"DO NOT ASSIMILATE YOURSELVES ..."
Là tashabbahû . . .

The sweeping victories gained by the Muslim forces during their conquests in Syria, Irâq and Persia, and their speedy advance in these vast areas, brought about a meeting between the Muslims and the native peoples of those areas. It is, therefore, evident that new principles had to be established in order to guide the Muslim community in its relations with Christians, Jews and Magians. Basing themselves on interpretations of Qur'anic verses, Muslim scholars stated that Jews and Christians were to be considered unbelievers.¹ Very early commentators of the Qur'ân interpreted the verse: "And confound not truth with falsehood . . ." (wa-lâ talbisû l-ḥaqqa bi-l-bâṭîli — Qur'ân II, 43) as constituting a warning to the believers not to mix Islâm with (the precepts and injunctions of -- K) Judaism and Christianity.² Many of the traditions touching upon this subject

¹ See, e.g., 'Abd al-Jabbâr, Tanzîh al-qur'ân 'ani l-maţâ'in, Beirut ed., pp. 118-119 (cf. p. 118, 13. wa-dhâlika šifatu l-yahûdî wa-hum kuffâr . . .); Muqâtil, Tafṣîr, MS. Ahmet III, 74-2, fol. 211b. ( . . . wa-dhâlika anna l-yahûdâ wa-l-naşârâ yushrikûna fî šalātihim fî l-biya'i wa-l-kanâ'îsî . . . ). There is however a difference between the unbelief of the People of the Book and that of those who associate idols with God (al-mushrikûn); the latter are stronger in their unbelief ( . . . li-anna kufra l-mushrikîna aghlaqû min kufî ahli l-kišâbi . . . ); Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, Aḥkâm ahli l-dhimma, ed. Ţubhî al-Šâlih, Damascus 1381/1961, I, 10.

² Yahyâ b. Salâm, Tafsîr, Mukhtâsar Ibn Zamanîn, Ms. Fas, Qarawiyîn no. 40-34, p. 8 ( . . . qāla qatâda: ya'ni lâ takhliţû l-islâma bi-l-yahûdiyyati wa-l-naşrânîyyati . . . ); al-Qurtubî, Tafṣîr, Cairo 1387/1967, I, 341-342 (see p. 341, 1.3 . . . lâ talbisû l-yahûdiyyata wa-l-naşrânîyyata bi-l-islâmî wa-qad 'alîmtum anna dîna llâhi iladhî lâ yuqbalu ghayruhu wa-lâ yujzâ illâ bihi l-islâmî wa-anna l-yahûdiyyata wa-l-naşrânîyyata bid'ataun wa-laysat min allâhi . . . ); Ibn Kathîr, Tafṣîr, Beirut 1385/1966, I, 146; al-Ţabarî, Tafṣîr (= Jâmi' al-bayân 'an ta'wil al-qur'ân), ed. Maḥmûd and Aḥmad Shâkir, Cairo n.d., I, 568, no. 825 (and see another interpretation ibid. no. 826:
were scrutinized by I. Goldziher.3

The Muslim community was enjoined to observe strictly the injunctions of the Qur'ān and to follow faithfully the *sunna* of the Prophet. Jāhili customs and usages were to be abandoned. Thus the prayers performed at sunrise and sunset, when the sun rises and sets clasped between the two horns of the Devil.4 Jāhili

*al-haqq* is rendered by: *al-taurāt* *lladhī (l) anzala *llāhu 'alā mūsā* and *al-bāṭil* by *alladhī katabūhu bi-*āydīhim); *al-Samarqandi, Tafsīr*, Ms. Chester Beatty, 3668, I, fol. 16 b; *al-Shaukānī, Fatḥ al-qadīr al-jāmi* 'bayna *fannayī l-*riwāya wa-*l-*dirāya min *'ilmī l-*tafsīr*, Beirut n.d. I, 76; Abū Ḥayyān, *Tafsīr al-baḥr al-*muḥīt, Cairo 1328, I, 179; and see Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī, *Masā'il al-rāzī wa-ajwibatuhā*, Cairo 1381/1961, p.5 .. *li-anna l-*murāda bi-*talbīsīkhim* *al-*haqqā *bi-l-*bāṭili *kitābatuhum fi *l-*taurātī mā laysa minhā .. ; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, ed. 'Abdallāh Shāhāta, Cairo 1969, I, 34: .. *thumma qāla li-*l-yahidī wa-*l-*talbīsū .. wa-*dhālika anna l-*yahūda yuqirīnna bi-*baḍi' amri mūhammadin wa-*yaktumūna bāḍan.*


4 See e.g. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-*Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥābibū l-Raḥmān al-A'ẓāmī, Beirut, 1392/1972, II, 424–434 (*al-*sā'atu llatī *yukrahu fīhā l-*ṣalātū); according to some traditions prayer in the middle of the day is also reprehensible: see e.g. al-Dirālāmī, *Firdaus al-*akhbār, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 16a .. *lä tuṣallū 'inda tūlū'ī l-*shamsī, fa-*innahā *taṣlā'u *bayna qarnay qarnay *shayṭānīn, fa-*yasjudu lahā kullu kāfīrin, wa-*lā *inda ghurūbihā fa-*innahā *taghrubu *bayna qarnay *shayṭānīn, fa-*yasjudu lahā kullu kāfīrin, wa-*lā *wasāṭa l-*nahārī fa-*innahā *tasjuru *jahannama 'inda *dhālika .. ; *al-Suyūṭī, Jam' al-*jawāmi*, Cairo 1978, I, 895; Ibn Taʾīmiyya, *Iqtīdā' al-*ṣīraṭ al-*mustaqīm, mukhālafatu aṣḥāb al-*jahām*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, Cairo 1369/1950, p. 135–136; al-Bayḥaqī, *al-*Sunan al-*kubrā*, Hyderabad 1355, repr. Beirut, II, 453–455; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-*zawā'id wa-*manba' al-*fawā'id, Beirut
practices during the *tawāf* were rejected and forbidden. The practices of bewailing the dead, which were considered to be a remnant of Jāhiliyya customs, were also forbidden. Bedouin forms of greeting were to be given up. When al-Zubayr came to visit the Prophet in his illness and greeted him by saying *ja'alan l-lāhu fidāka*, the Prophet rebuked him by saying that he had not yet given up his bedouin manners (*ma tarakta arābiyyataka ba'du*). The meal consumed after the funeral meal was forbidden even if consumed in the desert. The Prophet rebuked a man who was about to eat in the desert by saying *la'ana man halaqat wākhāraqa wa-salaqa ...* and see al-Būṣirī, *Miṣbah al-zuqāja fī zawā'idī bni mājah*, ed. Mūsā Muḥammad 'Alī and 'Izzat 'Ālī 'Atiyya, Cairo 1983, I, 412, no. 1253; Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣahīh*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā l-A'zamī, Beirut 1395/1975, II, 256–257, nos. 1273, 1275.


(al-ṭa‘ām ‘alā l-mayyiti) was considered a Jāhilī practice. Ibn ‘Umar refrained from praying in a mosque embellished with merlons (shurufāt) and gave an order to pull down the merlons because they were reminiscent of the idol stones (ańskāb) of Mecca. The main concern of the religious leaders of the Muslim society was to establish some barrier between the Muslim community and the communities of the Jews, Christians and Magians. This separation was to be upheld in the various spheres of social relations, as well as in rites and customs. In the very early period after the death of the Prophet some young boys kept their side curls uncut. Anas b. Mālik was enraged when he saw a young boy with such curls and ordered him to shave them immediately, because this was the fashion of the Jews.

The Prophet told his daughter Fāṭima to pierce the lobes of the ears of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, in order to differentiate them from the usage of the Jews. Some scholars maintained that

9 Ibn Taymiyya, Iqtīdā', p. 132, inf.
performing circumcision on the seventh day after a boy's birth is disliked, as this may indicate an assimilation to a Jewish custom.\textsuperscript{12} Orthodox scholars were unwilling to instruct people to avoid work on Friday, considering this to be too close to the usage of the Jews and the Christians who do not work on Saturday and Sunday respectively.\textsuperscript{13} The believers were enjoined to refrain from placing their hands on the tombs or kissing them when visiting a cemetery; it was considered a Jewish custom.\textsuperscript{14}

The Prophet ordered the believers not to greet each other in the way observed by Jews and Christians: the Jews greet each other by raising their fingers, the Christians by raising their hands.\textsuperscript{15} Some traditions attributed to the Prophet claimed that he forbade shaking hands with dhimmīs. The prohibition is explained by commentators by saying that the dhimmīs are

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}


\item 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, \textit{al-Ghunyā li-ṭalibī tariqā l-ḥaqqa`i `azza wa-jalla}, Cairo 1322, I, 44: . . . wa-īdhā zāra qabran lā yaḍā` yadahu 'alayhi wa-l-yuqabbilahu, fa-innahu ādatu l-yahūd . . .

\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
unbelievers, *kuffār*, and therefore do not deserve to have their hands shaken. The Muslims, on the other hand, are brethren, and they have to greet each other with the shaking of hands and with the greeting of *salām*.\(^{16}\) Mālik b. Anas, however, did not see any wrong in shaking hands with Jews and Christians.\(^{17}\) Similar in content were some traditions traced to Ibn ‘Abbās. Had Pharao greeted me by saying, "May God bless you", I would answer, "And you". "And Pharao is dead already", added Ibn ‘Abbās.\(^{18}\) Ibn ‘Abbās is said to have recommended that the greeting of a Jew, a Christian or a Magian be answered in a proper manner; he based himself on Sūra IV, 86: *And when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with a fairer than it, or return it; surely God keeps a watchful count over everything*, which in his opinion referred to believers and to unbelievers alike.\(^{19}\) A tradition traced to Abū Mūsā al-‘Aṭār, who is said to have answered in a due manner the greeting of a *dihqān* in a letter sent to him, displays the same attitude.\(^{20}\) Some traditions enjoin that the response of a believer to the greeting of the People of the Book be confined to the utterance "And upon you"; this concise response was justified by the fact that the Jews greeted the Prophet by saying *al-sām ‘alayka*, and the Prophet ordered that the malediction of the Jews be answered

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\(^{17}\) Mālik b. Anas, *Risāla*, p. 44.


\(^{20}\) Al-Jīlānī, *op.cit.*, II, 544, inf.–545, sup.
by the ominous: *wa-'alaykum.* Several traditions enjoined upon Muslims not to be the first to greet Jews and Christians; this injunction was often coupled with the utterance of the Prophet in which it was said that Jews and Christians encountered on a road should be forced to the narrowest part of the way.

