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CONTENTS

DIE SPÄTSSASSANIDISCHEN UND SCHIITISCHEN MAHDI-ERWARTUNGEN*

K. CZEGLÉDY

Die verschiedenen apokalyptischen Schriften der spätsassanidischen und frühislamischen Zeit verfolgen die persische Geschichte bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts in der Form einer vaticinatio ex eventu. Es handelt sich um die apokalyptischen Schriften Zand i Vahman Yasn (gewöhnlich Bahman Yast genannt), um das Žāmāsp nāmak, um die erweiterte Version des letzteren, des Ayātkār ī Žāmāspīk, weiterhin um den entsprechenden Abschnitt das Bundahišn und um einige späte Literatur-Werke der Parsen, wie des Zaratušt nāma, das ʿUlamā-i Islām und die persischen Rivāyats.

Die historischen Anspielungen dieser Schriften sind meistens ganz deutlich da die einzelnen vorhergesagten Ereignisse ohne grössere Schwierigkeiten zu erkennen sind. Daran ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, dass die Anspielungen wie üblich im verhüllten Stil der Apokalypsen vorgetragen werden. Die Aufgabe, die die Identifizierung der einzelnen Wahrsagungen mit den entsprechenden geschichtlichen Ereignissen bereitet, ist jedenfalls nicht Schwieriger, als im Falle von Daniel Kap. 11, da es sich auch hier um eine Erzählung bekannter Tatsachen handelt. Auf die vershiedenen Momente dieser Wahrsagungen, die in strenger chronologischer Reihenfolge sowohl der persischen historischen Tradition des mittelpersischen Xvatāy nāmaks, als auch derjenigen der byzantinischen Quellen genau entsprechen, habe ich in einem Aufsatz in den Acta Orientalia Hungarica bereits 1958 hinge-wiesen.[1]

Die letzten historischen Ereignisse die diese Apokalypsen darstellen, sind diejenigen der grossen Revolution des Bahrām Čōbīn um 590 u.Z. Im Mittelpunkt dieser Ereignisse stand der glänzende, beinahe übermenschliche

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Sieg des Feldherren Bahrām Čōbīn, des späteren Usurpators über die türkischen Erzfeinde, deren Angriff aus dem Osten eine Todesgefahr für ganz Ostiran bedeutete. Dieser Sieg hat Bahrām in den Augen seiner Zeitgenossen unter die göttlichen Helden der iranischen Heldensage erhoben, unter die Heroen, die einst über den turanischen König triumphierten. Es ist nun eine höchst merkwürdige Tatsache, dass selbst das Xvatāy nāmak, bzw. seine arabisch-neupersischen Bearbeitungen, die Schritt um Schritt ihre Loyalität gegenüber dem sassanidischen Herrscherhaus bezeugen, im Falle des Usurpators Bahrām Čōbīn kaum ihre Sympathien zu verhüllen vermögen. Daraus ergibt sich ganz deutlich, dass die Sache des Usurpators auch unter den Mobads Anhänger gefunden hat. Die Sympathie des Klerus geht aus den genannten apokalyptischen Schriften noch deutlicher hervor, in denen ja die Mobads ihre Meinung unter der Hülle des apokalyptischen Stils viel freier zum Ausdruck bringen konnten. [2] In diesen pseudo-historischen Weissagungen kommt nun dem Bahrām Čōbīn nicht nur seine historisch beglaubigte Rolle zu, sondern auch die eines versprochenen Messias. Unter dem Namen Vahrām Varčāvand wird er nämlich gemäss diesen Apokalypsen die Feinde der Endzeit besiegen. Da nun die Schielderung der eschatologischen Feinde Irans auch einige unverhüllte Hinweise auf die Araber enthält, und der eschatologische Sieg Vahrām Varčāvands, d.h. Bahrām Čōbīns als ein Sieg über die Araber dargestellt wird, kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, 1) dass diese spätzoroastrischen Apokalypsen in ihrer jetzigen Form erst nach der arabischen Eroberung Irans aufgezeichnet wurden, 2) dass die zoroastrischen Kreise Bahrām Čōbīn, bzw. Vahrām Varčāvand auch nach der arabischen Eroberung Irans als den erwarteten Messias ansahen. Das ist umso interessanter, als wir aus der vielfachen historischen Überlieferung wissen, dass Bahrām Čōbīn im J. 591, nach dem militärischen Zusammenbruch seines Aufstandes nach der türkischen Hauptstadt geflohen war, wo er dann später unter nicht ganz geklärten Umständen starb. [3]

Man hat also an dem Tode des ungemein populären Usurpators nicht glauben können, überdies hatte man offenbar keine zuverlässigen Berichte über die Geschehenisse in der weit entfernten türkischen Hauptstadt. Nach dem mysteriösen Verschwinden der legendenumwobenen Figur Bahrām Čōbīns setzte sich die Legendenbildung sofort ein, und es knüpften sich an seine Figur Vorstellungen von seiner bevorstehender Wiederkunft.

Bahrām wurde der Held der Endzeit, der wie der Messias Pišiyōtan [4] aus seiner mysteriösen Burg Kangdēž einst zurückkehren wird, um die Sache

des Guten zum Sieg zu verhelfen. Das Verborgensein der unsterblichen Helden in ihren wunderbaren Palästen war ein altes, wohlbekanntes Motiv der iranischen Heldensage. [5]

Was nun den Zufluchtsort des Bahrām Čōbīn betrifft, stimmen unsere Quellen samt und sonders überein darin, dass Bahram nach der türkischen Hauptstadt geflohen sei. Der Name der letzteren wird zwar in den meisten Quellen nicht angegeben, wir wissen jedoch aus der späten, auf Grund von Bahrāms Geschichte überarbeiteten Quellen der Isfandiyār-Spandiyāt-legende, dass die türkische Hauptstadt die Namen Dīž ī rōyīn, Rōyīn diz, Madīnatu-l-ṣufr und Madīnatu-l-nuḥās, oder Madīnatu-l-tuǧǧār (Stadt der Käufleute) trug, die alle von dem letzten Namen abgesehen, soviel wie 'Kupferstadt' bedeuteten.

Es unterliegt wohl keinem Zweifel, dass alle diese Namen eigentlich Städte bezeichneten im Verwaltungsbezirk von Buchara.[6] Ein anderer Bericht der Chronik von Buchara ist besonders wichtig, weil er die Identität von Paikand und Dīž ī rōyīn klar aussagt.[7] Die andere mögliche Beweisführung, dass diese zwei Städte unmöglich identifiziert werden können, scheitert daran, dass Paikand in der Tat nur im Bahrām Čōbīn-Roman die Verwaltungsstadt von Buchara war. Eine andere Frage ist freilich, dass Paikand einige Zeit früher selbst Buchara an Bedeutung übertraf. Die Ansicht, dass Dīž ī rōyīn sich weitab im Osten, im Tienschan-Gebiet befand, habe ich mir deshalb nur für eine kurze Frist angeeignet.

Eine weitere wichtige Angabe bezüglich Dīž ī rōyīn hat bereits Paul Pelliot entziffert und später J. Bacot herausgegeben.[8] Es handelt sich um eine höchst wichtige geographische Beschreibung Zentralasiens, in der auch Dīž ī rōyīn erwähnt wird. Dieses Dokument (das N° 1283 der Collection Pelliot, Tibétain) enthält einen ursprünglich um 750 verfassten Bericht von 5 uigurischen Aufklärern, der in tibetischer Übersetzung erhalten blieb. Über Dīž ī rōyīn wird hier folgendes berichtet(in Bacot's Übersetzung): "Le nom du pays en chinois est Ji-' ur, en drugu Ba-ker-pa-lig." Der chinesische Name des Landes konnte bisher nicht ermittelt werden. Den türkisch-uigurischen (drugu) Namen hat aber schon Pelliot (im Aufsatz von Bacot, S. 151) als die türkische Entsprechung von Kupferstadt: Baqir-baliǧ erkannt. Aus dem übersetzten Zitat ergibt sich weiterhin auch, dass der Kupferstadt eine wichtige Stadt im Lande Ji-' ur war, und Ji-' ur war einer der vielen Namen von Buchara.

Denn bei der Entscheidung von Problemen bezüglich der möglichen Identität von Ortschaften, bzw. Ortsnamen müssen wir eine Tatsache nicht aus den Augen verlieren: auf iranischem (sogdischem) Boden konnten sämtliche Städte eines Bezirkes auch den Namen der Verwaltungstadt tragen. Diese neue Erkenntnis, die meines Erachtens ʿaus den einschlägigen Angaben zwingend hervorgeht, ermöglich eine Antwort auf eine ganze Reihe von alten Fragen, die wir jetzt klarer fassen können. Ich werde sie diesmal nur ganz kurz aufzählen, da ich sie in einem Vortrag im Juni dieses Jahres in Halle vor dem Orientalischen Seminar und dem Archäologischen Museum unter dem Titel "Die Kupferstadt in der arabischen und persischen Literatur" eingehend besprochen habe.[9]

Es handelt sich um die Tatsache, dass von der wirklichen Kupferstadt weit im Osten des iranischen Blickfelds bald eine Stadt am Rande der Oikumene wurde, die in der arabisch-persischen Literatur, wie z.b. bei Tabarī, Idrīsī, und Dimašqī die Rolle der Säulen des Herakleios übernimmt. Diese Autoren sprechen von einer Kupferstadt oder bezeichnenderweise von Kupfersäulen em Rande der Oikumene, die sich gemäss einigen muhammedanischen Autoren im äussersten Osten, nach anderen aber im äussersten Westen, in Andalusien, in Nordafrika, bzw. Cadix am Tore des Ozeans befand. Viele von diesen Angaben wurden bekanntlich schon von dem grossen holländischen Islamforscher A.J. Wensinck in einen Band der "Verhandlingen der Koninklijke Akademie der Wetenschappen te Amsterdam" besprochen, die die Kupferstadt bei den muhammedanischen Verfassern erfuhr.[10] Bekanntlich ist nämlich dieser Name auch in die arabischen Versionen des Alexanderromans eingedrungen, wo er den Namen der Juwelenstadt des Originals ersetzte. Die Juwelenburg ist in den Versionen C und L des Alexanderromans eine wunderbare Totenstadt hinter Indien, also am Rande der Welt.[11] Sie erscheint einerseits unter dem Namen Kupferstadt in den Traditionen über die koranischen Figuren Xaḍir und Ḏū-l-Qarnayn, andrerseits trägt sie aber auch den Namen Ǵabarqat (und Varianten) in denselben Hadīṯen. Für den letzteren Namen, die Wensinck und die neuere Forschung für rätselhaft erklärt hat, könnte man auf arab. zabargad aus zmaragd hinweisen. Auf dieses letztere Wort hat sich schon W.B. Henning in anderem Zusammenhange berufen. Da zabargad 'Emerald, Topas' bedeutet, eignet es sich ausgezeichnet als genaue Wiedergabe des Namens Juwelenburg.[12] Wir sehen aber jetzt, woher der andere Name der toten Juwelenburg, nämlich Kupferstadt herrührt: die Juwelenstadt des Romans hinter Indien wurde mit

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der Kupferstadt am Ostrande der Oikumene identifiziert.

Das Interesse der Araber für die ,Kupferstadt' wird auch durch Geschichten bezeugt, wie diejenige über eine Karawanenreise, welche man unter dem Chalifen ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān unternommen haben soll. Diese Geschichte war schon Ibn al-Faqīh und Masᶜūdī bekannt und wird ausführlich auch in der 1001 Nacht erzählt.[13]

Noch viel wichtiger ervies sich aber für die äthiopische Literatur die Geschichte des Besuches Alexanders des Grossen in der Juwelenburg, wo diese Episode in der Alexanderlegende eine geradezuzentrale Stellung einnimmt. Aber auch aus den verschiedenen arabischen Ḥadīṯen über Alexander–Ḏū-l-Qarnayn geht deutlich hervor, dass die berühmte koranische Lebensquellsage ursprünglich untrennbar mit der Episode über die Juwelenburg verbunden war, es wäre also gar nicht übertrieben zu behaupten dass die Juwelenburg -Episode aus dem Koran nur zufällig fehlt.[14]

Die sunnitischen Traditonisten befassten sich wiederholt mit dieser Episode, Balᶜamī bespricht die Frage der Juwlenburg als ein interessantes Problem [15] und noch im elften Jh. schrieb der bekannte Theologe Ḥafīb al-Baġdādī ein – wahrscheinlich nicht auf uns gekommenes – Werk über die „Geschichte der Kupferstadt und der bleiernen Kuppeln". [16] Derselbe Titel findet sich wörtlich so auch bei al-Masᶜūdī, kann sich also wohl nur auf unsere Stadt beziehen. Überdies möchte ich noch auf ein armenisches Werk hinweisen, das den Titel „Patmuthiwn płnjē kᶜałakᶜin" („Geschichte der Kupferstadt" trägt.[17]

Am wichtigsten aber war der Einfluss der ursprünglichen iranischen Vorstellungen bezüglich der messianischen Rolle Bahrām Čōbīns in der frühschiitischen Gedankenwelt. Wir sind nämlich imstande eine unmittelbare Berührung zwischen den messianischen Erwartungen, die sich an Bahrām Čōbīns Gestalt knüpften und denjenigen einiger abbasidischen Propagandisten klar nachzuweisen. Es handelt sich um eine Stelle des Siyāsatnāma von Niẓām al-Mulk, [18] wo von Sindbāḏ die Rede ist, der um 750 u.Z. auftrat.[18] Sindbāḏ der von den Quellen zu einem Mazdakiten gestempelt wird, soll gemäss dieser Stelle, nicht an dem Tod seines Meisters geglaubt haben, sondern er habe gelehrt, Abū Muslim sei nicht tot, er befinde sich als weisse Taube zusammen mit dem Mahdī in einer 'Kupferstadt'(dar ḥiṣār-ī mis). Als dritter wird in Sindbāḏs Lehre Mazdak genannt, der nach ihm als General dieser Messiase fungieren soll. Bis jetzt hat man diese Äusserung für kaum mehr als

eine phantastische Erfindung halten können. Denn warum soll der Messias eben aus einer ‚Kupferstadt' kommen? Bedenken wir aber das soeben Gesagte, so wird es ohne weiteres klar, dass Sindbād seinen Meister und den Mahdī deshalb aus einer ‚Kupferstadt' erwartete, weil die Iranier den zu einem Messias gewordenen Mahdī bereits 150 Jahre früher aus der ‚Kupferstadt' zurückerwarteten. [20] Sindbād selbst gibt an, er habe gewissen Sassanidischen Büchern (az Kutub-i Sāsāniyān) entnommen, dass die arabische Unterdrückung ein Ende haben werde. [21] Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass es sich hier um die spätzoroastrischen Apokalypsen handelt. Ignaz Goldziher verwies in einem seiner auf ungarisch geschriebenen Arbeiten darauf dass während der abbasidischen Bewegung überall Apokalypsen (malāhim) auftauchten, auf dei man sich gegen die Umayyaden berufen konnte. [22] Aus Sindbāds Geschichte geht deutlich hervor dass sich unter diesen Apokalypsen auch einige spätzoroastrischer Herkunft befanden.

Nun fragt es sich natürlich, was das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden messianischen Figuren, die Sindbād nennt, also zwischen dem vergöttlichten Abū Muslim und dem mit ihm in der Kupfersteadt verweilenden Mahdī ist. In diesem Zusammenhang kann ich jetzt nur kurz darauf hinweisen, dass den islamischen Madhī-Erwartungen von Anfang an eine Duplizität eigen ist. In einer grundlegenden Studie über den Mahdī-Begriff hat schon der grosse holländische Islam-Forscher, Snouck Hurgronje darauf hingewiesen, dass die islamische Mahdī-Figur eigentlich im gewissen Sinne einen Doppelgänger des christlichen Messias darstellt, an den ja auch der Prophet glaubte. [23] Das verhältnis zwischen ʿĪsā und dem Mahdī war auch für die islamischen Theologen oft recht problematisch. Es gibt eine ganze Reihe von Traditionen, die zeigen, wie sehr man sich in späteren Zeiten bemühte, das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Erlösergestalten auf eine logisch befriedigende Weise zu bestimmen. Die Situation war auch in Sindbāds Fall eine ähnliche: die Lehre über den zum Messias erhöhten Abū Muslim musste irgendwie mit dem im ostiranischen Volksglauben fest verankerten Glauben an Vahrām Varčāvand in Einklang gebracht werden. Wurde Vahrām also von der Kupferstadt zurückerwartet, so musste auch Abū Muslim von dort kommen.

Nun könnte man aber behaupten, das alles habe sehr wenig mit dem Islam zu schaffen. Denn diese Lehren von Sindbād sind eigentlich so weit von denjenigen des sunnitischen Islams entfernt, dass man hier vielleicht besser von einer synkretistischen Religion sprechen kann, in der sich neben spät-

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zoroastrichen und mazdakitischen Lehren auch islamische Motive befinden. Man könnte sich auch auf die Tatsache berufen, diese Lehre schon früher, um die achtziger Jahre des 7. Jahrunderts aufgetaucht sei, als einige Anhänger des von Muḫtār propagierten Aliden Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya nach dessen Tod behaupteten, er sei nicht tot, er habe sich nur verborgen und wird zurückkehren, um die Welt mit Gelichheit und Gerechtigkeit zu erfüllen. So könnte man sich auch auf die Lehren der Kaisānīya und auf die Gedichte Ibn Kuṯayyirs berufen.wir müssen jedoch nicht vergessen, einerseits, dass die Mahdī-Erwartungen die an die Gestalt Bahrām Čobīns geknüpft wurden,fast um ein Jahrhundert früher anzusetzen sind,als der Auftritt des Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya, andererseits aber, dass das Vorhanden sein der erwähnten Erwartungen, durch die spätzoroastrischen Apokalypsen und Sindbāḏs Lehren für Iran, d.h. für den Schauplatz von Muḫtārs Revolution, unwiderleglich erwiesen wird. Es ist also kaum anzunehmen, dass die Vergötterung von Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya und die nach seinem Tode aufgekommene Lehre von seiner Verborgenheit, bzw. von siener Rückkehr und von seinem eschatologischen Siege ganz unabhängig von der derzeitigen, genau entsprechenden spätzoroastrischen Lehren entstanden sein können. Denn was Sindbāḏ und die Zoroastrier über das Verborgensein Vahrāms, bzw. über sein Zurückkehren gelehrt hatten, ist doch im wesentlichen mit den schiitischen Lehren vom Verborgensein (ġayba) und vom Zurückkehren(raǧʿa) des Mahdī identisch.

Die Tatsache, dass Sindbāḏ mit seinen Lehren unmittelbar an iranischen die spätsassanidischen Erlösungslehren anknüpfte, ist allerdings durch den zitierten Bericht des Niẓām al-Mulk sozusagen dokumentarisch erwiesen. Verallgemeinern möchte ich jedoch die Annahme bezüglich des Einflusses von Sindbāḏs;Lehren selbst in schiitischer Hinsicht nicht.denn die schiitischen Mahdī-Lehren waren von Anfang an zu sehr zeit- und ortsgebunden, als dass man in ihrem Falle durchgängig von einem dogmatischen Inhalt hätte sprechen können. Die Schiiten wurden ja immer aufs Neue in ihren Mahdī-Erwartungen enttäuscht und nach jeder neuen Enttäuschung entstand eine neue Situation, der die neuen Erwartungen entsprechen mussten. Es ist immerhin ein characteristischer und ständiger Zug der schiitischen Mahdī-Erwartungen, dass der schiitische Mahdī gegenüber dem Idealchalifen der Sunniten göttliche Züge trägt. Auf diesem Grund hat man aber schonwiederholt vergeblicht versucht, die schiitischen Lehren vom verborge-

nen und als Mahdī zurückkehrenden Imām in ihrem Ganzen aus den entsprechenden iranischen Lehren abzuleiten. Ich erinere an Darmesteters und Blochets Versuche [24] und an die Rezension, die Ignaz Goldziher über Blochets Buch über die schiitischen Heterodoxien veröffentliche. [25] Goldziher betonte in dieser Rezension auf eine sehr überzeugende Weise die innerislamischen Elemente, die in der schiitischen Mahdi-Lehre zu vermerken sind, und verwies auf die frühen Beispiele, in denen die Vergöttlichung des einen oder anderen alidischen Imāms auch ohne irgendeine Annahme eines fremden Einflusses befriedigend zu erklären ist.

Ich glaube aber nicht, dass diese an sich überzeugenden Beispiele als Beweis gegen jede Annahme bezüglich der Beeinflussung der schiitischen Mahdī-Lehren von aussen her anwendbar seien. Sindbād Beispiel zeugt vom Gegenteil, und wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass Sindbād-Fall, also das Auftreten von nur halbwegs zum Islam gehörenden Extremisten keine vereinzelte Erscheinung während der abbasidischen Bewegung und nachher darstellt. Vor allen Dingen dürfen wir aber nicht aus den Augen verlieren, dass Sindbād-Lehren, gleichwie die ähnlichen, zoroastrisch beeinflussten Vorstellungen, die in Ostiran wucherten, zeitlich nicht nur den ersten alidischen Imamatsprätendenten, sondern auch dem Islam selbst vorangehen.

Manche schiitisch-inspirierten Lehren der Mystiker werden ebenfalls durch die Lehren über Vahrām Varčāvand beleuchtet. So vor allem die Behauptung, der Mahdī müsste aus dem fernen Osten ankommen. Auch die Lehre vom „Schatz" des Mahdī den er in Talaqān habe, ist kaum vom „Schatz" des Vahrām Varčāvand zu trennen.

Die Frage in wieweit die Identität gewisser Religionsgeschichtlichen Erscheinungen die Folge von äusseren Beeinflussung oder religionsgeschichtlichen Konvergenz zuzuschreiben ist, war während des letzten Jahrzehntes zu wiederholtenmalen untersucht. Am wichtigsten waren die glänzenden Werke von Mary Boyce, sich mit der Religion Zarathushtras in weitem Sinne des Vortes befasste. Die untersuchte auch die Probleme der spätzoroastrischen Apokalyptik und gab gegebenenfalls zu, dass es sich um um äussere Beeinflussung handelt.

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ANMERKUNGEN

1. K. Czeglédy: „Bahrām Čōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature", *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 8 (1958) SS. 21–43. bes. SS. 32–41.
2. Th . Nöldeke : *Tabari, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden,* Leiden 1879, S. 21, Anm. 4.
3. J. Markwart: *Wehrot und Arang,* Leiden 1938, S. 145; Nöldeke: *Tabari...,* S. 289; A. Christensen: *L'Iran sous les ,Sassanides²,* Copenhague 1944, S. 445.
4. A. Christensen: *Les Kayanides,* Copenhague 1931, S. 84.
5. A. Christensen: *Les Kayanides...,* S. 105.
6. J. Markwart: *Wehrot...,* S. 159; A. Christensen: *Les Kayanides...,* S. 121.
7. J. Markwart: *Wehrot...,* SS. 160–165; J. Markwart: *Eransahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* , Berlin 1901, S. 93; J. Markwart: *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Eranshahr,* Roma 1931, S. 35. – Diž-i rōyīn war auch nach Kašġarī's Angabe mit Paykand identisch (in der Hs. falsch *Yankand* für *Baykand* verschrieben, vgl. Facsim. S. 509 z. 15; S. 510 Z.2; Brockelmann und Beşim Atalay: *Yankand*).
8. J.·Bacot: „Reconnaissance en Haute Asie septentrionale", *Journal Asiatique* 244 (1956) SS. 137–153.
9. Der ungar ische Text dieses Vortrages erschien in *Antik Tanulmányok* („Studia Antiqua") 7 (1960) SS.211–216.
10. A. J. Wensinck: *The ocean in the literature of the Western Semites,* Amsterdam 1918.
11. I. Friedländer: *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman,* Leipzig–Berlin 1913, SS. 140, 152, 185, 208, 216, 327.
12. Vgl. W. B. Henning: „Two Central Asian Words", *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1945) SS. 150–162.
13. Die Nächte 566–578.
14. Freidländers zitiertes Werk hat sich als Grundlage für die gesamte spätere Froschung bezüglich der arabischen Lebensquellsage erwiesen. Es war nur schade, dass Friedländer den inneren Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Episoden über Alexanders Reise zur Juwelenburg und weiter zur Lebensquelle nur wenig beachtete.
15. Ṭabarī: *Chronique,* ed. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867–1874, Bd. I. SS. 45–49.

16. Ibn Khaldun: *The Muqaddimah,* transl. by F. Rosenthal, London 1958, Bd. I, S. 75 Anm. 10.
17. Ed. Tiflis 1857 und öfters. – Inzwischen konnte ich dieses Werk einsehen. Es handelt sich um eine Nacherzählung der zitierten Geschichte in der „1001 Nacht".
18. Ch. Schefer: *Chrestomathie Persane,* Paris 1883–1885, Bd. I, S. 174 Z. 4.
19. Das messianische Motiv der Taube kommt auch in der Geschichte der Kaisānīya vor (Gh. H. Sadighi: *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire,* Paris 1938, S. 141). Es ist ein altes, messianisches Motiv, vgl. Apokal. Elias XXXII, l: „Wenn der Gesalbte kommt er gleich wie eine Taubengestalt; ein Kranz von Tauben ist um ihn" (zitiert nach P. Riessler: *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel,* Augsburg 1928, S. 119.)
20. Nach der eschatologischen Legende wird die Wiederherstellung Irans aus Pišiyōtan-s Burg, Kangdēz hervorgehen (A. Christensen: *Les Kayanides...,* S. 84; vgl. Gh. H. Sadighi: *Les mouvements...,* S. 141, Anm. 5). Andererseits hat man einen etymologischen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Namen *Kang* (aw. *Kangha*) und saka *kahy ə naa-* ‚of brass' skt. *kaṃsa* ‚bell metal, white copper' vermutet.
21. Ch. Schefer: *Chrestomathie...,* Bd. I, S. 174, Z. 8.
22. I. Goldziher: „Az iszlám az omajjádok bukásáig" (Der Islam bis zum Sturze der Omajjaden), *Nagy képes világtörténet* (Grosse illu s trierte Weltgeschichte), hrsg. von Henrik Marczali, Budapest 1900, Bd. IV, Teil I, SS. 676–677; vgl. D. B. MacDonald: "Malāḥim", *Enzyklopaedie des Islām* [1], Leiden-Leipzig 1913–1938, Bd. III, SS. 204–205.
23. Chr. Snouck Hurgronje: *Der Mahdi, Verspreide Geschriften,* Leiden 1923–1927, Bd. I, SS. 145–181.
24. J. Darmesteter: *Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris 1885. E. Blochet: *Le méssianisme dans l.hétérodoxie musulmane.* Paris 1903
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THE TREATMENT OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES BY THE MEDIAEVAL ARABIC GRAMMARIANS

(Stability and Change in the History of Arabic Grammar)

KINGA DÉVÉNYI

1. Introduction

1.1 The Concept of Conditionality

There are two different and well-defined sets of problems in the field of conditionality (or conditional relation-ship). On the one hand, one has to deal with the syntactic aspects of the question, i. e. with so-called conditional clauses and conditional sentences. On the other hand, one cannot avoid investigating conditionality as an abstract entity or relationship. In the first case, the problems belong to the grammar of a particular language, e. g. Arabic, and the linguist confronts questions such as: which conditional particle is used when, and together with which form of the verbs? When do we have to deal with "real" conditional sentences and when with so called "elliptic" sentences — and other similar, language-specific, formal empirical questions? All these and further syntactic problems are dealt with mainly by linguistics, or to be more precise, the grammars of the particular languages. Questions of a semantic nature, on the other hand, are treated in grammatical literature only per tangentem, its interest not being focused on meaning as independent of its syntactic formulation. In the second case, however, we are faced with problems connected with what the relationships of contents are between the two halves of conditional expressions, how they reflect reality, and what their conceptual values are. These and similar logical-semantical questions are not (or, at least, were not, historically speaking) dealt with within linguistics proper but belong to the scope of logic. Recently, however, there have been trends within logically-based semantics, which have tried to give linguistic answers to these types of questions as well.

The problem of conditional sentences does not occupy, as a rule, a significant place in native Arabic grammar, since it deals first of all with formal

syntactic characteristics and variations of the "pure" or "perfect" conditional sentence, not covering the scope of conditionality even from a purely formal point of view. Here, however, we have to differentiate between the first extant Arabic grammar — Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* — and all later grammatical works. This — as I intend to argue in my paper in detail — seems to be a crucial point for research. Sībawayhi, within his limits, tried to show the semantic — communicative values of formal linguistic structures. This comes from his linguistic methods and his notion of language. For him, syntactic variations have always got their semantic counterparts and he considers it one of the main tasks of the linguist to point to these relationships. Later grammarians, contrary to Sībawayhi, were not able and, 'frankly', did not want, to follow this method which demands great discipline and supposes an overall insight into the basic character of language. They inherited, of course, some general semantic principles (the communicative orientation of Arabic grammar had never ceased to be tangible) from the "great" generation of eighth-ninth century linguists, but on the whole they were mainly interested in syntactic phenomena from normative and pedagogic points of view.

Conditional sentences, as I mentioned before, occupy but an insignificant place in mediaeval grammars. Why, then do I consider it necessary to deal with the problem of "Conditional Sentences in Native Arabic Grammar" in such a detailed way? The answer can be summed up in two points: 1) Since conditional sentences form a comparatively restricted field of phenomena (as far as any separate syntactic field can be regarded as independent), in studying conditional sentences it is relatively easy to survey the methods of Arabic linguists and the historical changes occuring in them. 2) Nevertheless, conditional sentences are not completely without problems for mediaeval Arab grammarians and this is mainly due to two circumstances: a) A single conditional particle (as regent) governs, or is somehow connected to, the verbs in two clauses, while the usual pattern is one governing and one governed word — if there is no conjunction in the sentence. b) The number of elliptic (*mahdūf*) sentences among conditional sentences exceeds the usual average in other fields of Arabic grammar. The elliptic constructions raise further questions of formal analysis and interpretation, and grammarians felt compelled to answer them. The different answers they gave characterize their whole attitude to linguistic analysis. The same can be said of those who did not try to give an answer to a particular question.

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1.2 The topics of the present paper

In the following pages I will try to shed some light on how the most famous representatives of mediaeval Arab grammarians treat questions of analysis relating to conditional sentences. I want to pay special attention now to changes in linguistic methods and attitudes of grammarians towards their data.

These changes are reflected in the way they analyse sentences. This latter seems to me all the more important to investigate because in the past both Arab and European scholars had always been inclined to an ahistoric representation in studying the works of Arab grammarians — i. e. one always feels a tendency towards the supposition of one single, indivisible Arabic grammar. How often one reads statements containing such references as "in Arab grammarians ... in Arabic grammar ...". This lack of a historic approach has given rise to a distorted picture of mediaeval Arabic linguistics.

In order better to understand the essence of conditionality and conditional sentences, it is necessary to analyse them in a complex and overall way. Such a complex analysis should contain at least the following main steps:

1) The semantic definition of the concept of conditionality.

Arab grammarians in this respect are content with a short definition. They rightly see the essence of conditionality in the fact of uncertainty, i. e. the uncertainty of the fulfilment of the condition and consequently the occurrence of the event subjected to the condition.

This is a non-formal aspect which roughly delimits the scope of conditional sentences and clearly differentiates them from temporal sentences. We can find this definition in the very first Arabic grammar, Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*.[1]

وسألتـــه عن اذا ،ما منعهــم ان يجازوا بـها؟
اذا تجيء وقتـا معلومـا : الا ترى انك لـو قلت: آتيـك
اذا احمر البـسر كـان حسنـا ،ولـو قلت : آتيك ان احمر
البـسر كان قبيحا • فـان ابدا مبهمـة ، وكذلــــك
حروف الجزاء"

2) The investigation of the implication.

This issue is not dealt with by the Arab grammarians at all, because they are mainly interested in syntactic problems. [2]

3) The study of the formal criteria of conditional sentences.

Of these criteria three can be emphasized:

a) the choice of the introductory particle in the protasis

b) the verb forms used in the protasis and apodosis

c) the manner of transition into the apodosis.

Since Arab grammarians focused their interest mainly on the above formal criteria, so I also turned my attention to them. In this paper, however, I shall deal only with the first two in some detail, the third (first of all the usage of the particle *fa-*) only being referred to in connection with the first two.

2. Some Terminological Problems

It would seem to be appropriate to start with an analysis of Arabic terminology used in connection with conditional sentences.

The commonest term is *ǧazā'* ("requital"). Sībawayhi interprets it as "involvement of a condition, supposition". The conditional particles (*ḥurūf al-ǧazā'*) are those that trigger a conditional relation (sentence) (*mā yuǧāzā bihi*). Sībawayhi calls the protasis "the first sentence" (*al-kalām al-awwal*) and the apodosis the "answer" (*ǧawāb* or *ǧawāb al-ǧazā'*). The name of the apodosis refers to the fact that Sībawayhi sees similarities between the interrogative and the conditional sentence. He considers this similarity from several semantic and structural aspects at different places in his book: [3]

وجوابهــا (حــروف الاستفهــام) كجوابه (الجزا ٤)٠٠

وهي (حروف الاستفهـام)غيـر واجبةكالجـــزا ٤

(يعني غير واقع ،يجوز أن يقع والا يقــع)

القـــول فيه (الجزاء) كالقول في الاستفهام • الا تـرى انــك اذا استفهمت لم تجعل مابعده صلة • فالوجـــه ان تقول الفعل ليس في الجزاء بصلة لما قبله كما انه في حــروف الاستفهـــام ليس صلة لما قبلـــه ، واذا قلت : حيثما تكـنْ أكنْ ، فليس بصلة لما قبله ، كمـا انــك اذا قلت آين تكونُ وانت تستفهـم فليس الفعــل بصلــة لما قبلـه •••• وتقـول : من يضرِبُك في الاستفهام ، وفي الجزاء : من يضرِبْك أضرِبْه ،فالفعــل فيهما غير صلة •

In later periods, terminology went through some changes. As for the protasis, the term *šart* ("condition") became almost uniformly used, while the earlier name, *ǧazā'* had come to mean apodosis and was used together with *ǧawāb*: [4]

اذا وقـع بعـد جزاء الشـرط فعلٌ ••

يجــوز حذفُ جـواب الشرط

Although both *ǧazā'* and *ǧawāb* were used for the apodosis, later grammarians still regard them as different to a certain extent: [5]

وإذَنْ جواب وجزاء • يقول الرجل أنا آتيك فتقول اذن أُكرمَك ،فهذا الكـلام قد أجبتـه به وصيّرت اكرامك جزاءً له علـى إتيـانه "

It is worth mentioning that the term *šarṭ* was given the original meaning of *ǧazāʾ* as well: [6]

$$وأما (أمّـا) ففيهـا معنى الجـزاء$$

$$وأما فيها معنى الشـرط$$

There are three other terms that play important roles in the discussion of conditional sentences: *ǧazm*, *ǧāzim* and *maǧzūm*. Sībawayhi states two important things about conditional particles as regents (*ʿāmil*). One relates to the formal aspect of the sentence: (*ḥurūf al-šarṭ*) *taǧzimu l-afʿāl*, the other to its contents: *mā yuǧāzā bihi*. Later, as we have already seen, the original meaning of *ǧazāʾ* was taken over by *šarṭ* and so, related to this, the expression *mā yuǧāzā bihi* was not used any more. But its place remained unfilled, because the verbal form of *šarṭ* (*šaraṭa*) was never used. This phenomenon is a good illustration of a later tendency to neglect the semantic aspects of the analysis. It was only the formal aspect that remained interesting — what formal (conjugational) consequences the introduction of a conditional particle such as *ʿāmil* has for the sentence.

