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Al-Khāḍir: Origins and Interpretations.
A Phenomenological Study.

James Paul Jervis,
Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montréal,
July, 1993.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts degree in Islamic Studies.

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Abstract

Thesis title:	*Al-Khāḍir: Origins and Interpretations. A Phenomenological Study*
Author:	James Paul Jervis
Degree:	M. A.
Department:	Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University
Date:	July 19th, 1993

This thesis attempts to answer the following questions, each of which corresponds, sequentially, to a chapter in this thesis:

1. What is the internal composition and the historical contextualization of the 18th chapter of the Qur'ān, the *Sūrat al-Kahf* ?

2. Who is al-Khāḍir, a figure in the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, verses 66–82? How has he been described in Muslim commentary and how has he been analyzed in nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship; and with whom has he been associated and/or identified in such commentary and scholarship?

3. How are probable prototypes or parallels of Khāḍir portrayed in non-Islamicate documents traceable to before the advent of Islam?

4. What are the characteristics of the association/identification of Khāḍir with Elijah (Ilyās)?

Résumé

Titre du mémoire:	*Al-Khāḍir: Origines et interprétations. Une étude phénoménologique*
Auteur:	James Paul Jervis
Diplôme:	M. A.
Département:	Institut des études islamiques, Université McGill
Date:	19 juillet 1993

Ce mémoire a pour but de répondre aux questions suivants qui correspondent, dans l'ordre, aux chapitre respectifs.

1. Quelle est la structure interne du 18e chapitre du Qur'ān, le *Sūrat al-Kahf*, et comment son contexte historique est-il situé?

2. Qui est 'al-Khāḍir,' personnage du *Sūrat al-Kahf*, versets 66-82; comment est-il décrit dans le commentaire musulman et analysé par les sciences religieuses des dix-neuvième et vingtième siècles; et à qui a-t-il été associé et/ou identifié?

3. Qui sont les prototypes ou parallèlles probables de Khāḍir décrits et pouvant être retracés dans les documents non-islamique d'avant la montée de l'Islam?

4. Quelles sont les caractéristiques de l'association/identification de Khāḍir avec Elie (Ilyās)?

Dedicated to Henry Corbin and the Khāḍir of his being.

Visio nostra non est visio vulga.

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I would like to express my thanks to the all members of the faculty of the Islamics Institute under whom I had the pleasure to study, especially Professor Hermann Landolt, who instructed me in Persian and who 'initiated' me into the academic mysteries of Islamicate spirituality. I also wish to acknowledge Professor A. Uner Turgay, the present director of the Institute; I will always remember his smiling face, his sense of humour, and his sincere and ever-present encouragement of my studies in general, and of this thesis in particular.

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Technicalities

All quotations from the Qur'an except for 18: 60–82 (which are my own renderings) are from Yusuf Ali's interpretation of the Qur'ān. Quotations from theJudaic Bible and the Christian Bible are taken from the *Jerusalem Bible* edition. See my bibliography for full details.

Transcription from the Arabic and the Persian follows the transliteration system of the Library of Congress as explained in Bulletin 91 (September, 1970) of the Cataloguing Service. The sole exception is my rendering of the Arabic terminal 'a' (*alif maqṣūrah*) as 'à,' following Marshall G. S. Hodgson.[1]

All citations have full bibliographical entries; other works consulted, if not listed in the bibliography, can be found in the reference notes..

The dating system used is that of the Julian Calendar, unless otherwise indicated (i.e., 'A. H.' refers to *Anno Hegiræ*).

Names of authors normally appear in this work as they do on the author's documents (as found in the bibliography).[2]

Introduction

The main thrust of my thesis is to describe the characteristics of al-Khāḍir as found in the Qur'ān, Islamicate[1] folklore and religion, and as analyzed by nineteenth and twentieth – century scholarship, with a view to establishing Khāḍir's probable origins and/or parallels (in the sense of an archetypal and narrational motif) in previous "Oikoumenic"[2] myth, religion, and folklore. I will, in particular, try to draw out the links between Khāḍir and the Jewish prophet Elijah (Ar., Ilyās). Although the identification and/or association between Khāḍir and various antecedent figures in the Oikoumenic theatre of the sacred, especially that between Khāḍir and Elijah, has been pointed out and analyzed by several scholars, I will include some of my own research (and speculations) – especially when discussing Khāḍir and Elijah.

Before I begin upon the above-mentioned discussion, I will briefly outline the historical context and the narrational contents of the Qur'ān's Chapter of the Cave *(Sūrat al-Kahf)*. I will therein concentrate upon the narrative in which Khāḍir is implicated (18: 60–64) and especially those verses in which he is directly involved (18: 65–82).

This introduction will discuss my orientation to the subject matter; the problems to which I will respond, and previous scholarship on Khāḍir. It will be followed by a note on the transliteration scheme and the dating system adopted, my numbering of Qur'ānic verses, and important translation sources, after which will follow my acknowledgements page.

The body of the thesis itself is divided into four chapters, each of which relates to one of four problems with which this thesis is concerned. The four chapters and their corresponding conceptional elements are : 1) A historical contextual and narrational overview of the *Sūrat al-Kahf*; 2) a treatment of the persona of Khāḍir and probable correlates between Khāḍir and previous Oikoumenic mythic, folkloric, and religious personalities, through the medium of the Qur'ān itself, Islamicate folklore and religion; 3) an intratexual comparison of the figure of Khāḍir (in the Qur'ān) with the three proof-texts below-mentioned, in addition to the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, and; 4) a look at various links between Khāḍir and Elijah in hagiographical material.

The conclusion, a brief discussion of the mythic archetypes and the god-man ideal relevant to the thesis, is followed by five appendices – the first being my translation of the Qur'ān, 18: 60–82, the second appendix being my translation of the Jalālayn commentary[3] (*tafsīr*) on 18: 60–68. The third, fourth, and fifth appendices are preceded by a list of abbreviations for the appendices that follow and the reference notes thereafter. Appendix 3 is an intra-textual comparison of elements from the Qur'ān 18: 60–82 in chart format. Appendix 4 is a table of the possible historical development of the Khāḍir paradigm. Appendix 5 is a diagrammatic portrayal of personae associated and/or identified with Khāḍir. The reference notes are followed by the bibliography.

I will deal with similarities and differences between our Qur'ānic text of 18: 65–82 and the following representative texts from Judaic and Christian non–canonical traditions. Inconsensus with Muslim commentators and modern scholarship on the problem of the origin of Khāḍir, I have concentrated on Khāḍir's links with the Judaic prophet, Elijah; a chapter is dedicated to a description of Elijah and a comparative analysis of Khāḍir and Elijah. From the Judaic (apocryphal) tradition, I will discuss the legend of Aschmeday and Benaya from the *Babylonian Talmud*(early 3rd c CE?–late 6th CE?) and the tale of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi (fl. 3rd c. CE) as found in the *Ḥibbur Yafeh Me-hayeshou'a* by R. Nissim Gaon (fl. 10th c. CE).

From Christian hagiographical material, I will discuss the tale of the angel and the hermit from the *Vitæ Patrum*(pre 8th c. CE).

Since this thesis, requires a not–too diffuse concentration of subject matter and argument, I will not be able to delve deeply into a thorough contextualization of the above–mentioned legends. However, I will present a brief yet, I think, adequate treatment of their coincidences and the lack thereof, between our Qur'ānic passage and my three, non–Islamicate, proof texts. The possibility or probability of a provable, historical, causal relationship between any or all of the above–noted materials, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a fortuitous Jungian synchronicity of archetypal paradigms, will only be touched upon herein.

Among the many quasi–parallel figures identified with Khāḍir by both Islamicate tradition and modern scholarship, the foremost is Elijah. I will, as above–mentioned, concentrate on Elijah as the prime 'proof-persona' in my attempt to trace the origins of the figure of Khāḍir.

I agree that the themes, images, and concepts found in our Qur'ānic passage – especially, of course, these bearing directly upon Khāḍir – are neither unique to the Qur'ān, nor to the Islamicate tradition in general, in distinction from other Oikoumenic religious narratives, concerns, and world–views. No; they appear throughout the phenomenological history of Oikoumenic myth/religion. Khāḍir is seen to be, under the lens of comparative analysis, present throughout what I refer to as the "Oikoumenic" religious continuum[4] in many guises and with many names. I have endeavored notwithstanding, to keep my speculations firmly, grounded in what I, and scholars of considerable reputation, perceive to be well researched aspects of Islamicate and general Oikoumenic religio–textual history.

In the Qur'ān's Chapter of the Cave 60–82, there are certain images and conceptual contents, chief of which are the persons and roles of Khāḍir and Moses. The important images and concepts therein are found throughout Oikoumenic religions folklore and spirituality. The main images are : the junction of the two seas. (18: 60f) as holy ground (the sacred centre of the world or *Axis Mundi*); water; the fish; the religious hero–pilgrim (Moses and his attendant); and the divine mentor as god, angel, saint, or sage (Khāḍir).

The chief concepts are: the quest for a holy place and/or a sacred being (represented by

Moses and Joshua in Part 1, 18: 60–64); sacred knowledge or wisdom (which manifests itself as the revelation of such knowledge from God to Khāḍir, as the ground from which Khāḍir's actions spring, and as the explanation by Khāḍir of his actions to Moses as the passages's *ta'wīl* (interpretation); divine mercifulness (which is also vouchsafed to Khāḍir from God) is extended to Moses by Khāḍir, and appears as the actions of Khāḍir in the world of men); resurrection (and its related thematic concepts of immortality and rejuvenation); and theodicy (which is expressed by Khāḍir's deeds in this world as a representative of the inscrutable wisdom and mercy of a god possessing definitive justice, revealed through time, in an apparently unjust world).

Literature on the figure of Khāḍir is available, but is very scattered and not easily accessible.[5] As far as I know, there exists no book on Khāḍir; at least, none written in a Western language. Often, Khāḍir's name appears only as a passing reference in the odd book or article. This lack of material on Khāḍir – the absence of a single monograph on him and the paucity of articles on Khāḍir since the turn of the century – is surprising; Khāḍir is a very important and a very popular personage in Islamicate religion, folklore, and mysticism.[6]

References to Khāḍir that I have located in European languages are in German, English, and French. I have made use of the English and French material; my knowledge of German is at present insufficient to undertake adequate work in that tongue. Nevertheless, I have had partial access to the German literature through English material which make reference to, or directly quote from, various German authors on Khāḍir.[7]

Of particular value has been Israel Friedlander's (English) article 'Khiḍr' in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 7, 1915.[8] Given that Friedlander is by far the most prolific of the German scholars whose work on Khāḍir I have thus far located, this article, being a summation of Friedlander's data and theories on Khāḍir, has proved most helpful. I deduce that it may be, however brief, representative of the work on Khāḍir published by German scholars about that time.

When first embarking on this study, knowing that no monograph on Khāḍir was available (or extant), and being aware of the importance of Khāḍir in Islamicate religio–spiritual and folkloric belief and practice, I had thought that academic deliberations on the Qur'ānic story of Khāḍir (at least as found within the purview of modern scholarship) were limited to a few short articles, and that my research would be able to contribute, in some small way, to scholarly knowledge on this enigmatic figure from a comparative religious studies viewpoint. I was quite mistaken. I soon discovered, after my thesis proposal was accepted and a not inconsiderable degree of research on my thesis topic was already underway, the six articles and one note by five authors in German, which appear to represent a rather impressive range of comparative research on Khāḍir. However, amounting, in the sum of their data and arguments (some of which are repeated from author to author) to a book of approximately 150 pages, the combined research is limited in its scope. In addition, the mean year of their publication being about 1902, they may well warrant revision – the

field of Islamic and Comparative Religious Studies has advanced considerably from the turn of the century (after all, the field of *Religiouswissenschaft* really began only about the mid-nineteenth century, with the pioneering work of Max Müller and others).

Somewhat crestfallen, I nevertheless (and quite stubbornly) carried on with my own research. This thesis is a result of that research. It does not evidence the sum of my work, nor is it necessarily the most interesting aspect of my research. I think that the more interesting results of my work on Khāḍir are also the most speculative and provocative, and discuss the more mystical and folkloric dimensions of Khāḍir's role in comparative religion and Islamic Studies. Perhaps the riches mines of material on Khāḍir, with the greatest possibilities of research development, are exactly the folkloric and spiritual aspects. But, as was wisely pointed out to me by Professor Adams, my thesis advisor, such speculative material would best be left for a later and more advanced stage of my research.

I have amassed a considerable quantity of material on Khāḍir, much of it too detailed, too specific, or too peripheral, to my main lines of enquiry to warrant inclusion in this thesis.[9] Some of the excluded material has already been developed into an independent paper, two versions of which have been published.[10] The source material I have used or would have like to have used, I will try to develop into two volumes.[11]

Let us now move on to an exegesis of the 18th *sūrah* of the Qur'ān itself: its place in Islamicate history; scholarly analyses and commentators' interpretations of the chapter; and later, a comparative discussion of the Qur'ānic story of Moses and Khāḍir, especially of various significations of the figure of al-Khāḍir, the prime focus of my thesis.

Chapter 1

The subject of my study is a figure unnamed in the Qur'ān but who has been named "'Khāḍir,' or a variant thereof, by Islamicate tradition. Reference to this personage is found in the 18th chapter of the Qur'ān, the Chapter of the Cave (*Sūrat al-Kahf*), verses 65–82; these verses are, in turn, based upon the context of the preceding verses, 65–64.

The purpose of this chapter is historically to situate and to thematically contextualize the Cave Chapter of the Qur'ān, especially vv. 65–82. E. M. Wherry begins his introduction to Sale's translation of the *Sūrat al-Kahf* by writing, "This chapter may be called the chapter of wonderful stories" (Sale and Wherry 1896, 76). Indeed it is.[1]

Many of the revelations vouchsafed to the Prophet Muḥammad and subsequently arranged into the various chapters of the Qur'ān, as we know it today, deal with situations contemporaneous with the religious career of Muḥammad and the trials and challenges that faced the emerging Muslim community. Entire chapters are treated as prayers (such as the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*) or mystical invocations (for example, the *Sūrat al-Tawḥīd*), while other chapters focus on legal matters (*Sūrat al-Baqarah* being the obvious choice). Many parts of the Qur'ān feature moral exhortations, while fewer lend themselves to metaphysical, mystical, or philosophical connotations.

A major theme found again and again in the Qur'ān is ancient religious history (or myth or legend, depending to a degree upon one's bias). There are numerous accounts of long-ago Jewish, Sabæan, and Christian prophets and their peoples, as well as of otherwise unknown prophets, peoples, and religions. The actions and tribulations of these known and unknown messengers of God and the divine judgements meted out to their erring peoples form the subject of many Qur'ānic passages. We know from the Qur'ān itself that the purpose of such stories of previous peoples and their religious histories was to inspire faith and steadfastness among the fledgling Muslim community to the commands of God and the example of their Prophet.

The *Sūrat al-Kahf* is composed of a mixture of several elements: moral exhortations to the Muslim community; an admonition to the Prophet (vv. 23f); a parable (vv. 32–44);[2] and three stories taken from Jewish and Christian legends.

Aside from interspersed admonitions to righteousness which would include the parable above-mentioned, the Chapter of the Cave may be divided into three sections, each one of which comprises a story, or a legend. The subject of the first one lends the *sūrah* its title. That story, the tale of 'the Companions of the Cave' (*Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*) is sometimes referred to as 'the Sleepers in the Cave' (vv. 10–27). The second story, the legend with which this thesis is concerned, is the tale of Moses and Khāḍir (vv. 60–82). The third and last story is that of Dhū al-Qarnayn's adventures (vv. 83–98). I will shortly discuss, in outline, the first andthird stories. Discussion of the tale of

Moses and Khāḍir will follow in this chapter and at greater length thereafter.

All three stories, as I shall show, derive from apocryphal Jewish and Christian legendary. All three are accounts of some of the deeds of certain holy or righteous men: a group of faithful youths seeking refuge from religious persecution and idolatry; two prophetic figures; and a warrior–monarch (respectively).

The importance of these teaching–stories, as I see it, is two–fold. From the vantage–point of a Muslim believer, the value lies in their religious and moral attributes. To scholars of the history of Islam, they may yield information on the personality of the Prophet, the situation of religious debate among the early Muslims, the Jews, and the pagan Arabs, and the notions of ancient religious history and religious story–telling.

It is interesting that this is a chapter dedicated to story–telling: 75 of the chapter's 110 verses (including the opening *Bi ismi Allāh*) are concerned with the narration of the three tales. If we consider the parable of the two gardeners as a story also, (13 vv) then the Chapter of the Cave contains 88 verses worth of story–telling. Even the two verses directed to the Prophet's attention are directly related with the issue of the stories, as we shall see.

One unitive factor behind all three tales is the mingling of historical and legendary material which characterizes each tale and lends each one an extraordinary and enigmatic quality. Wherry, I think was quite correct in calling the *Sūrat al–Kahf* "the chapter of wonderful stories."

Save for several narratives – the stories of ᶜĀd, Thamūd, Luqmān, and those of the chapter of the Cave – all other similar Qur'ānic narratives are also to be found in the Jewish and the Christian Bibles. However, there is often quite a difference between the biblical or Midrashic[3] version and the Qur'ānic version of a given narrative. Details of the stories in the Qur'ān seem to have been less important than their underlying moral. However, as the Islamicist Wansbrough argues,[4] the details may well have been known to those listening to Muḥammad's message and therefore were not repeated. Aspects of the Judaic tradition may have been referred to by allusion.

Muḥammad conceived of Islam as the perfection of the previous religions of Christianity and Judaism. Thus, Islamic doctrine must show how the religion of Abraham, Moses, and Christ is continued and perfected in that of Islam. This is achieved, partly, through the stories of various pre–Islamic prophets. It was important to the Prophet that he show how Jews and Christians erred in their interpretations of (the transhistorical aspect of) the religion of Allāh and, by the telling of such narratives, to give good cause for any breaks with his opponents which necessity called for. Further, those narratives would help to place Muḥammad himself in God's scheme, as well as to reinforce the purpose of his mission.

Caesar E. Farah, in his book *Islam*, writes that the narratives taken from Judaism and Christianity survive in the Qur'ān "often invague and sometimes in erroneous confusion" (Farah, 1968, 86). Farah thinks that this confusion lends credence to the idea that the Prophet obtained his

knowledge of certain biblical stories and personalities either through uninformed sources or from 'unorthodox' informants. Farah states that Muḥammad's main motive in recounting these stories from Judaism and Christianity was to depict for believers and unbelievers alike God's plan for humanity: the submission of man to the Will of God, and the consequent rewarding of the righteous and the punishment of the recalcitrant.

The various stories and legends in the Qur'ān possess homiletic purposes. The tale of Khāḍir and Moses certainly is involved with homily: the verses just before and after the story of Moses and Khāḍir are straight-out homily; and the legend itself is permeated with a sense of between-the-lines preaching in that it illustrates the will of God on earth dispensing reward and punishment. Further, the telling of the Khāḍir/Moses legend, according to Islamicate tradition, arose as a result of the questioning of his opponents – specifically his Jewish enemies in Madīnah. Thus the story would help to evidence the supernatural ground of his knowledge.

Yusuf Ali, the author of a popular translation of and commentary to the Qur'ān, holds that any historical underpinnings to any of the 18th *sūrah*'s three stories are incidental to the main purpose, as he sees it. That purpose is: the exhortation to righteousness, renunciation of the world and submission to the will of God.[5] They are parables; their value lies in the spiritual guidance they offer. The Prophet must have found biblical tales of divine anger eminently suitable to him in his role as *nadhīr*; a warner sent from God. He could use the very scriptures of his opponents for his own purposes. He could show his enemies and the undecided that he too had knowledge of the Jewish and Christian scriptures, and could claim that knowledge came from God Himself (thus rendering it free from error and increasing his prophetic charisma). Once this was conceded, the wrath of God could be invoked against the subborn detractors of the Prophet and his religion.

The Khāḍir/Moses legend is a tale reminiscent of the above-mentioned biblical stories of divine justice and human error. However, the tale of Moses and Khāḍir is more specifically concerned, as we shall see, with the problem of theodicy.[6] Also, it involves but a few main secondary characters (among whom God Himself is not, *per se* directly involved), whereas many biblical tales of divine justice, reward and punishment for righteousness or sin-involve multitudes of people.

In most arrangements of the Qur'ān, which are compiled according to the length of the various chapters, from longest to shortest (excepting the first one, the *Sūrah al-Fātiḥah*), the Chapter of the Cave is the eighteenth one. However, in the Cairo edition of the Qur'ān (A. H. 1337), the Cave Chapter is the sixty-ninth. Noldeke also considers it chronologically, the sixty-ninth chapter (Kassis 1983, xxxvi). In Ahmad-Ali's translation of the Qur'ān, the *Sūrat al-Kahf* is the eighty-fourth chapter.[7]

I think that it is possible, though unlikely, that at the time of the first comprehensive written, and authoritative compilation of the Qur'ān, the three stories in the *Sūrat al-Kahf* were originally

transmitted at fairly disparate times. But they may have been arranged together due to the fabulous nature of each of the three tales, along with a perception that they all related to the Judaic (and maybe Christian) tradition.

Regarding the inclusion of many doctrinal and narrational elements in the Qur'ān taken from Judaism and Christianity, we know that the Prophet affirmed the essential identity of Islam and of Muslims with peoples of the other "Religions of the Book" throughout the Makkan period. In Madīnah, he began to refer to this essential unity with modifications (Buhl 1913, 1060a).

Thus, we read of the Jew's having received only part of the scripture divinely ordained for them (3: 23); the Jews also are said to have concealed (5: 16) or corrupted (2: 70) all kinds of things pertaining to the divine revelation vouchsafed to them (in the Judaic Bible; Ar., '*al-Tawrāt*').

Nevertheless, we know that Muḥammad was indebted for his general religious ideas (and perhaps even the very concept of God's revelation itself) to Jewish and Christian contact, or sectarian offshoots of these religious, which had settled in Arabia.[8] The most probable factor accounting for the Judaic and Christian elements in the Qur'ān, however, was the above-mentioned story telling of aspects of Judaic and Christian tales, passed on orally in pagan Arabia.

As to the dating of the *sūrah* as a whole, we can be reasonably sure that the Chapter of the Cave belongs to the middle to late group of Makkan 'occasions of revelation' (*asbāb al-tanzīl*). According to the Four-Period School, founded by Gustav Weil, used for dating sections of the Qur'ān by coordinating them to various phases of the Prophet's life in Makkah and Madīnah,[9] the first three periods are separated from the fourth period by the *hijrah*, the emigration in 622 CE or 1 A. H., of Muḥammad and some of his followers from Makkah to Madīnah. The 18th *sūrah* falls into the third period; i.e., the Late Makkan Period (Pearson, 416f).

He based his placement of the 18th chapter based upon several factors. It is: longer than the earlier chapters; more prosaic; lacking in the earlier poetic plural form; comprised of sermons and speeches; and the increasing detail of the stories of past prophets and of divine retribution for human sin. All these elements characterize the late Makkan *sūrahs* (*ibid*, 416f).

However, Nöldeke and Blanchère believed that *sūrah* 18 hails from the "Middle Makkan," or Second Period.[10] They argued that their placement of the Cave Chapter was justified due to the longer and more prosaic style of this chapter (characteristic of later chapters). These factors indicate a time before the Hashimite Ban (*ibid*, 416f).

Richard Bell theorized[11] that the 18th *sūrah* belongs mostly to the Makkan phase of the Prophet's career, with some Madīnan revisions and additions. In fact, the Late Makkan and Early Madīnan Periods have proved rather difficult to distinguish (*ibid*, 418).

The 'Egyptian Standard' edition of the Qur'ān comments that the 18th *sūrah* is Makkan, save for verses 28 and 83–101, which are held to be Madīnan (*ibid*, 416).

Bell believed that more important than the *hijrah*-based division of Makkan and Madīnan

periods were the events surrounding the 'Battle of Badr' and Muḥammad's break with the Jews, which occurred during the Madīnan period; that is, just after the Cave Chapter – or, at least, most of it was revealed (*ibid*, 418).

Therefore, based on the general consensus of the above-mentioned sources, we may assume that the Cave chapter was revealed during the mid – to late Makkan period, i.e., between about 615 and 622.[12]

Mohammed Arkoun, in his *Lecture du Coran*, writes that exegesis of *sūrah* 18 must comprise three "lines of force:" the grammatical and historico-mythological exegesis of the classical commentators (*mufassirūn*, sing., *mufassir*); the analytical and static exegesis of orientalism; and the symbolic interpretation of archetypal spiritual themes in the collective imagination (Arkoun 1982, 71).[13] This study is concerned primarily involved with the former and the latter approaches.

The reciting of the Qur'ān[14] transforms a book into a living witness of the sacred time and space of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. Thus the recitation of the Qur'ān is of great importance in the elaboration of the historico-mythic vision which the first generation of Muslims possessed and which was bonded to the Islamic conscience up to these days.

Arabic lexicography often tried to interpret the ample and curious terminology of the legends of the Cave Chapter.[15] Commentary on *sūrah* 18 turns out to be, according to Arkoun, nonsectarian assessment by the *ʿulamā'*, the doctors of Islamic legal and religious lore (sing., *ʿālim*), of an old folk culture living in the Oikoumene via an oral transmission of which Ṭabarī (d. 923),[16] the famous commentator on the Qur'ān, still reflects the form and procedure. The intervention of the interpreter only reinforced a certain number of interpretations already present and which did not restrain the transmitters of the folk tradition from telling their stories (*qiṣṣah*, pl. *qiṣaṣ*). Folk culture, in the Islamicate tradition, always fashioned the awareness and collective identity of Muslims while being guided more or less by the learned religious culture, itself often conceived out of popular demand. From about the 11th–12th centuries CE, mystic-missionaries reinforced and enlarged the effect of these folk-stories.

The three recitals of *sūrah* 18, Arkoun maintains, form a homogenous representation of the living tradition of peoples touched by the phenomenon of the revealed book. The recital is a continuous story-telling possessing an internal logic assimilated and reproduced by the teller-listener.

Let us now proceed to discuss the traditional explanation of the causal agency behind our three stories in the Cave Chapter.

In Makkah, the Qurayshī tribe used to hold assemblies, at which they inevitably discussed the problem of Muḥammad and his mission among them.[17] Muslim tradition relates that they decided to send a message to the Jewish rabbis at Yathrīb – modern day Madīnah – (where a large

Jewish population lived). They instructed their two envoys as follows:

> Ask them about Muhammad...Describe him to them, and tell them what he says; for they are the people of the first scripture, and they have knowledge of the Prophets which we have not.

The answer of the rabbis was:

> Question him about three things wherein we will instruct you. If he tell you of them, then he is a Prophet sent by God, but if he tell you not, then is the man a forger of falsehood. Ask him of some young men who left their folk in the days of old, how it was with them, for theirs is a tale of wonder; and ask him tidings of a far traveller who reached the ends of the earth in the east and in the west; and ask him of the Spirit, what it is . If he tell you of these things, then follow him, for he is a Prophet (Lings 1983, 77f).

The Quraysh then asked Muḥammad to answer these three questions. He replied that he would do so on the morrow – without adding "if God wills." Due to this omission, the anticipated revelation did not come till fifteen days later. Gabriel revealed the answers to the three questions, with the reproof: "Do not say of anything: I will do that tomorrow, without saying, if God wills" (18: 23f). Pickthall writes that the awaited revelation was withheld for ten days (Pickthall 1977, 290).

Wherry views the passage of time between the posing of the questions by the pagans and rabbis and the giving of the answers by the Prophet as typical of Muḥammad's habit, in his opinion, of delaying to respond to difficult queries till the next day "on the pretense of not yet having received the answer by revelation" (Sale and Wherry 1896, 76). Wherry conjectures that, during the ten-day interval, the Prophet acquired the necessary information from Christian slaves in Makkah, some of whom lived in his household. Wherry writes, "All these stories partake of the character of the marvelous, and carry with them such an air of vagueness as to give the impression that Muḥammad's informants were themselves but ill-informed" (*ibid*, 76). (It might be remarked that many parts not only of the Qur'ān, but also of the Judaic and the Christian Bibles, are both "marvelous" and vague.)[18]

In any case, whether accepting the literal interpretation of the event as found in the Qur'ān and as accepted in traditional Muslim interpretation, or an 'orientalist' interpretation of the tale as a means to exalt the status of Muḥammad, it appears that the Prophet's answers satisfied the Jewish doctors as well as the Arab pagans, for if Muḥammad answered unsatisfactorally or incorrectly, reports of it would surely have been widespread (Pickthall 1977, 290).

We cannot be certain that such a question and answer exchange ever occurred. It may have taken place in whole or in part. Alternatively, it may have been developed later by Muslim theologians to explain the origins of the three stories and/or as a means to respond to Jewish

questions and criticisms about the Prophet and Islam. Of course, it is quite likely that such an interrogative session did take place. We know that others most certainly did; many verses in the Qur'ān are specified (therein) to be rejoinders to pagan Arab and Jewish questioning, criticism, and ridicule. It is possible that the (alleged) answers the Prophet provided to the (alleged) questions of the Jewish doctors of the law, differing as they do in several respects from their probable sources (below outlined), is a result of garbled oral traditions which Muḥammad simply passed on. However, it is tempting to see the differences between such (mostly Jewish) sources and Muḥammad's answers as skilful, if somewhat devious, means employed by the Prophet to show that the Muslim interpretation of events from the 'Religions of the Book' is superior to that of the Jews. Such a position would be in consonance with the standard Islamic doctrine that Islam possesses the most complete understanding of – and the final word in – religious matters, and that Muḥammad is the most honoured of prophets in part because God vouchsafed to him the most perfect knowledge of divine matters.

Pickthall's opinion that, in all likelihood, the tradition linking the three tales in the Cave Chapter with the three questions set by the Madīnan rabbis, and the idea that all three tales are based in apocryphal Jewish lore (*ibid*, 290) is, I think, but partly correct. Concerning the first tale, I take exception with Pickthall and concur with most scholars and with Muslim popular and theological consensus in viewing the first tale in the Chapter of the Cave as a Muslim rendition of the Christian story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

I think that, regarding the legend with which this thesis is occupied, although the Qur'ān's account of Khāḍir and Moses does indeed appear to be grounded in Judaic apocrypha, the alleged correlative question of the Madīnan rabbis as to the identity of "the spirit" is highly speculative.[19]

What can be said of the origins of the three stories in the *Sūrat al-Kahf* is that they all bear striking resemblances to several legends from Jewish and Christian apocrypha and hagiography, scattered over centuries and found throughout the Oikoumene. We will look into a selection of such eponymous legends below.

Concerning the tale of Moses and Khāḍir, especially the verses in which Khāḍir is involved (18: 65–82), the result of a search for origins is highly ambiguous. What is found are a somewhat disparate corpus of legendary material in the form of what the Judaic scholar Israel Lévi characterizes as "the angel and the hermit" pattern.[20]

Concerning the first story (vv. 10–27), that of the Companions of the Cave (*Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*)[21] it is interesting that the answer to the query about the youths had a distinct bearing on the situation of the Muslim community, who feared for their lives due to the Qurayshī persecution, some seeking refuge in Abyssinia (and the Prophet having to hide in a cave at the outset of the *hijrah*). In the Qur'ān 18: 10–27, the Prophet related part of the story of the Companions, mentioned several variations of some points, and rebuked those who indulged in disputations about

these differences of opinion.

Yusuf Ali writes that no-one in Makkah had ever heard the story of the youths. It is often identified as the Christian story of the (Seven) Sleepers of Ephesus. In the third century CE, some youths of Ephesus had kept faith with the worship of the One God, though surrounded by idolatry and the persecution of their people. To escape this persecution, the youths took refuge in a cave, where they miraculously slept for more than 300 years. The Qur'ānic passage on the Sleepers added to the Jewish version the appearance of the sleepers as they slept, and how their dog lay with his paws across the threshhold. The first question of the Rabbis and the first answer of the Prophet during his alleged interogation is, obviously, the first story in the Cave Chapter.

The best-known version of the Seven Sleepers is that found in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. In the reign of a Roman emperor (either the Emperor Trajan, reigned 98-117 CE or, more likely, Emperor Decius, reigned 149-151 CE), seven Christian youths of Ephesus fled the religious persecution in the city and hid in a cave in a nearby mountain. When the wall which sealed up the mouth of the cave was being torn down three centuries later (probably during the time of the Emperor Theodosius II, who reigned 408-450 CE), the youths awoke. They awoke to another world - speech, dress, and currency had all changed. One of the youths went to town to buy provisions and attracted much attention when people noticed their antique coinage. Many people then visited the cave and verified the tale they had heard by questioning the youths who had remained behind in the cave.

Ṭabarī discussed the circumstances and the logic of the revelation of *sūrah* 18. (Arkoun 1982, 79f). Regarding the first legend, Tabarī write that it is a recounting of the Christian story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus which took place in the reign of the Emperor Decius. Ṭabarī says, however, that there is another version which holds that the Sleepers in the Cave story is anterior to Christianity, the youths in this other account having slept for 309 years and having been awakened by a shepherd.

There exists a Jewish legend tradition involving people taking refuge in a cave due to Roman persecution. It concerns a certain second-century CE Palestinian *tanna*, rabbinic leader, mystic, and ascetic named Shim'on ben Yoḥai.[22] He is one of the most frequently-mentioned authorities referred to in the Mishna; the Talmud considers Sim'on to be the model scholar of the Torah. Mediæval Jewish mystics credit him, though not without opposition, with having written the *Zohar*, one of the most revered Kabbalistic texts.

Shim'on is the subject of many rabbinic legends. The most well-known tell of how he and his son hid in a cave after he was sentenced to death by the Romans. Some versions of this story relate that, emerging from his cave refuge after twelve years of hiding, he saw people farming instead of studing the Torah; whereupon, outraged, he set their fields on fire by a glance of his eye. God punished the impetuous rabbi by sending him and his son back to the cave for another year.

Given that Shim'on and his son were but two in number, and that they are said to have spent a mere thirteen years in their cave, it is more likely that the source of the Qur'ānic *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* story is that of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

Various numbers of cave inhabitants in the Qur'ānic account are proffered to those auditors of Muḥammad's message who would like to guess at the number (3, 4, 5, or 7, along with their faithful dog). Further, the length of time that the cave-besheltered refugees spent in their abode of exile is given in the Qur'ān as "three hundred years" to which may be added nine years. (Three hundred solar years equal three hundred nine lunar years; the Muslim calendrical system is lunar). Here, the Christian and the Muslim accounts tally very closely. The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus numbers the youths in the cave at seven (though some say eight), and relate that the length of time they slept was either 300 or 307 years (less commonly, 353 or 373 years). The chief consensus, thus, is that the Ephesian youths slept for 300–307 years, closely corresponding to the Qur'ān's 300/309 years.

The legend of the prophet Elijah instructing Shim'on and his son whilst they were in the cave, however, ties in with the Islamicate tradition insofar as there has long been the closest connection between Elijah and Khāḍir, and in that Khāḍir is involved in the two later stories. In the legend of Moses and Khāḍir, Khāḍir is, obviously, a key character. In the tale of Dhū al-Qarnayn (usually identified as Alexander the Great) Khāḍir is said, in Islamicate tradition, to have been associated with the Emperor.

Nevertheless, it does seem far-fetched to attribute this apparent coincidence between the Judaic cave story and the association between Elijah and Khāḍir in the Islamicate tradition to anything save mere chance. After all, the Ephesian refugees and the Qur'ānic sleepers are supposed to have all been youths and to have slept soundly through their long wait.

The third of the three legends in the *Sūrat al-Kahf* is that of Dhū al-Qarnayn (18: 83–98).[23] Among Muslims, Dhū al-Qarnayn is sometimes thought to have been Alexander the Great. However, some say Dhū al-Qarnayn was really an ancient Persian king or a prehistoric Himyarite monarch.

The Qur'ān names the great traveller of the second question the rabbis are said to have posed to the Prophet Dhū al-Qarnayn, 'He of the Two Horns'[24] or the 'Master of the Two Epochs.' This answer forms the third legend in the Cave Chapter. The passage (vv. 93–99) describes the traveller's journey to the far east and then to the far west. Again (going beyond the call of duty), the Qur'ān also tells of a third journey, an account of his journey to a place between two mountains, where the inhabitants pleaded with him to make a barrier which would protect them from Yūj and Majūj (the biblical "Gog and Magog') and other evil spirits (*jinn*) who were destroying their land. God bestowed upon Dhū al-Qarnayn the ability to restrain the evil spirits within a space where they would be confined until an appointed time. According to the Prophet,

these evil spirits will be let loose just before the final Hour, causing terrible devastation across the world, and acting as a sign that the Last Day was near.

To identify Dhū al-Qarnayn, Ṭabarī refers to a *ḥadīth* (a 'report,' or 'tradition,' of Muḥammad's actions and sayings) in which the Prophet is speaking on an (alleged) *Book of Dhū al-Qarnayn*. He said that Dhū al-Qarnayn was a youth of Byzantine origin who arrived in Egypt in order to edify the city of Alexandria. Rāzī[25] (d. 925 or 934), the Muslim philosopher and commentator, identifies Dhū al-Qarnayn with Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE) who travelled to the rising and the setting-place of the sun, and then to the two dams in the extreme North where lived the Turks of Yajūj and Majūj. If Alexander did not journey to those dams, then he went to two mountains situated between Armenia and Azerbaijan (Arkoun 1982, 6f, 80).[26]

Alexander the Great was Captain-General of the West (the Greek States) and of the East (the Persian Dominion). After Alexanders's death many legends were written about him, which circulated to East and West. The Christians made of Alexander a saint; the Jews carried the Alexander-cycle of stories to the East. The philosopher Callisthenes, who travelled with Alexander in Asia, had his name appended to a Greek text in Alexandria (the Pseudo-Callisthenes recension of the Alexander Romance Corpus) sometime before the 2nd c BCE. It was translated into Latin in the 3rd c CE and thence into most European tongues.

Alexander is said to have searched for the 'Fountain of Life,' (also called the 'Waters of Life,) and is sometimes depicted with rays of lights streaming from his head (for he was semi-divine), or with two horns, for his father is held to have been Zeus/Jupiter-Amon. Amon was an ancient Egyptian god, at first the local god of Thebes; later, from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, he was the chief god of all Egypt.[27]

Until the beginning of the Christian era, great congregations of pilgrims visited the famous oasis-temple of Amon (or Jupiter-Ammon) in Libya. It is there that the venerated oracle had, in 332 BCE, acknowledged Alexander as the Son of Amon. From that time, Alexander the Great adopted the curled horns of Amon as symbolic of his divine inheritance as is shown by many coins of the period, some of which were unearthed in Bibby's excavations upon the island of Faylakah, located only metres from Khāḍir's shrine there.[28]

As mentioned, Muslim tradition usually associates Khāḍir with Alexander the Great (as his vizier and as his guide on the quest for the Fountain of Life).[29] I think that this association was probably inspired by two factors: the Qur'ānic passage on Dhū al-Qarnayn immediately follows that on Moses and Khāḍir, and; Alexander the Great, well-known to the early Muslim community, was said to be the Two-Horned One (as the Son of Zeus/Jupiter-Ammon. However, Alexander lived about 1,000 years later than Moses, Khāḍir's pupil in the Qur'ān. Was Dhū al-Qurnayn another horned figure – and if so, which one?