In another tradition, the list of people from whom one should withhold one’s greeting includes Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, wine drinkers, people who cast doubts on the


pedigree of people's mothers and players of chess.\textsuperscript{24} In one of the pious utterances the believer is recommended to utter the formula of the oneness of God when looking at a church or a synagogue, on hearing the sound of a horn (\textit{shabūr}) or a church-bell (\textit{nāqūs}) or when looking at a group of unbelievers, Jews or Christians.\textsuperscript{25}

Scholars devoted some attention to the problem of how to deal with a greeting given by mistake, that is, if a Muslim responded to the greeting of a \textit{dhimmi} but later realized that he had made a mistake, he would often come back and ask him to "give him back" the greeting.\textsuperscript{26} In one case of this kind the reason for asking the response to the greeting to be "given back" is formulated as follows: the mercy of God and His blessing are reserved exclusively for the Muslims; therefore the believer ('\textit{Uqba b. 'Amir al-Juhanī}) substituted the invocation "May God expand the span of your life (\textit{atāla llāhu ḥayātaka}) and multiply (\textit{akthara}) your wealth and children" to the conventional response to a greeting.\textsuperscript{27} The reason why one should avoid a greeting which contained a reference to the "Mercy of God" was that the blessing to someone who sneezed had been changed because of the Jews. The latter would present themselves to the Prophet sneezing, and would expect the Prophet to say, "May God have mercy upon you (\textit{rahi makumu llāhu})", but the Prophet used to say: "May God lead you to the right way (\textit{yahdikumu llāhu wa-yuslihu bālakum})."\textsuperscript{28} It is similarly forbidden to use the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{25} 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, \textit{al-Ghunya}, I, 47 . . . \textit{wa-yustahhabbu idhā raʾ bay'atan au kanīsatan . . . an yaqūla: ashhadu an lā ilāha illā llāhu waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu ilāhu wāḥidan lā na'budu illā iyyāhu.
\bibitem{26} Al-Jilānī, \textit{op.cit.}, II, 555, no. 1115; I. Goldziher, \textit{Üeber jüdische Sitten}, p. 308.
\bibitem{28} Al-Jilānī, \textit{op.cit.}, II, 555, no. 1114; Ibn al-Sunnī, '\textit{Amal}, p. 72; Ibn al-Athīr, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl}, VII, 400, no. 4888.
\end{thebibliography}
formula *salāmu llāhi 'alaykum* when writing to non-Muslims; the formula to be used should be *al-salāmu 'alā man ittabā'ā l-'hudā*; this formula was used by the Prophet in his letter to Musaylima.²⁹

The believers were warned of adoption of ideas and customs of Jews and Christians and were enjoined not to follow them in their practices and rites. But it is worthwhile to notice that the Prophet himself is said to have followed the practices and rituals of the People of the Book until ordered by God to act differently.³⁰

³⁰ See e.g. al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Tībār fī bayāni l-nāsikhi wa-l-mansūkhi mina l-akhbār*, Hyderabad 1359, p. 121: ... *Kāna yatashabbahu bi-ahli l-kitābi, fa-lammā nusikha dhālika wa-nuhiya 'anhu ntaḥa . . .; and see al-Ṭahāwī, *Shark maʿānī l-āthār*, ed. Maḥmūd Sayyid Jāo al-Ḥaqq, Cairo 1388/1968, I, 489: ... *Kāna yattabiʿu aḥla l-kitābi ḥattā yuʿmaru bi-khilāfī dhālika . . . li-anna ḥukmahū ẓallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam an yakūna 'alā sharīʿati l-nabiyyī lladhī kāna qablahu ḥattā yuḥdathā lahu sharīʿatun tansukhu . . .; and see ib. p. 490 the comment of 'Alī when the believers stood up at a funeral: "that [was so] while you were Jews", dhālika wa-antum yahūdu . . .; al-Ṭahāwī explains that 'Alī referred to the fact that they followed the sharīʿa of the Jews; later it was abrogated by Islam. And see ib. p. 389: the hairdress of the Prophet was like that of the Jews; it was later changed by the Prophet. And see Ibrāhīm al-Bāḏūrī, *Hāshiya 'alā l-shamāʿīli l-muḥammadiyya . . . li-l-tirmidhī*, Cairo 1344, p. 41: ... *kāna yasdiilu sharāhu . . . wa-kāna l-mushrikūna yafrūqūna ruʿūsahum . . . wa-kāna yuḥbibh muwāfaqata ahli l-kitābi fīmā lam yuʿmar fīhi bi-shayʾīn, ay fīmā lam yuṭlab fīhi minhu shayʿun 'alā jihati l-wujūbī au al-nadbi; qāla l-Qurṭūbī: wa-ḥubbhu muwāfaqatahum kāna fī auwwalī l-amrī ina quḍūmīhi l-madiḥata fī l-waqti lladhī kāna yastaqbilu qiblatahum fīhi li-taʿallufiḥim, fa-lammā lam yanfaʿ fīhim dhālika wa-ghalabat 'alayhim al-shaqwa amara bi-mukhālafatihim fī umūrin kathīrātīn; wa-innāmā āṭhara maḥabbata ahli l-kitābi dūna l-mushrikīn li-tamassuki ulāʾika bi-baqāya sharāʿī l-rusūlī, wa-hāʾulāʾi wathāniyyūn; and see the discussion concerning the sharīʿa followed by the Prophet in the period of the Jāḥiliyya before his Call: Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Tafsīr al-qurʾān (=Aḥkām al-qurʾān)*, pp. 23–24; 'Abdallāh b.
Believers were enjoined to refrain from disputes with the People of the Book as to the Torah, the Injil and the Zabûr, and from confirming their views; believers should affirm the truth of passages which are true, and which have been falsified or declared untrue (fa-tukadhdhibûnahum) by the People of the Book. The believers were enjoined to believe only in the holy Book, i.e. the Qur’ân.31

An extremist attitude towards the dhimmîs is exposed in traditions which say that Jibrîl refrained from conveying the revelation to the Prophet and from touching his hand because the Prophet had touched the hand of a Jew. Only after the Prophet had performed the ritual ablation did Jibrîl shake his hand and convey the revelation to him.32 A similar tradition says that the Prophet advised Abî Hurayra not to shake hands with a Jew or a Christian after having performed the wudû’; if he shook hands with them, he would have to repeat the

31 Al-Daylamî, Firdaus al-akhbâr, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 188 b, sup.; al-Tabarânî, al-Mu’jam al-kabîr, IX, 413, no. 9759. The utterance lâ tuṣaddiqû ahla l-kitâbi is said to have been connected with a peculiar usage in the first stage of Islam, as reflected in the following report: ... ‘an abî hurayrata [r] qâla: kâna ahlu l-kitâbi yaqrâ‘ûna l-taurâta bi-l-’ibrâniyyati wa-yufassirûnahâ li-ahli l-islâmi bi-l-’arabiyyati; fa-qâla rasûlu llâhi [l]: lâ tuṣaddiqû ahla l-kitâbi ...; see Ibn Hazm, al-Fisâl fî l-mîlal wa-l-ahwâ‘i wa-l-nîhal, Cairo 1384/1964, II, 13 sup.; cf. al-Suyûtî, al-Durr al-manthûr fî l-tafsîr bi-l-mâthûr, Cairo 1314, II, 48.

Do not assimilate yourselves … 331

abraation. Although scholars called upon Muslims to restrict their contacts with the People of the Book, the believers were urged to summon them to embrace Islam whenever they met them.

The consensus of the Muslim scholars was that the precepts of Islam abrogated the injunctions of every religion which preceded Islam; God annulled the laws of the Torah, the Injil and the other religions, and made the laws of Islam incumbent upon mankind and upon the jinn. If the Torah or the Gospels are taken as booty during a military expedition, they should not be left to stand as they are, because these are books deliberately altered (mubaddala) and without any sanctity (lā hurmata lahā). The writing should therefore be scratched out, and the vellum or paper utilized in a proper fashion.

It stands to reason that traces of Jewish and Christian rites and usages should be abrogated. The Prophet forbade believers to lean on their left when sitting during prayer. Such practices were labelled by the Prophet "the prayer of the Jews". The believers were ordered not to sway during prayer from one side to the other in the manner of the Jews when they prayed.

34 Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Wāṣāyā, p. 198.
or when the Torah was unrolled. Muslim scholars disapproved of invocations at the \textit{minbar} that were accompanied by the raising of hands and by loud noises; these were labelled \textit{taqlis al-yahūd}. Standing up and raising one's hands during the \textit{tawāf} was condemned as a Jewish custom. "Jews in the synagogues use such a practice", said 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, and advised the believers who used to follow this practice during the \textit{tawāf} to utter such invocations in their councils (\textit{majālis}, not during the \textit{tawāf}). Jews used to close their eyes

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{l-rafidatu} ...
  \item 39 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāya, V, 124, s.v. \textit{wud}.
  \item 40 Al-Ṭūrūshī, Kitāb al-ḥawādith, p. 59 inf. [The text \textit{lā tuqalis tahlīṣa l-yahūd} is interpreted by Mālik (b. Anas) as denoting rising of the voice and rising of hands in invocation. \textit{Tahlīṣ} in this meaning could, however, not be traced in the standard dictionaries; but a very similar definition is given for \textit{taqlīṣ} (with a sīn): \textit{al-taqlīṣ ħuwa rafū l-saul bi-l-du‘a‘i wa-l-qirā‘āti wa-ghinā‘i}; see e.g. L 'A, s.v. \textit{qalīs}; and see \textit{ib}.
  \item other interpretations of the verb]. According to tradition the Prophet was entertained by \textit{taqlīṣ} on the day of \textit{īd al-fitr}: \textit{kāna yuqallāsu lahu yauma l-fiitr}; this is rendered by al-Munāwī by: \textit{... yudrabu bayna yadayhi bi-l-duff wa-l-ghinā‘[al-Munawī, Fayd, V, 238, no. 7130]. \textit{Taqlīṣ}, entertainment, play, is said to have been practiced on two days of feasts in the period of the Jāhiliyya; it was replaced by the entertainment on the days of \textit{īd al-fitr} and \textit{īd al-adhā}. [See e.g. al-Ṭahāwī, Mushkil al-āthār, Hyderabad 1333, II, 211]. Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda is said to have been astonished that this practice was abandoned after the death of the Prophet [... shahidtu 'idan bi-l-ānba‘r, fa-qultu lahum: mā lī lā arākum tuqallīsūna kamā kānū yuqallīṣūna 'alā 'ahdī rasūli llāhi (ṣ); al-Ṭahāwī, Mushkil, II, 209]. A similar utterance is attributed to 'Iyād al-Asbā‘arī [al-Suyūṭī, \textit{Jam’ al-jawāmi‘}], II, 586, inf.]. \textit{Iyād} stresses that the \textit{taqlīṣ} is a \textit{sunna} if \textit{a-nnahu sunnatun}; the word \textit{taqlīṣ} is explained by Yūsuf b. 'Adiyy as an entertainment in which girls and boys used to sit on the roads playing drums and other instruments [\textit{ib}.
  \item II, 586, penult., and cf. al-Ṭahāwī, Mushkil, II, 212, sup.]
  \item And see on \textit{taqlīṣ} in the time of the Prophet: Ibn al-Athīr, \textit{Usd al-ghāba}, IV, 164 and Ibn Hajar, al-\textit{Isāba}, IV, 756, no. 6143.
  \item 41 About raising of hands during prayers and invocations see: al-Dhahābī, \textit{Mizān al-ītīdāl}, ed. ‘Alī Muhammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1382/1963, III, 429, no. 7036: \textit{man rafā‘a yadayhi fī l-ṣalāfī fa-lā šalāta lahu}; and see
\end{itemize}
during their prayers; this practice was disliked and even forbidden in Islam.\(^{42}\) Two features of Jewish prayer, the

