The Companions are those contemporaries of Muḥammad who came into personal contact with him as believers, and who died as believers; the Followers (*at-Tābi'ūn*) are those who received traditions directly from Companions. The SM. comments to the extent of six large quarto pages.

¹² The reference is to Qur'ān, ii, 199: *And remember God for a few days.* On account of the context this phrase has become limited to certain days in the month Dhū-l-ḥijja, which are thence called 'The Few Days.' Lane, in the *Lexicon*, sub √ 'DD, p. 1,971c, identifies these with the *Ayyām at-tashriq* (p. 1,539c) as the 11th, 12th, and 13th, the three days after the 10th, the day of sacrifice, when the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and dried in the sun;

commanded His servants to remember Him, such as the days of at-Tashrīq. And the people of al-Madīna, like the people of Makka, have not ceased persisting in listening to music and singing up to this our time. We have known Abū Marwān the Qādī,¹ who had slave-girls who chanted in public and whom he had prepared to sing to Ṣūfis.” And he said further, “‘Atā² had two slave-girls who chanted, and his brethren were wont to listen to them.” And he said further, “They said to Abū-l-Ḥasan b. Sālim,³ ‘How dost thou forbid listening to music and singing when Junayd⁴ and Sarī as-Saqāṭī⁵ and Dhū-n-Nūn⁶ were wont to listen?’” Then he said, ‘And how have I forbidden music and singing when those that are better than I have allowed it and listened to it?’ And ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far at-Ṭayyār⁷ was

other explanations of the name are also given. But in this passage in al-Ghazzālī ‘The Few Days’ and the ‘Days of Tashrīq’ do not seem to cover one another, and al-Bayḍawī (on Qur., ii, 199) seems to extend the term *Ayyām at-tashrīq* to cover the 10th of Dhū-l-ḥijja. See, too, al-Berūnī’s *Āthār*, p. 333 of translation.

¹ Abū Marwān Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Khālīd b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān al-Madānī Nazīl bi-Makka; d. 241.

² Abū Muḥammad ‘Atā b. Abī Rabāḥ Aslam al-Makkī al-Qurashī; d. 114, 15, 17? An-Naw., pp. 422 f.

³ Abū-l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, one of the shaykhs of Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī, the author of the *Qūt al-qulūb*. He is referred to elsewhere in this book and in Ibn Khall., iii, p. 20.

⁴ Abū-l-Qasim al-Junayd b. Muḥammad; d. 297, 98. Ibn Khall., i, p. 338, and Life of al-Ghazzālī, p. 91; de Sacy from Jāmī in *Notices et Extr.*, xii, pp. 426 ff.; *Lawāqih* of ash-Sha‘rānī, pp. 67 ff.

⁵ Sarī b. al-Mughallis as-Saqāṭī (uncle and shaykh of the above); d. 256, 57. Ibn Khall., i, pp. 555 ff.

⁶ Abū-l-Fayḍ Thawbān b. Ibrāhīm Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī; d. 245, 46, 48? Al-Qushayrī, *Risāla*, p. 10 of ed. of Cairo, 1304; Ibn Khall., i, pp. 291 ff.; Kosegarten’s *Chrest. arab.*, pp. 58 ff.; *Lawāqih*, pp. 56 f.

⁷ This is the grandson of Abū Ṭalīb referred to in note 7 on p. 202. *At-Ṭayyār* is a *laqab* of Ja‘far and not of ‘Abd Allāh. He was also called *Dhū-l-Janāḥayn*. For an account of how he gained these names, after his death, see the notice of him in an-Naw., pp. 193 f. Legend continued to grow up round him, for among the Indian Muslims he has become a Jinnī who appeared to al-Ḥusayn before he was killed and offered his assistance; he is also invoked for magical purposes, and is the reputed author of the book *al-Jafr* (Life, p. 113, note 2); see Herklots’ *Qanoon-e-Islām*, pp. 166 and 380, and Burton, *Arabian Nights*, xii, p. 115. *At-Ṭayyār* occurs also in the *Fihrist*, p. 175, as a *laqab* of ‘Alī b. Ismā‘il b. Mitham, but is considered by the editors to be an error for at-Tammār. As this ‘Alī also was a Shī‘ite the name may be right. *Dhū-l-Janāḥayn* is the name of a Jinnī in the *Thousand and One Nights*, N. 583. See, too, Goldziher’s article *Ueber Dual-titel* in the *Wiener Zeitsch.*, xiii, p. 325 and note.

wont to listen, and he only forbade sporting and playing in listening. And it is related from Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh¹ that he said, 'We miss three things and do not see them, and I shall not see them increase save little, beauty of face with modesty, beauty of speech with honesty, and beauty of brotherliness with abiding by duty.'" And I saw in some books this very thing related from al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī,² and it shows that he permitted listening to music and singing in spite of his asceticism and piety and strenuousness and energy in religion. Further he said, "Ibn Mujāhid³ was not wont to accept an invitation except there was to be music and singing." And more than one has narrated that he said, "We gathered together to a banquet, and along with us were Abū-l-Qāsim b. bint Manī'⁴ and Abū Bakr b. Dā'ūd⁵ and Ibn Mujāhid with others their like, and there was music and singing there. Then Ibn Mujāhid began to urge on Ibn bint Manī' against Ibn Dā'ūd as to listening to the singing. And Ibn Dā'ūd said, 'My father related from Ibn Ḥanbal⁶ that he disliked listening to music and singing, and my father disliked it, and I hold the view of my father.' Then Abū-l-Qāsim b. bint Manī' said, 'As for my grandfather Aḥmad b. bint

¹ Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh ar-Rāzī, d. 258. Al-Qushayrī, *Risāla*, p. 20; Ibn Khall., iv, pp. 51 ff.

² Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī; d. 243. See note in *Life*, p. 91. Ibn Khall., i, p. 365, gives this saying as his.

³ The SM. is in doubt as to who is meant here. According to him it may be Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Mujāhid, the shaykh of the Mutakallims and the shaykh of the Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqilānī (d. 403; see Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des As'arienthums*, pp. 108 ff.); as-Subkī gives his biography in the *Tabaqāt*. This Abū 'Abd Allāh appears to be the same as Abū-l-'Abbās b. Mujāhid at-Ta'ī al-Baṣrī, an immediate pupil of al-Ash'arī; see Schreiner, pp. 82 and 106. Schreiner refers to Ibn Khaldūn, *Muq.* ed. of Būlāq, p. 382, and the *Mītal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Or it may be Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. al-'Abbās b. al-Mujāhid al-Muqri' al-Baghdādī, d. 324; ad-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385; Ibn Khall., i, p. 455, note 1; ii, p. 239; and Wüstenfeld, *Schāf.*, p. 194) narrated from him: see on him Wüstenfeld, *Schāf.*, pp. 132 f.; Ibn. Khall., i, p. 27; iii, pp. 16, 18.

⁴ Abū-l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sibṭ (son of the daughter) Aḥmad b. Manī' al-Baghawī; d. 317. Ibn Khall., i, p. 323, n. 6.

⁵ Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Dā'ūd Sulaymān (Wüsten., *Schāf.*, p. 90) b. al-Ash'ath as-Sijistānī; 230–316 (the SM. has 310). See Wüsten., *Schāf.*, pp. 120 ff.

⁶ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; d. 241. See Patton, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*.

Manī,¹ he told me from Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad² that his father used to listen to the voice of Ibn al-Khabbāza.’³ Then said Ibn Mujāhid to Ibn Dā’ūd, ‘Don’t bother us with your father’; and to Ibn bint Manī, ‘Don’t bother us with your grandfather. What do you say, Abū Bakr, of one who recites a verse of poetry; is it unlawful?’ Ibn Dā’ūd said, ‘No.’ ‘And if he has a beautiful voice, is it unlawful for him to recite it?’ He said, ‘No.’ ‘And if he recite it, and recite more than one and shorten in it that which is long and lengthen in it that which is short, is it unlawful?’ He said, ‘I am not equal to one devil; then how should I be equal to two?’” Further he said, “Abū-l-Ḥasan al-‘Asqalānī, the black,⁴ one of the Saints, was wont to listen to music and singing and to be distracted with longing thereat, and he wrote a book about it, and overthrew in that book those who blame music; and, similarly, a number have written to overcome those blaming it.”

Further it is related from one of the Shaykhs that he said, “I saw Abū-l-‘Abbās al-Khaḍīr⁵ (peace be upon

¹ Abū Ja’far Aḥmad b. Manī b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Baghawī, the deaf; was cousin (ibn ‘amm) of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Baghawī; settled at Baghdād and passed on traditions from al-Bukhārī (d. 256); 160–244.

² Abū-l-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; 203–266. See Patton by index.

³ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā b. Zakariyā al-Baghdādī, the poet. He was a contemporary of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as is shown by the following stories told by the SM. One goes back to his son Ṣāliḥ, who said: “I used to like to listen to singing, but my father disliked it. And I made an appointment one night with Ibn Khabbāza, and he waited with me till I knew that my father was asleep, and then he began to sing. But I heard a sound on the roof, and went up and saw my father there listening to the singing with his skirt tucked under his arm, stepping out on the roof as though he were dancing.” The second story goes back to his other son ‘Abd Allāh. He said: “I used to invite Ibn Khabbāza, but my father forbade us to have singing; so I used, whenever he was with me, to hide him from my father that he might not hear. And he came one night to me and was chanting (*kāna yaqūlu*). And my father had need of something with us—we were in a by-street—and heard Ibn Khabbāza chanting, and something in his chanting struck him. And I went out to see, and there was my father striding to and fro, so I shut the door and went in again. In the morning he said, ‘My little son, when it is like that, this speaking (*kalām*) is excellent.’” Was this Ibn Khabbāza the Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Abdī who was a contemporary of Abū-l-Walīd Muslim? See the *Diwān* of the latter ed. by de Goeje, pp. 244, 253. I can find no other possible reference.

⁴ If this is the Abū-l-Ḥasan al-‘Asqalānī of Ibn Khall., i, 410, he was a contemporary of the wazīr al-Muḥallabī, who died 352. Some MSS. of the *Qūt al-qulūb* give his kunya as Abū-l-Khayr.

⁵ On al-Khaḍīr see Ibn Qut., p. 21; an-Naw., pp. 228 ff.; ath-Tha’labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, pp. 189 ff. of ed. of Cairo, 1298. Also Goldziher, *Arab. Philol.*, ii, pp. lxiv, 1, and *Lisān*, v, 332.

him!) and I said to him, 'What do you say concerning this listening to music and singing as to which my comrades disagree?' Then he said, 'It is slipperiness itself; only the feet of the learned stand firm upon it.' Further it is related from Mimshād ad-Dīnawarī¹ that he said, "I saw the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) in sleep and said, 'O Apostle of God, do you blame anything in this listening to music and singing?' He said, 'I do not blame anything in it, but say to them that they open before it with the Qur'ān and close after it with the Qur'ān.'" Further it is related from Ṭāhir b. Bilāl al-Hamdānī al-warrāq²—he was of the people of science—that he said, "I was in retreat³ in the great Mosque of Judda by the sea and saw one day a gathering of people who were repeating and listening to poetry in one of the sides of the Mosque. Then I blamed that in my heart and said to myself, 'In one of the houses of God they repeat poetry!' Then I saw the Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) that night, and he was sitting in that place and by his side was Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (may God be well pleased with him!), and lo! Abū Bakr was repeating some poetry and the Prophet was listening to him and laying his hand upon his breast like one in an ecstasy at that. Then I said in my soul, 'It behoved me not to have blamed those that were listening to poetry, for here is the Apostle of God listening and Abū Bakr repeating.' Then I turned to the Apostle of God, and he said, 'This is truth in truth,' or he said, 'truth of truth'⁴—I am not certain which." Further, al-Junayd said, "Grace descends upon this gathering on three occasions,—at eating, for they do not eat except from need; at conversation, for they do not talk together except at assemblies of the upright;

¹ Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Mimshād (?) ad-Dīnawarī, was a pupil of al-Junayd, and d. 299. *Al-Qush.*, p. 31; *Ibn Khall.*, iii, p. 385; *Abū-l-Maḥasin*, ii, p. 187; *Lawāqih*, p. 81.

² The SM. reads b. Hilāl, and remarks that in some MSS it is Ṭāhir b. Bilāl b. Balbal, and that it is so in the *Qūt*. I know nothing more about him.

³ *Kuntū mu'tafikan*; on *I'tikāf* see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2,122a, and *Lisān*, xi, p. 161; also ash-Shirāzī, *Tambih*, ed. Juynboll, pp. 68 f.

