Rituals: Similarities, Influences, and Processes of Differentiation

Reuven Firestone

Judaism and Islam are mutually recognized as genuine monotheisms. Despite this general recognition, Muslim and Jewish religious scholars have critiqued each others' religion over the centuries by calling into question both the authenticity of the other's scripture and the efficacy of its religious practice. This basic critique is quite similar on both sides, yet despite significant and sometimes severe disapproval, each party recognizes the essential theological and moral-ethical soundness of the other. This basic respect, though sometimes reluctant, does not apply equally to other religions, certainly not to the Oriental traditions, and for the most part, not even Christianity.[1] The most fundamental reason for the undeniable mutual recognition (and perhaps also for the need for critique) is exactly the recognizability of the other. So many aspects are familiar and decipherable, from the nature of revelation to the principles of interpretation, centrality of law, and articulation of prayer.

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Religious similarity has always raised the question of originality and influence, which in turn raises the question of religious legitimacy. The foundation of religious authority is its claim to reflect God's will, and the core argument between religions and between streams within religion is over which most faithfully reflects this will. When a new religion emerges into history, it inevitably criticizes the established religions, usually attacking what it defines as their hypocrisy and lack of relevance. Established religions in turn accuse new religions of banality or lack of legitimacy and of having copied or borrowed from previous religions. Mutual criticism is a common phenomenon of religious relationship, and it reflects the economics of religious competition for the souls of believers who not only seek solace and redemption within the religious framework, but also provide critical human and material resources that are necessary for the enduring success of religion.

Influence and absorption are generally mutual and analogically follow the simple Newtonian principle that action stimulates reaction. When human communities interact they influence one another through the contact of culture, language, and custom. Because religious realia are a central part of human civilization, religion is deeply involved in the process. While the directionality of impact is never one-way, one direction may be more pronounced at one time than at others, and the force of stimulus between Judaism and Islam changed over time. Religious parallels and similarities, however, do not necessarily point to borrowing and influence. Some patterns reflect common cultural contexts or simply natural human patterns of response to the transcendent or other stimuli. It is with this background that we delve into some examples of ritual in Islam and Judaism, with an eye to similarities and distinctions, possibilities of influence, and processes of differentiation. Limited space allows only a limited overview, but one that reflects the trends of relationship.

Early period parallels and similarities

Religion is impossible without some form of prayer. The earliest versions of the Qur'an refer to divine supplication, sometimes associated with offerings and sacrifice (Q. 108:2; 9:99), which was a virtually universal form of worship in the ancient world. Obligatory Islamic prayer is called *ṣalāt* (*ṣlw*), which derives from an Aramaic/Syriac term for prayer (*ṣelōṯā*) that came into Arabia before the emergence of Islam.[2] Its original meaning was to bow, and most scholars believe that it came into Arabic through Syriac Christians, though the Aramaic term continues to be used in the traditional Jewish liturgy to this day.[3] Other foreign vocabulary for religious terminology may be identified by unique word structures (morphology) that are not found in native Arabic. Some examples include terms such as *tawrāt* (Torah), *furqān* (redemption),[4] and *zakāt* (required almsgiving).[5] Islamic prayer includes bowing, kneeling, and prostration, all terms that are found in the biblical Psalms as well as extrabiblical literature, and were once a part of Jewish ritual but dropped from practice for reasons that are not clear (see below).[6]

See article by Mohamed Howary, pp. 713–719.

The liturgical core of obligatory daily prayer in Islam is the *fātiḥa* or opening of the Qur'an, represented as its first chapter. This prayer includes terms and phrases that are reminiscent of Jewish literature and prayer. The very title of *fātiḥa* echoes the Hebrew *petīḥāh*, a term used in earlier rabbinic discourse to distinguish the opening prologue of a text from the text itself. So, too, the first chapter of the Qur'an functions as a liturgical proem to the revelation that follows. It begins with praise, *al-ḥamdu lillāhi* = "praise be to God," as do many biblical Psalms and every benediction of rabbinic Judaism (*barukh attah…* = "praised are You [God]"). In the same line, God is "Lord of the universe" (*rabb al-ʿālamīn*), which represents a semantic and conceptual parallel with a section of the standard Hebrew benediction "King of the universe" (*melekh*

ha'olam),[7] and God is "the Merciful and the Compassionate," a phrase that finds close linguistic and semantic parallels in the Bible and in early rabbinic prayer.[8] Many more parallels may be adduced from the remainder of this required liturgical core of daily Islamic prayer.