In the story of Dhū al-Qurnayn in the Qur'ān, it is told that he travelled to the rising and

then to the setting of the sun, at which latter place he built a wall of brass as a defence against the giants Yūj and Majūj. These exploits recall the very travels and deeds of Gilgamesh and Enkidu as found in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.

If Dhū al-Qarnayn might be, not Alexander the Great or Gilgamesh, but Enkidu, or the god Enki[30], the unnamed servant of God in the Qur'ān, usually called simply Khāḍir, might really be none other than Utnapishtim,[31] Enki's human deputy on earth, whom Enki saved from the Flood and to whom (and his wife) Enki granted immortality. Moses might then be a recasting of the ancient quest-hero Gilgamesh, and his servant then might be, not Joshua, but Enkidu.

If the Qur'ānic passage of 18: 60–82 is to be seen as a homogenous narrative descending from one origin, and if Moses may be identified with Gilgamesh, 'Joshua' with Enkidu, and Khāḍir as Utnapishtim, Dhū al-Qarnayn remains (at least to my mind) more problematic. Dhū al-Qarnayn appears to be a mixture: partly the two-horned Mesopotamian deity of the watery abyss, Enki; partly the two-horned semi-divine Mesopotamian hero-king Gilgamesh, and partly the Græco-Egyptian two-horned man-god, Alexander the Great.

To the third question of the Madīnan rabbis and the Makkan pagans, the Qur'ān according to tradition, referred to the inability of the mind of man to compass the transcendence of the Spirit. This answer appears not in the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, but in Chapter 17 (*Banī Isrā'īl*) 85. We read: "They will ask you about the Spirit. Say: the Spirit proceeds from the command of my Lord; and you have not been given knowledge, save a little."

The Jews, it is said, were very interested in the Prophet's answers. Concerning the last response, they asked him whether it spoke of his people or theirs. The Prophet replied, "To both of you." The Jews then protested, saying that they had, in the Torah, been granted "an exposition of everything," as the Qur'ānic revelation itself affirmed (6: 154). Whereupon Muḥammad said, "That is but little in respect of God's Own knowledge; yet have yetherein enough for your needs, if ye would but practice it" (Lings 1983, 78).[32]

Pickthall's argument that all three stories in the *Sūrat al-Kahf* derive from Judaic apocrypha here appears most doubtful. It would appear that nothing from Judaic apocryphal lore obviously corresponds to the third question of the rabbis and their pagan envoys to Muḥammad. Judaic mysticism at the time of Muḥammad does not appear to have been well-developed.[33]

However, it is possible that early ideas on the *Shekhīnah*, the (feminine) presence of God (found in the Judaic Bible) or nascent notions of what later came to be called the 'Metatron' (God's 'Vice-regent,' as it were, according to the Kabbalah) were involved in the rabbis' question and Muḥammad's possible rejoinder to that query in Qur'ān 17: 85.[34]

It is also possible that Christian ideas (perhaps of a gnostic type) were responsible for 17: 85. Or it may be that a mixture of Jewish and Christian religio-mystical ideas, combined with the Prophet's own spiritual experience and religious thought, resulted in 17: 85.

Pickthall's suggestions that the story of Moses and Khāḍir corresponds to the only question remaining to us among those posed by the rabbis and the pagans that of the Spirit's identity is thus fraught with difficulty.[35]

The Quraysh did not feel constrained to take the advice of the rabbis; that is, to follow the Prophet should he adequately answer their questions.[36] And nor did the rabbis heed their own counsel. However, the revelation did inspire some Makkans to embrace Islam. It is said that the believers drew strength from the Prophet's answers, and that some among the double-minded of the doubters were convinced of the authenticity of the Prophet and his religion and became converts (*ibid*, 77f).

Chapter 2

There appears to be an (almost) unanimous agreement among Muslims that the object of Moses' quest through verses 60–64 of the Cave Chapter, whom he found in verse 65, and travelled and conversed with through to verse 82, is a variant of the name 'al-Khāḍir.'

Looking in the Qur'ān for derivations of the triconsonantal root from which Islamicate tradition derives the name for the unnamed guide of Moses in 18: 65–82 (kh, ḍ, r), we find three forms. *Akhḍar* (pl. *khuḍr*), 'green,' shows up six times (12: 43, 46; 18: 31; 36: 80; 55: 76; 76: 21), half of those times referring to the green silken garments or the green curtains, of paradise. *Khaḍir*, 'green leaf, herb,' appears once, in 6: 99. Lastly, *ikhḍarra* (the grammatical 'form 9,; the active participle), 'becoming green,' is found once, in 22: 63. ᶜUmārah said that Khāḍir is 'Green'[1] since the earth becomes green at the mere touch of his feet (Coomaraswamy 1970, 225).

The renowned Islamicist Louis Massignon suggested that the active participle of the verbal root *khaḍara* (to be green), '*khāḍir*,' is the most suitable form of the possible variations thereof.[2] 'Al-Khāḍir,' appropriately enough, means 'the Green Man' (Corbin 1969, 56).[3] I think Massignon to have been correct grammatically (and as regards common sense), and will thus adopt '(Al-) Khāḍir' as the name of the unnamed guide of Moses in 18: 65–82.

However, one never finds that form in written material in European languages (of course, one cannot always be sure of short vowels in Arabic script, as these are almost without exception never added); nor is it heard pronounced as such (as far as I know). Instead, almost every variant of Khāḍir is used among Muslims and among scholars (Western academics included). Examples using the correct transliteration of the Arabic 'ḍ,' and transforming French and German renditions of the letter that the Cataloguing Service of the Library of Congress tranliterates as 'kh', include: Khaḍir, Khaḍr, Khiḍir, Khiḍr. As well, among other variants, we have Khuḍur, Khuḍr, Khoḍir, Khoḍr, Khizir, and Khizr (most likely primarily due to localized variations of Persian adaptations of the original Arabic).

A. J. Wensinck, in his article on Khāḍir in *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, adopting the encyclopedia's useage, renders the name as "Al-Khaḍir." He writes that, "Al-Khaḍir is properly an epithet ('the green man') this was in time forgotten and this explains the secondary form Khiḍr (approximately 'the green'), which in many places has displaced the primary form" (1960, 902b).

The unnamed servant of God of 18: 60–82 is referred to by variants of Khāḍir by some of the most well-known *mufassirūn* such as the Arabic traditionalist al-Bukhārī (d. 870); al-Sijistānī (fl. ca. 975); the Arab historian al-Ṭabarī; al-Qastallānī (d. 1517), the theologian and authority on *ḥadīth*, as well as by later commentators (Wiener 1978, 5).

In this chapter, we shall discuss Khāḍir's name, the three attributes accorded him in the

Qur'ān's 18: 65, various identifications and/or associations attributed to him with other prophet/saint/hero figures, and lastly, Khāḍir's association with greenness, water, fertility, and the phenomenon of the dying and resurrecting god.

Khāḍir's origins have been sought among ancient Mesopotamian deities of water, of vegetative death and resurrection, and of wisdom, such as Enki/Ea,[4] Dummuzi/Tammuz, Oannes, Dagon, Atargatis, and the man-god Utnapishtim.[5] Ancient Greek myth yields two semi-divine beings linked by Western scholars with Khāḍir: Glaucus[6] and Perseus.[7]

Khāḍir is popularly, theologically, and mystically identified with many other personages from Oikoumenic religious lore wherever Muslims may live. He is variously identified as, or associated with, several religio-spiritual Judeo-Christian figures, chief among whom is Elijah.[8] Others are Enoch,[9] Phinehas,[10] Jesus Christ,[11] Aherauserus (the Wandering Jew), St George,[13] St. John the Baptist,[14] the archangel Michael,[15] and the lesser-known Tervagant, or Travagant.[16]

As we shall see, within the Islamicate tradition, Khāḍir is sometimes associated with or identified as the prophet Muḥammad[17], as ᶜAlī ibn Abī Tālib,[18] the Imām,[19] as all of the prophets at once, and even as God.[20]

Most Qur'ānic commentators link Khāḍir with Elijah, either in the sense of a direct identification or of a brotherly prophetic association of 'twin souls,' and, to a much lesser degree, with the saintly patriarch Enoch. Sometimes Khāḍir is assumed into a Kabbalistic type of Elianic-Enochian Metatronic demiurgic power.

In consonance with most scholars involved with a comparative study of Khāḍir's origins, Wensinck isolates three elements from Oikoumenic myth and legend which contributed to the formation of the Khāḍir persona as we find it in the Qur'ān and in later Islamicate thought. Those elements are: the Gilgamesh epic; the Alexander Romance corpus; and the Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi story (1978, 902b).

As I shall try to show, as far as the Oikoumenic religious continuum is concerned, the roots of the Khāḍir persona lie most obviously in the apocryphal Jewish Elianic legends. But the bedrock of Khāḍir's archetype is to be found encapsulated within Mesopotamian mythology; specifically, in Enki, the water/wisdom god of righteousness, and as the immortal sage Utnapishtim of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, and an even more remote host of fish and serpent gods of water and wisdom, and deities of vegetative death and resurrection.

It is this plethora of identifications and associations of Khāḍir with various Judaic and Christian apocryphal saintly and prophetic figures that lends the personage of Khāḍir so easily to a fascinating comparative study in religion, mysticism and folklore.[21] However, the brief and general nature of this present effort prohibits a thorough investigation of the entangled threads which make up the complex web of conjecture surrounding the related questions of who Khāḍir <u>really</u> is, or was (or might become); who he <u>also</u> was, or is; and who he is <u>not</u>. Unlike the first

problem, the two latter problems are less immediately ontologically grounded, and much more accessible to historical textual (and oral) analysis and comparison. The figure of Khāḍir may more easily be approached via the more historically based comparative study of relevant texts and oral traditions; as above stated, that is the methodological approach which I shall adopt.

Let us now move on to examine the way Khāḍir is referred to in the Qur'ān itself, specifically in the Cave Chapter, verse 65, which is that in which Moses meets Khāḍir, and in which Khāḍir is (briefly) described by three terms: *ʿabd* ('servant'; more properly, 'slave'), *raḥmah* ('mercy'), and *ʿilm* ('knowledge'). (See my full translation of 18: 65, in Appendix 1.)

First, we will take a look at the term *ʿabd*, slave. The Qur'ān refers to the unnamed person Moses encounters at the junction of the two seas (*majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*) as one of Our slaves.... (*ʿabdan min ʿibādinā*).

ʿAbd, 'slave,' is usually translated as 'servant.' I prefer (especially in the case of religious and spiritual personalities) 'slave,' since a 'Muslim' is one who has made his submission (his *islām*) to God, or to God's Will. Ideally, a Muslim thus realizes that he exists through the divine will (*amr*.) Muḥammad is often, in the Qur'ān, called '*ʿAbd* Allāh,' showing his (presumably) perfect submission to the Will of God.

The term *ʿibādah* means 'making *aslama*,' adopting the attitude of submission towards God, and serving God as a servant would a master. Thus, it is opposed to *anafah*, 'high-nosedness,' which characterizes the *muruwwah* ideal of the pre-Islamic period of Jāhiliyyah ('ignorance, barbarism'). As Toshiko Izutsu,[22] the great Japanese scholar of Comparative Religion and Linguistics remarks, *jahl* and *ʿilm* (knowledge) are not really opposites. Rather, the opposing term to *jahl* is *ḥilm*. The barbarism which '*jahl*' refers to is the spiritual ignorance of passion, jealousy, and anger. *Ḥilm* means peaceableness, nobility, and compassion. The Muslim is to show *ḥilm* to others, but *islām* to God. To have an attitude of *islām* toward God is to manifest *ʿubūdiyyah*, servanthood (Izutsu 1966-67, 220). The word *dīn*, religion, contains elements of both *tāʿah*, obedience, and *ʿubūdiyyah*. *Dīn* may even be described as *ʿabada*, "serving Him as a humble servant who obeys his master" (*ibid*, 225).

Let us now move on to the second quality attributed to Khāḍir in the Qur'ān 18: 65: *ʿilm*. This term appears in relation to the unnamed and apparent object of Khāḍir's quest as someone "whom We had taught knowledge from Our presence" (*ʿallamnāhu min laddunā ʿilman*).

Izutsu distinguishes between the religio-spiritual uses of the words *ʿilm* and *maʿrifah*. While *ʿilm* is taken to mean to indirect knowledge of God through His signs (*āyāt*), *maʿrifah* means 'gnosis,' the mystical and direct knowledge of God (*ibid*, 49f). *ʿIlm* generally means 'knowledge,' but more specifically, "knowledge by inference," as Bertrand Russell writes, in contrast to 'knowledge by acquaintance' (*ibid*, 59).

However, during the Jāhiliyyah, the basic sense of *ʿilm* was 'concept.' Izutsu writes,

> In Jahiliyyah, *ʿilm* meant primarily a kind of knowledge about something, derived and induced from one's own personal experience of the matter. *ʿIlm* in this sense was opposed to *ẓann*, which meant the result of mere subjective thinking, and, as such, something groundless and, therefore, unreliable (*ibid.*, 59).

In the Jāhilī conception, *ʿilm* may have roots in the 'knowledge' of tribal tradition. Izutsu notes that,

> *ʿIlm* as understood by the pre-Islamic Arabs... is a sound, well-grounded piece of knowledge guaranteed by personal or trible experience which, therefor, can claim an objective and universal validity (*ibid.*, 60).

Thus, in the Prophet's time, when the age of the Jāhiliyyahwas just beginning to phase into the period of Islamicate civilization, *ʿilm* meant a "well-grounded piece of knowledge guaranteed by...experience which...can claim an objective...validity." In fact, in the Qur'ān *ʿilm* is still used in opposition to *ẓann*, in other words the term *ʿilm* in the Qur'ān retains the Jāhilī sense of well-grounded, objective knowledge, as opposed to *ẓann*, meaning groundless, subjective thought.

However, the Qur'ānic usage of *ʿilm* is derived from two sources: the personal and tribal knowledge and tradition of the Jāhiliyyah, and the uniquely Islamic revelation of God in the Qur'ān itself (*ibid*, 60). Passing through the medium of the Qur'ān, *ʿilm* is linked with *ḥuqq*, truth, and *ẓann* is joined to the sense of *hawā* (the natural and impulsive passionate nature of the perverse human soul, held in Islam to be blind and reckless), as is evidenced in 45: 23–24 and 13: 37.

Finally, let us discuss the term *raḥmah*, mercy. In the Qur'ān, we find our mysterious personage described as one "on whom We had bestowed mercy" (*attaynāhu raḥmatan min ʿindinā*). *Raḥma* is the verbal root for the terms *raḥmān* and *raḥīm* which form the introductory invocation opening every Qur'ānic *sūrah* (save one): *Bi ismi Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*. This invocation is usually rendered as "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." Khāḍir is one who has had divine mercy bestowed upon him, and, one assumes, having been invested with mercy, he is thus able to act as an instrument for the bestowal of mercy among mankind (though this conclusion does not necessarily follow). An example of Khāḍir as a compassionate friend of men is seen in the *ḥadīth* in which, at the death of Moses (we must remember Khāḍir's propensity to appear, at any time and place) he offers his sympathy to the Prophet's bereaved community (Friedlaender 1915, 694b, 695a).

Qur'ānic commentators basically magnify and ornament the Moses/Khāḍir legend, and regard Khāḍir as prophet and a sage. Let us return now to the narrative of our story and to various Islamicate traditions about Khāḍir.

Some commentators[23] relate that, when Moses' people asked him whether or not there was anyone on earth wiser than he, God informed Moses that His servant Khāḍir was wiser.[24] God

further said that this servant dwelt "at that junction of the waters," and that Moses should search for Khāḍir at this junction and take a dried fish with him – for food, and to point out the way to Moses. At the place where the fish would be revived by water and swim away, there Moses would find Khāḍir and the source of life. It is also related that all who drink of this source would attain eternal life (Wiener 1978, 153f).

A *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic commentary) relates that Moses and Joshua

> found a man spreading his prayer mat on the water of the river and engage [*sic*] in prayer. When Moses wished him [*sic*; i.e., when Moses invoked upon him the peace of God: *Al-salām ᶜalaykum*] the man immediately returned the salutation saying "Peace be to thee Moses, the Apostle, and to the Children of Israel." Moses wondered at the manalready knowing his name and designation. This was Khizr who was specially blessed by God and endowed with knowledge direct from God (Nāsir-Aḥmad 1969, 935).

In the above rendition of the first encounter between Moses and Khāḍir we find that the Qur'ānic *majmaᶜ al-baḥrayn* is given to be a river. (Another tradition has Moses and Joshua finding Khāḍir upon an island.) While in the Qur'ān just what Khāḍir is doing, if anything, is not mentioned, in the above-noted tradition we find that Khāḍir was seen to be about to pray (or praying) atop the surface of the river. The strange and miraculous manner in which the fish is resurrected when Joshua washes it, something which Moses recognizes as a sign, and which is matched by the bizarre acts of Khāḍir during their journey together, is in the above tradition matched by the supernatural activity of Khāḍir as he spreads his prayer rug and then proceeds to pray atop the water. When Moses wishes upon him the peace of God, the strange being not only returns the salutation but knows Moses' name and title. The powers of levitation and clairvoyance are common abilities predicated of saints.

Other Qur'ānic commentaries remark that, at the place where the fish disappeared into the sea, the sea turned into solid land, whereupon the path the fish took through the water could still be seen. It was upon this island that Khāḍir was sitting when Moses found him (Jung 1979, 9i: 246; 5: 244).

The journey of Moses and Khāḍir, for Ṭabarī, gives expression to philological discussions. Rāzī, however, developed philosophical and theological arguments based upon the types, degrees, and ways of approaching the central theme of 18: 65.

Realism guards primacy of place in Rāzī's commentary on 18: 65. When the village which refused the two travellers hospitality is identified with Antioch or Eilat. Further, the *mufassirūn* show that the various episodes in their journey – the hole broken in the boat; the youth slain; and the wall repaired without recompense – are not isolated incidents, but living situations which the theologian and jurist are to use as norms for the earthly conduct of the Muslim community. In

other words, Islamic law is influenced perforce by the actions of Khāḍir, says Rāzī – even though Khāḍir's apparent behavior is hardly seemly or reasonable in the light of Islamic norms (Arkoun 1982, 502).[25]

In Islamicate folk literature, Khāḍir is a counsellor, teacher, and comforter. He is a sustainer, protector, healer, and guide of the lost. Khāḍir is believed to have been wandering the world for centuries (Wiener 1978, 155f). Khāḍir is sometimes called *khawwāḍ al-buḥūr*, 'the wanderer of the seas.'[26]

For many Muslims, Khāḍir has taken on the attributes of a divine being. A Muslim once told the scholar Curtiss, "Khiḍr is near, but God is far" (Friedlaender 1915, 695a).

Islamic theologians have tended to curb popular and mystical ideas about Khāḍir. Some *ᶜulamāʾ* have insisted (and relate that the Prophet also said) that Khāḍir was a contemporary of Muḥammad,[27] and died soon after Muḥammad's death. But the theological attack on Khāḍir-veneration has had little effect among either the general populace or the Ṣūfīs (Jamāᶜī-Sunnī mystics).[28] Nevertheless, Muslim theologians have enjoyed indulging in scholarly conjectures about Khāḍir (*ibid*, 695).

For example, a publisher's comment in Yusuf Ali's *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'ān* on the identity of the person of Khāḍir in 18: 65 notes that,

> According to the authentic Traditions of the Prophet...Alkhidir [*sic*] referred to in the Qur'ān is a male being who had his share of Divine knowledge, and who is believed to have died a natural death. If he were alive at the time of the Prophet, he would have embraced Islam, for, the Prophet has said, "If Moses had been alive, he would have followed me" (Ali 1938, 759).[29]

Islamicate literature is replete with debate about the identity of Khāḍir, a debate which Friedländer describes as "purely the product of unfettered speculative fancy." Identifications are culled from divers/figures of biblical and apocryphal legend such as Melchizedek, Seth, Enoch, Jonah, Jeremiah, Lot, and the Messiah. An important similarity among all these above-mentioned beings is that, according to Rabbinic or Christian legend, they are held to be immortal (1913, 695).

But Khāḍir was reverenced as a great saint (*walī*) by Ṣūfīs such as Ibn al-ᶜArabī, d. 1240 and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 1567). Some Ṣūfīs view Khāḍir as an angel disguised as a man. The *khalīfahs* ᶜUmar and ᶜAlī (the third and fourth 'Righteous Califs,' respectively) had also met Khāḍir, who taught them especially powerful prayers (Wiener 1978, 154).

Ṣūfī literature has described Khāḍir's childhood in a vein characteristic of the hero-myth. He is portrayed as a child born of royal parents. He is left in a cave, weaned by a ewe, and is then discovered by a shepherd. As a youth, he becomes private secretary to the King's court, the king being his own father. Due to the youth's superior qualities, the king recognises him and makes him co-regent. However, Khāḍir fled the court to wander in the world till he found the source of life

(*Ibid*, 154).

The real name of the Khāḍir of the Qur'ān is said, according to tradition, to have been "Balya ibn Malkān."[30] He reportedly lived (among other times and places), during the reign of Afridūn,[31] an ancient Persian king. Khāḍir is said to have been born before the birth of Dhū al-Qarnayn, whom he helped. Khāḍir has been depicted as God's representative on earth in Islamicate literature. His responsibility is to inculcate and spread the worship of the One God (Friedlaender 1915, 693b, 694a,b).

Mosques and holy sites devoted to Khāḍir are to be found in most Islamicate countries, particularly in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. On certain days of the year, religious celebrations honouring Khāḍir are held, during which *Sūrah* 18 is recited.

Khāḍir abides, in spiritual form, in the mosques of Makkah; Madīnah, Jerusalem, and Syria, among other holy places. He manifests himself to worthy God-seekers, answering their questions, and transmitting esoteric teachings. He usually appears as an old man, though at times he seems to be a mature man or a youth. He often appears in visions to mystics. The Persian spiritual text *Suravis* (c. 1500 CE), acclaimed as a masterpiece by some, is held to have been inspired directly by Khāḍir (Wiener 1978, 155).

According to Jāmī, Khāḍir lives in the far northerly land of *Yūḥ* (also a name of the Sun), where he rules over saints and angels. *Yūḥ* is an 'Earthly Paradise' untainted by, Man's disobedience to God.

In the *Iskandarnāmah* (chs. 68-69), by Niẓāmī (d. 1202/3), Alexander the Great is told by an ancient man (probably Khāḍir) that, "of every land, the Dark Land is best, in which is a Water, a life-giver." The source of this water is in the North, beneath the Pole Star. In the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdawsī (d. c. 1020), the Fountain of Life lay in the Land of Darkness, beyond the place where the sun set in the Western waters. Niẓāmī writes that "verdure grows more luxuriantly by the fountain" (chs. 69, 57), and that the spring was a "fountain of light" (chs. 69, 22).

Here, Khāḍir is identified with life and greenness; while Alexander and Khāḍir travel toward the Dark Land, arid areas receive rain and the grasses spring up. Niẓāmī writes that, "Thou wouldst have said: The trace of Khizr was on that road; that verily, Khizr himself was with the king" (Coomaraswamy 1970, 225).

Khāḍir is said to sit on a throne of light, between the higher and the lower seas (*ibid*, 260). Some Muslim mystics have said that Khāḍir will appear on earth during the apocalypse, to be slain by the Antichrist and revived by God (*ibid*, 154f).

In *The Asian Mystery*, by Samuel Lyde, which deals with the Ansayrī or Nuṣayrī Muslims[32] of Syria, he notes that "The Ansaireeh...reverence greatly the Khudr, who, with the Christians, is Mar Elias or St. George" (Lyde 1860, 174). He is invoked before almost all undertakings. Oaths in his name are more binding than any other. The name of ᶜAlī may be

substituted for that of Khāḍir due to the influence of Isma^{c}īlī doctrines. Khāḍir may stand for Christ, Muḥammad, or any other prophet; or he may stand for all the prophets at once. It is held that among the Nuṣayrīs, Khāḍir is the very name of God, and that all the prophets are emanations of Khāḍir's divine name (Haddad 1969, 26; cf. Dussaud 1900, 135).

The Nuṣayrīs apparently hold that Khāḍir is the Saviour. When they say, "Khoḍr ^{c}alaihi as-salam" ['Khāḍir; peace be upon him'], it is said in the understanding that he is the Saviour. Initiated Nuṣayrīs say Khāḍir is the incarnation of the Messiah. Both Khāḍir and the Messiah (al-Mahdī?) are called the *Bāb*, the Gate (Dussaud 1900, 132f). A fellow colleague wrote to Dussaud: Khoḍr représente chez les Noṣairīs ^{c}Isā, Moḥammad et tous les prophètes. Comme ce nom s'applique à tous à la fois, on trouve presque partout des lieux de pèlerinage dédiés au Khoḍr (*ibid*, 134).[33]

A typical answer of an initiated Nuṣayrī on the subject of Khāḍir would be that Khāḍir is ^{c}Alī, who comes to one's aid in times of trouble and to the honour of whom sanctuaries are built on the sites of miracles of divine assistance in order to perpetuate his memory. Dussaud remarks that there are two factors to bear in mind when trying to understand just what the Nuṣayrīs believe about Khāḍir: 1) initiates use allegory in their sacred texts, and to them Khāḍir is ^{c}Alī; and 2) the masses need and use ancient, pre-Islamic rites as emotional supports, in which rites Khāḍir is, simply, the divine (*ibid*, 134 n. 3; 135).

What are the origins of the person of Khāḍir? We will now look briefly into Mesopotamian deities whose characteristics appear to run parallel with those of Khāḍir; as well, we will consider the notion of the personal god in Mesopotamian religion.

The peoples of nations conquered by the armies of 'Islamdom' and subsequently converted to Islam retained many of their previous religious beliefs and practices, bringing them into religion of Islam. The figure of Khāḍir became a magnet for much non-Islamic myth and folklore. Friedländer writes that data on this pre-Islamic aspect of Khāḍir has not yet been completed. C. Clermont-Garneau and S. I. Curtiss have collected much material on the phenomenon Curtiss refers to as 'the cult of Khaḍr,' in Syria; H. Haddad has done the same in the Levant; and A. K. Coomaraswamy likewise in India. For example, from the research of Curtiss and Clermont-Garneau we know that the Syriac version of Khāḍir's persona comprises many facets of ancient Semitic religion, which may include the Babylonian Tammuz cult; much the same conclusions have been reached through analyzing the ancient Mesopotamian influence on the development of Khāḍir.

All European, Iranian, and Indian variations of the Khāḍir motif, Coomaraswamy believes[34] (and I concur), may be traced back to prototypes which derive (as far as we know) from the Sumerian.

The oldest extant sources of 'personal religion' in the Oikoumene are to be found in ancient Mesopotamian records, specifically in the Mesopotamian concept of the 'personal god.'[35] The

personal god is a deity with whom a devotee has a personal relationship, though not necessarily a god worshipped in public. The earliest examples of 'personal religion' are limited to appeals to a personal god or goddess date to c. 1350 BCE. An example of the abstract idea of the personal god ideal in the Judaic tradition may be found in the Psalms, which are replete with this ideal. Christ represents, of course, the 'personal god' for the Christian religion (with the Virgin Mary assuming the role of 'personal goddess').

The personal god brought the devotee luck and success. When deserted by one's god, bad luck was inevitable. The god was seen as a father figure. Possessed of awesome cosmic powers, he was a patron upon whose favour one would depend. When displeased with the devotee, the god would demonstrate anger and punishment. When the god was pleased, the worshiper would receive compassion and forgiveness.

Is this not like the relationship between Khāḍir and Moses? Khāḍir is the 'personal god,' as it were, of Moses, a father-figure capable of supernatural feats (he intuits and executes the divine intention throughout his journey with Moses, and is also able to interpret those deeds to Moses later). Khāḍir's presence is besought of Moses, and Khāḍir stays with Moses on his own conditions and leaves in his own time. Moses is dependant upon his 'god.' Moses was shown Khāḍir's pleasure (in rebuking and then leaving Moses). Yes, the relationship between Khāḍir and Moses as depicted in the Qur'ān is like that between an ancient Mesopotamian god and his devotee. Perhaps here is yet another link in the Oikoumenic religio-spiritual continuum.

The problem of the righteous sufferer in Mesopotamia in the mid-second millennium BCE is addressed in the text entitled *Ludlul bēl Nēmeqi* ('Let Me Praise the Expert') which includes a lament bewailing the incomprehensibility of fate and doubt in the poet's own judgement. Of Enki, 'the Lord of the Sea,' the *Ludlul bēl Nēmeqi* chants:

> What seems good to oneself, is a crime before the god. What to one's heart seems bad, is good before one's god. Who may comprehend the minds of gods in heaven's depth? The thoughts of (those) divine deep waters, who could fathom them? (Jacobsen 1976, 162)

Khāḍir's mind does indeed seems as fathomless as "divine deep waters" to Moses, whose good was Khāḍir's bad, and vice-versa. In fact, of all Mesopotamian deity-figures, Khāḍir most closely resembles Enki (the Sumerian and Akkadian Ea)

Enki[36] is usually depicted with two streams, the Euphrates and the Tigris, flowing from his shoulders or from a vase which he is holding, in which fish are swimming, Enki is the cunning god who fertilizes, and gives form to, all things (hence his epithet *mummu*, 'form, archetype') and who cleanses things. Enki masquerades, tricks, or evades in order to get his way.

He is the counsellor and manipulator of the ruler who organizes and runs the world (at the

behest of An and Enlil) but does not wield ultimate power. He says of himself: "My father, the king of heaven and earth, had me appear in the world...I am the older brother of the gods....." And: "I am a good manager, am of effective commands, am preeminent...." (*ibid*, 110).

It is indeed easy to see in Enki's description of himself a reflection of Khāḍir who, according to Islamicate tradition, appeared and exists in the world by the will of All]h, the God "of the heavens and the earth." Khāḍir, like Enki, is evidently an apt manager of God's justice on earth; whose command (*amr*) makes effective God's justice; and who possesses preeminence by the mere fact of being Moses' spiritual guide. Khāḍir, like Enki, is "preeminent" among the saintly hierarchy of spiritual Islam, for to many Ṣūfīs he is the saintly exemplar/initiator par excellence, and to the Ithnā' ʿAsharī (Twelver Shīᶜah'), and most likely other Shīʿī sects, especially the more esoteric among them, he is either the Imām or the Imām's companion.

The above-mentioned image of the two rivers flowing from Enki's vase or from his body is have reminiscent of "the junction of the two seas" where Moses seems to have met Khāḍir. In the waters of Enki's vase fish swim, even as a fish swims through the water into the sea after having been washed by Joshua. Enki is subtle of mind and cunning; Khāḍir possesses "knowledge from God's presence," which knowledge is so exalted that Moses sets out on a long and difficult journey in order to acquire it by learning from Khāḍir.

Dussaud agrees with Lidzbarski and St. Guyard that the name Khāḍir is really nothing but a contraction of Khasisadra, an epithet meaning the Well-Advised One, who is also called Utnapishtim[37] (Dussaud 1900, 132 n. 2).[38] Like Utnapishtim, who saved all scientific books during the Flood, Khāḍir is "le savant par excellence au sens religieux...." (*ibid*, 132 n. 2),[39] upon whom has been bestowed the divine *ᶜilm*. As lord of wisdom, even superior to Moses in wisdom, Khāḍir is also like Enki, the wise god of Mesopotamia, and Thoth, the ancient Egyptian god of learning and patron of scribes (who is identified with Hermes/Enoch).

In the treatise which de Sacy entitled *Catéchisme des Noṣairis*, the *bāb* ([spiritual] 'gate, door') is not Salmān al-Farsī (as is usual among the Shīᶜah and, in a different sense, among some Ṣūfīs), but 'Sulaymān ibn Buḥayrah al-Khāḍir,' 'Solomon the Son of the Lake, the Green One.' Here, yet again, Khāḍir is associated simultaneously with the idea of divine wisdom (through the name of Solomon, the wise prophet-king) and with water (by virtue of being called the 'Son of the Lake') (*ibid*, 133, 133 n. 2).[40]

Dussaud also writes that as far as the Syrian Nuṣayrīs are concerned, Khāḍir is a mask over an ancient Phoenician god who appears in many guises, in many places (*ibid*, 133).

This Sumerian archetypal matrix features the figure of Ea, the son and image of Enki, 'Lord of the Watery Deep.' Ea was the ruler of the streams that rose from the underworld and fertilized the land above. He was also the deity of precious stones. Mesopotamian iconography depicts Ea with the goat-fish (the zodiacal Capricorn) and holding the flowing vase, the source of the "bread

and water of immortal life."

Ea had seven sons, among whom are Marduk, who inherits Ea's wisdom and slays the dragon Tiamat (recalling the Khāḍirian–hero St George slaying the dragon), and Dumuzi–abzu, the 'Faithful Son of the Fresh Waters,' whose Semitic name is Tammuz, the dying and resurrecting god of crops.[41]

Haddad mentions three attributes of a "georgic" saint, of which type he argues that Khāḍir is a fine example: 1) fertility; 2) supranatural and "military" power; and 3) involvement with the issues of life and death (Haddad,1969, 26-39; *idem*, n. d., 8-13). While military power does not appear to be a definitive characteristic of Khāḍir's, supranatural power does, and has been mentioned throughout this chapter. The other attributes with which Haddad associates Khāḍir, the intertwined qualities of fertility and of life and death, have been briefly discussed but will be more fully treated below.

'Al–Khāḍir,' 'the Verdant One,' means not only eternally living but also animating the world (Wiener 1978, 157). Friedländer quotes ᶜUmārah as having related that when Khāḍir was at the source of life,[42] God said to him, "You are al–Khadir....and wherever you set foot on earth it will become green.... You will become green when you are thus called. Allah gave you immortality" (*ibid*, 25).

The Islamic, Christian, and Jewish prophets/saints/redeemers are symbolized by flourishing life (*ibid*, 157).[43] Christ is often symbolized by the many–branched and flourishing Jesse Tree, for example, even as God tells Abraham to go forth and multiply, and as the colour of Muḥammad and Islam (including Shīᶜism) is green. ᶜUmārah's words evoke the Jewish and Christian sense of the awareness that the potential of salvation must become actualized in man – an awareness shared by the religion of Islam.

In *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (*'Alf Laylā wa Laylā'*), we find an eloquent testimony to the fertility powers of Khāḍir. He

> equalizes the seasons, recrowns the trees with royal green, unbinds the fleeting streams, spreads out grass carpets on the meadows, and hangs his light green mantle in the evening air to color the skies after the sun has set (Mathers, trans. 1929: 4, 23).

The Palestinian peasant prays for rain to the prophet–twins Khāḍir–Ilyās thusly:

> My lord Khidr, the green one,
> Water our green plants.
> My lord Mar–Elias
> Water our dry plants (Haddad 1969, 29).

Interestingly, the feast–day of Khāḍir, sometimes called 'Khizrillis' (Khizr–Illis = Khāḍir–Ilyās), is April 23rd, the same as that of the Christian St George, often called, in the Oikoumene 'Mār Jirjīs' ('Lord George').

Hassan Haddad writes that,

> There is...adequate evidence to show that [St.] George, Khidr, and Elijah, share a common identity and that the cult of these 'georgic' saints is the continuation, with variations, of the cults of the Baals of ancient Syria (*ibid*, 22).

The very name George, meaning 'Earth-Mover,' derives from the notion of earthiness and thus, by extention, fertility (thus 'greenness'). George could be appropriately translated into Arabic by the term 'peasant.' (Haddad 1969, 24 ; Friedlaender 1915, 695a). It may be of note that Khāḍir has been a very popular saint in Syria, and that the birth place and the site of the legend of St. George are found in Syria.

Friedländer holds that the St. George hero figure was fused with an Arabic Dummuzi-figure, who was the Akkadian Tammuz (Burrows 1933, 191). Tamuz was the Sumerian god of the crops (and thus, one may suppose) of the cycle of death and resurrection. He is the guardian of the Waters of Life which bestow immortality and wisdom.[44] The reasoning for this supposition is as follows: Islamicate tradition links Khāḍir with the sea (he lives on an island at "the junction of the two seas;" he is God's representative at sea; and he is the patron saint of mariners). He is also a reflex of Utnapishtim, who, surviving the Deluge, abode by the sea, "at the mouth of the rivers."

In addition, Khāḍir is connected with vegetation: he is 'the Green One' who is invoked to send rain when it is needed. And he is, again, linked to the figure of Utnapishtim, the immortal, who tells Gilgamesh how to find the plant (or herb) of life.[45]

Now, Burrows maintains that the Fountain of Life of the Qur'ān was a spring, or a conglomeration of springs, at al-Ḥasah[46] or Bahrayn/Dilmun. There is evidence that a vegetation deity, whom the Sumerians called Dumuzi, was worshipped in the self-same oasis of al-Ḥasah. Thus, in a later period of mythologization, the two divinities (the Utnapishtim/Khāḍir of the Fountain of Life; and Dumuzi/Khāḍir of vegetation) may have been confused - or perhaps, deliberately amalgamated.

Khāḍir may also be identified with Dagon, an ancient Oikoumenic agrarian and marine god. Dagon is associated with the sea-sanctuary of Orantes, at least until recently dedicated to Khāḍir (Dussaud 1900, 132).

Regarding the foundation of the Khāḍir legend, some Western and some Arab scholars regard Khāḍir as being a re-casting of an immortal, green-hued, sea-demon of pre-Islamic Arabian myth who was the patron deity of sailors. (Wiener 1978, 157) Later on, the name of that demon was transferred to Khāḍir, the (Muslim) prophet-saint ad protector of sea-farers.

Further, Haddad maintains that underlying all the religious diversity in the Levant and Syria, there is a "common undercurrent of religiosity among the rural population of the area." And that undercurrent is the cult of the fertility deity, with its themes of fertility, power over nature, and

immortality (Haddad 1969, 21).

Khāḍir is often mentioned in Islamicate literature (perhaps especially in Persian poetry) as the only person, or one of a chosen few, who have attained immortality by drinking of the Fountain of Youth, also referred to as the Waters, or the Spring, of Life. Early Muslim historians relate that Khāḍir was the vizier of Dhū al-Qarnayn, and that Khāḍir found the fountain which Alexander/Dhū al-Qarnayn sought but could not (or was forbidden) to find. From these stories developed the Alexander Romance corpus of legends (Friedlaender 1915, 693b, 694b).

Friedlander capsulizes a recension of the Pseudo-Callisthenes cycle of Alexander stories, probably from the Jacob of Serugh recession, in which Alexander the Great sets out to acquire everlasting life by drinking of the Waters of Life. By chance, Alexander's cook, Andræas (sometimes called Phinehas), was cleaning a salted or dried fish in a fountain, in preparation for a meal. But once in contact with those life-giving waters, the fish revived and swam away. Andræas then drank of the water and forthwith became immortal.[46] Alexander found out about the miraculous spring, but could not find his way there. In envy and frustration, Alexander tried to kill his cook by throwing him into the sea with a millstone round his neck. Being immortal, however, Andræas could not die. Instead he became a sea-demon; the Adriatic Sea is named after him (*ibid*, 693f).

