

Socio-Historical Analysis of Islamic Sermon: The Genesis of ʿuḥbat Al-ʿumuʿah (Friday’s Sermon)

Youssef Sbai

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Abstract

In this article we will try to show the process of transformation that underwent the Arab oratory, the ʿaʿābah, from its genesis up to the construction of the cultural model of ʿuḥbat al-ʿumuʿah (sermon of Friday’s canonical prayer) spread today among Muslims. Our brief socio-historical analysis of ʿuḥbah goes from the period called ʿāhilliyyah (pre-Islamic, up to 610 AD) to the dominion of the Abbasid dynasty (750-1258 AD). We will see how the ʿuḥbah in ʿāhilliyyah was situated in a precise space-time framework and had specific socio-cultural functions, how its producers had definite roles and its development possessed well-known characteristics. The arrival of Islam sacralized this social practice, turning it into a religious rite, and so the ʿuḥbat al-ʿumuʿah was born. The death of the prophet of Islam in 632 AD caused a charismatic emptiness that generated a conflict of a symbolic order (Pace, 20042). The protagonists of the discord used the ʿuḥbah as a communicative tool to launch their own theological-political invectives. With the Umayyad hegemony (from 661 AD to 750 AD), this practice entered a period of great transformations.

Index terms— khutba, sociology of religions, discourse analysis, sociology of communication, symbolic interaction.

We should initially specify the synonyms of the keywords we will use in our search. This is certainly not the place to deepen the reflection on the difficulties of translation and interpretation of Arabic terms into English and the problematic of finding precise synonyms. We will therefore choose the English 1 Our traduction from Italian language terms that we consider more semantically effective to transmit the concepts we investigated.

We have chosen the word ‘prayer’, for example, to translate the term ʿuḥbah, knowing that it is a term that indicates a solemn and canonical discourse, aware that the word ʿuḥbah would have many more meanings and that it is also used to indicate other discursive genres. This choice is due to the diffusion of the common sense among Muslims to indicate with the term ʿuḥbah the speech that the imam pronounces at noon in the mosque during the Friday worship and which takes the official name of ʿuḥbat al-ʿumuʿah. Based on the above, we propose below a list of English words that we consider most appropriate to translate the Arabic terms: fann al-ʿaʿābah: rhetoric (mastery) ʿuḥbah: sermon (practice) ʿaʿābah: oratory ʿiʿāb: speech ʿaʿīb: orator; preacher mawʿiʿāʿah: preach dars: catechism With regard to the birth of rhetoric and prayer it is possible to provide precise geographical and chronological indications. From the geographical point of view, we refer to the vast territory occupied by the Arab tribes which constitutes the Arabian Peninsula (Figure 18). On the chronological axis, however, we refer to the era called ʿāhilliyyah, which began about one hundred and fifty years before the birth of Islam and ended at the beginning of the seventh century AD.

La ʿaʿāba had deep roots in the history of Arab civilization, as a social practice, and was considered, together with poetry, one of the most effective and one of the most influential means of mass communication in the society of that time. (al-ʿaʿiʿāʿ, 1998).

Before taking up the study of this social practice it is necessary to take a look at the socio-cultural dynamics that influenced its development and its diffusion. The first factor was the tribal socio-political system (al-Hachimi, 1969), within which relations were regulated. Each tribe had its own well-defined territory (Fig. 19) and its own social structure within which the life of its members took place. During the period of ʿāhilliyyah, Arabic literary

46 transmission was oral: it relied on memory and not on writing (al-Bustani, 2014, p.29). This aspect gave birth
47 to a very particular figure called ar-râwî (the narrator and conservator of collective memory) (Daif, 200812).
48 This sort of actor had a specific field of action, his own status and a respective role within and outside the
49 tribe. The ruwât 4 Each tribe had one ?â'ir (poet) and one ?a?îb (al-?â?iâ'î", 1998; vol. 1, p. 241). In several
50 cases the ?â'ir could be ?a?îb and viceversa, but generally who produced more poems was named ?â'ir, and who
51 concentrated his intellectual activity on ?u?bah was appointed ?a?îb. We consider it important that the ?a?îb
52 often also held other positions: the tribe leader or the prince, the judge or the military leader (al-Bustâni, 2014,
53 p.29), but rarely the poet. This fact alludes to the use of the ?u?bah by these categories of social actors to
54 transmit their ideas and to convince their listeners. The poet and the orator, in fact, were the spokesmen of the
55 tribe, the transmitters of its culture, of its traditions, its social norms and above all of its collective pride and
56 glories. Therefore, this actor was the protagonist of social episodes such as quarrels between tribes, glorifications
57 (al-Asfahâni, 1905, volume 15, page 51), councils, guides (al-?â?iâ'î", 1998; vol. 1, p. 401), the incitement of
58 the warriors before the battles (al-Qâli, 1926, volume 1, page 92), the invitation to peace and truces (al-?â?iâ'î",
59 1998, volume 1, page 384). Furthermore, the ?a?îb was the essential protagonist in various social events such as
60 marriages, funerals, the celebration of alliances, the advent of the delegations, were divided into three categories:
61 the narrator poets, the narrators of the poets and ?u?abâ ' and the narrators of the tribe (al-Asad, 1962). The
62 first category contained the highest class of intellectuals, called masters: they were literary producers, and at
63 the same time they narrated both their own poems and those of others. The second category are the ruwâ tof
64 literary producers. They could be narrators of a specific ?a?îb or poet, or narrators of several authors; they were
65 practically disciples of the masters and knew their production by hear and could then transmit it to the inside
66 and outside of the tribe (ibidem). The third category, on the other hand, was composed of the ruwât of the tribe,
67 who were the keepers of its collective memory, as well as being profound connoisseurs of its poems and its ?u?ab.
68 From the point of view of mass communication, both poetry and ?a?âbah were the most widespread media: they
69 contained the history, events, glories, conquests and genealogies of the tribes. The ruwât of the tribe were, de
70 facto, a polyvalent container, because they preserved the patrimony, poetic-literary and historical heritage of the
71 tribes.

72 the visit to royal families or princes, ceremonies and especially in the 'aswâq. 5 b) The ?a?îb role From another
73 perspective, the very prestige of the tribe depended on them: having an excellent poet and an excellent ?a?îb
74 meant having an authoritative spokesman and an excellent transmitter of the values of the tribe. As Muhammad
75 Kurd Ali wrote (2012): "Sometimes two or three generations passed without the tribe had a good poet and an
76 influential ?a?îb; in this case the tribe lost its position of prestige among the tribes".

77 In all the aforementioned moments, the success or failure of the tribe depended on the eloquence of the ?a?îb.
78 He had to emphasize and transmit the prestige of his tribe, be convincing through rhetoric and its registers,
79 exalt the fa'r (the deeds of his heroes), remember the nasab (genealogy), practice the hi?â '(swearing against the
80 opponents in war) and perform ri?â '(mourning the fallen).

81 1 c) The social position of ?a?îb

82 The literary production focused on the exaltation of the deeds and courage of their heroes (fa'r), and on the
83 generosity of their own tribe. At the same time, it focused also on the denigration of the enemies, for whom
84 the literary genre of the hi?â ' was used insisting above all on two defects considered by the Arab symbols of
85 meanness: avarice and cowardice. The ?â'ir and ?a?îb were considered means of communication to flatter the
86 tribe, but above all to flatter the chiefs. At the same time, they were as feared as they were requested: it was
87 enough actually not to reward well a speaker, or a poet and his tongue could become more dangerous than a
88 sharp sword. As a result, these two actors were well rewarded and enjoyed a very prestigious social position.
89 They were often close friends of the caliphs, governors and tribal chiefs. They were much more important than
90 the warriors themselves (Zaydan, 1902, Volume 3, page 27). Both poetry and ?a?âbah had great influence on the
91 society of the time, like our contemporary media. It is said of many wars and battles arisen from a ?u?bah or a
92 poem, such as the battles of war named ?arb al-Fi?âr (War of the Sacrilege) (580-590 AD).

