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HASAN A. SHURAYDI

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HASAN A. SHURAYDI

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A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of
the Graduate School of Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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THE MEDIEVAL MUSLIM ATTITUDE TOWARD YOUTH

After an attempt to determine the age limits Muslim authors set for youth, this study concentrates on the physical, intellectual, political, moral, and social qualities of youth as viewed in medieval Islam. It also deals with the subject of rejuvenation, in this life and in Paradise.

Medieval Muslim culture associated youth with black hair, spring, beauty, vigor, and health. It attributed to the young inexperience, ignorance, and all kinds of folly and to the old experience, wisdom and knowledge, maturity and dignity. Accordingly, the young had a low political, moral, and social status. They were not considered to be fit for leadership or worthy of respect and consideration. Keeping company with the young was not suitable for a political leader and might even by dangerous. Some authors tried to show that this popular conception of youth was not necessarily a valid one, but they were few.

Moralists saw in youth the least desirable stage of life because it was conducive to the commission of sins. However, there was a strong and pervasive feeling that youth was, in fact, the most precious asset given to man, and its glory was extolled, or its passing mourned, in innumerable statements in poetry and prose.

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ما كنت أوفي شبابي كنه غرّته
حتّى انقضى فاذا الدنيا له تبع

I had not exhausted fully the carefreeness of my youth
So that it ceased and, lo, the world too when it was over!

An-Namirî

Bodily decrepitude is wisdom; young
We loved each other and were ignorant.

W. B. Yeats

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THE SOURCES

A. Monographs

1. Salwat al-Ḥarîf bi-Munâẓarat ar-Rabîᶜ wa-l-Kharîf, of unknown authorship, wrongly attributed to al-Jâḥiẓ, a disputation between a youth representing spring and an old man representing autumn.[1] It was composed not earlier than the late 11th century.[2]

2. Ash-Shihâb fî ash-Shayb wa-sh-Shabâb, by ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ (d. 1044), a collection of verses on youth and gray hair, primarily by Abû Tammâm (d. 846), al-Buḥturî (d. 897), and the author himself but also by other poets, such as the author's brother ash-Sharîf ar-Raḍî, with its principal stress being upon problems of literary criticism.

Bibliographical sources such as the Fihrist and Yâqût's Irshâd mention titles of relevant works which are apparently not preserved. Most of them mention expressly youth and gray hair, but also those titles which refer to gray hair are likely to have contained a good deal of material on youth. It can be assumed that most, if not all, of these works were similar to the Shihâb, in that they mainly consisted of verses, or verses and phrases on the subject.

1. Kitâb ash-Shabâb wa-Faḍlih ᶜalâ ash-Shayb, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakîmî,[3] who died in 947.[4] As the title indicates, the work dealt with the superiority of youth over old age.

2. Kitâb ash-Shayb wa-sh-Shabâb, by Ibn Khallâd ar-Râmhurmuzî,[5] who died in 970.[6]

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3. Kitâb Maᶜânî ash-Shayb wa-Âdâbih wa-Faḍl Alwânih wa-Tartîb Muqaddimâtih wa-mâ Qîl fîh Nathran wa-Nazman wa-l-Khiḍâbât, by ᶜAbdallâh b. Ḥammâd.[7] According to the title, the author's aim was to explain and praise the good qualities of old age, and to collect relevant material in poetry and prose. The references to the dyeing of hair would seem, however, to indicate that he also had something to say in favor of youth (cf. the following title).

4. Kitâb al-Khiḍâbât wa-Dhamm ash-Shayb, by Yaᶜqûb b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlî.[8] Contrary to the previous work, the title expressly indicates that the author intends to dispraise gray hair.

5. Kitâb ash-Shayb wa-l-Khiḍâbât, by ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmân b. Saᶜîd.[9]

6. The anonymous Kitâb ash-Shaykh wa-l-Fatâ, mentioned among works of the kings of Babel and other petty kings,[10] may have been some fictional tale like the following anonymous work.

7. Kitâb ash-Shaykh b. ash-Shâbb, mentioned at the end of a section of the Fihrist,[11] seemingly under the rubric of "wonderful things in the sea and elsewhere."

8. Kitâb ash-Shubbân wa-sh-Shîb, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭâlib (d. after 982).[12]

9. Kitâb ash-Shayb, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nawqâtî (d. 992).[13]

10. Kitâb ash-Shabâb wa-sh-Shayb, by Muḥammad b. ᶜImrân al-Marzubânî (d. 988, or 994). Its size is given as 300 folios.[14]

11. Kitâb Manâqib ash-Shabâb, by Ibn ᶜAsâkir (d. 1176), comprising fifteen fascicles.[15]

12. Kitâb ash-Shayb wa-sh-Shabâb, by Usâma b. Munqidh (d. 1188) who wrote the work for his father.[16]

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B. Adab Collections and Poetry

The works we have just discussed beong to adab literature, but whereas they are monographs devoted to the subject of youth, the large adab collections deal with it as one subject among many. The reservoir of material on which they draw heavily is poetry. In fact, an author like al-Bayhaqī, who composed his al-Maḥāsin wa-l-Masāwī in the reign of al-Muqtadir (908-32), quotes only poets in the chapter on gray hair which, as we would expect, also includes verses on youth. Even some of the popular phrases that appear in the form of prose constituted originally parts of verses. Among the poets who occupied themselves with our subject, we may mention Ḥumayd b. Thawr (7th century), Abū Nuwās (d. between 813 and 815), Abū al-ʿAtāhīya (d. 828), Abū Tammām (d. 846), Ibn ar-Rūmī (d. 896), al-Buḥturī (d. 897), Maḥmūd al-Warrāq (9th century), Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 908), and al-Mutanabbī (d. 965). There were many others.

Some of the chief adab authors who gave particular attention to youth are:

1. Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), Bayān; Rasāʾil, both containing scattered remarks, among which those endorsing the leadership qualities of youth are of special significance; Rasāʾil 1, pp. 296ff.[17]
2. Ibn Qutayba (d. 889), ʿUyūn 1, pp. 229-30; 2, pp. 319ff., placing emphasis on leadership in youth, on the meaning of gray hair, and on the symptoms of old age in those who are blessed with a long life.
3. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 940), ʿIqd 3, pp. 41ff., stressing the attitude of women toward gray hair, the sadness of the loss of youth, and

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the association of youth with vigor and health.

4. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967), Aghānī, against our expectations, does not yield much material on youth.

5. Muḥammad and Sa^{c}īd al-Khālidī (end of 10th century), Ashbāh 1, pp. 112-13, dealing with the ability of the young on the battlefield.

6. Abū Hilāl al-^{c}Askarī (d. 1005), Dīwān al-Ma^{c}ānī 2, pp. 152ff., laying emphasis on the remembrance of youth and on the relationship between youth and women.

7. Al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 1022), Zahr 1, pp. 198ff.; 3, pp. 67-68, 87; 4, pp. 37ff., containing mainly short phrases which give a good cross section of what was thought to be the qualities of youth.

8. Ath-Tha^{c}ālibī (d. 1038), Thimār, passim; Tamthīl, pp. 381ff., similar to al-Ḥuṣrī but not as inclusive.

9. Al-Māwardī (d. 1058), Adab, passim, with the emphasis on the significance of education at an early age, on leading a moral life, and on acting in accordance with reason.

10. Ar-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1108-9), Muḥāḍarāt 2, pp. 141ff., is comprehensive and pays special attention to the appearance of gray hair in youth, to the notion that youth is excused for its folly, to keeping company with the old, to the relevance of the opinions of young and old men, to the notion that ḥilm and youth are not incompatible, to the desire on the part of men to be referred to as young though they may be old, and to the idea that youth is fully appreciated only when it is gone.

11. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200), Dhamm al-Hawā, pp. 108ff., on the religious attitude toward keeping company with handsome youths; Ṣayd al-Khāṭir, # 120, on early signs of ambition and future.

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12. Az-Zarnûjî (fl. 1203), Taʿlîm al-Mutaʿallim, passim, on the importance of early education and intellectual training.

13. An-Nuwayrî (d. 1332), Nihâya, 2, pp. 21ff.; 6, pp. 74-80, repeats the older material and stresses the subject of the attitude of women toward youth.

14. Aṣ-Ṣafadî (d. 1362-3), Ghayth 2, pp. 223ff., devoting a section on the neglected subject of poetry depicting the beloved as gray-haired or old.

15. Al-Ibshîhî (l. 1446), Mustaṭraf 2, pp. 32ff., summarizing a number of the familiar themes.

C. The Qur'ân and the ḥadîth furnish basic information on youth which is important because it reflects widely held and normative views.

D. Philosophers in the Hellenistic tradition

In addition to the philosophers discussed below,[18] interesting material is to be found in Miskawayh (d. 1030), Tahdhîb, where the early moral upbringing of the young and the proper ways of behavior are discussed. In the Hawâmil, Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî raises a number of questions regarding various aspects of youth, and Miskawayh attempts to answer them.

E. Lexicographers have been used chiefly to determine the various views on the extent of the stage of youth.

F. The historians and popular literature as represented by The Arabian

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Nights and the collections of proverbs have also yielded some information on the problems of youth.

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CHAPTER I

WHAT IS YOUTH?

Before dealing with the various qualities of youth we must try to determine the age limits of the period of youth as understood by medieval Muslims and in the light of our understanding of them. In attempting to do so we will have to touch upon Muslim views with regard to the other stages of the life of man. To what degree the question, "What is Youth?" can be satisfactorily answered will be evident after the following discussion which is not meant to be exhaustive but merely considers a number of representative views.

According to the littérateur Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb (d. 860) the stage from birth to the completion of the seventeenth year is termed ghulûmîya. The next stage, which is of equal length, is termed shabâbîya. There follows a third seventeen-year period, from the age of thirty-four until the completion of fifty-one years, during which a person is called kahl. Thereafter he is called shaykh until his death.[1] The physician Ibn al-Bayṭâr, writing in the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century, also divides man's journey from the cradle to the grave into four stages. In his view, their limits are determined by the individual's physical development. These stages are sibâ, from birth till the fifteenth or twentieth year; shabâb, whose limit is thirty or forty; kuhûla, which may extend till sixty or seventy or even eighty; and shaykhûkha, the final stage.[2] His description of these stages shows, though he does not explicitly state it, that he is associating the stages of man with the four seasons. This notion is of Greek origin. It was elaborated by

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others long before the time of Ibn al-Bayṭâr.[3] Hippocrates, as was known to the Arabs, is said to have divided the life cycle of man into four stages: ṣibâ, shabâb, kuhûla, and shaykhûkha. These ages are parallel to the four seasons whose natures are respectively described in the same way as those of the ages[4]: spring (temperate), summer (hot and dry), autumn (cold and dry), and winter (cold and humid). According to another account, Hippocrates divided the life cycle into seven ages. When born, a person is called ṭifl, but no age limit is fixed, in contrast to the other six ages, although it appears to be implied that it is seven. He is called ṣabî till the age of fourteen; ghulâm, till the age of twenty-one; youth, till the age of thirty-five; kahl, till the age of forty-nine; shaykh, till the age of sixty-seven[5]; harim, till death. Al-Masᶜûdî says that Ptolemy compares the four seasons to the four ages of man. Thus spring, summer, autumn, and winter correspond, respectively, to ṭufûlîya, shabâb, kuhûla, and shaykhûkha.[6] Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd, following Aristotle, divide life into three parts: youth, middle age, and old age.[7]

Lexicographers are not satisfied with a division of human life into a small number of significant stages. They provide us with a long list of the terms designating the various stages of man's biological development.[8] Writing in the ninth century, Thâbit b. Abî Thâbit states that "Some say that as long as a child is in the womb, he is called janîn. He is called ṣabî from the time of his birth until he is weaned, after which he is called ghulâm and continues to be called so until he reaches the age of seven. From seven to ten, he is called yâfiᶜ, and from ten to fifteen, hazawwar; from fifteen to twenty-five, qumudd, and from twenty-five to thirty, ᶜanaṭnaṭ; from thirty to forty, ṣumull, and from forty to

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fifty, kahl; from fifty to eighty shaykh, after which he is called himm (decrepit)."[9] Some of these terms were hardly known to the ordinary speaker of Arabic. The lexicographers do not always agree in assigning a certain name to a certain age. If we were to divide life into stages corresponding to these names, we would ultimately have as many stages as there are names. Nevertheless, by selecting some of the more widely used expressions and by taking into consideration the aforementioned division into stages, we may say that medieval Muslims were largely agreed that the life cycle of man is described by the terms ṭufûla (childhood), shabâb (youth), kuhûla (middle age), and shaykhûkha (old age).

A ṭifl is a new born child or infant. The term is also applied to a child until he can discriminate (after which he is called ṣabî),[10] or until he reaches puberty.[11] In this case, ṭifl would be synonymous with ghulâm, which may be defined as anyone from the time of his birth till he reaches shabâb.[12] ᶜAmr b. ᶜUtba relates that when he became fifteen years old his father advised him to practice the virtues of modesty (ḥayâ') and prudence in his dealings with others, now that he was past the age of ṣibâ.[13] It is apparent that ṣibâ, which is reminiscent of the first stage in Ibn al-Bayṭâr's system, is used here to mean ghulûma. As a matter of fact, ṣabî and ghulâm are regarded by the Ṣaḥâḥ and the Lisân[14] as synonyms. Al-Muṭarrizî, however, maintains that a person is a ṣabî before he may be called ghulâm.[15] A common definition is that ṣabî is anyone not yet weaned.[16]

The Arabic equivalent for "youth," shabâb, is considered by some lexicographers[17] as the contrary of gray hair (shayb). The two words alliterate and rhyme and are thus ideally suited to be used in combination. This is probably why the two terms are frequently used together to form

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titles of books or of chapters. In defining shabâb lexicons give two synonyms, hadâtha and fatâ'.[18] Poetry used sibâ interchangeably with shabâb,[19] or shabîba. ᶜAbdallâh b. Khalîfa, for example, says of his beloved Laylâ:

I have remembered Laylâ and shabîba;
The remembrance of sibâ is an affliction for him who remembers.[20]

As in the case of ghulûma, there are conflicting views with regard to the extent of the stage of shabâb. Some believe that it extends from sixteen to thirty-two years,[21] or from puberty to the completion of thirty.[22] According to Quṭrub (d. 821), it falls between the ages of seventeen and thirty-four.[23] From some definitions of kahl, as we shall see, we can infer its limit to be thirty-three or thirty-four. Ath-Thaᶜâlibî[24] and al-Muṭarrizî[25] define it as the period between thirty and forty. It is not clear, however, whether they have in mind the whole period of youth or just its last stage. It would appear from the way he expresses himself that ath-Thaᶜâlibî is thinking of the latter. Having treated ghulûma, he goes on to mention some characteristics of youth. Then he adds, "And as long as he (i.e. man) is between thirty and forty, he is called shâbb." He evidently conceives of the last stage of shabâb as ranging over ten years. A similar opinion is expressed by an argument presented in favor of gray hair over youth. "Youth," it is argued, "rarely extends beyond forty years; (whereas) one may live with gray hair for ninety or a hundred years."[26] Thus we find the same sort of uncertainty with respect to the limit of shabâb; although here forty is designated, there is a possibility that the limit may extend beyond it. As to women, Judge ᶜAbdallâh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜImrân

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recounts on the authority of his father that their shabâb falls between fifteen and thirty years, but that when they are between thirty and forty one still finds something to enjoy in them.[27]

Poets in general set an upper limit of thirty years to the period of youth.[28] For the loss of their youth they seek consolation in singing of the days of wine and roses. Ash-Sharîf ar-Raḍî says:

After the age of thirty youth fades away;

How strange it is, Umayma, and how amazing it seems to me![29]

Ibn al-Uqlîshî laments:

Thirty years have passed (of my life)

As quickly as a vanishing dream or a flash of lightning.[30]

Perhaps the poets' views on the duration of youth were not really different from those cited above. Their selection of the figure thirty may have become over the years a matter of poetic convention.

The limits of kuhûla are set as upward of thirty[31] or forty years of age[32]; more precisely, a kahl is a person between thirty-four and fifty-one[33] or between forty and sixty.[34] According to the Nihâya, a person is kahl from the age of thirty-three to fifty-one or from thirty to forty,[35] which, as we have seen, is ath-Thaʿâlibî's and al-Muṭarrizî's definition of shabâb.

Finally, a shaykh is anyone from the age of either fifty or fifty-one, until either his death or the age of eighty.[36]

It must not be forgotten, and it is of some practical importance for our study to recall, that the terms mentioned have also other meanings than those discussed above. Let it suffice to mention only the most significant of them.

As in other languages, ṣabî, and even ṭifl, "are colloquially used

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as terms of endearment, or flattery, or condescension for persons of more advanced and, eventually, any age."[37] Ghulâm is used by extension to mean either ᶜabd (male servant or slave)[38] or a bodyguard or freedman bound to his master by personal bonds.[39] It also designates an artisan working under a master whose name he adds to his own in his signature.[40] The term ghulâm may be applied to a kahl.[41] This means, as Lammens puts it,[42] "he who was a ghulâm" (ay alladhî kân ghulâm). This is an unlikely explanation without parallel with respect to other terms. A shaykh is not called kahl to mean "he who was a kahl." Rather, ghulâm in this connection is intended to imply a value judgment. The Lisân makes this clear when it says, "The Arabs call the kahl 'a ghulâm najîb' (noble)."[43] Tâj quotes Ibn al-Aᶜrâbî (d. 844) to illustrate this particular use of the term. "To call someone ghulâm an-nâs (ghulâm of the people)," states Ibn al-Aᶜrâbî, "though he be a kahl, is like saying someone is fatâ al-ᵉaskar (fatâ of the army), though he be a shaykh."[44] In this context ghulâm and fatâ obviously have laudatory connotations. The same holds true of fatâ as a possessor of futuwwa,[45] which signifies generosity and liberality.[46] Hence the saying, "There is no one endowed with generosity but . . . ᶜAlî" (lâ fatâ illâ ᶜAlî).[47] Fatâ, it is asserted, does not mean shâbb or hadath but rather a person who is perfect (kâmil) and of sound judgment (jazl). This assertion is justified by this verse:

> The (real) fatâ is he who withstands every misfortune;
> He is not a shâbb who leads an easy life.[48]

Further, fatâ, like ghulâm, refers to a servant or slave, even if he is shaykh.[49] Moses, for example, calls his companion fatâ because he serves him.[50] Likewise, Potiphar's wife is depicted as seeking to

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seduce her fatâ, Joseph.[51] This use of fatâ goes back to the Prophet. "Let not any of you say ᶜabdî and amatî," he instructs the Muslims, "but let him say fatâya and fatâtî."[52]

Like fatâ, shâbb may be used as a laudatory term without regard to age. A good example exists for this use in connection with the Prophet. At the outset of his mission, that is, when he was about forty years old, he is described as shâbb or rajul.[53] When he emigrated to Medina a dozen years later he is still referred to in these two terms.[54] It is also maintained that he died as the youngest and most beautiful of men.[55] He likes to think of himself as a shâbb. "O Sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib," he declares in one of his early speeches, "by God, I know of no shâbb among the Arabs, who has come to his people with better [tidings] than those with which I have come to you."[56]

Even more interesting in this connection is a tradition which is given in three versions in Ibn Ḥanbal's Musnad and which goes back to Ḥarîz b. ᶜUthmân.[57] Ḥarîz relates that when he was still a ghulâm, he asked ᶜAbdallâh b. Busr, a companion of the Prophet, whether Muḥammad was a shaykh. According to two versions, ᶜAbdallâh replied, "There were (a few) white hairs on his chin (ᶜanfaqa)." Ḥarîz, we should note, draws our attention to the fact that he and the other ghulâms did not then know how to ask questions. In one version he says, "We did not know how to ask him" (wa-lam nakun nuḥsin nas'aluh), whereas in the other he says, "We were ghulâms not knowing what knowledge was" (wa-nahnu ghilmân lâ naᶜqil al-ᶜilm). This seems to indicate that Ḥarîz now, as an adult, realizes that he had asked the wrong kind of question. What is more, ᶜAbdallâh attempts to evade the question. His answer is certainly vague, perhaps intentionally so, although one feels it is

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intended to be negative. As expressed in the third version, however, his answer is more revealing. The Prophet was "too young to be called a shaykh" (ashabb min dhâlik, lit. "younger than that"), he explains, "but there were in his beard," or "on his chin, (a few) white hairs." One can see that ᶜAbdallâh does not want to apply the term shaykh to Muḥammad, although the term is, as we shall see,[58] a symbol of moral virtues. He seems to be associating shaykh with gray hair, that is, more than just a few gray hairs. The proper use of the term shaykh, as defined by the Lisân, might imply a person in whom age and gray hair have become apparent. Whether the Lisân regards gray hair as a necessary condition for someone to be called a shaykh is questionable. But even if it does, the question still remains as to the minimum amount of gray hair that one should have in order to be called a shaykh. In other words the question is, "When could a person be described as ashyab (gray-haired)?" This is analogous to the question raised below as to the moment when the transition from one stage of life to another takes place. Moreover, we shall come across old men, who are called shaykhs by virtue of their age, whose hair has not grown gray.[59]

Another meaning of shaykh, according to the Qâmûs, is that of husband,[60] though young. As is well known, it also designates a teacher or a learned man on whose authority ḥadîth or any other branch of knowledge, is transmitted. A shaykh is usually old but not always.[61] Similarly, it is applied to anyone who is skilled in a particular area. Thus a poet describes himself as "the shaykh of entertainment and erotic poetry" (shaykh al-malâhî wa-l-ghazal)[62] although, morally speaking, shaykh is incompatible with entertainment and erotic poetry.

The conclusion we may draw from this brief survey is that medieval

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Muslims, like the Greeks,[63] divide man's life into stages but they do not entirely agree as to the number and limits of these stages. The same is true of the Western tradition, although seven divisions are traditionally made.[64] In years they are as follows: babyhood, birth to two or three years; childhood, two or three to twelve or fourteen; youth, twelve or fourteen to twenty-five; young manhood, twenty-five to forty; middle age, forty to fifty-five or sixty; elderly, fifty-five or sixty to seventy; aged, or senescent, seventy and beyond.[65] A contemporary scholar, E. Erikson, divides the "life cycle" into eight stages but he fixes no age boundaries for them: infancy, early childhood, play age, school age, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood, and old age.[66] According to other contemporary sources, life seems to be divided into six stages: childhood, from birth to puberty[67]; adolescence, from twelve to about twenty[68]; young adulthood, which is the decade of the twenties[69]; adulthood, from late twenties or early thirties to the fifties[70]; middle age, from fifty or fifty-five until the early sixties or mid-sixties[71]; the aging, from sixty-five[72] or seventy[73] years on.

The great variety of divisions already shows that they are not based upon undisputed facts but they mainly serve the purpose of working hypotheses. For the purpose of our study, neither of these systems, whether medieval or modern, can be accepted without modification. Taking into consideration the different views we have come across, we may fix the following limits for our four periods: ghulûma or ṭufûla, from birth to age fourteen; shabâb, from fourteen to the early thirties; kuhûla, from the early thirties to the early fifties; shaykhûkha, from the early fifties on. It should be kept in mind that these limits are not rigid. The concept of each of these periods is an "open-textured" one, whose

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boundaries are not exactly determined. This notion is stressed by Galen, and known through him in Islam. Galen alludes to the correspondence between the ages of man and the four seasons. "For in the case of the boy (ṣabī)," he wonders, "one is uncertain and doubtful as to when the actual moment arrives for his transition from boyhood (ṣabā') to adolescence (shabība), and in the case of the youth (shabāb) when he enters the period of manhood (kuhūla), also in the case of the man in his prime (kahl) when he begins to be an old man (shaykh). And so it is with the seasons of the year when winter begins to change and emerges into spring, and spring into summer, and summer into autumn." [74] He later returns to the same idea and concludes by saying, "There is nothing more absurd and stupid than this, that a person who an hour before a certain moment was but a youth (shābb) should an hour later have become an old man (shaykh)."[75]

In fixing these limits we do not necessarily do away with such familiar maxims as "a man is as old as he feels" and "you are young for your age." They contain a grain of truth and were in essence not unknown to the Muslims. An old man may feel, though rarely look, like a youth, or vice versa.[76]

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CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF YOUTH

Youth was often described in terms of color, the season of spring, the aesthetic characteristics of beauty, and the physical attributes of vigor and health. A special imagery was developed on this basis. It was employed in an attempt to catch the true nature of youth in vivid descriptions of immediate appeal to a literate audience trained to respond to it.

COLOR

Black (sawâd) is the color of youth. The figurative usage is easily explained by the fact that among medieval Muslims and especially among Arabs the hair of young men was usually black and the gradual loss of its black sheen was a sign of advancing age. As a symbol of youth, black was esteemed highly, as in the verse of al-Mutanabbî:

> People dye white [hair], not because it is
> Ugly but rather because the best hair is black.[1]

Ath-Tha^{c}âlibî spoke of the color or dye of youth (sibghat ash-shabâb) which he called sawâd, for a man's appearance is most pleasing to the eyes when his hair is black.[2] In their panegyrics, some authors associated the emblematic black color of the ^{c}Abbâsid dynasty with the color of youth. Ḍiyâ' ad-Dîn b. al-Athîr says that the ^{c}Abbâsids chose the color of youth as their representative color because they regarded it as a good omen in the sense that their dynasty would not grow old. He claims that such association of the color of the dynasty with that of

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youth was unprecedented. Ibn Khallikân, however, points out that the poet Ibn at-Ta^{c}âwîdhî (d. 1187) had touched upon this association in a panegyric upon the caliph an-Nâṣir, though Ibn al-Athîr went far beyond his predecessor. Ibn at-Ta^{c}âwîdhî says:

> The pretty girls, seeing my gray hair,
> Turned away from me and said, "Black is the best garment."
> How could black not excel [other colors], having
> Become the emblem of the ^{c}Abbâsids?[3]

Ibn Khallikân is right in his evaluation of the intent of the two littérateurs; Ibn al-Athîr attributes eternal youth to the dynasty, whereas Ibn at-Ta^{c}âwîdhî is chiefly concerned with the color of the dynasty as being superior to other colors. The association of black color and youth had become a rhetorical cliché at an early date. The poet al-^{c}Arjî (d. 738) who is described as "reddish" (ashqar)[4], presumably referring to his complexion and hair, referred to himself as black-haired (aswad ar-ra's)[5] in order to stress his youthfulness.

The color white (bayâḍ) or that of gray hair (shayb) denotes middle or old age. The coming of gray hair is feared and detested and, when it it premature, is considered unjustifiable. Its early appearance is compared to changing one's clothes before the proper time, or to a fruit which has suffered damage and thus dried up before it becomes ripe.[6] According to the proverb something may be branded as "a greater oppressor than gray hair" (aẓlam min ash-shayb), when it appears before its due time.[7] Gray hair descends upon a person like an uninvited guest, and turns a deaf ear to the complaints of the host:

> He (i.e. gray hair) laid down his staff, loosened his turban,
> And said, "A guest!" I asked, "Gray hair?" He said, "Yes."

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"You have mistaken the tribe's house," I said. "Why?" he asked.

"You have lived for forty good years." Then he alighted.[8]

However, the want of gray hair in old age is disagreeable to some poets, so they tell us, because gray hair is a sign of dignity (waqâr). It is assumed that an old man should be different, physically and morally, from a youth. God, according to a tradition, hates ash-shaykh al-ghirbîb (intensely black), referring to an old man who does not become gray haired or who dyes his gray hair black.[9] The blind poet Abû al-ʿAlâʾ wishes his hair were black for:

It is ugly that an old man's temples should resemble with
respect to color
Those of a youth, and God knows that.[10]

Another poet wonders whether it is really to his advantage that his hair has not grown gray, while his friends of the same age have turned gray. The poet Ibn al-ʿAllâf ash-Shîrazî, ath-Thaʿâlibî tells us, reached the age of ninety without having a single white hair. Living that long, he felt oppressed by his "youth," meaning, the fact that he still had black hair. When people called him shaykh, they meant to flatter him. He compared himself to a thirsty person diverted by a mirage, and he wished that he could trade his "youth" for gray hair![11] Nevertheless, these same poets would perhaps voice disappointment if their hair did turn gray. After all, they were only too painfully aware that gray hair pointed to the advent of death.[12] Bahâʾ ad-Dîn Zuhayr (d. 1258) was honest enough to admit:

White used to be my sole delight,
Till these white locks I chanced to see;
Now, white, I prithee, quit my sight,

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Yes, quit it quickly as may be.[13]

The antithesis of black and white (sawâd-bayâḍ) to represent youth and old age (shabâb-shayb) provides poets and littérateurs with a rhetorical figure of wide artistic appeal. Quite often they go beyond plain words describing the contrasting colors and use images embodying the antithesis: the black crow or raven as against the grayish falcon or the black and white magpie, the dark of night as against the bright light of the day or stars, darkness and dark clouds as against light and the brilliant white lightning, black musk and white camphor, dark smoke and luminous fire, the dark coloring of plants as against the bright dew drops clinging to them, and the rust on the blade of a sword as against its polish and shine (ṣiqâl).[14] The end of youth and the appearance of gray hair are indicated in terms of some of these contrasting pairs, especially the first two. The crow of youth is exchanged for a magpie; when attacked by the falcon of gray hair, it either flies away or is caught. A youth's night is lit by the white glow of the moon. His night "departs" (ʿasʿas) and his morning "breathes" (tanaffas), being an allusion to Qur'ân 81:17-18 differently interpreted. Or again, while sleeping in the night of shabâb, a youth is awakened by the morning of gray hair.[15]

Used separately, sawâd is compared to an encampment occupied by the poet's beloved; gray hair, to a deserted encampment, snow, pearls, cotton, white flowers (nawr, nuwwâr, zahr), and daisies (uqḥuwân).[16] Roses and multi-colored flowers are, on the other hand, associated with youth.[17] Here the poet goes beyond the mere characteristic of color and thinks of the freshness and beauty of flowers. In his famous "Ode to the Spring," the sixteenth century Turkish poet, Mesihi, grasps the

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transient splendor of youth and flowers:

Rose and tulip bloom as beauties bright o' blee and sweet
o' show,
In whose ears the dew hath hung full many a gem to gleam
and glow.
Deem not thou, thyself deceiving, things will aye continue
so.
Drink, be gay; for soon will vanish, biding not, the
days o' spring![18]

A recurrent image is that of the tender twig saturated with sap and clothed with green leaves. Ultimately the sap dries up and the leaves turn yellow. One says, "The sap of his youth is spilled" (urîq mâ' shabâbih) and "the pond of his youth is dried up" (naḍab ghadîr shabâbih).[19] Another popular comparison is that with a garment which is eventually worn out or, being borrowed, is reclaimed.[20] The garment of youth, like the black color of its hair, has its special value, as indicated by the following proverb: "A better garment than the garment of youth" (aḥsan or [aṭyab] min burd ash-shabâb).[21] When the poet an-Namirî recited these verses before the caliph Hârûn ar-Rashîd:

Neither grief nor anguish leaves me
Whenever I remember my youth which cannot be recovered.
I had not exhausted fully the carefreeness of my youth
So that it ceased and, lo, the world too when it was over,

the caliph was deeply moved and said, "He (i.e. the poet) did well, by God! No one enjoys life unless he walks proudly in the garment of youth."[22]

It may be noticed that the majority of these images, particularly

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the sawâd-bayâḍ pairs, is restricted to superficial resemblances. Authors seem to be fascinated by the idea of color. An author's chief objective is either to hunt for hitherto unused figures incorporating the sawâd-bayâḍ contrast, or to discover new combinations of conventional elements. By achieving this objective, he would be called original. Originality therefore becomes equivalent to variations of traditional figures of speech. This is the guiding criterion of ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ, author of ash-Shibâb fî ash-Shayb wa-sh-Shabâb, which appears to be the only extant monograph devoted to shayb and shabâb. Commenting on the verses of his brother, ash-Sharîf ar-Raḍî, he says, "The comparison, in poetry, of dark hair (sawâd) with rust and the whiteness (bayâḍ) of the gray hair of old age (shayb) with polish (ṣiqâl) and shine (jalâ') is something well known and commonly found. The unusual and nice thing (al-gharîb al-malîḥ) is to compare the dark hair of youth with smoke, and the whiteness of gray hair with the whiteness of fire."[23] The critic's task is to be on the lookout for the unusual word or figure of speech, which he regards as original and good. In pointing out the originality of his own verses he states, "The comparison of hair, part of which is white and the rest black, with the spotted (abqa^{c}) crow is an unusual (gharîb) one. This is because poets have all too often compared youth with the crow and raven, but the comparison of mixed shayb with spotted sawâd has not been made . . . If it is said, 'This comparison is ugly,' . . . we will say, 'So it is, yet this does not refute the fact that it is gharîb, and not common and trite (mutadâwal mubtadhal).'"[24] Again he calls our attention to another original simile of his, i.e. the comparison of the early appearance of gray hair in a person who is still youthful to putting on a new white garment. He

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considers this analogy outstanding (bâri^{c}) and rare (nâdir) because it expresses the idea he wants to state, namely, that changing the black garment of youth to the white one of gray hair does no more indicate the advent of old age than changing one's garment to that of a different color causes any change in the body. The change is merely external because his youth is not over yet.[25] Although these images may not have been used by earlier poets, this does not mean that they are in any deeper sense original and outstanding. In the three examples the author of Shihâb is basically dealing with images revolving on the color of hair as was a poetic custom of long standing. Color is in his mind even when this is not expressly stated, and he feels it is necessary to justify the omission. To compare the appearance of gray in black hair with that of mange in healthy camels, he remarks, is a good simile "because, although it does not resemble it with respect to color, it resembles it in meaning. For if mange befalls (some) camels, they are kept away from the healthy ones and abandoned for fear of contagion. (Similarly) the one whose hair grows gray is completely shunned and avoided by women."[26]

Sometimes the sawâd-bayâd figure takes on a moral coloring. Bahâ' ad-Dîn Zuhayr says:

> Now the night of youth is over, and gray headed dawn is near,
> Fare ye well, ye tender meetings with the friends I held so dear:
> O'er my life these silvery locks are shedding an unwonted light,
> And disclosing many follies youth had hidden out of sight.

