DEATH HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ISLAM DAN FRENCH HISTORICAL TRADITION: STUDY ON WAFIYÂT AL-A’YÂN WA ABNĀU ABNĀI ZAMĀN AND WESTERN ATTITUDE TOWARD DEATH FROM THE MIDDLE AGE TO THE PRESENT

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Abstrak

Historiography of death between Arab-Islam and French tradition has different root and models. As Arabian model wafiyat came into being as new systematic mode of writing bibliographical dictionary, it is French la histoire la morte was the French innovation in social history by Annales school. To make clear comparison, two book are selected that are Wafiyat al-A’yan wa Abnu Abnai Zamân by Ibn Khalikan and Attitude toward Death by Philip Aries. To study these two books, comparative historiography is applied to make a comparison and contrast between genre, style and sources. As the result of taking study of comparison, so there are similarity and differences between two historical tradition in the from of content and method of writing history. These two types are similar in one common trait constructed the idea based on death. However, it is clearly different in as much as that Arabic wafiyat is prosopography and has religious content and intend; meanwhile French death historiography is social history and growth in the idea of study of mentalites.

Key words
Historiographv, Ibn Khalikan, Aries, history of Death

Introduction
The development of historiography in both Arabo-Islam and French has their own way and root as well as history running specifically. In medieval Arab world, model and method in history involved dominantly by certain factors generating three different fixed models, until the influence and the adoption of critical history from Western tradition. In French tradition, different evolvement of social theories combined with history in Annales school generated a new innovation in historical works, as the distinction from Anglo-Saxon and Germany historical tradition. Accordingly, variation in historical themes and study mushrooms thought it has been the attention of other body of knowledge. Now, the previous found its rivalry in nineteen century and however still grow but in the case of religious tradition. The later, today, still grow as the model of modern approach toward history in micro perspective.

It is death that become an attention of study of history in both side. Both Arab-Islam and French has made death as both themes or approach. However similar is in concerning death as focus, both are different widely in space and time and it must be said that each is surely different, self-interest and self-evident. This study will show different ways of death as focus in different background of historical tradition both Arab-islam and French. It will be discussed one by one with some remark of differences. By doing so, it hopes to gain an understanding of differences and similarities from this two different period and space with hoping of moderate acknowledgement of both tradition.
This type of study has been an interest for some experts although different with this study. Among them, we can mention some of whom belong to this type following Chirs Lorenz category. They are Jurgen Kocka (studying Germany), Daniel Levy (comparing Germany and Israel), Sebastian Conrad (studying Japan) and Richard Bosworth (studying Auschwitz after the end of war in Italy).1

Study in hand uses comparative historiography approach. By this means two things, first it is comparative which means searching for comparison and contrast. In other word, it is designed to look for similarity and difference. Second is historiography. Among many and wide definition of historiography, here prefers the historical explanation in the form of a book. Hence, combining this two, I expect to make a comparative approach between two books.

For more practical purpose, this comparative study in historiography will follow study that had conducted by Riyan J. Lynch in studying *Futūḥ al Buldān*. He studied about genre, style sources and many other aspects compare to more complex definition of that Rosenthal had.2 So in what follow is not far from three aspect of comparison that are genre, style and sources between two books.

For the purpose of this study, two books are selected representing two traditions. First is the book of Ibn Khalikan *Wafiyyāt al-Ayān wa Abnā’ Abnā’ Zamān*. This is one of great book in its type with six volumes. This book is regarded the firts in wafiyyat type. Second is an English version book of Philip Aries’ *Western Attitude toward Death from the Middle Age to the Present* from as translation from *La mort inversée: La changement attitudes devant la mort dans la sociétés occidentales*.

On the basis of apomentioned, this study is by far an effort to give small contribution. At least this is designed to contribute about historiographical discussion with moderate objective is to put side by side issue about death from both different cultural background as possible as it can. This is also hoped to be a way to study comparative historiography further.

**Discussion**

I  
**Historical Tradition in Arab-Islam and French**

Between strictly positive sound of Islam and negative one of West about obscenity of Islamic historical tradition, Islamic history appeared between 622-825 and was mature from 950 to 1800.3 In the same historical background, within this historical tradition come three models of history namely biography, chronologies and prosopography. These three developed simultaneously and lasted until the influence of western historical tradition.4

As the historical studies in Islam lapsed thirteen centuries from 622 to 1800, it reflected changing in various ways and stimulant from method to model of historical forms. About it, Tarif Khalidi5 divides four canopies that cover the study of history where history derives its ideas in medieval until the famous ibn Khaldun created new ideas of historical studies and historical writing.

