

The Hortatory Preacher is above all the ‘*Ulamā*’: An Evolution in the Role of the Hortatory Preaching among the Mudejars of Aragón?¹

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1. Introduction

In the prologue of an Arabic manuscript entitled, *Zād al-wā‘iz wa-rawḍ al-ḥāfiẓ* (“The provisions of the hortatory preacher and the garden of the [Qur’an] memorizer”), the author reveals the following statement about himself: “When I was appointed to the positions of liturgical preaching upon the pulpits and hortatory preaching at the head of the best religious scholars (*lammā ‘uyyitu bi-l-ḥiṭāba ‘alā l-manābir wa-bi-l-wa‘z ‘alā ru’s al-‘ulamā’ al-aḥyār*) I took it upon myself to study the books on the subject” (MS. Vat. Borg. ar. 130, fol. 3r). He then proceeded to identify the works he studied and announced the aim of his book: “I composed a book comprised of thirty-one sermons (*maḡālis*), using the best themes, the choicest words, and loftiest pronunciations to serve as model for myself and for those wishing to follow the path of hortatory preaching [...]” (MS. Vat. Borg. ar. 130, fol. 3r).

The text that is the subject of this article is an unedited Arabic manuscript currently preserved in the Vatican Library. It is one of eighteen Arabic manuscripts that Camilo Massimo acquired from an unnamed Morisco while serving as papal nuncio in Madrid between 1654 and 1658. Although the manuscript has been catalogued and its contents briefly described by Italian Arabist Giorgio Levi Della Vida (1962, 157-158), it has not been the subject of a detailed study and its significance as a cultural artefact has gone unnoticed. The aim of this article is to undertake a preliminary study of the content of this manuscript. I will discuss its importance as a hitherto unknown exemplar of a manual for Muslim hortatory preachers produced in the Iberian Peninsula, explain how it sheds new light on the practice of hortatory preaching (*wa‘z*) and the role of these preachers among the Mudejars of Aragón, and point out the larger implications for our understanding of the organization and intellectual formation of the religious leadership of an Aragonese Mudejar community at the dawn of the fifteenth century.

The first part of this article will describe the manuscript and the circumstances in which it came into the possession of the Vatican Library. Since we know the exact date of the completion of the manuscript, 22 Rajab 803 H./8 March 1401 J.C., and can link it to the kingdom of Aragón, an explanation of the situation of the Aragonese Mudejars in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century is in order. The final and most extensive part of the article will analyze the prologue and the content of the preaching manual. I reserve the study of the sermons for a future publication.

2. Brief Introduction to MS BAV, Borg. ar. 130

The following is based upon the description provided in Giorgio Levi Della Vida’s catalogue, *Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola* (1962). Levi Della Vida explains that he compiled the catalogue in order to present in a uniform and orderly fashion all the Hispano-Arabic materials dispersed throughout various collections of the Vatican Library. This manuscript was one of eighteen acquired by Camillo Massimo (o Massimi)

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who was sent from Rome to serve as papal nuncio in Madrid between 1654 and 1658. Massimo duly handed the collection of Arabic manuscripts over to the Vatican's *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith). Levi Della Vida confirms that all the manuscripts are of Spanish origin and although the contents are varied, they are thematically homogenous and appear to have been owned by the same individual. Since some of them have dates of transcription or marginal notes by the owner or reader that extend to the beginning of the seventeenth century, Levi Della Vida believes that the original owner was a Morisco, i.e., a descendent of the Muslim communities living under Christian rule in the Iberian Peninsula who were forced to convert to Christianity by royal decree in the early sixteenth century (Harvey). Levi Della Vida surmises that this unnamed Morisco either wanted to get rid of his books out of a sincere commitment to Christianity or was obligated to abandon or sell them in the wake of the forced expulsion of the Moriscos from the Iberian Peninsula between 1609 and 1614 (Levi Della Vida 1962, 133-134).

Given the Church and the Spanish monarchy's suspicions toward the Moriscos prior to the expulsions as well as the continuing controversy surrounding the falsification or authenticity of the Lead Books of Sacromonte in Granada (García-Arenal), I find plausible Levi Della Vida's hypothesis that instead of a voluntary sale, the Arabic manuscripts were likely confiscated by the local Christian authorities and eventually delivered to the papal nuncio (1962, 150). Levi Della Vida further reported that on the back of the last preliminary folio of all of the manuscripts there is a description of the content of the respective codex written in a neat and regular calligraphy in a Latin that contains some grammatical mistakes. These preliminary folios written in Latin were produced in Rome by someone with a good understanding of Arabic but with little expertise in Islamic subjects, judging from the text headings which sometimes reveal that he has not quite understood the meaning. Moreover, the Arabic calligraphy is clumsy, leading Levi Della Vida to conjecture that the Latinist was a European who cannot be identified (1962, 151).

Turning now to the manuscript that is the subject of this article, *Zād al-wā'iz wa-rawḍ al-ḥāfiẓ*, it belongs to the Borgiano arabo collection, which Levi Della Vida describes as a homogenous group of Arabic manuscripts of Spanish origin. Thematically, the manuscripts treat religious subjects: theological works (e.g., MS Borg. ar. 65, 162, 166), treatises and commentaries on Maliki law (e.g., MS Borg. ar. 124, 127), paraenetic works—an umbrella term that Levi Della Vida uses to categorize stories of the prophets and hortatory sermons (e.g., MS Borg. ar. 125, 130, 159, 164, 165, 167, 171, 172), edifying tales or legends (MS. Borg. ar. 128, 161), Qur'anic studies (MS. Borg. ar. 132, 169), and religious polemics (MS Bor. ar. 163). Exceptionally, there is one manuscript on medicine (MS Borg. ar. 131) (Levi Della Vida 1962, 152-172). Levi Della Vida describes MS Borg. ar. 130 as follows (translation mine):

a paraenetic work subdivided into *mağlis*-es (assemblies), as is the custom of this literary genre (there are thirty), which bears the title, *Zād al-wā'iz wa-rawḍ al-ḥāfiẓ*, and it is unattributed (*adespota*). On folio 94 it states that it was completed on Tuesday, the 22nd of Rajab 803/8 March 1401, without it being clear whether this refers to the completion of the composition or of the copying [of the manuscript] (the first alternative seems more likely). The unknown author from his first words (f. 2^v) identifies himself as a professional preacher (*fa-innī lammā 'uyyintu bi-l-ḥiṭāba 'alā l-manābir*) and he often quotes his own words. The topics are the usual ones of an edifying nature: (particularly remarkable is *mağlis* 16, f. 51^v on the women scholars of the religious sciences (*fī ṣifat al-muğtahidāt min al-nisā'*); *mağlis*-es 21 to 29 treat the resurrection, the last judgment, the retributions

of the afterlife; in [mağlis] 29 he also speaks of the divine Throne, in 30 of the creation with elements of mythological cosmology; in 31 of the [heavenly] Ascension of Muḥammad (*Isrā'*), to which topic another story is also dedicated as an appendix in folios 94-98 (*dīkr mā ḡā'a fī l-isrā' aydan wa-mā ruwiyā fī dālīka 'an al-mufasssīrīn*). Of particular interest is the list of works the author declares in the introduction of have read or used and which he divides into (1) “Qur’anic commentaries” (*tafāsīr*), (2) “speeches” (*kutub al-ḥuṭabā'*), (3) “paraenetic works” (*mawā'iz*), (4) “cosmology and stories of the pre-Islamic prophets” (*badā'āt*) (Levi Della Vida 1962, 157).

