

Proceedings of the 14th Congress
of the Union Européenne
des Arabisants et Islamisants

— Part Two —

BUDAPEST, 29th August - 3rd September 1988

EDITED BY
A. FODOR



EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES
&
CSOMA DE KÓRÓS SOCIETY SECTION OF ISLAMIC STUDIES

BUDAPEST, 1995

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 15-16

ISSN 0239-1619

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Készült
az U. E. A. I. és az MKM K+F (3216/94)
támogatásával



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EDITOR'S NOTE

The present volume is the second part of the *Proceedings of the Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* (U.E.A.I.) held in Budapest between 29th August – 3rd September 1988, and organized by the Chair for Arabic Studies, Eötvös Loránd University and the Csoma de Kőrös Society under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It contains thirty-one papers read at the Congress in three sections: 'Linguistics', 'Literature' and 'History and Philosophy'. From this last section, papers dealing with philosophy and theology found their way into the first volume of the *Proceedings*. Responding to demands from the members of the Union, we collected and publish here the bibliographical data of all the *Proceedings* that appeared until today.

Owing to circumstances mainly beyond our control, the publication of the *Proceedings* suffered a more than usual delay. Though the authors were given the possibility to update their articles with bibliographical references if they wanted, the articles as a whole reflect the state of research in 1988.

Although uniformity was aimed at throughout in the matter of transliteration – which is that of *The Arabist* –, deviation was allowed when it served the needs of certain studies, as in the case of dialectal linguistics, Ottoman Turkish, Indian Islam and Persian. The handling of references and footnotes was, however, not unified but left to the discretion of the authors according to the practice of the previous *Proceedings*.

The Editor wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his special thanks again to the *Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*; to the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education Research & Higher Education Fund; and, of course, to the authors themselves, for their patience, their enthusiastic response and ready cooperation after all these years that have elapsed since the Congress.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESSES OF THE UNION EUROPÉENNE DES ARABISANTS ET ISLAMISANTS

1. **1962 Córdoba (2 volumes):**
Actas. Primer Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Córdoba, 1962. Madrid: Comité Permanente del Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, 1964, XII, 466 p.
Prontuario de datos. Primer Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Córdoba, 1962. Madrid: Comité Permanente del Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, 1964, 54 p.
2. **1964 Cambridge:**
No proceedings.
3. **1966 Ravello:**
Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici, Ravello, 1-6 settembre 1966. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1967, XXXVIII, 667 p.
4. **1968 Coimbra - Lisbon:**
Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos, Coimbra - Lisboa, 1 a 8 Setembro de 1968. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971 [released 1975], XXXV, 663 p.
5. **1970 Brussels:**
Actes. V^e Congrès International d'Arabesants et d'Islamisants, Bruxelles, 30 août - 6 septembre 1970 (= Correspondance d'Orient, 11). Bruxelles: Centre pour l'Étude des Problèmes du Monde Musulman Contemporain, 1971, XVI, 520 p.
6. **1972 Visby - Stockholm:**
Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Visby, 13-16 August, Stockholm, 17-19 August, 1972. Edited by Frithiof Rundgren (= *Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Filologisk-filosofiska serien, Femtonde [15] delen*). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International & Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975, 216 p. ISBN 91-7192-209-1
7. **1974 Göttingen:**
Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Göttingen, 15. bis 22. August 1974. Edited by Albert Dietrich (= *Ab-*

handlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte [3] Folge, Nr. 98. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976, 419 p. ISBN 3-525-82377-0

8. **1976 Aix-en-Provence:**

La signification du Bas Moyen-Âge dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman. Actes du 8me Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Aix-en-Provence, septembre 1976. Aix-en-Provence: EDISUD, 1978, 362 p. ISBN 2-85744-043-X

9. **1978 Amsterdam:**

Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Amsterdam, 1st to 7th September 1978. Edited by Rudolph Peters, with a preface by Jan Brugman (= *Publications of the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo*, 4). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981, VIII, 348 p.

10. **1980 Edinburgh:**

Proceedings. Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, 10th Congress, Edinburgh, 9-16 September 1980. Edited by Robert Hillenbrand. Edinburgh: 1982, 130 p.

11. **1982 Évora - Faro - Silves (2 volumes):**

Islão e Arabismo na Península Ibérica. Actas do XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos, Évora, Faro, Silves, 29 Set. - 6 Out. 1982. Edited by Adel Sidarus. Évora: Universidade de Évora, 1986, 450, 28 p.

Islão e Arabismo em Terra Lusitana. Contribuições Portuguesas para o XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos, Évora, Faro, Silves, 29 Set. - 6 Out. 1982. Edited by Adel Sidarus (= *Publicações "Universidade de Évora", Série Estudos Árabes*, 4). Évora: Universidade de Évora, 1986, 148 p.

12. **1984 Málaga:**

Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I. (Málaga, 1984). Madrid: 1986, 767 p. ISBN 84-398-7260-7

13. **1986 Venice:**

Atti del XIII Congresso dell'Union Européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants (Venezia 29 settembre - 4 ottobre 1986) (= *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 5-6). Università degli Studi di Venezia, Dipartimento di Scienze storico-archeologiche e orientistiche, Sezione orientistica. Venezia: Casa Editrice Armena, 1988, 790 p.

14. 1988 Budapest (2 volumes):

Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Budapest, 29th August – 3rd September 1988, Part One (I. Philosophy and Theology, II. Popular Culture in Islam). Edited by Alexander Fodor (= *The Arabist, Budapest Studies in Arabic*, 13-14). Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Chair for Arabic Studies & Csoma de Kőrös Society Section of Islamic Studies, 1995, xx, 341 p. ISSN 0239-1619

Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Budapest, 29th August – 3rd September 1988, Part Two (I. History; II. Linguistics; III. Literature). Edited by Alexander Fodor (= *The Arabist, Budapest Studies in Arabic*, 15-16). Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Chair for Arabic Studies & Csoma de Kőrös Society Section of Islamic Studies, 1996, xvi, 336 p. ISSN 0239-1619

15. 1990 Utrecht – Driebergen (3 volumes):

Shī'a Islam, Sects and Sufism. Historical dimensions, religious practice and methodological considerations. Edited by Frederick De Jong. Utrecht: M. Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992, 134 p., 14 figures. ISBN 90-801040-1-9

Verse and the Fair Sex. Studies in Arabic Poetry and in the Representation of Women in Arabic Literature. A collection of papers presented at the 15th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (Utrecht/Driebergen, September 13-19, 1990). Edited by Frederick De Jong. Utrecht: M. Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1993, 170 p. ISBN 90-801040-2-7

Miscellanea arabica et islamica. Dissertationes in Academia Ultrajectina prolatae anno MCMXC. Selected and edited by F[rederick] De Jong (= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 52). Leuven: Peeters & Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1993, XI, 325 p. ISBN 90-6831-504-8

16. 1992 Salamanca

17. 1994 St. Petersburg

I. LINGUISTICS

EXCEPT FOR A FEW...
THE EXCEPTION IN QUR'ĀN 11.116

Monique Bernards

University of Groningen

One of the things which set Sībawayhi apart from his predecessors is the importance he attaches to the various sources on which he, and the other grammarians, based their grammatical rules. These are: the *kalām al-ʿarab* (Bedouin speech), pre-Islamic poetry, and the text of the Qur'ān. Sībawayhi only accepts an expression if he is absolutely certain it actually occurs in Bedouin speech. At the same time, he sees the text of the Qur'ān, that is, the officially accepted ʿUṭmānic text, the *Muṣḥaf*, as the prime example of the *kalām al-ʿarab*¹.

In the present article, I shall demonstrate the way Sībawayhi's ideas on the valuation of sources were taken up by his fellow grammarians, a problem which plays a central role in my research on the reception of the *Kitāb Sībawayhi* among the early Arab grammarians². For this I shall use the example of the various opinions on the exceptive particle *illā* as it occurs in Qur'ān 11.116. But let me first present a short analysis of the general rules on *illā* in the *Kitāb Sībawayhi*.

Penrice says in his *Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran with Copious Grammatical References and Explanations of the Text* (1873) that *illā* stands for *in lā*, that it means "unless, except, if not" and that it

¹ See Edmund Beck, "Arabiyya, Sunna und ʿĀmma in der Koranlesung des zweiten Jahrhunderts", *Orientalia* 15 (1946) 180-224: 364; Cornelis H. M. Versteegh, "Arabic Grammar and Corruption of Speech", *al-Abḥāt* 31 (1983) 139-160: 149. According to Carter, however, Sībawayhi was too early for the ʿUṭmānic text: "He uses the Qur'ānic text, official or otherwise, only to illustrate or confirm points of purely grammatical import"; see Michael Carter, *A Study of Sībawayhi's Principles of Grammatical Analysis*, Oxford, 1968: 50.

² Monique Bernards, *The Editor of Sībawayhi's Book. Al-Mubarrad's refutation: Study and Text*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, forthcoming.

commonly governs the accusative. Unfortunately, it is not quite as simple as that. Sībawayhi uses more than ten full pages of his *Kitāb* to discuss the various constructions with what he calls the "original" exceptive particle *illā*³. In short the rules are as follows:

When the thing excepted is placed after the general term and the proposition containing that term is affirmative, the exception is always put in the accusative, as in *atānī l-qawmu illā zaydan* or *ra'aytu l-qawma illā zaydan*.

When the exception is placed after the general term and the proposition containing that term is negative or implying a negation, for instance beginning with *law*, the thing excepted takes the place of the general term as a *badal/badalan min*. It is therefore dependent on the same regent and put in the same case as the general term, as in *mā atānī l-qawmu illā zaydun*; or it can be considered as a description of the general term, thus resembling an adjective (a *ṣifa*) and therefore be put in the same case, as in *mā ḡā'anī aḥadun illā zaydun*. However, according to trustworthy informants⁴, the exception in this type of exceptive sentence may also be put in the accusative, because *illā* incorporates the meaning of *wa-lākinna*: "the people did not come but Zayd did."

If the thing excepted belongs to a fundamentally different category from that of the general term, the accusative is usually preferred, in accordance with the dialect of the Ḥiǧāz, as in *mā ḡā'anī aḥadun illā himāran*, because a donkey can never take the place of or be a description of a human being. So, in this case the exception can be neither a *badal* nor a *ṣifa* and *illā* again takes on the meaning of *wa lākinna*, governing the accusative. The Banū Tamīm accept the interpretation of *illā* as a *badal* even in this type of exceptive sentence, but Sībawayhi prefers the accusative⁵.

³ Abū Bišr 'Amr b. 'Uṣmān Sībawayhi, *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. 'Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, 5 vols., Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥanǧī and Riyad: Dār ar-Rifā'i, 1983: II, 310-315; 319-329; 331-335.

⁴ As Sībawayhi reports on account of Yūnus and 'Isā: Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 319.

⁵ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*: II, 319-20.

If the general term is not expressed at all, the thing excepted is put in whatever case the general term would have been, had it been expressed; thus *mā ḡā'anī illā zaydun* and *mā ra'aytu illā zaydan*.

So there are three kinds of exceptive sentence. First: the *istiṭnā' muttasil*, the "joined exception", in which the thing excepted is put in the same case as the general term as a *badal* or a *ṣifa*. Second: the *istiṭnā' munqati'*, the "severed exception", in which the thing excepted is always put in the accusative because *illā* incorporates the meaning of *wa-lākinna*, whatever the case ending of the general term may be. (Incidentally, in Sibawayhi's view the term *munqati'* refers to the fact that general term and exception have different case endings and not, as has been the interpretation of later grammarians, to the fact that they belong to different categories). And third: the *istiṭnā' mufarraḡ*, the "void exception", in which the general term is not mentioned and the exception takes whatever case the general term would have had. This type of exceptive sentence is discussed by Sibawayhi as if it were an *istiṭnā' muttasil*. Neither this third type of exception nor the other possible constructions with *illā*, for instance those in which the exception precedes the general term, are relevant to the subject under discussion here⁶.

These, then, are the rules given by Sibawayhi for the construction of exceptions with *illā*. If we compare this to the way Mubarrad treats the same subject about sixty years later in his *Muqtaḍab*, we see that his rules are more or less the same. The division of the chapter on *istiṭnā'* into paragraphs differs from that in the *Kitāb* and some paragraphs which do occur in the *Kitāb* do not in the *Muqtaḍab*, but the general

⁶ See Sibawayhi, *Kitāb*, II, 335ff. On the general rules of *illā* see William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Third, revised edition, 2 vols., Cambridge: University Press, 1967: II, 335-37; H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1921: 502-12; *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967 (Photomechanischer Nachdruck): 712-26; and Michael Carter, "A note on classical Arabic exceptive sentences", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 20 (1975): 69-72.

principles are the same, mostly expressed in the same technical terminology⁷.

There is, however, some disagreement between the two authors about the regency in the *istiṭnā' munqati'*. Sībawayhi says that the exception is governed by the previous part of the utterance in the same way as *dirhaman* is governed by *'iṣrūna* in *'iṣrūna dirhaman*. In other words *zayd* is put in the accusative through regency of *illā*⁸. Mubarrad, on the other hand, says that the accusative occurs because *illā* takes the place of a verb which governs the accusative. In his view, the underlying construction is *lā a'nī zaydan*, "I do not mean Zayd" or *astatnī minhum zaydan*, "I except Zayd from them", just as is the case with the accusative of the vocative⁹.

Let us now take a look at the exception in Qur'ān 11.116: *fa-lawlā kāna min al-qurūni min qablikum ūlū baqiyyatin yanhawwā 'an al-fasādi fī l-ardi illā qalīlan mimman anḡaynā minhum*, "...or if there had been, of the generations before you, men of a remainder forbidding corruption in the earth – except a few of those whom we delivered from them"¹⁰. Here we find the exceptive particle *illā* followed by an accusative, *qalīlan*. This, of course, is visible in the consonantal text. If we apply the rules given by Sībawayhi to this construction, we see that: one, the general term is mentioned; two, the proposition containing the general term is implying a negation, because there were no men of a remainder, except etcetera; and three, the general term and the exception belong to the same category, that of human beings. Thus, on the basis of the rules there is no reason at all not to see the exception as an

⁷ Abū al-Abbās Muḥammad bin Yazīd al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍab*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abdalḥāliq 'Uḏayma, 4 vols., Cairo: Dār at-Tahrīr, 1965-68: IV, 389-421.

⁸ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, II, 319; see also I, 95 and II, 330-331 and Michael Carter, "Twenty Dirhams in the *Kitāb* of Sībawaihi", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 35 (1972): 485-96.

⁹ Mubarrad *Muqtaḍab* IV, 389-94.

¹⁰ Translation from Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols., London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971: I, 253.

istiṭnā' *muttaṣil* with *qalīlun* in the nominative, as a *ṣifa* or maybe even a *badal*. According to the rules, *illā qalīlun* should at least be considered correct, if not better than *illā qalīlan* and this is exactly what we find as the opinion of a number of other early grammarians. Farrā', for instance, states that reading the nominative ending *'alā niyyat al-waṣl* in this verse is correct, too. It has been said both of Ġarmī and of Māzinī that they allowed the nominative as a *ṣifa* in this verse. Aḥfaṣ also mentions the nominative as a correct alternative¹¹.

However, Sībawayhi includes this verse in a separate paragraph on exceptive sentences, in which *illā* can only have the meaning of *wa-lākinna* and thus must perforce take the accusative. Neither from the other verses of the Qur'ān cited as examples in this paragraph, nor from the explanation given on the basis of poetry and quotations from the *kalām* can one deduce Sībawayhi's reasons for discussing Qur'ān 11.116 in this particular paragraph¹².

I think we can understand his reasons better if we take a closer look at what Mubarrad has to say on this verse in his *Muqtaḍab*. What strikes us in Mubarrad's treatment of the subject? In the first place he discusses the verse in the paragraph on exceptive sentences in which the exception is of a different category than the general term and thus cannot be a *ṣifa* or a *badal*. He does not include a paragraph on exceptions which can only take the accusative because *illā* is used to incorporate the meaning of *wa-lākinna*. He says that he includes the verse in this particular paragraph because *lawlā* has the meaning of *hallā* "is not...?" As far as I can

¹¹ Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Ziyād al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf Naġātī and Muḥammad 'Alī an-Naġġār, 3 vols., Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyya l-Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1980: I, 167; II, 30ff; Abū l-Ḥasan Sa'īd b. Mas'ada al-Aḥfaṣ al-Awsaṭ, *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*, ed. Fā'iz Fāris al-Ḥamad, 2 vols., Kuwait, 1981: 115, 404; Abū Ḥayyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Manḥaġ as-sālik fi l-kalām 'alā Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik*, ed. Sidney Glazer, New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1974: 170; Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *at-Taṣīr al-kabīr*, ed. 'Abdarrahmān Muḥammad, 32 vols., Cairo: Maṭba'a Bahiyyat al-Miṣriyya, 1938: XVIII, 75; Raḍī ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī, *Šarḥ Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥāġib*, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Īlmiyya, 1969: I, 229.

¹² Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 325-29.

see, this statement does not make things any clearer. But then he continues, saying that the grammarians allow the nominative *'alā l-wasf* in this type of expression, but that they do not allow it in this particular case, because they do not want to change the consonantal text of the Qur'ān. We have already seen that this is not true for all grammarians. It clearly shows Mubarrad's personal opinion on this matter¹³.

Maybe the opinion ascribed by Mubarrad to the other grammarians sheds some light on the reason why Sibawayhi made an exception of Qur'ān 11.116 and put it in a separate paragraph. Although Sibawayhi does not refer to the *Muṣḥaf* in this case, his statement on, for instance, the reading of Qur'ān 12.31 clearly shows his thinking on this kind of problem. In the chapter on the negative particle *mā* he says: *wa-miṭlu dālīka qawluhu "mā hādā bašaran" fī luġati ahli l-ḥiġāzi wa-banū tamīm yarfa'ūnahā illā man 'arafa kayfa hiya fī l-muṣḥafi*. This is extensively treated by Beck¹⁴.

This, I think, is the heart of the matter. As I have mentioned above, referring to the valuation of the sources, according to Sibawayhi the *Muṣḥaf* is the prime example of the *kalām al-'arab*. Consequently, when the sources contradict each other, he always prefers to follow the *Muṣḥaf*, whereas some of his colleagues do not hesitate to offer alternatives to this text. Baalbaki in his article on the treatment of *qirā'āt*, says that the difference in treatment by Sibawayhi and Mubarrad on the one hand, and by Farrā' and Aḥfaš on the other, lies in the fact that both Sibawayhi and Mubarrad have a tendency to reject material which does not conform to their grammatical norms, whereas Farrā' and Aḥfaš prefer to rely on what actually occurs in Beduin speech. This is also true for their pupil and colleague Ğarmī¹⁵.

¹³ Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 416. 2.

¹⁴ Edmund Beck, "Der 'Uṭmanische Kodex in der Koranlesung des zweiten Jahrhunderts", *Orientalia* 14 (1945) 355-73: 359-61; Sibawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 59.

¹⁵ Ramzi Baalbaki, "The Treatment of *Qirā'āt* by the second and third century Grammarians", *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 15 (1985) 11-32: 24; Monique Bernards, "The Basran Grammarian Abū 'Umar al-Ğarmī: his position between Sibawayhi and Mu-

With regard to Sībawayhi's rules, however, important as they may be to him, the case of Qur'ān 11.116 demonstrates that they can be "over-ruled" and restricted by an authoritative consonantal text which leaves no room at all for alternative readings. This approach we see again in Mubarrad's treatment and he is even more outspoken about it than Sībawayhi. Where the latter restricts himself to an implicit rejection of variant readings, Mubarrad openly criticizes a number of *qirā'āt*, as Baalbaki has pointed out¹⁶. The fact that with regard to Qur'ān 11.116 Mubarrad not only follows Sībawayhi's line of thinking, but also provides him with a plausible reason for his obscure placing of the verse, fits in very well with the thesis that Mubarrad, well-known as a critic of Sībawayhi in his younger years, felt a need to support and promote the *Kitāb Sībawayhi* later on and that his contribution to the consolidation of the *Kitāb* as authoritative text has been great indeed¹⁷.

To test the validity of this argument, let us take a look at the treatment of another Qur'ānic verse, 4.66: *mā fa'alūhu illā qalīlun minhum* "they would not have done it, save a few of them"¹⁸, where we face a similar problem, or rather, its exact opposite: *illā* followed by a nominative, whereas according to the rules an accusative is also allowed, because the general term is mentioned, the proposition containing that term is negative and the general term is of the same category as the exception. We see that in this case Sībawayhi applies the rules, stating that one who says *mā atānī al-qawmu illā abāka* really ought to say *mā fa'alūhu illā qalīlan minhum* as well. This, of course, would mean a change in the consonantal text of the *Muṣḥaf*. Nevertheless, he does not

barrad", *Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on the History of Arabic Grammar Nijmegen, April 29 - May 2, 1987*, ed. Michael Carter and Cornelis Versteegh, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1990: 35-47; see for instance the discussion on the declension of *ayy* when used as a relative, where Ġarmī supports his dissenting opinion by referring to Beidouin Speech.

¹⁶ Baalbaki (1985): 21.

¹⁷ Bernards (1990).

¹⁸ Translation from Arberry (1971): I, 110.

reject the use of the accusative in this verse, although he goes on to express a positive preference for the nominative in this type of expression¹⁹.

From the other early grammarians we only know Farrā's opinion²⁰ – he treats it the way he treats 11.116 and allows both nominative and accusative – and that of Mubarrad. In the *Muqtaḍab*, the latter discusses the verse in the context of a theoretical exposition on the use of the nominative as a *badal*, but does not mention the alternative reading with the accusative. I think we can interpret this as indirect criticism of Sībawayhi, something which is not at all unusual for Mubarrad. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that he withdrew most of his criticism later on in his life and indeed, we see that Mubarrad in this case, too, eventually chooses to follow Sībawayhi's lead. In one of his later works, if not his last, the *Kāmil*, he states that *illā qalīlun* is the correct reading, but that one may read *illā qalīlan* as well²¹.

So, although we are confronted with an inconsistency in what we see as Sībawayhi's line of thought, this does not affect our opinion on Mubarrad's historical role, on the contrary: it even confirms it. If we add to this that Mubarrad says in the *Kāmil*, referring to the discussion on the regency of *illā*, that he only offers an interpretation of Sībawayhi's words, that he only tries to clarify things, without – and this he emphasizes – contradicting him, I think we may conclude that he felt he needed to present himself as the keeper *par excellence* of Sībawayhi's legacy.

¹⁹ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* II, 311; see also Edward William Lane, *Arabic English Lexicon*, in eight parts, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1955: 76c.

²⁰ Farrā', *Mā'ānī* I, 166.

²¹ Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 395 and notes; see on the chronology *Muqtaḍab - Kāmil*: Janusz Danecki, *Literatura i Kultura w imperium Kalifów: Studium twórczości adabowej al-Mubarrada*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1982:64.

VERNACULAR ARABIC AS REFLECTED BY MIDDLE ARABIC (INCLUDING JUDAEO-ARABIC)

Joshua Blau

The Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Middle Arabic texts are of great cultural significance, since some of the most important works of Medieval Islamic culture are written in Middle Arabic. They are, however, of great linguistic significance as well: Middle Arabic is characterized by the almost free alternation of classical, post-classical, pseudo-correct, and vernacular Neo-Arabic elements. It is this last set that we shall treat in this lecture.

The linguistic history of Arabic can conveniently be divided into two strata: Old Arabic, mainly represented by classical Arabic and its descendants, and Neo-Arabic, the modern representatives of which are the contemporary Arabic dialects. Between classical Arabic and the modern dialects there is a gap of about one thousand years. This gap can be filled by culling the Neo-Arabic elements from Middle Arabic texts, thus reconstructing this missing link in the history of Arabic: Judaeo-Arabic texts are mostly from the second millennium A.D., Ancient South Palestinian Christian Arabic works from the second half of the first millennium, and Arabic papyri take us back as far as 700 A.D.

As a matter of fact, almost all the structural characteristics of the modern dialects can be reconstructed from the Neo-Arabic elements contained in Middle Arabic texts. One has to bear in mind that Neo-Arabic, as reflected both by Middle Arabic and the modern dialects, is by no means merely Old Arabic minus the case and mood endings; Old Arabic and Neo-Arabic differ, indeed, in many other decisive features. The disappearance of short vowels in open unstressed syllables (as proven in Middle Arabic texts e.g. by the occurrence of prosthetic *alif* in cases like *itkallam* > *takallam*) attests to the emergence of a strongly centralizing stress system, which, contrary to the stress in classical Arabic, reduced short vowels in open unstressed syllables. Syllable structure changed, enabling the occurrence of long vowels in closed

syllables (as *yūqīm*, frequent in Middle Arabic, as against classical *yūqīm*). The phonemic system of the vowels has altered, and in some dialects the phonemic difference between *i* and *u* does not exist, in many dialects, the diphthongs *aw/ay* have been monophthongized. The glottal stop has been weakened, sometimes tending to disappear. Whereas classical Arabic has preserved the inventory of what we consider Proto-Semitic consonants almost intact, only *ś* wanting, it has been reduced in Neo-Arabic. In almost all the Neo-Arabic dialects *d* has disappeared, having merged with *z*; therefore in many Middle Arabic texts the two letters marking these two consonants alternate, in some of them ض, the more frequent letter, being used exclusively. In the dialects of the sedentary population interdental spirants have shifted to the corresponding occlusives, marginally attested in some Middle Arabic texts, e.g. by the rhyming of spirants with occlusives. *tā marbūta* has either shifted to *b* or disappeared in the absolute.

In the field of morphosyntax, many of the numerous differences between Old Arabic and Neo-Arabic may be reduced to a common denominator: Old Arabic tends to be more synthetic, i.e. to utilize more bound morphemes, whereas Neo-Arabic is more analytic, i.e. it relies less on bound morphemes. Thus, in Neo-Arabic, from its very beginnings, the case and mood endings have disappeared, triggering further changes. Because of the disappearance of the case endings word order has become more fixed. The marked tendency of Neo-Arabic is not to insert the direct object between verb and subject. Owing to the same propensity to mark the subject, as against the direct object, by fixed word order, the initial position of the subject before the verb becomes more frequent than in classical Arabic. Hence, as in this position the verb agrees with the subject, the congruence of the verb was extended even to verbs preceding their subjects. This was prompted also by the desire to avoid ambiguity, since the congruence of the verb preceding its subject with the subject made it possible to distinguish the subject, though no longer marked by case endings, from the direct object, if the two differed in gender and/or number. In some Neo-

Arabic dialects, as also reflected in Middle Arabic texts, analytic devices are used to mark direct object and the *nomen rectum* in a genitival construction. Because of the disappearance of both the case and mood endings, the functional differences between *an* and *anna* (as well as *inna*, because of the blurring of the differences between *a* and *i*) have become effaced and these particles merged.

A further aspect of the analytic trend in Neo-Arabic is the diminishing use of the dual, which, contrary to classical Arabic has completely disappeared in the verb, the adjective, and the pronoun, and has become limited even in the field of the substantive to cases in which the mentioning of "two" had communicative value. In the sedentary dialects, the traces of which prevail in Middle Arabic texts, the feminine plural of the pronoun, the verb, and the adjective has been superseded by the masculine. In Middle Arabic texts as well as in many dialects, the comparative may be expressed by the positive followed by the adverb "more". Moreover, Neo-Arabic exhibits a growing tendency of adding separate personal pronouns to the finite forms of the verb (though this propensity is not entirely absent from classical Arabic either). The relative pronoun has become invariable, no longer agreeing with its antecedent in number or gender (and, of course, in case, after the disappearance of the case system).

Yet the differences between the linguistic structures of Old Arabic and Neo-Arabic are not confined to the difference between synthetic versus analytic features. The fixed alternation of syndetic and asyndetic sentences, so characteristic of classical Arabic, no longer exists. In Neo-Arabic asyndetic sentences have become quite frequent, both in co-ordination and subordination. Co-ordinate asyndetic clauses are especially conspicuous after verbs denoting movement, subordinated ones in the function of object clauses. Profound changes have affected the numerals, changing their whole structure. The same applies to demonstrative pronouns, though perhaps to a smaller extent. In most dialects, the passive formed in classical Arabic by internal vowel change, has been replaced by the former reflexive verbal forms. The conjugation of the first and second persons of the perfect of *verba mediae geminatae*

has changed, as a rule exhibiting the "connecting vowel" *ay/ē*. There exists in Neo-Arabic a clear tendency to assign tenses according to the division of time. Consequently, the perfect (except in conditional clauses) is associated with the past only. Therefore, as a rule, it no longer denotes wishes in genuine living usage. *lam* 'not', which in classical Arabic governs the apocopate to mark the past, has disappeared in Neo-Arabic. *mā* has become the "basic" negative particle. Therefore, the functional load of *mā*, already rather significant in classical Arabic, has become so heavy that it has been supplanted in Neo-Arabic in the sense of 'what' by words like *ayy šay'/ēš/aš*. The relative pronoun tends to introduce substantive clauses as well. Indirect questions often take the form of conditional clauses.

These features, which one may easily multiply, illustrate the difference between classical Arabic and Neo-Arabic, which thus, with the help of the vernacular elements contained in Middle Arabic texts, can be traced back till the beginning of the eighth century A.D., giving it a span of life of almost 1300 years.

Yet not only almost all the structural characteristics of the modern dialects can be reconstructed from the Neo-Arabic elements contained in Middle Arabic texts. What surprises even more that also many restricted vocabulary items characteristic of the modern dialects, are present in Middle Arabic texts. Some few examples will suffice: *min kull budd* 'in any case, at any rate', is attested not only in modern dialects, from which it penetrated modern standard Arabic, but also in Judaeo-Arabic and even in Ancient South-Palestinian Christian Arabic. The well-known metathesis *ḡawz* < *zawḡ* 'pair' occurs in Judaeo-Arabic, as does *maysūm* < *maš'ūm* 'inauspicious', further *bass* in both the meanings 'enough' and 'only'. One has the impression that the Middle Arabic texts demonstrate that most elements characterizing modern dialects already existed in the early stratum of Neo-Arabic, as reflected in Middle Arabic texts, the later history of Neo-Arabic being limited to a different distribution of these elements. If further analysis will, indeed, confirm this impression, it will teach us an important lesson as to the development of Neo-Arabic.