\(^{42}\) ‘Abd al-Razzāq, al-Muṣannaf, II, 271, no. 3329; Ibn Taymiyya, Iqtīda, p. 85; al-Daylami, Firdaus, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 186a; al-Jarrāḥī, Kashfu’ l-khafā’i wa-muzilu l-ilbiis ‘amma ishtahara mina l-ahādīthi
sadl and the ishtimāl al-ṣammā', were strongly disapproved of. Tradition says that the Prophet was admonished not to follow other unpleasant features of Jewish prayers: members of a Jewish congregation would lower their voices and then raise them, following the lead of one of them, who raised his voice and shouted loudly. The believers were ordered to abstain from talking to each other during prayers, as this was the custom of Jews and Christians. The greeting may God hear your and our prayer on the Day of the Feast was marked by the Prophet as a greeting of the People of the Book and he,
therefore, disapproved of it.\textsuperscript{46}

One item of clothing which marked the difference between the ritual of the Muslims and that of the Jews was the shoe. Shoes were indeed a token of high social position for their owners. The Prophet was ordered to wear shoes and to set a seal (i.e. a ring with a seal) on his finger.\textsuperscript{47} Shoes were considered to be "the wear of the prophets".\textsuperscript{48} The Prophet is said to have advised the believers to hold shoes in high esteem, as they were "the anklets of men".\textsuperscript{49} One of the epithets of the Prophet was \textit{sāhib al-na'layn}.\textsuperscript{50} According to one tradition, the Prophet entrusted his Companion, Abū Hurayra, with a special mission: he handed him his shoes and ordered him to assure everyone whom he met while carrying them that he would enter Paradise if only he uttered the \textit{shahāda}, as a token of his firm belief. Abū Hurayra was however impeded by 'Umar in his mission, for 'Umar kicked him and threw him to the ground. Abū Hurayra returned


\textsuperscript{48} Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī, \textit{Fath al-muta‘āl}, p. 27.


to the Prophet, gave him back his shoes and, crying, informed him of 'Umar’s deed. 'Umar succeeded in persuading the Prophet that Abū Hurayra’s mission should be stopped, as the promise of Paradise might have brought about remissness in carrying out one’s religious duties.\(^{31}\)

Yellow shoes were regarded with favour, and the Prophet is said to have stated that he who wears them would enjoy contentment as long as they were on his feet.\(^{52}\) Scholars admitted, however, that it is not incumbent on the believers to wear shoes like those of the Prophet.\(^{53}\) An utterance attributed to the Prophet says that God granted the Muslim community the distinction of performing their prayers while wearing shoes.\(^{54}\) In another utterance attributed to the Prophet it is stated that shoes are the adornment of prayer.\(^{55}\) The Prophet interpreted the phrase: "O children of Ādām! look to your adornment at every place of worship [khudhū zīnatakam 'inda kulli masjidin, Sūrat al-ā'raf, 31]", as denoting an injunction to wear shoes during prayers.\(^{56}\) A great many traditions state that the Prophet used to

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pray with his shoes on. Some sources record lists of Companions and tābī‘ūn who performed their prayers while they were wearing shoes. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha’ī took care to put on his shoes at the beginning of prayer. Very high merit was placed on prayer while wearing one’s shoes: according to a tradition, an angel announces to the believer who prays while wearing shoes that all his sins have been forgiven and that he should resume


his worship anew.\textsuperscript{60} The reason for the injunction to pray while wearing one's shoes is given in a widely circulated utterance of the Prophet: "Act against the practice of the Jews, as they do not pray while wearing one's shoes or their boots" (kāhīlīfū ʾl-yahūda, ū-īnnahum lā yūṣallūna fī niʿālihim wa-lā fī khīfāṭīhim).\textsuperscript{61} Another tradition of the Prophet on this subject has a slightly different wording. It says: "Pray while wearing your shoes, and do not assimilate yourselves to the practice of Jews (ṣallū fī niʿālikum wa-lā tashabbahū bi-l-yahūd).\textsuperscript{62} Muslim scholars explained the Jewish practice of praying barefoot by the fact that Jews considered prayer while wearing shoes as signifying lack of respect and esteem (scil. for the sanctuary); furthermore, the Jews in their conduct followed Moses, who was ordered to take off his shoes in the holy valley of Tūvā, mentioned in the Qur'ān (Sūrat Tā-Hā, 13).\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{60} Al-Muttaqī l-Hindi, \textit{Kanz}, VII, 376, no. 2449.


\textsuperscript{63} Maḥmūd al-Subkī, \textit{al-Manhal al-ʿadhb}, V, 45 inf.; al-Munāwī, \textit{Fayḍ}, IV, 201, no. 5021. And see the comments of al-Munāwī, ib.: the leather of Moses' shoes was from an impure beast, a donkey, and he was therefore ordered to take them off. In addition, he had to receive the blessing of the holy valley [\textit{al-wādī al-muqaddas}] by touching its ground with his
The problem of the prayers of the believers while wearing their shoes caused a vivid discussion as to the ways of performing the ritual ablution, the *wudū*. The verse enjoining the *wudū* [Sūrat al-mā‘ida, verse 6] was interpreted by some scholars as enjoining washing of the feet; others assumed that it imposed only the obligation to wipe the feet. As for the prayer feet. The Prophet stated that the conclusions drawn by the Jews and their practices were not sound ['alā ghayri shihatin], though the matter itself was true. (Cf. al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-muwatta*, ed. Ibrāhīm ‘Atwa ‘Awād, Cairo 1382/1962, V, 281, 1.1 . . . fa-qāla ka‘b: kānatā min jīlī ḥimārin mayyitiin, fa-hādhā sababu amrihi bi-khālihi; fa-akhadha l-yahūdu minhu anna khal‘a l-na‘laynī fī l-salati laysa bi-sahih . . . ). These arguments are recorded in al-Qurtubi’s *Tafsīr*, XI, 173; al-Qurtubi mentions however other reasons for the commandment to take off the shoes: Moses was ordered to do so because of awe and respect for the holy place, Ṭuwā; like in the *haram* of Mecca one had to enter the holy place of Ṭuwā barefoot. According to another interpretation the removal of his shoes by Moses denoted metaphorically the removal of thoughts on children and family from his heart.

of the believer wearing boots, he was absolved from washing his feet at every \textit{wudū} on condition that he had washed his feet before putting on his boots.\footnote{See, e.g., al-Ṭabarānī, \textit{al-Mu'jam al-kabīr}, II, 334, nos. 2393-2394, and cf. \textit{ib.}, IX, 288, no. 9238; and see al-Bayhaqī, \textit{al-Sunan al-kubra}, I, 292 ult.}

These traditions enjoining not to \textit{assimilate themselves} seem to belong to a very early phase in the emergence of Islam, in which it was felt to be essential for the nascent Muslim community to establish distinctive features for its own religious rites and practices, so as to differentiate itself from all other religious communities.

There was however no full consensus among Muslim scholars in a later period as to prayer in shoes. Traditions recorded in very early collections of \textit{ḥadīth} seem to indicate a certain amount of reservation. Ibn Jurayj (d. 150 A.H.) asked 'Aṭā whether a believer may pray while wearing shoes. 'Aṭā answered, "yes", and added that he had heard that the Prophet had prayed with his shoes on. "What is wrong with them (i.e. with shoes)? The Prophet also prayed while wearing boots", said 'Aṭā.\footnote{'Abd al-Razzaq, \textit{al-Muṣannaf}, I, 384, no. 1501; cf. al-Kattānī, \textit{Naẓm al-muṣannāthir}, p. 99, no. 81.} Ibn Jurayj's doubts as to whether or not prayer while wearing shoes is permissible are exposed in this tradition. Another report tells of Abū Hurayrā's denial of the rumour that he did not allow people to pray with their shoes on. He asserted that he had seen the Prophet pray in shoes.\footnote{'Abd al-Razzaq, \textit{al-Muṣannaf}, I, 385, no. 1504; al-Ṭahāwī, \textit{Sharḥ ma‘ānī l-āthār}, I, 511-512.} Uncertainty as to the manner of prayer is visible in a significant conversation between two of the Companions of the Prophet: Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd. Abū Mūsā led the prayer

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
and took off his shoes before starting the prayer. 'Abdallah asked him, "Why did you take off your shoes; are you in the holy valley of Tuva"? The conflicting perceptions underlying this report are elucidated in a different version of this tradition: 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd came to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. When the time of prayer arrived, Abū Mūsā urged his guest to lead the prayer, but 'Abdallah refused since Abū Mūsā was the host and the prayer was to be performed in his abode and in his masjid. Abū Mūsā agreed, and before he started the prayer he took off his shoes. Then 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd asked him about the reason for his action enquiring ironically whether he thought he was in the holy valley of Tuva. The final phrase of the tradition, seems to hold the clue for the understanding of Ibn Mas'ūd's question and for the desired conclusion: "We saw indeed the Prophet praying in boots and in shoes." Taking off the shoes is obligatory in the Ka'ba or in a Holy Place, but the usual daily prayers should be performed wearing shoes.

Indeed, the Prophet prayed barefoot in the Ka'ba on the Day of the Conquest of Mecca.