Levi Della Vida informs us that the authorship of the text is uncertain since the author has not provided his name in the title page or the prologue of the manuscript, which is where we would normally find it. This is because typically authors of premodern Arabic texts identify themselves by name referring to themselves in the third person. The only signature that appears on the manuscript is that of the copyist, which, according to Levi Della Vida:

appears at the end of the manuscript (f. 98v) after the appendix on the *Isrā'*, which, as we have seen, appears to be extraneous to the original text of the work. He is Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar al-Mīsārī'ī (?) Levi Della Vida (1962, 158).

Levi Della Vida inserted a question mark and reproduced the name in Arabic letters due to its unusual character (الميساريعي). Although in signing his name al-Mīsārī'ī explicitly identified himself as “the copyist [who wrote] in his own hand” (*al-nāsiḥ bi-yaddihī*), rather than the “author” (*mu'allif*), Levi Della Vida posited that “it was more likely” that the composition of the text itself was completed on the date indicated at the end of the manuscript—Tuesday, the 22nd of Rajab 803 H./8 March 1401 J.C. In other words, if al-Mīsārī'ī was indeed the copyist and not also the author, he copied a work that was dictated to him by a contemporaneous unnamed author.

Concerning the identity of this anonymous author, I concur with the information that Levi Della Vida chose to highlight, particularly regarding the author’s self-identification as a “professional preacher.” In the above quotation Levi Della Vida quoted the author’s own words: “*fa-innī lammā 'uyyintu bi-l-ḥiṭāba 'alā l-manābir*” (For when I was appointed to the position of liturgical preaching upon the pulpits [...]), yet he did not complete the sentence for the author stated, “*fa-innī lammā 'uyyintu bi-l-ḥiṭāba 'alā l-manābir wa-bi-l-wa'z 'alā ru's al-'ulamā' al-aḥyār*” (For when I was appointed to the positions of liturgical preaching upon the pulpits and hortatory preaching at the head of the best religious scholars [...]) (MS Borg. ar. 130, fol. 3r). Levi Della Vida overlooked the importance of the author’s statement that both types of preaching—liturgical and extra-liturgical hortatory preaching—were official positions to which, apparently, only “the best of the ‘ulamā’” were appointed in this Mudejar community. The implications of this information will be discussed in the following section. Here it suffices to note that both types of preaching were professional positions.

Possibly Levi Della Vida did not fully appreciate the singularity of the genre of the text, *Zād al-wā'iz wa-rawḍ al-ḥāfiẓ*. Manuals written especially for the hortatory preacher (*al-wā'iz*) appear to be somewhat rare in the pre-modern Islamic world—as least as far as the number of extant texts are concerned. The surviving works come from the Islamic east, the most well-known being the manual composed by the Iraqi preacher Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 597 H./1200 J.C.) (Swartz 1971). To date *Zād al-wā'iz* is the only extant preaching

manual produced in the Iberian Peninsula that I have encountered and the fact that it was composed by a Mudejar is noteworthy.

Levi Della Vida also highlighted the remarkable fact that the anonymous author listed all the books that he read in preparation for assuming his preaching positions and that he classified these works into four genres: “Qur’anic commentaries” (*tafāsīr*), (2) “speeches” (*kutub al-ḥuṭabā*), (3) “paraenetic works” (*mawā’iz*), (4) “cosmology and stories of the pre-Islamic prophets” (*badā’āt*) (Levi Della Vida 1962, 157). These texts provide precious insights into the formation of the hortatory preacher and the works that were in the possession of this anonymous Mudejar preacher and presumably circulated among his community. Levi Della Vida listed the works cited by the author in each of the four categories, indicating which titles appear in Carl Brockelmann’s reference work of classical Arabic literature (1902) or in the *Fahrasa* (catalogue of books) compiled by the Andalusī scholar Ibn Ḥayr al-Iṣbīlī (d. 585 H./1189 J.C.) (1893) and which works he was unable to identify. I will discuss these sources in more detail in the final section. I will simply note here that the large number of works listed that were composed by Andalusī authors suggests to me that the author was indeed an Andalusī-Mudejar.

3. The Historical Context: Mudejars of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century

It is unfortunate that the copyist did not indicate the location where he copied the manuscript. The fact that the papal nuncio Massimo acquired the cache of Arabic manuscripts from a seventeenth-century Aragonese Morisco does not necessarily mean that the author and copyist of the text dated 803 H./1401 J.C. were also from Aragon. Nevertheless, in the absence of any other geographical indicators, I will assume that the manuscript *Zād al-wā’iz* was produced, copied, and preserved within the kingdom of Aragon. As numerous scholars, including John Boswell, Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Brian Catlos, Kathryn Miller, José Hinojosa Montalvo, among many others have noted, the population distribution of the Aragonese Mudejars was very uneven, with the greatest concentrations in the pre-Pyrenees cities, the middle of the Ebro Valley, the areas of el Jilón, el Jiloca, and el Martín and the mountain ranges of the Sistema Ibérico. We can only speculate as to whether the text was produced in one of the larger towns such as Villafeliche, in one of the smaller rural enclaves where so many of the extant Islamic texts were copied (Miller, 61), or in a Muslim quarter of a major city such as Zaragoza, where, according to Gerard Wiegers, there was both a congregational mosque and a *madrasa* (78; Miller, 47).

Coexistence between the Muslim and Christian communities was highly regulated since the initial conquests of Muslim territories in Aragon by Pedro I (r. 1094-1104) and his successor Alfonso I “the Battler” (r. 1104-1134). Following the signing of surrender treaties, the Aragonese kings issued municipal charters (*cartas de población*) to the subjugated Muslim populations stipulating that “whoever so wanted to remain would have their *fueros* (laws and customs) respected” (Ferrer i Mallol, 147). These Muslims were allowed to continue residing in the Aragonese kingdom, practicing their religion, applying their laws, and maintaining their traditions as long as they formally acknowledged their subjugated status, swore loyalty to the Crown, and paid the required taxes. The Crown of Aragon claimed ultimate legal jurisdiction over all the Muslims of their territories as “the royal treasure” even when the monarchy ceded its financial and judicial prerogatives to members of the nobility or the Church (Boswell, 30-31; Catlos).