⁴ *Ḥaqq bi-ḥaqq*, or *ḥaqq min ḥaqq*. It appears to mean, *This is absolutely true*, but whether it is said of the verses or to confirm the dream is not clear.

and at listening to music and singing, for they hear with ecstasy and witness to truth." Further, from Ibn Jurayj¹ it is related that he was wont to allow listening to music and singing, and that it was said to him, "Will this be brought on the day of resurrection among thy good deeds or thy evil deeds?" And he said, "Neither in the good deeds nor the evil deeds, for it is like idle talk; and God Most High has said, *God will not blame you for idle talk in your oaths*" [Qur., ii, 225; v, 91].

This is what is adduced of sayings and of the search for truth in tradition. Then, whenever anyone examines deeply, he finds sayings contradicting one another, and is left confused or inclining to one of the sayings through his desire; and all that means failure. But truth should rather be sought in its own way, and that is by examining into the legal sources of prohibition and permission just as we shall now do.

2.

A statement of the things which show that Listening to Music and Singing is allowable.

Know that the meaning of the saying that listening to music and singing is unlawful is that God Most High has laid it under penalty. And that is a thing that cannot be known by simple reason, but by report and knowledge of the laws, which are limited to statute [*naṣṣ*]² and to analogy [*qiyās*] from what is fixed by statute. I mean by statute

¹ Abū-l-Walīd 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jurayj al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Makkī; d. 150. An-Naw., p. 787; Ibn Khall., ii, p. 116.

² *Naṣṣ* thus includes *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*; in *Sunna* are three divisions, *qawīl*, *fi'l*, and *taqrīr*, approving by silence. The *Sunna* indicated by speech is *ḥadīth*. The bases of Muslim law are four, *Qur'ān*, *Sunna*, *Qiyās*, and *Ijmā'*, or the agreement of the Muslim Church on any point. Here al-Ghazzālī omits *Ijmā'*, but it is it which in the long run has brought about the triumph of his views. *Qur'ān* + *Sunna* = the Bible; *Ijmā'* = the Church; Reason is represented very feebly by *Qiyās*. A good statement of the four bases is given by Snouck Hurgronje in his article, *Le droit Musulman* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, tome xxxvii, pp. 1 ff. and 174 ff. On al-Ghazzālī's attitude towards *Qiyās*, see Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 182 ff.

what he (whom may God bless and save!) has made plain by his speech or action; and by analogy, the meaning that is to be understood from his expressions and actions. And if a statute does not exist with regard to this thing, and an analogy from something fixed by statute cannot be upheld with regard to it, then the saying that it is forbidden is void, and it remains an action in which there is no sin, like the rest of permitted things. But the forbidding of listening to music and singing is not shown by statute nor by analogy; that such is the case, will be evident through our answer to the proofs of those who incline to its being forbidden. Then, whenever the answer to their proofs is complete, our object will be sufficiently attained; but we go further, and say that both statute and analogy, as a whole, indicate its allowableness.

As for analogy, in singing there are joined ideas which, separately first and then as a whole, must be examined; for in it there is hearing of a sound, pleasant, measured, having a meaning to be understood, moving the heart. The general description is that it is a pleasant sound; then the pleasant is divided into measured and not measured; and the measured is divided into what has a meaning to be understood, such as poems, and what has not, such as the sounds produced by lifeless substances and by other animals than man.

And hearing a pleasant sound ought not to be forbidden in respect that it is pleasant, but is lawful by statute and by analogy. By analogy, because it can be reduced to a pleasing of the sense of hearing by perception of that which is assigned exclusively to that sense. Man has reason and five senses; and to each sense belongs a perception, and in the things perceived by that sense is what gives pleasure. The pleasure of seeing is in the beautiful things seen, such as greenness, flowing water, or a fair face, and, in general, all beautiful colours which are opposed to what is disliked of dull ugly colours. Smelling has pleasant scents, and these are opposed to disagreeable stench. Taste has pleasant foods, such as gravy-meat and sweet-meat, and

sour things, and these are opposed to nauseous bitters. Touch has the pleasure of softness and tenderness and smoothness, and these are opposed to roughness and jaggedness. And reason has the pleasure of knowledge and science, and these are opposed to ignorance and stupidity. So, too, the sounds perceived by hearing divide into those that are regarded with pleasure, as the voice of nightingales and musical pipes, and those regarded as disagreeable, as the braying of the ass and such. Then what a manifest analogy there is between this sense and its pleasures and the other senses and their pleasures!

And as for statute, the allowableness of hearing a beautiful voice is shown by the fact that God has granted such to His creatures, since He said, *He increases in His creatures that which He wills*,¹ and it is said by exegetes that the thing increased here is beauty of voice. Also in tradition stands, "God has not sent a prophet except with a beautiful voice." Further, he (whom God bless and save!) said, "God listens more intently to a man with a beautiful voice reading the Qur'ān than does the master of a singing slave-girl to his slave-girl." And in tradition by way of praise to Dā'ūd² (upon him be peace!) is that he was beautiful of voice in bemoaning himself and in repeating the Psalms to such an extent that mankind and Jinn and wild beasts and birds were wont to gather together to hear his voice, and there were wont to be carried out of his place of assembly four hundred corpses or thereabout on occasions. Further, he (whom God bless and save!) said of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī,³ "Verily, he has been granted a pipe of the pipes of the family of Dā'ūd." And there is the saying of God Most High, *Verily the worst liked of voices is the voice of the ass* [Qur., xxxi, 18], indicating implicit praise of a beautiful voice. Further, were it possible to say that such is permitted

¹ Qur'ān, xxxv, 1. This is the exegesis of az-Zuhrī and Ibn 'Abbās; Bayd., ii, p. 148, l. 12.

² On David in Muslim tradition, see ath-Tha'labī's *Q.ṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, pp. 235-255.

³ D. 44? See Spitta, *Zur Geschichte al-Is'arī's*, pp. 18 ff. and 115.

only on condition that the recital be of the Qur'ān, then that would involve that listening to the voice of nightingales is forbidden, for they do not recite the Qur'ān. Then, when it is possible to listen to an undistinguishable voice in which is no meaning, why is it not possible to listen to a voice from which wisdom may be understood and sound and commendable qualities; and "Verily, from poetry is wisdom."¹ This is a consideration of the voice in so far as it is pleasant and beautiful.

The second step is considering the pleasant measured sound; for measure comes after beauty, and how many beautiful sounds there are which fall outside of measure, and how many measured sounds which are not regarded as pleasant! And measured sounds with regard to their place of origin are of three kinds; for they issue either from inanimate substances, as does the sound of musical pipes and of strings and the beating of the *qaḍīb*² and the *ṭabl*³ and so on, or they issue from the throat of an animal. And the animal is either a man or not, as the voice of nightingales and turtle-doves and birds which coo. These, along with their being pleasant, are measured, having reciprocally related beginnings and endings, and, therefore, hearing them is regarded as pleasant. And the original source of musical sounds is the throat of animals; for musical pipes are based on the sounds from the throat only, which is an

¹ An often quoted saying of the Prophet.

² The *qaḍīb* seems here and elsewhere to be a musical instrument, but I cannot find anything satisfactory in the lexica. According to the *Lisān*, *qaḍīb* seems to be capable of meaning anything on earth except a musical instrument. Dozy has the word, but only with a reference to Casiri, i, 528a, and there is no light there. Kiesewetter, *Musik der Araber*, p. 92, Leip., 1842, puts it under Schalmeyen, but that appears to be a guess based again on Casiri. The SM. explains it or *aḍ-ḍarb bil-qaḍīb* with التعبير; the passage is ambiguous. The only connection I can find for this is the meaning of √'BR, to meditate over a book, or read it mentally, without raising the voice, Lane, 1, 936c, *Lisān*, vi, 204, line 3 from foot. Does this, then, allude to the bad repute of Zindiqs and Magians for murmuring to themselves? Ash-Shāfi'i said that the Zindiqs invented *ta'bir* to distract them from the Qur'ān; see p. 201, above. Possibly also *qaḍīb* may be a reference to the old custom of Arab singers to beat time for themselves while singing. See the story of Ibn Surayj in *Aghānī*, i, 117, and of Sā'ib Khathir in *Aghānī*, vi, 188. The latter is said not to have used a lute, but to have beat time with a *qaḍīb* instead. I am indebted for these references to Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 169.

³ The *ṭabl* is a drum of any kind.

imitation of created things on the part of art. And what thing is there to the forming of which artisans have attained by their art, of which there was not an example in the creation which God has made peculiarly His own by originating it, and from which example the artisan taught himself and which he used as a thing to be imitated? This subject could be developed at great length.

So it is impossible that listening to these sounds should be forbidden simply because they are pleasant and measured; for there is no one who regards the voice of the nightingale or those of the other birds as forbidden. And there is no difference between our throat and another or between inanimate substance and animate. So we ought to draw an analogy from the sounds of the nightingale to the sounds which issue from all other bodies, especially to the sounds belonging to man, as those which issue from his throat, or from the *qaḍīb* or the *ṭabl* or the *duff*¹ or the rest. But from this there is excepted those idle instruments of music, both stringed instruments and pipes, to forbid which a law was revealed; not because of their giving pleasure, since if it were on that account all the things by which man receives pleasure would be judged like these. But wine was forbidden, and man's excessive addiction to it required, to wean him from it, that the command should extend at first so far as to involve the breaking of wine-jars. And, along with wine, was forbidden all that was a badge of people who drank it, in this case stringed instruments and pipes only. So these being forbidden was a consequence just as being alone with a woman not a relative is forbidden, for being so alone precedes sexual intercourse; and seeing the thigh is forbidden, for the thigh is near to the *puḍenda*; and a little wine is forbidden, even though it does not intoxicate, because it invites to intoxication. There is no forbidden place [*ḥarām*], but it has a sacred precinct [*ḥimā*] which surrounds it, and the decree of prohibition extends to the sacred

¹ The *duff* is a tambourine, with or without bells. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 888b, and the reference there to *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii.

precinct in order that it may be a reservation for the forbidden place and a defence to it and an enclosure keeping off from it round about, as he (whom may God bless and save!) has said, "Lo! every king has a reservation, and the reservation of God is the things which He has forbidden."¹

So these are forbidden as a consequence of wine being forbidden, and for three reasons. The first is that they incite to the drinking of wine; for the pleasure found in them is only complete through wine. Like this reason is the forbidding of a little wine. And the second is that they, in truth, are of the closest kin to the drinking of wine and remind assemblies of men of drinking. They are thus a cause of remembering it, and remembering it, is a cause that longing is aroused, and aroused longing, when it is strong, is a cause of beginning. For this reason it is forbidden to make *nabīdh*² in a *muzaffat*³ or a *ḥantam*⁴ or a *naqir*,⁵ for these are vessels that were specially identified with wine. And the meaning of this is, that beholding the form of these vessels brings wine to mind,⁶ and this reason is different from the first as there is not in it the element of pleasure in the memory, since there is no pleasure in seeing a wine-vessel and the pitchers for drinking, but the point is simply in the being reminded by them. Then, if listening to music and singing, in the case of him who has associated such listening with drinking, reminds of drinking with a kind of reminder that urges towards wine, he is forbidden to listen on account of the occurrence of this reason especially

¹ So the Massoreth is a fence to the Law; Rabbi 'Aqībhā in the *Pirqē Abhōth*, iii, 17.

² *Nabīdh* is a drink made of dates, raisins, etc., macerated in water and left to ferment; if it be left long it becomes intoxicating, and is then unlawful, but if it stand only over night it may be drunk; the term is often applied to *khamr*, true wine.

³ *Muzaffat* is anything smeared with *zift*, pitch or tar; then a wine skin or jar so smeared.

⁴ The *ḥantam* is a green or red glazed or varnished jar, the use of which in making *nabīdh* is forbidden in tradition. It is said that the fermentation of the *nabīdh* was more rapid on account of the varnish or glaze.

⁵ *Naqir* is a block of wood or the stump of a palm-tree hollowed out and used to make *nabīdh* in it; the *nabīdh* so made was supposed to be peculiarly strong.