His English translator remarks:

> It is seldom that we see a metaphor so well carried out, or so pregnant with meaning as this;--the contrast between the

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> dark tresses of youth and the white hairs of old age, the sudden awakening from the night of folly and inexperience at the dawn of maturer judgment, and the comparison of the streaks of grey amidst the massy black locks to rays of wisdom lighting up the dark sky of ignorance.[27]

It is noteworthy that of all these images only two, the twig and the flower, the latter of which is rarely used, reflect the essence of youth. They do so precisely because they are not satisfied with resemblances in color. They are, like some of those we have discussed, derived from organic nature. But what is peculiar to them is their ability to depict a transitory growing process, an ephemeral blossoming. Youth, like a twig or a flower, blooms for a certain period, then withers, never to bloom again.

SPRING

Another important image employed to describe youth is that of spring, as we have already seen. Poets touch upon it, saying that only dry grass remains when youth is gone, that the ability to enjoy spring ceases.[28] The theme is found developed in the Pseudo-Jaḥiẓian Salwat al-Ḥarîf,[29] a disputation between a youth, called "Spring, the son of the Good one" (ar-Rabîᶜ b. aṭ-Ṭayyib), and an old man called "Autumn, the son of the benefactor" (al-Kharîf b. al-Munᶜim). The former is black-haired and handsome, and he speaks impetuously; the latter is gray-haired and walks with short steps, and he speaks deliberately. A good deal of the discussion, however, is not pertinent to youth and old age.

The youth, who represents spring, argues that spring parallels,

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with respect to man's life, childhood (ṣibâ) in its freshness and, with respect to the four humors, blood in its sweetness. Attempting to show the superiority of spring, he describes it in phrases that express the idea of superiority such as "the first fruit or part of life" and "the first line of a detachment of horsemen." He identifies it with some parts of the body that suggest this idea and identifies fall with other parts that suggest the contrasting idea of posteriority. For time, he says, spring is the nose and breast (ṣadr), and autumn is its tail and backside (ᶜaju). These terms have various meanings and so we have to choose those meanings which serve our purpose. "Nose" and "breast" here signify "The first, or first part, or commencement of anything; even of the day, and of the night, and of the winter, and of the summer, and the like, and of an affair"; "tail" and "backside" designate "The end; or last, or latter part; of anything" and "The hind part of anything."[30] The implication is that what comes first is superior to what comes last. Spring comes before autumn, therefore it is superior to it. Similarly, spring is the innermost part or essence of time, and autumn is its external part or crust. It is the reality of time while autumn is its unreal part; the former thus is superior to the latter. In the same way that spring is superior to autumn, youth is superior to old age. Further, for time, spring represents limpidness and dew; autumn, turbidity and sediment. This may refer to the cloudless weather in spring as against the cloudy weather in autumn. It may also refer to the pleasures one enjoys in spring, which are alluded to in the discussion, as opposed to the loss thereof in autumn. In terms of youth, this would refer to the happy stage of life during which one enjoys himself as opposed to the unhappy stage of life, i.e., old age with all the physical deterioration

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it involves.

The nature of spring is warm, humid, pleasant, and cheerful, while that of autumn is cold, dry, unpleasant, and gloomy. Accordingly, spring is associated with joy, health, and life; autumn, with melancholy, disease, and death. Spring is the season of flowers and roses that please the senses of touch, smell, and sight with their soft petals, aromatic scent, and beautiful colors. It alone makes the creation of a perfect garden possible. Its earth is fragrant like musk, ambergris, and camphor, and its air is ideally temperate. Its water resembles that of the river in Paradise (kawthar); rivers of delicious honey and the choicest wine flow in it. This description reminds us of the portrayal of Paradise in the Qur'ân and of Abû al-ᶜAtâhiya's verse:

Alas for youth that delightfully inclines to youthful pleasures;
The sweet smell of Paradise (inheres) in it.

The poet himself considered this verse as one of his best. Al-Jâḥiẓ said of the last hemistich that it has "a meaning (maᶜnâ) like that of joy which only hearts are capable of comprehending, and which tongues cannot put in words except after reflection and deliberation. The best meaning is that which the heart can appreciate in less time than it would take the tongue to express."[31]

The old man, who represents autumn, finds it rather strange that the youth should compare autumn to old age and spring to childhood, and prefer the latter to the former. However, granting that the analogy holds, he wonders how one could prefer a youth to an old man. Because his senses are clouded by moisture, a youth cannot perceive the sensibilia well, let alone the intelligibilia. An old man is more

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capable in this respect, because he is free of a youth's humidity and heat. If cold characterizes autumn, so much the better because it characterizes the black bile, too. The black bile is characteristic of learned men, and it brings about stability, dignity, and hilm. Moreover, roses and flowers such as narcissi also grow in autumn and last longer than those which grow in spring. Autumn is the produce or fruit of spring, and just as a tree is useless without its fruit spring is useless without fall. Finally, autumn is characterized by constancy, tranquillity, and dignity; spring is ambivalent, untrustworthy, and unpredictable.

The old man has the final word in this disputation, and autumn is favored over spring. The author draws upon philosophers and physicians, in particular Galen, whom he mentions by name. His terminology could be meaningfully applied to youth and spring, on the one hand, and autumn and old age, on the other. Most of the time, however, his rhetoric applies to the two seasons only. At times he skillfully turns virtues claimed as such by one disputant into vices as far as his opponent is concerned. He fails, however, to do justice to the fleeting blooming of youth and spring.

BEAUTY

Arabs, we read in ath-Tha^{c}âlibî,[32] use "water" (mâ') for everything that is beautiful and valuable. They speak of the "water" of the face, youth, the sword, modesty (hayâ'), and amenity (na^{c}îm). The poets he quotes mention some more metaphors, such as the "water" of childhood, beauty, life, and poetry. The "water" of youth seems to be most common in poetry. A face is said to be "filled with the sap of youth"

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(mumawwah), derived from mâhat ash-shabâb.[33] The "water of youth" is sometimes combined with a shining moon or the fire of the two cheeks.[34] It is described by the terms istahâr and tahayyar, meaning that the sap of youth is flowing through the body or has filled it; the phrase imtala' shabâban conveys the same idea. The eighth century poet Ibn Harma becomes attached to his beloved at a stage of his development when "the vessel of youth" (inâ' ash-shabâb) overflows abundantly.[35]

A youth, or a youth's face, is likened to the moon, the great romantic symbol of beauty. For particular emphasis, the image is sometimes reversed in such statements as "his face puts the full moon to shame" and "the full moon almost resembles him."[36] The highest idealization of youthful beauty is achieved when it is conceived of as an ideal form, the source of individual instances of beauty.[37] In the love stories of the Arabian Nights beauty is an essential quality of young lovers. A beautiful young man falls in love only with a beautiful young girl. She is as beautiful as he is himself, and not infrequently of the same age: "They were filled with ardent love for each other, for they were both of the same age and equally beautiful." Their beauty is matchless: "My eyes never saw such beauty as the beauty of this young man and this maid." It is compared not only to the full moon but also to angels and the houris of Paradise with their large eyes of intense color (al-hûr al-ʿîn). The jinn feel so greatly moved by the beauty of a youthful couple that they try to bring them together. A youth's beauty may evoke sympathy in an executioner's heart, making him hesitant to destroy such beauty: "That is a lovely couple. It would not be right to beat them."[38]

A constant concern of the pious is the danger resulting from being in the company of, or looking at, handsome youths, especially beardless

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boys (*amrad*), because beauty may arouse sexual desire. An *amrad*'s beauty, it was maintained, could be more seductive than that of seventy virgin maids.[39] That is why some teachers did not allow beardless youths in their classes. Ibn Ḥanbal accepted this practice blindly as a tradition he inherited from his *shaykhs*. He asked one of his students not to bring his son along, and advised another not to walk with his nephew. Serious youths had therefore to prove their scholastic ability as transmitters of *ḥadîth*, or resort to ruses such as attending clandestinely and wearing a false beard. If caught, they could be punished. When Mâlik b. Anas learned of a beardless youth who had sneaked in and listened to fifteen *ḥadîths*, he punished him with fifteen lashes. Undaunted, the studious youth wished that he had listened to one hundred *ḥadîths* and received an equal number of lashes! Even scholars who were by and large tolerant followed strict rules in this respect. One, for example, did not allow himself to be left alone with a *ghulâm*; another asked a *ghulâm* to sit behind him so that he would not be able to look at him.[40] Although the authenticity of these anecdotes, and the hundreds of others on the same theme, is dubious, they reveal something about the Muslim attitude toward youth as the repository of beauty.

The Islamic prototype of youthful beauty, Joseph, is portrayed, though not in detail, in the famous scene of the *Qur'an* : 12:30-2 between Joseph and the Governor's wife. Intended to dramatize the woman's guile, it also serves as a justification for her attempt to seduce Joseph. The reader understands her dilemma and feels some kind of sympathy for her. The women of the city were excited by Joseph's beauty when they saw him for the first time, and inadvertently cut their hands instead of the fruit they were about to eat. What could one expect of the Governor's

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wife to do who beheld him every day and perhaps every hour? Possessed by his beauty, she felt irresistibly compelled to try to seduce him.

Turkish and Persian, but not so much Arab, poets greatly elaborated on the Qur'anic story of Joseph. Jami's rendering, in Browne's opinion, deservedly holds the highest place.[41] Joseph's beauty was, of course, idealized and dwelled upon at great length. The Turkish poet Hamdi (1483-4), finishing his poem nine years later than Jami, mentions the legend that Joseph was "the flower of Israel," upon whom two-thirds of the beauty of humanity were conferred; the remaining third (such was the inference) being for distribution among all the rest of mankind."[42] Mystics, as Gibb points out, took Joseph's beauty as the prototype of Celestial Beauty, i.e. Divinity.

VIGOR AND HEALTH

Youth is understandably associated with health and vigor. The association is reflected in such terms as mâ' ash-shabâb, which may mean vigor of youth, and "sprightliness of youth" (shirrat ash-shabâb).[43] Youth is called "the first fruit or part of life" (bâkûrat al-hayât), just as spring is, and is considered the best stage of life in the same way that the early fruits are esteemed as the best. It is the essence of life and everything else is accidental; life and youth are two terms that denote the same thing.[44] Its first part, known for its tenderness and freshness, is referred to by such terms as: sharkh, shakhr, may^{c}a, ray^{c}ân, ^{c}unfuwân, ghulawâ', rayq, rayyiq and the like.[45] For "dying young" there is a special verb, ukhtuddir, which is originally applied to the cutting of herbage while it is still green. The last period of life, old age, is all bad. When the Qur'ân says "and among you is he

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who is brought back to the most abject stage of life" (ardhal al-ᶜumr) or "Surely We created man of the best stature/ Then We reduced him to the lowest of the low" (asfal sâfilîn), the phrases "the most abject stage of life" and "the lowest of the low" are taken to mean decrepitude, and "the best stature" is youth.[46] Some poets see life as a glass in which impurity (qadhâ) sinks to the bottom, meaning that the unpleasant part of life is the last. A pessimistic poet sees impurity floating on the very top, meaning that even in youth life is unpleasant and unbearable.[47]

To praise old age on moral grounds, declaring that it frees man of the folly of youth,[48] is merely to seek consolation for the withering of youth. It is one way of coming to terms with the inescapable. Man's meaningful existence is contingent upon that of youth and health. Al-Mutanabbî says:

> The tool of life is health and youth.
> When they leave man, he will cease (to exist).[49]

Old age ensues with its dreaded symptoms of physical degeneration. They are stated over and over again in adab literature: gray hair, a wrinkled skin, a body bent like a bow, the loss of teeth, diminished sense perception, a halting walk, tremulous limbs, and a serious deficiency of heat and moisture. An old man loses any kind of desire save the desire to desire. A proverb says, "the two best things have left him" (dhahab minhu al-atyabân). They are said to be youth and taste, or food and sex.[50] He fails to recognize himself; only his name escapes change.[51] In his old age the caliph Muᶜâwiya is related to have said that his desire was weakened with respect to everything he used to desire with the exception of two things: milk (laban) and interesting conversation.[52] Old age had

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detrimental effect upon the voice of a singer. When the singer ᶜAbdallâh b. ᶜAbbâs, in his old age, sang a panegyric before the caliph al-Mutawakkil, the latter did not enjoy it. He had expected to hear the same kind of song ᶜAbdallâh had sung in his youth. That was, the singer said, "when I was a young man and lover; if you could give me back my youth and love, I would compose (a melody) as full of artistic (creativeness as I used to compose)." The caliph had to admit that he could not do that, and replied that ᶜAbdallâh had made a valid point.[53] Old age exposed other singers, such as Maᶜbad and Mâlik b. Abî as-Samḥ,[54] to ridicule and created tragic situations for them. Upon request by some youths, Ibn Abî as-Samḥ tried to sing but his voice failed him. He wept and cried heartbroken, "Alas my youth!" (wâ-shabâbâh).

Man undergoes change in time; time itself is immutable. "That is why the Arabs refer to day and night as "the two new things" (al-jadîdân); they never grow old. The aging process of man is rarely described, and the few authors who pay some attention to it give us a general rather than a detailed picture. A poet says:

> Time (dahr) has worn me out, but I did not wear it out;
> It made me undergo change but itself remained changeless.
> It tied me to a strong rope
> That got shorter every day, while I was walking (tied) to it.[55]

The poet is probably drawing upon the pre-Islamic poet, Ṭarafa, who says that if death misses a youth now, he is like a loosened rope whose loops are in hand. The Persian belletrist Kai Kâ'ûs, writing in old age, gives a more developed picture. He says, "I have read in some book that man up to the age of thirty-four increases in strength and bodily structure. Thereafter until the age of forty he remains unchanged, without

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either increase or reduction, thus resembling the sun, which, having reached the middle of the heavens, is at the solstice until the moment of decline. Between the ages of forty and fifty years, he experiences each year a progressive enfeeblement which he had not perceived in the years before. Between fifty and sixty he sees each month a certain failure that he had not perceived the month before, and between sixty and seventy a certain failure each week. Between seventy and eighty he sees some failure in himself that he had not seen the day before, and if he passes eighty he finds some pain or affliction he had not perceived the hour before."[56]

Old age, therefore, is a formidable enemy and a natural disease.[57] This fact gives rise to a paradoxical position, summarized in a tradition imputed to the Prophet: "Being well (so as to live long), suffices as a disease" (kafâ bi-s-salâma dâ'). [58] His cousin and some authors are said to have reiterated the same idea.[59] The increase in a man's age is at the same time a decrease in his life span, because it brings him closer to death. When youth is over, life, like the full moon, begins to wane. The penalty for longevity is the aches and pains and limitations of old age. He who wants to enjoy a long life must do without the vigor and health of youth. The only way to get rid of the fear of old age, says the moral philosopher, Miskawayh, is to realize that if a man desires (ahabb) a long life, he most certainly also desires senility and perceives it as inevitable.[60] The second "desires" is a bit strong, and we would expect a more neutral expression compatible with the notion of inevitability such as "to accept." Although one finds that poets sometimes praise and look forward to gray hair, one would have difficulty discovering corresponding statements pertaining to senility. Whether

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old age is felt to be bearable or not, depends to a large degree on the individual's outlook and disposition. It is possible to accept, if grudgingly, the physical deterioration caused by it, because life itself is desirable. An old man, who is too weak to pray standing, nevertheless wonders about how to earn his subsistence.[61] He continues to love life, al-Mutanabbî asserts, even if the weakness of old age bothers him:

> The delightfulness of life is, for the soul, too precious,
> Desirable, and sweet to be weary of;
> If the old man says, "ugh," he is not
> Weary of life but of feebleness.[62]

The Prophet says, "Although man becomes senile, two things remain to him, clinging to life (hirs) and hope."[63] Christ is supposed to have been asked about the reason why old men cling to life more tenaciously than youths. He replied that this was so because they have experienced life in a way youths have not.[64]

Another common attitude toward old age, which was also popular among the Greeks,[65] is the desire for death as a savior and as a happy release. It is better and more decent for a youth to die than to slink like a monkey or to be led as an invalid on a camel.[66] Ibn ar-Rûmî, who composed long poems on youth, welcomes the fatal arrows of death when youth is over because nothing is left except pain.[67] Kai Kâ'ûs concludes his description of physical infirmities by saying, "Death therefore is preferable to such existence. Man's life resembles the sun; in youth it is in the quarter of the heavens where it rises, in old age in the quarter where it sets."[68] No one should be envious of another's long life. To say to someone, "May your life be long!," a phrase used in addressing

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caliphs, is to wish him bad luck, and the person so addressed should be annoyed rather than pleased.[69] Despair over the misery of old age was not strong enough to suggest doing away with life by one's own hand or through the agency of others. This would have been contrary to the teachings of Islam which abhorred murder and suicide. Ar-Râghib al-Iṣfahânî seems to be talking about the pre-Islamic Arabs when he says that if they were sick and tired of an old man, they might leave him behind when they migrated, so that he would die or be eaten by wolves; or they would make him ride on a camel that takes fright easily (nafûr) which would bring about his death by throwing him off.[70] The best gift of the ageless Greek gods is to snatch youth away before it is "spoiled by old age," as Herodotus reports in the famous story of the "two youths, Kleobis and Biton, [who] were both distinguished for their remarkable physical strength, and had won many a victory in the gymnastic games. Because oxen were missing, they pulled their mother, a priestess of Hera, in her chariot a great distance to the sanctuary at Argos. For this pious deed, their mother prayed the gods to reward them and, as the greatest boon they could grant, the gods allowed the two brothers to die in their sleep, in the strength of their youth."[71] To be kind to one's mother is, of course, imperative in Islam. It is most unlikely, however, that the Muslim God would requite such a treatment as described by Herodotus with such a reward. The beatific vision of Allah in Paradise is the highest reward that the good Muslim could hope for. But the experience of this vision takes place after one dies in a natural way. Moreover, although youth is exalted, old age has its own merits. Moral virtues are associated with it; it is the period during which one prepares for meeting his Maker by leading a moral life.

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CHAPTER III

THE INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES OF YOUTH

Medieval Muslim culture felt strongly about the polarity of youth and age. It manifested its feelings in this respect by attributing opposite intellectual qualities to these stages in man's life. Youth was associated with inexperience, ambition and learning, and jahl, the meaning of which will be clarified later.[1] Poets, in particular, envisaged a human ideal in which the polarity seemed to work toward a balance, toward a combination of positive qualities of youth with the maturity of old age. In trying to develop it, however, they did not succeed in freeing themselves from the straitjacket of polarizing conventions.

INEXPERIENCE

According to an often repeated statement, human reason is of two kinds, with the result that there are two kinds of knowledge: innate, such as the knowledge that one is less than two, and acquired. An often quoted verse says:

> I found that there are two intellects,
> The one (given) by nature, and the other (acquired) by studying.
> The latter is of no use
> When the former is lacking.[2]

These two kinds are complementary, the former being like the earth and the latter like seeds and water. The former can achieve nothing unless

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awakened from its sleep and freed from its hiding place by the latter, just as seeds and water extract nourishment from the depth of the earth. The latter is likewise useless without the former just as the sun is useless for an eye that has lost its own natural light and become blind.[3] Acquired reason is strengthened and developed by two factors: long experience, which is characteristic of old age, and intuition, of which some intelligent youths are capable. Perfect reason is the product of the proper combination of both innate and acquired reason.[4]

According to this view, it is more likely, if not certain, that only an old man may possess intellectual perfection. By virtue of their age, old men are more experienced than youth. They may lose their natural intelligence but the variety of experience they have passed through has given them greater wisdom. "To old men belong opinions; to youth, smartness," as the saying has it.[5] A poet says:

> If they have lost (their) youth, they have
> Acquired much intelligence in the course of time.
> (As) the fire of sagacity died down, they lit it
> With opinions sharper than arrowheads.[6]

Experience is the best teacher, and the ups and downs of life, the best preacher.[7] One says that "Age has rendered (an individual) firm, or sound, in judgment."[8] The environment with which the Arabs were familiar has provided a rich imagery to express this notion. An experienced person is called an old beast (bâzil) as opposed to a young one (jadha^{c}), i.e., "one who is light-witted, or weak and stupid, like a youth."[9] Similarly, old persons are referred to as rams (kibâsh), i.e., "aged and learned," as opposed to young sheep (khirfân), i.e., "young and ignorant."[10] A youth is not firm in his opinion and therefore is compared

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to a tender twig that is easily affected even by the softest wind and the slightest harm. Conversely, an old man is likened to the rubbing-post against which many camels rub (al-jidhl al-muḥakkak), i.e., "one who had been strengthened by experience, who had experienced and known affairs, and been tried and proved, by them, and found to be one who had bore up against difficulty, strong and firm, such as would not flee from adversary."[11] Gray hair or old age is fresh butter (zubda) churned over many days or silver molded during many years.[12] The Prophet's cousin, ᶜAlī, is credited with the statement that "the old man's judgment is better than the personal presence of a youth" (ra'y ash-shaykh khayr min mashhad al-ghulâm). It is interpreted by az-Zamakhsharī in his compilation of proverbs as meaning, "An old man who aids you with his opinion, though he be somewhere else, is better than a ghulâm who is personally present and aids you."[13]

Therefore one should seek advice and help from the aged. A proverb says, "Ask the aid of a person of age, experience in affairs, and knowledge, or let alone" (zâḥim biᶜawd aw daᶜ; lit. gore with an old beast or let alone).[14] Other proverbs such as "Do not go on a raid except with a ghulâm that went on raids before"[15] and "If you are to gore someone, gore (by using) horned beasts" stress the same idea.[16] A current Arabic proverb says, "Ask an experienced person (for help) rather than a doctor" (is'al mujarrib wa-lâ tis'al ḥakīm). The Persian poet Ḥâfiẓ draws the attention of youth to the wisdom of old age in these verses:

> But, fair love, let good counsel direct thy feet;
> Far dearer to youth than dear life itself
> Are the warnings of one grown wise--and old![17]

On account of their experience, it is the old who have the right to say,

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"in my opinion," "I think," and "I believe."[18] They speak from eyewitnessing (ʿiyân); youth, from hearing about things (samâʿ). They can foresee the right path and anticipate consequences as if they were seeing them with their own eyes.[19]

The mystic Persian poet ar-Rûmî sums up these views in the following passage:

> Do not regard the yellow leaves of this tree, (but) pick
> its ripe leaves.
> How, in sooth, are its yellow leaves void (of worth)?
> This is the sign of maturity and perfection.
> The yellow leaf of the (elder's) beard and his white hair
> bring tidings of joy on account of his mature intelligence.
> The newly-arrived green-coloured leaves signify that this fruit
> is unripe.
>
> . . .
>
> If he that (still) is rosy-cheeked has fresh down (on his face),
> (yet) he has just begun to learn writing in
> the school of knowledge.
> The letters of his handwriting are very crooked (misshapen):
> he is a cripple in respect of intelligence,
> though his body moves with agility.
> Although an old man's feet are deprived of rapid movement,
> his intelligence has gotten two wings and
> has sped to the zenith.[20]

The implication here is that a man's physical powers are weakened and have degenerated by old age, while his mental faculties are strenthened and sharpened. Thus, in contrast to sense perception which gets

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weaker as the sense organs get weaker by constant use, the more rational speculation is used, the sharper it becomes and the faster is its ability to comprehend.[21] The poet al-Bustī (d. 1010) figuratively alludes to this contrast when he says that the spear of his opinion became straight only after old age had bent his spear, i.e. his body.[22]

Senility, however, may weaken the reasoning ability. When the chieftains of the Banū Sa^{c}d sought the advice of the pre-Islamic sage Aktham b. Ṣayfī, who had witnessed the spread of Islam but did not become a Muslim, he said, "The weakness of old age has spread in my body, and I lack the sharpness of mind to initiate the (right) opinion. But assemble and mention (different opinions), for when the right (opinion) is mentioned before me, I (can) recognize it."[23] Aktham's knowledge, in his old age, had become something passive rather than active. He is still able to recognize the right course of action but has no longer the ability to think matters through by himself and come up with appropriate suggestions. This sort of knowledge, suggestive of Plato's theory of reminiscence, presupposes the existence of certain right ideas which should be followed in certain circumstances. Unlike the Platonic ideas, however, these ideas were not considered something absolute and pre-existing but were acknowledged to be the result of human experience. In the past, they had worked in certain situations, and they are expected to do so in future similar situations. The old are the ones who are believed to be most likely to have knowledge of them.

Senility may also impair the memory and bring about dotage (kharaf). Two possible derivations are given for the meaning of this noun formation from the root kh-r-f. The more common one explains it as derived from "I plucked the fruit" (kharaft ath-thamara), i.e., it is time for

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the old man to die, as it is time for the fruit to be picked or gathered. The other explanation combines the word with the word for "lamb" (kharûf). It originally means, "he became like a lamb," i.e., accessible to everyone, and follows the opinions of others as a lamb follows man.[24] Moreover, the Qur'anic verse, "And among you there is he who dieth (young), and among you there is he who is brought back to the most abject time of life, so that, after knowledge, he knoweth naught," is interpreted as referring to senility in which one loses or forgets what he had learned in the course of his life and becomes ignorant like a child.[25]

Before going any further, we should note that occasionally the mental qualities of youth are praised, including some of those often viewed, as we have seen, in a negative light. If the opinions of youth are verdant and fresh, this indicates that they, unlike those of the aged, have not been affected by the passing of time and senility.[26] A youth's opinion is a sound zand (a piece of wood used as a flint) that strikes fire easily, i.e., reasons fast, while that of an old man is a blunted one, i.e., incapable of reasoning. Whenever the Caliph ᶜUmar had a difficult problem, al-Iṣfahânî reports, he used to seek the advice of young men, saying, "Their hearts (i.e., mental powers) are sharper (than those of the old)."[27] The implication here is that in youth one enjoys not only physical strength but also great mental powers.

A HUMAN IDEAL

Youth is associated with jahl whereas old age or gray hair is associated with ḥilm. Charles Pellat concludes his discussion of the latter term by saying that it "is naturally regarded as a praiseworthy quality but not as a cardinal virtue in Islamic morality; in popular

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estimation generally restricted to self-control and the forgiving of insults, it is a quality whose effects are turned outwards; however, the thinkers and moralists tend to make it a sort of internal restraint, of mastery over the passions, thanks to the intervention of reason, which must decide the conduct to be followed in any particular circumstance."[28] Since jahl is contrasted in this discussion with ḥilm,[29] the qualities it constitutes are to be taken as opposite to those constituted by ḥilm.

The pre-Islamic poet an-Nâbigha adh-Dhubyânî says:

> And if ᶜÂmir has spoken out of jahl,
> Verily, youthfulness is a state (maẓinna) in which jahl
> is usually found to exist.[30]

In another account, maẓinna is replaced by maṭîya (a beast) "because one finds it (i.e., youthfulness) to be easy like as he does the beast on which one rides."[31] The second hemistich was echoed by some Muslim poets and was regarded as a proverb.[32] Some poets see in the ḥilm of old age a savior that saves them from the jahl of youth. Other poets are probably more honest when they favor jahl and youth over ḥilm and old age.[33]

It takes such poets as Abû Tammâm and al-Mutanabbî to point out that this assumption has no basis in fact. An old man may be jâhil in the same way that a youth may be ḥalîm; neither is of necessity jâhil or ḥalîm. "People claim, says Abû Tammâm, that gray hair has made him ḥalîm; the fact is that he was so before its appearance. They think that they hold him in high respect by calling gray hair "something big" (jalâl). But since gray hair is in fact just the contrary, namely "something small" (diqqa), their supposed expression of respect is nothing more than a mere word void of content. To call gray hair, which

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is "something small," "something big" is parallel to calling a person bitten by a snake (ladîgh) "sound" (salîm). The poet is alluding to the fact that the Arabs apply the term salîm to a person bitten by a snake as a euphemism.[34] Al-Mutanabbî goes a step further. He formulates it as a general law that ḥilm may exist in both youth and old age. He says:

> Would that the accidents of time sold back to me what they have taken
> From me (i.e., his youth) for my ḥilm and experience which they gave to me!
> For youth and ḥilm are not incompatible;
> Ḥilm may exist in both old age and youth.[35]

In another place he declares that if ḥilm is not due to natural disposition, it cannot be attained in old age.[36] Following the same trend of thought, ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ rejects the ḥilm that sugarcoats the infirmities of old age and is satisfied with the ḥilm he had in his youth. He says:

> They said, "Gray hair has brought him ḥilm and (mature) intelligence."
> I said, "(It has brought) rather something that wears out and eats my flesh.
> Why should I be delighted by a ḥilm that ruins me?
> The ḥilm I had before (having) gray hair suffices me.[37]

E. R. Curtius says that "All early and high periods of a culture extol the young and at the same time honor age. But only late periods develop a human ideal in which the polarity youth-age works toward a balance."[38] He then goes on to give examples of the combination of

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maturity and youth. Unless he would consider Muslim culture as a late period in relation to pre-Islamic culture, this is only partially true of Islam. For even before it reached its highest peak in the ninth and tenth centuries, in which Abû Tammâm and al-Mutanabbî lived, we can observe such a human ideal beginning to take shape. The poet Dhû ar-Rumma (d. 735) praises his patron Bilâl b. Abî Burda, cadi of Baṣra, as:

> Youthful in age, middle-aged in ḥilm, his word is listened to,
> The least part of it equals towering mountains in weight.[39]

The comparison of the reasoning ability or intellect of the young man with that of the middle-aged or old man, or with towering mountains, attracted the imagination of the poet, who appears convinced that great ḥilm could also be found together with youth. When as-Saffâḥ, who was thirty-one or thirty-two years at the time, was recognized as the first ᶜAbbâsid caliph in 750, one of his supporters in addressing the Muslims said that God has replaced the evil Marwân, the last Umayyad caliph, by "the youth who is deliberate and equals a middle-aged man (in intellect)."[40] Like Dhû ar-Rumma, later poets used such images in their panegyrics on notables or high officials. Abû Nuwâs describes al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabîᶜ, whose age then is difficult to determine, as combining youth and the intellect of an old man.[41] Al-Buḥturî says of ᶜAlî b. Yaḥyâ al-Munajjim (d. 888):

> The intellect came to him in the prime of his youth.
> So he came forward as a middle-aged man before the proper time for his middle age.
> (It was) as if the weightiest towering mountains had learned
> From his ḥilm and loftiness (jalâl).[42]

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The same poet seems to touch slightly on the reverse formula when he describes Ibrâhîm b. al-Mudabbir (d. 892), apparently in his old age, as:

> A young man whom his youth has not turned away from intelligence,
> And who, when his hair completely grew gray, did not forget the age of fun (i.e., youth).[43]

He does not explicitly say that Ibrâhîm is "a youth in an old man," as he was "an old man in a youth," but that Ibrâhîm still preserves something of his youth.