Despite stipulations that granted the Mudejars religious freedoms, subjected Muslim populations did not enjoy full autonomy over their religious and legal affairs. For administrative purposes Mudejar populations were organized into administrative bodies or councils, known as *aljamas*, which were governed by between one to four *adelantati*, individuals theoretically elected by the Muslims but whose sole function was to be “the

mouthpiece of the king” and ensure that his orders and fiscal demands were obeyed (Boswell, 73). Although the *adelantati* had the right to appoint minor officials in times of crisis—of which there were many from the late fourteenth century onward—the king reserved the right to replace the Muslim administrators with Christians. The Mudejar religious leadership suffered increasing encroachments to their autonomy during this period. For instance, by the early fourteenth century “few if any *aljamas* in the kingdom enjoyed [the] right” to appoint their own judges (*qādīs*) (Boswell, 79; Catlos, 157-158), which would have impacted the appointment of religious functionaries, including preachers.

4. Textual Description and Analysis

4.1. The author

On the cover page (fol. 2v) of the manuscript entitled, *Zād al-wā‘iz wa-rawḍ al-hāfiẓ* (The provisions of the hortatory preacher and the garden of the [Qur’an] memorizer), the title at the top of the first folio is written in large letters in al-Mīsārī‘ī’s expert calligraphy. Beneath the title following a large space another scribe has inserted a mystical poem, introducing it as “one of the sayings of Abū Madyan the saint (*al-ṣāliḥ*)” (d. 494 H./1198 J.C.), referring to the famous Andalusī Sufī saint, poet, and preacher who left the Iberian Peninsula and settled in Algeria where he built a Sufī lodge (*zāwiya*), formed multiple disciples, and influenced the spirituality of other celebrated Sufīs including Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638 H./1240 J.C.) and al-Šādīlī (d. 656 H./1259 J.C.), founder of the eponymous Šādīlī Sufī order (Shafik; Addas). The poem consists of sixteen verses and was obviously written by someone other than the copyist al-Mīsārī‘ī since the calligraphic style is much cruder. The prologue of *Zād al-wā‘iz* begins on folio 3r where the copyist has inserted two Islamic liturgical formulas as headings: the *basmala* written on the upper right and the blessing on the Prophet Muhammad, written on the upper left.² As with the cover page, al-Mīsārī‘ī wrote the title of the prologue in a larger script: “The author, may God be pleased with him and grant him satisfaction, says” (*qāla al-mu’allif, raḍiyā Allāh ‘anhu wa-ardāhu*), where we see that the author chose not to reveal his name, as Levi Della Vida indicated (1962, 157). Following another brief liturgical preamble, he addressed the matter at hand informing his readers that he had been appointed to the positions of liturgical and hortatory preacher:

Now then (*amā ba’d*):³ praise be to God and blessings upon His prophet Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him salvation. For verily, when I was appointed to the positions of liturgical preaching upon the pulpits and hortatory preaching at the head of the best ‘*ulamā*’, I took it upon myself to study the books on those subjects (fol. 3r).

In the above quotation the author did not reveal who appointed him to his preaching positions. He used the passive voice, “When I was appointed (*lammā ‘uyyintu bi-*).” Based on what we know from the previous section’s discussion about increasing royal interference in the religio-judicial affairs of the Aragonese Mudejar *aljamas* from the fourteenth century onward, the anonymous Mudejar preacher could have been named by a royal-appointed Grand *Qādī* or Chief Jurist (*faqīh*) whose responsibilities included

² “In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate (*bi-smi l-Lāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*) and “May God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family and companions and grant [them] salvation (*ṣallā Allāh ‘alā sayyidnā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ālihi wa-ṣuḥbāhu sallim wa-taslīm*), respectively.

³ The formula used in orations and speeches that signals to the audience/reader that the orator/speaker will now address them directly.

selecting the religious functionaries. Alternatively, he could have been appointed by a Christian governor (*commissaries* or *rector*) who had suspended the *aljama*'s leadership in a period of crisis, or even by a royal-appointed Christian *qādī* (Boswell, 75-82). While various scholars, including Manuel Ferrer (280-281, 287), Thaler, and Hinojosa Montalvo (171) have long noted how such interference affected the election of the chief prayer-leader (*ṣāhib al-ṣalāt*) and liturgical preacher (*ḥaṭīb*) of the congregational mosques of the *morerías* of Aragon and Valencia, the anonymous Mudejar preacher's statement is the first personal testimony and the first evidence in either a Muslim or a Christian source I have encountered that the hortatory preacher was also an officially appointed position. Moreover, as non-administrative official mosque positions, the chief prayer-leader and liturgical preacher received a salary (Catlos, 138). Thus by stating that he was appointed to the position of hortatory preacher, we must deduce that the author of *Zād al-wā'iz* also received a salary for this activity.

As I have discussed elsewhere, in the period of Andalusī Islamic rule, the two kinds of preaching were not typically carried out by the same individual. There is evidence from the Almoravid and Almohad periods (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) that some hortatory preachers enjoyed a quasi-official status by virtue of being chosen by the *qādī* to preach exhortations in the congregational mosque or for the *faqīh* himself to undertake this task. Yet it is clear in these cases that the hortatory preacher was not also the liturgical *ḥaṭīb* (Jones 2012). Occasionally we hear of a few Sufi preachers who engaged in both types of preaching, such as the Sufi master Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda (d. 793 H./1390 J.C.), a near contemporary of the anonymous Mudejar preacher (Honerkamp). Other preachers appear to have preferred to avoid official appointments to maintain a calculated distance from the authorities (Marín).

In light of the above, the officializing of the hortatory preacher (*wā'iz*) as a mosque functionary and the dual appointment of the same person to the positions of liturgical *ḥaṭīb* and *wā'iz* could have been policies enacted to ensure that the latter did not escape the control of the local Muslim administrators or the Christian authorities. We must not forget that in pre-modern Islamic societies, including al-Andalus, preachers—whether the liturgical *ḥaṭīb* or the hortatory preacher—had a privileged access to their community. Muslim preachers were “frontline agents who taught the masses” about their religious duties, morals, and ethics and shaped their notions regarding the organization of society and societal roles (Felek, 156-157). Given the preacher's more direct contact with and influence over the masses, it would have been in the interest of both the local Muslim administrators and their Christian overlords to ensure there were no “rogue” preachers who might be perceived to rival their officially appointed counterparts in authority, legitimacy, or popularity, particularly when the Muslim governors and the Grand *Qādī* were deemed corrupt, incompetent, or tainted by their proximity to the Christian rulers (Boswell).