⁶ "¡ O Tobasescas tinajas, que me habeis traído á la memoria la dulce prenda de mi mayor amargura!"—*Don Quijote*, parte ii, cap. xviii.

in him. The third reason is the gathering together to do those things after such a gathering together has become one of the customs of dissolute people. So it is prohibited to become like to them; for he who becomes like to a people becomes one of them. On this account we hold that the ordinary custom [*sunna*] should be abandoned whenever it has become a badge for heretical people, so that we may not become like to them. For this reason beating of the *kūba*¹ is prohibited. It is a long-shaped drum, slender in the middle and broad at the extremities, and beating it was a custom of the *Mukhannaths*.² Yet if it were not for the comparison it suggests it would be like the drum used by pilgrims and in warfare. For this reason, too, we hold that if a company come together and decorate their place of meeting and bring utensils for drinking and cups and pour into them *sakanjabayn*³ and appoint a cupbearer who shall go round and pour out to them, and they take from the cupbearer and drink and salute one another with the phrases in common use, this is unlawful for them, although what they drink is permissible in itself; for in this there is a becoming like to dissolute people. Even for this, wearing the *qabā'*⁴ and leaving the hair on the head in

¹ The SM. describes the *kūba* as a long-shaped drum, slender in the middle and broad at the ends. For a similar view of it see Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, p. 21, n. 4. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, vol. viii, p. 149, describes it as "a tiny tom-tom shaped like an hour-glass," used in present-day Morocco by the reciter of romances. The use of the *kūba* is forbidden in tradition, but some hold that what is there meant by the term is not an instrument of music, but either backgammon or chess; others say it is the *barbat*, or Persian lute.

² *Mukhannath* = 'effeminate.' On the class see Kosegarten, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, p. 11, and references there. See, further, von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, pp. 45 ff., and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, pp. 11, 54 f.

³ *Sakanjabayn* is a drink made of vinegar and honey.

⁴ The SM. defines the *qabā'* as a *farajīya* split up in front; the *farajīya* is a long robe of cloth with long sleeves coming down over the hands. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2,984c, says that the *qabā'* is "a kind of tunic resembling the *qafṭān*, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front, and made to overlap over the chest." The *Lisān*, xx, p. 28, derives it from *qabā*, "to gather together with the fingers," because the edges (*atrāf*) that overlap are so held together. See, too, Dozy, *Noms des Vêtements*, pp. 352-362, who distinguishes a Persian and an Arab *qabā'*, the later called *Islāmī*. I can find no trace of its being forbidden. The tufts of hair (*qaza'*) may be a form of the *shūsha*, which, strictly considered, is illegal; see Burton's note in his *Arabian Nights*, i, p. 284. The *Lisān*, x, pp. 143 f., explains that it was a practice

tufts are forbidden in those countries in which the *qabā'* belongs to the clothing of dissolute people, but is not forbidden in *Ma-warā-an-nahr*, because moral people there are accustomed to wear it. For these reasons, then, the pipe of *al-'Irāq* and all stringed instruments are unlawful, such as the *'ūd*¹ and the *sanj* and the *rabāb* and the *barbaṭ*. But all besides these do not come under this, as the *shāhīn* of shepherds and pilgrims and the *shāhīn* of drummers and the drum and the *qadīb* and every instrument from which is extracted pleasing, measured sounds, except what drinking people use. This is because all these are not connected with wine and do not call wine to mind and do not incite to it and do not involve becoming like to those addicted to it and, generally, are not essentially connected with it. These remain in their original permissibility on the analogy of the sounds of birds, etc. Further, I hold that the music of stringed instruments, even if they are played by one who plays with a rhythm that is out of proportion and is not pleasing, is also unlawful. From this it is plain that the reason why such music is unlawful is not simply because it is pleasing; for analogy would lead to permission of all agreeable things except those in the permission of which is dissoluteness. God Most High said, *Say, who hath forbidden the adornment of God which He hath provided for His creatures, and the agreeable things of sustenance?*

to shave the heads of boys, partially leaving the hair in tufts, and that this is forbidden in tradition. *Qaza'* is said also of broken clouds, arrows with very small feathers, camels and sheep when the wool drops off in patches, etc.

¹ For the *'ūd* and *rabāb*, lute and viol, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii; Lane, in the *Lexicon*, s.v., conjectures that the *sanj* is the Persian *chang*, the modern Arabic *junk*, and refers to his *Arabian Nights*, chap. iii, n. 26; *barbaṭ* is noticed in note 1 above. *Shāhīn* is more difficult, and the Arabic lexicons give no aid. It is used by the shepherd and the drummer, excites longing and sadness, reduces courage and reminds of home. Dozy again refers only to Casiri, i, p. 528a, and Kieseewetter (loc. cit.) from the same source again guesses Schnabel-pfeife. Von Kremer in his *Beiträge* refers to these passages in the *Ihyā*, and guesses "ein Musikinstrument das geschlagen wird. Vermuthlich eine Art Handtrommel." According to the SM. it is the Persian صرناي. This is given by Zenker as زورنا, زورنا, and صرناي, formed from صر and ناي = 'hautbois, clarinette.' Vullers has "genus fistulae quo canunt diebus festis"; i.e. from صر = 'festival' and ناي = 'flute.' There is a description of it by al-Fārābī in Land's *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, p. 128. See, too, Herklots' *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. xlvi of Appendix.

[Qur., vii, 30]. So these sounds are not unlawful because they are rhythmical sounds, but only on account of another accident which we shall adduce among the accidents which render unlawful.

The third step regards that which is rhythmical and has a meaning, i.e. poetry. It issues from the throat of man only and has the permissibility of that which issues from the throat, since it has no addition save having a meaning. Speech which has a meaning is not unlawful, and an agreeable rhythmical sound is not unlawful. Then, since the single parts are not unlawful, how can the whole be unlawful?—always understood that there shall be an examination of the meaning conveyed.¹ If there is in it anything forbidden, saying it, either in prose or verse, is unlawful, and speaking it, whether with melodies or without. And the truth in this is what ash-Shāfi'ī (may God have mercy on him!) said. He said, "Poetry is speech, and what of it is beautiful is beautiful and what of it is vile is vile." Therefore, whenever reciting poetry is possible without music and melodies, reciting it is possible with melodies; for if the single things are allowable, the compound, when they are joined together, is allowable. And whenever an allowable thing is joined to an allowable, the result is not unlawful except when the compound contains something forbidden which the single things did not contain. But there is no forbidden thing here.

And how could the reciting of poetry be blamed when it has been recited in the presence of the Prophet of God, who said, "Lo! from poetry is wisdom." And 'Ā'isha (may God be well pleased with her!) recited—

"They went away in whose shadow men had lived,
And I remained, left behind, like a mangy skin."²

¹ Quite of al-Ghazzālī's opinion was the old woman who was much impressed by a certain sermon. "But," it was objected, "the minister read it." "Read it!" said she, "I wadna hae minded gin he had whustled it!"

² The verse is by Labīd b. Rabī'a.

And it is handed down in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*¹ from ‘Ā’isha that she said, “When the Apostle of God came to al-Madīna, Abū Bakr and Bilāl (may God be well pleased with them both!) sickened and there was pestilence there. Then I said, ‘O my father, how do you find yourself?’ and ‘O Bilāl, how do you find yourself?’ Then Abū Bakr would say when the fever seized him—

‘To every man saluted in the morning among his people
Death is nearer than the latchet of his shoe.’

And Bilāl was wont when the fever relaxed from him to lift up his voice and say—

‘Ah! would that I knew whether I shall pass the night, one night,

In a wādī with fragrant rush and panic grass around me,
And shall go down, one day, to the wells of Majanna,²
And there shall be seen by me Shāma and Ṭafil!’”

‘Ā’isha said, “Then I told that to the Apostle of God, and he said, ‘O God, make al-Madīna beloved to us like our love for Makka or more!’” And the Apostle of God was wont to carry the unburnt bricks with the people in the building of the Mosque, and he would say—

“This is the fruit, not the fruit of Khaybar;
This our Lord hath accepted and purified.”

And he said also another time—

“O God, verily the true life is the life of the other world;
So have mercy on the Anṣārs and the Muhājirs.”

¹ The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and that of Muslim. The narratives that follow are in al-Bukhārī, iv, 8 and 246, vii, 159, of vocalized ed. of Cairo, 1293. See, too, Ibn Hishām, pp. 337 and 414. It should be noticed that al-Ghazzālī appears to regard the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* as of canonical authority. But see in Goldziher, *Studien*, ii, pp. 256 ff., that a tradition found in them was not therefore received without question. On the verses spoken by Muḥammad, see *Lisān*, xiii, 188. Apparently there is a play on the word *ḥimāl* as a possible plural of *ḥiml*, ‘fruit,’ and *ḥaml*, ‘burden.’ This is not the fruit of Khaybar which passes away, but a burden-bearing that is more excellent and abides like fruit of Paradise.

² The wells of Majanna are at Mecca; Shāma and Ṭafil are also wells there.

This is in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*. And the Prophet was wont to set for Ḥassān¹ a pulpit in the Mosque, on which he would stand erect boasting (FKHR) of the Apostle of God or defending him. And the Apostle of God was wont to say, "God aids Ḥassan with the *Rūḥ al-Quds* so long as he is defending or boasting of the Apostle of God." And when an-Nābigha² recited to him his poetry he said to him, "May God not scatter thy teeth!" And 'Ā'isha said: "The Companions of the Apostle of God used to recite poems to one another in his presence, and he would smile." And it is related from 'Amr b. ash-Sharīd from his father; he said: "I recited to the Apostle of God a hundred verses of the poetry of Umayya b. Abī-ṣ-Ṣalt³—to all that he kept saying, 'Go on, go on!'—then he said, 'He has almost become a Muslim in his poetry.'" And it is related from al-Anas⁴ (may God be well pleased with him!) that the Prophet used to make him sing the camel-driver's song when travelling, and that Anjusha⁵ used to sing it for the women and al-Barā b. Mālīk for the men. Then the Apostle of God said: "O Anjusha, go gently in thy driving with the big glass bottles." The driving-song behind the camels did not cease to be one of the customs of the Arabs in the time of the Apostle of God, and in the time of the Companions, and it is nothing but poems equipped with agreeable sounds and measured melodies. Blame of it has not been transmitted from one of the Companions, but often they used to ask for it, sometimes to rouse the camels and sometimes for the pleasure. So it is not possible for a thing to be unlawful on the ground that it is speech, having a meaning, equipped with agreeable sounds and measured melodies.

¹ Ḥassān b. Thābit; d. 54. An-Naw., pp. 203 f.; *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad, p. 314 of ed. of Cairo, 1308.

² An-Nābigha al-Ja'dī. An-Naw., pp. 586 f.; Ibn Khall., i, 456.

³ An-Naw., pp. 476 and 314; Cheikh, *Kitāb shu'arā an-Naṣranīya*, pp. 219–237; *Aghānī*, iii, 186–192.

⁴ Anas b. Mālīk; d. 93? An-Naw., p. 165.

⁵ So according to the SM., but an-Naw., p. 164, prescribes *Anjasha*. On the *uḥdūwa*, or camel-drivers' chant, see Goldz., *Arabische Philologie*, p. 95 and note. On al-Barā, the brother of Anas, and the *qawārīr*, see Ibn Khall., i, 603, n. 2.

The fourth step is considering music and singing on the side that they are movers of the heart and arousers of that which preponderates in the heart. And I say that to God Most High belongs a secret consisting in the relationship of measured airs to the souls of men, so that the airs work upon them with a wonderful working. Some sounds make to rejoice and some to grieve, some put to sleep and some make to laugh, some excite and some bring from the members movements according to the measure, with the hand and the foot and the head. And we need not suppose that that is through understanding what is meant by the poetry, for it is possible in the case of stringed instruments, so that it is said: "He whom the Spring does not move with its blossoms, nor the *'ūd* with its strings, is corrupt of nature; for him there is no cure." And how can it be through the understanding of a meaning when its working is seen on a child in its cradle? An agreeable sound stills him in his crying, and turns his soul from what made him cry to attention to the music itself. And the camel, in spite of its stupidity of nature, feels the effect of the driving-song to such a degree that, hearing it, he counts heavy loads light, and, in the strength of his alacrity through listening to it, holds long distances short; such an alacrity is aroused in him as intoxicates and distracts him. Then you will see, when the deserts grow long to them, and fatigue and weariness under the loads and burdens seize upon them, whenever they hear someone strike up the driving-song, how they extend their necks and pay attention to the singer with ears erect, and hasten in their pace till the loads and burdens shake upon them, and often they kill themselves from the force of the pace and the weight of the burdens, while they do not perceive it through their alacrity.

And Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd ad-Dīnawarī, known as ar-Raqqī¹ (may God be well pleased with him!), has

¹ Died at Damascus after 350 after a life of more than 100 years, mostly spent in Syria; al-Qush., p. 36. In the Cairo ed. his name is printed ad-Daqqī.

narrated:—"I was in the desert and came to a tribe of the tribes of the Arabs, and a man of them received me as guest and led me into his tent. And I saw in the tent a black slave fettered with a fetter. And I saw dead camels lying before the tent, and there remained but one camel alive, and it was weak and thin as though it were about to perish. Then the young man said to me, 'Thou art a guest and hast a right, so intercede for me with my master, for he honours his guest, and he will not reject thy intercession to this extent, and perhaps he may loose the fetter from me.' Then when they had brought in food I refused to eat and said, 'I will not eat until I have made intercession for this slave.' And he said, 'This slave has made me poor and has destroyed all my wealth.' So I said, 'What has he done?' Then he said, 'He has a fine voice, and I got my living from the backs of these camels and their carrying heavy loads, and he would sing the driving-song to them, until they would perform a journey of three days in one night from the excellence and sweetness of his voice¹; then when they had set down their loads they died, all of them, except this one camel. But thou art my guest, and, for the honour due to thee, I give him to thee.' So I longed to hear that voice. Then when the morning came he commanded that he should sing to a camel that it might draw water from a well there. And when he lifted up his voice and that camel heard it, he ran wild and broke his tether and I fell upon my face. I do not think that I ever heard a voice finer than it."

Then, since the impression of music and singing upon the heart can be felt,—and he who is not moved by them is one who has a lack, declining from symmetry, far from spirituality, exceeding in coarseness of nature and in rudeness camels and birds, even all beasts, for all feel the influence of measured airs and therefore the birds were wont to light on the head of Dā'ūd (on him be peace!) to listen to his voice,—and

¹ Literally, 'through the excellency of his sweetness of tone,' *naghma*. This word means also a musical sound, a note or tone in the strict sense. The *naghmas* are related to the *lahn*, or melody, as the letters to a word. See *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, pp. 240 ff.

since the discussion is of music and singing in relation to their making impression on the heart, it is not possible to judge of the matter generally as to allowableness and whether it is not unlawful, for that varies with circumstances and persons and with the varying of the *ṭarīqas*¹ of the airs, and the rule which it follows is the rule of what is in the heart. Abū Sulaymān² said, "Music and singing do not produce in the heart that which is not in it, but they stir up what is in it." So the chanting of rhymed measured words is adapted on certain occasions for certain fixed purposes; through it impressions attach themselves to the heart. These occasions are seven.

The first is the singing of the pilgrims; for, before setting out, they go round the country with *ṭabl* and *shāhīn* and singing. And that is permissible, because they sing poems composed in description of the *Ka'ba* and the *Maqām*³ and the *Ḥaṭīm* and *Zamzam* and the other places for the performance of the religious rites, and descriptions of the desert, etc. And the effect of that is to arouse a longing for pilgrimage to the House of God Most High, and to make to blaze up the fire of longing if it be already present there and to stir it and procure it if it be not already present. And since pilgrimage is an act of piety and longing to perform it is praiseworthy, the arousing that longing by every means that can arouse it is praiseworthy. And just as it is possible for a preacher that he should arrange his

¹ *Wakhtilāfi ṭuruqi-n-naghmāt*; so, at least, I read طق in the Arabic text. The word occurs six times, here and pp. 221, 222 and others, pp. 486, 487, 488, 557(2) of the Arabic text. I leave it untranslated, as the meaning is obscure to me. The form I take to be the plural of *ṭarīq* or *ṭarīqa*, which Lane, *Lexicon*, 1,849c, and Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v., give with meaning 'air.' But a *ṭarīqa*, as used here, seems rather to be a musical phrase, a part or section of an air (*laḥn*), except in the last case, where it appears to indicate a particular kind of air distinguished by its rhythms from other kinds. Kosegarten, in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-aghānī*, pp. 184 and 188, quotes a Persian writer on music who seems to use it of different kinds of rhythms. Al-Fārābī in Land (op. cit., pp. 136 and 103) uses *aṭ-ṭarā'iq*, and Land translates 'échelles.' Further consideration of the word I must leave to the musical.

² Abū Sulaymān 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ansī ad-Dārānī; d. 205 or 215. Ibn Khall., ii, p. 88.

³ The *Maqām* is apparently the *Maqām Ibrāhīm*, the Station of the Shāfi'ites; the *Ḥaṭīm* is the wall surrounding the *ḥijr Ismā'īl*, and *Zamzam* is the well.

speech in preaching and adorn it with rhyme,¹ and should arouse the longing of men to perform the pilgrimage by description of the House and the places where religious rites are performed and by description of the reward for it, so that is possible for others by making absolute poetry. For when measure is added to rhymed prose [*saǰʿ*] the speech becomes more affecting to the heart, and when a pleasing voice and measured airs are combined with it, its power of affecting increases; then, if there be added to it a *ṭabl* and a *shāhīn* and movements of rhythm, the effect still increases. And all that is possible so long as pipes and stringed instruments which belong to the badges of evil people do not enter; it being always understood that if there is intended by it the arousing of longing in one to whom it is not possible to go out on pilgrimage, like him who has annulled the duty for himself² and whose parents do not permit to go out, then the arousing of his longing to make pilgrimage by music and singing and by any word which arouses longing to go out is unlawful, because rousing of longing for a forbidden thing is forbidden. And similarly, if the road is not secure and danger preponderates, it is not allowable to move hearts and to work upon them by arousing longing.

The second kind is that of which warriors make use to urge men to warfare, only it is fitting that their poems and the *ṭarīqas* of their melodies should differ from the poems of the pilgrims and the *ṭarīqas* of their melodies. For the rousing of that which summons a man to warfare by exciting courage and by moving wrath and anger in him against the unbelievers, and making courage appear fair and life and wealth appear contemptible as compared with warfare, is by such inspiring verses as the saying of al-Mutanabbi'—

“Then, if thou dost not die under the swords, honoured,
Thou wilt die and endure ignominy, unhonoured.”

¹ On the allowableness of quoting verses in preaching, see Goldziher in ZDMG., xxviii, pp. 321 f., and the passages referred to there.

² See the conditions of this in ash-Shirāzī's *Tanbih*, pp. 69 f. of ed. of Juynboll.

And his other saying—

“The cowardly think that cowardice is prudence;
But that is the guile of base nature.”

And such as these. So, too, the *ṭarīqas* of the measures exciting courage differ from the *ṭarīqas* exciting longing. This is permissible on an occasion when warfare is permissible, and approved on an occasion when warfare is liked; but that is only in the case of one to whom going out on warfare is allowed.

The third consists of the *rajaḥ* verses, of which the valiant make use on occasions of onset. The object of these is to excite courage in the speaker and his helpers, and produce briskness in them for battle. And in such verses there is praise of bravery and of fortitude, and such praise, when it comes in fitting word and with agreeable voice, is more affecting to the soul. It is allowable in every allowed battle, and approved in every approved battle, and forbidden in battling with Muslims and with those secured by treaty and in every forbidden battle, because the arousing of incitements to that which is forbidden is forbidden. This custom is derived from the valiant ones of the Companions, such as ‘Alī and Khālīd (may God be well pleased with them both!), and others than they. And for the same reason we say that the beating of the *shāhīn* should be restrained in the camp of warriors, for its voice softens and makes sad, and loosens the knot of courage and weakens the energy of the soul, and excites longing for family and home, and entails slackness in battle, and thus, too, all the sounds and melodies which soften the heart. So those that soften and make sad are distinct from those which move and excite courage, and he who uses these with intention to change hearts and slacken thoughts from a battle which is incumbent is a rebel against God; and he who does it with intention of slackening from a battle which is forbidden, by that is obedient to God.

The fourth consists of the sounds and musical airs of lamentation; these make an impression through rousing

sorrow and weeping and continuous mourning. Sorrow is of two kinds, praiseworthy and blameworthy. The blameworthy is such as sorrow for what escapes—God Most High said, *That ye may not grieve for what escapes you* [Qur., lvii, 23],—and sorrow for the dead is of this class, for it is anger with the decree of God Most High and it regrets that which cannot be repaired. Since this sorrow is blameworthy the moving it by lamentation is blameworthy, and, therefore, a clear prohibition was revealed against such lamentation. The sorrow that is praiseworthy is the sorrow of a man for his own shortcoming in matter of his religion and weeping for his sins. And weeping and striving to weep and sorrowing and striving to sorrow are praiseworthy; of this kind was the weeping of Adam (upon whom be peace!). Also moving to this sorrow and strengthening in it are praiseworthy, for it arouses energy in amending. And, therefore, was the lamentation of Dā'ūd praiseworthy, for it was in abidingness of sorrow and length of weeping because of sins and transgressions. And he used to weep and to cause weeping and to sorrow and to cause sorrowing, so that biers were lifted away from the assemblies where he lamented. And that he accomplished with his words and melodies, and it was praiseworthy; for what leads up to the praiseworthy is praiseworthy. And on account of this it is not unlawful for the preacher who has an agreeable voice that he should chant in the pulpit with melodies, poems that excite sorrow and soften the heart; nor that he should weep and strive to weep in order that he may attain by it to cause others to weep, and to stir up their sorrow.¹

The fifth is Music and Singing on occasions of joy as an intensifier and arouser of joy. It is allowable if the joy is allowable, as singing on the days of festival and at a marriage and on the occasion of the arrival of one who has been away and on the occasion of a wedding feast and the first head-shaving and at the birth of a child and his circumcision and

¹ It is hardly necessary to notice how startlingly this is in contrast with our ideal of pulpit excellence.

when his learning of the Mighty Qur'ān is complete,—all that is allowable for the sake of the manifestation of joy through it. And the reason of its being allowable is that some melodies stir up gladness and joy and emotion, and in whatever thing joy is allowable the stirring up of joy in that thing is allowable. This is proved by the tradition of the chanting of poetry by women on the housetops with tambourines and melodies at the arrival of the Apostle of God—

“The full moon has risen upon us from the mountain-passes of al-Wadā',
Gratitude is incumbent upon us so long as one man prays to God.”

This was a manifestation of joy for his arrival, and it was a praiseworthy joy. So its manifestation through poetry and airs and dancing and movements is also praiseworthy. It has been handed down from a number of the Companions that they hopped¹ on a joyful occasion that had befallen them, as we shall tell when we deal with the rules of dancing. It is allowable on the arrival of anyone on whose arrival gladness is allowable, and for every allowed cause of joy. This is indicated in what is handed down in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* from 'Ā'isha that she said, “I have known the Prophet of God concealing me with his mantle while I was looking at the Abyssinians at javelin-play in the Mosque until I was the one who tired of it; and think of a young girl eager for amusement!”—this to indicate how long her standing lasted. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim hand down also in their *Ṣaḥīḥs* a tradition of 'Uqayl² from az-Zuhri³ from 'Urwa⁴ from 'Ā'isha that Abū Bakr came in to her in the Days of Minā,⁵ and with her were two girls playing tambourines

¹ *Hajalū*; the lexicons will not permit me to translate otherwise.

² Abū Khālid 'Uqayl b. Khālid b. 'Aqīl al-Ayī al-Umawī, a mawlā of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; d. in Egypt 141.

³ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim, known as Ibn Shihāb, al-Qurashī az-Zuhri al-Madanī; d. 124. An-Naw., pp. 116 ff.

⁴ 'Urwa b. az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Qurashī; d. 94 or 99. An-Naw., pp. 420 f.

⁵ A holiday time of the pilgrimage season; see Ibn Hishām, p. 83, line 7 from foot.

and beating time while the Prophet was wrapped in his robe. And Abū Bakr rebuked them, but the Prophet uncovered his face and said, "Let them alone, Abū Bakr, for it is time of Festival." And 'Ā'isha said, "I have known the Prophet concealing me with his mantle while I was looking at the Abyssinians playing in the Mosque, and 'Umar rebuked them, but the Prophet said, 'It is all right, O Banū Arfada!'"¹ And in a tradition of 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith² from Ibn Shihāb³ is what is similar, but in it the two girls sing and play. Further, in a tradition of Abū Ṭāhir⁴ from Ibn Wahb,⁵ "By Allāh, I have known the Apostle of God standing by the door of my room⁶ while the Abyssinians were playing with their darts in the Mosque of the Apostle of God, and he was concealing me with his robe or mantle that I might look at the playing. Then he kept standing for my sake till I was the one who turned away." Again, it is handed down in tradition from 'Ā'isha that she said, "I was wont to play with my dolls when beside the Apostle of God, and he would bring girl-companions to me, and they would veil themselves from him, and he used to have pleasure in their coming, and they would play with me." And in a tradition is that the Prophet said to her one day, "What is this?" She said, "My dolls." He said, "But what is that I see in the middle of them?" She said, "A horse." He said, "What is this on it?" She said, "A pair of wings." He said, "Has a horse a pair of wings?" She said, "Have you not

¹ The lexicons throw no light on this *kunya*. It was evidently known to them only in the tradition which we have here. See Lane, s.v., p. 1,119c.