An anonymous poet praises a young notable as having attained a mature intelligence that middle-aged men failed to attain, so that if he gave orders no one would consider it necessary to tell him to act deliberately, or if rendered judgment, no one would ask him to be just.[44] Al-Ḫuṣrî (d. 1022) cites similar examples, some of which are: "He combines the freshness of youth and the grandeur of gray hair . . . . He is an old man (in) worth and (in being) respectable, though not an old man as regards old age and gray hair. He combines young age and a perfect intellect. He wears the garment of his youth while having the intellect of a middle-aged man, sound judgment, and decisive reasoning ability."[45]

These examples show that <u>hilm</u>, according to popular belief, was something unexpected in the young. The poet attempted to show that this was not so with respect to some young men (whom he at least considered young), and thus diminish the polarity that was commonly believed to exist between youth and old age. The question is whether he succeeded in doing so. The answer must probably be negative. A balance is, in

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fact, not quite achieved. In attempting to bridge the gap between the two poles of youth and old age, the poet has not entirely rid himself of the popular belief that ḥilm or mature intelligence is a peculiarity of old age. Language itself renders his task difficult. Comparing the mature intellect of a youth to that of an old man serves his purpose best because the reader immediately understands his imagery, knowing as he does what the allusion to the intellect of an old man stands for. The poet is borrowing from popular belief, but by doing so he defeats what seems to be his own purpose. To say that a youth has the ḥilm or mature intelligence of an old man necessarily implies that the intellectual qualities of age are a standard on which those of youth are measured. In the absence of new concepts that express maturity without being associated with old age, the poet finds himself obliged to view youth in the light of old age. Even al-Mutanabbī, who sometimes appears to break with this tradition, keeps returning to it. Describing ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sayyār, a young military man, as "a shaykh in youth," he adds that "not every gray-haired (i.e., old) man may be called a shaykh."[46] Those gray-haired persons who deserve the title of shaykh are the ḥalīms or the mature. For him shaykh loses its chronological designation to become synonymous with ḥalīm or mature. This fact reflects the durability of the association of shaykh with these epithets.

AMBITION AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY

The continued acquisition of knowledge is considered necessary throughout the entire life of the individual, in his youth as well as his old age. Some old men, as we shall see, continue to be intellectually active until their death. However, they lose part of the himma,

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energy, and vigor of youth. Himma is important for our discussion. It means, among other things, "Ambition; particularly of a high kind; a faculty firmly rooted in the soul, seeking high things, fleeing from base things."[47] One is said to be "far-aiming, or far-aspiring, in purpose, desire, or ambition" (baʿîd al-himma), or have high purpose (himma ʿâliya). When the medieval Muslim poet describes himself as ambitious or aspiring to high things, we are not absolutely sure what things he has in mind. We expect them, however, to be the sort of things esteemed highly by his society. We assume that knowledge, held in high esteem, is involved here either as an end in itself or as a means to an end. This assumption is confirmed by a well-known verse:

By the amount of work [you do] you will obtain what you strive for (al-maʿâlî).

So he who strives for a goal (al-ʿulâ) stays up by night.[48]

This verse is usually quoted in order to confirm the assertion that, in the quest for learning, one must make use of the early days of youth and spend the night studying. The "goal" that one strives for could refer either to knowledge or to something else, and one has to stay up acquiring knowledge either for the sake of knowledge or for aiming at something else that could be achieved through knowledge. It should be pointed out that maʿâlî and ʿulâ, in addition to ʿalyâ', are terms usually used for highly valued accomplishments. At any rate, it is evident that knowledge is to be taken into consideration when an author speaks of high aspirations. We shall first consider briefly the association of youth with ambition and then discuss in some detail the different aspects of intellectual activity.

Al-Mutanabbî depicts the ambition of youth in a way that can hardly

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be improved upon. In verses which he wrote in his youth, he says:

To what height shall I ascend? Of what severity shall I be afraid?
For everything that God has created, and what He has not created,
is as of little account in my aspiration (himma) as a single hair in the crown of my head.

"These verses are quoted and admired," presumably by Arabs in medieval and modern times, "as a youthful expression of the poet's soaring ambition."[49] The littérateur and statesman al-Wazîr al-Maghribî (d. 1027) says that he would spend his youth seeking a high place (ᶜalyâ') because any time spent unsuccessfully should not be counted as part of his life span.[50] The poet Bahâ' ad-Dîn Zuhayr boasts that love and youth do not keep him from high aspirations:

But though with love and youth elate,
I keep the noblest aims (ᶜulâ) in view;
For though I be intoxicate
With love, I am ambitious too.[51]

Abû al-ᶜAlâ' al-Maᶜarrî pictures the high aspirations of his youth and the later deterioration of his himma as follows:

May (God) freshen the days of youth, (which) I did not waste in seeking pleasure,[52]
The days when I aspired to touch the sky[53] with my palms.
But now my himma falls short of what my steps can attain.[54]

Noble aims, including knowledge, should be sought before the fiery spirit of youth dies down:

Youth is a fire; if you aim at acquiring something through it,

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Embark upon it without delay, for time will extinguish it.[55]

A Turkish poet explicitly expresses the association of youth with the pursuit of learning. Using the figure of speech which Gibb calls epanodos, he says:

The season of youth is the time to acquire knowledge,

The time to acquire knowledge is the season of youth.[56]

According to Ibn al-Jawzî, himma is a natural disposition. A student blessed by God, one who has a high purpose, aspires to high things while still a child.[57] A prominent future was predicted for such a child. Natural intelligence, diligent self-instruction, and digesting and committing to memory a vast amount of literature were some of the qualities of a child who promised to be prominent later in his life.[58]

The Aghânî relates that the singer Ibn Misjaḥ, who was a slave in childhood, was very clever and intelligent. His master admired him and said, "This ghulâm shall (certainly) become prominent! Nothing shall keep me from freeing him except (the fact that) I surely recognize in him (something promising). If I live (long), I will know whether this is true; and if I die, he will be free."[59] Ibn Misjaḥ did in fact prove to be a gifted artist.

As a ghulâm ash-Shâfiᶜî knew the Muwaṭṭa' of Mâlik b. Anas by heart. When he recited it to Mâlik, he was amazed and said, "If anyone will ever prosper, it is going to be this ghulâm." When he was fifteen years of age, some learned men asked him to give a legal opinion regarding certain cases. Later, as it is known, he became the founder of the Shâfiᶜite rite (madhhab), thus fulfilling Mâlik's prediction. His brilliancy at an early age was paralleled by his eminence as a teacher (shaykh), while relatively young. There were over a hundred transmitters,

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we are told, who related his traditions, although he was younger than other learned men in the same field. Usually the number of transmitters relating on the authority of a certain learned man was high, when he was over sixty or seventy. Exceptionally, ash-Shâfi^{c}î was only about fifty-four years old.[60] There are innumerable examples of precocity among religious scholars, especially <u>hadîth</u> authorities.

A philosopher reports an even more interesting experience of his own. Ibn Sînâ tells us that by the time he became eighteen he had mastered all the sciences existing in his time. "So by the time I reached my eighteenth year I had exhausted all these sciences. My memory for learning was at that period of my life better than it is now, but to-day I am more mature; apart from this my knowledge is exactly the same, nothing further having been added to my store since then."[61] As he grew older his knowledge did not grow in bulk but his comprehension of it became deeper, when he was becoming more mature. We have no reason to doubt his claim; modern social science tends to confirm it. "In adolescence," says a contemporary social scientist, "the young attain . . . the peak of intellectual capacity."[62] Reading the description of his experience, one is struck by his diligence and ambition as a young man:

> The next eighteen months I devoted entirely to reading; I studied logic once again, and all the parts of philosophy. During all this time I did not sleep one night through, nor devoted my attention to any other matter by day. I prepared a set of files; with each proof I examined, I set down the syllogistic premises and put them in order in the files, then I examined what deduction might be drawn from them. I observed methodically the conditions of the premises, and

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> proceeded until the truth of each particular problem was confirmed to me. Whenever I found myself perplexed by a problem, or could not find the middle term in any syllogism, I would repair to the mosque and pray, adoring the All-Creator, until my puzzle was resolved and my difficulty made easy. At night I would return home, set the lamp before me, and busy myself with reading and writing; whenever sleep overcame me or I was conscious of some weakness, I turned aside to drink a glass of wine until my strength returned to me; then I went back to my reading. If ever the least slumber overtook me, I would dream of the precise problem which I was considering as I fell asleep; in that way many problems revealed themselves to me while sleeping. So I continued until I had made myself master of all the sciences.[63]

This passage is reminiscent of another passage by Muṭahhar b. Ṭâhir al-Maqdisî (fl. 966), quoted by von Grunebaum to show that "the great age of Muslim civilization achieved a truly lofty ideal of the savant." In order to connect Ibn Sînâ with this ideal and appreciate his experience more, we should turn to Muṭahhar's passage:

> Learning only unveils herself to him who wholeheartedly gives himself up to her; who approaches her with an unclouded mind and clear insight; who seeks God's help and focuses an undivided attention upon her; who girds up his robe and, albeit weary, out of sheer ardour, passes sleepless nights in pursuit of his goal rising, by steady ascent, to his topmost height; and not to him who seeks

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> learning by aimless flights and thoughtless efforts or who, like a blind camel, gropes about in the dark. He should not yield to bad habits or permit himself to be led astray by vicious tendencies. Nor must he turn his eyes from truth's depth. He should discriminate between the doubtful and the certain, between genuine and spurious, and should always stand firm by the clear light of reason.[64]

Ibn Sînâ's experience may be considered as an application of this code of learning. For he devotes himself entirely to learning, pursues it systematically, passes sleepless nights reading, and seeks God's help whenever he has a difficult problem, until he reaches the summit and masters all the sciences. Thus he realized that "lofty ideal of the savant" at the age of eighteen.

In popular literature we find a parallel to Ibn Sînâ, in the Tawaddud of the Arabian Nights. She is a slave girl who combines youth, beauty, and encyclopedic knowledge. With the greatest acumen she answers all the questions the learned men put to her, covering various fields of learning. When her turn comes to put questions to the learned men she lays down the one condition that every learned man who fails to answer all her questions should take off his clothes and give them to her. The caliph ar-Rashîd grants her that and she proceeds with the examination. All of them finally fail, including the Mu^{c}tazilite theologian an-Naẓẓâm. Such an extraordinary slave girl naturally commanded a price to match her good qualities; the caliph paid her master 100,000 dinars for her.[65]

When an individual grows older, his himma to pursue learning deteriorates to some degree. In general, it is believed that he would find

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particular difficulty in learning new things. We have some examples that diverge from this general rule. According to a tradition, "the companions of the Prophet learned (i.e., began to learn) in their old age;" presumably they learned how to read and write.[66] When the philosopher ar-Rāzī began to study medicine, Ibn Khallikān writes, he was over forty.[67] Similarly, the astronomer al-Balkhī commenced learning astronomy when he was over forty-seven. On account of this fact he is accused of ascribing al-Madkhal, supposedly written by the astronomer Sind b. ᶜAlī, to himself. For how could he have written such a book, having learned astronomy in his old age.[68] It is also related that Ḥasan b. Ziyād (d. 819) took up the study of theology after reaching the age of eighty years.[69]

While their himma or their mental faculties may degenerate in old age, scholars were very reluctant to give up writing and publication. Authors such as the grammarian Abū ᶜAmr ash-Shaybānī (d. 821), the historian aṭ-Ṭabarī, and the littérateur Asᶜad b. ᶜAlī az-Zawzanī went on writing until their death.[70] Although the scientist Ibn al-Haytham states that man's mental powers decline in old age, he tells us that he would continue to write after the age of sixty-three, when he made this statement. Like Galen, he hoped his books would serve as "provisions" for him in old age. He hastened to write them in his youth because, he says, with the vigor of youth man is able to conceive the principles of mathematics, natural sciences, and metaphysics. When he reaches old age and becomes senile, the tools of rational power and nature wear out and fail to perform as well as they used to.[71] His theory, which recalls Aristotle's, implies that the soul is not a separate entity that dwells in the body but rather the vital principle that functions through the

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physical organs of the body. These organs he calls tools; when they decay, the vital principle is no longer able to function.

In contrast, the mystic Persian poet ar-Rûmî, like Plato, believes that the soul is a separate entity dwelling in the body. He says:

> What though thy frame be withered, old, and dead,
> If the soul keep her fresh immortal youth?[72]

Since the soul is independent of the body, it is able to remain young as the body withers. Likewise al-Mutanabbî says that in his body there exists a soul that does not grow old as the body does.[73] It is not clear whether he considers the soul to be a separate entity; nevertheless, it is independent of the body in that it remains young as the body grows old. Not only that but, like old age itself, it wears out the body by its high ambitions. He says:

> And when souls are mighty, the bodies are wearied in their quest.[74]

EDUCATION

Intellectual qualities are nursed by education. Education is a vast subject in Islam which has been studied extensively. Here we wish to restrict ourselves to a few remarks mainly on the topic of the belief in the importance of education at an early age.

According to some Muslim thinkers, the mind of a child, as far as knowledge is concerned, is a tabula rasa. This doctrine became associated in the history of philosophy with the English empiricist Locke who "held that human knowledge came by way of experience. The mind is like a slate upon which experience records impressions. This is a denial of innate, a priori knowledge."[75] In the Epistles of the Sincere Friends

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(Ikhwân as-Safâ'), the term "blank sheet" (waraq abyad) is used. Before acquiring any kind of knowledge, they maintain, the soul is like a clean blank sheet of paper on which nothing is written yet. When something is written on it, whether true or false, it occupies the place and prevents something else from being written in the same place. Whatever was written first, will be difficult to erase. For this reason, each member of the Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ' should address himself to the young, especially to those who are intelligent and who are still beginners in the speculative sciences. The Sincere Friends, then, find their spiritual children in bright youths, whom they one day expect to become prominent and active members of their organization. They also claim that every prophet sent by God was a young man--a claim attributed to the Prophet's cousin Ibn ᶜAbbâs[76]--and that God did not bestow His wisdom upon anyone save a young man. The first to declare a prophet a liar were the old men among his people, who engaged in philosophy, speculation, and argument. They support their views by quoting Qur'ânic verses such as "They said: We heard a youth make mention of them, who is called Abraham" and "And when the son of Mary is quoted as an example, behold! the folk laugh out, And say: Are our gods better, or is he? They raise not the objection save for argument. Nay! but they are a contentious folk."[77]

Miskawayh uses the term "tablet" (lawh) on which nothing is written. Acquired knowledge is like writing on this tablet unless one subscribes to the theory of remembrance, which is associated with Plato and which Miskawayh does not find plausible.[78] In his Tahdhîb he stipulates that virtues should be impressed upon the mind of the child because his soul is "simple, not engraved with a form yet. It has no opinion or will (of its own) that turns it (i.e., the soul) away from one thing (and directs

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it) to another. If he (i.e., the child) is engraved with a form that he accepts, he will grow up in accordance with it and he will become accustomed to it."[79] What the child learns and practices as he grows up will become a second nature; it will leave its imprint on his mind throughout his life. Hence the significance of habituating him to moral practices.

Al-Mâwardî alludes to this fact without mentioning the tabula rasa doctrine.[80] Al-Ghazzâlî follows Miskawayh closely and uses some of his key words such as "simple," "engrave," and "form." The child's heart, he says, is "a precious gem, simple and free of any engraving and form. It is susceptible to engraving, and inclines toward everything it is directed to. If the child is taught the good and accustomed to it, he will grow up in accordance with it and he will be happy in this world and in the hereafter. His father, as well as everyone else who has instructed and educated him, will share his reward. However, if he is accustomed to evil and neglected like beasts, he will suffer and perish. The person in charge of him must bear the blame."[81]

Ibn Khaldûn also emphasizes the same idea but, like al-Mâwardî, avoids Miskawayh's philosophical terminology. He compares the acquisition of knowledge to the erection of a building: the first impressions the mind receives parallel the foundation of the building. "The Qur'ân," he says, "has become the basis of instruction, the foundation for all habits that may be acquired later on. The reason for this is that things one is taught in one's youth take root more deeply (than anything else). They are the basis of all later (knowledge). The first impression the heart receives is, in a way, the foundation of (all scholarly) habits. The character of the foundation determines the condition of the building."[82]

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The susceptibility to learning of children or young men, in contrast to the resistance of old men to it, and the endurable nature of early learning "is compared to engraving in stone (as contrasted to writing upon water); to making an imprint upon wet clay; to watering a tree when it is being planted; to straightening young branches (as contrasted to hardened wood). A young person's heart is like empty soil which accepts everything thrown into it, and while adults are more intelligent, they are also more pre-occupied than children and, therefore, less able to learn."[83] Further, the young are likened to young horses that may easily be tamed (as against old horses).[84] As a youth grows old, he may feel too shy to begin learning something like a child and thus be considered equal to him; he is ashamed of himself for not having learned it in childhood.[85] Statements of Greek origin are made in this respect. For example, Pythagoras, noticing that an old man was fond of acquiring knowledge but was shy, said to him, "O thou there! are you ashamed of being at the end of your life better than you were at the beginning?"[86] It is also recounted that when Socrates was studying music in his old age, he was asked whether he did not feel ashamed of studying in old age. He would be more ashamed, he replied, to be old and ignorant at the same time.[87] The implication is that the acquisition of knowledge should not stop as one grows older. "It is said that the time for learning (extends) from the cradle to the grave."[88] Aristotle is reported to have defined a youth as the one who seeks knowledge; to be fed up with the quest for knowledge is a sign of weakness or lack of ability.[89]

In suggesting to a student the fields he should study, the teacher should take into consideration the student's interests and disposition.[90]

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He should take into account his ability to learn so that he would not burden him with something beyond his understanding, which may scare or confuse him. If the student asks him about such a thing, instead of answering he should make him understand that the reply would be harmful to him rather than useful, and that he should study harder in order to become qualified for comprehending difficult things.[91] The Prophet is related to have said, "We Prophets were ordered to place people in accordance with their intellects."[92] Following his predecessors, Ibn Khaldûn asserts that "The teacher should not ask more from a student than that he understand the book he is engaged in studying, in accordance with his class (age group) and his receptivity to instruction."[93] These subtle observations demand that the teacher be familiar with child psychology and that he know his student very well, otherwise he may spoil his student rather than help him. At the same time they imply that every human being has an inborn disposition or temper of which the teacher should take cognizance. This may sound incompatible with the doctrine of tabula rasa, but Locke himself alludes to this fact although he maintains that children are "as white paper, or wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases." He says, "We must not hope to change original tempers, nor make the gay pensive and grave; nor the melancholy sportive, without spoiling them. God has stamped certain characters on men's minds, which, like their shapes, may perhaps be a little mended, but can hardly be transformed into the contrary." He also asserts that "Scarcely two children can be instructed by the same method."[94]

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CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL QUALITIES OF YOUTH

It was commonly believed that the young, because of their inexperience, should not be entrusted with high office. The old were qualified by their experience and maturity to take charge of the affairs of state. History, however, records the names of a considerable number of young men whose competence enabled them to attain key political positions and to acquit themselves well in them.

As far as military affairs were concerned, it was recognized that the young were qualified not only as fighters but also as leaders in combat. Yet, a certain hesitation in favor of the older and more experienced seems to be noticeable also in this respect. Young men are eager to go out and distinguish themselves on the battlefield, but their enthusiasm easily cools, and the older men have considerably more stamina and can be more readily trusted to stand firm.

YOUTH AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The scholar Abû ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlâʾ says, "There is no defect which [theoretically] debars a man from leadership which we do not in fact find in one or other of the great chiefs."[1] The first thing he mentions as a disqualifying condition, which is also the only thing that concerns us, is youth. As an exception to this rule he cites the pre-Islamic Abû Jahl who, as a youth, became the chief of the tribe of Quraysh and was admitted to join the town hall (Dâr an-Nadwa), whose members were usually old men.[2]

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The popular belief was that high positions should be reserved for the old and experienced rather than the young who had not lived long enough to acquire the necessary experience. This belief was firmly rooted in pre-Islamic attitudes and conditions and from there passed into Islam. The choice of tribal leaders among pre-Islamic Arabs was by and large governed by seniority, and while the shaykh of a tribe might not always have been a man of very advanced years, he was old and experienced in the eyes of his fellow tribesmen. It is on this basis that an objection was allegedly raised against the Prophet's claim to religious leadership. The contention was that he was not old enough. The two brothers, Nubayh and Munabbih, together with other opponents of the Prophet, used to say to him whenever they met him, "Could God not have found someone else to send as a prophet? There are many men here who are older (asann) and richer than you."[3]

Modern social science has attempted to give an explanation for the widely held view that age should be the criterion for allocating roles in society. Thus, S. N. Eisenstadt relates this view to two major aspects of social organization and cultural orientation. "The first aspect is the relative complexity of the division of labor. In general, the simpler the organization of society, the more influential age will be as a criterion for allocating roles. Therefore, in primitive or traditional societies (or in the more primitive and traditional sectors of developed societies) age and seniority constitute basic criteria for allocating social, economic, and political roles. The second aspect consists of major value orientations and symbols of a society, especially the extent to which they emphasize certain general orientations, qualities, or types of activity (such as physical vigor, the maintenance of cultural tradition, the achieve-

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ment and maintenance of supernatural prowess) which can be defined in terms of broad human qualities and which become expressed and symbolized in specific ages." He adds that in traditional societies "a particular period such as old age may be emphasized if it is seen as the most appropriate one for expressing major cultural values and symbols--for instance, the upholding of a given cultural tradition."[4] In Islam, as has been said before, the old are associated with moral virtues, hilm, knowledge, and experience. It is they, then, who are entitled to exercise power. The pre-Islamic poet and halîm Qays b. ᶜÂṣim, whose life extended into Islamic times, advised his sons on his deathbed as follows: "If I die, make your elders, rather than the young among you, your chiefs lest people degrade your elders and you become demeaned."[5] We do not know how old his sons were then but what matters is the suggestion that the eldest should be chosen as chiefs. Kai Kâ'ûs affirms that a ruler should appoint an old man as his vizier. He then points out that it would be expedient for an old ruler to take a young man as administrator and controller of affairs. If both the ruler and his vizier were young, he warns, the youthful impetuousness and passion of the two combined would bring about the destruction of the kingdom.[6]

Beside being old himself, the sovereign should be surrounded by old men from whose counsel he might profit. For him to keep company with the young and the imprudent and inexperienced is said to foreshadow the decline of the kingdom.[7] On his deathbed, the caliph Muᶜâwiya advised Yazîd, his son and heir, to consult with the aged and to act in accordance with their suggestions.[8] When al-Ma'mûn was acknowledged as caliph, the King of Kabulistan thought that the most precious gift he could send to the newly elected caliph was an old man provided with wisdom.[9]

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In actuality, many Muslims achieved high posts while still young without necessarily being unusually competent. The hereditary system of government, established by the caliph Muᶜâwiya (660/61-80), made it sometimes possible for heirs to ascend the throne at an early age. For example, the following ᶜAbbâsids were acknowledged as caliphs in their late teens: al-Muqtadî (1075-94) and his son al-Mustaẓhir (1094-1118); their early twenties: Hârûn ar-Rashîd (786-809), his son al-Amîn (809-813), and al-Muᶜtazz (866-69); their mid-twenties: al-Mutawakkil (847-61), his son al-Muntaṣir (861-62), al-Muktafî (902-08), ar-Râḍî (934-40), and an-Nâṣir (1180-1225); and their late twenties: al-Ma'mûn (913-33), al-Muᶜtamid (870-92), and al-Mustaḍî' (1170-80). Al-Muqtadir (908-32) was only thirteen when he was proclaimed caliph.[10] The selection of minors as candidates for the highest position Islam had to offer naturally met with considerable opposition in certain quarters, and the young rulers were often rulers in name only. However, some achieved control of government affairs quite soon.

Although Sulaymân b. ᶜAbd-al-Mâlik (715-17) was about thirty-five years old when he was enthroned, he was proud of the fact that he was still young, and yet, a ruler. Historians relate that one Friday he wore green garments, looked in the mirror and, moved by his beauty like Narcissus, exclaimed, "I am the youthful King!" According to another account, he considered the combination of youth and sovereignty his most outstanding characteristic. After mentioning the characteristics of some of his predecessors, he added, "And I am the youthful King!" It is said that one month, or one week, later he died.[11] The Aghânî's version is that the caliph, having uttered his statement, turned to his maid and asked her what she thought of him. When she recited for him these verses:

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You would be a wonderful delight, were you to last [eternally],
But man cannot have [eternal] existence.
You are free of shortcomings and of
What people dislike, yet, you are mortal.

he turned away from her. One week later he died.[12]

A similar story is told about the first ᶜAbbâsid caliph as-Saffâḥ, who died in his late twenties or early thirties, after ruling for four years (750-54).[13] Like Sulaymân, he was enchanted by his beauty while looking in the mirror and said, "O God! I am not going to say as Sulaymân b. ᶜAbd al-Mâlik had said, 'I am the youthful Caliph!' but rather 'O God! Let me live long, obeying you and enjoying health.'" The story goes that having said that, he heard one ghulâm saying to another, "The appointed time between you and me is two months and five days." The caliph regarded this statement a bad omen. Strangely enough, he died after two months and five days![14]

In addition to the fact that a large number of caliphs ascended the throne in their youth, very few were those who ascended it in their old age, i.e., when they were fifty years and beyond. There seem to be no real instances of what would be called today retirement or resignation because of age, but the possibility at least was considered. After performing the rituals of the pilgrimage in 23/643, the caliph ᶜUmar I (634-44) is reported to have asked God to let him die now that he was so old and weak that he was afraid he might be unable to carry out his duties.[15] If we accept the round figure of thirty as his age at the onset of hijra, he must have been in his early fifties, if not younger, at that time. Al-Mughîra b. Shuᶜba, governor of al-Kûfâ, wrote to Muᶜâwiya asking the caliph to "expel" him from office, primarily on account of old age.

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Muᶜâwiya realized his wish but, suspecting his sincerity, added, "If you meant to deceive me, I have deceived you."[16] The notion of "resignation" also appears in the Arabian Nights. After marrying his daughter to the famous hero Nûr ad-Dîn, the aged vizier asks the Sultan to have him installed in his office. Referring to his son-in-law, he says, "He is a young man, and I am now aged; my hearing is impaired, and my judgment faileth: it is my wish, therefore, that our lord the Sultan would install him in my office, seeing that he is the son of my brother and the husband of my daughter, and a person worthy of the dignity of Wezeer; for he is endowed with knowledge and judgment."[17] We notice that the vizier is attributing to his son-in-law some good qualities that prove a person to be competent although he may be young.

As regards lower positions, the situation is very much the same. Many young men were able to leave their mark on society and to win high rank, evidently because of qualifications other than age. Age, to use Eisenstadt's terminology, did not constitute a component of their identity. Such factors as intelligence, wide reading, the ability to learn lessons from life, and a good memory might attain for a young person what his elders were unable to attain.[18] The Prophet himself took such factors, as well as religious ones, into consideration when he appointed his followers to newly opened positions. Thus, when the people of aṭ-Ṭâ'if came to him and declared their acceptance of Islam, he made ᶜUthmân b. Abî al-ᶜÂṣ their emir, although he was one of the youngest among them. He did so upon the recommendation of Abû Bakr who pointed out that ᶜUthmân was more knowledgeable in the Qur'ân and the faith of Islam than the rest.[19] A name that is often cited to show that age should not be the criterion for assigning posts is that of Usâma b. Zayd. When he joined the troops on

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the way to Uḥud (625), he was sent home because he was too young. Seven years later the Prophet, during his last illness, appointed him to lead an expedition into Syria, an appointment that aroused much criticism on account of Usâma's age and inexperience. On hearing of the Prophet's death, the expedition turned back, and Usâma participated in preparing his corpse for burial. The caliph Abû Bakr confirmed his earlier appointment, and when the expedition under Usâma's leadership was resumed, Usâma scored a victory, thus proving that the Prophet had been right.[20]

Similar incidents recurred in the reign of some caliphs and with respect to various political positions. When ᶜAlî (656-60/61) replaced Qays b. Saᶜd by Muḥammad b. Abû Bakr as governor of Egypt, the Egyptians disdained him because he was twenty-six years old. In order to appease them, ᶜAlî decided to either restore Qays or appoint someone else.[21] When ᶜUmar (717-20) entrusted a certain young man with a job, he was told that the young man was not fit for the job because of his tender age. Convinced by this argument, the caliph resolved to dismiss him, but, upon hearing the Youth's defense:

> Being young does not add to a man's
>
> Ignorance and blindness, if he possesses intelligence,

he changed his mind.[22] Another young figure who showed exceptional political and military ability and who played an important role in establishing the ᶜAbbâsid dynasty was Abû Muslim. The ᶜAbbâsids sent him as their representative to Khurâsân, but he was first sent back on account of his youthful age.[23] The caliph al-Ma'mûn mentions him among the five men who were able to rule over "the regions by virtue of their views and their courage." According to the caliph, he was eighteen years old when he first began to propagate the ᶜAbbâsid cause, but others, we are told,

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believed he was twenty-one, or thirty-three.[24] It is worth mentioning here that Ibn al-Jawzî relates that Abû Muslim could hardly sleep in his youth because he was extremely ambitious to achieve power. Realizing that this objective could only be attained by taking chances, he decided to act with jahl rather than the intellect.[25] For intelligent planning would give rise to all kinds of worries which would prevent him from acting.