3. Conditional Particles

In connection with conditional particles, we also find a multitude of terminologies. This situation, on the one hand, is the result of the terminological differences mentioned above, while on the other hand it follows directly from the fact that grammarians give different lists of the conditional particles, i. e. what they consider to be a conditional particle varies greatly from one grammarian to another.

Let us see first Sībawayhi's opinion: [7]

$$فمـا يجـازى بـه من الاسمـاء غيـر الظروف : من ،ومـا ،وايّـهم$$

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وما يجازى به من الظروف : أي حين ، ومتى ، واين ، وأنى ،

وحيثما ومن وغيرهما : ان واذآ ما .

These, then are the *ḥurūf al-ǧazā'* in Sībawayhi's grammar. He states, furthermore, that the "mother" (*umm*) or "root" (*aṣl*) of all the other conditional particles is the *in* because it is the only one which has no other functions. [8] It might strike the reader at first sight that he makes no mention of *law* and its compounds (*law anna, lawlā, laumā*). This goes back to Sībawayhi's definition of the conditional sentence, viz. he considers *ibhām* ("uncertainty") to be the decisive factor in conditionality. As for the sentences beginning with *law*, their outcome cannot be considered "uncertain" because they contain an unreal condition — so it is impossible for the events they describe to occur.

Unreal conditional sentences do not seem to have caused problems for Sībawayhi because in another chapter, (بـاب عدة مـا يكـــــون

عليـــه الكـــلام), where he deals with *law*, he only has one sentence to say about them: [9]

وآمّا (لَـوْ) فلـما كـان سيقع لـوقوع غيره

The 11th century grammarian, Ibn Ǧinnī, in his short compendium, gives a classification of conditional particles which is essentially similar to that of Sībawayhi's. According to him, *in* is the conditional particle par excellence (*ḥarf al-šarṭ*) to which other "nouns and adverbs became similar (in use)". [10]

Ibn Ǧinnī calls "the sisters of *in*" (*aḥawāt in*). This expression, not used by other authors, runs parallel to the expressions *aḥawāt inna* and *aḥawāt kāna* and refers to the basic similarity between the behaviour of the "sisters" to the "root," (*aṣl*).

Other authors show further differences in terminology. Ibn al-Ḥāǧib, for example, wrote a separate chapter under the title "*al-ǧāzimāt li-l-mudāriᶜ*" and he placed the "conditional words" (*kalim al-muǧāzāh*) among quite different kinds of particles, such as *lam, lammā, lām al-'amr* and *lā fī nahy*. [11]

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Ibn Mālik [12] uses the same groupings. That is, he places the conditional particles among the other ǧawāzim, differentiating between those "instruments" (adawāt) [13] that put one verb into ǧazm (the "jussive") and others which put two.

We can see from this classification that these authors did not consider the conditional particles as ᶜawāmil for conditional relationships, but only as formal ᶜawāmil, i. e. particles which put verbs into ǧazm. It follows logically from this development that they drew a parallel between these and other particles which put the verb into ǧazm.

This categorization is not used by Sībawayhi. When he speaks about particles which put verbs into ǧazm (بــال مـا يعمل في الافعـــــال فيجزمها) he means only those particles which later grammarians classified as the ones which put only one verb into ǧazm. So he did not draw a parallel between the ordinary ǧawāzim and between the ḥurūf al-ǧazā' for two reasons. First, as I have already mentioned, he defined the ḥurūf al-ǧazā' as semantic ᶜawāmil as well. Moreover, Sībawayhi considered the even formal ᶜamal rection relationship to be too complex in the case of conditional particles to be defined simply as ǧawāzim that put two verbs into ǧazm at one and the same time. According to his view, it is only the first of the two verbs that directly takes the ǧazm endings on account of the conditional particle. The second of the verb-pair is put into ǧazm by the particle and the first verb (already in ǧazm) together: [14]

واعلــم ان حروف الجزاء تجزم الافعـال وينجزم الجواب بمـا قبلـه وزعم الخليل انك اذا قلت : ان تـأتني آتــك ،فـآتــك انجزمت بـان تـأتني .

Graphically:

ǧazm	ǧazm	harf al-ǧazā'
جزم	جزم	حرف الجزاء

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By these arrows, I mean to emphasize the basic dependency of the relationships between the elements of the sentence, because it seems to me to be one of the fundamental traits of Sībawayhi's grammar that he points to these dependent relationships and tries to explain the syntactic structures by having recourse to them.

That is why I do not find quite acceptable the view that it is the Bloomfieldian type of immediate constituent analysis that resembles, to a great extent, Sībawayhi's descriptive methods. [15]

However, the most significant alteration to Sībawayhi's treatment of conditional conjunctions can be found in al-Zamaḫšarī's *Mufaṣṣal*. Dealing with his classification of the parts of speech, he discusses the problems connected with conditional sentences scattered over several chapters of his book: among the *ḥurūf*, among the *afᶜāl (al-maǧzūma)* and finally among the *asmā' (al-mawṣūlāt, al-ẓurūf)*. But the radical change in attitude and approach to the question is best reflected by the way he speaks about the conditional particles. He lists only two, *in* and *law* (not spoken of by Sībawayhi as conditional). [16]

ومن اصناف الحروف حرفا الشرط، وهما <u>إنْ</u> ولَوْ تدخلان على جملتين فتجعلان الأولى شرطا والثانية جزاء كقولك: <u>إِن</u> تضرِبْني اضرِبْك ولو جئتَني لأكرمتُك، خلا ان <u>إِن</u> تجعل الفعل للاستقبال وان كان ماضيا ولَوْ تجعله للمضي وان كان مستقبلا كقوله تعالى﴿ لَوْ يُطِيعُكُمْ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِنَ ٱلْأَمْرِ لَعَنِتُّمْ ﴾ وزعم الفراء ان لَوْ تستعمل في الاستقبال كـإِنْ.

A similar definition can also be found in Ibn Mālik's *Alfīya*, notwithstanding the fact that he treats *in* and *law* separately. [18]

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" لَوْ " حرف شـرط ،في مضي ،ويقـل   ايلاوهــــــــا
مستقبـلا ،لكن قبـل

The particle *law* also appears among the conditionals in Ibn al-Ḥāǧib's work, which is all the more peculiar since he does not mention it among the *kalim al-muǧāzāt*. But this, after all, can be explained , because he lists the latter under the heading "*al-ǧāzimāt li-l-muḍāriᶜ*". What strikes me most, however, is that he does not say a word about *law* in the chapter *al-šarṭ wa-l-ǧazā'* either. [19]

This change in the interpretation of *law* can already be gathered from the definition given for *law* by al-Mubarrad. [20]

لَوْ تـوجب الشـيء من اجل وقـوع غـيره

Let us compare it with Sībawayhi's definition: [21]

وامّـا (لَوْ) فلـمـا كـان سيقـع لـوقـوع غـيره

While in Sībawayhi's definition *law* refers to certainty, i. e. the certainty of the non-occurence of an event, in Mubarrad's definition *law* expresses uncertainty to the same extent as *in* the so-called conditional particle proper.

Many grammarians had considered *law* in certain contexts as a substitute for *in,* i. e., as having the function of *in* that relates to the future. This circumstance might have played a part in the formulation of Mubarrad's definition above. [22]

This gradual change in the interpretation of conditional particles in Arabic grammars of the Middle Ages, briefly surveyed above, also points to the fact that in linguistic descriptions the formal approach, deprived of reference to meaning, gains more and more ground.

4. Verb forms in conditional clauses

The other formal criterion which Arab authors so often deal with is verb forms in conditional clauses. One of the general characteristics of conditional sentences is the temporal sequence of events in the protasis and the apodosis,

because of their logical interrelation. However, when Arab grammarians investigate verb forms in conditional clauses, they do not speak about implications. That is to say, they do not dwell on whether there are differences in meaning between the possible verb forms. This question is really only treated from a formal point of view: do the conditional particles work as formal regents ($^c\bar{a}mil$) (putting the verb into *ğazm*), or not.

The following tables present what verb forms are taken into consideration by five grammarians (Sībawayhi, Ibn Ğinnī, al-Zamahšarī, Ibn al-Ḥāğib, Ibn Mālik). [23]

Sībawayhi

2 \ 1	mādī	ğazm
mādī		
ğazm	/+/	+
rafᶜ	/+/	

Ibn Ğinnī

2 \ 1	mādī	ğazm
mādī		
ğazm		+
rafᶜ		

Zamahšarī

2 \ 1	mādī	ğazm
mādī	+	?
ğazm	+	+
rafᶜ	+	

Ibn al-Ḥāğib

2 \ 1	mādī	ğazm
mādī	+	
ğazm	+	+
rafᶜ	+	

Ibn Mālik

2 \ 1	mādī	ğazm
mādī	+	/+/
ğazm	+	+
rafᶜ	+	/+

It can be concluded from the above tables that the only combination of verb forms allowed by all five authors is *ğazm* + *ğazm*. This is because it was regarded as the basic pattern of a conditional sentence. As Sībawayhi puts it: [24]

حروف الجزاء تجـزم الافعـال وينجزم الجواب بمـا قبـله

4.1 Ibn Ǧinnī

Of the five, he alone mentions only this basic combination, but this may reflect the brevity of the chapter he devotes to this question. In formulating his rule, he adopts Sībawayhi's view: [25]

والشرط وجوابه مجزومـان تقول ان تقم اقم تجزم تقم بـان
وتجزم أقم بـان تقم جميعـا وكذلك بقية اخواتهـا.

There is another possible reason why Ibn Ǧinnī mentions only this possibility — that although Sībawayhi lists other additional combinations, he considers only this one to be correct. He relates the others to this one and explains them through it.

4.2 Sībawayhi

If we disregard the table representing Ibn Ǧinnī's view and compare the views of the others, it becomes conspicuous that it is only Sībawayhi who makes no mention of the combination *māḍī + māḍī*, thus apparently excluding sentences with *māḍī* in their apodosis. This is explained by al-Sīrāfī in his commentary in the following way: [26]

اصل الجواب ان يكون فعلا مستقبلا ،لانه شيء مضمون فعله
اذا فعل الشرط او وجد مجزومـا ملتبسـا بمـا قبـله من الشرط

At the same time we cannot disregard the fact that Sībawayhi also mentions this combination in another chapter (بـاب مـا يرتفع بين الجزمين. وينجـزم بينهمـا) where he discusses his preference for the constructional parallelism: [27]

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واحسن ذلك آن تقول: ان تأتِني لا آتِك (جزم + جزم) ،

كما ان أحسن الكلام آن تقول: ان اتيتَني لـم آتِك (مـاض + مـاض)

..فـاذا قلـت: ان تفعلْ فـأحسن الكلام ان يكون الجواب آفعـلْ

لأنه نظيره من الفعل • واذا قـال: ان فعلـتَ فـأحسن الكلام

ان تقول: فعلـتُ ،لأنه مثلـه •

I did not include this construction in the table because Sībawayhi does not
deal with it in the chapter on conditional sentences (بـاب الجـــــــزا ء)
and consequently does not build it into his system. From the above quotation,
however, it becomes evident that he does not deny its existence and even its
correctness in usage. [28]

The most important statements of Sībawayhi with regard to verb forms in
conditional clauses can be summarized in the following four points:

(1) حروف الجزاء تجزم الأفعـال وينجزم الجواب بمـا قبلـه [29]

This definition emphasizes the essential dependent relationship between
the elements of a conditional sentence.

(2) لا يكون جـواب الجزاء الا بـفعـل او بالفـــاء [30]

(3) الجــواب بالفـاء في موضـع الفعـــل [31]

(4) أصـل الـجـزاء الفعـل [32]

It becomes evident from points 2) and 3) that there are two kinds of
apodoses according to Sībawayhi: one introduced by a verb and another
introduced by fa-, this latter being of secondary importance compared to the
first. As we can see from point 3) this secondary character is defined both
from the point of view of the verb and that of fa-.

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قبح في الكلام ان تعمل إنْ أو شيء من حروف الجزاء

في الأفعـال حتى تجزمه في اللفظ ثم لا يكون لهـا

جواب ينجزم بمـا قبلـه ۰۰۰لمـا كـانت إنْ العـامـلـة

لـم يحسن الا ان يكون لـها جواب ينجزم بمـا قبلـه ۰

فهذا الذي يـشـاكـلـها في كلامـهم اذا عملت ۰

What also becomes clear from the above quotation is that Sībawayhi, as has already been mentioned, defines conditional particles as regents in two ways, once as semantic, (*mā yuǧāzā bihi*) and once as formal, (*ǧāzim*) regents. The two evidently cannot take over the other's function, since conditional sentences may contain verb forms other than *ǧazm*, although this is the most usual form.

Later on, Sībawayhi evaluates and explains every conditional sentence collected in his book as examples of the above four fundamental statements. Here I want to deal only with the verb forms of the particle + verb + verb (*harf* + *fiᶜl* + *fiᶜl*) construction regarded by him as primary. The way Sībawayhi discusses these forms is characterized by a kind of arbitrariness. Contrary to later grammarians, he does not discuss each verbal form which can occur in conditional clauses in a previously defined order, but instead, he speaks about them rather at random, according to where his train of thought leads him, and so as to fit in with his arguments best. Therefore, he frequently falls into a vicious circle when trying to explain the occurrence of the verb form in a given clause by using the other, and then, in turn, explaining the other verb by the first one.

However, I do not want to follow here his course of argument, but to try to instead examine what he says about each combination on the basis of my table.

What Sībawayhi had to say on the *ǧazm* + *ǧazm* and the *māḍī* + *māḍī* construction we have already seen. So I shall now concentrate only on the other possibilities:

ǧazm + māḍī

This construction is not mentioned by Sībawayhi at all. This may partly be the result of what I have already said about the *māḍī + māḍī* combination (see esp. the commentary of Sīrāfī) and partly of his fourth statement or rule, quoted above. This rule can be regarded as the cardinal point in his argument to which he likes to turn to when explaining conditional sentences.

ǧazm + rafᶜ

He states its inappropriateness and refutes it on the basis of the following explanation: [34]

<div dir="rtl">

لا يحسن إِنْ تَأْتِنِي آتِيك ؛ من قبل   ان إِنْ هي العـاملـة

</div>

For the same reason, says Sībawayhi, this construction cannot be used even if its constituent parts are inverted: [35]

<div dir="rtl">

ولا تقول آتيك إِنْ تَأْتِنِي ... لأنك أَخَّرْت إِنْ ومـا عملت

فـيه ولـم تجعل لإِنْ جوابـا ينجزم بمـا قبلـه •

</div>

So, in Sībawayhi's opinion, it cannot alone satisfy the requirements of a conditional sentence if the *in* is to function properly as regent in the protasis — it is obligatory to have an apodosis in which *in* is recognised as formal regent.
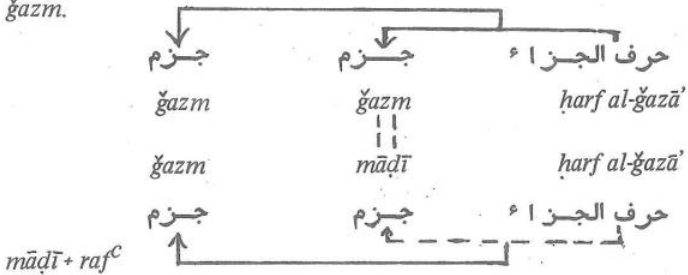
māḍī + ǧazm

I put this construction into parentheses, pointing to the fact that Sībawayhi considers it as secondary compared to the basic *ǧazm + ǧazm* combination. Let us see Sībawayhi's arguments on this question: [36]

<div dir="rtl">

وقد يقـال : إِنْ أتيتَني آتِك وإن لـم تـأتِني أُجْـزِك ، لان هذا

في موضع الفعل المجزوم ، وكـأنـه قـال : إِنْ تفعـــلْ أفعـــــلْ

</div>

ومثل ذلك قوله عزّ وجلّ ۞ مَنْ كَانَ يُرِيدُ ٱلْحَيَوٰةَٱلدُّنْيَـــا
وَزِينَتَهَا نُوَفِّ إِلَيْهِمْ أَعْمَالَهُمْ فِيهَا ۞ فَكَانَ فَعَـــلَ .

The key-word in his argument is to be found in the term *mawḍiᶜ*. This is one of the most important terms used by Sībawayhi for the explanation of the functions of linguistic elements within the structure of language. [37]
Mawḍiᶜ means the function of the elements in relation to their place within the structure. If one element takes over the function of another, it acquires, as a rule, part of the other's rights (*ḥaqq*). [38]

So this is why the verb in the apodosis may take *ǧazm* in this combination — the *māḍī* form in the protasis does not only occupy the place of the original *ǧazm* but it takes over its role, too, and has some of its rights, such as that connected with a conditional particle: it governs the verb in the apodosis in *ǧazm*.

| جَــزْم *ǧazm* | جَــزْم *ǧazm* | حرف الجـزا ٕ *ḥarf al-ǧazā'* |

| *ǧazm* | *māḍī* | *ḥarf al-ǧazā'* |

| جَــزْم | جَــزْم | حرف الجـزا ٕ |

māḍī + rafᶜ

This combination, similarly is put within parentheses, referring to the fact that Sībawayhi does not accept it as a simple conditional sentence but as one requiring derivative explanation. In his opinion, if the verb form of the apodosis is *rafᶜ* it cannot be regarded as a real *ǧawāb* but is clause existing independently of the conditional sentence. The real *ǧawāb* is omitted (*ḥuḏifa*) [39] in this case. That is:

إِن أتيتَنِي آتيك ان أتيتُنِي | أي آتيــك | آتيــك إن أتيتَنِي

| *māḍī* | *rafᶜ* | | *rafᶜ* |

Here the *ǧawāb* can be omitted only because the conditional particle does not play the role of a formal regent (*ᶜāmil*), being followed by a verb in *māḍī*,

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and not in *ğazm*. According to rule no. 4 (see above), Sībawayhi also accepts
the construction *māḍī* + *raf^c*, but on the basis of the same rule he refuses to
accept the structure of the following sentence-types:

raf^c + *ğazm*	* آتيــك إن تـأتِـنـــي
ğazm + *raf^c*	* إن تـأتِـنـــي آتيــــك

Through the above examples we can gain a better understanding of the
essence of the term *mawḍi^c*. Let us examine the following four sentence
types or condensed rules:

(1) *māḍī* + *ğazm*	إن أتيتَنـي آتِــك
(2) *māḍī* + *raf^c*	إن أتيتَنـي آتيك
(3) * *ğazm* + *raf^c*	* إن تـأتِـنـي آتيــك
(4) *ğazm* + *ğazm*	إن تـأتِـنـي آتــك

We can see that although Sībawayhi explains (1) by resorting to the term
mawḍi^c (i. e. the *māḍī* takes the place of the *ğazm* and its rights) he does not
regard it as necessary to explain why the *māḍī* in (2) does not also take over
the obligations, of the *ğazm* (i. e. that it cannot be followed by a verb in
raf^c. That is why (3) is not a well-formed sentence). It seems to me that he
uses the term *mawḍi^c* in quite an ad hoc way, — i. e. he resorts to it whenever
he finds it difficult to explain a construction — but he does not use it in a
systematic way.

After the above four examples, Sībawayhi deals briefly with four other
types of construction. These are not counted among the true conditional
sentences, and so Sībawayhi discusses them in more detail in a separate
chapter (بـاب الجـزا ء اذا كـان القسـم فـي اولــــــه .)

(1) * *ğazm* + *mu'akkad*	* ان تـأتـنـي لأفعلـــنّ
(2) * *ğazm* + *mu'akkad*	* لـئـن تفعلْ لأفعلــنّ

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(3) *mādī + mu'akkad*

<div dir="rtl">إن أتيتَني لأكرمتّـك</div>

(4) *lam + ǧazm + mu'akkad*

<div dir="rtl">إن لـم تـأتِـني لأغمـتّك</div>

The correctness or incorrectness of these four sentences is also decided on the basis of the much-quoted rule no. 4. According to this, (1) and (2) are not well-formed sentences, because the *mu'akkad* form (*li-'af^calanna*) cannot be considered the apodosis of a true conditional sentence. But, on the other hand, as is known, a protasis with *ǧazm* cannot do without an apodosis. On the contrary, (3) and (4) can remain without a *ǧawāb* because the protases are not in *ǧazm*.

Here I should like to emphasize the significance of substitution in Sība-wayhi's linguistic analysis. This is another of the methods he employs to accept or refuse a sentence-type.

In conclusion, Sībawayhi accepts only one combination of verb forms as "true" or "basic" conditional sentence, and he starts with this basic type when he explains the other acceptable versions. Following and simplifying his method, Ibn Ǧinnī deals in his compendium only with the so-called fundamental case "ǧazm + ǧazm. However, he is justified in this by the brevity and the pedagogical motives of his work.

The other grammarians discussed here class more combinations as being well-formed and true conditional sentences. In the following pages we can see how they analyse and evaluate these sentence types.

4.3 al-Zamahšarī

He does not dwell too much upon the analysis of verb-forms but only lists those combinations he considers possible: [40]

<div dir="rtl">ولا يخلـو الفعلان في بـاب إنْ من ان يكونـا مضارعَيْن او مـاضِيَيْن
او احدهمـا مضـارعـا والآخَرُ مـاضيـا ٠ فـاذا كانـا مضارعَيْن فلـيـس
فيهمـا الا الجــــزمُ ٠ وكذلك في احدهمـــــــــــا اذا</div>

وقـع شرطـا ،فـإذا وقـع جـــزاءً ففيـــــــه
الجــزمُ والرفـــعُ.

We can infer that he probably does not consider these structures to be on an equal footing only from the fact that he does not give examples of these combinations, except in the case of *māḍī* + *raf ͨ*, the existence of which he supports by citing a verse, the same one we encountered in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*:[41]

٤٢ * وان آتـاه خـليل يـومَ مسئلـةٍ * يقـول لاغـائبٌ مالي ولاحَرمُ

Other interesting points can also be found in al-Zamaḫšarī's text. Let us examine the next paragraph:[43]

والشــرط كالاستفهــام في أن شيئــا ممّـا في حيّـزه لا يتقدمه
ونحو قولــك آتيك إن تـأتِني وقد سـألتُك لو أعطيتَني لـيس
مـا تقدم فيه جزاءٌ مقدّمـا ولـكن كلامـًا واردًا على سبيـــل
الإخبــار والجزاءُ محذوفٌ.

1. Structurally, he draws a parallel between conditional and interrogative sentences.[44]

2. He does not relate the structure آتيـــك إن تـأتِنـي (*raf ͨ* + *ǧazm*) to the إن تـأتِنـي آتيك combination (*ǧazm* + *raf ͨ*) which he anyway, excluded in his previously quoted list as one of the possible structures.

4.4 Ibn al-Ḥāǧib

Let us see what he and his 15th century commentator, Molla Ǧāmī, have to say on verb-forms occurring in conditional clauses. Here is the concise text

of Ibn al-Ḥāǧib:[45]

(1) فان كانا (الفعلان) مضارعين او الاول فالجزم

(2) وان كان الثاني فالوجهـــان

(3) واذا كان الجزاء ماضيا بغير قد لفظا او معنـى لم

(4) يجز الفـاء في الجزاء
وان كان مضارعا مثبتا او منفيا بلا فالوجهان

(5) والا فالفـــاء

Although the examples given by Molla Ǧāmī, do not seem to be much more than condensed rules, they do shed light on how the above rules are to be interpreted:

ad 1) -a)   إن تزرنـــي أكـرمك
"If you visit me (ǧazm) I treat you hospitably (ǧazm)

-b)   إن تزرنـــي فقد زرتــك
"If you visit me (ǧazm, it would be proper), as I have (already) visited you (faqad + māḍī)"

Example b) is especially worthy of our attention since, although from Ibn al-Ḥāǧib's text we may infer that he allows the ǧazm + māḍī combination, from this example it becomes clear that no real conditional sentence is meant by this structure. What we find here is a conditional sentence with "shift", i. e. where the apodosis is not the logical outcome of the protasis. We can rightly suppose that al-Zamahšarī, in his concise formulation of this combination, was referring to the same type of conditional sentence. That is why I put a question mark in the place in the table relating to his views on possible verb forms in conditional sentences.

Concerning the same point, Molla Ǧāmī supplies a reason for the necessary occurrence of ǧazm:[46]

ad 2) -a) māḍī + ǧazm   إن أتاني زيد آتـه
-b) māḍī + raf‍ᶜ   إن أتاني زيد آتيـه

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Structure (a) is explained in a similar way to the previous explanation given for the occurrence of *ǧazm*. The appearance of the *ǧāzim* in the sentence is stated as the cause of *ǧazm* (الجـزم لـتعلقـه بالجــــــازم وهــــــو اداة الشــــــرط). [47]

Attention has to be drawn to the fact that, contrary to Sībawayhi, Molla Ǧāmī does not consider it necessary to explain the appearance of *māḍī* in the protasis. In his commentary on (2/b), Molla Ǧāmī gives a reason only for the second verb's being in *rafᶜ*. He sees its cause as the appearance of *māḍī* in the protasis, separating the *ᶜāmil (in)* from the second verb and "weakening" their inter-dependence. [48]

No allusions are made to the effect that he would not consider it the *ǧawāb* of the condition.

ad 3) -a)   إن خـــرجت خرجـــــت   — The apodosis is *māḍī* in its form (*lafẓan*).

-b)   إن خـــرجت لـم أخـــرج   — The apodosis is *māḍī* only in its meaning (*maᶜnan*)

We have already seen in (1/b) that according to Molla Ǧāmī, the basic type of conditional sentence which has *māḍī* in the apodosis, is the conditional sentence with "shift". That Ibn al-Ḥāǧib held the same view is best proved by this 3rd point where he felt it necessary to explain the *māḍī + māḍī* combination. This he did by constrasting it with the conditional sentence which contains *māḍī* introduced by *qad* in the apodosis since this is the structure they considered natural. [49]

Molla Ǧāmī deems it necessary to explain why the use of *fa-* is not permitted in this case. He reasons as follows: [50]

لـم يجز الـفـا ء في الجزا ء لـتحقّق تـأثير حر ف الشــــــرط

فـيه من جهةالمعنى لـقلـب معنـاه الى الاستقبـال فـاستغنـوا

فـيه عن الرابطة الدالة على كونه جوابـا

Here he explains the twofold role of *fa-* in conditional sentences which will serve as a starting point for his following explanations. But these are outside the scope of our present concern, i. e. the treatment of verb-forms.

4.5 Ibn Mālik

He summarizes in two verses his teachings on verb-form in conditional sentences: [51]

وَمَاضِيَيْنِ ،أَوْ مُضَارِعَيْنِ   تُلْفِيهِمَا ـ أَوْ مُتَخَالِفَيْنِ

وَبَعْدَ مَاضٍ رَفْعُكَ ٱلْجَزَا حَسَنْ   وَرَفْعُهُ بَعْدَ مُضَارِعٍ وَهَنْ

These brief lines show that Ibn Mālik, similar to Ibn Ǧinnī, al-Zamaḫšarī and Ibn al-Ḥāǧib, does not argue but makes statements of seemingly incontestable facts. The reason for this similarity is because they had like aims, since all of them wrote their works with pedagogical intention.

On the basis of Ibn ᶜAqīl's commentary written on Ibn Mālik's Alfīya, these two verses can be interpreted as follows:

Four combinations of verb-forms are possible:

1) *māḍī* + *māḍī*   إن قـام زيـد قـام عمـرو

It is remarkable that this combination, which is not emphasized by Sība-wayhi, is mentioned as the first possibility by Ibn Mālik and consequently his commentator, Ibn ᶜAqīl. Although Ibn ᶜAqīl states that: [52]

يكونـان (الفعــلان) في محلّ جزم

Although the exact meaning of the term *maḥall* is not clear in grammatical literature, [53] we may infer from this remark that in Ibn ᶜAqīl's opinion *ǧazm* + *ǧazm* is the basic structure of a conditional sentence.

2) *muḍāriᶜ* + *muḍāriᶜ*   إن يقمْ زيـد يقـمْ عمرو

This combination means nothing more than *ǧazm* + *ǧazm* as is well shown by Ibn ᶜAqīl's examples. And since this is the case we find no explanations.

3) *māḍī* + *muḍāriᶜ*   إن قـام زيـد يقـمْ عمـرو

Nor can we find any explanation for this structure, although it would be justified for two reasons: firstly the occurrence of *māḍī* in the protasis and,

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secondly the occurrence of *raf*[c] in the àpodosis — be it only in a verse cited by Ibn [c]Aqīl.

4) *muḍāri*[c] *+ māḍī*

إِنْ يَقُمْ زِيــد قام عمـرو

This structure is considered to be rare by Ibn [c]Aqīl, and that is why it is put in parentheses in the table. To support his claim that this combination occurs not only in poems but in prose, too, our author cites a *hadīṯ*, something which is otherwise only infrequently referred to by Arab grammarians: [54]

مَنْ يَقُمْ لَيْلَةَ ٱلْقَدْرِ غُفِرَ لَهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْـبِهِ

This was made necessary by the fact that the Koran does not contain such a structure. [55] As I have already pointed out in my treatment of Ibn al-Ḥāǧib's text, the *ǧazm + māḍī* combination does not usually mean a real conditional sentence, but one with "shift", where the apodosis is introduced by *faqad*.

Commenting on Ibn Mālik's second verse, quoted above, Ibn [c]Aqīl writes as follows: [56]

اذا كـان الشـرط مـاضيا والجـزاء مضارعـا ـ جـاز

جزم الجـزاء ورفعُه ،وكلاهمـا حسنٌ • فتقول :إنْ

قـام زيد يقم عمرو،ويقوم عمـرو•••

وان كـان الشرط مضارعـا والجزاء مضارعـا وجـب

الجـــزم (فيهمـا) ورفـع الجزاء ضعيف •

From these few lines we can see that, similar to his fellow grammarians quoted in this paper, who wrote after the time of Sībawayhi, Ibn [c]Aqīl in this work of his does not try to account for the correctness or the unacceptability of various structures: he does not aim at creating a system out of the formal or semantic criteria of conditionality, but merely lists these different structures without even relating them to one another or explaining them according to these criteria.

5. Basran-Kufan controverses about conditional sentences

The views of Kufan grammarians are scattered in different sources. For our purposes, we confined ourselves to the use of al-Anbāri's work devoted to the treatment of controverses between the Arabs' two traditional grammatical schools.

In it, we find a great number of controversial points between the followers of these schools concerning conditional sentences. From the many, I should like to present only one that can shed light not only on the differences between Kufan and Basran views and explanations, but also on the point that we cannot speak of a unified Basran school, suggesting that the image of these schools was created retrospectively..

The question is why the apodosis of the conditional sentence is in *ǧazm*.[57] According to Kufan views, this verb is in *ǧazm* because the neighbouring verb, i. e. the verb of the protasis, is in *ǧazm*, too (*maǧzūm ᶜalā-l-ǧiwār*). [58] An evaluation of this analysis is beyond the scope of our present study [59] but we have to remark that this is one of the techniques used by the Kufans, which the so-called Basran grammarians rarely employed.

Let us now examine what lies behind the Basrans' explanation according to which there is a regent (*ᶜāmil*) that governs the ending of the apodosis in *ǧazm*. [60]

This regent is explained in three ways:

— most of the Basrans held the view that the regent is the conditional particle itself,
— according to others, the conditional particle and the protasis together form the regent,
— and according to the third group of these grammarians, the regent is the verb of the protasis alone.

We can see that the view of the third group differs only in its wording from the Kufan view, since both parties consider that the reason for the second verb's being in *ǧazm* is that the verb of the protasis has the same ending.

This is not the case with the first two views. These are the outcomes of two different linguistic analyses. The first is the view of those grammarians (like Ibn al-Ḥāǧib, Ibn Mālik, etc.) who saw in the particle *in* and in the other

conditional particles only a formal $^c\bar{a}mil$, and as such they classed them with those particles that govern the verb following them in *ǧazm:* but at the same time they contrasted them with these latter particles, since conditional particles govern two verbs at the same time.

Contrary to this, Sībawayhi, the first representative of the other view, and his followers, like Ibn Ya^{c}īš, make the explanations given to the *ǧazm* form of the verb in the apodosis, fit into a much stricter formal system of analysis. This systematic approach is used by Sībawayhi, among others, in explaining the structure of the nominal sentence when he says that the *mubtada'* (i. e. the factual part of a sentence) and *ibtidā'* (i. e. the abstract relationship between the two main parts of the nominal sentence) together act upon the *ḫabar* as its regent ($^c\bar{a}mil$). [61]
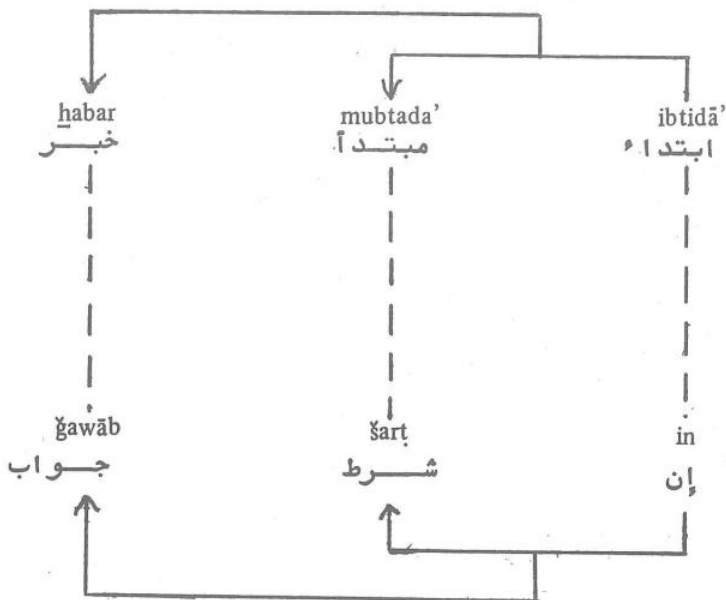
6. An early compendium

We can regard the views expounded above on the history of mediaeval Arabic grammar-writing from a different angle if we consider a work, entitled *Muqaddima fīl-naḥw,* traditionally attributed to the Basran grammarian Ḫalaf al-Aḥmar (+796). Two remarks can be made even after a quick look into the book. The first is that *law* and *lawlā* are not treated[1] by the author. The second is, and it is of a more general nature, that already the chapter-headings reveal the aim of the book, which is to explain and classify the different endings.