The other ubiquitous recitation within daily Islamic prayer is "God is most great" (*Allāhu akbar*). The expectation to "magnify" God is found very early in the Qur'anic revelation, appearing already in the early sura *al-mudaththur* (74:3): "And magnify your Lord" (*warabbuka fakabbir*). It finds a direct semantic parallel with the Jewish term *gaddel* (magnify), most familiar from the series of liturgies of praise found throughout all Jewish obligatory prayers in the *Qaddish* (*yitgaddal . . . shemey rabbah*, "magnified . . . is [God's] great name").

The expectation to face "God's house" in prayer is found in both Islamic and Jewish ritual practice. In Judaism this may be traced as far back as Solomon, who is depicted repeatedly extolling the efficacy of directing prayer toward Jerusalem and its Temple (1 Kings 8:35,44, 48; 2 Chron. 6:34). While formal prayer during the period of the Temple was based on the Temple offerings, references to personal prayer occur as well, and one such case is that of the prophet Daniel, who prayed three times daily to God by facing Jerusalem from his home in Babylon.[9] The passage occurs in biblical Aramaic and is especially interesting because it uses the term *qabel*, "facing" (from the verb *qabal*, "to correspond to"), like the Arabic *qibla*, to denote directionality. The Qur'an mentions that God changed the direction of prayer (*qibla*) from an unnamed location to the Sacred Mosque, which caused some friction with the People of the Book in Medina (Q. 2:142–45). While the Qur'an does not identify the earlier direction of prayer that was replaced, Muslim commentators identify it universally as Jerusalem, toward which early Christian communities prayed as well.

A specially designated weekly prayer is another parallel between Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. As is well known, the Jewish day is Shabbat (on Saturday),[10] the Christian day is the "Lord's Day" (on Sunday),[11] and the Islamic day is "Day of Congregation" (on Friday).[12] And in traditional postbiblical Judaism and Islam, the leader of prayer may be any fit male whose piety and knowledge enables them to represent the community.

▸ See article by Mohamed Hawary, pp. 720–724.

We have observed parallels in liturgy, phraseology, body movements and their sequence, and in the representational role of the prayer leader. Even the custom of turning to the right and left and reciting "peace to you" at the end of the complete Islamic prayer cycle finds a parallel in Jewish tradition. The Talmud records a discussion among the sages in which the core section of the repeated daily service known as the *'amidah*, or "eighteen benedictions," is ended with "the giving of peace to the right and thereafter to the left" (*Yoma* 53b).

Fasting, or abstention from all food intake, is a religious requirement in both Judaism and Islam. Fasting occurs in both religions as a ritual obligation, as a

form of penitence, to help raise consciousness of the plight of the unfortunate, and also as an ascetic act, and these aspects of fasting overlap in a variety of ways. The ritual obligation of fasting is established as a requirement in both scriptures (Q. 2:183–85; Lev. 16:29–31/23:27–32). The Qur'anic reference states unambiguously that fasting is required (*kutiba 'alaykum al-ṣiyām*), whereas in the biblical verse an idiom is used that is understood universally in Jewish tradition to require fasting, as well as abstention from sexual relations and other activities of sensual pleasure: *ve'initem et nafshoteykhem*—literally, "you shall afflict yourselves."[13] Both, furthermore, establish the fast according to the calendar. The Qur'an establishes a daylight fast during the month of Ramadan, while the Bible requires a sunset-to-sunset fast on the tenth day of the seventh month: this is the fast of Yom Kippur. It is quite clear, moreover, that the early Muslims were accustomed to fasting on the tenth day of the month of Muharram, called Ashura, which is confirmed by authoritative Islamic tradition in the hadith.[14] There can be little doubt that this custom was influenced by the Jewish practice, but it dropped from required behavior in Islam when it was replaced by the Ramadan month of daylight fasting.[15]