This story, in some version or other, formed its own legend apart from the Pseudo-Callisthenes corpus. It found its way to Syria, and hence to Arabia. Friedlander is of the opinion that a reflex of this ancient legend found a place in the Qur'ān as Part 1 of our passage under study (18: 60-64), in which the original legend has been mutilated almost beyond recognition (*ibid*, 693f).

To the Semitic mind, the divinity cannot be subjected to death in any form, Haddad writes. Thus, in the Qur'ān and to the Muslims, Jesus never died. And to the Shīᶜah, this Imām is not dead, but only hidden. The death-resurrection motif is more common in agricultural communities, than among hunters and herdes for whom temporary absence and presence of the divinity is more evidence.

> In georgic religion death and resurrection as well as hiding and reappearance are two different but closely related motifs in the divine drama, both indicating cyclic change as well as eternal continuity (Haddad 1969, 38).

We find that both the death/resurrection[47] motif and the absence (*ghaybah*)/'presence' (*ẓuhūr*) motif play a part in out Qur'ānic legend. Part I illustrates death/resurrection imagery, with the resuscitation of the fish episode (18: 61,63). The hiding and reappearance of the divinity are shown by the search which Moses and Joshua undertook in order to find Khāḍir (v. 64), and then their discovery of him (v. 65) is anticipated in verse 78 and is understood to occur after the explanation to Moses is finished (v. 82). It maybe that, if the fish represents a more primitive

pagan, form of Khāḍir, he first disappeared in verses 61 and 63 in a sudden and miraculous (*ʿajabāt*) way after the indication by the omen of the resurrection of the fish itself to reappear as Khāḍir in human form in verse 65. The search for the hidden Green Man occurs throughout 18:60–64; the appearance of the god is found in 18: 65–82; and his disappearance takes place after his *taʾwīl* ends in 18: 82.

It is noteworthy that Khāḍir's affiliation with the sea or water has persisted throughout Islamicate folklore. Thus Khāḍir is still the *khawwāḍ al-buḥūr* (the traverser of the seas); he is still the patron saint of sailors, and sacrifice is offered to him when boats are launched. This maritime character of Khāḍir was quite evident till at least the early twentieth century throughout Syria, the Levant, and even as far from Arabia as India (Friedlaender 1915, 695a). H. Haddad writes of the perpetuation of the Khāḍirian–georgic water deity/saint in the Levant as recently as the early 1970's (Haddad n.d., 1).

Chapter 3

In this chapter, I will undertake a brief intratextual comparative critique of the Khāḍir paradigm of the Qur'ān 65–82 and three apocryphal documents from the Oikoumenic religious continuum. The purpose of this comparison of texts is to show possible origins and probable parallels for the figure of Khāḍir in texts whose origins, in all cases most likely lie before the advent of Islam. Those proof-texts are: the Ashmeday and Benaya legend from the Babylonian Talmud (3rd–6th c CE); the Christian story of "the angel and the hermit" from the *Vitæ Patrum* (pre. 8th c), and; c) the tale of the journey of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi (fl. 3rd c CE) and Elijah, from the *Ḥibbur Yafeh* (late 9th–early 10th c CE).

Abraham Geiger, in his seminal *Judaism and Islam* (*Was hat Mohammad aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*), writes of *sūrah* 18: 60–82: "Of the journey described by Muḥammad I could not find a trace in Jewish writings, although the colouring is Jewish" (Geiger 1898, 135).[1] However, in a note in his Appendix, Geiger writes that the scholar Zunz,[2]

> has pointed out the Jewish source of this story, in which the servant of God according to the Arabians is said to be Elias...only that, according to the Jewish source, the traveller is R. Joshua ben Levi, a man who plays a leading part in tales of marvel and adventure...and whom this adventure suits much better than it does Moses, who stands on too high a plane.. We can easily recognize therefore the Jewish origin of this legend, which has been embellished quite after the manner of the Qurán (*ibid*, 135 n '*').

Drawing upon scholastic research in the field of Islamic studies, Jung writes that, "Islamic tradition depends in the first place on the Jewish commentaries" (Jung 1979, 18: 675).[3] In this chapter, we will discover how very true such a statement is.

Actually, I would add that the study of Judaic texts and an understanding of Judaic doctrine, law, metaphysics, and a familiarity with the roles of Jewish prophet-like figures with direct and indirect relevance to Islamicate texts, doctrines, etc., is necessary for an adequate comprehension of the development of Islamicate thought.

Of an extreme value to our study of Khāḍir and the possible origins, associations, and parallels of the story of Khāḍir and Moses in the Qur'ān and the Jewish tradition, is the article by Israel Lévi entitled 'La légende de l'ange et l'ermite dans les écrites juifs.' In that article Lévi discusses four stories, which come from Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religious folklore. He then analyzes them for common (as well as different) elements, the axial factor being the shared motif of what Lévi characterizes as "the angel and the hermit legend."

Lévi writes that the most ancient and the most important versions of the angel and the hermit story are three in number: 1) the *Vitæ Patrum*, a Latin translation of a lost Greek text probably written before the eighth century; 2) the Qur'ān 18: 64–81; (vv. 65–82, according my

reckoning) and 3) the *Ḥibbur Yafeh Me-hayeshoua* or the *Sefer Ma'asiyyot*, a collection of moral tales written by Rabbi Nissim Goan in the 10th c. However, the fourth version of 'the angel and the hermit' motif presented by Lévi, and the first one I will discuss, is from R. Nissim Gaon's text, which is based upon the same legend in the *Babylonian Talmud*, written between the beginning of the 3rd c CE. and the end of the 6th c CE. The *Ḥibbur Yafeh* contains the tale of R. Joshua b. Levi's travels with Elijah, which is the story with which Lévi is primarily concerned.

While the Talmudic tale of Ashmeday/Benaya and the Midrashic legend of Elijah and R. Joshua b. Levi are, of course, Jewish, the Christian tradition is represented by the *Vitæ Patrum* (and the Muslim by the Qur'ān). However, Lévi's article highlights a certain points of resemblance between all four stories, the most important being the angel and the hermit motif, "don't l'origine juive est solidement établie" (Lévi 1884, 65).

In the four stories relevant to our study in this chapter, and which Lévi recounts in his article – the Talmudic tale of Ashmeday/Benaya; that of the angel and the hermit from Roman hagiography; the journey of Elijah and Joshua b. Levi in the Midrashic tale of R. Nissim; and the Qur'ānic account of Khāḍir and Moses – the plot involves a supernatural being who, in the company of a pious mortal who acts as the supernatural being's student, commits strange and incomprehensible acts which the mortal fails to understand, but for which the supernatural being later offers profound reasons beyond both the social mores and the intuitive grasp of his student. "La moralité est la même: l'homme ne doit point se fier à ses jugements, qui sont toujours temeraires et erronés" (*ibid*, 69).

The first tale which Lévi considers is from the *Babylonian Talmud*,[4] though it also appears in the Midrash on the Psalms. The tale introduces King Solomon, who once needed a mysterious animal called Shamir ('Shamir' is a better rendering of the word into English transliteration) in order to build the Temple, since Shamir had the ability to fashion the hardest stones. Solomon, having heard that the king of the demons 'Eshmadaay' or 'Aschemday,' (henceforth, 'Ashmeday') knew where to find Shamir, charged one Beneya son of Yehodaya, chief of the Sanhedrin, to go to the demon king "car celui-ci, après avoir étudiés à l'école du ciel, descend sur la terre pour s'y instuire aussi" (*ibid*, 64). By various stratagems and the grace of the name of God, Benaya found Ashmeday. But on the way to Solomon's court, there ensued certain adventures which, due to the similarity of character which they bear to the Khāḍir/Moses Qur'ānic story, should be recounted here.

The adventures of Ashmeday and Benaya are eight in number and fall into three groups with, respectively, three, two, and three episodes each. In the first group, we have: 1) they came upon a fig tree – Ashmeday made it fall; 2) they came upon a house: the demon destroyed it; 3) then they came upon thelodging of a poor widow who cried out to Ashmeday (to spare her life) – he acquiesced and instead of destroying her house, he broke one of her bones. In the second

group: 4) Ashmeday saw a blind man who was lost – he set him on his way; then 5) seeing a drunk man who was lost, Ashmeday set him on his way. Finally, in the third group, 6) seeing a happy bride, the demon chief began to cry; 7) hearing a man ask a shoemaker for shoes that would last for seven years, Ashmeday started to laugh; 8) lastly, seeing a sorcerer talking about good luck, again he laughed.

Benaya asked Ashmeday to explain his strange behavior. The demon chief replied that the lost blind man cried out to heaven that his situation was just and that he would thus enjoy a happy hereafter as well as be set on his way in the present. The lost drunk man cried to heaven that his state was an evil thing: Ashmeday granted him felicity here and now, thus consuming the happiness which the drunk might have enjoyed in the afterlife. The demon cried upon seeing the happy bride as he knew that the groom would die within one month and the bride would have to wait thirteen years till she could marry her brother-in-law (to-be). Ashmeday laughed at the man ordering shoes that would last him seven years because the demon knew he had but seven days left to live. And he laughed at the magician, knowing that while he spoke about good fortune, he was unknowingly sitting upon a treasure. (No reason is given, at least, in the article, for the casting down of the fig tree, the destruction of the house, or the breaking of the widow's bone.)

Ashmeday here fulfills the role of Khāḍir/Elijah, while Benaya plays the role of Moses/Joshua b. Levi.

The Ashmeday–Benaya story contains, as noted, three groupings. The first group contains three acts of destruction; the second group includes two deeds, which relate to the submission of the human will to the Will of God as well as to destiny here and hereafter; and the third section comprises three deeds which have to do with emotional reactions (weeping once; laughter twice), and are concerned with death (twice) and treasure (once).

The Khāḍir/Moses story contains three acts which fall into two groupings. Group 1 comprises the two deeds of breaking a hole in a boat and killing the youth, and is characterized by destruction. Group 2 contains one act, that of the repairing of the wall to conceal a treasure, and is characterized by construction. Note that the Talmudic tale, while featuring eight acts, can be divided into three groups, even as the Qur'ānic tale has three distant episodes. But this correspondence of numbers may not necessarily be significant due to the popularity of the number three in magical, religious, and mystical lore (as well as in folklore and superstitions) around the world. However, the appearance of the number three in both stories may be significant in that it suggests a connection with 'the unusual' by its very occurrence.[5]

Both the Talmudic and Qur'ānic accounts also share a concern with destruction. Khāḍir ruined a boat and killed a man. Ashmeday wrecked a tree and a house, and he injured a woman. We can see that both accounts involve the destruction of inanimate objects and the killing or wounding of people.

Further, the issue of challenging divine justice and of offending God's Will are brought up in both legends. Khāḍir slew the youth because the young man was a disobedient and ungrateful son (he is characterized by *kufr*; 'ingratitude') and did so in order that his righteous parents might have another son, who would respect them and, one presumes, God's Will. Similarly, in the Ashmeday/Benaya story, the drunk man rails against the heavens, supposedly for being lost. Ashmeday sees to it that the drunk pays for his insolence. Contrasted with the lost drunken man is the blind man, also lost, who accepts his fate. This man receives the demon's kind attentions both here and hereafter.

The Talmudic account of the sorcerer unknowingly sitting on a treasure while talking about good luck reminds us of the Qur'ānic episode in which Khāḍir repairs a wall so as to to keep hidden a treasure which rightfully belongs to the orphans of a righteous man, and of which the unrighteous inhabitants of the town knew nothing.

Most important in establishing a connection between the two stories, in the light of the foregoing similarities, is the concern with the vindication of God's justice on earth. Every one of the deeds committed by Khāḍir and Ashmeday relate to the establishment of divine justice in this world.

Also, the Talmudic legend, however, contains this difference: the two episodes of group 2 (the setting of the drunk and the blind men on their ways) deal with worldly concerns on the one hand and, on the other, with the state-to-be of the two men after death. Our Qur'ānic account of Khāḍir's deeds appears to be solely this-worldly in purpose and in consequence.

Also, the contrariness of the deeds of both Khāḍir and Ashmeday is the prime characteristic of their actions, even as the vindication of God's justice is the hidden agenda of their intention and the prime consequence of their actions. What Khāḍir/Ashmeday do is quite the contrary of what Moses/Benaya would have done, or expected their guides to have done.

Lastly, Benaya, silent throughout Ashmeday's escapades until, after the eighth (and last) one, asks the demon-chief to explain his actions. Of the other three legends with which we are herein concerned, including our Qur'ānic passage, only the hermit of the *Vitæ* restrains himself till the last episode. However, while the hermit indignantly demands an explanation from the angel, Benaya, at least as portrayed by Lévi, appears simply to ask Ashmeday for an explanation.

The Talmudic tale and its like, as we now have them are, Lévi writes, a deformation of the original. But through having been too long passed on in an oral fashion, or due to "l'imagination des Juifs babyloniens, uniquesment occupés du plaisir de l'invention, insensibles aux regles de la composition...." (*ibid*, 69f) rendered Babylon an unfavourable setting for the preservation of these Talmudic stories, since they were there constantly modified, embellished and mutilated.

Lévi considers the Ashmeday/Benaya tale, a rather absurd piece of pious fiction, though just one example among many (to Lévi) unhappily reworked popular traditions – both Jewish and

non-Jewish. Lévi thinks that the original story-theme of the Rabbi was more balanced in its opposition of good and evil, of this world and the hereafter, and harsher in its punishments of the just people depicted (which enabled them to receive full felicity in the world to come). Stories such as that of Ashmeday and Benaya, he reasons, would help soothe the plight of the Jewish exiles in Babylon, living through times that must have been most difficult and unjust for them, and in which the Biblical accounts of protection of their merciful and just God in the past must have seemed, at times, a pious fiction of its own. The period of Babylonian exile for the Jews was ripe for the development of popular tales evincing the infallible justice of God in an apparently unjust world.

Lévi writes that analysis of the popular tales of the Babylonian Talmud demonstrates that they can be understood only in light of non-Talmudic literature, and that the study of Jewish texts is necessary to understand Jewish history (*ibid*, 70f).

The version of the angel and the hermit tale from the *Vitæ Patrum*, which we can find more or less adapted and amplified in many mediæval texts may be summed up in the tale recounted below:

> There was a hermit living in Egypt who asked God to show him His judgments. One day an angel, disguised as an old man, appeared to him and said, "Come, let us go travel in the desert." They were first of all taken in by a holy man who offered them all he had. The angel, while leaving, stole his host's plate. The host, seeing this, sent his son in pursuit in order to get back his plate. But the angel threw the youth down a precipice. The two travelers next came to the lodging of an abbot who did not even want to grant them shelter. Grown weary of their entreaties, the abbot let them in, but brought them neither food nor drink. The next morning, the angel, before leaving, gave the abbot the plate which he had just stolen from the holy man. At this, the hermit could not contain his indignation. The angel then explained all his strange deeds.
>
> > "This plate did not have a good origin; it was not fitting for a pious man to have a thing possessing an evil quality. That which was evil was given to an evil man, so as to consummate his perdition. As for the son, if I did not kill him, he would have murdered his father the following night" (*ibid*, 66).[6]

As we have seen, both Khāḍir and Elijah are said to travel in disguise – Khāḍir frequently in the desert (remember, Khāḍir-Elijah is sometimes said to be God's representative in desert areas). In similarity with the Qur'ānic story, the *Vitæ Patrum* features three acts, and one of them, the killing of the youth who would have brought misfortune to his father, mirrors the Qur'ān's 18: 14, save that the latter involved both a mother a father. Also featured is the question of passing on a treasure to its rightful owners (or, in this case, owner) in a context of inhospitality. The inhospitable inhabitants of the town which Khāḍir and Moses encountered (18: 77) are here echoed by the uncharitable abbot, and the orphan's treasure is replaced by the plate of the pious man. The

taking away of a thing in order to prevent ill consequences, which Khāḍir demonstrated by slaying the ungrateful youth and by breaking a hole in the boat so as to save it from confiscation (18: 71), is paralled in the *Vitæ Patrum* by the killing of the murderous youth and the taking away of the plate in order to prevent the holy man from incurring the inauspicious effects of its evil origin. Of course, both the Qur'ān and the *Vitæ* illustrate both the execution of, and the vindication of divine justice on earth. This is shown by an angelic being acting out God's Will and acting as a teacher to a mortal who is made to understand God's Will through his guide's explanations of their actions. In both the Talmudic legend and the *Vitæ*, the deeds are followed by an explanation by Ashmeday and the angel, respectively. This also mirrors the Qur'ānic passage, save that while Benaya and the hermit contain their bewilderment (the hermit questions the angel when all is done, while Benaya does not appear to do so at all), Moses alone is reproved for his lack of patience. And again, the *Vitæ Patrum* echoes the Talmudic and Qur'ānic accounts in its concern for the manifestation of and vindication of God's justice in basically earthly contexts by means of apparently crazy, arbitrary confused, or downright demonic (hence, to the perturbed student–witness such as Moses, inexplicable) behaviour, behaviour contrary to the witness' religio–social mores and conventions. In this concern for justice and its realization by means of contrary or 'crazy wisdom'[7] methods to achieve this justice in a teaching situation we again see the prime characteristics of the Qur'ānic account mirrored in the other texts.

However, in one respect the *Vitæ Patrum* differs from the Qur'ān (18: 60–82, and the legends of Ashmeday/Benaya and Elijah/R.Joshua b. Levi (to follow). The angel in the *Vitæ* seeks out his student, whilst Ashmeday, Khāḍir, and Elijah are sought out by their pupils.

Lévi mentions a theory of a Mr. Paris who compared R. Nissim's tale of Elijah and R. Joshua b. Levi with the tale of the angel and the hermit from the *Vitæ Patrum* and the Qur'ān 18: 60–82. He related the stories to the differences among the three faiths represented therein – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – through the medium of the explanations given by the supernatural mentors in each story. Paris writes that the different treatments of the divine person in the three stories show that the Jewish legend, depicting the perception of Elijah as being limited only to earthly consequences is evidence of the lack of a belief in an afterlife in the Jewish religion (*Ibid*, 71). (One might wonder why he did not include the Qur'ānic passage as also being, in itself, indicative of a lack of concern for an afterlife in Islam.)

Lévi opines that belief in another life is more important than questions of divine justice. But the Jewish stories were not extant before the Talmudic period, and it is in the Talmudic literature the belief in an afterlife is predominant. This belief formed the moral base for the Talmudic treatment of the wretched but just person and the prosperous evil–doer. The Jewish stories' suspicion of worldly success is matched in the Christian legend.

However, the "pretended 'Jewish legend,'" of R. Joshua and Elijah by R. Nissim, seems to

Lévi to be a rendering of the Qur'ānic story of Khāḍir and Moses. If the Rabbi had lived before Muḥammad or in a country untouched by Arabic literature, then one must suppose either that the Qur'ānic tale devolved from the Jewish or that the similarity between the two is simply an extraordinary coincidence. Lévi points out that one must either establish proofs of the greater antiquity of the Rabbi's tale or concede that the Talmudic legend came, in fact, from the Qur'ān. It is important to note that Lévi differs profoundly from I. Friedländer and the other German scholars listed in Ref note (in the introduction), who argue that the Qur'ānic account of Khāḍir and Moses (18: 65–82) is a rendition of an old version of R. Joshua's apprenticeship journey with Elijah. Though the R. Nissim lived 300 years after Muḥammad related 18: 65–82, R. Joshua lived over 400 years before the revelation of the Khāḍir/Moses story. The key problem in tracing the origins of the 'crazy–wisdom' angel and the hermit paradigm as found in our four stories is thus very much one of the chicken and the egg conundrum. Evidence for the similarity of the two stories, according to Lévi is found in the likeness between the Jewish and the Muslim prologues, their contexts, their episodes of the wall, and the theme of the vindication of divine justice on earth.

Lévi thinks that R. Nissim preferred to substitute a cow instead of the Qur'ānic boat in order to create a more marked and clearer opposition between this scene and the one in which the rich man badly treated the two travellers. The Rabbi may have suppressed the (Qur'ānic) death of the youth so as not to push the story too far towards the tragic. The last two scenes in the Rabbi's legend are but repetitions of the first scene (*ibid*, 72).

Lévi argues that Nissim did not characterize Jewish belief of the 10th c on the immortality of the soul because he inserted, alongside the Qur'ānic legend (which, as above–mentioned, does not refer to any future recompense in a life to come), a story borrowed from the *Jerusalem Talmud* which did refer to an afterlife. In the *Jerusalem Talmud*, the theme of the good who are punished on earth so as to receive their reward later in heaven; and the bad, who enjoy life here only to suffer for their sins in the afterlife, makes its first appearance in Jewish lore.

For example, in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, there is the story of two very pious rabbis who were close friends. One died, but none save his friend attended the funeral, as they went instead to the funeral of the prince of the realm. The other rabbi was distressed, and expressed his feelings of indignation at this injustice, whereupon a voice told him that his friend had once committed a small fault for which the present fiasco was the result – so that the rabbi could enjoy paradise as soon as possible. But the prince was an evil–doer who, however, did one good, unpremeditated deed, the reward for which he was now being paid, only to be sent to Gehenna (Hell) later (*ibid*, 72).

In summation, Lévi writes that, if the legend of the angel and the hermit is of Jewish origin, then the original text has certainly been lost. It would have, if it existed, come greatly altered into the Talmud and passed via the Qur'ān or some other Arabic work into Rabbi Nissim's version. Having been formulated during the Talmudic period, the legend took on the beliefs of that time,

which included a belief in an afterlife. In that belief, the Talmudic legend and the Christian *Vitæ Patrum* story are in accord.

The original version of the Jewish angel and the hermit story was probably lost along with the loss of all the Jewish apocryphal writings at the beginning of the Christian era, and subsequently assimilated into other tongues. It would appear that the closing of the Jewish Cannon and especially of the Talmud was a death knell for the creativity of the Jewish tradition of sacred literature. All or almost all the works which were not refashioned in the image of the Mishna[8] or the Talmud or as a biblical commentary of one form or another, foundered during the Talmudic period and during the time of the Saboraim. Lévi asks: did this suppression occur because the Rabbis, in spite of their love for stories and fables, proscribed borrowing from all 'exterior' texts, texts which might have injured the study of Talmudic literature?

Let us now move on to the last and most important tale in my attempt to link Khāḍir with Elijah: the legend of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi's journey with Elijah.

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi[9] (fl. early 3rd century, CE) was a Palestinian *amora*[10] (lit., speaker), an interpreter of the Mishnah and other external or additional teachings called '*baraitha*' or *Tosefta*[11] *Amoras* were also responsible for making final decisions of law.[12] Joshua ben Levi, it is said, "transmitted sayings in the name of the holy community of Jerusalem...." He was a *halakhist* (an authority of the *halakha*)[13] whose opinions were always respected, though he is particularly known as a *haggadist*.[14] His religious educational institution specializing in Midrashic[15] studies, devoted much attention to *haggadah*. Although the Rabbi was an amora, some of his sayings appear in collections of *tannaitic*[16] sayings. He was in charge of the school of Lydda (modern Lod) in southern Palestine, and was an elder contemporary of Johanan bar Nappaha and Shim'on ben Laqish. The Rabbi was a pupil of Bar Qappara, but considered Rabbi Judah ben Pedaiah as his chief influence. Another of his teachers was Rabbi Phinehas ben Jair.

The Rabbi was intensely devout and pious, a very tolerant and peace-loving man who displayed a great sense of compassionate justice. He advocated frequent reading and study of the Torah, never excommunicated a member of his community, and had discussions with Christian heretics. Indeed, Joshua ben Levi was an acknowledged representative of Palestinian Jewry (for instance, he interceded on behalf of his people with the proconsul in Caesarea). He was reported to be able to cause rain to fall..

Stories about Joshua ben Levi's journeys to the Garden of Eden and Gehenna contain elements from the legendary journies of Pythagoras (the 5th c BCE Greek mathematician and mystic), and describe the hereafter of the righteous[17] and of the wicked, as well as his conversations with the angel of death, and his meetings with Elijah.[18] (The Rabbi's son Joseph, is believed by some Jews to have had at least one mystical experience, which his father interpreted.)

There is not only a close link between Elijah and the Rabbi Joshua b. Levi, but also

between those two and R. Shimʿon ben Yoḥai. This connection might be important because of the similarity of the first story in the *Sūrat al-Kahf* (that of the Sleepers in the Cave), and the legend of R. Shimʿon who also sought refuge in a cave and was there instructed in holy mysteries by Elijah. If (as discussed in chapter 1) this legend of the Rabbi is the original inspiration for the Prophet's Qurʾānic story of the Sleepers, then there is a probable tie (however lost or ambiguous) between this first Qurʾānic tale and the second, that of Moses and Khāḍir, since the figure of Elijah plays an important role in the lives of both R. Shimʿon and R. Joshua.

To illustrate this triadic interaction among Elijah, R. Shimʿon, and R. Joshua, I will provide a few stories from the Judaic tradition.[19] Once Elijah and R. Joshua, who often studied law together,[20] were perusing a religious decision made by R. Shimʿon, and then went together to Paradise so as to question R. Shimʿon about that decision.[21] Another time, R. Joshua met Elijah by the entrance to R. Shimʿon's tomb and asked the prophet if he (R. Joshua) would someday reach the hereafter. Elijah mysteriously answered, "If the Master wishes," whereupon R. Joshua says, "I have seen two people and heard the voice of a third."[22] After the Rabbi's death, Elijah loudly proclaimed his entry into Paradise, and allowed him to meet R. Shimʿon there.[23]

The version of the legend of the journey of R. Joshua b. Levi[24] and Elijah which will be used in our study is found in the *Ḥibbur Yafeh* (or the *Ḥibbur Maʿasiyyot* also called the *Sefer Maʿasiyyot*),[25] a collection of moral tales written by Rabbi Nissim Gaon, who lived in Qayrawān at the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. The story of Elijah and the Rabbi is told in the first part of the *Ḥibbur*. The work itself, appropriately enough, is consecrated to proving that God is just in all His deeds and that men have no right to accuse Him of evil. We also know that R. Nissim wrote the *Ḥibbur Maʿasiyyot* in order to console his father-in-law, who had lost his son.

Now follows the story of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi and the prophet Elijah. As mentioned, this is the legend which bears most directly on my search for an identification of the persona of Khāḍir; it is the tale most often referred to by scholars as the link between the Khāḍir of the Qurʾān and his most ancient antecedents in Mesopotamian myth (such as Enki). The similarity between this Midrashic account of the adventures of Moses and Khāḍir is, think, striking. The assertion of various Western scholars, such as Friedlander, that the story of the Rabbi and Elijah is the direct precursor to that of Moses and Khāḍir is very convincing.

I quote the entirety of the passage from Ginzberg, in preference to the much shorter version found in Lévi's article. The tale itself runs as follows.

> Among the many and various teachings dispensed by Elijah to his friends, there are none so important as his theodicy, the teachings vindicating God's justice in the administration of earthly affairs. He used many an opportunity to demonstrate it by precept and example.

Once he granted his friend Rabbi Joshua ben Levi the fulfillment of any wish he might express, and all the Rabbi asked for was, that he might be permitted to accompany Elijah on his wanderings through the world. Elijah was prepared to gratify this wish. He only imposed the condition, that, however odd the Rabbi might think Elijah's actions, he was not to ask any explanation of them. If ever he demanded why, they would have to part company. So Elijah and the Rabbi fared forth together, and they journeyed on until they reached the house of a poor man, whose only earthly possession was a cow. The man and his wife were thoroughly good-hearted people, and they received the two wanderers with a cordial welcome. They invited the strangers into their house, set before them food and drink of the best they had, and made up a comfortable couch for them for the night. When Elijah and the Rabbi were ready to continue their journey on the following day, Elijah prayed that the cow belonging to his host might die. Before they left the house, the animal had expired. Rabbi Joshua was so shocked by the misfortune that had befallen the good people, he almost lost consciousness. He thought: "Is that to be the poor man's reward for all his kind services to us?" And he could not refrain from putting the question to Elijah. But Elijah reminded him of the condition imposed and accepted at the beginning of their journey, and they travelled on, the Rabbi's curiosity unappeased. That night they reached the house of a wealthy man, who did not pay his guests the courtesy of looking them in the face. Though they passed the night under his roof, he did not offer them food or drink. This rich man was desirous of having a wall repaired that had tumbled down. There was no need for him to take any steps to have one rebuilt, for, when Elijah left the house, he prayed that the wall might erect itself, and, lo! it stood upright. Rabbi Joshua was greatly amazed, but true to his promise he suppressed the question that rose to his lips. So the two travelled on again, until they reached an ornate synagogue, the seats in which were made of silver and gold. But the worshippers did not correspond in character to the magnificence of the building, for when it came to the point of satisfying the needs of the way-worn pilgrims,one of those present said: "there is no dearth of water and bread, and the strange travellers can stay in the synagogue, whither these refreshments can be brought to them." Early, the next morning, when they were departing, Elijah wished those present in the synagogue in which they had lodged, that God might raise them all to be "heads." Rabbi Joshua again had to exercise great self-restraint, and not put into words the question that troubled him profoundly. In the next town, they were received with great affability, and served abundantly with all their tired bodies craved. On these kind hosts Elijah, on leaving, bestowed the wish that God might give them but a single head. Now the Rabbi could not hold himself in check any longer, and he demanded an explanation of Elijah's freakish actions. Elijah consented to clear up his conduct for Joshua before they separated from each other. He

> spoke as follows: "The poor man's cow was killed, because I knew that on the same day the death of his wife had been ordained in heaven, and I prayed to God to accept the loss of the poor man's property as a substitute for the poor man's wife. As for the rich man, there was a treasure hidden under the dilapidated wall, and, if he had rebuilt it, he would have found the gold; hence I set up the wall miraculously in order to deprive the curmudgeon of the valuable find. I wished that the inhospitable people assembled in the synagogue might have many heads, for a place of numerous leaders is bound to be ruined by reason of the multiplicity of counsel and disputes. To the inhabitants of our last sojourning place, on the other hand, I wished a "single head," for with one to guide a town, success will attend all its undertakings. Know, then, that if thou seest an evil-doer prosper, it is bit always unto his advantage, and if a righteous man suffers need and distress, think not God is unjust." After these words Elijah and Rabbi Joshua separated from each other, and each went his own way.[26]

As Ginzberg notes, Elijah received the epithet, "the righteous one," or more likely," he who acknowledged God's justice." Most of the incidents told of Elijah's life in the Midrashim[27] have the sole purpose of vindicating God's justice in the lives of nations and individuals (*ibid*, 6: 335).

In contrast to Lévi, Ginzberg agrees with Friedlander's view that the Khāḍir legend is dependent on the Jewish Elijah of the *Haggadah*:[28]

> The antiquity of the legend is attested by Mohammad who reproduces it in the Koran (18. 59–82) in his anachronistic fashion. `There is no valid reason to doubt the Jewish origin of this legend,[29] especially if one considers the fact that Elijah appears as the "vindicator of God's justice" in the old Haggadah, preceding the Koran by centuries (*ibid*, 6: 334 n. 94).

The points of similarity include: a role of Elijah as an indicator of God's justice in human affairs; the Rabbi's requesting Elijah to accompany the prophet on his journey, Elijah's acceptance of the Rabbi with the proviso that the Rabbi should not question any of the prophet's actions, with the understanding that, should Rabbi fail in his resolve to remain trust. Worthy and silent, they would go their own ways; and, upon the Rabbi's failure to maintain silence, their parting of the two men; and, lastly, Elijah's parting explanation of his actions to R. Joshua.

Regarding the journey undertaken, though Moses and Khāḍir are involved in three episodes to the Rabbi and Elijah's in four episodes, the content and overall theme of the stories show obvious thematic parallels between the two accounts. Those parallels, as found in Elijah and the Rabbi's four adventures, are as follows.

In the first episode, Elijah kills the cow of a good-hearted, poor couple (the cow serving as a ransom for the woman). This episode is similar to Khāḍir's killing of the youth (18: 74/80f); and the future benefit to poor people in R. Joshua's tale ties in with the story of Khāḍir's ruining of the boat of some poor fisherfolk (18: 71/79).

In the second adventure in the Rabbi's story, the two travelers sleep in a house of a miserly, inhospitable man who needs a wall repaired. Unknown to the miser, gold is hidden beneath the wall. Elijah repairs their inhospitable host's wall in order to make sure the miser does not discover a treasure. The theme of inhospitability and the image of a dilapidated wall concealing a treasure to be kept from the undeserving is found in Khāḍir's repairing a collapsing wall in a town inhabited by irreligious inhospitable people so as to safeguard the wall's secreted treasure for its rightful owners, the two orphans of a righteous man (18: 77/82).

The third vignette in the Rabbi's tale concerns an inhospitable congregation (save one person) of great wealth, which Elijah apparently benefits by praying that they have many leaders among them. The answering of such a prayer would prove, in reality, a punishment. This section is obviously similar to the lesson about the ill-effects of miserliness and lack of hospitality in the third Qur'ānic episode (18: 77–82). The notion of punishment for an unrighteous character is evidenced in the tale of Khāḍir's slaying of the evil-minded youth (18: 74/80f) and that of the king's army being deprived of the boat.

The fourth and last teaching-story in the Rabbi's account is the reverse of the third episode. Elijah, apparently, wished ill upon a congregation in which all the people are thoughtful hosts by praying that they have but one leader – which would prove in effect, a blessing for that community. The theme of the rewarding of righteousness is mirrored in two of the Qur'ānic subplots: that of the future rewarding of the two orphans of the religious father (18: 77/82) and the saving of the lives of the righteous couple by slaying their evil son (18: 74/80f). A more general sense of future reward through present hardship is seen in the damaging of the boat (18: 71/79). However, here the sense of righteousness *per se* being rewarded is missing; the beneficiaries are described as simply poor fisher people; we do not know whether or not they are righteous people.

The main point of both accounts – the Rabbi and Elijah's, and Moses and Khāḍir's – is the rewarding of righteousness and the punishment of inequity. The secondary issue is the mysterious working of divine justice on earth (all appearances to the contrary) and its vindication by the prophetic guide to the well-meaning but conventionally-minded religious student.

The differences I have noted between the Midrashic and Qur'ānic accounts, and which the Qur'ānic story possesses are: the absence in the Jewish legend of the helper figure (Joshua); the journey of the seeker and his helper in search of the seeker's guide; the description of a meeting-place for the seeker and his guide; the imagery or symbols of water and a fish; the theme of resurrection or resuscitation; the notion of an omen (the fish returning to life indicating the travellers' need to retrace their steps).

A further, but only partial, difference between the two accounts is that while Moses failed to maintain silence after each of the three Qur'ānic episodes, R. Joshua managed to restrain himself two out of four times.

The moral of the story two-fold: the obvious moral is that God is always just, even though it may seem that the good suffer (undeservedly) and that the evil benefit as a direct result of their evil deeds and/or intentions.

Secondly, the 'covert' moral is that ordinary morality, whether secular or religious – is not informed with divine wisdom's insight into the complexities of human affairs, including causality and God's mysterious purpose, especially in the long-term scheme of things. Ordinary people, even learned rabbis and law-giving prophets, are not able to understand the causes and consequences of human intention and action, nor the purpose working through human destinies.

The story of Khāḍir and Moses, as well as those of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, Ashmeday and Benaya and the angel and the hermit from the *Vitæ Patrum* are all testimonies to the points of view. Firstly, divine justice is the hidden truth behind the apparent injustices of life. Secondly, God and His prophets and angels are not to be judged according to ordinary, short-sighted human standards of behaviour.

We will now move on to a description of Elijah, emphasizing characteristics similar to those of, or relevant to, the Qur'ānic story of Khāḍir. Then will follow a comparative analysis of the personae of Khāḍir and Elijah.

Chapter 4

In this chapter, the last of my thesis, I shall attempt to describe the various correspondences between Khāḍir and Elijah,[1] the Jewish prophet of the *Nevi'im* ('Prophets') section of theJudaic Bible. The key similarities are: immortality; association with water (the sea, rain-making/preventing powers); super-human abilities; a powerful, uncompromising presence; unconventional wisdom; a strong link with the mysticism of their respective traditions; and a concern with the problem of theodicy.

Elijah is mentioned in the Judaic Bible in 1K. 17–19, 21 and 2K. 1. He is as important to Christianity and Islam as to his native Judaism. For example, Elijah is mentioned twenty-nine times in the Gospels. He dominated much of later Jewish speculation because of his miracles and his talent to appear and disappear, as well as his articulate message to individuals and to his people.

I argue that, as Muslim theologians and commentators have attested, and as nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars claim, there are indeed sufficient grounds, textually-as well as in the more ambiguous but nevertheless important realm of the oral tradition-for establishing Khāḍir's and Elijah's essential identity, or at least, their twinning by virtue of their strikingly similar attributes (both within and without their respective canonical traditions). A comparison of my proof-texts will show that, on the textual level, it is indeed understandable to see why an (anterior) oral tradition would situate Khāḍir and Elijah as being the same person or religio-spiritual brothers. At the very least, one will be able to see why, on the basis of the extremely close correspondences between Khāḍir and Elijah, they were – in both the popular mind of many Muslims and in the commentaries of the *mufassirūn* identified and/or associated with each other.[2]

Elijah, or, as he is known among Muslims, 'Ilyās' (the Græco-Syriac form of his name) – a variation of his name in the Qur'ān is Ilyāsin – is mentioned in the Qur'an in 6: 85 and 37: 123, 130. In Muslim legend, Elijah is linked genealogically with Aaron (Hārūn) through Phinehas (Pinḥas), and is linked to both Khāḍir and Enoch (Idrīs). His character as an immortal, half-human, half-angelic being[3] is inspired by Jewish legends.[4] Wensinck writes,

> The immortality attributed to Ilyās and to his homologue Khaḍir makes these two characters into supernatural beings, practically guardian spirits, who share in varying ways according to the various documents, the function of being able to save those in desperate situations by land and by sea. For the same reason they held and still hold an important role in mystical initiation, as well as popular belief (1971, 1156a,b).

The name Elijah originally was written 'Eliyahu' meaning 'Jah is God.' Elijah means 'God is Yahweh.' 'El' is the Semitic name for 'God' or 'a god,' paralleled in Arabic by *ilah* or *ilāh*, which

means 'a god,' 'deity,' 'godhead.' Elijah[5] is, in the Judaic Bible, called a 'man of God,' *ish ha-elohim* (2K. 4: 7, 9, 21 and 2K. 8: 2ff), and a 'holy man of God' (2K. 4: 9). Elijah was always popularly called 'Elijah the Prophet,' though in Talmudic/Midrashic literature, he was simply known as Elijah. Elijah flourished c. 850 BCE.