Hence it is also interesting to consider the implications of what the anonymous preacher said he did when he was appointed preacher: “I took it upon myself to study the books on those subjects” (*aḥaḍtu bi-nafsī bi-muṭāli‘at al-kutub al-mawḍū‘a li-hāḍā al-ṣā‘n*) and then he proceeded to identify the four types of works he studied: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*), the books of the liturgical preachers (*kutub al-ḥuṭabā‘*), the books of hortatory sermons (*kutub al-mawā‘iz*), and books on cosmology (*al-bada‘āt*) (fol. 3r). The statement lends itself to two interpretations. It could simply be an Arabic rhetorical device to signal humility and thus appeal to his intended audience: other members of the *‘ulamā‘* “seeking to follow the path of homiletic exhortation” (fol. 3r). As Atif Khalil explains, humility “has occupied a central place in Muslim piety” and there are numerous *ḥadīths* in which the Prophet extols humility before God and before other

people “lest none of you boasts over another or looks upon another with contempt” (Khalil, 223, 229). According to this interpretation, the author’s humility could be rhetorically hyperbolic since it is unlikely that he would have been appointed to these lofty positions “above the best of the ‘*ulamā*’” had he not already mastered these four topics.

An alternative interpretation would take the anonymous author’s words at face value: that when he was appointed to the dual preaching positions, he had little prior experience and had to set about learning his trade by reading every book that he could find on the core subjects that form the building blocks of any sermon. While this is mere conjecture, such an interpretation could make sense in the context of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Aragon in communities where royal-appointed Muslim or Christian *qādīs* who were responsible for hiring the mosque personnel were known to have committed “flagrant abuses” of power, dereliction of their duties, or were shown to be incompetent (Boswell, 82-84). Had the anonymous preacher’s appointment been tainted by association with such corrupt or inept governors, he might have felt compelled to demonstrate his credentials, erudition, and competency to the ‘*ulamā*’ by listing each book that he read and emphasizing, as he did, that he indeed had “read the entirety of all these publications” (*wa-tāla ‘tu ġumlat hādīhi l-taṣānīf*) (fol. 3r).

4.2. The preacher’s intellectual formation

Turning now to the books that the author “read in their entirety,” the analysis of the authors and titles yields significant information about the intellectual formation of liturgical and hortatory preachers, the texts available in the author’s community, and the transfer of knowledge among Aragonese Muslims living under Christian rule. This data is of historical importance because no such information is provided in any of the other Mudejar collections of hortatory sermons that I have examined. The list of works serves to establish his credentials as a preacher, his orthodoxy as a Maliki Muslim, and the degree of his knowledge to justify his self-consideration “at the head of the best ‘*ulamā*’.” For the historian, the list allows us to identify which texts circulated or enjoyed particular fame among a particular Aragonese Mudejar community. I will first present the list as the scribe has recorded it and then, when possible, supplement the missing information with the full name of the author and/or the title.

Beginning with the Qur’anic commentaries (*kutub al-tafāsīr*), he listed seven: 1) *al-Hidāya = Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā bulūġ al-nihāya fī ‘ilm ma ‘ānī al-Qur’ān wa-tafsīri-hā wa-anwā’ ‘ulūmi-hi* (The book of guidance toward reaching the ultimate goal in knowledge of the meanings of the Qur’an, its commentary, and its various types of sciences) by the Cordovan Qur’anic reciter and exegete Makkī b. Abī Tālib b. Hammūš b. Muḥtar al-Qaysī al-Qayrawānī (d. 437 H./1095 J.C.); 2) *Šifā’ al-ṣudūr (al-muhadhdhab fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān = The refined cure of hearts in the exegesis of the Qur’an)* by the Iraqi exegete Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naqqāš (d. 351 H./962 J.C.);⁴ 3) *al-Taḥṣīl* (The attainment) of al-Buḥārī. Presumably the preacher meant Muḥammad al-Buḥārī (d. 256 H./870 J.C.) the celebrated Uzbeki *ḥadīth* scholar and compiler of the canonical *ḥadīth* collection, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī*. Levi Della Vida was unable to identify this work (1962, 157). 4) *Tafsīr ‘Abd al-Razzāq*, the commentary by the Yemeni *ḥadīth* scholar ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Himyārī al-San‘ānī Ibn Nāfi‘ (d. 211 H./827 J.C.); 5) *al-Muḥtaṣar (= Muḥtaṣar tafsīr Yaḥyā b. Sallām li-l-Qur’ān) li-Ibn Abī Zamanīn* (The abridgement of Yaḥyā b. Sallām’s Commentary on the Qur’an) by the Cordovan ascetic scholar and jurist Ibn Abī Zamanīn (d. 400 H./1008 J.C.) (Arcas Campoy); 6) *Tafsīr li-(‘Abd Allāh)-Ibn*

⁴ Levi Della Vida provides the reference in Brockelmann’s catalogue: *GAL* I 521 cc, S334.3e. *Manoscritte arabi*, 157.

'*Abbās*, a Qur'anic commentary attributed to 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68 H./687 J.C.), a Companion of the Prophet (Ghezzou); and 7) *Kitāb Ma'ānī li-l-Ġāhiz* (The book of rhetorical themes by al-Ġāhiz), the famed Iraqi polyglot (d. 254 H./868 J.C.), another work that was unknown to Levi Della Vida (1962, 157) and that does not appear in Brockelmann's catalogue or Pellat's list of al-Ġāhiz's works.

Regarding the books on liturgical orators (*kutub al-ḥuṭabā'*), the author listed six works, the first three of which Levi Della Vida could not identify because of the truncated names and titles or because they are not listed in Brockelmann's catalogue: 1) *Kitāb 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Nubāla* (The book of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Nubala), a work which the author of *Zād al-wā'iz* lauded as "incomparable and unique in his age" (*nasīḡ waḥdihi wa-fadd dahrihi*); 2) *Kitāb al-Zuhrī* (The book of al-Zuhrī), which the author described as "emulating (or rivalling) (*mu'āriḍan li-*) Ibn Nubāla's book" (Levi Della Vida 1962: 158)⁵; 3) *Kitāb Qāsim al-Lablī* (The book of Qāsim al-Lablī)⁶; 4) *Kitāb bin al-Ḥaddā'* (The book of Ibn al-Ḥaddā') [Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā] (d. 416 H./1025 J.C.), who was a prominent Maliki scholar and judge in Seville. Levi Della Vida supplies the full title of this book: *Kitāb Siyar al-ḥuṭabā' muḡalladayn* (The book of biographies of liturgical orators in two volumes); and 5) *Kitāb Ibn al-Ballūṭī* (The book of Ibn al-Ballūṭī). Levi Della Vida was unable to identify this author or his work (1962, 157-158). It could be an anthology of the orations of the celebrated Cordovan judge and liturgical preacher Muḍīr b. Sa'īd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355 H./966 J.C.), however as far as I am aware he was never known as "Ibn al-Ballūṭī."⁷ The author affirmed that he read all of these books as well as others on the liturgical preachers (fol. 3r.).