93 2 d) The social ground of the ?u?bah

94 The moment of the enunciation of the ?u?bah was a social moment with precise conventions, oratory and
95 representation rules (al-?â?iâ'î", 1998).

96 The ?u?abâ ' had the habit of enunciating their ?u?bah riding a horse during solemn ceremonies; it was
97 also obligatory to wear a turban and make conventional gestures using a stick. Instead, there were a series
98 of behaviors that discredited the authority of ?a?îb, such as shaking, stuttering, showing fatigue and having a
99 trembling voice. It was instead strongly advised not to touch the mustache, the chin or the lower part of the
100 clothes. Among the virtuous behaviors, the appreciated ?a?îb had a strong tone of voice, a correct pronunciation,
101 a great persuasive capacity, self-control, vitality and ability to fight tiredness (al-?â?iâ'î", 1998). The physical
102 position of ?a?îb had a symbolic meaning that conveyed the nature of the event: in marriages ?a?îb enunciated
103 the ?u?ab seated, on the contrary, he stood up during the ?u?ab of the truces, and rode his animal when it
104 came to utter ?u?ab in exceptional events, such as during aswâq (literary markets) (al-?â?iâ'î", 1998, vol.3, p.6).
105 Moreover, as al-?â?iâ'î" wrote, the ?u?abâ ' of this period did not prepare their ?u?bah, but they improvised it.

106 3 e) The audience

107 The habit of gathering on certain occasions around a ?a?îb, to listen to his discourse concerns the social and
108 communicative aspect that the ?u?bah and ?a?îb played in Arab civilization in this remote epoch.

109 4 f) The skills of ?a?îb

110 To be successful, personal preparation and gifts were necessary for the speaker to succeed: a beautiful presence,
111 a loud voice, a good pronunciation, self-control, a fluent speech and a persuasiveness such as to convince anyone
112 of his own reasons, regardless of the subject matter.

113 5 g) Considerations on the social position of the poet and of 114 the ?a?îb

115 As for the social position of ?a?îb with respect to the poet, Shawqi Daif wrote that the field of action of ?a?îb
116 was larger than that of the poet. They shared the same position during the quarrels and glorifications or in the
117 incitements during the battles. However, during special ceremonies, such as the reception of the royals, the ?a?îb
118 was the undisputed protagonist, as indeed when he welcomed princes or delegations, in marriage ceremonies or
119 engagements, but above all in the pacification ceremonies between tribes in war (Daif, 1943). Nevertheless, the
120 historical-literary narrative has preserved a number of poetic works much more considerable than the number of
121 prose texts, and this is an explanation of why abu al-'Abbâs al-Qalaq?andi (756-821) wrote these words in his
122 work *Sub? al-A'?â* (The morning of al-A'?a):

123 "And know that the Arabs were very concerned with prose and poetry and they produced more prose than
124 poetry, but the fact is that more poetry was preserved [...] because the ?a?îb gave its speech to the Kings, to the
125 governors, during the campaigns, to reconcile the tribes or during the marriage ceremonies. At the end of such
126 occasions, only people with a good memory remembered the ?u?ab, unlike the poetry that was transmitted and
127 preserved " (al-Qalaq?andi, 1922, vol.1, pp. 253-254).

128 6 h) Al-'aswâq al-'adabiyah (the literature markets)

129 As previously mentioned, different circumstances offered the ideal socio-cultural context for the ?u?bah, but the
130 al-'aswâq al-'adabiyah, literally translated with "literary markets", was the place where they spread.

131 As-sûq (the plural is' aswâq), in addition to the socio-economic function, had a significant socio-cultural
132 dimension. These were markets or fairs during which merchants exposed their different consumer goods: food,
133 livestock, clothing, etc. Immersed in this context, the poets and ?u?abâ ' presented their own intellectual
134 production in front of the public. Due to this, it emerges that al-'aswâq al-'adabiyah were the most important
135 opportunities to reach the general public and constituted an unparalleled fly-wheel. The audience in places was
136 not composed, therefore, only by the merchants and their clients, but also by the elite and the intellectuals of the
137 society of those times, or by the tribal chiefs, the sages, the poets, the ?akawâti (storytellers), ?u?abâ ', the rich
138 etc. Consequently, the success of a ?a?îb depended on the outcome of his performance in this space, which we
139 can consider as a 'theater of competitions' for the ?u?abâ'. i) Sûq 'Ukââ'?" 6 The most famous literary market
140 in the period of ?âhilliyah was without doubt the Sûq 'Ukââ'?". It was an annual event that lasted twenty days
141 and that the Arabs organized in the south of Mecca, at the beginning of the month ?u-al-Qi'dah, the eleventh
142 month of the Arabic calendar (lunar calendar, which was adopted at the arrival of Islam and became the Islamic
143 calendar). During Sûq 'Ukââ'?", consumer goods such as honey, wine, clothing, dates and animals were traded.
144 It was also an opportunity to find a bride or a groom, but it was above all an opportunity for poets and ?u?abâ
145 ' to spread their literary productions (ar-Rashid, 1977) in front of the best poets and ?u?abâ' of the time. Below
146 is reported what it says al-?ûfi about the importance of this sîq: "The poet sang his poetry from the confines
147 of the world and no one noticed it or gave it importance until it was enunciated to the experts of the Qurai?, in
148 the sîq of Mecca. If they liked them, he would have been cited and sung anywhere from then on and would have
149 been written and attached on the walls of the ka'bah 7 and his tribe. And if they had not liked it, he would have
150 been forgotten " (al-?ûfi, 19522, p 129). This attitude was not reserved only for poets, but also for ?u?abâ '.

151 The Qurai?, actually, developed a well-determined strategy to maintain supremacy over the Arab tribes,
152 maintaining the monopoly of the religious management of Mecca on the one hand and sponsoring al-'aswâq
153 al-'adabiyah (literary markets) on the other (al-Wardi, 2013). Thanks to the ?u?bah and poetry, this event
154 boosted the diffusion of the eloquence of the Qurai? and the socio-cultural contamination between the different
155 tribes (al-Afghani, 19742).

156 As already mentioned, this sîq lasted twenty days, after which the Arabs moved to another location called
157 Sûq al-Mi?annah, where they spent another ten days. Then they moved towards Sûq ?û-al-Ma?âz, where they
158 spent eight days, and soon after the period of ?a?? (the pilgrimage 8 j) The most famous ?u?abâ' of ?âhilliyah

159 7 k) Development factors of the ?u?bah

160 The ?u?bah developed thanks to the following factors: freedom of expression, contexts of conflict and truce,
161 places of confrontation such as literary markets and social events like as weddings and funerals.

8 l) Types of ?u?bah in the ?âhilliyyah

162

163 We can say that the ?u?bah of ?âhilliyyah was a practice much more widespread than poetry and that it was used
 164 in well-defined social circumstances; the scholars established different types of ?u?ab (al-Qalaq?andi, 1922): ?u?ab
 165 al-wafadât (orations of ceremonies), ?u?ab al-?arbiyyah (speeches of war), ?u?bah i?lâ? ?ât al-bayn (discourse of
 166 reconciliation) and other types, like the ?u?abs of funerals and marriages. The literary markets were an annual
 167 occasion to expose their production to the criticism of the experts, and the influence of the ?a??bah was evident
 168 to the point that it triggered wars and allowed reconciliations. All this leads us to think that the ?a?âbah was
 169 a widespread social practice and that its producers were influential people on the one hand, and they enjoyed
 170 great respect on the other.