Much like Khāḍir but in contrast to many other Jewish prophets, we know nothing of the parentage of Elijah, only that he was "...Elijah the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead" (1K. 17:1). In 1K. 17:1, Elijah suddenly appears. Nothing of his family is mentioned. He is said to be a Tishbite. But that scanty data cannot help us to pin Elijah down since we do not even know where Tishbe was, nor even if it ever existed. (Similarly, as we have seen in chapter 2, we have almost no information as to Khāḍir's real name and his birthplace; what little there is quite contradictory.)

We might isolate four key points in the public career of Elijah: 1) his enthusiasm and promulgation of Yahweh as Israel's only God; 2) his exhortation to the Jews to take the Torah to heart; 3) his message of a cosmic deity, not one for Israel only; 4) his notion of the righteous few. Elijah was the patron angel of scholars, the guiding master of Kabbalists, the stern and inexorable censor whom kings feared, a divine whose teachings vindicated God's justice on earth, and the eternal forerunner of the Messiah.

There are five revelations considered authoritative in Rabbinical Judaism. They are, in order of importance: 1) Moses, 2) the (other) prophets, 3) the Holy Spirit, 4) the Heavenly Voice (*bath kol*) of the Talmudic era, and 5) Elijah.

The revelation of Elijah appertains to the realm of Jewish mysticism (the Kabbalistic variety of which is the most well-known and documented). Elijah is said to transmit the divine message from generation to generation. At the end of time, Elijah is to reconcile all conflicting views, traditions, and doctrines in Judaism. It is also held that Elijah can be encountered in visionary experience, both while dreaming and while awake, as well as in the flesh. Elijah may appear anywhere, at any time, and to anyone (though especially to pious scholars and mystics). He usually looks like an old man, although he may assume any number of disguises and personae, as circumstances incline him. Elijah cannot, as the supranatural custodian and guarantor of the sacredness of Judaism, transmit any doctrine or teaching not in accord with the Jewish tradition. Thus the interpretation of the mystical experience as a revelation of God through Elijah confirms rather than questions Jewish tradition.

The high point of Elijah's religious career was the test of Israel's loyalty between the cult of Baᶜal and that of Yahweh (1K. 17: 36 ff). Atop Mt. Carmel, Elijah confronted the priests of Baᶜal, an ancient fertility cult found among the Canaanites and other peoples lioving in the Palestinian area of the Oikoumene. The priests of Baᶜal implored their god to send down a holocaust to consume their sacrifice – in vain. However, Yahweh consumed in flames the water-soaked

sacrifice of Elijah. The people then supported Yahweh and His prophet Elijah (whereupon Elijah had the Israelites murder all the priests of Ba^{c}al.) This episode well illustrates Elijah's importance in the religious history of the Jewish people and also his uncompromising attitude. This sort of attitude was also demonstrated in the prophet's last days, when Ahaziah (c. 850 BCE) turned to Ba^{c}al worship. The prophet cursed the king with death, calling down fire from heaven and destroying some of Ahaziah's armies.

In 1K. 18: 1, 14-46, Elijah, again battling for Yahweh's cause against the old Ba^{c}al-Asherah cult, which was supported by King Ahab and his consort Jezebel, said to Ahab that rain (or the lack of it) depended only on the will of God, and that will is represented by His prophet, Elijah. With the announcement of Yahwah's drought, the great struggle between the respective powers of the fertility of Ba^{c}al and of Yahweh began. (Fleeing from Jezebel's wrath, Elijah went to a cave on Mt. Horeb or Sinai. There God spoke to him.)[6] This episode demonstrates Elijah's role in Judaism as a rain-maker.

Elijah is credited with several magical acts. For example, he restored to life the widow Zarephath's son (1K. 17:20ff). The widow was afraid of the prophet. She said, "What have I to do with you, O man of God? You have come...to kill my son" (1K. 17: 17f). (Elijah's relationship with water is further shown in his asking the widow Zaraphath for water before resurrecting her son.)

There certainly seems to be a ready connection between Elijah and the angelic world. Angels twice bring Elijah food and water in the desert (1K. 19: 5ff). Angels warn the prophet of the approaching messengers of Ahaziah (2K. 1: 3).

Elijah exhibited a sense of social justice. We can see his righteous indignation displayed in the story of Naboth's vineyard (1K. 21: 17-24), in which Elijah stands up for Naboth against the scheming of King Ahab and Jezebel.

Aside from the Islamicate linkage of Khāḍir and Elijah, ranging from brotherly comraderie of like-minded angelic prophet-saints to outright identification. Elijah and Khāḍir can be, albeit more theoretically, associated with one another through other personages embedded within the rich mines of the mythico-legendary Oikoumenic religious continuum. The most important of these connecting figures are Enoch[7] and Phinehas,[8] and less importantly, John the Baptist.[9]

The mystical identity between John the Baptist and Elijah is he subject of an allusion by Al-Jāḥiẓ in *The Golden Legend*, a mediæval compilation of Christian hagiographies, which makes use of the biblical reference in which the angel Gabriel tells Zacharias that his son John will have "the spirit and power of Elijah" (Lk. 1: 8-17). Elijah and Enoch are paired up in the same work, in which Enoch says, "we twain have not yet tasted death...."

For example, Enoch, the only Jewish prophet besides Elijah who was translated physically into heaven is often said to be the 'brother' of Elijah. They are also the only prophets whom Jewish

tradition identifies with the mystical figure of Metatron, who is the Kabbalistic[10] *logos*, the Judaic theophany of wisdom *par excellence*.

Elijah is said to have been the same person as Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest. Phinehas served Moses as priest and fought against the followers of the Baᶜal-Peor cult, and, as for Elijah, no death and burial place of Phinehas is generally acknowledged by Judaic tradition [11] The identification of Phinehas with Elijah first appeared in an early Midrashic document,[12] and that idea prevailed in later Midrashic literature.

Maracci, among the first Christian scholars to study Islam, wrote,

> Al Khadir, about whom the Moslems say that he is exactly the same as Phinehas, son of Eleazar who was son of Aaron whose soul through metempsychosis first passed to Elijah and then from Elijah entered into Saint Gregory [i.e., St George], and the Moslems therefore accord him the greatest honour" (Wiener, 156f n.'*').

Even though mediæval Islamicate literature usually assumes or makes a point of noting that Khāḍir is the same person as Elijah, some commentators and mystics mention that though they are similar, the two are not identical, for Elijah was an Israelite and Khāḍir was an Arab. However many stories are told in Islamicate literature which link the figures of Khāḍir and Elijah.

One text reports that "Four prophets are alive eternally, two in heaven, Jesus and Idris [Enoch], two on earth, al-Khadir and Elijah as lords of water and land" (Ginzberg 1913-38, 3: 467), the Prophet having delegated the land and desert to Elijah, the water and seas to Khāḍir (*ibid*, 3: 114). As shown in chapter 2, they-share the labour of governorship over creation. Haddad cites a "popular saying," which runs: "*Al-Khidr mukallaf fil-baḥr wa Iliyyā mukallaf fil-barr* 'Khidr is responsible for the sea and Iliyya is responsible for the land,'" though other traditions reverse the roles of goverance (Haddad 1969, 35).

Since the two so often appear together and their functions are so alike, they are sometimes called twin brothers. They often meet at some mysterious border between this world and that of Yūj and Majūj (Ginzberg 1913-38, 3: 114). During the celebration of ᶜArafah they meet at Makkah (and/or during Ramadhān at Jerusalem)where they eat together at the closing of the fast. (*ibid*, 5: 117)

An Islamicate tradition relates that Khāḍir appeared as Elijah to Moses during a military campaign. This Khāḍir-Elijah looked like a tall, old man, with a shining face and luminous white robes. Moses and Khāḍir-Elijah ate together over a table glowing with a green light. Then Khāḍir-Elijah returned to paradise on angel wings or on clouds. (Wiener 1978, 155).

Vollers writes that, in their respective communities, both Khāḍir and Elijah are called "*the* prophet" live on till the Last Day, are seen as a cross between the human and the divine, are patrons of the mystics, and meet up with the pious, scholars, the oppressed, and the persecuted. Vollers

concludes his comparison of Khāḍir and Elijah by saying that Khāḍir actually derives from Elijah, and that, "We may thus state without hesitation that the Islamic Chidher is to a large extent the Elijah of the Jewish tradition under a new name" (*ibid*, 158).

Friedländer writes,

> Not only can the various Khadir anecdotes be traced back to precisely corresponding Elijah legends, but the basic conception of Khadir as an omnipresent counsellor and helper in need is an exact counterpart of the rabbinic conception. The Mohammedan scholars are quite aware of this identification when they repeatedly state that Khadir is like Elijah (*ibid*, 158f).

Muslim *mufassirūn* themselves declare that the real name of Khāḍir is Iliya (Ilyās), the Hebraic form of Elijah, Iliya, having been corrupted into Balya. Thus, Jews called Iliya in Islamdom (e.g., Jews in Palestine before the establishment of the state of Israel) would sometimes arabize their names to a variant of Khāḍir, and the Turks maintained the name of the festival of "Khizrillis" (Haddad 1969, 26), the name obviously evidencing a merging of the identities of Khāḍir and Elijah into a (somewhat) heterogenous persona. The general conception of Khāḍir is to an extreme degree an exact reproduction of the figure of Elijah. Khāḍir is, like Elijah, the omnipresent, immortal prophet *par excellence* "who appears when his name is called;" he is a helper and counsellor in difficult times; he transmits divine secrets to the worthy; he appears on land and sea to the lost and weary (Friedlaender, 695a).

Mediæval Arabic sources have many ideas about Khāḍir and Elijah. For example, Al-Thaᶜālibī (d. 1038) in his *Qiṣāṣ al-Anbiyā'* ('Stories of the Prophets') says that Khāḍir hails from Iran while Elijah comes from Israel, that they rendezvous each year, and that they have immortality in this world as long as the Qur'ān remains in the world. (Haddad 1969, 25). Since both Khāḍir and Elijah are said to be of the few (in Islam, as mentioned, four) chosen immortals, it was quite inevitable that they be identified with each other. Thus it was possible for Muslim exegetes and theologians to declare "with remarkable unanimity" that the mysterious servant of God of 18: 65-82 was none other than Khāḍir, so complete had the identification between Khāḍir and Elijah become (*ibid*, 694).

The Ṣūfī Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 1567) wrote that "al-Khadir whom Moses met was only the al-Khadir of that period" and that "every period has its al-Khadir." Wiener opines that the idea of every period having its Khāḍir " implies an acknowledgement of the archetypal meaning of the al-Khadir-Elijah-figure"[13] (Wiener 1978, 159).

Wiener writes that the identification of Khāḍir with Elijah is derived, firstly, from the Qur'ānic legend of Moses' meeting with Khāḍir. Secondly, the journey of Moses and Khāḍir highlights the identification of the two prophets in that, almost detail for detail, it resembles the journey of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua b. Levi, which is found in the *Haggadah* (*ibid*, 157).

Scholars such as I. Goldziher, M. Lidzbarski, K. Vollers, I. Friedländer, and A. J. Wensinck, have compared the various themes of the search for the junction of the seas, the resuscitation of the fish, the image of the source of life, and the figure of the wise man with identical themes in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the Greek legend of Glaucus, and the Alexander Romance cycle (*ibid*, 157). These scholars analysed the motifs, their transfigurations and variations, and the resultant changes in the Green Man's name. Regardless of differences in details, all agree that (the Islamicate) Khāḍir is the same person as Elijah and affirm the identity of the legend of R. Joshua ben Levi with the Qur'ān 18: 65–82 (and thus the identity of, respectively, Elijah and Khāḍir).

Friedländer, among others, is sure that the story of the travels of the Rabbi Joshua ben Levi with Elijah, dating to the 3rd c CE, and recounted by a Jewish authority of the 11th c (though there may have existed an older version) appears as Part 2 (18: 65–82). In these verses, Moses takes the place of the Rabbi while the unnamed servant of God, later called Khāḍir by the Islamic tradition, is in reality Elijah. Friedlaender writes that, 'This fact alone suffices to prove what must be assumed *a priori*, that this most striking figure of post-biblical Jewish legend was known in Arabia in the time of Muḥammad" (1915, 694a).

One can also see something of the Moses–Khāḍir relationship in that of Elijah and his disciple Elisha. The manner in which Elijah encountered Elisha was as singular as it was eerie, to say nothing of the way in which Elijah took his leave of his student. At the least we can affirm the presence of the almost frightening other-worldliness which the Moses and the Angel story shares with that of Elijah and Elisha. We shall delve more deeply into this matter below.

Given the relevance of water miracles in the legends of Elijah and Khāḍir, it is interesting that Elisha's first public miracle was the cleansing of the polluted water in Jericho, and that Moses' first great miracle was the dividing and crossing of the Red Sea. As we have seen, the water-related miracle in the Qur'ānic legend of Khāḍir is the resurrection of the fish (18: 61, 63). In Islamicate legendary material about Khāḍir, there is much more water-related wonder-working (such as Khāḍir praying upon or above the waters of "the junction of two seas").

Water in the form of the river Jordan is also an important image in the three-stage journey of Elijah and Elisha. Indeed, the Jordan seems to mark off some barrier between this world and the sphere of esoteric mysteries.[14] The Jordan is miraculously crossed by Elijah's striking of the waters with his mantle. And it is on the other side that the prophet asks Elisha what he wants of Elijah. It is also on the other side that Elijah is taken up alive into heaven. And it is from that other side of the river that Elisha miraculously crossed over (in the same fashion as Elijah), to be acknowledged by a mysterious prophetic brotherhood.

The Jordan appears to be a sort of bridge between the two worlds, even as the spring in which the fish was restored to life in the Qur'ānic story was a passageway between this world and

the supernatural world; and as the "junction of the two seas" was a gateway or a middle ground between Moses' questing and his finding of Khāḍir. Further, as has been shown in the first chapter, Muslim tradition sometimes interprets the *majmaᶜ al-baḥrayn* in the Qur'ān as the meeting between two seas of knowledge; that is, theprophetic and legalistic knowledge of Moses, and the saintly and initiatic knowledge of Khāḍir. In the same way, we may interpret the significance of the river Jordan in the investiture of Elisha by Elijah as the meeting between the non-prophetic Elisha ('the profane') and the prophetic and powerful Elijah ('the sacred').

We read that Elijah asked Elisha to await him by Gigal, since Yahweh was sending Elijah only to Bethel. Elisha refused to part company with his master, saying, "As Yahweh lives and as you yourself live, I will not leave you!" (2K. 2: 2) Elisha evidently feared that Elijah would somehow leave him – or be taken away. At Bethel, Elijah again asked Elisha to wait, as God was going to send only him to Jericho (2K 2: 3). Again, Elisha refused to allow himself to be separated from his teacher. A haunting exchange then follows between the prophetic brotherhood at Bethel and Elisha. They said, "Do you know that Yahweh is going to carry away your lord and master today:" "Yes, I know," he said, "be quiet." (2K 2: 3). Finally, by the Jordan, Elijah parted the water by striking it with his mantle. On the other side he said to his disciple,"Make your request. What can I do for you before I am taken from you?" Elisha answered, "Let me inherit a double share of your spirit" (2K. 2: 9–10). Elijah told Elisha that his request would be granted if Elisha saw "When Yahweh took Elijah up to heaven in the whirlwind..." (2K. 2: 1).

His prophetic task complete, Elijah ascended to heaven (2K. 11), like his predessor and 'Metatronic brother,' Enoch. Of Enoch, the Judaic Bible reports: "Enoch walked with God. Then he vanished because God took him" (Gen. 5: 24). Concerning Elijah, we read that, "Elijah...was caught up into heaven itself" (1 Macc. 2: 58).

After the departure of Elijah, Elisha tore his clothes in half, picked up the mantle of Elijah, and struck the waters of the river Jordan even as his mentor had done before him. The river divided and he passed over. When the brotherhood of prophets saw him they said, "The spirit of Elijah has come to rest on Elisha" (2K. 2: 15). The brotherhood insisted on looking for the body of Elijah in spite of Elisha having told them not send anyone. Finally Elisha relented. Though the brotherhood searched for Elijah's body it was not found. According to Judaic tradition (and to my knowledge), no tomb of Elijah exists.

Some obvious common elements between the legend of Khāḍir and Moses and that of Elijah and Elisha include: the master–student relationship; the image of water; a testing situation; and a resurrection/everlasting life motif. We will discuss those elements below.

Let us first look at the anointing and investiture of Elisha with the Elianic succession (1K. 19: 16, 2K. 2: 9–4). Here, Elijah reveals himself to be "the Elijah of Elisha's being" in an investiture similar to that of Khāḍir upon Ibn ᶜArabī, which involved the bestowal of Khāḍir's

mantle (*khirqah*) upon the spiritual devotee in a rite of mystical investiture.[15]

Elisha, the son of Shapat, was Elijah's disciple and prophetic successor. The name Elisha means, 'God is Salvation,' or 'the Living One,' and is cognate with the Arabic 'Al-ʿAyshah.' He was, one day, plowing behind a yoke of oxen. Elijah came up and threw his mantle over him, investing Elisha as his successor. In 2K. 2: 2–14, Elisha assumed Elijah's mantle, charged with prophetic power, and tore his own in two. After his investiture, members of the prophetic brotherhood at Jericho met Elisha and bowed down to the earth before him.

There is a most curious correspondence between the inheritance of the office and the powers of two religio–spiritual leaders/prophets and their respective disciples: Moses and Joshua, and Elijah and Elisha. In fact, both Joshua and Elisha become, in a way, greater than their teachers (even as the renown and socio–religious import of Moses has always been greater in Islam than the more subtle and esoteric significance of his Qur'ānic mentor, Khāḍir).

Joshua not only knows the Mosaic Law, but he also encounters a divine epiphany – as did Moses – a prince of the Lord's host, upon Mt. Horeb (Jos. 5: 13–15). Joshua is successful in many military maneuvers; he captured Jericho, and even made the sun and moon stand still in the heavens during one battle (Jos. 10: 12–14): Moses was never as involved as was Joshua militarily, and he never caused the sun and moon to stand still - the parting of the Red Sea rather pales in comparison (Hooke 1988, 148–51).

Elisha is able to make miracles, the types of miracles which his master Elijah made, such as: parting the Jordan, healing a spring that caused barrenness; cursing disrespectful children, thus causing their death; and raising someone from the dead. But, though Elijah is greater in the eyes of the Judaic tradition, Elisha asked for, and received, a double–portion of Elijah's spirit (*ibid*, 158).

A further point of identification between the Jewish prophet and Khāḍir is the fact that, as the Kabbalists (a type of Jewish mystic) reverence Elijah and claim a special relationship with him, so do the Ṣūfīs of Islam reverence and maintain a close relationship with Khāḍir. There are numerous tales of the teachings, ideas, and prayers revealed by Khāḍir to favoured mystics, and many a spiritual document is said to have been transmitted by Khāḍir (Friedlaender 1915, 694b).

Friedländer writes that, since the Elijah of the Qur'ān is mentioned by name and is depicted in typical biblical terms, the appearance of the post–biblical Elianic figure of 18: 65–82 obliged the Islamic tradition to create two separate personalities. One remained the biblical Elijah as mentioned in the Qur'ān; the other became Khāḍir. However, the identification between the two Elijahs, as it were, remained due to various tell–tale images and themes in their respective characters (*ibid*, 694a,b).

While the biblical Elijah is shown to be a fiery evangelist, the post–biblical Elijah is seen as a helper and counsellor. He manifests himself particularly in deserted places and on the road; he communicates to scholars the "secrets of heaven" and various aspects of Jewish law. Kabbalists

continue to stress the Revelation of Elijah (*gīllūy Eliyāhū*) and many claimed that the prophet inspired their mystical thought (*ibid*, 695).

Khāḍir certainly represents, like Elijah, a paradigm of the transhistorical spiritual master of masters[16] according to the less orthodox and more individualistic school of "Khurasānī" Ṣūfism as represented by Bayāzid al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874), for example, or the wholly mystical (and ambiguous) transhistorical Khāḍiriyyah lineage of Ṣūfism. Both would be contrasted with, or complemented by, the more legalistic and sober school of Baghdādī Ṣūfism, usually typified by Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 910). And Khāḍir, at least according to the Qur'ān and Islamicate tradition, certainly could symbolize (*à la* Corbin) the model of prophetic activity directly concerned with the redemptive act of God's will, for he was the prophet-saint who, in the tradition heretofore examined (in chapter 1), alone among men knew more than Moses himself. Khāḍir also was the saintly paradigm and precursor of the Jewish 'redemptive act of God's will" as manifested in the Commandments of the Law given by God to the Jewish people through Moses, Khāḍir's student in the Qur'ān.

Rabbi Abraham ben David of Posquières (d. 1198) was the greatest rabbinical authority of his time in southern France. He wrote that the Holy Spirit appeared to him, thus enabling his mystical and orthodox experience to be used within the Kabbalistic tradition.

The personification of the Holy Spirit as Elijah is, needless to say, a very lofty recommendation of Elijah's merit, at least in the Judaic and Islamicate traditions. The linking of the Holy Spirit and Khāḍir appears to occur *vis-à-vis* our Qur'ānic account. The Prophet (as we have seen in Chapter 1) was asked, " And tell us of the Spirit, what is it?" According to our analysis of the second story of the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, this question could relate to the person of Khāḍir; thus in the Judeo-Islamic spiritual continuum of 'collective (Oikoumenic) mythic consciousness,' may also be an exemplification of the Holy Spirit (*ibid*, 15).[17]

There is also the story from the *Zohar* by Moses de Leon (d. 1305), a compiler of a textbook of Jewish mystics, who ascribed the Zohar to the Talmudic teacher Rabbi Shim'on ben Yoḥai. As I have related in chapter 1, the Rabbi and his son lived in hiding from the Romans (after the Bar Kokheba revolt) in a cave for 13 years. They were visited daily by Elijah, who taught them the mysteries of the Torah. These Elianic teachings form the greatest part of the doctrinal contents of the *Zohar*.[18]

According to the Kabbalist Moses de Leon (d. 1305), Elijah is an angel who recommended to God that man be created; Elijah has since then been intimately involved with the lot of humanity. Khāḍir's fate is likewise inextricably implicated.

The 'spirit' mentioned in the Rabbis' question to Muḥammad (see chapter 1) might be the *Shekhīnah*,[19] the presence of God, or the 'Metatron' of Kabbalistic lore. Jewish mystics sometimes identify Metatron as Enoch or Elijah. In both Hebrew and Arabic, 'spirit' (*Ar., rūḥ*)

may mean 'breath of life; soul; spirit in any and all senses'. *Rūḥ al-quds* is 'the Holy Ghost' or 'the Holy Spirit.'

The concept of the Metatron[20] is a crucial one to grasp when dealing with esoteric Judaism, and in particular, with the Jewish prophets Enoch and Elijah. The term 'Metatron' or 'Matatron' may stem from the Greek *mater*, or *matrona* ('mother, lady') or from *meta thronon* ('beyond the throne'). If Metatron comes from *matrona*, this etymological link would argue for Metatron being the *Shekhīnah* (who is conceived of as feminine), the presence of God, or perhaps an emanation of the *Shekhīnah*. Metatron may derive from the Latin *metator* ('measurer'), which may relate to the Metatron being seen as God in action, the small Metatron Yahweh or the cosmic manifestation of the great Yahweh. Hence, Metatron is 'the measurer of all things,' being the limitation of divinity and the perfection of humanity, as it were.

Metatron is the *malakh* (Ar. *malak*), the angel messenger, of Yahweh *par excellence*. He is the prince of the divine countenance, 'Sar Hapanim.' And he is the first revelation of the *Shekhīnah*; through him the totality of God's qualities are manifested, since Metatron is the immanence of the (transcendent) *Shekhīnah*.

Metatron is a special angel in Judaic esoteric doctrine from the *tannaitic* period onwards. Apocalyptic literature describes a group of angels who behold the countenance of God and are called 'Princes of the Countenance.' Metatron is later called 'the Prince of the Countenance.'[21] Metatron is an important figure in the fourth century *Book of the Visions of Ezekiel*, which forms part of the mystical Jewish *Merkabah* literature.

In the *Ḥaggigah* we read that the *tanna* Elisha b. Avayah saw Metatron seated (evidently upon a throne, like God Himself), as though intimating that Metatron was a deity besides God, and that vision led ben Avayah to a belief in dualism. In the tractate *Sanhedrin*, Metatron is said to be the angel of Ex. 23: 21 of whom it is written, "Give him reverence and listen to all that he says. Offer him no defiance; he would not pardon such a fault, for my name is on him."[22]

When the *amora* Rabbi Idi was asked why Ex. 24: 1 has, "Come up to Yahweh," instead of "Come up to Me," the Rabbi answered that the verse refers to Metatron, "whose name is like to that of his Master." Speculations about the nature of Metatron could easily lead to a form of *shirk*.[23] The Karaite Kirkisānī read in his Talmud the extremist statement that Metatron was 'the lesser YHWH.'

The angel Jahoel, mentioned in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (c. the beginning of the 2nd c CE), had the Divine Name (the 'Tetragrammaton,' 'YHWH') invested in his own name. All the qualities of Jahoel of the *Apocalypse* were later attributed to Metatron. In fact, the name Jahoel does contain the letters of the Divine Name, 'YHWH.' Both Gnosticism and Mandæanism have used the terms 'the greater Jaho' and 'the lesser Jaho.'

There are two different traditions which have united in the figure of Metatron. One is that

of a heavenly angel created before or with the creation of the world, and who has the most sublime responsibilities in the heavens. This angel assumed many of the duties of the angel Michael. We can find references to this Michaelic Metatron in parts of the *Hekhalot* literature and in the Kabbalistic literature. The preternatural Metatron is called *Metatron Rabba* ('Lord Metatron').

The other tradition involves the association of Metatron with Enoch. Enoch "walked with God" (Gen. 5: 22) while on earth. Translated to heaven, Enoch became an immortal angel, serving as the celestial scribe who records the deeds of all men. The identification of Enoch with Metatron is especially evidenced in the *Book of Hekhalot* (also called the *Book of Enoch* of R. Ishmael Kohen Ha-gadol). The idea of Metatron as prince of the world since its creation contradicts the biblical account of Enoch, a historical person taken up to heaven after the world's creation.

In the *Shi'ur Komah* it is remarked that the name Metatron has two forms; one being seven-lettered, the other six-lettered. Kabbalists conceive of the two forms of the name as relating to two prototypes of Metatron. The seven-lettered Metatron was identified with the *Shekhīnah*, the most lofty emanation from the living presence of God. The six-lettered form was Metatron as Enoch, who possesses but some of the splendour of the cosmic, primordial Metatron.

Metatron is the purely spiritual form from which issue all created forms. Metatron is first conceived of as man; then as a wheel, the archetype of all the worlds; finally as angel, the archetype of all angelic beings. Metatron as man is thus the supreme type in Jewish mysticism of the spiritual microcosmic return: the mystical transformation of individual, imperfect man into the perfected cosmic man, which is called in Ṣūfism *al-Insān al-Kabīr*, 'the Great Man,' or *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, 'the Perfect (or 'Complete') Man.' Tradition says of Enoch's ascent to heaven that he *became* Metatron. The body of cosmic man is composed of ether (Heb., *avir*), the quintessence of the four elements; the soul is Metatron the archetype; and the spirit of cosmic man is the *Shekhīnah*, the presence of God. In a schema of the (Kabbalistic) seven planes of existence, *avir* occupies the lowest sphere and *Shekhīnah* the seventh and highest. The fourth plane – i.e., the midmost plane – is that of Metatron, which is inhabited by the angel Michael and the prophet Issac. It bears repeating that the extreme importance attached to the figure of Metatron in Jewish esoteric circles is matched by that given to Khāḍir in Muslim spirituality.

As we have seen in the *Sanhedrin* tractate, Metatron is said to be an angel intimately linked to Moses, guiding and guarding the Israelites, and scattering their enemies before them. God advises the Israelites to reverence and obey this angel, who appears to be a rather stern figure of divine justice, a holy being having the very Name of God upon him.

The *Book of Jubilees*, a Judaic text of the 2nd c BCE (composed during Hellenistic times), was said to have been dictated by the angels of Moses. Those angels are equivalent to: 1) the Logos; 2) Enoch; and 3) Metatron, who is also conceived of as Metatron-Enoch and sometimes as Metatron-Elijah.

Judaic tradition acknowledges only God as the teacher of Moses. Thus, traditions concerning Moses' alleged 'guardian angel,' whom Judaic apocryphal literature credits with a crucial role in an 'intermediary' function in the tutelage of the greatest prophet of the Jewish people, may well have threatened the unity of the Jewish God. God says to Moses in Exodus 23: 20,

> Behold, I send an angel before you to keep you by the way and to bring you into the place which I have prepared. Take heed of him andhearken to his voice; do not be rebellious against him for he will not pardon your transgression; for my name is on him.

This biblical quotation recalls the Islamicate tradition that God instructed Moses to go forth in search of the one man who was wiser than he. And it also strongly recalls the Qur'ān 18: 60–82, for Moses did appear to be divinely guided in his journey, for he recognized the resuscitation of the fish in the waters as a sign, and found "the place" which God had prepared: "the junction of the two seas." There Moses found also the angel who had (perhaps) all along been guiding Moses towards him, to that place. Further, the obligation of Moses *vis-à-vis* this angel sent by God was none other than to, "Take heed of him and hearken to his voice...." and the very misdeed which Moses committed was his rebelliousness against the angel. Indeed, Moses was not forgiven that transgression, for the angel–Khāḍir dismissed Moses.

In as much as Khāḍir had divine knowledge and mercy bestowed upon him, he had God's name 'on' him or in the attributes of *al-ʿAlīm*, 'the All–knowing One,' and *al-Raḥmān*, 'the Merciful One.' In addition, Khāḍir the angel incorporates the quality of *al-Ḥayy*, 'the Living,' for he had, according to Islamicate tradition, drunk of the Waters of Life, and his very appellation, *al-Khāḍir*, 'the Green One,' is directly indicative of life.

One cannot but see the striking similarities between the awesome Metatronic angel and Khāḍir.

Metatron is a primordial angel like Michael, who administers divine justice on earth, like the transmogrified and immortalized Enoch, a human transformed into an angel, and like the initiatic and wonder–working Elijah, the angel–like immortal prophet, who exemplified Judaic conceptions of theodicy.

An old tradition has it that God created the angels on the first day of Creation;[24] this tradition is preserved in authoritative Midrashīm and in mystic literature. It is said that angels are either prayerful or ministering – both Elijah and Khāḍir, in as much as they are seen as angelic figures, are of the ministering type, since they are involved in manifesting the divine intention to men, and are not solitary and silent contemplatives.

Angels, in Judaism, are said to be made of fire, water, or snow. Elijah's angel–name is 'Sandalfon,' or 'Sandalphon'[25] who is a great angel of fire. Sandalfon existed before the world was created (Ginzberg 1913-38, 4: 201f). Fire signifies the splendour of the *Shekhīnah*, 'the

Presence of God,' and the powerful activity of the divine presence in creation.

> The angels that are fashioned from fire have forms of fire, but only so long as they remain in heaven. When they descend to earth, to do the bidding of God here below, either they are changed into wind, or they assume the guise of men (*ibid*, 1: 16).

It is interesting that it is Elijah's translation from the world that "marks the beginning of his real activity as a helper in time of need, as a teacher and as a guide" (*ibid*, 4: 203).

Sandalfon is explained in the Midrashic text *Smek ha-Melek* as the name of Elijah as an angel, and to be a compound of the Greek 'with,' and 'brother.' This is interpreted as meaning thatElijah is the angelic brother of Enoch–Metatron. Thus Elijah also partakes of Enoch's Metatronic qualities. Both Enoch and Elijah were translated, alive and in the flesh, into heaven and changed into angels (as seen above, the only two Judaic prophets to be so transmogrified). Also above mentioned, the extraordinary status attributed to Enoch and Elijah in (esoteric) Judaism is acknowledged in various ways by Islamicate tradition.

Sandalfon towers in height above the other angels, as he stands behind the Throne of God, weaving garlands for the head of God made from the prayers sent aloft by Israel. Sandalfon does not know the abiding–place of the Lord, but charms the wreath–crowns so that they rise till they rest upon the head of God (*ibid* 3: 3).[26] He also offers sacrifices in the invisible sanctuary of the Temple of Solomon, at Jerusalem, and destroyed in 587 (*ibid*, 4: 202).

According to the oldest sources, Elijah has no relation to Sandalfon. Epiphanius tried to prove, in opposition to the Melchizedekites, that Elijah was not an angel. Elijah as an angel in heaven was sometimes thought to refer to Elijah only after his translation.[27] Likewise, Elijah as an angel referred at times to his celestial aspect, that is, his heavenly alter–ego which existed synchronistically with his physical form.

Nevertheless, a popular view is that Elijah was an angel before having become the Elijah of flesh and bone.[28] The 'earthly' Elijah defeated the Angel of Death (which Moses failed to do), and he ascended bodily into heaven from whence he intervenes in the affairs of the world (especially, of course, those of the Jewish Community), as a teacher and a guide, especially to scholars, and particularly during Talmudic times.

According to some popular esoteric Judaic traditions, then, Elijah as Metatron, and as a prophet/angel interchangeable with Enoch, existed before the world was made. As a pre–existent being, Elijah–Metatron is Moses' predecessor: Elijah thus becomes Moses' cosmic and spiritual superior and teacher.

Sandalfon is also a type of the guardian angel who watches over people from birth onwards. He even differentiates the sex of the embryo, according to the Kabbalists. (This is not unlike Elijah's, role in presiding over the circumcision ceremony, which marks the initiation of

Jewish boys into manhood). In Judaic sources, the doctrine of the guardian angel appears early on.

Khāḍir is, in Islamicate folklore, a guardian of lost travellers. In Ṣūfism, Khāḍir is the saintly exemplar of the spiritual pilgrim without a physical guide. As the chief companion of the twelfth Imām, or as the Twelfth Imām himself, Khāḍir is the key guardian of the religious and spiritual welfare of the Ithnā' ᶜAshariyyah.

But is there any Jewish tradition which directly links Moses with Sandalfon – thus helping to bring the angelic figure of Sandalfon closer to our Qur'ānic passage, and perhaps even finding some clues to the identity of Khāḍir in the persona of Sandalfon?

There is an account connecting a harsh Sandalfon with Moses. When Moses and the angels were striving for the Torah in heaven, Moses saw Sandalfon in third heaven,[29] and almost fell from his cloud in sheer terror. God then descended from His throne and stood before Moses, protecting him from the angel, till the prophet had passed beyond the flames of the terrifying angel[30] (*ibid*, 3: 112). Sandalfon seems to have been one of the most deadly of all the angelic antagonists of Moses – mirroring something of Khāḍir's (apparent) harshness towards Moses and towards any who fall foul of God's favour (as seen in 18: 74).

There is also a story directly tying Sandalfon with Elijah on the subject of the defeating of Satan. Elijah taught the legendary Kabbalistic teacher Rabbi Joseph della Reyna (fl. 15th c) a Kabbalistic formula which would overcome Satan. First, the Rabbi had to win the interest of the archangel Sandalfon by performing pious, saintly deeds. Sandalfon would then teach him what method of warfare against Satan should be pursued (*ibid* 4: 231).[31] The rabbi summoned the angel, but unfortunately did not obey all of Sandalfon's instructions and advice to the letter. Satan used his (thus) restored power to ruin the rabbi and his disciples. The tradition ends by noting that if Rabbi Joseph della Reyna had been impeccable in following the instructions of Sandalfon, the rabbi would have triumphed over Satan and hastened the redemption of the world (*ibid*, 4: 231).[32]

In our Qur'ānic story, it is Satan who made Joshua forget to mention to Moses the miraculous resuscitation of the fish. Moses, however, recognized the sign, and made good the omen by retracing his steps. Also, even as the good rabbi did not implicitly obey every word of Elijah and the archangel Sandalfon, neither did Moses perfectly obey the advice of Khāḍir; that being to keep silent and patiently to forbear Khāḍir's actions. We can discover a link between Khāḍir and Elijah through the above story of Rabbi Joseph della Reyna in that Elijah (the human side of Sandalfon) exhorted the rabbi to obey the angel Sandalfon (the angelic aspect of Elijah). The rabbi did not, and his endeavour failed as a result. This story is a parallel with Khāḍir in his angelic, Metatronic, aspect (i.e., the spiritual 'brother' of Elijah), who advised Moses to obey him. Moses did not, and his spiritual apprenticeship with Khāḍir was thus a failure.

Zagzagel (also written and pronounced 'Sagsagel') is "the teacher and scribe of celestial beings" according to esoteric and Midrashic Judaism. It is from Zagzagel that Moses learned the

Ineffable Name, and it was this angel who was the presence in the burning bush (*ibid*, 5: 417).[33] Zagzagel was the teacher of Moses, transmitting the Torah in seventy languages. It is this angel (or Yefifiyah, the 'Prince of the Torah' or 'Beautiful Face') who laid a pillow upon Moses' couch before he died in order to comfort him. But he refused to bring the soul of Moses to heaven even upon the supplication of God, saying, "Lord of the world! I was his teacher and he my disciple, how then should I take his soul!" (*ibid*, 3: 467). Zagzagel, the prince of the Torah is, according to the *Sefer Hanok* (or '*Book of Enoch*) 116, none other than Metatron, the 'Prince of the Heavenly Princes.'

According to another tradition, Moses stayed forty days in heaven to learn the Torah from God. He forgot it on beholding the many wrathful angels. They were jealous that a mere man had received the Torah instead of them, and many attempts were made on Moses' life by those fearsome angels. God had the angel Yefefiah hand Moses the Torah. Then all the angels became Moses' friends. "Even the Angel of Death gave him a remedy against death"[34] (*ibid*, 3: 114). In the motif of a religious seeker receiving an antidote to death from an angelic (or some sort of supernatural) being, we have a link with the Pseudo-Callisthenes Alexander Romance corpus and with the *Epic of Gilgamesh*

Three themes in the story of Moses's reception of the Torah are echoed in the Qur'ānic and general Islamicate portrayal of Khāḍir. One theme is the fearsome nature of the angels among whom we find Yefifiah, a possible homologue of Khāḍir. In other words, the somewhat autocratic, stern, and demanding character of Khāḍir – an angel-like being favoured of God, who is (apparently calmly) capable of killing a man – resembles the dangerous angels, the seeming chief among whom is Yefifiah, 'the "Prince" of the Torah.'

Secondly, like Yefifiyah, Khāḍir is also a chief, in that Islamicate tradition (see Bukhārī's *Tafsīr*; ch. 2) underlines Khāḍir's superiority *vis-à-vis* Moses, and (since it is implied that Moses was wiser than all the other prophets) thus over all the other prophets except for Muḥammad.

Thirdly and lastly, the theme of immortality (material and/or spiritual) appears in the interaction between Yefifiyah and Moses. That theme and the attribute of everlasting life is predicated of Khāḍir; he is 'al-Khāḍir,' the 'Green Man' of immortality and (according to Islamicate mystical traditions) spiritually eternal life, and is perhaps the prime representative of such qualities in the Islamicate tradition.