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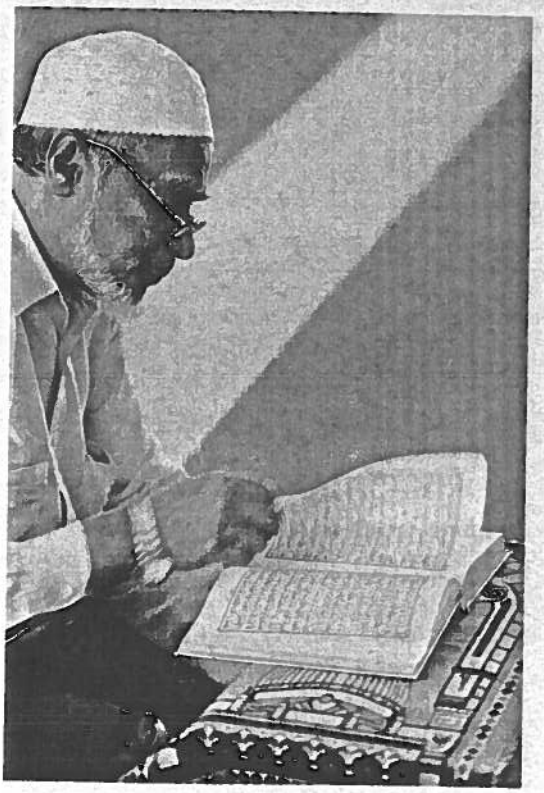
Reading from the Torah in a synagogue in Jerusalem. Photograph by P. Deliss, September 2007.

The people used to fast on 'Ashūrā' (the tenth day of the month of Muḥarram) before the fasting of Ramaḍān was made obligatory. And on that day the Ka'ba used to be covered with a cover. When Allah made the fasting of the month of Ramaḍān compulsory, Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever wishes to fast (on the day of 'Ashūrā') may do so; and whoever wishes to leave it can do so."[16]

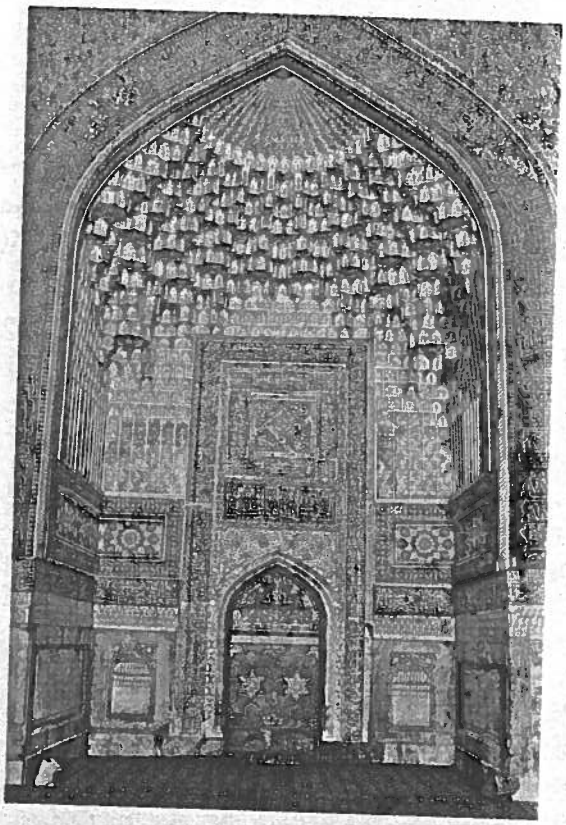
It remains a major occasion of self-affliction among the Shi'a to this day in the *ta'ziyya* ritual among the Twelver Shi'a, because the tenth of Muharram marks the martyrdom of al-Husayn b. 'Ali.[17]

A second sunset-to-sunset fast occurs in Judaism on the ninth day of the month of *Av* (*tisha' be'av*), which commemorates the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple first by the Babylonians and then the Romans. Four other public fasts in Judaism are limited to the period from sunrise to sunset as in the Ramadan fast, three commemorating a sequence of events that eventuated in the destruction of the Temple, and one commemorating the fast of Esther and the Jews of ancient Persia in solidarity and prayer to avert an attempt to destroy them.[18] Both Judaism and Islam have other nonobligatory fast days for a variety of purposes, including some in common, such as the custom of fasting on Mondays and Thursdays.