In contrast to the previous sources on liturgical oratory, most of the ten books on homiletic exhortation listed can be identified: 1) *Kitāb Abī l-Layṭ al-Samarqandī* (The book of Abū l-Layṭ al-Samarqandī), which Levi Della Vida identifies as *Tanbīh al-ḡāfilīn* (*Admonition for the Neglectful*) (2002), a collection of sermons and paraenetica by the Hanafi jurist and hortatory preacher Abū l-Layṭ al-Samarqandī (d. 373 H./983 J.C.), which was a "best-seller" throughout the Islamic world, including in the Iberian Peninsula (Van Ess); 2) *Kitāb al-Ġawharī* (The book of al-Ġawharī) (unknown); 3) *Kitāb al-'Arūs* (The book of the bridegroom), whose author Levi Della Vida identifies as Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ahwāzī al-Nahwī; 4) *Ġāmi' al-ḥayr wa-ḥayāt al-qulūb* (The combination of all good qualities and the life of hearts), and 5) *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz* (The book of homiletic exhortations), both by the aforementioned Cordovan ascetic scholar Ibn Abī Zamanīn; 6) *Rawḍat⁸ al-haqā'iq* (The garden of truths), for which Levi Della Vida supplies the correct full title and the name of the author: *Rawḍat al-haqā'iq li-ahl al-taḥqīq wa-nuzhat ahl al-ināba wa-l-taṣdīq* (The garden of truths for the people of verification and the recreation of the people of authorization and confirmation) by Abū l-Ḥallāl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Sa'īd al-Ḥaḍramī; 7) *Kitāb li-Ibn al-'Assāl* (The book of Ibn al-'Assāl), being the *Kitāb Fī al-wa'z* (The book on homiletic exhortation) by the Toledan ascetic Ibn al-'Assāl (d. 487 H./1094 J.C.). 8) He also read "an abridgment on hortatory preaching" (*muḥtaṣar fī l-wa'z*) and 9) the sermons of Maṣṣūr b. 'Ammār.

⁵ Levi Della Vida translated *mu'āriḍan li-* as "in contraddittorio con," however according to Lane, this term has two contradictory meanings, either "being opposed to" someone or something, or to vie with or emulate, which is the intended meaning here. Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London: Williams & Norgate, 1863, Book 1, 2004.

⁶ Here I correct Levi Della Vida's rendering of the last name as al-Bayyānī (p. 157). Al-Lablī is the correct reading.

⁷ There apparently was an anthology of his orations (*ḥuṭab*), however it only survives in fragments: Fierro (dir.), https://www.eea.csic.es/red/hata/autor.php?idg=1048&pag_o=1

⁸ Levi Della Vida corrects the copyist's error: روضة = *Rawzat*.

The copyist wrote the name “Ḥammād (حماد)” instead of ‘Ammār (عمار), however I believe he meant Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ammār (d. 225 H./839 J.C.), the renowned Sufi itinerant hortatory preacher from Merv who preached in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt and whose biographers described as a “great [hortatory] preacher” celebrated for his eloquence, piety, and mystical experiences (al-Qushayri, 42). 10) *Šaraf al-Muṣṭafā* (The nobility of the Chosen One [=Muḥammad]), whose author Levi Della Vida identified as ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī al-Ḥarkūšī (d. 407 H./1016 J.C.) (1962, 158), a renowned Šāfi‘ī scholar, Sufi, and hortatory preacher from Nishapur (Sviri).

Finally, among the *kutub al-bada’āt*, which include books on cosmology and stories of the pre-Islamic prophets, the author stated that he read “many books” (*kutub kaṭīra*), however he only listed three, two of which Levi Della Vida was unable to identify (1962, 158): *Kitāb ‘Abd al-‘Azīz* (The book of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz) and *Kitāb ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb* (The book, of ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb) (d. 238 H./852-853 J.C.) by the famous Cordovan Maliki jurist who was a prolific author of numerous works on cosmology, astrology, and eschatology, as well as jurisprudence (Arcas Campoy & Serrano Niza, undated). The third work, *Kitāb al-Ṭaraḥī* is the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (Stories of the prophets) by the Andalusī scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muṭarraf al-Ṭaraḥī (d. 454 H./1062 J.C.), which has been edited and published (Tottoli).

The preacher’s list of the books that he studied reveals valuable information about the texts in his possession that must have circulated among his Aragonese Mudejar community in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Given that the author composed *Zād al-wā‘iz* as a preaching manual and sermonary so that his “fellow travelers” might use it as a “model” and “follow [him in] the path of homiletic exhortation,” it is likely that the books he studied were available to other scholars in his community. Within his reading list the presence of titles by eastern Arab authors comes as no surprise given that the transmission of works from the Islamic east has been a constant feature in the history of Muslim Iberia since the ninth and tenth centuries as Andalusis traveled from the Iberian Peninsula to participate in the pilgrimage at Mecca and “seek knowledge” (*talab al-‘ilm*) by studying with experts from Iraq, Mecca, Syria, and elsewhere, copying their texts, and transmitting them to their students in al-Andalus (Roldán Castro). Certain texts of eastern origin enjoyed a wide diffusion among the Mudejar and Morisco communities, some being translated in *Aljamiado* (Romance language written in the Arabic alphabet) (Carmona González). Among these eastern “best-sellers” were two collections of homiletic exhortation: al-Samarqandī’s *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn fī l-raqā’iq* and Abū Sa‘īd al-Nīsābūrī al-Ḥarkūšī’s *Šaraf al-Muṣṭafā*. Both works were transmitted in al-Andalus beginning in the eleventh century.⁹

Other eastern works listed that merit comment are the *Tafsīr* or Qur’anic commentary attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad’s Companion ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68 H./687 J.C.). The full title of this work is *Tanwīr al-miqbās li-tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās*. Modern scholars agree that this attribution is pseudonymous although they dissent over the identity of the real author (Ghezzou, xiv-xvi). In some cases, the Mudejar preacher’s reading list included famous eastern authors, yet the work cited was either unknown or erroneously attributed. For instance, he attributed the *Kitāb al-Ma‘ānī* to the Iraqi polyglot al-Ġāḥiẓ and included it among the *tafsīr* works he studied. While al-Ġāḥiẓ is known to have composed over 300 works, some of which deal with religious subjects, there is no indication that he ever composed a commentary on the Qur’an. Perhaps the Mudejar preacher meant the *‘Uyūn al-ma‘ānī* (The wellsprings of rhetorical themes), which is a

⁹ See the HATA database: Fierro (dir.)

https://www.eea.csic.es/red/hata/resultados.php?texto_bus=Tanbih&tipo=obra&clase=inexacta&pag=3

chapter in al-Ġāhiz's *adab* compilation, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-tabyīn* (The book of eloquence and demonstration), however this work has nothing to do with Qur'anic exegesis (al-Ġāhiz 1985).