It may be that Zagzagel first transmitted the Torah to Moses. Upon Moses' descent from heaven, fear of the angry and jealous host of angels caused Moses to forget the Torah, whereupon Yefefiyah handed it to Moses. Both Zagzagel and Yefefiyah are called 'the Prince of the Torah,' both are angelic teacher-transmitters of the Torah to Moses, and both are present at the death of Moses. In fact, the two angels may be one and the same, each representing different aspects of the same, angelic being. They may both be personifications of Metatron, even as are Elijah and Enoch

(and, as we have seen, Khāḍir can play the role of the Islamicate manifestation of the Judaic Metatron).

Moses was taught the secret of the Holy Names:

> The applications of the Holy Names, which the angels through Yefefiyah, the 'Prince of the Torah,' and Metatron, the 'Prince of the Face' (in Judaic tradition, 'Face' signifies the soul or the spirit) taught him, Moses passed on to the high priest Eleazar, who passed them on to his son Phinehas also known as Elijah (*ibid*, 3: 114).

Michael is called in the *Midrashim* the 'Angel of the Face' and the 'Lord of the Face' or the 'Lord of the Inner (Realm, or Reality)' (Heb., *Sar Panym*), even as is Metatron. But in *Sanhedrin* 38b, the angel refused by Moses is identified with Metatron, and is also called the 'Angel of the Face.'[38] While Khāḍir can hardly be called 'the Prince of the Qur'ān,' (that would be, appropriately, Gabriel or Muḥammad), he can be called 'the Angel of the Face' in as much as he can be seen in the Islamicate esoteric tradition to be a theophany of the Countenance (*wajh*) of God since he exemplifies an aspect (*wajh*) of God's intention (*niyyah*).

Interestingly, in the above-quoted passage we find the name 'Eleazar.' That name also figures in the story of the cave in which Shim'on ben Yoḥai and his son, Eleazar, hid in order to escape persecution, and who were visited and taught mysticism by Elijah, as is recounted in the *Zohar*. Phinehas, as has been seen in chapter 2, is often given as yet another name of the prophet Elijah, lending reinforcement to Muslim claims that Elijah and Khāḍir are also the same person.[35]

Returning to the above passage, we know that, according to Judaic orthodox tradition, the Torah was directly revealed to Moses by God atop Mt. Sinai. Yet in Midrashic legend we read of Yefefiyah handing the Book to Moses. Did the angel Zagzagel teach or reveal, or merely hand over the Torah to Moses? Did Zagzagel teach/reveal the Torah to Moses, and Yefefiyah only awaken the memory of the already transmitted Torah? Or may transmission of angelically-inspired revelation, in a textually-oriented religion, be expressed by such knowledge being 'handed to' the recipient of such a revelation in order to substantiate its credibility? Old Judaic authorities emphasize the direct character of the Torah's revelation. Angels in Judaism are seen as teachers of the chosen few – not as revelers of divine law (*ibid*, 5: 117).

In any case Khāḍir as Moses' 'angel-guide' did not function as a revealer; at least, not in the sense of a revealer of religious law. Rather, Khāḍir taught Moses. Khāḍir did reveal aspects of divine knowledge and intention to Moses in deed and then word, and he also revealed to Moses his own lack of patient forbearance.

Moses refused the help of an angel and insisted on direct divine guidance for Israel (*ibid*, 6: 20, 173).[36] The archangel Michael entreated Joshua, Moses' successor and the *fatà of* Moses in our Qur'ānic account, not to draw back from him, as had Moses (*ibid*, 6: 173 n. 20).[37] In a

similar vein, Moses stubbornly discredited Khāḍir's actions in our three Qur'ānic episodes, thus in effect, refusing Khāḍir's help, even though at the outset of their journey Moses had actually requested the angel's assistance.

It is of note that the Metatronic 'Angel of the Face' (whether named Michael, Zagzagel, or Yefefiyah) was refused by Moses in the above-mentioned Jewish tradition. In an Islamicate tradition, quoted in Chapter 2, we hear of how Moses, in his pride, asked God whether there was anyone on earth as wise as he, and of how God rebuked him and told him to find Khāḍir. Was this pride of Moses indicative of Moses' refusal of the angel's guidance? But in the Qur'ān, it is Khāḍir who, in the end, rejects Moses.

If we put both accounts together, we can postulate that Moses at first refused the help of the angel (Khāḍir), in that he did not recognize "the angel of his being," or "the Khidr of his being" - as Henry Corbin would express it (Corbin 1978, 62). However, admonished by God to seek out the angel, Moses "retraced his footsteps" at the sign of the resurrection of the fish and found Khāḍir, the Angel ofthe Divine Countenance (qualified with the divine attributes of knowledge and mercy) and the angel of his own being, who agreed to teach Moses of his knowledge. According to such an interpretation, Khāḍir thus functions as Moses' personal Metatronic angel and prophet-saintly superior or as a revival of the ancient Mesopotamian 'personal god' notion. Of course, this idea is pure speculation on my part.

There is a story that Moses consulted with the angels after he slew an Egyptian who oppressed the Jews. The angels said that no good would come of the Egyptian nor of any of his offspring had he lived – that the Egyptian Moses had killed deserved death. It is also said that Moses slew the Egyptian without any evidence of bodily strength or weapon: he had only to pronounce the Name of God to kill that man (*ibid*, 2: 280).[39]

This account, of course, reminds one of the second 'foul deed' of Khāḍir: the slaying of the youth who, had he lived, would have oppressed his parents. Could there possibly be a connection between the Qur'ānic story of Khāḍir as a 'muderer' and that of the Moses of the Torah and the Midrashīm, given that both of the men killed were oppressors (actual or potential) and that in both cases there was an angelic influence?

Further, a Jewish tradition holds that an angel took Moses forty days' journey from Egypt whereupon all fear of retribution against Israel due to his murder of the Egyptian fell from him (*ibid*, 2: 283).[40] Could Khāḍir have been that angel; or Khāḍir as Elijah-Enoch/Metatron, or as the Elianic angel Sandalfon/Zagzagel/ Yefifiyah/Michael? Of course, in the closing verses of Moses' Qur'ānic encounter with Khāḍir, it is most likely that all fear and confusion fell away as Khāḍir explained his actions, and Moses then understood something of his erstwhile guide's (righteous) intention and (superior) insight.

At the time of his death, it is said that Moses implored the Angel of the Face to intercede

for him, that he might live yet a while longer and so enter the Promised Land. But to no avail. Moses exclaimed: "Alas! The feet that trod the heavens, the face that beheld the Face of the Shekinah, and the hands that received the Torah, shall now be covered with dust!" (*ibid*, 3: 435).[41]

Here Moses makes reference to his previously described heavenly ascension (*miʿrāj*) and seems to equate the Metatronic 'Angel of the Face' (Michael/ Yefefiyah/ Zagzagel),with the 'Face of the *Shekhīnah*.' This identification would tie in with the concept of Metatron being the theophany–type of the Presence of God. And Khāḍir, upon whom was bestowed mercy and knowledge from out of the divine presence (18: 65), appears to be the prime Islamicate exemplification of the Jewish idea of Enoch/Elijah manifesting the *Shekhīnah*.

Moses seems to have had a long–running difficulty in getting along with angels. It would appear that he suffered the same angelic wrath that Adam experienced (from Iblīs, 'Lucifer') when God (in the Qur'ān) requested the angels to bow down to Adam in token of the Primordial Man's acceptance of vice–regentship over His creation (2: 31-35). Similarly, Moses accepted governorship of the Israelites, and had problems not only with the apocryphal angels resenting his reception of the Torah (to the point that they actually wanted to kill him), but also with his Qur'ānic angel–like mentor, Khāḍir. In fact, there are many parallels between Moses' hardship in bearing with Khāḍir and numerous Judaic stories of Moses fearing for his life from the wrath of angels.

As yet further examples, the *Zohar* relates that, while Moses was in heaven receiving the Torah, the Israelites were worshiping the Golden Calf, and Moses began to fear the angels, even though, as a great prophet, he was (at least, theologically) superior to them. The angels tried to kill Moses when God wished to send him back to earth. Especially vengeful were the five Angels of Destruction: Keẓef, Af, Ḥemah, Mashḥit, and Ḥaron. Moses clung to the Throne of God for protection, and God hid him with His mantle. Once, Moses was attacked and swallowed by the angels Aḥ and Ḥemah (*ibid*, 2: 328).[42] The *Zohar* relates that, when Moses was again upon earth, just after the Golden Calf episode, the prophet's face lost its heavenly lustre, whereupon the angels again dared to attack him. When Moses, on Mt. Horeb, asked to see the Glory of God, the angels were incensed that a mere mortal would so presume, and tried to kill him. But God's hand protected Moses from the hatred of His own servants.

Let me now summarize the key similarities between Khāḍir and Elijah.

As I have shown, Islamicate tradition acknowledges four immortal prophets: Enoch, Elijah, Christ, and Khāḍir. Numerous qualities, deeds, and Islamicate oral and written traditions link Khāḍir with Elijah. Although Elijah is sometimes identified with a Metatronic Enoch (as his 'brother'), Khāḍir is much more Elianic than Enochian. Enoch is too far removed from earthly affairs, too transcendental, as compared with Khāḍir (and the other two immortals).

Christ shares with Khāḍir associations with water and fish imagery, miraculous powers,

immortality, and with resurrection, renewed life, and the Waters of (eternal) Life. However, Christ and Khāḍir, besides not being specifically associated (let alone identified) in the Islamicate tradition, save for their shared immortality, differ in that the Christ (of Christian canonical scripture) was much more mild, sympathetic, patient, and otherworldly than Khāḍir. Though Christ at times evoked controversy and censure (such as his ridding the Temple of money-changers and his censure by the Roman and the Judaic authorities, leading to his crucifixion), his activity did not display more than a little of the crazy-wisdom, trickster type so favoured by Khāḍir and the apocryphal Elijah. However, I think that a greater resemblance between Khāḍir and Christ would be seen if the Christic model was that of certain Christian apocryphal, gnostic, writings.

It would seem that there is a double-pairing off among the four immortal prophets. Khāḍir and Elijah form one pairing; while Enoch and Christ form the other twinning. The Judaic occultic and spiritual notions of Elijah and Enoch being Metatronic brothers I attribute to their being the only two Jewish immortal prophetic or saintly figures not to share any other important characteristics.

Given the transhistorical modus of Khāḍir's and Elijah's personæ, it is difficult to tell which figure has served as the blueprint for the other – if, indeed, either has done so; the legends of each may have infuenced the other. Scholars (such as Friedlander and the other German savants who wrote on the linkage between Khāḍir and Elijah) appear to stress the influence of the apocryphal Elijah upon the development of the Khāḍir persona and legends associated with him. The metaphysical and ambiguous nature of the apocryphal works in which the Khāḍir-like Elijah appears only further complicates an already complex web of parallelisms spanning many centuries and loci (though at the same time providing the search for the origins of the figure of Khāḍir with its clearest and most integral, case for association/identification), especially when the Khāḍiro-Elianic angels which populate Judaic aprocryphal stories of Moses are taken into account.

While Elijah is linked with Enoch, both Khāḍir and Elijah are identified/associated with St. George, St. John the Baptist, and Phinehas, as well as with various ancient fertility gods, such as Ba^{c}al.

Khāḍir and Elijah are variously portrayed in Islamicate tradition as either identical or as twin-like brothers. They spend each Ramaḍān together at Jerusalem, then take part in the Ḥājj without being recognized by others. They also share responsibility for the guardianship of creation: in the typical Islamicate representation of their roles, Khāḍir is the governor of the seas (and sometimes of the land also); Elijah is the caretaker of the land.

The Elijah compared with Khāḍir here, it must be stressed, is the Elijah of Judaic apocryphal literature, the demiurgic Metatron-Elijah. Elijah and Khāḍir typify the *Mysterium Tremendum* aspect of the sacred developed by Rudolf Otto in his *The Idea of the Holy* (whereas Enoch and Jesus exemplify more of its compliment, the *Mysterium Facinuns*)[43]. Khāḍir and

Elijah are crazy-wisdom tricksters, the closest term for which in Arabic might be (the phenomenon of) *malumātiyyah*, 'blameworthiness.' Khāḍir and Elijah are masters of human destiny, executors of the divine will on earth, and vindicators of God's sometimes seemingly absent sense of justice in this world. They forcefully intervene in, and radically transform, subtle and difficult human predicaments. They are severe, uncompromising, and at times, violent. They appear to be laws unto themselves, being above the letter of religio-social laws (much like Christ). They are protectors of the lost, the abandoned, and those in distress. Both are depicted as custodians and revealers of and initiators into esoteric lore and experience. Both teach important religio-spiritual figures (e.g., Khāḍir trains Moses, Elijah trains Elisha). They may appear at any time, at any place, and in any guise. They possess supranatural powers, andthus are able to bring rain or to cause drought, and to raise the deed. Both are linked to water (Khāḍir: "the junction of the two seas" and the Waters of Life; Elijah: the crossing of the river Jordan, and in Islamicate tradition, the Waters of Life). Both are associated with resurrection and immortality. Khāḍir is linked with the fish that returned to life in 18: 61, 63, as well as with the Waters of Life he discovers in the *Iskandarnāmah* and other recensions of the Pseudo-Callisthenes Alexander Romance corpus. Ṣūfī literature discusses his ability to grant the Waters of Life to worthy spiritual seekers. Elijah's connections with the theme of resurrection in the Judaic Bible appear to be physical: he resurrected Jonah; and he will resurrect the dead in the future (according to Judaic tradition). Finally, and most importantly - at least within the context of this thesis - is the concern Khāḍir and Elijah (as well as their homolgues, the demon Ashmeday of the *Babylonian Talmud*, and the angel of the *Vitæ Patrum*) participate in: the theme of theodicy; proving to worthy humans the ineffability of divine justice in an apparently injust world.

Conclusion

This thesis has tried to shed light on the figure of Khāḍir both within Qur'ānic exegesis - and, by archetypal extension, into the bedrock of Oikoumenic religion (the myths of Mesopotamia) - and in Judaic and Christian apocrypha spanning the 3rd to the early 10th centuries CE.

Having contextualized the *Sūrat al-Kahf* and drawing upon Muslim commentary and modern scholarship in which Khāḍir appears, I proceeded to discuss the person, characteristics, and multiple identifications and associations of Khāḍir with various Mesopotamian, ancient Greek, Judaic, and Christian gods, demi-gods, prophets, saints, angels, and (one) demon. The thesis concluded with an analysis of the relationship between Khāḍir and Elijah. Elijah is the figure whom scholars who have researched the multivalent personae of Khāḍir have singled out as the strongest candidate for a 'twinning,' or association and/or identification for Khāḍir (perhaps because he is among the more recent and elaborated upon 'types of Khāḍir'), and an at least partial solution to the problem of Khāḍir's antecedents. I suggest that Elijah is a link between the Mesopotamian mythogenesis of the fourth millennium BCE and the much more recent Muslim recapitulation and reworking of the multifarious Oikoumenic mythic material, foremost among which are Judaic and Christian sources.

The Islamicate expressions of the Islamicate figure of Khāḍir began with the revelation of the story of Moses and Khāḍir (18: 60–82) in mid 7th-century Makkah and were continuously elaborated upon and developed thereafter. But the Muslim recension of the Khāḍir archetype does indeed appear to be built upon the ancient Oikoumenic water/fish divinities, such as Enki, and the wise, immortal, god-man Utnapishtim of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the oldest extant literature worldwide. Elijah, of course, is not a perfect link between Utnapishtim and Khāḍir, for many of the old, pagan images and characteristics of the 'Green Man' motif would be out of place in religions as strictly monotheistic as Judaism and Islam.

I think that a great deal of work yet remains to be done on the subject of Al-Khāḍir. As mentioned in my introduction, since the turn-of-the-century German articles on Khāḍir, especially the impressive research of Israel Friedländer, almost nothing has been written on Khāḍir (in European languages, at least) save for a few articles and at least one unpublished thesis.

The importance of Khāḍir to Islamicate folklore popular religion and most particularity to Qur'ānic studies and Islamicate mysticism warrants much more attention than has appeared over the past century. The læcuna in published research on Khāḍir is quite inexplicable, particularly when one considers how much valuable material has been published on other persons in the Qur'ān and figures of key importance to studies of characters from Jamāᶜī Sunnī and Shīᶜī spirituality (Ṣūfism and *ᶜirfān*, respectively), as well as the increasing interest evidenced in the oral and written beliefs and practices of the folkloric and popular Islam of the 'little tradition.'

I hope that scholars inclined towards comparative research in religion will sometime soon devote some of their expertise to developing our knowledge of Khāḍir's origins, roles, and ramifications: both the Khāḍir of Islam and the 'Khāḍirs' outside of Islam. As mentioned in reference notes to my introduction, I am planning to collate a translated (into English, where a given work is in another language) and annotated compilation of the older (mostly German) and the more recent (mostly English) work on Khāḍir. That work may contribute towards stimulating further, original, research into both historical and speculative work on Khāḍir.

The persona of Khāḍir is complex and heterogenous, spanning as it does - and as I hope this thesis has proven – several religious/mythic traditions with important and interesting expressions in folklore and mysticism.[1] My attempt to attribute a mythical sense to the narrative of a supranatural being – i.e., Khāḍir – in other words, to mythologize that narrative and thus its protagonist, is an attempt to return to the origins of the Khāḍir–archetype as an expression of the Oikoumenic religious continuum.

I think that there is much truth to the assertion that, for ancient or primitive man, there was no real distinction between dreams, hallucinations, and ordinary vision (we might here include mystical visions), nor any real difference between an ordinary act and a ritual or symbolic performance. For to ancient man's mentality "there is coalescence of the symbol and what it signifies, as there is coalescence of two objects compared so that one may stand for the other" (Frankfort 1977, 12).

Speculative thought for the ancients, the mythologist Frankfort claims, was not idle. Rather, it was always linked to experience. The prime subject of speculative thought has always been man himself – his nature, problems, values, and destiny. The attempt to understand himself through myth, religion, and spirituality and, more recently, by means of the sciences (both physical and social, perhaps especially psychology and related fields of research) allowed man to transform the chaos of his inner and outer worlds into order (*ibid*, 12).

It is of note that, etymologically, speculation

> is an intuitive, almost visionary, mode of apprehension....Speculative thought transcends experience, but only because it attempts to explain, to unify, to order experience. It achieves this end by means of hypotheses. If we use the word in its original sense, then we may say that speculative thought attempts to underpin the chaos of experience so that it may reveal the features of a structure – order, coherence, and meaning (*ibid*, 3).

Thus, in the ancient Oikoumene, speculation had unhampered scope and possibilities because of the relative absence of scientific thought, and it did not distinguish between man and nature (*ibid*, 12f).

Modern man's relationship to his world is an "I–It" attitude; (to borrow Martin Buber's phrase) which is participatory in its mode of obtaining knowledge and abstract or generalized in character. Ancient man's relationship was more of an "I–Thou" attitude, which was personal and passive, or accepting in approach, as well as specific in nature.

For ancient man, anything could happen, and life was a continual flux and reflux of spirit–forces. In an "I – Thou" relationship, man is passive, first receiving an impression, the resultant knowledge being direct, emotional, and inarticulate, situated between active judgement and passive "undergoing of an experience." The "I – Thou" *Weltanschuuang* is a phenomenon which I like to call 'transparent' in that it betokens a live presence which reveals itself in a dynamic, emotional, and reciprocal relationship. The whole world is animate, full of life–force which reveals all kinds of inner significations.

While to Freud myths were merely "public dreams," to Jung, myth and religion serve positive, life–enhancing goals. C. G. Jung[2] distinguished between the "personal unconscious" which is the biographical, socially determined, and unique underlayer of awareness common to each individual, and the "collective unconscious," that profound and mysterious ocean of universal archetypes upon which Jungian, and much of other transpersonal psychologies are based (Campbell 1984, 216). Khāḍir is just such an archetype.

Campbell says that the archetypes of mythology are universal; they may vary somewhat according to local flora, fauna, climate, geography, race; they will also differ in their rational applications, be given different interpretations, and will have different social customs to validate and to maintain. Nevertheless, the essential, archetypal ideas and the forms of those ideas are the same all around the world (*ibid*, 216).

Myth, in this context, is seen to be a poetic expression of a transcendental mode of seeing (*ibid*, 30). Interestingly, the Qur'ān is cast in a poetic mode[3] somewhat similar to the pre–Islamic bardic/shamanic poetry; the Prophet was often tauntingly referred to as a poet, and not a prophet (though he is reported to have said that "there is some wisdom in poetry").

"True myth" is not playful fantasy. It presents its imagery with compelling authority. The Qur'ān, as "true myth," is partly a recounting of historical events, and is imbued by powerful symbology. When first revealed, its images must have been seen as imbedded within 'the occasions of revelation.' But with time, its imagery became part of the vast store–house of Islamicate mythico–religious lore in its present form.

According to the classification of myths which mythologist S. H. Hooke uses (1988, 11–14) there are several types of myth. I find that two of those types (the "ritual myth" and the "cultic myth") are to be seen in the story of Moses and Khāḍir in the Qur'ān. The ritual myth is always accompanied by a spoken or chanted element (its *muthos*). The Qur'ān itself, literally 'The Recital,' is the Islamic *muthos* in its entirety. Tradition affirms that the angel Gabriel dictated the

message of God to Muḥammad in Arabic. Classical Arabic henceforth was no longer the tongue of the *jinn* (sub-angelic spirits) and inspired bards of the pagan past of Arabia; it became the language of angels and the Apostle of God. To chant the Qur'ān in its Arabic original is to participate in exactly the same act as the recital of the angel Gabriel to Muḥammad, and of Muḥammad to his people. It is thus no surprise that a science of Qur'ānic chanting (*talāwah*) developed into several styles.

The story of Moses and Khāḍir in the Qur'ān would be part of the "cultic mythos" of the Qur'ān as a whole. The cultic myth bears a historical underpinning (*Heilsgeschichte*) and a historical structure which valourizes a particular historical event (however admixed with legend it may be) and casts it into liturgy which, in turn, acts as the foundation for the "salvation history" of a peoples' relationship in space and time with the redemptive action of their deity. Many verses in the Qur'ān are historically situated as far as when and where the Prophet recited the given verse or chapter, as is elaborated upon in the Islamic 'science of the [Qur'ānic] occasions of revelation.' Khāḍir continues to be regarded as a historical personage among devout Muslims of a literalist bent, at least. The existence of the story of Khāḍir and Moses in the liturgical text of Islam, however, raises the passage of 18: 60–82 into an example of "salvation history" for the Muslim peoples.

Most of the Mesopotamian mythological materials appropriated by Hebrew writers of the Judaic Bible and Jewish apocrypha – whether directly or indirectly – were so adapted that they symbolically portrayed an idea of divine action, and the relation between God and man, as seen of course, by various aspects of Judaic tradition (*ibid*, 139). Many of those same materials were more or less accessible to (and, I believe, sometimes adopted and adapted by) Muḥammad and to other formulators and systematizers of Islamicate mythography: the commentators upon the Qur'ān, the compositors and organizers of the *ḥadīth* corpus, as well as to the biographer/hagiographers of the Prophet, his Companions, and the Jamā'-Sunnī saints and the Shī'ī Imāms and martyrs.

The irrational aspect of myth both conveys information and dramatizes stories. Special virtue is attached to the ritual recital and enactment of the myth. I see the Qur'ān as an expression of mythopoeic thought in that it is presented in, at least, a poetical guise, which transcends mere poetry in that it claims to proclaim a truth. It is also a type of reason, of logic, which transcends ordinary reason in wanting to enact the truth which it proclaims. Finally, the Qur'ān is a 'form' of action, of the acting out of ritual behavior, which elaborates a poetic form of truth in that the Qur'ān is a recital and is 'enacted' when it is recited. The story of Khāḍir and Moses in the Qur'ān is a tale of mythopoeic action which has its own truth-proclaiming logic. Thus, chapter 18: 60–82 is: a) set in the form of truth-proclaiming poetic literature; b) which enacts, via the medium of the stories of Moses' quest for and his journey with Khāḍir , the logic of the truth which it proclaims, and which

is, as it were, an ornamentation of the truth which it proclaims, embodied in the guise of evocative symbolic imagery, and; c) by recital of those verses, casts that latent desire or command for enactment into action.

Mythological biographies of saviors (as Khāḍir is sometimes held to be) and heroes (such as the "georgic Khāḍir and Moses, after a fashion) communicate the messages of their "world-transcending wisdom" by means of "world-transcending symbols." These supranatural symbols, however, are almost always soon after "translated" back into the verbalized, two-dimensional concepts which constructed the spirit-denying prison of ordinary reality in the first place (Campbell 1984, 29).

I do not see the Khāḍir/Moses story as an example of Kantian "pre-logical" thinking; it is not a 'tale of "pure reason"' but rather an alogical narrative. It is a tale of power which empowers the reciter. There is a coalescence of symbol and symbolized in our story; the fish and the omen; the Waters of Life and knowledge; Moses, the hero; Khāḍir, the 'god' or angel-prophet of life, knowledge, and mercy. Even the name which the Islamicate tradition has bestowed upon the unnamed guide in our story, al-Khāḍir, 'the Green Man,' is a good example of the aforementioned coalescence of symbol and symbolized. Khāḍir is, after all, associated with life, rebirth, and resurrection (via water mystically empowered). In myth, since images exist in reality, concepts are likely to be concretized. This is not to say that Khāḍir is naught but an image or a concept; but his words, deeds, his manner in general, indeed his very appearance, as described in the Qur'ān, are clearly mythopoeic nonetheless. Analysis of Khāḍir will thus benefit by considering him as a real symbol, a mythic manifestation, in narrative, of an archetype.

The universal figures of mythic imagination are "facts of the mind made manifest in a fiction of matter" (*ibid*, 10). Khāḍir is evidently just such a "mental fact" concretized in the Qur'ān 18: 65-82 and expressed in Islamic mystical, folkloric, and theological "manifestations" of the sacred.

It has been said that the inevitability of personal death leads a people to place great emphasis on the immortality of the social order; and no religion except Judaism (unless Confucianism be considered a religion), places as much importance on a divinely decreed and immutable social order as does Islam. If so, it should not be surprizing that the "recognition of mortality and the requirement to transcend it is the first great impulse to mythology" (*ibid*, 20). Thus we have the resurrection of the fish episode (18: 60, 63) and the Islamic imagery of the Waters of Life, and Khāḍir as the Green Man of immortality. Of course, in the mythic dimension, humans, animals (and fish and birds), as well as the elements can interchange forms: a typical shamanic occurrence.

The Khāḍir-paradigm, as a still-"functioning mythological symbol," is what Campbell would call "an energy-evoking and-directing sign" (*ibid*, 219). Khāḍir, the Islamicate variant of

the worldwide archetype of the immortal, Green Man of knowledge and life, continues to evoke and direct the immortal knowledge-holding energy of greenness among Muslims, both ordinary believers and those more spiritually implicated.

In myth there is no impersonal law regulating the world, only the immediate experience of a personal and a purposeful will, which Khāḍir represents and embodies to Moses. The gods in ancient myth may be seen as personifications of power, extensions of man's need to understand why things happen the way they do. "Mythopoeic thought substantializes a quality and posits some of its occurrences as causes, others as effects" (Frankfort 1977, 17). Thought-associations become causal connections.

Time and space, in myth, assume concrete designations while remaining archetypal. We have the orientation, in the Qur'ān, of Moses' quest itself, and the time of "an age" which Moses was prepared to travel, the place in which the fish revives and where Moses (apparently) meets Khāḍir, and the space-time conjunctions of the three deeds of Khāḍir. Mythico-Qur'ānic time and space are given emotional and qualitative values and are set in the context of a series of life experiences. In the Qur'ān, the chaotic life experiences which Moses went through and failed to understand are, at the end of the episode, transposed by Khāḍir into the mental realm of ordered understanding by means of his interpretation in the latter part of the passage.

Joseph Campbell writes of the "universal formula" of the mythological journey of the hero as being comprised of three phases: 1) separation; 2) initiation; 3) return.

> A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow men (Campbell 1984, 209).

Moses does indeed set out on a long and wearisome journey through some sort of wilderness, accompanied only by his attendant (18: 60–64). This stage is the separation. Next comes the initiation phase, and is marked in our story by Khāḍir 'initiating' (or accepting) Moses into his apprenticeship or tutelage (18: 66–70). After their journey together had ended and Khāḍir had provided Moses with his explanation (18: 71–82), Moses was bereft of his guide's company and – presumably – then returned to his people. This would be the third phase of the hero's mythological journey: the return. Therefore, we have in the Qur'ān 18: 60–82 a typical example of the hero's mythological journey.

Key motifs (another characteristic of myth) tend to repeat themselves. The water-motif of the spring is repeated in thewaters of the two seas. The water-creature as fish is repeated in the image of Khāḍir, who is found by the jucture of two seas. The miraculous manner of the fish swimming to the sea is repeated in the wondrous manner of Khāḍir's ability to discern the divine

intention in the three episodes found in the Qur'ān, Part 2. The resuscitation of the fish is mirrored in general Islamicate tradition by the very being of Khāḍir who has drunk of the Waters of Life and is thus immortal (as seen in the *Iskandarnāmah*, for example). The journey of Moses and Joshua is echoed by that of Moses and Khāḍir; further, both journeys are characterized by strange events and hardship. The forgetfulness of Joshua in neglecting to tell Moses of the resuscitation and escape of their fish is repeated in Moses' forgetfulness in three times neglecting to bear with Khāḍir in silence. The first deed of Khāḍir is repeated in two further deeds thus yielding a total of three, as we have seen, a number popular in myth, folklore, and mysticism. Again, these three deeds are 'repeated' when Khāḍir interprets them for Moses.

The ritual recital of the adventures of Moses, Joshua, and Khāḍir is not only symbolic but is part of the cosmic drama. Individual and cosmic events are synchronized. Heavenly justice, knowledge, and mercy are shadowed forth upon the earthly stage.

The above discussion of the dynamics of myth demonstrates that myth tells us in picture-language of psychic or supernatural powers to be encountered, recognized, and integrated into our lives. Further, we see that a mythologist such as Campbell and a psychologist such as Jung agree that these psychic dimensions are common to the human spirit and that they are always present as the inherited and ever-living wisdom of the species. Hence, the archetype of Khāḍir, 'the Green Man' – an immortal and ever-present paradigm of wisdom – is found in the Jewish and Christian traditions; for example, as Elijah, Enoch, Melchezedek, and Christ: all serve an exemplars of 'the wisdom of the human spirit.'

In summation, the logic of mythopoeic thought, which derives from an "I-Thou" relationship, is set in terms of complex and intuitive imagery in which man and his world are integrated. This is the aim of speculative thought in the ancient Oikoumene, and was (and still may be) realized, I think, in the Khāḍir/Moses Qur'ānic passage.

Myth is indeed an inner dialogue in which the unconscious-conscious interaction of symbolic forms allows the psyche to come into contact with the further horizon of our own Green Man within: "the angel of our being," who allows us to attain "the junction of the two seas:-" "*if you are Khiḍr*..."(Corbin 1969, 60).

Abbreviations

for table, chart, diagram, and reference notes.

Legends

AB Ashmeday/Benaya
AH Angel/Hermit
EJL Elijah/R. Joshua b. Levi
UG Utnapishtim/Gilgamesh

Texts

ARc Alexander Romance corpus
BT Babylonian Talmud
EG Epic of Gilgamesh
HY Ḥibbur Yafeh
JSr Jacob of Serugh recension (of *ARc*)
LN Ludul bēl Nēmeqi
MP Midrash on the Psalms
PCr Pseudo-Callisthenes recension (of *ARc*)
VP Vitæ Patrum

Encyclopedias

EI The Encyclopaedia of Islam
EJ The Encyclopædia Judaica
ERE Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics
ER The Encyclopedia of Religion

Others

ap	apocryphal
CB	Christian Bible
Chn	Christian
E	Europe
En	European
fkl	folklore
ght	ghulāt
Gk	Greek
hgy	hagiography
Ia	Ithnā' ʿAsharī
Ite	Islamicate
JB	Judaic Bible
Jdc	Judaic
lgd	legend
K	Kabbalah
Kh	Khāḍir
Ma	Mesopotamia
Mn	Mesopotamian
Oc	Oikoumenic
Oe	Oikoumene
ol	oral
Q	Qur'ān
Qc	Qur'ānic
sp	spirituality

Appendix 1

Translation of *Sūrat al-Kahf*: 60–82.

Part 1: The journey of Moses and his attendant [Joshua] in search of the junction of the two seas; the resurrection of the fish.

60) And (remember) that Moses said to his attendant, "I will not let up until I reach the junction of the two seas or (until) I spend a long time (in travelling)."

61) But when they reached the junction between the two (seas), they forgot about their fish, which took its course through the sea (as in) a conduit.

62) So when they had travelled on (Moses) said to his attendant, "Bring us our morning meal; for we have really suffered from this hardship of our journey."

63) [Joshua] said, "Did you see, when we betook ourselves to the rock – and it (the fish) took its course through the sea in a wondrous way?"

64) (Moses) said, "That is what we were seeking after." So they turned back, retracing their footsteps.

Part 2a: The meeting of Moses and his guide [Khāḍir]; their discussion and agreement.

65) Thus they came upon one of Our (God's) slaves, upon whom We bestowed mercy from Ourselves. And We taught him knowledge from Our presence.

66) Moses said to him, "May I follow you upon the understanding that you teach (me) of that which you were taught, (you being) a guide?"

67) [Khāḍir] said: "Doubtless, you will not [or, are not] able to have patience with me.

68) "How can you be patient with that with which (your) experience is incomplete?"

69) (Moses) said, "You will find me, God willing, patient, and I will not disobey you in anything (come what may)."

70) [Khāḍir] said, "If then you would follow me, do not ask me about anything, until I give you an account of it."

Part 2b: The journey of the guide [Khāḍir] and Moses; the three deeds of the guide [Khāḍir] and the three tests of Moses.

71) So they travelled on until, when they were aboard the ship (or boat), they made a hole in it. (Moses) said, "Did you break a hole (in it) in order to drown her passengers? – Indeed, you have done a strange thing!"

72) [Khāḍir] said, "Did I not tell you that you would not be able to be patient with me?"

73) (Moses) said, "Do not admonish me because I forgot (my vow to silently forbear), nor make me bear hardship in (this) situation of mine."

74) Then they travelled on until, when they came upon a young man, [Khāḍir] slew him. (Moses) said, "Did you kill an innocent man, without (his not having slain) someone? – Indeed, you have done something to be ashamed of!"

75) [Khāḍir] said, "Did I not tell you that you would not be able to have patience with me?"

76) (Moses) said, "If I question you about anything after this, dismiss me: – you have (hereby) received an apology from me."

77) Thus they travelled on until, when they came to the inhabitants of a town, they asked them for food. But the people of the town refused them hospitality. They found there (in the town) a wall

about to collapse. But he [Khāḍir] set it up (straight). (Moses) said, "If you wished, you could have taken recompense for it!"

Part 2c: The guide's [Khāḍir's] explanatory justification of his actions to Moses; their parting.

78) [Khāḍir] said, "This is the parting between me and you. (Now) I will tell you the meaning of what you were unable to forbear.

79) "As to the boat, it belonged to poor people who work upon the sea: – I wished to render it defective, as there was a king about to come upon them who seized every boat by force.

80) "And as to the youth; his parents were believers, and We feared that he would grieve them by oppressing them and by ingratitude.

81) "So We desired that their Lord substitute (for him) another child more pure and closer to mercy.

82) "And as to the wall: it belonged to two orphan youths in the town; beneath it there was a treasure belonging to them – – and their father was a righteous man. Therefore, your Lord desired that they reach their maturity (come of age) and (so) retreive their treasure, (as) a mercy from your Lord. I did not do it of my own accord. That is the interpretation (for you) of that which you were/are unable to bear patiently."

Appendix 2

The Jalālayn commentary on the Qur'ān 18: 60-68.

Following the edition of the Jalālayn commentary[1] to the Qur'ān to which I have had recourse, the numbering of the verses is one interger higher than the format which I have adopted (thus my v. 60 = Jalālayn's v. 61); also, those parts of the translation in parentheses are from the Qur'ānic verse in question. Those words in square brackets are my own, and are included for the sake of clarifying possible ambiguities in the Jalālayn commentary. Mine also is the punctuation, for the Jalālayn *tafsīr* has none.

Included here are only the verses 60–68 (Jalālayn's vv. 61–69), as these verses and their commentaries form the keys (in the Jalālayn commentary, at least) to the identification of Moses and his attendant, their journey, the location of the mysterious "junction of the two seas," the miraculous resurrection of the fish, the identification of Moses' mentor, and the engagement to journey together which Moses and his guide undertook. The remaining Jalālayn verse, 66, includes a *khabar* (report) of al-Bukhārī: this tradition, which describes the whys and wherefores of Moses' journey in search of al-Khāḍir, is extremely well-known. The transliterated Arabic is Jalālayn's, save for my rendition of the transliteration of 'Khāḍir.'

Below follows the Jalālayn commentary to the Qur'ān, chapter 18: 60–70 (Jalālayn's 18: 61–69), according to my translation. Words in parentheses are directly from the corresponding verses of Qur'ān; words in square brackets are my interpolations; all other words are from the Jalālayn *tafsīr*. I supply phrases relevant to this thesis in transliterated Arabic

61) (And) remember (that Moses said) – he who is Ibn ʿImrān [i.e., the Biblical Moses] – (to his attendant), Yūshuʿ bin Nūn, who followed him [i.e., Moses], served him, and received knowledge/ *ʿilm* from him [i.e., was taught by him]: ("I will not let up...) "I will not abandon the journey (...until I reach the junction of the two seas...) – where meet the Byzantine Sea and the Persian Sea/ *maltaqī baḥḥ al-Rūm wa baḥr al-Fars* [i.e., the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf], which is adjacent to [lies near to] the East, which is the approximate location of their meeting place/ *yalī al-mashriq ay al-makān al-jāmiʿ li-dhālika* (...or [until] I have spent a long time [in travelling]") [i.e., a *ḥuqbān* a period of time about 70–80 years in duration] [and spend] a long, long time if that place is far away.

62) (But when they reached the junction between the two [seas]...) between the two seas (...they

forgot about their fish...): Yūshuᶜ forgot to carry it away at the moment of [their] departure, and Moses forgot to remind him (...so it took...) – the fish – (its course through the sea...), which God caused to occur ([as in] a conduit [or underground passage]), which was something like a tunnel. It was a lengthy fissure [or crevasse, rift] without end, in which God Most High witheld the flow of the water [or current]/ *jarī al-mā'*/from the fish. Thus it [the fish] was exposed to view, like a pen/ *ka'l-kū qalam* [*sic*]/ which joins together [mends] having solidified that which is below it/ *yalt'mu wa jamada mā taḥtahu minhu.*

63) (When the two [men; i.e., Moses and Joshua] had travelled on...), by walking, to that place until the following day, at the breakfast hour of the third day, (he said:) Moses ("Bring us our morning meal...) which is eaten at the beginning of the day (...for we have encountered hardship on this journey of ours.") – the setting-in of fatigue after their having drawn nigh [to the junction of the two seas].