In the progress of seven centuries, historical tradition was in the influence of *hadits, adab, hikmah* and *siyasah*. This canopies were not competed one to another. They were found hand in hand in one work. Sometime they are still useful though some of other has changed the way they created historical works.

It was, firstly, between the first and second century of Islam, history grew in the roof of hadits tradition. It was historical orientation that early ulamas focused on history of Prophet and its companions in their study of Qur’an. Not only derived
from study of Qur’an, it was also politics that loyalty needed to be tested. So to guaranty no manipulation, they create certain standard and requirements for story to be trusted. The main is the chain of people that brought the story should be line up without intervals. As the chain of rawi (compeyor) is connected to the Prophet Muhammad, the content of story was valid automatically.

History, in fact, grew in the cradle of this hadits discipline and used method of hadits as the basis of validity to the truth of story. Within the influence of hadits, history was similar with hadits structure namely chain of rawi and matan. In early stage it just in the form of pages or suhuf. However it does not mean that there was no book being made. There were title of book such as Kitāb al-Muluk wa Akbar al-Madīn by Muawiyah from the collection of Ubaid Syariyah and as such. Then in the work of maghazi names such as Aban ibn Utsman, Abdullah ibn Umar were attributed to the this model of works. Further generation, al-Zuhri was a transformer to the next historian. From chancery secretaries and ulama some historian appeared gradually in each epoch and create profous books. In the work of ibn Ishaq represents biography work combining there school of arabian school from Madinah, Yaman and Irak. Madina for its hadits tradition, Yaman for its Judo-Christian and Persian stories and Irak for tribal stories.

In eight century or three Hijri, the spread of object of studies that spread to not only the life of prophet and his companion generated the separation in content of story into tarikh or khabar as secular content in ones side and Hadits in other side with keeping on sacred story. By this, the bifurcation of study history from hadits or prophet tradition befallen. Hence, study of history growth and spread far more into heart of muslim life from other aspect such city and people as well as conquests, no more than biography of Prophet and his disciples as starting point of this tradition.

Within the same period, the *adab* was clearly spread by the Ummayid control of politics. This changing was administrative in essence. but rather than only sectoral and limited to chancery. The way in arranging composition of writing was absorbed into other layer of islamic life, of course history was included. Here the history were a study that fulfil the needs of administrative of new bureaucrat. Accordingly some of the historical discourse spread out to reach the necessities of information for this purpose with adab standardisation of information.

Another development of Arabic knowledge started to absorb the hellenistic tradition. For this types of knowledge, they called as al-ilm al-hikma. The influence of hikma was another great changing in arab-islam historical tradition in the way they narrate the history. In the work of Ibn Masud’s Muruj ad-Dahab, geographical explanations were included in his discussion about particular land and countries. On him as well, the historical idea reached far further.

The last is seen as the influence of Siyasah to the writing history. Here we see that segregated and political discard was a shock to muslim. So political unity became different units that still attached to Abbasid in *de jure*. so the historian that coming from chancery created works deepened on their affiliation. it was used to be a dynastic model of history.

Further centuries after and far Westward to the hearth of Europe, French history of historical study, to say it shortly,
developed their study relates to three different turning points namely humanist modification, French Revolution and Annales innovation from 1960s onward.

Starting with humanist idea in Renaissance and Reformation, the ideal of French historical root and the way Italian historian idea to write military and politic, French historian between 1500 to 1600 began to ask question of his national foundation. They were a belief that the descendant of Frank that originated from Trojan. Then motivated by this belief to Trojan origin, the Sorbone professor Guillaume Fischet and other historian created Grandes Cronique as the revelation of their humanist idea in French historian, though their claimed was in critic of its suspicious stories by Paolo Emilio.

After 1700 wars and revolution brought new direction in how French historian composed their history and the idea of French their put in their history.

In eighteen century, French historical study had changed into different debate and model with its national orientation that changed from the revolution. To this development since 1878 Signobous was one of leading historian in this era. His legacy was best known to French historian then became the old reign of historical studies following the revolution by the Annales school.