Similarly, when the caliph al-Ma'mûn (813-33) appointed Yaḥyâ b. Aktham, who was some twenty years old, as judge of al-Baṣra, some people mockingly asked the young judge how old he was. "I am as old as was ᶜAttâb b. Asîd when the Messenger of God appointed him as the governor of Mecca."[26] He attempted to silence them by appealing to the authority of the Prophet. Since the Prophet was in favor of appointing capable young men, the people of al-Baṣra ought to follow his example. The age of ᶜAttâb when the Prophet appointed him is given as twenty, or twenty-five years.[27]

Such cases of outstanding achievement helped to generate the view that youth is indeed the proper age for political leadership, regardless of what was generally believed. A poet says:

> If a man fails to attain leadership as a youth,
> It will be difficult for him to attain it in middle age.[28]

Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, who in his youth was chosen by ᶜUmar I to be the chief of his tribe, the Tamîm,[29] says, "Leadership goes with sawâd" (as-su'dud maᶜ as-sawâd). Sawâd may refer to black hair and the meaning would be: If a man fails to achieve leadership in his youth, he will not be able to do so in his old age. But it may also refer to multitude, and the meaning would then be: What matters is for a man to become famous for having

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achieved leadership among the multitude rather than the elite.[30]

The concept of the ideal of a combination of youth and political leadership found its way into panegyrics for high officials. The poet al-Aḫwaṣ says of the caliph Yazîd II (720-24), who was still under forty when he died:

> When his ancestry is traced, (one finds him) a noble man
> of (the tribe) of Quraysh,
> Which acknowledges his rule as a middle-aged man and as
> a beardless youth.[31]

Abû Nuwâs tries to show that although the caliph al-Amîn[32] is young, he is fit for leading the Muslims because he is guided by God. In his panegyrics upon the caliph, the poet expresses the concept just mentioned in different figurative ways.[33] Al-Buḥturî uses the same theme in connection with various officials, asserting that youth is conducive to leadership. He compares the young official who has reached a high rank to stars that appear small owing to their being high up in the sky.[34]

Some criteria were developed according to which it could supposedly be foretold whether a certain child would become a leader or not. As in the case of future scholars, it was believed that some persons showed the promise of high distinction already in childhood.[35] A man looked at Muᶜâwiya, when he was still a ghulâm, and predicted he would become the chief of his people. According to the anecdote, Muᶜâwiya's mother Hind heard the prediction and remarked, "May I be bereaved of him if he becomes the chief of his people only."[36] In his Gulistan Saᶜdî describes an officer's son as follows: "Even from the time of childhood the signs of greatness were found on his forehead, and the rays of luminousness

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visible and distinct in his countenance . . .

And high above his head shone lustrously

The star of wisdom and of majesty."[37]

He adds that his son became the favorite of the Sultan, for "greatness consists in understanding, not in age."

YOUTH AND WAR

There are two views as regards the fighting ability of youth in war. The first one stresses the vigor and physical strength of youth. It is supported by some traditions of the Prophet. He commanded the Muslims to "change (their) gray hair and not be like the Jews," for the Jews are said not to dye their hair.[38] This is interpreted to mean that the Muslims should dye their hair so that they would look like youths on the battlefield and arouse fear in their enemies. ᶜAlī points out that the Prophet issued this command when the extent of Islam was still limited, but now that Islam was firmly established over vast areas every Muslim should decide for himself whether to dye his hair or not. According to another tradition, the caliph ᶜUmar urged Muslims to dye their hair, because black hair would make them more feared by their enemies, and more admirable in the eyes of their wives.[39] The young, then are considered more fit for war than the old.

The Prophet also ordered his soldiers to kill the shaykhs of the hostile polytheists and spare their sharkh. There is disagreement as to the meaning of this tradition. The shaykhs may refer to the old men who are not decrepit and who show endurance (ahl al-jalad) on the battlefield; the sharkh would refer to the young (ghighâr) who have not attained puberty yet. But the shaykhs may also refer to the senile who, if

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captured, would not be of any military use for the Muslims; the sharkh would designate the young (shabâb) who would be useful for military service because they are ahl al-jalad.[40] We notice that ahl al-jalad is applied to the old in the first interpretation and to the young in the second. As we shall see below, it is the old who are generally associated with endurance on the battlefield. In view of this fact and of the association of youth with vigor and strength, the term, as applied to the young, may mean "those who are strong" rather than "those who show endurance." At any rate, the second interpretation is more compatible with the afore-mentioned traditions because it supports the view that young rather than old men make better soldiers.

The other view emphasizes the experience, endurance, forethought, and prudence of middle or old age as against the inexperience and rashness of youth. Although young men are hard and impetuous fighters, old men who have experienced war many times are perseverant and tough on the battlefield. They do not take flight because they know that this would involve shame and defamation, whereas youths are inclined to flee when they sense the advent of danger. The horror of battle frightens the tender young but not the hardy old.[41] On occasion, an old man may flee from battle, but he will be bitten by remorse until he has restored his honor. He seeks atonement in victory or in death. ᶜAbdallâh b. Muṭîᶜ b. al-Aswad al-ᶜAdawî, who had run away in the Battle of the Ḥarra (683), had another chance to free himself of his feeling of shame. He joined Ibn az-Zubayr's forces in Mecca and died fighting in 692 when al-Ḥajjâj besieged the city. During the battle he recited:

I am he who had fled from the Battle of the Ḥarra
An old man flees but once.

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Today I compensate for fleeing by attacking.

There is no harm in attacking after fleeing.[42]

Some old fighters believed that to meet in combat with a youth was to demeanoneself. The general Abû al-Aʿwar, as described by his opponent al-Ashtar (d. 658), fought only against older men as well as against competent and noble persons.[43] Similarly, after the death of the caliph Yazîd (683), Marwân b. al-Ḥakam wanted to send the ghulâm, Khâlid, a son of the deceased caliph, to fight against the rebellious Ibn az-Zubayr. Marwân's followers urged Marwân to go out himself and fight against Ibn az-Zubayr, since he was a shaykh and Ibn az-Zubayr a kahl. For the old should fight against their equals only, i.e., middle-aged or old men.[44]

The popular opinion of the lack of outstanding fighting ability in the young is bolstered by the realization that, although they are not steadfast in battle, they are foolish enough to engage in battle and much more ready to do so than the old. They are very energetic at the beginning of battle, but when the fighting heats up, they lose courage:

By your life! youth are faster (in launching) an attack,

And the gray-haired men are more perseverant when the battle heats up.[45]

The combination of perseverance as characteristic of the middle-aged with dash as found in young men is a rare quality which a poet may ascribe to a certain official in order to praise him.[46]

Aristotle's advice to King Alexander is to eschew the very young (ḥadath) and the decrepit old (shaykh fânî). The young are not good for war because their fondness of life predisposes them to avoid combat. Those who are rather old are not fit for it either on account of their cold and humid nature which predisposes them to avoid impetuosity.[47]

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CHAPTER V

THE MORAL QUALITIES OF YOUTH

Medieval Muslims associated each stage of life with a different morality. They attributed great virtue to the old, and folly and intoxication to the young. They praised the youth who acted the old man but condemned the old man who acted the youth. The assumption was that the morality associated with old age was by far superior to that associated with youth; the moral status of the old was unquestionably higher than that of the young. An ideal emerged in which the polarity youth-age worked toward a more successful balance.

FOLLY AND INTOXICATION

Muslim authors frequently speak of the folly and intoxication of youth to refer to its persistence in evil and pursuance of a headstrong course. The proverb says that "Youth is a kind of folly."[1] The intoxication of youth, worse than that of wine, is combined with other kinds of intoxication, such as that of riches and power, or of power and wine. The number is at times raised to five, as in the following verses:

> If a man is afflicted with one of five intoxications,
> He will be (easily) devoured by time.
> The intoxication of riches, youth, love,
> Drinking, and power.[2]

The rashness of youth is described in various ways. Thus, it is said, "He is in the prime of his youth whose errors and lapses are frightful, and whose calamities cannot be avoided. He is in (the grasp

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of) the intoxications of youth and drinking, the outbursts of youth, and the insinuations of the devil. His youth is blind to good sense and deaf to blame. He has followed the call of his passion and has become immersed in the abyss of his youth."[3] Such phrases presumably reflect the attitude of the old who are supposed to be in control of their desires. They are descriptive and prescriptive at the same time; by describing youth as reckless and deaf and blind to advice they imply that reason ought to take the lead. Those who subscribe to this view are happy, so they tell us, to see youth come to an end. Referring to his bygone youth, the grammarian Abû al-Aswad ad-Du'alî says:

> I said to it, "Be gone, blameworthy (that you are)! Would that
> I had known you before you dispersed!
> You have committed a sin against me (by making me sin); then,
> you abandoned me to it.
> What bad qualities these two together are![4]

The poet Muḥammad b. Mundhir (d. 813) dismisses youth as satanic and wishes that God will not grant it peace and protection. He says:

> I have worn everything new
> And found that youth was the worst of everything new.
> It is a friend that calls to (committing) errors,
> And it never calls to sensible conduct.[5]

Youth is also depicted as a visitor that stays for sometime and then departs, leaving a dishonorable record; therefore it does not deserve a farewell.[6] Even the licentious Abû Nuwâs admits the evil nature of youth:

> I have attained what a man would attain in his youth;
> Behold! the sap of all that was sins.[7]

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This is the same Abû Nuwâs whom we would assume to hold the view that youth and life in general are meaningless without folly and intoxication, as he devotes a good deal of his poetry to the portrayal of the carouses of himself and his youthful friends in taverns.

When the folly of youth is over, another poet says, one should take to the folly of wine:

> Only the folly of youth is life
> And when it is over, the folly of wine.[8]

Folly thus becomes the only good in life. The voice of reason should be suppressed forever, if one hopes to enjoy life to the full. To abide by reason is to give way to worries and miss out on all kinds of pleasure. It would entangle a person in his own thoughts and cause him anxiously to calculate the minutest consequences of the action he is about to perform, causing his will to act to be paralyzed. Accordingly, reason should not determine the rules of conduct. Using jahl in the sense of folly, the poet at-Tinnîsî (d. 1003) says:

> Jahl is the source of youthful pleasures
> And intellect is the source of worries and scruples.[9]

This outlook automatically precludes any attempt on the part of moralists to cure youth of its folly by prescribing blind submission to reason. To al-Mâwardî's assertion that reason should make the youthful soul feel the evil consequences of its headstrong course[10] at-Tinnîsî replies that precisely because reason does this it should not be consulted. At-Tinnîsî and other poets sharing his view of life, feel that what al-Mâwardî considers imperative, namely, thinking about the consequences before acting, should be avoided. They are interested in action rather than in abstract speculation. To live is to act, and if thinking slows

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down or hinders action, it must be discarded altogether. This is a basic rule everybody ought to comply with. To put this rule into practice is by no means an easy task. The fact that at-Tinnîsî feels the need to caution against reliance upon reason indicates that this precisely was what he and others were taught and inclined to do.

So long as a young man can find an excuse for his folly in the very fact of his youth, he is encouraged to follow his inclinations. Society will close its eyes to his folly. However, there will soon come a time when he will have no longer any excuses to offer. Thus, it will be too late for him to mend his ways and he will find no one to blame except himself. The poet ᶜAlî al-Munajjim (d. 888) says:

> So long as you are enjoying the leaves of youth
> And its verdant and fresh twigs,
> Glory in the days of youth!
> Throw off all inhibitions that restrain your youthful inclinations.
> And give youth its due
> So long as it serves as an excuse for you.[11]

Another poet stresses the same point:

> Every one sees in youth an excuse
> For everything that gives him pleasure.[12]

The poet-critic ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ observes that writers describe youth as automatically pardoned for the errors and sins it commits.[13]

When "the dawn of gray hair" breaks, a new era ensues in the life of the individual. He is now expected to behave in accordance with what gray hair stands for. Ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ says that gray hair is usually described as an indication of loftiness and dignity. Gray hair

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is like a preacher inveighing against evil deeds and abominations and the human weakness to yield to passion.[14] It is said that the first person to have gray hair was Abraham. He asked the Lord what it was, and the latter said, "Dignity." "My Lord, increase me in dignity!" he entreated God.[15] The Prophet says that gray hair will be a light for its owner on the Day of Resurrection. He adds that God will exalt a man's rank by one degree when his hair turns gray, and He will remove one of his sins and replace it by a good deed. Furthermore, the Prophet is said to have disapproved of plucking out gray hair.[16]

Sa^{c}dī says that an old man has to consider his turn of "sitting at the table of youth" as over. One cannot make a bouquet from withered flowers:

> When thou art old thy pastimes put away:
> Leave follies to the young and mirthful play.
> The youth's gay humor seek not from the old
> The stream returns not which has onward rolled.
> Not so elastic bends the yellow corn
> As the young blade before the breeze of morn.[17]

The idea of the irreversibility of time is depicted by another Persian author, Kai Kā'ūs. In old age, he tells his son, "Youthful conduct is undignified. He that acts the young man in his older years is like the man who sounds the trumpet for the advance in the midst of retreat." The poet said:

> 'Twould be to sound the charge in full retreat
> For one far gone in years to ape the youth.[18]

One is supposed to disobey the "Satans of youth" and obey the "angels of gray hair."[19] A youth is expected to "recover" from his folly and "wake

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up" from his intoxication. A poet says of his beloved, who notices his "recovery":

She said, "I knew you (to be) a mad man;" I said to her,
"Youth is indeed a folly recovery from which (is achieved in) old age.[20]

The ascetic poet Abū al-ʿAtāhiya warns someone who has refused to "wake up" of the dangers awaiting him, by reminding him of his gray hair which announces his death. He should make up for the sins he committed, now that he is on his way to the hereafter. The poet says:

You still (need to) be exhorted to wake up from youthful inclinations,
As if someone else was meant by that (exhortation).
You shall have enough of youth and its intoxication,
Now that you see how gray hair is announcing your death.[21]

The early appearance of gray hair would create a problem for the person as far as conduct is concerned. He has to decide whether he should pursue his youthful pleasures, since he is still young, or abstain from them in order to live up to the expectations of society, now that he is gray-haired. The tenth century poet Abū al-Faḍl finds a way out: he will go on drinking without behaving foolishly like youths lest he dishonor his gray hair. If one day he should behave in this manner, he shall attribute that behavior to the effect of drinking.[22] To drink, he obviously assumes, is not to act like a youth. Some authors go so far as to repudiate their works that were inspired by youthful folly. They feel that they should atone for them. In his old age the author of the famous al-ʿIqd turned to God in repentance, and added to the erotic verses he wrote in his youth "ascetic poems in the same rhyme and meter called

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mumahhisât ("which efface sins").[23] Nevertheless, recalling his youth, he says:

(It was) a time in which sensible conduct was (deemed)
transgression.
And transgression was (deemed) sensible.[24]

Quite often, however, gray hair is viewed with detestation and aversion. Abû Nuwâs openly mocks the whole dignity-gray hair concept, saying:

They say that gray hair brings dignity to men,
But mine, thank God, is (anything) but dignity.[25]

The dignity it represents is rejected in the same way that hilm is, and sometimes by the same poets. Remarking on his own verses ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ says that there is no good whatsoever in a dignity that leads a person to despair of life, causes his degeneration, and brings him close to death.[26] For the same reason another poet says that folly befell him in old age rather than in youth,[27] owing to the loss of youth and the diseases of old age. Ibn ar-Rûmî compares drinking while intoxicated with youth with drinking after having "awakened"; he concludes that whoever drinks in order to "shorten the long days of gray hair" is more justified than anyone else. Drinking becomes a kind of consolation for the loss of happy days. Instead of giving up sensual pleasures, one should on the contrary indulge more often in them. This is the only way to forget the misfortunes of time. He says:

As youth went away, I ran faster
In my evil ways.
He whom time wrongs in any respect
Is of all men most entitled to entertain himself.[28]

Another poet gratifies his desires in old age because he had restrained

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himself in youth. Feeling that he had missed something invaluable he tries to make up for it. He lives youth in old age, thus acting in a way contrary to the ordinary one. He wishes he were born old and then transformed into a youth.[29] However, the old man who seeks pleasure becomes an outcast; even his close relatives may not excuse his conduct. A bedouin goes so far as to satirize his father:

> If all fathers were like ours,
> May no father at all remain on the face of the earth!
> When the hair of a man turns gray, he abstains and desists (from error),
> But our father, becoming gray-haired, acts like a youth.[30]

The Arabic equivalent for "the old man who acts the youth" is ash-shaykh al-mutasâbî, to whom one applies the derogatory proverb "youthful inclinations in senility" (sabâ' fî hamâma),[31] i.e., he engages in youthful folly although his death is imminent. In modern times one might colloquially say to such an old man, "Be ashamed of your gray hair" (isthî ʿalâ shaybtak)! The Prophet is related to have said that God hates the eighty-year old man who has the forelock of, i.e. acts, the twenty-year old youth,[32] which recalls the tradition affirming that God hates the black-haired old man.[33]

In Miskawayh's view, the old man who claims that his natural powers have gained strength in old age is lying. On account of his lie he is detested, all the more so since he resorts to a lie in order to satisfy his wicked passion. If his claim is truthful he should be reproached, for he ought to have suppressed this passion that controls his soul. In such a long life as his he should have become aware of virtue and tamed his unruly nature.[34] Al-Mâwardî warns such an old man that he will be

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belittled and degraded by men younger and lower than he.[35] He will lose his right as an old man to be venerated by the young, and this in turn might lead the latter to question this right with respect to the old in general. It might lead to denying the old any kind of respect and thus change the moral status quo.

A HUMAN IDEAL

The ideal here consists in a combination of youth and good morals. The ideal youth tries to put the ethical ideals of the Muslim community into practice to the best of his ability. If his desires come in conflect with these ideals, he is expected to repress them. He exercises self-control. His rational faculty governs his soul. The ideal youth may be described as the moderate youth.

"Islam," says von Grunebaum, "at the height of the Middle Ages considered ʿibâda, the service of God, the task and aim of man. From it derives the obligation of the individual to lead a correct life, and of the community to create and maintain a social order as well as a political organization within which the ideal life can be lived."[36] This obligation applied equally to the old and to the young. The fact that it is easier for the old to comply with it did not exempt the young from it. Traditions attributed to the Prophet in this connection address themselves primarily to the young, as does the tradition stating that "any youth who grows up in the service of God will be grouped with the seven men God will protect when there will be no protection except his,[37] that is, when the world comes to an end. Another tradition says, "O youth who has left his desires for my sake, for me you are (as good) as some of my angels."[38] According to a third tradition, "To every young

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man who gives up the pleasures and amusements of life and turns his attention in his youth to the obedience of God, He will grant (a reward equal to) that of seventy-two veracious men."[39] These traditions promise the youth who leads a proper life high reward commensurate to his efforts. Temptations are ever present and to resist them is a heroic action which should be highly rewarded.

A saintly life, however, was not expected from youth. Young men of extraordinary piety, such as those Ṣûfîs who die of their love for God,[40] are an exception, one that may not have enjoyed general approbation. The Prophet himself is reported to have said, "The Lord marveled at a youth who was not lusty."[41] In one of his speeches he urges the Muslims "to partake of their youth before they grow old" or, according to another tradition, "to avail themselves of youth before becoming decrepit."[42] The meaning is rather vague, but two interpretations at least are possible. These statements may be intended to urge young men to live a moral life. This interpretation is confirmed by the immediately following warning that after death there is no opportunity to "ask God for favors" but only Paradise or Hell. But they may also be intended to encourage them to enjoy their youth, albeit with the exercise of self-control, before it is too late for them to do so. They do not have to lead a wholly moral life in their youth because this is what they are expected to do only when they grow old. This interpretation seems to be more plausible than the first one.

The ideal conduct of a youth is well expressed by Kai Kâ'ûs in addressing his son: "Be prudent, my son, and not led astray by your youth. Whether it be during pious exercises or in the act of transgression and whatever the circumstances in which you find yourself, be mindful of

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God." And again, "Although you are young, my son, be bold in understanding. I do not demand that you shall not behave as a young man, but a young man governed by self-constraint. Yet neither be a lackluster young man; it is well for a young man to be spirited for, as Aristotle says, 'Youth is a species of madness.'[43] Be not foolhardy; no harm can come out of high spirits, but misfortune can come from foolhardy conduct. To the full extent of your powers enjoy the period of your youth, for when you reach old age you will be unable to achieve much."[44] It must have been difficult for the son to put such exhortations into practice. The father mentions only general rules but nothing specific. He does not tell his son what things to do and what things to avoid, or where to stop and when to stop. The son, it seems, has to decide all that on his own.

When youth is praised or boasted of on moral grounds, emphasis is placed upon pointing out its virtues, especially those relating to the basic tenets of Islam. In general terms, youth is lauded for combining physical and moral beauty or goodness (husn al-khalq wa-l-khuluq).[45] A more detailed picture is given by the Kharijite orator Abû Ḥamza (d. 748). Being reproached on account of the fact that his followers were mere youths, he defends them by saying that so too were Muḥammad's friends. He then goes on to describe them as middle-aged in maturity and as paying no attention to evil and falsehood. They are emaciated from spending the night in worshipping God. In the middle of the night God sees them bending over the Qur'ân. Whenever one of them comes across a verse referring to Paradise, he cries, being overwhelmed by longing for it. If it is a verse referring to Hell, he sighs deeply as if he were hearing the turmoil of Hell with his own ears. Constant prostration has

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affected their knees and hands, their noses and foreheads. Yet they pay no attention to it, because they feel being close to God. Their exhaustion caused by fighting in the day combines with that caused by worship at night. In war the enemy's threat to bring down upon them thunderbolts of death is insignificant compared to God's promise of Paradise.[46] Abû Ḥamza seems to be saying that his young followers devote their life entirely to the service of God. During the day they are occupied with jihâd. Those of them who die on the battlefield will be considered martyrs and therefore go to Paradise. At night they are absorbed in reading the Qur'ân and performing supererogatory prayers, expecting to be near God. Thus they fully realize "the task and aim of man," the service of God. Nothing is said about enjoying their youth in the ordinary sense.

A question put by Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî to Miskawayh indicates that it may be undesirable and, indeed, impossible, for a youth to renounce all youthful pleasures. Why, at-Tawḥîdî asks, is it that if a youth goes too far in abstaining from pleasures and in behaving like an old man, he is deemed foolish? This, Miskawayh replies, is explained by the fact that such a youth is trying to show that he has no disposition toward pleasure. But it is recognized that this disposition exists and grows increasingly stronger as long as a human being is young, until he reaches the stage where he begins to decline. So, if the youth claimed by his attitude to rank among the old in whom this disposition has declines, he would be telling a lie. However, if he were sincere and practiced self-control despite his young age and his inflamed passions, he would gain a good reputation and become a prophet, or an infallible imam, or a chosen friend of God.[47] It is not clear to what degree Miskawayh

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would like to see the disposition of youth toward pleasure satisfied. His last assertion leads us to believe that, for him, the more a youth is able to fight against his desires, the more "ideal" he is. This point is more developed by Miskawayh in answering another question raised by at-Tawḥīdī. The moderate youth, he says, is happy about his good reputation although he has to spend strenuous efforts to suppress his passions and achieve self-control. His superiority is acknowledged by all reasonable men. If he grows old, he will not look back to youth with regret, because achieving self-control is easier for him than it is for others. He who behaves in accordance with philosophy and religion does not yearn for pleasures or regret pleasures missed. Philosophers, Prophets, and God have warned against the evil nature of such pleasures. These sensual and unreal pleasures are sought only by ignorant people whose aim it is not to seek health, happiness, and perfect human virtue; no attention should be given to these people. How can the virtuous crave imperfection, or the learned, ignorance, or the healthy, illness?[48] Philosophy and religion are, he believes, in full agreement with regard to the ideal youth as one who is moderate. Miskawayh agrees with Plato in that the rational power should be in control over the other powers, the concupiscent and the irascible. He agrees with other philosophers, especially Aristotle, in holding that real happiness, which the moderate youth seeks, is spiritual or philosophical in nature rather than sensual. At the same time he appreciates to what extent the moderate youth has to struggle in order to raise himself above materialistic concerns. But once he succeeds in doing so, his superiority over other youths will be recognized by learned men; it is these men, the elite, and not the common people who have the right to pass judgment.

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If a young man aspires to the ideal of youths, his reputation is the greater, the younger he is. Therefore, a youth, if asked about his age, may claim to be younger than he really is. He wants other to know that it took him only a short time to acquire a certain virtue. His unusual achievement derives from a strong desire and hard work, a noble soul, and abstinence from play and lusts to which youths of his age are prone. The shorter the time it takes him to acquire that virtue, the more virtuous and amazing he is considered.[49]

The polarity youth-age here seems to work more successfully toward a balance than the one we spoke about before.[50] With a few exceptions, as in Abū Ḥamza's speech, the moral qualities of the ideal youth are pointed out without any reference to age. They may be implicitly though of as being qualities attributed to the old, and in this case the difference between what we have here and what we have seen is only apparent. Moreover, here the reverse formula, i.e., "The old man who acts the youth," appears, not, however to be idealized but to be condemned.

MORAL STATUS

The moral status of the young was low, in that they were not recognized as worthy of high respect and regard. They had to look upon the old as a model to be followed, as expressed in this tradition: "The best among your youths are those who imitate your old men, and the worst among your old men are those who imitate your youths."[51] For the old are supposed to be entirely occupied with living virtuously, now that they are on the threshold of the afterlife. The young may combine virtues and sins since there will be time for them, when they get old, to make up for their sins.

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The young gain a new worth by imitating the old, as well as upon becoming gray-haired. A certain poet describes how he became respected after growing older:

> I was admitted to the company of pious and learned men,
> And met with respect and praise.
> The young recognized in me great loftiness
> When I became gray-haired, (though) I was not lofty (before).
> Whenever they saw me coming, they would get up together,
> Acknowledging the high esteem (I am) entitled to.[52]

The young ought to show unconditional reverence for the old. In one of his speeches, the governor of Iraq, Ziyâd b. Abîh, warns that if an old man should complain to him of being treated with contempt by a youth, the latter would be punished severely.[53] The young should uphold this tradition because they themselves are going to become old; they then will be revered in the same way that they now revere their elders.

Youths are urged again and again to seek the company of the old; it is balsam to cure them of their folly. Passing by some youths, the ascetic al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî is reported to have advised them to have an old man join their company.[54] Although Kai Kâ'ûs admits that the company of clever young men is preferable to that of old fools, he believes that "full justice" should be granted "rather to old age than to youth, for youth still has hope of growing old, whereas old age has nothing to expect but death."[55] The Christian author of a treatise on ethics, Yaḥyâ b. ᶜAdî, associates the company of the old with that of other venerable men. He says that in order to suppress the irascible soul one should consort with learned, dignified, eminent, and old men, as well as with chiefs and those whose <u>ḥilm</u> outweighs their anger.[56] Like Miskawayh,

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Yaḥyâ follows Plato in maintaining that the rational faculty should govern the soul. Here he is concerned with the irascible faculty, but later[57] we shall find that he made a similar remark with respect to the concupiscent one.

Once in the company of the old, the young are supposed to assume a passive role. They should sit down and be quiet, giving the floor to the old and wise. "If we see a youth speaking in an assembly," says the ascetic Ibrâhîm b. Adham (d. 778), "we always despair of (the possibility that) any good (would come) from him."[58] This kind of attitude naturally leads to a loss of self-confidence and a reticence to venture any kind of self-expression on the part of the young. Even if they felt they had something to contribute, they would prefer to keep quiet lest they be checked. A son of ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭâb, presumably ᶜAbdallâh, relates that he was in a company including his father, the Prophet, and Abû Bakr. The Prophet asked whether anyone of those present knew the name of the tree he compared to the Muslims which its Lord permits to give fruit every season and whose leaves one cannot remove by scraping. ᶜAbdallâh thought that it must be the palm tree but, being the youngest and seeing that neither his father nor Abû Bakr suggested an answer, he kept silent. The Prophet said that it was the palm tree. When ᶜAbdallâh left with his father, he told him what he had thought. ᶜUmar said he should have spoken up, but it was too late.[59]

Any attempt on the part of a youth to speak on behalf of a group is doomed to failure. When a small group sought the Prophet's aid, the youngest among them took the initiative to address him. The Prophet interrupted him, calling upon the eldest to speak first.[60] If a youth shows skill and talent, however, he might succeed in being preferred to

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his elders. We are told that when ᶜUmar II became caliph, a delegation came to congratulate him. A ten-year old boy made motions indicating that he wanted to speak, but ᶜUmar checked him and commanded him to let the older men speak first. "O Commander of the Faithful," the boy said, "man obtains power by means of his heart and tongue. If God bestows upon his servant a fluent tongue and an attentive heart, He surely is bestowing upon him the things that are best for him (to have). If age were the measure of things, (someone else) here would be more entitled to your throne than you!"[61] Impressed by his daring words, the caliph asked him to go ahead and speak up.

When addressing the old, the young should be careful not to raise their voices or utter improper words. When addressed by them, they should not dispute with them and attempt to refute what they say. Since the authority of the old is derived from the traditions of the Prophet and the sayings of wise men, it cannot be questioned.[62] It goes without saying that mocking the old is considered reprehensible. To stress this point, Kai Kâ'ûs relates the following anecdote to his son. "Treat old men with respect and do not address them frivolously, because their retort, like that of clever persons, may be sharp. I have heard that a very old man was going along with bowed back and leaning on a stick when a youth mockingly said to him, "Grandfather, what did you pay for that bow? I should like to buy one, too!" He replied, "If you live long enough and exercise patience, you will be given one free, even though you do not deserve one."[63] Young men used to say to an old man, "Thou attained to the time for dying, O old man!" (ajzart yâ shaykh, lit. "for being cut") and he would answer, "O my sons, and ye be cut off, or die, in your youth!" (ay banîya wa-tukhtadarûn).[64]

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The young should also avoid walking in front of the old, for since old age confers honor upon them, they have the right to walk first. A man is said to have told the Prophet that he suddenly felt very hungry. "You probably have walked in front of an old man," the Prophet remarked.[65]

Of all old people, parents ought to receive the most special treatment. The Qur'ân itself and the ḥadîth decree that children should be kind to their parents. An oftenquoted passaged of the Qur'âa, which also hints at the reason why they are entitled to kind treatment, reads: "The Lord hath decreed, that ye worship none save Him, and (that ye show) kindness to parents. If one of them or both of them attain old age with thee, say not "Fie" unto them nor repulse them, but speak unto them a gracious word./ And lower unto them the wing of submission through mercy, and say: My Lord! Have mercy on them both as they did care for me when I was little."[66] The Prophet stresses kind treatment particularly of one's mother. Asked by a man to whom he owes the most respect, he repeats the phrase "your mother" three times and adds, "then your father, then other close relatives in order of the closeness of their relationship."[67] We shall return to this subject when we consider the "generation gap."[68]

Reverence for the old, which reflects their higher moral status, is not solely due to them on account of their advanced age but on account of their experience, knowledge, and ḥilm that are considered to be their accompaniments. Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir ad-Dânî (d. 1125) says, "The venerableness of an old man does not derive from his gray hair, age and personality but rather from the perfection of his intellect. It is the intellect which is venerable, and if I were to see a man combining all (good) qualities save the intellect, I would not venerate him."[69] There

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is, in particular, one much quoted witty remark attesting the commonly held view that it is the mental qualities that count. Asked whether he was older (akbar) than ar-Rabîᶜ b. Khuthaym (d. 682), Abû Wâ'il (d. 701) replied, "I am older (akbar) than he is with respect to age, but he is older than I am with respect to intelligence."[70] Similarly, when the Prophet's uncle al-ᶜAbbâs was asked the same kind of question regarding the Prophet and himself, he said, "He is older than I but I am more advanced in age (asann)."[71] Here "older" is meant to be "greater."

The young are also expected to avoid playing around and amusing themselves in the presence of the old without their express permission. The Aghânî relates that a group of youths, accompanied by a female singer and an old man, were sailing on the Euphrates. They told the old man that they wanted the songstress to entertain them with her songs but did not dare to ask her in his presence. He gave the girl his permission to sing. Then, he went and sat down away from them. But hearing her sing, he was so moved that he threw himself into the river. The Aghânî relates other similar stories which indicate that an old man should neither sing himself nor listen to singing.[72] The explanation for this view is to be found in ethical writings. Yaḥyâ b. ᶜAdî says that it behooves him who wishes to suppress his concupiscent soul to avoid listening to singing, especially when the singer is a young, attractive girl. For in that case various desires would arise, which he may be unable to suppress. It would be preferable to give up listening to music altogether, but if he cannot do so, let him listen to male singers only. Listening to music less frequently is better and more beneficial for the moderate person.[73] An old man is expected to be moderate, and therefore he should abstain from listening to singing or from anything that may arouse his

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desires. The moderate person, whether young or old, should live in accordance with the dictates of his rational soul. We have seen[74] how Miskawayh, who wrote his book on ethics soon after Yaḥyâ, dwelt on the same notion and used key words such as "concupiscent" and "moderate," also used by Yaḥyâ.