9 m) The turn of ?u?bah in the ?âhilliyyah

171

172 The available literary heritage teaches that in the sixth century after Christ, more precisely in the period close to
 173 the birth of Islam, a great social change emerged in the Arabian Peninsula (Said, 2012). Several tribes began to
 174 move from nomadism to a sedentary lifestyle. In this way many populations of Yemen moved north, particularly
 175 to the actual Iraq and a?-?am (the Levant: Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine). These Arab tribes settled on
 176 the borders with the Byzantine and Persian empires, with which they sometimes established loyalties or distrust.
 177 This transformation had a relapse on society providing an incentive for the formation of a system of individuals,
 178 instead of a tribal and patriarchal society (Abdesselem, 1977). In the ancient period of ?âhilliyyah, in the fourth
 179 and fifth centuries, collective values, such as pride, were reflected in the culture of patriarchal society; however, in
 180 the second half of the sixth century, the society began to address issues related to the importance of the individual
 181 in social life and its role as a citizen (ibidem). These social dynamics were influenced the literary production of
 182 that time, especially the ?a?âbah (Said, 2004). We have elements to suppose that at the end of the sixth century
 183 AD, a type of ?u?bah was born. It was different from tthe one diffused in the Arab society of the fourth and
 184 fifth centuries, and it will prepare the ground for the ?u?bah of the era of Islam. To deepen this concept, we will
 185 examine a model of ?a?îb represented by Quss ibn Sa'idah al-Iyâdi (about 500-600 AD), that was ?a?îb of the
 186 Iyâd tribe (Said, 2012). Quss was a poet and a ?a?îb with admirable eloquence, but he is considered by all the
 187 classics 9 of Arabic literature, one of the most illustrious ?u?abâ ' of ?âhilliyyah, since he produced more ?u?ab
 188 than poems. The most significant datum of his khatabitic production is the total lack of any indicator of his
 189 tribal belonging, Iyad: this new practice consecrates him as a pioneer in breaking the custom of the ?u?abâ '. His
 190 tribal membership was only part of his name and a fact for tribal genealogy experts. This behavior was a sign
 191 of a new, gradual direction of belonging to wider circle not mentioned in classical literature which Mohammed
 192 Said (2004) called "social integration". One could therefore assert that the sixth century has seen a socio-cultural
 193 wind of change, which we will call "culture of change". The ?u?ab of Quss indeed shows that a new culture was
 194 born, different from that of the traditional tribe. Quss did not stop announcing a political-social project that
 195 would allow people to live as individuals and not as singles belonging to a tribe. The pathos of his oratory aimed
 196 to empower the individual, beyond his tribal belonging, and to remind him of his end, death, using different
 197 forms of rhetoric. His statements were full of metaphors related to the end, the departure, the afterlife where the
 198 ancestors were. Furthermore, the new rhetoric in Quss production aimed the objective of drawing the attention
 199 of the listeners to the natural phenomena that surrounded them.

200

201 These data place us in front of a new type of ?u?bah that shows very specific characteristics. Firstly, death
 202 was no longer the symbol of courage and loyalty to the tribe or symbol of the sacrifice for the pride of the group
 203 to which he belongs, but Quss recalled death in its spiritual dimension. To emphasize this concept, he referred to
 204 past generations, the passing of time, to the fact that those who die do not return. All these references were new
 205 to the Arab culture of that time and were not present in the ?u?ab of earlier times. Secondly, he used the elements
 206 of nature, to emphasize the splendor of its phenomena: the sky, the stars, the moon, the sun, the rain, the light,
 207 the darkness, the animals, etc., their beauty, their greatness, their splendor; all this was part of his language in
 208 order to convince the participants. The same communication strategy was adopted by one of his contemporaries
 209 called al-Ma'mûr al-?ârî?î (?afwat, s.d.). Finally, Quss ?u?ab contained new rules of social justice beyond tribal
 210 membership, without forgetting that he was also a judge to whom different tribes referred (ibn ?abîb, 2009).
 211 This invitation to social justice out of the context of the tribe was a new fact in the Arab political culture of the
 212 time. From another perspective, the religious dimension in Quss literary production acquired a new element: the
 213 appearance of monotheism in the khatabic discourse, a simple monotheism. In this perspective we cannot but
 214 focus on the presence of monotheistic religions in the pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula. Many scholars (Beaucamp&
 215 Robin, 1999-2000; Fisher, 2011; and others) agree on the presence of Christianity in the following territories:
 216 in the archipelago of Bahrain, in Palestine, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, in southern Arabia, especially in Najran,
 217 and in Hegiaz, while the presence of Judaism was more significant in Ya?rib (later Medina). It is interesting to
 218 note that Christians and Jews usually appeared in Mecca as individuals, so it seems that a Christian or Jewish
 219 community in Mecca has never existed. However, Jews in pre-Islamic Arabia were long considered as a minority
 220 group, because of their distinct Jewish habits and customs with respect to local Arab culture. Through close
 221 contacts with the Jews some Arabs became familiar with Jewish religious customs, ideas, ethical concepts and
 222 homiletic tradition, and some Hebrew and Aramaic terms were learned by those Arabs (Wang, 2016). As a result,
 some scholars consider our ?a?îb Quss a Christian religious (Cheikho, 1888). Other scholars, however, consider

223 him a ?anafī, a traditional monotheist (al-Mas'ūdī, 2012), given the lack of rhetoric and Christian indicators in
224 his ?u?ab on one side, and given the spread of Hanafism among many Arabs of the time on the other.

225 On the other hand, Quss was a traveler ?a?īb: his travels included ?am, 'Ukāá°?" (suburb of Mecca) and
226 Najran (southern Arabia). Therefore, his continuous movement was a habit that allowed him to meet different
227 tribes and populations and visit different places, but above all to participate in literary markets. If we add this
228 to the lack of feeling of belonging to one's own tribe, it becomes legitimate to raise questions about the social
229 status of Quss: was he a religious, a rebel, or an intellectual who preached a change? Or was he all these things
230 together? Surely it was not the ideal type of ?a?īb of the tribe in the traditional sense of the ?āhilliyah but
231 became the ?a?īb of a cause.

232 In our opinion, this type of ?a?īb did not belong to any specific religious circle: his ?u?ab emphasize many
233 aspects of monotheism, such as death and life in the afterlife, but at the same time they transmit unanswered
234 questions that allude to a state of mind in constant search for an exhaustive answer. For the first time the
235 ?u?bah was used to get the crowd reflect on death through a spiritual approach, to look at nature through
236 meditation, to face the cycles of human life, to think of a life of different dimension, without giving directives or
237 rules though. The news brought by ?u?bah also concerned the discursive practice. It was Quss who used for the
238 first time in Arab history a stick in his oratory performances, in order to extend the gestures that accompanied
239 the enunciation. Another primacy of Quss was the formulation of the famous expression 'ammā ba'd, literally
240 "after all" (al-'Askarī, 1987) which will become a rhetoric of all ?u?ab until today. All these features were
241 not exclusive of Quss. On the contrary, this model has become an oratory style of many ?u?abā ' of the last
242 decades of the sixth century, especially those coming from the Yemeni tribes who emigrated to the north, i.e
243 Waki ibn Salāmah, Ri'ab ibn al-Barā A?anni and Ba?irā Rahib. These data allow us to say that the ?u?bah had
244 an impressive effect that allowed it to broaden its argumentative boundaries and its sociocultural and political
245 functions. These expansions were connected to a new vision of the individual's position within the group and his
246 responsibilities towards himself. This new vision was a point of contact among these populations, the Byzantines
247 and the Persians in the ?ām, in Iraq. Quss and his fellows were interpreters of this transformation and were
248 mediators who belonged to a multi-culture. This is not a religious discourse framed within a system of beliefs,
249 but rather the picture of the "messianic discourse" similar to that born in the Middle East before the arrival of
250 Christianity, as described by Albert Soued (2000). We can consider these ?u?abā ' as intellectuals who, concerned
251 themselves with the interests of society, its culture and the reproduction of its knowledge. At the same time,
252 they represented the projection of the sociocultural needs of their society: both they and the poets turned their
253 journeys and the spread of the word into tools to transmit a new culture and they played the role of promoters
254 of change.