'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd's remark seems to have been grounded on the widely circulated tradition according to which God singled out the Prophet and the Muslim community granting them the privilege to perform their prayers in every spot on earth. "God made the earth for me a mosque and [its dust a means of] purification", says the utterance of the Prophet.

70 See Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, Mawārid al-ṣamān, p. 252, no. 1022: ... hadārtu raṣūla lālī (ṣ) yauma l-fāthi wa-sallā fi l-ka'bati, fa-khala'a na'lāyhi fa-waḍā'ahā 'an yasārihi ...
71 See, e.g., al-Bājī, Sunan al-sāliḥīn, Ms. Leiden Or. 506, fol. 44b.; al-Ṭabarī, Tahdhib al-āthār, ed. Mahmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1402/1982, I, 441; al-'Aynī, 'Umdat al-qārī, IV, 8-10 [ ... ja'ala l-arḍa kullahā li wa-li-ummāti taḥūran wa-masjidān fa-aynāmā adrakatī l-rajula min ummaṭī l-salātī fa-'indahu masjiduhu wa-'indahu
Accordingly there was no reason to take off one's shoes at prayer.

Shoes had to be cleaned, of course, before prayer, and some of the sources include passages concerning the manner of cleaning one's shoes, especially as the Prophet and his Companions used to pray while wearing the same shoes in which they walked in the streets of Medina and in which they performed their bodily needs. 

According to one tradition a peculiar incident brought about a fundamental change in the perception of prayer and its rules. The Prophet is said to have taken off his shoes one day during prayer, and the believers followed suit. After the prayer the Prophet explained that he had taken off his shoes because the angel Jibril had informed him that there was filth attached to his shoes. 

Another noteworthy tradition relates that the Prophet took off his shoes during prayer only once and never repeated this again.

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72 See, e.g., Mahmūd al-Subkī, al-Manhal al-ʻadhāb, V, 43; al-Munāwī, Fādi, V, 222 (see the commentary of the author on tradition no. 7059).

his shoes after prayer is given in a tradition in which it is stated that the Prophet once replaced a strap on his shoe that had been torn, by a new one; after the prayer the Prophet ordered that the torn strap be returned, explaining that he had been distracted during the prayer by the new strap. Another tradition relating to this theme says that the Prophet was bored by his shoes and therefore took them off during prayer, followed by the believers. The event at which the Prophet took off his shoes during prayer is linked in some traditions with the utterance of the Prophet enjoining the believers to clean their shoes at the gate of the mosque, to put them on and to wear them during the prayer. It is surprising to read in the final passage of this story, recorded by 'Abd al-Razzâq and Ibn abî Shayba, that the Prophet took off his shoes and that the congregation followed suit and imitated his action. After the prayer the Prophet stated, "He who likes to pray in his shoes may do so, and he who likes to pray barefoot may do so." Another report according to which the Prophet gave permission to pray either wearing shoes or barefoot records a different reason for this utterance of the Prophet: he just gave his feet a rest, and decided that he who wants to take off his shoes may take them off, he who wants to pray while wearing them may pray with his shoes on. A tradition which confirms this last
point of view states indeed that the Prophet used to pray in either of the two manners, wearing shoes or barefoot.\textsuperscript{80}

The change in the perception of the practice of prayer is evident: the believers were granted permission to pray as they wished, either barefoot or wearing shoes. Accordingly the imperative verb \textit{kha\l ifu} had to be reinterpreted and was explicated as a word merely denoting permission.\textsuperscript{81} Al-Subk\i is right in stating that this tradition turns the obligation to pray with one's shoes on into a free choice left to the believer; being shoed while praying is put on a par with being barefoot.\textsuperscript{82} The utterance became widely circulated in the period following the death of the Prophet, when the Arab tribes went on their huge conquest expeditions. The very early mosques in the conquered territories differed widely from the simple mosque of the Prophet at Medina; prayer with shoes on was not appropriate to floors covered with tiles or slabs. Besides, the Jews in some of these territories, in contrast to the Jews in the Arab peninsula, may have prayed while they were wearing shoes. Consequently, Muslim scholars were compelled to make a re-evaluation of the traditions about the manner of prayer in a mosque: prayer while wearing one's shoes was stated to be a concession (\textit{rukhsa}) reserved to the Prophet and his Companions. Shoes are admittedly an adornment of prayer, but treading on filthy ground (\textit{mul\'amasatu l-\textasciitlari llati takthuru fih\u0131 l-naj\u0131s\u0131t})

\textsuperscript{80} N\u0131r al-D\u0131n al-Haytham\u011fi, \textit{Majma}, II, 54, 56; al-Bayhaq\i, \textit{al-Sunan al-kubr\u0131}, II, 431; Ibn \textquote{Adiyy, \textit{al-K\u0131mil}, V, 1827; al-Maghr\u00edb\i, \textit{Fath al-mutd\u0131l}, p. 95; al-\u0131h\u0131w\u0131, \textit{Shahr m\u0131\u0131ni l-\u0131th\u0131r}, I, 512; al-\u0131usufi, Z\u00eadd al-muslim, V, 66; al-Suy\u0131\u011fi, \textit{Jam\u0131 al-jaw\u0131mi}, II, 520; Mahm\u00f6d al-Subk\i, \textit{al-Manhal al-\textasciitladh al-maurud}, V, 43; \textquote{Abd al-Razz\u0131q, \textit{al-Musannaf}, I, 385, no. 1503, 387 no. 1512; al-Muttaqi l-Hind\u011fi, \textit{Kanz}, VIII, 139, no. 1000; 
A\u0131mad b. Hanbal, \textit{Musnad} (ed. \u0142sh\u00e9kir), X, 157, no. 6627, 188, no. 6660, 206, no. 1679; Ibn Sa\'d, \textit{Tabaq\u0131t}, I, 480.

\textsuperscript{81} Mahm\u00f6d al-Subk\i, \textit{al-Manhal al-\textasciitladh}, V, 43, 11.1-3: \ldots li-anna l-takhy\u0131ra wa-l-taf\u0131\u0131da il\u00e6 l-mash\u00e7\u0131\u0131ati dal\u00e7\u0131lu l-ib\u0131\u0131hati \ldots

\textsuperscript{82} Mahm\u00f6d al-Subk\i, \textit{al-Manhal al-\textasciitladh}, V, 43: \ldots wa-huwa min al-a\u0131h\u00e7\u0131thi l-sar\u0131\u0131ti li-l-amri bi-l-\u0131l\u0131\u0131ti f\u0131 l-na\u0131li f\u0131 l-had\u0131thi l-s\u0131biqi mina l-wuj\u0131\u0131bi il\u00e6 l-ib\u0131\u0131ha \ldots
depreciates the position of such a prayer, and the elimination of impurity and filth is of greater importance than adornment (scil. through wearing shoes) during prayer.  

Some doubts were even cast on the soundness of the tradition *khālīfū l-yahūd* in connection with the transmitter of the *hadīth*.  

Only Hanbalī scholars continued to stick to the idea that prayer while wearing one’s shoes is a *sunni* practice.

The practice of prayer in the mosques without shoes became a common feature in the Islamic Empire; special chapters in the collections of *hadīth* and *fiqh* discuss at length the problem where to put the shoes for the duration of the prayer. The clash between the early tradition, i.e. that the Prophet prayed while he was wearing his shoes, and the common practice of praying barefoot in mosques, is reflected in an utterance of al-Ḥasan [evidently al- Başkanlığı, who wondered why none of the transmitters who reported that the Prophet had prayed without removing his shoes did not themselves pray while wearing shoes. People in the mosques were not aware that the Prophet had prayed in shoes; the fact that some persons

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84 See al-Munāwī, *Fayd*, IV, 201 (See commentary on no. 5021); and see al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-‘i‘tidāl*, IV, 457, no. 9835; al-Maghrībī, *Fatḥ al-muṭā‘āl*, p. 89: ... warada fī kauni l-ṣalāṭī fī l-nī‘āl mina l-zīnā al-ma‘mūrī bi-akhdhīhā fī l-āyati ḥadīthun ḍa‘ifun jiddan auradahu ibn ‘adiyy fī l-kāmil wa-ibn mardawayh fī tafsīrihi min ḥadīthi abī hurayra wa-l-‘uqaylī min ḥadīthi anas ...


87 Al-Jāhiz, *al-bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, III, 110: ... wa-kāna l-ḥasan yaqūlū: mā a‘jaba qaumun yarwūna anna rasūla ḫallī (s) ṣallā fī na‘layhi ... thinma lā tarā ahadan minhum yuṣallī munta‘īlan.
appeared in the mosques with their shoes on brought about rows and clashes in the mosques, and these culminated sometimes in the killing of those persons.\textsuperscript{88}

The attitude of the later Muslim scholars is reflected in a succinct response by the famous commentator of Muslim's \textit{Saḥīḥ}, al-Nawawī [d. 676 H]. He was asked whether it was a sound tradition (\textit{ḥal ṣaḥḥa}) that the Prophet had prayed while wearing shoes, whether prayer with one's shoes on or prayer barefoot was preferable (\textit{afdāl}), whether it was a sound tradition that the Prophet had taken off his shoes during prayer and that his action had been imitated by his Companions, that he had asked them why they had done it and disapproved of their deed, and then why he had disapproved of it. Al-Nawawī stated that both traditions [i.e. that he prayed wearing shoes and that he took off his shoes during prayer] were sound. Prayer barefoot is however preferable, says al-Nawawī, because the Prophet prayed barefoot more frequently than while wearing shoes; he merely prayed while shod in order to show that this manner of prayer is permissible. The Prophet took off his shoes when he was informed by Jibrīl that the shoes contained some filth (\textit{adhan}), which prevented him from praying. Finally the Prophet disapproved of taking off one's shoes, because he objected (\textit{kariḥa}) to an action being performed during prayer, which need not to be carried out during ritual service.\textsuperscript{89} It is noteworthy that al-Nawawī does not mention at all that there was an element of differentiation and exclusivity in the wearing of shoes during prayer; prayer with his shoes on was performed by the Prophet only in order to show that this manner of praying was permissible.