The stories told in the Aghânî demonstrate that there is a gap between what is thought to be the proper behavior of the old and how they behave in actuality. The old man who was supposed to be on a higher moral level than the young was more moved than they. Human feelings and emotions are too complex to comply with ethical ideals and rigid rules.

THE MORAL QUALITIES OF YOUTH ACCORDING TO ARISTOTLE

In view of the high authority granted to Aristotle in medieval Islam, his discussion of the moral qualities of youth was certain to find great attention and to impress itself on the Muslim consciousness. We are fortunate in being able to compare what men of the stature of Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd thought about it.

Aristotle discusses the qualities of character displayed by man at different stages of his life in the Rhetoric (1389a 3-1389b 13). With the rest of the Organon, the Rhetoric was translated into Arabic more than once, and one translation has been preserved. The work was repeatedly summarized or commented upon. The paraphrases of Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd are preserved, and we are thus able to find out whether the two Muslim philosophers view youth as well as the other ages of man in the same way Aristotle does or whether they differ from him, for it is likely that notwithstanding the tremendous respect commanded by Aristotle, they would have registered their dissent--in some subtle way, to be sure--

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if they had held strong dissenting feelings.

The extant Arabic translation,[75] important as it is, is nevertheless of a rather poor quality. Moreover, the question has been raised whether Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd used this translation as the basis for their versions or another one unknown to us. Badawî affirms that Ibn Sînâ did not use it in his Shifâ', for the vagueness of the translation would not have permitted Ibn Sînâ's clear exposition. In addition, the rhetorical technical terms he uses are different from those used in the preserved translation, and seemingly closer to the original text.[76] Similarly, Badawî thinks it is most likely, if not certain, that Ibn Rushd used a different translation. Sâlim holds the opposite view. In the footnotes to his edition of Ibn Rushd's Khaṭâba, he compares Ibn Sînâ's and Ibn Rushd's works with the Arabic translation and with the original and attempts to show that the two philosophers used no other translation than the one extant.[77]

It is beyond the scope of this brief study to deal with this question, as this would require an analysis of the entire work similar to that undertaken by Sâlim. However, judging from the section on youth and age, Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd would seem to have used the preserved translation, though it is not completely excluded that in addition they had other material to draw on. In the case of Ibn Rushd at least, the evidence is clear. Ibn Rushd quite often uses the same terminology as the translator. The following points support this claim. In all three Arabic texts new ideas which are not to be found in the Greek original, are added, such as: 1. the association of bodily desires with the planet Venus[78]; 2. the assumption of the young that they will never become needy[79]; 3. the gloss referring to silliness and maliciousness[80]; 4. the

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unwillingness of the old to manifest strong feelings of love and hate unless they are forced to do so.[81] Some ideas that are left out by the translator are also left out by the two philosophers, such as the reference to the hunger that befalls the sick.[82] Some notions are misunderstood in the same manner by the translator as well as by Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd. Thus, Aristotle says that the old expect and anticipate evil, whereas in the three Arabic texts it is stated that they predict what will happen.[83] Or the old are depicted as querulous (odyrtikoi) in the Greek original, but as capable of enduring pain in the three Arabic texts[84]; the Greek word was read with n for r and combined with odynê "pain."

Three texts will be presented in an appendix in parallel translation: 1. the Arabic translation; 2. Ibn Sînâ's paraphrase; and 3. Ibn Rushd's paraphrase.[85] For Aristotle's text, the translation of J. H. Freese[86] has been used, but it has not been reproduced here as it can be assumed to be readily available to anyone interested in it. The translation of the Arabic texts is intended to be literal in order to bring out the differences as clearly as possible. The resulting vagueness is, however, not entirely due to the translation but is to some degree inherent in the Arabic texts themselves.

Throughout the text the translator uses ghulâm for "young man" although the abstract hadâtha, "youth," appears twice. Ibn Sînâ uses both ghulâm and (pl.) ahdâth synonymously, whereas Ibn Rushd uses in addition also the abstract shabâb. Only Ibn Rushd uses headings for the three major parts of the discussion. He also defines what is meant by "young" in terms of years.

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> (1389a3-9) Bodily desires are strong in the young. They primarily incline to desires connected with sensual pleasures and are unruly in this respect. They are changeable; they desire strongly but soon cool, for their will, like the hunger and thirst of the sick, is keen rather than strong.

The translator differs from Aristotle in equating bodily desires with desires of sensual pleasure which Aristotle considers one kind only of bodily desires and which the translator refers to as "the work of the planet Venus." Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd make the same equation. To illustrate the things that are attributed to the planet Venus, Ibn Sînâ mentions women, dress, and perfumes. He describes the thirst, which he does not associate with the sick, as "fallacious," but this does not necessarily mean that it is keen. What the translation describes as "insatiable," is paraphrased in Ibn Rushd as having a desire for everything. This inclusive desire, he explains, is due to the fact that the young, inexperienced and lacking insight and the speculative faculty, have not yet arrived at clear views. They are not selective because they do not know what is desirable and what is not.

> (1389a9-16) The young are passionate and are unable to control their passion. For, being ambitious, they cannot stand being slighted or wronged. They desire victory more than honor, for victory is a kind of superiority. They favor both victory and honor over money, to which they pay little attention because they have not yet experienced want, as attested by Pittacus' remark on Amphiaraus.

The translator agrees with Aristotle, but he seems to think of Amphiaraus, a soothsayer, as a place for he uses the phrase "the people of Amphiaraus." Ibn Sînâ says that the young are fond of dignity and victory, but he does not point out that they are more fond of victory than of dignity and that victory is an aspect of nobility and sublimity, to use his terminology. Ibn Rushd follows the translator without adding

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or leaving out any ideas.

> (1389a16-24) The young, not having experienced depravity, are not ill-natured but simple-natured, and, not having been deceived, trust people. They are full of hope because they are hot-blooded and because they have not experienced many failures. They live in hope rather than in memory because they have a long future to look forward to but no long past to remember. For this reason they are easy to deceive.

The translator differs from Aristotle in saying that trust broadends hope in the young, as well as in inaccurately rendering the notion that the young have not experienced many failures as "they do not easily decline in vâgor or shrink." Ibn Sînâ renders it as "they do not decline in vigor nor are they defeated," whereas Ibn Rushd uses the translator's words. Ibn Sînâ, as well as Ibn Rushd, does not refer to the translator's statement that the young are not ill-natured but have good character qualities because they have not experienced evil. He also differs from the translator in attributing the credulous disposition of the young to trust, scarcity of doubt, and ample hope while the translator attributes it to the fact that they have not been often deceived. Moreover, contrary to Ibn Rushd, he does not fully explain the relation of young and old men to the future and the past. One has to infer what is clearly expressed in the translation, namely, that hope is concerned with the future, reminiscence with the past, and that since the young have a long future but a short past, they have much hope but nothing to remember. The translator says that the young are readily deceived "for the same reason we have mentioned." What this refers to is uncertain, but according to Ibn Sînâ it refers to the fact that the young tend to trust people, a fact mentioned earlier in the translation. Ibn Rushd explains it in the same way but he elaborates on it by saying

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that the young, in accepting things as true, do not care to ask for evidence or, if presented with evidence, do not take pains to examine it and see whether it is valid or not. Thus the young follow their irrational rather than rational soul. A final point which is made by Ibn Rushd only is that the young, because of their strong hot temper, are willing to suffer in order to realize their desires.

> (1389a25-28) The young, passionate and hopeful, are courageous; passion excludes fear and hope inspires confidence, for no one fears when angry, and hope of some good inspires confidence.

Contrary to Aristotle, the translator says that no one becomes angry when afraid. Besides, it is not clear whether his statement "to those who entertain hope belong the courageous" is intended to describe the young as courageous. It is probably because of this lack of clarity that Ibn Sînâ does not describe the young as courageous, but points out their common qualities: both the young and the courageous tend to trust people and become readily angry. The translator says that young men are easily angered and entertain hope, and adds "the one prevents them from fearing, whereas the other creates in them the vehemence of heart, for no one afraid becomes angry, and hope for the good is an aspect of courage." It is obvious that "the one" refers to anger, and "the other" to hope. Ibn Sînâ substitutes trust for anger and makes no mention of hope. Thus vehemence of heart becomes a cause of fearlessness rather than an effect of hope. He also substitutes trust for hope in saying that trust is an aspect of courage. Ibn Rushd, on the other hand, takes "the one" to designate hope and "the other" anger, contrary to the translator. Like the translator, however, he asserts that no one becomes angry when afraid.

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> (1389a28f.) The young are bashful because, having thus far followed only convention, they are unable to conceive independently on their own of other things that are more noble.

The translation agrees with Aristotle. Ibn Sînâ explains bashfulness by introducing the idea of the pure, natural state in which the young live without indulging in indecent actions. Instead of stating that the young comply with convention, he states that they suspect themselves, and think they lack knowledge and experience. According to Ibn Rushd, the young are bashful because they are unable to distinguish between what one ought to be ashamed of and what one ought not to be ashamed of, and because they suspect themselves when acting because they fear having made a mistake. The term "suspect themselves" recalls Ibn Sînâ's use of the same words but it is here used in a different way. No particular reason is offered in the translation why the young abide by convention, but Ibn Rushd offers the following one: The young do not think about conventional practices in order to examine which of them are worth observing and which are not. This reveals Ibn Rushd's attitude toward convention. The young, and everyone for that matter, should question convention rather than follow it blindly.

> (1389a30-32) The young are high-minded because they have not been humbled by life nor experienced necessity. To think oneself worthy of great things shows high-mindedness, and this feeling is peculiar to the hopeful.

The translator, as well as Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd, adds the idea that the young think they will never become needy, for they have not experienced distress or necessity. This is in fact one of the two reasons, given by Aristotle, why the young are high-minded. The other reason, that they have not been humbled by life, is left out by the translator, as well as by the two philosophers. Ibn Sînâ again brings in the notion

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of trust to explain the high-mindedness of the young. He also differs from the translator in remarking that wishes grow strong in them. As for Ibn Rushd, he agrees with the translator.

> (1389a32-35) The young prefer the noble to the useful. They live in accordance with character rather than calculation, for the latter aims at the useful, virtue at the noble.

Contrary to the Greek original, the translator asserts that the young incline to the useful rather than the beautiful, and that they live in accordance with calculation. Ibn Sînâ makes the same assertion, but elaborates on it in a rather vague way that does not really make it clear. Ibn Rushd must have recognized the contradiction since, according to the translation, the old, whose character is opposite to that of the young, favor the useful over the beautiful. That is why he deviates from the translator and Ibn Sînâ by affirming that the young prefer the beautiful to the useful. He further explains that they favor the beautiful because they favor virtues and they do not favor the useful because they do not speculate about the consequences of actions. He also adds the notion that they favor praise and blame, by which he seems to mean that they take them into consideration in their actions.

> (1389a35-b2) The young are more fond of their friends and companions than other ages, owing to their love of company and to the fact that they judge nothing, not even friends, by expediency.

The translator agrees with Aristotle. Ibn Sînâ adds one reason why the young are fond of companions, namely, because they are lively. He also stresses the fact that their friendship is aimed at pleasure rather than at any utilitarian advantage. Ibn Rushd adds the epithet perfect and questions the possibility of perfect pleasure and joy which are attainable through companionship.

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(1389b2-6) All errors of the young are due to excess, vehemence, and neglect of the maxim of Chilon.[87] They are excessive in everything, including love and hate, for they confidently think they know everything.

The translator makes a comparison, not found in the original, between errors committed in youth and those committed in old age. He mentions hate but not love. It is not obvious whether the statement "and so is their excess in everything" is meant to be an effect of the fact that they think they know everything. Ibn Sînâ makes the same comparison but associates the errors of the young with seeking the useful. In stating, like the translator, that the young do everything to excess, he adds that they do not choose the mean and that excess is an error. For him, then, choosing the mean is the proper attitude. He considers the trait that the young think they know everything, which in the translation may be intended as the cause for excess, as an aspect of this excess. Ibn Rushd does not make the aforementioned comparison but, like Ibn Sînâ, introduces the notion of the useful. He elaborates on the inclination toward excess among the young by saying that their actions are neither limited nor measured and that they love and hate strongly. According to him, they are excessive because they are unable to foresee the consequences, for actions are measured by foreseeing the consequences. Misled by the lack of clarity in the translation, he says that the young think they know everything because they do everything to excess, contrary to what Aristotle says.

(1389b7f.) If the young do wrong, it is because of insolence, and not because of wickedness.

The translator fails to convey this notion, for he says that the young do shameful acts owing to their inclination to bad deeds. He does not point out, as Aristotle does, that their behavior here is due to one

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quality rather than the other. As a matter of fact, if we took the phrase "inclination to bad deeds" to express wickedness, then the translator would be saying the opposite of what Aristotle says. This is all the more likely since he seems to imply that this inclination is natural, and it is not surprising that Ibn Sînâ states this explicitly. Ibn Sînâ also differs from the translator in saying that the young do wrong openly, a statement repeated by Ibn Rushd. Unlike the translator and Ibn Sînâ, however, Ibn Rushd refers this quality to their boldness and excess rather than to an inclination to evil.

> (1389b8-10) The young are prone to pity owing to their belief that people are virtuous and better than themselves. For, judging people by their own innocence, they think they suffer undeservedly.

This is partially misunderstood by the translator as meaning that since the young do little evil, they condemn those who exceed this limit because they believe they do what ought not to be done. Ibn Sînâ differs from the translator by inserting the remark that the anger of the young is violent and their fear slight. Pity on the part of the young, he explains, is due to their tendency to believe whoever complains of wrongdoing and whoever professes to do good. In talking about their hostility to evildoers, he does not allude to doing what ought not to be done. As for Ibn Rushd, he merely reproduces the translator's words.

> 1389b11f.) The young are fond of laughter and therefore witty, wit being cultured insolence.

Instead of speaking of wit the translator, as well as Ibn Rushd, speaks of giving up things readily, and adds that this trait derives from weak deliberation on the part of the young. Contrary to the translator and Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sînâ makes no mention of giving up things, but he regards fondness for joy and delight, together with weak deliberation,

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as the cause of being fond of fun.

Aristotle goes on to discuss the character of middle-aged and old men. Since we are chiefly concerned with youth, there is no need to go into a detailed discussion of his statements on these age groups. The following general remarks, however, intended to show the agreement or disagreement of the Arabic translation with the Greek text, and of Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd with the Arabic translation, apply to all three ages of man.

Despite the poor quality of the translation, it renders the sense of the Greek text fairly accurately. Most of Aristotle's ideas are there, although not as precisely and clearly as in the original text. Major disagreement stems from three factors: the omision of some statements, the elaboration of some ideas, and certain misunderstandings and mistranslations. The translator also leaves out almost all references to proper names. Neither Ibn Sînâ nor Ibn Rushd differs essentially from the translator. The differences that have been pointed out are due to misunderstanding of, or uncertainty about, views expressed rather than to basic disagreement with them. Neither of the two philosophers takes issue with the translator, who for them represents Aristotle, with respect to these views. Both follow him closely, especially Ibn Rushd who frequently copies the translation word by word. To be sure, Ibn Rushd tells the reader, at the end of al-Khaṭâba, that he has summarized what he was able to understand and what he thought Aristotle meant, thus pointing to the difficulty of the Arabic translation he used and to the fact that he aimed at representing Aristotle as faithfully as he could. In general, he elaborates on the translation more than Ibn Sînâ does. Both he and Ibn Sînâ bring examples, add reasons, give explanations, and

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the like. Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd ignore proper names, going in this respect even beyond the translator. The reason is that these names would not mean anything to the Muslim reader. As a matter of fact, Ibn Rushd himself offers this reason with regard to his commentary on the whole book including, of course, the section we have treated.[88]

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CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL QUALITIES OF YOUTH

As long as women are of an age that makes them desirable to men, they prefer the young and reserve all their warmth and affection for them. Once youth is gone, a man can no longer hope to enjoy the love and affection he yearns for. This, at least, is the way literature views the situation. Being shunned by the fair sex and missing youthful pleasures, the poet seeks salvation in his art. He reminisces and immortalizes in his verse his memories of bygone youth. Lamenting his lost youth is as much of an obligation for him as lamenting the death of an intimate companion, and he expects people to sympathize with him in his misfortune. Although relations between the young and their parents, and their elders in general, appear to be harmonious, there is some evidence to believe that this was not always the case. Several instances of <u>ʿuqûq</u>, a term whose implications will be explained later, lead us to be skeptical about the undisturbed existence of such harmony. The notion of <u>ʿuqûq</u> brings us closest to what in recent years has come to be known as the "generation gap."

YOUTH AND WOMEN

The attitude of women toward a man's age pervades every literary discussion of youth and old age. Women bestow their favors upon the young and withhold them from the gray-haired. As long as a man is young, he can hope to win their favor. Their first choice is someone who combines youth and riches. If his youth is gone, there is still some hope

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that his fortune will give him success with women he desires, but if he becomes impoverished, there is no hope whatever left.[1] To enjoy youth fully, therefore, wealth is deemed necessary.

The poet is always apologetic and offers excuses for becoming gray-haired, but his excuses are turned down. Like a lawyer he stands before his beloved, or who used to be his beloved, using all his skill to defend himself, but she turns a deaf ear to his well-constructed arguments and rationalizations. He usually begins his apology by representing his beloved as astonished or frightened at the loss of his youth and the appearance of gray hair. Noticing her aversion, he tries to convince her that black hair is more pleasing to the eyes when it is mixed with gray hair. He supports his claim by drawing analogies based on contrast of black and white in other respects. Al-Buḥturī thus says of his beloved, Umm ᶜAmr:

Umm ᶜAmr has blamed us for loving her;
Have you ever heard of a censurer who is (nevertheless) beloved?
Seeing that my hair has turned gray,
She was frightened by darkness (mixed) with light.
By my life! were it not for the (white) daisies,
The meadows would not look pretty.
And if the blackness of the eyes were not embellished
By whiteness, it would not be beloved.
To mix (dark) wine with water is better
And more pleasant, whether the wine is drunk in the morn or in the eve.
Which night can look beautiful without stars?

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Which clouds bring rain without lightning?[2]

Additional pairs used here that were not mentioned before[3] are the dark pupil of the eye contrasted with its white, and the dark wine contrasted with water. The poet disregards the aesthetic value of black hair and intentionally overlooks what it usually symbolizes, namely, youth. He toys with the idea of contrasting colors which he assumes to be more pleasing to the eye than one single color. He does not give his beloved a chance to speak up and invalidate his fallacious arguments.

For women, youth is a young man's intercessor, whereas gray hair is a deadly sin committed by the poet. The latter claims in his defense that he is still young and that his mental and physical qualities are intact. Factors other than old age, such as the accidents of time, the battles he fought, and the calamities that befell him caused his hair to turn gray.[4] These factors involve good qualities which he implicitly ascribes to himself as, for instance, strength, courage, perseverance, and endurance. The physical change that makes him appear old is only superficial so long as his determination, soul, and heart have not grown old. His love for his beloved is as strong as ever, and there is no reason whatsoever why their relationship should not continue as before.[5]

Failing to enjoy the good graces of his beloved and yet undaunted, the lover appeals to flattery. It is she who, by keeping away from him, has made him grow gray-haired in the prime of his youth. Her love has taken possession of him. To be avoided by her is beyond his endurance.[6] Losing heart, the poet may court someone he believes would be more tolerant, a blind girl unable to see his gray hair. Bahâ' ad-Dîn Zuhayr says:

They called my love a poor blind maid:

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I love her more for that, I said;
I love her, for she cannot see
These grey hairs which disfigure me.
We wonder not that wounds are made
By an un-sheathed and naked blade;
The marvel is that swords should slay,
While yet within their sheaths they stay.
She is a garden fair, where I
Need fear no guardian's prying eye,
Where, though in beauty blooms the rose,
Narcissuses their eyelids close.[7]

Apparently, the "love" that many of these poets sing of has nothing to do with affection apart from physical attraction. Moreover, it is rather surprising that the poet, in talking about youth and gray hair, concentrates upon himself. Only very little attention is given to the beloved in this regard. We do not see the beloved complaining, as he constantly does, that her lover has deserted her on account of her gray hair. Nor does she bewail the loss of her youth and advent of old age. Actually, the poet's best argument would be to point to her deterioration and the appearance of gray hair. If they both are of more or less the same age, she must grow old. Poets who make mention of this point do so implicitly or openly. In any case the poet either assures her that he will never break off with her, or says nothing in this regard. Jamīl, the celebrated spiritual lover in early Islam, says to his beloved Buthayna, who reminds him that his youth is over:

(We lived) close (to each other) on one meadow;
How did I become old, but you did not?!

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Two interpretations are possible[8]: Jamîl may be implying that since they grew up together and since he has grown old, therefore she must have grown old as well. He may also be suggesting that certain events, to which he alludes in the poem, have befallen him and hastened his aging process. In this case, he would be exclaiming rather than asking a question. Another poet of the same period, Jarîr, reminds his beloved Hind of her age in a more direct manner:

> You were of our age, O Hind, (therefore) learn a lesson.
> What is it that makes you suspicious of my gray hair and bent form?[9]

Ibrâhîm, the son of the caliph al-Mahdî (775-85), makes the same point of his Umâma less explicitly:

> Umâma said, "You have (indeed) grown gray-haired,
> O Son of Muhammad!" "And those of my age have too,"
> (I said).[10]

Ibrâhîm deliberately tones down his language. He does not tell his beloved, as does Jarîr, that she should "learn a lesson" because she is of the same age as he. He is more courteous and gallant, because he cannot afford to hurt her feelings. Of course, he expects her to be intelligent enough to understand that the phrase "and those of my age" refers chiefly, if not solely, to her.

The famous lover, al-Majnûn, recalls the early times when he fell in love with Laylâ:

> I became attached to Laylâ when she was still inexperienced and little,
> And her breasts had not swelled yet.[11]
> (We were then) little, tending animals. Would that

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Neither we nor the animals had grown up (lam nakbar) until today.[12]

The term "grow up," although it does not necessarily indicate that they have become old, implies that they are not young any more. In another place he boasts of his fidelity and true affection for Laylâ by saying that even if she one day walks leaning on a staff, his love for her will remain ever as fresh as before.[13]

Other poets are more expressive. Ibn Ḫurayq of Valencia (d. 1200) compares his beloved's degenerated fingers to a withered jujube:

The "water" that was in her cheeks,
Age has drunk until it was dried.
And the jujube in her fingers has withered;
Time has turned it into bad dates.[14]

A late poet, Muḥammad al-ᶜImâd (d. 1574), denies his beloved any kind of ideal or eternal beauty when he concludes his description of her physical degeneration by saying that "She does not dwell in a tower of beauty."[15]

Sobriquets or titles that indicate youth are considered praiseworthy by both men and women, in constrast to those designating old age. A certain Abû Ḥâzim says:

If you call an old man "an old man," (it is as if) you satirize him;
And to praise a youth, it suffices to address him "O youth!"[16]

It is understandable, says Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî, that an old man should be displeased if he was addressed by the phrase "O old man!" but why should a youth dislike this kind of address? As usual, Miskawayh provides the answer. People differ with respect to this issue, he says, in

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accordance with the conception they hold of themselves and with their estimation of the intentions of those who address them. Abû Ḥayyân's observation would apply to a man who wishes to demonstrate that he has achieved a certain virtue in the prime of youth. If someone addresses him as "Old man," he feels that he is grouped with those who have achieved that particular virtue over a long time and through much experience. This would undermine his efforts. It would also apply to a man who uses youth as a pretext to gratify his desires. He sees in the title "old man" an obstacle to that and thinks that his interlocutor expects him to behave like an old man. Finally, it would apply to a dignified youth who has achieved a position of honor usually restricted to old men. He finds it delightful to be honored as an experienced man, although he is still young.[17]

YOUTH RECALLED

Poetry dedicated to remembering youth is a kind of flashback revealing the social life the young had led. Poets view their youthful days in the light of their life in middle or old age and often come out with advice as to the kind of conduct one should follow in society. Their childhood rarely stirs their memory. The idea of a return to childhood is in general alien to medieval Muslim culture, although verses such as those of al-Majnûn, quoted above, may express this idea. When poets speak of a return to sibâ, they have in mind youth rather than childhood.[18] This is true, for example of al-ʿAjjâ's verse:

O that the days of youth (sibâ) would return![19]

The image of childhood in this culture is anything but pleasant. A person who shows no sign of reasoning ability may be branded as "more

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ignorant than a child."[20] The child is thought to be more evil than anyone else. He has no peer with respect to lying, slander, greed, and cruelty. He becomes free of these qualities gradually as he increases in intelligence.[21] The implication here is that he at first has no intellect. "Thus, whenever mad men are mentioned in Muslim literature, the children who run after them are not missing. And the extent of a person's insanity is often characterized by stating that he sought the company of and felt at home among children. The inability of children and women to do a man's job is naturally often noted, and Muslim history offered many opportunities to observe that the rule of children spelled disaster for a country."[22]

The return to youth, on the other hand, is one of the most dominant themes we come across. Yet, there is a good deal of truth to the notion that although the Arabs have bewailed bygone youth more than anything else, they failed to treat the subject as exhaustively as it deserves.[23] Poetry dedicated to it would fall under the broader genre of elegiac poetry, although al-Aṣma^{c}ī seems to find here two distinct genres when he says that "the best of poetic genres are elegiac poetry and poetry devoted to bewailing youth."[24]

Youth dies just like a human being. Its "death" is lamented as bitterly as that of a dear companion or brother; blood rather than tears should be spilled for it.[25] Ibn ar-Rûmî describes his bygone youth as a twin brother. They were suckled by one mother, and they used to play in the same courtyard. His only consolation is that he will not long outlive it. Gray hair will soon announce his death and thereby put an end to his sorrows. Life is intolerable without this intimate companion. Having lost his dearest friend, he wears the garments of mourning. He

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dyes his gray hair black, not because he wants to impress the fair sex, as is usually the purpose of dyeing the hair, but because he is grieved at the loss of his youth.[26] The poet expects people to persuade him to bear with equanimity the "death" of his youth just as they would do, should a relative of his die. If they do not come up to his expectations, he accuses them of being inconsiderate and insensitive. The poet Maḥmûd al-Warrâq (9th century) says:

> Is it not surprising that, (when) a misfortune
> Befalls a youth with respect to something he possesses,
> Many a man weeps, feels sorry for him,
> Consoles him, and hastens to (comfort) him,
> Whereas when gray hair snatches away his youth,
> No one consoles him?[27]

When the poet Abû Tammâm, who is famous for the originality of his imagery, said that the appearance of gray hair has "filled (his) place with visitors (ᶜuwwâd)," thus depicting himself as a patient whom visitors come to comfort, he was criticised by the philologist al-Âmidî for making an unfounded statement "because we have neither seen nor heard of anyone who, on account of his gray hair, fell sick, so that people came to visit him, or whom people consoled over (the loss of) youth."[28] Ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍa points out that the phrase "filled my place" may be interpreted in two ways. It may refer to those who felt sorry for the poet without actually visiting him and filling his place. Or, it may refer to the fact that people ought to visit him. Thus the poet portrays what ought to be as if it was already taking place, a usage for which there are parallels in the Qur'ân and Arabic literature.[29]

Poets also try to find consolation over the "death" of youth in

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evoking memories of the good old days. A poet may envision the places he had frequented in the past and recall the youthful pleasures he had enjoyed there for what appears to him now to have been but a short time. This was done, for instance, by the Persian Abû Naṣr of Gîlân, who wrote in the latter half of the tenth century:

Like a cloud in spring or wind in autumn blown,
My youthful days from out my hand have flown.
Here I have sat, how oft, in happy days,
Body relaxed, heart glad, cheek ruddy grown,
Ear never free from minstrel's roundelays
Nor hand without the Magian wine-cup known.
Thus to youth's memories back my heart now strays,
'Alas my youth! my youth alas!' I moan.[30]

The memory of the home where one's youth was spent automatically recalls blissful days now irrevocably gone. Ibn ar-Rûmî says:

What makes their homes so dear to men
is small things youth accomplished there.
Memory of home recalls to them
their childhood (ʿuhud aṣ-ṣibâ) there--and homesick
they become.[31]

When someone remembers his happy days he may say, "May God freshen as with rain those days!"[32] or "May God freshen as with rain the times, or mornings, or afternoons, of youth!"[33] Everything beautiful and good is compared to "the days of youth," e.g., "words like the days of youth."[34]

The best verse on the subject of recalling one's youth is, we are told, by Ḥumayd b. Thawr:

May God not condemn youth and our saying,

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Every time we engaged in youthful inclinations, "We shall repent!"[35]

Humayd here expresses the fickle and heedless nature of youth. He and his friends, we infer, committed numerous evil actions, and each time they promised not to indulge in youthful pleasures anymore. They might indeed have restrained themselves for some time, but soon they would break their promise and resume their enjoyable if sinful life. However, they were happy then, and their happiness resulted from the ambivalent attitude toward life they were permitted to have because they were young.

The great Persian epic poet, the author of the Shah-nama, deemed all the knowledge he had acquired, the books he read or wrote, and the fame he won worth nothing compared to his youthful days. "Firdausi, when looking back over what seemed to be lost work of more than sixty years upon the Shah-nama, and disappointed in his hopes, cried out in anguish of heart that Khusravani had once truly said:

My youth I recall from the days of my childhood;
Alas for youth! Ah, alas, for my youth!"[36]

The passage in which Firdawsi quotes Khusravani is the following:

Much toil did I suffer, much writing I pondered,
Books writ in Arabian and Persian of old;
For sixty-two years many arts did I study:
What gain do they bring me in glory or gold?
Save regret for the past and remorse for its failings
Of the days of my youth every token hath fled,
And I mourn for it now, with sore weepings and wailings,
In the words of Khusrawani Bu Tahir hath said:

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'My youth as a vision of childhood in sooth

I remember: alas and alas for my youth!"[37]

These lines remind us of the famous opening lines of Faust, where Faust questions the value of all the knowledge he has acquired. He has studied philosophy, medicine, and theology, but to what effect? Where does all this lead to? Had Firdausi found a Mephistopheles who could give him back his youth, he would most probably have signed a pact similar to that signed by Faust.

Nobody fully realizes how precious youth is except when it is gone. It is then that a person begins to look with new eyes at youthful qualities which had appeared familiar and ordinary to him. If youth were to return to him, Abû al-ᶜAtâhiya would complain to it against old age that has distorted these beautiful qualities and put an end to the best stage of life:

O that youth would return one day!