Conditional sentences are treated in a few lines in the chapter entitled *ḥurūf al-ǧazm,* i.e. words that put the verb in *ǧazm.*[62]

والشرط والجزاء هو مضارع للجـزم ،لأن الشرط جوابه مثله ،

قـال الله تعالـى فـي الشرط والجزاء ﴿ وَإِنْ تَشْـكُرُوا يَرْضَهُ

لَكُمْ ﴾ ولـولا الجزم لـكـان يقول: (يَرْضَاهُ لَكُمْ) فقس علـى

هذا ٠

On the basis of the few lines quoted above we can state the following. Examining the terminology used by Ḫalaf al-Aḥmar we find that *šarṭ* is used for protasis, and *ǧazā*, and *ǧawāb* together are used for apodosis. From his concise sentences, naturally, it cannot be elucidated whether he distinguishes between these two latter, nevertheless we can state, that his terminology, in this respect, does not coincide with that of Sībawayhi, his contemporary, but with that of later grammarians.

His text is too condense to find out which particles he considers to be conditional ones, but *law* is possibly excluded from them, since it is not mentioned here nor elsewhere, as it causes no formal problems. As the Koranic example for conditional sentences contains *in,* we can consider that Ḫalaf al-Aḥmar, similarly to Sībawayhi, regarded it as the conditional particle par excellence.

As for the verb-forms in the clauses, *ǧazm + ǧazm* is emphasized by our author. This emphasis, similarly to later grammarians, is evident already from the chapter-heading *(ḥurūf al-ǧazm)*. This formal approach is not in the spirit of Sībawayhi, who — although also considers it to be the basic case — does not regard upon conditional particles as merely formal regents, but as semantic ones, as well.

It follows from the foregoing that the later grammarians did not want to reproduce in a condensed form the rules from Sībawayhi's *Kitāb,* but rather aimed at a reformulation of earlier short compendia, like that of Ḫalaf al-Aḥmar, more or less expounding them and extending the formalization in them. This extension of formalization is reflected in the answers given to the question: Why are verbs in conditional clauses in *ǧazm?* According to Ḫalaf al-Aḥmar — as far as we can judge it from his few lines — the conditional particle and the verb of the protasis together cause the verb of the apodosis stand in *ǧazm.* This becomes clear from the emphasis with which he states the similarity of the verb of the apodosis to that of the protasis. He shares this view with Sībawayhi, his contemporary. Later grammarians, going further in formalization and regarding conditional particles only as formal regents, did not examine the explanations lying behind the above view, did not look for structural parallels like Sībawayhi did. They looked for a simple formal cause for the *ǧazm* in the apodosis, and they found it in the conditional particle *in.* From that time on we encounter *in* as a word that puts verbs into *ǧazm.* Since grammarians who follow this explanation does not debate with Sībawayhi in this question, it also strengthens our view that although Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* was highly estimated among grammarians, they did not want to follow its complicated analyses but on the basis of early "Introductions", looking for formal reasons, gave trivial explanations that seemed to be evident, were easy to remember and suitable for their pedagogical aims.

7. Quasi-conditional sentences

All the questions raised by Arab grammarians in connection with conditional sentences cannot be treated here, so only one further point is examined in the following paragraphs, which supports the existence of a linguistic framework in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and its lack in the works of later grammarians treated above. It can also be stated that, as it has already been pointed out above, Sībawayhi's linguistic analysis does not correspond to the Bloomfieldian Immediate Constituate analysis, but rather to the transformational grammar of Z. S. Harris, if we insist on finding a 20th century parallel for it, though being aware of the deficiences of this kind of comparison.

Our question is in connection with structures containing two phrases, the first being an imperative *(amr)*, a prohibition *(nahy)*, a question *(istifhām)*, a wish *(tamanni)* or a proposition *(ᶜarḍ)*, in which cases the verb of the second phrase is in *ǧazm*. This formal connection helped early Arab grammarians discover the nature of the semantic connection between the clauses.

According to al-Ḥalīl[63], these two phrases, similarly to conditional sentences, form *one* structure, the protasis of which is a conditional clause *(šarṭ)*. So the second phrase is the apodosis *(ǧawāb)* of this conditional clause, that acts as a formal regent governing the verb of the second clause in *ǧazm*. Sībawayhi illustrates this relationship with the following examples[64]:

"the meaning of the sentence"

imperative: أمر : ائتني آتِك ، إن يكن منك إتيـان آتِك

prohibition: نـهي : لا تفعل يكنْ خيرا لك

question: استفهـام: اين بيتك أزُرْك؟إن أعلم مكـان بيتك أزرْك

wish: تمن : ليته عندنـا يحدثنـا ، إن يكن عندنا يحدثنـا

proposition: عرض : الا تنـزلُ تُصِبْ خيـرا ·

Sībawayhi does not only interpret the meaning of the sentences containing imperative, prohibition, question, wish or proposition, as a condition but also alludes to that all of them máy be substituted by an imperative. This statement of Sībawayhi leads us to the recognition that we can look for the original form of condition in imperative.

Summing up it can be said that through the remarks of Arab grammarians on the structural analysis of conditional sentences, on the one hand we can obtain an insight into the history of Arabic linguistics. On the other hand, these remarks lead us to the conclusion that the results of these linguists have significance also from a general linguistic point of view.

NOTES

1. Sībawayhi: *al-Kitāb*, I–V. ed. [c]Abd al-Salām Muhammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1973, vol. III, p. 60.
2. This has mostly been considered a question of logic and not dealt with in grammars except in recent times, cf. A. Kratzer: *Semantik der Rede, Kontexttheorie – Modalwörter – Konditionalsätze*, Scriptor, 1978 and D. K. Lewis: *Counterfactuals*, Oxford, 1973.
3. Sībawayhi: vol. I. p. 99, vol. III, p. 59.
4. Ibn [c]Aqīl: *Šarh [c]alā-l-alfīya*, I–II, Cairo, 1965[14], pp. 377, 380.
5. al-Zamahšarī, *Kitāb al-mufaṣṣal fī-l-nahw*, ed. J. P. Broch, Christianiae, 1859. p. 151.
6. Sībawayhi: vol. IV, p. 235, al-Zamahšarī, p. 151.
7. Sībawayhi: vol. III, p. 56.
8. *ibid.:* vol. III, pp. 63, 112.
9. *ibid.:* vol. IV, p. 224.
10. Ibn Ğinnī, *Kitāb al-luma[c] fī-l-nahw*, ed. Hadi M. Kechrida, Uppsala, 1976. p. 54.
11. Ibn al-Hāğib: *al-Kāfīya*, in: Molla Ğāmī: *al-Fawā'id al-ḍiyā'īya, Molla Ğāmī [c]alā-l-kāfīya*, Istanbul, n.d. pp. 227–229, According to Molla Ğāmī's explanation *(šarh)*, Ibn al-Hāğib called conditional particles *kalim* („words"), because they are not homogeneous – some are *asmā'* („nouns") and some are *hurūf* („particles"). This is a noteworthy explanation since originally *harf* did not only mean a part of speech („particle") but a function, too. This means that even an *ism* was allowed to occur in the function of *harf*.
12. Ibn Mālik, *Alfīya*, in: Ibn [c]Aqīl: op. cit. p. 22.
13. It might be for the same reason that Ibn Mālik used the expression *adawāt* that Ibn al-Hāğib felt compelled to apply *kalim*.

14. Sībawayhi, vol. III, pp. 62–63.
15. cf. M. G. Carter: "An Arab Grammarian of the Eighth Century", *JAOS*, 93,2 (1973), pp. 146–157.
16. This view then became generally accepted and is even followed in today's Arabic grammars. Nevertheless, we can read the opinions of grammarians, much later than al-Zamaḫšarī, that he committed a fault when he listed *law* among the conditional particles, cf. al-Murādī: *al-Ǧanā al-dānī fī ḥurūf al-maᶜānī*, ed. Ṭāhā Muḥsin, Bagdad, 1976, p. 294:

فقـال الزمخشري و ابن مالك: "لـو" حرف شرط. وأبى قوم تسميتـها حرف شرط، (وغـلط الزمخشري في عدها من ادوات الشرط) . لان حقيقـة الشرط انمـا تكون في الاستقبـال ،و"لـو" انمـا هـــــى للتعليل في المضي ،فلـيست من. ادوات الشـرط.

17. al-Zamaḫšarī, p. 150.
18. Ibn ᶜAqīl, p. 385.
19. This strange controversy characterizes contemporary Arabic grammars as well.
20. al-Azharī: *Tahḏīb al-luġa*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1964–1967, vol. XV, p. 414.
21. Sībawayhi, vol. IV, p. 224.
22. Contrary to these grammarians, however, al-Zamaḫšarī regards *law* only as a conditional particle referring to past possibilities. So when he speaks about the uncertainty *(ibhām)* of conditional sentences, he includes only sentences introduced by *in*. Cf. for example al-Zamaḫšarī, p. 150:

ولا تُستعمل إنْ الا في المعـاني المحتَمَلـة المشكوك في كونـها ولـذلك قبُح إن احمر البـسر كـان كذا و إن طلـعت الشّمس آتِك الا في اليـوم المغيم .

23. These tables include only cases when:
   — both the protasis and the apodosis are verbal sentences;
   — the apodosis is the logical outcome of the protasis, without temporal shift, i. e. it is not introduced by *qad*;
   — there is no ellipsis (there is *ǧawāb*; it is not introduced by *fa-*; the *šarṭ* does not lack a conditional particle);
   there is no inversion.

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24. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 62.
25. Ibn Ǧinnī, p. 54.
26. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 63, fn.
27. *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 91.
28. Although he does not make it explicit, he may have regarded this latter construction as characteristic mainly of the language of prose and everyday speech. This view can be supported by the fact that the Koran and early poetry did not resort to it very frequently (cf. R. Tietz: *Bedingungssatz und Bedingungsausdruck im Koran*, Tübingen, 1963). Sībawayhi himself, however, uses exclusively this construction when writing conditional sentences in his own text, e. g.:

vol. III, p. 72.: ” فـان شغلـت هذه الحروف بشيء جازيت

vol. III, p. 76.: ” وان شئت جزمت

29. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 62.
30. *ibid.*, p. 63.
31. *ibid.*, p. 64.
32. *ibid.*, p. 91.
33. *ibid.*, p. 66.
34. *ibid.*, p. 67.
35. *ibid.*, p. 66.
36. *ibid.*, p. 68.
37. As mentioned above, he also uses this term to explain the relationship between two kinds of apodosis (*ǧawāb*): one introduced by *fa-* and the other by a verb.
38. Cf. C.H.M. Versteegh: ”The Arabic Terminology of Syntactic Position”, *Arabica*, 15,3. (1978), pp. 261–281.
39. This explanation can easily be accepted on a formal ground, but seems rather artificial, the direct result of the fact that this kind of sentence does not fit into his grammatical system.
40. al-Zamaḫšarī, p. 150.
41. al-Zamaḫšarī does not comment upon this combination, and, as I have already pointed out, the occurrence of a structure in a poem cannot be regarded as proof of the correctness of that form or structure in the actual language.
42. al-Zamaḫšarī, p. 150, Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 66.
43. al-Zamaḫšarī, pp. 150–151.
44. The different aspects of this resemblance are treated by Sībawayhi, as well. (See above.)

45. Molla Ğāmī, pp. 228–229.
46. *ibid.*, p. 228.
47. The name Molla Ğāmī gives to conditional particles is also significant: *kalimāt al-šart wa-l-gazā'* "words relating to condition and requital" (protasis and apodosis) , justifying by the choice of the terms the *ğazm* in both clauses of the conditional sentence.
48. Molla Ğāmī, p. 229.
49. We can find the reason for it in the fact that in the Koran, the language of which was to be described by our grammarians, there is a fairly large number of conditional sentences with "shift", whereas the plain *māḍī*+ *māḍī* combination is rare, as has already been pointed out.
50. Molla Ğāmī, p. 229.
51. Ibn ᶜAqīl, vol. II, pp. 370, 373.
52. *ibid.*, p. 371.
53. cf. C.H.M. Versteegh, p. 278.
54. Ibn ᶜAqīl, vol. II, 372.
55. Cf. R. Tietz, pp. 8, 68.
56. Ibn ᶜAqīl, vol. II. pp. 373–374.
57. al–Anbārī: *al-Insāf fī masā'il al-ḫilāf,* I-II. ed.: Aḥmad Amīn, Cairo, 1982, vol. II. pp. 602–607.
58. *ibid.*
59. Cf. K. Dévényi: "Muğāwara: A Crack in the Building of *i ᶜrāb*", Proceedings of the 13th Congress of the U.E.A.I., Venice, (1988¹)
60. al- Anbārī, vol. II, pp. 608.
61. *ibid.*, vol. I. pp. 44–46.
62. Ḫalaf al-Aḥmar, *Muqaddima fī-l-nahw,* ed. ᶜIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūḫī, Damascus, 1961, pp. 48–50.
63. *ibid.*, p. 50.
64. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 93.

A POPULAR REPRESENTATION OF SOLOMON IN ISLAM
ALEXANDER FODOR

The aim of the present paper is to examine a coloured, printed picture of Solomon[1] which I had the opportunity to buy several years ago in Morocco, in the city of Marrekesh. Actually the picture, 150x105 mm in size, appears as an independent piece of a whole series of popular representations with varying subjects which make up the contents of a big poster. The different parts such as those showing the Burāq,[2] Ali and his two sons, Muslim saints, the Prophet's tomb in Medina, the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham and scenes with popular heroes, usually enjoy a wide circulation in the different parts of the Arab world.

1. The picture in question (Plate 1) bears the inscription *Nabī Allāh Sulaymān wa ǧuyūšuhu* ("The Prophet of God, Sulaymān and His armies") and can be divided into two parts. The upper part represents Solomon flanked by men and jinns, while the lower part shows a group of animals. Solomon, who is considered by popular belief above all a prophet, can be seen here attired like a real king seated on a throne and wearing a crown. His head is surrounded by a halo formed in a zigzag line, his right hand holds a drawn sword and his left hand is resting upon an unfolded scroll of paper placed on a small table. A bird, similar to a dove and holding a letter in its bill, is descending from the sky towards the king. The human figures and the jinns are in equal number but, curiously enough, the popular artist has upset the symmetry by placing three human servants and three jinns on the king's right, while we can see only two of each of them on his left. The attendants with drawn swords in their hands are seated, the jinns armed with axes (except for one who also has a sword) are standing behind them. The asymmetry of the arrangement is further emphasized by the fact that the jinn on the right side of the picture is standing on the earth while the king and his company take their seats on something like a carpet floating in heaven. The animals of the world at the bottom are represented by such wild beasts as an elephant, a lion, an ostrich, snakes and a big lizard. Among the domestic animals, a horse, cow, cock, lamb and — strangely, since it cannot be found in the Arab world — Bactrian, two-humped camel show up.

2. Although the poster and the different pictures which are also on sale separately in most of the Arab countries, are newly printed, their origin must be traced back to an earlier period, possibly the last century at the latest. This supposition seems to be corroborated by the outward form of the picture and the technique used by the artist. As is well-known, Islam prohibited the representation of human beings,[3] but, in spite of this, Islamic art has been famous for its miniatures which embellished manuscripts. We can also find representations of Solomon among them, so, for example, the *Maǧālis al-Uššāq* shows him with a flame-halo in the company of two jinns and two attendants.[4] Beyond the fact, however, that the king's entourage is divided into human beings and jinns, there are no other resemblances between this kind of portrayal and the popular figure of Solomon in our picture.

The most conspicuous difference between the two types is that the latter disregards the use of shadow and light, together with the desire to mould its figures. The artist actually made use of lines and planes only. The origins of this method must be looked for in the pieces of the so-called Hinterglas-malerei, paintings under glass, which were popular in Arab territories especially during the Ottoman period. Several ornamental elements of the picture reveal also the characteristic taste of that period.[5]

3. If we are to look for an explanation for this picture, we must first see whether the Arabic sources of Solomon say anything relevant about the appearance of the king in this special form. As a matter of fact, these sources seemingly consider the description of Solomon's throne as a favourite theme in relating the events of the king's life.[6] They actually say that Solomon, — who, as is well-known, became Lord of the Demons with the help of his magic ring, — ordered the devils to make a throne for him. They obeyed the order and made a throne from ivory, encrusted with red hyacinth, green emerald and precious stones, and surrounded by four golden palm trees. There were two golden peacocks and two eagles on the trees and two golden lions were standing beside the throne which was shaded by grape-vines and the palm trees. As soon as Solomon ascended a step leading to the throne, it turned around once, the birds stretched their wings and the lions beat the ground with their tails. Finally, a golden dove standing on one of the pillars of the throne brought the Torah and opened it for Solomon, who began to read it and to deliver judgements. The great ones of Israel and the jinns sat on the right and the left of the king. Whenever a witness was called upon to

give evidence, the throne would make one turn, the birds and lions would make the movements described above, and the frightened witness would tell only the truth.

These details, especially the description of the curious mechanism of the throne, can be traced back to a Jewish source, the *Targum šenī* on the Book of Esther,[7] but are of no avail in interpreting the scene in our picture.

4. There are, however, other pieces of information in Arabic sources which, to a certain extent at least, seem to explain the general frame of the composition. The relevant text runs like this:[8]

"The devils wove a carpet for Sulaymān (Peace be upon Him!) which measured one parasang by one parasang and was made of silk shot with gold. A golden throne *(minbar)* for him would be placed in the middle of the carpet and he would sit on it and there were three thousand golden and silver chairs around it. The prophets would sit on the golden chairs and the scholars on the silver ones. Around them were the people, and around the people the jinns and the devils. The birds used to shelter them with their wings lest the sun reach them. The east wind used to lift the carpet on a month's journey from morning until nightfall and and on a month's journey from nightfall until morning."

Another version refers to a wooden board instead of the carpet:[9] "Whenever he wanted to make an attack, he gave his army the order, and a wooden board *(ḫašab)* was prepared for him. Then people, animals for riding and instruments of war were loaded onto it until he had everything he needed. Then he commanded the windstorm, and it went under that board and transported it. He had a thousand glass houses on the board in which there were three hundred thrones and seven hundred women. He commanded the strong wind and it lifted it, and commanded the east wind and it carried it away."

On closer inspection, it becomes clear that the picture portrays Solomon not in his well-known function of the wise judge, so familiar from Western representations,[10] but shows Solomon, Lord of the whole world. The king is presiding over human beings, demons and animals. This idea naturally mirrors the different descriptions which relate how Solomon was given power over the earth, winds, demons and animals.[11] One would expect that the famous ring which enabled Solomon to exercise his authority over the demons would find a place in the picture, but this is not the case, unless the small, romboid-shaped, bluecoloured formation on the king's left hand is destined to represent the ring.

On the other hand, greater importance seems to be given to emphasize Solomon's wisdom, symbolized by the unfolded scroll of paper. This might look strange, since the different sources seemingly do not discover a direct connection between Solomon's wisdom and a certain scroll or book containing secret knowledge, revealed to him. At least, none of the Arabic sources knows of such a thing, although they refer to the Torah.[12]

5. In our view, Christian pictorial prototypes might have exercised a decisive influence in guiding the artist's hand,[13] since the closest parallels to the arrangement of the picture can be found in the well-known representations of Jesus called Maiestas Domini or Rex Gloriae.[14] These usually show Christ seated on a throne elevated above the earth and surrounded by four beasts (a lion, calf, man, and eagle i. e. the symbols of the Evangelists) or saints. Jesus holds a book in his left hand, wears a halo with his monogram, and his feet sometimes rest on the semicircular line of a rainbow. This representation originates in the heavenly scene in the Revelation of St John, of which Chapters 4–5 depict the enthroned Lord with his entourage of angels. Christian artists were always very keen on portraying Jesus as their "King and Lord" with his army of the saints,[15] so it cannot be a mere chance either that the Muslim artist finds it necessary to emphasize the presence of Solomon's hosts by an inscription, too. The occurrence of this inscription in itself betrays the influence of Christian icons which never miss to produce the written forms of the figures' names in the picture. By this method, the spectator is practically forced to spell or pronounce the name of Jesus or a saint in addition to their visual identification.[16]

The sword in Solomon's hand does not contradict the connection with the representations of Maiestas Domini since with the progress of time the figure of Christ, the Teacher became transformed to Christ, the Judge with the sword.[17]

As far as the extent of the familiarity of Muslim circles with this characteristic scene in the Revelation is concerned we might refer · to several pieces of Mi^{c}rāg̃ literature which seem to be well acquainted with this part of the Revelation. A passage in a work even expressly states that Muhammad saw the Lord seated on a throne carried by four angels in the shape of a man, a lion, a bull and an eagle.[18]

It is only too natural that Islamic popular belief made Solomon appropriate the place of Jesus in a representation which was in perfect harmony with its own ideas. To begin with, Islam regards Solomon as the precursor of

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Muhammad due to certain references in the Koran which state that the king sent a letter to the Queen of Sheba with the formula "In the Name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful" and called upon her to come to him and embrace Islam.[19]

Jewish tradition might have also played a part in the formations of Solomon's preponderance to the debt of other Biblical personages. Namely, in its anti-Christian polemics, Judaism discovered in Solomon the most appropriate figure to counterbalance Jesus.[20] Just as Jesus was the exorcist of demons, so Solomon came to be looked upon as the Lord of Demons. Similarly, Jesus was famous for his miraculous healings, and Solomon was invested by Josephus with the same ability.[21]

So, between the 3rd and 6th centuries, Solomon must have appeared as an able adversary of Jesus, and the influence of this originally Jewish idea might have made itself felt in Islamic sources when they tried to find similarities between the two figures.[22] Returning to the explanation of our picture, it seems to be a logical conclusion to say that replacing Jesus in a very characteristic form of appearance could demonstrate the superiority of Solomon over Jesus in a striking way.

The bearded Solomon with the long hair is also in conformity with the similar figure of Christ which became popular at first in the East and then later in the West.[23] The halo in itself is, of course, not an essentially Christian motif, since it occurs quite frequently in various Arab and Persian representations. So, for example, Muhammad used to be distinguished by a round or a flame-halo.[24] The zigzag-like form of the nimbus behind Solomon might be a combination of the two different types.

Given the identity of the main motifs in the enthroned figures holding the book or the unfolded scroll respectively, the similarities between the representations of Maiestas Domini and our picture of Solomon seem to be more than pure coincidence.

Moreover, in the same way as the portrayals of Jesus in the Maiestas Domini form are usually divided into a heavenly and an earthly sphere,[25] the picture with Solomon also reveals a clearly-discernible distinction between the earthly world and the scene in the skies. The likeness in the arrangement of the figures is further stressed by the oval-shaped curve in the carpet under Solomon's feet which seemingly can only be accounted for by the influence of the depiction of the rainbow under the throne of Jesus.[26]

6. The bird with the letter deserves special attention. At first sight, one would naturally think that it was the hoopoe, the faithful messenger of Solomon who carried his letter to Bilqis, the legendary Queen of Sheba. The bird, however, bears greater resemblance to a pigeon, and besides, it is arriving with the letter and not parting with it. On the other hand, Arabic sources explicitly state that Solomon's letter was fastened to the wings of the hoopoe,[27] and none of the descriptions claims that Bilqis sent her message to Solomon by the hoopoe.[28]

Actually, there is a reference to a dove in the stories, according to which a golden dove standing on a pillar of the throne took the Torah and opened it for the king as he ascended his throne to read the Scripture for the people. Although the unfolded scroll on the small table might be interpreted as the Torah, the bird in its present appearance cannot be fitted into this explanation. The clue, I think again, is better sought for in Christian art where the figure of the pigeon as one of the most familiar symbols may stand for the Holy Spirit, the Apostles and the Disciples.[29] In a mosaic,[30] for example, in the Church of S. Maria Maggiore, the Virgin Mary appears seated and surrounded by saints on either side, while a white pigeon descends from above. An icon[31] in the Coptic Museum in Cairo shows a raven holding a round piece of bread in its bill and flying to St Paul, the Hermit. Another icon[32] in the Church of St Mercurius in Old Cairo presents the dove, again with a round-shaped piece of bread in its bill, symbolizing the Holy Sacrament. The bird here is seen sweeping down from Heaven towards Christ who is being baptized by St John in the presence of the four archangels.

On the basis of all these occurrences we might advance the conclusion that the artist of our picture might have considered the figure of the bird in its present form as a necessary prerequisite in the representation of prophets and saints.

7. As to the outer appearance of the figures in the picture, there is a definite effort on the part of the artist to present them in an archaif form which might look ancient or, at best, even evoke Solomon's age. Old times for the artist and his eventual customers, however, seem to stop at the Mamluk age, i. e., the period between the First Crusade and the Ottoman Conquest. This becomes evident mostly in the costumes and especially the arms worn by the king's attendants. Indeed, these pieces disclose some peculiarities which can be considered as characteristic of the Mamluk age. The tall, conical helmets particularly resemble those used by the military aristocrarcy during the

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Mamluks,[33] and the sleeveless waistcoats may eventually be taken for mail shirts or brigandines without sleeves.[34]

The typical Mamluk sword was straight, but from the 13th century onwards, sabres, like those in the hands of Solomon's entourage, became popular.[35] The handles of the sabres present a pommel and two swordknots, so they correspond, even in this respect, to the form of Mamluk swords.[36]

The tight, long trousers, together with the somewhat loose upper trousers fastened by wide belts and slit under the knees on both sides, reveal the common characteristics of an Arab or Oriental costume.

The demons in Solomon's service hold axes in their hands. These axes (ṭabar in Arabic) were again among the characteristic weapons of the Mamluk army and were carried by the guards of the Mamluk sultans, too.[37]

As for the outward appearance of the demons, they seem to have goats' heads with horns, but in the case of the figure on the right side, we can observe that it has donkeys' feet and a tail ending in an arrow. This conforms to the general idea about the peculiar traits of demons. Popular imagination claims that Bilqis. Queen of Sheba, had donkeys' feet since her mother was a jinn,[38] and is I was told, the arrowlike tail belongs also to the usual form of demons.

Understandably, Solomon, the central figure in the picutre, does not reveal the characteristics of the Mamluk sultans. First of all, they never wore a crown, but a black turban, and were dressed in a black robe.[39]

It is a fact, however, that the relevant sources depict Solomon as having plentiful hair,[40] and this trait actually appears in our picture as we have already pointed out whilst looking for parallels with the representations of Maiestas Domini. To complete the idea of possible Mamluk reminiscences, reference must be made to the fact that Mamluk sultans also share this feature since they wore their hair long.[41] Beside long hair which falls down to his shoulders, the bearded Solomon, similar to his attendants, also has a moustache.

Not too much is visible of the chairs on which Solomon and his entourage are seated, but they do not even look typically Oriental. The king's throne, placed in a frontal position, stands on four legs and seems to be rather low and wide.[42] Only one arm-rest can be seen on the king's right side. On the other hand, the small table[43] with four long legs appears as a typical piece of open-worked Arab furniture, encrusted with mother of pearl, which has been so familiar in the Islamic world.

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8. Finally, the question arises whether the possession of such a represen-
tation of Solomon served only as a piece of decoration or was supposed to
have other additional advantages. The answer must be in the affirmative,
since there are several signs which show that it was thought to have some kind
of magical power. Solomon's picture was credited with apotropaic value and
was used as an amulet among Christians.[44] Owing to the presence of the
swords in the hands of Solomon and his attendants, we may rightly assume
that the same apotropaic effect was attributed by Muslims to this picture.[45]
Besides, the figure of Solomon in itself is also worthy of separate examination
because it discloses some highly rewarding features in this respect.

First of all, Solomon appears here as a threefold character. The inscrip-
tion above his head announces that he is a prophet, the crown clearly shows
that he is a king, and the scroll in his hand must suggest that he is a sage.
Through this threefold nature, Solomon came to take on the same charac-
teristics which were attributed in Islamic tradition to Hermes who was also
a prophet, king and sage *(nabī, malik and ḥakīm).*[46] This motif, which
became very popular in Arabic Hermetic literature, can be traced back to
antique tradition.[47]

In Islam, Shiites were the first to accept Hermetic teachings,[48] so it is
important perhaps to underline again the fact that our poster was bought in
Morocco, once a Shiite stronghold and that the other parts of its represen-
tations, like those showing Ali and his sons, also reveal Shiite tendencies.

In Arabic Hermetic literature the repositories of secret revelation appear
especially in the guise of and old man, a Šayh seated on a throne and holding
a tablet in his hands. The chosen one gets initiation into occult sciences from
this figure. The scene itself may take place in a temple, an underground cave
or in heaven.[49] By associating Solomon with the scroll in this peculiar way in
a heavenly setting he is elevated (or degraded) into the ranks of Hermetic
characters.

To indicate the possible connotations that the representation of Solomon
with the scroll might have evoked in onlookers, we may allude to some
magical practices in which similar figures are central characters. According to
the famous work on astrological magic, the Picatrix, a prayer to Mercury
should be said while wearing the clothes of a scribe, seated on a chair and
holding a piece of paper to write on.[50] Another similar passage claims that
the seated figure with the book can assure the art of writing to its holder.[51]

An incantation text attributed to a certain Indian Jewish monk, *Šimᶜūn*, and supposed to be useful in achieving various aims like inciting love, gaining victory over enemies, making someone impotent, etc., addresses the servant spirits who are to fulfil the order in this way:[52] "Answer, o *Qardamūš*, *Baqardamūš* and you, o *Maʾsūs*, Master of the Bell, by the right of your great and glorious *šayḫ* who is sitting on the throne, and has the crown on his head and the Gospel in his lap, and by the right of the *šayṭāns* of death who set fire (to everything) without fire and heat it without charcoal, do (such and such) . . ." The same description of the enthroned *šayḫ* can also be found in another incantation which is equally helpful in accomplishing bad and good intentions respectively, according to the kind of incense employed.[53]

There can be no doubt as to the real origin of this seated *šayḫ* with the Gospel: he must be Jesus in the usual position of the Maiestas Domini representations. With this, the circle closes. The scene proves that Solomon, too, is entitled to gain admittance to the ranks of the bearers of the revelation who, deprived of their original function as imparters of hidden wisdom, have degenerated to the media of magic where they play, however, an important role, mainly because of their outward appearance.

NOTES

1. For Solomon in Islam, see *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam,* ed. H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1961, pp. 549 sqq, *s. v.* Sulaiman; and J. Knappert, — *Islamic Legends I.* Leiden 1985, pp. 124—167. Cf. also *Encyclopaedia Judaica*² 15, 108. *s. v.* Solomon.
2. This kind of representations of the Burāq is treated by P. Schienerl, "Volkstümliche al-Burāq-Darstellungen aus Ägypten," *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 39 (1985), pp. 181—197.
3. The official view in modern Islam concerning the popular representations is expressed *e. g.* by Yūsūf al-Qirḍāwī, *al-Ḥalāl wa-l-Ḥarām fī-l-Islām,* Cairo 1985, p. 106 which liberally states that there are no authentic texts prohibiting pictures on placards, dresses, carpets and walls. The subject is amply dealt with by G. Canova," Nota sulle raffigurazioni popolari del pellegrinaggio in Egitto," *Annali della Facolta' di Lingue e Letterature Straniere di Ca' Foscari* 14 (1975), pp. 90 sqq.

4. Th. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam,* New York 1965, p. 108, pl. XXXIII. The earliest representations of jinns in Islamic art occur in connection with Solomon *(ibid.,* pp. 108 sq).

5. Especially the eighties of the 19th century are meant here. For this, see G. Reitz," Zu einigen islamischen Hinterglasbildern", *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Statlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 22 (1963), p. 93. Several glass paintings with heroic themes are studied by Mohamed Masmoudi, "Une peinture sous verre à thème héroique", *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires* 2 (1968), pp. 5–14 and *id.,* "Deux autres peintures sous verre à thème héroique", ibid., 3 (1969), pp. 85–98.

6. See *e. g.* al-Ta^{c}labī, *Kitāb al-^{c}Arā'is,* Cairo n. d., pp. 340 sq.

7. D. Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes musulmanes,* Paris 1933, pp. 116 sq. For an Indian parallel to Solomon's throne, see G. Salzberger, *Die Salomosage in der semititschen Literatur,* Berlin 1907, pp. 3,5. For a representation of the throne, see E. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* IV, Rom-Freiburg-Basel–Wien 1972, p. 21. For its detailed analysis, see É. Ville-Patlagean, "Une image de Salomon en Basileus Byzantin", *Revue des Études Juives* 121 (1962). pp. 9–33.

8. al-Ta^{c}labī, *op. cit.,* p. 326.

9. *Ibid.,* pp. 326 sq.

10. See *e. g. Encyclopaedia Judaica²* 5, p. 1130.

11. al-Ta^{c}labī, *op. cit.,* pp. 325–327. See also Sidersky, *op. cit.,* pp. 115 sq.

12. al-Ta^{c}labī, *op. cit.,* 341, Sidersky, *op. cit.,* p. 117. It is well-known, of course, that the composition of several Biblical books is attributed to Solomon. See *e.g.* Muḥarram Beg, *Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm,* Cairo n.d. published by the Kanīsat al-^{c}Adrā,, pp. 28–39, which speaks about the Copts in this respect. Beside this, however, Solomon is credited with the authorship of many treatises on magic *(Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam,* p. 551.). According to al-Kisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā',* Leiden 1933,pp. 295 sq, when Ṣaḥr, the arch-demon usurped Solomon's throne, he composed also works on magic and hid them under the throne. Josephus had already stated that Solomon composed incantations (F. C. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 11 (1898), p. 12).

13. For Christian influence in Islamic painting, see *e. g.* Arnold, *op. cit.,* pp. 58 sq, 84.

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14. See *e. g.* W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst,* Leipzig 1926, pp. 104 sqq, Kirschbaum, *op. cit.* III, p. 139, *s. v.* Majestas Domini. Cf. also A. Fodor, "The Metamorphosis of Imhotep", *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge* 98(1976), pp. 177 sq which tries to discover the influence of the familiar figure of Imhotep, the ancient Egyptian god of wisdom in the formation on the Maiestas Domini representations.