Finally, a short remark on the way of reconstructing the ancient layer of Neo-Arabic from Middle Arabic texts will not be out of place, since it is completely different from the method of investigating modern dialects. The latter are, as a rule, simply recorded and analyzed, very often from a plethora of data, whereas ancient Neo-Arabic has painfully to be extracted from forms deviating from classical Arabic in Middle Arabic texts, painfully, because a feature differing from classical Arabic need not necessarily be Neo-Arabic: it can also be post-classical or pseudo-correct, or even a combination of both (as *lā zāl* 'he has not ceased, still', or *ilā* used for *li* e.g. for marking a direct object after nominal forms of the verb). In every case, it can only after careful consideration and comparison with the modern dialects be decided whether a feature represents genuine Neo-Arabic, and sometimes even then pitfalls can hardly be avoided.

To sum up: Careful analysis of the Neo-Arabic elements occurring in Middle Arabic texts enables us to trace Neo-Arabic back to the beginning of the eighth century A.D., thus making it possible to fill a gap of over one thousand years of its history. This early layer of Neo-Arabic reflects not only the structural characteristics of the modern dialects, but even many isolated lexicographical items, thus suggesting that most elements characterizing the modern dialects already existed 1300 years ago, the later history of Neo-Arabic being, in the main, limited to re-distribution of these features.

EXPLAINING I'RĀB AND ANALYSING TEXT: ON MADḤ AND TATĀWUL IN EARLY ARABIC GRAMMAR

Kinga Dévényi

Budapest

1

The linguistic explanation of some Qur'ānic passages has occupied many grammarians and commentators. Some of these well known passages have been treated in previous articles¹. In the following these Qur'ānic passages will be used only as a starting point and an attempt will be made to trace the representation of one of the explanations given to what became known as *naṣb 'alā l-madḥ* in some of the most important exegetical and grammatical works with the aim of trying to establish the trends of change in the explanatory techniques. Our two main starting points remain al-Farrā's *Ma'ānī* and Sibawayhi's *Kitāb* and changes will be examined in relation to them².

The main Qur'ānic passage the explanations of which will be examined is ii.177 (*al-mūfūna ... wa-s-ṣābirīna*), while parallel passages are iv.162 (*al-mu'tūna ... wa-l-muqīmīna*) and cxi.4 (*ḥammālata l-ḥatab*).

2

If we examine all the occurrences of praise and blame in al-Farrā's *Ma'ānī*, the following can be ascertained:

i) The complex treatment of praise and blame: [ii.177] I,105.8; I,105.8; I,105.9; I,105.10; I,105.13; I,106.1; I,107.7; I,108.6 *madḥ*; I,107.8 *mamdūḥ*; I,105.8; I,108.11 *damḥ*

¹ See esp. Burton 1988 and Dévényi 1990.

² The detailed analysis of the relevant chapters in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb* is presented in Dévényi 1990:381-383 together with the traditional Kūfan Baṣran controversy concerning this matter *ibid.*: 384. Sibawayhi's analysis, however, will be outlined in *Table 1*.

- ii) Praise and blame entail *naṣb*: [ii.18] I,16.17 *madḥ*; I,16.16; I,16.17 *ḍamm*; [ii.171] I,100.10 *ṣatm*; [v.41] I,309.10; I,309.11 *madḥ*; I,309.10 *ḍamm*; I,309.11 *ṣatm*; [xxvii.1] II,286.1; II,286.4 *madḥ*³; [vi.14] I,328.16 *madḥ*; [ix.112] I,453.10 *madḥ*; [xxxiii.19] II,338.15 *ḍamm*; II,338.16 *mam-ḍūḥ*; II,338.16 *madḥ*; [xxxiii.61] II,349.17; II,350.1 *ṣatm*; [xxxviii.48] II,408.9 *mudiḥa*⁴; [lxxvi.14] III,216.15 *madḥ*; [cxi.4] III,298.17 *ḍamm*; III,298.17 *an taṣtimahā*;
- iii) Praise involves a change in the *i'rāb*: [xxxiii.53] II,347.9 *madḥ*; [xxxviii.52] II,409.13; II,409.14; II,410.1 *madḥ*; II,409.13 *ḍamm*
- iv) Praise appears in the use of specific (a) forms and (b) expressions, among them:
- (a) *fay'āl* and *fay'ūl*: [iii.2] I,190.6 *madḥ*
af'il: *akrim*, *asmi'*, *atyib*: [xviii.26] II,139.3 *madḥ*; II,139.3 *ḍamm*
fā'l: *ḥalf*: [xix.59] II,170.9 *ḍamm*
fā'āl, *fā'ūl*: *ḍarrāb*, *ḍarūb*: [lxxviii.23] III,228.8 *madḥ*
fā'il is used instead of *maf'ūl*: [lxix.21] III,182.8; III,182.10 *madḥ*;
 III,182.8; III,182.10 *ḍamm*
- (b) *fawqa ḍāk*: [ii.26] I,21.4; I,21.8 *madḥ*; I,21.9 *ḍamm*
li-llāhi darruhū: [xvi.49] II,104.6 *madḥ*; II,104.6 *lam tamdahū*;
 II,104.7 *tamdahū*
karīm: [lvi.44] III,127.2 *ḍamm*
- v) On the use of *bi'sa* and *ni'ma*, which denote praise and blame: [iv.38] I,268.4 *madḥ*; I,268.4 *ḍamm*; [xviii.31] II,141.14 *madḥ*; II,141.14 *ḍamm*
- vi) The definite article added to indeclinable nouns is a sign of praise: [vi.86] I,342.11 *madḥ*
- vii) It is possible to use *bi-* + noun instead of *raf'* in case of praise and blame: [xvii.14] II,119.14 *yumdahū*; II,119.16 *madḥ*; II,119.16 *ḍamm(an)*

³ If the cause of *naṣb* is praise or blame definite and indefinite nouns alike are put into *naṣb*. The same remark is made by al-Farrā' for v.41.

⁴ The use of *madḥ* here and in connection with xxxiii.61 shows clearly that according to al-Farrā' *naṣb* is caused in certain constructions either by a verb – present in the *āya* itself (xxxviii.48: *wa-ḍkur ... ḍā l-kiḥli*) or in the preceding *āya* – or by *madḥ*.

3

Disregarding side-tracks, reiteration and aspects of praise and blame that are not directly relevant for the present investigation, the following steps can be discerned in al-Farrā's theory about *naṣb 'alā l-madh*:

- 1) *maṣḍars* can be in *naṣb* because instead of them verbs can be used (*Ma'ānī* I,3):
al-ḥamda li-llāh ← *aḥmadu llāh*
saqyan laka ← *saqāka llāh*
ra'yan laka ← *ra'āka llāh*⁵
- 2) Because phrases of praise and blame – like *waylan*, *ṭawāban*, *bu'dan*, *saqyan* and *ra'yan* – are in *naṣb*, if the expression of praise or blame is intended by way of a noun, then this noun is put into *naṣb*, i.e., similarities in meaning manifest themselves in similar endings (*Ma'ānī* I, 16).
- 3) Although, in principle, al-Farrā' accepts al-Kisā'i's view according to which praise entails *naṣb* only after a complete sentence (*kalām tāmm*) – which is not the case, e.g., in iv.162 –, he argues that in certain long structures (*idā tatāwalat aṣ-ṣifa*), the Arabs would not make difference between a complete and an uncomplete utterance and would not make all the nouns to follow (*itbā'*) the ending of the first noun but would obstruct (*i'tirād*) the “string [of constituents]” (*naṣq*) by *naṣb 'alā l-madh* (*Ma'ānī* I, 107).
- 4) In this respect there is no difference between a definite and an indefinite structure. The evidence is served by al-Hudālī's poem (rhyme: *as-sa'ālī*, problematic word: *šū'tan*, *Ma'ānī* I, 108).

⁵ The same way of thinking may be discovered in the *Muqaddima* attributed to Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar's (53, 57, 58) where he cites for *naṣb 'alā l-madh* the poem by al-Ḥirniq (rhyme: *al-ḡuzri*, problematic word: *an-nāzilīna*) – which became a standard *šāhid* for this structure – while for *naṣb 'alā d-damm* he mentions *bu'dan* (cf. *Table 1*). On the authorship of Ḥalaf see Talmon (1990:155) who establishes that the *Muqaddima* can be assigned to an early author, the contemporary of Sibawayhi, al-Farrā' and Abū 'Ubayda. Concerning the grammatical problem in the *šāhid* it is also interesting to note that, e.g., al-Baṭalyawsi while explaining every word of it does not mention *madh* at all (*Ḥulal* 15-25).

From the above four points it can be established that al-Farrā' sees the main reason of *naṣb* in *tatāwul* while the main action to achieve it is *ī'tirād*.

In al-Farrā''s analysis of ii.177, five steps can be found in the explanation for the ending of *aṣ-ṣābirīna* (*Ma'ānī* I, 105):

	connector	statement	conjunction	explanation
1		<i>naṣb</i>	<i>li-anna</i>	<i>ṣifa(t man)</i>
2a 2b	<i>innamā</i>	<i>naṣb</i>	<i>li-anna</i> <i>ka-anna</i>	<i>(ṣifat) ism wāḥid</i> <i>madḥ</i>
3	<i>al-ʿarab</i>	<i>ī'tirād</i> <i>bi-l-madḥ</i>	<i>idā</i>	<i>tatāwul</i> <i>min ṣifāt al-wāḥid</i>
4a 4b	<i>fa-</i> <i>wa-</i>	<i>raf^c</i> <i>naṣb ba'd al-</i> <i>madḥ</i>	<i>idā</i> <i>fa-ka-anna</i>	<i>al-ism raf^c</i> <i>(niyyat) al-ibrāğ</i>
5		<i>manṣūb ġayr</i> <i>mutba' li-</i> <i>awwal al-</i> <i>kalām</i>	<i>idā</i>	<i>madḥ muğaddad</i>

The hesitation of the author concerning the explanation offered by him seems to be evident from the conjunctions he uses. It is also conspicuous that he puts a special emphasis on the intention (*niyya*) of the speaker and examines the usage of *the Arabs*.

4

It may also be relevant to investigate how the key terms used by al-Farrā' in connection with *madḥ* appear in the *Ma'ānī* as a whole. The result is somewhat disappointing. The appearance of *tatāwul* is scarce: (a) [ii.177] I,105.8; I,107.11 *tatāwalat aṣ-ṣifa*; (b) [ii.214] I,132.16; I,133.1; I,133.3; I,133.7; I,134.11; I,134.12 *yatatāwal*; I,133.5 *bi-tatāwulihī*; (c) [iv.78] I,277.14; *yatatāwal*; (d) [vi.105] I,349.12 *tatāwala*.

In (a) al-Farrā' speaks of the lengthiness of *ṣifa*, in (b) and (c) about the length in the meaning of certain words (*zilzāl*, *tašyīd*), in all these

author	work	heading	content	sāhid	reference
Šibawayhi d. 180/796	<i>Kiṭāb</i> (Der.) I, 212-218	<i>mā yantāṣib</i> <i>fī</i> <i>t-ta'zīm...</i>	// انتصاب على التعظيم والمدح والشم والذم // صفة - جري/انتساب على أول الكلام // شيء مملوء ← ثناء وتعظيم، والنصب على الفعل: أنكر. لا يستعمل إظهاره - النداء numerous examples for <i>šaim</i> and <i>tarāḥim</i>	iv.162, ii.177 Hirmiq Dū Rum. Hudali cxi.4	ba'd al-'arab Yūnus 'Īsā b. 'Umar al-Haṭīl
Halaf d. 180/796 al-Farrā' d. 207/822	<i>Muqaddima</i> 53, 57, 58 <i>Mā'ānī</i>	<i>wagūh</i> <i>an-naṣb</i>	المدح والذم <i>bu'dan</i> see in the text	Hirmiq <i>bu'dan</i>	
Abū 'Ubayda d. 210/825	<i>Mağāz</i> I, 65-66 II, 315	ii.177 (~ iv.162) cxi.4	إخراج من الأسماء المرفوعة - إذا كثر الكلام الحرب تخرج من الرفع إلى النصب - إذا كثر الكلام - ثم تعود بعد إلى الرفع نصب: هو دم لها	Hirmiq	al-'arab 'Īsā b. 'Umar
al-Aḥfāš al-Awsaṭ d. 215/830	<i>Mā'ānī</i> I, 348-349 II, 745	ii.177 (~ iv.162) cxi.4	نصب "الصائرين" (١) على فعل مضمر ونصب بضمين "حمالة الصليب" على الذم كأنه قال "ذكرتها حمالة الصليب" the possibility of <i>naṣb</i> caused by <i>maḍh</i> with <i>fī</i> <i>mudmar</i> mentioned in: xl.15, xli.4, lxxvi.6, 13-14, and lxxxiii.28.	Hirmiq	
lbn Qutayba d. 276/889	<i>Ta'wīz</i> 50-54	alleged <i>lahn</i> in the Qur'ān ii.177 iv. 162	Some <i>qurrā'</i> read these places in <i>raf</i> while writing it in <i>naṣb</i> ← أرى فيها لنا رستقيه العرب بألسنتهم ← scribal error explained these places drawing on examples from poetry the reading of the majority of <i>qurrā'</i> is <i>naṣb</i> نصب على المدح - والعرب تنصب على المدح والذم كأنهم يثرون أفراد الممدوح مجدد غير متبع لأول الكلام يؤمنون بالمقيمين → رد إلى قوله: يؤمنون نصب على المدح نصب على تطاول الكلام بالنسق	Hirmiq	al-Gahdarī 'Urmān 'Ā'isa an-nahwiyyūn aṣḥāb an-naḥw ← al-'arab [= al-Farrā'] al-Kisā'ī ba'ḍuhum Abū 'Ubayda

author	work	heading	content	sāhid	reference
al-Mubarrad d. 285/898	<i>Kāmil</i> II, 44-46	anonym. poem	النصب على الدم / المدح. و قد عرف بهذه الصفة، والنصب يعني وما أشبهه من in parallel example - حذف - حال الكلام، حذف - تحت "من" على وجه المدح → من شأن العرب إذا تطاولت صفة الواحد الاعتراض بالمدح والذم بالنصب أحياناً وبالرفع أحياناً * عطف على "الساكنين" ← "أتى المال ... الصابرين" - erroneous → from <i>ta'wīl</i>	iv.162 cxii.4 Hirmiq, Dū Rūm.	al-baṣṭriyyūn 'Isā b. 'Umar
aṭ-Ṭabarānī d. 310/922	<i>Tafsīr</i> II, 57	ii.177	المؤمنون) في رفعها قرآن: (1) الأجر أن يكون مرفوعاً على المدح. لأن النعت إذا حال وكثر رفع بعضها ونصب على المدح. المعنى: فم المؤمنون يهتدم. (والصابرين) في نصبها وجهان: (1) أجودهما المدح كما وصفنا في النعت إذا حال. المعنى: أعني الصابرين. (2) معطوف على "ذوي العرش". لا يصلح إلا أن يكون "المؤمنون" رفع على المدح للمضمومين the saying attributed to 'Ujmān is refuted بالمدح ← إن شئت نصبت: مرتت بزبد الكريم ← أذكر الكريم - على معنى: أذكر المعتمدين الصلاة من نصب فعلى الذم ← والمعنى: أعني حمالة الحطب		al-'arab [al-Farrā'] ba'dūhum
az-Zagğāgī d. 311/923	<i>Mā'ānī</i> I, 247	ii.177			<i>yugra'</i>
lbn as-Sarrāg d. 316/928	<i>Uṣṭī</i> II, 40	iv.162 cxii.4 <i>an-na't</i>		Hirmiq	ba'd an- nahwyyīn
az-Zagğāgī d. 337/949	<i>Ġumal</i> 27-28	<i>an-na't</i>	إذا تكررت النعت: (1) أتبعها الأول ← مرتت بأخوتك الظرفاء الكرام. (2) قطعتها منه ونصبتها بإضمار فعل ← مرتت بأخوتك الظرفاء الكرام [أعني] (3) رفعتها بإضمار المبتدأ ← مرتت بأخوتك الظرفاء الكرام [أم] (4) أتبيت بعضها وقطعت بعضها	Hirmiq	Sībawayhi, al- Ḥalī, all the grammarians; the Baṣrans

Table 1/b

author	work	heading	content	sāhid	reference
an-Nahhās d. 338/950	<i>Frāb</i> I, 280-281	ii.177	فيه ه أقوال: الموفون رفع عطفا على "من" و"الصابرين" على المدح ← أعني الصابرين الموفون رفع بمعنى "وهم الموفون" مدحا للمعشرين و"الصابرين" عطفا على "دوي العربي" الموفون رفع على "وهم الموفون" و"الصابرين" بمعنى: أعني الصابرين الموفون رفع ← not accepted ← <i>af</i> cannot be inserted between a <i>manṣūl</i> and its <i>ṣila</i> if both are in <i>naṣb</i> ← both are connected (<i>naṣq</i>) to <i>ḡawīl-qurbā</i> or both are <i>ʿāiā l-maḏḥ</i> <i>ḥāli</i> ; or <i>dāmm</i> → أعني حمالة الخطب	Hirmiḳ	Sībawayhi <i>kalām al-ʿarab</i> al-Kisāʾī ʿAbdallāh anonym. Ruʿba
as-Sirāfī d. 368/979	<i>Sarḥ</i> I/2.264	<i>taʿzīm</i>	<i>maḏḥ</i> , i.e. praise of a quality has to be accompanied by either of two circumstances: this quality of the praised person should be previously well-known to the listener or already spoken of by the speaker		
Ibn Hālawayhi d. 370/980	<i>Frāb</i> 225	cx1.4	نصب على الحال والقطع وإن شئت على القتم والنم ← أشتم حمالة الخطب والعرب تنصب على الذم كما تنصب على المدح فالمذم قولهم: اللهم صل على محمد أبا القاسم ← تعني: أمدح أبا القاسم وكذلك بالنم تقولون: مرتت بزبد القاسق ← تعني: أذم وأعني.	anonym. ʿUrwa	<i>qirāʿa</i> : ʿAṣim al-ʿarab
Ibn Ginnī d. 392/1002	<i>Muḥtasab</i> II, 198	xxxv.1	كلما زاد الإسهاب في الثناء أو الذم كان أبلغ فيهما. النصب على أعني. فكما اختلف الجمال كان الكلام أقانين وضروبا. إذا طال الكلام خرجوا من الرفق إلى النصب ومن النصب إلى الرفق. يريد ما نحن عليه الختلاف ضرورية وتباين تراكيبية.	Hirmiḳ	Abū ʿUbayda
al-Murtadā d. 436/1044	<i>Amālī</i> I, 146-148	iv.162	الموفون (١) رفع على المدح → انتت إذا طال وكثر رفع بعضه ونصب بعضه على المدح (الصابرين) (١) مدح → مذهبه في الصفات والتموت إذا طالت أن يتعرضوا بينهما بالمدح والذم ليمزجوا الممدوح أو المذموم ويغروه ← غير متبع لأول الكلام	Hirmiḳ anonym.	az-Zagğāğ al-Farrāʾ
al-Bakrī d. 487/1094	<i>Tambḥ</i> 81	Hirmiḳ <i>naṣb</i>	"نازلين" هذا هو المدح الصحيح والمذهب المستحسن	Hirmiḳ	al-Qālī

author	work	heading	content	sāhid	reference
az-Zamahšari d. 538/1144	<i>Kaššaf</i> I, 331 I, 582	ii.177 iv.162	أخرج منصوباً على الاختصاص والمدح إظهار لفعل الصبر different readings are mentioned نصب على المدح لبيان فضل الصلاة : وهو باب واسع قد كسره سيوريه على أمثلة its being <i>lahn</i> is refuted on the basis of: مذاهب العرب وما لهم في النصب على الاختصاص من الافتتان عطف على "بما أنزل إليك" reading: "والمعتمرون"		<i>qurī'a</i> Sibawayhi al-'arab <i>qīla</i> "Abdallāh
	<i>Mufaṣṣal</i> 21-22	al- <i>manṣūbāt</i>	فصل: وفي كلامهم ما هو على طريقة النداء ويقصد به الاختصاص لا النداء نحن نفعل كذا / إنا معشر العرب نفعل كذا سوغوا دخول اللام ههنا ← نحن العرب أقرى الناس جاء نكرة في قول الهذلي وهذا الذي يقال فيه نصب على المدح والتميم والترحم	al-Hudalī CXI.4	<i>qurī'a</i>
Ibn al-Anbārī d. 577/1181	<i>Bayān</i> I, 140	ii.177	الموفون مرفوع على ٢ أوجه والصابرين منصوب من وجهين: (١) على المدح، وتقيده: أمدح الصابرين (٢) معطوف على "ذوي القربى" ← وأتى الصابرين		
ar-Rāzī d. 606/1210	<i>Maḳātib</i> V, 44-45	ii.177	نصب → معطوف على "ذوي القربى" تقدير الآية: ... عطف على الموصول قبل صلته غير جائز نصب على المدح → طول الكلام صفات كثيرة في المدح ← الأحسن المخالفة بإعرابها → الإطناب في الوصف الخطيل: أعني الظريف → الفراء: أصل المدح من كلام السامع on the whole he seems to accept al-Farrā's view		al-Kisā'ī an-naḥwiyyūn al-Farrā' al-Fārisī Basra - Kūfa: Ḥalīb - Farrā'
al-Ukbarī d. 616/1220	<i>Imlā'</i> I, 78	ii.177	الموفون: في رقمه ٢ أوجه الصابرين نصب على: (١) إضمار "أعني" وهو في المعنى معطوف على "من" ولكن جاز النصب لما تكررت الصفات (٢) إضمار "أعني" وباللطف على "ذوي القربى"		

Table 1/d

author	work	heading	content	sāhid	reference
al-Qurtubī d. 616/1220	<i>Tafsīr</i> I, 617-618	ii.177	نصب على المدح أو بإضمار فعل والعرب تنصب على المدح وعلى الذم كأنهم يريدون بذلك إفراد المدح والمذموم ولا يتيمونه أول الكلام وينصبونه (المؤنن 61 xxxiii.61) ذم، وهذا مهيب في النعت لا مطلق فيه من جهة الإعراب موجود في كلام العرب the saying attributed to 'Ujmān is refuted	iv.162 Anonym. Hirmiq xxxiii.61 'Urwa	al-Farrā' al-Kisā'ī Abū 'Ubayda kalām al-'arab 'Ujmān
lbn Ya'īs d. 643/1246	<i>Sarḥ</i> II, 18-19	<i>al-ihṣās</i>	هذا النحو من الاختصاص يجرى على مذهب النداء من النصب بفعل مضمّر غير مستعمل لإظهاره وليس ببناء على الحقيقة	az- Zamāl- šarī's examples	
lbn al-Hāḡib d. 646/1249	<i>Idāh</i> I, 293-294	<i>al-ihṣās</i>	يلزم النصب على أصل الباب ... النصب لازم فيما يجرى دخول (يا) عليه وفيما لا يجوز في معنى الصفة الواحدة ← لا يستقيم جري إحداهما وقطع الأخرى	Hudālī	<i>ba' ḡuḥum</i>
lbn 'Uṣṣūr d. 669/1271	<i>Muqarrib</i> 245-246	<i>an-na'ī</i>	والصفة براد بها المدح أو الذم أو الترحم فإنه يجرى فيها الإتياع (-على حسب المنفوت) والتطع (١) إلى الرفع على خبر ابتداء مضمّر (٢) إلى النصب بإضمار "المدح" في الصفات المدح و"الذم" في صفات الذم و"الرحم" في صفات الترحم تكرر الصفات + المنفوت معلوم ← (١) إتياع (٢) قطع (٣) إتياع بعضها وقطع بعض تكرر الصفات + المنفوت مجهول ← إتياع الصفة الأولى والأخرى: ٣ الأوجه المتقدمة		
	<i>Sarḥ ḡamal</i> I, 207-208	<i>an-na'ī</i>	إن كانت الصفة صفة مدح أو ذم أو ترحم وكان الموصوف معلوما عند مخاطب جاز الإتياع والقطع ← (١) إلى الرفع على خبر ابتداء مضمّر (٢) إلى النصب بإضمار فعل تقديره أمدح أو أذم أو أرحم. // ومن الناس من لم يجر القطع إلا بشرط تكرار الصفة وذلك فاسد لأنه قد حكى من كلامهم: الحمد لله أهل الحمد، وحي ذلك سبويه permissibility of <i>qaf</i> is connected to being known (<i>murṭif</i>) as contrasted to unknown (<i>maḡhūf</i>) to the listener → compulsory <i>ihḡā</i> , except if:		min an-nās Sībawayhi
lbn Mālik d. 672/1274	<i>Alfiyya</i> 45	<i>an-na'ī</i>	ان تكون الصفة المقطوعة قد تقدمها صفة متبعا فتأخرها في المعنى المنفوت معلوم + الصفة صفة مدح / ترحم ← ٣ أوجه: إتياع / قطع / إتياع + قطع	Hudālī	
			وإن نعت كثر وقد تلت * مقترا الذكورن آتيت واقطع أو اتبع إن يكن معينا * بدونها أو بعضها اقطع ملنا وارفع والنصب إن قطعت مضمرا * مبتدأ أو ناصبا لن يظهر		

author	work	heading	content	sāhid	reference
al-Astarābādī d. 686/1287	<i>Sarḥ al-Kāfiya</i> I, 316-317	<i>an-naʿī</i>	تقطع الصفة رفعا أو نصبا → (١) ليس للتأكيد (٢) علم مشترك exi.4 shows that it is not necessary to use definite and indefinite structures detailed rules of <i>qaf</i> in case of definite and indefinite structures إذا كثرت نعت شيء معلوم: القطع - الإتياع - الإتياع + القطع ← الأكثر في كل نعت مقطوع: المنح: الدم: الترحم (يونس) ← الإتياع - الإتياع (الخليل) قطع النعت الأول بالواو إذا طال نيل النعت ← واو اعتراضية ويجوز قطع النعت بالرفع أو النصب إن علم متبوعه بدونه القطع بالنصب بإضمار فعل: في صفة التوضيح: أخص/أعني. في صفة المدح: أمدح. في صفة الذم: أذم	exi.4 Hudalī Hirmīq ii.177	az-Zagğāṭī Yūnus, al-Ḥalī az-Zagğāṭī
Ibn Hišām d. 761/1360	<i>Sarḥ šuʿūr</i> 105	<i>an-naʿī</i>	إذا تكثرت النعت لواحد فإن تعيين مسماه بدونها جاز إتياعها وقطعها والجمع بينهما بشرط تقديم المنع. ← النصب بإضمار "أمدح" أو "أذكر" أو "أذم". وإن لم يعرف إلا بمجموعها وجب إتياعها كلها لتزليلها منه منزلة الشيء الواحد وإن كان النعتون نكرة تعين في الأول من نعتوه الإتياع، وجزا في الباقي القطع وحقيقة القطع أن يقطع النعت خبرا مبتدأ أو مفعولا لفعل. فإن كان النعت المقطوع لمجرد مدح أو ذم أو ترحم وجب حذف المبتدأ والفعل.	exi.4 Hirmīq	
	<i>Qatir</i> II, 121	<i>an-naʿī</i>	ويجوز قطع الصفة المعلوم موصوفها حقيقة أو ادعاء رفعا بتقدير هو ونصبا بتقدير أعني أو أمدح أو أذم أو أرحم أجاز فيه الجر على الإتياع	exi.4	*Ašim Sibawayhi Yūnus
Ibn ʿAqīl d. 769/1367	<i>Sarḥ Alfīyya</i> III, 203-205	<i>an-naʿī</i>	إتياع - قطع إذا قطع النعت عن المنعوت فرع على إضمار مبتدأ أو نصب على إضمار فعل ← هو الكريم / أعني الكريم يجب إضمار الرفع (أي: هي) أو الناصب (أي: أعني) إذا كان النعت لمدح أو ذم أو ترحم		
Ibn Kaṭīr d. 774/1373	<i>Tajāsir</i> I, 209	ii.177	نصب الصابرين على المدح والحث على الصبر		
al-Makūdī d. 807/1405	<i>Sarḥ Alfīyya</i> 137-138	<i>an-naʿī</i>	أن المنعوت إذا علم بدون نعت ثم أتيت بنعت جاز فيها الإتياع والقطع والإتياع في بعضها والقطع في بعضها. والمقطوع عن التبيين يجوز فيه الرفع على أنه خبر مبتدأ محدوف والنصب على أنه مفعول بفعل محدوف وكلاهما لازم الحذف no mention of <i>mudḥ</i> or <i>damm</i>		

author	work	heading	content	šāhid	reference
al-Uṣmūnī d. 900/1495	<i>Sarḥ Alfiyya</i> II, 72-73	<i>an-naʿī</i>	الفتوحات سبعين بدون النعمت → إتباع / قطع + إتباع -> المنعوت معين بدون النعمت النصب بإضمار أمدح أو أنكر أو أتم إذا كان الفت لمجرد مدح / تم / تحم -> لا يجوز إظهار الناصب	Hirmiḳ Hudālī cx1.4	<i>Sarḥ al-Kāfiyya</i> [Astarābādī]
as-Suyūṭī d. 911/1505	<i>Hamf</i>	<i>an-naʿī</i>	الفتح تابع مكمل لمتبوعه ... ويرد مدحا ونما ويجوز أن - أي الإتيان والقطع - في نعت غير مبهم إن لم يكن ملتزما ولا مؤكدا قال يونس ولا ترحما: الحمد لله الحميد أي هو. وإمراته حمالة الخطب أي أتم. والمقيمين الصلاة أي أمدح قال يونس: لا يجوز القطع في الثلاثة وواقعه الخليل في المدح والدم وإن كثرت نعت معلوم أتيمت أو قطعت أو بعضها	cx1.4 iv.162 Hirmiḳ	Yūnus al-Halī
as-Šawī d. 1241/1826	<i>Hāsiya</i> I, 75	ii.177	(نصب على المدح) بفعل محذوف تقديره "أمدح الصابرين" وخصهم بالذكر لأن الصبر يزين العبادة وتركه يشينها		

Table 1/g

places this lengthiness allegedly effects the *īrāb* in specific structures, while in (d) *taṭāwala* appears in a paraphrase, with no relevance upon the endings. This rare occurrence together with the nonuniform way of using this word seem to suggest that *taṭāwul* can at most be regarded as an *ad hoc* term. At least in two Qur'ānic places (ii.177 and iv.162) he seems to be justified in using this term by the unexceptional length of the sentences. Examining the later representation of this word we find that it appears only in works of Qur'ānic philology (Ibn Qutayba, aṭ-Ṭabarī, az-Zağğāğ, Ibn Ğinnī) and is mentioned by authors who draw from these sources (al-Astarābādī), (see *Table 1*). Although in ii.177 al-Farrā' makes *taṭāwul* a prerequisite of *naṣb* 'alā l-*madh*, the frailty of his reasoning appears in structures like cvi.4 where length cannot come into the picture and when he himself seems to forget about it.