I would tell it what gray hair has done (to me).[38]

Youth is like the sun. Its virtues come to light only when the earth is covered with darkness.[39] Rare are the men of exceptional sensitivity who do not have to wait till youth is gone to grasp its reality and are able to intuit its true nature while they are still young. Thus al-Mutanabbî bewails youth before it ceases for him to exist.[40]

Love and wine are represented as an elixir that transmutes an old man into a youth. He feels a new life or elan running in his veins. Ḥâfiz says:

Though I be old, clasp me one night to thy breast,

And I, when the dawn shall come to awaken me,

With the flush of youth on my cheek from thy bosom will rise.[41]

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The transmuting power of wine does not seem to have been so effective for him as love in resuscitating his youth. "Last night," he says, speaking of himself, "Hafiz strayed into the tavern, and it seemed to him that youth, his mistress, had come back, and that love and madness had returned to his old head." But soon he becomes sober and realizes the hard fact that his youth is irrecoverable. "Yesterday at dawn I came upon one or two glasses of wine--as sweet as the lip of the Cup-bearer they seemed to my palate. And then, my brain afire, I desired to return to my mistress, youth, but between us a divorce had been pronounced!"[42] Some Turkish poets compare the beloved's lips to the Fountain of Life. Nesimi says:

> Lo, thy beauty is the feast-tide, yea, the soul is victim there;
> Lo, thy liplet is Life's Fountain, whoso drinks it lives for e'er.[43]

When love and wine are combined, they are preferable to the Fountain of Life itself. Sulayman the Magnificent says:

> O Muhibbi, whoso drinketh from the loved one's hand a cup,
> Wanted not Life's sparkling Water e'en from Khizr's hand to drain.[44]

As the short-lived ecstasy gives way to sobriety, the poet sinks again to the ground under the heavy burden of old age. Craving permanent youth, he indulges in wishful thinking: Would that time in youth lost its motion, or would there was a being who would recreate the stage of youth whenever it reaches its end, or finally would that one was like the moon which becomes young again after becoming full.[45]

Speaking from experience, the poet urges to take things as they come and enjoy life, carpe diem. Since youth passes as swiftly as a

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dream or the shadow of a cloud, one should enjoy it while possible. It cannot be bought back no matter how much one is willing to pay. What was cannot be again. The wisest attitude to take is to seize the fleeting moment before it passes. The Rubâ^{c}îyât of al-Kayyâm and Mesihi's "Ode on Spring" are some of the works that immediately come to mind in this connection. Each stanza of Mesihi's poem ends in this already quoted verse:

> Drink, be gay; for soon will vanish, binding not, the days
> o' spring![46]

This verse contains the recurrent theme of carpe diem found throughout the poem. The same theme pervades the Rubâ^{c}îyât, as illustrated by the following quatrain:

> The dawn is in the sky; rise up,
> My simple, silly, pretty boy,
> And with the ruby wine of joy
> Incarnadine the crystal cup.
> The borrowed moment that we share
> In this dark corner of decay,
> Once sped, pursue it as we may
> We shall not find it anywhere.[47]

Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî inquires about the reasons why a person looks back to his youth and tries to recapture it. Miskawayh cites three factors: regret at the loss of youthful pleasures, discomfort caused by physical degeneration, and awareness of the approach of death. A youth can hope for a long life, but as he grows old, this hope begins to vanish. He likes to achieve eternal youth but this is beyond the power of the mortal body. Miskawayh maintains that poets concentrate on the

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first factor. He condemns them as slaves to their passions. Whoever craves past pleasures, he says, philosophers have depicted as a slave who, after having escaped beasts of prey, yearns to get back to them. The young man is controlled by his irrational powers, the concupiscent and irascible powers. The best stage of life is that in which these irrational powers are weakened and, consequently, submit to the rational faculty. The virtuous man does not wish back the vilest age, youth.[48]

"THE GENERATION GAP"

This term, as suggested in a recent article, is not easy to define in a decisive way. "Once we examine the idea of a generation gap," says psychologist J. Adelson, "we find it is almost too slippery to hold. What do we mean by a generation gap? Do we mean widespread alienation between adolescents and their parents? Do we mean that the young have a different and distinctive political outlook? Are we speaking of differences in styles of pleasure-seeking: greater sexual freedom, or the marijuana culture? Or do we simply mean that the young and the old share the belief that there is a significant difference between them, whether or not there is? These questions--and many others one might reasonably ask--are by no means easy to answer."[49] He adds that one definition locates the gap "in rebellion against parental authority, or in the failure of parents and their adolescent youngsters to understand and communicate with each other." Besides, the term involves the notion of abandoning, on the part of the young, traditional convictions and moving toward new ones. Not all these questions are relevant to medieval Muslim culture, or, at least, we are not aware that they constituted problems there. In the following discussion, we will primarily consider the

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attitude of the young toward parental authority and traditional convictions.

It has already been mentioned that reverence for parents and the old is imperative in Islam. Undutiful behavior toward one's parents is termed ᶜuqûq. According to a tradition, such behavior constitutes a grave sin.[50] In Muslim literature, however, one finds many instances of ᶜuqûq. We shall see that the idea of ᶜuqûq involves some of the aspects inherent in the idea of "the generation gap" as described above.

Unfortunately, cases of ᶜuqûq are not always explained in detail. Sometimes the author is satisfied with mentioning that a certain son was ᶜâqq without elaborating on that. In such cases it is uncertain what the term refers to and, accordingly, we could raise a number of questions as to the meaning of the term. We do not see the whole picture of father-son relationship; we know how it should have been but not whether it really was so in actuality. One thing is certain, that there never was any massive rebellion against the authority of parents or of the old. But we are not unjustified in assuming that this authority was questioned at times. Support for this assumption is provded by a number of examples, of which the following may be mentioned.

A certain Ibn Abî Ḥusayn al-Makkî says that "one aspect of ᶜuqûq is (that) your parents express an opinion and you express another."[51] Therefore the idea of ᶜuqûq involves, among other things, differences of opinions between parents and children. More concrete examples touch upon this aspect. The littérateur Abû al-ᶜAynâ' (d. 896) claims that he was the first in al-Baṣra to show ᶜuqûq against parents. His father told him that, just as in the case of God, yielding obedience to one's parents was a must, for God says, "Give thanks unto Me and unto thy

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parents." He rejoined, "God has given me protection against you but not you against me, saying, "Slay not your children, fearing a fall to poverty. We shall provide for them and for you."[52] This anecdote is meant to be a joke. Abû al-ᶜAynâ' is trying to prove that sons have claims upon their parents but not vice versa. What we are concerned with is not whether the father is right or the son, but rather with the motivation for the son's ᶜuqûq. Abû al-ᶜAynâ' does not explain in what way he was a ᶜâqq, and we have to infer from the father's statement that the son showed some kind of disagreement with, or disobedience to, his parents. The son, in other words, did not comply with his religious duty, i.e., to be kind to parents, and the father had to remind him of that by quoting the Qur'ân. The son's rejoinder demonstrates that he did not accept what his father was trying to establish. These are only general observations, but what their disagreement precisely is about we cannot tell.

The Aghânî relates that the poet Jarîr was more disobedient to his father than any other son was to his. Jarîr's son is also described in identical terms with respect to his father. One day Jarîr refuted a remark by Bilâl. Thereupon, Bilâl indelicately said to his father, "The one of us who turns out to be a liar should make love to his mother." It goes without saying that Bilâl's mother was outraged, but her husband calmed her, saying, "Let him (make that statement)! By God, it is as if he had heard it from me when I used to say it to my father."[53] Here again specific details are lacking. We merely are told that Bilâl and his father had a debate in which each tried to prove himself right. But what this debate was about, or in what way each of them was disobedient to his father, remains a mystery.

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Similarly, a Bedouin relates to al-Aṣma^{c}ī that he had seen a youth, whom he describes as the most disobedient of all people, beating his father with a rope that lacerated his back. When he reproached him, the young man said, "Thus he used to treat his father, and thus his father used to treat his grandfather."[54] This story is even vaguer. No conflict or the like is alluded to. Why did each son treat his father in this fashion? Is it implied that ^{c}uqûq is an inherited quality? Or does each son punish his father for what he had done to his (the father's) father?

Sa^{c}dī recounts that in "the ignorance and folly" of his youth he raised his voice against his mother. His mother, cut to the heart, wept and reminded her son of how she took care of him in infancy. Then Sa^{c}dī remarks:

> Well said that aged mother to her son
> Whose giant arm could well a tiger slay!
> "Couldst thou remember days long past and gone,
> When in my arms a helpless infant lay,
> And now thyself that babe, thou wouldst now
> Thus wrong me when I am old; and athlete thou![55]

Some new elements appear here. Aside from the fact that the reason why he raised his voice against his mother is unknown, he feels regret and attributes his action to the "ignorance and folly of youth."

These new elements also appear in what may be considered as the best available example to illustrate a son's rebellion against parental authority and traditional values. The fact that it occurs in the Arabian Nights should not undermine its weight, but rather increase it, for it may be regarded as a reflection of actual situations not attested in

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"higher" literature. The famous hero Qamar az-Zamân decides not to get married lest he fall prey to the wiles of women, about which he had read a lot. Budûr, the girl who becomes his beloved later in the story, likewise asserts that she will never get married. This is explained by the fact that "they are destined to each other--the idea is underlined by their striking resemblance--but have not yet met."[56] His father, the king, tries again and again to dissuade him but always fails. At first the son's reaction is mild: "I know that God hath imposed on me the obligation of yielding obedience unto thee; but by his claims upon thee I conjure thee that thou constrain me not to marry." Finally he declares his rebellion: "But when Kamar-ez-Zemân heard these words (i.e., concerning marriage) of his father, he hung down his head for a while towards the ground; and afterwards, raising it toward his father, the madness of youth affected him, and the ignorance of a stripling's age, and he replied, As to myself, I will never marry, though I be made to drink the cups of perdition: and as to thee, thou art a man of great age and of little sense. Hast thou not asked me before this day, twice before the present occasion, on the subject of marriage, and I would not consent to the proposal?" The father, put to shame because the event takes place before the lords and soldiers of the empire, shouts at his son, "Woe to thee, O base-born, and nursling of impurity . . . . Knowest thou not that that this which thou hast done, had it proceeded from any of the common people, it had been disgraceful to him?" He punishes him by having him imprisoned in one of the towers of the castle. There he reflects upon the incident: "He had already blamed himself, and repented of his injurious conduct to his father, when repentance availed him not, and he exclaimed, Malediction upon marriage and girls and deceitful

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women! Would that I attended to my father's command and married; for if I had done so, it had been better for me than being in this prison!"[57] It is noteworthy that he regrets the incident only because he is imprisoned and not because he now regards himself as having been wrong. He still believes that he is right in abstaining from marriage and that his father is wrong in attempting to dissuade him. His outlook is different from that of his father and of the Muslim community that condemns celibacy. He does not abide by the religious injunction which decrees that he should obey his parents blindly. His rebellion against religious and traditional values is motivated by deep conviction, while his regret is accidental.

<u>ᶜUqûq</u> does not always involve disagreement with parents or rejection of traditional convictions. There are cases of it where these ideas are not involved. These are of no concern to us because they have nothing to do with what we are trying to affirm, i.e., that the idea of <u>ᶜuqûq</u> and that of the "generation gap" have some major elements in common.

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CHAPTER VII

ETERNAL YOUTH AND REJUVENATION

Eternal youth is one of the rewards that Islam has reserved for those deserving of bliss in the other world. The promise of it serves as an incentive for Muslims to strive for a place in Paradise. The only person who according to some sources is said to have attained eternal youth on earth is the legendary al-Khadir. He is represented in Muslim literature as having drunk from the Fountain of Life and thereby having become immortal, but there is no unanimity as to whether he is immortally young or old. Rejuvenation is said to have been achieved by some people after they had lived a long life. However, it is not immortality. Death eventually overtakes them.

THE BLESSED IN PARADISE

According to the Qur'ân, one of the rewards God promises to Muslims who have lived a moral and religious life is immortality in Paradise. The Qur'ân has no specific indication as to the age of the elect. The hadîth, on the other hand, makes it clear that the people of Paradise will enjoy eternal youth. The Prophet explains the Qur'ânic verse, "And it will be cried unto them: This is the Garden. Ye inherit it for what ye used to do," as alluding to the fact that the believers will live in pleasant circumstances and enjoy eternal life, health, and youth.[1] Stressing the same idea he says, "He who enters Paradise will lead a pleasant life free of distress. His garments will not wear out, and his youth will not fade. In Paradise there is that which no eye has seen

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nor an ear has heard nor a human heart has dreamt of."[2] The people of Paradise are depicted as having curly hair on their heads but no hair on their bodies; they are beardless, white, and dark-eyed.[3] Similarly, among the pleasures of the heavenly world the Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ' include eternal life, youth, and good health.[4] One explanation given as to why Paradise is called "the abode of peace" (dar as-salâm) is the fact that it is the abode of constant freedom from death, senility, and disease,[5] i.e., the contraries of life, youth, and health.

The ḥadîth even gives the specific age and size of the blessed in Paradise: "Each of the elect will have the same stature as Adam (60 cubits by 7), and the same age, 33 years, as Jesus."[6] It is clear that "youth" is understood by and large to be the age of thirty-three. It must be pointed out that this is one of the figures given as the limit of the stage of youth.[7] Therefore, the people of Paradise are not really quite young; they are, so to say, on the verge between the end of youth and the beginning of middle-age.

Moreover, the Prophet is reported to have made statements with regard to the different ranking of some people in Paradise. Thus he refers to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the sons of ʿAlî, as the outstanding masters of the youths of Paradise.[8] Likewise, Abû Bakr and ʿUmar are regarded as the masters of the middle-aged and young men of Paradise.[9] To affirm the presence of middle-aged people in Paradise, as this tradition does, is incompatible with the traditions quoted above which seem to have enjoyed greater favor.

An anecdote that is related as an example of the Prophet's propensity to indulge in jesting has bearing on the subject under discussion. An old woman asked him to pray to God on her behalf so that she might be

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admitted into Paradise. When he told her that Paradise is denied to old women, she wept. He then smiled and said, "Have you not heard God's word, 'Lo! We have created them a (new) creation/ And made them virgins/ Lovers, friends'?"[10] The meaning of the anecdote becomes clear when we consult Qur'ân commentaries regarding these verses. The Prophet is quoted to show that they referred to gray-haired women departed from this world in their old age, having filth in their eyes and being weak-sighted and shedding tears most of the time. If Paradise is their lot, God creates them anew as virgins and they will have the same age as everybody else in Paradise, thirty-three years.[11]

Al-KHAḌIR

The legend of al-Khaḍir is a rather complex one, and this rather brief treatment is intended to deal with one of its aspects only. The sources stress immortality as his salient attribute, but they pass over the question whether he attains immortality as a youth or as an old man. It is with this question that we are chiefly concerned.

Al-Khaḍir is associated with the story of the Qur'ân: 18: 59-81, a summary of which is as follows: Taking a fish with them, Moses and his servant go on a journey, their destination being Majmaᶜ al-Baḥrayn, lit. "the confluence of the two seas." When they reach the place (without recognizing it) and rest on the rock there, the fish finds its way to the water. Because of Satan, the servant, who is apparently in charge of the fish, forgets to tell his master about its fate. Not realizing that that is the place they are seeking, they travel on. Feeling hungry and tired, Moses asks for food. Thereupon the servant remembers the fish and recounts to Moses how the fish has disappeared. They retrace their

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steps, and on their way meet an anonymous "servant of God." Moses expresses his wish to follow him if he will teach him (Moses) the right path. The servant of God agrees but points out to Moses that he will not understand his actions, that he must not demand any explanations and therefore will not be able to bear with him patiently. They depart, and what has been anticipated takes place. The servant of God performs a few actions which shock and puzzle Moses but which have a hidden meaning. Hence he asks for explanation. The servant of God replies, "Did I not tell you that you will not bear with me patiently?" He finally leaves Moses after revealing to him the hidden meaning of the actions.

Although not mentioned by name in this story, most commentators call this servant of God al-Khaḍir or al-Khiḍr. Innumerable stories portray his meetings with Muslims at various periods, including one with the founder of Islam. In some of these stories he is represented as an old or gray-haired man. At least once he is described as a youth.[12] Gibb overlooks the latter fact when he says, "Having drunk of that living Water, he is, of course, immortal, and it is said that sometimes, under the form of an aged man, he appears to pious Muslims in distress and helps them out of their troubles, but disappears as soon as his identity is suspected."[13] Al-Khaḍir is also called "long lived" (mu^{c}ammar), and according to one view he is rejuvenated every one hundred years.[14]

G. Rosen, the translator of Rûmî's Mathnawî into German, describes al-Khaḍir as an eternal youth. Commenting on one of the actions which al-Khaḍir performs before Moses and to which Rûmî alludes, Rosen says that al-Khaḍir attained eternal youth by drinking of the Living Water. His portrayal of al-Khaḍir is quoted by Curtius as follows: "Chydhyr is

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represented as a youth of blooming and imperishable beauty who combines the ornament of old age, a white beard, with his other charms."[15] Rosen, however, gives no reference to support his statements. In the account of al-Khaḍir given by at-Ṭabarī,[16] which he quotes in the appendix in order to clarify Rūmī's allusion, no reference to eternal youth is made.

In some of the Arabic versions of the Alexander saga, edited in part by Friedländer, al-Khaḍir is depicted as a youth.[17] In ᶜUmāra's version, some of the terms used may confirm Rosen's assertion. He who drinks of the Fountain of Life, it is stated, God will clothe him with bloom (nadra), the garment of life, and splendor (bahja). After drinking of it, al-Khaḍir is said to have gained, in addition to bbom and the garment of life, such qualities as strength and beauty.[18] Friedländer translates the term nadra as "Herrlichkeit" and admits that what the expression "Da kam die Herrlichkeit über ihn (i.e. al-Khaḍir)" means is not really clear to him.[19] Now, terms such as bloom, beauty, and strength are associated with youth. Accordingly, ᶜUmāra may be implicitly describing the qualities of eternal youth that al-Khaḍir has come to enjoy after drinking of the Fountain of Life.

REJUVENATION

In discussing the social qualities of youth, we have said that a "return to youth" was dreamed of as a highly desirable possibility. In particular, in popular literature, the idea was taken up and imbued with life by the imagination of the storyteller. Thus, in the Arabian Nights the traveler ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī relates the story of the Roc, which he relates as one of his truly miraculous experiences. He and other travelers see a dome on an island in the China Sea. As they ap-

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proach it, they realize that it is in fact a roc's egg. They break it with much effort and find a young bird, a large portion of whose meat they carry with them when they leave the island. They cook the meat, stirring the pot with a certain kind of wood.[20] The white beards of the old men who eat it turn black, and for the rest of their lives, their beards retain their black color. The other travelers, who were not yet gray-haired at the time, never become gray as long as they live. They think that the change, which they describe as "most miraculous," is caused either by the wood or by the meat. The return of the black color of the beards is openly acknowledged to mean the return of youth. It apparently does not involve immortality but a long life in that most desirable state, youthful health and vigor.

Proverbs provide us with other examples of legendary rejuvenation. A person who lives long may be designated as "older than Naṣr" (a^{c}mar min Naṣr) or "older than the woman of the children of Israel" (akbar min ^{c}ajûz Banî Isrâ'îl). The Naṣr in question is a son of Duhmân, a chief of the tribe of Ghaṭafân. He is said to have lived so long that he had fallen into dotage, but then he became a young man again. His white hair turned black, and his teeth grew anew. His case is described as having achieved the reputation of a matchless miracle among the Arabs. Yet, he finally died.[21] The "old woman" of the proverbial expression is identified as Shârakh bint Yasîr[22] b. Ya^{c}qûb, "who used to be with Joseph." She is said to have reached the age of two hundred and ten years.[23] She used to become young again after having lived seventy years. In neither case we are told what might have caused the rejuvenation.

This brings us to a problem, raised by Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî,

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which may seem far-fetched to us but was not so for the philosophical mind of the time: Why does man, after reaching old age, not become again middle-aged, then a youth, then a boy, and finally a child? Why does human decay not take the form of a gradual return to the initial stage? According to Miskawayh, the problem as stated is based upon the erroneous presupposition that old age constitutes the end of the growing process. In fact, the growing process reaches its climax at the end of youth (shabâb). Then it slows down and finally comes to a stop in old age (shaykhûkha). The mid point of man's life lies somehow between childhood and old age. In his growing process, man passes through definite stages, from zero strength through culmination to zero strength. Seen this way, childhood and old age are indeed parallel. There is a kind of return to the initial stage, but it cannot take the form implied in the problam as posed by at-Tawḥîdî because of the natural characteristics of the growing process.[24]

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CONCLUSION

Having considered the various qualities of youth, we shall now attempt to formulate a general picture of youth in medieval Islam. Youth is of short duration, extending from puberty to the early thirties, but its transience is felt only when it is gone. Medieval Muslims extol youth and at the same time honor age. Despite the fact that gray hair is held in high esteem as a symbol of dignity and moral virtues, youth is by and large regarded as the best stage of man's life. In its freshness and beauty it occupies, among the ages of man, the same place spring occupies among the four seasons. Yet in the case of spring, one may speak of the death and rebirth of the seasons, whereas in the case of youth this is obviously not the case unless the idea of rejuvenation, in this world or in Paradise, is taken into consideration. Youth blossoms like a flower for a short time, and then withers forever.

As youth fades away, life itself, in a certain sense, fades away too. The youth who is so full of hope and ambition that he tries to reach the heavens with his hands is unable in old age to move his feet. The youth who is healthy and vigorous cannot in old age help being led as an invalid on a camel. The capricious young man who attains happiness through folly and intoxication without being censured by society feels his will to action fettered by the so-called mature intellect and by the rigid code of conduct which society lays down for the old. The young man who is driven by desire and passion loses in old age all kinds of desire except the desire to desire. The handsome, black-haired youth who enjoys the favors of the fair sex finds himself repulsed as his hair

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begins to turn gray, in spite of all his arguments that he cannot be blamed for that, that factors such as love itself and his defeat by the accidents of time are responsible for it, and that at any rate a mixture of black and white hair is more pleasing to the eye.

Muslim authors realized all this. And this realization led some of them, especially those who felt they had missed the pleasures of youth, to a desperate state in which they lost faith in everything, including their art. They were compelled to admit that their high achievement was of little value compared to the loss of their youth, hence their bitter regret for not having enjoyed youth, and their futile attempt to recapture it, to relive it when it was too late, and to indulge in vain wishes. Death was considered the only savior. Speaking from experience, these authors preached the doctrin of carpe diem and urged the young to seize the fleeting moment before it becomes a dead past.

The subject of youth, then, is closely connected to the subject of life and death. And it is not surprising to learn that the Arabs lamented youth more than anything else and yet failed to give it its due. They lamented its passing like the passing of a human being. Its death was no less tragic than that of a dear friend or relative. They were indignant that they received no condolence on the occasion of its passing.

Moralists, however, denounced poetry dedicated to recalling and lamenting youth as immoral. Influenced by Platonic views, they believed such poetry awakens, nourishes, and strengthens sensual feelings and impairs reason. A young man should try to mortify his passions and abide by the rational rather than the concupiscent soul. He should seek happiness in religious and philosophical pursuits rather than in gratifying his bodily desires like a beast. Such a youth would be praised as

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exemplary. But if he is unable to tame his wild soul in youth, he should do that in old age. Instead of looking back to the pleasures of youth, he ought to occupy himself with virtue and live a moral life and be a model of morality for the young. Age has its own good qualities and rewards through which a person should find compensation for his lost youth. As he grows old, society recognizes him as an adult. He acquires moral, social, and political status. The experience, hilm, wisdom and knowledge of age, moralists taught, are by far superior to the inexperience (jahl) and ignorance of the young. There were, however, those who hastened to reply that if such superior qualities are not often found in youth, they are by no means incompatible with it. If someone lacks the natural disposition to learn lessons from life and become wise and halîm, age by itself is unlikely to make him so. The sources also mention the names of certain Muslim youths who combined the good qualities of youth with the maturity of age and became prominent in different fields.

We thus find attempts to break down the polarity youth-age and to show that it is not always valid to attribute opposite qualities to these two stages. Although these attempts were made more difficult because they had to be based on the traditional imagery and concepts, they were nonetheless of considerable importance. They pointed to another alternative and clarified the great variety that was possible in the human experience in the intellectual, moral, and political realms regardless of physical age. The emergence of this image of youth in medieval Islam draws upon two major non-Islamic sources, one pre-Islamic and the other Greek. Certain aspects of both of these influences have been pointed out in various places. It is, however, hard to determine whether the proverbs and phrases describing certain qualities of youth were in fact

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coined in pre-Islamic times or originated in Islam. In any case, since a good number of them contain imagery associated with the environment of the Bedouin Arabs, it would seem likely that they represent views that date back to the Jâhilîya and constitute part of the pre-Islamic heritage in Islam. The association of the young with jahl (ignorance and inexperience) and the old with hilm (knowledge and experience), for example, would be a case in point. But Islam offered what neither the Jâhilîya nor the Greeks would possibly offer: "An abode of peace" where the true Muslim would enjoy eternal youth and health. The Muslim does not have to despair, therefore, for there is still hope for him. If he fails to recapture his bygone youth in this world, he will surely do so in Paradise!

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APPENDIX

(The broken line refers to literal agreement between Ibn Rushd and the Arabic translation, and the dotted line refers to literal agreement between all three sources.)

TRANSLATION

As for the young, (one) of their character qualities is that they have desire and are capable of carrying out their desires. However, they have an inclination to the desires that (belong) to the body, I mean those that are the work of the planet Venus, and are insatiable in this respect. Nevertheless, they are easily changeable and fickle: they

IBN SĪNĀ

As for the young, the movement of desire is great in them and they have the capacity for it. Their desires are restricted to things encompassing the body, (and) attributed to the planet Venus, such as women, dress, and perfumes. They are readily fickle and changeable, and (the quality of) becoming tired is dominant in them. They desire excessively but

IBN RUSHD

On the Character of Youth

As for the young, that is, those who are past the age of two to about three weeks, (some) of their character qualities are that they desire everything and obstinately dash to carry out what they desire. The desires dominant in them are the bodily ones, which are attributed to the planet Venus. Nevertheless, they are readily changeable and fickle: they readily desire a certain thing and readily become tired of it. The reason for desiring everything

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readily become tired of the thing desired; they desire very, very (strongly) but soon change. For their tendencies, like the thirst which befalls the sick, are keen and restless rather than firm and great. They are (readily) angered and carried away by anger, whose keenness and vehemence overcome them; for[1] owing to their being fond of dignity they cannot endure (being slighted) if someone slights them but become annoyed if they think they are being wronged. They are fond of dignity, and more so of

readily become tired owing to the keenness and restlessness of their tendencies and the lack of firmness in their opinions. Their opinions are like fallacious thirst that is helped by cold wind. Anger readily befalls, and is intensified in, them especially because they are so fond of dignity that they cannot endure being wronged. They are excessively fond of dignity and victory owing to their inclination to nobility and sublimity. They are more fond of that than of money, nay, their inclination to

is that their opinions are confused and have not yet settled on any of the influencing factors in this life. Their opinions are not firm, and by (firm opinions) is meant those formed by keen insight and speculation. The intensity of their desire and the short duration thereof is like the thirst that befalls the sick, which is a thirst of short duration though very strong. Nevertheless, they are readily angered and carried away by an anger whose keenness and vehemence overcome them; for owing to their being fond of dignity they cannot endure (being slighted) if someone slights them but become annoyed if they think they are being disgraced. They are fond of dignity, and more so of victory, for

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victory, for youth desires magnificence, and victory is an aspect of magnificence. They are more fond of these two than of money; they are not fond of money because they have not experienced want, as shown by Pittacus' remark on the people of Amphiaraus. They are not ill-natured but have good character, because they have never seen evil. They may readily accept a statement as true because they have not been often deceived.[2] Their trust broadens their hope, for youth has a hot nature as those who have drunk

money is slight for they have not undergone need nor suffered want. By nature they readily accept what falls upon them as true on account of their trust, their little doubt, and ample hope. All of this is due to their hot temperament which resembles that of the intoxicated which strengthens the soul considerably. For that reason they do not decline in vigor[5] nor are they defeated. They aspire to live in hope, for the future is in their power while the past is in that of the old. Having no long past,

youth desires magnificence and victory is an aspect of magnificence. They are more fond of dignity and victory than of money; they are not fond of money because they have not experienced want. They readily accept a statement as true because they have not been often deceived. They trust (people) and have broad hope owing to the heat of their nature; (this is) like what occurs to him who drinks wine owing to the heat produced in him by drinking. They do not decline in vigor or shrink but, owing to their strong heat, stand hardships in (order to attain) what they desire. In most cases they live in hope, for hope belongs to the future, reminiscence to the past. The future is more real for the

wine. They do not easily decline in vigor or shrink. In most cases they live in hope, for hope belongs to the future, reminiscence to the past. For youth, the future is big, the past small; for, being in the first day of their days, they do not remember anything but hope much. They are easily deceived and misled for the same reason we have mentioned. To those who entertain hope also belong the courageous. They are (easily) angered and entertain good hope. The one prevents them from fearing, whereas the other creates in them

they have little experience. Because of their trust, it is easy to deceive them. And so are the courageous. They both have in common the readiness for anger; therefore they both are (ready to) trust and are easily given to anger. Trust does away with fear and vehement anger strengthens nature so that it is followed by fearlessness, not because of trust only but because of vehemence of heart. For fear and anger are incompatible, and trust is likely to be a part of courage. Bashfulness may be dominant among the young, because they

young than the past, for they are in the beginning of their existence. Hence they hope much and do not remember (anything). They are easily deceived and misled, for they are prone to accept things as true without evidence or with weak evidence, and if someone tried to deceive them with regard to the evidence, he could do so. Although they entertain hope, they are courageous, for the courageous are (easily) angered and entertain good hope. Good hope prevents them fearing, for the power of hoping to gain victory encourages them, hope for the good being one of the things that encourage. As for anger, it creates in them vehemence of heart, for no one afraid becomes angry. (One) of their

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vehemence of heart, for no one afraid becomes angry, and hope for the good is an aspect of courage. Bashfulness[3] is dominant in them, for they have not arrived at other opinions yet, but observe convention only. They are also high-minded[4]; they think they will never become needy in the world, because they have not experienced distress or necessity. To direct their ambition toward high things is a feature of mighty souls; this on their part is by way of hope. They choose to do the good with an increment with respect to useful things for

have not yet indulged in impudent, obscene actions but remained in their natural state. They suspect themselves, regarding themselves deficient in knowledge and experience. Owing to their trust, they have bigness of soul. They do not expect to become needy, because they have not yet undergone distress. For this reason their ambition seeks great things, and wishes grow strong in their souls. They incline more to the useful with which they are acquainted than to the beautiful with which they have not got familiar. Their thought

character qualities is that bashfulness is dominant in them for they have not yet come to distinguish between things with regard to which one should be bashful and those one should not. Because they suspect themselves with respect to everything, they are bashful with regard to everything for fear of having made a mistake. They strongly stick to and observe conventions, the reason being that they have not speculated about them in order to find out which is just and which is not. They are big of soul. They think they will never become needy, the reason for that being that they have not experienced distress and necessity. Of the acts (usually) performed by those who are big of soul they crave the

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they are more accustomed to these, I mean those comprising thought; thought is conducive to useful things, virtue to the beautiful. They are more fond of their brethren and companions than all other ages, for joy is attainable through companionship and living together. They do not regard anything according to utilitarian interest, including friends. Their error regarding everything is greater and more serious than in old age, for they go too far and are very excessive in everything, in hate and in all

and ideas are devoted to the most useful. For, of the good, they are acquainted with the useful only which they have in accordance with their age and consider it as if it were pleasure and what accompanies it and thought that is based on nature. This thought attracts to the useful which is in accordance with the thinker and is with him. Their error regarding doing what is useful for them and with respect to everything is greater than that of the old in this respect, because they are excessive

greatest on account of their broad hope. (One) of ther character qualities is that they favor the beautiful over the useful, and of the latter they favor what is beautiful only. They do not favor the useful because they rarely think of the consequences. They favor the beautiful because they favor the virtues, which in turn they do because they favor praise and blame. They are more fond of their companions than all other people, for perfect pleasure and joy, provided they are possible, are attainable through companionship and partnership of brethren. They seek the useful neither in any thing nor in friends. Their

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things. They think contentiously they know everything, and so is their excess in everything. They do wrong with respect to things that shame and disgrace cling to, because they have an inclination to bad deeds. They are merciful because they think all people are good and virtuous. In view of the little evil in them, they hate those who are otherwise because they think these do what ought not to be done. They are fond of fun or jest and therefore give up (the thing) easily, for giving up readily stems from weakness of and do not choose the mean. Excess is an error. (An example) of their great excess is that they think they are knowledgeable in everything. (One) of their traits is doing wrong openly though it may bring upon them shame and disgrace, because by nature they incline to bad deeds. By nature their anger is violent, and their fear slight. Nevertheless, mercy may be dominant in them because they believe him who complains of wrongdoing[6] and who professes to do good.[7] Owing to their little sinfulness and cunning they error regarding things is much and it is mostly so with respect to things useful that the old favor. Their actions are neither limited nor measured; they love strongly, and they hate strongly. To sum up, they are excessive in everything because they are badly equipped to discern the consequences, and actions are measured by discerning the consequences. They think they know everything because they are excessive in everything. They openly do wrong and do things that bring shame and disgrace; this is also owing to their boldness and excess in everything. They are merciful because they think all people are good and virtuous. In view of the little evil

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deliberation.