15. See *e. g.* T. Y. Malaty, *The Church House of God,* Sporting-Alexandria 1985, p. 324. Cf. also *ibid.* pp. 334 sqq. In connection with Solomon, Koran 27,17 refers also to his hosts of jinns, men and birds but uses the word *ǧunūd* instead of *ǧuyūš* which does not occur in the Koran. Cf. also H. Speyer, Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran, Hildesheim 1961, p. 395, n. 2.

16. For the elaboration of this idea in general, see M. Butor, Les Mots dans la Peinture, Genève 1969, pp. 51−54. To render the prayer in front of the picure of a saint really effective, it was necessary to call the saint by his real name, so it was important to reserve a place in the picture for this name *(ibid.,* p. 62).

17. Molsdorf, *op. cit.,* pp. 106 sq. Cf. also D. T. Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era,* London 1963, p. 91.

18. Fodor, *op. cit.,* p. 178.

19. M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde,* Leiden 1893, pp. 198 sq. The Koran itself speaks about Solomon in a rather short way, see *e. g.* Sidersky, *op. cit.,* p. 112. A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen,* Bonn 1933, p. 189. Christian tradition discovered also Christ's predecessor in Solomon (Kirschbaum, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 16, 21 sq). The Copts (Muḥarram Beg, *op. cit.,* pp. 28−39), Ethiopians (J. Mercier, *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls,* New York 1979, p. 92) and Byzantines (Kirschbaum, *op. cit.,* IV. pp. 21 sq) were eager to find connections between the two figures.

20. For this, see H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei,* Berlin-Leipzig 1930, p. 133.

21. Conybeare, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

22. Salzberger, *op. cit.,* pp. 37 sqq. According to al-Kisā'ī Solomon's birth was similar to Jesus' *(ibid.,* pp. 37 sqq). For Christian influence on shaping the Muslim idea of Solomon, see Speyer, *op. cit.,* p. 383.

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23. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

24. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 98. Cf, also Malaty, *op. cit.*, pp. 328, sq.

25. See *e. g.* Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 36, Abou El Hamd Mahmoud, "Illustrated Coptic Manuscripts in the Ayyubid Period", *Prism (Quarterly of Egyptian Culture)* 3(1983), p. 15, Pl. 3, A. E. Effenberger, *Frühchristliche Kunst und Kultur,* Leipzig 1986, p. 301.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 314, Molsdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 sq.

27. Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 393, Sidersky, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

28. See *e. g.* al-Ṯa^{c}labī, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

29. Malaty, *op. cit.*, pp. 438 sqq, 443 sqq. Cf. also Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 241, *s. v.* Taube.

30. Effenberger, *op. cit.*, Abb. 103.

31. *Coptic Egypt,* publ. by Lehnert and Landrock, Cairo 1984, Front Cover.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

33. L. A. Mayer, "Saracenic Arms and Armor", *Ars Islamica* 10(1943), pp. 6 sq and *id.*, *Mamluk Costume,* Genève 1952, pp. 41 sqq, Iḥsān Hindī, *al-Ḥayāt al-^{c}Askariyya ^{c}inda-l-^{c}Arab,* Damscus 1964, p. 64.

34. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 40. On an interesting drawing from the Fāṭimid period the warriors are armed with straight swords (B. Gray, "A Fāṭimid Drawing", *The British Museum Quarterly* 12 (1937), Pl. XXXIII.

35. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 44, Iḥsān Hindī, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 sq.

36. Mayer, "Saracenic Arms and Armor", p. 8.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 10 sq and *ib.*, Mamluk Costume, p. 47, Iḥsān Hindī, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 sq.

38. See *e. g.* al-Ṯa^{c}labī, *op. cit.*, Sa^{c}d₁ al-Ḥādim, *al-Fann al- Ša^{c}bī wa-l-Mu^c-taqadāt al-Siḥriyya,* Cairo n. d., p. 22. Goat's feet are also attributed to the jinns (*ibid.*, pp. 23 sq).

39. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 29. Arabic tradition considered the crown as a characteristic of the Persian kings *(ibid., pp. 16, 31,* Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 63).

40. See e. g. al-Ṯa^{c}labī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

41. Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 sq.

42. In the numerous representations of the enthroned Christ or the Virgin Mary the thrones are also in this position, sometimes they have separate legs, sometimes not. Similarly, occasionally they appear with a back, sometimes not. See *e. g.* Rice, *op. cit.*, Pls. 9, 17, 76, 101, Ch. Schung-Ville, *Byzance: L'Art de Byzance et de l'Islam,* Paris 1979, pp. 75, 145, 164, 177, 191 *etc.*

43. For the sake of the similarity in the setting, see *e. g.* Rice, *op. cit.*

44. Kirschbaum, *op. cit.,* IV, pp. 15 sq.

45. The sword as a means of protection is frequently met with in Arab magic. For example, there is a written amulet entitled *Ḥiǧāb al-Sayf* (The Amulet of the Sword) which is on sale in Morocco.

46. See e. g. Fodor, "The Origins of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids", *Acta Orient. Hung.* 23 (1970), p. 343 and *id.,* "The Metamorphosis of Imhotep", p. 167.

47. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* Leipzig 1904, p. 175.

48. L. Massignon, "Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe" A. – J. Festigière, *La révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste* I, Paris 1950, Appendice III, p. 385, H. Corbin, *Historie de la philosophie islamique,* Paris 1964, p. 179.

49. Fodor, *op. cit.,* pp. 172 sq, 175 with literature cited there. It is worthy to note here that according to Arabic sources Solomon was wearing a white dress (see *e. g.* al-Taᶜlabī, *op. cit.,* p. 325) which was characteristic of Hermetic figures. Suffice it to refer in this connection to the frame-story of the *Book of Krates* (M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge* III, Paris 1893, 1 sqq) in which the bearer of the revelation, the enthroned *šayḫ* is attired in white. For the enthroned figure as the source of revelation, cf. also G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie,* Berlin 1969, p. 546.

50. *"Picatrix" Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Maǧrīṭī,* trans. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, London 1962, p. 233. Cf. also Fodor, *op. cit.,* pp. 178 sq.

51. Maḥmūd Naṣṣār, *Ġāyat al-Ḥakīm li-l-Ustād al-Maǧrīṭī,* Cairo n. d., p. 64. This is a popular edition of the *Picatrix* with illustrations by the compiler-editor himself.

52. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ṭūḫī, *al-Siḥr al-ᶜAǧīb* I, Cairo n. d, pp. 109, 112, Fodor, *op. cit.,* pp. 179 sq.

53. al-Ġazā'irlī al-Maǧribī, *Kitāb al-Sirr al-Rabbānī,* Cairo n. d., pp. 37 sq.

Plate 1

SOME ASPECTS OF THE QADAR–CONTROVERSY

IN EARLY ISLAM

GYÖRGY FODOR

It is a well-knovn fact that the Qur'ān as the medium of Revelation constitutes a basic and decisive position in Muslim theological thought and civilization. At the same time it is also manifest, thatthe Holy Book of Islam does not give full and unequivocal answers to important problems in theology. We can perceive this in connection with the predestination – free will controversy, which of course poses a problem in the other religions as well[1]. It is known that the Qur'ān contains some verses that emphasize predestination and conversely there are some others which state the freedom of will in man, and his responsibility for his acts.

This duality in the Qur'ān may be understood by a familiarity with the historical background. It is obvious, that in Mecca, the Prophet would not expand on savage determinism since his aim was to convert – appealing to the responsibility of the individual – those Meccans who were adhering to their positions which was resting upon the very concept of fatalism. The aya-s stressing the idea of *servum arbitrium* with the strongest emphasis, have their origins in Medina, where the solid and strong umma had already come into being and its members had to be governed by apodictic Holy Laws[2]. We have to underline the fact that all this process was not premeditated, however it may well be understood within the scope of history.

The word *qadar* meaning predestination derives from the *qdr* root, which is used most frequently to signify the omnipotence of Allah. Although the Holy Book left the question open, we have to keep in mind that the determinism of the ǧahiliya period had already set the field for the acceptance of the Qur'anic qadar[3].

The early hadīts regarded as authentic do not clarify this duality in the Qur'ān. Both the defenders and refutors of predestination quote various

hadīts in supporting their views. We have to note here, that the tendency of tradition itself points to the strengthening and spreading of deterministic doctrine[4]. We can see that the canonical hadīts collectors themselves devote separate chapters to the theme of *qadar*, and this proves the importance of the issue[5].

The Umayyad Caliphs played a significant role in the process of the strengthening of deterministic doctrines, for they used the *qadar* to legalize their rule and their — quite often scandalous — life-style. The concept of predestination was also backed by the pietistic folk religion, which was represented by the largest Arab masses (of course all this was reflected in the hadīts as well).

The first protest against severe predestination in Islam came from among pious believers[6]. Shortly after, this was followed by theoretical support, and Syria — a former part of the Byzantine Empire — was the province where it came to be formulated. Muslim thought met with systematical Christian theology first in Damascus, while Baghdad was the site for encountering Greek philosophy[7]. With a few exceptions, the great Christian thinkers of Damascus worked under Arab rule: St. Sophronios, St. Andrew of Crete, St. John of Damascus[8]. This was the period when the extremely violent monenergic and monothelete controversy marred the Byzantine faith, and this polemic centered around the very question of creatures' free will in Byzantine dogmatic history. It has been proved also that "contacts between Christians and Muslims were not limited solely to trade and administration; there were also religious and intellectual exchanges. There were literary borrowings (theological and ascetic terms), structural analogues (meditators on hell and paradise, methods for the examination of conscience), fruitful graftings. Muslim mystics used to consult the Christian hermits on religious questions"[9]. The Christian-Muslim intellectual relations were marked in the 8th century by the figures of St. John of Damascus and his disciple Theodore Abu Qurra[10]. We knov from their works that came down to us, that both of them discussed the problem of free will[11].

The non-Arab born neo-Muslims, the mawālī were the first to join the early "pietistic" Qadarites. Many of them — Jews, Christians or any adherents of the dualistic religions in Persia — were well trained in the theology of their former religion. Their economic influence was great, but on the other hand they were excluded from political life by the ruling Arab circles. Consequently the qadariya movement received a political color. The demands

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of the mawali included justice and equality in government – in which they too would have their part –, and to be treated as equals with the other Muslims in the field of burdens (taxes)[12]. In response to this the Umayyad Caliphs declared, that they have no power to do anything since "our deeds are determined by *qadar*[13]. Consequently, they were those who formed the radical opponent wing to the qadarites, and this movement which emphasized predestination was later comprehensively termed *ǧabarīya* by later theologians[14].

By the second part of the 7th century, both the Byzantine and the Muslim Empire were shaken by a number of crises, even thought these had their origins in different circumstances. Just to mention a few from the problems of the Umayyad Caliphate: by the sloving down of the conquests booty became less and less; the Arabian penninsula and the Eastern territories demanded rights for self-government in the form of various revolts; the mawālī strived for more share in the ruling power, the whole economy was calling for a stable establishment, etc.[15].

The Byzantine Empire had been totally exhausted in the Persian wars, and had to face a new disaster: the "Christian Empire" flowing into God's kingdom was decisively shaken by the Arab and Slav attacks, and all the attempts of the Heraclian dynasty proved to be in vain – the overall historical picture remained apocalyptically dark[16]. The prolonged Christological debates reached a new phase: after the establishment of the Chalcedonian dogma (451), the new issue was whether Christ had one or two energies and wills corresponding to the two natures united in Him. The Emperors of the 7th century tried to win the Monophysites who had broken away from Constantinople after the Synod at Chalcedon by their act that they tried to interfer in theological issues: they declared one, the Divine will for Christ. This issue was the theme for discussion all throughout the East.

Beyond the fact, that this controversy influenced the thinkers of the Syria-centered Umayyad Caliphate and that certain problems may occur in the same phase of thinking, we may discover a surprising analogy in the maintaining of power and its theological references in the two opposing Empires. According to the teaching of Orthodox Islam, the right of the ruler may be sanctioned only by the *iǧmāᶜ al-'umma*[17]. The famous caliphelecting council of the early times, the sura, which represents the community – including the Muslim army as well –, is a very good example for the mode of exercising power coming from below in Orthodox Islam, and this fact was

emphasized throughout by Orthodox scholars. According to Kremer, the origins of this theory may be found in the tribal society of the ancient Arabs[18].

It is a surprising fact that the Byzantine Empire, which had its institutions based on the Roman Empire, had to face the very same problem as Islam in the concept of exercising power: the ruling power was determined legal again by the "consensus omnium", which was jointly realized by the Senate, the people and the army in the Christian Empire[19]. It is worth noting that the concept of dynasty, namely the legitimacy of a certain family, was realized for a relatively longer period first by the Heraclean dynasty during the 7 th centruy (up till 711). This term is more or less identical with the period of the Umayyad Caliphate[20].

As regards the religious power of the Caliph and the Emperor: the Caliph is the existing leader of the Muslim Community (umma), the is the governor of the Prophet (*halīfat rasūl Allah*), who unites in his hands all religious and political power[21]. The Emperor is similarly acclaimed by the community, and after the coronation ceremony he sits on his throne as one who is chosen by God, who is the plenipotentiary owner of power, who may refer to God at any need, the charismatic ruler, the governor of Christ, the equal of the Apostles (isapostolos), who is the specially loved son of God (theophilés)[22]. He is the one who has the right to summon the oecumenical councils, who has the power to realize their proclaimed decrees. He has the right to de-throne patriarchs and bishops in case of their disobedience.

On the basis of the above said, it seems logical that both the Emperor and the Caliphs begin to interfer more intensively in religious problems, and accordingly they strive to strengthen the air of the sacred around themselves[23].

Beyond the phenotypical resemblences we may discover the regular occurances in two theocratical empires existing in a relatively simultaneous period, which two empires not only meet on a common border, but which mutually amplify each other's problems arising from the principle of power.

Let us examine the direction to which the Muslim society turned in order to find an answer to this problem: it is very difficult to formulate the concrete principles for the earliest period of the qadarite movement. Their views are known only from the *Risāla* of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and from the works of later muᶜtazilite theologians, who embraced and developed the qadarite teaching[24].

The *Risāla* of Hasan al-Basrī (+728) is the earliest document to our knowledge dealing with Qur'anic *qadar* systematically and exposing the moral responsibility of man[25]. On this basis, we may think that the qadariya movement made its first appearance in Basra besides Syria.

We may comprehensively characterize Hasan al-Basrī's Qur'ān-exegetic work by the fact, that he delicately subdued those āyā-s, which his opponents cited as evidences for predestination, and at the same time effectively accentuated those which attested the freedom of will[26]. Nevertheless, he did not reject the use of reason in his argumentation and so the muᶜtazilites could deservedly see in him one of their forerunners[27].

It is debatable to what line of the qadarīya Ḥasan al-Basrī may be ranked, for he did not join the militant branches, nevertheless he played an active role in society and tried to teach by a pious and sincere way of life piety and observance of Law to those who grouped around him.

As a consequence, the attitude of the defenders of free will was not at all homogeneous. The most militant trend was the Syrian qadarīya, while the qadarite principle of Basra and Medina was more pietistical and more moralistic natured[28].

The largest part of the Syrian qadarites came from among the ranks of those mawālī, whose majority being formerly Christian, and because of the theological debates of the recent past, were very sensitive to the *qadar* proclaimed by the Umayyads. Besides, they did not forget the very favorable decrees ordained in connection with them by Umar II., which were later withdrawn.

The basic problem of course was constituted by the worsening of taxing conditions (with the exception of ᶜUmar II.), and by the fact that the mawālī were excluded from the governing power exercised by the Umayyads, during which all privileges were centered in the hands of the Qurayšite caliphal family.

The qadariya groups debating on the issue of *qadar* found their radical political program in the teaching of Ğaylān al-Dimašqī, who was executed for his views by Caliph Hišam ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik (724–743). Though Ğaylān was a qadarite, his views strongly trespassed the concrete religious problem. The muᶜtazilite heresiograph Muḥammad al-Nās (+906) in his *Kitāb al-uṣūl* al-nihal says the following about the teaching of Ğaylān[29]: according to him, the leader of the community (imām), may be a Qurayšite, but may be of any other origin, and what is more, he may even be a non-Arab *(ᶜağam)*, since not

the origin is important, but the fact that this person should be a pious, deeply religiouus Muslim, who has a profound knowledge of the Qur'ān and the Sunna, consequently he should be the most excellent candidate for leadership *(afdal al-nās)*, in the eyes of those who have the right to vote. We may also assert that the Syrian adarite- aylāniyya movement had many elements of the later ucubiyya.

It follows logically from the gaylaniya teaching that the leader who does not correspond to these qualities of the ideal leader, may be expelled from power[30].

Yazīd ibn al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik searched for those forces which would unite the wide masses, to attain his aims. The qadarites were at hand ideologically, as for a political program — although he was a Qurayšite and Umayyad — he embraced Ġaylān's radical teachings. Consequently, the qadarīya -ġaylā-niyya rallied around him, and Yazīd III. ascended the throne with their support. The Arab supporters of Yazīd III. were the Kalbites, who were not only put out of the way, but were also exterminated by Walid II. as well as by many of his predecessors.

The Kalbites killed Walīd II., and Yazīd III. ascended the throne with the support of the qadarites.. But hopes quickly vanished, since the seriously ill Yazīd III. died after a brief six month long reign (744).

Before his death, Yazīd III. had designated this brother, Ibrāhīm as his successor, but the Qaysites, as well as a significant part of the ruling Arabs did not acknowledge this. In 744 Marwān ibn Muhammad (Marwan II) defeated the army of Ibrāhīm at ʿAyn al-Gār.

The qadarites were forced to flee after their being on the high point of their power. The majority went to Basṛa, and here the polemic on *qadar* continues, but only on a religious and moral level.

The qadariyya as a political movement had come to an end, because the igmaʿ of the community — which kept on existing, even though formally — did not acknowledge the legitimacy of the movement[31]. The political murder performed by the Kalbites repudiated the office of the caliph. The winning of the Qaysites could not be achieved by Yazīd III., and this was prevented also by his untimely death. We have to take into consideration the aforesaid again: it was much more traditional and simpler for the wide masses to embrace predestination, *qadar*.

The debate over qadar did not cease with the downfall of the qadariya in Syria, in fact free-will becomes the offical dogma with the muʿtazilite

Caliphs. This vogue however, is not due to Christian dogma any more, but primarily to Greek rational philosophy, and to the new muslim sciences (*kalām*, grammar, etc.)[32].

The Byzantine Empire was innvolved by this time in enduring Iconoclastic controversies, which are again in a certain way connected with Arab-Islam antecendents and influences, and these are again related to the problem of exercising of power[33].

NOTES

1. I. Goldziher, *Előadások az iszlámról (=Vorlesungen über den Islam)* Budapest, 1912, p. 95.

2. *ibid,* pp. 95—96

3. H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism.* Uppsala-Wiesbaden, 1955.

4. See the 40 Hadīṭs , the most well-known from the canonical collections: al-Qashani, *Traité sur la Prédestination et le libre arbitre, précédé de quarante hadits* , Paris. 1978. pp. 39—59.

5. See e.g. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī.* Cairo, 1958. vol VIII. pp. 152-154.

6. I. Goldziher, *op.cit.,* pp. 95—96.

7. L. Gardet — Anawati, *Introduction a la théologie musulmane,* Paris, 1948. pr

8. Anawati, "Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism". In: *The Legacy of Islam* (ed. J. Schacht), Oxford 1979. pp. 352—353.

9. *ibid* p. 353.

10. The activity of the latter belongs already to the cAbbāsid age. The fact that the influence of Christian theology is rather strong at times with the mu'tazilites is mainly due to the works of Theodore Abu Qurra.

11. *Patrologia Graeca,* vol. XXV, pp. 94—97.

12. J. Fück, *Arabische Kultur und Islam im Mittelalter.* Weimar, 1981. pp. 182—184.,

13. Ibn Qutayba, *MaCarif.* In: I. Goldziher, *op. cit,* p. 225.

14. See: e.g. Sahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'lnihal.* (Translated by Th. Haarbrücke). Hildesheim 1969. pp. 88—89.

M. Watt points out in his basic work (*Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam,* London 1984.) the compound nature of the name ǧabriya among others when he discusses that although the ascarites made a much finer and defenable doctrine for *kasb,* according to which the individual "receives" his deeds in such a manner, that while he is responsible for them, he leaves all power in the hand of God. But they could not convince with this the mu'tazilites, and they said that this was nothing else but ǧabr.

15. C. Cahen, *L'Islam,* Paris 1973. pp. 31—42.

16. For a description of the historical situation see: H.—G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im Byzantinischen Reich,* Göttingen 1974. pp. 57. and G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates.*

17. I. Goldziher. *op.cit.,* p. 96.

18. J. Kremer (see in Goldziher, *op.cit.,* p. 409)

19. H.—G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend.* München, 1982. p. 52.

20. They could not decisively settle and stabilize the right for legitimacy (up till the fall of 1453), and neither could the caliphate achieve this aim.

21. The excercising of power on a dynastical basis came to be accepted in a manner, that the successor named by the Caliph was acknovledged by an oath of allegiance *(bayᶜa)* on the part of the representatives of the Muslim community.

22. H.—G. Beck, op. cit. p. 78—79. and many others point out Hellenistic origins.

23. In Baghdad the Caliph is already the shadow of Allah on this globe. The basileus(ϑειος) becomes a god-like figure, whose duty is to imitate God (μιμήσις του θεου) H.—G.Beck op. cit p. 79.

24. As e.g. ᶜAbd al-Ǧabbār from among the mu'tazilite theologians, whose works came down to us.

25. H. Ritter, "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's Risāla to the Caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik", *Islam.* 21(1933).

26. H. Ritter thoroughly examines the "letter".

27. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī explains, that those persons get into a contradiction who beleive that Allah is demanding good things from the people and at the same time prevents them to realize these.

The rationalistic ethics is brought to a level of perfection in the works of the above mentioned ᶜAbd al-Ǧabbār.

28. It would be a mistake to state that all anti-Umayyad powers were qadarite. Gahm ibn Safwān who was persecuted by the Umayyads among others, was a great qadarite opponent, and he proclaimed deterministic teachings.

29. J. van Ess, "Les qadarites et la gailaniyya de Yazīd III". *Studia Islamica* 31(1970). 279.

30. Later Yazīd III. himself interprets these in a similar way. Van Ess, op. cit 278–279.

31. The allied leaders of Yazīd III. pledged their oath of allegiance, but this was neither backed by practice nor by the approval of the wide masses.

32. G. Anawati, *op.cit* 353.

33. According to the results of recent research, we have to see the problem of exercising imperial power in the Iconoclastic controversy.

الكتاب

ومطالعه

LAḤN AND LUĠA

TAMÁS IVÁNYI

1. When searching for the origins of the medieval Arabic linguistics and on the motives of its formation, one inevitably meets the term *laḥn* in the relevant Arabic sources.[1] They tell us that it is *laḥn* (interpreted as "grammatical mistake, fault of language")[2], committed so often by speakers, that made it necessary to show the norm and create a grammar (*naḥw*) for the pure Arabic language.[3] The high frequency of the occurrence of grammatical mistakes is considered as the direct consequence of the mixture of the conquering Arabs with the conquered non-Arab populations (mainly in the big cities).[4] Whether it happened this way or not, the *laḥn* appears to me to have beared great significance in the development of the Arabic linguistics.[5]

The precise meaning and interpretation of the word *laḥn* may have been modified between the 7th century (beginnings of Arabic linguistic activities) and the 10th century (the first extant historical books on linguists and linguistics),[6] but its occurrence in the texts as an explanation for early linguistic thinking surely reflects original ideas.[7] Therefore it seems necessary to shed more light on the semantic development of the word *laḥn* in its correlation with other important notions, relevant for the history of Arabic language and linguistic situation.[8] In the next few pages I would like to say some words on *laḥn*, in its relationship with *luġa*.[9]

2. The first lexicographic works (8—10th centuries),[10] in summing up the the meaning of the root *l – ḥ – n* , start with the definition "turn, bend (*māla*)", then "deviate (*māla ᶜan*)".[11] Although there are some traits of its having once denoted a physical activity as well,[12] its dominant shade of meaning is connected with the semantic field of "speech acts and intelligence or comprehension."[13] E.g.: al-Azharī[14] mentions, immediately after the *māla* meaning, that *laḥana* means "speak or utter a word (*naṭaqa*)" as well,[15] while we find at Ibn Durayd[15] "manner of speaking, or individual particularity of speech (*dalla ᶜalayhi kalāmuhu*)".[17] That means, that *laḥn* may have denoted

at first the parlance or locution of an individual[18] (one of the meanings of *lahğa* in today's Arabic), or a usage or pronunciation sounding strange for a community (tribe) or an individual deviation from their speech habits.[19] Soon, however, it came to mean "a way of speech, usage" or characteristic of a special tribe ("pronunciation or words different from ours, strange for us")[20]. Common speech habits within a tribe, and the strangeness of the speech of those belonging to another one have possibly always been an organic and important constituent of tribalism for the Arabs in the pre-islamic age.[21]

In the Arabic dictionaries of the 8–10th centuries a slightly different shade of meaning follows generally all these mentioned above: "intelligence and comprehension (*fatina*)", the ability to understand at once what one is told, even if it were incomprehensible for everybody else.[22] From "the peculiarity and oddity of a speaker's parlance" and "the strangeness of the speech habits of the members of another tribe there is only one step to *lahn* meaning "allusion" and "secret speech", too.[23] This sense is in accordance with meaning 1 "*māla*" and meaning 2 "*nataqa*" and comes as a consequence of "*ğarīb*" speech habits.[24] And if *lahana* means "deviate from the normal usage" (and later from the norms), *lahhana* may be considered with reason as its derivative having the meaning "make allusions, do unusual and rather incomprehensible talk."[25]

The semantic development of the words *lahn* and *lahana*[26] can only be understood in taking into consideration the social situation in Arabia of the 6th–7th centuries, where there were several tribes and tribal conglomerates speaking dialects, different from each other for a lesser or greater extent[27] — but maintaining close contact with each other through peaceful means and ceaseless tribal feuds, wars of retaliation, and experiencing difference and identity at the same time.[28]

The tribal Arabs, the members of a given tribe, just because their regular contact with tribes living in their neighbourhood or in remote parts of the Peninsula, were well aware of linguistic variance in Arabia which might caused misunderstanding and even uncomprehension to a certain extent between members of different tribes and tribal groups.[29] In these circumstances it is highly probable that only the *other tribe's* way of speech was labelled a *lahn,* and in the sense "allusive style of speech (whose meaning is hard to understand because it is not directly expressed) it was first meant to be "the speech of the fellow from such — and — such tribe".[30]

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Within the bundle of meanings of *laḥn/laḥana* we can find one special meaning which seems to be very ancient and has remained in use throughout the centuries up till now. This is *laḥn* meaning "melody, tune" and "singing of birds".[31] Then from this comes "melodic recitation of poems",[32] and later, from the early Islamic age on, *talḥīn* means a melodic reading (*qirā'a*) of the Qurān.[33] This meaning does at all not contradict with the other meanings and is closely related to the "speak in a specific way, with a strange accent" meaning (always foreign languages and strange dialects seem to have a special tune or "melody" and never our mother tongue, or dialect).[34] The smallest difference is, then, felt and understood as deviance from the right, proper usage, (*mayl ᶜan al-ṣawāb*) – and exactly that is what *laḥn* means later on.[35]

3. The verbal root *lġw* (*laġā*) means basically "speak" (*takallama*)[36] – but in a very much ordinary way.[37] That means that *laġw* is also a *special* way of speaking – speaking in an everyday language – it is an insignificant, unceremonial speech.[38] It was said that if an oath (*ḥalf*) was *laġw* it meant that it had not a compulsory power but it was only a speech habit or mannerism (like *wa-llāhi*).[39] Consequently *laġw/laġā* means "an invalid, useless and worthless speech" (*lā tamana lahu*).[40] Stylistically it is considered "detestable and ugly" (*kalima lāġiya = fāḥiša wa-qabīḥa*).[41]
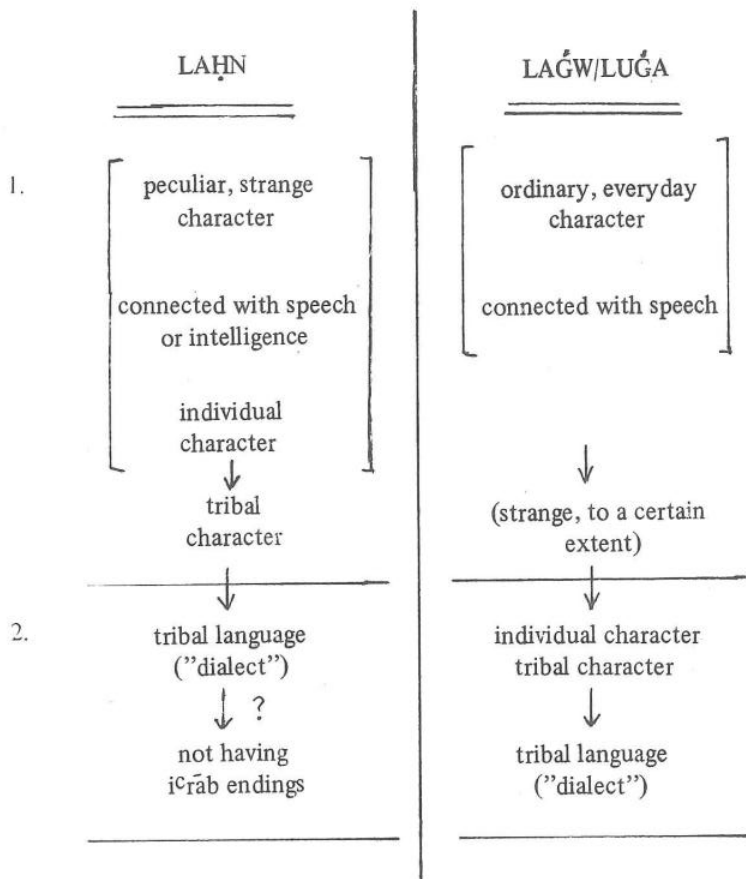
Though this summary judgement seems to be the product of later centuries, it surely has its roots in pre-islamic age. According to a hadit, Meccan heathens tried to counterbalance the influence of the Prophet by clamouring and shouting while he was reciting the Quran (*laġaw fīhi*).[42] In a leter development the *laġā/laġw* root also received the shade of meaning "deviate from the right way" (*ᶜadala ᶜan al-ṣawāb*)[43] and this brought it again in a close relationship with *laḥana/laḥn*, while the noun *laġw*, similarly to *laḥn*, in a later development would mean faulty speech or speech error.[44]

Following with attention the similarities and relations between the tvo roots *l-ḥ-n* and *l-ġ-w*, it is by no means surprising that we meet the meaning "singing of the birds" in connection with *l-ġ-w* as well (*al-ṭayr talġā*, etc.).[45]

The word *luġa* is held by Arab lexicographers to be a derrivative of the word *laġw* or *laġwa*.[46] *Luġa* always had a more specific meaning than *laġā* or *laġw*, it is "the speech of a group of people (tribe) (*qaum*)",[47] even though Ibn Aᶜrabi derives it from a relatively later meaning of *laġā*, i.e. from "deviance".[48]

Comparison between the semantic development
of L–Ḥ–N and L–Ġ–W

Pre-islamic Age

LAḤN	LAĠW/LUĠA

1.
peculiar, strange character	ordinary, everyday character
connected with speech or intelligence	connected with speech
individual character ↓ tribal character	↓ (strange, to a certain extent)

2.
| tribal language ("dialect") ↓ ? not having iᶜrāb endings | individual character tribal character ↓ tribal language ("dialect") |

Islamic Age

LUĠA

3.   the opposite of iᶜrāb
       ("ḍidd al-iᶜrāb")
   ⟶ (then in a technical sense:)
       a mistake in the iᶜrāb

ancient or classical
dialect
⟶ (and mainly:)
the vocabulary of
a dialect

4.   error of speech
       in general
       ("laḥn al-ᶜāmma")

the vocabulary
in general
(⟶ lexicography)

LAĠW

⟶ faulty speech
(not in a technical sense)

Representation of language varieties
(according to medieval Arab grammarians)
on the basis of case-endings and vocabulary

variety / characteristics	al—ᶜarabīya	luġa (classical dialect)	∅	laḥn faulty language or corrupted dial.
having iᶜrāb endings	+ *	+	−	−
having generally accepted vocabulary	+	− *	+	−

NB.: The feature assignation marked with an asterisk was considered the basic attribute of the given variety.

All the meanings LAHN$_1$, LAHN$_3$, LAHN$_4$ and LAǴW/LUǴA$_1$, LAǴW/LUǴA$_2$, LUǴA$_3$, LUǴA$_4$ and LAǴW$_{3-4}$ are directly provable and well attested by documents, medieval sources.[49] The only exception is LAHN$_2$, which, being of a somewhat hypothetical character, needs some remarks and indirect proofs:

(i) First of all, the analysis of the meaning-sequence of *lahn* gives us some clues. According to our time-table, *lahn* had always meant something with a positive (or at least neutral) shade of meaning. Then all of a sudden the fact is established that it is "the opposite of the *i^{c}rāb*",[50] and soon after it is blamed of being a simple "mistake in the *i^{c}rāb*".[51] So the question arises: why was just *lahn* chosen for this ungrateful role? And the only acceptable explanation at hand (at least for me) is: because it had already had in its meaning the connotation (in the form of a presupposition) that "if it is *lahn*, it is without *i^{c}rāb*" or "with *i^{c}rāb* but in a distorted form", which could easily be called the opposite of the solemn super-tribal language, the ^{c}arabīya.

(ii) If we compare the two sequences of meanings (those of *lahn* and *laǵw/luǵa*), we find the following: The root *l-ǵ-w* starts with a rather low value of estimation, being ordinary or even invalid at a time when *l-h-n* labels a bit perhaps strange but not unpleasent speech-act. In a later phase of their mutual development both *LAHN* and *LAǴW/LUǴA* came to man something of "a tribal language, tribal characteristics", and so became, for a while, interchangeable. But because *lahn* was the primary term for "the dialect of a tribe or group of tribes", it became the main target, at first, of comparision with the high variety, and later on, of the censure and blame in its quality as the representative of the low variety. But, by then, tribal dialects had already been termed as *"luǵāt"*, because only one aspect of "linguistic tribalism" was under heavy attacks, that of the *"i^{c}rāb*lessness".[52] The other striking feature of the dialectal difference is the difference in the vocabulary. But in this field Arabic linguistics has never reached to such an unanimously accepted standardization as sharacterizes the syntactic-morphologic field,[53] under which basically the establishment or restoration of the *i^{c}rāb* endings should be meant. That's why *luǵa*, meaning now mainly this other side of dialectal difference (i.e., vocabulary), has never come under such stern criticisms as the other aspect of "dialectalism", *lahn* (referring to the chaotic situation ruling over word-endings).[54]

(iii) The tradition of reading the Qurān with *lahn* (or with a later denomination, *talhīn*) shows us well that *lahn* was not a totally negative term even at the time of the formative period of Islam.[55]

(iv) The *hadīt*, urging to learn the lahn together with the Qurānic text itself,[56] can best be interpreted if we suppose that *lahn* here means *luġa*.[57] The opposing view[58], according to which it is "error of speech" that is necessary to learn along with the correct form, is not only quite ridiculous but is untenable as well.[59] It is the result of a much later interpretation, when *lahn* meant "error" in general.