In Lucian Febre and Marc Block are two name who laid the foundation of new revolution of method in historical research to explore something ignored and forgotten. Here social history came in the different form.

II
The Emerge of Al-Wafiyat and La Histoire la Mort

In the middle of eight century or the two of Hijri, the emerge of biography dictionaries appeared in the book of Ibn Saad Tabaqot al-Kabir. His biographies dictionaries followed by other similar model and become fixed model of book of history. In the same model mu'tam model appeared in tenth century

Within this evolvement of prosopography and bibliographic dictionary, in further century, appear what we call now as wafiyat model. This was still biographic dictionary in form but there were clearly distinct from the way the combine and compose the content of the book.

Ibn Khalikan was man who composed this model in this different manner. The way he composed the book was not really a matter of systemic changing or concept. But far more in the way he arranged the content. He just use a death year for starting point.

Soon, the model of wafiyat was followed by other. One other name who composed and collected similar way was the historian ad-Dzahabi. He wrote many books in volume as with Ibn Khalikan, but some of them without definitely use wafiyat as title of his works. Tarikhul Islam, for example. This work was composed with the idea of death of the figure but only in small tittle. To mention his work with wafiyat as the main title is his works al-l’lan bi Wafiyat al-a’lan. This model was went hand in hand with the generic model of prosopography and biography dictionary.

It is generic to say that French historian are leading on how they set a new model in historical enterprise, as Allan Mitchel confirmedly said in his introduction of his article. He again notices and points that history of death once again are the adaptation to what was preoccupied in French historian toward city urban, pattern of crowded, climate changing and shaping behaviour. In turn, death came, as the other matter had been turn to, to be a focus of scrutiny albeit this rigorous historical studies.

In the history of Annales school historie la mort was another exploration of mental history as their sign of approach to
history. Since the beginning of new innovation by the Annales school, the idea of French history lay on there characters.  

First, the history must be about mentality. Second, it is a span in modern time. Lastly, it is based on archives.

But to careless to say Philippe Aries into front as leading of Annales school was partly true. In one side, Aries was claimed to be not affiliated to any school in French history. He was also purely and simple in how to deal of the death. However, it is also within the atmosphere of Annales Revolution, the possibility to study death in this manner found its way. Far more intact with the annals tradition and make better model of study, Vevolle did with his three approaches namely la mort subie, la mort vécue, discours sur la mort combining geographic changing pattern, rituals and discourses.

III 
Biography of Ibn Khalikan and Philippe Aries

Ibn Khalikan or Syamsudin Abu Abas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakar Ibnu Khalikan al-Bamarky al-Irbily Asyafi’i (died 681H/1282) was islamic historian. He was born in Irbil in 608/1201 in the rural called by Khalikan.

Some of information about him was short information especially from Syidrat ad-Dahab belong to ibn Amad. From ibn Amad we find that among his career, his is a well known ulama and had position as Qadi. He had also credited his famous among the ulama in his contemporary and ulama after him from his great book Wafiyat al-A’yan wa Abnā’ Abnā’ Zamān.

However, more detail about him will be find in the introduction of his book into english by B. Mac Guckin de Slane. He mentions some of information about his career as a qadi in Damascus after Khalikan sojourns in Mosul to study islamic teachings. He also was appointed as a qadi in Egypt before he then return to his home country.

In the other side, Philippe Aris is a well known French historian in cultural history, family and death History. Born in middle class of Catholic family of sugar can growers in Blois in 1914, he had some middle class moderates life. In his young age, he involved in Action Francaise, an organisation of political activist of royalist. He died in Toulouse in 1984 in age of 69 year.

His career as an academist in the beginning had different path and different with other historian who is credited to Annales school. He, rather than join univeristy, involved much in Bibilothque Nationale. Further, he joined Institute of applied research where he had time outside the job to study history. He also was busy in some journal as co-editor of Paroles Francaises. After some of his works that earn publicit attention, finally he was recognised and intrduced to Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS).

Some of his famous is derived from his book Centuries of Childhood. However, he is also known for his first work on history of demography in French under the title of book Histoire de Populations française et de Leurs attitudes devant la vie in 1948. In 1967, he turned his attention to history of death in La mort inversée: La changement attitudes devant la mort dans la sociétés occidentales. This work was a result of his study on populations in previously work.