As for the other principal term, *ītirād*, though it is also seldom used, its meaning, however, is homogeneous and clear. It means the interruption of the continuity of a syntagm or a syntactic constituent by a foreign element: [ii.177] I,105.8 *al-ʿarab taʿtarid ... bi-l-madh*; [iii.18] I,200.5 *muʿtarida*; [iv.176] I,297.5 *yakrahūna an yaʿtarida šayʿ bayna l-ğāzim wa-mā ġazama*; [xiv.47] II,81.3 *idā ʿitaradat šifa bayna l-hāfid wa-mā hafada ġāza idāfatuhu*; [xv.4] II,83.6 *taʿtarid*; [xxii.13] II,217.9 *ustuğīza l-ītirād bi-l-lām*; [xxiii.35] II,234.15 *ʿtarada*; [xxiii.94] II,241.12 *ʿtarada*; [xxxviii.1] II,397.4; II,397.5; II,397.7 *ʿtarada*; II,397.5 *muʿtarid*; [lxxvi.14] III,216.15 *yaʿtaridūn bi-l-madh ʿtirādan*; [ic.6] III,283.18 *ʿtarada*.

5

In the *Kitāb* the semantic factor is still very strong, as is shown, e.g., already by the chapter heading (*mā yantasiḥ fiʿalā t-taʿzīm...*). Judging from the heading we might arrive at a conclusion that similarly to other early authors (al-Farrā', Abū ʿUbayda, Ḥalaf), Sībawayhi considers that a change in the *īrāb* might directly be connected to a semantic feature (in this case *madh*). al-Ḥalīl, however, is cited by Sībawayhi to have said that *naṣb* is caused by a verb which cannot appear. It is apparent from *Table 2* that this suppressed verb occupies a prominent

place in the majority of later explanations. Another interesting point to observe is that for Sibawayhi *qat'* in this case is connected only with *ibtidā'*, while later grammarians consider that the *naṣb* ending of *madḥ* happens because there is *qat'*.

As for later developments, some of the most significant contributions have been summarized in *Table 1*, while the distribution of the most important terms used in the explanation of *naṣb 'alā madḥ* by grammarians and exegetes is presented in *Table 2*.

In conclusion, it can be established from *Tables 1* and *2* that the once natural explanation⁶, *naṣb 'alā l-madḥ*, has become less and less used in the course of time and from the 7th/13th century onwards it appears only in exegetical works. More mechanical and "down-to-earth" techniques gained terrain which fit easily into the unified explanatory system. As for the notion of the "lengthiness" of the attributive structure, the term *taṭāwul* is exclusively used by al-Farrā' and those copying him, while the verbal form *ṭāla* occurs at az-Zağğāğ and his followers only. The appearance of new terms (like *iḥtiṣās*, *takrār*) and the disappearance of others (*iḥrāğ*, *ifrād*) can also be well observed together with a shift in not only the terminology but also in the manner of text analysis.

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⁶ We hold together with Reuschel (1959:21) that by al-Halīl's time *naṣb* in this kind of constructions seems to have become natural, a thing that needs no explanation: "Es galt offenbar schon zu Hl's Zeiten als selbstverständlich, daß Ausdrücke derartigen Inhalts im allgemeinen im *naṣb* stehen".

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AUX AVATARS D'UNE ANCIENNE APPELLATION ETHNIQUE

I. Elter

Budapest

Il est un fait bien connu que par l'expansion arabo-islamique, grâce à laquelle au cours de moins qu'un siècle s'est profilé un vaste empire mondial s'étendant de l'Atlantique à l'Inde, les Arabes, porteurs de l'Islam, sont entrés de plus en plus souvent en relations directes avec des peuples toujours nouveaux, dont la diversité a été d'autant plus accentuée que l'expansion arabo-islamique a coïncidé avec les dernières vagues de la grande migration des peuples. Les Arabes appellent ces peuples de noms différents, parmi lesquels on trouve des appellations arabes originales, comme par exemple 'ağam¹, mais dont la plupart pénètrent dans l'arabe quand même par l'intermédiaire d'autres peuples qui ne sont pas eux mêmes arabes. C'est le cas, entre autres, de noms comme *barbar*², *ifrang*³, *saqāliba*⁴, *rūm*⁵, *turk*⁶ ou *mağūs*⁷, etc. Leur caractéristique commune est de devenir assez vite des *topoi*, c'est-à-dire des appellations ethniques derrière lesquelles d'autres peuples que ceux de la connotation primitive peuvent se cacher et qui tous ont la condition commune de ne pas appartenir aux Arabes ou aux Musulmans.

¹ F. Gabrieli, *EP*, s.v. 'Ađjam.

² Ch. Pellat, *EP*, s.v. Berbères.

³ B. Lewis, J. F. P. Hopkins, *EP*, s.v. Ifrandj 4.

⁴ A. M. 'Abdalfattāh al-'Abbādi, *Los eslavos en España*, Madrid 1953, p. 8ss.

⁵ R. Dozy, *Suppl.* I, p. 573; J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 142 s.; J. F. P. Hopkins, *EP*, s.v. Ifrandj.

⁶ J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 46 ss.

⁷ V. F. Büchner, *Shorter Enc. of Islam*, s. v. Mađjūs; A. Melvinger, *EP*, s. v. al-Mađjūs; J. Marquart, *op. laud.*, pp. 151 s. et surtout pp. 348 s., 386 ss.

Sans m'attarder cette fois sur l'origine de ces noms et leurs possibles connotations, j'aimerais bien toucher une question qui concerne de plus près l'ethnonyme *al-Mağūs*.

Il est connu que la forme collective *mağūs*, dont le nom d'unité est *mağūsī*, a pour étymon l'ancien persan *maguš* qui désignait à l'origine une ancienne caste sacerdotale iranienne⁸, s'emploie en arabe, où elle entre par le syriaque *mğūšā*, en premier lieu et déjà très tôt, comme le nom des Zoroastriens.

Au fur et à mesure que le pays de l'Islam, le *dār al-islām* des auteurs arabes, prend de l'extension, *Mağūs* va s'appliquer à d'autres peuples non-musulmans, en premier chef aux Berbères de l'Afrique du Nord. Ceci a eu lieu pour des raisons plutôt pratiques qu'idéologiques. Bien qu'en principe les Païens conquis n'aient eu d'autre choix que la conversion à l'Islam ou la mort, les besoins matériels d'un empire de plus en plus étendu ont fortement contribué à rechercher d'autres méthodes moins radicales. C'était ainsi qu'en déclarant *Mağūs* d'autres peuples que les Iraniens zoroastriens, on pouvait les considérer comme *ahl ad-dimma*, obligés en tant que tels à payer la *ğizya*, l'impôt de capitation, une solution qui ne pourrait sûrement pas laisser indifférents les responsables du trésor de l'Etat.

Il y a des vues selon lesquelles c'était la raison à chercher derrière le fait que "d'une manière étonnante à première vue, les pirates normands du moyen âge ont été appelés en arabe *Mağūs*, dès leur première apparition sur les côtes d'Espagne en 844", comme le dit Robert Brunschvig⁹.

Je pense quand même qu'ici il ne s'agit pas exactement de cela. Les Normands ne semblent pas être, ni lors de l'établissement du pouvoir musulman en Espagne, ni par la suite, obligés à choisir entre la *dimma* et une autre solution beaucoup plus expéditive. Leur soumission par les Arabes, qui aurait été a priori nécessaire pour pouvoir soulever la ques-

⁸ M. Morony, *EP*, s.v. *Mağūs*; V. F. Büchner, *Shorter Enc. of Islam*, s. v. *Mağūs*.

⁹ R. Brunschvig, Ibn 'Abdalḥakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes, dans: *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, Alger, VI (1942-1947), p. 112.

tion, notamment s'ils voulaient devenir *ahl ad-dimma* ou non, ne figurait pas du tout à l'ordre du jour. Les tractations de paix qui avaient été entamées entre eux et le pouvoir califal de Cordoue dès 844 étaient simplement des négociations entre deux belligérants, dont l'un appliquait des moyens plus proches des méthodes de guérilla. Des tractations entre des pouvoirs étatiques consolidés, fût-il le califat de Cordoue ou l'empire franc et des incurseurs maraudeurs, fussent-ils des pirates nordiques ou des cavaliers hongrois, auraient porté surtout sur des questions concernant le paiement de rançons, l'échange de prisonniers, ou, comme c'était si souvent le cas, sur les conditions de collaboration entre les pirates ou incurseurs, d'une part, et des facteurs de pouvoir locaux, de l'autre, qui avaient des visées contre le pouvoir central. A cet égard on peut citer, par exemple, l'incursion des Hongrois appuyée par Hugues, roi de Provence, en 942 aux deux côtés de la Marche supérieure de l'Espagne¹⁰, ou plus tard celle des Danois en 966¹¹, en collusion ouverte avec les ducs de Normandie contre l'Espagne musulmane. Cette pratique, remarquons-le entre parenthèses, était depuis toujours connue et n'a non plus été écartée des relations internationales jusqu'à nos jours.

Je crois donc que nous sommes ici témoins d'autre chose. Plus précisément il s'agit dans ce cas du moment où l'appellation *Mağūs* devient, après les avatars sémantiques qu'elle a connus de l'Iran jusqu'à l'Atlantique par l'expansion arabo-islamique, un *topos* ethnonymique. Il y donc un ethnonyme donné, en l'occurrence *Mağūs*, qui pour des raisons politico-pratiques s'élargit sémantiquement et arrive à désigner tous ceux qui ne sont pas des Musulmans, c'est-à-dire les *gayr al-muslim in*, par quoi rien n'empêchera dorénavant qu'il soit utilisé pour d'autres peuples qui ne sont ni Musulmans, ni *ahl al-kitāb*. C'est notamment pour cette raison que l'on va trouver un autre peuple dévastateur sous cette appellation et ces sont les Hongrois qui dans le *Muqtabas* d'Ibn Hayyān apparaissent sous un autre *topos* ethnonymique, celui de *Turk*.

¹⁰ Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabas*, ed. Chalmeta, pp. 481 ss.; Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, ed. Pertz, MG. SS. III. 273 ss.

¹¹ E. Lévi-Provençal, *El*, s. v. al-Mağūs.

Jetons donc un coup d'oeil sur le cas. Dans le manuscrit unique de *Tarṣī' al-ahbār wa-tanwī' al-āṭār* (L'incrustation des nouvelles et la diversité des monuments) de Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Anas al-'Udrī¹² connu aussi sous la *nisba* de ad-Dalā'ī, on trouve un passage fort intéressant à cet égard. Bien qu'il s'agisse d'un travail géographique, le *Tarṣī' al-ahbār* nous offre plutôt des données historiques précieuses¹³. Entre autres, en traitant l'histoire des familles de la Marche supérieure, il présente un aperçu sur Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. 'Abdalmalik, gouverneur de Barbastro et Alquézar, en disant: *Fa-kāna bihā ilā an asarahu l-Mağūs (al-ladīna) ḥarağū ilā tağr Lārīda wa-Saraqūṣta fī sanat talātīn wa-talāt-mī'a. Wa-kāna asruhū yawm as-sabt li-tamān maḍayna min šawwāl min al-'ām al-mu'arraḥ. Fa-fadāhu rağul min at-tuğğār bi-alf mitqāl*. C'est-à-dire: Il resta là (viz. à Barbastro) jusqu'il ne fût capturé par les *Mağūs* (qui) faisaient une incursion dans la Marche de Lérida et Saragosse en l'an 330. Sa capture eut lieu samedi, le 8 *šawwāl* de l'an mentionné (le 26 juin 942). Il fut racheté par un marchand pour mille *mitqāls*¹⁴.

Chez Ibn Ḥayyān on trouve sur l'événement de la capture de Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad at-Ṭawīl (il s'agit ici, malgré une légère diversité des noms, de la même personne), ce qui suit: *Wa-asarū Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. at-Ṭawīl šāḥib madīnat Barbaštur yawm al-sabt tālit iḥtilālihīm*¹⁵, c'est-à-dire: Ils (= les Turks) ont captivé Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad at-Ṭawīl, le chef de la ville de Barbastro samedi, le troisième jour de leur invasion (le 9 juillet 942).

Et un peu plus loin on lit: *Wa-wāfā al-ḥabar min Ṭurtūša al-qāsiya bi-ḥabar iftikāk Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. at-Ṭawwīl min aydī hā'ulā' al-*

¹² Sur al-'Udhri v. I. Kratchkovsky, Les géographes arabes des XIe et XIIe siècles en Occident, dans: *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, Alger, t. XVIII-XIX (1960-61), pp. 13 s.; F. Pons Boigues, n° 120, pp. 158 s.; F. de la Granja, La Marca superior en la obra de al-'Udrī, dans: *Estudios de Edad media de la Corona da Aragón*, Zaragoza VIII (1967), pp. 448 s.

¹³ F. de la Granja, *op. laud.*, p. 450.

¹⁴ al-'Udhri, ed. Ahwānī, pp. 72 s.

¹⁵ *al-Muqtabas*, ed. Chalmeta, p. 482.

Atrāk gurrat al-muharram sanat ihdā wa-talātīn wa-talāt-mī'a ba'dahā bi-fidā' budila lahum fihi. ... Wa-kāna maqāmuhū bi-aydī l-kafara fi asrihim talātat wa-talātīn yawm. C'est-à-dire: Des nouvelles arrivèrent de l'extrême Tortosa sur la rédemption de Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭawīl des mains de ces Turcs le premier *muḥarram* de l'an 331 (le 14 septembre 942). C'était par une rançon qui leur avait été payée pour lui. ... Il avait été captif dans les mains des Infidèles pendant 33 jours¹⁶.

Voici donc deux variantes d'un même événement dont les détails s'accordent, sauf un décalage de quelques jours ce qui ne m'empêche pas de tirer les conclusions suivantes:

1. l'on a ici à faire à un topos ethnonymique chez *al-'Udrī* et c'est *Mağūs*,

2. les Hongrois incurseurs, tant craints aux IX et X siècles en Europe occidentale, apparaissent sous une nouvelle appellation qui n'est autre chose que l'ancien *topos* *Mağūs*. Par conséquent, cela m'encourage à ajouter *al-Mağūs* comme un nouvel élément à l'onomasticon déjà assez riche du peuple hongrois.

¹⁶ *al-Muqtabas*, ed. Chalmeta, p. 483.

ARABISCHE WORTLISTEN IN PILGERHANDBÜCHERN DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS

Heinz Grotzfeld

Universität Münster

In der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts erlebten organisierte Pilgerfahrten ins Heilige Land einen regelrechten Boom. Eine große Anzahl Jerusalemfahrer aus dieser Zeit ist namentlich bekannt: Es sind Fürsten mit ihrem Gefolge, einfache Edelleute, Bürger aus den Städten, hohe und niedere Kleriker und - als Dienstpersonal - auch mancher aus dem einfachen Volk. Von dieser zuletztgenannten Kategorie Pilger sind jedoch meist nur die Zahlen, kaum Namen, überliefert. Die Kirche versuchte aus unterschiedlichen Gründen, den Pilgerstrom einzudämmen und verhängte die Exkommunikation über nicht bewilligte Pilgerfahrten. Aber diese Drohung blieb ohne große Wirkung. Letztlich war ja der Guardian des Klosters auf dem Zionsberg und Kustos des Heiligen Landes, durch dessen Vermittlung europäische/lateinische Pilger die Grabeskirche erst betreten durften, bevollmächtigt, die päpstliche Genehmigung - gegen Gebühr freilich - auch noch in Jerusalem selber zu erteilen¹. Problematisch wurde das erst im 16. Jahrhundert, als die ersten Protestanten aus Deutschland nach Jerusalem pilgerten und in lutherischer Gradheit an diesen Bräuchen aneckten².

Diese eigenartige Verquickung von Frömmigkeit und Tourismus, von Neugier, Abenteuerlust und Sorge für das Seelenheil hat eine stattliche Anzahl von Reisebeschreibungen hervorgebracht, die z. T. als Reiseführer für andere Pilger ausgeformt sind. Vieles davon ist auch im Druck verbreitet gewesen, manches schon im 15. Jahrhundert selber. Ein "best-seller" für seine Zeit war die *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* des Mainzer Domherren Bernhard von Breydenbach, der 1483 die

¹ Rauwolff S. 320-321.

² Schweigger S. 289-291.

Pilgerfahrt nach Jerusalem gemacht hatte. Der Schlußkolophon des lateinischen Druckes trägt das Datum 11.2.1486, derjenige des deutschen 21.6.1486. Das Buch erlebte viele Nachdrucke und wurde bald ins Französische, Niederländische und Spanische übersetzt. Wesentlich zu seiner Verbreitung beigetragen haben die Holzschnitte des Utrechters Erhard Reuich oder Reuwich, den Breydenbach als Zeichner mitgenommen hatte und der später als Drucker und Verleger in Mainz tätig war. Sein Jerusalempanorama war die Vorlage für viele Jerusalemдарstellungen.

Breydenbachs *Peregrinatio* enthält - als Beilage, ohne daß der Text darauf Bezug nimmt - eine zwei Seiten umfassende lateinisch-arabische Wortliste: 198 Wörter und die Zahlen von 1-30. In der deutschen Ausgabe ist die Liste arabisch - deutsch umgeordnet. Eine Inkonsequenz der lateinischen Ausgabe sollte dabei wohl auch korrigiert werden, aber das Ergebnis ist noch schlimmer: In der lateinisch - arabischen Liste sind auf der ersten Seite die Wörter in Sachgruppen in drei Kolumnen jeweils von oben nach unten angeordnet; auf der zweiten Seite stehen sie zwar auch in drei Kolumnen, aber die sachliche Reihenfolge verläuft zeilenweise jeweils von links nach rechts. In der arabisch - deutschen Liste sind auf der zweiten Seite die Wörter aus den Kolumnen der lateinischen Liste zeilenweise neuangeordnet, anstatt die Wörter aus den fortlaufenden Zeilen untereinander in Kolumnen zu setzen. Die Sachgruppenordnung der Liste ist dadurch völlig unkenntlich geworden, und der Verfasser einer 1486 unternommenen "Pilgerfahrt", der Konstanzer Konrad von Grünemberg, übernimmt die Liste in dieser chaotischen Anordnung, z.B. Christ, Tag, Hut, Kamel, ich, Eisen, zwei, fünf, schwarz.

Die Existenz solcher Listen war der Arabistik nie unbekannt; für bestimmte Bereiche sind sie auch herangezogen worden, so Breydenbachs Liste u. a. von Reinhard Dozy in seinem *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*.

Einer nicht ganz unverdienten Aufmerksamkeit gerade in den letzten Jahren erfreut sich der Reisebericht des niederrheinischen Ritters Arnold von Harff, der am 7. November 1496 im Alter von 25 Jahren von Köln aus die Pilgerfahrt nach Rom, Jerusalem und Santiago di Compos-

tela antrat und auf Martini 1499 wieder nach Köln zurückkehrte. Er bietet nämlich für mehrere Sprachen einen kleinen Sprachführer, und zwar für das Kroatische, Albanische (hier die zweitälteste sicher datierbare Aufzeichnung), das Neugriechische, Arabische, Hebräische, Türkische, Ungarische, Baskische und Bretonische, jeweils gegliedert nach den Bereichen Essen und Trinken; Reisen und Herberge mit dazugehörigen Dienstleistungen wie Hemd-Waschen und Bettgesellschaft; und schließlich Markt und Kaufen mit den Zahlwörtern 1-10, 100 und 1000. Die arabische und die türkische Liste hat vor langer Zeit Stumme einmal behandelt (*Festschrift Windisch*, 1914; S. 127-137; Nachträge ZDMG 69, 1915, S. 208), die hebräische Babinger (*Monatsschrift f. d. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judentums*, Bd. 64, S. 71-75; Nachträge zu Stumme von ihm in ZDMG 73, 1918, S. 199). Ich selber bin vor einigen Jahren von meinem Kollegen Hartmut Beckers aus der Allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft in Münster wegen Harffs und Grünembergs Liste konsultiert worden und verfolge seit der Zeit dieses Thema, allerdings mehr nebenbei.

Die arabischen Wortlisten gehören zwar zu den ältesten datierbaren Belegen einer "romanization" einer syrisch - palästinensischen Umgangssprache, der zu erwartende Ertrag für die arabistische Sprachwissenschaft ist aber dennoch recht mager, zu mager jedenfalls im Hinblick auf den Aufwand, der für die Ermittlung solcher Listen in dem unüberschaubaren handschriftlichen Material aufzubringen wäre. Die Listen haben aber auch ihren geistes- und kulturgeschichtlichen Aspekt, der die Beschäftigung mit ihnen verlockend macht. Und allein das mir jetzt zugängliche Material wirft mehr Fragen auf, als ich - zunächst - beantworten kann.

Zur Verfügung stehen mir

I. a) Breydenbach lateinisch

b) Breydenbach deutsch

} von 1483 bzw. 1486 (Druckjahr)

c) Grünemberg (Pilgerfahrt 1486), mit der arab.-dt. Liste Breydenbachs identisch³

d) Bibliographisch ermitteln konnte ich eine deutsch - arabische Wortliste "Teusczzs uff Sarracenisie gedolmetzt" in einer Hs. aus dem XV-XVI. Jh. im Vatikan (MS Palatina Lat. 607, fol. 2r-4r); davon hatte ich bei Abfassung des Druckmanuskripts keine Filme oder Kopien⁴.

II. Harff: Teile seiner Liste stammen aus dem dt. Breydenbach; vieles andere ist aber ohne Zweifel von ihm nach Gehör aufgenommen und niedergeschrieben.

III. Eine niederländisch-arabische Wortliste einer Hs. in Den Haag (Stadsbibliothek Den Haag, Ad.9; fol. 121 r - 123 r); die Hs. ist nach Ausweis der Wasserzeichen zwischen 1535 und 1542 geschrieben (A. van Loey: *Nog fragmenten van een gespreksboekje. in Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 14, 1935, pp. 5-23). Die Liste bringt die Zahlen 1-19, die Zehner bis 100, 1000; 79 Einzelwörter und 9 Phrasen vom Typ "Scam di u niet", "gaet slapen", "ik groet u". Sie scheint von den gerade genannten Listen unabhängig zu sein. Zwar steht auch sie im Rahmen einer Art Pilgerführer "*benodigdheden voor een reis naar het H. Land van Fenegen uit*", verrät aber ein gewisses Interesse an Kaufmannswaren und -utensilien (Rosinen, Nüsse, Ingwer, Pfeffer, Nelken, Zibeben; Kordel, Packgarn, Papier, Tinte). Die arabischen Wörter sind leider meist sehr entstellt, so daß bei einem Viertel nicht mit Sicherheit das arabische

³ Grünembergs Pilgerfahrt ist 1912 in einer neuhochdeutschen Umsetzung herausgegeben worden von J. Goldfriedrich und W. Fränzel, *Voigtländers Quellenbücher*, Bd. 18, Lzg. 1912. Fotos der Wortlisten aus der einzigen Hs. mit dem längeren Text sind mir von der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha zur Verfügung gestellt worden, ebenso Kopien des lat. und dt. Breydenbach, was mir sehr von Nutzen war, weil die betr. Incunabeln der UB in Münster, die hier auch Wurmschäden aufweisen, damals gerade restauriert wurden. Diese dt.-dt. Zusammenarbeit möchte ich dankend hervorheben.

⁴ Bei Karl Bartsch, *Die altdutschen Handschriften der UB in Heidelberg*. Heidelberg 1887, p. 190, sind die vier ersten und die beiden letzten Einträge der alphabetisch geordneten Liste zitiert: Aug - *Ayn*; Arm - *Zende*; Ackermann - *Villab*; Apfell - *Doffaha*; Zung - *Lesan*; Zehe - *Behym*. Das ist ohne Zweifel der dt. Breydenbach (nicht Grünemberg, denn der hat *Ain* für *og*), nach Ausweis der Schreibung der arabischen Wörter und deren Reihenfolge, denn die alphabetische Neuordnung erfaßt nur den ersten Buchstaben.

Äquivalent zu bestimmen ist. Die Entstellung beruht zu einem Teil sicher auf der handschriftlichen Tradition, bei manchen Wörtern liegt aber der Verdacht nahe, daß sie schon vom ersten Aufzeichner nicht richtig gehört wurden: initiales *ḥ* in *Asgel* 'Patrijsen'; *Ettam* 'Hout'; *Amam* 'Duve' und *Ap* 'Coerde' = *ḥaḡal*, *ḥatab*, *ḥamām*, *ḥabl* ist nicht wahrgenommen; auslautendes *ḥ* ist ebenfalls nicht wahrgenommen: *Taffa* - *tuffāḥ*; *Mel* - *milḥ*; *Cam* - *qamḥ*; *Ram* - *rumḥ*. Das deutet auf ein romanisches Ohr. Dann fehlt bisweilen der auslautende Konsonant bei finalem Cluster muta cum liquida (*Lec* - *lahm*; *Sa* - *sahn*; *Ap* - *ḥabl*; *Tot* - *qutn*). Wir kennen eine Artikulationsnorm, die besonders im Ägyptisch - Arabischen verbreitet ist, bei der in solchen Fällen der Schlußkonsonant nur schwach geäußert wird und darum einem naiven Hörer leicht entgehen kann⁵.

IV. Eine arabisch - deutsche Liste von 36 Einzelwörtern sammt den Zahlwörtern 1-14, 20-100, 1000-4000 bei Salomon Schweigger. Schweigger hatte zum Gefolge des kaiserlichen Legaten von Sinzendorff gehört, der 1578-1580 in Konstantinopel Dienst tat. Er durfte im Frühjahr 1581 eine Reise ins Hl. Land machen. Seine Liste dient vor allem dazu, die Unterschiede zwischen dem Türkischen und dem Arabischen aufzuzeigen und die Nähe des Arabischen zum Hebräischen darzulegen. Er hatte Theologie studiert und konnte einiges Hebräisch. Es ist darum nicht verwunderlich, daß er manches Hebräische ins Arabische hineinhört: *Eschrim*, *Telatim* usw., *Aleph*, *Alphaim*.

V. Eine Reihe Einzelwörter, meist Pflanzennamen, nach Gehör aufgenommen, finden sich in Leonhart Rauwolff, Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiss inn die Morgenländer. 1583. R. war 1573-1576 auf einer Forschungsreise in Syrien und im Iraq; er ist einer der ersten Wissenschaftler, denen von der Wirtschaft eine Forschungsreise gesponsort worden ist (von der Fa. Manlich in Augsburg).

⁵ Fehlendes finales -n (und -m) wie in *Jube* = *ḡubn/ḡubʿn* 'Case', *Rema* = *rōmmān* 'Garnaatapfeln', *Calle* = *qalam* 'Penne' darf darum wohl kaum innerniederländisch erklärt werden. Die Schreibung des Nasals mittels Tilde könnte auch dahinter liegen.

An den Listen interessieren den Sprachwissenschaftler vor allem natürlich, welcher Dialekt aufgezeichnet ist – daß es nicht Hocharabisch ist, liegt auf der Hand – und wann die Aufzeichnung gemacht wurde, denn für verschiedene sprachliche Erscheinungen, die trotz der mangelhaften Schreibung erkennbar sind, hätten wir dann einen Terminus ante quem bzw. auch post quem.

Breydenbach selber kommt als Urheber der Liste nicht in Betracht⁶. Eine Anzahl Entstellungen im arabischen Wortgut deutet darauf hin, daß schon die Druckvorlage Korrumpierungen aufwies, darunter auch typische Druckfehler wie Verwendung einer falsch abgelegten Letter wie *d* statt *b* in *sada* für *saba* = *sab'*, in *kodet* für *kobet* = *kabid* 'Leber'. Auch die verworrene Reihenfolge der Wörter in den Zeilen 20-25 der zweiten Seite nötigt zur Annahme, daß die Liste mehrfach umkopiert worden ist. Die Dubletten (*vellah* 'rusticus' und *villah* 'agricola'; *kepb* und *kolpb* 'canis' und auch das Paar *kodet* 'jecur' und *kebd* 'pulmo') legen die Vermutung nahe, daß ein Kopist aus verschiedenen ihm vorliegenden Listen der Sicherheit halber alle Varianten zusammengestellt hat. Die Aufzeichnung der arabischen Äquivalente muß also schon eine geraume Zeit vor Breydenbach liegen.

Das gemeinte "ydioma sarracenicum" ist offenkundig die palästinensisch-syrische, und zwar städtische, Umgangssprache. Statt der Interdentalen erscheinen die Buchstaben, die bei uns Postdentale bezeichnen: *delsß*, *daher*, *nebijd*, *telate*, *entneyn* (entsprechen *talğ*, *dahr*, *nabīd*, *tlāte*, *tnēn*). Nur in dem 'Bildungswort *methesim* 'nobilis' tritt, wenn die Deutung *maṣ'āzim* zutrifft, erwartungsgemäß ein Sibilant auf (*abijas* 'album' für *abyad* möchte ich als Überlieferungsfehler ansehen).

⁶ Wenn er den Namen des Schiffspatrons Contarini als Conterini hört und dies mit 'id est comite Rheni' bzw. 'das ist im teütschen der ryn greff' verdeutlicht, so kann das, anders als von mir im Vortrag in Budapest ausgeführt, nicht als Beleg für eine mangelnde Unvoreingenommenheit des Hörens bei Breydenbach gelten. Die venezianische Adelsfamilie Contarini selber behauptete, von den Comites Rheni abzustammen und verbreitete diese Etymologie, s. Ludwig Conradi, *Vier rheinische Pilgerschriften des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden., 1882, S. 90, n.72.

Die binäre Feminin-Endung *-a/-e* ist gut und mit der gleichen Distribution belegt wie im syrisch - palästinensischen Bereich heute (das Gegenbeispiel *beyde* 'ovum' statt des zu erwartenden *beyda* - *bayda* ist sicher Überlieferungsfehler, evtl. statt *beyed*).

Um aus der Liste sichere Informationen über den Lautstand der damaligen Umgangssprache entnehmen zu können, müssen die Verschriftungsprinzipien sorgfältig geprüft werden (so wie es Armin Hetzer für Harffs Schreibungen des Kroatischen und Albanischen getan hat "Wie ist Arnold Harffs Wörterverzeichnis zu lesen? Balkan Archiv, N.F.6, 1981, S.229-262), und dabei kommt - neben Erwartetem und Altbekanntem - doch auch einiges Überraschende heraus.