In summing up, it may be assumed that the common and widely followed practice of praying barefoot in the mosques was a result of the significant changes in the social and material conditions of life in the Muslim community: the sumptuous style


\textsuperscript{89} Al-Nawawī, \textit{al-Manṭhūrāt wa-‘uyūnu l-maṣā‘ili l-muhimmāt}, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Ahmad 'Atā, Cairo 1402-1982, p. 39, no. 60.
and the floors covered with carpets, called for the solemn prayers to be performed barefoot. In some areas of Arabia Jews may have continued to pray without shoes in their synagogues, but pious Muslim scholars did not object to a practice that was similar to that of some unbelievers in one place or another, provided that it was not contrary to the usages of Islam.\(^90\)

A peculiar opinion as to the utterance enjoining the believers to pray wearing shoes in contradistinction to the practice of the Jews who pray barefoot is expressed in a book by Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya. The reason for this injunction was, according to Ibn Qayyim, that the Prophet ordered the believers to deviate from the practices of the People of the Book and therefore enjoined them to pray with their shoes on. After the death of the Prophet 'Umar forbade the People of the Book to wear shoes of the kind worn by the Muslims.\(^91\)

The difference between the injunction of the Prophet and the order of 'Umar\(^92\) is explained by Ibn Qayyim's scrutiny of the social and political situation at the time of the Prophet, and of the changes undergone by the Muslim community in the period of 'Umar. Shoes, says Ibn Qayyim, were not the wear of


al-‘ajam; they used to wear a kind of boot called al-tamsak,\textsuperscript{93} and they should be forced to return to this peculiar wear. Furthermore, so says Ibn Qayyim, shoes are the wear of scholars, honourable persons (ashrāf) and distinguished men (akābir), and should consequently be reserved for their use alone.

One has to admit, says Ibn Qayyim, that the Jews of Medina and its surroundings indeed wore shoes, and that the prophet did not forbid them this practice. He merely enjoined the believers to act contrary to the Jewish habit of praying barefoot, and ordered them to pray while wearing shoes. Neither the Prophet nor Abū Bakr, says Ibn Qayyim, obliged the People of the Book to wear the ghiyār, the garments that were meant to differentiate them from the Muslim community, since the believers had still not overpowered the People of the Book, nor had they yet abased them or occupied their countries; the People of the Book were in control of the majority of these countries and the believers kept their status according to the agreements and peace pacts that had been concluded (... li-anna l-muslimīna lam yakūnū qad istaulau ‘alā ahli l-kitāb wa-qaharūhum wa-adhallūhum, wa-malakū bilādahum; bal kānāt aktharu bilādihim lahum wa-hum fīhā ahlu sulhīn wa-hudnatin),\textsuperscript{94} consequently, the only thing that could be done at that time was to order the believers to act differently from the practices of these people. But when God granted the Muslim community victory and gave them the lands and possessions of the conquered peoples, and when the believers could impose upon them the law of Islam, ‘Umar ordered the People of the Book to wear the ghiyār, and all the Companions gave their consent to the injunctions of ‘Umar.\textsuperscript{95} It is thus evident that

\textsuperscript{93} The word was evidently miscopied by the scribe and misread by the editor. The correct reading seems to be al-shamushak. Prayer while wearing arab shoes was preferred; prayer while wearing shamushak boots was forbidden. (See al-Ṭūsī, al-Nihāya fī mujarradī l-fiq̲h, p. 98; al-Bahrānī, al-Ḥadā‘īq al-nādīra, VII, 114-115).

\textsuperscript{94} Ibn Qayyim, Ahkām, p. 755, inf.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibn Qayyim, Ahkām, p. 756.
‘Umar’s order concerning the shoes of the People of the Book was in accordance with the injunction of the Prophet, and consistent with the new circumstances of the Muslim strength and power.

The shoes of the Prophet remained an object of veneration among the common people and especially among the pious believers. A single shoe of the Prophet was preserved for centuries and kept with great care and reverence. Finally it came into the possession of al-Malik al-Ashraf (Qait Bay), who built a special room for it at the side of the minbar in the madrasa al-ashrafiyya. The single shoe was placed under a copula covered with silk curtains; the room was sumptuously decorated and the visiting crowds kissed the heavily scented shoe. The shoe also had miraculous powers of healing. Pious ascetics and mystics composed verses in praise of the shoe. A special keeper was hired and was given a pay of eighty dirhams per month. He was enjoined to open the room for the visiting crowds every Monday and Thursday.96

The transformation of Muslim practice from the wearing of shoes at prayer to taking them off provides a fascinating example of the manner in which customs initially frowned upon as an imitation of unbelievers, were gradually adopted as the only correct form of behaviour.

ADDENDA

ad note 1: A significant fatwā of Ibn Taymiyya touches upon the sensitive question of Jews and Christians who secretly believe in Islam, and of Muslims who outwardly show belief, but in reality are hypocrites hiding Jewish, Christian or apostatic beliefs. Some people claim that the angels remove from their graves the bodies of the Jews and Christians who secretly believed in Islam and place them in the graves of Muslims, and in contrast remove the bodies of the unbelieving Muslims from their graves and place them in the graves of Jews and Christians. Ibn Taymiyya had no knowledge of such a tradition. He states, however, that the Jews and Christians who secretly believed in Islam before the time of their agony did not declare their belief in Islam at their death will be gathered on the Day of Resurrection with the Muslims, while the unbelieving Muslims will be gathered with the unbelievers, their equals. [Ibn Taymiyya, al-Fatāwā l-kubrā, Beirut, n. d., I, 369, no. 224].

ad note 6: See al-‘Īsāmī, Simt al-nujūmi l-‘awāli fī anbā’i l-awā’il wa-l-tawālī, Cairo 1380, I, 411.

ad note 7: See this tradition in al-Ṭabarī, Ṭahdhīb al-‘āthār wa-taṣīl l-thabiti ‘an rasūlā llāhi [ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam] mina l-akhbār, ed. Māhmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1982, IV, 111-112, nos. 180-183. [And cf. ib. no. 184. And see the assessment of this tradition ib. pp. 112-113].

ad note 9: According to a report recorded in al-Muttaqī l-Hindi’s Kanz al-‘ummāl, VIII, 127, no. 906 the believers avoided performing prayers in churches adorned with statues.


ad note 26: See Ibn Abī Shayba, al-Muṣannaf, VIII, 468, no. 5919 [And see the note of the editor].


wa-fî l-hadîthi l-sâhihi 'ani l-nabîyyi [ṣ] khuffîfa 'alâ dâ'uda l-qur'ânu fa-kâna mà bayna an tusraja dâbbatuhu ilâ an yarkabahâ yaqrâ'u l-qur'âna, fa-l-murâdu bihi qur'ânuhu wa-huwa l-zabûru . . .

ad note 37: See e. g. al-Suyûtî, al-Hâwî li-l-fatâwî, I, 463 inf.-464 [qi'datâ l-yahûd].

ad note 41: See Yahyâ b. Ma'in, al-Ta'rîkh, ed. Ahmad Muhammad Nûr Sayf, Makka al-mukarrama 1979, IV, 231, no. 4102: . . . kâna ibnu mas'ûdin yarfa'u yadayhi fî l-qunûti ilâ thadyayhi; and see op. cit. III, 464, no. 2284: . . . qultu li-yahyâ: mâ taqâlû fî l-takbîr fî l-'idayn . . . qâla: arâ an arfa'a yadayya fî kulli takbîratin . . . [and see the comments of the editor]; and see op. cit. p. 467, no. 2293 the opinion of Abû 'Ubâyd al-Qâsim b. Sallâm. And see Abû Shâma, al-Bâ'îth 'alâ inkâri l-bida'i wa-l-hawâdiî, ed. 'Uthmân Ahmad 'Anbar, Cairo 1398/1978, p. 87: . . . fa-mina l-bida'i . . . wa-ammâ raf'u aydihim 'inda l-du'da'i fa-bid'atun qadîmatun; and see ib. inf.: 'Abd al-Malik about the bid'a of raising the hands on the minbar on Friday; Ibn Hibbân al-Bustî, al-Majrûhîn, II, 270: . . . sallaytu khalfa rasûli llâhi [ṣ] wa-abî bakrin wa-'umara ta-kânû yarfa'ûna aydiyahum fî awwali l-șalâti thumma lâ ya'îdûna. And see Ibn 'Adîyy, al-Kâmil, VI, 2162: the tradition with a slightly different variant: . . . fa-lam yarfa'û aydiyahum illâ 'inda stiftâhi l-șalâti. And see al-Dhahabi, Mizân al-îtîdâl, I, 208, no. 817: . . . 'an muqâtil 'ani l-âshagî b. nubâta 'an 'aliyyin: lammâ nazalat 'fa-șallî li-rabbika wa-nhar' qâla: yâ jibrîl mâ hâdhîhi l-nâhi? qâla: ya'muruka rabbuka idhâ taharramta li-l-șalâti an tarfa'a yadayka idhâ kabbarta wa-idhâ raka'ta wa-idhâ rafa'ta mina l-rukû . . . ; and see the list of the sources of the tradition about raising the hands: al-Suyûtî, Kitâbû l-azhârî l-mutanâthira fî l-akhbârî l-mutawâtîra, MS Hebrew Univ., Coll. Yahudah Ar. 773, fol. 5a. And see recently M. I. Fierro, "La Polemique a propos de raf' al-yadayn fî l-șalât dans al-Andalus", Studia Islamica, 1987, pp. 69-90.
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ad note 47: And see al- Nazwī, al-Muṣannaf, II, 70: ... umirtu bi-l-ʾimāma wa-l-nāʿayni wa-l-khaṭam.


ad note 61: And see al-Dhahabi, Mīzān al-iʿtidāl, I, 375, no. 1406: ... inna l-yahūda idhā sallau khalaʿū niʿālahum, fa-idhā sallaytum fa-hṭadhū niʿālahum.

ad note 71: On the permission to pray in every place: see Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, Hidayatu l-hayara, pp. 77, l. 2, 84, 91, penult.; al-Majlisi, Biḥār al-anwār, XVI, 313, 316.

Appendix
by
Menahem Kister

In the preceding article *La tashabbahū* "Do not assimilate yourselves . . ."]; (hereafter "LT"”), numerous traditions are cited, according to which Muslims were forbidden to follow Jewish customs, so as to keep the two communities separate and their religions distinct. Other statements, worded in a manner relatively similar to those of the previous traditions, were apparently intended to censure certain customs practiced by adherents of the Muslim faith, by accusing these Muslims of following the undesirable practices of the Jews (e.g., regarding prayer). Despite the considerable similarity in formulation between these sets of statements, it appears that they are in fact different as far as Islam is concerned, they reflect two distinct trends.