IV 
Comparison and contrast between al-Wafiyat by Ibn-Khalikan and Western Attitude Toward Death by Philippe Aris
In the model that developed within Islamic tradition, the intention to create the model of prosopography and biography dictionary were such a religious and pious matter. So there were compilation of group of person by profession or by position as religious figure. This tradition was coming in the Iraqi circle then spread and fixed sometime latter. Starting with prosopography, the biography dictionary was later in the tenth century appearing his shape.

Ibn Khalikan or Syamsudin Abu Abas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakar Ibu Khalikan al-Bamarky al-Irbily Asyafi’i (died 681H/1282) was the first name who composed this model of works. He produced several books such as Tarikh Ibn Khalikan and Wafiyyat al-A’yân wa Abnā’i Abnā’i Zamān.

What befalls in his work and what seems clear in his mind was that what he had done falls no different with other compiler of biography as such. Exceptionally, his work use the term of wafiyyat or death year as turning point to compile and compose his prosopography. And again, rather than to mention such religious figure, his criteria was little bit different as he mention group of elite from Islamic law ulama. So, it is not based on the specific group of ulama from one city such as reciter, the companion or man of pen such as in al-Bagdadi works’ Tarikh Bagdad Madinattus Salam. His work is also different in such manner with the work of ibn Saad Tabaqot al-Kabir.25

His awareness of his concept as same as the other is reflected in his introduction of his work Wafiyyat al-A’yân wa Abnā’i Abnā’i Zamān, when he said that this was his summary for history that arranged with his death year as well as his born year. He said:

“This is the summary of science of history that I propose to collect because of my pond to story of previous intelligent man and early history of his death and born and man with them each period. From what i get bring me to increasing and many that follow......”

This way of thinking shows no modification in his mind and what he did is casual cases as the other had done with similar field. It can said that for him, his work was following the same manner as other. To some extent, it is believed so, but however similar this work with same works of other, we clearly look that his composition on his work had tried other way though soft and not radical.

The way he composed this work was arranged with alphabet. So in the first model of explanation he was using the term hamjah, the first letter in arabic, to started his discussion on personal or individual history. It goes with the same way until he reached volumes of book.

For content, each individual of story in consists of story of individual career. He put death was in the middle of story. Below is the example from the story of Abu Tsaur bin Ibrahim ibn Khalid ibn Abi Yaman al-Kalbi:

“Abu Tsaur Ibrahim ibn Khalid ibn Abi Yaman al-Kalbi is Bagdadi’s jurist the companion of Syafi’i may Allah blessing him and take the opinion from previous opinions from him, he was one of the jurist knowing good knowledge and faith in religion. For him books written in laws that compiled prophet tradition and Islamic law. He was firstly busy with the man of logic, until Syafi’i came to Iрак and changing and follow Syafi’i and leave his first school, it lasted until next thirty years when he died in Bagdad 246 H. and was buried in Babul Kanas may Allah bless him. Ahmad ibn Hanbal said:” he is belong to me in the dispute with Sofyan Tsauri, knowing prophet tradition for fifty years.” 26

The above synthesizes model of explanation is found almost in all of his works. In his work, of course, each story of a man is not same lang. It depends on the figure. At least we can guest that the more his figure was famous, the longer his
The term it is said (قيل، قائل) shows that in his story he gain its sources from story by oral tradition. In above story of an-Nakhai we find two quotations of oral tradition. Firts it is about Nahkai age relating two stories of different age of his death. Second oral traditional quotation is found in story about his word when his death was close.

In many of his story, he quote from textual writing. Among this model of sources, we can find in the story of Abu Ishaq As-Shirazi. In expalining of Shirazi hi quote from as-Samani from ad-Dzail about his time of death.

He also observed about particular story like what we can find in the story of Abu Ishak al-Marwazi. In this story he observed about the tittle of him in relation about the name of the street in the city of Bagdad with the name of street of Marwazi. He said as follow:

"..... and after him darul Marwazi is taken its name in........ and Marwazi with fatah in letter mim(م) and sukun in letter wa (و) relate to Marw as-Sahahjan one of capital of Khurasan...."

From this story we see that he was observed both about names. He observed in Bagdad the name of street of marwazi with the grand of rabbi. He also observed the name of his name belong to name of Marw as-Sahahjan derived from capital of Khurasan.