Bedingt durch die fehlende Kongruenz zwischen den Phonemen unserer Sprachen und den Buchstaben unserer vielgerühmten Lateinschrift sind viele unserer Buchstaben *multivalent*, nicht nur die Vokalzeichen, sondern auch die Konsonantenzeichen. Zur Schreibung der einzelnen Phoneme einer Sprache haben sich bei uns Verschriftungsgewohnheiten herausgebildet, die je nach Zeit und Ort verschieden sein können. Eigentlich muß man Ort und Zeit kennen, um das Geschriebene richtig umsetzen zu können. Umgekehrt ist es jedoch auch möglich, wenn man die Valenz der Buchstaben auf einem anderen Weg bestimmen kann, die Niederschrift nach Ort und Zeit einzugrenzen.

Als ein allbekanntes Beispiel für multivalent nehme ich "s" : s dient zur Schreibung von arab. *sīn*: *ras*, *lesan*, *esuet*; von *šād*: *sadar*, *engassa*; von *zāy*: *anse*, *mensel*; von *šīn*: *hasis*, *sarr*, *sarir*, *swoij*, *sayr*; von *ġīm*: *sijlith* = *ġilid* (sofern nicht Dissimilation *silid* anzunehmen ist); *basar*, *rasol*, *nesme*, *tesese* = *dağāġe*, *sijd* = *ġayyid*; von *zā'*: *methesim*; von *dād*? (*dād*) in *abijas* 'album' = *abyad*.

Auffällig für uns Deutsche ist das häufige *ß*, das fast ausschließlich final und median vorkommt, während einfaches *z* hauptsächlich initial gebraucht ist. *ß* bzw. *z*, initial auch *Sz* dienen zur Schreibung von arab. *ġīm*: *reßle* 'pes' = *riġli*; *tatreßle* 'planta' = *taht riġli*; *delsß* = *talġ*; *heßel* 'vitulus' = 'iġ'l'; *ezebeb* 'mons' = *eġ-ġābāl*; *Szißmel* 'camelus' = *ġimāl*; von arab. *šīn*: *kreß* 'venter' (irgendwie eine Verschreibung von *kirs*);

zabeth 'digitus' - *šāhid* 'Zeigefinger' (so wie *behim* 'großer Zeh' für 'pedica' schlechthin);

von arab. *zāy*: *chobiß* - *hub'z*; *woshe* - *wazze*; *zende* 'brachium' - *zindi*; *zennār* - *zunnār*;

von arab. *sīn*: *caß* - *kās*; *Szama* - *samā*; *neffz* - *nafs*, *tyßza* - *tis'a*; *campß* 'quinque' - *hams*; ganz ausgefallen *zcenn* 'dens' - *sinn* (hat hier ein Deutscher seine [zɛn] wiedererkannt?);

von arab. *šād*: *camiß* - *qamī*; *nazerani* 'x̄pianus' (hier schaut die lateinische Schreibung von Nazarenus durch); *kaßbeel* 'tybia' *qaß(a)be* (im dt. Breydenbach ist tybia mit 'waden' übersetzt; das übernimmt Grünemberg, der überdies noch *Rasbeel* liest).

Die Wiedergabe der arabischen Phoneme mit den lateinischen Buchstaben ist also recht chaotisch. Prüft man aber, sozusagen von der anderen Seite her kommend, welche Schreibungen für ein bestimmtes arabisches Phonem gebraucht sind, ergibt sich ein wesentlich klareres Bild.

Arabisches *ǧīm* z. B. ist wiedergegeben mit *ß* bzw. *z*, Beispiele oben; mit *s* - Beispiele ebenfalls angeführt; mit *y*, *i* oder *j* in *jomb* 'latus' - *ǧamb* und *yiobn* (Druck von 1490 *yibon*) 'caseus' - *ǧibn/ǧubn*; mit *c* in *ceryen* 'ancilla' - *ǧārye*; mit *g* in *sagara* - *šāgara* (dem Dialektologen wegen der möglichen Dissimilationen als Sonderfall ohnehin vertraut).

Die Wiedergabe eines Lautes ähnlich der palatal-alveolaren Affrikate, die wir heute im palästinensischen Arabisch hören, mit *z* oder *j/y* deutet auf Norditalien. Venezianische Schriftstücke aus dieser Zeit (z. B. die Diarien des Marin Sanuto) schreiben diesen Laut nämlich oft mit *z* (*zorno* - *giorno*) oder - als historische Schreibweise, wenn lat. *i* vor Vokal zugrundeliegt - auch mit *i/j*: *judeo* - *Iuadaeus*, aber auch hier *Zustiniano* - *Iustinianus*. Die Varianten *Trutzelmann*, neben *Trutschelman* für *turǧūmān*, und *dolmetz* neben *dolmetsch* verdanken ihre Form auch dieser venezianischen Verschriftungsgewohnheit.

Sofern der einzige Beleg in der Liste für die Schreibung von *ǧ* mit *c* in *ceryen* nicht graphisch aufzulösen ist, wäre an mangelhaft wahrgenommene Sonorität zu denken. Die Schreibung kann aber auch mit der Multivalenz von *z* zusammenhängen: *z* dient ja auch zur Schreibung der

stimmlosen Affrikate, überlappt also den Bereich von $c = ts$, so daß eine Vertauschung denkbar erscheint.

Es bleibt noch die Erörterung der Schreibung von \check{g} mit s : Wie oben gesagt, dient der Buchstabe s zur Schreibung von s , \check{s} , z , z , aber auch von \check{s} und \check{g} . Die Wiedergabe von $\check{s}in$ (arabisch oder hebräisch) mit dem lateinischen Buchstaben s hat lange Tradition; ich begnüge mich hier mit dem Hinweis auf den Prologus galeatus des Hl. Hieronymus: "Primus apud eos liber vocatur Beresith בראשית; quem nos Genesim dicimus. Secundus Veelle semoth ואלה שמות, qui Exodus appellatur". Erst ab dem 16. Jh. tritt einigermaßen regelmäßig *sci* bzw. vor i/e *sc* auf, parallel dazu *gi/g*; aber der türkische Paşa gelangt bekanntlich noch als Bassa in unsere Opern des 18. Jh.s. Der phonetische Hintergrund ist die Realisation des s , das ja heute noch in den nord-italienischen Dialekten und bei vielen N-Italienern in der Artikulation der Schriftsprache eher $\check{s}in$ als $\check{s}in$ ist. Bei der Schreibung von $\check{g}im$ mit s ist also ein Buchstabe gewählt, der mehr auf das Rauschgeräusch als auf die initiale Verschuß- oder Engenbildung abzielt. Sofern die unterschiedliche Wiedergabe sich nicht ganz einfach daraus ergibt, daß die arabischen Wörter von zwei verschiedenen Personen niedergeschrieben sind – mehr dazu weiter unten – wäre auch an eine gehörte Realisation des arabischen Phonems zwischen $[dz]$ und $[z]$ oder $\check{g}im$ und $\check{z}im$ zu denken, eventuell bei verschiedenen Informanten. Ein solches phonetisches Stadium traf man vor 15 Jahren im libanesischen Hinterland an.

Für das arabische \check{h} bietet sich nach den Schreibgewohnheiten mittelalterlichen Lateins oder italienischer *lingue volgari* kein Buchstabe direkt an; wobei vorausgesetzt werden muß, daß der Aufzeichnende das arabische Phonem von anderen an benachbarten Artikulationsstellen gebildeten Phonemen richtig unterscheiden konnte. Die Breydenbachsche Liste ist hier allerdings einigermaßen konsequent: \check{h} scheint immer gehört zu sein; meistens ist es mit dem Digraph *ch* wiedergegeben: *chobiß*, *batich*, *tabich*, *madbach*, *tobach*, *choff*, 'caliga' - Pantoffel/Schuh (in der dt. Liste mit 'hoß' = Hose übersetzt!), *achb* 'frater', *ocht* 'soror'.

Mit einfachem *h* ist es wiedergegeben in *hiyiath* 'sartor' - *ḥayyāt* und *hall* 'acetum' - *ḥall*.

Mit einfachem *c* in den Zahlwörtern *camp*s, *campstasch*, *campstascharin*.

Umgekehrt ist *ch* fast ausschließlich für *ḥ* gebraucht. Anders nur in *chamehe* 'frumentum', das sicher *qam'h*, nicht *qamḥa* oder gar *qamḥe* meint, und in *achlin* 'ager', das ohne Zweifel *ḥaqli* wiedergibt (vielleicht nur Druckfehler-Buchstabenenumstellung statt *haclin*).

In *esscheff* 'sutor' - *iskāfi* ist *ch* normale italienische Orthographie eines *k*-Lautes vor hellen Vokalen. Das *ff* beruht auf einer Fehlinterpretation der Ligatur der Buchstaben *f* + *i*. Nur als Schreib/Überlieferungsfehler einzuordnen ist *kandelocht* 'sacrista' - *qandalaft*, wenn man nicht annehmen will, daß ein niederfränkisches Ohr hier die 'loft' als 'locht' gehört hat.

Merkwürdig ist eine Anzahl von Vertauschungen einer lenis mit einer fortis und umgekehrt. Eine lenis statt einer fortis erscheint in *delfs* - *talğ*; *doffaha* - *tuffaha*; *daban* - *taḥḥān* und *madbach* - *matbah*. Fortis statt lenis ist viel häufiger und kommt fast ausschließlich im Auslaut vor: *barath* - *barad*; *barth* - *bard*; *sijlith* - *ğalid*; *enep* - 'inib; *kep*b/*kolpb* - *kalb* (aber *kalb* - *qalb*); *arnepb* - *arnab*; *caper* - *qabr*; *esuet* - *aswad*; *abijt* - 'abid; *wobeijt* - *wāhid*. Diese Ersetzung einer lenis durch die entsprechende fortis im Auslaut ist eine typisch deutsche Erscheinung; sie findet sich auch bei Harff, sogar bei Wörtern, bei denen die anzunehmende Vorlage eine lenis schrieb: *kolps* - Br: *chobiß*; *inhibit* - Br: *nebijd*; *bayet* - Br: *beyde*; *arap* - Br: *arab*; nur bei ihm finden sich notiert: *merkep* - *markab*; *este te lopente* 'wat woultu?' - 'ēš *teḥlob* 'ente. Hier hat Harff also selber "gehört" bzw. nach Gehör "korrigiert".

Heißt das nun, daß man einen deutschsprachigen Aufzeichner postulieren muß? Genauer vielleicht: einen deutschsprachigen aus dem ost-mitteldeutschen oder ost-fränkischen Raum, der auch der welschen Sprache und Schrift mächtig war und sich zur Schreibung der im Deutschen nicht vorkommenden Affrikate an den ihm vertrauten Verschriftungen dieses Lautes im Venezianischen orientierte. Ich neige zu dieser Ansicht, zumal wir auch feststellen, daß die Wiedergabe von ara-

bisch *kāf* und *qāf* mit *k* häufiger vorkommt als die mit *c*. Ich muß aber auf ein gewichtiges Gegenargument aufmerksam machen: die Schreibungen von *šīn* mit einfachem *s* sind für jemanden, der mit deutschen Schreibgewohnheiten großgeworden ist, sehr ungewöhnlich. Außerdem findet sich bei einigen Wörtern, nämlich *schiemß* 'sol' – *šams* und *schocke* 'spina' – *šoke* tatsächlich *sch*, außerdem auch bei den Zahlen 10 ff. *eyschara*, *wobeyttasch* usw., warum also nicht überall? In neun Wörtern ist *šīn* mit dem Buchstaben *s* wiedergegeben. Davon ist *segara* 'arbor' auszuscheiden, vgl. oben; *shar* 'crinis' – *ša'r* könnte ursprünglich *schar* gewesen sein; *swoj* 'plane' = *šwayy* müßte nach deutschen Schreib- und Lesegewohnheiten des 15. Jh.s als *šwoij* gelesen werden (der dt. Breydenbach schreibt als Übersetzung von 'plane' schlecht = einfach, mit *sch*, aber an anderer Stelle gerade vor *w* noch *s*: *swartz*, *swester*).

Die merkwürdige Schreibung *sagithan* 'dyabolus' läßt sich graphisch leicht erklären. Gemeint ist ohne Zweifel *šaytān* mit Diphthong; statt des *y* oder *j* ist irgendwann *g* gelesen. Das Wort selber müßte der Compiler der Liste schon aus einer schriftlichen Vorlage entnommen haben, ebenso die Äquivalente für 'malum' *sarr* = *šarr*; 'nequam' *sarir* = *šarrir/širrir*, die heute keine umgangssprachlichen Wörter sind. Kopieren nach Vorlage würde die Schreibungen von *šīn* mit *s* erklären, denn gegen die Allmacht der vorgefundenen Schreibung kommt man nicht so leicht an⁷.

Die Liste ist also sicher gelehrten Ursprungs. Ebenso sicher ist, daß zunächst eine Liste lateinischer Wörter erstellt wurde, für die dann, in einem zweiten Schritt, die arabischen Äquivalente aus Büchern und mündlich von Informanten zusammengesucht wurden. Ein Beleg für die Zusammenstellung des Wortgutes "am grünen Tisch" ist in meinen Augen die Reihe *pisa*, *faba*, *lens*. Nach Rauwolff waren noch 100 Jahre

⁷ Harff mit seinem naiven Gemüt vermag es; Felix Fabri dagegen hält stur an einer Wortform *soqui* fest, womit er einen bestimmten Moscheebeamten meint, obwohl er auch die Schreibungen *faqui* und *faqua* (*faqih*, *fuaḡā*?) kennt; Text 105b, frz. Übers. S. 543. Er hatte sein Wissen nur aus Büchern, und selbst wenn er hingehört hätte, dürfte er im *f'i* kaum den *faqui* wiedererkannt haben.

später die Erbsen im Orient so gut wie unbekannt; statt ihrer gab es *hummus*. Die Erfahrung mit dem tatsächlichen Angebot an Obst zeigt sich in der wohl nachträglichen Aufnahme der *bathich* mit ihrem griech. Namen *'angurium* (so richtig; der Drucker hat die sicher abgekürzte Form als *angurif* gelesen), ein deutscher Name für diese Frucht war noch nicht gefunden; in der arab.-dt. Liste bei Breydenbach ist hier eine Lücke. Die Arbeit mit Informanten kommt zum Ausdruck in Formen wie *zende, reßle, tatreßle* = *zindi, riğli, taht riğli*, wo der befragte, möglicherweise sogar angefaßte Informant ganz naiv antwortet 'mein Arm, mein Fuß, unter meinem Fuß'. Auch ein Äquivalent *bathan* für 'stomachus' ist am ehesten aus der Deutesituation zu verstehen. Wie soll ein Informant begreifen, daß nicht der Körperteil direkt, auf den gedeutet wird, gemeint ist, sondern der, der dahinter ist. Jedem Dialektologen mit praktischer Felderfahrung ist solches bekannt. Auf ähnliche Weise erklärt sich auch *sobeb* für 'aer': es ist *saḥāb*, eine 'Wolke' in der Luft, in die der neugierige franği deutete. Vielleicht läßt sich auch das mir immer noch rätselhafte *vgwee* für 'vas' (wo die dt. Übersetzung ebenfalls 'vas' hat, was aber wohl das 'Faß' meint) deuten. Hat unser postulierter Listenkompilator hier Auskunft erhalten, was im Faß war: eventuell *'ağwe*, eine Dattelpaste? Und steht als Äquivalent für 'pistor' statt des zu erwartenden *ḥabbāz* oder *farrān* der Name des Bäckers (Hesian)?

Harff hat ähnliche Mißverständnisse: *maytix* 'nein' (*ma yi'tik-š* 'er gibt dir nicht'); *yaatila* 'ja' (*ya'ti-la* oder *ya'ti-lak* 'er gibt ihr bzw. dir'); oder *gelgitalim* in der türkischen Wortliste, was "eyn wijff" heißen soll, aber sicher heutigem *gel gidelim* 'komm, wir wollen weggehen' entspricht. Stumme bemerkt hierzu trocken "Eine Verbindung zwischen den beiden Begriffen läßt sich schon auffinden" (S. 136).

Die von Harff gebrachten Glossare, die ja alle nach dem gleichen Muster aufgebaut sind, haben Armin Hetzer zu der Vermutung veranlaßt, daß Harff "möglicherweise sogar einen Sprachführer für Reisende ins Heilige Land benutzte, den er dann je nach Erlebnissen ergänzte. Schließlich verkehrten im 15. Jh. auf der Route Venedig, Rhodos, Jaffa, Jerusalem die Pilgerschiffe, und daß aus der Erfahrung von Jahrzehnten

irgendwelche Handbücher mit Glossen für die angrenzenden Länder zusammengestellt wurden, ist zu vermuten." (a.a.O. 251).

Der mangelnde Praxisbezug in der Breydenbachschen Liste - ich meine damit nicht das Fehlen von Sätzen wie 'frawe, sall ik bey dir slaeffen', wie sie Harff bietet, sondern das Fehlen von brauchbaren Wörtern und Phrasen wie 'wieviel?', 'wo?', 'was willst du?', 'gib mir zu trinken', 'wasch mir mein Hemd' u.ä., Begrüßungen usw. - läßt mich etwas daran zweifeln, daß Breydenbachs Liste auf solchen praktischen Handbüchlein fußt, die ja auch mehr für Kaufleute als für Pilger gedacht sein konnten, denn die Pilger kamen im Gegensatz zu den Kaufleuten kaum mit der einheimischen Bevölkerung in sprachlichen Kontakt. Vielleicht hatte Breydenbach - oder, was eher anzunehmen ist, der Urheber seiner Vorlage - aber doch ein paar *Fragmente* von solchen praktischen Handbüchlein ausgewertet. Das würde erklären, daß die zweite Seite zwar Äquivalente für *ego, ille, vos*, aber nicht für *tu, illa, nos, illi* bietet, für *meum, tuum, suum*, nicht aber *nostrum* und daß die Zahlwörter mit *talatin* abbrechen.

Der Arabist muß also zunächst einmal mit einiger Resignation feststellen, daß das arabische Sprachgut aus disparaten Quellen stammt oder stammen kann, daß der Zeitpunkt der Aufzeichnung sich nicht näher bestimmen läßt, und kann folglich die Liste nur mit äußerster Umsicht und Zurückhaltung auswerten.

Dennoch bringt die sorgfältige Prüfung des Wortgutes einen bescheidenen Ertrag für die Geschichte der arabischen Dialekte. Überraschend für mich selber waren die Schreibungen, die auf eine Erhaltung der Diphtonge zu deuten scheinen: *ayn, sagithan, thayr, beyde, dayan - dayfa; haijkel, baijt, layl, etneyn; mant, taub* - denen nur für *aw* Schreibungen entgegenstehen, die auf Monophthongisierung deuten: *schoke - šöke* 'Dorn' und *ylleom - el-yöm*.

Monophthonge - statt *ay* - ließen sich vermuten in *gear* 'nubes' = *gēm?* und *carre* 'urtica' - *qurrēs?*

Da die Schreibungen mit *ey* oder *ay* oder *aij* sich nicht als Grapheme für *ē* umdeuten lassen und andererseits schwerlich anzunehmen ist, daß die Informanten alle aus dem libanesisch-nordsyrischen Gebiet

stammten bleibt nur der Schluß, daß der Monophthongisierungsprozeß noch im Gang war. Wo Harff unabhängig ist von Breydenbach, scheint seine Schreibung in echten Dialektausdrücken einen Monophthong zu meinen: *este te lopente; a tzismo ede = aš ismo hādā?* aber *saba olchayr, missa olchayr; ol* deutet auf intendierte Hochsprache⁸.

Die Liste enthält auch keinerlei Reflexe für die Ersetzung von *q* durch *ʿ*. Noch knappe hundert Jahre nach Breydenbach notiert Rauwolff in Aleppo Wörter in eindeutiger Dialektlautung, in denen *q* durch einen Buchstaben aus der *g/k*-Reihe bezeichnet wird: *codame* für die gerösteten Kichererbsen = *quḏāme* 'Knabberzeug' und *gette* 'Gurken' = *qotte/ʿotte*, har. *qittā* (g könnte freilich die Realisation des Phonems in einem *gilit*-Dialekt wiedergeben, dann würde man aber einen Reflex der Interdentalen *ṭ* erwarten). Rauwolff schreibt auch *Attich* = *ʿatīq* und *aserach* = *ʿazraq*, aber hier ist nicht eindeutig zu widerlegen, daß er überlieferte Transkriptionen wiedergibt.

Schweigger notiert allerdings 1581 (S: 319): "Den 20 (Mai) zu Elneitra ankommen". Dahinter steckt das inzwischen leider so bekanntgewordene Städtchen *al-Qunayṭira* im *Ġaulān*; Damaszenisches *al'nētra*, lokal allerdings bis zur Zerstörung *al-Gnētra*. Wenn kein Druckfehler vorliegt, hat Schweigger die stadt-damaszenische Form gehört.

Die Sproßvokale erscheinen in einer erwarteten Distribution.

Ebenso die *imāla*. Aus den vielen Schreibungen eines langen *ā* mit dem Buchstaben *e* (*behim, tesese, sebey = sibā, keteb, kehem = kāhin, ceryen = ḡāriya; szijmel - ḡimāl*) auf einen besonders starken Grad der *Imāla* zu schließen, ist allerdings nicht zulässig. Die "Bandbreite" des Graphems "e" ist sehr groß; außerdem kommen genügend Gegenbeispiele vor, in denen ein *ā*, bei dem *imāla* zu erwarten ist, mit *a* geschrieben ist (*lesan, zabeth = šāhid; hemame, bestan, hadack, themani*).

Vielleicht führt eine minutiöse Lektüre von Handschriftkatalogen auf die Spur zur Herkunft unserer Listen. Wissenschaftsgeschichtlich ge-

⁸ Eindeutig beweiskräftig bei Harff ist ohnehin nur die Monophthongschreibung. Diphthongschreibung mittels *i, j* oder *y* ist bei ihm meist graphische Bezeichnung der Vokallänge: *fluyss* 'gelt' meint *flūs*, *soldayn* = *sultān* usw.

sehen sollte diese Mühe sich lohnen, denn es handelt sich schließlich um einen sozusagen prähistorischen Zweig der Arabistik, dessen Aktivitäten uns in den Listen erhalten sind.

LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

A. Quellen

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- Salomon Schweigger: *Eine neue Reyszbeschreibung ausz Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*. Nürnberg 1608. Faksimile-Nachdruck Graz 1964.

B. Andere zitierte Literatur: (im Artikel selber)

Zusatz zu S.35, l.14 "von meinem Kollegen Hartmut Beckers":
Herrn Beckers, inzwischen Universität Duisburg, habe ich zu danken für eine Reihe wertvoller Literaturhinweise (und häufig auch für Kopien der weit verstreut und oft an entlegener Stelle über den Gegenstand publizierten Artikel). Sein Beitrag "Zu den Fremdalphabeten und Fremdsprachenproben im Reisebericht Arnolds von Harff (1496-1498)" in *Collectanea Philologica, Festschrift für H. Gipper zum 65 Geburtstag*, Baden-Baden 1985, I, 73-86 bietet u.a. auch einen Überblick über den Forschungsstand und die entsprechende Literatur.



L'ORIGINE DU NOM *AL-ANDALUS**

Heinz Halm

Universität Tübingen

Le nom *al-Andalus* est attesté pour la première fois sur un dinar bilingue frappé à Cordoue en 98 de l'Hégire (716-717) qui est conservé aujourd'hui à Madrid. L'inscription latine de l'avvers *FERITUS SOLIDUS IN SPANIA ANNO XCVII* est traduite au revers: *duriba hādā d-dīnār bi-l-Andalus sanata tamānin wa-tis' in*. Cette pièce a été publiée par A. Prieto y Vives (*Monedas de las dinastías árabo-españoles*, Madrid 1933, 2, no. 10) et discutée par I. de las Cagigas (*Al-Andalus* 4, 1936, 211 ss.). Le nom est donc attesté déjà cinq ans après la conquête musulmane, et dès cette époque il désigne la péninsule ibérique entière.

Etant donné que le mot *Andalus* n'est ni d'origine latine ni arabe, les philologues ont essayé de le mettre en rapport avec le peuple germanique des Vandales qui ont occupé la péninsule ibérique de 411 à 429 avant de s'embarquer pour l'Afrique du Nord. Déjà au milieu du XIX^e siècle cette hypothèse était devenue l'opinion commune. C'est R. Dozy qui, le premier, a essayé de préciser cette hypothèse assez vague (*Recherche sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*, Leiden 1881³, p. 301-303): "On a observé, avec raison je crois, que le séjour des Vandales dans la Bétique a été de trop courte durée pour que leur nom soit resté à ce pays... Andalos n'était donc pas le nom d'un pays, c'était l'ancien nom de Tarifa... C'est à ... Tarifa que les Vandales se sont embarqués pour passer en Afrique, et il est fort naturel que leur nom soit resté à ce port de mer. Il n'est pas surprenant non plus que les ignorants Berbères de Tarîf, débarqués à Vandalos, aient appliqué ce nom à toute la contrée qu'ils pillèrent, et que plus tard les soldats de Târic l'aient donné d'abord à toute la Bétique, ensuite à toute l'Es-

* Une version amplifiée du présent article a été publiée en allemand dans *Der Islam* 66 (1989) 252-263 "Al-Andalus und Gothica Sors".

pagne". D'après Dozy, *al-Andalus* tire donc son origine du nom Vandalos que les Vandales auraient donné au port de Tarifa au moment où ils le quittèrent à jamais.

Dans son article *al-Andalus* dans l'*Encyclopaedie des Islams* (1913) M. Streck a modifié un peu l'hypothèse de Dozy: "(Es) bleibt ... immerhin das Natürlichste, ihn (sc. le nom) irgendwie (d'une manière quelconque!) in Zusammenhang mit dem Germanenstamm der Vandalen zu bringen, ihn also von einem hypothetischen 'Vandalicia' abzuleiten. Letzteres könnte dann entweder die alte Provinz Baetica bezeichnet haben, in der freilich die Vandalen noch keine zwei Jahrzehnte (411-429) saßen, oder den Hafenplatz Traducta, von wo die Vandalen nach Afrika übersetzten und welcher von einigen Arabern mit ... Tarifa gleichgesetzt wird (wenn auch Traducta wohl eher Algeciras entspricht)". Streck remplace donc Tarifa par Algeciras, et *Vandalos* par *Vandalicia* (et l'on peut se demander déjà ici comment le mot *Vandalicia* peut se transformer en *Andalus*!)

E. Lévi-Provençal s'est contenté de reproduire les hypothèses de Dozy et de Streck sans se décider pour l'une ou pour l'autre: "On pense, sans doute avec raison, que le port où ils s'embarquèrent, Tarifa ou Algeciras, prit alors leur nom et le garda jusqu'à l'arrivée des Musulmans, qui l'appliquèrent à ce moment à tout le pays qu'ils allaient conquérir; peut-être aussi, lors du passage des Vandales dans le Sud de l'Espagne, l'ancienne province romaine de Bétique devint quelque chose comme (!) la *Vandalicia*: mais ce titre ne semble nulle part attesté" (*L'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 5). L'article *al-Andalus* de la plume de L. Torres Balbás dans la nouvelle édition de l'*EI* n'apporte rien de nouveau. Le seul qui ait essayé de se débarrasser complètement de l'hypothèse vandale c'est J. Vallvé Bermejo qui, dans un article dans *Al-Qantara* (4/1983) veut dériver le nom *al-Andalus* de l'Atlantis légendaire de Platon. (Je passe sous silence l'argumentation assez confuse et peu convaincante de Vallvé; l'étymologie qu'il propose me semble être encore plus chimérique que celle de Dozy et de Streck).

En fait il semble que l'hypothèse de Dozy et de Streck ne se maintient dans nos manuels et dans nos encyclopédies que faute de mieux.

Les objections que l'on doit y élever – soit sur le plan historique, soit du point de vue linguistique sont multiples. Comment une tribu migrante peut-elle “laisser” son nom au port qu'elle quitte pour toujours? Qui aurait gardé ce nom octroyé par les envahisseurs pour le transmettre trois siècles plus tard aux Arabes? Déjà Dozy a mis en relief: “Le séjour des Vandales dans la Bétique a été de trop courte durée pour que leur nom soit resté à ce pays”; cela est valable, à plus forte raison, pour la ville de port où les Vandales ont passé à la rigueur quelques semaines. En plus, l'identité du port où les Vandales se sont embarqués – *Traducta* d'après Grégoire de Tours – est loin d'être vérifiée; d'après Pline, Julia Traducta n'est ni Tarifa ni Algeciras mais plutôt Tanger (cf. H. Galsterer, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Berlin 1971, p. 32 ss.).

Sur le plan linguistique c'est W. Vycichl qui, dans un article dans *al-Andalus* a élevé des objections graves au sujet de l'hypothèse de Dozy (“Al-Andalus”. Sobre la historia de un nombre, dans: *al-Andalus* 17, 1952, p. 449 s.). Vycichl explique que le *v* (ou *w*) initial du nom des Vandales ne peut s'éclipser sans laisser aucune trace: un *w* bilabial (*Wandal*) se serait conservé en arabe et se serait transformé en *Gu* en espagnol (*Guandal*), tandis qu'un *v* labiodental (*Vandal*) se serait transformé en *b* (*Bandal*) en arabe ainsi qu'en espagnol. Vycichl a donc recours au berbère: d'après lui, les Berbères auraient mal compris le mot *Wandalus* en interprétant le *w* initial comme préfixe de génitif: *zamurz w-andalus* “la terre des Andales”. Mais Vycichl lui-aussi nous laisse sans réponse à la question pourquoi les Berbères auraient donné ce nom à la péninsule ibérique que les Vandales avaient parcouru très vite, et non pas à l'Ifriqiya où le royaume des Vandales avait existé pour plus d'un siècle, de 430 à 534.

A mon avis, l'hypothèse vandale est insoutenable à plus d'un titre. Par contre, une origine visigothique du nom *al-Andalus* serait beaucoup plus facile à imaginer; dans ce cas les conquérants arabes auraient hérité le nom du pays immédiatement de la part du peuple qui l'avait régné depuis deux siècles et demi.