As for the Andalusī homiletic sources, it appears that the Mudejar preacher highly regarded the works by the Granadan *faqīh* Ibn Abī Zamanīn because read three of them: his *Muḥtaṣar* or "Abridgment" of Yaḥyā b. Sallām's commentary on the Qur'an and two homiletic collections. Ibn Abī Zamanīn was also an acclaimed hortatory preacher who composed preaching anthologies in prose and verse, as well as a manual for hortatory preachers (*Kitāb al-Wā'iz*) (Arcas Campoy). As noted, the Mudejar preacher cited Ibn Abī Zamanīn's *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz*, however it is unclear whether he meant his prose work, *Al-Kitāb fī mawā'iz* (The book on homiletic exhortations) or the *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz al-manzūma* (The book of hortatory sermons in verse). Ibn Abī Zamanīn's sermonaries and preaching manual circulated widely in al-Andalus¹⁰ and it is interesting to see that this transmission continued among some Aragonese Mudejar communities. The same may be said for the Mudejar preacher's other significant Andalusī source on hortatory preaching: the treatise, "On homiletic exhortation" (*Fī al-wā'iz*) by the renowned Toledan ascetic Ibn al-'Assāl (López y López).

To round off this section, there are certain notable absences in the Mudejar preacher's reading list of homiletic references that merit commentary. Beginning with the books of liturgical preachers (*kutub al-ḥuṭabā'*) it is remarkable that he did not include the legendary tenth-century Syrian court preacher Ibn Nubāṭa, whose sermonaries not only circulated widely in al-Andalus; they were also the subject of several commentaries.¹¹ As Noria Attou and Kathryn Miller have shown, multiple copies of manuscripts of Ibn Nubāṭa's sermons circulated among the Aragonese Muslim communities well into the Morisco period (Miller, 66-67, 143-144). Rather than Ibn Nubāṭa, the Mudejar preacher mentioned another orator, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Nubāla, praising him as "incomparable and unique in his age" (fol. 3r). Neither Levi Della Vida nor I have been able to identify this person, however the fact that the Syrian orator Ibn Nubāṭa's teknonym was 'Abd al-Raḥīm while Ibn Nubāla's was 'Abd al-Raḥmān, together with the similarity in the graphemes of the two names, Nubāṭa (نباطة) and Nubāla (نبالة), raises the possibility of a scribal error, although we cannot discount the possibility that there indeed existed another preacher named Ibn Nubāla who was famous in the Aragonese Mudejar preacher's day but is unknown to modern scholars. It suffices to recall that the work listed as the *Kitāb bin al-Ḥaḍā'*, which Levi Della Vida identified as *Kitāb al-Ḥuṭab wa-siyar al-ḥuṭabā'* [*fī*] *muḡalladayn* (The book of orations and biographies of the orators in two volumes) is no longer extant. Ibn al-Ḥaḍā' was an eleventh-century jurist from Zaragoza and his is the first notice I have found regarding the existence of a biographical dictionary compiled by an Andalusī dedicated exclusively to the *ḥuṭabā'*. The sermons and biography of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Nubāla may very well have been included in Ibn al-Ḥaḍā''s two-volume text. A final name that is conspicuous by its absence is the Iraqī hortatory preacher Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 597 H./1201 J.C.). His sermonaries as well as his influential preaching manual, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudkhakkirīn* (*The Book of Storytellers and Preachers*) (Swartz) were transmitted widely in the Iberian Peninsula. The HATA database of

¹⁰ On the transmission of his works, see the HATA database: Fierro (dir.), https://www.eea.csic.es/red/hata/autor.php?idg=258&pag_o=2#obras

¹¹ See the list of transmitters in the HATA database: Fierro (dir.), https://www.eea.csic.es/red/hata/resultados.php?texto_bus=Nub%C4%81%E1%B9%ADa&tipo=obra&pag=1&clase=inexacta

Andalusi authors and transmitters lists at least three Andalusis who composed preaching manuals “in the style of Ibn al-Ġawzī” (*‘alā ʿarīqat Ibn al-Ġawzī*).¹²

After naming all the books, the anonymous preacher reiterated that he had read and studied all of them and had composed a book containing thirty-one hortatory preaching sessions (*mağlis*) “seeking to emulate the word arrangement and themes [of these works] (*ma ‘ānīhā*)” and their refined eloquent pronunciations (*wa-araqqa alfāzahā*)” so that the book:

would be for me and for those other than me seeking to follow the path of homiletic exhortation a model (*unsan*) for the journey and a garden (*rawḍan*) for the settled life (*takūnu lī wa-li-ğayrī mimman salaka ʿarīq al-wa ʿz unsan fī l-safr wa-rawḍan fī l-ḥaḍar*) (fol. 3r).

The author’s stated purpose that *Zād al-wā‘iz* would serve as a “model” for other hortatory preachers not only provides further evidence that hortatory preaching was considered a vocation within the preacher’s Aragonese Mudejar community. The anonymous Mudejar preacher ended this prologue revealing that he had lofty aspirations to produce a work that would be “remembered with the passage of time” and he hoped that because of it he would be “taken out [of the grave] on the day of resurrection having been accepted [by God] and in a state of gratitude” (*wa-aradda an yakūna ‘alā qadīm al-zamān maḍkūran wa-an yaḥruğa lī yawm al-qiyāma mutaqaqqbilan maškūran*) and that he “would receive God’s forgiveness, recompense, and a great reward for his good deeds” (fol. 3r). The final phrases corroborate that he had a sound knowledge of classical Arabic rhetorical theories about eloquence (*balāğa*) and clarity of expression (*bayān*). For instance, the attention he accords to the aesthetic features of his text is seen in his choice of the “best words and pronunciations (*alfāz*) and word arrangement (*ma ‘ānī*)” and in his competent use of rhymed prose, as indicated by the terms highlighted in bold above.