64) (He [Joshua] said: "Did you see...) what I saw (...when we betook ourselves to the rock –) to that place [the junction of the two seas?] (– I forgot [about] the fish; and no one made me forget to tell you about it save Satan...). He changed the letter '*hā'*' /(as I remember it); the change comprised that which made me forget it. It (it took) the fish (its way in the sea, miraculously). The effect of the second object [grammatically]: he wonders whether Moses and his servant wondered about it for the reasons mentioned above.

65) (He said:) Moses ("That is...) the fish that we lost (...what...), that which (...we were seeking after.") we were seeking, is a sign for us of the existence of he whom we were seeking. (So they turned back...) they returned (...retracing their footsteps), telling stories (a narrative). Thusly, they came upon the rock.

66) (Thus they came upon one of our slaves [or servants]...). He is al-Khaḍir/ *hūwa al-Khaḍir*[2] (...upon whom We bestowed mercy from Ourselves;): prophecy, according to one report/ *nubuwwah fī qawlī* and saintship according to another/ *wa wilāyah fī ākhir.* Most of the theologians exalt him/ *wa ᶜalīhu akthar al-ᶜulamā'.*/(and We taught him knowledge from Our Presence). The second object [grammatically] is that which is numbered among the divine [or unseen] secrets/ *al-muᶜībāt.*

Al-Bukhārī relates the prophetic tradition/ *ḥadīth* which says that Moses stood up as a preacher [or speaker] among the Banī Isrā'īl. He was asked who, among the people, was the most learned. He said: "I am." God reproached him because he did not attribute knowledge to Him [alone]. Thus God revealed to him [these words]: "Verily, I have a servant [who abides at/who is

to be found at] the junction of the two seas; he is more learned than you." Moses said: "O Lord, how may I get to him?" God said: "Take a fish with you, then put it into a large basket. Wherever you may lose the fish, there he [al-Khāḍir] will be." Thereupon he took the fish and put it in a basket. He hurried off with his attendant Yūshuᶜ bin Nūn until they came to the rock, where they both lay down their heads and slept. The fish moved in the basket and left it [i.e., leaped out]. Falling into the sea, it took its way in the sea through an underground passage [or tunnel, conduit]/ *sarab*/ stealthily. God restrained the course of the fish in the water. Thus he made a circle around the fish. When he [Moses] woke up, his companion [Joshua] had forgotten to tell him about the fish. So they went away for the remainder of that day and that night until early the following morning. That morn, Moses said to his attendant: Bring our meal here." He [Joshua] told Moses: "It took its course in the sea, miraculously." He [al-Bukhārī?] added: "The fish came to an underground passage and came back to Moses and his attendant in a miraculous way, and so on."

67) (Moses said to him: "May I follow you upon the understanding that you teach [me] of that which you were taught, [you being] a guide?"): That which is 'right guidance,' and in another reading, is read with a *dammah* on the *rā'* and a *sukūn* on the *shīn* [i.e., *rushd*, a guide]. He asked him that because increasing [of one's] knowledge is to be sought out.

68) [Only the Qur'ānic verse; no commentary.]

69) (He [Moses] said: "You will find me, God willing, patient, and I will not disobey you in anything [whatsoever].") In the previous *ḥadīth*, following this verse, [it must be Khāḍir speaking now]: "O Moses, my knowledge is from God; He taught it to me and what He taught me, you do not know. And your knowledge is [also] from God, and taught to you by God; and I do not know it." His [Khāḍir] saying is a report/ *khabar*/ the verbal noun/ *masdar*/ meaning, "the truth of which was not revealed to him."

The remaining twelve verses of the Jalālayn commentary, which describe the journey Khāḍir and Moses undertook together, followed by Khāḍir's explanation to Moses of his actions in each of the three scenarios Moses witnessed (and criticized), do not shed any interesting or relevant light on the story or on the figure of Khāḍir.

A few aspects of the Jalālayn commentary are of note. The usual interpretation of the whereabouts of "the junction of the two seas" (v. 61) as being the Red Sea area is offered.

The commentary to v. 66, though, bears the most relevance to this study. Here, the unnamed guide of Moses in the Qur'ān is named (*Huwa al-Khaḍir*) and described as having had bestowed upon him prophecy (*nubuwwah*) and saintship (*wilāyah* or *walāyah*); God taught him divine secrets (*al-muʿāibāt*) Most theologians, it is noted, exalt him.

There follows a well-known *ḥadīth* transmitted by Bukhārī (and others) which furnishes the *raison d'ëtre* of Moses' guest for Khāḍir. God reproaches Moses for his pride in his knowledge and instructs him in how to find one wiser than he. Here, the loss of the fish is seen to be an omen; wherever the fish resurrects and leaps back into the water is "the junction of the two seas," where Khāḍir is to be found. The *ḥadīth* elaborates upon the miraculous revival of the fish, ending with the fish returning to Moses via an underground passage.

In the commentary to verse 69, the same *ḥadīth* from Bukhārī is referred to, in order to elucidate the contractual arrangement into which Khāḍir and Moses entered before beginning their journey. Moses promises to be patient and obedient; Khāḍir replies that both he and his pupil had received knowledge from God. What is strange, given the Islamicate consensus that Khāḍir is supposed to be an all-wise super-saint, (even in the Qur'ān, we are given the distinct impression that Moses' tutor far outstrips his student in wisdom) is that Khāḍir here says that he, Khāḍir, does not know the knowledge which God granted his apprentice!

Lastly, I would mention a particularly perplexing passage at the end of the commentary to verse 62. The revivified fish is described as being "exposed to view, like a pen (*qalam*)", which joins something or other, somehow or other, to something else. I showed this phrase to a colleague, a then Ph. D. candidate in Islamics, and a fluent, native-born speaker of Arabic. He was unable to shed any light on its possible meaning. It might be a poetic reference to the act of writing in the sense of an analogy (though exactly what might be the referent of that analogy, I do not know). There are references to grammatical subtleties in vv. 64, 67, and 69 in the commentary; perhaps the passage is an opaque and overly artistic rendering of a grammatical, or a stylistic problem. Or, it could be that '*qalam*' for example is misspelt. What the intended term may be, I have no idea.

Appendix 3

Chart 1: Intra-textual comparison of elements from the Qur'ān 18: 60-82.

Qur'ān 18: 60-64:	AH	AB	EJL	UG
1. motif of the seeker		*	?	*
2. motif of the seeker's attendant				*
3. theme of the quest		*		*
4. motif of water				*
5. motif of the fish				~
6. meeting-place at a juncture of two seas				~
Qur'ān 18: 65-82:				
7. theme of resurrection or resuscitation				*
8. description of a wise being's qualities			*	
a) as divine knowledge	*	*	*	*
b) as divine mercy			~	
9. theme of the testing of student by mentor (student promises patience and silence to his mentor)			*	*
10. journey of guide and seeker	8	*	*	*
11. 'crazy-wisdom' episodes (3)	(3)	(8)	(4)	
a) destruction		*		
b) killing	*	~	*	
c) construction		*		
12. motif of hidden treasure			*	*
13 student questions each of mentor's actions (3/3)	1/4	1/8	2/4	
14. student loses patience & breaks silence with mentor	*		*	
15. student categorically fails test			*	*
16. mentor explains actions to student		*	*	*
17. student is dismissed by mentor				

Appendix 4

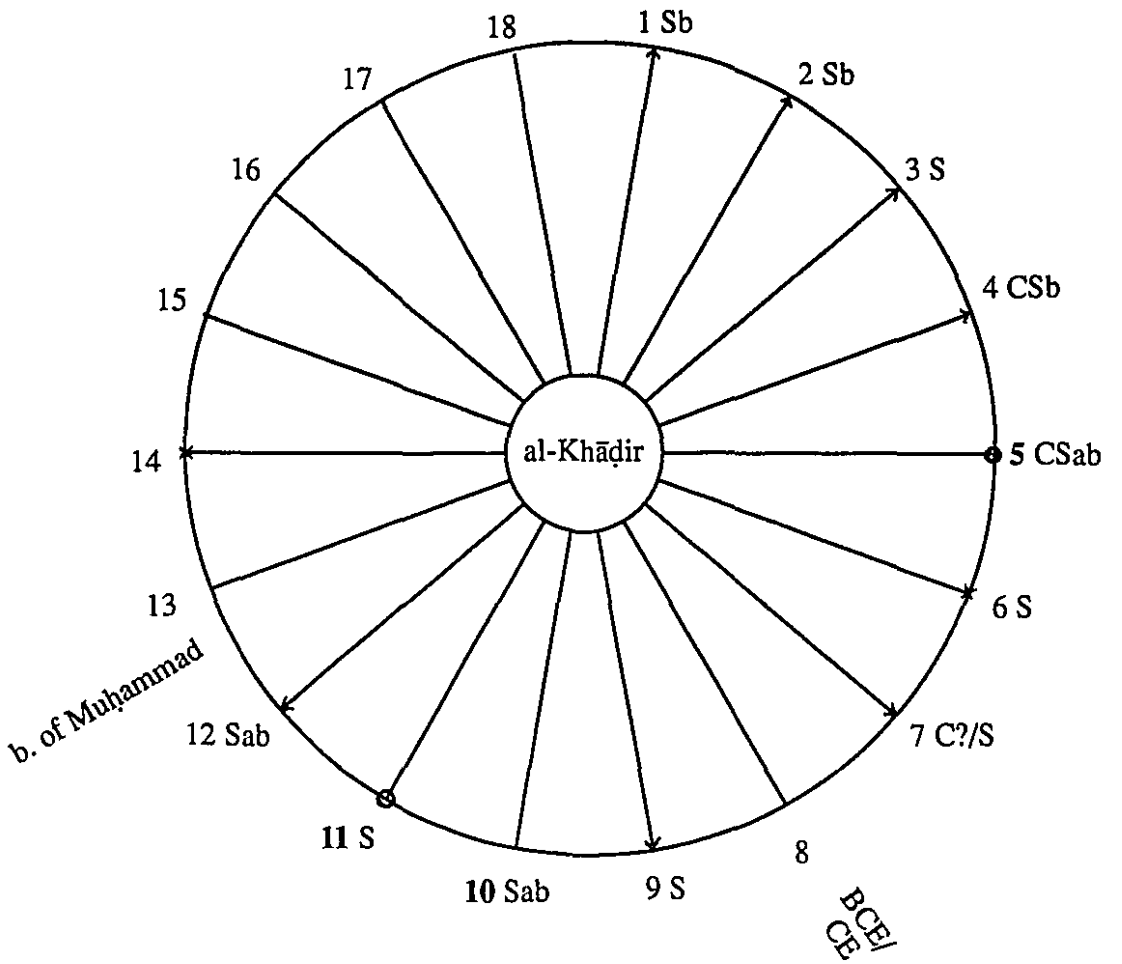
Table 1: Historical, time-flow table of some of the possible developments of the Khāḍir paradigm.

persona(e):	1. EA/ENKI	2. UTNAPISHTIM	3. GLAUCUS, PERSEUS	4. PHINEAS
text(s):	Mn myth; *EG LN*	*EG*	Gk myth	*PC AR*c (JSr)
provenance(s):	Oe	Oe	E, Oe	Oe, E
date(s):	pre 4,000 BCE	c. 4,000 BCE	pre 7th c BCE	pre 7th c BCE
5. ELIJAH	6. MICHAEL (angel)	7. JOHN the BAPTIST	8. JESUS CHRIST	9. St. GEORGE
Jdc sp ap; *Z HY*	Jdc Chn, Oc En hgy	Chn, Oc En hgy	Oc JB, Oc En sp ap, Ght[1] ol hgy	Chn, Oc En, hgy lgd fkl
Oe	Oe E	Oe E	Oe E	Oc En
9th c BCE (3rd c CE EJL)	pre 9th c BCE ?	1st c CE	1st c CE	2nd-3rd c CE
10. "the Angel"	11. AHERSERUS	12. ASHMEDAY	13. METATRON	14. TRAVAGANT
AH, *VP*ap lgd	Jdc Chn lgd fkl	*BT MP*ap lgd	Jdc sp ap	Oe En lgd fkl
Oe E	E	Oe	Oe E	Oe E
pre 8th c CE (3rd c?)	pre 12th c CE?	3rd-6th c CE	pre 3rd-6th c CE?	2nd-3rd c CE?
15. ʿALĪ b. ABĪ ṬĀLIB	16. the IMĀM[2]	17. "the PROPHETS of the BOOK"[3]		18. God
ght ol hgy	IA (ght?) hgy	ght ol hgy		Ght ol
Oe	Oe	Oe		Oe
1st c CE	7th c CE	mid 6th c CE?		mid 6th c CE?

Appendix V: Diagram 1

Classification of Khāḍirian personæ.

Various figues associated and/or identified with Khāḍir as represented in the Qurʾān and in non-Qurʾānic sources (tafsīr, ḥadīth, qaṣṣ, and ṣūfī and ʿirfānī oral and written sources), in both Muslim commentary and modern scholarship.



Nature of Source of Identification:

C Muslim commentary
S Modern scholarship

Degree of Identification:

—— unsure
×—— weak
←—— likely
o—— very likely

Type of Identification:

a strong textual-format parallels with Q
b strong thematic, conceptual, and imagistic parallels within and without Q

For number-persona correlates, see Table 1. Bold-printed numbers indicate that such personæ are represented in a proof-text discussed in this thesis (ch. 3).

Reference Notes

For abbreviations used in the reference notes, see the Abbreviations page, above.

Acknowledgements

1 See the introduction (by B. Todd Lawson) to a *festschrift* entitled *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*. Wael B. Hallaq and Donald P. Little, eds. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 1-5.

Technicalities

1 See Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam Conscience and History in a World Civilization*[1961], 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 1: 12.

2 With the exception of Israel Friedländer; though the (English) article to which I have had recourse renders the name 'Friedlaender,' I have opted to use the proper, German rendition of his name, save when citing his English article.

Introduction

1 A term devised by the late, great Islamicist, Marshall G. S. Hodgson. See his *magnum opus*, *op cit.*, 50, 109f. Suffice it here to say that Ite refers not to the religion of Islam *per se*, but to "the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims. Hogdson writes that 'Islamic' "must be restricted to 'of or pertaining to' Islam *in the proper, the religious, sense*....(*ibid*, 59). See also *ibid*, 57–60, 95.

Hodgson would not approve of my referring to him as an Islamicist, he deems it and various other commonly used terms to describe the field of *Islamswissenschaft* and scholars in that field pretentious and inaccurate. However, I find his arguments for the substitution of 'Islamics' for "Islam Studies" or "Islamdom Studies" (and of 'Islamicists' for "Islamdom Scholars") unwieldy and unnecessary. *Ibid*, 56.

2 Hodgson suggests that "Oikoumene," Gk for the inhabited world, be used to indicate the regions of the world where Ite culture sets the dominant note.

For Hodgson's use of Oikoumene (meaning the area between the rivers Nile and Oxus, and between Europe and Central Asia, and the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean) instead of Middle-east or Near-east. *Op. cit.*, 50, 109f.

3 The Jalālayn numbering of the vv. being 61–69. For data on Jalālayn and his commentary, see my appendix 2.

4 The term 'religious continuum' is of my devising. I substituted Oc in place of my earlier usage of 'Middle' and 'Near-Eastern' for reasons put forward by Hodgson. See n. 2, above. 'Religious,' as a component, may be substituted for 'spiritual,' 'mythic,' 'archetypal,' etc., as

circumstances warrant. 'Continuum' suggests that various culturally important and deeply traditional patterns in a given cultural context are maintained, even as a civilization incorporates heterogenous elements (some of which are more or less hostile to key aspects of the given cultural complex) – even across vast stretches of time. As in a fugue, patterns repeat themselves in multifarious forms, varying from place to place.

5 Material on Kh in Arabic, amounting to more than the passing reference is, apparently, extant, and hopefully, accessible. I have found only two sizable sources of bibliographical references to Ite-language material. One source is scattered in notes in the Islamicist Louis Massignon's treatises (though concerned with Ṣūfism). See my ch. 1 n. 22, and ch. 2 n. 28. The other source is an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources (much of it relevant to Kh's ṣūfic connections) kindly sent me by Dr. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr, preceptor of Persian at Harvard. Thackston told me that there exists (an relatively outdated) version of the same work I have herein attempted. It is Meijer de Hond's *Beitäge zur Erklärung der Elhidrlegende und von Korān. Sure 18: 59ff.* (*Der Korānisirte Elhidr*). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1914).(personal communication, Nov., 1987).

Professor Annemarie Schimmel, a well-known specialist in Ṣūfism (who has notes on Kh as a symbol in poetry in her *Stern und Blume*) recommends Hellmut Ritter's *Das Meer der Seele* and work by Fritz Meier on Kh (personal communication, Aug., 1987).

Professor Ḥusayn Naṣr, likewise a specialist in esoteric Islam (and in *philosophia perennis*), mentions that there are three types of Ite literature dealing with Kh: 1) Ṣūfic treatises, especially works by Persian Ṣūfīs such as Rūmī and ʿAṭṭār; 2) popular stories, such as the *Iskandarnāmah*; and; :3) specifically religious texts, which he divides into a) Qc commentaries on the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, and hagiographies such as the aforementioned *Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* (personal communication, July, 1987).

6 Hassan Haddad does not know of any monograph dealing exclusively with his "favourite wali" (personal communication, Feb., 1987).

Schimmel told me that Thackston "has exhausted most of the material" on Kh and that he plans to publish an enlarged version of his undergraduate honours thesis (at Princeton) on Kh. *Op. cit.* However, Thackston did not mention such a project to me. *Op. cit. Que sera sera*

7 Important writings about Kh in German, and not translated into English or French (arranged in bibliographical format):

Dyroff, Karl. 'Wer ist Chadir?', *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie* 7, 1892, 319–27.

Friedlander, Israel. 'Alexanders Zug nach dem lebensquell und die Chadhirlegende,' *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft* 13, 1910, 11-246.

_____. 'Zur Geschichte der Chadhirlegende,' *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft* 13, 1910, 92–110.

Hart, G. 'Chidher in Sage und Dichtung,' *Sammlung gemeinverst. wiss. Vortäge* No. 280, 1897), 1–27.

Lidzbarski, Mark. 'Wer ist Chadhir?,' *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie* 7,1892, 104–16.

Nöldeke, Th. Note on 'Chidhir' by K Vollers, 234ff, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 13, 1910), 474f.

Vollers, K. 'Chidhir,' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12, 1910, 234-84.

8 I follow Friedländer's division of the Q's 18: 60–82 into two parts. Part 1 (vv. 60–64) describes the quest of Moses and his attendant for "the junction of the two seas." Part 2 (vv. 65–82) deals with Moses' experiences with Kh. Friedländer argues, and I agree, that Pt. 1 has its origins in ancient Mn myth – its heroes and their interactions with various deities of water, wisdom, and immortality. The earliest, if not the most relevant, proof-text would be the *Epic of Gilgamesh* [1960]. N. K. Sandars, trans. (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), hereafter *EG*. Pt. 2 finds its origins in Jdc ap, most important of which, to Friedlander, is the legend of EJL. See Israel Friedlaender, 'Khiḍr,' *ERE* 7, 693b-695b.

I concentrate herein on Pt. 2, and divide it into three sub-sections. Pt 2a (vv. 65–70) deals with the meeting of Kh and Moses, Kh's description, and Kh's and Moses' discussion and convenant. Pt. 2b. (vv. 71–77) discusses the journey of Kh and Moses, and the three deeds of Kh. Pt. 2c (vv. 78–82) is comprised of Kh's explanation of his actions, and the parting of Kh and Moses. See my appendix 1.

On the subject of non-Arabian, pre-Islamic influences on Ite thought, see Hodgson, *op. cit*, 502, where he recommends the booklet by Jörg Kraemer, *Das Problem der Islamischen Kulturgeschichte* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1959). It is a general study, Hodgson writes, but with very helpful notes, providing an introduction to "the transition from various pre-Islamic cultures into Islamicate culture, especially from Hellenistic [*sic*]." See my ch. 3 n. 1.

9 Those other lines of enquiry concentrate in two areas. One is a look at the mystical dimensions of Kh in Ite sp. An aspect of the spiritual significance of Kh has been developed into a paper. See my introduction n. 9.

The other line of enquiry (once situated between the present chs. 2 and 3 of this thesis; it has been deleted in order to narrow the focus of a very complex subject) focuses on the quest of Moses in 18: 60–64. More specifically, the problem involves a comparative analysis of the historical, thematic, conceptual, and imagistic elements of vv. 60–64.

The themes in vv. 60–64 are those of: the quest; centrality and of the idea of the *Axis Mundi*; of immortality resurrection/ resuscitation/ rejuvenation, and of the Water of Life. Important motifs in the above verses are : the seeker; the attendant figure; the fish; water; and fish and water (and vegetative) deities of wisdom and immortality, etc.; the omen; the meeting-place of the two seas.

Thus far, I have researched the possible links between the Qc *majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (18: 60f), the Mn mythic isle of Dilmun, and the present-day island state of Al-Baḥrayn (see my app. 1 n. 3) and a term sometimes correlate with *majmaʿ*, '*barzakh*' (see app. 1 n. 3).

I have also investigated the interrelated notions of immortality, resurrection and rejuvenation, etc., on the one hand, the images of water and of the fish on the other, and the ancient Oc deities in whom the above themes and motifs are conjoined.

The key proof-texts I have thus far used for the above issue are: *EG* and *PC ARc*; an example of which is the mediæval Persian *Iskandarnāmah* (see ch. 2 n. 4).

10 Those papers are: 'Khizr: the Emerald Angel of the Heart. The Symbolism of the Colour Green in Islamic Spirituality,' *Journal of Religion and Culture* 6 (Montréal: Concordia University, Summer, 1992), 77-101; and a shorter and edited version of the above, 'Khizr: Emerald Angel of the Heart,' *Hikmat* 3: 6 (n. p.: The Shia Ismaili Tariqah and Religion Education Board for Canada,

July, 1992), 37-44, respectively.

I have presented the same topic at two academic conferences and at two university based lecture series.

11 One project being a collaborative, annotated translation into English of the aforementioned turn-of-the-century German articles on Kh. The other work planned is a compilation of more contemporary articles on Kh.

Chapter 1

1 An author of a modern commentary on the Cave Chapter, refers to Pt. 2 of our passage as containing "strange and bewildering events" Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Faith and Materialism. (The Message of Surat-ul-Kahf)*[1971]. Mohiuddin Ahmad, trans. (Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1973), 78.

2 It might be mentioned that Nadwi argues that the *Sūrat al-Kahf* contains, not three stories, but four. The extra tale is that of the two gardeners (18: 32–44). Considering the entire set of tales in the 18th chapter of the Q as essentially parabolic and homiletic in nature, he therefore included the parable-like story of the two gardeners and their respective faith (or lack thereof) in divine providence as a narrative of basically the same content and message as the three above-mentioned legends (see *op. cit.*, ch. 3). As far as I know, Nadwi is the only author to hold that the Cave Chapter comprises four, instead of three, tales; and he appears to be the only one to believe that the parable of vv. 32–44 is of the same character as the other three narratives.

I disagree with Nadwi, for the other stories – the Companions of the Cave, Kh and Moses, and Dhū al-Qarnayn – are obviously rooted in Judaic and Christian apocryphal legendry, and are furthermore directly related to the three questions asked of Muḥammad by the rabbis and pagans of Yathrīb and Makkah. The parable of the two gardeners does not fall into either the prevailing conceptual model or the historical scenario which informs and envelops the other three stories. The only possible exception would be the issue of "the Spirit" on the one hand, and its probable corresponding answer, the account of Kh and Moses, on the other.

3 See ch. 3; ch. 3 n. 9.

4 John Wansbrough has provoked quite a controversy in considering the text of the Q to be a ccomposite of various monotheistic Arabic elements, much as rabbinic Judaism is an amalgamation of different traditions. See his *Quranic Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977). Most scholars, however, disagree with Wansbrough's analysis of the Q, and would tend to side with Fazlur Rahman's argument that,

> there is a distinct lack of historical data on the origin, character, evaluation, and personalities involved in these 'traditions.' Moreover, on a number of key issues the Qur'ān can be understood only in terms of a chronological and developmental unfolding within a single document *Major Themes of the Qur'ān* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980), xii.

This thesis is not the place to discuss a general textual criticism of the Q. However, I would have to agree with Wansbrough's above-noted thesis as far as the *Sūrat al-Kahf* is concerned. Rahman's point about the "distinct lack of historical data" on the "personalities involved in the 'traditions'" which went into the formation of the Q's text and historical

contextualization is particularly appropriate when analyzing the characters portrayed *Sūrah* 18, especially the tale of Kh and Moses, and (though somewhat less so) that of Dhū al-Qarnayn. Nevertheless, such data, as I will soon attempt to show, is not entirely lacking. Further, though I do not believe that the passage of 18: 60-82 is considered by most Muslims (mystics aside) as a "key issue" in the Q, it can in no way, I think, be understood only within any "chronological or developmental" model of the Q as "a single document." In an attempt to do justice to the subtler dimensions of a figure such as Kh quite clearly presents, to neglect the value of a phenomenological analysis would be unwarranted. (Islamicists such as Henry Corbin and Ḥusayn Naṣr have demonstrated an impressive blending of the historical, textual, and phenomenological approaches in the study of sp in the Ite tradition.)

5 See Abdullah Yusuf Ali's notes to his translation of 18: 60–82. On the legend of Kh, see his commentary in *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'ān* [1934], 3rd ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Masri, 1938), 747 n. 2444.

6 The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines theodicy as "a vindication of the divine attributes, esp. justice, and holiness, in respect to the existence of evil; a writing, doctrine, or theory intended to justify the ways of God to men" (2: 2166).

7 Amir Ali lists the placement of the chapters of the Q according to ten compilers in accord with his schema of arranging the Q's 114 chapters into 12 (chronological) decades. Ibn ᶜAbbās, Nu'man, Suyūṭī–Egyptian, Nöldeke/Abū al–Faḍl, Rodwell, Muir, Yūsuf ʿAlī (*op. cit.*), and Yaʿqūb Ḥasan (?) all place the *sūrah* within the 7th decade. Grimme lists it within the 9th decad, and Ajmāl Khān places it in the 6th decad. See his *The Holy Qur'ān* (Karachi: The Sterling Printing & Publishing Company, Limited, 1964), 89.

The Chapter of the Cave is the 30th *sūrah* in his "*Kitāb*" ('Book') section of the Q, which section forms the 4th of 5 thematic parts. The *Kitāb* section, comprised of 36 chapters, is supposed to relate to the JB and to date from the below–mentioned Late Makkan Period. *Ibid*, 92.

8 See, for example, Hodgson, *op. cit.*, ch. 1.

9 Published in 1844 and 1878.

10 See Noldeke (-Schwally), *Geschichte des Qorāns* [1961] (Hidesheim, NY: G. Olms, 1970)

11 Published in 1937–39.

12 Some place the verses of admonishment to the Prophet, vv. 23f, in Madīnah; others prefer Makkah.

13 See his ch. 4, especially 76–80. For bibliographical sources on Chapter 18, see his *Lectures du Coran* (Paris: Editions G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982), 84ff.

14 The 'Qur'ān' means the 'recital' or the 'reading,' and is derived from the verbal root *qara'a* The *qurra'* (sing., *qāri'*), the 'reciters,' are the ritual specialists in Qc reading. Several styles of accepted recitation of the Q developed, all based upon the same ʿUthmāmic recension of the Q and upon renowed systematizers of Qc recitation. The tradition of the recitation of "The Recitation" must have its roots in Muḥammad's own manner of reciting the various revelations which came to him. His "sinewy oracular style cast into short rhymed phrases, often obscure and sometimes

preceded by one or more oaths" is related to the pre-Islamic era *kuhhān* or *kahanah* (sing., *kāhin*), Arabian oracular bards. H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism A Historical Survey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 36. For Qc defenses of the Prophet as not being mad or possessed by *jinn*, as the see the Q 7: 185, 68: 3, and 81: 23.

15 For texts on the life and times of Muḥammad, see William Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* and *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953 and 1956, respectively).

16 Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī; renowned Arab historian and commentator.

17 Ibn Jarīr relates, on the authority of Ibn ᶜAbbās, that the Quraysh deputed Nadhr ibn al-Hārith and ᶜUqba ibn Abī Muyīt to go to the Jewish doctors of Yathrīb in order to inquire about Muḥammad and his teachings. The Jews were held to be the custodians of the ancient scriptures, and knowledgeable in the lore of the prophets. (One of the transmitters in this *isnād*, or chain of traditional reportage [i.e., ᶜAkramah], is said by Ibn Isḥāq to be untrustworthy, thus casting doubt upon the report's authenticity.). See Nadwi, *op. cit.*, 30f, n. 1.

18 It may yet be that many Orientalists specializing in Islam share Wherry's overweening scepticism regarding the integrity of Muḥammad and of his message. On the negative aspects of orientalism, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

19 See the conclusion of this ch., and this ch. n. 36.

20 See my ch. 3.

21 His name is spelt in various ways. See *EI*, *JE*, and especially *ER* 13, 270f.

22 On the Companions of the Cave, see R. Paret, 'Aṣḥāb al-Kahf,' *EI* (New Ed.) 1, 1960, 691a,b. See also Louis Massignon, 'Les "Sept Dormants," apocolypse de l'islam,' *Opera minora, textes recueillis, classés et présentés avec une bibliographie par Y. Moubarac* (Recherches et documents), 3 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Maaref, 1963), 3: 104-118, and *idem*, *op. cit*, 132.

23 For an Ite synopsis of Alexander the Great, see W. Montgomery Watt, "Al-Iskandar," *EI* (New Ed.) 4, 1978, 127b. See also A. Abel and the editors, 'Iskandar Nāma,' *ibid*, 127b-129a, for a look at the *ARc* in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources.

For an Ite recension of the *PC ARc*, see the *Iskandarnāmah*. It has been translated as *Iskandarnamah. A Persian Medieval Alexander-Romance* (Persian Heritage Series) by Minoo S. Southgate (New York: Columbia University Press, 31, 1978).

An example of a monograph on Alexander the Great, focusing on the mediæval period (which is the most important period for the development of the Ite *ARc*), is by George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* [1956] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

For a mediæval, Hebrew, version of the *ARc*, see Immanual ben Jacob Bonfils, *The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon* (*Sefer Toledot Alexanderos ha-Makdoni*). Edited and translated by Israel J. Kazir (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962).

The mediæval European desire for escapism and salvation from their Muslim enemies during the Crusades was partly expressed in the legends associated with Prester (Presbyter = priest) John, current at least as of the 11th c. Prester John was a legendary Christian King, wise and seemingly ageless, who ruled over a fabulous Asian kingdom. The Prester John legends are

closely related to those of the *ARc*

See Robert Silverberg, *The Realm of Prestor John* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company. Inc., 1972), and Vsevolod Seessarev, *Prester John. The Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959).

24 Sumerians and Babylonians often depicted their gods, and sometimes, their heroes, with horns or horned helms. Gilgamesh, the hero of the *EG*, and the son of a god and a mortal woman, is routinely depicted with horns. Enkidu his beloved companion, was a horned half-man, half-bull.

25 Muḥammad b. Zakariyyà al-Rāzī (d. 925 or 934); rationalist philosopher and commentator.

26 From Ṭabarī, 16.

27 Given that he was the king of the gods, the Greeks identified him as their Zeus. One of Amon's sacred animals was the ram, and he is often shown with a ram's head with curled horns. Amon also has ithyphallic attributes; as such, he represented the powers of fertility, and was frequently referred to as the mother's husband, since he was held to be responsible for generation and reproduction. The Pharoah's wife was Amon's wife, and through his influence the future pharoah would be conceived. The king is sometimes depicted in Amon's presence, sowing grain and cutting the first sheaf.

28 See app. 1 n. 3.

29 See, for example, the *Iskandarnāmah*, cited this ch. n. 23.

30 Enki is the Akkadian version of the older Sumerian Ea. Sincethe Akkadian names are more well-known, I will use them instead of the Sumerian. Hence: Utnapishtim instead of Khasisadra; Dilmun instead of Tilmun, etc.

31 See ch. 2; ch. 2 n. 5.

32 See M. Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, Wüstenfeld's ed., 98, in ᶜAbd al-Mālik ibn Hishām's recension.

33 The Kabbalah, for example, did not appear till 1,000 years later (according to scholarly consensus; not according to Kabbalists, who claim that 'the Tradition,' has existed since Adam) and it did not originate in the Oikoumene. See ch. 4; ch. 4, n. 11.

34 See ch. 4.

35 In Arabic, the Spirit 'the spirit' may be translated as *al-rūḥ*. W. H. T. Gairdner, an early twentieth-century Islamicist, writes that *al-rūḥ* may be "absolutely identified [with] *Rūḥ Allāh*, the Spirit of God; *Rūḥuhu* [with] His Spirit; and *al-Rūḥu-l Qudsī*. [with] The Transcendent Spirit,' all of which are Koranic expressions." *Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkat al-Anwar* [1924]. W. H. T. Gairdner, trans. and commentator. (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1952), 34.

In the Makkan period of the Qc revelation, the angel Gabriel was referred to by the symbolic name of *rūḥ al-quds*, the Holy Spirit. For example, *Sūrah* 16: 102 has, "Say: the Holy Spirit has brought/ The revelation from thy Lord in Truth...." 87: 23 was cited by later Muslim Qc

commentators as the angel Gabriel, and Gabriel is commonly held to have been the agent of revelation in 81: 23.

Gairdner writes,

> No one can read [Q 53: 5-16 and 81: 23] without feeling that Mohammed's awful visitant on these two occasions was the One of absolute supreme rank in the heavenlies: not a spirit but the Spirit. And It was mutā' - 'one who is obeyed.' Is it not but a very short step from this to al-Muṭā', the Obeyed-One?" *Ibid*, 36.

But may it be that the *rūḥ* of 17: 85 and elsewhere in the Q is one and the same as Kh? Or that Kh may be one of a number of semi-divine or demi-urgic spirits?

The possibility that Kh may be the above-mentioned *rūḥ* (or pl., *arwāḥ*) is sheer speculation on my part; I have not found any corroboration for such a suggestion in the Qc commentaries I have consulted, nor is it, frankly, possible to proffer proof in the sense of hard evidence for such an equivalency or equivalence.

36 It would appear that the (alleged) questions were satisfactorally answered. If they were not, it is highly unlikely that such a victory for those antagonistic to Muḥammad and Islam to not have been passed on in oral and written traditions, at least one or two of which would probably still be extant. Though, given the eventual success of Islam, those versions would probably be the written versions as seen (and re-seen) through Muslim eyes.

Chapter 2

1 On Massignon's interpretation of the correct transliteration of Kh's name, see his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Etudes musulmanes) [1922] (Paris: Librarie philosophique J. Vrin, 1954), 136. Massignon suggests "Khadir" instead of "Khiḍr;" the relative lack of improvement from the former to the latter may be due to typographical error, but his "Khadir" has a *fatḥah* instead of an *alif* and a *dāl* instead of *ḍād* (except once, later on p. 36). Friedlander mentions that 'Khiḍr' "is also pronounced Khaḍir and Khuḍr," 'Khiḍr,' *ERE* 7, 1915, 693 n. 1.

2 For a discussion of the 'Green Man' motif in a comparative context, see William Anderson, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth* (San Francisco: Harper, 1990). A text which deals with a more localized version of the Green Man paradigm is *The Green Man of Knowledge and Other Scots Tales*; A. Bruford, ed., (Tarrytown, NY: Pergamon Press, 1982). There are many translations of the mediæval story *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*; which is an aspect of the English literary development and cultural understanding of the Green Man phenomenon.

There are other monographs, fact and fiction, which deal with the notion of the Green Man, though apparently always within the Western pagan or semi-pagan traditions. The novelist Kingsley Amis has written a short, humourous supranatural thriller entitled *The Green Man* [1969] (London: Panther Books Limited, 1971), which has been turned into a B. B. C. movie with the same title, directed by Elijah Moshinsky, 1991.

I have found out about two other books, which I have not yet seen: Harold B. Sherman, *Green Man and His Return* (Amherst, publication data not readily available, 1979); and Carl Wilson, *Green Man*, not yet published; no publication data available.

3 Neither blue nor green appear in prehistoric paintings. Was that because blue/green was

not yet fully a part (or a recognized part) of primitive man's physical and/or mental/emotive functional spectrum? Was blue/green too sacred – or not sacred enough – to be painted? Or is it simply that materials wherewith primitive man might have made such pigmints were too hard to come by, or even entirely absent? – or were such pigments in fact used, but proved particularly unstable and thus decayed with the passage of millenia? We do not know.

In the classical world, the adjective *glaucus* and *coerulus* included all the shades of green and blue. Apparently, therefore, these two colours were not clearly distinguished. (The Gk *chloros*, 'green,' sometimes means a shade of yellow.) In Chinese and Japanese, the same word is used to indicate blue and green.

The Latin *viridis*, green, was associated with fertility on coinage of the late first century BCE. In the codification of colours in Christian liturgy, green was defined (at the Council of Trent, 1545–63) as the official ecclesiastical colour symbolic of hope.

Paul Klee (d. 1940) and Wasily Kandinsky (d. 1944), both abstract cum symbolist painters, were very concerned with the symbolic significance of colours and their effects upon the psyche. For instance, Kandinsky wrote that a blue circle moves "inward" while a yellow circle moves "outward;" green (the mixture of blue and yellow) represents a stasis, an equilibrium between the two. See Mario Bussagli, 'Colour,' *ER* 3, 562–65. See also Portmann, *et al*, (eds.) *The Realms of Colour*, *Eranos Jahrbuch* 41 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974).

See my introduction n. 9.

4 This Sumerian archetypal matrix features the figure of Ea, the son and image of Enki, 'Lord of the Watery Deep.' Ea was the ruler of the streams that rose from the underworld and fertilized the land above. He was also the deity of precious stones. Mn iconography depicts Ea with the goat–fish (the zodiacal Capricorn) and holding the flowing vase, the source of "the bread and water of immortal life."

Ea had seven sons, among whom are Marduk, who inherits Ea's wisdom and slays the dragon Tiamat (recalling the Khāḍirian hero–type of St. George, who also slays a dragon), and Dumuzi–abzu, the 'Faithful Son of the Fresh Waters,' whose Semitic name is Tammuz, the dying and resurrecting god of the crops (who, in turn, is very similar to the Vedic Soma, and to Yama, the Hindu god of the dead).

See Thorkild Jacobsen *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976) and A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Kwaja Khadir and the Fountain of Life in the Tradition of Persian and Mughal Art,' *Studies in Comparative Religion* 4, no. 4. 1970, 221-30. See also ch. 2, n. 34.

5 Utapanishtim, or Khadisadra is the immortal sage sought out by the hero Gilgamesh in *EG* in order to obtain immortality for himself. With Utapanishtim's help, though he fails to attain immortality, he only ends up with the plant of rejuvenation which he intends to share with the "old men" of his city, Uruk. However, a serpent in a pool snatches it from him before he reaches home. As a half–human, half–godlike figure, Utnapishtim is an even closer parallel to Kh than is Ea or Enki.