(v) The use of the term *malhūn*[60] is a very important witness for our case, becaus it becoms clear and evident that 1. *malhūn* has never been negatively labelled (showing its ancient usage), and 2. *malhūn* was always been held to be an *iᶜrāb*less form of poetry or sentences.[61]

(vi) There is a cardinal point in the interpretation of the root *l-h-n* both in the Arab lexicography and the European literature. It is the *māla ᶜan al-ṣawāb* meaning of *lahan*, interpreted as the basis on which *lahan* can mean later on "commit a speech error".[62] But such is not the case. The *māla ᶜan al-ṣawāb* shade of meaning seems to have pertained to *lahana* from a very ancient time, while the "commit a speech error (in general)" meaning is surely a very late development.[63] Between the two there is big mass of evidence speaking about *lahn* as "the opposite of *iᶜrāb*"[64] — so we have to accept this time-table.

The *lahn al-ᶜāmma* genre of linguistic literature is not really relevant to our topic, being of a much later development.[65] It was created in a period when *iᶜrāb* had long become well regulated, and linguistic purist turned their attention towards stylistic and lexicographic problems.[66]

5. *In conclusion:*

When we speak about ancient Arabic dialects or tribal dialects, we must be cautious. We can never know vhether the Arabs of the 6–7th centuries had the same *integrated* notion of social and regional dialects as we have.[67] They were certainly aware of regional and tribal differences in the more or less monolingual Arabian Peninsula, but they seem to have treated separately two main linguistic features. First, the solemn ending-system, differentiating low and high varieties;[68] and secondly, the wide range of variation in the vacabulary, characterizing tribal speech usage.[69] For the first century of Islam, it appears, *lahn* had become a widely used term for the first dialectal aspect,[70] while *luġa* had been the equivalent of lexical varieties.[71]

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It seems to me a convincing hypothesis that *laḥn* meant long before Islam a variety of language that lacked (totally or partially) case-endings called *iʿrāb*.[72] This supposition must, however, be supplemented with two remarks. First, if one says that the whole thing was just the other way around, and tribal languages or dialects did not differ from the solemn language or ʿarabīya in respect of *iʿrāb* — it may be true. But it is just another hypothesis, and is not at all a well proved truth.[73] Secondly, when we say that *laḥn* meant "a tribal dialect" or only "an everyday speech act" without case-endings, we did not mean to say, that this language or speech act had not word-endings at all.[74] Considering the "combining" character of Arabic language in its every phase — it could not possibly besaid. But that is another story — the story of *iʿrāb*.[75]

NOTES

1. See e.g.: Abū Ṭayyib: *Marātib al-nahawīyīn*, Cairo, 1974 [2] ; and Zubaydī: *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyīn wa-l-luġawīyīn*, Cairo, 1954.

2. I do not intend to give here a complete list of the literature relevant to lahn, instedd I refer here only to some well-known summaries, which contain the necessary references: H. Thorbecke's introduction to the *Durrat al-ġawāss* of al-Ḥarīrī, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 7—12; I. Goldziher: "Zur Literaturgeschichte des Chata' al—ʿamma," *ZDMG* 35 (1881), pp. 147—152; J. Fück: *ʿArabiyya*, French translation by Cl. Denizeau (La racine lḥn et ses dérivés), pp. 195—205, Paris, 1955; Ch. Pellat: "Lahn al—ʿāmma," EI[2], vol. III, pp. 605—610.

3. *Marātib*, pp. 24—29.

As for *lahn* in teh early period of Islam (in its meaning "committing mistakes in the *iʿrāb*), see: P.Kahle: "The Qurān and the ʿarabīya" in: *Goldziher Memorial Volume, I,* Budapest, 1948, pp. 163—182.

4. This theory (or rather "fairy tale") is so often told and re-told in the relevant medieval and modern, Arabic and European literature thai it is not easy to give a list on its appearances, so I give only some morsels here: *Marātib*, pp. 24—29; *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 13; J.Fück, op. cit., p.204—205; F. Corriente, "From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic Through the Pre-Islamic

Koine: Some Notes on the Native grammarians' Sources, Attitudes and Goals", IRAS 115 (1977) pp. 72 ff.; J.Blau: *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo–Arabic,* Jerusalem, 1981, pp. 1–18.

5. It seems to me that the two heroes of the formative period of the Arabic native grammar were, beyond doubt, *laḥn* and *iᶜrāb,* and it was not without struggle that *iᶜrāb* (in its special way of interpretation) won and became the norm for poetry and Qurān as well. See, for instance Kahle, op. cit. or the whole *qirā'a* literature and the debate around endings. Cf. E. Beck: "Studien zur Geschichte der kufischen Koranlesung ir beiden ersten Jahrhunderten," *Orientalia* 17/1948/, p. 339 ff.

6. See for details F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums,* vol. I, pp. 13–23.

7. The interpretation history of *laḥn* resembles to a certain extent that of *qāfiya* (as presented by I. Goldziher in his treatise on hiǧa'-poetry, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie,* vol. I. Halle, 1896) in that in both cases it is the meaning developed much later that is projected back to an earlier usage.

8. *Laḥn,* as a technical expression, "has been the object of a vigorous semantic study on the part of J. Fück" (op.cit.), as Ch. Pellat puts it in EI^2 , but one is compelled to confess that Fück's study cannot be considered more than a simple presentation of the material, found in the big Arabic lexicographic works of the Middle Ages, supplied with an apparatus of European style. All in all, it cannot be compared with the comparative semantic analysis carried out by Goldziher in his Abhandlungen, I. The main deficiency of Fück's analysis is that, of his Arabic sources – he cannot explain, when and why the shift in the meaning of *laḥn* occurred, and what relationship existed between the various elements of the same semantic field. For him it is a sufficient explanation for the semantic changes of *laḥn* that "De la 'tournure propre a tromper' il n'y a qu'un pas, . . . , pour aboutir a la notion de 'faute de langage' ", fück, op.cit., p.203. Besides, it is quite astonishing that he does not deal in his appendix with the "opposite of *iᶜrāb*" meaning of *laḥn,* although he mentions it several times in the main text of his book.

9. Naturally I do not find it sufficient to restrict the scope of investigation to only two semantic items and I want to examine later on the semantic development of other related words and expressions too, mainly that of *iᶜrāb, binā', waqf* and *waṣl.*

10. Because of the overlappings between the contents of various lexicographic works, I refer here only to Ibn Durayd: *al-Ǧamhara fī l-luġa,* (ed. by F. Krenkow), vols. I—IV, Hyderabad , 1927—28; and al-Azhari, *Tahḏīb al-luġa,* vols. I—XV, Cairo, 1964—67.

11. al-Azharī, *op.cit,* vol. IV, p. 61:

<div dir="rtl">

اللحن ما تلحن اليه بلسانك اي تميل اليه
</div>

Ibn Durayd, vol. II, p. 192:

<div dir="rtl">

و اللحن صرفك الكلام عن جهته
</div>

Ibn Manẓūr: *Lisān al-ᶜarab,* Cairo, 1979—1983, vol. V. p. 4014:

<div dir="rtl">

ورجل لاحن لا غير ا ذا صرف كلامه عن جهته
</div>

Cf. Fück, *op.cit.,* p. 195 and fn. 5.

12. al-Azharī, *op.cit,* vol. IV, p. 63; Ibn Manẓūr, *op.cit.,* p. 4015.

<div dir="rtl">

وقدح لاحن اذا لم يكن صافي الصوت عند الافاضةوكذلك قوس لاحنة
اذا انبضت وسهم لاحن عند التنفيذ اذا لم يكن حنانا عنــد
الادامة على الاصبع "
</div>

13. Fück, *op.cit.,* p. 196 and p. 198. ff.; Ibn Manẓūr, *op.cit.,* p. 4013:

<div dir="rtl">

لحن بلحن ٠٠ تكلم بلغته : اللحن الفطنة الخ٠
</div>

14. vol. IV., p. 61, in explaining Qurān 47/30.

15.

<div dir="rtl">

ومنه قول الله جل وعز" ولتعرفنهم في لحن القول" وكان رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بعد نزول هذه الآية يعرف المنافقيـن
اذا سمع نطقهم وكلامهم٠
</div>

16. Vol, II, p. 192:

17.

<div dir="rtl">

وعرفت ذلك في لحن كلامه اي فيما دل عليه كلامه
</div>

18. al-Azharī, *op.cit.,* vol. IV. p. 161:

<div dir="rtl">

وروى سلمة عن الفرّاء : لحن القول يقول في نحو القول ٠٠٠٠٠
وقال ابو اسحاق الزجاج :" في لحن القول " اي نحو القـــــول
دل بهذا والله اعلم٠
</div>

<div dir="rtl">

ان قول القائل وفعله يدلان علي نيّته وما في ضميره
</div>

Here Zaǧǧāǧ evidently speaks about *individual* speech character

19. Fück, *op.cit.*, p. 198, quotes Ḏul-Rumma:

في لحنه عن لغات العرب تعجيم

20. al-Azharī, vol. IV, p. 61., referring to Abū ᶜUbayd:

لحن الرجل بلحنه اذا تكلم بلغته

and on p. 62.

وقال الكلابيون : للحن اللغة

In ᶜOmar's much disputed hadit, according to Abū Zayd, in Azharī, vol. IV, p. 62.

" أبي أقروؤنا والنرغب عن كثير من لحنه " قال لحن الرجل لغته

Cf. Fück, *op.cit.*, p. 199. and Abū Maysara's saying in Qālī: *Amālī*, Cairo 1906, vol. I. p.t, Ibn Manẓūr: *Lisān al—ᶜarab* p. 4014, sf. Fück, *op.cit.*, p. 199:

ومنه قول ابي ميسرة في قوله تعالي﴿ فارسلنا عليهم سيل العرم ﴾

قال: العرم المسناة بلحن اليمن ا ي بلغة اليمن ٠

21. It follows from what was said earlier, on *laḥana* meaning *māla*, that it should have been the other tribes's speech that was first labelled *laḥn*, al-Azharī, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, p. 62.

قوم لهم لحن سوى لحن قومنا

22. al-Azharī, *op.cit.*, vol. IV. p. 61.

يقال للرجل الذي يعرّض ولا يصرّح: قد جعل كذا وكذ لحن الحاجته وعنوانا ٠

ibid., p. 63:

وتلاحن ٠٠ اي تكلم بمعنى كلام لا يفطن له ويخفى على الناس غيري٠

cf. Fück, *op.cit.*, pp. 202–203.

Ibn Manẓūr: *Lisān al—ᶜarab*, p. 4015.

23. From modern sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic studies we can see how often people interpret foreign languages or dialects alien to them as nonsense or puzzle and take them by suspicion.

24. Once it is suggested that *laḥn* in connection with the Qurān means *ġarīb* of the Qurān: Zamaẖšarī: *Asās al-balāġa*, Beirut, 1975, p. 222, quoted by Ibn Manẓūr, too, *op.cit.*, p. 4013:

تعلموا الغريب واللحن لان في ذلك علم غريب القرآن ومعانيه

25. Ibn Durayd, *op.cit.*, p. 192:

واذا لحّن كلامه فصرفه عنجهته كالالغاز فهو لحن

26. I am well aware,of course,of the fact that a real inverstigation of the semantic development of any Arabic word and expression would need a much wider , not to say comprehensive, scope of study in the semantic components of the Arabic lexicon.

27. How great were those differences we cannot tell now,but on the basis of classical dialects,Middle Arabic data and contemporary dialects one can guess that linguistic situation may have beeen similar to that existing in any modern Arabic country.

28. I do not want to refer here to a vast bibliography of modern history writing but I would like to emphasize two points: the significance of the markets and competitions of the poets,on one side, and the relevance of the usage of [c]arabī and [c]arabīya for this theme,on the other side.

29. Mutual understanding does not necessarily exclude remporary incomprehension and misunderstandings. It could be proved by examples taken from modern Arabic dialectal contacts.

30. Cf.al-Azharī,vol.IV,p.61., where the quotation from Abū [c]Ubayda,cited in note 20 , continues as follows:

لحن الرجل بلحنه اذا تكلم بلغته ولحنت له لحنا ألحن له اذا قلت
له قولا يفقهه عنك ويخفى على غيره

31. E.g.:al-Azharī,vol.IV,p.

قال الليث : الالحان الضروب من الاصوات الموضوعة المصوغة .

Ibn Manẓūr:Lisān al-[c]arab,p.4014:

واللحن الذي هو الغناء وترجيع الصوت والتطريب شاهـــده قـــــول
يزيد بن النعمان :
لقد تركت فؤادك، مستجنـا   مطوقة على فـن تغنــــى
يميل بها وتركبه بلحــن   يرددان لحونا ذات ألـــوان

32. E.g.:Ibn Manẓūr,p.4014:

ويقال: فلان لايعرف لحن هذا الشعر اي لا يعرف كيف يغنيه

33. E.g.:Ibn Durayd, ibid.:

فاما قولهم لحن في قراءته ا ذا طرّب فيها وقرأ بالحـــــان

ولحون فهو المضاهاة للتغريد والتطريب كأنه لاحن بذلك صوتـــــه

اي شبهه به

Ibn Manẓūr,p.4013:

لحن في قراءته اذا غـــرّد وطرّب فيها بالحان....

وهو ألحن الناس اذا كان أحسنهم قرا ءة او غناءٴ

34. When one can understand and appreciate <u>every</u> mo-
ment of a speech act,one concentrates on the "in-
side" elements of speech and cannot just listen to
it as if it were a melody or tune.

35. Ibn Manẓūr,op.cit.

منطق صائب وتلحن احيانـا ، أي تصيب وتفطن وقيل تديرحديثهـا

عن جهته ... قـال : وكأن اللحن فى العربية راجع الى هذا لانه

العدول عن الصواب ٠

Here it is interesting to note the absolute identi-
ty and substitutability of ᶜarabīya and iᶜrāb.
Ibn Durayd,p.192:

فـامّا قولهم لحن في كلامه فـانهم يريدون ضد الاعراب فكأنـه

مال بكلامه عن جهة الصواب ٠

al-Azharī,vol.IV,p.61.

وقول الناس قد لحن فلان تأويله قد أخـذ في نـاحيــة عـــن

الصواب السبها ٠

Fück,op.cit.,p.203 seemingly states the same but
there is a great difference in judging this "fauté
de langage" labelling.In my opinion it had not been
built on objective bases but on subjective judge-
ment.There was never such a thing that "ᶜarabīya"
- created for once and all in a standard form,from
which any deviation could be easy to detect and la-

belled as "error".It was on a subjective basis that
this or that tribe's speech habit,otherwise being a
vivid phenomenon of a dialect,would be rather arbit-
rarily called "error of speech".From these arbitrary
judgements,through the activity of some vigorous
linguists,the so called ^carabīya had taken form.

36. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.197:

وفي الحديث ٭ من قال يوم الجمعة والامام يخطب لصاحبه صه

فقد لغا ٭ أي تكلم

cf.Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050,referring to al-Kisā'ī:

لغا في القول يلغو: تكلم

Zamaḫšarī,Asās al-balāġa,p.410:

لغوت بكذا : لفظت وتكلمت

37. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4049:

اللغو السقط وما لا يعتقد به من الكلام وغيره ولايحصل منه

على فائدة ولا نفع ٠

al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.197:

الغيت هذه الكلمة اي رأيته باطلا وفضلا ٠

Its shade of meaning "superfluous" is shown by
a physical denotation as well: al-Azharī,vol.
VIII,p.198:

ابو عبيد عن الكسائي: لغى فلان بالماء : اذا أكثر منه

38. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.197:

اللغو واللغوى: ما كان من الكلام غير معقود عليه

Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050 quotes al-Farrā':

قالت عائشة: ان اللغو ما يجري في الكلام على غير عقد

39. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.199 referring to Ibn A^crabī:

لغا يلغو اذا حلف بيمين بلا اعتقاد ٠

al-Zamaḫšarī,Asās al-balāġa,p.411:

حلف بلغو اليمين ٠

Ibn Manẓūr, p.4050:

واللغو : ما لا يعتد به لقلته ، أو لخروجه على غير جهة
الاعتماد من فاعله كقوله تعالى﴿ لا يؤاخذكم الله باللغو في
ايمانكم ﴾ وقد تكرر في الحديث ذكر لغو اليمين،وهــو أن
يقول : لا والله وبلى والله ولا يعقد عليه قلبه ،وقيل هي
اللتي يحلفها الانسان ساهيا ناسيا ،وقيل هو اليمين فـي
المعصية ،وقيل : في الغضب الخ ٠٠

40. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050.

41. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.197.

وقال اللــه ﴿ لا تسمع فيها لاغية ﴾ (Qurān 88/11) أي
كلمة قبيحة او فاحشــة .

The same at Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050 (referring to
al-Farrā').Cf.al-Zamaḫšarī,Asās al-balāġa,p.410:

تكلم بالرفث واللغا

42. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050:

قالت كفار قريش : اذا تلا محمد القرآن فالغوا فيه اي
الغطوا فيه ٠

Qurān 41/26:

لا تسمعوا لهذا القرآن والغوا فيه ٠

43. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.198:

لغا فلان عن الصواب اي مال عنه

Cf. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050:

عدل عن الصواب أي خاب

al-Zamaḫšarī,Asās al-balāġa,p.411:

ومن المجاز: لغا عن الطريق وعن الصواب: مال عنه

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44. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050:

جماع اللغو هو الخطأ...ولغافي القول أخطأوقال باطلا

45. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.198:

لغوالطير اصواتها

Cf. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4051

الطير تلغي باصواتها اي تنغم

46. Cf. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.198. and Ibn Manẓūr,
    p.4050.
47. al-Azharī,vol.VIII,p.197:

اللغة اختلاف الكلام في معنى واحد

Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050:

يا ابا خيرة سمعت لغاتهم

Cf. Ta^clab :al-Faṣīḥ,p.15.
48. See Ibn Manẓūr,p.4050:

لغا فلان عن الصواب وعن الطريق اذا مال عنه قاله ابن الاعرابي

قال: واللغة أخذت عن هذا لان هؤلاء تكلموا بكلام مالـــوا

فيه عن لغة هؤلاء الاخرين.. يقال: هذه لغتهم التي يلغـــون

بها اي ينطقون .

49. I am,of course,aware of the ad hoc character of
    this derivation and of the somewhat arbitrary di-
    vision of the different styles of semantic deve-
    lopment.But a more coherent and essential solution
    would need a more comprehensive semantic analysis
    than mine (i.e.dealing with a quasi total lexicon
    of the Arabic language).

50.   ضد الاعراب

51.   خطأ في الاعراب   The difference between the two
    lies essentially in the temporal difference between
    their respective usage.Didd al-i^crāb can also mean
    an (accepted) i^crāb-less language while ḥata' means
    that the normative i^crāb has become the only accept-

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ed version and one does not meet iᶜrāb-less speech
(in scientific circles) but only erroneous use of
the iᶜrāb.

52. Naturally,as every socio-linguistic phenomenon,this
"fanatic" defence of iᶜrāb has also its reasonable
causes which,however,lie outside the scope of the
present article.

53. Normalization in the field of lexicon meant inclusiv-
ity (while with iᶜrāb it was the other way around).

54. This chaotic situation is not only made visible by
the debate over iᶜrāb assignement but also by the
various contradictory explanations given to a cer-
tain assignement.Perhaps ancient hypercorrections
like šǎyaṭūn (instead of šǎyaṭīn) etc.shed light on
the uncertainties,better than the simple errors made
in iᶜrāb or its neglect.

55. This is such a deeply rooted habit that even the
official Islam's disapproval could not uproot it.
See Th.Nöldeke,Geschichte des Qorans,[2] 1926,vol.
III,pp.193-194.

56. ᶜUmar's sayings: تعلموا اللحن والفرائض

Cf.al-Qāli:Amālī,vol.I.p.5;al-Azharī,vol.IV,p.62;
Ibn Manẓūr,p.4013;and ibid:

تعلموا اللحن في القرآن كما تعلمونه

Cf.J.Fück,op.cit.,p.195.

57. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4013

اللحن اللغة·· فالمعنى في قول عمر: تعلموا كيف لغةالعرب
فيه الذين نزل القرآن بلغتهم·

58. Ibn Manẓūr,p.4013:

وقال ابو عبيدة في قول عمر رضى الله عنه : تعلموا اللحن
أي الخطأ في الكلام لتحترزوا منه·

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59. Even if we accepted this explanation,we should suppose that ḥaṭa' here cannot mean "any mistake committed by anyone just by chance", but only well known varieties in the readings of the Qurān.
60. Meaning both "ġayr muᶜrab" and a special genre of poetry.
61. Cf.Corriente,op.cit.,p.69.
62. See e.g.J.Fück,op.cit.,p.203.
63. That is why medieval Arabic dictionaries define laḥn (as an error of speech) first of all as ḍidd al-iᶜrāb, and not as ḥaṭa' in general.
64. ḍidd al-iᶜrāb can mean two things:
    (i) simply iᶜrāb-lessness (a language variety not having iᶜrāb), and (ii) a language variety different from al-ᶜarabīya (if we consider iᶜrāb as a synonym for al-ᶜarabīya).
65. It is quite natural,however,that the laḥn al-ᶜāmma literature,though irrelevant for the early development of the laḥn in general,contains much data, taken over from older times,which do bear relevance for our subject matter.
66. Perhaps the first step towards this later "laḥn al-ᶜāmma" notion was made when ḥaṭa' fi-l-iᶜrāb was used instead of ḍidd al-iᶜrāb,cf.note 51 .
67 That is why we must not start from 19–20th century European notions when we try to reveal what Arab philologists thought of their linguistic situation.
68. Cf.Ch.Fergusson,"Diglossia",Word 15(1959),pp.325–340.
69. Comparing Classical Arabic words with their equivalents in modern dialects,we find that there are three main types:1)The word is in use in (almost) all dialects 2)it is used in one (branch) of dialects but is totally unknown in the others (or

known but only as a classical word) 3)it does not
seem to occur in any of the existing dialects.But
one will most probably find type no.2.he most common
one proving that Classical Arabic vocabulary is
nothing else than a collecting channel of words
from different dialects.

70. For the differentiation between the ancient dia-
lects and dialects of the 8th century onward,see:
Corriente,op.cit.,p.87.

71. There are other important instances of the narrow-
ing of the meaning of a technical term,e.g. from
$qāfiya_1$(a whole verse or line) to $qāfiya_2$(rhyme).

72. This hypothesis does at all not imply Vollers'
statement,i.e.that i[c]rāb was invented or recon-
structed by later philologists, although for me
it is as good a hypothesis as the "orthodox" view
saying that Arabs were speaking with i[c]rāb (as
known by us from the linguistic compendia) in the
6th – 7th centuries.

73. In this respect one always has to be very cau-
tious with not the data but – the views and
opinions of native speakers about their native
language.A native speaker knows how to speak his
mother tongue but does not know how his mother
tongue works.

74. Arabic dialects,even today have a word-ending
system (serving the purposes of junction),with
different vowel qualities,depending from its
environment.And these endings appear and dis-
appear at the same places where i[c]rāb-endings
do. (The so-called pausal and contextual forms.)

75. This is the title of my forthcoming paper ("The
Story of i[c]rāb – a new approach") in which I
tried to investigate the i[c]rāb system from the
point of view mentioned in note 74,i.e. from
a diachronic point of view.

JULIUS GERMANUS, THE ORIENTALIST*

ERNŐ JUHÁSZ

Julius Germanus was almost predestined by several circumstances to become an orientalist. Two very important starting points in his career as an orientalist were the following. His interest in the orient, which he got during his childhood, from his parents' house (and which coincided with the vigorous opening of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy toward the Balkan Peninsula and the territories of the Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor in the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries); and his proficiency in the German language (which in those days was much more the *lingua franca* of oriental studies, at least in Central and Eastern Europe, than it is today).

No less important, and fortunate, was the fact that Germanus got his knowledge at Budapest University from such world-famous professors as Ármin *Vámbéry* (1832–1913), the celebrated traveller, whose nickname, "the lame dervish" sounded familiar in the bazaars of Persia and in the court of Queen Victoria in London alike, together with Ignác *Goldziher* (1850–1921), who is rightly considered to have been the real founder of European islamology. Vámbéry's scholarship and his scientific accomplishment were already being widely disputed in Hungary in his lifetime and he polarized scientists and public opinion as well. His pupil, Ignác Goldziher, for example, was rather critical of Vámbéry in his diary, which was published first in its original German version,[1] and in its abriged Hungarian translation.[2] Goldziher queried Vámbéry's scientific achievements, just as he did his human behaviour.

Not wishing to argue with all this here, I should like only to register that, because of his well publicized journeys in Central Asia, Vámbéry belonged to the unquestionable celebrities of the turn of the century. He exerted a deep impression and influence on his contemporaries and students, no less on the

young Germanus. Without so much as qualifying Germanus's accomplishment as an orientalist in advance, I should like to point to the fact that his career and *oeuvre*, in their entirety, meant much more the undertaking and continuation of the Vámbérian than the Goldziherian concept of orientalism.

Germanus, similar to his famed professor and predecessor, preferred the excitement, in its truest sense of the word, of gaining first-hand experience of journeys in, and of the deepest possible submersion into, Eastern cultures, to the thorough, philological and philosophical approach to, and interpretation of the facts and phenomena of the Orient. In my opinion, instead of counterposing the two approaches, it is better to emphasize the importance of both, since the Vámbéry-Germanus versus Goldziher parallel was characteristic of orientalism in other European countries, too.

Germanus's lucky star did not wane at all when he finished his studies at Budapest University. On the contrary, one could say that he was enviably lucky throughout his life. He lived almost a hundred years (from 1884 till 1979) and preserved all along his mental and physical faculties. And what a century was his, especially in Hungary! He survived two world wars, several upheavals and at least 4 or 5 social systems, each of them different from the next.

Soon after his graduation from Budapest University, Germanus could continue his studies at Leipzig, Germany. At that time the spirit and influence of the great German Arabist, H. L. *Fleischer* (1801–1888) were still alive at Leipzig. Goldziher, who in the late 1860s also studied at Leipzig, regarded Fleischer very highly and took his doctor's degree from him. As regards Fleischer, he got the mastery of his profession directly from Silvestre *de Sacy* (1758–1838), the great French Arabist, the founder of European Arabic Studies.[3] So it can be laid down as a fact that Germanus was able to study Arabic, the subject which was to become so decisive in his subsequent scientific activity, in the best schools and under the supervision of the best scholars in Europe of that time.

After his university years, which were lengthened by his studies at Leipzig and Vienna, his stay in London examining the oriental collection of the British Museum between 1909–1911 was also decisive for Germanus, above all because there his previous and necessarily narrower, Central European way of thinking was broadened and he was able to gain a wider perspective of the Orient, including, of course, the Arab and Islamic world. It seems to be

a well-founded supposition that it occurred there and then that an idea came up in Germanus's mind, even if it was not yet a conscious aim, that was India, where later, when he got there (between 1929–32) he gained decisive impulses for the rest of his life.

After Budapest, Leipzig, Vienna, London, Santiniketan and Delhi, i. e. the main stations of Germanus's preparations and gathering of his knowledge, I ought to mention his extensive journeys throughout the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor and the Arab world, which also influenced the career of the Hungarian orientalist. But there were so many of them (well over 70: Germanus still undertook strenuous trips to India, Saudi Arabia and Morocco, not to mention his regular, yearly visits to Cairo, to take part in the winter sessions of the Arab Language Academy, of which he was a corresponding member) that it is almost impossible to give an accurate figure. I cannot help drawing attention to one particular trip of Germanus's, however, namely to his first pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca in 1934–35. It was by this journey – and his accomplishment there – that Germanus rightly entered his name in the list of such European travellers and orientalists like Varthema, the 16th century, Bolognese and the 19th Century Briton, Sir Richard Burton.[4]

A scholar's closed scientific career is best measured by reckoning his writings. The portrait can be coloured and completed by his correspondence and educational activites (in Germanus's case I shall speak about these two areas later) but *verba volant, scripta manent.*

József Antall, his close friend, mentions 123 items in his selected bibliography of Germanus's writtings.[5] Antall tries to give a brief biography of Germanus, too.[6] In my opinion, Germanus's life was much more colourful and richer in events and changes than this barely more than twenty-page summary of it would suggest. Nobody knows what to-morrow holds. A more shaded and detailed, inspired biography of Germanus could at once be either a succesful doctoral thesis or a literary beststeller.

For a romantic treatment of the subject and for a dissertation, too the book by his second wife, Kató *Kajári* (in the East her well known name is ᶜAysa) could be a starting-point.[7] In the book, she deals mainly with the period she lived with Germanus (the 1940s, 50s, 60s and 70s).

An elaborate analysis, if only of the 123 selected items of Germanus's writings cannot be my aim here. Over the next few pages I shall try, however, to establish certain tendencies in Germanus's works, by analysing two or three of his writings, which I consider the most importants and to find

out the secrets and reasons behind the author's popularity and widely-read books.

Surveying his selected bibliography, it may be the reader's first observation how wide Germanus's interest was and how many fields of orientalism he dealt with during his long tenure, even if his thoroughness and deepness considerably varied by turns. The writings from his youth were almost exclusively connected with the *Turks* and Turkish civilization. Later, however, he gradually gave up this subject and laid increasing stress upon the *Arabs* and Arab civilization. In the latter writings on the history, language and literary history of the Arabs, translations of ancient and contemporary Arab poets appear in the same way as travel books and philosophically — motivated essays on Ibn Haldun and on the renewal of Arab intellectuality. In addition to these two main fields of interest, Germanus was the first to publish an intelligible study in Hungary about Gandhi and Gandhiism, which was based on his experiences in the field[8] and together with his first wife, he wrote a romantic travel book on India, called The Flame of Bengal.[9] After more than four decades, and as a result of at least ten editions, this became the number one reference book of whole generations on India.

In addition to the spatial width of his subjects, Germanus, in his writings, moved rather freely in the different ages and centuries.

It is true that he was most familiar with 20th century historical, religious and literary subjects (his travel books, which amount to a considerable part of the *oeuvre*, also belong to this period), but every now and then we find among Germanus's works those which deal with subjects from the near or remote past. Thus, he translated into Hungarian the famous Turkish traveller, Evliya Celebi's, account of the 17th century trade guilds in Turkey, wrote a study of the first Turkish-Hungarian military conflicts in the 15th century, another about Ibn Battuta the 14th century Arab globe-trotter, and a third about the 13th century great Persian mystic poet, Ibn Rūmī. The 11th century Muslim heretic, the blind poet Abū'l-ᶜAlā al-Maᶜarrī also occupied him.

In my opinion, two works stand out from the *oeuvre*. In the first place, the *Allah Akbar!* (the first Hungarian edition appeared in 1936, quickly followed by German and Italian translations, both in 1938); the other, his monumental antology of Arab poetry: *Arabs Poets from Pagan Times Up to the Present*.[10]

Having read the *Allah Akbar!*, Germanus's *chef-d'oeuvre*, one can get closer to the secret of the author's unparalleled popularity, especially among

the general public. Worthy of attention by its size alone, the more than 500-page book is a comprehensive encyclopaedia about the Arabs and Arab civilization and, what is more, at times it reads like a novel or a travelogue! Germanus speaks about his subject-matter, the Arabs, who were, at least in the Hungary of the thirties, a relatively unknown people, in such a way that the reader gets acquainted with their faith, Islam, and its fundamental laws, their holy book, the Koran, the minute description of the ritual of Meccan pilgrimages etc, and, in the meantime, the author himself is always there, not only as a narrator, but as an active participant in the events. It is my opinion that, in addition to the choice of the subject, this rendering — together with the authenticity of his personal experience -- explain the succes of *Allah Akbar!* inside and outside Hungary alike.

In the case of the *Arab poets...* the selection, introduction and rough translation formed Germanus's contribution, while the final translation of the poems was made by a group of literary translators, among them the well-known Hungarian poet, Zoltán *Jékely*. The volume spans a period of more than 1400 years and includes the poems of more than one hundred Arab poets, starting from the Beduin poets of the *ǧāhiliyya* up to our contemporaries in the 20th century, like the Syrian Nazzār Qabbānī, the Iraqi ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī and the Egyptian Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Ḥiǧāzī etc. The anthology is noteworthy even on an international scale, and in the Hungarian-speaking area only one other achievement can be compared with Germanus's: the excellent Transylvanian translator, Zoltán *Franyó's* anthologhy.[11] Franyó translated into Hungarian, and published in his monumental three-volume collection, the poems of 37 Arab poets, mainly from classical period.

As is usual under such circumstances, the Hungarian translation of the poems in Germanus's anthology is not of even artistic level. But even the relatively weaker translations are able to give the feeling of the poetical world of such remote epochs and lands, which would have been hardly known to the Hungarian readers without the arduous work of Julius Germanus.

I mention only as a fact Germanus's book on the history of Arab literature,[12] which was edited three times. I consider it inevitable, however, to speak about the beneficial and effectual efforts Germanus exerted to make Hungarian literature better known in the Arab world. As early as 1940, he wrote and published an essay in Arabic about the poetry of our great national

poet, Alexander *Petőfi.* [13] In the 60s and 70s Germanus concentrated his efforts very seriously on the Arabic translation and the publishing of one of Hungarian literature's works of world importance, the dramatic poem of Imre *Madách.* The Tragedy of Man. His efforts were crowned with success and Madách's work was translated with great inspiration by the late ᶜIsā al-Nāᶜūrī and was published under the Arabic title Ma'sat al-insān (Beirut, 1972). Hungarian literary work of greater importance has not been published in the Arab world ever since.

Germanus was one of the best-known scholars in Hungary in his lifetime. As for the Arab and Islamic peoples, he was practically the only Hungarian scientist whom they bore in mind – and still bear to this day. As far as his popularity here in Hungary is concerned, I attribute it, above all, to the fact that he deliberately cultivated a relationship with the mass media: first with the press and radio, later with television and even film. The majority of his writings are that kind of romantic description of the Orient which can count on the widest possible audience. His Indian travelogue, *The Flame of Bengal* has so far run into its tenth edition, the *Allah Akbar!* was published six times, not to mention its publications abroad, and *In the Pale Light of the Crescent* and *Towards the Light of the East,* two of his romantic autobiographies were published five and three times, respectively. All this means that the total number of copies of his books amounts to well over a million, a number no other orientalist and not that many belletrists in Hungary can boast.