Or, le lexique visigothique ne fournit pas d'équivalent du mot *Andalus*, du moins au premier abord. Dozy et Streck, ainsi que leurs prédécesseurs et leurs successeurs, ont considéré comme évident que le nom *al-Andalus* se compose de deux éléments: du nom proprement dit *Andalus* et de l'article arabe *al-*. Mais cela est impossible, étant donné que les noms de pays et de provinces d'origine non-arabe n'adoptent jamais l'article arabe; je vous nomme, à titre d'exemple, en passant de l'est à l'ouest du monde musulman: *Hurāsān*, *Hwārizm*, *Sistān*, *Fārs*, *Ṭabaristān*, *Ādarbayġān*, *Armīniya*, *Filastīn*, *Qubruṣ*, *Iqrītiš*, *Miṣr*, *Barqa*, *Ifriqiya*, *Siqilliya*, *Qalawria* (Calabre), *Bīṭī* (la Bétique), *Aštūriš* (les Asturies), *Ġillīqiya* (la Galice). Quand l'article est utilisé, il s'agit ou d'un appellatif arabe traduisible (p. e. *al-Ġibāl*, *al-Ġazīra*, *al-Yaman*, *al-Hawf*, *ar-Rif*, *al-Maġrib*, *al-Ġarb*), ou d'un ancien nom arabe d'étymologie incertaine (p. e. *al-ʿIrāq*, "le pays bas" ou "le rivage", d'après *Yāqūt*); ou bien d'un ancien nom sémitique (p. e. *al-Urdunn*, en hébreu *ha-yarden* – avec article: "celui qui descend").

Mais il y a des exceptions remarquables de cette règle générale, des exceptions que nul n'ignore, p. e. *al-Iskandariyya*. Mais ici il s'agit, bien entendu, d'un pseudo-article: la première syllabe du nom grec a été interprétée à tort comme l'article arabe homophone. Ce pseudo-article est un phénomène bien connu; *Goldziher* (*Gesammelte Schriften* II, p. 328 s.) et *Brockelmann* (*Grundriß der vergl. Gramm. der semit. Sprachen* I, p. 290) l'ont décrit. Ainsi, non pas seulement la syllabe *al*, mais de la même façon un simple *l* initial peut se transformer en l'article arabe, p. e. "Langobardia" – c'est le nom du *thema* byzantin de l'Italie méridionale avec la capitale Bari – dont le nom se transforme dans les sources arabes en *al-Ankubarda*; souvent l'article supposé arabe est supprimé: *ard Ankubarda*; ou bien le nom de la ville romaine "Laribus" en Tunisie (aujourd'hui el-Kēf) qui se transforme en *al-Ar(i)bus* (cf. aussi *Larissa/al-ʿAriš*, *Elias/al-Yās* etc.) Et pour donner un dernier exemple: le colonel Lawrence – Lawrence of Arabia – raconte dans ses *Sept piliers de la sagesse* (chap. 73) que ses combattants arabes l'ont apostrophé "yā Ōrins", en interprétant le *l* initial de son nom comme l'article qui, au

vocatif après *yā*, est toujours supprimé (cf. *al-Ḥasan*, *al-Ḥusayn*, mais: *yā Ḥasan*, *yā Ḥusayn*).

Pour revenir sur notre *al-Andalus* - ce qu'il faut expliquer ce n'est donc pas le mot *Andalus*, mais plutôt une forme comme *Alandalus* ou bien *Landalus*, et cette fois-ci le lexique visigothique me semble fournir une étymologie satisfaisante.

Il faut se rendre compte, cependant, que la langue des Visigoths n'est documentée que par les divers fragments de la traduction de la bible que l'évêque Wulfila (mort en 382 ou 383) a faite au milieu du IV^e siècle pour ses compatriotes visigothiques; le plus précieux de ces fragments, le *Codex argenteus*, conservé aujourd'hui à Uppsala, a été écrit à toute probabilité en Aquitaine ou en Espagne pour un prince visigothique. Par contre, toutes les sources historiques, toutes les œuvres théologiques et philosophiques de l'époque visigothique ainsi que les codes législatifs des rois visigothiques sont rédigées en latin. Si l'on se demande comment le royaume des Visigoths et son territoire sont appelés dans ces sources latines on trouve deux désignations différentes: la désignation la plus répétée de l'Etat des Visigoths est *regnum Visigothorum*, et l'autre qui vise plutôt au territoire que les Visigoths ont occupé et les terres que les autorités romaines leur avaient assignées, est *Gothica sors*, "le lot gothique, le territoire gothique" ou *sortes Gothicae*, "les lots gothiques" respectivement.

On connaît très bien la coutume - commune d'ailleurs à tous les peuples germaniques - de tirer au sort, de mettre en loterie les terres défrichées ou conquises. Déjà les Vandales, les Alanes et les Suèbes, après avoir franchi les Pyrénées en 408, avaient distribué le territoire conquis en tirant au sort; Orose, contemporain, témoin et probablement victime de ces événements, rapporte dans son *Historia adversus paganos* (VII 40, 9), que les Vandales et les Suèbes se sont installés en Hispania "après avoir tiré au sort (*habita sorte*) et après avoir partagé et distribué les terres"; de même, Isidor de Séville dans son *Chronicon Gothorum Vandalorum, Suevorum et Visigothorum* (MGH a.a. 11, p. 296): "Après avoir fait la paix les uns avec les autres ils ont partagé les différentes régions

des provinces par tirage au sort (*sorte*)” et une partie des Vandales “gagne la Bétique” (*Beticam sortiuntur*).

Ainsi le mot *luz*, *los* ou *lot* se trouve dans toutes les langues germaniques avec un double sens: au sens primaire c’est le billet de loterie (à l’antiquité un petit bâtonnet), c’est-à-dire le lot proprement dit; puis, au sens figuré, c’est la terre lotie; p. e. dans un glossaire allemand-latin du Moyen Age: “*territorium quod vulgo dicitur einan hluz*”. Le mot franc *hluz* est à l’origine du français *lot* ainsi que de l’anglais *lot*.

Dans les codes législatifs des rois visigothiques Eurich (466-484) et Reccesvinth (653-672) les terres et les biens ruraux occupés par les Visigoths sont toujours appelés *sortes Gothicae* “les lots gothiques”, les lots attribués par tirage au sort (p. e. *Codex Euricianus* chap. 277; *Lex Visigothorum* X 2, 1). Notre source principale, cependant, sont les lettres de Sidonius Apollinaris, ce fameux aristocrate gallo-romain, évêque de Clermont-Ferrand, d’abord adversaire acharné, plus tard ami intime du roi Eurich. A plusieurs reprises il appelle le territoire occupé par les Visigoths sur le sol de l’empire romain *Gothica sors*, le lot gothique, le territoire gothique; je ne donne qu’un seul exemple (*Lettres* VII, 3): en se référant à la législation du roi Eurich Sidoine Apollinaire écrit: “Le roi glorieux maîtrise les peuples sur tout son territoire amplifié (*per promotae limitem sortis*) par les armes et les armes par les lois”.

Il va de soi que ces désignations latines – *sortes Gothicae*, les terres des Goths d’une part, et *Gothica sors*, le territoire gothique, de l’autre – doivent avoir eu un pendant, un équivalent dans la langue gothique elle-même, et celui est peut-être approprié à déchiffrer l’énigme du nom *al-Andalus*. La solution que je propose c’est visigoth.:

**landablauts*

“la terre lotie” (en allemand: *das Landlos*). Je dois avouer qu’ils s’agit d’une hypothèse, d’une hypothèse dans le sens stricte du mot, car ce substantif composé n’est pas attesté dans les fragments de la bible de Wulfila qui nous sont parvenus, tout simplement parce que le mot n’y figure pas. Cependant, ses deux composantes sont très bien attestées ainsi que le mode de composition: *land* (pays) se trouve abondamment, et *blauts* (prononcé *blôts*, le lot) se trouve non moins que quatre fois: deux

fois dans les Évangiles: Luc 1, 9 le prêtre Zacharie est "appelé par le sort ... à entrer dans le temple du Seigneur pour offrir le parfum"; Marc 15, 24 les bourreaux sous la croix partagent les vêtements du Christ "en tirant au sort" (*mittentes sortem*, en visigoth.: *wairpandans hlauta*, "*werfend das Los*"); ensuite deux fois dans les Épîtres de St-Paul: Colossiens 1, 12: "Rendez grâces au Père qui vous a rendus capables d'avoir part à l'héritage des saints dans la lumière"; ici le mot "héritage" - *klēros* en grec, *sors* en latin, c'est-à-dire le lot, la terre héritée - est *hlauts* en gothique (cf. Ephésiens 1, 11, dans un sens pareil). La composition des deux substantifs à l'aide d'un élément de liaison *-a-* (*land-a-hlauts*) est de rigueur (cf. Braune/Ebbinghaus, *Gotische Grammatik*, Tübingen 1981¹⁹, p. 62: "Als erste Glieder von Kompositis gehen die Substantive ... in der Regel auf einen Vokal aus, den Vokal der Kompositionsfuge, der bei den *a-, i-, u-*Stämmen meist mit dem Stammvokal identisch ist, z. B. *a-Dek.: figgra-gulθ ...*" *Finger-Gold*, bague).

La prononciation de la diphtongue *au* comme *ô* est bien attestée; à la fin du IV^e siècle, au plus tard, la diphtongue se transforme en une monophthongue (Braune-Ebbinghaus p. 27); p. e. les *Austrogothi* des sources latines des III^e et IV^e siècles (*Historia Augusta*, *vita Claudii* 6,2) deviennent les *Ostrogothi* ou *Ostrogothae* des V^e et VI^e siècles (Jordanes, *Getica*, *passim*).

A la base de l'arabe *al-Andalus/Alandalus* semble donc être le visigothique *landablauts*, "la terre lotie" (en allemand: *Landlos*), l'équivalent conjectural des *sortes Gothicae* et de la *Gothica sors* des sources latines.

THE TERM *ḤADD* AT SĪBWAYHI A LIST AND A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Tamás Iványi

Budapest

1

According to our findings, the term *ḥadd* occurs 104 times in the *Kitāb* as a linguistic term and two other times as a common word in an example¹. It is one of the most fundamental concepts in the Islamic² culture as a whole, and in the early grammatical works, especially at Sībawayhi, in particular. Notwithstanding, it is not an easy task either to render it in another language, or to define its meaning as a central linguistic term. The underlying problem does not, however, seem to be simply a problem of translation, but rather of a quite different nature. It seems that there had not been a clearcut definition or understanding behind the concept of *ḥadd* at the time when Sībawayhi used it. Furthermore, research in the meaning and possibilities of definition of other basic terms and notions at Sībawayhi has persuaded us to believe that in the case of nearly the whole metatheoretical terminology one is confronted with the same phenomenon, i.e., the vagueness of the terms and notions used. This presents itself in two different but related ways. First, that one and the same term appears to mean two or – in most cases – more distinct categories, in the sense of Western linguistic

¹ Troupeau 1976:65 gives 120 occurrences to *ḥadd* but does not list the places. However, we found that his work, though a very useful and indispensable handbook, is not always completely reliable in the case of other items too, sometimes even when he gives a place of occurrence it cannot be found in the text. For example, he counts 1127 occurrences of the term *kalām*, although we could identify only 1100 places. (See Iványi forthcoming). At another occasion (see Iványi in print) one occurrence of *ḥadd*, though listed, cannot be found in the edition used by Troupeau.

² The word is used here in the sense invented by Hodgson 1974.

traditions or translations³. Second, that there are two or more terms used similarly, either with the same meaning, or with a very similar meaning. But all these are only the consequences of a misguided approach, setting up requirements for early Arabic linguistic terms which are not fulfilled by the equivalent European terms as well⁴. Previous efforts to define the meaning of the most important metatheoretical terms failed also because they did not differentiate between the various contextual occurrences of these terms, disregarding the significance of, for example, the variants with definite article and without, with a special preposition (e.g., *‘alā* or *fi*) or the following word. Accordingly, in the following we shall try (i) to consider all the contextual variants of *ḥadd* occurring in the *Kitāb*, attempting at defining their rôle in a given analysis (without seeking simplifying translations and definitions); (ii) to collect and show as many cases of terms used parallelly (or quasi-synonymously) with *ḥadd* as it is possible within the frames of a short article, pointing to the basis of similarity and the possible reasons why the substitution in a given place might occur at all; (iii) to sum up, in conclusion, our investigation by outlining the basic idea behind the term *ḥadd* and its place in what may be called the Sibawayhian concept of grammar and the rôle of grammarian.

2

The 104 occurrences will be listed in a wider context to make a contextual analysis possible:

- المجلد الأول
- (١) ص ٣ / س ١٥ = الجمع الذي على حد التثنية
 (٢) ص ٣ / س ١٥ = الجمع الذي على حد التثنية
 (٣) ص ٣ / س ١٩ = وإذا جمعت على حد التثنية
 (٤) ص ١٣ / س ٤ = وأما سميت وكنيت فإنما دخلتها الباء على حد ما دخلته في عرفت
 (٥) ص ١٣ / س ٦ = فإنما تدخل في سميت وكنيت على حد ما دخلت في عرفته بزید

³ See, e.g., Talmon's analysis of the term *kalām* in Talmon 1988.

⁴ See, for example, the undefinable character of the terms 'sentence' or 'prose' in the European tradition, both of which are supposed to be meant by *kalām* at Sibawayhi (cf. Talmon 1988).

- (٦) ص ١٧ / س ١١ = إذا كان في هذا الباب نكرة ومعرفة فالذي تشفل به كان المعرفة لانه حد الكلام لأنهما شيء واحد وليس بمنزلة قولك ... لأنهما شيئا مختلفان
- (٧) ص ٢٠ / س ٦ = وترك التاء في جميع هذا الحد والوجه
- (٨) ص ٢٢ / س ١٦ = كما أنه لا يجوز أن تقول إن أخوك عبد الله على حد قولك إن عبد الله أخوك لأنها ليست بفعل وإنما جعلت بمنزلة
- (٩) ص ٢٣ / س ٢٤ = لأنه لو قلت ما زيد منطلقا زيد لم يكن حد الكلام وكان هاهنا ضعيفا ولم يكن كقولك ما زيد منطلقا هو
- (١٠) ص ٣٠ / س ٨ = فإن قلت ضربت وضربوني قومك نصبت إلا في قول من قال أكلوني البراغيث أو تحمله على البديل ... وعلى هذا الحد تقول ضربت وضربني
- (١١) ص ٣١ / س ١٣ = فإذا بنيت الاسم عليه قلت ضربت زيدا وهو الحد لأنك تريد أن تعمله وتحمل عليه الاسم
- (١٢) ص ٣١ / س ٤١ = كما كان الحد ضرب زيد عمرا
- (١٣) ص ٤٢ / س ٣ = هذا تفسيره إلا أن النصب هو الذي يختار هاهنا وهو حد الكلام فأما الانتصاب ثم وهاهنا فمن وجه واحد
- (١٤) ص ٥٢ / س ١٠ = ألا ترى أن حد الكلام أن تؤخر الفعل فتقول أيهم رأيت
- (١٥) ص ٥٧ / س ٨ = ومثله زيد إن أتاك فاضرب إلا أن تريد أول الكلام فتنصب ويكون في حد قولك زيدا إن أتاك تضرب وأيهم أتاك تضرب فيصير بمنزلة ...
- (١٦) ص ٦٠ / س ٢٠ = وقد يجري هذا في زيد وعمرو على هذا الحد إذا كنت تخبر بأشياء أو توصي ثم تقول زيد أي زيد فيمن أوصي به
- (١٧) ص ٦١ / س ٢ = وإنما كان الوجه في الأمر والنهي النصب لأن حد الكلام تقديم الفعل وهو فيه أوجب إذ كان ذلك يكون في ألف الاستفهام
- (١٨) ص ٦٢ / س ١٣ = هذا كله سمع من العرب والحد والوجه أن تحمله على أن في ليس إضمارا وهذا مبتدأ كقولك أنه أمة الله ذاهبة
- (١٩) ص ٦٥ / س ١٠ = وكذلك ... وأوصلت القوم بعضها إلى بعض فجعلته مفعولا على حد ما جعلت الذي قبله وصار قوله إلى بعض ومن بعض في موضع مفعول منصوب
- (٢٠) ص ٦٥ / س ١٩ = وإن جعلت الناس فاعلين قلت عجبت من دفع الناس بعضهم بعضا جرى في الجر على حد مجراه في الرفع كما جرى في الأول على مجراه في النصب
- (٢١) ص ٦٦ / س ٢ = وتقول عجبت من إيقاع أنيابه بعضها فوق بعض على حد قولك أوقعت أنيابه بعضها فوق بعض هذا وجه اتفاق الرفع والنصب في هذا الباب واختيار النصب
- (٢٢) ص ٦٧ / س ١٥ = تقول ... حزننت قومك بعضهم على بعض فأجريت هذا على حد الفاعل إذا قلت بكى قومك بعضهم على بعض
- (٢٣) ص ٧٣ / س ١٠ = وذلك قولك هذا ضارب عبد الله وأخيه وجه الكلام وحده الجر لأنه ليس موضعا للتوئين
- (٢٤) ص ٧٥ / س ٤ = * يا سارق الليلة أهل الدار * وتقول على هذا الحد سرقت الليلة أهل الدار فتجري الليلة على الفعل في سعة الكلام كما قال صيد عليه يوما
- (٢٥) ص ٧٥ / س ١٠ = فإن نوتت فقلت يا سارقا الليلة أهل الدار كان حد الكلام أن يكون أهل الدار على سارق منصوبا وأن تكون الليلة ظرفا لأن هذا موضع انفصال وإن شئت ...
- (٢٦) ص ٧٧ / س ٥ = فوجه الكلام فيه هذا كراهية الانفصال وإذا لم يكن في الجر فحد الكلام أن يكون الناصب مبدوأ به

- (٢٧) ص ٨١ / س ١١ = ومن قال هو الضارب الرجل لم يقل عجبت له من الضرب الرجل لأن الضارب الرجل مشبه بالحسن الوجه لأنه وصف للاسم كما أن الحسن وصف وهو ليس بحد في الكلام وقد ينبغي في قياس من قال الضارب الرجل
- (٢٨) ص ٩٤ / س ٢٠ = فإن قلت ... لم يجز ذلك لأن الليل لا يكون ظرفا إلا أن تعني الليل كله على ما ذكرت لك من التكرير فإن وجهته على إضمار شيء قد ذكر على ذلك الحد جاز
- (٢٩) ص ٩٥ / س ١٤ = فهو على ذلك الحد غير متمكن ((سير عليه ليل طويل)) وفي هذا الحال متمكن
- (٣٠) ص ٩٨ / س ١ = ضرب ضربا فينصب على وجهين أحدهما على أنه حال على حد قولك ذهب به مشيا حال وقتل به صبيرا
- (٣١) ص ٩٨ / س ٢ = وإن وصفته على هذا الحد كان نصبا تقول سار به سيرا عنيفا
- (٣٢) ص ١٠٠ / س ٢٠ = ولو قلت أسأل زيدا على هذا الحد لم يجز
- (٣٣) ص ١٤٤ / س ١٦ = وإن أخبرت في هذا الباب على هذا الحد نصبت أيضا كما نصبت في حال الخبر الاسم الذي أخذ من الفعل وذلك قولك تميما قد علم الله مرة وقيسيا أخرى
- (٣٤) ص ١٨٩ / س ١٨ = واعلم أن كل شيء كان للكرة صفة فهو للمعرفة خبر وذلك قولك مررت بأخويك قائمين فالقائمون هنا نصب على حد الصفة في الكرة
- (٣٥) ص ١٩٠ / س ٩ = وبعضهم ينصبه على البديل وإن شئت كان بمنزلة وأيته قائما كأنه صار خيرا على حد من جعله صفة للكرة على الأوجه الثلاثة
- (٣٦) ص ١٩١ / س ٢٠ = واعلم أنه يحسن ما يحسن بعبد الله مثلك على هذا الحد ألا ترى أنه لا يجوز ما يحسن بزيد خبير منك لأنه بمنزلة كل الرجل في هذا
- (٣٧) ص ١٩٤ / س ٢٠ = وهذا كقولك مررت برجل أخوه رجل وتقول على هذا الحد مررت برجل ملازموه بنو فلان فقولك ملازموه يدلك على أنه اسم ولو كان عملا لقلت ...
- (٣٨) ص ١٩٦ / س ١٠ = وهذه اللواحق لحسنه ولا تستطيع أن تدخل الألف واللام على شيء منها كما أدخلت ذلك على الحسن الوجه ولا تنون منه على حد تنوين الفاعل
- (٣٩) ص ١٩٨ / س ٩ = وقد يجوز على هذا الحد مررت برجل حسن أبوه وهو فيه أبعد لأنه صفة مشبهة بالفاعل
- (٤٠) ص ١٩٨ / س ١١ = وإن وصفته فقلت مررت برجل حسن ظريف أبوه فالرفع فيه الوجه والحد والجر فيه قبيح لأنه يفصل بوصف بينه وبين العامل
- (٤١) ص ٢٠١ / س ٤ = وذلك قولك مررت برجل حسن أبواه ... فصار هذا بمنزلة قال أبواك وقال قومك على حد من قال قومك حسنون إذا أخرجوا فيصير هذا بمنزلة أذهب أبواك
- (٤٢) ص ٢٠٣ / س ١٣ = ومن قال أكلوني البراغيث قلت على حد قوله مررت برجل أعورين أبواه
- (٤٣) ص ٢٠٣ / س ١٤ = وتقول مررت برجل أعور أبواؤه كأنك تكلمت به على حد أعورين وإن لم يتكلم به
- (٤٤) ص ٢٠٧ / س ٩ = فأما القلب فباطل لو كان ذلك لكان الحد والوجه في قوله مررت بامرأة أخذت عيبتها فضاربت به النصب لأن القلب لا يصلح
- (٤٥) ص ٢٣٩ / س ١١ = ((ضرب زيدا عمرو)) وكان الحد ان يكون مقدما ويكون زيد مؤخرا
- (٤٦) ص ٢٣٩ / س ١١ = لو قاله مضطرا على هذا الحد في الخبر لقال هذا تيم تيم عدي
- (٤٧) ص ٣٠٥ / س ١ = ولم تحذف النون لأنها لا تجيء على حد التنوين ألا تراها تدخل في الألف واللام

- (٤٨) ص ٣٠٥ / س ٤ = وتقول أنت أنت تكررها كما تقول للرجل أن وتسكت على حد قوله قال الناس زيد
- (٤٩) ص ٣٠٥ / س ٤ = وعلى هذا الحد تقول قد جربت فكننت كنت إن كررتها توكيدا وإن شئت جعلت كنت صفة لأنك قد تقول قد جربت فكننت ثم تسكت
- (٥٠) ص ٣٣٧ / س ١٧ = لو قلت تظن نفسك فاعلة أو أظن نفسي تفعل على حد تظنك وأظنني ليجزئ ذلك من ذا لم يجزئ كما أجزأ أهلكت نفسك عن أهلكتك فاستغني به عنه
- (٥١) ص ٣٦٣ / س ١٩ = وهي سبب دخول الرفع فيها وعلته أن ما عمل في الأسماء لم يعمل في هذه الأفعال على حد عمله في الأسماء
- (٥٢) ص ٣٧٢ / س ١٢ = وتقول سرت حتى أسمع الأذان هذا وجهه وحده النصب لأن سيرك ليس يؤدي سمعك الأذان وإنما اختيار النصب لأن الوجه هاهنا وحد الكلام أن تقول ما أتيتنا فحدثتنا
- (٥٣) ص ٣٧٤ / س ٩ = وإنما اختيار النصب لأن الوجه هاهنا وحد الكلام أن تقول ما أتيتنا فحدثتنا
- (٥٤) ص ٣٧٤ / س ١٠ = فلما صرفوه عن هذا الحد ضعف أن يضموا يفعل إلى فعلت فحملوه على الاسم
- (٥٥) ص ٣٩٤ / س ١ = وقد يجوز أن تقول بمن تمرر أمرر وعلى من تنزل أنزل إذا أردت معنى عليه وبه وليس بحد الكلام وفيه ضعف
- (٥٦) ص ٣٩٤ / س ٨ = وتقول بمن تمرر أمرر به وبمن تؤخذ تؤخذ به فحد الكلام أن تثبت الباء في الآخر لأنه فعل لا يصل إلا بحرف الإضافة
- (٥٧) ص ٣٩٤ / س ١١ = فإن قلت بمن تمرر أمرر ... فهو أمثل وليس بحد الكلام وإنما كان في هذا أمثل لأنه قد ذكر الباء في الفعل الأول فعلم أن الآخر مثله لأنه ذلك الفعل
- (٥٨) ص ٣٩٨ / س ٢٣ = فهو نحو من قوله ... فهذا يجوز وليس بحد الكلام ولا وجهه إلا أنه في الجزء صار أقوى قليلا لأنه ليس بواجب أنه يفعل إلا أن يكون من الأول فعل
- (٥٩) ص ٤٠٢ / س ١٧ = ويدل على أن الجزء لا يكون هاهنا أنك لا تستطيع أن تستفهم بما تدرم على هذا الحد
- (٦٠) ص ٤١٦ / س ١٢ = إذا أردت معنى الغاء جاز والوجه والحد ما قلت لك أول مرة
- (٦١) ص ٤١٨ / س ١٨ = وعلى هذا الحد تقول أما اليوم فأنك مرتحل
- (٦٢) ص ٤٢١ / س ٥ = وسألته عن قوله هذا حق كما أنك هاهنا هل يجوز على ذا الحد كما إنك هاهنا فقال لا لأن إن لا يبتدأ بها في كل موضع ... فكما بتلك المنزلة ...
- (٦٣) ص ٤٣١ / س ١٨ = وتكون في الخبر والاستفهام يدخل عليها على ذلك الحد وسأبين لك وجوه إن شاء الله
- المجلد الثاني
- (٦٤) ص ١٥ / س ٢ = وسألته عن أحاد وثناء فقال هو بمنزلة آخر إنما حده واحدا واحدا واثنين اثنين فجاء محدودا عن وجهه فترك صرفه
- (٦٥) ص ٢٦ / س ١٢ = وتقول هؤلاء ثقيف بن قسي فتجعل اسم الحي وتجعل ابن وصفا كما تقول ... فهذه الأشياء إنما هي آباء والحد فيها أن تجري ذلك المجرى وقد جاز فيها ...
- (٦٦) ص ٣٤ / س ٧ = هذا باب ما جاء معدولا عن حده من المؤنث
- (٦٧) ص ٢٤ / س ٧ = كما جاء المذكر معدولا عن حده نحو فسق ولئع وزفر وهذا المذكر نظير ذلك المؤنث
- (٦٨) ص ٣٥ / س ٥ = وقال جرير: *نعاء* فالحد في جميع هذا إفتل

- (٦٩) ص ٣٥ / س ٥ = ولكنه معدول عن حده وحرك آخره لأنه لا يكون بعد الألف ساكن
- (٧٠) ص ٣٥ / س ١٨ = وهذا كله معدول عن وجهه وأصله فجعلا آخره كآخر ما كان للفعل لأنه معدول عن أصله كما عدل نظار وحذار وأشباههما عن حدهن وكلهن مؤنث
- (٧١) ص ٣٦ / س ٩ = (**...تعدو...**) فهذا بمنزلة قوله تعدو وبددا إلا أن هذا معدول عن حده مؤنثا
- (٧٢) ص ٣٦ / س ١٢ = قالوا ملامح... فجاء جمعه على حد ما لا يستعمل في الكلام لا يقولون ملحة
- (٧٣) ص ٣٦ / س ١٧ = وأما ما جاء معدولا عن حده من بنات الأربعة فقوله *قرقار*
- (٧٤) ص ٣٩ / س ١٨ = وسألته عن أمس اسم رجل فقال مصروف لأن أمس هاهنا ليس على الحد ولكنه لما كثر في كلامهم وكان من الظرف تركوه على حال واحدة كما فعلوا ...
- (٧٥) ص ٤٣ / س ١٧ = وتقول في النصب على حد قولك من دون ومن أمام جلست أماما وخلفا كما تقول يمنةً وشامةً
- (٧٦) ص ٤٦ / س ٦ = وذلك الاسم والكنية وهو قولك زيدٌ أبو عمرو ... فهنا أصل التسمية وحدها وليس من أصل التسمية عندهم أن يكون للرجل اسمان مفردان فإنما أجروا ...
- (٧٧) ص ٤٦ / س ٨ = فأرادوا أن يجعلوا اللفظ بالألقاب إذا كانت أسماء على أصل تسميتهم ولا يجاوزوا ذلك الحد
- (٧٨) ص ٤٩ / س ٢٤ = وإنما جعل هذا هكذا في الظرف والحال لأن حد الكلام وأصله أن يكون ظرفا أو حالا
- (٧٩) ص ٥٥ / س ٧ = *والقلنس* ... ولم يقل القلنسو ولا يبنون الاسم على بناء إذا بلغ حال التنوين تغير وكان خارجا من حد الأسماء كما كرهوا أن يكون إي وفي في السكوت
- (٨٠) ص ٥٥ / س ٨ = وترك التنوين على حال يخرج منه إذا وصل ونون فلا يكون على حد الأسماء ففروا من هذا كما فروا من ذلك
- (٨١) ص ٦١ / س ٢٤ = والدليل على ذلك أنك لو سميت رجلا خمسة عشر زيد لقلت هذا خمسة عشر زيد تغير كما تغير أمس لأن المضاف من حد التسمية
- (٨٢) ص ٦٧ / س ١٢ = فإنه إذا غير مثل يرمي على ذا الحد قال يرموي كأنه أضاف إلى يرمي
- (٨٣) ص ٩٣ / س ٢١ = وإنما أوقعت العرب الاثنين في الكلام على حد قولك اليوم يومان واليوم خمسة عشر من الشهر
- (٨٤) ص ٩٣ / س ٢٢ = والذين جاءوا بها فقالوا أثناء إنما جاءوا بها على حد الاثن كأنهم قالوا اليوم الاثن
- (٨٥) ص ٩٥ / س ٣ = إذا جمعت ... فأنت بالخيار إن شئت ألحقته ... في الرفع ... في الجر والنصب وإن شئت كسرتة للجمع على حد ما تكسر عليه الأسماء للجمع
- (٨٦) ص ٩٥ / س ٤ = وإن أجمعت اسم امرأة فأنت بالخيار إن شئت جمعته بالتاء وإن شئت كسرتة على حد ما تكسر عليه الأسماء للجمع
- (٨٧) ص ٩٨ / س ١٢ = وإذا سميت رجلا ... بشيء كان وصفا ثم أردت أن تكسره كسرتة على حد تكسيرك إياه لو كان اسما على القياس وإن كان اسما قد كسرتة العرب لم تجاوز ذلك
- (٨٨) ص ٩٩ / س ٦ = لو سميت رجلا بفعال نحو جلال لقلت أجلة على حد قولك أجرة فإذا جاوزت ذلك قلت جلان