The character of the young is as we have described.

As for old men who have passed their prime, they have in many respects contrary character qualities, I mean the silly and malicious.[8] For they have lived a long time, have been often deceived, have erred often, and[9] most of their actions have been either evil or (conducive) to evil. They absolutely do not discern anything. Everything for them is as it was before. Since they have experienced everything, it is as if they know nothing. They have doubts a-

are hostile to cunning and evil doers. They are fond of fun and jest owing to their fondness of joy and delight and to the weakness of deliberation. When it (i.e., deliberation) grows strong, ambition is devoted to seriousness.

As for old men, most of their character qualities are contrary to the character qualities of these. Their character qualities are silly but, nevertheless, malicious. They (i.e., the qualities) do not submit to anyone owing to their (i.e., the old's) long experience, to the many instances of

in them, they hate those who are evil because they think these do what ought not to be done. They are fond of fun and jest. They give up the thing readily, for giving up readily stems from weakness of deliberation.

This is the character of the young.

On the Character of the Old

As for old men who have passed middle age, they have in many respects character qualities contrary to those of the young, I mean the silly and malicious characters. By silly

bout praise and praiseworthy things. They always add in their speech "maybe" and "whatever the case may be." Such is what they say regarding everything, and they absolutely do not pass a definite judgment on anything. They are ill-natured and ill-nature on the part of man consists in distrusting everything. They distrust because they are not credulous, and they are not credulous on account of their experience. They neither love strongly nor hate strongly for the same reason, save when forced with respect to conven-

deception and mistakes they went through and then became aware of them, and to the many evil deeds they indulged in and sought. (One) of their character qualities is that they absolutely do not pass a definite judgment on anything, and if they pass a judgment they do so in accordance with what they have experienced. Everything, in their opinion, is judged in accordance with what has passed, or no judgment is passed on it at all. Although they had long experience, it is as if they have not experienced anything,

I mean those pertaining to weakness, such as the fondness for fun and jest, craving bodily lusts, and having mercy for people and (liability to) being deceived. By maliciousness I mean the character qualities pertaining to strength such as being readily angered, daring, the fondness for dignity and victory, long hopes, bigness of the soul, and doing wrong and the like. The reason for which old mean have character qualities contrary to these is that, having lived a long time, their hope has waned. And having often been deceived and erred, they have come

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tional things. They love like someone who hates and hate like someone who loves. They are small of soul and are indifferent because they have been chided by life,[10] and crave nothing great or the merit of anything save what is indispensable for subsistence. They are not liberal and generous, for the necessities of life are necessary for them. They know from long experience that acquisition is difficult and loss easy. They are cowardly. They may anticipate and foretell what (will) be. They are opposite to the young, because to their strong doubt as to that of which they have no model; with respect to this it is as if they are inexperienced. They pay little attention to praise and blame. If they speak of something regarding the future, they speak of it with "maybe" and "perhaps." They are ill-natured owing to their distrust. They are not accustomed to being excessive in friendship and hatred, except with regard to things that are compulsory. You see them, in their love, like haters and, in their hatred, like lovers. They are small of soul and are to distrust people owing to their having arrived at the causes of deception and error through experience. Most of the actions that happened to them have been either evil or conducive to evil. (One) of their character qualities is that they do not doubt themselves in any way, nor do they marvel at, or regard as great, anything that had occurred to them, for it is a repetition for them. Since they have experienced everything, it is as if they know nothing. They pay little attention to praise and blame, their aim being the facts although they are incapable of anything. (Another) of their character qualities is that they absolutely do not pass a

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cause they are cold and languid whereas the young are hot and fiery. Old age is conducive to cowardice and fear, for fear is a kind of coldness. They are fond of life, especially toward the end of their life. For that reason desire does not exist far from them, because they are not needy although they may desire. They are rather fond of imams and justice[11] owing to their smallness of souls or indifference. Their life is directed toward the useful rather than the beautiful because they are selfish. The indifferent; they do not follow firm determination as if they have become desperate. Accordingly, their craving for things is weakened, save what pertains to subsistence, to which they cling lest death overtakes them. For this reason their souls do not aspire to nobility and the ideal of manhood in order to save the necessities of life. Experience has made them feel the difficulty of acquisition and the bad effect of loss and annihilation. Cowardice takes possession of them. They are good at warning of what (will) be, owing definite judgment, or decide, on anything but always associate their speech with "maybe" and "perhaps," because they have erred frequently and experienced the failure of their hopes. They are ill-natured because they distrust everything, and they distrust everything because they rarely accept things as true, which is in turn due to their long experience. (One) of their habits is that they neither love strongly, nor hate strongly and they do not show that, I mean love and hate, save when forced or compelled to. For them, it is as if the beloved and the hated one are in one form, owing to their shrewdness, in view of the things mentioned, i.e., that they have lived a long time, have often been

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useful is for man in himself, while the beautiful in another. They are rather shameless, for, in order that their concern about the beautiful may not equal that about the useful, they think they should be indifferent. It is difficult for them to entertain hope owing to their long experience, for most of what turns out of things is conducive to evil or immutability or to what is lower and less perfect. They are also cowardly. They live either in reminiscence or in hope, for what is left of their life is little and what has to what they have gained from experience. They are the opposite of the young with respect to stirring ideas; they incline to quietness, owing to their cold temperament. Because of this they tend to be cowardly and afraid. Because of their cowardice and fear their clinging is intensified, also because of their strong fondness for life which turns in them and comes to an end. Their desire regarding women and views declines, because their need for them has come to an end. However, they also desire, especially food. They incline deceived and erred and the like. They are small of soul and are indifferent to great things and crave nothing save what is indispensable for subsistence. They are not benefactors and generous, for the necessities of life are necessary for them, and by the necessities of life I mean the necessary things in this life. Long experience has made them that way. Also they see that acquisition is difficult and loss easy. Because of these two things they are stingy, I mean because they have come, through experience, to the conclusion that useful things in this life are necessary for them, especially owing to the weakness of their bodies, and that acquisition is difficult, especially

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passed is much; and hope is concerned with what is to come, reminiscence with what has passed. That on their part serves as a cause for prediction. They constantly rely on their statement[12] for they tell of what was and predict what will be, and when they reminisce they experience pleasure. Their anger is violent but weak. Their desires, too, have in part ceased, and in part weakened. Therefore neither they, nor their desires, are active toward desires but toward the useful. Accordingly, they may be thought of as temperate be-- to justice and are fond of just imams, owing to their cowardice and weakness. For the inclination to justice is due to the fondness for safety, which stems either from virtue or from the smallness of soul. Virtue urges one to seek it (i.e., fondness for safety), and smallness of soul also requires it. If virtue did not require it of someone, then nothing would require it save smallness of soul. They favor the useful rather than the beautiful. All of this is due to their selfishness, for the selfish person inclines to in old age, and loss easy. They anticipate and foretell what (will) be owing to their knowledge of the consequences. For this reason they are cowardly. In this respect they are opposite to the young, because they are, with respect to temperaments, cold and languid, whereas the young are hot and fiery. Old age is conducive to cowardice, for fear and cowardice follow coldness. They are fond of life, especially toward the end of their life, and their fondness of life is not motivated by (a desire) to enjoy the lusts in it but merely to live it. For they have lost the motives for desires, except, of all sensual desires, that for food, for it is strong in them

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cause of the cessation of desires in them. They are moderate in seeking advantage and interest. And they live not according to thought but to character, for thought belongs to useful things and character to virtue. They also may seek by cunning and trickery rather than by committing shameful and disgraceful acts. Old men are also merciful but they differ from the young in this respect, for the latter are merciful because of love of people, while the former because of weakness. They may think the useful rather than the beautiful. The useful is in accordance with a man himself, the beautiful with another. They are insolent and shameless, for they do not at all incline to the beautiful. Their inclination is devoted to the side of the useful; hence their indifference to the beautiful. (One) of their character qualities is that they rarely entertain hope, for they have found that failure in the world is more frequent than success. Experience follows what is more (frequent), and their belief follows experience. Instead because food is necessary for them, so that they combine the enjoyment thereof and necessity. They are fond of good kings and just sultans due to their smallness of soul, which is in turn due to the weakness of their souls. Their association with people and their aim are (directed) toward the useful rather than the beautiful because they are selfish. The useful is the thing that is good for man in himself, and the beautiful for another. They are rarely ashamed. This is so because they favor the useful over the beautiful, while shame arises from the fear of missing the beautiful. They entertain little hope owing to their long experience that most things are conducive either to evil,

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that everything is close, and that (it is) as if they were burning in it[13]; for this reason they are merciful. They may endure pain; they do not readily change nor do they have much fun, for enduring hardships is contrary to fun and whoever is fond of fun is not fond of this. As regards the character qualities of young and old men, they are as we have described, and these are the character qualities acceptable by all people. It is not unknown, on the part of these qualities, what resembles and

of taking pleasure in hope they take pleasure in reminiscence. Owing to the rareness of their entertaining hope, their cowardice is increased. Their anger is violent and weak: violent because they are readily affected as if they were convalescent; weak, owing to the weakness of nature. Their desires are evanescent or broken. They crave the useful rather than the pleasurable. Accordingly, they are thought of as moderate, whereas they are moderate of necessity and not on account of virtue. They scarcely wish seeking grace

or to what is more evil than good, or to what is equally good and evil. All of these three cases are not desirable. Things that are purely good, or in which good is dominant, rarely exist. It would take a long time to await their occurrence, while what is left of the life of the old is short. They mostly live and take pleasure in reminiscence rather than in hope, contrary to the young in this respect. For reminiscence belongs to what has passed, and the largest part of the life of the old has gone. In view of this fact, they are good at predicting and intuiting what (will) be. Their anger erupts easily and is violent, owing to their inability to endure (offense), but weak, owing to

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is similar to them, and how they are tested if they use such a speech and how the s speech is tested too.

As for those in the prime of life, it is known that their character qualities are a mean between these character qualities, and that they avoid the excess of the two extremes. They are neither very courageous, for the extent of this would be foolhardiness, nor absolutely cowardly but rather as they should be in the two cases. They neither accept everything as true nor declare everything as false but take and interest because they find the life span short. They associate with people on the assumption that they follow, as regards their choice, a moderate character because of which they do whatever they do, and not on the assumption that they follow thoughts that propose what is useful. It is their custom to feign the character of the righteous, although what they do is motivated by objectives and thoughts. If they feign righteousness they seek by that a certain interest, though they would not admit. They often seek the acquisition of what is the weakness of their heat. Their desires have in part ceased, and in part weakened; therefore they do not move toward desires but toward the useful. In view of this fact, they may be thought of as moderate because of the cessation of their desires, whereas they are moderate nominally only. They shy away from seeking the best, the neeessary being their work and endeavor. They generally counsel (one to do) things that bring virtue and good character to the person counselled rather than things that confer upon him the useful. (One) of their character qualities is (doing) wrong, but by cunning and trickery rather than by committing disgraceful and reckless acts, as in the case of the young.

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things as they actually are. Their life is directed neither toward the beautiful nor toward the useful only but toward both together; neither toward belief nor toward buffoonery, but rather toward the useful. Such they are with regard to desire and anger: (moderate)[14] with courage and courageous with moderation. These two are divided between the young and the old: the young are courageous and insatiable, the old moderate and cowardly . . .[15] The prime of the body extends from thirty to thirty-five

useful but by way of intrigue, swindle, and cunning, contrary to the character of the young, rather than by way of publicity and perpetration of what one would be ashamed of. They may be merciful for a reason different from (that behind) the mercy of the young: the latter are merciful because they love people and believe the one who complains of wrongdoing; the former are merciful owing to weakness of their souls and to their imagining evil that is complained of and seen as if it was befalling them. Nevertheless, they endure harm and are

They are merciful, but their mercy stems from their weakness and from imagining that evil, which they fear, would readily befall them, rather than from their love of people, as in the case of the young. They endure pain; they do not readily change, for endurance is contrary to fun, which is one of the character qualities of youth, and whoever is fond of fun is not fond of seriousness and endurance. This is then what has to be said regarding the character of young and old men.

On Middle Age

He (i.e., Aristotle) said: As for those in the prime of life, i.e., the middle-aged, it is known that their

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years, while the increase of the soul regarding what it needs extends to fifty years. As regards youth, old age, and the prime of age, and what character exists for each kind of these kinds, we have (thus) stated.

not restless. They do not engage in fun because it is incompatible with seriousness and inconsistent with endurance.

As for those in the prime of age, that is those who have attained maturity and have not declined, their character qualities are a mean between the two mentioned character qualities: between rash courage and cowardice, and between accepting everything as true and declaring everything as false. Rather, they are, with respect to courage and to accepting things as true, as they ought to be. Their ambition combines the

character qualities are a mean between these character qualities and that they avoid the excess of the two extremes. In view of this they are more temperate; they are neither rash nor cowardly, but they seek what ought to be sought, at the proper time, and to the right degree. They neither accept everything as true nor declare everything as false but they conceive of things as they basically are, and accept them only as much as follows their nature. Their life and their quest are directed neither toward the beautiful nor toward the useful only, but toward the two together. They are not wholly serious nor buffoons but (somewhere) in between. Such they are with regard to desire and courage, I mean they are

useful and the beautiful, seriousness and fun. Therefore they are moderate and combine courage, while the young are courageous with insatiableness, and the old are cowardly with moderation. The beginning of this age extends from thirty to thirty-five years, and its completion extends to fifty. moderate with courage, whereas the young are courageous and lustful, the old cowardly and moderate. In summary, they attain the useful part of each character qualities rather than the harmful one, found in the blameworthy extremes, that is naturally attained by old and young men. That degree is the mean. In as much as one of the two extremes exceeds the other with respect to a character of a middle-aged man, he inclines either to evil or to good, I mean to the blameworthy or praiseworthy extreme. That also varies in accordance with what character quality is employed. An increase in courage approaching rashness may in some cases be preferable to the mean in this respect in another case. If necessary, one may have

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to augment evil, in dealing with a certain people, or good, in dealing with another. Middle age extends from thirty-five to fifty years. This is what has to be said with regard to the character of young, old, and middle-aged men.

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NOTES

The Sources

1. See below, p. 18.

2. The author mentions (p. 126) the adab author ᶜAlī b. Ḥamza b. ᶜUmâra al-Iṣfahânî who died in 985, cf. ᶜUmar R. Kaḥḥâla, Muᶜjam al-Muʾallafîn, 7 (Damascus, 1957-61), pp. 84-85. He also uses honorific epithets composed with mulk and dîn.

3. Fihrist, p. 151.

4. As-Samᶜânî, Kitâb al-Ansâb (facsimile) (Leiden, 1912), folio 172b.

5. Fihrist, p. 155.

6. As-Samᶜânî, op. cit., folio 244b.

7. Fihrist, p. 135, the year of his death is not given.

8. Ibid., p. 136, the year of his death is not given.

9. Ibid., p. 171, the year of his death is not given.

10. Ibid., p. 306.

11. Ibid., p. 308.

12. Yâqût, Irshâd 6, p. 326.

13. Ibid., p. 324.

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14. Fihrist, pp. 133-4; Yâqût, Irshâd 7, p. 51.

15. Yâqût, Irshâd 5, p. 141.

16. Ibid. 2, p. 182.

17. Reference is made to the main section or sections of a given source dealing with youth rather than to the occasional remarks or verses.

18. See below, pp. 84ff.

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Chapter I

1. Al-Baghdâdî, Khizânat al-Adab, 2 (Cairo, 1348-53), pp. 133-4; according to the account of the Tâj, Ibn Ḥabîb divides man's life into three stages: ghulûmîya, from birth till the seventeenth year; shabâbîya, from the seventeenth year to the completion of fifty-one years; the last stage in which one is called shaykh, cf. Lane s.v. "sh-b-b." De Goeje follows al-Baghdâdî's account, cf. ZDMG, 58 (1904), 468.

2. Ad-Durra al-Bahîya (Alexandria, 1949), p. 54.

3. Cf. also (pseudo) Aristotle, "Sirr al-Asrâr," in al-Uṣûl al-Yûnânîya li-n-Naẓarîyât as-Siyâsîya fi-l-Islâm, ed. ᶜA. Badawî (Cairo, 1954), pp. 92-5.

4. ᶜAlî b. Sahl Rabbân aṭ-Ṭabarî, Firdaws al-Ḥikma, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi (Berlin, 1928), pp. 55-6, 310. In an appendix, Siddiqi cites Th. Wittington's identification of these passages as derived from Hippocrates On Sevens, ed. Littré, 8, pp. 634, 616.

5. As the only figure that is not a multiple of seven, "sixty-seven" is suspect. In De septimanis, it is indeed fifty-six, cf. W. H. Roscher, Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl (Paderborn, 1913), pp. 9f. However, the Arabic translation of the work quoted by Roscher is a reconstruction based upon Pseudo-Galen's commentary. As the edition by G. Bergsträsser, Pseudogalêni in Hippocratis de Septimanis Commentarium ab Hunaino arabice versum (Leipzig, Berlin,

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1914), pp. 56-61 (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, IX, 2, 1) shows, Pseudo-Galen does not mention the figures. He says, however, that shabâb extends to the age of thirty-five.

6. At-Tanbîh wa-l-Ishrâf, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), p. 16; Wörterbuch s.v. "k-h-l."

7. See below, pp. 127-47.

8. Al-Aṣma^{c}î, Khalq al-Insân, in Texte zur Arabischen Lexicographie, ed. H. Haffner (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 160-2; ath-Tha^{c}âlibî, Fiqh al-Lugha (Cairo, 1938), pp. 141-3; Mukhaṣṣaṣ, 1 (Cairo, 1316), pp. 30-51.

9. Khalq al-Insân, ed. ^{c}Abd as-Sattâr A. Farrâj (Kuwait, 1965), pp. 28-9.

10. Miṣbâḥ, Tâj, Lane s.v. "ṣ-b-w."

11. Mughrib, Miṣbâḥ, Tâj s.v. "ṣ-b-w."

12. Mukhaṣṣaṣ 1, p. 36; Lisân, Qâmûs, Tâj s.v. "gh-l-m."

13. ^{c}Iqd 3, p. 154.

14. S.v. "ṣ-b-w."

15. S.v. "ṣ-b-w."

16. Mukhaṣṣaṣ 1, p. 31; Lisân, Qâmûs, Tâj s.v. "ṣ-b-w."

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17. Sahah, Lisân, s.v. "sh-b-b."

18. Lisân, Tâj s.v. "sh-b-b."

19. F. Rosenthal, "Child Psychology in Islam," Islamic Culture, 26 (1952), 5.

20. At-Tabarî, Annales, ed. de Goeje, 2 (Leiden, 1879-1901), p. 148.

21. Tâj s.v. "sh-b-b."

22. Ibid.

23. Abû al-ᶜAlâ' al-Maᶜarrî, al-Fusûl wa-l-Ghâyât, ed. M. H. Zanâtî (Cairo, 1938), p. 43.

24. Op. cit., p. 142.

25. Mughrib s.v. "sh-b-b."

26. Abû Hilâl al-ᶜAskarî, Dîwân al-Maᶜânî, 2 (Cairo, 1352), p. 159.

27. Ibn Qutayba, ᶜUyûn al-Akhbâr, 4 (Cairo, 1964), p. 47.

28. Dhû ar-Rumma, Dîwân, ed. C. H. Macartney (Cambridge, 1919), p. 77; ᶜIqd 3, p. 52; Ath-Thaᶜâlibî, Yatîmat ad-Dahr, 1 (Damascus, 1304), p. 225; Shihâb, p. 42; Muhâdarât 2, pp. 56, 143.

29. Shihâb, p. 51.

30. Nafh 3, p. 356.

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31. Ṣaḥâḥ, Miṣbaḥ s.v. "k-h-l"; al-Baghdâdî, op. cit., 3, p. 199.

32. Mughrib s.v. "k-h-l."

33. Abû al-ᶜAlâ', loc. cit.; Mukhaṣṣaṣ 1, p. 40; Qâmûs s.v. "k-h-l."

34. Ath-Thaᶜâlibî, Fiqh, p. 142; Ibn Hubal, al-Mukhtârât fî aṭ-Ṭibb, 1 (Hyderabad, 1362 A.H.), p. 13; an-Nuwayrî, Nihâya, 2 (Cairo, 1964), p. 12.

35. Ibn al-Athîr, Nihâya s.v. "k-h-l."

36. Mukhaṣṣaṣ 1, p. 42; Lisân, Qâmûs sv. "sh-y-kh."

37. Rosenthal, loc. cit.

38. R. Brunschvig in EI^2 s.v. "ᶜAbd."

39. D. Sourdel in EI^2 s.v. "Ghulâm."

40. Ibid.

41. Lisân, Tâj s.v. "gh-l-m."

42. Farâ'id al-Lugha (Beirut, 1889), # 890.

43. Lisân s.v. "gh-l-m."

44. S.v. "gh-l-m."

45. For an account of Futuwwa see Cl. Cahen in EI^2 s.v. "Futuwwa."

46. Ṣaḥâḥ, Lisân, Qâmûs, Lane s.v. "f-t-w."

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47. Lane s.v. "f-t-w."

48. Lisân s.v. "f-t-w."

49. Mughrib, Miṣbâḥ, Lisân, Tâj s.v. "f-t-w"; EI^2 s.v. "Fatâ."

50. Qur'ân, 18:59-61; Lisân, Tâj s.v. "f-t-w."

51. Qur'ân, 12:30; Tâj s.v. "f-t-w."

52. Ibn al-Athîr, Nihâya s.v. "f-t-w"; Concordance 5, p. 69.

53. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 1, p. 1160.

54. Ibn Kathîr, Bidâya, 3 (Cairo, 1932), p. 200; Concordance 3, p. 65.

55. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, 3 (Cairo, 1313 A.H.), p. 101; Concordance, 3, p. 57.

56. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 1, 1172; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 2 (Leiden, 1851-74), p. 39.

57. Musnad 4, pp. 187, 188, 190.

58. See below, pp. 65ff.

59. See below, p. 13.

60. S.v. "sh-y-kh."

61. See below, p. 43-44.

62. Yatîma 1, p. 290.

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63. B. E. Richardson, Old Age Among the Ancient Greeks (Baltimore, 1932), p. 2.

64. C. Harcum, "The Ages of Man," The Classical Weekly, 7-8 (1913-4), 114-5.

65. E. Sanford, "Mental Growth and Decay," American Journal of Psychology, 13 (1902), 426.

66. IESSc s.v. "Life Cycle."

67. PD s.v. "Childhood."

68. PD s.v. "Adolescence"; L. Eisenberg in EMH s.v. "Adolescence."

69. P. K. Munter in EMH s.v. "Young Adulthood."

70. Munter in EMH s.v. "Adulthood."

71. Munter in EMH s.v. "Middle Age."

72. E. M. Stern in EMH s.v. "The Aging and the Aged."

73. PD s.v. "Senility."

74. R. Walzer, ed. and trans. Galen On Medical Experience (Oxford, 1944), pp. 114-5.

75. Ibid., pp. 125-6.

76. See below, pp. 48, 107-8.

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Chapter II

1. Dîwân, ed. ᶜA. al-Barqûqî, 4 (Cairo, 1938), p. 52.

2. Thimar, # 1183.

3. Wafayât al-Aᶜyân, ed. M. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamîd, 5 (Cairo, 1948), pp. 29-30; Mustaṭraf 2, p. 47.

4. W. Fischer, Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 343ff. In modern Arabic "ashqar" is equivalent to "blond," cf. ibid., p. 9.

5. Aghânî 1, p. 385; Dîwân, ed. Kh. aṭ-Ṭa'î and R. al-ᶜUbaydî (Baghdad, 1965), pp. 10, 71.

6. ᶜIqd 3, p. 12; Ibn Bassâm, Dhakhîra, 4th part, 1 (Cairo, 1939-45), p. 89.

7. Al-Maydânî, Majmaᶜ al-Amthâl, ed. M. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamîd (Cairo, 1959), # 2381.

8. Shihâb, p. 32.

9. Lisân s.v. "gh-r-b."

10. Luzûmîyât, 2 (Cairo, 1891-6), p. 149.

11. Yatîma 3, p. 230; Nafḥ 3, p. 139.

12. Al-Jâḥiẓ, Bayân, ed. ᶜAbd as-Salâm Hârûn, 2 (Cairo, 1948-50), p. 333;

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ᶜUyûn 2, p. 324; arth-Thaᶜâlibî, Tamthîl, ed. ᶜAbd al-Fattâḥ Ḥilw (Cairo, 1961), p. 385.

13. Dîwân, ed. and trans. E. H. Palmer (Cambridge, 1877), p. 304.

14. Al-Buḥturî, Dîwân, ed. Ḥ. K. aṣ-Ṣayrafî (Cairo, 1963), p. 1486. Thimâr, # 745; Nihâya 2, p. 24; Mustaṭraf 2, pp. 33, 34.

15. Shihâb, p. 55; al-Ḥuṣrî, Zahr al-Âdâb, ed. Z. Mubârak, 4 (Cairo, 1925), pp. 43-4; Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 142; Ibn Khallikân, Wafayât al-Aᶜyân, 5, p. 188; Mustaṭraf 2, p. 34.

16. Mufaḍḍalîyât, ed. Ch. Lyall (Oxford, 1918-21), # 53; al-Buḥturî loc. cit.; Thimâr, # 1229; Shihâb, p. 56; Luzûmîyât 1, p. 319; Dhakhîra, 4th part, 1, p. 226; Saᶜdî, Bustân, trans. A. Edwards (London, 1911), p. 11; Mustaṭraf 2, p. 34.

17. Al-Buḥturî, Dîwân, p. 174; al-Kâtib al-Iṣfahânî, Kharîda, Egyptian Poets, ed. Sh. Ḍayf et al., 2 (Cairo, 1951), 234; Bahâ' ad-Dîn Zuhayr, op. cit., p. 170; Saᶜdî, loc. cit.; aṣ-Ṣafadî, Ghayth, 2 (Cairo, 1395), p. 223.

18. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, 2 (London, 1902), p. 239; the ode is translated also by W. Jones, Poems (Oxford, 1772).

19. Abû Tammâm, Dîwân, ed. M. ᶜAzzâm, 1 (Cairo, 1957-), p. 23; Bayân 1, p. 233; Ibn al-Muᶜtazz, Dîwân, ed. B. Lewin, part 4, in Bibliotheca Islamica, 17 c-d (1945-50), 188; ᶜIqd 3, pp. 43, 50; Tamthîl, p. 390.

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20. Abû Tammâm, Dîwân 1, p. 158; Ibn ar-Rûmî, Dîwân, ed. K. Kîlânî (Cairo, 1924), p. 134; ᶜIqd 3, p. 43; M. and S. al-Khâlidî, al-Ashbâh wa-n-Naẓâ'ir, ed. Sayyid M. Yûsûf, 2 (Cairo, 1935-65), pp. 284-5; Thimâr, # 995, 996; al-Baghdâdî, Khizâna 1, p. 93.

21. Thimâr, # 995.

22. Aghânî 13, p. 145.

23. Shihâb, p. 41.

24. Ibid., p. 55.

25. Ibid., p. 58.

26. Ibid., p. 64.

27. "Preface," Dîwân, p. xviii.

28. Thimâr, # 1086; Yâqût, Irshâd, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, 1 (Leiden, 1907-27), p. 165; Bahâ' ad-Dîn Zuhayr, Dîwân, p. 165.

29. Ch. Pellat says that since al-Jâḥiẓ wrote a disputation between summer and winter, such a disputation could easily be attributed to him. But, he adds, the title alone, because of its rhymed form, would suffice to prove its apocryphal nature, cf. "Ǧâḥiẓiana III. Essai d'inventaire de l'oeuvre Ǧâḥiẓienne," Arabica, 3 (1956), 173.

30. Lane s.v. "ṣ-d-r," "ᶜ-j-a," "a-n-f," "dh-n-b"; Salwat al-Harîf (Constantinople, 1302), pp. 115-6.

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31. Dîwân, p. 448.

32. Thimâr, # 925.

33. Lisân s.v. "m-w-h."

34. Thimâr, # 926; Yatîma, 1, pp. 225-6.

35. Ashbâh 2, p. 261.

36. Salwat al-Ḥarîf, p. 106; Thimâr, # 926; Nihâya 2, pp. 31-3.

37. Salwat al-Ḥarîf, p. 106.

38. The quotations are from Mia I. Gerhardt, The Art of Story-Telling (Leiden, 1963), pp. 124, 150, 151, 155; see also al-Qalamâwî, Alf Layla wa-Layla, 1 (Baghdâd, 1964[?], a reprinte of the Bûlaq ed. of 1252), pp. 59-61, 115, 257, 389; 2, p. 217. The stories referred to are those of Ḥasan and Sitt al-Ḥusn; Nûr ad-Dîn and Anîs al-Jalîs; Tâj al-Mulûk and Dunyâ; and ᶜAlî al-Miṣrî (Nights: 20-21, 34, 131, 220, 721).

39. Ibn al-Jawzî, Dhamm al-Hawâ, ed. M. ᶜAbd al-Wâḥid (Cairo, 1962), p. 108.

40. Ibid., pp. 109-13.

41. A Literary History of Persia, 2 (New York, 1906), p. 146.

42. Gibb, op. cit., p. 151.

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43. ᶜIqd 3, pp. 45, 46; Lane s.v. "sh-r-r."

44. Ḍiyâ' ad-Dîn b. al-Athîr, Rasâ'il, ed. A. al-Maqdisî (Beirut, 1959), pp. 121, 123.

45. Ath-Thaᶜâlibî, Fiqh, p. 58; Tamthîl, pp. 381-2.

46. Qur'ân 16:70, 22:5, 95:4-5; aṭ-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr, 17 (Cairo, 1321), p. 82; 22, p. 17; 30, pp. 134-5.

47. Aṣ-Ṣafadî, op. cit., 2, p. 224; Zahr 4, p. 45.

48. ᶜUyûn 4, p. 43.

49. Dîwân 3, p. 250.

50. Al-Bayhaqî, Maḥâsin, ed. F. Schwally (Giessen, 1902), p. 487; al-Maydânî, op. cit., 1, p. 5; # 1482.

51. As-Sijistânî, al-Muᶜammarûn, ed. I. Goldziher in Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie (Leiden, 1896-9), p. 70; ᶜIqd 3, p. 58.

52. ᶜIqd 3, p. 57.

53. Aghânî 1, pp. 404-5.

54. Ibid., pp. 36, 38; 5, p. 108.

55. ᶜUyûn 2, p. 323.

56. A Mirror for Princes, trans. R. Levy (London, 1951), pp. 52-53.

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57. Tamthîl, p. 402; A Mirror, p. 52.