² Abū Umayya 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī al-Miṣrī, al-Madani by origin, a mawlā of Qays b. Sa'd. He was an important link in tradition, had the reputation of being a *thiqa*, stands in the third *ṭabaqa* of the *tābi'is* of Miṣr, and d. 148, aged 58. So the SM.; see, too, Ibn Khall., ii, p. 19, n. 8.

³ Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri.

⁴ Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Miṣrī, a mawlā of Nahik (?), mawlā of 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān; a *thiqa*, d. 250.

⁵ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Qurashī al-Fihri as a mawlā, al-Miṣrī; d. 197. Ibn Khall., ii, pp. 15 ff.

⁶ The apartment of 'Ā'isha opened immediately into the mosque on the left of the congregation; compare the story of how the Prophet, on the last day of his life, came in to the congregation at prayers and smiled on them.

heard that Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd¹ had horses with wings." Then the Apostle of God laughed till his canine teeth appeared. And in our opinion the tradition is to be attributed to a custom of children of making up a figure of clay and pieces of paper without completing the figure²; this is indicated by what is related in other traditions that the horse had a pair of wings of paper. Again, 'Ā'isha said, "The Apostle of God came in to me while two girls were with me singing a song of the Day of Bu'āth,³ and lay down on his side on the bed and turned away his face. Then Abū Bakr entered and rebuked me, and said, 'The pipe of the Devil in the presence of the Apostle of God!' but the Apostle of God turned to him and said, 'Let them alone!' Then, when he was not attending, I made a sign to them two, and they went out. It was a festival day and the blacks were playing with hide shields and darts; then either I asked the Apostle of God or he said, 'Would you like to look on?' and I said, 'Yes.' So he made me stand behind him with my cheek against his cheek, and he kept saying, 'Keep it up, O Banū Arfada!' until, when I turned, he said, 'Had enough?' I said, 'Yes,' and he said, 'Then go.'" And in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim is, "Then I put my head upon his shoulder and began watching their playing until I was the one who turned away."

All these traditions are in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and are a clear proof that singing and playing are not forbidden. And in the traditions are indicated different kinds of permission:—First is the playing, and how the Abyssinians dance and sing is well known; the second is doing that in the Mosque; and the third is his saying, "Keep it up, O Banū Arfada!"—

¹ For Muslim traditions on Solomon see an-Naw., pp. 300 ff., and, especially, ath-Tha'labī's *Qisās*, pp. 253 ff. of ed. of Cairo, 1298.

² Apparently this to guard against the idea that 'Ā'isha made, and the Prophet allowed her to make, imitations of any living thing. At the last day the makers of such will be required by their creations to give them life also.

³ The Day of Bu'āth or Bughāth was one of the celebrated battle-days of the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. According to the SM. the fight fell between the mission of the Prophet and the Hijra, and the victory remained with al-Aws. Bu'āth is a place in al-Madīna, a *ḥiṣn* or fortress of al-Aws. See, too, *Lisān*, s.v., ii, p. 422, lines 10 ff., and p. 424, lines 1 ff.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, pp. 30 ff.

that is a command to play or a request ; then how can it be considered as forbidden ?—the fourth is his restraining Abū Bakr and ‘Umar from condemning and stopping it and his giving as excuse that it was a festival day, that is, a time of joy, and such play is one of the causes of joy ; the fifth is his standing so long witnessing it and his attending to what suited ‘Ā’isha—and in it is an indication that beauty of disposition in soothing the hearts of women and children by witnessing playing is better than harshness of asceticism and self-mortification in refraining and hindering from it ; the sixth is his saying first to ‘Ā’isha, “ Would you like to look on ? ” and that was not through being forced to help his wife through fear of anger or disunion, for rejection of a petition often causes disunion, and that is a thing feared,—then one thing feared is preferred to another thing feared,—but he asked the question first and there was nothing compelling him to do that ; the seventh is the license given for singing and beating on the tambourine on the part of the two girls, in spite of its being compared to the pipe of the Devil, and that is a proof that the forbidden pipe is something different from what we have here ; and the eighth is that the ear of the Apostle of God was struck by the voice of the two girls while he was lying on his side, but if there had been playing on stringed instruments in a place he would not have permitted even sitting there because of the sound of the stringed instruments striking his ear, so this indicates that the voice of women is not unlawful in the same way that the sound of pipes is unlawful, but only unlawful where there is fear of temptation.

These, then, are the conclusions from analogy and from statute which indicate the allowableness of singing and dancing, and beating the tambourine and playing with hide shields and with darts, and looking on at the dancing of Abyssinians and negroes on occasions of joy. All hold by analogy for a festival day, because it is an occasion of joy, and that covers a wedding-day and feast and a first head-shaving and circumcision and the day of arrival from a journey and the rest of the causes of gladness, that is,

everything with which gladness is allowable by law. And gladness is allowable at the visit of brethren and their meeting in one place to eat and talk, and that describes the occasion of listening to music and singing.

The sixth is the listening to music and poetry on the part of lovers in order to move longing and arouse love, and cause forgetfulness of self. Then, if it is in the presence of the beloved, the object is to increase pleasure, and if it is during separation, the object is to arouse longing. And though longing is painful, yet in it there is a kind of pleasure since hope of union is joined to it. For hope is pleasant and despair is painful, and the force of the pleasure of hope is in proportion to the force of the longing and the love of the thing longed for. Then, in such listening as this, there is an arousing of love and a moving of longing, and an attaining of the pleasure of hope which is involved in union, along with diffuse description of the beauty of the beloved. All this is allowable if union with the object of longing is allowable, as he who loves his wife or his concubine, and so gives attention to her singing that his pleasure in meeting her may be doubled. So he is made happy by beholding with vision and hearing with the ear, and he learns the subtle meanings of union and disunion of the heart, and so the causes of pleasure keep following one another. These, then, are different kinds out of all the equipment and the permissible things of this world which are enjoyed, *and what is the equipment of the life of this world but pastime and play?* [Qur., xxix, 64, etc.], and this which we have mentioned is of that nature.

And so, too, if the slave-girl of a man be angry with him or there come about some change between them through the influence of some cause or other, it is for him to move longing by music and singing and to stir up therewith the pleasure of the hope of union.¹ But if he sell her or free

¹ This is almost a commonplace in Arabic literature; see the story of Abū-l-Hasan of Khurāsān in the *Thousand and One Nights* (better in Kosegarten's *Chrestomathia arabica*), and the story of Ibn al-Ahnāf, edited from the *Maṭālib al-budūr* of al-Ghuzūlī by Torrey, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi.

her, that is unlawful to him thereafter, since it is not allowable to arouse longing when union and meeting in earnest would not be allowable. And as for him who pictures to himself the form of a woman looking upon whom would not be lawful to him, and who applies what he hears to what is present in his mind, that is unlawful because it is a thing which moves the fancy to forbidden deeds and stirs up an inciter to something the attaining to which were not allowable. And the majority of lovers and of the foolish, through youth, when lust is aroused, keep brooding over this kind of thing, but that should be prevented in their case on account of what is in it of hidden disease, not for anything which comes from the music itself. And therefore a physician who was asked what passionate love [*'ishq*] was replied, "A smoke which ascends into a man's brain and which sexual intercourse removes and music and singing excite."

The seventh is the listening of him who loves God and has a passion for Him and longs to meet Him so that he cannot look upon a thing but he sees it in Him (Whose perfection is extolled), and no sound strikes upon his ear but he hears it from Him and in Him. So listening to music and singing in his case is an arouser of his longing and a strengthener of his passion and his love and an inflamer of the tinderbox of his heart, and brings forth from it States¹ consisting of Revelations and Caressings, description of which cannot be comprehended,—he who has tasted them knows them, and he rejects them whose sense is blunt so that he cannot taste them. These States are called in the tongue of the Ṣūfis *wajd*, Rapture or Ecstasy, from *wujūd*, Finding, and *mušādafa*, Encountering, that is to say, he encounters in himself States which he had not encountered before he listened to the music. Then these States are causes of things which follow them, things which burn up the heart with their fires and purify it from taints of dinginess, just as fire purifies substances exposed to it from uncleanness. Then the purity that befalls the heart brings after it Visions and

¹ On States (*aḥwāl*) and Revelations (*mukāshafāt*) see notes on p. 94 of *Life*. On *wajd*, etc., see note on p. 101.

Revelations, and they are the utmost limit of the things sought by the lovers of God Most High and the ultimate fruit of all pious works. And that which enables us to reach them has its origin in the sum of pious works, not of rebellious works nor actions simply permissible. The cause of those States befalling the heart through listening to music is the secret of God Most High, and consists in a relationship of measured tones to souls and in the subjection of souls to them and their receiving impressions by them—longing and joy and sorrow and elation and depression. The knowledge of the cause why souls receive impressions through sounds belongs to the most subtle of the sciences of the Revelations which Ṣūfis are granted, and the foolish, the frozen, the hard of heart, who are shut off from the pleasure of music and poetry, marvels how he that listens takes pleasure and at his ecstasy and state of emotion and change of colour, as a brute beast marvels at the pleasure of almond-candy and the impotent at the pleasure of sexual intercourse and the youth marvels at the pleasure of governing and at the pleasure that lies in breadth of reputation, and as the foolish marvels at the pleasure of the knowledge of God Most High and the knowledge of His majesty and might and the wonders of His creation. And for all that there is one cause, and it is that pleasure is a kind of perception and perception demands a thing perceived and a power of perceiving. Then, in the case of him whose power of perception is imperfect, that he should have pleasure through it is not to be imagined. How can he perceive the pleasure of things to eat who lacks the sense of taste, and how can he perceive the pleasure of melodies who lacks ear, and the pleasure that lies in the conclusions of the reason who lacks reason?¹ Even thus is the tasting of music and singing in the heart. After the sound has reached the ear it is perceived by an inward sense in the heart, and he who lacks that lacks inevitably the pleasure that goes with it.

¹ "Sir, I can give you reasons, but I cannot give you an understanding."—Dr. Johnson.

But, perhaps, you will say, "How can passion [*ishq*] be imagined in the case of God Most High so that music and singing move it?" Then know that he who knows God loves Him (*aḥabbahu*) inevitably, and as his knowledge of Him strengthens, his love [*maḥabba*] of Him also strengthens, and love when it grows strong is called passion [*ishq*], and passion is nothing else than love strengthened beyond bound. Therefore the Arabs said, "Lo! Muḥammad has a passion for his Lord," when they saw him retiring for worship in Mount Ḥirā. And know that every loveliness [*jamāl*] is beloved when there is one to perceive that loveliness, and "God Most High is lovely [*jamāl*] and He loves loveliness."¹ But loveliness, if it be in proportion of make and beauty of colours, is perceived by the sense of sight. And if the loveliness be in majesty and might and loftiness of order and beauty of qualities and character and the willing of things excellent for the world in general and pouring them out upon it constantly and other such spiritual qualities, it is perceived by the sense of the heart. And for the expression "loveliness" there is sometimes a metaphorical usage, and it is said that so and so is beautiful and lovely, and his form is not meant, but only that he is lovely of character, praiseworthy as to his qualities, beautiful as to his mode of life; and so a man is sometimes loved for those internal qualities through their being considered beautiful, just as the external form is loved. And sometimes this love becomes strong, and then it is called passion. How many there are of zealots in their love for the founders of parties, such as ash-Shāfiʿī and Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa (may God be well pleased with them!), to such an extent that they give bountifully of their lives and of their goods in their aid and assistance and go further than any passionate lover in their zeal and excess! A marvel it is that it should be held reasonable to love passionately an individual whose form has never been seen

¹ A tradition from the Prophet. He said, "No one shall enter the Garden in whose heart there is the weight of a grain of pride." Someone said, "A man loves that his robe and sandals should be beautiful"; and the Prophet replied in this saying.

whether it is lovely or vile and who is now dead, but who is loved for the loveliness of his internal form and for his approved walk and the benefits that have befallen the people of the Faith from his work and other qualities beside; and then that it should not be held reasonable to love passionately Him from whom are seen to proceed excellent things, yea, Him whom, in verity, there is no excellency and no loveliness and no loved one in the world but it is a boon from among His boons and a trace from among the traces of His generosity and a spoonful from the sea of His bounty. And every beauty and loveliness in the world which is perceived by the intellect and by eyes and by ears and the rest of the senses from the beginning of the world to its end and from the summit of the Pleiades to the extremity of the earth,¹ is a grain from the treasure-houses of His power and a ray from the lights of His presence. So who shall tell me that the love of Him is not reasonable whose description this is, and that love of Him should not increase in the case of those who confess His descriptions until their love pass bound and the absolute use of the term passion for it become a wrong because it falls short in telling how great is His love? Then His perfection is extolled who has veiled Himself from appearing by the force of His appearing and by the rays of whose light eyes are filled. "If it were not for His veiling Himself with seventy veils of His light, the glories of His face would burn up the eyes of those regarding the loveliness of His presence."² And if it were not that His appearance caused His concealment, verily intellects would be confused and hearts bewildered and strength of body would be left succourless and limbs at variance. Though hearts were built up of stone and iron, verily the morning would see them crushed in pieces under the first beginning of the light of His self-manifestation. For how shall the eyes of bats endure the noonday light of the sun?