Numerous additional parallels and commonalities are found in dietary laws,[19] ritual purity,[20] ritual slaughter,[21] circumcision,[22] holy day rituals, and so forth.[23] Much could be noted about them. I limit my final comments here to one small aspect of an issue that is striking because of a curious Islamic custom treating purity. Muslims are required by religious law to ensure that they are in a state of ritual purity before engaging in prayer by engaging in some form of ritual washing (Q. 5:6). A parallel is found also in Judaism, especially after waking and beginning the morning prayers,[24] but the ritual washing in Judaism is customary rather than required. Required ritual purity presents a potential problem in the dry and arid desert environment of Arabia and much of the Middle East and North Africa, where water is scarce. The problem is resolved in Islam with the custom of *tayammum*, rubbing the hands and face with clean earth in the absence of water, and authorized by the same Qur'anic verse requiring ritual cleansing. Discussion of *tayammum* is then expanded in the canoni-



Reading from the Qur'an in Penang, Malaysia. Photograph by Fred de Noyelle, March 2006.



Mihrab (prayer alcove) in the Tilla Kari Mosque in Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Photograph by Gérard Degeorge.

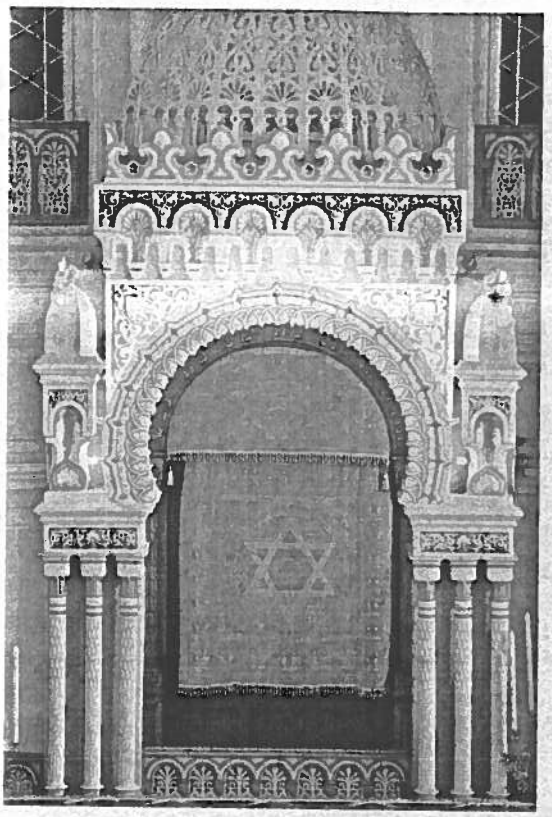
cal hadith.[25] In a Babylonian Talmudic discussion about ritual washing, one rabbi asks another about a young student from the West whose custom–was to rub his hands with earth or a pebble or sawdust in the absence of water. It is agreed that this custom is acceptable as a means of ritual washing before worship.[26]

Differences and differentiation

While many other parallels and similarities may be cited, differences are also important to note. In fact, it is just as easy to stress differences as similarities, which explains why as strong a case can be made for the distinctiveness of Judaism and Islam as for their commonalities. One could easily make the case, for example, that many more differences than similarities may be found between Jewish and Islamic prayer, from liturgy to choreography, length, number, and content. One could begin almost anywhere. Jews are expected to pray three times per day, while Muslims are expected to pray five times. Muslims bow, kneel, and prostrate themselves fully and repeatedly in every prayer service. Jews bow in the prayer service, but while the Talmud and especially the Bible contain many cases of and references to kneeling and full prostration, these fell out of practice in rabbinic Judaism. They did not fall out of practice in Karaite Judaism, however. According to the fifteenth-century Karaite scholar Elijah Bashiatsi of Adrianople (today's Edirne in western Turkey), eight body movements are indispensable forms of adoration in prayer. These include bending the head, bending the upper body until it touches the knees, kneeling, violent bowing of the head, complete prostration, raising the hands, standing, and raising the eyes to heaven.[27]

One of the most striking verbs associated with God and prayer in Judaism is *qaddesh* (sanctify). The core of the Jewish prayer service is called the *qedushah*, and

God is praised and adored through the use of this term as absolutely sacred and incomparable. The important repeated litany of praise mentioned above is called the *qaddish*, and the term is used in many forms throughout Jewish liturgies. While the same word (*qaddasa*) is common in Islam, it did not enter the prayer tradition, even though the Qur'an describes the angels as sanctifying God (*wanuqaddisu laka*) in 2:30. While this image immediately recalls Isaiah 6:1–4, which imagines the divine angels known as *serafim* crying out *qadosh, qadosh, qadosh*, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts," it is both interesting and somewhat surprising that the term is not found in Islamic liturgy.