4.3. The preaching manual

This final section provides an overview of the content of the preaching manual. The anonymous preacher presents his material in an orderly fashion: In the final paragraph of the prologue he informs his readers that the text will begin with a chapter (*bāb*) titled, “What is incumbent upon the hortatory preacher in terms of his practices and duties” (*mā yağibu ‘alā al-wā‘iz isti māluhu wa-iltizāmuhu*) as well as “the exquisite short verses of poetry on asceticism (*maqṭū ‘āt ḥasān min al-zuhd*) that should be recited in the beginning of the preaching assembly” (*li-iftitāḥ al-mağlis*) (fol. 3r, 6v).¹³ Here the preacher signals to his readership of potential future preachers that the *wā‘iz* is a professional position that has its own recognized best practices, norms, and obligations, as well as a protocol that distinguishes this form of preaching (*wa ʿz*) from liturgical oratory (*ḥiṭabā*). This distinctive protocol included the recitation of “exquisite short verses of poetry on asceticism” as a prelude to the hortatory sermon. Andalusi jurists generally frowned upon the public recitation of poetry prior to or during the delivery of the liturgical *ḥuṭba* on Fridays and major festivals because such a practice did not have a precedent in the Prophet Muḥammad’s *sunna*. For instance, Abū Sa‘īd Ibn Lubb (d. 783 H./1381 J.C.), an earlier contemporary of the anonymous Mudejar preacher who was a *muftī* and chief *ḥaṭīb* of the great mosque of Granada, issued a fatwa denouncing a “condemnable innovation” that takes place while the muezzin utters the call to prayer, which immediately precedes the sermon: A Sufi “poet recites love poetry (*al-ši‘r al-ğazalī*) from the top of the

¹² For instance: Fierro (dir.), <https://www.eea.csic.es/red/hata/obra.php?ido=14098>

¹³ Between folios 3r and 6v there are other folios inserted but they are out place and have been written by another person whose calligraphy is cruder than the copyist al-Mīsarī‘ī.

minarets” after pronouncing the liturgical formula, “there is no god but God,” and “utters litanies from there” (Lagardère, 67; Jones 2012, 84).

By contrast, not only did the anonymous author indicate that the hortatory preacher should recite short verses of poetry prior to his sermon; he insisted that they treat ascetic themes. Such an affirmation confirms the continuation within this Aragonese Mudejar community of an old tradition linking homiletic exhortation to asceticism (Jones 2012). It also raises the possibility that the preacher practiced some form of asceticism (*zuhd*) and/or that hortatory preachers were expected to recite “exquisite” ascetic poetry before commencing their sermons as a means of indoctrinating their audience in this spiritual tradition and/or as a rhetorical strategy to enhance the audience’s acceptance of the preacher’s ensuing messages by appealing to their spiritual, aesthetic, and emotional sensibilities.

In the final passage of the prologue the preacher summarized the major themes of his thirty-one sermons: seeking refuge in God (*al-isti‘āda*) and pronouncing the *basmala* (the liturgical formula, “in the name of God”); the merits of religious knowledge along with belief in the oneness of God; descriptions of faith in Islam; and the merits of the Prophet Muḥammad and his noble Companions (fol. 6v).

The chapter on “What is incumbent upon the hortatory preacher” is the manual for preachers. It begins with moral instructions and descriptions of the positive and negative qualities of preachers. Foremost among the preacher’s obligations is that “he conduct himself with serenity and dignity” (*yağību ‘alā l-wā‘iz an yaltazima bi-l-sukūn wa-l-waqār*) and avoid verbosity. As proof he cited a well-known hadith of the Prophet Muḥammad, “Whoever believes in God and the Last Day, let him either speak a good word or keep quiet” (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī*, Book 78, *ḥadīṭ* 163), adding that the preacher must be scrupulously pious (*warī‘*), ascetic (*zāhid*), and not say anything false. He then related an episode from Muḥammad’s Night Journey when the angel Gabriel gave him a vision of hell and he saw that it was filled with orators (*ḥuṭabā‘*) who did not practice what they preached (fol. 5v).

The chapter on the duties and qualities of the *wā‘iz* resembles that of other preaching manuals. For instance, both Ibn al-Ġawzī, the aforementioned twelfth-century Iraqi author of the popular preaching manual, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-muḍakkirīn* (*The Book of Storytellers and Preachers*) and Syrian scholar Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār (d. 724 H./1324 J.C.), author of *Kitāb Adāb al-ḥaṭīb* (*The book of the manners of the liturgical orator*) began their works with chapters dedicated to the preacher’s moral qualities, professional requirements, and duties and both narrated the story from Muhammad’s Night Journey about Muḥammad’s vision of hypocritical preachers burning in the hellfire (Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, 91-95; Ibn al-Ġawzī 1986, 22-25, 36).

Where the anonymous Mudejar preacher departs from these other authors is in his requirement of poetic recitation as a prelude in the preaching assembly (*mağlis*). Toward this end he dedicated two chapters to poetry. The first of these, titled, “the chapter on poetic composition” (*bāb al-naẓm*), features his own poetry as well as a short poem by Abū l-Aswad al-Duwālī (d. 69 H./689 J.C.) the grammarian, preacher, and poet companion of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, whose verses he had memorized. The poetry in this chapter treats the theme, “what is the most atrocious sin of the hortatory preacher and what is the most atrocious grammatical error of the Qur’an memorizer” (*mā aqbaḥ al-danb min al-wā‘iz wa-aqbaḥ al-laḥn min al-ḥāfiẓ*) (fol. 5v). These initial poetic verses emphasize the need for the hortatory preacher to admonish himself before he exhorts others “so that you will be accepted when you exhort (*hunālika tuqbal in wa‘aẓta*) (fol. 5v). Hence the preacher exhibits an awareness of the rhetorical and affective strategies

conducive to capturing the goodwill of the audience prior to commencing his sermon, and poetic recitation fulfils this function.

The second chapter on poetry is titled, “On the short verses on the greeting of peace” (*bāb dīkr al-maqtū ‘āt min al-salām*). Whereas preachers customarily uttered the greeting, “peace be upon you” (*al-salām ‘alaykum*) prior to starting a sermon, the anonymous author dedicates several poems in rhymed prose to extending “affectionate greetings” to the audience, along with promises of the increasing divine affection, mercy, and the heavenly rewards that will ensue from listening to his hortatory sermons (fol. 7r). While most of these poems expressed greetings to the audience in general, he singled out one as “the verses to be recited before the great leading men, scholars, and eminences of the pulpits” (*wa-hādīhi l-maqtū ‘āt tunšidu ‘alā ru’s al-akābir, al-‘ulamā’ wa-wuḡūh al-manābir*) (fol. 6r), in which he showed extraordinary deference by identifying himself twice as a youth:

Peace be upon you from a well-bred youth wandering about [different] lands to exhort and forbid wrongdoing” (*al-salām ‘alaykum min fatā muta’abbid yaṭūfu al-aqtār bi-l-wa ‘z nāhiyan*). Peace be upon you, oh people, from a young stranger. Verily, I have come to exhort and remind (*al-salām ‘alaykum ayyuhā l-nāss min fatā ḡarīb, innanī li-l-wa ‘z wa-l-dīkr tāliyan...*) (fol. 6r).