And the proof of what is indicated here shall come in

¹ *Min dhirwati-th-thurayyā ilā muntahā-th-tharā*; a proverb.

² A tradition of the Prophet.

the Book of Love,¹ and it will be explained that the love of any other than God is a falling short and a folly. But he who is firm in knowledge knows none other than God Most High, since there is not in existence a verity except God and His works; and he who knows the works, as works, does not pass from the knowledge of the Worker to that of another than Him. For example, he that knows ash-Shāfi'ī, and knows him directly and his productions in respect that they are his productions, and not in respect that they are whiteness and skin and ink and paper and ordered speech and the Arabic language, verily, he has known him, and does not pass from the knowledge of ash-Shāfi'ī to that of another than him, and the love of him does not pass over to another than him. And every existence except God Most High is the production of God Most High and His work done first by Him. Then he who knows it in respect that it is the construction of God Most High, sees from the construction the qualities of the Constructor, as the excellency of the producer and the greatness of his power are seen from the beauty of the production, and his knowledge and love are limited to God Most High without passing over to other than Him. And it is of the definition of this passion that it does not admit of being shared; and everything except this passion admits of being shared, since to every beloved except this there can be imagined something like either in existence or in possibility; but for this loveliness there cannot be imagined a second either in possibility or in existence. Then, the name passion applied to other than Him is a pure metaphor, not a proper sense of the word, though he that has a lack, near in his lack to brute beasts, sometimes does not recognise in the expression passion anything but the seeking of sexual intercourse. And such a one as this is like a donkey-driver, with whom it is not fitting that one should use such terms as passion, union, longing, humane intercourse; yea, such expressions and ideas he leaves on

¹ One of the Books of the *Iḥyā*, the sixth of the fourth *Rub*'.

one side, just as brute beasts leave on one side narcissus and myrtle, and give themselves to dried clover and hay and fresh leafage. For the absolute use of these expressions is only possible in the case of God Most High, and that only whenever they are not suspected of a meaning which we must hold far from the holiness of God.

And power of imagination varies as power of understanding, so attention should be directed to the refinement that lies in such expressions as these; yea, it is a near possibility that there may spring from the mere listening to the qualities of God Most High, an overpowering ecstasy by which the aorta of the heart is broken. Abū Hurayra¹ has related from the Apostle that he made mention of a youth who was among the Banū Isrā'il on a mountain. And he said to his mother, "Who created the heavens?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the earth?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the mountains?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the clouds?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Lo, verily from God I hear a Mighty Thing!" And he cast himself from the mountain and was dashed in pieces. This is as though he heard something which indicated the Majesty of God Most High and the completing of His Power; so he was moved by emotion at that, and fell into an ecstasy, and through the ecstasy cast himself down. And the Books² have been revealed only in order that they should move with emotion at the mention of God Most High. Someone said, "I saw written in the Gospel, 'We have sung to you and ye have not been moved with emotion; and we have piped to you and ye have not danced.'"³ That is, "We sought to rouse in you longing

¹ 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Šakhr ad-Dawsī, known as Abū Hurayra; d. 57. An-Naw., pp. 760 f.; Ibn Khall., i, 570, n. 2.

² The different revealed Scriptures; e.g., the Law, the Gospel, the Psalms.

³ Matt., xi, 17; Luke, vii, 32; a long way after. It is characteristic of Islām that the SM. makes no attempt to verify the reference.

by the mention of God Most High, but longing was not roused."

This, then, is what we desired to mention of the divisions of listening to Music and Singing and its causes and its requirements. It has become most certainly evident that it is permissible in some cases and encouraged in some cases. Then if you ask, "Is there any state in which it is unlawful?" I say that it is unlawful with five accidents—an accident in him who produces the poetry or music, an accident in the instrument that is used, an accident in the content of the poetry, an accident in the person of the listener or in his perseverance, and an accident that consists in his being of the commonalty of creation.

The first accident is that the producer of the poetry or music be a woman upon whom to look is not lawful and from listening to whom temptation is dreaded; included with her is also the beardless youth whose temptation is dreaded. This is unlawful on account of what is in it of the fear of temptation, and it is not on account of the singing, but if the woman, through whom rises the temptation, were only talking without using melodies, her talking and conversation would not be permissible nor even listening to her voice in repeating the Qur'ān; so, too, is it in the case of the youth from whom temptation is feared. Then if you ask, "Do you hold that this is unlawful in every situation without considering separate cases, or is it only unlawful where temptation is feared in the case of him who fears sin?" I say that this is a possible question in point of law, one in which two fundamental principles act against one another. The one of these is that being alone with a woman not within the prohibited degrees and looking upon her face is unlawful equally whether temptation is feared or not, because she is one with whom, in general, temptation may be supposed to exist. The law has decided that this shall close the matter without looking to special cases. And the second principle is that looking upon youths is permissible except where there is fear of temptation; so youths are not classed with women in this general prohibition, but the circumstances are

followed in each case. Now, the voice of a woman sways between these two fundamental principles; if we follow the analogy of looking at her, then we must close the matter absolutely,—that is an analogy that has great weight. Yet between the two are differences, since lust invites to look when it is once roused, but it does not invite to listen to the voice; and the moving of the lust to touch which is excited by looking is not the same as that which is excited by hearing, but is more powerful. And the voice of a woman, apart from singing, is not a thing of shame requiring concealment; in the time of the Companions the women always talked with the men, giving the salutation and seeking advice and asking and taking counsel and so on,—but with women there is a something more which effects the moving of lust. So the analogy of the voice of women to looking upon youths is more immediate, for they were not commanded to veil themselves, just as women were not commanded to conceal their voices. Thus the arousing of temptation is the rule which ought to be followed, and the unlawfulness should be limited to that. This, in my opinion, is the more probable view and the nearer analogy, and is strengthened by the tradition of the two girls who sang in the house of ‘Ā’isha, since it is known that the Prophet was wont to listen to their voices and did not guard himself; temptation in this case was not to be feared and therefore he did not guard himself. So, then, this varies with the circumstances of the woman and the circumstances of the man in being young or old; and such a varying with circumstances has its analogies, for we say in the case of an old man that he may kiss his wife, though it be time of fast, but that that is not allowable for a young man; for kissing invites to sexual intercourse in time of fast, which is forbidden. And hearing¹ may invite to looking and drawing near which is unlawful; so that, too, varies with individuals.

¹ Hearing = *as-samā’*. I have translated this word hitherto as ‘listening to music and singing.’ Literally it means ‘hearing’ or ‘listening,’ but it became a Sūfī technical term for the devotional exercises of darwishes. In the sequel I shall frequently translate it as here, regarding it as such a technical term.

The second attribute is in the instruments in so far as they are of the badges of people who drink and of the *Mukhannaths*. They are pipes and stringed instruments and the *kūba*-drum. These three kinds are forbidden, and all besides these remain under the fundamental principle of allowableness, like the *duff* whether it has little bells or not, and the *ṭabl* and the *shāhīn* and beating with the *qaḍīb* and the other instruments.

The third accident is in the content of what is sung, the poetry. If there is in it anything of obscenity or ribaldry or satire or what is a lie against God Most High or against His Apostle or against the Companions, like what the Rāfiḍīs¹ composed in satire on the Companions and others, the listening to it is unlawful, with melodies or without melodies, and he that listens is partaker with him that speaks. So, too, is that in which there is description of a particular woman; for the description of a woman before men is not allowable. And as for satire of unbelievers and heretics, that is allowable; Ḥassān b. Thābit was wont to boast of the Apostle of God and to satirize the unbelievers, and the Apostle of God commanded him to do that. And as for amatory poetry, i.e. love poetry with description of cheeks and temples and beauty of figure and stature and description of women in other points, it calls for consideration. The sound view with regard to it is that the composing of it and the reciting it with melody and without, is not unlawful. But it is for the listener to see to it that he does not apply what he hears to a particular woman, and if he does apply it that he apply it to one permitted

¹ It was early fixed as a principle that the handing down of traditions derogatory to the Prophet or to the Companions was unlawful. Thus an-Nasafi lays down in his creed: "We abstain from the mention of the Companions of the Prophet except with good." The name Rāfiḍīs came to be applied to all schismatics who spoke against any of the Companions, but historically it has a narrower application. They were a sect of the Shi'a of al-Kūfa who abandoned Zayd b. 'Alī, a descendant of 'Alī the fourth Khalīfa—after having belonged to his party the Zaydites—because he commanded them not to speak against the two first Khalīfas, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1,121a; *Thousand and One Nights*, ii, pp. 233 and 265, and notes 33 and 90 (Story of 'Alā ad-Dīn Abū-sh-Shāmāt, Nights 255 and 265), Haarbrücker's translation of ash-Shāhrastānī, i, pp. 176 and 180.

to him, his wife or slave-girl, for if he apply it to a strange woman then he is a rebel against God by thus applying it, and by his causing his thought to circle in it. He to whom this description applies ought to put aside music and singing absolutely. For he over whom a passion has gained control applies all he hears to that passion, equally if the expression suits it or not; for what expression is there that cannot be applied to ideas by means of metaphorical usage? So he over whose heart the love of God has control is reminded by the blackness of the hair on the temples of a like thing, the darkness of unbelief, and by the brightness of the cheek, of the light of Faith, and by the mention of union, of the meeting God Most High, and by the mention of parting, of the separation from God Most High in the company of the rejected, and by the mention of the censurer who disturbs the gladness of union, of the obstacles of the world and its defects that disturb the endurance of intercourse with God Most High. And in this application there is no need of search or meditation or leisure; yea, the thoughts which control the heart weigh more than the expression in the understanding of what is heard.¹ So it is related from one of the Shaykhs that he passed through the market and heard one saying, "The good ones ten for a grain²!" then ecstasy overcame him. And he was asked about that, and said, "When the good are ten for a grain, then what is the value of the evil?" And one of them crossed in the market and heard a speaker saying, "O wild thyme!" [*Yā sa'taru barrī*]; then ecstasy overcame him. And they said to him, "For what is thy ecstasy?" He said, "I heard him as though he were saying, 'Persevere and thou wilt see my benevolence!'" [*Isa' tara birrī*]. And this goes so far that ecstasy sometimes overcomes a Persian at verses in Arabic, for some Arabic words correspond to Persian words; so he understands from them another meaning. One recited—

¹ Literally, *arrive first at understanding what is heard in spite of the expression.*

² The weight of a grain of barley; apparently a fraction of a dirham.

"And there has not visited me [*wamā zāranī*] in slumber aught but his phantom-form."¹

Then a Persian was seized with ecstasy at that, and he was asked the cause of his ecstasy, and he said, "Lo, he said in Persian *Mā zārīm*, 'We are all coming nigh to destruction.'" For the expression *zār* indicates in Persian *are coming nigh to destruction*, so he fancied that he was saying "We are all coming nigh to destruction," and feared thereby the peril of the destruction of the other world.