- (٨٩) ص ١١٠ / س ١٩ = وتقول في مَذْكُرٍ مَذْيُكِرٍ كما تقول في ... وإنما حدها مذتكر ولكنهم ادغموا كما كنت حاذفه في تكسيرك للجمع لو كسرته وإن شئت عوضت
- (٩٠) ص ١١٩ / س ٨ = وسألت يونس عن تحقير ثلاثين فقال ثلثون ولم يثقل شبهها بواو جلولاء لأن ثلاثا لا تستعمل مفردة على حد ما يفرد ظريف ولما ثلاثون بمنزلة عشرين
- (٩١) ص ١٤١ / س ٣ = فلما كانت أحيانا وكانت لا تمكن وكانت لم تحقر لم تمكن على هذا الحد تمكن غيرها
- (٩٢) ص ١٧١ / س ٤ = ولو فعلوا ذلك لخرج كلام كثير من حد كلامهم لأن ليس من كلامهم أن تثبت الياء والواو ثانية
- (٩٣) ص ١٨٠ / س ١٥ = وقد يجوز في القياس خمسة عشر من بين يوم وليلة وليس بحد كلام العرب
- (٩٤) ص ١٩٤ / س ٢٢ = وإنما احتملت الفعل في بنات الياء والواو لأن الغالب الذي هو حد الكلام في فعلة في غير المعتل الفعال
- (٩٥) ص ٢٧٧ / س ٣ = حيث كانت الياء التي قبلها متحركة فأرادوا أن يقلبوها إلى هذا الحد وكره أن يقلبها إلى ذلك الوجه الآخر
- (٩٦) ص ٢٢٠ / س ١٠ = وإنما حذفوا وأسكنوا استخفافا لا على أن هذا مجراه في الكلام وحده وإن كان ذلك أصله
- (٩٧) ص ٢٨٠ / س ١٧ = ألا ترى أن يرما بمنزلة أفكل لأنها تلحق أولا كثيرا فلما كان الحد لو أهير كانت الألف هي الزائدة فكذلك الياء
- (٩٨) ص ٤١٣ / س ٢ = ومما قلبوا الواو فيه ياء ديار وقيام وإنما كان الحد قيوام وديوار
- (٩٩) ص ٤١٩ / س ١١ = وإذا قلت فواعل من جئت قلت جواء كما تقول من شأوت شواء فتجربها في الجمع على حد ما كانت عليه في الواحد لأنك أجريت واحدها مجرى ...
- (١٠٠) ص ٤٢١ / س ٦ = فمساوية إنما كان حدها مساوية فكرهوا الواو مع الهمزة لأنهما حرفان مستثقلان
- (١٠١) ص ٤٣٧ / س ١١ = تقول في مفعول من قويت هذا مكان مقوي فيه لأنهن ثلاث واوات بمنزلة ما ذكرت لك بمنزلة ما ذكرت لك في فعلول من غزوت وإنما حدها مقوو
- (١٠٢) ص ٤٣٧ / س ١٨ = وتقول في فعلول من شويت وطويت شوي وطوي وإنما حدها وقد قلبوا الواوين طيي و شبي ولكنك كرهت الياءات كما كرهتها في حيي حين أضفت
- (١٠٣) ص ٤٣٧ / س ٢٠ = وكذلك فيعول من طويت لأن حدها وقد قلبت الواوين طيي فقد اجتمع فيها مثلما اجتمع في فعلول وذلك قوله طيوي
- (١٠٤) ص ٤٤١ / س ٥ = وتقول في مثل كوألل من رميت روميا ... وتقولها من قويت قروا ومن حبيت حويا ومن شويت شويا وحدها شوريا ولكنك قلبت الواو إذ كانت ساكنة

3

The distribution of the term *ḥadd* in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*:

- Vol. I: p.3 (3x) / pp.13-31 (9x) / p.42 (1x) / pp.52-100 (19x) / p.144 (1x) / pp.189-207 (11x) / p.239 (1x) / p.273 (1x) / p.305 (3x) / p.337 (1x) / pp.363-374 (4x) / p.394 (3x) / p.398 (1x) / p.402 (1x) / pp.416-421 (3x) / p.431 (1x)
- Vol. II: p.15 (1x) / p.26 (1x) / pp.34-49 (13x) / pp.55-67 (4x) [pp.26-67 (18x)] / pp.93-99 (6x) / p.110 (1x) / p.119 (1x) / p.141 (1x) / pp.171-194 (3x) / p.277 (1x) / p.320 (1x) / p.380 (1x) / pp.413-421 (3x) / p.437 (3x) / p.441 (1x)

This table shows the uneven distribution of the occurrences of *ḥadd* in the *Kitāb* and supports our view that (i) when it is used in a place, it is frequently used several times, but (ii) sometimes it is 'forgotten' during fifty pages. This fact is very strange considering that we speak about a central category of language. It becomes understandable only if we also take into account that the term *ḥadd* is used primarily when something extraordinary happens in language and not when regularity is spoken of. A survey of the topics and chapters where the term *ḥadd* occurs confirms that almost any kind of grammatical (syntactical or morphological) problem can be involved. Anyhow, it is remarkable that *i'rāb*-endings are relatively (i.e., compared to their occurrence ratio in the *Kitāb* as a whole) rarely mentioned in connection with *ḥadd* (it is the special field of *wağḥ* / *wuğūḥ*).

4

On the basis of the above data we can establish a formal analysis of the occurrences of the term *ḥadd* and its immediate environment as follows:

ḥadd Sg 104x; Pl Øx.

1. Indef 1x

2. Def 103x

2.1 Def with Art 35x

2.1.1 without Prep 13x [5x together with *wağḥ*, 8x independently: 6x Subj, 1x Pred, 1x Dir obj];

2.1.2 with Prep 22x (+ always with Dem: *ḥādā/dā/dālika*): 'alā 20x; 'an 1x; ilā 1x.

2.2 Def in *idāfa* 68x; the *mudāf ilayhi*:

2.2.1 Indef Rel Pron 10x: mā 8x; man 2x (all with Prep) (in the clauses with the following Verbs: *ḡā'ala* / *kassara* / *agrā* / *qāla* / *yufradu* / *lā justa'malu*)

2.2.2 Noun 42x: with Prep 29x; without Prep 13x

kalām 17x: 16x *al-kalām*; 1x *kalāmu-hum* (no Dem) (1x also together with *wa-aṣluhu*, 1x with *wağḥ*);

qawlika 9x; *mağrāhu* 1x; common word 3x; grammatical category 12x (*at-tatniya* 3x; *al-asmā'* 2x; *al-fā'il* / *tanwin al-fā'il* / *at-tanwin* / *at-tanwin* / 'amalibi fi l-ism / *taksirika iyyāhu* / *aṣ-ṣifa*)

2.2.3 Pers Pron 16x (-*hu* 9x referring to a sentence; *-hā* 7x referring to a word): with Prep 6x (all *mā'dūl 'an*); without Prep 10x

NB.: *mā'dūl 'an ḥaddihi* (6x) = *maḥdūd 'anhu* (12x) = *mā'dūl 'an* (33x) or 'udila 'an (6x) = *ṣarafa 'an* (2x) = *ṣurifa 'an* (4x), all in all 63x (i.e., ten times more than the number of *mā'dūl 'an ḥaddihi* occurrences)

3 Prep

3.1 Prep in *idāfa* altogether: 'alā 32x; 'an 6x; min 3x; bi- 3x; fi 1x3.2 Prep in all cases (i.e., when used together with the term *hadd*):

'alā 52x; 'an 7x; min 3x; bi- 4x; fi 1x; ilā 1x

NB.: 1) With *bi-*: always as the Pred of *laysa* (*laysa bi-haddin fi l-kalām*; *laysa bi-haddi l-kalām*)

2) With 'alā: always with the meaning 'qiyāsān wa-tasbīhan'

3) *min* always together with *ḥaraḡa* or *ḥariḡ*

4 With Dem 23x: 22x plus 'alā; 1x as Dir Obj

Some consequences: (1) *hadd* cannot be synonymous with *waḡh* because the latter occurs in Sg/Dual/Pl; Def and Indef in equal ratio; and primarily *not* in *idāfa* or in a prepositional phrase; (2) exactly 50% of all occurrences are constructed with the Prep 'alā, having the meaning 'used on the basis of similarity' to an already established case; (3) *hadd al-kalām* occurs 17 times: it may be considered a small number, regarding that a linguist's main task is just to define what *hadd al-kalām* is in a special case, but we must not forget that *hadd* independently and *kalām* in many cases mean just the same; (4) the co-occurrences of *hadd* with *waḡh*, *aṣl*, *qiyās* shows much of their common nature as well as their differences in usage and meaning: *hadd* 'underlying regularity of the ideal (but not idealised) speech (acts) or language (*kalām*); *waḡh* 'the way of explanation of this or these regularities, mainly if it appears in the form of desinential endings (*tanwīn*); *aṣl* 'a linguistic phenomenon, rule or category, which is more general or primary than other(s)', hence it is *hadd*, but not necessarily *kalām* (or *mā yutakallamu bihi*).

5

Summary of more distant environments of the occurrences of *hadd*:

(i) Primary grammatical categories and processes:

adḡama 1x, *amr* 1x, *badal* 1x, *fi'l* 8x, *ḡam'* (+ V) 6x, *ḡarr* 5x, *ḡazā'* 2x, *ḡabar* (+ V) 3x, *ḡurrika* (*āḡiruhu*) 1x, *idmār* (+ V & Part.) 6x, *ism* 6x, *istifhām* 1x, *maf'ūl* 1x, *ma'rifa* 2x, *masrūf* 1x, *mu'anna* 2x, *mudāf* 1x, *mudakkar* 2x, *mufrada* 1x, *nakira* 4x, *naby* 1x, *naṣb* (+ V & Part.) 15x, *raf'* 4x, *sākin* (+ V) 2x, *ṣifa* 3x, *ṣifa muṣabbaha bi-l-fā'il* 1x, *tahqīr* (+ V) 2x, *taksīr* (+ V) 3x, *tanwīn* (+ V) 6x, *wasf* (+ V) 4x, *zarf* 2x, *banāt al-arba'a* 1x, *tasmiya* (+ V) 5x, *wasāla* 2x

(ii) Words or sounds used as quasi-terms:

alif wa-yā' 1x, *bā'* (*al-ḡarr*) 1x, *banāt al-wāw wal-yā'* 1x, *fi* many times (e.g., *kamā kāna fi l-ḡadf*); *in*, *ka-anna*(*ka/hum*), *kamā*, *law* (see below); *li-anna* many times, *sentence as an*

example 2x, *wāhid* (sg.) 1x, *wa-lākinna* many times, *wāw wa-yā'* 3x, *word as an example* many times, *yā' mutaharrika* 1x

(iii) Secondary processes and categories:

asl 4x, *alḥaḡta* 2x, *ʿamal* (+ V) 2x, *awḡaʿat* (*al-ʿarab*) 1x, *awwal al-kalām* 1x, *bāb* 4x, *banā ʿalā* 2x, *duḥūl* (+ V) 4x, *ḡā'a ʿalā* 4x, *ḡā'ala (alā)* 9x, *ḡarās/maḡrā* = 12x, *ḡāwaza* 3x, *ḡadf* (+ V) 2x, *ḡāl* 2x, *ḡamala ʿalā* 2x, *ḡaraḡa min* 2x, *iḡtiyār/ḡiyār* 4x, *infisāl/yafsiḡu bayna* 3x, *istihfāf* 1x, *ittifāq* 1x, *karrarta (tawkidan)* 1x, *mabdu' bihi* 1x, *ma'dul ʿan* 1x, *ma'nā (al-fā')* 1x, *manzila* 8x, *mawdi'* 2x, *mustaqil* 1x, *qalb* (+ V) 8x, *qiyās* 2x, *saʿat al-kalām* 2x, *sāra* 5x, *sarafūhu ʿan* 1x, *šibḡ* 2x, *taf ʿalu ʿalā* 1x, *tagayyara* 1x, *ta'ḡir* (+ V & Part.) 4x, *tamakkena/(ḡayr) mutamakkin* 2x, *taqdīm* (+ Part.) 3x, *tark ʿalā* (+ V) 2x, *tašḡal bi-* 1x, *tuḡbitu (al-bā', al-wāw wa-l-yā')* 2x, *waḡḡ* = 11x, *yadulluka ʿalā dālika* 1x

(iv) Qualifying terms:

akṡaru (fi kalāmihim) 1x, *amṡalu* 1x, *aḡwā* 1x, *ʿarab* 1x, *arāda* 4x, *awḡaba* 1x, *bātil* 1x, *dāʿif* 1x, *dūf* 2x, *ḡālib* 1x, *ḡāza/qad yaḡūzu* 9x, *in šī'ta* 3x, *iḡtamala* 1x, *kalāmuhum/fi l-kalām* 8x, *kaṡir (kalām -)* 1x, *mudṡarr* 1x, *qabiḡ* 1x, *qāla/qulta/qad taḡūlu* 42x, *qawlu(ka/hu)* 12x, *takallama bihi* 2x, *yaḡsunu* 1x, *yaḡluḡu (lā -)* 1x, *yustā'mal (lā -)* 2x

6

Additional analysis of the distant environments of *ḡadd*:

i) Sentence types where the *ḡadd* occurs:

1 In simple affirmative utterance (mostly allowing comparison with a well established rule with *ʿalā*, more rarely establishing a rule).

2 In conditional or hypothetical sentence: *iḡdā* 12x (with Neg in *ḡawāb*: 1x) *in* 10x (with Neg in *ḡawāb*: 1x) *man* 1x (with Neg in *ḡawāb*); *law ... la-* 7x *law ... lam* (in *ḡawāb*) 2x / altogether: 31x (almost one third of all occurrences); from this Neg: 5x. These are mainly supposed utterances and not of a collected corpus (i.e., those of grammarians, not *rāwis*)

3 In Neg sentence: 9x; plus as a Pred of *laysa* 4x, plus in the Prep Phrase of *ḡaraḡa (min)* (having a Neg meaning) 2x. In Neg altogether (Cond included): 20x.

4 In comparative sentence with *kaṡā* 6x; with *ka'anna* 3x; *ka-qawlika* 1x.

5 *innamā* has here a twofold meaning: contrastive, as in (64), (98), (100), (101), (102); and restrictive, as, e.g., in (17) or (84).

Main usage, accordingly, in: contrastive or comparative, hypothetical or refused examples.

ii) Comparison of related terms:

1 *ḡadd* and *waḡḡ*

ḡadd (*al-kalām*): *at-taqdīm*; *al-waḡḡ*: *an-nasb*: two different things on two different levels of abstraction (17)

waḡḡ al-kalām wa-ḡadduhu: one and the same (23)

ḡadd = structural analysis or structural configuration given in the speech (25): *fa-in nawwanta fa-qulta ... kāna ḡadd al-kalām an yakūna ... mansūban wa-an takūna ... zarfan*

waḡḡa way of analysing a structure or an aspect of the [basic] linguistic rule, *ḡadd* (26): *waḡḡ* is a *far'* to *ḡadd*, which is here equal to *asl*; (30): *yunsabu ʿalā waḡḡayni aḡaduhumā ʿalā annahu ḡāl ʿalā ḡaddi qawlika ...* the desinential ending is explained on the basis of

wağḥ, but the underlying structure of an utterance is *ḥadd*; (34): *fa-l-qā'imūna hunā naṣḥ* [i.e., its *wağḥ*] '*alā ḥaddi ṣ-ṣifa* [i.e., on the basis of or similarly to the rule of]; (35): the main rule (*ḥadd*) may be realised in three ways (*awğūḥ*).

In many places, however, this difference vanishes or becomes neutralised between the two terms or notions, see, e.g., (40), (44), (53), (60). In other places, where *ḥadd* is not mentioned, it functions in its stead: see, e.g., I, 29/3; 37/4.

sometimes *ḥadd* and *wağḥ* may be contrasted to each other as a realised form and its underlying rule (52) [or it may be taken as a contradiction in another interpretation].

2 *ğawāz* and *ḥadd/wağḥ*

(*qad*) *yağūzu* or *ğāza* vs. *ḥadd/wağḥ*: (39), (55), (60), (62), (93). *ğawāz* is also confronted with *wağḥ* in many places, see, e.g., I, 31/3.

3 *amṭal* vs. *ḥadd*: (57) It can only be understood if we assume that the former means here 'more suitable as an example (*matal*, *tamīl*) than the other' and not 'more excellent' (as Troupeau puts it).

4 *kalām* vs. *ḥadd*: (72), where the latter is similar to some usages of *asl*, i.e., it is the basic form or rule, although is not used in speech. [There are other places, in (100-104), where *ḥadd* functions as *asl*, although this latter is not mentioned]

5 *asl* and *ḥadd*

asl = *ḥadd*: (76); *asl* vs. *ḥadd*: (96)

6 *ḥadd* = *mağrā* in (96)

7 *qiyās* vs. *ḥadd*: (93)

8 *naḥw* vs. *ḥadd*: the former seems to be a theoretically acceptable way of saying things, which may contradict to both *ḥadd* and *wağḥ*, see (58).

9 *bāb* and *ḥadd/wağḥ*: the former is the domain of primary grammatical phenomenon (where one meets different *wuğūḥ*), while the latter refers to underlying rules operating in this domain; cf. (33) and (21).

9 We have already mentioned that '*alā ḥadd* means something like 'in accordance with the rule', now we have also to remark that the Prep '*alā* means frequently the same when used alone: see, e.g., I, 39/2 (*alā l-kalām*).

7

Summing up, there are many layers even of the more abstract, so-called secondary (methodological) terms at Sībawayhi. Some relate to the speech usage of the distinguished (group of) informants (*rāwīs*), some to the usages of the less acceptable ones; some terms are so general that they are not used in plural or in indefinite state (like *ḥadd*, *asl*, *qiyās* or *kalām*), while some other (either metatheoretical or qualificative) terms, which may occasionally substitute the former, are used on a more particular layer of grammatical analysis (like *wağḥ*, or *šadd*). Although in ideal cases the theoretical examples of the linguists and the actual usages

correspond to each other, Sībawayhi tries to point out meticulously whenever the two differ (perhaps indicating linguistic debates) in his terminology, too. The term *ḥadd*, together with *kalām* and *aṣl* belongs primarily to the domain of the latter (i.e., actual speech), although sometimes differ, together with *aṣl*, from *kalām*, not because it is to theoretical, but because linguistic usage is too arbitrary from time to time. The terms at Sībawayhi overlap each other and sometimes can be dispensed with altogether. In such occasions one word or a whole sentence express the same meaning.

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PANZAVECCHIAS ÜBERSETZUNG DER GENESIS INS MALTESISCHE

Ein Beispiel für die Bemühungen um den Ausbau
des Maltesischen im 19. Jahrhundert

Reinhold Kontzi

Universität Tübingen

Die Handschrift Nummer 43 des Fondo Panzavecchia im Archiv der Kathedrale von Mdina in Malta besteht aus einer Übersetzung des 1. Buchs Mose aus dem Lateinischen der Vulgata ins Maltesische. An dieser Handschrift zu arbeiten, war mir ermöglicht worden durch die Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, der ich dafür meinen herzlichen Dank abstatte. Ich bereite zur Zeit eine Ausgabe des Manuskripts vor.

Ich möchte hier vor allem den Übergangscharakter der Sprache dieser Übersetzung aufzeigen. Sie entstand in einer Zeit, als das Maltesische noch nicht standardisiert war, als es überhaupt noch kein Prestige hatte, und als das Italienische noch die dominierende Bildungssprache auf Malta war.

Als die Araber Malta eroberten, brachten sie ihre Sprache dorthin. Auch nach der Rückeroberung durch die Christen behielten die Malteser ihr arabisches Idiom bei, aber es war jahrhundertlang starkem italienischem Einfluß ausgesetzt, sodaß man heute das Maltesische als einen ursprünglich arabischen Dialekt bezeichnen kann, der sich zu einer eigenen Sprache entwickelte, woran der italienische Einfluß wesentlich beteiligt war. Auch nachdem Malta 1800 englisch geworden war, war es noch lange italienischem Kultureinfluß unterworfen. Heute sind das Maltesische und das Englische die beiden offiziellen Sprachen Maltas.

Jahrhundertlang wurde das Maltesische nicht geschrieben. Zwar wurde schon im 15. Jh. ein Gedicht in einem sinnvollen Schriftsystem aufgeschrieben (die "Cantilena" des Caxaro), aber nennenswerte Anstöße zur Verschriftung des Maltesischen kamen erst von Agius de Soldanis (1712-70) und vor allem von Mikiel Anton Vassalli (1764-1829).

Dieser hätte wohl einen Aufschwung des Maltesischen hervorrufen können, aber er mußte aus politischen Gründen über 20 Jahre außer Landes gehen und konnte nicht wirken, und nach seiner Rückkehr lebte er nur noch wenige Jahre. Nach dem Wiener Kongreß kamen viele Emigranten aus den reaktionären Staaten Italiens und gaben der italienischen Kultur auf Malta starke Impulse. Es gab zwar gebildete Malteser, die ihrer Muttersprache einen besseren Platz in der Gesellschaft verschaffen wollten, aber sie hatten einen schweren Stand.

Ein eifriger Förderer des Maltesischen war der Kanonikus Fortunato Panzavecchia (gest. 1850). Er setzte in gewisser Weise das Werk Vassallis fort. Wir wissen noch wenig über ihn. Er soll aus den 3 Städten stammen, also aus der Gegend von Senglea, Cospicua und Vittoriosa, wo man ein archaisches Maltesisch spricht. 1844 wurde er Erziehungsdirektor und vertrat den Standpunkt, daß ein Kind in der Schule zuerst seine Muttersprache lernen sollte. 1845 brachte er auch eine *Grammatica della Lingua Maltese* heraus. Vorher schon hatte er Bibelteile übersetzt: die Genesis, die Psalmen, einzelne Kapitel der Evangelien, die der sonntäglichen Predigt zugrundelagen.

Wir wollen uns nun der Übersetzung der Genesis zuwenden. Sie entstand im Jahre 1841. Ich greife zunächst einige Verse heraus (Kap. 19, 15-22; 26-28), mit deren Hilfe ich das Maltesische charakterisieren werde. Anschließend werde ich auf Schrift und Sprache der ganzen Übersetzung eingehen. Ich gebe den Text in der Schreibweise Panzavecchias wieder:

Der Kontext ist folgender: Gott hat die Zerstörung von Sodom und Gomorra beschlossen. Lot soll gerettet werden. Zwei Engel kommen zu ihm nach Sodom und übernachteten bei ihm. Hier setzt der Text ein.

15. *U meta sebah, l'angli bedghu iżakilkuh u ighidulu: "Kum, hu lil martek uzzeug bniet li ghandek biex ma tintilifx inti ukol għad-dnup ta dannies".*

Da nun die Morgenröte aufging, hießen die Engel den Lot eilen und sprachen: "Mache dich auf, nimm dein Weib und deine zwei Töchter, die vorhanden sind, daß du nicht auch umkommst in der Missetat dieser Stadt".

16. *U ghaliex hu vera li ma fehimomx, kabdu lilu u lil martu u lil uliedu mnideihom, ghaliex Alla riedu mehlus.*

Da er aber verzog, ergriffen die Männer ihn und sein Weib, und seine zwei Töchter bei der Hand, darum daß der Herr ihn verschonte

17. *U harguhom u haduhom barra il belt, u hem kalulu: "Salva hajtek, tharix lura, u lankas tipka dannahjet, izda ah'rab innahh a tal muntania, biex ma tehlix inti ukoll".*

und führten ihn hinaus und ließen ihn draußen vor der Stadt. Und als sie ihn hatten hinausgebracht, sprach er: "Errette deine Seele und sieh nicht hinter dich; auch stehe nicht in dieser ganzen Gegend. Auf den Berg rette dich, daß du nicht umkommst".

18. *U kallhom Lot: "Ismaghni nitolbok ja sidi,*

Aber Lot sprach zu ihnen: Ach nein, Herr!

19. *La darba isserf tigh'ek gh'obok, u ureit kem hi kbira il kniena tigh'ek li gh'milt mighi biex tehlisni, la darba ma nistax insalva, biex ma ilh'knix il castig u nintilef.*

Siehe, dieweil dein Knecht Gnade gefunden hat vor deinen Augen, so wolltest du deine Barmherzigkeit groß machen, die du an mir getan hast, daß du meine Seele am Leben erhieltest. Ich kann mich nicht auf den Berg retten; es möchte mich ein Unfall ankommen, daß ich stürbe.

20. *Hemm belt zghira haun fil krip fein nista nah'rab u nistkenn f'ha. Ma hix forsi zghira biex insalva f'ha?"*

Siehe, da ist eine Stadt nahe, darein ich fliehen kann, und ist klein; dahin will ich mich retten (ist sie doch klein) daß meine Seele lebendig bleibe.

21. *U irrispondieh: "Trak li fdana ukoll smait ittalp tigh'ek biex ma intemmx il belt li semmeitli.*

Da sprach er zu ihm: Siehe, ich habe auch in diesem Stück dich angesehen, daß ich die Stadt nicht umkehre, von der du geredet hast.

22. *Ehles u mur stkenn hemm, ghax ma nkun nista naghmel xein sama tiithol hemm.*” *Għalhekk baqghet imsemmia Segor.*

Eile und rette dich dahin; denn ich kann nichts tun, bis daß du hineinkommest. Daher ist diese Stadt genannt Zoar (Kleine).

26. *U ghaliex martu dauuret viġġ a, saret statua tal milh.*

Und sein Weib sah hinter sich und ward zur Salzsäule.

27. *Abram intant meta kam filghodu hemm fein kien mar jokghot kabal bil ghainuna t Alla*

Abraham aber machte sich des Morgens Früh auf an den Ort, da er gestanden vor dem Herrn,

28. *Hares innahha ta Sodoma u Gomorra u innahhiet ta dak il pajis, u ra tiela innar mil art phadduhan tal forn.*

und wandte sein Angesicht gegen Sodom und Gomorra und alles Land der Gegend und schaute; und siehe, da ging ein Rauch auf von dem Lande wie ein Rauch vom Ofen.

Wie Sie sehen, wird das Maltesische mit lateinischen Lettern geschrieben. Der Text ist wesentlich vom Arabischen bestimmt, es erscheinen aber auch einige Ausdrücke italienischer Herkunft.

Bei der Betrachtung der arabischen Elemente des Maltesischen möchte ich zunächst auf eine alte Schicht hinweisen. Sie wird greifbar in dem Sätzchen *u ra tiela innar* (28) “und er sah das Feuer aufsteigen”. Hier lebt das arab. Verb *ra’ā* weiter, das wir sonst nur in den Randzonen der arabischen Welt antreffen, oder in bestimmten erstarrten Wendungen. Von dem sonst allmein verbreiteten *šāf* ist im Maltesischen keine Spur vorhanden.

Im Maltesischen, und damit auch in unserem Text, finden wir so viele Charakteristika arabischer Dialekte. Zu ihnen gehört z.B. die Imāla des betonten langen *a* in der Umgebung gewisser historischer Konsonanten. So in *bniet* (15) < *banāt*, *nies* (15) < *nās*, u.a.

Auch die maltesischen Genitivkonstruktionen lassen sich mit denen des Volksarabischen vergleichen. In *ghaddnup ta dannies* (15) ist *ta* der Genitivexponent, den wir in der Form *matā*, *bitā* aus mehreren Dialekten kennen.

In vielen Dialekten wird verneint durch *ma* + Verb + *x*. Entsprechend steht in unserem Textstück: *ma tintilix* (15) "du kommst nicht um". Wir finden es auch ohne *ma*: *tharix lura* (17) "schau nicht zurück".

Besonders stark sind die Gemeinsamkeiten mit dem Maghrebinischen.

Die Formen der 1. Pers. Imp. entsprechen sich im Sing. und im Pl. In beiden Fällen steht das Präfix *n-*. Im Sing.: *nitolbok* (18) "ich bitte dich". Im Pl.: *nokoghdu* (47,4) "wir wohnen".

Auch im Wortschatz gibt es Gemeinsamkeiten mit dem Maghrebinischen.

Wir lesen *nintilef* (v.19). Der Grundstamm lautet *tilef* "verlieren", das wir auch im Maghreb finden.

Das Maltesische hat sich von seiner arabischen Ausgangsbasis aus weiterentwickelt. Dabei gelten zwei Grundtatsachen:

1. Das arabische Element erfuhr Veränderung in seiner Form oder in seiner Bedeutung.
2. Das Italienische wirkte stark auf das Maltesische ein.

Typisch maltesisch ist die Konjugation des Verbes *qal* "sagen". Hier sind zwei arabische Verben zusammengefallen: *qāla* und *ʿāda*. *Qal* findet sich nur in der 3. Person Sing. und Pl. des Perfekts. In allen andern Fällen werden Formen von *ʿāda* gebraucht (ausgehend vom 4. Verbstamm). In unserem Abschnitt lesen wir u.a.: *qalulu* (17) "sie sagten ihm" *ighidulu* (15) "sie sagen ihm".

Bemerkenswert ist, daß *mar* sich zwar materiell vom arab. *marra* ableitet, daß es aber die Bedeutung von "gehen" schlechthin angenommen hat. So heißt es in unserem Abschnitt: *Mur stkenn hemm* (22) "Geh und suche dort Zuflucht" und *fein kien mar* (27) "wo er hingegangen war".

Einige Wörter sind italienischen Ursprungs, z.B. *angli* (15); *salva* (17). Weitere Beispiele sind: *muntania* (17); *isserf* (18); *castig* (19); *forsi* (21) *irrispondieh* (21); *statua* (26); *intant* (27); *pajis* (28); *form* (28).

Italienische Interferenz liegt vor in *tharix lura* (17) "schau nicht zurück" und in *ħares innaha ta Sodoma* (28) "er blickte in Richtung Sodom". Zwar ist das Verb *ħares* rein arabischer Herkunft, aber seine Be-

deutungsstruktur hat sich an dem italienischen Wort *guardare* ausgerichtet, das sowohl die Bedeutung "bewachen" als auch die von "schauen" aufweist.

Bisher habe ich Ihnen an Hand dieses Textes nur Charakteristika des Maltesischen aufgezeigt, die es von andern arabischen Idiomen abheben. Was ist aber nun das Besondere dieser Genesis-Übersetzung von Panzavecchia? Was ist nicht nur typisch Maltesisch, sondern was ist Panzavecchia?