The anonymous preacher’s self-identification as a *fatā*—a term suggesting a youth who is noble, well-educated, and cultured—as well as a “stranger” (*ḡarīb*) could be a rhetorical device to gain the sympathy of powerful older elites. Yet his relative youth, coupled with the fact that he was not a local resident of the city or town where he was appointed in charge of liturgical and hortatory preaching could explain the exigency to reassure his intended audience of his qualifications. Hence the list of all the books he had “closely studied” and his insistence in the prologue that he indeed “had read them all.” Finally, he ended this chapter with two brief ascetic poems (fol. 7v).

Thus far, we have seen how the preaching manual discussed the duties and moral qualities of the hortatory preacher and provided guidance on how to use poetry prior to commencing the sermon to gain the good graces of the audience and make them more receptive to his exhortations. The anonymous preacher then addressed the formal, ritual, and liturgical aspects of hortatory preaching, beginning with a description of the first thing he would say to open the preaching assemblies, followed by “a section on beautiful poetry on the *basmala*” (*faṣl fī naẓm ḡasan fī l-basmala*) consisting of four devotional poems. The final section before the first sermon provides practical liturgical and ritual instructions and reveals his own homiletic praxis. For instance, he told his readers that he “always begins by uttering the *basmala* and the blessing upon the Messenger of God and then recites something from the Qur’an, similar to what is done in the liturgical sermon” (*naḥwa mā ḡā’a l-ḡuṭab*). He reiterated that he always began the preaching assembly by reciting “beautiful poetry,” following which he noted twice that he “loved to hear ‘there is no god but God’” (*aḡibbu asma ‘u lā ilāha illā Allāh*) (fol. 8v). If by this he meant that he loved to hear the audience say this doxology, then he might be alluding to a call and response between the preacher and the audience.

5. Conclusion

Zād al-wā ‘iz wa-rawḍ al-ḡāfiẓ is a unique manuscript that sheds further light on the situation of the Aragonese Mudejar elites and the organization of Mudejar communities at the dawn of the fifteenth century. In my view, the revelations that the hortatory preacher (*wā ‘iz*) was an officially appointed position in a Mudejar community and that both the offices of liturgical preacher (*ḡaṭīb*) and the *wā ‘iz* were fulfilled by the same individual

are the most novel and significant findings of this research. This expands our knowledge about Mudejar religious functionaries at least in this particular Aragonese community. While the phenomenon of “multi-tasking” of Mudejar religious scholars has long been established (Miller) we did not know that the *wāʾiẓ* was treated as an official position. That the positions of hortatory and liturgical preaching would be filled by the same person makes sense under these circumstances.

Moreover, the anonymous author’s statement regarding his dual preaching appointments signals an important development in the history and historiography on hortatory preaching. The historiography on these preachers has tended to label them as “free” or “popular” preachers as distinguished from the “official liturgical preacher” (Pedersen; Swartz; Berkey). This is because liturgical preaching is restricted by legal and ritual conditions regarding the time, ritual occasion, place, and even duration of these sermons (Jones 2012, 52-67) and, as we have seen, it was a remunerated position among the mosque personnel. By contrast, historically the relationship between the “free” or “popular” preacher and the political and/or religious leadership has been ambiguous. There are occasional reports of a *wāʾiẓ* being an officially appointed position (Romanov, 154), however the criticism levied against them by Muslim jurists suggests that hortatory preachers were often free agents who adopted a more distant or oppositional stance to the religious “establishment” (Pedersen; Berkey). Hence the significance of the anonymous Mudejar preacher’s affirmation that in his time and community the *wāʾiẓ* was treated as a religious post on par with the *ḥaṭīb*, making them both “official” positions.

This circumstance raises intriguing questions even if we are unable to answer them or make generalizations based upon a single anonymous manuscript: Was the conversion of the vocation of the *wāʾiẓ* into an official remunerated position among the mosque personnel a circumstance particular to the anonymous Mudejar preacher’s community? Or was it a secondary effect of Mudejarism, which tended to produce the “multi-tasking” and consolidation of various religious functions within the hands of one individual? Was it a requirement imposed by the Christian authorities in order to avoid a situation of “rogue” “free” preachers who might incite disobedience among the Mudejar populations? Finally, was this fusion of the two preaching functions as officially-appointed positions replicated elsewhere in other Mudejar communities?

Regarding the identity of the author, his relationship to asceticism (*zuhd*) is noteworthy. In the preaching manual he insisted that the *wāʾiẓ* be “scrupulous, pious (*warīʿ*), and ascetic (*zāhid*)” and he instructed preachers to emulate his example and recite “beautiful” ascetic poetry prior to commencing the sermon. He devoted most of the sermons (eighteen through twenty-eight) to eschatological themes typically found in Islamic ascetic preaching (death, the grave, the final judgement, and the resurrection), and he composed four sermons (numbers thirteen through sixteen) (fols. 44r-54r) on the virtues and prodigious deeds of ascetic men and women (Jones 2022, 154).

Finally, this study sheds new light on the workings of Mudejar scholarly networks described by Kathryn Miller (59-80). The prologue reveals how hortatory preaching was considered a branch of knowledge with its own norms and protocol, which had to be transmitted to other preachers. The fact that the author intended his work to be read and taken as a “model” (*uns*) for other would-be preachers is symptomatic of the presence of a community of cultivated scholarly elites who retained an excellent command of classical Arabic and could compose rhetorically eloquent sermons and appreciate ascetic poetry.

This brings me to my final observation about the formal aspects of the manuscript. Considering the relatively late date of the manuscript, the level of classical Arabic and the calligraphic style are outstanding. Apart from the typical substitution of the letter

hamza for the *ya*’, which is standard practice in Andalusí manuscripts, so far, I have only detected one spelling error, *rawza* instead of *rawḍa* (fol. 3r), and no signs of interference from any Romance language, despite the bilingualism of Aragonese Mudejar elites (Miller, 179-180). Another striking feature of this manuscript is that it replicates the aesthetic conventions of manuscripts of religious texts produced in the Islamic world, where it was customary to write the titles of sermons with larger letters and to use colored ink to set apart Qur’anic quotations from the rest of the text.

Finally, in a future study on the sermonary I hope to explore how the homiletic exhortations were deployed as a means of transferring knowledge about Islam and ascetic religiosity to a broader audience, as well as how they might have been used as a form of resistance or accommodation to the situation of Mudejarism. The preaching manual and sermonary played a role in the exercise of religious authority and an in-depth analysis of the contents of the sermons will reveal what the author considered essential to transmit to his community to perpetuate the legacy of Islam as a set of religious practices and beliefs, an ethos, and a culture.

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