And the ecstasy of him who is consumed in love of God Most High is in proportion to his understanding, and his understanding is in proportion to his power of imagination, and what he imagines does not necessarily agree with what the poet meant or with his language. This ecstasy is truth and sincerity; and he who fears the peril of the destruction of the other world is fitted that his intellect should be disturbed in him and his limbs agitated, and then there is no great advantage in changing the expressions themselves. Yet he whom love of a created thing has overcome ought to guard himself against music and singing with whatever expression they come, but him whom the love of God Most High has overcome, the verbal expressions do not trouble and do not hinder from understanding the benignant ideas that join themselves with the flow of his exalted aspiration.

The fourth accident is in the listener, and consists in lust having control over him. If he is in the glow of youth, and this quality have more control over him than any other, then music and singing are unlawful to him equally whether the love of a particular individual have control of his heart or not. For however that may be, he cannot hear a description of temples and cheeks and separation and union but it moves his lust, and he applies what he hears to a particular form, the Devil puffing at the lust in his heart, and so the flame of lust is kindled in him and the arousers

¹ On the *Tayf al-Khayāl*, the form of the beloved seen in dreams, see an article by de Ślane in the Journ. As., sér. III, v, 376 ff.

of evil incite him. And it is a help to the party of the Devil and a cause of cowardice to Reason which defends him and which is the party of God Most High. The fighting is constant in the heart between the forces of the Devil—they are the lusts—and the party of God Most High—it is the light of Reason—except in a heart which one of the two parties has conquered and over which it rules completely. The army of the Devil conquers most hearts and overcomes them; so, therefore, there is need that inciters of fighting should keep beginning afresh to harass the forces of the Devil. How, then, is the increasing of the weapons of these forces and the sharpening of their swords and spears allowable? And music and singing sharpen the weapons of the army of the Devil in the case of such an individual as this; so let such go out from the assembly where music and singing are heard, for he is hurt by them.

The fifth accident is that the individual should be of the commonalty of creation.¹ Given that the love of God Most High does not control him; further, that music and singing are beloved to him, and that no lust controls him; yet in his case it is prohibited. But, just as the other kinds of permitted pleasures, it would be permitted in his case except that, when custom and habit of it take hold of him, and however numerous its occasions, they are yet too few for him, then he is one of the foolish whose testimony is to be rejected; for persistence in sport is a sin. And just as a little sin by persistence and continuance becomes a great sin, so some permitted things by continuance become little sins; and this case is like perseverance in following negroes and Abyssinians, and constant watching of their playing, for that is prohibited, although its beginning is not prohibited, since the Apostle of God did it. To this class belongs playing at chess, for it is permitted; yet perseverance in it is disliked with the strongest dislike. And whenever the object is play and taking pleasure in

¹ By '*awāmm al-khalq*' he means all mankind but those who have intercourse with and knowledge of God in ecstasy, whether they be ignorant or philosophers or theologians.

sport, then it is permitted only on account of what is in it quieting to the heart; since quiet of the heart at certain times is a medicinal treatment, so that the impulses of the heart may be aroused, and then it may busy itself at other times in diligent application to worldly things, as gain and trade, or to religion, as prayer and recitation of the Qur'ān. And regarding that as a good thing to come between periods of application is like regarding a black mole on the cheek as beautiful. But if the moles were to take possession of the whole face, as a curse on it, how ugly that would be! So beauty becomes ugliness on account of abundance, and it is not every beauty much of which is beautiful, nor every permissible thing much of which is permissible. Bread is permissible, but seeking much of it is unlawful. So this permissible thing is like the other permissible things.

But if you say, "What all this comes to is that it is permissible under some circumstances and not under others; so why did you first make it absolutely permissible when such a statement, when it comes to distinguishing cases with yes or no, is false and faulty?" Then know that this objection is mistaken; for the laying down such an absolute statement stands in the way only of such a stating of special cases as begins from the entity of the thing which is being considered; but as for that which begins from the circumstances which came as accidents joined to it externally, the absolute statement does not prevent that. Do you not see that we, when we are asked concerning honey whether it is lawful or not, say that it is lawful in the absolute, though it is unlawful for one who is of a sanguine temperament, to whom it is hurtful? And when we are asked concerning wine we say that it is unlawful, although it is lawful for him to drink it who is choking with a morsel whenever he cannot find anything else. But it, in respect that it is wine, is unlawful, and is only permissible on account of the accident of the need; and honey, in respect that it is honey, is lawful, and is only unlawful on account of the accident of hurtfulness. And

no attention is paid to what belongs to an accident, for selling is lawful, but becomes unlawful through the accident of its happening at the time of the summons to prayer on Friday; and there are many accidents such as that. Then music and singing belong to the class of things permissible in respect that they are listening to an agreeable measured voice with a meaning to be understood, and their being unlawful is only on account of an accident external to their true entity. So, when the veil is withdrawn from what shows the permissibility, no attention need be paid to him who opposes after the indication is plain.

And as for ash-Shāfi'ī, his school does not pronounce singing unlawful as a fundamental principle. Ash-Shāfi'ī laid down a rule, and said of the man who takes up singing as a profession that his evidence is not allowable. And that is because it belongs to sport which is disliked and which resembles what is vain; and he who takes it up as a profession is put in a relationship to folly, and his manly virtue [*murū'a*] falls from him, and, although it is not an unlawful thing in itself, yet its being unlawful under these circumstances is clear. But if he does not put himself into a relationship to singing, and people do not come to him on account of that, and he does not go to people for its sake, and all that is known of him is that he is sometimes in a state of emotion and chants in it, then that does not make his manly virtue fall away or render worthless his evidence. That is shown by the tradition of the two girls who were singing in the house of 'Ā'isha.

And Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'la¹ said, "I asked ash-Shāfi'ī about the people of al-Madīna permitting music and singing. Then ash-Shāfi'ī said, 'I do not know one of the learned of the Ḥijāz who disliked music and singing except what consisted in amatory descriptions; as for the driving-song and the mention of the traces of the encampment and of the spring pastures² and the making beautiful the voice in

¹ Abū Mūsā Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'la aṣ-Ṣafadī al-Miṣrī; d. 264. An-Naw., pp. 641 f.; Ibn Khall., iv, pp. 591 f.

² Referring to the descriptions with which innumerable *qasīdas* open.

singing poems, it is permitted.' ” And when ash-Shāf'ī says that it is a sport which is disliked and which resembles what is vain, then his saying 'sport' [*lahw*] is right, but sport, in respect that it is sport, is not unlawful; the play of the Abyssinians and their dancing is sport, yet the Prophet was wont to look at it sometimes and did not dislike it. And sport and nonsense [*laghw*] God Most High does not blame if by it is meant doing that in which there is no advantage; for if a man lay upon himself that he will place his hand upon his head one hundred times a day, that is trifling with no advantage in it, yet it is not unlawful; God Most High said, *God does not blame you for nonsense in your oaths* [Qur., ii, 225; v, 91]. And when God does not blame for the mention of His name to a thing by way of oath without being pledged to it and without being determined to keep it, rather being variable as to it, along with there being no advantage in it, how shall He blame poetry and dancing? And as for his saying that it resembles what is vain [*bāṭil*], that does not indicate a belief that it is unlawful; even if he had said explicitly that it was vain, that would not have indicated that it was unlawful. It only indicates that it is destitute of advantage; what is vain is that in which there is no advantage. If a man says to his wife, for example, “I sell myself to you,” and she says, “I buy,” it is a vain bargain whenever the object is play and jesting, and it is not unlawful except when the object is really making a slave of him, which the law forbids. And as for his saying “disliked” [*makrūh*], he means that it is disliked on some of the occasions which I have mentioned to thee, or else he means that it is disliked through fear of evil. For he has laid down a rule as to the allowableness of playing at chess, and has remarked, “Verily, I dislike every play.” The explanation he gives indicates this; for he says, “It is not one of the customs of religious people and people of manly virtue.” This points to fear of evil. And his rejecting evidence for persistence in play does not indicate that it is unlawful; he sometimes rejects evidence for eating in the market-place and for what in general violates manly virtue

[*murū'a*]. Thus, weaving is allowable ; yet it is not of the occupations of those who possess manly virtue. And sometimes he rejects the evidence of those who pursue an ignoble trade, and his explanation shows that he meant by dislike fear of evil.¹

This is the view also of others besides him of the great Imāms. So if people desire to make it unlawful, what we have said above is an argument against them.

3.

A statement of the Arguments of those who pronounce Music and Singing unlawful, and an Answer to them.

They base an argument upon what God Most High says, *And of mankind there are some who buy sport consisting of stories [in order to lead astray from the path of God]*.² Ibn Mas'ūd³ and al-Ḥasan al-Basrī⁴ and an-Nakha'ī⁵ said that "sport consisting of stories" was singing. And 'Ā'isha handed down that the Prophet said, "Verily, God hath made the singing-girl unlawful and the selling of her and her price and teaching her." To this we say, As to the

¹ The SM. gives, as examples, cupping and the clearing away of ash-heaps. On the Oriental attitude towards cupping, see Spitta's *Al-As'ari*, pp. 29 f. In the *Tanbih* of Abū Ishāq ash-Shirāzī, a Shāfi'ite manual of law, pp. 336 f. of ed. of Juynboll, there is a statement of those whose testimony must be rejected. These included slaves, youths, deranged persons, heedless persons or simpletons (*mughaffal*), those who have no manly virtue (*murū'a*), such as scavengers, rag-gatherers, sweepers, bathmen, those who play in the bath and singers, dancers, jugglers, those who eat in the streets and make water in public and play at chess on the highway. As to pursuers of base occupations (*makāsib daniya*), such as watchmen, weavers, cuppers, there are two views, one that their testimony is to be rejected, the other and better that it may be received if their religious walk is right. See, too, the *Minhāj at-tālibīn*, ed. van den Berg, iii, pp. 400 ff. On improper use of the public streets, compare Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, p. 111, who explains that these are the places of prayer of the Jinn.

² Qur'ān, xxxi, 5. I have added the necessary context in square brackets.

³ Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ghāfil al-Hudhalī al-Kūfī; d. 32. Ibn Qut., p. 128; an-Naw., pp. 369 ff.

⁴ Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Abī-l-Ḥasan Yasār al-Basrī, d. 110. An-Naw., pp. 209 ff.; Ibn Khall., i, 370 ff.

⁵ Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd an-Nakha'ī; see note 4 on p. 202.

singing-girl, what is meant by her is the slave-girl who sings to men in a place where there is drinking; and we have mentioned that the singing of a strange woman to men of dissolute life and to those for whom temptation is feared is unlawful; such seek from the singing-girl only what is legally forbidden. But as for the singing of a slave-girl to her possessor, its unlawfulness cannot be gathered from this tradition. Further, even to any other than her possessor, listening is lawful when there is absence of temptation according to what is indicated by the tradition in the two *Sahīhs* of the singing of the two slave-girls in the house of ‘Ā’isha. And as for the buying of “sport consisting of stories” for religion, by way of exchange for it, “to lead astray” by it “from the path of God,” that is unlawful and blameworthy and the question is not as to it. Every singing is not an exchange for religion, bought for it, and a thing leading astray from the path of God Most High, and that is what is meant in the passage. If anyone read the Qur’ān “to lead astray thereby from the path of God,” his so reading the Qur’ān would be unlawful. It is related of one of the Hypocrites that he used to act as Imām to the people, and would only recite the Sūra ‘*Abasa*¹ on account of the rebuke of the Apostle of God which it contains. And ‘Umar thought of killing him, and regarded his action as unlawful on account of the leading astray which is in it; then is the leading astray by poetry and singing to be regarded as more unlawful?

Further, they base an argument on what God Most High says, *And at this narrative do ye not marvel? but ye laugh and do not weep and ye are lifters up* (sāmidūn).² Ibn ‘Abbās³ said, “It is singing in the language of Ḥimyar,” meaning the “lifting up.” To that we say, Laughter and

¹ Sūra lxxx of the Qur’ān. It begins ‘*Abasa wa-tawallā*, “he frowned and turned away,” said of the Prophet repelling a blind man. For that he is rebuked by God in the Sūra, and this Hypocrite—the Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*, Ibn Qut., p. 174) played much the same part in Medina as the Libertines in the Geneva of Calvin—chose thus to keep alive the memory of the rebuke.

² Qur’ān, liii, 59; see Bayd., ii, 296, l. 14; and Lane, p. 1,424b.