Panzavecchia war ein Mann italienischer Bildung. Er beherrschte das Italienische und lebte mit dem Italienischen, das den Rahmen seines Denkens bildete. Anmerkungen zu seinem Text machte er auf Italienisch; und er schloß die Übersetzung ab mit den Worten *Terminato li 2 luglio 1841 mezzodí.*

Zur Zeit Panzavecchias war die maltesische Sprache noch kaum für die Verschriftung vorbereitet. Es gab noch nicht die zahlreichen Hilfsmittel und Nachschlagewerke, über die wir heute verfügen. Panzavecchia hatte die Schriftbilder der maltesischen Wörter noch nicht im Kopf. Sie waren noch nicht in Schulen eingeübt worden. Er schuf alles aus sich heraus und aus dem, was er in seiner Umgebung wahrnahm. Er hörte es von verschiedenen Seiten, was dazu beigetragen hat, daß das sprachliche System seiner Übersetzung so heterogen erscheint. Das Maltesische war damals die Umgangssprache. Für formelle Zwecke und als Prestigesprache hatte man das Italienische. Wer damals schrieb, konnte Italienisch, und wer nur Maltesisch sprach, konnte auch nicht schreiben. Es galt nun, das Maltesische heraufzuheben auf eine höhere Stufe des Ansehens. Dazu mußte es aber erst zurechtgemacht werden. Man kann hier von einer Akkulturierung sprechen oder vom Ausbau der Sprache (im Sinne von Heinz Kloss). Darum mußten sich noch Generationen von Schreibenden bemühen. In der ersten Zeit solchen Bemühens gab es noch viele Inkohärenzen, was man an Panzavecchias Genesis-Übersetzung gut sehen kann. Wo kein maltesischer Ausdruck sofort zur Verfügung stand, griff er zu einem italienischen, ja zuweilen auch dann, wenn es einen einheimischen Ausdruck wohl gab, z.B. *proscmuhomlu* (48,13) "er brachte sie zu ihm heran". Dun Karm Sant von der Għaqda

Biblika benützt in seiner Übersetzung aus unseren Tagen ein Wort arabischen Ursprungs: *u ressaqhomlu lejh*. Und wo Panzavecchia schreibt *tistermnaħa?* (18,28) "wirst du sie (die Stadt) vernichten?" zeigt uns die Santsche Übersetzung *se teqred il belt kollħa?* die einheimische Entsprechung.

In allen Bereichen seiner Übersetzung ist bei Panzavecchia ein durchgehender Zug festzustellen: Er schwankt in seinen Lösungen, was oft zu mehreren miteinander konkurrierenden Systemen in seinem Text führte.

Wenden wir uns zunächst seiner Schreibweise zu. In der Art, wie Panzavecchia die Buchstaben für den maltesischen Text formt, ist die Auseinandersetzung zwischen seiner italienischen Traditionsgebundenheit und seinem Willen, für das Maltesische etwas Neues zu schaffen, besonders augenfällig. Hier sehen wir,

1. daß Panzavecchia für Phoneme, die aus dem Arabischen stammen und dem Italienischen fremd sind, besondere dem Maltesischen eigene Grapheme sucht. Er probiert gewissermaßen verschiedene Möglichkeiten aus, kommt aber letzten Endes zu keinem einheitlichen System. Und wir sehen
2. daß sich Panzavecchia von der italienischen Schreibtradition lösen will, was ihm aber nicht ganz gelingt. Immer wieder schlägt die italienische Schreibweise durch.

Ich sollte nun die Eigenart des Panzavecchia'schen Schreibsystems und seine allmähliche Herausbildung in der Handschrift darstellen. Wegen der Kürze der Zeit werde ich das nur für die graphische Repräsentation des Phonems /š/ tun.

Für das Phonem /š/ finden wir die Schreibzeichen <ш>, <sc> und <x>. Das erste Zeichen ist das kyrilische štša. Schon Vassalli verwendet es in seiner Übersetzung der Evangelien. In der Genesis Panzavecchias kommt es insgesamt nur 16 Mal vor, z.B. in *ghau*(3,20) "weil" und *murrred* (4,14) "verstreut".

Der Digraph <sc> ist dem Italienischen entnommen. Dort drückt <sc> nur dann den palatalen Reibelaut aus, wenn ein heller Vokal folgt. Verständlicherweise finden wir das bei Wörtern italienischer Her-

kunft, wie z.B. *iscettru* (49,10) "Szepter". Panzavecchia wendet diese Regel auch auf Wörter arabischer Herkunft an, z.B. *sci* (18,14) "etwas"; *scerridhom* (11,8) "er verstreute sie". Wenn der Reibelaut auch vor /a/, /o/ und /u/ gesprochen werden soll, muß man im Italienischen ein <i> einschieben. Im Text finden wir dies in Wörtern italienischer Herkunft wie *sciorta* (2, Var.v.9) "Art" und in solchen arabischer Herkunft wie *scioghól* (37,21) "Arbeit" und *sciuhia* (25,8) "Alter". Aber sehr oft steht bei Panzavecchia <sc> als Schreibzeichen für das /š/ in jeder Umgebung, in Wörtern italienischer Herkunft, wie in *scorti scorti* (1(43), Var. v.11) "jedes nach seiner Art"; *bascscau* (43,28) "sie senkten"; *iscscuabel* (34,25) "die Schwerter und in solchen arabischen Ursprungs *iscorbu* (24,54) "sie trinken"; *scaghar* (27,23) "Haar"; *ghascu* (47,9) "sie lebten"; *scemsc* (24,63) "Sonne". Besonders oft finden wir <sc> für /š/ am Ende eines Wortes: *biesc* (2,10) "damit"; *ghasc* (3,10) "weil"; *maneclusc* (3,3) "wir essen nicht"; *ma nafsc* (4,9) "ich weiß nicht".

Daneben kann bei Panzavecchia <sc> auch ein Schreibzeichen für zwei aufeinanderfolgende Phoneme sein, wie in *discorsi* (39,10) "Reden", *scont* (10,5) "gemäß".

Damit haben wir in dem <sc> eine Buchstabenfolge, die sich einmal als Digraph für das Phonem /š/ und zum andern als Buchstabenkombination für die Phoneme /s/ + /k/ deuten läßt.

Die Zweideutigkeit kann vermieden werden durch das Schreibzeichen <x>, das immer als /š/ zu werten ist. Panzavecchia verwendet es häufig.

Beispiele: *mxerred* (4,12) "zerstreut"; *xorta* (7,25) "Art"; *xoghól* (5,29); *imxu* (8,17) "sie gehen"; *ghaxar* (5,15) "zehn"; *xixin* (3,7) "gegenseitig"; *biex* (2,5) "damit"; *ghax* (3,5) "weil". Die beiden Schreibweisen <sc> und <x> für /š/ sind über den ganzen Text verteilt. Gegen Ende bevorzugt Panzavecchia <sc>. Dies zeigt uns deutlich, daß er in seiner Übersetzung zu keinem kohärenten Schreibsystem kommt. Die italienische Schreibtradition haftet ihm noch schwer an.

Für das ganze Graphiesystem Panzavecchias gilt: Das Alte, das italienische, ist noch da. Das Neue, das Maltesische, hat auch schon angefangen, ist aber nicht fest im Bewußtsein des Übersetzers der Genesis. Er

ist sich nicht klar geworden darüber, ob und wie er das alte System in das neue integrieren soll. Er hat sich noch nicht zum Aufgeben des alten Systems entschlossen. So kam es zu einem widersprüchlichen Nebeneinander.

Zur *Sprache* der Genesis: Hier richtete sich Panzavecchia am gesprochenen Maltesisch aus und hielt die Ausdrücke so fest, wie sie an ihn herangetragen wurden. Dabei ist heute schwer zu entscheiden, ob es sich um dialektale oder um archaische Ausdrücke oder solche der informellen Sprache handelt.

Panzavecchia schreibt oft phonetisch und nicht morphophonematisch, d. h. das Wissen um die richtige Wurzel gibt er auf zugunsten dessen, was er tatsächlich hört.

Im Maltesischen wird die Opposition stimmhaft/stimmlos im Auslaut neutralisiert, sodaß an dieser Stelle nur der stimmlose Konsonant auftritt. In der Schrift wird dies heute nicht festgehalten, wohl aber sehr oft bei Panzavecchia. Bezeichnend ist die Stelle 46,7, wo wir lesen: *Ulied, uliet uliedu* "seine Söhne, die Söhne seiner Söhne". *Uliedu* weist stimmhaftes *d* auf, weil es nicht im Auslaut steht. In *uliet* aber befindet sich der Dental im Auslaut und ist daher stimmlos. Da unser Übersetzer seine Regeln nie konsequent anwendet, finden wir auch oft Wörter mit stimmhaften Konsonanten im Auslaut. Und so lesen wir bei ihm *mett* (12,10) "er streckte aus" aber auch das Imperfekt *imidd* (3,24). Solche Paare sind zahlreich.

Weitere Beispiele: *issip* (30,32) "du findest"; *mehut* (39,1) "genommen"; *gemp* (21,29) "Seite"; *dnup* (19,7) "Sünden" und viele andere mehr.

Auch Wörter romanischen Ursprungs zeigen diese Neutralisierung so z.B. *skont* (1(46),16) und *mot* (30,43) "Art".

Sehr häufig zeigt der Text Formen mit Assimilierung in allen möglichen Varianten, von denen ich auswahlweise nur einige nenne:

Ein stimmhafter Konsonant wird vor einem stimmlosen selbst stimmlos. Das zeigt das Wort *phal* (10,9) "wie" < *bhal*. Hier wurde das stimmhafte *b* vor dem stimmlosen *h* stimmlos.

Weitere Beispiele *ijsma* (15,11) "Körper"; *tihol* (10,19) "du gehst hinein"; *hrixtek* (15,7) "ich habe dich hinausgeführt".

Ferner finden wir oft teilweise Assimilation bei Bilabialen: *imberikħa* {17,16} "ich will sie segnen", für *inberikħa*.

Weitere Beispiele: *midimbin* (13,13) "sündigend" für *midinbin*; *imbieghu* (42,1) "sie wurden verkauft" für *inbieghu*.

Assimilation über die Wortgrenze hinweg, haben wir in *itlob minditta* (4, Var.zu v.10) für *itlob vinditta* "er verlangt Rache" und in *kam milleil* (22,3) für *kam billeil* "er stand in der Nacht auf".

Der 3. Radikal des Verbs ist assimiliert in *usanna* (43,21) < *wasalna* "wir kamen an".

Durch teilweise Anpassung der Konsonanten ist auch der 1. Radikal verändert worden in *intliet* (6,11) "sie wurde gefüllt", der 8. Form des Verbs *mela*.

Ähnliche Veränderung des Verbstammes liegt vor in *intaka* (16, Var. zu v.7), "er begegnete", 8. Verbform zum Stamm *laqa*. Es wird sogar der Grundstamm dieses Verbes verändert in *inkait* (27,20) "ich fand", anstelle von (heutigem) *laqajt*. Wir müssen *inkait* ansehen als eine Rückbildung von *intaka*, wo *n* als Wurzelement betrachtet wurde.

Auch in der Morphologie des Nomens weist der Text eine Reihe von Ausdrücken auf, die von der heutigen Standardsprache abweichen. So ist der Plural von *piazza* im Panzavecchia-Text *piazzi* (10,10) und nicht *pjazez* wie heute.

Weitere von heute abweichenden Pluralformen sind *tniedi* "Zelte" (9,27; 32,21), heute *tined*. Der Text sagt *leuniet* (30,37) "Farben", wo es heute *ilwien* heißt. Der Plural von *qatta* "Garbe" ist bei Panzavecchia *kattiet* (37,7), während er heute *qatet* lautet.

Im Kapitel 36 kommt sehr oft das Wort *kap* "Fürst" vor. Sein Plural lautet einige Male *kapiet* (vv.15,17,18,30). Drei Mal erscheint auch die Pluralform *gipijet* (vv.19; 42) bzw. *gippijet* (40).

Panzavecchia bringt sehr viele Ausdrücke, die heute der informellen Sprache bzw. den Dialekten zuzuschreiben sind, oder als archaisch gelten, oder die es gar nicht mehr gibt.

Ich kann hier nur wenige anführen, z.B. *dalkuejjes* (15,1) "diese Sachen", wo das Demonstrativpronomen im Plural steht; *ħada* (20,19)

“bei”, wo es heute in der Standardsprache *ħdejn* heißt; *ħau* (16,11) “hier”, was heute als Umgangssprache gilt.

Manche Vokalisierungen gelten heute als dialektal, z.B. *nikkus* (40,1) “Fehler”, wo die Standardsprache heute *nuqqas* sagt *kiwra* (30,37), “Rinde”, wo es heute *qoxra* heißt. Zuweilen findet man bei ihm die Konjunktion *mita*. Abar auch *meta* kommt in seinem Text vor. Wieder einmal zeigt sich, daß Panzavecchia nicht kohärent ist. In seiner Sprache finden sich konkurrierende Formen.

Ein eigenwilliger Ausdruck ist auch *xixin* (2,7) bzw. *sciscin* (11, Var. v. 3; 26,32; 31,49) mit der Bedeutung “gegenseitig”. In der heutigen Standardsprache heißt es *xulxin*. In den Dialekten tritt es als *xilxin* auf. Ohne *l* findet man es nur bei Panzavecchia.

Unter den vielen Eigenheiten des Textes bringe ich nur noch das Wort *neum* (20,3; 28,12; 31,10; 24; 46,2), dem das arab. *naʿwm* “Schlaf” zugrundeliegt. Aber “Schlaf” heißt heute im Maltesischen *rqad*. In der Lutherschen Übersetzung lesen wir an den entsprechenden Stellen “Traum”. Im 1. Buch Mose wird oft geträumt. Josef träumt, er sei seinen Brüdern überlegen. Im Gefängnis erfährt Josef die Träume seiner Mitgefangenen, und später muß er die Träume des Pharao deuten. In diesen Fällen wird bei Panzavecchia immer das Wort *ħolm/a* gebraucht. Sobald aber *neum* verwendet wird, handelt es sich um einen Traum anderer Art. Dann spricht Gott zu einem Menschen. So heißt es 31,24: *U deħirlu Alla fneumu* “und da erschien ihm Gott im Traum”. Auch an den andern Stellen ist ganz deutlich, daß Gott in einer Vision spricht. Hier ist ein arabisches Wort zunächst im Maltesischen erhalten geblieben. Aber die Sprecher trafen eine Auswahl. “Schlaf” wurde *rqad* und für “Traum” hatte man ja *ħulm* > *ħolm*. *Newm* aber wurde auf eine spezielle Bedeutung beschränkt, eben der der “Vision”. Heute kennt man das Wort gar nicht mehr. Ich habe vor wenigen Monaten mehrmals Malteser gefragt, was denn *newm* bedeute. Sie sagten mir immer, es sei ein Ausdruck für das Schwimmen. (“Ich schwimme” schreibt man heute <*nghum*> und spricht aus [nowm] oder [newm]). Hier ist ein Wort arabischen Ursprungs ganz verschwunden. Panzavecchia hatte es in einer Sonderbedeutung noch einmal erfaßt.

Panzavecchia gehört zu den Personen, die am Beginn der Standardisierung das Maltesische aufwerten wollten. Er brachte Neues und war zugleich noch der italienischen Kultur verhaftet. Aus der Sprache des Volkes holte er sein Maltesisch, das aber noch nicht gestrafft war. So ist seine Genesis-Übersetzung ein Zeugnis des Übergangs, eine Station hin zur Standardisierung, aber noch lange nicht ihre Vollendung. Die Handschrift ist für uns sehr aufschlußreich, weil wir in ihr erfahren, wie man damals gesprochen hat.

BEDOUIN DIALECTS AS THE LINGUISTIC IDEAL OF NARRATIVE STYLE

Heikki Palva

University of Helsinki

The contemporary Bedouin poetry of Northern Arabia, often called *nabaṭī* poetry, continues an old tradition which harks back to the days of the *Ġāhiliyya* – how directly is hard to say, because there is a gap of many hundred years in our knowledge of this poetry. This tradition of mainly oral poetry was amazingly vigorous until this century, up to about the sixties. The recent socioeconomic changes have, however, not only weakened the tradition but even endangered its very existence.¹

It is the aim of this paper to call attention to the narratives associated with Bedouin poetry. These narratives, *sālfas*, are intended to give the listeners background information necessary for correct understanding of the poems. In some cases, the narratives make an invaluable source on the tribal history of Arabia and its peripheries during the past two hundred years. Even in cases in which the historical data are inaccurate or badly distorted, they are interesting from the historical point of view – not as historical documents, but rather as material which throws light upon the patterns of transformations that the poems and their narratives undergo during their migrations in place and time.²

The narratives have values other than the historical, however. The poem and the narrative are normally transmitted together, and thus they form an artistic whole. Of the two parts, the poem has a more or less fixed form, and it also is the primary creation, while the narrative is secondary to it and occurs in innumerable shapes, longer and shorter,

¹ For the continuity of the tradition, see Saad A. Sowayan, *Nabaṭī Poetry. The Oral Poetry of Arabia*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1985, pp. 147-182.

² Sowayan, p. 4.

with correct and incorrect information, and so on, depending on the familiarity of the narrator with the topics and different factors associated with the performance context.

In spite of the great diversity in form and contents of the *sālfa*, there are common traits characteristic enough to justify the designation Bedouin narrative style. I do not attempt to specify these characteristics in detail. Suffice it here to state that one of the essential components of the Bedouin narrative style is the language: not only the stock phrases, Bedouin lexical items, frequent use of concretizing particles, dramatic interruptions, rhetorical questions, short exchanges of words, and other stylistic devices of these kinds, but also the purely linguistic structure, i.e., the phonetics, morphology and syntax.

In areas where the linguistic form of the narrative style is practically identical with the conservative style of the local vernacular, it might not seem to be a matter worthy of consideration. This is the case in the core areas of the northern Arabian Bedouin poetry. But in the periphery the situation is substantially different, especially in areas where Bedouin and sedentary populations live as neighbours. It is not unusual that Bedouin poetry in such areas has a very strong tradition. One area well known to me is al-Balqā' in central Jordan. Much of the Bedouin poetry known among the tribes of the area comes from the inner parts of the Arabian Peninsula, but much – perhaps most – of it has been composed by local Bedouin poets. Thus, Nimr ibn 'Adwān, the principal chief of the 'Adwān at the beginning of the last century, is still well known among the tribes of northwestern Arabia. So poems sometimes migrate from the periphery towards the central areas of Bedouin culture.

It is illustrative of the situation that when Hans Spoer collected Nimr's poems in al-Balqā' during the first years of this century, the linguistic form of the *sālfas* transmitted by his informants clearly deviates from the local sedentary dialects of the area, but it is not identical with any Bedouin dialect either. Rather, it is a kind of imitation of Bedouin speech. This shows, in my opinion, that the *sālfa* is not regarded as a mere record of necessary background information. It also has a certain stylistic ideal, of which the linguistic structure is a

substantial part. A skillful narrator is expected to use Bedouin linguistic elements in his speech even when he and the audience are speakers of a sedentary dialect.

In the *sālfas* published by Hans Spoer and Elias Haddad³, there are several examples of such impression-based Bedouin traits with which Spoer's informants tried to give the narratives the proper Bedouin touch. The following passage is a typical example of such stylistic aspirations: *wahum bihāda wan bi'arab bini ṣaḥr mimriḥīnin arḍ aṣ-ṣawwān aṣ-ṣarḡiyya ḡaribatan min bilād naḡd* (or perhaps better: *w-hum bi-hāda, winn bi'arab bini ṣaḥar mimriḥīnin arḍ aṣ-ṣawwān aṣ-ṣarḡiyya ḡiribatin min bilād naḡd*) 'And on this occasion the Ṣḥūr Arab were dwelling in the land of Ṣawwān eṣ-ṣarḡiyya, which is near Nejd'⁴. Side by side with this kind of passable imitation of Bedouin speech, there are forms such as *gālūn*, *liḡūnu*, *rūḥūn*, *lifonahum*, *yiḥūn*, hyper-Bedouin forms which reveal the narrator as a *ḥadari*⁵. Because it is impossible to know the exact circumstances in which these poems and their narratives were collected, I prefer illustrating the issue with my own material from narratives recorded in the same area.

The following instances have been taken from 15 narratives which I recorded in al-Balqā' in 1965. The narrator is Yūsif Ṭarīf el-Maḥāmre (d. 1965), who was a locally well-known storyteller and reciter of Bedouin poetry from the Christian village of Ṣāfūt, about 17 km northwest of Amman.

³ Hans H. Spoer (ed.), "Four Poems by Nimr Ibn 'Adwān, as sung by 'Ode Abu Slīmān". *ZDMG* 66 (1912), pp. 189-203; H. H. Spoer and Elias Nasrallah Haddad, "Poems by Nimr ibn 'Adwān". *ZS* 7 (1929), pp. 29-62, 274-294; 9 (1933-34), pp. 93-133.

⁴ *ZS* 7, p. 275.

⁵ Similar pseudo-correct perfect forms occur in Middle Arabic texts, see Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, based mainly on South Palestinian texts from the first millennium*, Fasc. I. Louvain 1966; p. 146f. and references there; see also Joshua Blau, *On Pseudo-Corrections in Some Semitic Languages*. Jerusalem 1970, p. 68f. Pseudo-correct forms of the same kind are reported by Michel Feghali, *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban*. Paris 1928, p. 204f.

In the phonology, the most important distinctive feature in the area is the pronunciation of the reflexes of *qāf* and *kāf*. The reflex of *qāf* in the sedentary dialects of the area is /g/, whereas the neighbouring Bedouin dialects also have a phonetically-conditioned affricated variant (/ğ/ or /ǧ/). The narrator often uses the affricated variant in the recital of poetry (e.g. *tiğīl*, *miğīl*), but not in the narratives. There is one important exception: affricated Bedouin reflexes do occur in direct discourse. As to the reflexes of *kāf*, the older genuine sedentary dialects used to have phonetically conditioned /k/ and /č/, i.e., the system was identical with Bedouin dialects. Nowadays the affricated variant is a recessive feature in the sedentary dialects⁶. The narrator naturally follows the old genuine type, which cannot be distinguished from the Bedouin dialects of the area.

The typical Bedouin syllable patterns CVCVCV- > CCVCV- and the so-called *gabawa* syndrome are frequently used by the narrator. Thus, *bduwi*, *zlima*, *wlidi*, *fruso*, *ghawa/gaháwa*, *abálak*, *yháči* occur of the sedentary counterparts *badarwi*, *zalame*, *waladi*, *faraso*, *gabwa*, *ablak*, *yahki/yahči*.

The Bedouin-type forms of personal pronouns are as a rule used in direct discourse, e.g. *int*, negated *mint*, *hinna*, instead of the sedentary *inte*, *mante/mantiš*, *ihna*. Bedouin-type interrogative pronouns are readily used in direct discourse, e.g. *min*, *wiš/wuš*, the sedentary counterparts of which are *manu/m in* and *šū/ēš*. Sometimes the Bedouin marker is very conspicuous, e.g. *wušinhu hād* 'what's this?'. The phonetically-conditioned binary /-a/ - /-e/ pattern of feminine markers in nouns, a feature of the sedentary dialects, is not always followed by the narrator, but sometimes, especially in Bedouin lexical items, he uses markedly Bedouin forms, e.g. *zēna*, *ǧīza*, *madda*, even if many neighbouring Bedouin dialects have /-e/ here. Forms such as *nizīl*, *dibīḥa*, *dibāyih*, *mičān* are obvious results of efforts to use Bedouin-type nominal patterns. *Tanwīn* is one of the most prominent distinctive

⁶ See Heikki Palva, "Patterns of Koineization in Modern Colloquial Arabic". *Acta Orientalia* 43 (1982), pp. 13-32; p. 22.

features of northern Arabian Bedouin dialects. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that it has not been used more than sporadically, then usually according to the genuine Bedouin patterns, e.g. in an indefinite noun followed by adjectival attribute (*wlēdin ḥilw*) and in the indefinite pronoun or article (*wāḥadin šarāri*). In an indefinite object followed by an adverbial (*atla'lo bētin hināka*), the *tanwīn* probably is a hyper-Bedouin feature. The Bedouin-type perfect pattern CiCaC has only been used in typical Bedouin items, e.g. *lifa*, *ǧiza*. Long imperfect forms occur sporadically, e.g. *yibgatūn*, *yāklūn*, *tidbahūn*⁷. Obviously analogous to these, pseudo-correct hyper-Bedouin forms also occur in the imperative: *sallmūn*, *ḥuṭṭūnhum*, *kirmūno*⁸, and, in close contact to the last-mentioned form, in the imperfect 1st p. pl.: *nikirmūno*.

The local sedentary dialect makes optional use of the bipartite negations *ma ... -š*, *a ... -š*, *la ... -š*, which do not occur in Bedouin dialects of northern Arabian type. Here the narrator's Bedouinizing efforts have not led to the suppression but only to a rather low frequency of this sedentary feature.

The narratives naturally abound in Bedouin lexical items used as technical terms. In addition to these, Bedouin synonyms are often substituted for their sedentary counterparts, e.g. *maṭabb* for *maḥall*, *widd-* for *bidd-/badd-*, *raǧl* for *riǧǧāl*, *gōṭar* for *rāḥ*, *nōba* for *marra*, and *ṭabb* for *wiṣil/aǧa*.

For a linguist who tries to classify different dialect types by using typologically pertinent distinctive features, the present indicative *b-* prefix in the imperfect is one of the most important morphological traits which distinguish the sedentary dialects from the Bedouin dialects

⁷ Some of these forms can be characterized as hypo-corrections, since the Bedouin dialects which have imperfect forms with *-n* usually have /a/ in the preformative, see e.g. Heikki Palva, "Characteristics of the Arabic Dialect of the Bani Ṣaxar Tribe". *Orientalia Suecana* 29 (1980), pp. 112-139; p. 125.

⁸ Similar pseudo-correct imperatives sometimes occur in Middle Arabic texts, see Blau, *Christian Arabic* I, p. 147 (perhaps due to attraction to the following imperfections).

in Greater Syria⁹. Therefore, it might seem surprising that the narrator does not make efforts to Bedouinize his language in this respect, but rather he uses the forms consistently according to the sedentary dialect patterns.

To sum up, transmitters of Bedouin poetry, when providing the audience with background information in the form of a *sālfā*, use their skills in order to create an atmosphere favourable to a successful performance of the poem. Thus there is a situation-conditioned artistic connection between the poem and its narrative. Even if the *sālfā* does not have any fixed form, as a rule it has a characteristic style of its own.

The linguistic structure is, of course, an inseparable part of the style. Although there are no exact rules for the linguistic form, there is still a stylistic ideal to be followed. As far as the purely linguistic structure is concerned, the stylistic ideal plays an important rôle only when the vernacular of the narrator clearly deviates from the Bedouin dialect type. In such cases an impressionistic imitation of Bedouin speech is most often used.

The instances given above show that the features regarded as hallmarks of Bedouin dialects are for the most part interrogatives, personal pronouns, and other words of high frequency, as well as a few phonetic traits. The differences in nominal and verbal morphology have not been ignored, but markedly Bedouin or hyper-Bedouin forms have been used only sporadically. In a similar way, the negation normally follows the rules of the narrator's idiolect.

⁹ Cf., however, a different situation in Sinai and the Negev, Judith Rosenhouse, "Towards a classification of Bedouin dialects in Israel". *BSOAS* 47:3 (1984), pp. 508-522; p. 512f.

II. LITERATURE

THE MODERN SHORT STORY IN THE SULTANATE OF OMAN¹

Eros Baldissera

University of Venice

On tackling the subject of Omani artistic prose, in Oman, the western scholar may find himself in an embarrassing position. The Omani man of letters or intellectual will, with rare exceptions, do his utmost to maintain points of view which Arabists and many modern Arab critics have proved groundless. He will be assured that the short story is not a new phenomenon in Arabic literature and arguments previously thought shelved will be used again to support this thesis. He will be told about the short stories from the Qur'ān, the Prophet's *sīra*, about the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, about *Kalīla and Dimna*, about collections of proverbs, about *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*. Then there are also the *maqāmāt*, *The Thousand and One Nights*, the Banī Hilāl sagas, and ʿAntara. He will hear about the poetic short story: Imru' al-Qays and his journey to Byzantium, al-Farazdaq and al-Buḥturī will be cited, and so on up to those *qaṣīdas* which are considered the precursors of Omani prose of art; the one of Malik ibn Faham which describes his own death by the hand of his unknowing son; the one of the poetess az-Zahrā' which narrates the banishment of the Abyssinian invaders from the island of Soqatra; continuing up to the *qaṣīda* by an unknown author entitled *Fatāt Nizwā* (The Girl from Nizwa), and the narrative experiences of contemporaries, first of whom is the doyen of Omani poets ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥalīlī, born at the turn of the century, famous for some of his *maqāmāt*². Then there are also the poets Abū Surūr Ḥamid ibn ʿAbd-

¹ I want to thank the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture and the friends in Oman who allowed me to prepare this paper.

² ʿAlī ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥāliq ʿAlī Ḥasan devotes much space to this "narrative" production of al-Ḥalīlī in his doctorate thesis *Ittiḡāhāt al-adab al-ʿumānī fī l-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīṡ*, dis-

allāh and Salīm ibn ʿAlī al-Kalbānī with their poetic short stories of a social nature. At *an-Nādī al-ġāmiʿī*, the University Club of Qurum, a conference entitled *Tārīḥ al-qissa wa-tatawwuruhā fi ʿUmān* (History and Development of the Short Story in Oman) was held in March 1986, where these and other more pertinent facts about the short story were put forward³ by the Ambassador Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣubḥī, Adjunct General Secretary for Political Affairs of the States of the Council of Cooperation as well as literary scholar. For over half the time aṣ-Ṣubḥī discussed the so-called poetic short story claiming, among other things, that this literary genre had its roots precisely in Arabic territory. Only the last third of the conference was dedicated to the modern short story in the Sultanate.