255 Quss lived a very long life and in spite of his advanced age, he continued to move from one side of the
256 Arab world to another. Arabic literature (ibn Ka?ir, 2010; vol.2, al-?ā?iá°?", 1998) reports an episode of great
257 importance in which a young Mecca citizen (he must have been between 10 and 20 years) 10 n) Consideration
258 describes Quss riding his camel Awrak while inflames the crowd with his ?u?bah in the annual literary market
259 of 'Ukāá°?" on the outskirts of Mecca. In 610 AD this boy will become Mu?ammad, the prophet of Islam. At
260 this point, the ?u?bah already had a form, a rhetoric and rules and will be handed down in this way during the
261 period of Islam.

262 So far, we can say that the ?u?bah of ?āhilliyah went through two precise periods. The first lasted for a
263 hundred and fifty years before the arrival of Islam until fifty years later (from 400 to 550 AD approximately).
264 In this period the ?a??bah had characteristics related to the glory of one's tribe and one's own people. In the
265 second period (from about 550 to 610), however, the ?a??bah entered a new dimension related to the person
266 as an individual. This transformation occurred in those places where several Arab tribes settled down, and
267 between groups of people who abandoned nomadism and settled permanently. This new life allowed them to
268 have very intense relations with local people who belonged to different cultures and religions, especially Judaism,
269 Christianity and Zoroastrianism (Hoyland, 1997). 10 "When the Iyad delegation arrived in Medina, the prophet
270 asked them, 'What did Quss do?' And they said he was dead. Then he said: 'I saw him one day in the market
271 of 'Ukāá°?" on a red camel, he said a speech, extraordinary and precise, but I did not remember it '. Then a
272 member of the delegation said, 'I remember him'. The prophet was so pleased to hear the reply of that ?u?bah:
273 'O people, come and know that who dies disappears, and what is to come will come, the night passes, the sky
274 is illuminated, the sea is immense, the stars bright , the balanced mountains, the running rivers. Do you know
275 that a story is in heaven, and experiences are on earth, because those who leave do not return? Are they pleased
276 about the afterlife or have they been ignored and sleepy? I swear an oath that will be respected ".

277 II. The Sacralization of ?u?bah and the Genesis of ?u?bat Al-?umu'ah a) Mu?ammad's background Going
278 through the theme of the biography of Mu?ammad, the prophet of Islam, we face with the scarcity of information
279 related to his earthly life. There is a biography of him, Sirah, written by ibn Hi?ām in the ninth century, more
280 than two hundred years later the time of Mu?ammad, which referred to a first draft carried out more than one
281 hundred years earlier by ibn Is?āq, the first official biographer of the prophet, whose text, however, has not
282 survived (Pace, 2004). To derive useful information necessary for the reconstruction of the figure of the prophet,
283 we must rely on other sources (Lo Jacono, 1995): the Koran, the sayings and facts of the prophet (?adī?) and
284 the texts after his death that describe, sometimes with impressive realism, the concrete human dimension of
285 Mu?ammad. The most important dimension for our research is the religious background in which is found the

286 biography of Mu?ammad, given the connection of ?u?bah with religion in general. Thus, these narratives tell
 287 us that Mu?ammad became aware of his prophetic mission in adulthood (40 years). Furthermore, he became
 288 aware of the status of prophet gradually -not without uncertainty at the beginning -after an intense experience
 289 of meditation in solitude and in the silence of the desert (Pace, 2004, p.26). From that moment, he began his
 290 prophetic journey, announcing to have met God, and invited others to believe in what he himself had lived. From
 291 the first moment of the new experience, the prophet of Islam used ?u?bah to communicate his message to his
 292 fellow citizens. It is the same social practice of ?âhilliyah in all its details: the use of the stick, addressing all
 293 the fellow citizens, etc. During all this period and up to 622 AD the?u?bah had these characteristics. The most
 294 famous example is the one reported by ibn al-'A?îr in his encyclopedia, ?âmi 'al-'usûl mina?adî?ar-rasûl (The
 295 collector of the foundations of the prophet's sayings), where he reports a ?u?bah that Mu?ammad told above the
 296 "hill" as-?afâ (Mecca), which begins with a reference to the representatives of the tribes gathered there, saying
 297 the proper name of the tribes: 'abdManâf,' abd?ams, 'abd ad-Dâr, etc. Everyone came with great curiosity to
 298 see why they were called. When Mu?ammad took the floor, he began his speech by asking the following question:
 299 "If I had told you that there is an army behind this hill that would conquer you, would you have believed me?".
 300 After obtaining their consent he said: "I am sent by God to warn you of great torment". 1 0 F 11 During those
 301 years the Muslims represented, to use sociological terms, a counter-culture, or were even considered a sect by the
 302 Arabs of that time (Peace, 2004).

303 10 b) The sacralization of ?u?bah

304 In 622 AD, before the hostility of the Qurai? tribes, Mu?ammad organized the emigration to the cityoasis of
 305 Ya?rib, later named Medina, a decision also due to the fact that the tribes of the oasis had proposed him to
 306 assume the super partes role of hakam (referee) (Lo Jacono, 2011). There is no doubt about the importance of
 307 this event in the story of the Prophet Muhammad and his first disciples, an importance manifested in considering
 308 it a significant turning point: so, 622 AD becomes the first year of the Islamic religious calendar. Therefore,
 309 in Ya?rib the fracture with the social environment of origin -Mecca -took on a social and religious significance
 310 in different senses. One of these is the conception of the city-community of believers ('ummah) in the vision
 311 of a universal ethic against the principle of particularistic ethnic identification. In this new environment the
 312 prophet rewrote the rules of "social play" starting from an ethical-religious order founded on the extra-ordinary
 313 (the divine law) and guaranteed by the charismatic gift the prophet received (Pace, 2004). Unfortunately, we
 314 do not have certain information on how to insert the Friday rite into the new Islamic socioreligious order. In
 315 a narration by Murtadâaz-Zubaidî in his encyclopedia Tâ? al-'arûs (The Crown of the Bride), he states that
 316 the Arabs of Qurai?, in the pre-Islamic period, honored the day of Friday, which was called Yawm al-'Urûbah
 317 (The day of Arabism), and during that day they gathered around Ka'b ibn Lu'ayy to hear one of his ?u?bah,
 318 he is told to have changed the name of this day to ?umu'ah (Friday) (al-Alûsî al-Ba?dâdî, sd: vol. 1, p. 273).
 319 Another naration, instead, reports that the first Muslims ofYa?rib, even before emigration, changed the name of
 320 this day. Observing that the Jews celebrated the Sabbath and the Christians on Sunday, they asked their leader,
 321 Sa'dibnuZurârah, to make a speech after the Friday prayer.

322 At this point, it is worthlike to analyze the transformation of the ?u?bahfrom social practice to the sacred
 323 rite of the Islamic religion in the light of the interpretative tools of the social sciences. The new rules related to
 324 worship can be summarized in this order: ? The recommendation to emphasize the importance of participation
 325 in the rite of ?alât al-?umu'ah in Sacred Scripture 12 ? Insert the ritual in a relevant space-time frame: the noon
 326 prayer and the Friday prayer in a sacred place, that is in the mosque;

327 as a symbol of belonging to the 'ummah: a worshipper whod abstains for three Fridays without a legitimate
 328 reason is a munâfiq (hypocrite); ? Define the normative framework of this rite and above all the value of silence
 329 -which is a duty during the ?u?bah -and of the purification in order to participate (al-?usl);

330 There are other norms of minor importance and object of discord among the juridical-religious schools. Friday
 331 worship in practice is one of the socio-religious consequences of hi?rah (emigration) from Mecca to Medina.