For me, however, the most interesting task was to unravel the secret of Germanus's popularity abroad, from Rabat to Calcutta. Having personally visited some of the great intellectual centers of the Arab and Islamic world (Cairo, Damascus, Algiers, Rabat, Amman, New Delhi etc) in the 60s, 70s and 80s, I have satisfied myself about how widely Germanus's name is known and respected there, not only among the *ulema,* but among writers and poets and even among natural scientists and engineers, too. For the majority of Arab and Islamic intellecutals, the name of Germanus meant – and still means – Hungary, too.

In solving what I called the "Germanus syndrome" I got valuable help from two of Hungarian orientalists' closest friends in the East, whom, thanks to my fate, I personally got to know: one of them was *Muhammad Šawqī Amīn,* the respected Arab linguist and member of the Arabic Language Academy of Egypt, who died just recently, while the other was the already mentioned ᶜIsā al-Nāᶜūrī, Secretary General of the Arabic Language

Academy of Jordan, the well-known Arab writer, literary historian and translator, who also died two or three years ago.

Both of them — and others besides and others besides them, unanimously asserted that they liked and respected Germanus above all because he proved to be a true friend to them for deacades and never let any of their gestures or letters go unanswered. It is a seemingly insignificant explation, but let us consider, for example, to what extent Germanus's professor, Ignác Goldziher, regarded it as almost a moral imperative to answer letters addressed to him.[14]

One can get an idea about the extensiveness of Professor Germanus's correspondence from the letters addressed to him. The several hundred letters, for the time being unprocessed and unpublished, which he left us, spanning over half a century and we find among their senders well-known writers, poets and thinkers from the Arab and Islamic world, and even, from the *al-mahǧar*, the Arab diaspora in North- and South-America.

The publication of the correspondence in the Germanus Collection by an Arab or Islamic scientific institution would be a worthy homage to the memory and noble services of the Hungarian orientalist.

The whereabouts of Germanus's own letters are naturally much less known. His literary letters, in which he reflected on new Arab novels, poetical *diwans* etc. were published quite regularly by the *al-Adīb* monthly in Beirut. In addition to that, his articles and essays appeared very often in the Arab language periodicals *Rābitat al-ᶜĀlam al-Islāmī* (Mecca), *Maǧallat Qāfilat al-Zayt* (Zahran) and *al-Asala* (Algiers), as well as in the English language *Islamic Culture, Muslim Digest* and *Islamic Review.* The already mentioned ᶜIsa al-Nauri presents a basis for the contents and style of Germanus's personal letters, since he published all the 52 letters which the Hungarian orientalist sent to him between 1960 and 1979.[15]

A further component of the "Germanus Syndrome", firstly among the learned of the *al-Azhar Mosque* in Cairo and, in general, among Muslim intellectuals is the fact that — after mastering the Arabic language and acquiring a knowledge of Muslim culture — he himself embraced the faith of Islam and performed, more than once, the *haǧǧ,* the pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, a duty of every true believer.

Secular scholars, like the already mentioned Muḥammad Šawqī Amīn, and others too, who knew Germanus closely, spoke to me almost enthusiastically about his sociability, his exceptional quality to establish human relationships and about his amazing command of languages. M. Š. Amīn, in our talks in Cairo in 1975 or 1976, relived with me his walks in the *sūqs* of the

Cairo of the 30s with Germanus. The Hungarian orientalist was respected there as a real genius of languages; in addition to his mastering the major European languages of that time (English, German, French, Italian) and Arabic, he could also chat with the Turkish, Circassian, Kurd, and Persian merchants in their mother tongues.

As a secondary school student I first attended a public lecture of Julius Germanus in 1955 or 1956 at the then existing building of the National Casino, in the central part of Budapest. It happened in those years that I listened to his radio programmes, too. As university professor, Germanus taught me between 1958–1963, at the very end of his long university career, when he was almost 80.

During my university years Germanus no longer held regular classes on Arabic grammar, Arab history and Arab literary history and did not hold seminars either. These basic subjects were taught by his assistant, Dr Károly *Czeglédy,* who from 1964 took over the chair from Germanus. Germanus held two types of classes only: Arabic textual commentary and the history of Muslim civilization.

In the Arabic textual commentary lessons we used the 6-volume chrestomathy of the Lebanese Jesuit, Father Louis Cheikho, *Maǧānī al-adab fī ḥarā'iq al-ᶜarab,* the approximate English translation of which is: The Literary Yields of the Arabs' Camp-Fires (Beirut, 1954–1957.) It is interesting to note that Father Cheikho very much appreciated Ignác Goldziher, Germanus's professor and predecessor.[16] Recalling these classes after a lapse of a quarter of a century I remember to what extent we students admired Germanus's enormous lexical knowledge and how much we enjoyed his plastic glossology which was very often based on his vivid common sense. Germanus, as a teacher, was more or less on a large scale, however, and mainly left it to his students to get on with their texts from the first centuries of the *hiǧra.* Thanks, to Allah and Father Cheikho, the Arab texts which we read with Germanus were with *ḥaraka,* i. e. they were vowelized. In order ro enliven the monotony of the Arab textual commentary lessons, Germanus very often inserted a story or an anecdote:

The *Maǧānī* was read only by students specializing in Arabic studies. The audience in his lessons on the history of Muslim civilization, however, was more heterogeneous. In addition to would-be Arabists and Turkologists and students of other branches of oriental studies historians, art historians and even students of other faculties, aminly those of the Faculty of Law, regu-

larly participated in these lessons. Our number quite often reached 30 or 40 people.

It is difficult now to recall to mind the exact topics of Germanus's lessons on Muslim civilization history. Nevertheless, I can say that an exceptionally long career and rich experiences formed the solid basis of Germanus's lessons. A well-defined part was devoted to explain the $šarī^{c}a$, Muslim law, but besides that the great periods of the history of the Arabs, the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates were dealt with in the same way as contemporary Arab literature and poetry. Germanus usually read these lessons from his long, hand-written notes.

In my university years I did not belong to Germanus's inner circle. Actually, at his advanced age, he hardly had any such circle. Later, however, our relationship became closer and more intimate. This was after my 9-month long trip to Egypt in 1964 and 1965 and it started as an official link. As a member of the then-existing Institute of Cultural Relations, in charge of Egyptian affairs, I regularly consulted Germanus, most often in such a way that I visited him at their flat in the evening hours.

These evening talks lasted one or one-and-a-half hours each time, during which I could see how strong and vivid a memory he had. Sitting behind his huge writing-desk, which he got from General Artur *Görgey* (1818–1916), one of the most tragic personalities of Hungarian history, who as the military leader of the Hungarian army, capitulated before the army of the Russian tsar in 1849, Germanus spoke uninterrupted for a long time about his favourite subjects: history, mainly 20th century history and history makers, above all those whom he met and knew personally. From the names, places and dates he mentioned one could rightly feel that he was always in the midst of the events. It was one of his special faculties accurately to follow the fate of his characters – and their children and grandchildren! – from birth to death, like a chain-reaction.

It is absolutely impossible for me now to give an inventory of all the Hungarian, European, Arab, Indian, and other personalities whom Germanus met in his life and whom he most often remembered during our evening sessions.

Some of them, however, occured more often than others. With them, Germanus cherished real friendship and great memories till his last day. Those who belonged to this inner core were numerous. Let me mention a few of them only.

No doubt of his Hungarian contemporaries, Pál *Teleki* (1879–1941), the excellent geographer and the ill-fated politician made a deep impression on Germanus. From among his Egyptian friends, he most often mentioned *Maḥmūd Taymūr* (1894–1973), the noted writer and one of the pioneers of the short story in Arabic literature. In North-Africa he respected very much the Moroccan thinker, *Muḥammad ᶜAllal al-Fāsī* (born in 1906). His close Jordanian friend, *ᶜIsā al-Nāᶜūrī* has been already mentioned more than once before. From the many Saudis whom he met in his life, Germanus recalled most often the memory of the legendary King, *ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Ibn Saᶜūd* (1880 1953), the founder of the present-day Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. His Indian friends were numerous, too. Among them, Germanus appreciated very much his friendship with the Nobel Prize winner poet and thinker, *Rabindranath Tagore* (1861–1941), and with the eminent Muslim scholar and onetime President of the Republic of India, *Zakir Husayn,* (1897–1968).

Germanus was more closely connected with the culture of the Orient, and with Arab and Indian intellectuals with more threads than any of his Hungarian contemporaries. The spiritual leaders of the East respected him, and through him, they respected his country, too. In this respect his departure from among us is simply irreplaceable.

I was Germanus's interlocutor till 1974 when I was sent to Egypt as cultural attaché. From there, however, I remained in touch with him, mainly through correspondence. I regularly informed him about the events of intellectual life in Egypt, and about his Egyptian linguist friends, like the above mentioned Muḥammad Šawqī Amīn, or *Ibrāhīm Madkūr,* the President of the Arab Language Academy of Egypt and *Magdī Wahba,* the eminent scholar, who in spite of his younger age, was one of the most reliable friends of Germanus. I also notified Germanus of the new books and writings of the giants of Egyptian literature, *Nagīb Maḥfūz* and *Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm,* whom he respected very much and the translation of whose works into Hungarian he encouraged using all possible means.

In the second half of the 1970s, our personal meetings were limited to my visits to him during my summer holidays. This was the case in August, 1979 too. On that occasion, he and his wife, ᶜAyša, received me and my wife (she had been his student, too) in his hospital room where he was just under-going a routine medical check-up. Our visit was just a few months prior to his

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95th birthday. As for his mental capabilities, I found his as fresh and vivid as he had been a quarter of a century ago, when I first met him in my life. Just to show me that he was physically fit too, when he saw us off, he ran all along the long corridor of the hospital, to the great astonishment of his doctors, nurses and visitors. I would not have thought that it was our last personal time together . . .

* * *

As I have already mentioned, Germanus did not belong to those Hungarian orientalists who established their own philological schools. From among his predecessors and professors, not Ignác Goldziher, but Ármin Vámbéry was his real spiritual mentor. In this respect, he differed considerably from his renowned colleagues at Budapest University, the Turkologist Gyula *Németh,* and Lajos *Fekete* and the eminent Central Asian expert, Lajos *Ligeti.* Those of Germanus's students, who later excelled themselves in the Arabic language and philology, in Koran Studies, in the history of Islamic Art or in the study of the oriental sources of Hungarian prehistory, may owe their achievements to the influence of other professors or scientific schools, or to their own efforts.

Nevetheless, Germanus, who exceeded almost all of his contemporaries in primary experiences, in his attachement to the Orient and in his ability to endear it to others and, last but not least, because of his good-humoured, optimistic view of life, did not leave anybody indifferent who ever got into touch with him.

In this sense, however, we may well say that Julius Germanus was a school creator scientist and personality. To his school belong all orientalists, historians, archeologists, linguists, jurists, men of letters and others, inside and outside Hungary, who in one phase of their lives or other were inspired by, or got impulses from, Germanus to immerse themselves in studying the Orient and to try to understand its message . . .

NOTES

1. Ignaz Goldziher: *Tagebuch*, Hrsg. v. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden, 1978.
2. Goldziher Ignác: *Napló*, Budapest, 1984.
3. In connection with this European scientific school, hallmarked by the de Sacy — Fleischer — Goldziher line, cf. Róbert Simon: "Goldziher Ignác", *Magyar Filológiai Szemle* ("Hungarian Philosophical Review"), 3 (1982), pp. 336–379. especially p. 348.
4. Philip K. Hitti: *History of the Arabs*[8], London, 1963, pp. 118–119.
5. Julius Germanus: *Gondolatok Gül Baba sírjánál* ("Reflections at the Tomb of Gül Baba"), selected, edited and after-word by József Antall, Budapest, 1984, pp. 360–366.
6. *ibid.*, pp. 303–324.
7. Kajári Kató: *Kelet vándora* ("Wanderer of the East"), Budapest, 1985.
8. Julius Germanus: *India fényessége* ("The Light of India"), Budapest, 1934.
9. G. Hajnóczy Róza: *Bengáli tűz,* ("The Flame of Bengal"), Budapest, 1944.
10. Julius Germanus: *Arab költők a pogánykortól napjainkig* ("Arab Poets from Pagan Times up to the Present"), Budapest, 1961.
11. Zoltán Franyó: *Évezredek húrjain* ("On the Strings of the Millennia"), Marosvásárhely, 1958.
12. Julius Germanus: *Az arab irodalom története*, Budapest, 1962.
13. *al-Muqtataf*, 96, pp. 369-377.
14. Róbert Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 341.
15. *Rasā'il al-mustašriq al-maġarī al-raḥīl al-ḥāǧǧ* [c]*Abd al-Karīm Germanus*, India, 1982.
16. Cf. Goldziher Ignác: Napló, p. 308.

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NOTES ON SOME FOLK MEDICINE PRACTICES IN LIBYA

ZSUZSA JURÁNYI

Folk mecicine is widely practiced by beduins in Arabic countries beside scientific medicine. I have experienced in Libya mostly the practice of cauterization and cupping performed by the Beduins during my stay there between 1976 and 1980.

It is to be noted that also in the Pre-Islamic period both cauterization and cupping were the most frequent surgical operations performed.[1] However, the Prophet Muhammad was definitely against the ever-spreading practice of cauterization, while several times mentiones cupping as an effective treatment. He said. "Treatment consists of three things: cupping. the drinking of honey and cauterization, but 1 forbid cauterization in my community"[2] He suggests the use of cauterization only in case of amputation of an organ.[3] He said that those will enter the Paradise without forethought who "do not enslave, are not cauterized, do not see any evil omen and trust in God"[4]

Suyuti in his work entitled *Al-raḥma fīl-ṭibb*, which is frequently resorted to by city dwellers even today in case of sickness, only twice mentions cauterization as a beneficial treatment. He suggests it for treating dog bites. "The area around the bite should be cauterized, and then treated with a mixture of garlic, salt and honey."[5] In case of snake bite, he suggests that after cauterization a "mixture of garlic and salt be put onto the wound, to neutralize the snake poison."[6] Suyūṭī prefers the use of garlic, onion, olive-oil, honey and salt as medicine.

Cauterization is widely used by Libyan Beduins. It can only be carried out by a competent person, using the branch of a wild tree called *ʿakkūz mūsa* or with a nail that was first made white hot on an open fire and then placed on the skin surface to be treated to create a circular burned wound. This would be followed by placing a tree leaf onto the wound for the sake of slowing down healing to allow as much purulence *māidda fāsida* to escape as possible. In case of diarrhoea in infants cauterization is applied around the navel in a circle, whereas in case of bronchitis it is applied either on the chest or on

the back in a longitudinal direction. In case of a bad headache in adults cauterization is applied to the forehead. From this, a stronger pain will develop that will override the original pain for a couple of days. After treatment, the practice is to instruct the patient to carry out especially difficult tasks. For example the burnt area can not be exposed to water for forty days, or "the patient has to remain in a darkened room for the space of fifty days, during which he must not approach his wife. Otherwise the benefit expected from the "treatment" ceases."[7]

Before the application of cupping in Libya, longitudinal parallel cuts are first made with a razor on the skin surface. These will remain as scars on the forehead. Cupping was mainly used in the treatment of headaches resulting from a cold. Ash or sand was put into a clean cupping dish, and glowing embers placed on top of it. Wet material was twisted into the opening of the dish and placed on the right of the forehead. This was repeated three, five or seven times and the glowing embers were replaced so that they did not go out. Next day the same procedure was repeated on the left forehead.

A popular treatment in Libya is the so-called _harz_. This is also based on the principle that once purulence escapes from the body, then the patient will be cured. It is employed in cases of pneumonia, bronchitis, and asthma. A green coloured thread is stitched into the skin and the two ends hanging out are knotted. This will remain in the skin until it rots and comes out on its own.

Both cauterization and cupping are widely practiced by the Beduins of North African Arabic countries, in addition to being used by Beduins of Arabia today. This can be explained by the fact that North African Arabs are closest to ancient Arabic Beduin traditions. This idea is supported by Ignác Goldziher's lecture on "The place of Spanish Arabs in the development of Islamic history compared with Arabs living in the East", where he writes: "The difference in clothing, writing and language, both spoken and literary, even today separates Eastern Arabs from Western ones. Numerous social habits which could also be mentioned in connection with these special features, can serve as proof that in the population of Western Arabia there exists a certain conservative attitude, a simplicity, a loyalty to nomadism against the features of the Eastern Arabs."[8]

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NOTES

1. Kamāl al·Sāmarrā'ī, *Muḫtaṣar tā'rīḫ al-ṭibb al-ʿarabī* , Bagdad, 1984 . p. 233.
2. ᶜAbd al-Ḫāliq, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* , Bagdad, 1983 , p. 38.
3. ibid., p. 50.
4. ibid., p. 50.
5. al· Suyūṭī, *al-Raḥma fī' l-ṭibb wa'l-ḥikma,* Cairo, p.234.
6. ibid., p. 237.
7. J. Walker. Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt. London,1934, p. 60.
8. I. Goldziher, Az iszlám kultúrája Budapest, 1981, p. 92. I.
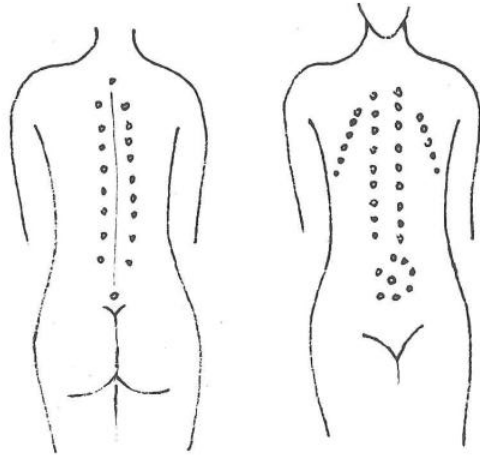
Traces of cauterization

Pot used for cupping (55 x 50mm)

GOLDZIHER'S "BAHÁ'Í CORRESPONDENCE"

GYÖRGY LÉDERER

The thesis of the eminent American Bahá'í missionary, Martha Root,[1] is difficult to prove, though cannot be excluded. According to it, Ignaz Goldziher was waiting at 2 p. m. on Wednesday, 9th April 1913, at the Budapest Western Railway Station for ᶜAbdul'l-Bahá ᶜAbbás Effendi, honored by the Bahá'ís as the "True Exemplar", the "Most Mighty Branch"[2], the "Center of the Covenant",or simply as the "Master". Even if Goldziher was there, it is doubtful whether they met on the same day, since the train arrived at the Eastern Station.[3] Two days later, the great orientalist noted the following in his Tagebuch."ᶜAbdelbehā ist hier. Der Prophet stattete mir in Begleitung seines sekretärs einen Besuch in meiner Wohnung ab und wir unterhielten uns über behaistische Dinge. Er kommt aus Stuttgart, wo er die dort bestehende deutsche Behā-Gemeinde (etwa 110 Personen), von denen ihn der eine, W. Herrigel, bisher begleitete, zu besuchen. Ich konnte dem Propheten in meiner Stube die Überraschung bereiten, ihm einen Band Rasā'il seines göttlichen Vaters zu zeigen, das er nicht kannte. Ich war auch bei seinen hiesigen Vorträgen anwesend."[6]

Not counting His intimate meditations in the company of the local theosophists, the Master gave two lectures in Budapest: one on the 14th in the National Museum at the invitation of the Turanian Society, and another in the building of the Old Parliament in the evening of the 11th, as the guest of the Peace Society, the Association of Esperantists and the Ladies'Club. The latter lecture ended as follows: " . . . when Dr. Giesswein[7] was standing at the left of ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá, the celebrated venerable Orientalist, Professor Goldziher ascended the pulpit and stood at his right hand side. When they both stood hand in hand with ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá before the audience, they were tremendously applauded. It was a touching moment to see these three representatives of the great religions standing side by side, the high Catholic priest, the famous Jewish professor and ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá (on the platform)."[8]

Presumably, Goldziher's respect for the Master was partly due to the noble thoughts the latter preached in the Hungarian capital and which resounded widely. The "True Exemplar" Himself must have esteemed the

excellent scholar highly, partly because of what he had written about the Bábí-Bahá'í Faith.[9]

This is what Goldziher noted in his Diary on April 17th:

"Heute vormittag hat mir ᶜAbdelbehā seinen Abschiedsbesuch gemacht, wobei er in überschwenglichen Worten der Freude über seine Begegnung mit mir Ausdruck gab. لا انـاكم أبدا sagt er. Er lud mich dringend ein, sein Gast in Palaestina zu sein."

Next day, the "Center of the Covenant" left for Vienna, and Goldziher moved to his summer residence in Zugliget a few weeks later.

Tagebuch:

„15. Juli.

Ich erhalte von ᶜAbdelbehā ein sehr schmeichelhaftes arabisches Schreiben aus Port Said, in dem er seine Sehnsucht nach mir ausdrückt. Er sendet mir zugleich einen persichen Teppich als Erinnerung an unseren Verkehr. *13. August.*

Arabisches Antwortschreiben an ᶜAbbas Efendi."[10]

The two letters were dated July 2nd and August 17th. Enclosed in the first was an English version of disputable exactness, prepared by the Master's secretary, Mirzá Ahmad Suhráb.[11] It is not clear why this was necessary. We know that Suhráb served as ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá's English interpreter in the United States and in Europe, but it was not because of translation errors that he was excommunicated from the Movement (seventeen years later) by ᶜAbbás Effendi's grandson and also infallible successor, Shoghi Rabbání.

Translation of Goldhziher's answer:[12] My Honorable Lord, the Most Mighty Branch, ᶜAbbás Effendi ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá from His lowly and poor slave, Professor Ignaz Goldziher, the Hungarian. A thousand greetings and a thousand peaces upon our Lord, the Most Mighty Branch ᶜAbbás Effendi ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá, may His power and radiance persist.

Since the raven of separation cawed and Thou decided to depart from our country, proximity has been followed by remoteness, and withdrawal has replaced the fragrance of our togetherness. I have not ceased to remember the meeting with Thy Excellency which God in His charity had destined for me. I do not forget, I have not forgotten, the discussions and conversations that took place between us, nor how much I have borrowed from Thy radiance, drawn from Thy greatness, nor what was granted me as benefit from the manifest essences of Thy expressions concealed in the course of your

brilliant words. The desire to shake your blessed hands has long prevailed in my heart. While I plunged into the dephts of this desire, Thy noble letter reached me, taking the place of the remembrance. I thank Thy Excellency for the sign of Thy affection, the testimony of Thy love borne by the letters of Thy precious epistle; while reading it, As-Sáhib Ismá^{c}íl ibn ^{c}Abbád's words to a friend of his came to my mind:

"By God, tell me if this is a paper one writes on, or by God, if you have dressed it in the mantle of your speech flowing of honey, or have poured honey onto your speech".

And (I) especially (thank) for the splendid present with which Thou hast honoured my lowly house. By God, this carpet continues to reflect Thy love, as it talks of Thy sentiments in the tongue of reality, of the conjunction of hearts after the separation of bodies, it is a sensual mediator informing about a spiritual state, a testimony of the present about the absent. I am repeatedly and permanently grateful to Thee. The reason for the delay of this letter of mine is no other than my absence from my domicile for a couple of days. I ask God — Praised and Exalted be He — to renew for me the days of salvation by meeting Thee, by the connection of unity between friends.

Peace and God's mercy and His blessings

Budapest, 14 Ramadán of the months of 1331

Thy poor slave

Dr. I. Goldziher

I found no other "Bahá'í letters" among the correspondence of Goldziher, except a not very exciting one in Arabic, dated August 19th, 1913, the signature being hard to dechiper. The author of this letter — who is probably identical with that of another one written in French, dated the 18th July 1913 and also presented here, is the Master's agent and son-in-law, Ahmad Yazdí of Port Said (1866—1943).This letter thanked Goldziher for the card he sent and informed him that ^{c}Abdu'l-Bahá was staying in Alexandria at the moment. It seems the relationship had, in a formal sense, broken off. In a report fifty years later, Renée Szántó-Felbermann, the secretary of the only Bahá'í "Local Spiritual Assembly" that ever existed in Hungary, asserted that Ignaz Goldziher's son Karl had received a carpet as a wedding gift from the Master[13], but unfortunately, what she wrote was not always the exact truth.[14] It is very likely that she was talking about the previously mentioned rug.

NOTES

1. *Martha Root, Herald of the Kingdom,* compiled by K. Zinky, New Delhi, Bahá'í Publication Trust, 1983, p. 361.

2. The term originates from the Founder of the Faith, Bahá'u'lláh Himself, and means that ^CAbbás Effendi is His eldest son and His successor at the head of the Movement.

3. A detailed review of ^CAbdu'l-Bahá's busy programme in Budapest and of the history of the Bahá'í activities in Hungary in general is soon to be published.

4. Wilhelm Herrigel was one of the first Bahá'ís in Stuttgart. He circulated and translated into German the Bahá'í literature. The "Guardian of the Cause of God", Shoghi Rabbáni called him "our indefatigable and self-sacrificing brother" in 1925, then a few years later He excommunicated him along with others for having questioned His authority. — I found Herrigel's card among Goldziher's papers, on the back of it is written that ^CAbdu'l-Bahá has caught a cold and cannot therefore visit Goldziher. Although there is no date on it, judging by the history of the Masters's sojourn, this must have happened on 15th or 16th April.

5. Twenty years later, Martha Root related it as follows: "^CAbdu'l-Bahá visited Professor Ignatius Goldziher in his home, and he was pleasantly surprised when he saw in his library His Father Bahá'u'lláh's book, the *'Kitábu'l-Aqdas'* in Persian." (J. E. Esslemont, *Bahá'u'lláh és az új korszak,* Budapest, Gergely, 1933. XXI.) — Two observations: 1. It is improbable that the Master was not familiar with the Persian version of the *Aqdas,* most certainly something else was shown to him. 2. When the Bahá'ís recently published Martha Root's selected writings, this part concerning Goldziher and the *Aqdas* had simply been left out of her report on the Master's visit to Budapest, we do not know why. — *Martha Root* pp. 367–368.

6. I. Goldziher, *Tagebuch,* Leiden, Brill, 1978. 11 April 1913; — H. M. Balyuzi - ^C*Abdu'l-Bahá,* Oxford, George Ronald, 1971, pp. 385–386 puts the date of the meeting at the afternoon of the 11th. The source is not given, it cannot be the *Tagebuch.* It can hardly be Zarqáni or the *Sonne der Wahrheit* (see note 8.) We cannot exclude all doubt concerning

Balyuzi's statement that "ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá returned the visits of Professor Ignaz Goldziher . . . " There might not have been anything to return on the 11 th.

7. Alexander Giesswein (1856–1923): Canon, leading personality of the Hungarian Christian Socialist Movement, feminist, esperantist, president of the Peace Society and of the St. Steven Academy.

8. A. Schwarz-Solivo, "ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá in Budapest", *Sonne der Wahrheit,* Organ des deutschen Bahá'í-Bundes (Stuttgart), 1–5 (March–July), 1924, p. 26+27, M. M. Zarqání, *Kitáb-i-Badáyi'u'l-Áthár,* vol. 2., Bombay, 1921, reprint Hofheim-Langenhain, Bahá'í-Verlag, 1982, p. 233.
Martha Root op. cit., p. 365.

9. *Vorlesungen über den Islam,* Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1963, 271–282; "Verhältnis des Bab zu früheren Sufi-Lehrern", *Der Islam,* vol. XI., 1921, 252 254; "Die Religion des Islams", in: *Die Religionen des Orients,* Leipzig-Berlin, Teubner,1913, pp. 138–141;Note also in the *Tagebuch* Goldziher's friendship with E. G. Browne, so respected by the Bahá'ís: K. Beveridge, *Professor Edward Granville Browne, Bahá'í-Briefe,* 51, April 1986, pp. 169–182.

10. The English translation of the three passages runs as follows:
" – This morning ᶜAbdelbehá paid me his farewell visit. He exposed his joy at our meeting with exaggerated words. ابدا كماسنا y – he said. He urged me to come and be his guest in Palestine."

" – I received a very friendly Arabic letter feom ᶜAbdelbeha from Port Said in which he craves my company. At the same time, he sent me a Persian carpet as a souvenir of our relationship."

" – Arabic reply to Abbas Effendi."

11. M. A. Suhráb (1891–1958): Born of a Bahá'í family in Isfahán, he was educated in Teheran and Egypt, was a missionary in America, and later ᶜAbdu'l-Bahá's immediate colleague. He.spread the Faith in California at the beginning of the 1920's and was excommunicated by Shoghi Rabbání in 1930 "for having broken the Covenant". From then on, he was on bad terms with the Movement and later involved in a lawsuit with it in the U. S. A. for the use of the "Bahá'í" trade-mark.

12. The copy of the Arabic original is from the *Research Department of the Bahá'í World Centre: BWC RD.* All the other documents presented here are from the *Oriental Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,* except the "Bahá'í group photo" which was taken in front of the Hotel Ritz of Budapest on the 9th April 1913, and appeared in *Pesti Tükör,* 11. 4. 1913, p. 6. and *Tolnai Világlapja,* 20. 4. 1913, p. 8.
13. R. Szántó-Felbermann, *The Bahá'í Faith in Hungary* (manuscript: *BWC RD*), p. 3.
14. This is especially true for her *Rebirth,* London, Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1980, which is unfortunately considered the only source, the only printed volume about the Bahá'í activities in Hungary.

أيها الفاضل الجليل أجوب الاحترام   من يوم توجست تمز انقبت

وتسعّر نار الاحتراق بين الاضلوع والأحشاً   انا اسير الأشواق

للعقاء مرّة أخرى   ان آنس لك   وحلاوة المسامرة

ولا زالت في ذوقي وحركة لشوقي الى لقاك وبشاهد محيّاك

وأنسوة من حيّاك   واني لواسطة هذا الخطاب الشتّي

لذلك المجانب   وأنتظر الجواب شبرا برفاه الحال الممتع

باعظم الآمال   وانا بهذا الاشاً   وصلت الى بورسعيد البعيد

البعيد   وساكث فيها كي استريح من التعب اقوم

سعادة ايرانية تذكارا للماضي وارجوك قبولها

وعليك التحية والثناً

يووابت   ،پروفسر بوسيو محمدزر   عبد التحية والثناً

The Master's "Tablet" to Goldziher (1)

فصبرجميل من اللـه
واللـه المستعـان

أيها الفـاضل الجليل الـواجب الاحتـرام   من يوم بؤس هم الفـراق
وتسعّـر نـار الاحتـراق بين الضلوعوالاحشـاء   أنـا اسيــر الاشـواق
للمشاهـدة مرة أخـري ان آنس لك وحلاوة المسـامرة معـــــــك
ولا زالـت في ذوقي ومحركـــــة لشوقي الى لقـاك ومشاهـدة محيـاك
والنشـوة من جميـاك وانّي بواسطة هذا الخـطـاب ابث ممنونيتـي
لـذلك الجنـاب وانتظر الجـواب مبشرا برفـاه الحال والتمتــــع
بـاعظـم الامـال وانـا بهـذا الاثنـاء وصلت الى بورتسعيد بعدالغيـاب
البعيـد وسأمكث فيهـا لكي استريح من التعب واقدم
سجـادة ايرانية تذكارا لمـا مضي وارجـو قبولـها
وعليك التحيـة والثنـاء

بودابست بروفسر موسيـو گلدزئر عليه التحيه والثنـاء

and my understanding of it (2)

9

To Pofessor Goldziher
Upon him be greeting and praise!
He is God!

O thou learned scholar worthy of
every respect!

From the day that the fever of
separation attained to a high degree
and the fire of remoteness blazed forth,
between veins and arteries
I have experienced the greatest longing
to meet thee another time — so that
I may associate with thee. Verily
the sweetness of thy conversation
is always in my taste and exites
my yearning to behold thy face,
to look in thy countenance and
to be intoxicated with thy wine.
Therefoe through this letter I
express my gratefulness to you
and ever expect to receive your
letters conveying the good news
of your happiness and attainment

to your most great desire. After
a long absence, during these days
I have reached Port Said. I shall
live here for awhile till I am
rested from the fatigue of the
journey.

I forward to you a Persian
rug as a keepsake of our past
friendship and I beg of you to
accept it.

Upon thee be greeting and praise,

(Sig) Abdul Baha Abbas
Trans by Mirza Ahmad Sohrab
July 2d 1913 Port Said. Egypt

Address:-
    Abdul Baha Abbas
    C/o Ahmad Yazdi
    Port Said
        Egypt

احمد یزدی

Ahmed Yazdi

Port-Said. le 18 Juillet 1913

پورت سعید فی

Professeur Goldziher
Budapest

Monsieur

Suivant ordre de Mon Seigneur Abdul Baha Abbas j'ai l'honneur de vous remettre sous ce pli connaissement de la Cie de Loyd Autrichien à 1 colis, contenant un Tapis de Perse, expedié aujourd'hui par le bateau "Austria" à Trieste à votre adresse, frais payés d'avance ici, jusqu'à Trieste, dont veuillez prendre livraison et m'accuser reception.

Dans l'attente à vous lire veuillez agreer Monsieur mes civilités empressées

Ahmad Yazdi's letter in French about the rug (4)

113

Abbul Bahá Abbász, a perzsa vallásos bábista-szekta apostola
(a padon ülő aggastyán), aki európai körutjában Budapestr
érkezett és itt pénteken előadást tartott. Az örök békét, a
emberszeretetet hirdeti körutjában. Több perzsa hive is vel
jött. Jelenleg hetvenhárom éves.