The first trend evidences a clear desire on the part of early Islam for self-definition, as well as a concern over the presence of Jewish influences and practices among its earliest believers. It should be recalled that Islam developed in the shadow of Judaism, among Arabs who maintained extremely close relations with Jews and their religion (especially the *Anṣār*).1 Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the *Hadith*2 regarding Muhammad’s habit of likening himself to *ahl al-kitāb*, before he was commanded to act otherwise. The concept of *'ilm*3 (knowledge) is also relevant in this connection:

1 On the influence of the *Anṣār* regarding the introduction of Jewish customs into Islam, see: M.J. and Menahem Kister, "On the Jews of Arabia--Notes" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 48 (1979), pp. 240, 240 ff.
3 This concept in the Qurʾān was discussed by F. Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, Leiden 1970, pp. 19–35. However, it seems that Rosenthal paid insufficient attention to the aspect discussed below. Thus, it would appear that the development of the concept *'ilm* in the *Jāhiliyya* and
one of the principal factors which led the Arabs in the Jāhiliyya to adopt some of the customs followed by their Jewish neighbours was their awareness of the Jews' (and Christians') observance of an obligatory and absolute religious praxis, which was deemed desirable by God. Only gradually did Muḥammed and Islām come to regard their 'ilm as being superior to that of the Jews. Noteworthy is Sūra 2, 144 (regarding the change of the qibla to Jerusalem): "If after all the knowledge ('ilm) you have been given you yield to their desires ('ahwā'ahum), then you will surely become an evildoer." We know that the Anṣār used to pray facing Jerusalem even before Muḥammed arrived in Medīna, the relevant material in the Qur'ān still require extensive discussion by an expert.

4 Cf. the epithet 'ālim, i.e., "individual learned in the law", applied to Jewish sages in ancient Arabia. For the concept of 'ilm - suffice it to cite two traditions: "This tribe of the Anṣār - idolators - was together with the tribe of the Jews - people of the book - and they saw that [the Jews] were superior to them in knowledge (faqlan 'alayhim fī l-'ilm), and they followed many of [the Jews'] customs. The men of the book would only have normal sexual relations with women . . . and the Anṣār followed this practice of theirs" (al-Durr al-Manthūr, Vol. 2, Cairo 1314 AH, p. 263, and his sources); "It happened that the Prophet reached the Qubā' mosque and said: Allah praised you because of your purity with regard to your mosque. What is this purity with which you purify yourselves? They said to him, 'Apostle of God, we do not know anything (nahnu la nalamu shayan), but 'we had Jewish neighbours, and they were accustomed to wash their posteriors from excrement, and we washed the way they did'" (al-Haythamī, Majma' al-Zawā'id, 1, Beirut 1967, p. 212). These two traditions (cited and discussed in the article mentioned in n. 1, pp. 237, 240) appear to be complementary; from them we may infer that the Anṣār adopted numerous Jewish customs regarding everyday life and marital relations.

5 As opposed to the Anṣār's feelings that "the Jews are superior to them in knowledge," and that "they know absolutely nothing."

and it is possible that the conception of the 'ilm was partially responsible for this. After Islām became an independent religion, it had to struggle in order to establish its uniqueness.

The second trend manifests itself in Islām after it became an established religion, self-confident and certain of the impropriety of the Jewish customs. It was precisely this self-confidence which enabled it to censure undesirable Muslim practices as Jewish customs. For example, improper conduct in mosques, and the slightest swaying during prayer, was unquestionably not an imitation of Jewish practice, but rather a form of corruption which could be compared to the corruption of the Jews in their prayers.

However, as far as the evidence of the statements cited above regarding ancient Jewish custom is concerned, both categories of statements cited in the preceding article have considerable value. I shall now comment briefly on these statements from the perspective of Jewish sources.

We shall begin by discussing and surveying the development of the Jewish law (halakhah), with regard to the wearing of shoes during prayer; thereafter we shall make a number of brief comments on some of the other customs cited in the article. In the Muslim testimonia cited above, we have clear evidence of a Jewish custom (apparently followed by the Jews of Arabia) to pray barefoot in their synagogues. What is known regarding this practice from the Jewish legal sources?

According to the halakhah, the priests who served in the

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7 See J. Reifmann, "Walking Barefoot" [Hebrew], Beit Talmud 1 (1871), pp. 78–80. Reifmann discusses a considerable number of the sources cited below. Likewise, a considerable number of the sources cited here have been discussed by the classical codifiers of Jewish law; however, there is still room for additional discussion of these passages as far as the approach to analyzing them is concerned. (I am indebted to Dr. David Rosenthal for drawing my attention to Reifmann's article.) On the existence of a generally positive attitude to wearing shoes, see ibid., p. 78. Cf. also Talmud Bavli, Berakhot 62b, according to MSS: "Just as wearing shoes is respectful . . ." See also R.N.N. Rabbinowicz, Diqduqe Soferim, Berakhot, Munich 1867, p. 365, note ﷲ.
Temple were forbidden to wear shoes. Even someone who merely entered the Temple Mount was required to remove his shoes (*Mishnah Berakhot* 9:5). The issue of what practices were followed in synagogues in Palestine and Babylonia is somewhat more complicated. From the *Mishnah*, it seems that it was customary to pray wearing shoes. *Mishnah Megillah* 4:8 states: "One who says: I shall not serve as a reader of the prayers [literally: "pass before the ark"] in colored clothing may not read the prayers even in white clothing; [one who says] I shall not read the prayers wearing shoes may not read the prayers even barefoot." This statement appears in the midst of a series of laws regarding heterodox prayer customs. Thus, one may infer that there were heterodox Jews who insisted on leading the congregation in prayer (and perhaps entering the synagogue in general) only while wearing white clothing and walking barefoot. It has been conjectured that these Jews sought to model the customs of the synagogue after the practices followed in the Temple. However, there is no solid evidence for this assumption. Be that as it may, according to Jewish law and custom in Palestine during the Tannaitic period, there was no obligation to remove one's shoes during prayer, and removal of shoes for prayer was in fact opposed. The same impression is conveyed by the *Baraita* discussing Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's decree that "the priests are not permitted to wear their sandals while walking up to the platform [in order to recite the priestly benediction]" (*Talmud Bavli* Rosh Ha-Shanah 31b = *Sotah* 40a). From this *Baraita*, one of the Talmudic commentators inferred that "it is permissible to enter a synagogue wearing sandals; wearing sandals was only prohibited to [the priests] ascending their platform." These are all the

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8 See *Mishnah* with the commentary of Ch. Albeck, Jerusalem/Tel Aviv 1952, p. 504 and elsewhere.
9 Rabbenu Hananel, cited by *Tosafot* on *Sotah*, ibid., s.v. *YD*.
10 Reifmann (above, n. 7), attempts to weaken this proof, by claiming that this *Baraita* refers to recitation of the priestly benediction in a place not used on a regular basis for prayer. However, this interpretation
extant sources regarding the Jewish laws and customs regarding the wearing of shoes during prayers in the Tannaitic period [until the end of the second century C.E.] in Palestine.

It was also customary to wear shoes during prayer in the Amoraic period in Babylonia. Regarding the Mishnah cited above ("One must not enter the Temple Mount with his staff, shoes, money-belt, or the dirt on his feet, nor may [the Temple Mount] be used as a shortcut, and a minori ad mains, spitting [is prohibited there]") it was stated by the Amora Rava (IV century C.E.): "Spitting is permissible in a synagogue, by analogy to [the law concerning] shoes: Just as shoes are prohibited on the Temple Mount and permissible in the synagogue, so too spitting is prohibited on the Temple Mount, but permissible in the synagogue" (Talmud Bavli, Berakhot 62b). From here we see that according to Rava, it was obvious that wearing shoes in the synagogue was permissible (cf. also Rava’s statement in Berakhot 63a), and it would appear that the same holds true regarding Rav Pappa and the anonymous Talmudic discussion (ibid.). Indeed the Talmud reports that Rav Kahana used to put on his shoes (puzmeqe) before praying (Talmud Bavli, Shabbat 10a). As the Tosafot state, "From here it may be inferred that one should not pray barefoot." To the best of our knowledge, then, in Babylonia the Jews prayed wearing shoes.12

Very little is known about the halakhah regarding prayer

seems rather forced.

11 Tosafot Shabbat 10a, s.v. רame puzmeqe. The meaning of the Aramaic idiom rame puzmeqe is clear from Talmud Bavli, Yoma 78a; Ketubot 65b; Ta’anit 22a. Therefore the interpretation cited briefly by R. Abraham Maimonides (Kitāb Kifāyat al-‘Ābidīn, ed. N. Dana, Ramat Gan 1989, p. 103), that the meaning of these words is 'to remove one’s shoes' (qīla yanza’uha) is probably influenced by current customs of prayer in the east.

12 J. Kafih, Halikhot Teman (Yemenite Customs) [Hebrew], Jerusalem 1978, p. 64, n. 3, cites the Talmudic statement in Mo‘ed Qatan 17a regarding "that dog which ate the shoelaces of the rabbis" in connection with removing shoes before entering the synagogues. However, there is no evidence that this passage refers to synagogues.
with shod feet during the Amoraic period in Palestine. Only one allusion to the matter is extant, and it is found in an anecdote appearing in an obscure context in the Jerusalem Talmud: "Yehudah the son of Rabbi Hiyya [third century C.E.] entered a synagogue; he left his shoes, and they were lost." He said, Had I not gone to the synagogue, my shoes would not have been lost" (Yerushalmi Bava Metzia 2:8, 8c). Prima facie, it would appear from this passage, as a number of commentators maintain, that Jews in Palestine in the Amoraic period used to remove their shoes before entering the synagogue, (the situation was definitely different in Palestine during the Tannaitic period, as we have already noted). In light of the statements cited previously in the name of Babylonian Sages, Reifmann inferred that there was a dispute between the Babylonian and Palestinian scholars regarding the laws of prayer while wearing shoes. Were this conclusion certain, we could deduce that the practice of the Jews (ostensibly the Jews of Arabia) mentioned in the *hadīth* was a Palestinian custom. This practice would then join a series of instances in which we find a connection between the observances of the Jews of Arabia and Palestinian customs.

However, while the interpretation of the Yerushalmi suggested above seems very plausible, it should be recalled that the Yerushalmi here presents us with an anecdote, whose point is not fully clear, rather than an explicit legal assertion regarding the laws of prayer with regard to shoes. Hence, extreme caution

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14 Ms. Escorial (ed. Rosenthal–Lieberman [above, n. 13], p. 50) reads here: "his shoes were lost" (not: "he left his shoes and they were lost" as in Ms. Leiden).


should be employed before drawing far-reaching conclusions from such material. Moreover, it is possible that different customs obtained in different communities in Babylonia and Palestine. In any case, it is noteworthy that in Palestinian halakhic literature from the Geonic period, we read the "the skins of an unclean animal may be used to make [. . . sand]als for entering synagogues." 19 Thus, this source attests, en passant, that during the Geonic period the Jews of Palestine used to wear shoes in the synagogue.