332 Despite the enormous religious importance of this cult, the historical-religious narrative has not transmitted to
 333 us the ?u?ab al-?umu'ah of the prophet, which should be more than five hundred pieces. Within the large Muslim
 334 family there is in fact a very heated debate on why these homiletic productions have not been preserved, as on
 335 the contrary tens of thousands of ?adî? (sayings of prophet) the have been preserved. We have generic?u?abs
 336 such as the famous "?u?bah of the farewell pilgrimage", called ?u?bat ?a??at al-wadâ ', but not those of Friday.
 337 This fact requires a deepening, but we do not consider this the place to do it. We limit ourselves to reporting
 338 a narrative considered doubtful (?adî? marfû ') which tells that in the first ?u?bah on Friday, Mu?ammad said
 339 (al-Baihaqî, 2010; ?adî? n° 809):

340 **11** ??????? ???? ?i»?»????? ?i»?»????? ?????? ??????
 341 ??????????i»?»? ?)(? ??? ?????? ????????? ?????i»?»? ??????
 342 ??????? ????? ?????????? ?i»?»????????? ?i»?»????????? ??????????
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 344 ?????? ????????? ????????? ?????? ????????????? ?????? ????????? ??????? ???????
 345 ????????? ?????????? ?????? ????????????? ????????????? ?i»?»???????? ?????????
 346 ????????????? ?i»?»???????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????
 347 ????????? ?????? ?????????????

348 ????????? ?????? ?i»?»??? ?????????? ?????????? ?i»?»????????? ??????»????? ????????? ?i»?»????? ?????????? "Oh, people, give
 349 priority to benevolence and know that death does not warn and separate the person from his flock that remains
 350 without the shepherd, to whom the Lord will ask, without the need for interpreter: 'Have we not sent you a
 351 messenger who has transmitted our word and have not we given you our gifts? What have you prepared for this
 352 day [of the judgment, n.d.r.]? '. The person will look to the right and left and will not find anything ... "

353 The first observation we can make is that the speech is addressed to all people and no longer addressed the
 354 tribes. This alludes to the new sense of the Islamic message, which becomes a universal message. Another
 355 important fact is the reconfirmation and strengthening of the conception, already internalized earlier in Mecca,
 356 which concerns the monotheistic creed and the trust in the prophecy of Mu'ammad.

357 **12 c) The ?a?âbah after the death of Mu'ammad**

358 The Umayyad dynasty seized power after a long conflict between 'Ali ibn ?âlib, son-in-law of the prophet, and
 359 Mu'awiyah ibn abûSufiân, head of the Banî 'Umayyah clan. The latter, after the assassination of 'Ali, proclaimed
 360 himself caliph in 661 AD and moved the capital to Damascus. Despite the hegemony of the Umayyad dynasty,
 361 there were territories controlled by sympathizers of rival groups. The antagonistic groups, on the other hand,
 362 were very active with multiple instruments. One of these was the ?a?abah. Both the Shiites and the ?awâri?
 363 (separatists) and the Umayyads engaged their best ?u?abâ ' to persuade the populations of their right to govern
 364 and to respond to the opponents. This fact gave a very strong push to perfecting the eloquence of the ?u?bah.
 365 Moreover, the enunciation of the homiletic product was performed by the caliph himself in the mosque of the
 366 capital or by his governors in other cities; consequently, we assume that the population was very interested in
 367 participating not only in professing the cult, but also because it was the only means of weekly communication
 368 between the caliph and the population.

369 Returning to the ritual of worship on Friday, it is very important to know that the arrival of Islam in the new
 370 territories -Syria, Iraq and Egypt -brought with it the cult of Friday with the ritual frame that had emerged in the
 371 Arabian peninsula: above all the continuous placement of the ritual in a habitual space-time frame, the use of the
 372 minbar, the use of a stick by the preacher, the beginning of the sermon with precise religious formulas, dressing
 373 in a certain way, etc. The respect for these consensual norms provided and preserved the model of worship, but
 374 the ?u?bah as a religious product went through transformations in its social dimensions. These transformations
 375 become evident when we analyze the homiletical production of the ?u?abâ 'of the three antagonistic groups.

376 **13 d) The Umayyad ?u?bah: the genesis of the ?u?bat
 377 al?umu'ah of the State**

378 The first difficulty faced by the researcher in this matter is the abundance of ?u?ab enunciated above the minbar,
 379 but the classics of Arabic literature that transmitted them did not specify if they were ?u?ab al?umu'ah (Friday
 380 sermon) or ?u?ab related to other occasions. Instead, the historian of Arabic literature Shawqi Daif, addressing
 381 this problem wrote: "The Umayyad ?u?abâ' announced sermons on Friday and in the two annual festivals, such
 382 as the ?u?ab of Ziyâd and al-?a??â? [governor and military leader. We also note that most of the caliphs were
 383 ?u?abâ " (Daif, 1943). Let us now see examples of the Umayyad ?u?ab, announced by the minbar, to realize how
 384 these political actors transformed a religious practice into a means of communication to convince the population
 385 to submit to the caliph, and how they religiously legitimized their power.

386 Ziyad ibn Abih, governor of Basra on behalf of the caliph Mu'awiyah ibn abûSufiân, enunciated a ?u?bah from
 387 above the minbar, beginning his sermon without ?amdalah (religious formula introducing ?u?bah), so critics called
 388 it al-?u?bah al-ba?râ ', literally "the maimed ?u?bah". This critique indicates that al-?amdalah was considered an
 389 essential part of ?u?bah. It is significant to underline the absence of an introduction: this immediately attracted
 390 the attention of the worshippers and was an indicator of the importance of the message conveyed on the gravity
 391 of the situation and about how the governor was angry with the citizens of Basra. Of great impact was certainly
 392 the choice to use the rhetoric of heaven and hell as consequences of obedience and disobedience to Allah. It is
 393 very interesting to use the terms "obey" and "disobey" against Allah, to deserve His "paradise" or His "hell".
 394 The governor did not deal with a religious issue and did not criticize religious ethics, but he faced unacceptable

13 D) THE Umayyad 'U?BAH: THE GENESIS OF THE 'U?BAT AL?UMU'AH OF THE STATE

395 actions against the Caliph: his goal was to convince the worshippers to end their hostility and their rebellion
396 against the Caliph. With great skill Ziyad said: ?????? ??? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????
397 ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? "People, we have become your governors and we govern you
398 with the power Allah has given us". To govern the citizens, for Ziyad, is not an administrative or political fact
399 but rather religious in the name of Allah. Therefore, it is as if he had said: "Whoever obeys us in truth obeys
400 God and deserves heaven, and whoever disobeys us has disobeyed Allah and deserves the punishment of hell".
401 Consequently, the 'citizens-faithful' had a moral obligation to respect this pact, imposed demagogically.

402 It was the first time in the history of Islam, in our opinion, that the ruler proclaimed himself a delegate of
403 Allah and superimposed the religious sphere on the political sphere openly. This message was transmitted to the
404 faithful in the mosque by the minbar. The 'u?bah became the instrument of the transmission of official Islam,
405 the Islam of the state. Shawqi Daif in his encyclopedia "The art and its tendencies in Arab prose" (1943) wrote
406 that this 'u?bah of Ziyad alludes to the cultural contamination that the Arab environment underwent with the
407 encounter with the Persian civilization, which became explicit with the transformation of the religious language
408 that led Ziyad to the concept of "delegated ruler" by Allah.