58. Al-Mubarrad, al-Kâmil, ed. Z. Mubârak, 1 (Cairo, 1936-7), p. 178; Ashbâh 1, p. 38.

59. ʿUyûn 2, p. 321; Ibn ar-Rûmî, Dîwân, p. 461; Ashbâh 1, p. 37; Zahr 1, pp. 201-3; al-Baghdâdî, Khizâna 3, p. 154.

60. Tahdhîb al-Akhlâq, ed. C. Zurayq (Beirut, 1967), p. 208.

61. Luzûmîyât 2, p. 49; Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 223.

62. Dîwân 3, p. 249.

63. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 3, pp. 115, 119, 169, 275.

64. Al-Mâwardî, Adab ad-Dunyâ wa-Dîn, ed. M. aṣ-Ṣaqqâ (Cairo, 1955), p. 207; Muḥâḍarât 1, p. 253.

65. Richardson, p. 12.

66. Al-Buḥturî, Ḥamâsa, ed. L. Cheikho (Paris, 1910), p. 186; as-Sijistânî, op. cit., p. 30; Kharîda, Syrian Poets, ed. Sh. Fayṣal, 1 (Damascus, 1955-64), p. 508; Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 149.

67. Dîwân, p. 133.

68. A Mirror, p. 52.

69. Kharîda, Syrian Poets, 1, p. 508.

70. Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 149; for an account on suicide, see F. Rosenthal,

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"On Suicide in Islam," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 66 (1946), 239-59.

71. Max Wegner, Greek Masterworks of Art, trans. Ch. La Rue (New York, 1961), pp. 25, 26.

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Chapter III

1. See below, pp. 35-36.

2. As-Sakhâwî, I^{c}lân, in F. Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leiden, 1968), p. 299.

3. Ibn Ḥibbân, Rawḍat al-^{c}Uqalâ', ed. M. as-Saqqâ (Cairo, 1955), pp. 5-6; Miskawayh, al-Ḥikma al-Khâlida, pp. 266-7.

4. Adab, pp. 6-7, 11.

5. Tamthîl, p. 384.

6. Nihâya 6, p. 75.

7. ^{c}Iqd 2, p. 441.

8. Lane s.v. "ḥ-n-k."

9. Lane s.v. "b-z-l."

10. Lane s.v. "kh-r-f."

11. Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 145; Lane s.v. "ḥ-k-k."

12. Tamthîl, p. 384.

13. Al-Mustaqṣâ fî Amthâl al-^{c}Arab, 2 (Hyderabad, 1962), # 321.

14. Lane s.v. "^{c}-w-d"; ^{c}Iqd 3, p. 95; al-Maydânî, # 1727.

15. ^{c}Iqd 3, p. 95.

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16. al-Maydânî, # 293.

17. G. Bell, trans., Poems from the Diwan of Hafiz (London, 1928), p. 74.

18. Ibn Rushd, Talkhîṣ al-Khaṭâba, pp. 462-3.

19. Tamthîl, p. 384; Nihâya 6, pp. 74-75.

20. Mathnawi, ed. and trans. R. A. Nicholson, 4 (London-Leiden, 1925-40), line 2051ff.

21. Miskawayh and at-Tawḥîdî, al-Hawâmil wa-sh-Shawâmil, ed. A. Amîn and A. Ṣaqr (Cairo, 1951), p. 234.

22. Zahr 1, p. 242.

23. Nihâya 6, p. 80.

24. Abû Tammâm, Dîwân 2, p. 375; Lane s.v. "kh-r-f."

25. Aṭ-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr 14, pp. 86-7; 17, p. 82; Qur'ân 16:72, 22:5.

26. Adab, p. 7; Nihâya 6, p. 75.

27. Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 145.

28. EI^2 s.v. "Ḥilm."

29. Also see ibid.

30. Dîwân, ed. M. Derenbourg (Paris, 1896), p. 90; the ^{c}Âmir mentioned

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above is ᶜÂmir b. Ṭufayl who wrote a satire against an-Nâbigha, cf. pp. 220-1; Lane s.v. "ẓ-n-n."

31. Lane s.v. "ẓ-n-n."

32. Abû Nuwâs, Dîwân (Beirut, 1962), p. 484; Shihâb, p. 56; al-Maydânî, # 1976.

33. ᶜIqd 5, p. 146; Yâqût, Irshâd 7, p. 116.

34. Dîwân 3, p. 224; Lane s.v. "s-l-m."

35. Dîwân 1, p. 293.

36. Ibid. 2, p. 133.

37. Shihâb, p. 60.

38. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W. Trask (New York, 1963), p. 98.

39. Dîwân, p. 655.

40. At-Ṭabarî 3, p. 32.

41. Dîwân, p. 467.

42. Dîwân, p. 1625; also, p. 1646.

43. Ibid., p. 1698.

44. Nihâya 6, pp. 75-76.

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45. Zahr 1, p. 200.

46. Dîwân 1, p. 269; also 2, pp. 151, 184.

47. Lane s.v. "h-m-m."

48. Az-Zarnûjî, Ta^{c}lîm al-Mut^{c}allim, p. 40.

49. A. J. Arberry, ed. and trans., Poems of al-Mutanabbî (Cambridge, 1967), p. 22.

50. Ibn Khallikân, Wafayât al-A^{c}yân 1, pp. 429-30.

51. Dîwân, p. 86.

52. Wa-mâ hasart matâyatayya, lit. and I did not exhaust my two mounts on which I ride, i.e., his legs. The editor, ^{c}A. Zand, suggests the interpretation given above, which is a plausible one.

53. Al-Farqadayn, i.e., the two stars β and γ of Ursa Minor.

54. Luzûmîyât 2, p. 432.

55. Ibid. 1, p. 51.

56. A History of Ottoman Poetry 1, p. 116.

57. Sayd al-Khâtir, ed. A. and N. aṭ-Ṭanṭâwî (Damascus, 1960), # 120.

58. Some examples are foundd in A. S. Tritton, Muslim Education (London, 1957), pp. 95-7.

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59. Aghânî 3, p. 278.

60. Ibn Khallikân, op. cit., 3, p. 306.

61. A. J. Arberry, trans., Avicenna on Theology (London, 1951), p. 13.

62. F. Musgrove, Youth and the Social Order (London, 1964), p. 150.

63. Arberry, op. cit., p. 11.

64. Medieval Islam (Chicago, 1962), p. 243.

65. The Story of Abû Ḥasan the Son of the Khawâja (Nights: 436-62).

66. Al-Bukhârî, Ṣaḥîḥ (Cairo, 1314-5), ᶜilm, # 15.

67. Ibn Khallikân, op. cit., 4, p. 245.

68. Ibn an-Nadîm, Al-Fihrist, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871-2), p. 275; al-Qifṭî, Târîkh al-Ḥukamâ', ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 153-54.

69. Az-Zarnûjî, Taᶜlîm al-Mutaᶜllim, p. 58.

70. Yâqût, Irshâd 2, pp. 234; 240; 6, pp. 449-50; Ibn Khallikân, op. cit., 1, p. 181.

71. Ibn Abî Uṣaybiᶜa, ᶜUyûn al-Anba', ed. A. Müller, 2 (Cairo, 1882-4), p. 93.

72. Nicholson, trans., Rûmî (London, 1950), p. 110.

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73. Dîwân 1, p. 316.

74. Arberry, Poems of al-Mutanabbî, p. 54.

75. D. Runes, ed., Dictionary of Philosophy s.v. "tabula rasa."

76. Mustaṭraf 2, p. 32.

77. Rasâ'il 2, pp. 200-202; 4, pp. 114-5; Qur'ân 21:60, 43:57-8.

78. Hawâmil, p. 53.

79. P. 56.

80. Adab, p. 212.

81. Al-Ghazzâlî, Iḥyâ' ᶜUlûm ad-Dîn, 3 (Cairo, 1289), p. 71.

82. Rosenthal, trans., The Muqaddimah 3, pp. 300-01.

83. Rosenthal, "Child Psychology," pp. 17-8.

84. Miskawayh, al-Ḥikma al-Khâlida, p. 213; Ibn Hindû, al-Ḥikam al-Yûnânîya (Cairo, 1318/1900), p. 84.

85. Adab, pp. 32-3, 41.

86. Al-Mubashshir b. Fâtik, Mukhtâr al-Ḥikam, ed. ᶜA. Badawî (Madrid, 1958), p. 70; According to Ibn Hindû, the philosopher involved is Socrates, cf. op. cit., p. 87.

87. Miskawayh, al-Ḥikma al-Khâlida, 211; al-Mubashshir, loc. cit.; Ibn

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Hindû, op. cit., p. 83.

88. Az-Zarnûji, Ta^{c}lîm al-Muta^{c}allim, p. 58.

89. Al-Mubashshir, op. cit., p. 203.

90. Ibn Sînâ, "as-Siyâsa," in Maqâlât Falsafîya, ed. L. Cheikho et al. (Beirut, 1911), p. 14.

91. Ibn Jamâ^{c}a, Tadhkirat as-Sâmi^{c} (Hyderabad, 1303), pp. 51-2.

92. Quoted by al-Ghazzâlî, op. cit., 1, p. 57.

93. The Muqaddimah 3, pp. 293-4.

94. Quoted by Musgrove, Youth and the Social Order, pp. 40-1.

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Chapter IV

1. Ath-Thaᶜâlibî, Latâ'if, trans. C. E. Bosworth (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 92.

2. In addition to the previous reference, see al-Jâḥiẓ, Rasâ'il 1, p. 300.

3. Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kâmil 2, p. 55.

4. "Archetypal Patterns of Youth," Youth: Change and Challenge, ed. E. Erikson (New York, 1963), pp. 29-30.

5. Al-Mubarrad, al-Kâmil 1, p. 181; Aghânî 14, p. 82.

6. A Mirror, p. 223.

7. Ibn Yaᶜqûb, Rawd, p. 26; also Rosenthal, "Child Psychology," p. 5.

8. Bidâya 8, p. 230.

9. Miskawayh, al-Ḥikma al-Khâlida, p. 19.

10. In most cases I have relied upon EI for the ages of the aforementioned caliphs.

11. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 2, p. 1341; Bidâya 9, pp. 180-81; some versions have "caliph" instead of "king."

12. Aghânî 10, pp. 192-93.

13. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 3, p. 88.

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14. Bidâya 10, p. 59.

15. Ibid. 7, p. 137.

16. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 2, pp. 206-207.

17. Lane, trans., Arabian Nights 1, p. 266; from the story of Nûr ad-Dîn and his son Badr ad-Dîn (Nights: 20-4).

18. Al-Jâḥiẓ, op. cit., p. 296.

19. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 1, p. 1691; Bidâya 5, p. 30.

20. V. Vacca in EI s.v. "Usâma b. Zayd."

21. Bidâya 7, p. 312.

22. ᶜIqd 2, p. 251.

23. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 2, pp. 1960ff.

24. ᶜUyûn 1, p. 230; Muḥâḍarât 1, pp. 77-8.

25. Ṣayd al-Khâṭir, # 196.

26. ᶜUyûn 1, p. 230.

27. ᶜUyûn, loc. cit.; Bidâya 7, p. 34.

28. Bayân 1, p. 274; in Rasâ'il 1, p. 299, also by al-Jâḥiẓ, "murûwa" rather than "siyâda" occurs.

29. Zahr 3, p. 60.

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30. ᶜUyûn 1, p. 229; ᶜIqd 2, p. 289.

31. Aghânî 9, p. 67; 15, p. 134.

32. See above, p. 56.

33. Dîwân, pp. 576, 647.

34. Dîwân, pp. 342, 610-11, 690.

35. ᶜIqd 2, p. 287; Muḥâḍarât 1, p. 25.

36. Ibid., loc. cit.; Muḥaḍarat 1, p. 67.

37. P. 32.

38. Ibn Abî Ḥadîd, Nahj al-Balâgha, ed. M. Abû al-Faḍl Ibrâhim, 18 (Cairo, 1959-64), pp. 122-23; Concordance 5, p. 34.

39. ᶜUyûn 2, p. 326, but it is also attributed to the Prophet, cf. Mustaṭraf 2, p. 35.

40. Ibn al-Athîr, Nihâya s.v. "sh-r-kh."

41. Ashbâh 1, pp. 112-13; al-Bakrî, Faṣl al-Maqâl, ed. I. ᶜAbbâs and ᶜAbd al-Majîd ᶜÂbdîn (Khartoum, 1958), p. 136.

42. ᶜIqd 1, p. 175.

43. Aṭ-Ṭabarî 1, p. 3263.

44. Ibid. 2, p. 473.

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45. Ashbâh 1, p. 112.

46. Abû Tammâm, Dîwân 2, p. 382.

47. Ibn Hindû, al-Hikam al-Yûnânîya, p. 74.

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Chapter V

1. Bayân 2, p. 56; A Mirror, p. 49; Ḥamîd ad-Dîn, Maqâmât (Isfahan, 1339), p. 17; Bidâya 5, p. 13; as-Sakhâwî, I^{c}lân in F. Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leiden, 1968), p. 368; Ibn Ya^{c}qûb, Rawḍ al-Akhyâr min Rabî^{c} al-Abrâr (Cairo, 1307), p. 235.

2. Thimâr, # 1301; Lisân s.v. "s-k-r."

3. Zahr 1, pp. 199-200.

4. Dîwân, ed. M. H. Âl Yâsîn, Nafâ'is al-Makhṭûṭât 2 (Baghdâd, 1373/1954), p. 39.

5. ^{c}Iqd 3, p. 53; the literal translation of the last line is "and no call (du^{c}an) of his is sensible" (wa-mâ min du^{c}an lahû bi-rashîd). The poet apparently used du^{c}an as an infinitive, not attested in lexicons, in order to achieve a correct meter.

6. Tamthîl, p. 382; Yatîma 4, p. 16.

7. Dîwân, p. 575.

8. F. Rosenthal, trans. The Muqaddimah 3, p. 304; in addition to the reference given by Rosenthal see al-Jâḥiẓ, Rasâ'il 2, p. 117.

9. Yatîma 1, p. 292.

10. Adab, pp. 19-20.

11. Zahr 1, p. 199.

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12. Bayân 1, p. 198; Adab, loc. cit.

13. Shihâb, p. 40.

14. Ibid., p. 3.

15. ᶜIqd 3, p. 52; Thimâr, # 1230; Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 145.

16. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 1, p. 280; 2, pp. 207, 210; Concordance 3, p. 225.

17. Gulistan, p. 176; Bustan, pp. 110-11.

18. A Mirror, p. 51.

19. Zahr 4, p. 43; Tamthîl, p. 384.

20. ᶜUyûn 2, p. 320; ᶜIqd 3, p. 48; al-Maydânî 1, p. 392; Mustaṭraf 2, p. 34.

21. Dîwân, p. 264.

22. Dhakhîra, part 4, 1, pp. 89-90.

23. F. De la Granja in EI^2 s.v. "Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih"; Yâqût, Irshâd 2, pp. 71-2.

24. ᶜIqd 3, p. 49.

25. Dîwân, p. 311.

26. Shihâb, pp. 42, 69.

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27. Nafh 6, p. 617.

28. Dîwân, pp. 26, 420.

29. Al-ᶜÂmilî, Kashkûl, ed. T. az-Zawî, 2 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 345-6; Nafh 6, p. 61.

30. Ashbâh 1, p. 128.

31. Al-Maydânî, # 2084.

32. Muhâdarât 2, p. 143.

33. Above, p. 13.

34. Hawâmil, p. 49.

35. Adab, p. 327.

36. "Islamic Studies and Cultural Research," The American Anthropologist, 56 (1954), 4.

37. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 2, p. 492; Concordance 3, p. 56.

38. Ibn al-Jawzî, Dhamm al-Hawâ, p. 53; Bidâya 9, p. 25.

39. Bidâya, loc. cit.

40. Ibn Yâfiᶜ, Rawḍ ar-Rayâḥîn fî Ḥikâyât aṣ-Ṣâliḥîn (Cairo, 1955), passim.

41. As-Sakhâwî, Iᶜlân in Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography,

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p. 368.

42. Bayân 1, p. 303; al-Mubarrad, al-Kâmil 1, p. 179; ᶜIqd 3, pp. 142-3; Nihâya 6, p. 111.

43. See above, p. 65.

44. A Mirror, pp. 49, 50.

45. Muḥâḍarât 1, pp. 134-5.

46. Bayân 2, pp. 124-5; aṭ-Ṭabarî 2, pp. 2010-11; ᶜIqd 4, p. 144; Aghânî 20, pp. 104-5; Bidâya 10, pp. 35-6.

47. Hawâmil, pp. 47-9.

48. Ibid., p. 39.

49. Ibid., pp. 78-9.

50. Above, pp. 39-40.

51. Tamthîl, p. 25; Ibn Yaᶜqûb, Rawḍ, p. 236.

52. Nihâya 2, p. 22.

53. Bayân 2, p. 145.

54. Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 145.

55. A Mirror, p. 51.

56. Tahdhîb al-Akhlâq, ed. Afram Barsaum in The American Journal of

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Semitic Languages and Literatures, 45 (1928-9), 109. The company of the old is also stressed in: ᶜIqd 2, p. 257; Ibn Ḥibbân, Rawḍa, pp. 83, 153; Ibn Yaᶜqûb, Rawḍ, p. 235.

57. See below, pp. 83-4.

58. Bidâya 10, p. 142.

59. Al-Bukhârî, Ṣaḥîḥ 8, p. 34; Qur'ân 12:25.

60. Al-Bukhârî, loc. cit.

61. Zahr 1, p. 7.

62. Miskawayh, al-Ḥikma al-Khâlida, ed. ᶜA. Badawî (Cairo, 1952), p. 276.

63. A. Mirror, p. 50.

64. Lane s.v. "kh-ḍ-r." According to another account, young men may say "aḥsadt," and the old man would reply "wa-tuḥtasadûn," cf. ᶜUyûn 2, p. 323.

65. Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 145; Ibn Yaᶜqûb, Rawḍ, p. 235.

66. Qur'ân 17:24-5.

67. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 5, pp. 3, 5; 2, p. 204; Concordance 1, p. 159.

68. See below, pp. 110ff.

69. Nafḥ 2, p. 343; same notion in Hawâmil, p. 79.

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70. ᶜIqd 2, p. 424.

71. Ibid.

72. Aghânî 9, p. 292; 8, pp. 251, 278; 15, pp. 7-8.

73. Tahdhîb al-Akhlâq, p. 106.

74. See above, p. 77.

75. Edited by ᶜA. Badawî, al-Khaṭâba: at-Tarjama al-ᶜArabîya al-Qadîma (Cairo, 1959).

76. Cf. Badawî's introduction to his edition, pp. ḥ-ṭ.

77. Cf. the introduction, p. 10, of Sâlim's edition of Ibn Rushd, Talkhîṣ al-Khaṭâba (Cairo, 1967).

78. Appendix, p. 127. Afᶜâl az-Zuhara translates Greek aphrodisia. It seems quite unlikely that another independent Arabic translation would have used the same literal translation, provided, of course, that it was not conditioned by a Syriac translation which was used by--otherwise independent--Arabic translators.

79. Appendix, p. 131.

80. Appendix, p. 134. Again we cannot rule out the possibility that the gloss goes back to an older (Syriac) stage of the textual translation.

81. Appendix, p. 135. This is a mistranslation of "according to the

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precept of Bias." Bias was not recognized as a proper name but connected with bia "force," biazein "to force," And hypotheke was connected with hypothesis and the like. Again, the agreement of the three texts shows either that they go back to the same Arabic translation or that there was a Syriac translation which was used by various Arabic translators.

82. Appendix, p. 128.

83. Appendix, p. 136. It is tempting to assume that Greek prophobêtikoi was misread prophêtikoi. However this may be, different translators, even if they found the same mistake in their Greek manuscripts, would not have rendered it in the same words (not even if both relied on a Syriac intermediary).

84. Appendix, p. 141. In this case the influence of an intermediary on different Arabic translations is not excluded.

85. The additions supplied by Badawî in his edition of the Arabic translation will not be translated since we are interested in the exact text. Ibn Sînâ's account was edited by M. Sâlim, ash-Shifâ', part 8, al-Khatâba (Cairo, 1954). Ibn Rushd's account was also edited by Badawî, but we have used the edition of Sâlim who compares the Arabic texts with the original. Sâlim has also consulted the manuscripts of the translation and points out a number of errors, in part possibly typographical, in Badawî's edition, which will be taken into consideration.

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86. The "Art" of Rhetoric (London, 1926).

87. "Moderation in all things."

88. Badawî, ed., "Introduction," Talkhîṣ al-Khaṭâba (Cairo, 1960).

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Chapter VI

1. Mufaḍḍalîyât, # 119; al-Jâḥiẓ, Rasâ'il, ed. ᶜA. Hârûn, 2 (Cairo, 1964-65), pp. 99, 114; ᶜUyûn 4, p. 44; al-Mubarrad, al-Kâmil 2, p. 494; al-Washshâ', al-Muwashshâ, p. 146.

2. Dîwân, pp. 485-6.

3. P. 14.

4. al-Asmaᶜîyât, ed. Aḥmad M. Shâkir (Cairo, 1964), # 26, 30, 61; ᶜUyûn 4, p. 74; Ibn al-Muᶜtazz, Dîwân, part 4, pp. 129, 192.

5. Shihâb, p. 46; al-ᶜÂmilî, Kashkûl 1, p. 195.

6. Shihâb, p. 44; Muḥâḍarât 2, p. 40; Nihâya 2, pp. 27-28.

7. Dîwân, p. 49.

8. Ibn Dâ'ûd, Kitâb azZahra, ed. A. R. Nykl and I. Ṭûqân (Chicago, 1932), p. 339; Dîwân, ed. B. al-Bustânî (Beirut, 1953), pp. 92-3.

9. Dîwân (Beirut, 1964), p. 249.

10. Aṣ-Ṣûlî, Kitâb al-Awarâq, part 3, Ashᶜâr Awlâd al-Khulafâ', ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne (Cairo, 1936), pp. 23-24.

11. Lit. "and no bulk of her breast has appeared to those of the same age yet."

12. Dîwân, ed. ᶜAbd as-Sattâr A. Farrâj (Cairo, 19?), p. 238.

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13. Ibid., p. 225.

14. Aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Ghayth 2, p. 223; another example to be found in Aghānī 12, p. 250.

15. Al-ᶜĀmilī, Kashkūl 1, pp. 27-28.

16. Muḥāḍarāt 2, p. 146.

17. Hawāmil, pp. 205-6.

18. See above, p. 4.

19. Dīwān al-Ārājīz, in Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter, 2, ed. W. Ahlwardt (Berlin, 1902-3), p. 82.

20. Thimār, #1149.

21. Al-Jāḥiẓ, Rasā'il 1, p. 196.

22. Rosenthal, "Child Psychology," p. 5.

23. ᶜIqd 3, p. 46; Mustaṭraf 2, p. 33.

24. ᶜIqd, loc. cit.

25. Ibn ar-Rūmī, Dīwān, p. 413.

26. Ibid., pp. 133, 159, 394.

27. Al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, 2, p. 521; Muḥāḍarāt 2, p. 147.

28. Dīwān 1, p. 359.

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29. Shihâb, p. 11.

30. A. V. Williams Jackson, Early Persian Poetry (New York, 1920), p. 52.

31. Rosenthal, loc. cit.; Dîwân, p. 13.

32. Thimâr, # 925.

33. Lane s.v. "s-q-y."

34. Thimâr, # 1127.

35. Ashbâh 1, p. 40; Dîwân, p. 52.

36. Jackson, op. cit., p. 51.

37. Browne, A Literary History of Persia 2, pp. 147-8.

38. Dîwân, p. 32.

39. Ibn ar-Rûmî, Dîwân, p. 413.

40. Dîwân 3, p. 76.

41. Bell, trans., Poems from the Divan of Hafiz, p. 140.

42. Ibid., p. 45.

43. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry 1, p. 361.

44. Ibid., 3, p. 10; on Khizr see chapter "Eternal Youth and Rejuvenation."

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Chapter VI

45. al-Buḥturî, Dîwân, pp. 752-53, 1437; aṣ-Ṣafadî, op. cit., p. 103.

46. Gibb, op. cit., 2, p. 239.

47. Arberry, ed. and trans., Omar Khayyâm (New Haven, 1952), # 99.

48. Hawâmil, pp. 37-9.

49. "What Generation Gap?" The New York Times Magazine, January 18, (1970), pp. 10-11.

50. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 2, p. 214; 3, pp. 131, 134, 495; 5, pp. 36, 38; Concordance 4, p. 288.

51. As-Sulamî, Adab aṣ-Ṣuḥba, p. 83.

52. Al-Ḥuṣrî, Jam^{c} al-Jawâhir or Dhayl Zahr al-Âdâb, ed. ^{c}Alî M. al-Bijâwî (Cairo, 1953), p. 244.

53. Aghânî 8, p. 74.

54. Maḥâsin, p. 590.

55. Gulistan, p. 177.

56. Gerhardt, The Art of Story-Telling, p. 287.

57. Lane, trans., Arabian Nights 2, pp. 81, 84, 85; the story of Qamar az-Zamân and Budûr; (Nights 170ff.).

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Chapter VII

1. Qur'ân 7:43; Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 3, p. 95; Concordance 3, p. 56.

2. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 2, p. 370; Concordance 3, p. 57.

3. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 2, p. 295; Concordance 1, pp. 337, 377.

4. Rasâ'il 2, p. 205.

5. Lisân s.v. "s-l-m."

6. L. Gardet in EI^2 s.v. "Djanna"; cf. also above, n. 3.

7. Above, pp. 4, 5.

8. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 3, p. 3; Concordance 3, p. 57.

9. Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad 1, p. 80; Concordance 3, p. 57.

10. Qur'ân 56:35-7; Muḥâḍarât 1, p. 137; al-Baḥrânî, Kashkûl, p. 5.

11. Aṭ-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr 27, p. 96.

12. Ath-Tha^{c}âlibî, Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyâ' (Cairo, 1955 ?), p. 203; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣâba 2 (Cairo, 1323-5), pp. 126, 127, 130, 132, 134, 136.

13. A History of Ottoman Poetry 1, p. 172.

14. Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣâba 2, p. 125.

15. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 101; Rosen, Mesnewi (Leipzig, 1849), p. 28 n.

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16. At-Tabarî 1, pp. 415ff.

17. I. Friedländer, Die Chadhirlegende und dér Alexanderroman (Leipzig and Berlin, 1913), pp. 225-6.

18. Ibid., pp. 309, 314.

19. Ibid., p. 145.

20. The story of the Roc is narrated in the 405th Night. The text reads النشاب. The same story occurs in Mustatraf 2, p. 129 and in ad-Damîrî's Hayât al-Hayawân 1, pp. 856-7. The former has الشباب and the latter النشاب. V. Chauvin follows the Mustatraf and says, "Ainsi traduit Lane, dont le text portait sans doute la bonne leçon de شباب au lieu de نشاب, qui ne donne pas de sens. Cette leçon est confirmée par le passage du Moustatraf," cf. Bibliographie des Ouvrages arabes 6 (Liége, 1892-1922), # 256. Jayakar, translator of Hayât, suggests النشب, "a certain tree found in the desert, of which bows are made." This may be plausible, and at any rate الشباب seems less likely.

21. Al-Maydânî, # 2635; az-Zamakhsharî, al-Mustaqsâ 1, # 1078.

22. Al-Maydânî, # 3205; but az-Zamakhsharî 1, # 1231 has Adshîr.

23. According to az-Zamakhsharî, two hundred and twenty years.

24. Hawâmil, pp. 122-4.

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Appendix

1. Li-annahum, as Sâlim suggests, and not wa-li-annahum as in Badawî's edition.

2. Yukhtada^{c}û, as pointed out by Sâlim, and not yakhtari^{c}û as in Badawî's edition.

3. Al-Hayâ', according to Sâlim, and not al-hiyâd, according to Badawî's edition.

4. Lit. "big of soul," translating Greek megalopsychoi.

5. Sâlim reads yajûrûn and indicates in a footnote that yakhûrûn is a variant reading. The latter seems to be the correct reading since it is compatible with the following word, yanhazimûn, and it agrees with the translation and with Ibn Rushd's account.

6. Al-mutazallim, cf. below, p. 143.

7. Sâlim reads al-muta^{c}arrif bi-l-khayr and says that al-mu^{c}tarif is a variant reading. The latter seems to be better.

8. Al-akhlâq as-sukhf aw ash-shakâsa, which is not good Arabic unless the article of al-akhlâq is omitted. In Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd there is no problem since they use the adjectives sakhîfa and shakisa.

9. Wa-kân, as suggested by Sâlim, and not fa-kân as in Badawî's edition.

10. Badawî reads intahû, which does not agree with the original. A

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possible correction seems to be untuhirû "chided."

11. Badawî reads wa-l-ᶜadhî, suggesting that the preceding word is not li-l-a'imma (as in the printed text) but li-l-lâ'ima, both words meaning "blame," thus rendering Greek philaitioi, attested as a variant reading for philautoi. This seems highly plausible. It is less plausible in the text of Ibn Sînâ, and impossible in Ibn Rushd, but both may have misunderstood the text of the translation. At any rate, Ibn Sînâ's text follows that of the preserved translation, and it is quite unlikely that another translator would have expressed himself in the identical words.

12. Badawî reads muᶜtarifîn ᶜalâ qawlihim, which is a strange construction. The correct reading is perhaps muᶜtamidîn "relying."

13. This is a misreading and mistranslation of hautois pathein.

14. Supplied by Badawî.

15. The Arabic text as it stands cannot be translated.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(References are made to the Bibliography)

Adab = See al-Mâwardî.

Aghânî = See Abû al-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî.

Ashbâh = See al-Khâlidî.

Bayân = See al-Jâḥiẓ.

Bidâya = See Ibn Kathîr.

Concordance = See Wensinck.

EI = The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. Th. Houtsma et al. Leiden, 1913-34.

EI^2 = New Edition, ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. Leiden, 1960-.

EMH = The Encyclopedia of Mental Health, ed. A. Deutsch. New York, 1963.

Fihrist = See Ibn an-Nadîm.

GMS = Gibb Memorial Series.

Hawâmil = See Miskawayh and Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî.

IESSc = International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. D. Sills. New York, 1968.

^{c}Iqd = See Ibn ^{c}Abd Rabbih.

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Lane = See Lane.

Lisân = See Ibn Manẓûr.

Luzûmîyât = See Abû al-ᶜAlâ' al-Maᶜrrî.

Maḥâsin = See al-Bayhaqî.

Al-Maydânî = See al-Maydânî.

A Mirror = See Kai Kâ'ûs.

Miṣbâḥ = See al-Fayyûmî.

Mufaḍḍalîyât = See al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbî.

Mughrib = See al-Muṭarrizî.

Muḥâḍarât = See ar-Râghib al-Iṣfahânî.

Mukhaṣṣaṣ = See Ibn Sîda.

Mustaṭraf = See al-Ibshîhî.

Nafḥ = See al-Maqqarî.

Nihâya = See an-Nuwayrî.

PD = L. Hinsie and R. Campbell, Psychiatric Dictionary, New York, 1960.

Qâmûs = See al-Fîrûzabâdî.

Ṣaḥâḥ = See al-Jawharî.

Shihâb = See al-Murtaḍâ.

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Aṭ-Ṭabarî = See aṭ-Ṭabarî, Muḥammad b. Jarîr.

Tâj = See az-Zabîdî.

Tamthîl = See ath-Tha^{c}âlibî.

Thimâr = See ath-Tha^{c}âlibî.

^{c}Uyûn = See Ibn Qutayba.

Yatîma = See ath-Tha^{c}âlibî.

Zahr = See al-Ḥuṣrî.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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