Ark of the Torah in the Grand Choral Synagogue, Saint Petersburg, Russia. Photograph by Pascal Deloche.

Even the obvious parallels can be observed in terms of difference. For example, although Judaism and Islam each emphasize the requirement of a weekly congregational prayer of "gathering" (*kanas* in Hebrew, *jama'* in Arabic), the content of that prayer service in each religion is significantly different, as are their respective views of the special nature and significance of the day upon which the congregational prayer must be held.[28]

And despite the many similarities in fasting, nearly all of the most important calendrical fasts in Judaism are engaged for purposes of historical mourning, which is absent from Islam. And while burial rites and mourning customs find many parallels—in the immediacy of burial, strict requirements for ritual washing of the body, burial in shrouds and without embalming, the emphasis on simple coffins or no coffin at all, a mourning period during which the bereaved avoid wearing jewelry or even clean clothes—so many details vary between the two traditions that one could easily emphasize the similarities or the differences in order to stress their commonalities or their divergences. It all depends on what one wishes to highlight. Many of the similarities between Judaism and Islam can be found in Christian traditions as well.

▸ See article by Mohamed Howary, pp. 713–719.

One more example is instructive in this regard. While it is true that both Jews and Muslims pray in the direction of their most sacred site, they turn toward different locations. The importance of this distinction is articulated well in the story of the important Jewish convert to Islam Ka'b al-Ahbar and his advice to the caliph 'Umar. The story is found repeated in Islamic sources where the caliph, after conquering Jerusalem from the Byzantine Christians, asks Ka'b where he should build the al-Aqsa Mosque. Ka'b immediately suggested that it be positioned to the north of the site of the ancient Temple (and the rock upon which it rested). That way, when Muslims prayed in that mosque toward Mecca, which is situated directly southward, they would be praying toward the Jewish Temple as well. 'Umar understood Ka'b's intention of inserting a traditional Jewish sensibility and practice into Islam and vigorously objected to the suggestion. The al-Aqsa Mosque would be built on the southern edge of the Temple Mount (in Arabic, the Noble Sanctuary [*al-ḥaram al-sharīf*]), so that when facing Mecca in the proper direction of prayer, worshippers would turn their backs in the direction of the old Temple of Jerusalem.[29]

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This story suggests a number of important observations about religious relationship. On the one hand, the convert naturally feels comfortable with some of the ancient traditions of his previous religion and may wish to incorporate certain of them into his new faith. On the other, the leaders of the newly emerging religion need to assert their independence from the earlier faith traditions and the institutional powers that control them. Thus, we can observe the conscious effort to distinguish between "the old" and "the new" in religion. The tension between the old and the new has always played an important part in development and change within religion and between religions.

Later parallels and similarities

With the establishment of empire and consolidation, the Muslim world reached its acme of civilization and development, and its cosmopolitan nature encouraged the many peoples and religious communities within it to compete and contribute to a common society. Muslim leaders were concerned that Islamic religious practice not be influenced by ritual or custom of the Jewish and Christian communities living among them.

The powerful Islamic influence in the disciplines of science, philosophy, grammar, and poetry, which this volume describes in great detail, had little impact on Jewish ritual, however, for two major reasons. The first is that Jewish religious ritual had become largely standardized by the triumph of rabbinic Judaism, which occurred

shortly before the emergence of Islam, and the second is that a significant portion of the Jewish world lay outside the boundaries of the Muslim empires and was thus immune from the undeniable attraction of Islamic religious culture. Some movements occurred in Judaism that were deeply affected by Islamic ritual, but their impact on Judaism did not endure. One was among Karaite Jews, who, as noted above, responded favorably to some Islamic ritual styles. These include, among other things, the removal of shoes when entering the house of prayer and open space without chairs or pews to allow prostrations in prayer.[30]

Another was the pious movement that emerged in Fostat/Cairo, led or deeply influenced by Abraham Maimuni (son of Maimonides), which became influential in Egypt and some other areas of the Middle East. Abraham's father, Moses Maimonides, already required that Jews wash their face, hands, and feet before the morning prayers (*Hilkhot tefillah* 84:3), which seems to reflect an earlier custom of Jews in Baghdad under the influence of Hai Gaon.[31]