See below, this ch.

6 Friedlander, among others, has suggested that due to the similarity between the Water of Life story and the Glaucus legend of ancient Greece, and due to the identity of meaning between the names 'Kh' and 'Glaucus,' that the two figures are of the same origin. See Friedlaender, *op. cit*, 694a, 694 n. 1).

The saga or folktale of Glaucus (or Glaukos, Gk for "Green") has been linked by various scholars such as Friedlander and L. D. Barnett (see his 'Yama, Gandharva, and Glaucus,' *Bulletin*

of the School of Oriental Studies; London Institution 6. 1926-28, 703-16), 714, to the legend of Kh. Glaucus was a son of Minos, the famous King of Crete. When a boy, Glaucus fell into a vat of honey and drowned. Following the advice of an oracle, Minos had a seer called Polyidus come to court in order to restore his son to life. While wondering what to do, Polyidus saw a snake near him, and killed it; whereupon another snake came up to the dead one and laid an herb upon it, after which the dead snake resurrected. Polyidus took the herb and put it on Glaucus, who promptly rose from the dead. The Gk herb of life bears resemblance to the plant or herb of life in *EG* (as well as to the Avestan *hoama* and the Vedic *soma* plant).

The snake has an age-old and multicultural association with life and immortality/resurrection: it is a water-snake that carries off Gilgamesh's hard-won herb of immortality in the *EG*; and it is another sea-creature, a fish (*ḥūt*), which is resurrected/revived in the Qc story of Moses and Kh (vv. 61, 63). There is an all-too possible confusion between, and assimilation of motif of, the image of a sea or water snake and that of a fish. See Geoffrey Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 156-65, for data on his discoveries of snake-burials in a temple complex, probably related to Gilgamesh's "flower [or herb] of immortality" on the island state of Baḥrayn.

For an interpretation of the snake-motif in the Ite tradition, see Balaji Mundkur, 'Ḥayyah in Islamic Thought,' *The Muslim World* 70. 1980, 213-25. See also his *The Cult of the Serpent. An Interdisciplinary Survey of Its Manifestation and Origins* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 182.

Aside from the motif of resurrection, the most obvious parallel between the tale of Glaucus and that of Kh is that of the names of the two heroes: 'the Green One.' Glaucus, in being resurrected, was made green with life; the Qc quest for Kh by Moses involved the omen of the fish being resurrected in the Waters of Life. According to Islamic sp, Kh is the immortal saint who has drunk of the Waters of the Fountain of Everlasting Life, and is the guardian of its secrets. Accounts such as the *Iskandarnāmah*, which depict Kh actually becoming immortal, are closer to the Glaucus saga than the Q, 18: 60-82, and other examples of Ite literature which portray Kh as having been immortal before he was born, as it were.

On the connection between Kh and Glaucus, see also Charles Clermont-Garneau, 'Horus et Saint George d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre,' *Revue archéologique* (New Series) 32, 1876, 196-204, 372-399, and Karl Dyroff, 'Wer ist Chadir?,' *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 7, 319ff; see my introduction n. 6.

7 Dussaud, in his book *Histoire et religion des Noṣairīs*; Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 129th fasc. (Paris: Librarie Emile Bouillon, 1900), ch. 5, 121-35.writes that "Khoḍr est un personnage mythique, notre Saint Georges, l'heritier de la légende de Persée," 121.

The ancient Greek hero Perseus is very similar to St. George. Even the content of the stories of both figures is similar, both featuring a preponderance of folkloric motifs. The saga of Perseus includes magic objects, monsters, and a typical hero's life. Perseus was the son of Danae and Zeus. He received help from Hermes (identified in Cn and Ite sp as Enoch) and Athena. He slew the Gorgon Medusa. In another famous story, Cassiepea, the wife of King Cepheus, boasted that she was more beautiful than the Nereids. Angered, Poseidon flooded Cepheus' land and sent a sea-monster to ravage it. Cepheus chained his daughter Andromeda to a rock as an offering to the monster. Perseus killed the monster, rescued Andromeda, and married her (Dussand, *op. cit.*, 121).

8 On Elijah, see ch. 2 n. 7, and ch. 4.

Elijah's life assumed a very public character. Elijah lived in the time of the established Promised Land, before the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE. Elijah was very much the masterful type

of holy man, a true prophet.

Yet he too "was caught up into heaven itself" (1 Macc. 2: 58), for "Yahweh took Elijah up to heaven in the whirlwind...." (2K. 2: 1). The "Mysterium Tremendum" (a term devised by Rudolf Otto; see ch. 4) of Yahweh is evident in both the translation of Enoch and Elijah into heaven. Both ascensions appear to have been bodily – at least they are assumed to have been so in the Jdc, Chn, and Ite traditions – and in both cases they were sudden and even violent events. The bodies of both Elijah and Enoch were never discovered; neither of them have tombs. Al–Ṭabarī, relates that Elijah went to heaven on a fiery horse and that God transformed the prophet into a half–human, half–angelic being; in Jung, *op. cit.*, 18: 675.

According to Jc ap, nine prophets ascended bodily into heaven, including Elijah and Enoch. See Wiener, *op. cit.*, 50; from *Masekhet Derekh Ereẓ Zutta* 1: 18, and *Yalkut Shim'oni*, vol. 2, 367: 842. Interestingly, in Wiener's psychological treatment of Elijah, he writes that in Haggadic literature,

> Psychologically, the Elijah–personality as a symbol of the ability to relate positively, and of union, is placed here opposite death as the principle of aggression and separation. (Wiener, *op. cit.*, 56)

See also my conclusion n. 1.

In the Q, Elijah is mentioned in 6: 86 and 37: 123–33, in which references there is nothing which differs from biblical tradition or which is of particular relevance to this study.

Among Muslim commentators it was especially Al–Ṭabarī and Al–Tha'libī who relate the Qc Elianic stories to several biblical Elianic tales. They both end their accounts of Elijah with his ascent into heaven and his transformation into a part–divine figure able to intervene in earthly affairs (Wiener, *op. cit.*, 152).

9 Little is said of Enoch (a prophet in Islam; Ar., Idrīs) in the JB. He figures in the Book of Genesis, which treats of the ancestors of the Jewish peoples in a background of antideluvian history. At least in the the JB, Enoch, though a patriarch, seems more of a saint than a prophetic image. We read:

> When Jared was a hundred and sixty–two years old he became the father of Enoch....When Enoch was sixty–five years old he became the father of Methuselah. Enoch walked with God. After the birth of Methuselah he lived for three hundred years and became the father of sons and daughters. In all, Enoch lived for three hundred and sixty–five years. Enoch walked with God. Then he vanished because God took him (Gen. 5: 18–24, *passim*, my emphasis).

What is of special interest here is that "Enoch walked with God." This phrase is repeated twice. It is not said that he walked "with men" also. He seems indeed to have been a contemplative inclined to solitude, an 'angel–man.'

Finally, we read that Enoch "vanished because God took him." Nothing further is ever heard of Enoch in the JB. (See below, this note). Like Ganymede, snatched up to Olympus by Zeus, Enoch is quite simply "taken," and "vanishes" forever from the world of men.

I have not found any identificatory link between Khadir and Enoch in either Muslim *tafsīr*; or in the secondary source material I have consulted. There is only the briefest mention that an associative/identificatory link exists. See Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, 695a, though there appears to be no textual or ol evidence to back up such a suggestion. We can see a connection between Kh and Enoch in Charles Virolleaud's article, 'Khadir et Tervagant,' *Journal asiatique*241, 1953, 161 n. 1, in that Enoch has been identified with Hermes (Trismegistos), the eponymous founder of the Western alchemical tradition and an important figure in Western gnosis See Corbin, *op. cit.*, 1978, *passim*, and for bibliographical data on Kh and Tervagant, see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 1954,

132, 132 n. 4.. See this ch. n. 16.

10 Phinehas, called in the JB "the prophet of God" (Jud. 6: 8) and "the angel of God" (Jud. 2:1), is said to have been removed from among men at age 120, and fed by angels until God shall "visit the world" Louis Ginzberg, *The Legend of the Jews* 4: (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1913-38, 53f. See also my ch. 4.

11 Jesus Christ: see below, this ch. Also see Wiener, *op. cit.*, 154f; Hassan S. Haddad, 'Georgic Cults and Saints of the Levant,' *Numen* 16, fasc. 1 (Amsterdam: E. J. Brill, April, 1969), 26.

12 Aherserus or Ahasuerus: There is little data available on this figure. He is said to have urged Christ on to his crucifixion. Christ replied that while he, Christ, would 'go on,' as it were, Aherserus was to stay till Christ's return at the Second Coming. He was a popular ledgendary figure in 13th c Europe.

Kh is frequently compared with the immortal Ahasuerus, 'the Wandering Jew;' which is not surprising given that an Arabic phrase runs, "to wander like Khiḍr." This comparison, Friedländer notes, may be more than conjectural, given the likeness in pronunciation between Ahasuerus and the Perso–Turkic Khizrillis; Khizr and Ilyās joined. See Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, 695a,b.

13 St. George: as of 1961, he has been dropped from the calender of feasts by the Roman Catholic church and is only to be commemorated, instead of venerated as before. See below, this ch. See also: Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, 695a, E. A. Willis Budge, *St. George of Lydda The Patron Saint of England A Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia*, Luzac's Semitic Text & Translation Series (London: Luzac & Co., 1930), see 44-46; the papers by Haddad, *op. cit*, and 'Georgic Saints in Popular Islam,' unpublished paper (n. p., n. d.), 20pp.; Clermont–Garneau, *op. cit.*; Samuel Lyde, *The Asian Mystery* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Robert, 1860, 174; James George Frazer, 'The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings,' *The Golden Bough A Study in Magic and Religion*, vol. 2, 3rd ed. (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1922), ch. 19; and Jacobus de Voragne, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* Trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 232-38.

14 On St. John the Baptist, see *St. John the Baptist* by Walter Wink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

15 Michael: (Heb., 'Who is Like God'); (St.) Michael is: an angel of nature; a chief adversary against Satan; a militant guardian of the faithful. In Islam Mīkāl is a controller of nature's forces; with his 1,000 assistants, the *Karūbiyyūn* (Heb., *Cherubim*), he provides people with food (cf., life) and knowledge. In Christianity (at least) a confusion of cult between St. George and St. Michael occured. See my ch. 4.

16 Massingnon wrote that the Spanish Orientalist J. Ribera y Terrago once said or wrote that "les Chrétiens du moyen age nommaient Khadir, Tervagant, et qu'ils l'appelaient ainsi parce qu'il parcourt incessamment la terre," Virolleaud, *op. cit.*, 161.

Tervagant (also spelt in about a dozen other ways) was believed, in the mediæval Western world, to be one of the four 'idols' of the Sarrasins (Muslims), the three others being Muḥammad, Jupiter, and Apollo. This name was also a war–cry, and the name of a people or a tribe (among other usages and possibilities).

Various explanations have been put forth to explain the origin or sense of the word

Tervagant.' For example, Terrifiant,' a deformation of the Latin Terrificans,' an attribute of Jupiter, and Trimegas,' Trismegistos,' or Termagnus,' an epithet of Hermes (identified by *mufassirūn* as Elijah/Idrīs), the source of the Western alchemical tradition. Leo Spitzer, in Tervagant,' *Romania* 70, 397-408, mentions a suggestion Virolleaud attributes to Michel Bréal, namely that 'Tervagant' represents a bastardized form of 'Trismegas' or 'Trismegistos.' Virolleaud and Bréal argue that mediæval Chn theologians changed the 'magus' of 'megistos' into 'vagans' - Christians sometimes called pagan gods *vagante dæmones* Hence, Trismegistos' become Tervagant.' Since Hermes (Trismegistos) is identified, in Ite thought, with Enoch, and since some scholars link the term "Tervagant' with Kh (see this note, below), we have here yet a further associative link between Kh and Enoch. See *op. cit.*, 164 n. 3. See this ch. n 9.

ᶜAmr bin ʿUmāyyah al-Damrà (I am unsure of the correct transliteration), one of the companions of the Amīr Ḥamzah (the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib), was a great traveller who had made a pilgrimage to the tomb of a in Srī Laṇka. ᶜAmr had a vision in a dream in which several prohets appeared to him, among whom was Kh. Kh was named by ᶜAmr as *davandagī* (Pers.), which means the faculty of traveling around the world without cease or slowing down. *Ibid*, 240f.

Among all the well-known qualities of Kh – appearing and disappearing at will in order to help those in need; a warrior; a feeder of the hungry; a bringer of rain; and an apostle and converter – Virolleaud notes one not so well known. In the *Romance of Ḥamzah* (the Persian *Rumūz-i Ḥamzah*) we find Kh referred to as a patron of the "go-ers," the "travellers." In the *Romance*, Elijah is Kh's brother and fellow traveller of the world. See *ibid*, 241.

We can see in Kh this attribute of a St. Christopher-like patron saint of wanderers in our Qc passage, in that both Moses and Joshua are *ravandagān* (Pers.),'travellers,' in search of Kh himself, the Waters of Life, and the knowledge which Kh possessed. Of course, Kh did act as a patron-traveller towards Moses during their journey, teaching him of God's hidden justice on earth.

17 By the Aḥmadiyyah (see app. 1 n. 4) and quite likely by the esoteric (*bāṭinī* or *ghulāt*) groups on the Shīᶜī side of Islam, given that at least one sect among them, the Nuṣayriyyah, sees all 'the Prophets of the Book (the Q)' as emanations of Kh. Wherry identifies the guide as "Khidhar" and he is supposed to be, the biblical Jethro (E. M. Wherry and George Sale, *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurán*, vol. 3 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. Ltd., 1896), 76.

18 See below, this ch., app. 4 n. 2; Dussand, *op. cit.*, 134f, and Haddad, *op. cit* . 1969, 260.

19 On the Imām as Kh, see this ch., below; Corbin, *op. cit.*, and references to Corbin's work, in ch. 2 n. 28, and app. 4 n. 2.

20 One can hardly imagine the possibility of a human being, an angel, or any other creature, being accorded divinization (or a share thereof) in Jamāᶜī-Sunnī Islam. *Shirk*, the association of another or others with God, would amount to polytheism and is strictly prohibited by the ᶜ *ulamā'* Alluding to a person serving as the vessel of God, *ḥulūl* ('incarnationism'), and *ittiḥād* ('union' [of creature and Creator]) are the two most serious offences to God's unity attributed to some Ite mystics (cf. Jung's attribution of divinity to Kh in my conclusion n. 1). On God and Kh, see this ch., below, and app. 4 n. 2. Also see Haddad, *op. cit*, 1969, 26, and Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 134 n. 3, 135.

21 The oral and (almost always) the consequent written accounts of Kh's activities are mixed elements of the stricly religious (incorporating the Q and *ḥadīth*), the theological (*kalām*), the

philosophical (*falsafah*), sp (as found in mystical treatises and hgy), and the story-telling (*qaṣṣ*) of fkl.

Just how vunerable is even the most apparently unalterable and written source for the Ite tradition - the Q - was illustrated to me a few days before I submitted this thesis. I was introduced to the father of the girlfriend of a friend of mine. The father, an Iranian national, is an accomplished artist and poet, and a keen affecionado of *falsafah*, *ʿirfān* and *taṣawwuf* (or Ṣūfism). Upon hearing the subject of this thesis, he immediately began recounting, in mingled Fārsī and French, "a story about Khezr." I soon recognized his "story" to be a fairly bastardized rendition of the three episodes of Kh and Moses in 18: 71-77. His explanation of Kh's actions omitted any mention of Kh's own explanation of his deeds to Moses (vv. 72-82). Instead, he informed me that "the message" of Kh's actions was simply that, behind every seemingly ordinary event, there is a hidden dimension of which only the *ʿārifūn* (the 'gnostics,' those of advanced degrees of spiritual realization) are aware.

For a look at mingled Ite sp and fkl, see Jan Knappert, *Islamic Legends Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam*, Religious Texts Translation Series, NISABA 15: 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985).

22 See Toshiko Izutsu, *A Comparative Study of the Key Concepts in Sufism and Taoism, Ibn ʿArabī and Lao Tzū*, Chuang-Tzū, 2vols. (Tokyo: Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1966-67), pt. 1, 203–19.

23 One such famous commentator is al–Bukhārī (d. 870). The Moses–Kh story is found in his *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 3 and in his *Kitāb al–Tafsīr*.

24 *Sūrat al–Yūsuf* 76 reads "and over every lord of knowledge there is one more knowing." One may well wonder whom a Muslim might consider wiser than Kh, since Kh was wiser than Moses, the prophet who brought the laws of God to the Jews: – Muḥammad? ʿAlī? the Imām(s)? a spiritual preceptor (*shaykh*, *pīr*, *ʿārif*)? God? Cf. n. 26, below.

On the Qc interaction between Moses and Kh, G.-C. Anawati and Louis Gardet write that it is centred, not on Moses, as one might have expected, granted Moses' stature (in both the Jc and Ite traditions), but on Kh, an unnamed and seemingly hitherto unknown figure in the Ḥijāz at the time of Muḥammad.

I find that their point, the apparent precedence given to Kh over Moses in 18: 65-82, though a simple and obvious one, is nonetheless relevant as far as possible hidden intentions, overt significations, and future implications (e.g., the debate over whether 'prophethood,' *nubuwwah*, or 'sainthood,' *walāyah* is superior; hence, whether 'the (religious) law,' *al-shaʿrīah*, or 'inspiration,' *waḥī*, holds precedence in Islam, especially Ite sp. This one debate had, and continues to have direct and indirect reprocussions in Ite sp, theology (*kalām*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and philosophy (*falsafah*). See Massignon, *op. cit.*, 1954, 131; and 132, 132 n. 2; and 132 , respectively, for bibliographical data on the *nubuwwah* - *walāyah* debate, the idea of Kh as the best of mystical guides, and on the spiritual rank of '*abdāl*,' which Massignon writes is related to Kh's own mystical 'station,' *maqām* (see references to Corbin's work, cited in this ch. n. 28.)

25 On Kh's image as a crazy–wisdom trickster figure, see Peter Lamborn Wilson, 'The Green Man,' *Gnosis* (San Francisco: The Lumen Foundation, no. 19, Spring, 1991), 24. See also ch. 4. Anawati and Gardet mention that "l'enseignment même d'al-Khaḍir par parabole vécues, où le secret et très sage accomplicement de la Volunté de Dieu se poursuit sous un revêtement de scandale...." *op. cit.*, 262.

For an entertaining compilation of crazy-wisdom anecdotes from various religio-spiritual

traditions, see Wes 'Scoop' Nisker, *Crazy Wisdom* (Berkeley: 10 Ten Speed Press, 1990). For a treatment (with a scandalous title) of the crazy-wisdom persona as found in several twentieth-century spiritual teachers, see George Feuerstein, *Holy Madness: The Shock Tactics & Radical Teachings of Crazy-Wise Adepts, Holy Fools, & Rascal Gurus* (New York: Paragon Hse. Pubs., 1991). For an analysis of the crazy-wisdom archetype in Amerindian myth, see Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* [1956] (New York: Schocken Books, 1972). On the same subject, see Barry Lopez, *Giving Birth to Thunder, Sleeping with His Daughter: Coyote Builds North America* (New York: Avon Books, 1981). For an interpretive evaluation of the same phenomenon in Vajrayāna Buddhism, see Chögyam Trungpa, *Crazy Wisdom* (Boulder: Shambhala Publications, 1991).

To my knowledge, there is no academic monograph on the crazy-wisdom trickster figure in Ite religion, fkl, or sp. However,'Mullā Naṣir al-Dīn' has fulfilled the trickster role in Ite sp and fkl. The unorthodox (*bī-shar'*) Ṣūfī teacher Idrīs Shāh has made many of the Mullā's adventures accessible through several of his books, which include them as ṣūfic teaching-stories. See Idries Shah, *The Exploits of the Incomparable Mulla Nasrudin* [1966] (London: Pan Books Limited, Picador ed., 1973), and *idem*, *The Pleasantries of the Incredible Mulla Nasrudin* [1971] (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978). The *malamātī* ('blameworthy') Ite brand of mystical methodology, most common, perhaps, among the Qalandāriyyah order of Ṣūfīs, is a type of crazy-wisdom metaphysics and methodology. Research on the *malamātī* phenomenon would be an interesting contribution to Ite studies. The crazy-wisdom issue in Ite sp is intimately connected with the *walāyah-nubuwwah* problem, with which, as we have seen, Kh is very much implicated.

26 In Islamic fkr, Kh is usually held to be God's *khalīfah* on the land and His *wakīl* at sea. These are tasks which he shares with Elijah, his brother. Often, as noted in this ch., Kh is responsible for representing God at sea, and Elijah takes charge of the land (though these roles may be inter-changed).

27 Pickthall's commentary to *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an* (Mecca: Muslim World League - Rabita al-Mukarramahi, 1977), 290. See Ibn Hishām (Cairo ed.), pt. 1, 102f.

28 Massignon's treatise, *op. cit.*, 1954, contains a wealth of primary source bibliographical data on various mystical aspects of Kh on p. 136, and elsewhere in the above-mentioned document. I have isolated various motifs which appear in relation to Kh; though they are but briefly mentioned, they are valuable for their bibliographical references. They are mentioned throughout the reference notes. See also his *Opera minora*, *op. cit*, and his *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam, réunis, classés, annotés et publiés par Louis Massignon* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929).

Henry Corbin, a star student of Massignon's, frequently refers to Kh in his many (IA- and phenomenologically-biased) treatises on Ite (especially IA sp). Most important is his *op. cit.*, especially 53-77. Corbin discusses esoteric dimensions of Kh's persona in other books. For instance, in *L'Homme et son ange. Initiation et chivalerie spirituelle* (Paris: Fayard, 1983), Corbin mentions Kh as a type of "the angel of a 'spiritual's' being," and as the spiritual guide *par excellence*. On p. 120, Corbin introduces an Ismā'īlī document, the 10th c *Kitāb al-'Ālim wa al-Ghulām* ('The Gnostic and the Disciple'), of unknown authorship. In that treatise, the sage and his student are supposed to follow in the model of the mentor-student relationship of Kh and Moses. In *L'Archange empourpré* (Paris: Fayard, 1976), he refers to Kh in the same capacities in a masterful treatment of the thought and mystical experience of Yaḥyà Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 1191), the 'Illuminative' theosophist. In *En islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, 4 vols. (Paris: Éditions Galimard, 1978), Kh is said to be the companion of the 12th Imām (or the

'Hidden' Imām) in 4: 342, 357 seq., though in 1: 250 n. 233, Kh is identified as the Imām by "certain Shīʿī groups." The Kh/Moses passage of 18: 60-82 is mentioned in 1: 250 n. 233 in connection with the problem of the *walāyah - nubbuwah* issue; according to Corbin, of course, *walāyah* is the superior spiritual state. In 3: 25, in tandem with mention of the special relationship of Kh and Moses, Corbin notes that the superiority of *walāyah* over *nubuwwah* would be "incomprehensible" without Shīʿī prophetology and its allied doctrine of *walāyah*. Elijah's link with Kh appears in 4: 357 seq. The waters of the "Source of Life" are touched upon in 4: 357 seq. The visions of Kh in the spiritual experience of the Iranian mystic Rūzbihān (d. 1209) can be found in 3: 26, 52. In *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism*, Nancy Pearson, trans. (Boulder: Shambhala, 1978), Corbin the importance of the vision of the colour green (the *visio smaragdina*) within the context of Iranian-grounded Ite colour-oriented sp. In Corbin's *Temple and Contemplation* [1980] (Islamic Texts and Contexts), Philip Sherrard, trans. (London: Islamic Publications, Limited, 1988), 266, Ibn ʿArabī calls the *majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* the mystical *barzakh*, the 'interstitial' zone where meet the realm of "pure Ideas" and the world of sensory experience. In Corbin's *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth* [1960] (Bollingen Series 81: 2), Nancy Pearson, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), he refers to an esoteric treatise by ʿAbd al-Karīm Jīlī, *Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil* ('The Book of the Perfect Man'), from which Corbin translates a section entitled The Journey of the Stranger and the Conversation with Khiẓr." Therein, on p. 72, Jīlī says that the mystical realm of Yūḥ, inhabited by "the men of the invisible," is governed by Kh. On p. 315 n. 32, Kh is further said to be the *quṭb* (spiritual 'axis, pole') around which are stationed the four *awtād*, or 'pillars,' who mystically sustain the existence of the world. In that book, p. 313 n. 18, we find Kh identified with the Hidden Imām; this Kh-Imāmic being is held to be the supreme theophany of the union of the utterly transcendent (*lāhūt*, '*Deus absconditus*') and the God who is accessible in the realm of ordinary reality (*nāsūt*, '*Deus revelatus*').

29 Another *ḥadīth* refers to Moses' breaking of his vow of silent forbearance to Kh. The Prophet is reported to have said, "Would that Moses had kept silent! If he had done so, we would have been vouchsafed more knowledge about the unseen" Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*; in E. M. Wherry and George Sale, *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurán* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1896), 76.

30 Wilson has "Balya ibn Malikan" *Op. cit.*, 24. 'Balya' (Balyā, Balyà?) is thought by some, such as Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, 694b, to be a corruption of a variant of Ilyās (e.g., 'Iyla'). Massignon provides a lengthier 'complete' name for Kh: "Abū al-ʿAbbās Balyān-ibn Qalyān-ibn Fāligh al-Khiḍr," *op. cit.*, 1954, 132. Wherry writes, "Some...say his true name was Balya Ibn Malkán, and that he lived in the time of Afridún, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and that he preceded Dhu-'l-Qarnain, and lived to the time of Moses," *op. cit.*, 92, commentary for v. 64 (my v. 65).

I wonder whether Baᶜal, an ancient fertility God worshipped in much of the Levant region of the Oe, and Ilyās are really closely cognate. The last word might be either *malak*, 'angel,' or *malik*, 'king,' depending upon whether or not the latter short vowel really is a *kasrah* (as written) or a *fatḥah*.

The '-an' appears to be '*-ān*,' the Persian nominative plural. Alternatively, '*-ān*' can signify the royal we. Hence, we would have *malakān*, 'angels' (or the whole host of angels, or the lord of the angels), and *malikān*, 'kings' (or the 'King of kings;' God?).

Thus 'Balya ibn Malakan' would mean Baᶜal-Ilyās (ironically), 'Son of the Angels,' or Baᶜal Ilyās, 'Son of the Angel of Angels.' Balya ibn Malikān would mean either Baᶜal-Ilyās, 'Son of Kings,' or Baᶜal-Ilyās, 'Son of God.'

While Kh being a 'Son of the Angels,' would signify and help to substantiate traditions which attribute an angelic nature to Kh, his being characterized as 'Son of the Kings,' would tie in with the report that Kh was really a son of the ancient Iranian king, Farīdūn or Afrīdūn. See the reference note, below.

It does not appear that 'Baᶜal ibn Malkān' or 'Mālkān' signify anything of note.

31 Afrīdūn, more commonly known as 'Farīdūn' (Pahlavi, Frêdun; ancient Iranian, Thraêtaona), the son of Abtiyān or Abtīn, was one of the early kings of Iran. Arab and Persian authors contributed little to the older Iranian accounts of Farīdun. For example, Ibn al-Balkhī, in *Fārsnāmah*(ed., Le Strange), credits Farīdun with great knowledge, the re-establishment of justice, and magic practices to cure illnesses, among other qualities less relevant to our study of Kh. The fullest account of Farīdun's reign is found in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah*. Balᶜamī, in his *Chronique* (trans. by Zotenberg) uses the appelation 'Afrīdun.' I have detected certain resemblances between the old Iranian renditions of Farīdun's qualities and actions and those of Kh, Dhū al-Qarnayn, Gilgamesh (and Alexander the Great, St. George, and Perseus). See H. Massé, 'Farīdun, *EI*(New Ed.) 2, 798a,b.

32 The Nuṣayriyyah are also called the ᶜAlawiyyūn. They are a *bāṭinī*or *ghulāt*(esoteric) Shīᶜī sect. See app. 4 n. 2. In the Nuṣayrī *Kitāb al-Majmaᶜ*, ch. 4, Kh is mentioned once (Dussand, *op. cit.*, 134).

33 I was aslo unsuccessful in tracing (Antoine-Issac Silvestre) de Sacy's treatise, *Catéchisme des Noṣuris*. De Sacy flourished in the late 18th c and the early 20th c, and was quite prolific. He authored a few documents which might bear some relevance to this study. For example: a) 'Observations sur une pratique superstiteuse attibuée aux Druzes, et sur les doctrines des Nosairis,' *Journal asiatique*; 1827, 35pp.; b) 'Mémoire sur les Ismaélis et les Nosairis de Syrie,' n.p., n.d., and c) 'Extraits d'un livre des Ismaélis, pour faire suite au meemoire sur les Ismaélis et les Nosairis de Syrie,' n.p., n.d. The latter two are annotated by Jean-Baptiste Louis-Jacques Rousseau.

34 See his article.

35 See Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, ch. 5

36 The Mesopotamian deity whom Kh most resembles appears to be the god Ea/Enki.In a Sumerian hymn, we find Ea/Enki described thusly,

> O Lord, who with thy wizard's eyes, even when wrapped in thought, immobile, yet dost penetrate all things,
> O Enki, with thy limitless awareness, exalted counsel of the Anunnaki,
> Very knowing one, who dost exact obedience when turning his wit to conciliation and decision....
> Anu thy father, pristine king and ruler over an inchoate world,
> Empowered thee, in heaven and on earth, to guide and form, exalt thee to lordship over them.
> To clear the pure mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, to make verdure plentiful,
> Make dense the clouds, grant water in abundance to all plowlands....
> These acts did Anu, king of gods, entrust to thee; while Enlil granted thee his potent awesome name....

> As ruler over all that has been born thou art a younger Enlil,
> Younger brother of him, thou art, who is sole god in heaven and on earth.
> To fix, like him, the fates of North and South he truly has empowered thee.
> When thy righteous decision and pronouncement cause deserted cities to be reinhabited.... (Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, 110).

Enki is characterized as a god of knowledge (actually, omniscience); as a vegitative god, linked with the two great rivers of the Fertile Crescent, and with rain-granting powers of fertility; as a ruler, appointed by Anu (the king of all gods), entrusted with lordship over creation; and as a deity who exacts obedience in his concern with "righteous decision."

The above attributes of Enki: – knowledge, or wisdom; fertility/water; overlordship or governorship on behalf of the chief god; and the exacting of obedience from others (gods and men) in the discharge of his righteous decision–making – are all strangely reminiscent of Kh as seen in the Q (as well as in Ite fkl and sp). There is a further resemblance between Kh and Enki if we add the curious coincidence of Enki's being a younger brother of Enlil, both of whom labour "to fix...the fates...." The above is strikingly similar to the team of prophet/saint "brothers," Kh and Elijah, both of whom (according to Ite tradition) work in the world "to fix the fates" of men in fulfilment of God's inscrutable will and to prove to humans God's ultimate, though sometimes hidden, justice.

37 On Utnapishtim, see above n. 5, and below, this ch.

38 See also St. Guyard, 133. I was not able to trace St. (Stanislas) Guyard's contribution to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*1. The only article of his that I was able to trace to the above-mentioned journal is 'Bulletin critique de la religion assiyro-babylonienne. La question sumëro-accadienne,' *Extraits des Annales du Musëe Guimet*. n.d.

39 From Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*2, 360, 129, n. 4.. According to Professor Landolt of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, the original work is in German, and has also been translated into English. I have not been able to trace the French version.

40 Who is, as previously mentioned, very similar to the Vedic Soma, and Yama, the god of the dead. See his article, *op. cit.* See also this ch., 4 and 6.

41 Wensinck notes the similarity between ᶜUmārah's words and those of the Jewish prophet Zechariah, "Behold, a man [will come] whose name is the Shoot, and who shall shoot up out of his place, and build the temple of the Lord (Zech. 6: 12). See A. J. Wensinck, 'Al-Khaḍir,' *EI*(New Ed.) 4. 1978, 905a.

I would add that there is similar imagery in the Christian tradition, most obliviously that of the Jesse Tree (which illustrates the royal ancestry of Jesus). Christ referred to himself as the true vine (Jn. 15: 1).

42 Persian Ite poets such as Abū al–Qāsim Firdawsī, Nizāmī of Ganjah, and Jāmī have treated the legendary journey of Alexander (called Iskandar Rūmī) to the Northern Land of Darkness in search of the Waters of Immortality. They appear to have accessed the *Jsr* of the *PC'ARc*. See Budge, *op. cit.*, 43 n. 17. See also this ch n. 28.

According to mystic Rūzbihān Shīrāzī, " the Quest for the Source of Life" has two archetypal figures: Alexander and Kh, with Kh forming a 'twinning' with Elijah, or being seen as

the same as the Elijah (Corbin, *op. cit.*, 1969, 25f).

Dhū al-Qarnayn, as we have seen above, has been identified with Alexander the Great. Like the Alexander of legend, Kh himself was "the Verdant One, the tireless wanderer, the teacher and counsellor of pious men, wise in divine knowledge, the immortal."

However that may be, C. J. Jung agrees with Vollers in regarding Kh and Dhū al-Qarnayn as an example of the great pair of hero-friends. Jung sees the third story in *Sūrah* 18 as Moses' attempt to recount to his people an impersonal mystery-legend, putting the Two-Horned King into his own place - that of the horned (with glory) Moses himself.

The friendship between Alexander and Kh occupies a key place in the commentaries, as does Kh's friendship with Elijah. Vollers compares Kh's relationships to Alexander and Elijah with Gilgamesh's friendship with Enkidu, and the friendship of the Dioscuri. (C. G. Jung, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 9 Pt. i: 145; 5: 196)

Correlates in CB (the Gospel of John) with the Ite legends of Kh and the Waters of Life and the related theme of life and resurrection, include: 4: 14; 7:3 7ff, 11: 26, and 14: 7.

43 Given the relevance to Ite thought of Judaic ideas on knowledge and life – the two attributes which most apply to Kh as the Ite wise exemplar, and as the immortal Green Man of the Waters of Life, it might be interesting to consider the below.

Max Weber (d. 1920), the renowned sociologist and scholar of the sociology of religion, pointed out the intertwined nature of Jewish religious ethics and the Jdc application of knowledge.

He mentions that the most important Jewish religious teachers, especially the Levites, were "men of knowledge," not wonder-working magicians, philosophers concerned with a rational ethics, ritualists, or purveyors of esoteric gnosis.

Weber refers us back to the passages in Genesis on the temptation of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The serpent encourages Eve to partake of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, promising the primordial woman that, "on the day you eat it your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil" (Gen. 3: 5). There was, apparently, substance in the serpent's words, for God cursed Adam and Eve (and the snake). and acknowledged that, " the man has become like one of us, with his knowledge of good and evil" (Gen. 3: 22). The first humans were banished from the Garden, for God said, "He must not be allowed to stretch out his hand next and pick from the tree of life also, and eat some and live for ever" (Gen. 3: 22).

Thus we can see that, according to Jdc thought, as expressed in Genesis, a human being becomes godlike by the attainment of two qualities: knowledge and life. In the biblical passages above-cited, the type of knowledge referred to is "the knowledge of good and evil." The pre-prophetic biblical writer considered ethical knowledge to be divine, godlike knowledge. The ethical nature of this knowledge is evinced by Adam and Eve's realizing their nakedness after having eaten of the fruit, and then covering themselves.

We know that publicly-taught ethics was emphasized in the ancient Judaism of the Levitical teachers of the JB. The fulfilment of man's covenant with God (*berith*) depended upon "doing justly." In that period, obedience to divinely transmitted ethical norms and general ethical conduct ranked higher than solely cultic and ritualistic commandments. Ethical issues were of interest to all members of the Jewish community in a collective sense in that the whole community was responsible for the sins of any member of that community. This conception of the essentially ethical nature of divine knowledge increased in importance.

The Levites, as the specially designated priesthood, knew what behaviour was ethically correct (i.e., pleasing to God), and how the community might repair breaches of ethics. The Levites developed an anti-magical pride in their notion of the superiority of the code of ethics their God had revealed to them as His Chosen People. The Israelites had but to obey and trust in God. See Weber, *Ancient Judaism* [1952] (New York: Free Pree, 1967).

See Robert Graves (with Raphael Patai), *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* [1963] (n.p.: Arrow Books, Arena ed., 1989).

44 See above, n. 5.

45 On the interpolation, in *JS* of *ARq* regarding Phinehas' attaining of the Fountain of Life, featuring Kh, see Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*

46 See J. I. Smith and Y. Yazbeck Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981).

Also see Zecharia Sitchen, *The Stairway to Heaven. Book II of the Earth Chronicles* (New York: Avon Books, 1980). That book, the second volume in a popular trilogy on his reworking of ancient history, draws together a vast mine of data on immortality in Ma (e.g., highlighting the theme of immortality in *EG*) mixed with unconventional and academically 'unacceptable' (however facinating) speculations.

It would have been helpful for research on the idea of immortality and the figure of Kh had Sitchen provided citations for the apparently many sources to which he had recourse. See E. Burrows, 'Tilmun, Bahrain and Paradise,' *Dilmun Discovered: The Early Years of Archeology in Bahrain*, Michel Rice, ed. (New York: Longman Inc.; State of Bahrain: The Department of Antiquities and Museums, 1983), ch. 16, and *EG*.

See Massignon, *op. cit.*, 1954, 131, 131 n. 3, for bibliographical information on pro and con debates, in Ite sp, on the notion of Kh's immortality. For bibliographical data on the issue of Kh and rejuvenation, see *ibid*, 132, 132 n. 4.

47 Al-Ḥasā (or al-Aḥsa'; al-Ḥasā') is an oasis, more properly, a group of oases in eastern Saudi Arabia, 25° 20' x 25°40' N, 49°30' to 49°50' E. See F. S. Vidal, 'Al-Ḥasā,' *EI* (New Ed.) 3, 237b-238a.

Chapter 3

1 Besides Israel Lévi, 'La légende de l'ange et l'ermite dans les écrits juifs,' *Revue des études juives* 8, 64-73; 65 n. 2, Geiger is the only scholar I have yet come across who does not find reason enough to credit Jc inflence for the development of the Kh of 18: 65-82, "although the colouring is Jewish," *op. cit.*, 135.

2 Leopold Zunz (d. 1886), *Die Gottesdienstlichen Votrage der Juden, historisch entwickelt* ('The Pious Utterances of the Jews in their Historical Development'), 130 n. 'd.'