409 Another example of Umayyad 'u?bah is represented by the 'u?bah of al-?a??â?, 13 13 al-Hajjâjibn Yusuf (661
410 -714) was an Arab general, the most important general at the service of the first caliphs of the first Umayyad
411 period, for whom he led various war operations against ' Abd All?h ibn al-Zubayr and eventually defeated him.
412 Later he was sent by the Umayyads to pacify Iraq, of which he was governor for twenty years. A skilled strategist
413 and administrator at the same time, he managed to expand the territory of Islam in India and Central Asia,
414 but he gained a bad reputation due to his the cruelty and numerous brutalities he was capable of "(Wikipedia,
415 entry" Al-Hajjajibn Yusuf ", https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Hajjaj_ibn_Yusuf, consulted on December 8th,
416 2017 at 4:50 pm). pronounced from the minbar of the mosque of Kufa during the caliphate of 'abd al-Mâlik. His
417 famous 'u?bah was enunciated on his first entry as governor in the city of Kufa. It is a settlement 'u?bah, in
418 which it presents and clarifies his politics to the citizens. In this period Kufa was the head quarters of supporters
419 of the murdered caliph 'Ali ibn ?âlib (later to be called Shiites), but the most respected charismatic figure was
420 Hussain, 'Ali ibn ?âlib son, who was killed by the Umayyads in a place called Karbalâ ', later became a sacred
421 place for the Shiites. The arrival of al-?a??â?, therefore, took place in a period of conflict and rebellion of the
422 Shiites against the Umayyads. The new governor, as soon as he reached the gates of Kufa with his thousands
423 of warriors, he ordered them to camp and decided to enter the city alone. But before leaving, he devised a very
424 specific strategy to realize his goal: to scare the citizens of Kufa and convince them to submit to the Umayyads.
425 When al-?a??â? went to play his part in the mosque of Kufa, implicitly asked the citizens to take seriously
426 what they would see happen before their eyes and how they would hear with their ears (Goffman, 1997). First,
427 al-?a??â? decided to wear Bedouin clothes, to put a turban covering his face, and to ride his bareback camel (ibn
428 Qutaibah, 1925, vol.2, p.224; al-?â?iâ"?", 1998, Volume 2, page 308). In addition to the this, the language he
429 used in his 'u?bah was also typical of the Bedouin: he cited many poems composed by Bedouins and unknown to
430 the citizens of Kufa (Daif, 1943). Also the way of speaking and gestures during the performance were consistent
431 with the role played: "When he climbed on the minbar he talked softly, almost you could not hear his voice,
432 then he raised his voice and drew his hand from the long sleeve and pointed with his hand and shouting out
433 loud, until he frightened those who sat at the back of the mosque" (Mubarrad, 1999, p.173). All the elements,
434 of the "representation", using a Goffmanian word, were coherent, from the "facade" to the "setting" up to the
435 "manner" (Goffman, 1997), to perfect his discursive production in order to frighten and convince his public.
436 Al-?â?iâ"?" reports the commentary of a great mystic, Mâlik ibn Dinâr, a contemporary of al-?a??â?, who said:
437 "I was hearing al-?a??â? preach and tell what Iraqis suffered and it occurred to me that he was the righteous
438 and they were the transgressors, and this is due to his eloquence and his marvelous rhetoric" (al-?â?iâ"?", 1998,
439 Volume 1, page 394).

440 All these background details provided the scenario and improvisation desired by the new governor during his
441 settlement to intrigue citizens, but above all to scare them. The inhabitants of Kufa, in fact, were civil persons
442 and enjoyed great wealth: the literary narrative informs us that every inhabitant traveled around the city with
443 many servants and relatives, in some cases up to thirty and more. The presence of an unknown Bedouin was a
444 frightful and unusual fact. With this 'equipment' al-?a??â? entered the mosque and climbed the minbar. Then
445 he remained, for a long time, sitting without saying anything in front of the curiosity and the fear of the faithful
446 who were entering. The scenario did not comply with the rules: the lack of an indicator of the charge of this
447 actor, the Bedouin clothing, the turban covering the face, and then the long silence, were unusual practices. One
448 of the faithful tried to throw stones at him, but he was stopped by his relatives, as al-Gharavi says (2008; vol.6)
449 in his encyclopedia. Only once the mosque was crowded, he stood up and said: ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????
450 ?????? ?????? ?????????? ? ??? ? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? "I am the son of transparency and the climber of the
451 mountains, once I remove the turban you will recognize me".

452 Once again, the new governor did not respect the norms: he began his elaboration without muqaddimah and
453 without any religious expression. He also used two metaphors in the same sentence: son of transparency, in the
454 sense that he was not afraid to identify himself or even to remain hidden; climber of the mountains, alluding to a
455 strong and courageous person who, besides possessing great physical strength, also possesses great courage. The
456 impression he conveyed, in the mosque from the top of the minbar, was that of a man of transparency, strength
457 and courage. Surely not of a man of faith or religion.

458 In his speech, he immediately went straight to the point using again a series of metaphors to help the faithful's
459 understanding and above all to specify the desired senses: ?????? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????
460 ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????
461 seeing envious looks, long necks, mature heads ready to be collected, and I will be the collector".

462 Let's analyze the three al-ʿaʿā? metaphors. The envious eyes could have two meanings: the first could
463 be the curiosity of the participants in seeing the governor, and the second could refer to people who aspire to
464 leadership. The second metaphor reinforces the first: the necks are stretched so as to raise the heads and the gaze
465 to see and discover the speaker. The third metaphor considers the heads of the participants as the ripe fruits
466 that have arrived at the time of being harvested and the governor does not hide (son of transparency) he will
467 gather the heads. The Arabic version of the text is much more violent than the English translation, in which the
468 true intention of al-ʿaʿā? does not transpire: he was ready to cut the envious heads that rise from that crowd.
469 Al-ʿaʿā? considered the refined citizens of Kufa eager to know him, but at the same time deserving the highest
470 possible punishment for their rebellion. In this picture of psycho-affective tension, his goal was to convince them
471 to submit to the caliph.

472 Analyzing the enunciation from the point of view of meaning, we can say that the functions of the ʿuʿbah
473 widen and take on new symbolic meanings. For the first time the ʿaʿā? begged God during the enunciation, asking
474 to protect the caliph. At the same time, he tried to brainwash the listeners to push them into submission to
475 the caliph's regime. In the enunciation scheme the symbolic meaning of the application to God on behalf of the
476 caliph has a very important relapse on the political level: the power of ʿuʿbah marks the political loyalty of the
477 territory to the caliph's regime. We could say with other words that when a ʿaʿā? pronounces an supplication in
478 favor of a caliph, that territory is automatically subdued. In this way a new practice was born which consolidated
479 itself in history and still persists today. Instead, analyzing the ʿuʿbah from the point of view of the impact on
480 the social-political framework gives us an explanation of the custom of cursing 'Ali ibn 'Abī. 14 e) The ʿuʿbah
481 of 'awāri? This fact has a significant symbolic meaning: it clarifies that the ʿaʿā? and the faithful are not only
482 allies of the Umayyads, but also enemies of 'Ali.