³ Abū-l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abdi-l-Muttaḥib b. Hāshim; d. 68. An-Naw., pp. 351 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 58 f.

lack of weeping ought to be unlawful too, since the passage embraces them. And if it be said that it is limited to laughter against the Muslims for their becoming Muslims, then this also is limited to their making poems and singing with the object of ridiculing the Muslims. Even as He Most High has said, *And the poets—those going astray follow them* [Qur., xxvi, 224]; He meant by that the poets of the unbelievers; it does not indicate that the composition of poetry is unlawful in itself.

Further, they base an argument on what Jābir¹ has handed down that the Prophet said, "Iblīs was the first who wailed and the first who sang." So he joined wailing and singing. Then we say, Verily, just as the wailing of Dā'ūd and the wailing of sinners for their crimes are excepted, so is excepted that singing which seeks the moving of joy and sorrow and longing where it is allowable that it should be moved. It is excepted just as the singing of the two slave-girls on the Festival day in the house of the Apostle of God was excepted, and the singing of the women who sang at his arrival, when they said—

"The full moon has risen upon us, from the passes of al-Wadā'."

Further, they base an argument on what Abū Umāma² has handed down from the Prophet that he said, "No one lifts up his voice in singing but God sends to him two devils on his two shoulders, beating with their heels on his breast until he refrains." We say, This applies to some of the kinds of singing which we have already brought forward; there are those which excite from the heart that which is the desire of the Devil, consisting of lust and passion [*ishq*] for creatures. But as for what excites longing towards God and joy in Festival time, and at the birth of a child or the arrival of him who has been

¹ Abū 'Abd Allāh (or Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān or Abū Muḥammad) Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī as-Salamī al-Madani; d. 68 or 73 or 78. An-Naw., pp. 184 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 156 f.; Ibn Khall., ii, 204, n. 1.

² Abū Umāma Ṣudday b. 'Ajlān al-Bāhilī; d. 81 or 86. Ibn Qut., p. 157; an-Naw., pp. 651 f.

absent, all that is the opposite of what is the desire of the Devil, as is indicated by the story of the two slave-girls and the Abyssinians and the narratives which we took from the *Ṣaḥīḥs*. So the fact that it was permitted on a single occasion is a statute that it is allowable; and that it was prevented on a thousand occasions is subject to interpretation and explanation; but the actual doing of a thing cannot be interpreted away, since when a thing is unlawful it can only become lawful through the accident of compulsion, and if it is allowable it is made unlawful by a great number of accidents up to intentions and objects.

Further, they base an argument on what ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir¹ handed down that the Prophet said, “Everything with which a man sports is vain except his training his horse and shooting with his bow and playing with his wife.” We say, His saying “vain” does not indicate that it is unlawful, but indicates the lack in it of advantage. And sometimes that is conceded on the ground that the having part in sport in watching the Abyssinians came outside of these three and yet is not unlawful; so things not excepted are joined to things excepted on analogy, just as the Prophet said, “The blood of a Muslim is not lawful save for one of three things,” yet he joined with them a fourth and a fifth.² Like this, too, is the playing with one’s wife; there is no advantage in it, only the pleasure. And it shows that amusing oneself in gardens and listening to the voices of birds and to the different kinds of jesting, of that wherewith a man sports, nothing of that is unlawful although it may be possible to describe it as vain.

Further, they base an argument on the saying of ‘Uthmān, “I have not sung, and I have not lied, and I have not wiped my penis with my right hand since I did homage

¹ ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir al-Juhānī; d. 58. *An-Naw.*, pp. 425 f.

² The three are adultery, murder, and relapse after embracing Islām; see the tradition in al-Bukhārī, vol. viii, p. 36 of ed. of Cairo, 1296, and in the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah, p. 185 of lithog. of Dehli, 1889. I do not know what is referred to under the fourth and fifth.

with it to the Apostle of God.”¹ We say, Then let the lying and the wiping the penis with the right hand be unlawful if this is an indication that singing is unlawful! When was it established that ‘Uthmān abandoned only what is unlawful?

Further, they base an argument on the saying of Ibn Mas‘ūd, “Singing makes Hypocrisy to spring up in the heart,” and some add, “just as water makes herbs spring up”; some even carry it back to the Apostle of God, but that form of the tradition is not sound. They say, “There passed by Ibn ‘Umar² some people wearing the *Ihrām*,³ and among them was a man singing. Then he said, ‘Ho, I do not hear God from you; ho, I do not hear God from you!’” And from Nāfi‘⁴ is handed down that he said, “I was with Ibn ‘Umar on the road and I heard the flute-playing of a shepherd, and he put his fingers in his ears, then turned from the road, and did not cease saying, ‘Nāfi‘, do you hear it?’ till I said ‘No’; then he took his fingers out and said, ‘Thus I saw the Apostle of God do.’” And al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād⁵ said, “Singing is the spell which raises fornication.” And one of them said, “Singing is one of the scouts of depravity.” And Yazīd b. al-Walid⁶ said, “Beware ye of singing, for it maketh modesty to be lacking

¹ For this saying of ‘Uthmān see *Liṣān*, s.v., xx, p. 164, ll. 7 ff. from foot. On the attitude of Muslims towards lying, allowed and unallowed, see *Ihyā*, vol. vii, pp. 522 ff. The statement there begins, “Lying is not forbidden (*ḥarām*) on account of itself (*linafsihi*), but on account of detriment in it to the person addressed or any other.” Compare, too, the doctrine of Intention, *niya*, in *Ihyā*, vol. x, pp. 72 ff. Similarly, to use the right hand for certain purposes would be bad manners, but could not be called *ḥarām*.

² ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had two sons who are referred to in tradition, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Ubayd Allāh. This, according to the SM., is ‘Abd Allāh, who d. in 73. An-Naw., pp. 357 ff.; Ibn Qut., p. 92; Ibn Khall., i, p. 567, note.

³ *Ihrām* is the prescribed dress worn by a pilgrim and also his state while wearing it. It is put on at the last stage before reaching Mecca, and laid aside after the tenth day, the day of sacrifice.

⁴ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Nāfi‘ was a mawla of Ibn ‘Umar, and d. 117. Ibn Qut., pp. 95 and 234; Ibn Khall., iii, pp. 521 f.; an-Naw., pp. 589 f. The tradition here related is an important and much debated one in several legal respects.

⁵ Abū ‘Alī al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād at-Tamīmī al-Yarbū‘ī; d. 187. An-Naw., pp. 503 f.; Ibn Khall., ii, 478 ff.; the extract from al-Biqā‘ī’s *Aṣwāq al-ashwāq* in Derenbourg et Spiro, *Chrestomathie élémentaire*, pp. 33 ff.; al-Qush., p. 11.

⁶ Yazīd b. al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Mālik b. Marwān, the 12th Umayyad Khalifa; d. 126. Ibn Qut., p. 186.

and increaseth lust and ruineth manly virtue; and verily it takes the place of wine and does what drunkenness does; then if ye cannot avoid having to do with it, keep it out of the way of women, for singing incites to fornication.” But we say, When Ibn Mas‘ūd says that it makes Hypocrisy grow up, he means by that in the case of the singer; in his case it makes Hypocrisy grow up, for his whole desire is to show himself to advantage in competition with others, and to make his voice sell well in such competition, and he keeps playing the hypocrite and making himself beloved by people that they may desire his singing. But even that does not involve that singing must be declared unlawful. For the wearing of beautiful clothes and the riding of ambling horses and the other kinds of adornment and emulative glorying in wealth and pleasant things and children and so on make Hypocrisy and dissimulation spring up in the heart; but what Ibn Mas‘ūd said does not go so far as to make these unlawful. So it is not only acts of rebellion against God which cause Hypocrisy to spring up in the heart; yea, such permitted things as these on which the gaze of the people falls are still better fitted to procure it. And therefore ‘Umar alighted from a horse which ambled under him and cut off its tail, because he feared in himself vainglory in the beauty of its gait. Thus the beginning of Hypocrisy is in permitted things.

And as for the saying of Ibn ‘Umar, “Ho, I do not hear God from you!” it does not indicate that singing is unlawful in respect that it is singing; but they were in *Iḥrām* and loose talk did not befit them, and it appeared to him from their signs that their listening was not for the sake of ecstasy and longing unto the visitation of the House of God Most High, but for pure sport. So he disliked that in them, because it was objectionable in connection with their state and the state of *Iḥrām*. Again, in the stories of particular cases, the possible views are many. For example, opposed to his putting his fingers in his ears is the fact that he did not command Nāfi‘ to do the like and did not disapprove of his listening. He only did it

himself because he considered that he should guard his ear in its then condition, and his heart from a sound which usually would move sport, and so might hinder him from a thought he was engaged in or a recollection that was more in place. And so, too, the action of the Apostle of God, along with the fact that he did not hinder Ibn 'Umar from listening, does not indicate that it is unlawful, but indicates that the more fitting course is abandoning it. And we hold that abandoning it is more fitting in most cases; yea, that the abandoning of most of the allowable things of the world is more fitting when it is known that they make an effect on the heart. The Apostle of God actually stripped off the robe of Abū Jahm¹ after the completion of prayer because there was a pattern upon it which distracted his heart. But do you think that that indicates the unlawfulness of a pattern upon a robe? Perhaps the Prophet was in a state from which the sound of the flute of the shepherd would have distracted him as the pattern distracted him from prayer. Yea, the need of arousing the Glorious States in the heart by music and singing is a falling short in the case of him who is constant in his witnessing the Truth, though it may be perfection in the case of others than such a one. And therefore al-Ḥuṣrī² said, "Even the most affecting of Music and Singing (Hearing) is cut off when he dies who is listening to it"; thus pointing out the fact that the Hearing which is from God Most High is abiding. And the Prophets had constantly the pleasure of Hearing and Witnessing,³ and had no need to have them aroused by devices. As for the saying of al-Fuḍayl, and similarly all the other sayings kin to it, it is applicable to the music and singing of dissolute people and lustful youths; and if these sayings were

¹ Abū Jahm 'Amir (or 'Ubayd) b. Ḥudhayfa al-Qurashī al-'Adawī; d. in the days of az-Zubayr or of Mu'awiya. An-Naw., pp. 686 f., and al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-libās*, part vii, p. 39.

² Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḥadramī al-Baṣrī; d. 371. Al-Qush., p. 38; Ibn al-Athir, *sub anno* 371.

³ See note in Life, p. 94.

generally valid, wherefore did they listen to the two slave-girls in the house of the Apostle of God?

Then, as for analogy, the utmost of what can be said as to it is that the analogy lies against stringed instruments, and the differences have already been given. Or it is said that Music and Singing are sport and play, and so they are, but the whole of this world is *sport and play* [Qur., xxix, 64]. 'Umar said to his wife, "Thou art only a plaything in the corner of the house." And all playing with women is sport except tillage, which is the cause of the existence of children. "And all jesting in which there is nothing vile is lawful." That is quoted from the Apostle of God and the Companions, as shall come in detail in the Book of the Defects of the Tongue,¹ if God will; and what sport could exceed the sport of the Abyssinians and negroes in their playing? Its allowableness stands firm by statute on the basis of what I said, that sport rests the heart and lightens from it the burden of thinking; and when hearts are over-driven they are blind, and resting strengthens them for serious work. So he, for example, who is persistent in study ought to cease work on Friday, for ceasing work on one day incites alertness on the other days. And he who is persistent in works of supererogation in prayer on most occasions, ought to be idle on some occasions; and, on his account, prayer on some occasions is disliked. So idleness is a help to work, and sport an aid to seriousness; only the souls of the Prophets can endure against pure seriousness and bitter duty. Sport is the medicine of the heart against the disease of weariness and restlessness; so it ought to be permitted. But there ought not to be too much of it, just as there ought not to be too much medicine. Then, whenever sport is for this object, it becomes a pious work. This is even in the case of one in whose heart music and singing do not rouse a praiseworthy quality—the rousing of which is sought—but the hearer has only pleasure and simple rest. So it is fitting that

¹ A Book of the *Ihyā*; the fourth of the third *Rub*'.

that be approved in him that he may attain by it to the goal which we have mentioned. It is true that this indicates a falling short from the summit of perfection, for the perfect man is he who has no need that his soul should be rested in other than duty, but "the good deeds of the pious are the evil deeds of archangels,"¹ and he who has mastered the science of dealing with hearts and the different ways of being kind to them to lead them to the Truth, knows absolutely that resting them with such things as these is a useful medicine that cannot be done without.

¹ The SM. ascribes this saying to Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh at-Tustarī, who d. 293 or 283 or 273. Al-Qush., p. 18; Ibn Khall., I, pp. 602, 590.

(To be continued.)