3 On the problem of Jdc influences in Ite thought, see A. Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (1833), translated into English as *Judaism and Islam* [1898] Moshe Pearlman, trans. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1970); see his Prolegomenon, xxi-xxvi, and his bibliography. (Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 502, provides another translator's name: F. M. Young, though with the same title and year of publication.) The Jc element in pre-Ite Arabia has been treated by J. Horowitz and Z. Hirschberg. Points of contact between Judaism and Islam have been elaborated upon by Hartwig Hirschfeld, D. Kwenstlinger, and R. Lerozynsky. Biblical factors in the Q have been dealt with by H. Speyer and A. I. Katsh. Katsh has written *Judaism in Islām*, (New York: New York University Press, 1954). A. Sprenger argued for a combined Jc and Cn influence upon Ite thought. Charles C. Torrey, in his *The Jewish*

Foundation of Islam [1933] (New York: KTAV Pub. House, 1967), updates and rather complements some of Geiger's work on the subject; see his Lecture 1, 'The Jews in Arabia.' Torrey attributes the sources of our Qc passage as being the *EG*, *PCr ARc*, and (crazy-wisdom) fkl. On the Q 18: 60-82, Torrey recommends perusal of Nöldeke, *op. cit.* , 140ff, J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 141f, and some of Gustave Weil's treatment of Qc and later legends in Alexander Kohut's 'Haggadic Elements in Arabic Legends,' (New York) *Independent*, Jan. 8, 15, 22, and 29, 1891. See also the very interesting work by A. Wiener, *op. cit.* Subtitled *A Depth-Psychological Study*, Wiener's text is, to a degree, speculative; it also contains a wealth of historical data and references, with an emphasis on mystical, folkloric, and ap approaches to Elijah in Judaism. (See his ch. 10, 'Elijah in Islam.')

Hodgson recommends the former three books, as well as one other monograph which I have not yet accessed: Hanna Zakarias, *De Moise à Mohammed*(Paris: Minard, 1955).

However:

> In Europe, in India, and in the Confucian Far East, the classical languages and the cultural ideals of the Axial Age [approx. 800 – 200 BCE; see Karl Jaspers on the term] continued to be studied directly and to influencefundamentally the regional high-cultural life down to modern times. But in the Nile-to-Oxus [i.e., the Oe] region there has been no single classical lettered tradition since Cuneiform times [part of the the Agrarian Age; approx. 7,000 – 800 BCE]. Each confessional community had had its own; the Muslim community likewise had established its own tradition. This grew out of the older traditions but looked to its own creative moments which had been experienced in the new language and within the new religious allegiance. The central elements in the Ite cultural background remained (as in the other core areas) those of its home ground – the Irano-Semitic lands; but the actual documents of the ancient Irano-Semitic cultures were no longer studied. *Not merely were Cuneiform classics such as the Gilgamesh epic quite forgotten; even the masterpieces of the prophetic traditions were – if not forgotten – at least neglected. For the cultural achievements of even the Axial Age and since were for the most part retained only in a drastically Islamized dress* [My italics.] *Op. cit.*, 445.

I am indebted to Hodgson"s work, *op. cit.*, ch. 1, for his lucid and highly informative description of the pre-Ite world and of the life and times of the Prophet . See also *ibid*, ch. 6., 'Adab: The Bloom of Arabic Literacy Culture,' from which I have drawn the above quote.

4 See (the Islamicist) Annemarie Schimmel, 'Numbers,' *ER*11, 13–21, especially 13–19.

5 My translation.

6 See my ch. 2, n. 25, ch. 4, and Wilson, *op. cit.*

7 Mishna; earliest codification of Jewish oral law. See ns. 10, 11, this chapter.

8 See 'Joshua ben Levi,' *EJ*10: 282ff; 'Joshua b. Levi,' *JE*7: 293; and 'Yehoshu^{c}a ben Levi,' *ER*15: 504.

9 *Amora*(pl., *amoraim*) Jewish scholars in Palestine and Babylonia, from the 3rd – 6th c

CE. They are responsible for the *Gemara*, a commentary and supplement to the Mishna, forming part of the *Babylonian* and *Palestinian Talmuds*.

10 Educationally, the work of the *Sanhedrin*, the ancient central Jewish religious authority, was the teaching and transmission of the ol JB. This teaching was effected by means of two methods: the Midrash and the Mishnah. The Midrashic method was the oral exposition of the biblical text (the Hebraic root meaning of Midrash is 'to teach, to investigate'). When the exposition led to a legal teaching, it was called a *Midrash Halakhah* (lit., 'walking'); if it yielded a non-legal, ethical, or devotional teaching, it was a *Midrash Aggadah* (lit., 'narration'). The Mishnah, on the other hand, was the teaching of the ol JB independently of the scriptural basis claimed for it. Mishnah derives from the Hebraic root meaning 'to repeat.' The *tannaim* (sing. *tanna*) were those who specialized in teaching Mishnah. The Midrashic method is the older of the two. See Isidore Epstein, *Judaism* [1959] (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd., 1980), 114f.

11 The *Halakhah* is a collection of accepted decisions of rabbinic law; also, those parts of the Talmud concerned with legal matters. Talmud (Heb., 'Study, Learning'), along with the Midrash, its commentaries, and interpretations are second in authority only to the JB. Talmud commonly means collection comprising the Mishna, the *Gemara*, and various subsidiary texts. In its more specific sense, the Talmud refers only to the *Gemara*, the commentary on the Mishna.

'*Baraitha*' is a generic term for any tannaidic teaching not in the Mishna. *Tosefta* is an actual book which contains teachings of the same character as *baraitha*.

12 One who studies the *Haggadah*, the sections of Talmud and Midrash (see n. 10, 11) containing homiletic expositions of the JB, along with various stories, legends, fkl, maxims, or anecdotes.

13 Kh (from Iran) and Elijah (from Israel) are supposed to rendez-vous each year in Jerusalem, and to live as long as the Q is in the world (Haddad, n. d., 5f). For bibliographical data on Kh's (mystical) residence at the mosque of al-Aqṣà, see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 1954, 215, 215 n. 2.

14 The Midrash is a collection of interpretations on scripture which elucidate legal points (e.g., *Midrash Halakhah*), or to exemplify lessons by means of homiletics of stories (e.g., *Midrash Aggadah*). See ns. 10f, above.

15 See n. 10, above.

16 *Sanhedrin* 92a.

17 One of these stories has been preserved only in the work of Peter of Cluny, written against the Jews, which probably derives from the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*. See also *Bet Ha-Midrasch* (6 vols. in 2 vols), Sammlung 6 (2), 32, (Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1967), with notes by Adolf Jellinek (in the 1938 ed.of the same text, which can be rendered '*Beth ha-Midrash*', see 48–51); M. Higger, *Halakhot ve-Aggadot* (1933), 141–50. See also *ER*, 15:504.

18 All four stories below are taken from Wiener, *op. cit.*, 55ff.

19 *Ibid*, 55. See the *Midrash Rabbah*, Gen. 35: 2, and *Midrash Tehillim* 36: 8, 252.

20 *Ibid*, 55. See the *Midrash Rabbah*, Gen: 35.2, and *Midrash Tehillim* 36ff, 252.

21 *Ibid*., 55. See the *Rabbenu Tam* (?) *Ketubot* 77b, and *Midrash Tehillim* 36: 8.

22 Two of the voices are Elijah's and the Rabbi's. The third voice might be intended to mean that of God, *Shekhinah*, Metatron, or one of the Elianic angels discussed in ch. 4 – Yefifiyah, Sandalfon, or Zagzagel (conceivably Michael also). According to the commentator Rashi, the third voice was the *Shekhinah*. See Wiener, *op. cit.*, 55 n. '*.'

23 *Ibid*, 56. See the *Babylonian Midrash*, *Ketubot* 77b.

24 Rabbi Joshua ben Levi was a hero of the *Haggadah*, which tells the story of how he became worthy of and achieved the revelation of Elijah. As an example, the following is a well–known account of the Rabbi and Elijah:

> He once asked Elijah: "When will the Messiah come?"
> Elijah replied: "Go and ask him himself."
> "And by what sign may I recognize him?"
> "He is sitting among the poor, who are afflicted with disease; all of them untie and retie [the bandages of their wounds] all at once, whereas he unties and rebandages each wound separately, thinking, perhaps I shall be wanted [to appear as the Messiah] and I must not be delayed."
> Joshua thereupon went to the Messiah and greeted him:
> "Peace unto thee, master and teacher!"
> To this he replied, "Peace unto thee, son of Levi."
> "When will you come master?"
> "Today."
> He returned to Elijah...and said "He spoke falsely to me. For he said he would come today and he has not come."
> Elijah rejoined: "This is what he said! [Ps. 95:7]: Today – if you would but hearken to His voice."

(From *Sanhedrin* 98a, adapted by J. Ibn Shmuel, *Midreshei Ge'ullah*, 1954, 292ff, 306ff, in Zvi Kaplan, 'Joshua ben Levi,' *EJ* 10, 1971, 282ff.)

25 The *Hibbur Maʿasiyyot* was first published in Ferrara in 1554, from an ancient MS, which was translated by a Mr Paris into French. The article by Lévi, *op. cit.*, uses an abridged version of the legend in the *Hibbur Maʿasiyyot*, which is that of the *Maasé Buch*, q.v. Grünbaum, *Judischdeutsche Chrestomathie*, 393–96.

26 Found in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, 5: 223–26. See also *ibid* 6: 334–35 n. 94. The version in my study comes from the *Hibbur Yafeh* 8–11 of R. Nissim of Qayrawān (11th c), represented by Adolf Jellinek in *Bet Ha–Midrasch* 5: 133–35. It was reprinted by Jellinek in *Bet Ha-Midrasch* 5: 133ff. See also *ibid* 8: 64–73, and Gaster, *Exempla*, no. 393.

Ginzberg notes two other, different, versions of the EJL story. One is entitled the *Maʿasiyyot* 12, reprinted by Jellinek in *Bet Ha–Midrasch* 6, 30–33, and by R. Elijah ha–Kohen in *Meail Zedakah*, No. 439. (Ginzberg notes that Jellinek was not aware that R. Elijah ha–Kohen used *Maʿasiyyot* for his text.) Cf. also *Maʿasiyyot*, ed. by Gaster, 96–97. For Judeo–German and later German versions, see Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 2nd ed., 138. Yet another version,

which agrees with neither of the above-mentioned recensions, is that of Peter Venerabilis: cf. *Revue des études juives* 43: 284.

A French version of the *Ḥibbur Yafeh* is available in Israel Lévi, *op. cit.*, see 67ff.

27 Friemann, ed., Vienna, 1900. Cf. *Midrashim Exodus (?) Rabbah*, 31–32.

28 From Israel Friedländer, 'Alexanders Zug nach dem lebensquell und die Chadhirlegende.' *Archiv für Religionswissensschaft* 13: 11-246.

29 In an note by R. Basset, entitled 'Nédomah et les Traras,' Basset is quoted by Lévi as giving an example of North African tombs worshipped in common by Jews, Christians, and Muslims. This serves Basset as a proof for his argument that, in general, the veneration originated with the Jews, was inherited by the Christians, and finally passed on to the Muslim community. Another proof of the primary of Jewish influence may be found at Tlemcen in Algeria

> d'une légende coranique d'origine juive (?) où figure Joshé....M. B. [Mr. Basset] aurait pu ajouter que cette légende se racontait dans l'Afrique du Nord avec le nom de Josué (b. Lévi), remplacent celui de Moïse, comme le montre le *Hibbour Yafé*...'

(Revue bibliographique,' *Revue des études juives* 43, 283f.)

Basset's research showed that Joshua b. Lévi said to some inhabitants of Jerusalem that they could emigrate if they so wished. Local N. African traditions hold that the Mediouna, who live around about Tlemcen, were Jews before embracing Islam at the time of the Muslim arrival. This, interestingly, could shed light on the existence (and possible confusion) of two apparently parallel legends: that of the Judaic R. Joshua b. Levi/Elijah and that of Moses/Kh. More realistically, it could show how a Judaic tradition, held by Jews, could readily be assimilated into the Muslim mental mileu (that is, the religio–cultural world–view of Muslims) once those Jews had entered the fold of Islam, or once Jewish and Muslim cultures had become sufficiently familiar with each other's traditions and somewhat intermeshed.

Chapter 4

1 Strictly speaking, Elijah appears in the *Neviïm* (the 'Prophets') section of the JB. Preceding the above is the *Torah* ('Instruction, Law'), which is comprised of the Pentateuch (the 'Five Books' of Moses). The general sense of the term '*Torah*' includes the whole of the JB above-mentioned. The *Neviïm* is succeeded by the *Ketuvim* (the 'Writings'); religious poetry, wisdom literature, and the Psalms.

2 On the problem of Kh's relationship with the character of Elijah, see Wiener, *op. cit.*, ch. 10, 'Elijah in Islam;' Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, Lévi, *op. cit.*, and Jung, *op. cit.*, 9i, 18. Ginzberg, in his index to *op. cit.*, 7, provides two references for Kh, in connection with ap Jdc material on Elijah: 6: 334 (n. 94), and 6: 317. The latter reference, however, does not mention Kh, nor do any notes on 6: 317.

3 He is portrayed as an immortal solar–hero in Ibn al–Qiftī's Tarikh al–Ḥukamī (c. 1200 CE). Al–Bīrūnī (d. c. 1050), the Arab geographer, wrote that "Elias is still alive " and is "ever–living." See E. Washburn Hopkins, 'The Fountain of Youth,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 26, 1-67, 411-15; 37 n. 2 (from Bīrūnī's *Chronology*, 297).

4 On the problem of Jdc influences in Ite thought, see my ch. 1 n. 1.

5 See *EI, EI, ER, ERE,* and *JE* for their articles on Elijah. What follows on the life and much of teachings of Elijah is culled from parts of the above-mentioned articles.

6 It was upon Mt. Horeb, also known as Mt. Sinai (Ar., Jabal Mūsà), in the same cave in which God communicated with Moses through (the theophany of) the burning bush, and where Moses received the Ten Commandments. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, 3: 137f.

7 See ch. 2 n. 9.

8 See ch. 2 n. 10.

9 See ch. 2 n. 14. In the Gospels, Christ says,

> "...I tell you that Elijah has come already and they did not recognize him...." The disciples understood then that he had been speaking of John the Baptist (Mat. 17: 12f).

10 The K (Heb., Tradition') is, specifically, Jdc sp as it appeared (in Europe) from the 13th c onward, the earliest expression being the 'Merkaba' strain. It is also the general designation for various kinds of Jdc sp. The earliest known Jdc speculative sp document , the *Sefer Yetzira,* dates from the 3rd – 6th c CE. K is divided into the speculative (*iyyunit*) and the practical (*ma'asif*).

11 In Ps-Philo, 48: 1–2.

12 For Hodgson's use of "Islamdom," see *op. cit.*, 50, 109f.

13 See app. 1 n. 3.

14 The river Jordan, for Elijah and Elisha, may be a *majma'*, a 'junction.' of its own. It is on the other side of the river that the prophetic investiture of Elisha by Elijah takes place, as it is the earthly locus from whence Elijah is taken by God from this world into heaven. See this ch. n. 15, and my conclusion n. 3.

15 On the investiture by Kh of Ibn 'Arabī by means of the blessing (*barakah*) of Kh's *khirqah,* 'cloak,' see Corbin, *op. cit.*, 1978, 64-67. For bibliographical information on the investiture of worthy spirituals by Kh's bestowal of his *khirqah,* see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 1954, 131, 131 n. 2

16 See Louis Massignon, 'Elie et son rôle transhistorique, Khadiriya, en Islam,' *op. cit.*, 1: 142-61. That article originally appeared as 'Elie le prophète,' *Etudes Carmélitaines* (Paris, 1955), 2: 265-84.

See the my introduction n. 8; the conclusion n. 1.

17 For references to Elijah in the *Zohar,* see 1: 1b–2a, and 3: 221a, 231a; the *Zohar Hadash, Ki Tavo,* 59d; and the *Shir ha-Shirin,* 63d, 70d, 73c. See Daniel Chanan-Matt's trans., *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983). See also *The Books of Elijah Parts 1 - 2* Texts and Translations 18; Pseudographica Series 8. Micheal E. Stone and John Strugnell, trans. (Missoula, MT: Scholar's Press, 1979).

18 As mentioned in ch. 1, this particular story of Elijah is reminiscent of the first story in the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, that of the Sleepers in the Cave. Again, it is possible that the legend of the story of the Sleepers is a recounting of the R. Shim'on ben Yoḥai story instead of the usual (and most probable) interpretation given; i.e., that the Qc 'Sleepers Tale' comes from the Christian legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

19 We should recall that Kh's knowledge and mercy come from "the presence" of God (18: 65).

20 Again, see the texts on Jdc sp, above. See the *EJ*, *ER*, *ERE* and *JE* for general data on M.

21 See the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, ch. 40.

22 The name of God as 'El' (Heb.) is 'on' Elijah, for that divine name begins his own.

23 See my ch. 2 n. 19.

24 See the *Book of Jubilees* 2. 2; *2 Enoch* 29. 3; and the *Apocalypse of Baruch* 21: 6.

25 Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, 4: 202. See also *Ḥagigah* 136 and *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20: 97a for the function of Sandalfon.

26

> As soon as Sandalphon bids the crown rise, the hosts on high tremble and shake, the holy animals burst into paeans, the holy Seraphim roar like lions and say: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory.'
>
> When the crown reaches the Throne, heaven trembles and is seized with horror and the wheels of the Throne are set in motion. Then the crown passes on its way, the celestial hosts say "Praised be the glory of the Eternal from His The Eternal was King. The Eternal will be King in all eternity" (*Ibid*, 3: 111).

Sandalfon resembles the angel Ofan who was created by God upon earth. Ofan mediates between God and Israel. His head reaches up to the Ḥayyot (the four beings who support the throne of God); and he makes wreaths for God out of prayers.

27 See *Zohar Hadash*.

28 See *Zohar II*, 197.

29 *Ibid*, 5: 4 16 n. 117.

30 *Ibid*, 3: 112.

31 *Ibid*, 4: 231.

32 *Ibid*, 4: 231.

33 *Ibid*, 5: 4 17. Zagzagel is the angel of Moses and Maltiel is the angel of Elijah. But some

say that Gabriel is the angel of the burning bush and that Michael indicates the *Shekhīnah*. See *Targum Yerushalmi* Exod. 3. 2.

34 *Ibid*, 3: 467. From the *Petirat Mosheh* 3, 127.

35 On Phinehas, see my ch. 2, n. 10.

36 *Ibid*, 6:20, 173. On Moses and the angel, see *Midrash Tannaim* 222, *Shirhin. Rabbah* (?). 32. 3–8; *Tehillim* 90, 390; Philo, *Quæstiones; Exod. II*, 3, 131–32 and 347.

37 *Ibid*, 6: 173 n. 20. On Joshua and the angel, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 97.3; *Tanḥuma* (ed.) *Buber* 2: 87; *Tanḥuma Mishpatim* 18; *Aggadat Bereshit* 32: 32 and 64–65.

38 See also *Tanḥuma Mishpatim* 18.

39 Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, 2: 2 80.

40 *Ibid*, 2: 283. This is from *Tanḥuma* (ed.) *Buber* 2: 63–64, and is related to the ap work *Daniel and the Dragon*

41 *Ibid*, 3: 435.

42 *Ibid*, 2: 328.

43 See above, n. 7.

Conclusion

1 On Jamāᶜī–Sunnīs, see app. 4 n. 2.

2 I wish to note that my initial (rather naïve) assumptions as to the identity of Kh, as a particularized saint of exhalted rank in the somewhat amorphous Ite hierarchy, has been altered and quite undermined. This change is due to the ambiguities inherent in such an evocative and multivalent figure as I now assess Kh to be. I credit this shift in my presuppositional paradigm to my thesis research, as well as other readings in comparative mythology, religion, sp and fkr, particularly in the vast field of Mn myth. I no longer hold any *a priori* notions as to who or what Kh was or may be (or whether or not Kh *per se* ever existed in the first place). I am left only with ideas as to who he may become to the sp pilgrim at "the junction of the two seas."

3 This thesis may be said to be concerned with the three-fold lines of enquiry (as applied to the Q 18: 65-82) suggested by M. Arkoun, including the latter of those lines (see my ch. 1), "the symbolic interpretation of archetypal spiritual themes in the collective imagination" of the Oc religious continuum.

Psychotherapy is considered by many to be a modern religion or a contemporary substitute for religious-based sp. Psychological insight and development (in Jungian terms, analysis and integration, respectively) take the place of the religio–spiritual quest for many in the West. Religious and mystical symbols, metaphysics and mystical practices are sometimes used in psychotherapeutic theory and treatment, particularly in transpersonal psychological systems.

C. G. Jung (d. 1961) may be considered the founder of transpersonal psychology. Since he wrote on Kh, in an articulate manner, using heavily cross-referenced, comparative religious methodology, it might not be out of place to have included some of his ideas on Kh - as speculative (and far-fetched and sometimes ill-founded) as they tend to be at times. Actually, Jung may be considered a modern commentator on our Kh.

The only part of Qc mythology which Jung incorporated into his published research into the human psyche was the Chapter of the Cave. Jung chose the Qc legend of Kh, "the Verdant One," as an example of a symbol of the process of transformation. Jung, *op. cit.*, 9i: 135–47.

Interestingly, Jung commenting upon the Dhū al-Qarnayn episode in the Q, writes that "The Koran...makes no distinction in this narrative between Allah, who is speaking in the first person plural, and Khidr....it is evident that Khidr is a symbolization or 'incarnation' of Allah" (*ibid* 9i: 145) For, to Jung as well as to some mystical Muslims who accept the doctrine of incarnationism (*ḥulūl*), Kh indeed "wanders over the earth as a human personification of Allah" (*ibid* 10: 328). Cf. my ch. 2 n. 19.

For readings on Kh in the writings of Jung (*op. cit.*)see 5: 194-202; 10: 328, 410; 12: 118-120; 18: 67577; and especially 9i: 133f, 135-47. See also his indexed references to Kh, *op. cit.* 9i: 111.

For a well-written (though unpublished) article on Jung's esoteric interpretation of psychology, see John P. Dourley, 'Jung and Mysticism,' 1989, 20pp.

4 I refer to its frequent use of alliteration, metre, blank verse, rhyme, and its use of vivid and emotionally–charged images, metaphor, allusion, etc.

Appendix 1

1 There is almost an unanimous agreement as to the identity of the two characters in 18: 60–64. Almost all commentators opine that the Moses mentioned therein is the Moses of the JB, and that his attendant is Joshua, Moses' religious successor. See below, n. 2.

Judaism does not provide for Moses (Ar., Mūsà) a spiritual mentor – at least, not a human being. According to Jdc tradition, Moses did make a mystical ascension (*miʿrāj*) during which he met angel teachers. During the ascension of Moses, he was led through the seven heavens (Muḥammad travelled through seven heavens during his *miʿrāj*) by the Kabbalistic Metatron, the 'Angel of the Face,' who is sometimes identified with Enoch, sometimes with Elijah.

Of course, the Ite precedent for mystical ascension is found in the Q 17: 2, in which Muḥammad's "night journey" (*isrā'*)from "the Sacred Mosque" to "the Furthest Mosque" (usually interpreted to signify the Masjīd al-Aqṣà, in Jerusalem). Thereafter followed his hotly debated *mi'rāj* through the seven heavens, guided by Gabriel, until the presence of God was attained.

Rāzī wrote that the Moses of the second recital in chapter 18 is Mūsà bin ᶜImrān. Retracing their steps towards the rock "at the beginning of the rapids," Moses and his servant encountered Kh. The purpose of their having meet was due to God's wanting to prove to Moses that there was one wiser than he, and so putting upon his path one of His elect. Al–Qaffāl held that if God had wished to indicate that the Moses of *sūrah* 18: 60–82 was other than the exalted prophet of the JB. He would have made the distinction between the two men very clear: thus the Moses of chapter 18 is indeed the same as Moses b. ᶜImrān (Arkoun, *op. cit.*, 76–80).

There are a few anomalies in the general consensus on the identity of Moses' unnamed guide in 18: 65–82. Those who held that the Moses of Chapter 18 is other than the Moses of the

JB said that it is impossible that the Moses of the JB, with whom God spoke without intermediary and who confounded his opponents with great miracles not given to other prophets to accomplish, could be given a lesson such as the Moses of *sūrah* 18 is given by the unnamed servant of God (*ibid*, 76–80). Anawati and Gardet mention that some think the Moses of 18: 60-82 may be a certain Mūsà b. "Manasse" [*sic*]. *Op. cit.*, their Appendix I, 261f.

Isma^{c}īlī writings substitute Abraham for Moses, and the Nusayrīs substitute "Nabī Iskandar" (the prophet Alexander) for Moses (Alexander also being the Dhū al–Qarnayn of the third story in *Sūrah* 18). See Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 121 n. 1.

The most otherworldly and outright eccentric interpretation of the identify of the figures in 18: 60-82 I have thus far seen is found in an Aḥmadī *tafsīr*, in which the whole passage is viewed as a visionary portrayal to Moses of the evolutionary relationship of the three great 'Religions of the Book.' Judaism is represented by Moses: Christianity by the youth; and Islam by Moses' guide, who is here the preternatural Muḥammad as a kind of Metatron–Logos. (Nāṣir–Aḥmad, *The Holy Qur'ān*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Rabwah, Pakistan: Oriental & Religious Publishing Corporation, Ltd., 1969), 2i: 1517–31.

See Edward F. Barbezat,' The Figure of Moses in the Qur'ān,' an unpublished Masters' thesis (the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montréal, 1989). Although Barbezat makes mention of Kh, he does not enter into the subject.

2 *Fatà* means a 'youth,' a 'young companion,' an 'attendant.' The Jalālayn *tafsīr* holds that the *fatà* is indeed Yūshu^{c} bin Nūn ('Joshua, Son of the Fish') "who succeeded him [Mūsà] in his service, and learned from him...." See my app. 2.

Joshua was, of course, a 'youth' relative to the elder Moses during their lifetimes, as well as Moses' successor, who led the Hebrew peoples into the Promised Land. During their time together, Joshua would certainly have served as Moses' religio–spiritual apprentice and attendant. Sale translates *fatà* as "Joshua the son of Nun" (Wherry and Sale, *op. cit.*, 90).

Others say that the *fatà* is the brother of Joshua (Arkoun, 76–80, from Rāzī 5: 492)

The unnamed servant is sometimes seen as Dhū al–Qarnayn, the hero of the third story in the Cave Chapter (Jung 5: 195).

Haddad writes that almost all Qc commentators identify the *fatà* with Kh. I wonder how that could be so, given the internal logic of the narrative and given the fact that commentators, as far as I am aware, do not identify Kh with Moses' attendant, the latter being identified with Joshua. Haddad cites the tradition in which Moses, when receiving the Tablets of the Law, asked God whether anyone was wiser than he. God replied, "A servant (*^{c}abd*) of God who lives in the isles of the sea and is called Al–Khidr" (Haddad, *op. cit.*, 1969, 25; 25 n. 8).

In the latter case, I am sure that a mistake has been made, in confusing the servant (*fatà*) of Moses with the servant (*^{c}abd*) of God. The attendant of Moses certainly did not manifest any signs of superior wisdom; in fact the reverse, for he did not remember to tell his master about the resurrection of the fish.

Haddad writes that Kh is believed by almost all the Qc commentators to be the *fatà* of 18: 60–64. I wonder if Haddad meant that Joshua was considered to be the youth of the first part of the Qc passage, and Kh the personnage of the second part – such an interpretation would be in accordance with the commentators that I have consulted, as well as with the opinion of almost all scholars (*ibid*, 25; 25 n. 8).

Holger Kalweit, a contemporary ethnopsychologist, writes that "Certain stereotypes and consistently recurring themes and experiences are found in all cultures." Holger Kalweit, *Dreamtime & Inner Space: The World of the Shaman*, Werner Wünche, trans. (Boston: Shambhala, 1988), 56. Kalweit's book is an excellent overview of the inner world of shamanism and its

characteristic beliefs and practices. Shamanism may be defined as the occultic and spiritual dimension of animism, the most ancient and wide-spread religion on earth. Animism is based upon the premiss that all nature is animated by spirits; it concerns itself with the appeasement and coercion of those spirits to bring worldly benefit to the community and its individual members.

Since pre-Islamic religion in Arabia at the time of Muḥammad was animistic (or pagan), with the exception of small numbers of Jews, Christians, and Mandæans (or Sabæans), a knowledge of animism and shamanism may help to shed light on our passage, especially vv. 60 – 64.

Kalweit cites research in myths and in the personal experiences of shamans which show consistently recurring features, such as, "helping spirits from the Beyond who escort the soul to the other world; the overcoming of obstacles (rivers, bridges, temptations); the presence of a guardian at the entrance to the world of the dead...and so on" (*ibid*, 56).

In this light, we may see Moses' *fatā*as his "helping spirit," who aided Moses in traversing the wilderness, the length of which was in itself an obstacle. Their journey led to the further obstacle of the place where the two seas met, where Moses met Kh, the "guardian" at the entrance to the world, if not of the dead in the ordinary sense, then of those dead to the outer world (and alive to the inner world).

See also Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism Archaic Techniques of Ecstacy*(Bollingen Series 76) [1964], 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged, Willard R. Trask, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

For a treatment of magic relevant to Kh, see Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough A Study in Magic and Religion* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1922); on St. George, see The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings' vol. 2, ch. 19.

On the subject of magic, Massignon has provided bibliographical data on a peculiar phenomenon: the Ṣūfī al-Tirmidhī's summoning of the spirit of Kh, among other "good spirits." *Op. cit*.,. 1954, 294.

3 *Majmaᶜ al-baḥrayn*, the 'junction,' or the 'meeting,' or the 'coming together of the two seas:'strictly speaking, this rather ambiguous phrase is usually taken to refer to the fresh water springs on the island state of al-Baḥrayn – thus the "meeting" is that of fresh island water and salt sea water. There is no known place called 'Junction of the Two Seas.' Such confluences nearest to where Moses lived are the Bāb al-Mandab, which unites the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; the Straits of the Dardanelles which joins the Mediterranean Sea with the Sea of Marmora; and al-Baḥrayn, where the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean meet. All three places are hundreds of kilometres from where Moses is known to have lived and travelled.

However, the *majmaᶜ al-baḥrayn*of 18: 60f, apparently implied in 18: 64, and the probable the meeting-place of Kh and Moses of 18: 65, has been identified by some scholars with the ancient Mn holy isle of Dilmun or Tilmun. In the *EG*, for example, Dilmun is said to lie at "the mouth of the two rivers," i.e., the Tigris and the Euphrates. The hero of *EG*, Gilgamesh, set out to find Utnapishtim, a semi-divine, immortal sage, who abode with his wife upon Dilmun. Utnapishtim is a homologue of Kh (see Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, and my ch. 2 n. 5). Further, Dilmun has been identified by some (see Burrows' article, *op. cit.*) as the modern-day island state of al-Baḥrayn and the nearby littoral coast of Saudi Arabia.

A Shīᶜī shrine to Kh was built upon the isle of Faylakah (to Kuwait), which lies, roughly, between al-Baḥrayn and the present site of the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in the Bay of Kuwait (48°23' N x 29°25' E). Despite periodic purgings of the shrine and its cult by the more numerous Jamāᶜī-Sunnī of Kuwait, when the archeologist Bibby investigated the site, the shrine was still standing and attracted pilgrims from the Oc and the Indian Sub-Continent. (See below,

this note).

Besides Burrows' very important (and elegantly handwritten) article, see also H. Rawlinson, 'Notes on Capt. Durand's Report upon the Islands of Bahrein,' in *Dilmun Discovered*, ch. 2, and; P. B. Cornwallis, 'On the Location of Dilmun,' also in *Dilmun Discovered*, ch. 7. On the archeological search for the whereabouts of Dilmun, written for the layman but very informative, see Geoffrey Bibby, *op. cit.* See also W. E. Mulligan, 'Al-Baḥrayn' [in the Q], and G. Rentz and W. E. Mulligan, 'Al-Baḥrayn' [the island, geographically, politically, etc.], *EI*(New Ed.)1 1960 - 940f; 941-44, respectively.

The majmaᶜ al-baḥrayn has been interpreted by some as a mystical *majmaᶜ* or 'junction.' They have correlated it with the term *barzakh*, 'isthmus,' which appears in the Q as well as in Ṣūfī writings. See Corbin's treatment of the *ᶜālam al-mithāl*, the 'sphere of symbols,' in the work of Ibn ᶜArabī and other Ite mystics, in Corbin, *op. cit.*, 1969, 1978. Also see Titus Burckhardt, 'Concerning the "Barzakh,"' *Studies in Comparative Religion* 13, nos 1 and 2. (Winter-Spring, 1979), 24-30.

According to some commentators, Moses and Kh are each seen as a "Sea of Knowledge;' Moses representing legalistic religious doctrine, and Kh representing the esoteric tradition. In other words, the 'junction' can mean the 'coming together' of the *ẓāhir* ('the outer, the religious') and the *bāṭin* ('the inner, the spiritual'). See al-Baydāwī and al-Zamakhsharī, as quoted by Wherry and Sale, *op. cit.*,.91. The idea of centrality, or of the *Axis Mundi*, is discussed by Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Rosemary Sheed, trans. (New York: The New American Library, Mentor Books, 1955), 20, 22f

Coomaraswamy writes that, in Christian iconography, the river-god Jordan (as St. John) resembles Kh and Glaucus. Sometimes the baptism of Christ is said to have occured "at the junction of two rivers:" the Jor and the Danus (Coomaraswamy, *op. cit* ., 228). For another comparative work featuring Glaucus, see Barnett's article, *op. cit.*

The Mughal prince Dārā Shikūh (1615-1659) wrote a text, the title of which bears an interesting relevance to this sub-topic. It has been translated as *Majma-'ul-Baḥrain or The Mingling of the Two Oceans by Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh* M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, ed. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929). Dārā Shikūh's mystically-oriented syncretism of Islam and Hinduism (with a precedent set by his illustrious and schismatic, grandfather, the Emperor Akbar a definitive apostate), led to his execution on the order of his usurper brother, on the charge of apostacy.

For a discussion of cultic snake-burials and their possible connection with the cult of Kh, and for a treatment of the role of the snake in Ite culture, see Bibby and Mundkur, in my ch. 2 n. 6.

4 Although Kh himself interprets his actions for the benefit of Moses just before leaving him, I have found another answer to the rebuilding of the wall. The 6th Imām, Jaᶜfar Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, and the 7th Imām, ᶜAlī ibn Mūsà al-Rayḍā, related that beneath the collapsing wall which Kh set upright were buried some tablets inscribed with higher knowledge. On one of them, it is said, was written:

> 1. In the name of God the Beneficent and the Most Merciful.
> 2. There is no God save I (Myself).
> 3. I wonder at the man who is sure of his death and yet rejoices.
> 4. I wonder at the man who knows that only the Will of the Lord is done and yet grieves.
> 5. I wonder at the man who knows the uncertainty of this world and yet covets for it (Nāṣir-Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 936).

This inscription is quite interesting. There may be a connection between the above five

points, and the five ritual duties and the five obligatory daily prayers of a Muslim. Also, this inscription begins with the invocation which opens every chapter (save one) of the Q, hence immediately marking the writing as one supposedly executed by a person of religious (and probably, esoteric) sensibilities.

The three 'I wonders' correspond in number to the three deeds of Kh which Moses witnessed in the Qc tale. But they may also correspond to the nature of those three acts. The man who is sure of his death and yet rejoices of the third line may refer to the episode about the youth whom Kh murdered. The man (or men) whose boat was damaged by Kh might well have grieved over the temporary dicomforture which Kh had caused him, though Kh's action manifested the Will of God in saving the boat, could tie in with the man who knows that only the Will of the Lord is done and yet grieves of line four. Finally, line five of our mysterious inscription might indicate Moses' coveting recompence for Kh for his having repaired the wall or the people of the town who would covet the orphan's treasure were they to know of it. Or yet again, it could recall the father of the orphans coveting worldly security for his children in spite of the uncertainty of the world which was soon almost to have reified in the wall falling down completely and thus giving away the secret of the coveted treasure

It should be noted that he wording of the three "I wonders" is strongly reminiscent of AB in the *BT*.

Appendix 2

1 Abū ʿAlī Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣarī al-Shāfʿī al-Muḥallī (1389-1459) was an Egyptian scholar, known above all for his *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, 'The Commentary of Jalālayn.' It is refered to as 'Jalālayn' ('the Two Jalāls') because his commentary was completed by another 'Jalāl al-Dīn,' namely his renowned student, al-Sūyūṭī (d. 1505). Al-Maḥallī completed *sūrahs* 1, part of 2, and 18 through 114.

2 I write 'Khaḍir,' for of the various renditions of the name 'al-Khāḍir,' it is the most reasonably close rendition of the name in actual use among Arabic-speaking Muslims. One cannot be sure of the Jalālayn useage, given that his *tafsīr* does not, of course, indicate short vowels.

Appendix 4

1 Other such gods of relevance here, though subordinate to Ea in importance, include Dagon, Atargatis, Onnanes, and Tammuz.

2 Among the esoteric (*ghulāt* or *bāṭinī*) Ite sects, the only one specifically mentioned in the secondary source material to which I have had recourse in my research was that of the Nuṣayriyyah, and to a slight degree, the Ismāᶜīliyyah. (See Dussaud and Lyde, *op. cit.*). It appears that the identifications of Kh with ᶜAlī, with the assemblage of "all the prophets" (of the Book; i.e., the Q), and with God were communicated to the above-mentioned authors orally.

The tendancy of very esoteric (and unorthodox) associations to be highly secretive leads to a scarcity of written material (at least, there is little written material made accessible to outsiders) and a tendancy to pass on doctrines and practices (or hearsay about such) orally. There is also a marked tendancy for various *ghulāt* sects to deliberately mislead outsiders; the practice of dissimulation (*taqiyyah*, 'caution') is a well-known orthodox and orthoprax element among the various Shīᶜī sects. *Taqiyyah* has protected such sects from Jamāᶜī-Sunnī (see below, this note)

interference and persecution; as well, it protects the more esoteric doctrines and practices from being misunderstood and misapplied by those Ite Shī^{c}ī esoterists who have not yet advanced far enough within the initiatic hierarchy. (Unfortunately, that same practice frustrates scholarly investigation into such esoteric groups.)

For Hodgson's use of Jamā^{c}ī-Sunnī, see *op. cit.*, 276. 278f, and 278 n. 18. The term accentuates the importance of a historically-based unity of the Ite community (*ummah*) among the Jamā^{c}ī-Sunnī, and helps to mitigate the sense of 'orthodoxy' ascribed to them by many Islamicists, and claimed by those Muslims usually called Sunnī, in distinction to the so-called 'unorthodox' Shī^{c}ah.

3 The identification of the Imām with Kh can be found in IA sources: see Corbin, *op. cit.*, *pussim*, 1978. Given that ^{c}Alī is said to be Kh among the Nuṣayriyyah, it is most likely that the other, more esoteric, sects of the Shī^{c}ah also identify Kh with the Imām, and vice-versa.

4 The identification of the Muḥammad with Kh is found in an Aḥmadī commentary on 18: 60-82. See ch. 2 n. 17. The 'Prophets of the Book' is an Islamic theological term which includes all the true prophets (i.e., of the One God), who have brought a revelation for the people in their charge, from Adam to Muḥammad. However, certain other figures have been recognized as prophets by various Muslim philosophers, theologians, and esotericists - especially the *ghulāt*.

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