Abraham Maimuni claimed that the changes he introduced were not innovations but rather a return to authentic Jewish practice that had fallen away, but any comparison of his changes with contemporary Islamic practice would note the latter's powerful influence. What Abraham called restorations include prostrations in prayer,[32] sitting on the knees in kneeling position, facing eastward (symbolically toward Jerusalem) not only during the central prayer of the eighteen benedictions but also during other prayer times, standing closely together in rows during prayer,[33] and spreading the hands in prayer.[34] His "restorations" were, in fact, practiced by some followers, but others accused him of copying Karaites, Muslims, or both, and most of the changes were eventually rejected. Some members of his own congregation filed a complaint against him with the ruler of Egypt for forcing upon them forbidden innovations. He was eventually forced to apologize for his acts and agreed not to abuse his authority further with such demands.[35]

Finally, the power of the Arabic language deeply affected Jewish religious terminology in a reversal of the earliest period of Islamic emergence when Jewish and Christian terms in Aramaic/Syriac entered into early Arabic religious discourse. Unlike in the Christian world, where Latin was eschewed by the Jews, Arabic was embraced by the Jews of the Arabic-speaking Muslim world, and Arabic religious terminology was commonly applied to Jewish realia even when an authentic term existed in Hebrew. The Torah could be referred to by the Arabic terms *al-sharīʿa* (the Law), *al-kitāb* (the book), *al-muṣḥaf* (the book of pages), *al-nuzūl* (the revelation), *umm al-kitāb* (mother of books), and even *al-qurʾān* (related linguistically to a Hebrew word for Bible, *miqraʾ*).[36] Chapters of the Torah were called by the term for chapters in the Qur an known as *sūras*, the leader of

prayer could be called *imam*, and "Jerusalem" was written as *dār al-salām* (the abode of peace).[37] A Jewish judge (Hebrew *dayān*) was called *qādī* or even *muftī*, a responsum (*teshuva* in Hebrew) was often called a *fatwā*, Moses was referred to as *al-rasūl* or *rasūl Allah* (messenger of God, a term used in Islam for Muhammad and other prophets), the messiah called by the Islamic term *al-qā'im al-muntaẓar* (the awaited one), and God is not infrequently referred to simply as Allah (*the* God). Sometimes the two languages were combined in phrases such as *ṣalāt al-shaḥarīt* (the morning prayer) or *laytal-al-pesaḥ*, and sometimes even the Qur'an and hadith could be cited in Jewish religious works.[38] The custom of using Arabic-Islamic terminology did not end the use of more traditional Hebrew terms, but the two often existed together. Islam-influenced terms tended to fall out of use, however, as demographic changes and migrations altered the linguistic base-languages of Jews. Today in the West, for example, local language customs have infiltrated Jewish language in a way similar to that experienced by premodern Jews in the Muslim world. In the United States such common English terms as *judge*, *cantor*, *prayer leader*, *Bible*, *Pentateuch*, and *law* may replace or exist in parallel with the traditional Hebrew terminology. A similar trend is emerging also in the American Muslim community as English words infiltrate Islamic religious language. It is fitting to conclude with the observation that in America and much of the West, the unprecedented comfort with which Jews have been accepted into the larger culture was matched most closely, though not as thoroughly, under the rule of Islam. Future historical-anthropological studies of both Jewish and Islamic contemporary ritual in the United States will likely investigate similarities, influences, and processes of differentiation in relation to Western culture and public and civil religion.

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1. Jacques Waardenburg, ed., *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Alan Brill, *Judaism and World Religions: Encountering Christianity, Islam, and Eastern Traditions* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
2. Arthur Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938), 198–99; Arne Ambros, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Weisbaden: Reichert, 2004), 163.
3. The best-known use is in "kaddish titqabel" found near the end of the morning service: "titqabal ṣelothon," "May their prayer be accepted," though the Aramaic root is found elsewhere in the liturgy as well.
4. The Qur'an as redemptive revelation, related to Hebrew/Aramaic *purqān*, *purqanā*.
5. Related to Hebrew *zekhūt*.
6. Psalm 95:6: *bo'u nishtaḥaveh venikhra'ah nivrekhah*, "come let us prostrate and bow, kneel."
7. BT *Shabbat* 137b; *Soferim* 13:6, 7, 8, and so on.
8. Ex. 34:6; Deut. 4:31; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Psalms 78:34, 86:15, 103:8, 111:4, and so on. The sages of the Talmud constructed the prayer service requiring this phrase to be part of the liturgy (Mishnah *Makkot* 3:14), and the Hebrew *haraḥamān*, which is exactly equivalent to the Arabic *al-raḥmān* of the *fātiḥa*, is found in the many later, well-known liturgical settings attached to the blessings after meals.
9. Daniel 6:11. Some do not consider Daniel a prophet because he is not described as such in the Hebrew Bible, and his book appears not in the section called "Prophets" (*nevi'im*) but in Writings (*ketuvim*).
10. Gen. 2:3; Ex.16:23–26, 20:8–11.
11. *Kyriake hemera* in Rev.1:10.