483 The kharigite opposition also had excellent ʿuʿbah'who dedicated careful preparation to the production of
484 their ʿuʿbah (Daif, 1943). The governor of Iraq, on behalf of the second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, Yazīd
485 ibn Abīh, said of them: "Their speech is faster to the hearts than the straw fire" (ibidem). The Kharigite ʿuʿbah'
486 were writers as well as preachers. One of the differences between their homiletic production and that of the
487 Umayyads consists in the fact that their ʿuʿbah, in addition to the political dimension that they transmitted,
488 dedicate much space to the religious senses. Actually, they invited the faithful to asceticism, to the renunciation
489 of wealth, to dedicate themselves to spiritual life and to thinking about the afterlife. Moreover, they asserted
490 that they possessed the truth and that all other Muslims were diverted from the prophet's message.1 4 F 15
491 The best example of their ʿuʿbah is the one pronounced in Mecca by 'amza al-ʿarīgī, in which he described the
492 followers of the Kharigite movement as follows: .? ?????? ?????? ?????? ʿi? ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????
493 "I swear to Allah that they are young sages as the elders, their gaze is far from evil, they do not engage in futile
494 things, their bodies are consumed by a constant religious practice, they are tired of their long vigils. Allah looks
495 at them at night as they bend over the Quranic readingsw, whenever one of them reads a verse describing heaven
496 cries with a strong desire to enter, and whenever one of them reads a verse describing hell cries as if he hears
497 the screams of punishment, this is their state both day and night ... until they see the arrows thrown, the spears
498 flying and the swords out of the scabbard. At that moment the battalion goes to the promise of Allah and the
499 young man performs his duty until his legs turn around the neck of his horse,1 5 F 16 until the blood paints his
500 face and the wild beasts do not eat his body, and until the birds rest on his remains: the same eyes that cried
501 during the long prayer vigils the are now in the beak of a bird and the same arms that have supported the bodies
502 in prostrations to Allah at night are now amputated "(al-Asfahani, 1905).???????

503 As we can see, the ʿuʿbahemphasizes the religious dimension in a transgressive way. The model of the young
504 ogʿawāri? is well defined in this construction as a warrior monk, and whoever wants to be on the right path must
505 follow this pattern. It is an invitation to a series of religious actions of great spirituality on the one hand and
506 emphasizes the sacrifice on the other. The ʿaʿā? describes the young kharigite who goes towards fearless death
507 as an act of benevolence, and he transports the listeners from spiritual religious practice to a religious practice
508 in which the young person is submerged by the blood of his sacrifice.

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510 15 (C)

511 In this period al-ʿaʿā? was governor in Kufa on behalf of the Umayyad caliph and his archenemy was 'abīb ibn
512 Zayd, head of the Khawarigites, who entered the city with a thousand warriors together with his wife 'azālah,
513 who headed two hundred women warriors. The Kharigite warriors entered the mosque of Kufa and 'abīb brought
514 up 'azālah on the minbar, from which he enunciated a ʿuʿbah (Kahhala 19845, pp. 7-8). The Kharigite women
515 were warriors, intellectuals and activists. In other words, they shared all the areas with men. The ascent of
516 this woman warrior on the minbar of the mosque of Kufa was a great affront and at the same time a message
517 of superiority of the kawarigites: one of their women dared to preach from the minbar defying al-ʿaʿā? in 'his'
518 city, in 'his' mosque, and above all she enunciated a ʿuʿbah from the top of his minbar.

519 This episode leads us to reflect on the existence of women ?u?abâ 'in the history of Islamic civilization. The
520 information on this topic is scattered in the classics and represents an object of research of enormous importance
521 along with another theme: women caliph in the history of the Islamic world.

522 16 f) The Shiite ?u?bah in the Umayyad period

523 The classics of Arabic literature do not give much importance to the Shiite literary production of the Umayyad
524 period, and consequently the khatâbîc productions of this group are rare. Another reason for this scarcity
525 could be the fierce repression they suffered by the Umayyads and the effects on their activities, which became
526 increasingly secret and far from public space. 17 We limit our research, therefore, to the description of the ?u?bah
527 of Hussain ibn 'Ali, nephew of the prophet. It is a ?u?bah that Hussain announced on the day of his assassination
528 and that became a model of ?u?bah for the Shiite ?u?abâ '. The ?u?bah begins with a muqaddimah in which
529 the ?a?îb praises Allah and prays for Mu?ammad citing verses from the Qur'an and ?adî? of the prophet. He
530 then asks his opponents to listen to him and let him speak. Then he uses a series of blood descendants from the
531 prophet: "descendant of the prophet", "nephew of the prophet", "nephew of ?amza" (uncle of Mu?ammad) and
532 "son of the prophet's daughter". The goal of using these indicators was to emphasize two factors: the first was
533 to convince them of the immense importance of being the prophet's nephew, so he did not hesitate to mention a
534 ?adî? which tells about himself and his brother Hussain who are the best 17 To find ?u?ab of the Shiites we had
535 to look in the books of this current. Even ShawqiDaif when he addresses the ?u?ab of the Umayyad period in his
536 encyclopedia he cites the names of the Shi'a ?u?abâ and the characteristics of their ?u?ab but in a few lines and
537 without giving examples as, on the contrary, he does with the ?u?abs of the ?awâri? or the Umayyads; among the
538 young people of paradise; 18 g) Considerations on ?u?bah in the Umayyad period the second concerned Hussain's
539 right to rule on the basis of the request of Kufa citizens, who had given him their written bay'ah(solemn act of
540 recognition of the status of Caliph).

541 The other Shiite ?u?abâ ', on the other hand, used their explanations to spread their criticism to the "deviated"
542 works from the Islam of the Umayyads, who subtracted ?ilâfah (the caliphate) from the hands of its legitimate
543 owner 'Ali ibn ?âlib, heir of the prophet and bearer of the sacred guided message, and of the hidden imams
544 (a?-?abarî, 1967, vol 2, p.1961).

545 To conclude our brief analysis of the ?u?ab of this time frame we can list its most important transformations
546 as follows: "Those who elaborated it [the ?u?bah] and climbed above the minbar, and turned their mill among
547 the population, were mostly the great men of letters, the masters of the word, because they were caliphs, princes,
548 ministers, kings of knowledge, ethics, fiqh [religious jurisprudence], masters of linguistic purity, and eloquence, and
549 in parallel were Arabs of language, rhetoric, goals, trends. And there are no characteristics that can characterize
550 the ?a??bah and give it more life and strength than these characteristics of original Arab nobility"(al-Khashab,
551 s.d, p.560).?

552 In this period, the Abbasids adopted the strategy of appointing ?u?abâ ' paid by the caliphate and the preacher
553 of the army: his role was to encourage the soldiers to fight courageously for God's glory, as the case of ?a?îb abû
554 al-'Abbâs a?-?abarî. In practice two types of ?u?abâ' saw the light: the ?a?îb of the army and the fixed ?a?îb of
555 the mosque.

556 The second part of the Abbasid dynasty saw a slow decline to slowly reach a total stagnation. From 850
557 AD the influence of non-Arabs began to manifest itself in both the army and government buildings, and so the
558 Persians (the Seljuks) and the Turks became the new rulers in the vast territories of the Abbasid empire. Their
559 influence entered the palace of the Abbasid caliphs and consequently in the management of religion and homiletic
560 production.

561 17 j) ar-Râ?î bi-llâh, last ?a?îb chaliph of ?alât al-?umu'ah

562 The first effect of these changes was the withdrawal of the caliph from the ?a??bah in the great mosque. The last
563 caliph who made the ?u?bat al?umu'ah was ar-Râ?î bi-llâh (907AD-940AD) but was in fact only an instrument in
564 the hands of his vizirs and his courtiers. His effective power was barely reduced to Baghdad and the surrounding
565 regions. Because of the scarce resources available to him, the caliph fell into the hands of a cruel but skillful and
566 efficient vizir, ibn Râ'iq, for whom the caliph created the title of amîr al-umarâ '(commander of the commanders).
567 He de facto held the power, so much that his name was made in ?u?ab al?umu'ah, along with that of the caliph
568 (Lo Jacono, 2003, p.259). In this way, the direct relations that the caliph and the governors had with the people
569 were interrupted due to the enunciation of the ?u?bah; this weakened the influence of ?u?bah (al-Hindaoui,
570 2016). A second significant fact was the appointment of ?u?abâ ' and non-Arab imams who, in the absence of
571 a profound knowledge of language and knowledge, began to copy ?u?ab of great masters and repeat them every
572 Friday from the minbar. This phenomenon spread for centuries, until the beginning of the nineteenth century
573 (Ali Mohammad, 2016). As a result, the ?a?âbah weakened, and so the status and role of ?a?îb. Many of them
574 read their ?u?abs from written papers, in some cases elaborated by oratories. This trend already began with
575 Hârûnar-Ra?îd, when he asked al-'A?ma'î to make a ?u?bat al-?umu'ah for his son al-'Amin 21 1. Abdesselem,
576 H. (1977). Le thème de la mort dans la poesie arabe. Tunis: Faculté des lettres.