By contrast, since the beginning, social history in French method was history of mentality. It is so in the work of Philipe Aries. Though in some way, he individually was not affiliates to no school such as annals and tend to run with his own idea. However, his tittle reflects this mental approach toward death as same as with other who were part of Annales School. So the assumption was clear that
this is about mental history, something marks the french tradition on history. In his introduction Aries mention that his work is social history indeed. He mention it as social or mental history as his intent to answer the question about the attitude of western society. As he said: “The new behavioral sciences and linguistics have introduced the notions of diachrony and synchrony, which will perhaps be helpful to us historians. Since many factors relating to mentality, or turn of mind, are long term, the attitude toward death may appear almost static over long periods of time.”

It is clear that what he tried to explain is the turn of mind and mental condition regarding death in Western society spanning from early modern up to know. He organised the way people deal with death in certain attitude is by looking at the le mort vecue or the ritual of death. He then divided his book based on changing in mentalite of people of the past into four categories that are tamed death, one own’s death, thy death and forbidden death.

About how he arranged the narrative story of Western attitude toward death from Middle Ages up to now we can see the example of his explanation. The mentality that he hold is boldly espresed in such a way in his explanation about tame death as the mark of first period.

“First of all, they were usually forewarned. They did not die without having had time to realise that they were going to die. If their death were terrible ones, such as by plague, or abrupt, they had to be presented as the exception, something one did not talk about. Normally then the man was forwarded”

His story was his analytical model that explains the condition of people in the period he called as tamed Death. With death that was tamed, Aries points out that the people realise on their condition as dying except of calamities. For this special condition people turned to not talk about this. Therefore, his explanation lays on the way people deal with death. This model lasted until the last chapter about the modern time as he called as the denial of death on chapter of Forbidden Death.

To build his narration he use various available soruces that he can reach for his purposes. He used many sources. Among the so called primary sources he consult in some book, novel, travel book and story, and also visual as picture in entire explanation of four phases of attitude of death in European or Western.

In early of his explanation about Tame Death he directly quoted a romances story from Chansons de Geste a old romance about facing death. He quote from this to explain about how people in the past really aware and seem prepared for his or her own death. His quotation about story of King Ban and the most famous story of Roland expressing the tame of death from les romans de la table ronde, le chansons de Rolan dan la Romand de Tristand et Isault. Toward book that he used for his ome example of the book that he used for references in his book are Berthold, La ville de Parisen vers burlesques. Journal d’un voyage á Pans en 1657, quoted in V. Dufour, Paris travers les ages (Paris 1875-82), Vol. II. From the tittle we can see that this book is about a voyage to Paris in 1657. Likewise, to explain about cementary he use some dictonary of cementary and also picture. On this type he used Du Cange, "Cemeterium," Glossarium mediae et infimae latini- IIIIi and also E. Viollet le Duc, "Tombeau," Dictionnaire / (li nnee de l’architecture franfaise. For many picture he used, an example is a picture of Lauros Giraudon bittetted "The Cemetery of the Innocents and Its Charnel House, Paris, during the reign of Francis I" from collection of Musee Carnavalet.
social history is clear. In such a way, book and picture as well as painting are used for consulting the attitude and mentalite of past people toward death in Western culture. It is basically derived from many document and archives-based research.

Conclusion

Both historical tradition brought death into their issue were different definitely from its stimulus or its model. Hence, They play different role and different approach to deal with death.

Seven century earlier Islamic world initiated its historical tradition from religious motivations. It grew significantly and created a fixed model of historical model in the form of biography, chronicles and the bibliography dictionaries.

It was within bibliography dictionary model, death as point of departure in arranging the composition and starting point of discussion of biography of people came into being. It derived to some of works by some of earlier historian who started with this idea. There were Ibn Khalikan and further followed by other historian.

In the bulk of documents and effort to explore the possible of infinite study of history, historic la mort appeared in the middle of three characters of Annales school in modern French historical tradition started from 1929 up to now.

Having been discussing the death in historical perspective, it is mental history that become a sharp knife to explore the attitude of western toward death. for this type, Philippe Aries and Vevole deserved to have attention as an initial in this model.

To make sure that this two are different, Ibn Khalikan and Aries showed their orientation in their work. For Ibn Khalikan, in one place, using death was for practical usage to arrange his historical works. Unlikely, Aries since the beginning designated his work within social historical works who seek different mentality on attitude toward death. Therefore, it is clear enough to see that their historical background create death as different treatment one to another.
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