12. Qur'an 62:9–10. For a range of views on why the Islamic day of congregational prayer is Friday, see S. D. Goitein, "The Origin and Nature of the Muslim Friday Worship," in S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 111–25.

13. Fasting in Islam, as in Judaism, also includes abstention from sexual relations and other forms of sensual pleasure, such as smoking.

14. Bukhari, *Sahih* (Lahore: Kazi bilingual edition), Fasting, 218–25 (3:122–25).

15. The Hebrew term for the tenth of the month is *'asor*, and the Aramaic translations of Lev. 23:27 have *'asra*. In rare cases, Jewish Aramaic has the form *'isora* (*Ketubbot* 50a), but with the meaning of a fraction, one-tenth.

16. Bukhari, *Sahih* (Lahore: Kazi), Hajj, 662 (2:388). Other authoritative hadith mention that Muhammad personally observed the Ashura and that it may have been a custom among the Meccan tribe of Quraysh in pre-Islamic times (Kazi, Fasting, 117–18 [3:65]).

17. Moojan Momen, *Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1985), 240–43.

18. Esther 4:15–17, 9:31.

19. Michael Cook, "Early Islamic Dietary Law," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7 (1986): 217–77 (esp. 260–77); David Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

20. Marion Holmes Katz, *Body of Text: The Emergence of the Sunni Law of Ritual Purity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); Hyam Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality: The Ritual Purity System and Its Place in Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

21. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food*, especially 144–96; John Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied: A Social History of Jewish Food* (New York: Jason Aronson, 1993), 24–28.

22. David Gollaher, *Circumcision: A History of the World's Most Controversial Surgery* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

23. Reuven Firestone, *Children of Abraham: An Introduction to Judaism for Muslims* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 2001) and *An Introduction to Islam for Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2008).

24. Maimonides, *Hilkhot Tefilah*, 84:3.

25. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, Book of *Tayammum*, vol. 1, book 7 (Kazi), 1:198–210.

26. *Berakhot* 15a.

27. Elijah Bashiatsi, *Aderet Eliyahu* (Odessa: Y. Beim, 1870), 104b, as cited in Louis Ginsberg, "Adoration," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1925), 1:211. For illustrations of these forms, see *An Introduction to Karaite Judaism: History, Theory, Practice, and Custom*, ed. Yosef Yaron (Troy, NY: Al-Qirqisani Center for the Promotion of Karaite Studies, 2003), 130–36.

28. See Goitein, "The Origin and Nature of the Muslim Friday Worship," in Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 111–25.

29. Muhammad Ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *The History of Al-Tabari*, trans. Yohanan Friedmann (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 12:194–95; S. D. Goitein, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam," in Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 140n3; F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 189.

30. Daniel Frank, "Karaite Ritual," in *Judaism in Practice*, ed. Lawrence Fine (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 248–64, and "Karaite Prayer and Liturgy," in Meira Polliack, *Karaite Judaism: An Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); and *An Introduction to Karaite Judaism*, ed. Yaron, 122–234.

31. Naphtali Wieder, *Islamic Influences on the Jewish Worship* (in Hebrew) (London: Oxford, East and West Library, 1947), 21. Wieder notes also a medieval Yemenite custom of washing the hands, face, and feet after having a bowel movement (13).

32. Ibid., 52–53.

33. Abraham notes the identical root of *sff* in the Hebrew and Arabic terms for standing closely side by side and attributes its meaning from the well-known and oft-used Arabic version (Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam*, 89; see Mishnah *Avot* 5:5 and Qur'an 37:1, 165).

34. Wieder, *Islamic Influences on the Jewish Worship*, 31.

35. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam*, 89.

36. Aside from the first, all these terms continue to be used in Islamic contexts to refer to the Qur'an.

37. A Hebrew-Jewish folk etymology of Jerusalem has long been "city of peace" (*'ir shalom*).

38. Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 159–60; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam*, 81–82.

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