577 (al-Hindaoui, 2016), but spread largely after 940 AD. On the other hand, many ?u?abâ 'no longer struggled
578 to prepare their elaborations, for example the ?a?îb of Bassora Mu?ammad ibn Sulaimân al-'Abbâsi had a short

579 ?u?bah that repeated every Friday (al-?â?iá?°?", 1998). On the other hand, the ta?awuf movement (mysticism)
 580 found more scope and many mystics introduced a mystical rhetoric in their speech, both in the one addressed
 581 to the rulers and in that addressed to the common people. These new figures were designated by the caliphs
 582 themselves and had the role of reminding the caliph of his religious and social responsibilities. The narrative of
 583 the literary heritage offers mention of many episodes during which these religious actors would have made the
 584 caliphs cry with their sermons, as they tried to do the following ?u?abâ '': Amr ibn 'Ubaid al-Mu'tazili, ?âlih
 585 ibn 'abd al-?alîl and ibn as-Sammâq (ibidem). During the long period of the Abbasid dynasty, from 750 to 1258,
 586 the ?u?bah standardizes itself in different forms and styles still used today. These are multifunctional ?u?abs,
 587 pronounced by the paid religious personnel and designated by the governor and enunciated in his honor. The
 588 goal of the ruler becomes to project the official Islam of the state through the ?u?bah. From the sociolinguistic
 589 point of view the new standard of ?u?bah is influenced by the diatopic variations of the local dialects. In this
 590 period a figure is born that today we would call ghost writer: the professionals of the oratory who prepare the
 591 ?u?ab on mandate. Today, however, this role is no longer covered by a person, but there are websites that offer
 a permanent archive to draw on. ^{1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10}



Figure 1: Fig. 2 :

592

¹Plural of râwî, the narrators.

²The literal translation is 'the market', but as we can read in the paragraph it is rather a fair during which various commercial, social and literary activities were organized.⁷ It is an ancient building that is located inside the Mas?id al-?arâm Sacred Mosque, in the center of Mecca, in Saudi Arabia, and which is the most sacred place in Islam.

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⁴The pilgrimage was a pre-Islamic religious practice that was confirmed by Islam with variations in rituals.

⁵al-Asfahâni, al-?â?iá?°?", abuHilâl al-'Askarî, al-Qalaq?andi, ibnQutaibah, ibnSa'id al-Andalusî, al-Mas'ûdî and many others.

⁶Quran, sûrah LXII, verse 9(Ventura, 2010, p.351).

⁷Year 2020 © 2020 Global Journals

⁸Among the historians who reported this fact: 'Ali ibnHazzm al-'Andalusî in the Al-muhallâfi?ar? al-mu?alla bi al-'i?tisâr; al-Qurtubi in the Al-mufhim limâ u?kila min tal?is kitâb muslim, Yaqût al-?amawî in Mu'?am al-buldân and many others.

⁹During this time many disciples of the prophet were still alive. Many were considered diverted by the ?awâri?¹⁶ It is an Arab saying that indicates the inability to stay on the horse due to tiredness.Socio-Historical Analysis of Islamic Sermon: The Genesis of ?u ?bat Al-?umu'ah (Friday's Sermon)

¹⁰This fact reminds us of the Greek practice, when ordinary people relied on judicial oratory professionals to prepare their hearings. It is important to add that during the Abbasid dynasty the translation of the works of Greek philosophers came to its peak; because of lack of specific studies we can not know, for the moment, if the figure of the professional speaker who writes the ?u?bah for the imams has been influenced by the Greek civilization.

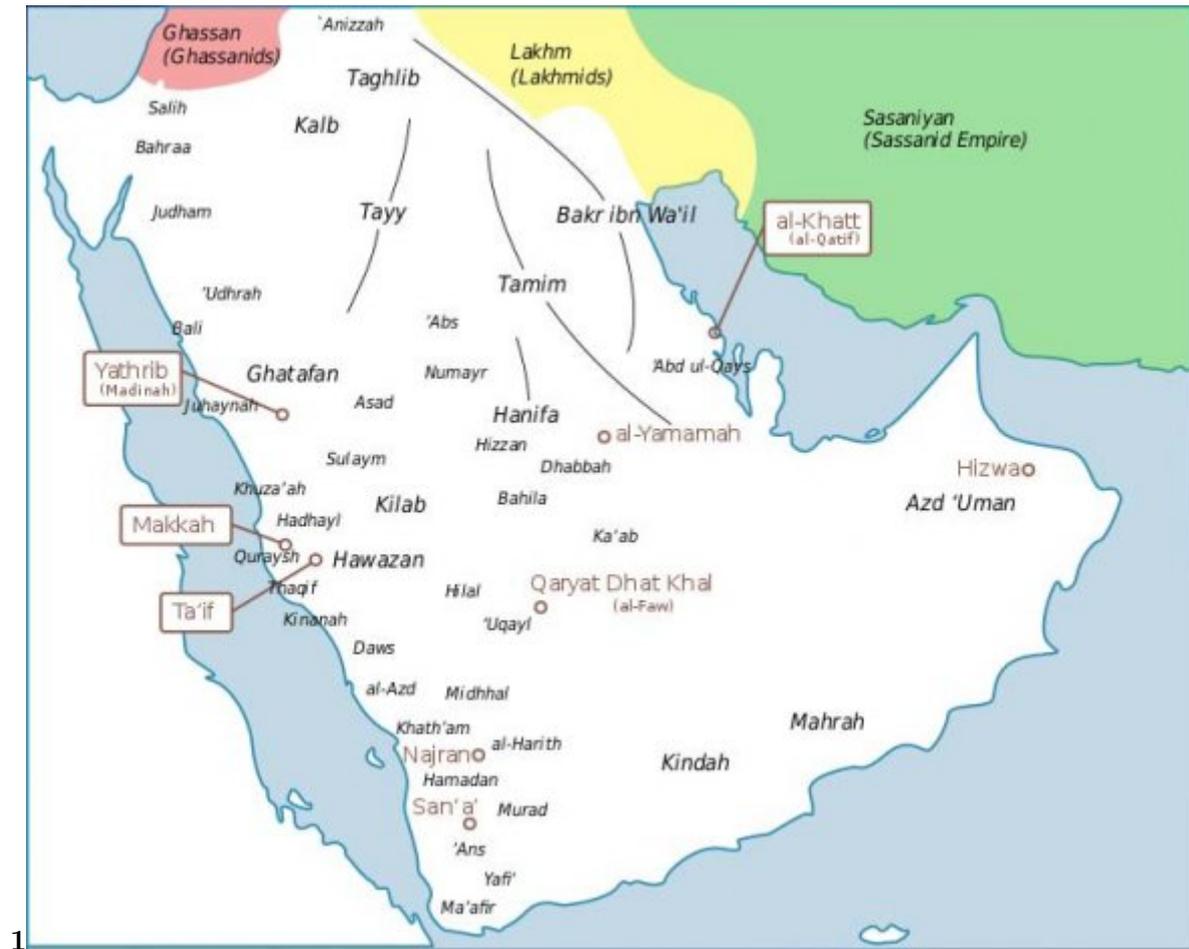


Figure 2: Fig. 1 :

Figure 3:

Figure 4:

Figure 5:

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