The "True Exemplar" and His escort in Budapest: Siyyid Asadu'lláh-i-Qúmí,
Siyyid Ahmad Khamsí Baqiroff (?), Mirzá Ahmad Suhráb and Mirzá Mahmúd
Zarqání (left to right) (5)

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جناب سيدى الغصن الاعظم

عبّاس افندى عبد البهاء

من عبده الحقير الفقير

الأستاذ اغناص غولدصيهر
المجرى

هو

الف تحية والف سلام الى سيدنا الغصن الاعظم
عباس افندي عبد البهاء دام عزّه ونوره
امّا بعد السلام فمنذ صاح غراب البين فعزمتم
الرحيل من بلدنا

واضحى التنائى بديلا من تدانينا
وناب عن طيب لقائنا تجافينا
ما زلت اتذكّر ملاقاة سعادتكم التى كان قدّرها
لى الله بلطفه وما أنسى لم أنسَ المحاورات
والمذاكرات التى وقعت بيننا وكثيرًا ما اقتبستُ
من نوركم واستغنيتُ من بحوركم وما منَّ
لى ان استفيده من الحقائق الظاهرة فى
الفاظكم والمضمرة فى غضون عباراتكم
الباهرة فطالما غلب على فؤادى الاشتياق
لمصافحة ايديكم المباركة فبينما انا مستقرٌ
فى لجّة الاشتياق اذ بلغنى رسالتكم الشريفة
قائمةً مقام المذاكرة فانتذكّر لسعادتكم على
علامة مودّتكم وشهادة محبّتكم المضمونة فى

ادرف مرقومكم الكريم الذى حين قراءتى بلّغ
فى ذهنى قول الصاحب اسمعيل بن عباد الى
بعض اخوانه

بالله قل لى اقرطاس يخبّ به . حوأم البسّته حللا
بالله لفظك هذا سال من عَسَل . ام قد صببت
على الفاظك العسلا .

ولا سيّما على الهدية الجليلة التى شرّفتم بها منزلى
الحقير والله ان تلك السجّادة لم تبرح معبّرة
عن محبتكم ناطقة بلسان الحال عن عواطفكم
واجتماع القلوب بعد افتراق الابدان وهى
كوسيطة هتيّة تنبئ عن احوال معنوية
شهادة الحاضر على الغائب فلكم تكرير التشكّر
متى مستمرّا . وانا استبطاء مكتوبى هذا
نسبه غيبتى عن مستقرّى بضع ايام لا غير
فادعو الله سبحانه وتعالى ان يجدّد لى ايام
التهنّى بلقائكم ويجمع الشمل بين الاحباب
والسلام ورحمة الله وبركاته

العبد الفقير
Dr. J. Goldziher

بودابست ١٤ رمضان
من شهور ١٣٣١ سنة

Goldziher's epistle to the "Most Mighty Branch" (6)

١٩١٥

Presumably Yazdi's card to Goldziher (7)

الى بودابست   جناب الفاضل الوجيه بروفسور جولدزيهر المحترم

ادام اللـه وجوده العالـــــــــي

بعد ابداء التحية والثناء   اشكركم علي كارتكم اللطيـف

الذي تخبرون عن وصول مكتوبي والامانة

اما ادرس سيدى ومولاى سماحتلو افندم عبدالبهاء عباس افندي الافخم

فيكون بواسطـتي انما سماحته مشـرف الان بـالرمل الاسكندريــــة

محطة مظلـــوم باشا

هذا واقبلـوا احتراماتي الفائقة ودمتـم

الداعـي

and my understanding of it (8)

BYZANTINE INTERFERENCE IN YEMEN:
A STUDY IN MOTIVES.

ABDEL–MONEIM MOUKHTAR

The south parts of the Arabian Peninsula have been and object of the western forces since Rome came to power, as this international passage played an important role in oriental trade. The policy of the western powers always was to hold these parts in firm hands. As force and military expeditions since Aelius Gallus had failed to fulfill that policy, a new form of conquest was begun by the missions with religion. An important mediator entered the struggle with this western power, that being the Ethiopian kingdom which stood beside the Byzantine Empire's interest in this locality. The religious bonds were important in fulfilling the Byzantine policy, and from the beginning of the fourth century the Empire began to spread through this territory using religious means.

After many attemps, Nero resumed a commercial policy. Its aim was to secure the control of two trade routes which brought to the Roman markets the products of India and China. These trade routes — the south-eastern sea route, which was exploited by the southern Arabs, and the north-eastern land route — were both in the hands of middlemen. The south-eastern route was under the control of the Axumite kingdom, so he dispatched an exploratory expedition to Ethiopia in the autumn of 61. AD. As the Sabaean-Himyarite state was weak and under the domination of the Axumite kingdom, Rome concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with it and on the basis of this treaty occupied Aden. Rome also secured indirect control of the Island of Socotra, which was leased by the king of Hadramūt and was doubtless leased to a syndicate of Roman traders from Egypt. The control of Socotra and the occupation of Aden led naturally to the opening of direct intercourse by sea between Egypt and India. The Ethiopian expedition was to complete this South Arabian Policy.[1]

That was the attitude of the western powers towards South Arabia. Through the following ages one could not arrive at a firm conclusion about the conditions of that relationship, but the Sabaean-Himyarite state began to regain its power. The state penetrated deeply into the states of South Arabia, and at the close of the fourth century, all the south was dominated by the Himyarite state.

Our Arabic narrations present to us unimaginable stories about the history of that state, but one cannot depend on these narrations. The first well known king of the dynasty was Šamr Yahrᶜaš who was, according to the Arabic narrations, the conqueror of the world. However, one can extract from these narrations and from the Himyarite texts that this king was responsible about the unification of the small southern state.[2]

In 340 A. D. the Yemenite state was conquered by the Ethiopians, and their occupation lasted 38 years. The stages of that occupation, are not known but the text of Axum presented the fact of the Ethiopian occupation of the whole Arabian south.[3] At this time the country was very weak, as they had lost control of the oriental trade. Of course the Roman policy, called the South-eastern trade policy, was responsible for the fate of that state, as the interior state of Yemen was very weak and the government could not keep up the Ma'rib dam which was destroyed. The state was also so weak that it could not secure its borders aginst the attacks of the northern tribes. It is not sure that the Empire was responsible for these attacks, but Rome had no objection and was not opposing this policy as one found that Imru' l-Qays b. ᶜAmr, who was attached to the Roman service, arrived at the walls of Nağrān, city of Šammar in 328 A. D. One can guess that the Ethiopian occupation was a result of Roman instigation because the Yemenite state was beginning to revive its power and that action was dangerous to Roman interests.[4]

Economic forces and the nomadic ravens waging on the state were the main motives which encouraged the Ethiopians to attack Yemen. This occupation did not last, however, as they were obliged to forfeit their control of Yemen because of the revolts of the people of Middle Nile e. g. Pagga Kassū and some other African people.[5] Thus king Abū Karb Yaha'man was able to expel them from his country.[6] Up to that time, Yemen had not formed a part of any Roman policy, but the Yemenite territories were mapped by the Missions during the reign of Aezianas, the Ethiopian king, who had good relations with the Emperor Constantine the Great. To the

Emperor Theodosianus, the circular of 356 A. D. was attributed in which Himyarite and Axumite were mentioned as localities for traders.[7] One could not say that this occupation was led by the forces of Christianity, as the Ethiophian were not at that time Christians. The forces of this occupation were economic.

Monotheistic elements began to take official form in the state as a result of foreign missionaries. Abū Karb Yaha'man dedicated a temple to the god of the Sky in 378 A.D. and forsook the gods of his fathers.[8] Abū Karb As^cad, the new king united the rest of the states, and thus he had authority over Saba', Dū Riydān, Hadramūt, Yemen, the Arabs of the highlands, and Tuhāma.[9] He also placed the trade routes over the continent under his control and fortified these routes. In the reign of his successor, Šurahbīl Ya^cfur, the monotheistic current increased.[10] As a result of the economical refreshment, he was able to reconstruct the Dam.

Religious policy was responsible for the events which took place during the reign of his successor King ^cAbd Kalāl who was appointed king as a result of a revolution against the previously governing dynasty. This revolution was encouraged by the Ethiopians because the new king was Christian.[11] This fact strengthened Christianity in the country although he did not reign for more than five years (455–460 A. D.). He was followed by some kings whose reigns were a field of prevalent revolts.[12] Up to that time, the religious policy of the Byzantine Empire did not threaten the country's independence. But the coming years were to be the most dangerous, as the Empire was occupied with the Persian and Barbarian wars, and with internal problems. Now came the time which the Empire had postponed.

The reign of Dū Nuwās was the point of alteration in the relationship between the East and the West. Because of the Christian interference in the affairs of Yemen, the kings began a new policy towards the religious groups which were embracing a faith contrary of the local creeds and which were spiritually tied to foreign authorities especially because they were paying money to Ethiopia. Thus they were treated severely and were under the states' religious persecution.[13] The reign of Dū Nuwās was the terminal stage of the struggle between the East and Byzantum, and was followed by events which placed the country under the foreign yoke. The attitude of Dū Nuwās towards the Christians was not to submit to any religious element as the king was not Jewish but and idolater.[14] Such cases of persecution made the Chris-

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tians ask for the help of their companions in faith. Some of the Christians escaped to the king of Ethiopia and to the Byzantines. Arabic reference books give names of these people, among them Dws Ḏū Ṭaᶜlbān and Gabbār b. Fayyād.[15] According to these writtings, an invasion was prepared and the country was surrendered to the Ethiopians.

One has to discuss the elements of that conquest to know whether it was dictated by the aim of helping the Christians or of fulfilling Byzantine policy in that territory. The Arab historians give us a long tale of this invasion, but Yemenite documents present for us a contradicting text which is called the text of Ḥiṣn al-Ġurāb (Rep. Epog. 2633). This text informs us that the Ethiophians conquered the land of Ḥimyar and killed its king. But the name of the king is not mentioned. The text relates to the year 640 of the Ḥimyarit calendar, which agrees with the year 525 A. D.[16]

Winckler explained this text in an unimaginable way. That Ḏū Nuwās began that war and he attacked Ethiopia. He was accompanied by al-Samīfaᶜ and his sons, but he did not succed in the invasion. So the Ethiopians invaded Yemen and put their hands upon it.[17] Al-Samīfaᶜ Aṧūᶜ and his sons retired and went to the fort of Māwya to take shelter. They stayed there until the Ethiopians controlled the entire country and as they had been obliged to attend this war without personal motives, the Ethiopians agreed with al-SamīfaᶜAṧūᶜ and he was appointed king of Yemen.[18]

If this tale is true, it presents a clear fact which contradicts all our reference books and the theory that this occupation was dictated by Byzantine policy. To reach the real motives of this aggression one has to decide if the motives of this aggression were forwarded against the persecution of the Christians by the Jews. If the above mentioned theory is true, it is a very weak addition, as our references dictate contradictory facts and show that Byzantine policy was responsible for the war. One has to go further back to discuss if the Jews were stronger in Yemen and if King Ḏū Nuwās was a Jew.

Procopius, in his narrations of the conquest, did not mention if the king of Homeritae was a Jew. He mentioned that the Ethiopian king was a Christian and a defender of Christianity. The King was informed that the Homeritae were persecuting the Christians, and then he appointed a Christian Homeritae king. Procopius also mentioned that many of the Homeritaes were Jews, and many of them also believed in the Hellenic (idolatry) creed. He mentioned also that the king was killed but did not mention whether he

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was a Jew or idolater.[19] Though Philostorgius was not contemporaneous with that event, he gave us some facts about the creed of the Homeritaes. He said that they were following the Abrahamic custom concerning the sacredness of Saturday. They were also sacrificing to the sun and the moon and to their local idols. He mentioned that some of them were Jews, and that they opposed Theophilus who was sent by the Emperor Constantinus to preach among the Homeritaes.[20] Theodoros lector mentioned that the Homeritaes were Jews in origin, as they embraced Judaism at the time of their queen, then they became idolaters. During the reign of Emperor Anastasius (491–518) they embraced Christianity.[21] He did not mention if Judaism was flourishing there in his time. He and Philostorgius did not mention anything about the kings and if they were Jews.[22] The Axumite narrations mention that the majority of the people of Saba' were idolaters and among them there were some Jews.[23] The persecution of the Jews by the Emperors Vespasianus and Titus made many Jews emigrate to Ḥiǧāz, where they settled in many localities. From Ḥiǧāz they found their way to Yemen where they settled in Saba' and preached among the natives. After examining these narrations, one can believe that the kings of Homeritae were not Jews and the Romans were trying to spread Christianity in this territory.

The arabic narrations made the king of Himyar a Jew. But the reference of this narration was to Ṭabarī who referred to Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Hišām. It is a clear fact, that Ibn Isḥāq took his narrations from some persons who were of Jewish origin such as Abū Mālik b. Ṭaᶜlaba b. Abī Mālik al-Qarẓī and Wahb b. Minabba and also from some narrations of al-Madīna who had some relations with the Jews.[24]

The holy Qor'ān handled the problem of Ḏū Nuwās, and considered the people who committed the persecutions as infidels, while considering the Christians as believers. The Jewish creed, according to Islam, is a fidel creed like Christianity. The Qor'ān knew Judaism very well, so if Qor'ān narrated that the people who committed the persecution were infidel, that means that the kings of Himyar were idolaters.[25]

The Ancient south arabian texts and sources did not assure that the kings of Himyar were Jews. The Classical references also did not mention anything about the kings being Jews. The narrations which mentioned this motto came only from untrustworthy narrators and from those of Jewish origin.

Muslim and Christian historians refer to these narrations about the spread

of Christianity in Yemen. One was brought to us by Ibn Isḥāq who quoted from Wahb b. Minabba, a muslim narrator of Jewish origin. His narration went side by side with Christian references. It was said that Christianity entered Naǧrān through Phemion in 500 A. D.[26] The Islamic narrations quoted that Christianity came to Naǧrān by a stranger who came from Syria.[27]

As the Empire had some coveted interest in those parts, the idea of spreading Christianity there was a highly distinguished consideration. Religious bonds between the Empire and Yemen would be able to separate this territory from Persian influence. Many missions succeeded in their work and three churches were established, in ZIFĀR, Aden and Hormoz.[28]

The motive of Constantine in sending Theophilus Indus in 354 A. D. as a delegate to the king of the Homeritaes could not be described as innocent. It seemed to have been both economical and political. Theophilus succeeded in constructing these three churches and in making Zifār, in 356 A. D., the residence of an archbishop who commanded from there the affairs of the Christians in Naǧrān, Hormoz and Socotra.[29]

According to some Christian narrations, one can understand the real motives of the Emperor. The aim of the delegation of Theophilus was to clarify the situation of Axum and Himyar and to bind them with a confederation or at least to keep these territories neutral during the struggle with Persia.[30]

The reign of Anastasius was a time of active christianization, with missionaries moving southward to Yemen and Axum through Syria.[31] In reality, such missions and the spreading of christianity had not religious but political aims. The unclear relation between the Christians and the Byzantine Empire made the kings of Yemen suspicious of their motives. They therefore persecuted the Christians who were considered as rebels and heretics unloyal to their country, as they were accustomed to sending gifts and loyalities to Axum.[32] Such attitudes did not satisfy the kings as they carried the emblem of Ethiopian interference in local affairs, and besides it was considered an illegal relation with the enemy.[33]

The Persians did not stop with galled hands but rather entered the running struggle by helping to spread the transgressing creeds which were persecuted by the Byzantines, such as the Nestorian creed, etc. Of course, such creeds, would never be appreciated by the Byzantines, and the believers could not be

on the Byzantine side. Such enmity between the Christians in the Byzantine and non- Byzantine territories would strengthen the hatred of the Christians of Yemen towards the Byzantine Empire. In 570 A. D. king Chosroes protected the Nestorians in Yemen.[34] As both creeds had found a fertile field in Yemen, this helped to inflame the enmity among the people of Yemen. Besides, the anti-semitic policy carried by the Empire was one of the most important elements increasing the carnage. The cruel persecution and savage oppression made the Jews collaborate with the enemies of the Empire, as the Persians were for some time lenient with them.[35] This policy supported the interest of the Persians. The Jewish problems and the support given to the Nestorians were the means of furthering this policy. The height of this enmity was during the reign of Ḏū Nuwās. The Jews and the officials won some victories over the Christians, and the carnage took place.

It is not fair to support the theory which made the carnage a result of Jewish influence. Such persecution could be attributed to the growing interest and interference of the Byzantines and Ethiopians in the local affaires of Christians considered Yemenian citizens. Such action made the ruling class there consider these people guilty, unfaithful, and traitors. As a result of this attitude the country lost its independence. Foreign aggression, carrying the motto "Rescue the Chris tians", subdued the country.

Anyhow, the country lost its independence and became subject to Ethiopia. It is not important to discuss the stages of military struggle as it resulted in a fulfillment of the motives for aggression. The Ethiopian king Ela Isbaha (Helletheaeus) conquered Ḏū Nuwās (Damianus) and appointed al-Samīfa[c] (Esimiphaeus) as king demanding of him an annual royalty.[36] This was in 525 A. D. The classical narrators, though they failed to give the correct date of the events, presented the main and true reasons for the aggression.[37] It was clear that economic forces were the motives behind the attitude of Ḏū Nuwās towards Byzantine traders in the Indian Ocean. This fact was clarified and affirmed by a Syrian narration which gave the same reasons for the Ethiopian aggression.[38]

The economic motive for the aggression wandered amidst the uproar and clamours which rose as a result of the carnage. These economic motives were hidden under the motto of saving the Christians. The fact was that the attitude of Ḏū Nuwās threatened Byzantine maritime interests and was dangerous to the Byzantines. So, the Empire seized the opportunity of the

running carnage and cooked the matter to fit her motto.

In pursuance of the causes and motives of the aggression, it is important to follow the theme of saving the Christians. This held some elements which supported the real motive. The carnage of Naǧrān aroused in the Christian world sidewaves of displeasure. The special envoy commissioned by the Emperor Justinianus to al-Mundir in Ḥīra, which aimed for the release of two generals, and to make peace by ting him to a confederation, received the news of the carnage on 23 January 524 A. D.[39]

Simon of Beiṯ Aršam, one of the ecclesiatic mediators accompanying the envoy, directed many messages to the Byzantine bishops and the patriarch of Alexandria asking them to mediate with the Ethiopians help for the Christians of Yemen.

It was said that Mundir received an envoy from Ḏū Nuwās asking him to treat the Christians in his country in the same way as in Yemen. The Byzantine envoy also had the aim of convincing Mundir to compel the Monophysists to change their creed. The two envoys were not interested in the same theme, as the Yemenites aimed at the non-Monophysists who were used by the Byzantines against Yemen, meanwhile the Byzantine envoy aimed at the Empire's religious enemies: the Monophysists who were supported by the Persians and the Yemenites.[40] Because of this fact, it can be said that the carnage was among the non-Monophysists.

Soon the Empire began its policy. Justinianus aimed to tie the Ethiopians and the subjected Himyar in a confederation against Persia. Thus, he commissioned Julianus as special envoy to Kāleb Ela Aṣbaha and to al-Samīfaᶜ Aṧūᶜ to convince them to confederate with the Empire forming a united front against the Persians.[41]

As a result of a revolt in Yemen, Abraha, the Ethiopian was able to lay his hand upon the state and come to power after killing Artaʾh (Aritas), the military ruler of the country.[42]

This theory is supported by a classical narration[43], which the Arabic narrations agreed with, stating that Abraha usurped the sovereignty in Yemen, and obliged the Ethiopian king to acknowledge his sovereignty and power all over the country.[44]

It could be attributed to the narrations of Theophanes and Cedrenus, who mentioned a second Ethiopian invasion of Homeritae in the 15th year of Justinianus, because of Homeritae agression against Byzantine traders. These

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events took place during the revolts against Ethiopian sovereignty. The 15th year of Justinianus's reign could be the year 541–42. It means that these events took place during the attempts of Abraha to subdue the country.[45] Of course, this invasion was not against Ḏū Nuwās, who was not alive at this time, but was against some revolting native chiefs.

An echo of this narration, the text of Abraha which was written after the reconstruction of Ma'rib Dam, was a self-affirmation of the main causes of the revolts.[46] It presents some facts among which are the revolts of the chiefs (aqyāl) of the tribes. It descibes Abraha as the real ruler of the country and attributes to him also all the titles of the Saba'ian kings.[47]

As it seemes, the revolt of 542 A. D. was against the reign of Abraha and Ethiopian influence. The revolt, which was a huge and totally national movement, was forwarded by the ancient aristocracy in Saba'.[48]

We can infer from the names of the rebellious tribes, that the revolt was located in the southern parts of the country. The leader of the revolt, Yazīd b. Kabša was supported by the chiefs of Saba', Ḏū Ṣahar, Murra, Tamāma, Marṯad, Ḥanīf, Ḥanaš, Ḏū Ḥalīl, Yazan and the sons of the late king al-Samīfaᶜ.[49] An army was sent by Abraha to subdue this revolt, but was defeated, and the revolt spread to Ḥaḍramūt. So Abraha, in the summer of 542, was obliged to command his army to subdue the revolt. When he arrived at the center of the revolt, Yazīd surrendered and begged pardon without any resistance. However, this action was not enough to subdue the revolt, as many chiefs were still fighting against Abraha.

The motives of the revolts were given by the attitudes of the aristocracy, who were divided into two parallel sides, the majority of the less profitable side being responsible for the rebellion. Of course, economic causes were the main motives for the revolt, as this was the motive for their aggressive attitude towards the Byzantine traders. This attitude was dictated by their loss of income from the Eastern trade which was a direct result of the Ethiopian invasion.

The local aristocracy tried to regain its class interests through this revolt. Classical narrations give the main aims of the revolt. Owing to Abraha's stay in Ma'rib where he was to reconstruct the dam, he received six delegations envoyed to him by the fighting powers of that time. The protocol of the text presented some facts which explain his attitude towards the delegations. The nominating order of the delegations in the text clarified his policy towards

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current events. The synonyms of the word "delegation" used in the text also presented the same impression. The Ethiopian and Byzantine delegations were called: *MHŠKT NGŠYN* and *MHŠKT MLK RMN* while the Persian delegation was called *TNBLT MLK FRS*. *Mahšakit* in the south Arabian language, is a synonym for a friendly and kind envoy, while *tanbalit* means only a deputation. Thus the Persian delegation was not a favourite delegation of Abraha and this was according to political traditions that the Persian envoy was not wanted.

At the same time, three other delegations, those of al-Mundir of Ḥīra — a subject of Persia —, al-Ḥārit b. Gabala the Gassanide, a subject of the Empire, and Abū Karb b. Gabala, chief of the upper Arabian tribes, and also a subject of the Byzantine Empire, were all called as *"RSL"*, a word which carried the meaning of messenger.

The purpose of these delegations was not to congratulate or to present some courtesies, but was of course far deeper. The delegations aimed to tie him to this camp or that, to suffocate trade on the Red Sea or to give it more freedom and security. Of course these actions would have caused a catastrophe for the Byzantine colonies there, a grievous loss to imperial commerce, and would have increased the gain. For a long time the policy of the Empire had been to place the peninsula under Byzantine rule and to isolate Persia from this territory. Meanwhile the Persians made attempts to distroy any front which might be inclined to their enemies. The Persians also prevented them from trading with the Arabs and their ships from sailing in the Indian ocean. The two competitor camps used means of propaganda to fulfill their plans. The Byzantine Empire tried its best to spread Christianity and to delegate missionaries. It also persuaded the Ethiopians to support this action by interfering in the local affairs of Yemen. While this action was taking place on one stage, the Persians made efforts to spread contradicting creeds which stood in enmity towards the Byzantine Empire and also to gain the support of the Jews.

The Byzantine Empire tried for a second time to be on good relations with the ruler of Yemen, as it had before, with the delegation of Julianus to al-Samīfa[c]. The aim of the second delegation was to use Christianity as the main organ of their policy. Of course, these elements might enlarge their influence in the East. One finds that the delegations of confederate Arabs, who were tied to both big powers, had the same purpose. The delegation of

Abū Karb b. Gabala (Abochorabus) who was appointed by Justinianus as Phylarch of the Saracens' of Palästine,was authorized to clarify the Byzantine policy concerning the territories inhabited by the tribe of Ma^{c}d. These territories seemed to be important to the Empire, as this was the second delegation to argue this problem, i. e. Julianus had previously been envoy to al-Samīfa^c.[51]

After the submission of South Arabia, the Empire spiritually watched over the peninsula, and the Empire's greediness and ambitions were almost fulfilled. Ḥiǧāz, by its central position, stood as a great and huge obstacle in their way. Ḥiǧāz could also be very dangerous if used by a foreign power. The control of this area was a great task as it would replace the lost conjecture to reach the "Arabia Felix"

The invasion of Mecca by Abraha was dictated by this fact, as the motives for the invasion could not have been religious.[52] The failure which accompanied the Ethiopian expedition, reminds one of the failure of Aelius Gallus six centuries before. The Empire lost forever her last hope with the failure of the expedition to Mecca. It was clear that the motives of Ethiopia, supported by the Empire, were not at all religious or even dealing with humanity, but was rather dictated and directed by imperial policy and formed the last chapter of the struggle which was compiled and composed in Byzantum and Axum. It also turned the page of wide spread propaganda concealed under the motto of saving Christianity.[53]

The last threads of hope for which the Empire was looking attentively, were cut and lost when the aristocracy in the country revolted again and succeeded in overthrowing the former sovereignty. In 575, the Persians interfered in the field of struggle and helped the representative of the aristocracy throw off the Ethiopian yoke. Sayf b. Ḏī Yazan was appointed king of the entire country.[54]

Soon, this national sovereign was subdued, the country again placed under a foreign yoke and her freedom lost for ever.

NOTES

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3. Hitti, Ph.: *History of the Arabs*, London 1953, p. 79, Blachère, R: *Tārīḫ al-Adab al-ᶜArabī*, Damascus 1956, p. 52.
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8. *Le Muséon*, (1950) LXIII, 3—4, p. 270.
9. Philby: "Note on the last kings of Saba", in: *Le Muséon*, LXIII, 3—4, p. 269; Ryckman, G.: Inscription Sud-Arabes, in Le Muséon, XL, p. 445.
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11. Philby: Background, p. 143, Highland, p. 260; Ǧawād ᶜAlī: *Tārīḫ al-ᶜArab qablal-Islām*, Baghdad 1948, p. 161.
12. Ǧawād ᶜAlī: op. cit. p. 160—161.
13. Ṭabarī: *Tārīḫ al-Rusul wal-Mulūk*, Cairo 1939, II. p. 105; Blachère: op. cit. p. 53.
14. The Qurān considers the people who committed this persecution as idolaters and the martyrs as believers, Sūra LXXXV; Ibn Al-Atīr: op. cit. I. pp. 186—189; Ber Hebreaus: *Tārīḫ Muhtaṣar al-Duwal*, Beirut 1958.
15. Ṭabarī: II. pp. 106—7.
16. Nordmann in: ZDMG, XLIV (1890) p. 176.
17. Ǧawād ᶜAlī: op. cit, III., p. 170, ref: Winckler: Alt Orient. Forsch. IV (1895), p. 327.
18. Ǧawād ᶜAlī: op.cit. III., pp. 170—1.
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20. Margoliouth, D. S.: The relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam, p. 62 ref, Philostorgius, III. p. 5.
21. Migne in: Patrologia Graeca, LXXXV, p. 211.

22. Margoliouth, ibid, p. 63.
23. Fell in: ZDMG, XXXV (1881) p. 49.
24. Ṭabarī, II. pp. 96, 98; Ibn Al-Atīr: I. p. 188.
25. Qurān, 83:4
26. Ṭabarī, II. p. 113; Ibn Al-Atīr., I. pp. 171, 190; Ibn Qutayba: *Kitāb al-'Imāma wal-Siyāsa,* Cairo 1937, I. p. 311.
    Yāqūt: *Mu^{c}ğam,* Cairo 1906, V. art: Nağrān
27. Ṭabarī, II. p. 101.
28. Hitti, ibid, p. 61; Blachère, ibid, pp. 53—55.
29. Hugh Scott: *The High Yemen, Cairo,* 1960 (Arabic) p. 211 ref: Philostorgius: Historia Ecclesiastica, III, art. 4.
30. Philostorgius: Hist. Eccl. II. art. 6; Kidd: A history of the Church, II. p, 161, III. p. 322.
31. Nordtmann, ZDMG, XXXI (1877) p. 65; Theodorus Lector: Hist. Eccl., ed. Vasesius and Nicehorus Gallistus, II. p. 567.
32. Fell, ZDMG XXXV/1881, p. 50.
33. Hitti, ibid, p. 61; Blachère, ibid, p. 21; Chikhu: Al-Nuṣrānīya wa -Ādābihā, Beirut?. I. p. 66; Sachau Ed.: *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien,* Berlin 1919, transcripted in Arabic, pp. 68—69.
35. *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* I. p. 350.
36. Procopius, op. cit. I. Ch. XX, 1—3 / p. 189.
37. Theophanes: Chronographie, ed: Bonn, p. 548 ref. by Nordtmann, ZDMG XXXI (1877) pp. 66—67.
    Theophanes and Cedrenus mentioned that the Ethiopians invaded Damianus for the second time during the 15th year of the reign of Justinianus because he attacked Byzantine traders.
38. Assemani: Bibliothèque Orientale, I. p. 359; Fell, XXXI, ZDMG, p. 19, Nordtmann, ZDMG, XXXI, p. 67.
39. *Bulletin of the Scientific Arab Academy of Damascus,* XXIII. Damascus 1948, I. pp. 9—17; Assemani, ibid, I. p. 364; Ber Hebraeus, ibid, p. 87; Agapius: *Kitāb al-^{c}Unwān,* Paris 1910—14 in Pat. Orien. p. 185 and Beirut ed. 1958.
40. Pat. Orien: Histoire Nestorienne, I. p. 143., Ber Hebraeus, ibid, p. 87.; Agapius, ibid, p. 165.
41. Procopius, ibid, art. 9—13, Fell, ZDMG XXXV (1981) p. 34.
42. Ṭabarī, II. pp. 108, 114; Ibn Ḥaldūn, II. p. 61.

43. The late narration of Procopius mentioned by Fell in ZDMG (1881) p. 43.

44. Ṭabarī, II. pp. 108–114; Ibn Ḥaldūn, II. p. 61; Yāqūt, op. cit. art: Naǧrān

45. see note n. 37.

46. This text was known as Glaser 618 and CIS 541.

47. He was called as "Abrah [c]atly Mlkn Ag[c]zyn Rmhz Zbymn Mlk Sba' w D Rydn w Ḥdrmt w Ymnt w 'A[c]rbhmw Ṯwdm w Thmt". " Abraha the deputy of the King of Ga[c]z Ramḥaz Zibiyam, the king of Saba', Ḥaḍramūt, Dū Riydan, Yemen, The Arabs of the highland and in Tahāma. ."

48. The chiefs of the tribes who joined the revolt and were mentioned in the text, were from the ancient ruling class. Ǧawād ʿAli, III. pp. 88–89

49. Glaser 618 lines 17–19

50. Glaser, Ibid., lines 88–93

51. Procopius, p. 181   ref. in Ǧawād ʿAli, III. p. 205.

52. Ṭabarī, II. p. 110; Ibn Ḥaldūn, II. p. 61; Ibn Al-Aṯīr, I. p. 177; Qurān, Sūra 105.

53. Margoliouth, ibid, p. 64

54. see note no. 52.

AN UNKNOWN POEM BY AVICENNA

ISTVÁN ORMOS

Over a period of time, a number of private collections has been acquired by the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, either through purchase or by donation. By far the most important and interesting of these is the Kaufmann Collection, [1] brought together with excellent taste by David Kaufmann. [2] Following both his and his wife's untimely death, his mother-in-law donated it to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1905. In addition to numerous excellent and highly valuable Hebrew manuscripts and printed books, the Kaufmann Collection contains about six hundred manuscripts and manuscript fragments from the Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo, and this latter part of the Collection is usually referred to as the Kaufmann Geniza. [3]

Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn, who ruled Egypt from 868 until 884, ordered Michael, the Coptic Patriarch, to pay a contribution of 20,000 dinars to the military expenses of the state. In order to be able to raise such an enormous amount of money, the Patriarch was forced to sell off immovable properties owned by the church: mortmains (*waqf*), for example, and a landed estate in Ethiopian possession; this is also why the Church of Saint Michael in Fusṭāṭ, which according to contemporary descriptions, stood in the vicinity of the Muᶜallaqa Church, passed into Jewish hands. This took place in 882. The church was soon transformed into a synagogue and has been in use ever since under the name of the Ezra Synagogue. [4] Modern visitors to the synagogue are shown the traditional site in its vicinity where Pharaoh's daughter found the child Moses in the reeds on the bank of the Nile.

It was from the geniza of this synagogue (this is the name of the room where impaired scrolls, and writings containing the name of God, are stored until they can be buried   to ensure they are not defiled) that perhaps the most important manuscript find of the last few centuries came to light:

towards the end of the last century, about 250,000 manuscripts and manuscript fragments passed from here into various collections around the world. Roughly half of this material is kept at Cambridge, while the rest is scattered all over the world in libraries from Cairo to Leningrad and from New York to Strasbourg. [5] David Kaufmann acquired about 600 items. [6]

The importance of the documents found in the geniza can hardly be over-estimated: in addition to important writings pertaining to the Old Testament and the history of Judaism, they contain, amongst other things, private letters, bills, contracts, book-lists, poems, and works dealing with grammar, philosophy, medicine and mathematics, as well as amulets. The earliest known example of Jewish musical notation was discovered in the geniza material, too. The language of the manuscripts is mainly Hebrew. However, numerous writings in Aramaic, Syriac, Coptic and Greek are to be found among them, and a large number of documents is in Arabic but written in Hebrew characters; these latter texts are extremely important, not only in terms of their content, but also as regards research into the history of the Arabic language. [7] It is not clear according to what principles the material in the Cairo geniza was brought together: some think that these writings were flung haphazardly into the geniza and it was merely by chance that the entire material was not destroyed. Others, however, think that the geniza was, in fact, nothing less than the archives of an important commercial and cultural centre where documents regarded as important were kept. In any case, were in not for the arid climate of Egypt, the geniza material would certainly not have come down to us, but would have long since disintegrated.

Not long ago, when I examined the material of the Kaufmann Geniza, Ms. 205 fell into my hands; its envelope contained a mackle bearing the following remark, in Goldziher's characteristic handwriting: "Poems by Ibn Sīnā, Šihāb al-Suhrawardī and others (in Jewish characters)". The material upon which the manuscript is written is paper, its size is 13.5 x 17.5 cm, and it is paginated in pencil: 205 a-d. Obviously, the person paginating the manuscript must have been ignorant of Hebrew, because he paginated it upside down and in the wrong direction. Generally speaking, the manuscript is in good condition. The text is written in ink, which has become brown in the course of time, and the paper itself has acquired a brownish hue. The manuscript shows traces of three former folds one vertical and two horizontal, along which the text is

slightly damaged.

On page 3 of the manuscript is a poem by Šihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī in fine, quadratic writing and on the last page there is a poem of 5 lines by Avicenna in the same writing. There are short poems and doxologies in a different hand on pages 1 and 2, as well as below the poem by Avicenna on page 4. This quadratic script is smaller in size, less beautiful, rather careless and written in a different ink. While the poems by Suhrawardī and Avicenna are in one column, these latter short poems and doxologies are arranged in two. On page 3 below the poem by Suhrawardī in the left corner there is a remark of four lines in a third script. I could not find any connection between the various parts of the manuscript. One could add that, in view of the condition of the present folding line, it seems probable that the present state is secondary; originally the manuscript may have been folded in just the opposite way and then the poem by Suhrawardi may have been on page 1 and the one by Avicenna on page 2.