The internal dynamic which one expects to find in Judaism calls for equating the laws of the synagogue with those of the Temple. Likewise, it may be expected that rites indicating respect for the synagogue should parallel the practices used to demonstrate respect towards persons of high status. (Additional support for this thesis might have been provided by Ex. 3:5 and Josh. 5:15, although early rabbinic sources do not cite these passages with regard to synagogue practice). Such arguments are expressed clearly and at length in a late Palestinian prayerbook: "[And if] one had a shoe or a sandal on his feet, he should remove them outside, and enter barefoot, for servants ordinarily walk barefoot before their masters . . . above, as was the case with Moses and Joshua. For they were told: 'Remove your [shoe[s]]' (? . . . for no one enters their presence wearing sandals. And if this is the practice before (human beings, who are created from a) putrid drop, so much the more so before the King of Kings, blessed be He. And so the Sages said: One should not enter the Temple Mount with his

19 S. Assaf, Teshuvot Ha-Ge'onim ה' (5702) (Responsa of the Ge'onim) [Hebrew], Jerusalem 1942, p. 124. (I am indebted to Professor I. Ta-Shema for drawing to my attention this reference). In his notes, Assaf cites the parallel versions of this tradition: "Any tanned leather from an unclean animal may be used for sandals"; "any leather from an unclean animal, after being tanned may be used for sandals." It would appear, then that the leather must be tanned, in accordance with the Muslim law that only tanned leather may be used, especially for prayer (see below, n. 27). See also below.
staff and shoes. And if, because of our sins, we do not have the Temple Mount (in our possession), we still have a minor sanctuary [viz., the synagogue—M.K.], and we must treat it with sanctity and reverence, as it is written, ‘You shall revere my holy place.’ Therefore, the ancients ordained that lavers with fresh water (should be provided) in the courtyards of all synagogues for the ablution of the hands and feet. And if one was weak or ill, and (hence) unable to remove his shoes, and he was walking cautiously, we need not trouble him to remove his shoes" (veis. to keep his shoes clean). It is quite possible that the halakhah of this passage (whose precise dating and circle of origin are uncertain) was influenced by the Muslim practice of removing shoes and washing the hands and feet; extensive Muslim influences can be detected in this prayerbook, as already noted by Wieder.20

It is possible that the first indications of the argument that the synagogue should be compared to the Temple may be found in the heterodox practice cited in Mishnah Megillah (above). Comparison of the synagogue to the Temple is found, inter alia, in the writings of the Karaite Anan (eighth century).21 Apparently it was for this reason that Anan required worshippers to pray without wearing shoes.22 Similarly, the Karaite Qirqisani (second half of the tenth century), who rejects Anan’s basic conception of the nature of the synagogue, also

20 Passages from this prayer book were cited by N. Wieder in his important article: "Muslim Influences on Jewish Worship" [Hebrew], Melilah 2 (1946), pp. 42, 87–91, 105, 109. Wieder associated this material with the pietistic movement of Rabbi Abraham Maimonides (but see below, n. 29a). The entire text of this prayer book was published by M. Margaliot, Hilkhot Erez Yisrael Min Ha-Genizah (Palestinian Halakhot from the Genizah) [Hebrew] Jerusalem 1974, p. 127 ff. Margaliot, in his brief introduction, rejects Wieder’s assumption.


22 So it would appear from Ya’qūb al-Qirqisānī, Kitāb al-Anwār wal-Marāqib, III, ed. L. Nemoy, New York 1941, p. 622. It is possible that the argument from the Tent of Congregation and the service in the sanctuary cited by Qirqisānī reflects Anan’s argumentation.
rules that people must pray barefoot. From Qirqisānī it would appear that this was the prevalent practice in his day (among Karaites, and perhaps not only among Karaites).23 Perhaps it may be inferred from Qirqisānī’s remarks that this matter was the subject of a Karaite-Rabbanite polemic (see below).

Qirqisānī cites, inter alia, the verses regarding Moses and Joshua, who were both ordered: "Remove your shoes from your feet" before entering a holy place (Ex. 3:5; Josh. 5:15). Qirqisānī states: "It is inconceivable that the shoes worn by . . . these two prophets . . . happened to be made from the [skins] of an unclean animal, as the Rabbanites claim. Rather, God commanded them to guard the [sanctity of the] holy places by not wearing shoes."24 It is particularly noteworthy that the claim cited by Qirqisānī in the name of the Rabbanites is extremely widespread already in the early Muslim commentaries on the Qur‘ān and in hadith literature; Muslim authors used the very same tradition, about Moses wearing shoes made from the skins of unclean animals, as an argument against the Jewish practice of praying barefoot in imitation of Moses’ conduct. (see LT, n. 63)! Thus, one may wonder whether the Muslim tradition

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here did draw upon an ancient Jewish tradition, or did the Jews in fact draw upon this Muslim tradition. To be sure, we have no evidence in the Jewish *halakhah* that it was prohibited to enter a holy place wearing shoes made from the leather of unclean animals, but in light of the fact that the Palestinian halakhic passage cited above goes out of its way to affirm that this is permitted, it would appear that there were Jews who forbade it (or abstained from it). In Muslim religious law, this prohibition occupies a far more central position. However, whatever the source of this tradition may be, it is a striking example for a link between the polemical traditions of the two religions. It seems reasonable to assume that the contentions of the "Rabbanites" cited here owe their existence not merely to study of the verses in Exodus and Joshua, but rather were part of a polemic against the Karaite practice based on these verses. However, in addition to the arguments raised by the two sides,

25 Al-Qurtubi cites a different reason for rejecting the ruling concerning the removing of shoes, namely, that the words "Remove your shoes from your feet" should be interpreted allegorically: Moses must remove from his heart all thoughts about his wife and children (*min 'amri l-ahl wa-l-wul*, see LT, n. 63). A similar claim is cited in the name of "some authorities" by Theodoretus (fifth century C.E.), *Quaestiones*, PG 80, ad loc.; Moses was told to take off his sandals "so as to dispose of his concern about sustenance (*biòtikàs mérimnas*), for the leather of the sandals is dead skin." This argument reminds us of the comments found in the *Zohar*, whose author flourished in Spain a generation after al-Qurtubi (see *Zohar*, III, 148a Cf. also: R. Bahya 6. Asher, *Commentary on the Torah*, ad. Ex 3:15); there, this verse is interpreted as an injunction that Moses abstain from sexual relations (and see: L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* V, Philadelphia 1947, p. 420, n. 122). Thus, even this allegorical *midrash* was not an Islamic innovation.


27 Related to this is the discussion of whether Moses' shoes were made of tanned or untanned leather, because tanning (*dabgh*) relieves the leather of its impurity (see e.g., al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Akhkām al-Qurān*, Constantinople 1338 H, III, 219-220; see also Ibn Abī Shaiba, *Musannaf*, ed. 'Abd al-Khāliq Afgānī, Hyderabad, 1967, II, pp. 258-59). For these sources, too, I am indebted to my father, Professor M.J. Kister.
it is clearly possible that the influence of the Muslim law of removing one's shoes for prayer is manifest here, as this practice was, by that time, already accepted without any objection in Islām.

Perhaps the comment of Rabbenu Hananel (Qairawān, end of the eleventh century), who notes that the Talmud implies that it is not necessary to pray barefoot, should be understood in light of the tension between the different customs, which apparently obtained even among the Rabbanites. The unique formulation of Maimonides (Egypt, twelfth century) seems to indicate acceptance of the new custom among the Jews: "One should not stand in prayer wearing his money-belt, or while barefoot, or with exposed feet, if the local custom is to appear before distinguished people only while wearing shoes." This statement, which bases the halakhah on local, secular custom, attests to the existence of variant customs and to Maimonides' lack of desire to reach a clear-cut decision concerning the matter. Maimonides' formulation might also reflect an attempt to compromise between the halakhah of the Babylonian Talmud and the new custom, which was gaining increasingly wide acceptance (see also below). It is noteworthy that his son, R. Abraham Maimonides does not express any preference of praying barefoot, although he was very much influenced by the Muslim ritual of prayer (see below). R. Petahya of Regensburg (end of the twelfth century) testifies that the Jews of Babylon prayed barefoot in their synagogues. (It is almost certain that, at least in Babylonia, this custom was the result of Muslim influence). During the thirteenth century, R. Jacob bar Abba Mari bar Simeon Anatoli (born in Provence, lived in Naples) observed that "in those countries where narrow shoes are worn, they are cleaned before coming [to the synagogue—M.K.].

28 Above, n. 9.
29 Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Tefillah 5:5.
30 Above, n. 11. See also op. cit., p. 110
31 Travels of Rabbi Petahia, ed. and tr. A. Benisch, London 1859, p. 44.
those countries where it is customary to wear sandals and the like [= in the East—M.K.], people remove them from their feet."32 R. Jacob associates this practice with the physical cleanliness required in a holy place and with repentance, and his interpretation is based on the verse "Remove your shoes from your feet" (see above). At the beginning of the fourteenth century, R. Ishtori Ha-Parhi, a Provençal Jew who later settled in Palestine, reports "the custom of [the inhabitants of] these countries to leave their shoes at the entrance of the synagogue, outside, unlike the custom of foreign people" [= the Europeans], and he finds support for this custom in the story found in the Yerushalmi cited above.33

In the fifteenth century, a most interesting piece of evidence appears regarding the development of the Jewish custom in the East, and it is especially significant with regard to the relationship between Judaism and Islam. R. Solomon ben Simeon Duran (North Africa) was asked concerning "a congregation which wished to stipulate that no one be permitted to enter a synagogue wearing shoes, because the Ishmaelites will reproach them for so doing. Furthermore, in that city itself, there is another synagogue, and the worshippers do not enter it wearing shoes. A number of individuals rose and objected, 32 Malmad Ha-Talmidim, Lyck 1866, 45a-b. R. Jacob associates this practice with repentance, and even sees fit to note in this connection: "Those nations which seek to liken themselves to us [by following] our upright laws [i.e., the Christians] require penitents to avoid wearing shoes and to wear white clothing." Here we have a further example of the interrelationships between Judaism and the surrounding religions. Apparently, there were Jews in Ashkenaz who used to afflict themselves in this manner. R. Yizhak Or Zaru'a (Vienna, thirteenth century) says: "And in France I saw 'gibborim' (devoted pietists) walking barefoot on the Sabbath even (!) in the synagogue and reading the Torah barefoot, but it is not right to walk barefoot" (Or Zarū'a Hilkhōt Shabbat, no. 84 [12], Zhitomir 1862, 1, 20b). Perhaps it was in opposition to such practices that the Tosafot stress that one should not pray barefoot (above, n. II).