In all probability, our manuscript dates from the second half of the 12th century. This can be deduced by the fact that the style of the fine quadratic writing in which the poems by both Suhrawardī and Avicenna are written is completely identical to the type of writing in which the autographed letter by Maimonides is written which has been published by Scheiber under signature No. 123a. [8] The two writings evidently come from different people, but the shape of nearly every letter is identical. Consequently, we may state with great probability that they come from the same period. The two other writings in our manuscript are later than the first, because it is clear that they were used to fill the empty space left after the first two poems by Suhrawardī and Avicenna were finished.

The Avicenna poem in question is written in a fine, quadratic Hebrew script. It gives the Arabic text in a true, literal transliteration. However, in view of the fact that the phonemic system of Arabic is richer in consonants than that of Hebrew, it also employs letters with diacritical marks:

$$(e. g., \quad ض - \acute{\cancel{Y}} \quad ; \quad ط \; - \quad נ \;)$$

Diacritical marks, however, are not always used, and consequently the text was meant for people with absolute command of the language. (Contemporary Arabic manuscripts frequently omit diacritical marks.) The coupling of sounds and letters of identical origin and pronunciation serves as basis for transliteration (e. g., ب - ב ; د — ד). Should, however, origin and actual pronunciation differ greatly, then the latter will overrule the former (e. g., خ - כ ; غ — ג). *Hamza* is never indicated but its carrier appears in each case. One ligature appears in two varieties: ﯖ and ﯕ for

אל . Hebrew vowel punctuation is not employed, whereas *ḍamma* appears
at the end of each line in order to indicate the vowel of the rhyme. In one
case, the nunation ending *-in* is indicated by two *kasra*s , and, in another,
the similar ending *-an* is indicated by two *fatha*s and an *ālef,* respectively,
whereas in two other cases the latter is indicated by *alef*s only. In one case
madda appears: אהא for آهـ . *Šadda* is met with, too, while
tā' marbūṭa invariably appears as ה without diacritical marks.

The poem is in *kāmil* metre. Each verse consists of two hemistichs. Each
hemistich comprises three feet, with the exception of the third verse, the first
hemistich of which consists of two feet only; this lack, however, is balanced
effectively by the *parallelismus membrorum.* Various irregularities occur in
the feet: *iḍmār, ḥabn, qatᶜ, tarfīl.* In two places the *kasra* of the genitive is
replaced by *ḍamma* under the constraint of the rhyme.

ללשיך אלרייס צבו עלי בן סינא

רצֿי אללה ענה

תֵּהֵא עלי גסד מעסר פי אתרי

פי קבצֿה לארכאן אנת אסירֿ

לנאר תאכד גזוהא ותרי להוי

ימתץ מנך לטאפה לתצֿתירֿ

ואלארץֿ תאכד קסמהא

ולמא יאכד קסמה ויגֿורֿ

ולקד עדלת ען לרפאק וערֿסן

וסרו בליל ולדליל בביךֿ

פלאן ערפת לאן קסטא כאמסא

אבצרת מן דלף לטלאם אי ענורֿ

Here follows the text of the poem in transliteration:

li-l-šayḫ al-raʾīs Abū ꜥAlī ibn Sīnā raḍiya Llāhu ꜥanhu

āh^{an} ꜥalā ǧasad^{in} muꜥaffar fī l-ṯarā fī qabḍat^i l-arkān^i anta asīr^u

al-nār^u taʾḫuḏu ǧuzʾahā wa-ṯara l-hawāʾ yamtaṣṣu minka laṭāfat^a l-taʾtīr^u

wa-l-arḍ^u taʾḫuḏu qisṭahā wa-l-māʾ^u yaʾḫuḏu qismahu wa-yaġūru

wa-la-qad ꜥadalta ꜥan^i l-rifāq^i wa-ꜥarrasū

wa-saraw bi-layl^{in} wa-l-dalīl^u ḫabīr^u

fa-la-in ꜥarafta l-ān^a qisṭ^{an} ḫāmis^{an}

abṣarta min dalaf^i l-ẓalām ilā l-nūr^u

Here is an English translation of the text of the poem:

— Oh, alas for the body mouldering in the earth!
 You are a prisoner in the hands of the elements!
— Fire takes its part away, the rich air draws the fine influence out of you.
— Earth, too, takes its portion away, water, too, takes its allotted part and
 oozes away.
— You have already parted company with your comrades; they alighted for a
 night-rest, but travelled on in the night with an experienced guide.
— And if you, groping in the dark, knew a fifth component, you would behold
 the light!

A number of poems in Arabic and Persian are in circulation under the name of Avicenna. [9] Most scholars share the opinion that at least some, if not all of them, are apocryphal [10], whereas others maintain that even "some of the famous quatrains of ᶜUmar Khayyām are really his; and were introduced into the collection of ᶜUmar by anthologists." [11]

The above poem does not appear in editions of Avicenna's poetry. [12] It seems difficult to exclude Avicenna's authorship, but it seems just as impossible to prove it beyond doubt. In our opinion, nothing in this poem is inconsistent with Avicenna's ideas as they are known to us: the four elements — well-known from antique and mediaeval medicine — constitute the centre of the poem; they were dealt with extensively by Avicenna in his Canon and elsewhere, [13] a fact that seems to support Avicenna's authorship. In any case, our playful poem, which is pervaded by a feeling of sadness about the ephemeral nature of human life, and by a touch of mysticism, comes from a person in whose system of ideas this scientific concept played a central role. This person may well have been Avicenna.

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TIGRAHIT - TISYAHIT
THE HARVEST AND FIRE FESTIVAL IN SIWA

SABER EL–ADLY

Siwa is one of the numerous green islands in the immense sand sea of the greatest desert on earth, the Sahara. The oases of the western Egyptian desert have much in common. All of their inhabitants speak the Arabic language as their mother tongue and most of their customs and traditions are similar to those of the people who live at certain points in the Nile valley. And yet every oasis has its own peculiar features with which the course of history has stamped it. But there are manifold differences between Siwa and the other Egyptian oases. Although largely independent and isolated during the middle of the Second Millenium B. C. the oasis inhabitants had come principally and increasingly under the influence of the pharaonic empires. In the Ptolemaic and Roman period the Siwans were completely Egyptianized, had the same beliefs, and used the same burial customs as the people of the Nile valley.[1]

But to what race did the Siwans belong? According to Merry who studied many skulls and bones found in the tombs of Siwa, Siwans in Ptolemaic and Roman times were not exactly like the Egyptians but were in many respects closer to the European stock than to the African.[2] "The physical differences between the Siwans, the Egyptians of the Nile valley, the inhibitants of the other oases and Beduins still exist".[3] In fact, the original inhabitants of Siwa belonged to one of the branches of the Berber group from the tribes of Zanatah who mixed with Arab Beduins from different tribes of the West. In the Middle Ages, Siwa was one of the important stations for Caravans and a negro-slave trademarket. Consequently, we find a mixture of negro blood among the inhabitants.[4] Siwan is one of the dialects of Berber, and although the Siwans speak Arabic well, they speak it as a second language. Up to this day many of the older people, and especially the women, do not understand Arabic at all.[5]

Above all, none of the other oases can boast of such a fascinating history as Siwa, a past that can be traced back into antiquity. Under the name of

Amonium, Siwa enjoyed world — fame as the location of a renowned oracle of the ancients. The oracle of Amun in Siwa was already famous throughout the Mediterranean countries at the beginning of the 26th Dynasty.[6] In the year 331 B. C. Alexander the Great, came to Siwa after he laid the foundations of Alexandria; in order to consult the oracle Amun. It is not only the most famous visit in Siwa's ancient history but is also the important one which immortalized the name of Siwa for all time.[7] "Towards the end of the Ptolemaic period, Rome and Roman Culture ruled supreme, and new methods of fortune — telling spread. Thus the oracles in general lost much of their old prestige, and very few people cared to go and consult them. Siwa was no exception."[8] In the year 160 B. C. Bausanias made the last account concerning Siwa. After that spectacular events were discontinued and Siwa again became engulfed in anonymity. There is not any trustworthy data of Siwa's further destiny in the first millenium. By studying the remains of chapels and sepulchres it can be said that Christianity did reach Siwa.[9] But we know from the ancient authors that Libyans worshipped Amun as the setting sun, and thus we can say that very probably the worship of Amun continued in Siwa until the introduction of Islam in the 12th century, although it might have existed there side by side with Christianity".[10]

It becomes evident from earlier accounts that the inhabitants of the double hill "Siwa" had been split into two frequently warring hostile camps which had separated themselves in settling also. The stronger fraction, the Liffayd, or the "eastern" people, inhabited the eastern hill, while the Tachsib, or "western" people, occupied the remaining, smaller part of the dwelling fortress. General suppositions have been made concerning the origin of this animosity; the reason probably lies in their settling. However, in the event of an attack from outside, the old quarrels were forgotten and both fractions confronted the enemy in unity.[11]

As early as the 12th century, the Siwans were converted to Islam and in the second half of the 19th century two Islamic sects had appeared in Siwa. "Attariʾka al-Madania", founded in 1825 by Šayḫ Ẕāfir al-Madanī, is followed chiefly by the Eastern Siwans. The second religious brotherhood, "Attariʾka Assenūssīya", founded in 1843., is followed by the Western Siwans.

This historic background is important to follow and understand the festival "TIGRHIT–TISYAHIT" which the author watched and recorded during the period 1969–1970, and as far as the author can tell, this is the first

published account of it. However, many questions are still open, and further research is still needed.

The followers of the al-Madania sect hold their ritual feast, called *Tigrhit-tisyahit*, in the first days of October every year, that is, directly before the harvest of dates, olives and citrus fruit. According to their interpretation, the *Tigrhit-tisyahit* means " march to the open." The author does not accept the interpretation of the *"mukaddim"* march into the realm of Allah .

It is decided at the beginning of every September which day the ceremony should begin. The agreed term is announced by the Mukaddim, the local Šayḥ of the Madania sect. The celebration must occur in the first days of October while there is a full moon, that is, always at the middle of the Moslem month. Of course, corrections are sometimes necessary. For the exact execution of the rituals, it is also required that no Friday occur during the feast. The dedication to the full moon is quite understandable, because this way there would be natural illumination over Dakrūr Hill at night. (This also may be survival of moon worship). The evasion of Friday is certainly due to the widespread belief among Moslems that Fridays carry misfortune. According to the Siwans, it is necessary because the Friday prayer may only be held in the city, in the mosque, while the place of the ceremony is Dakrūr Hill.

The Siwan settlement contains smaller units, that is houseblocks and streets. The center of every unit is a mosque or *Zāwiya*. Each mosque has a *wakīl*. Before the ritual the *wakīl* of each mosque prepares a list of the family heads and the members of their families belonging to the mosque or *Zāwiya*. In 1969 the family head had to pay ten Piasters for himself and each of his family members. Every family also has to offer bigger cooking pots, bowls and wooden spoons as well as fuel: palm branches, fire-wood, corn-cobs and buffalo manure. For every head five to seven pieces of bread are required end every household gives a settled quantity of rice and onions. Elders and outstanding personalities contribute with a considerable quantity of food to the material need of the celebration, according to their wealth and social status. The necessities so collected are in the custody of the mosque or of the *Zāwiya* until the beginning of the feast. In the meantime every mosque and every *Zāwiya'* organizes work teams for the different needs occuring during the celebrations: cooking, water-carrying, maintenance of order, fuel supply, etc. The most important role among the teams goes to the cooks and their helpers, theirs being the work of taking care of the food for

approximately two and a half to three thousand people through three full days. The cash collected is used for buying a suitable number of camels and sheep. Their number may differ according to the possibilities, however, in 1969 seven camels were bought and this was perhaps motivated by the magic value of the number seven.

On the preliminary day, that is before people go to the hill – and this is the first day of the ritual, – the camels are taken to Dakrūr Hill. Here palm mats are spread on a rocky place and the camels are slaughtered on them. The slaughter is accomplised by cutting the neck of the animal from underneath, while the people shout three times: *Bi-smi llāh, Allāh akbar!* The animal has to be completely bled since Islam forbids the consumption of blood as well as carcasses or pork. Next the cooks begin to prepare the slaughtered animals, starting by cutting the meat into as many pieces as there are participants expected for the rituals. As for the heads and legs of the camels, they are sold on the next day, the first day of the feast in an open auction. The money thus earned is used for the acquisition of other items necessary for the celebration. Here it should be noted that the marrow of the legbones of the camels was used in the lamps of mosques until the beginning of the last century, and the left foreleg was given to the muezzin.

On the first day of the feast the men, boys and girls under ten years of age go up to Dakrūr Hill. For this journey they use *karusa,* the traditional Siwan vehicle, which is a twowheeled waggon behind a jackass, ornamented with brightly coloured head shawls. The travellers take along their food contribution in the waggons: tea, sugar, cakes, groundnuts, lemons and oranges, muscat melons, watermelons etc. On the top of the hill every group settles at the place set aside for them through many years, and dwell in a plain hut built from mud and palm leaves. The hut of the *Muḳaddim,* the local leader of the Madania sect, is at the highest point in the area. The feast begins with the distribution of the *barakīya;* which happens in this way: after cooking the chopped up camel meat in salted water, the cooks stick the pieces to palm-thorns. This is called *"barakīya"*, showing that a piece of meat prepared in this way has special value for fertility, health, etc. This happens directly before noon. Each participant, i. e. each Siwan, adult or child, even women and children who are absent are silenty called by name from the list by the notary, and repeated loudly by the head cook. The *barakīya* is accepted by

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the head of each family in the name of his wives and children. Those who participate directly in the event consume their cooked meat in situ while the share of the wives and girls over ten is taken home. The *barakīya* of the infants are preserved with salt and fastened to the necks of the infants. (A very similar communal feast takes place in cases of cholera or smallpox epidemics.)

The meat is stuck to palm thorns because it must not be touched by hands. The presentation of *"barakīya"* is followed by good wishes to the receiver: long life, good health until the next meeting in the following year, etc. After finishing the distribution the auction of the heads and legs of the camels begins. The aim of the auction, where the practically valueless pieces are sold at conspicuous prices, is to declare the social prestige of the Šayḫs of the Madania sect and that of the heads of families. At the end of the ceremony the time for the noon prayer arrives, and the participants say their prayer, with the exception of the cooks and the very young children not yet used to praying. The cooks in the meantime continue to work preparing lunch. The prayer finished, the participants settle to the ground in circles of nine to twelve, generally according to the teams that came to the hill in one cart. The cooks and their helpers take the food of bread, rice and cooked onions, the *marak*, to the groups in huge wooden bowls. According to the traditions no one may touch or even look at the meal distribution until everybody has his food and the head cook gives the sign to begin eating. The sign is a shout: *Hala 'shabi!*, repeated thrice. After lunch every team goes to their hut and chooses a leader, called *sulṭān*. It will be his task to arrange matters for the group, to maintain order, and to direct tea making, which happens after lunch three times in succession. Tea is served in small cups, beginning with the person sitting to the right of the *sulṭān*. As is customary, the tea is spiced with green mint which has a cooling effect. In the meantime interaction begins among the groups: chatting, delivery of the latest information, mutual visits, etc. After a rest, the ritual washing follows, preliminary to the afternoon prayer. The children help the adults by distributing water. The afternoon prayer finished, the participants return to their lodgings, where they eat cakes and groundnuts from small mats where everybody puts the contribution he brought along. If in the meantime, the group needs

something, the *sulṭān* denominates the wealthiest member of the group to buy the item in question. They accomplish the prescribed prayer exactly at sunset, then they participate in a common dinner in the same manner as at noon. As for the *šayḫs* and the prominent members of the society, lunch and dinner are considerably different. They have a heavily burdened table in the lodgings of the *muḳaddim* where they can eat fried lambs, stuffed turkeys and other delicacies as they wish.

After dinner they perfect the evening prayer and this is followed by the religious *ḏikr*. The people form a huge circle and begin to recite the first Sūra of the Koran, then they repeat the formula *"Lā ilāh^a illā llāh"* 99 times, the enthusiastic tension growing all the time. Slowly they begin to dance, following the movements of the *šayḫ*, who stands at his place moving only his torso in circles while everybody shouts *"Allāh, Allāh"*. From time to time the *mukkaddim* or the *šayḫ* says *"Madad, madad!"* by which he invokes the help of the supreme being or of Imām Husayn. The movement and the rhythmical shouting lead to a peak of religious extasy, at which they collapse and sit still in extasy for five to ten minutes. Finally, already calmed down, they begin to recite the epitheton ornants of Allāh *(al-asmā' al-ḥusnā)*, that is the 99 names of God. At the second name *(al-rahīm)* they rest, repeating *"yā rahīm"*. The *muḳaddim* performs the enumeration of the holy names with the help of the Moslem rosary. The chaplet contains 99 beads and is composed of three parts, separated by the sign called *dalīl*. (By the way, a rosary of the best quality is made of santal wood or sea shells, but even pieces made of more common material may be of at least the same value if they are bought in Mekka or at the graves of the saints of Cairo, Alexandria, Benghazi or Tripoli. These latter have the strength of amulets, or are amulets themselves. This kind of amulet is most frequently used to cure children who have difficulties in urinating).

At the end of the *ḏikr* gathering circling the *muḳaddim*, the next ceremony begins: the *muḳaddim* and the participants take each other's hands, mutually kissing them, after which the act is repeated with friend and close acquaintaces. The *muḳaddim* also gives his blessings to all who come to him. The handkiss and its ritual is a remnant of the ritual with which ancient Libyan tribes consecrated treaties. Herodotus (IV, 300) mentions that among the Libyan tribes, parties to perfect contracts or treaties drank water from each other's hand, or in lack of water, licked sand.

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The communal religious singing and dancing have a very strong impact on the brains and psyche of the participants through exhaustion and mass extasy. As a result, the *mukaddim* and the *šayh* of the sect are able to submit the participant to their wishes during the *dikr*. The believers describe this state as that of a corpse in the hands of a body-washer. Thus it is quite natural that personal differences and problems in the community are settled by the *mukaddim* in this state, that is, after the religious preparation of the *dikr*.

Beside the reconciliatory negotiations, jurisdiction also takes place. This is done by a temporary body, raised only for the term of the ceremonies. This court scrutinize the crimes against the rules of the community. It consists of 12 *mukaddims* who have to reach a unanimous decision and judgement. The punishment is generally no more than that the culprit has to put down his turban, and then has to go to the hut of every group confessing his faults and repentance on his knees. Also he has to pay some money which is used for the further needs of the ceremony. However, these payments are frequently distributed among the *mukaddims* and *šayhs* themselves. A "strange" practise also occurs when an ass desecrates the ritual by hee-hawing. Its master is punished by being forced to pay a smaller sum. This is rather profitable for the court, since asses, following their masters during the *dikr* shouting, bray quite frequently.

The second day of the ceremony is not different from the first, but on the third day, after the afternoon prayer, the *nafha* is collected. The *nafha* is a voluntary present of food from the quantity the participants brought along. In the course of the act an outstanding man of the community together with two negro children (or at least children of negro descent) carry big baskets, going around the huts, collecting from the offerings the suitable items. Then the collection is spread on a huge carpet, and everybody stands around it to take what he wishes. This seems to be a rather original communal event. After consuming the *nafha*, the leading *mukaddim* announces that the young lads should work gratis the next day at the farmstead of one of the *šayhs*. With this act the ceremony achieves one of its important purposes in accordance with the interest of the *šayhs*. After the collection of the *nafha*, the *kaskül* arrives. A *kaskül* is a person disguised in the rags of a Moroccan pilgrim. Generally there are two of them and their aim is to make people laugh! The Siwan also call them *šahhātīn*, that is, beggars, thus showing the Siwan opinion of Moroccan pilgrims. The kaskül walks around to all the huts begging for

food.

After the afternoon prayer, before sunset a procession brings out the ceremonial banner of the Madani sect which is generally kept in the *Zāwiya* of Sīdi Slīman ibn al-^CAmir, the patron of Siwa. The banner has two white inscriptions *"lā ilāh illā llāh Muhammad rasūl Allāh"* on green blackground. The banner is stationed before the tent of the *mukaddim*. After a very short *dikr* the participants slowy start toward the sacred grave of Sīdi ^CAlī ibn Halīl, some 15 kilometres distant. The *mukaddim* leads the procession, the banner being carried before him by a boy. According to the Siwan, Sīdi ^CAlī ibn Halīl was one of the companions of the Prophet. By Siwan tradition this saint left his grave to greet with a handtouch Zāfir al-Madani šayh, the founder of the Madani sect, when he walked about there some 180 years ago. ^CAlī ibn Halīl is also the patron saint of herders. Herders in the desert call ^CAlī ibn Halīl for help when in distress and the saint appears and helps them. According to a belief this saint burns the *šaytāns* who lie in wait for men, and the signs in the sky like a comet are in fact *šaytāns* burned by the saint. Those who are ill or too old and cannot walk so far, remain on the hill and recite the Koran, generally the last *sūras* (100–114).

When the *mukaddim* returns from the grave, a big *dikr* begins and lasts until midnight. On the fourth day of the rituals people return from the hill. The procession with the children in the donkey carts starts as early as 7 o'clock in the morning. The procession itself, led by the *mukaddim* again, consists only of men. The procession was led by the honourable old ^CAlī Yūsuf šayh as *mukaddim*. He was followed by the lesser *mukaddims*, with Miftāh al-Madani šayh, who was the descendant and political spiritual heir of the founder of the sect, in the middle. They were followed by the leaders of the community and the elders of the families. The procession was supervised by the *šāwūšī*, the officials maintaining order. Everybody wore white garments. The *mukaddim* recited: *"Innani bi-l-šawk ^Calī"* and the crowd replied: *"Allah, Allah, Allah"*

> m. *Ansikuni min hawāhum*
> c. *Allah, Allah, Allah*
> m. *Wa tayyib al-nasī ahyānī!*
> c. *Allah, Allah, Allah*
> m. *Kam ^Candi lahum min hukukⁱⁿ*
>   *wa-^Cuhudⁱⁿ la tudanⁱⁿ*
> c. *Allah, Allah, Allah*
> m. *Awda^Cuhā wa-ahkamuhā*

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The text of Sufi inspiration expresses the desire to unite with God:

"How I desire
Allah, Allah, Allah
Allow me to smell the incense of the
    saints, the good smell revived me,
Allah, Allah, Allah
How much I owe them, and how many wonderful
    promise,
Allah, Allah, Allah
(Promises) they took from me . . . "

It is clear on first sight that the procession follows an ancient tradition, and this notion is strenghtened by the organized, faultless execution of mass singing, even though the procession gradually grows as new participants join at the skirts.

In the meantime women burn incense behind the windows and blow the smoke towards the street while making a sharp sound accompanied by the rapid movement of their tongues. Viewing this ceremonial procession one cannot escape the thought that it is hardly different from what an Amon procession in Siwah could be, with the Amon priest carrying the symbols of God and with the accompanying maidens in white garments.

The procession reached Sīdi Slīman's, the patron of Siwa. , Zāwiya after about one and a half hours. At the grave the procession dissolved and made a huge circle. The banner was erected in the middle and the ḏikr began, led by ᶜAlī Yūsuf šayh. Half an hour later after the ḏikr, the procession recommenced with considerably fewer participants, more or less only the outstanding men, leaving Siwa. for the Zāwiya of Sīdi Miftāh. This was the final act of the ceremony: Sīdi Miftāh stopped at the gate of the Zāwiya, with ᶜAlī Yūsuf mukaddim and other mukaddims by his side. Water was brought to šayh Miftāh in a metal cup and he recited over it the first sūra of the Koran, then murmured unintelligibly and spat into the cup several times. Next ᶜAlī Yūsuf šayh took the cup and sprinkled the participants with the contents. (Spitting as a magical act was used by several saints and rulers, with the aim of curing cf. Mk 7:33, 8:22; Jn 9:6; cf. also the description by Suetonius of Ceasar Vespasianus who returned the gift of sight to a man in this way, cf. also the usage of spitting against snake poison among the Libyan tribes). Finally šayh Miftāh, ᶜAlī Yūsuf and the other mukaddims bade farewell to the rest of the participants by the ritual of the

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hand touch and hand-kiss, and by this act the ceremonies were concluded.

The Moslem religious cover of the ceremony must not mislead us. This is basically a pagan harvest ritual. Under an overwhelming Islam influence the Siwan people, willingly or involuntarily, had to modify their rituals in order to adopt the wishes and possibilities rendered by the stronger, conquering cultural influence. According to a Siwan manuscript the ceremony proceeded as follows: "It is a custom of the Siwan that every year they assemble at a place called ᶜAdah where men dance with men and women with women." (The partition of the sexes by the anonymous author was probably due to the fact that he studied at the Azhar, and thus tried to veil the licentious character of the ceremony.) The manuscript continues: ' Everybody brought his own food, which contained bread stuffed with knotweed and some kind of beans. Knotweed is sometimes cooked with lentil, and this is called *igayrin* in Siwa .. This meal is kept in the custody of trusted men until the celebration begins." One finds the same phenomenon occurring during the preparations for the *tisyahit,* and the *naf ha.* They are manifestations of the collective character of the ritual ("The women eat together with the women, and the men with the men"). This continues through the whole day and even at night; they eat, dance and then return home.[12]

The main event of the ceremony consisted of extinguishing all lights and was followed by promiscuous intercourse. According to Bates,[13] in spite of its barbaric nature this event had the religious aim of ensuring fertility. Comparing these rituals one may be convinced that they are basically harvest ceremonies. In spite of its brevity and biassed character, the interesting text of the manuscript is important for the understanding of the Siwan ethno-psychological and behavioral patterns. By studying historical reports which mention similar phenomena and the Siwan manuscript it becomes clear that this feast is an original pagan ritual which has never disappeared from the life of the Siwan people, it has appeared again and again with different names. We may also trace it in the details of the ᶜašūrā' ceremony.

The ᶜĀšūrā'

According to the Siwan manuscript, the ᶜašūrā' ceremony was initiated by men working at oil presses. The ceremony went this way: An old rag was submerged in olive oil. When saturated, it was wrapped around an olive stick three yards long and lighted when night fall. The people carried this torch around the village the entire night while they drummed and played flutes. This continued through seven days.[14]

The participants spend much money for sheep and fermented palm sap, and many give away all the money saved during the previous year. At the end of the seventh day each person sticks his torch into the ground, and sings and dances around it. Today the Siwan women still know and sing a song belonging to this event.

^{c}*Idi,^{c}idi, yā ^{c}ammūdi!*
"Come back, come back, day of the feast!"

It is hardly plausible that the Siwan women, now closed in their houses, not allowed to mix with foreign men in any way, and completely veiled outdoors, did not participate in such a celebration or at least that their grandmothers did not.

Though the ^{c}āšūrā' appears today as an event of Islamic origin, it has its roots in Jewish antecedents. The Moslem year begins on the 10th day of the month Muharram. This date coincides — by chance — with the martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn, son of ^{c}Alī, grandson of Muḥammad, who died on this day on the field of Karbalā' on October 10, 680. A. D. This memorial ceremony gained importance in North-Africa under the Fātimid Empire. With the collapse of the Fātimides the importance of the ^{c}āšūrā' lessened but it still maintained an outstanding role among šī^{c}its. The ^{c}āšūrā' was originally introduced by the prophet Muḥammad, hoping that Jews would incline to his doctrines, since the ^{c}āšūrā' was the ritual of the Tent, the 10th day of the month Tišrīn in the Jewish calender.[15] In addition, this day, the 10th of Muḥarram, is exceptionally sacred in the Moslem belief because this was the day on which Adam and Eve first met after their expulsion from Paradise. On this day Arabs of ǧāhiliyya, the age before Muḥammad, fasted under Jewish influence.[16]

It is a widespread belief among Egyptians that the first ten days of Muḥarram are especially sacred, and any religious Moslem fasts these days. On the 10th day they cook wheat previously soaked for two days. The husked, cooked wheat is mixed with milk and sugar, and is a very much preferred meal. According to some traditions this was the day when Muḥammad showed special attention to his family, so in the Islam world men try to copy him on this day.[17]

Fertility ceremony behind the ^{c}āšūrā'

Some days before the ^{c}āšūrā', children ornament the roofs of the houses with palm leaves. They fasten a rag saturated with olive oil to every palm branch. On the vigil of the ^{c}āšūrā' the rags are lighted, so the whole village

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is brillantly illuminated. Then, on the morning of the ceremony, children come out of the houses with palm branches in hand which are ornamented with the fruits of the season (citrus, pomegranate, dates etc.) and they gayly exchange the fruits (cf. the nature of the ritual, connected with harvest, and the manifestations of communality.) The importance of fire and smoke needs further investigations.

NOTES

1. For references on Siwa see:
   Abdallah, A.: "Siwan Customs", *Cairo Scientific Journal* vol. 5, No. 55 pp. 21–23; Basset, B: *Le dialecte de Siouah*, Paris, 1890; Bates: *The Eastern Libyans*, London, 1914; Belgrave, D.; *The Oasis of Jupiter Amon*, London, 1923; Douglas, E. D.: "A Study of Crania from the Oasis Siwa", *Harvard African Studies* 8 (1927): Evans – Prichard: *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford, 1949; Fakhry, A.: *Siwa Oasis: Its History and Antiquites*, Cairo, 1944, 1973; Hamilton, T.: *Wandering in North Africa*, London, 1856; Laoust, E.: *Siwa, son parler*, Paris, 1932; Murray, G. W.: The Customs of Siwa from Anonymous Arab MS. *MAN*, 45 (1945) pp. 82–84; Schiffer, B.: *Die Oasis Siwa und ihre Musik*, Bottrop, 1936; Simpson, G. E.: *The Heart of Libya, the Siwa Oasis*, Cairo, 1908; Stein, L. – Rusch, W.: *Die Oase Siwa*, Leipzig, 1978; Steindorff, G.: *Durch die Libyschen Wüste zur Amonoase*, Leipzig, 1904; Uhlrich, W.: "Alexanders Zug in die Oasis Siwa," *Z. A. S.* 30 (1928); id. *Alexander the Great*, Berlin, 1930; Walker, S.: *The Siwan Language*, 1921; White, S.: *From Sphinx to Oracle*, London, 1924; Wilcken, U.: *Alexander The Great*, Berlin, 1930.
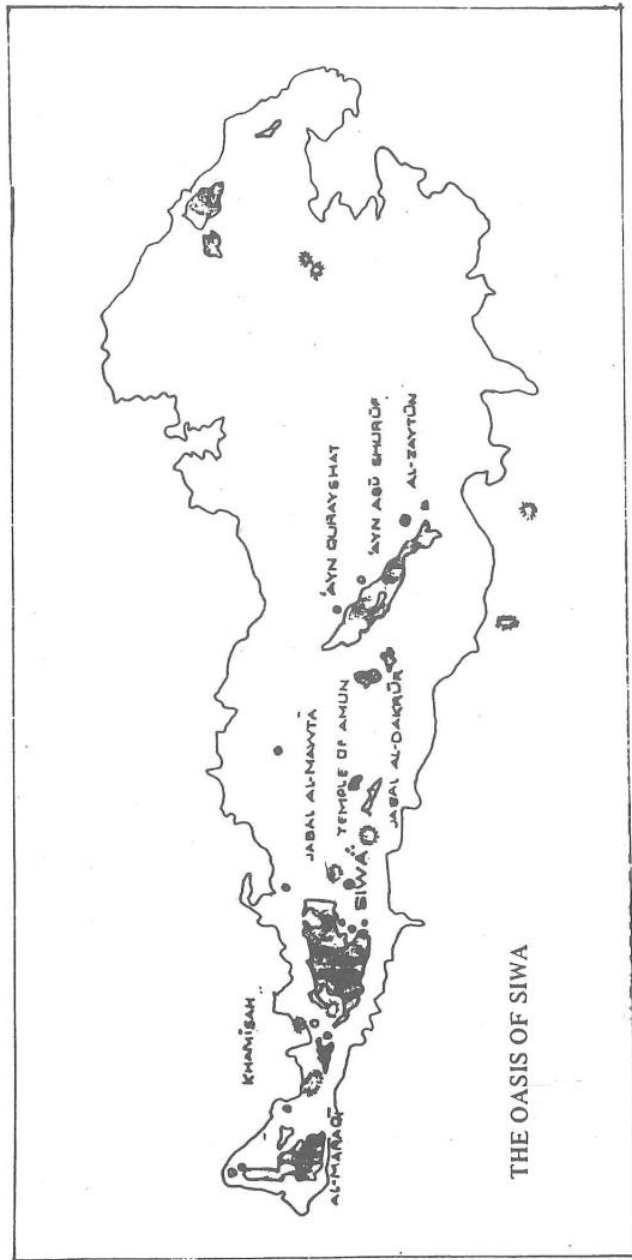2. See: Douglas, E.; Merry
3. Fakhry, pp. 13–174, 1973.
4. Ibid., p. 29.; Sík Endre: *The History of Black Africa*, vol. I. p. 112 (map) Budapest, 1970.
5. Fakhry, 1973, p. 35.
6. Fakhry, 1944 p. 25. 1973. p. 77, Stein, p. 9.
7. For full details see: Steindorff, 1904; Uhlrich, W., 1928, 1930; Stein pp. 9–10.

8. Stein. pp. 10–11. Fakhry, 1973. p. 89.

9. Laoust; *Encyclopadia of Islam*[1], IV. p. 485; Fakhry, 1973, p. 90.

10. Fakhry, 1973, p. 94; Stein , p. 10

11. Fakhry, 1973, pp. 28–29, 95–100; Stein, p. 16.

12. Murray, 1945, p. 82. Cf. Nicolaus Damescenus fragm. 135, F. H. G.

13. Bates, 1914, p. 178.

14. Cf. J. G. Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, London, 1978. Fire -purification pp. 260–261, Fire- festivals p. 798.

15. Brockelmann, C.: History of the Islamic Peoples, London, 1980, p. 22.

16. Lane, E. W., Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London, 1978., p. 422.

17. Ibid., p. 424.

1. The geographic situation of Siwa and the most important desert routes leading to it.

THE OASIS OF SIWA

KHAMĪSAH
AL-MARĀQĪ
JABAL AL-MAWTĀ
ʿAYN QURAYSHAT
TEMPLE OF AMUN
SIWA
JABAL AL-DAKRŪR
ʿAYN ABŪ SHURŪF
AL-ZAYTŪN

10 5   0   10   20   30   40   50 km.

2. The Siwan depression and its settlements

EL ABLT JEAN

al-sahhatin