33 Above, n. 15.
stating that Maimonides, of blessed memory, permitted one to enter a synagogue wearing shoes." Here, then, we have evidence of variant customs within the same city, as well as of the desire on the part of the leaders of that community to establish the Muslim custom as authoritative in the synagogue. Rabbi Duran's response is quite illuminating: "It is well known that a synagogue should be adorned and exalted . . . however, respect is (defined as) whatever people consider respectful . . . and in Christian countries, where it is not considered disrespectful for someone to enter even the king's presence while wearing shoes, if someone wears shoes in the synagogue, it is not considered disrespectful. But in these countries, where it is considered disrespectful to enter the presence of distinguished people, and certainly the king, in shoes, it is prohibited to enter the local synagogue wearing shoes. Even though [the synagogue] is not a true sanctuary, it is nevertheless holy . . . Also . . . in these countries, where people are careful <not> to enter their own homes wearing shoes, it is prohibited to enter the synagogue in shoes. And concerning this matter, my master and father, our teacher,\(^34\) may he be remembered for eternal life, instituted this decree here, which is suitable for every sensible man. And the fact that such a decree was not instituted by the ancients does not prove that this is permitted . . . Even if there were nothing prohibited about this, it would be proper to institute such a decree, [to prevent] the reproach to our people. And so much the more so that this is prohibited, for the reasons which I have cited.\(^35\) Rabbi Duran adopts Maimonides' basic formulation and conception and expands upon it. However, from the end of his responsum it is clear that he was not motivated solely by considerations of conventions, but principally by the desire to

\(^{34}\) I.e., R. Solomon ben Zemah Duran. Perhaps it is worth noting in this connection that he wrote a sharp polemic against Islām, based on verses from the Qurān and betraying acquaintance with Arabic literature. See Magen va-Qeshet, ed. A. Berliner, Ozar Tov, Hebräische Beilage zum Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin 1881.

\(^{35}\) Teshuvot Rashbash [Hebrew], Livorno 1742 section 285.
avoid the reproach of the Muslims.36 Ironically enough, the circuit is thus completed: ancient Islam wished to distance itself from the Jewish custom of praying barefoot, but ultimately this practice was adopted by the Muslims, and later, in other places and periods, the Muslim practice affected Jewish custom! In fact, by now it is difficult to determine what is the result of Muslim influence and what is a continuation of ancient Jewish custom.

This custom apparently continued to gain acceptance, and by the sixteenth century, Rabbi Joseph Karo (lived in Safed) remarks that "custom of all Jews in Arab lands is to pray barefoot."37 At least in some of these countries (e.g., Yemen), this practice is followed to this very day.38

If the requirement that shoes be removed before prayer in the synagogue was unique to the Muslim East, the basic sensitivity to the fact that dirt might cling to a person's shoes and thereby blemish his prayer was also present in Europe. The author of the "Book of the Pious" (Sefer Ḥasidim) notes: "When one goes to the synagogue or the house of study, he must check his feet to make sure that there is no excrement on them, for the Torah says, 'Cast off your shoes from your feet,' and similarly [the Bible states] regarding Joshua. But it does not say, 'Remove your shoes,' for what benefit is there to remove one's shoes, if they remain near him? Therefore it says, 'cast off your shoes from your feet' – i.e., from a distance of four cubits."39

36 The desire to prevent humiliation of the Jewish religion on the part of the Muslims (cf. S.M. Stern JThs NS 19 [1968], p. 155, n. 2) by adopting Muslim strictures is already attested during the Geonic period. See Wieder's remarks (above, n. 20), and see also S. Lieberman, Tashlum Tosefta (second ed.), Jerusalem 1970, p. 66.

37 Beit Yosef on Tur, Oran Hayyim, section 91, s.v. In the Shulhan 'Arukh, section 91, Maimonides' formulation is cited verbatim.

38 See above, n. 12. This practice is followed to this very day among the Karaites (see above on their views) and the Samaritans.

We have already seen that R. Jacob bar Abba Mari ben Simeon Anatoli associates this custom, which is motivated by a concern for cleanliness, with that followed by Eastern Jews, even though for different reasons. Later on in Germany, too, in the responsa of Maharam Mintz (15th century), the concern about dirt is emphasized, and for this reason that scholar ruled that it is forbidden to enter the synagogue wearing boots, "for dirt clings to them . . . even before a human king it is not customary to appear wearing something dirty, and so much the more so before the King of all kings, the Holy One, blessed be He . . . and for this reason there are countries in which people pray only barefoot, without shoes. Now in these areas, it is not customary or acceptable to walk barefoot, and therefore we do not remove our shoes . . ." However, Maharam Mintz rules that boots, which ordinarily get extremely dirty, must be removed. Here, again, in a different society and for different reasons, we find echoes of the halakhah prevalent in the East.

From our discussion of the different customs regarding the removal of shoes for prayer and the history of these customs in Judaism and Islam, we can see the complex and often contradictory relationship between these two religions in the course of their development.

Several additional remarks concerning the Jewish customs mentioned in the preceding article are in order.

Sitting and reclining (LT, n. 37) during Jewish prayer are well-known phenomena. It is noteworthy that Rabbi Abraham Maimonides ordained that Jews should sit during prayer the

40 Teshuvot Maharam Mintz, Saloniki 1802, 38.
41 He refers to them as "sandalim," apparently following the (incorrect) interpretation of Rashbam, Bava Batra 58a.
42 See also R. David b. Shmuel ha-Kokhavi (Provence, 13th century), Sefer Ha-Batim, ed. M. Hershler, III, Jerusalem 1982, p. 55 and note 807, that it was prohibited to enter the synagogue with nail-studded sandals (sandal ha-mesummar), apparently for the same reason. [Compare especially: R. Abraham Maimonides above, n. 29a].
same way the Muslims do. The comfortable, disorganized way in which the Jews sat during prayer in his days seemed unacceptable to him.43 Likewise, regarding conversation during prayer among the Jews, a corrupt practice already mentioned in the hadith (LT, n. 45), Wieder44 has demonstrated that it was the Muslim view which led to the reform introduced by Maimonides in Jewish prayer. As Maimonides states: "Thus shall be removed the profanation of God's name among the gentiles, [after they saw how] the Jews spit and expectorate (or: blow their noses) and speak during prayer."45

The Jewish practice of swaying during prayer is mentioned in medieval Jewish literature.46 Apparently, the

43 See N. Wieder (above, n. 20), pp. 93–103, and especially p. 101; see also ibid., pp. 117, 120.
44 Ibid., pp. 55–59.
46 R. Abraham ben Nathan of Lunel (d. 1215), Sefer Ha-Manhig, ed. Y. Raphael, Jerusalem 1978, I, p. 85, writes: "I found in the Midrash: A person is required to sway during prayer, for it is written: 'All my bones shall proclaim Thee, O Lord, who is like unto you?' This is also the custom of the rabbis of France and the pious men there." The same remarks are cited by R. Zedekiah ben Abraham (Italy, thirteenth century), Shibbole ha-Leqet, ed. S.L. Mirsky, New York 1966, p. 183, from "Ma’aseh Merkavah." See also Mahzor Vitry, ed. S. Horovitz, Nürnberg 1923, section 508, p. 630, on swaying among the Jews while studying Torah (= Commentary of 'Ba’al Ha-Turîm' on the Torah ed. I.K. Reiniz, Bne-Braq 1971, p. 167 (ad Ex. 20:15), and R. Judah Ha-Levi, Kuzari, II:79–80. On swaying during prayer see also Zohar, III, 218b (judging from the style of the last two sources, they seem to be apologetic). It is noteworthy that the explanation for swaying during the Torah reading cited in Mahzor Vitry and by 'Ba’al Ha-Turîm' appears almost verbatim in a late Arab source cited by Goldziher, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachgelehrsamkeit bei den Arabern, I, Wien 1871, p. 27. (= Gesammelte Schriften, Hildesheim 1967, p. 31). On
Muslim testimony is the earliest extant source regarding this ancient practice. In the Arabic sources cited in LT, n. 39, mention is made of swaying when the Torah was opened. If this claim is accurate (and the Muslim sources are not referring to swaying while the Torah was read), perhaps the reference is to the ancient custom of bowing down as the Torah was opened: "It is obligatory upon all men and women to look at the writing [in the Torah] and bow down." Perhaps this bowing appeared to the Muslims as if the Jews were swaying. The practice of closing the eyes during Jewish prayer is first mentioned in Jewish literature, to the best of my knowledge, in the Zohar.

swaying during the qedushah prayer see: Sefer ha-Manhig, p. 88 and the sources cited there; Shibbole ha-Leqet, p. 194. The explanation suggested there for swaying during recitation of the qedushah (in the name of "Rabbenu Shlomo") is based on Is. 6:4, "the foundations of the doorposts swayed." It is perhaps worthy of note that this verse is also cited as a source for swaying during prayer in order to attain mystical inspiration--in the wake of the Sufi dhikr--in Pirqe Haslaha, erroneously attributed to Maimonides, ed. D.H. Baneth and H.S. Davidowitz, Jerusalem 1939, p. 7.

47 Tractate Soferim, ed. M. Higger, p. 261. On this custom, see the remarks of S. Lieberman, Sheki'in, Jerusalem 1970, p. 9, and add the following sources to the citation from Midrash Mishle appearing there: Tanhuma, ed. Buber, Genesis, p. 81, and n. 236; Z.M. Rabinowitz, Ginze Midrash, Tel Aviv 1977, p. 57, line 22. Cf. also the remarks of the Samaritan Marqah (fourth century): "You are the great book before which we have come to bow down" (Z. Ben-Hayyim, The Literal and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic According to the Samaritans [Hebrew], III/2, Jerusalem 1967, p. 247, and see also ibid., p. 256).

48 However, we do find that people covered their eyes with their hands during recitation of the Shema' (according to many interpretations, so as to facilitate concentration): Berakhot 13b; see Rashi and Rosh, ibid., and Tur, Oras Hayyim, section 61).

49 Zohar, III, 260b: "One must cover his eyes, so as not to behold the Divine Presence . . . one who opens his eyes during prayer, or who does not lower his eyes to the ground, brings the Angel of Death upon himself . . . " The practice of lowering the eyes is already found in the