This refusal, which seems to challenge both the modern theories of the short story and the conclusions which orientalists and the more open-minded Arab critics reached some time ago, is not easily comprehended unless one takes into consideration the very particular situation of the Sultanate of Oman, politically and culturally isolated from the world by the reigning sultans right up until 1970. Only with the so-called *intifāda mubāraka*, the blessed upheaval, enacted in that year by the present sultan, Qābūs ibn Saʿīd, (which brought the country from the Middle Ages to the year 2000 in just a few years) has the Sultanate made amazing progress. Even more amazing if one considers the lack, up till now, of serious social unrest. Just a few years

cussed at the Arabic Faculty of the al-Azhar University of Cairo on 25 June 1980. This bulky volume of over 650 pages, after an interesting factual, historical, social and political introduction, goes on to present the literary life of the country in its various forms, giving ample room to poetry in its multiple aspects and trends. In the final section it also gives a panorama of Omani "artistic prose" in the forms of the oration, the epistle and the *maqāma*.

³ Throughout this paper certain place names will be mentioned such as Qurum, Ruwī, Maṭrah, Madīnat Qābūs, and Seeb, which, together with Masqat and other places constitute the district of the capital area, previously called *Mintaqat al-ʿāšima*. A sultanic decree in April 1988 laid down that the whole capital district be known by the name of Masqat.

later a solid base could already be identified towards the realisation of what the Sultan had indicated in his first speech on the 23rd July 1970 after having taken power "I promise you that I shall at the first instance undertake the constitution of a modern government. I shall do what I can to guarantee everybody a happy life and the best future prospects... Yesterday everything was dark but, with God's help, a new day will dawn tomorrow on Oman and its people".

All in all, among the initiatives undertaken, much effort has been devoted to the propagation of education, information and culture to the purpose of conserving the values and traditions of the country. Clearly, from the cultural point of view, it is only in these last years that we have begun to see the effects of this relative opening-up, not only to western cultures, but also to the modern culture of the more evolved Arab countries. In any case, even if works of Arabic fiction are beginning to appear in the literature sections of the bookshops of Ruwī, Maṭraḥ and Madīnat Qābūs, poetry (the literary means whereby the *dād's* language from the time of *gāhiliyya* has found its best expression) still prevails. Of course I am referring to the *ʿāmūdī* poetry, in the most classical *ḥalīlī* tradition⁴. Moreover, the official orientation given by the Ministry of Heritage and Culture, the government institution that publishes most of the literary works produced in Oman, is very clear. While a great number of poetic *dīwāns* have been published, there is not one published work of artistic prose, nor one free poetry *dīwān*⁵.

Obviously where such an atmosphere prevails which we can describe as neither heavy nor constrictive but certainly restrictive, young

⁴ It is revealing that it was actually the students of the university who founded the al-Ḥalīlī ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī Society to organise literary events. So young intellectuals as well continue to see their most solid reference point in tradition.

⁵ This does not prevent an off-shoot of that ministry, as is the Qurum Cultural Club, from organising conferences and free verse poetry readings. The reading given by the Syrian-Lebanese poet ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd, Adonis, on 11th April 1988, was a case in point. It aroused interest but also polemics.

people are not encouraged to leave the beaten track. It follows that the stimuli are either endogenous or arise from out-of-the ordinary situations, usually such as visits abroad, mostly for reasons of study, of which a growing number of young Omanis have availed themselves in these last years. The universities of Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan and Egypt, to mention only the Arab countries where young Omanis mostly turn their quests for culture, increasingly count among their enrolments young people from the Sultanate. And I think it is not a coincidence that all young narrators include on their *curricula* foreign stays and diplomas attained abroad.

The fact remains that we are talking about the exceptions. The norm is attachment to traditional culture, to the classical heritage of Arabic literature, and poetry in particular. With the addition of a fair amount of suspicion towards Western culture, and particularly the Western approach to Oriental studies, often seen as undue intrusion with the aim of minimising and criticising a sphere felt to be personal, belonging just to the Arabs and Muslims. A natural reaction is the frequent dissent which meets the conclusions drawn from the studies by Arabists and Islamists in the various fields of that culture. This attitude is found throughout the Arab and Islam world and we cannot pretend that Oriental studies are completely blameless of having contributed to provoke such marked feeling.

What I have just stated is not remarkable for its news value, and I apologise. But one must bear it all in mind in order to understand the position of the Omani literary man in front of this topic. We must understand the reasons behind it and the justifications.

As I said before, Sultan Qābūs attaches great importance to cultural activities. The Ministry of National Heritage and Culture firstly, but also the Ministries of Information and Education, Training and Youth have undertaken many ventures in this field – literary competitions for young talents, conferences held by personalities from the field of Arab culture, poetry evenings, radio and television debates, cultural supplements in the two national newspapers, *‘Umān* and *al-Waṭan*. A rich opportunity for cultural activities was offered with the opening of

the University Club of Qurum, subsequently named the Cultural Club in 1987, meeting point for young intellectuals. Its facilities include an ample auditorium and a library. Of even greater importance was the foundation, at the Sultan's specific request, of *al-Muntadā al-adabī* (Literary Society) at Seeb, with its halls, gardens, rooms for audiovisual aids, and guest quarters for visiting lecturers.

One of these activities was the afore-mentioned conference held by Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣubḥī which I was given the chance of attending and which represented an important moment in the brief history of the modern Omani short story. For the first time this subject was taken from the concerned and displayed before a wider audience. It excited much interest as could be seen from the discussions which arose out of it and which fired the enthusiasm of the Omani press for several weeks afterwards, with the country's major intellectuals and men of letters taking part. One of the authoritative voices raised was that of the Egyptian literary critic and narrator Yūsif aṣ-Ṣārūnī. Since 1983 he has worked in the Sultanate where he is engaged, among other things, on the collection and transcription of folk short stories, especially seafaring short stories⁶.

Omani fiction is thus a recent phenomenon. The first signs date from the sixties with the works of 'Abdallāh aṭ-Ṭā'ī (1927-1973), historian, essayist, poet and pioneer of the historical novel not only in Oman, but throughout the Gulf countries⁷. His two novels - *Malā'ikat al-Ġabal al-aḥḍar* (The Angels of Gebel al-akhdar), Beirut, Maṭābi' al-Wafā', n.d., and *aṣ-Ṣirā' al-kabīr* (The Big Sail), published posthumously at Ruwī in 1981 - are the very first fictional works written by the hand of an Omani and they suffer from lack of previous points of reference even though their author had travelled widely and had come into

⁶ Recently he has published an anthology, *Qiṣaṣ min at-turāt al-'umānī*, Ruwī 1987. His *Sindbād fī 'Umān*, Cairo, came out in 1986 with its short stories of folk traditions and accounts of historical, literary and artistic interest.

⁷ Yūsif aṣ-Ṣārūnī, "*aṣ-Ṣirā' al-kabīr li-'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammnad aṭ-Ṭā'ī wa-riyādat ar-riwāya at-tārīḫiyya al-ḥalī ġiyya*", *al-Muntadā* (of Dubai), V, n. 56 (March 1988), pp. 2-5.

contact with modern fiction in Arab countries. Within certain limits we could compare them with the historical Arab novels which saw the light between the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. This applies particularly to *aš-Širā' al-kabīr* which is set in a decisive moment in Omani history – the period which goes from the start of the Portuguese occupation at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to its end, halfway through the seventeenth century. The characters are portrayed in a simple, superficial way: their personalities are either black or white, devoid of half measures, with neither doubts nor inward conflicts. They live for the present with few memories which flash by. 'Abdallāh aṭ-Ṭā'ī's novels carry an underlying moral lesson, and this is also a recurrent characteristic of the works by the pioneers of the novel and the short story. But we must not be too hard on these first flowers of Omani fiction, but rather try to savour their particular perfumes, one example of which is the recurrent expressions in the local dialect, which give an original fragrance to their *fushḥā*.

While 'Abdallāh aṭ-Ṭā'ī was producing his most important works in the sixties a young secondary school student, on his own initiative, was beginning to lay down his first narrative exercises, naive and haltering, but the first signs of a development which has known no standstill right up to the present day. I refer to Su'ūd ibn Sa'd al-Muzaffar (b. Masqat 1953) who wrote three short stories between 1965 and 1969: *Maw'id fī l-mahatta* (Appointment at the Station), *al-Muntaqim* (The Avenger) and *al-Qadar* (Destiny), which go no further than a mere exercise. In 1968 he received the second prize in a competition organised by the revue *aš-Šarq* of aš-Šāriqa Emirate with his short story *at-Tā'ih* (The Stray), a social and philosophical work where a psychological analysis of a foundling boy having to face society on his own was presented.

In 1970, while still a student at al-Kuwayt University, al-Muzaffar wrote *Iğāza maradiyya* (Sick Leave), an adventurous love story. On his return to Oman in 1972, the daily newspaper *al-Waṭan* published for the second time *at-Tā'ih* which, in 1973, was chosen to represent the Omani short story at the first Arab Youth Festival in Algiers.

The year 1973 also saw the realisation of two works: *Faylasūf bi-l-bayʿ* (Philosopher for Sale), a short story with a social theme, and *Layla min ʿiṣrīn ʿāman* (One Night Twenty Years On), a play with a social theme in prose and verse which was performed in Masqat.

Throughout the seventies he continued to write and be published in the local press, in particular in the dailies *ʿUmān* and *al-Waṭan*. The former published *Ṣudfatan* (By Chance) and *Ḥayāt rubbamā ḥadīṭa* (Could it be Modern Life?). In this second short story, al-Muzaffar portrays people's contrasting feelings towards the modernisation of life styles following the 1970 revolution. On the one hand they realise its expediency because man needs to progress, but on the other hand opening up a country to external influences without any kind of restriction can have its negative aspects.

Another milestone for the author was *Yawm qabla šurūq aš-šams* (A Day before Sunrise) which was brought out in 1980 as part of an anthology of short stories by young authors. He tried very hard to express aspects of the reality in Oman before 1970, with the customs and traditions that were maintained for the most part even in the subsequent period. This topic is also taken up in *Nihāyat ġīl* (End of a Generation)⁸ and in *Hikāya min qaryatī* (A Story from My Village)⁹.

In 1987 he brought out at Ruwī his first collection entitled *Yawm qabla šurūq aš-šams wa-qīṣaṣ uḥrā*, with nine short stories, seven of which I have cited.

On the whole the works of Suʿūd al-Muzaffar are characterised by their notable social worth and their clear Omani identity, contrary to ʿAbdallāh at-Ṭāʿī's works¹⁰, but in common with almost all the other

⁸ First published in *ʿUmān* in 1977 and subsequently in *al-Waṭan* in 1981.

⁹ Published in *ʿUmān* in 1985.

¹⁰ In *Malāʾikat al-Ġabal al-aḥḍar* the central character is an Iraqi while in *aš-Širāʿ al-kabīr* it is an Indian girl. It has been suggested that the choice of non-Omani principal characters was probably so as not to disturb the susceptible mental attitudes of the general public of that period, who for the most part, would not have accepted the narration of the passion felt by an Omani couple.

young narrators. Particularly in the collection of short stories the recurrence of a sad and pessimistic ending of a romantic nature is noticeable. Crime in the form of murder also appears frequently. But the best pages are descriptive – those depicting the Omani environment, whether urban or rural. One cannot yet affirm that al-Muẓaffar has reached full maturity in his writing. One still stumbles upon ingenuous patches, and the simplicity in the characters' make-up to the point, at times, of incongruity, is recurrent. The characters are mostly portrayed superficially with little real feeling from the heart. However there is evidence of constant progress. His job as a senior government official gives him the chance to travel. He has seen quite a few European countries and come into contact with their cultures. This natural enrichment, his intrinsic curiosity and his ability to elaborate will enable him to reap the benefits in the future.

Even if not as precocious from a literary point of view, Aḥmad Bilāl (b. Barkā, 1951) is of the same generation¹¹. He is perhaps the best known young Omani narrator and is the author of the first collection of modern stories published in the Sultanate, namely *Sūr al-manāyā* (Wall of Destiny), Ruwī 1981. Only a year previously, influenced by the writings of Muṣṭafā al-Manfalūṭī, he had started to write for pleasure, in his time off from his duties as an Air Force Major. Curiously, literary critics seemed to become aware of this work only two years later when his second collection appeared. Actually, *Sūr al-manāyā*, though containing short stories is really a collection of ideas, aphorisms and articles, and on the whole it suffers from the narrative immaturity of its author. The only short story worth considering is the first one, which lends its title to the collection. The realistic orientation of the author is already there and, among other things, we can find interesting descriptions of Masqat in the sixties.

¹¹ He studied in Kuwait and in the Arab Emirates. From 1970 to 1974 he was a teacher, before joining the army where he was made an officer within a year. He obtained a second grade diploma in Education at the Baḥt ar-Riḍā Institute in the Sudan. Since 1983 he has been in charge of the Studies Section of the Army School. He has visited many Arab countries, England, France, India and Pakistan.

A step forward was made with *Wa-ahrağat al-ard...* (And the Land donated...), Ruwī 1983, four short stories that were at once enthusiastically received by the critics. In particular the Egyptian writer and critic ‘Abdassattār Halīf pointed out the capacity of Bilāl to portray particular atmospheres and to analyse characters psychologically at the appropriate, realistic pitch, in a style recalling that of the novel¹², but it was only a year later that the four short stories managed to set the literary circles of Oman astir, causing a lively debate that covered the literary pages of the local press, and contributing to stimulate interest in the *qissa qaṣīra*. The person who touched things off was the young writer Šubbar al-Mūsawī (b. al-Ḥabūra, 1962)¹³, who, in the eagerly awaited first number of the cultural supplement to the daily ‘*Umān*’ which appeared in the summer of 1985, contested the critics’ positive views by claiming that there had been no evolution in Bilāl and that his was an exaggerated realism, with over-detailed descriptions which bored the reader without contributing to the evolvment of the narrated facts. He dwelt on some of Bilāl’s “illogical and banal” endings and gave various examples of the stories’ shortcomings¹⁴. The following week the cultural insert of ‘*Umān*’ printed the replies of Bilāl and other critics who supported him. These took apart, one by one, al-Mūsawī’s criticisms, though agreeing that an occasional stirring-up of the unduly calm waters of literature was a useful exercise.

A story meriting particular attention from this collection entitled *Wa-ahrağat al-ard...* is *Ġarīma tahta l-mā’* (Crime on the Seabed) – a

¹² ‘Abdassattār Halīf, “*al-Baḥḥ ‘an al-ḥaqīqa fī mağmū‘at Aḥmad Bilāl al-qīṣāṣiyya ‘Wa-ahrağat al-ard...’*”, *al-Uṣra*, 11, 218 (15-11-1984) pp. 52-55 and 219 (1-2-1984) pp. 68-71.

¹³ He studied in Qatar and England. He writes poetry, literary reviews and short stories which, as he himself admits, go no further than a mere literary exercise. In 1986 he published at Masqat, *Ḥarwala bayna l-ḥuzn wa-l-amal* (Raid among Sadness and Hope), aphorisms and articles on various topics of a social and literary bent. “Hot headed” of cultural life in Oman and dissenter of tradition he is nevertheless appreciated for his ability to provoke literary disputes and stimulate discussion.

¹⁴ Cultural insert of the daily ‘*Umān*’ of 11-7-1985.

detective story with a complex plot immersed in a mystery-filled atmosphere. In this story Bilāl successfully captures the moods of the various characters. Right from the opening lines he efficaciously expresses the intimate hurricane in the heart of the unknown person appearing at the beginning of the story and he presents it to the reader in the setting of the atmospheric hurricane in which the action takes place. *Badawī fī Lundun* (A Beduin in London) portrays yet again the Oriental's clash with Western life. In *Ṣawt min al-ard* (Voice from the Earth) Bilāl touches upon the reality of life in an Omani family through the vicissitudes of a widow: the problems she has with her children and her relationship with society. The final story is *Liqā' al-ğabābir fī Bābil* (The Titans meet at Babylon) in which the author boards a ship that takes him back into the past while he tries to analyse the roots of his civilisation and clarify the factors behind the present decline. In his most recent collection *Lā yā ġarīb* (No Indeed, Stranger), Ruwī 1987, Aḥmad Bilāl continues his profitable research into the artistic form of his *qiṣṣa qaṣīra*. Preceded by an erudite analytic preface by the Egyptian Aḥmad Darwīš – lecturer in comparative literature at the Sultan Qābūs University – the five stories demonstrate a further development along the narrative course undertaken by the author. His inclination towards the detective story can be noted, along with his continued investigation of his country's social phenomena rendered in a style which absorbs the reader more and more. His ability to draw an almost tangible outline of the Omani reality also stands out. Among his negative points is his exaggerated use of romantic language in almost every situation without due need. Then there is also the lingering of ingenuousness which shows that Aḥmad Bilāl has still ground to cover, without detracting anything from the value of his work on the whole and from the niche which he has managed to cut out for himself in the brief history of Omani fiction.

After al-Muzaffar and Bilāl, the third member of what can be considered the youthful triad of Omani fiction is Ḥamad ibn ar-Rašīd Rāšid (b. Masqat, 1960). Younger than his colleagues, he is thought by some critics to be the coryphaeus of the third generation of Omani

narrators, a specialist in the *uqṣūsa*, intended as a very brief short story packed with significance and charm¹⁵.

He made his début in the early eighties with *an-Nahla aṣ-ṣagīra* (The Little Palm Tree), in which, in a realistic style, he reaffirms the importance of agriculture for the country. The story has an expressionist ending. Then followed *Laḥzat duḥf* (A Moment of Weakness), a story about the eternal struggle man has against the sea, with, in the background, the everyday deeds of a coastal village community. After that came *Ḥatmiyyat ar-rahīl* (Fatal Journey), about man's inevitable end along with everything except God. Ḥamad does not neglect the patriotic aspect, portraying a glorious moment of his people in 'Azzām where he relates the extreme sacrifice by the Imām 'Azzām ibn Qays in defending the realisation of his own land. The *uqṣūsa* won the first prize at the Youth Institution in 1984. Numerous other short stories by this young author followed, all of them printed in the local press but not yet published in volume form. He alternates descriptions of Omani life with aspects of contemporary man's troubles and sufferings. He also tackles the theme of the Arab nation's weakness owing to internal discord, which undermines its unity.

In the early months of 1983, the revue *al-Usra* published a series of short stories by its editor, Ṣādiq al-ʿAbduwānī (b. Matrah, 1944)¹⁶ which aroused the interest of readers and critics alike on account of the realistic nature, the social content and space devoted to psychological analysis, and the use of symbolism without ambiguity and of irony. However, an over-abundance of ideas tends to interfere with the unfolding of the action. His most interesting *qiṣṣa* is *ad-Dağğāla* (The

¹⁵ Maḥmūd Taymūr in *aṣ-Ṣayḥ al-ʿUm'a wa-qiṣaṣ uḥrā*, Cairo 1925, p. *dāl*, note 1, gives to *uqṣūsa* the meaning that at present is attributed to *qiṣṣa*, and that is, short story. Similarly in Charles Pellat, s.v. *hikāya*, "Encyclopedie de l'Islam", p. 381, one reads that *qiṣṣa* refers to the novel, while the diminutive *uqṣūsa* implies short story. Here however *uqṣūsa* means very brief short story.

¹⁶ Having graduated in Kuwait with a thesis of a historical nature, he took up writing in 1974.

Quack), in which he breaks a lance in defence of the local healers for their ability to grasp the psychological bearings of their own people and put it to use in performing 'miraculous' cures, placing doctors who have studied in Europe in difficulty.

After a brief, profitable season, al-ʿAbduwānī ceased writing short stories on account of the increased work load with the revue.

Among the most recent authors of present Omani fiction, we record the collection *Sirāʿ maʿa l-amwāğ* (Struggle against the Waves), Ruwī 1987, by ʿAlī al-Kalbānī (b. Ṣoḥār, 1956)¹⁷, considered a promising début. Here as well the content is mostly of a social nature. He is criticised for his long-winded descriptions, frequent repetitions and for plots which are too simple and at times banal. But his attempts are still a useful inlay in the variagated mosaic of contemporary Omani fiction. There are also signs that things are moving on the female narrative front. Two names have begun to circulate in literary circles: that of a young girl from Masqat, Badriyya aš-Šāhī, and the other is ʿĀʾiṣā al-Nuʿaymī from al-Buraymī. As can be seen from this rapid perspective, the Omani short story's quest for an identity has still some way to go. However, considering the brief period that has passed since the 1970 *nahḍa*, one can only rejoice at the road already covered and at the encouragement and initiative that, coming from the Sultan himself and so on down the scale, are spreading interest in this art form. We look hopefully to the generation that, from birth, has been able to benefit from the new course of the country, whether it be the establishment of mass schooling or study courses abroad. From this generation, alongside al-Muẓaffar, Bilāl, Ḥamad Rašīd, we expect others will come who will raise the Omani short story to the same level as that of those Arab countries which have a longer experience of narrative. Indeed, in some cases it has succeeded in surpassing, in the eyes of the readers, the most princely genre of Arabic literature: poetry.

¹⁷ He studied in Jordan and has travelled in various countries including the United States. At present editor of the revue *Ġund ʿUmān*, he has been writing since 1974.

ARAB THEATRE AND SYRIAN FOLK CULTURE COMMENTS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYRIAN DRAMATIC ART AND THE PRESENT-DAY PUBLIC

Rosella Dorigo Ceccato

University of Venice

During our research, started in 1983, into the modern theatre in Syria¹, a few facts emerged concerning Syrian theatrical literature in its own right and in comparison to similar experiences in other Arab countries. We therefore decided it would be possible to formulate some ideas on today's Syrian theatrical experience, by analyzing the works of some contemporary writers² and by studying the old popular theatre forms³, and then comparing our conclusions to those of modern Arab critics⁴, helped by direct talks with the various playwrights⁵.

¹ Led in the Department for Historical, Archaeological and Oriental Sciences of the University of Venice, with the contribution of the Ministry of Public Education.

² Very useful in the field: F. Bulbul, "al-Adab al-masraḥī fi Sūriyya", *al-Ḥayāt al-masraḥiyya*, 3 (1978), pp. 47-56; "Murād as-Sibā'ī", 4-5 (1978), pp. 4-16; "al-Adab al-masraḥī fi Sūriyya: 1950-1967", 6 (1979), pp. 22-36; "Walīd Ihlāsī", 7-8 (1979), pp. 5-14; "Ḥasib Kayālī", 9 (1979), pp. 4-13; "Alī 'Uqla 'Ursān", 13 (1980), pp. 53-66; "Riyād 'Iṣmat", 17-18 (1981), pp. 31-44; N. M. Muḥammad, "Masraḥ Farḥān Bulbul", 19-20 (1982), pp. 12-21; "al-Hallāḡ", 20-27 (1986), pp. 46-66.

³ A partial account of our study in this sector, with a pertinent bibliography, can be found in R. Dorigo Ceccato, "Il teatro d'ombre a Damasco", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 2, 1984, p. 127-153.

⁴ See 'Adnān ibn Durayl, *al-Adab al-masraḥī fi Sūriyya*, Damascus, s.d.; *al-Masraḥ as-sūrī*, Damascus 1971; Muḥyī d-Dīn aṣ-Ṣubḥī, *al-Adab wa-l-mawqif al-qawmī: al-masraḥ as-sūrī fi s-sittināt*, Damascus 1976; Naṣr ad-Dīn al-Baḥra, *Aḥādīṯ wa-taḡārib masraḥiyya*, Damascus 1977; 'Ādil Abū Ṣanab, *Bawākī at-ta'līf al-masraḥī fi Sūriyya*, Damascus 1978; 'Abdallāh Abū Hīf, *at-Ta'sīs: maqālāt fi l-masraḥ as-sūrī*, Damascus 1979; 'Alī 'Uqla 'Ursān, *az-Zawāhir al-masraḥiyya 'inda l-'Arab*, Damascus 1981; Ġān al-Kasān, *al-Adab al-masraḥī fi Sūriyya: 1955-1980*, Damascus 1983; Waṣfī al-Mālīh, *Tārīḥ al-masraḥ as-sūrī*, Damascus 1984; "al-Ḥaraka al-masraḥiyya fi Sūriyya", in *al-Masraḥ al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir fi mu-wāḡahat al-ḥayāt*, Damascus 1984, pp. 9-108.

⁵ During several stays in Syria, since 1982 till today.

Lately, however, we have been conscious of considerable changes in the Syrian intellectual world, above all in the theatre, and we felt the necessity for an immediate review⁶. In fact, during our stay in Damascus in September 1987, famous playwrights we had been studying for some time were decidedly different compared to when we started our research. They showed a definite inclination for "change", either in their actual genre or in the content of their theatrical works.

We would like to present here a few conclusions derived from our meetings with some of these authors, in particular with Sa'dallāh Wan-nūs, Mamdūh 'Udwān and 'Alī 'Uqla 'Ursān⁷. Each one, through his own individual sensitivity and personal experience, described to us in a different way his feeling of intellectual apprehension; in addition, they had different ideas on the possible cause and highlighted different aspects.

A few basic problems emerged amongst the possible reasons which could have impelled these writers to abandon their previous type of activity. The first consists of the difficult rapport with the audience, who is the direct interlocutor of the theatrical man but not always in harmony with him. The second is determined by the role that dramatic art plays in Syrian society, which does not perhaps fully appreciate its value. The third problem is more significant and could be defined as "existential". It calls attention to many of the doubts which afflict our time, and which are manifested by the research for new experiences in all artistic spheres.

⁶ We do not intend to face the problem from a sociological point of view, nor we pretend to make a systematic analysis about the reasons for a possible crisis in Syrian theatre. We simply want to remark the feeling of apprehension we perceived in some writers, to point out the peculiar nuances in the attitude of each of them, and to describe the situation of Syrian dramatic literature according to their opinion, in September 1987. Owing to the natural evolution of every sector, it is quite possible that today, nearly two years later, the described situations are completely changed.

⁷ These three authors were enclosed in our anthology "Pagine di teatro siriano", *Quaderni di studi arabi*, I (1983), Supplemento.

Saʿdallāh Wannūs, producer and scenery designer, was already writing for the theatre in the sixties and is one of the most famous men in this field today in Damascus⁸. He explained his present position in the modern Syrian theatrical movement in four concise points. We would like to comment on them.

I) He finds the role of the playwright in today's Syrian Arab society meaningless.

This is a particularly bitter statement from an author famous above all for his support of the politically committed theatre, corrosive and ready to attack, denounce, involve his public. The *masrah at-ta'sīs* declared with enthusiasm in the *Bayānāt li-masrah 'arabī ḡadīd* in the 70s⁹ seems futile to him in present times. Wannūs does not believe it possible today, and perhaps not even necessary, to have a theatre which makes every single citizen face up to the responsibility of choosing for himself, which makes every individual feel involved in his country's political decisions.

II) The author does not see any point in restoring old traditions in theatrical literature.

Indeed, he believes that the modern audience does not understand a work inspired by traditional popular forms of spectacle and finds it completely extraneous to everyday life, so different by now. Yet Wannūs previously used themes and techniques associated with the oldest forms of performance and traditional popular narrative. He drew inspiration from the *sāmīr* or the tales of the *ḥakawātī*, referred to the theatrical life in the 1800s of Naqqāš and Qabbānī, or again was inspired by the stories from *The thousand and one nights*. All this can be found in *Haflat samar li-aḡl ḥams ḥazīrān* (1969), *Muḡāmarat ra's al-mamlūk Ḡābir* (1970), *Sahra ma'a Abī Ḥalīl al-Qabbānī* (1972-73) and in *al-Malik huwa al-malik* (1977). Having recognised a very different public today, it seems that the author intends to put into practice one

⁸ For essential dates on Wannūs, see Udīb 'Izzat, *A'ḏā' Ittihād al-Kuttāb al-'Arab*, Damascus 1980, pp. 651-653,

⁹ *al-Ma'rifa*, 104 (1970), pp. 5-32.

of the theories expounded in the *Bayānāt* according to which a playwright should not worry about following rules or trends, whether western or local, but should solely comply with the real possibilities of understanding of his audience, starting point for any dramatic composition¹⁰.

III) Concerning the relationship between the Arab world and European orientalist, Wannūs sees a sort of "evil intention" in the West's attitude.

He bemoans the unwillingness to know or to make known and to appreciate modern Arab works. He underlines the fact that European publishing houses only publish a few works by famous authors, often posthumously, while almost entirely neglecting up and coming ones. It is the same in the theatrical field, where the translators concentrate their attention on few names, such as Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm or Maḥmūd Taymūr, and underrate the importance of many other Arab playwrights of today.

His reflections, well-founded or not, reveal a dependence on the West, which has become cause and effect of the scant interest in Arab literature in the world today. We feel this attitude is very different from what we knew of Wannūs, who had always asserted that every work originates from the needs of the author's own cultural environment and is dedicated only to that¹¹.

IV) The author does not intend writing any more new works.

In actual fact, Wannūs has not written anything, or rather has had nothing printed, since *al-Malik huwa al-malik*¹² came out in 1977, even

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹² We analysed this work and the figure of Sa'dallāh Wannūs in "Il teatro contemporaneo in Siria: l'impegno di Sa'dallāh Wannūs", *Quaderni di studi arabi*, I (1983), pp. 53-65; see also R. Allen, "Arabic Drama in Theory and Practice. The Writings of Sa'dallāh Wannūs", *JAL*, 14 (1984), pp. 94-113. The Arabic press took a great interest in this author and in his latest work; see Ismā'il Fahd Ismā'il, *al-Kalima al-fi'l fi masrah Sa'dallāh Wannūs*, Beirut 1981; Aḥmad al-Ḥamw, "al-Malik huwa al-malik am ar-raḡul huwa ar-raḡul", *al-*

though, according to the writer, he has written quite a lot in the meantime.

One wonders if this decision to remain silent hides a rejection of the new public. When an audience does not respond any more to an author's message, two possibilities are usually open to him: either he decides to publish nothing else (as Wannūs has done), or he changes his style and the content of his works, adapting himself to the changed needs of the gallery.

At the end of 1987, Wannūs's attitude was still rather bitter and he seemed dissatisfied more than anything else with his audience, with whom he was not making contact. According to the writer, people's taste in theatre has greatly changed and the messages in committed literature from the sixties have no meaning today. Just like the efforts by Salmān, Qatāya, Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī, ʿĀdil Abū Šanab or ʿAdnān ibn Durayl for the creation of really new and autonomous Arab theatre¹³ seem to belong to the distant past; as also the exhortations and studies by Alfred Faraġ, ʿAlī ʿUqla ʿUrsān, ʿAbdallāh Abū Hayf, or ʿUmar ad-Daqqāq¹⁴; or those of Badr ad-Dīn al-ʿUrūdakī, Rafīq aṣ-Šabbān, Riyād ʿIṣmat, Naṣr ad-Dīn al-Baḥra¹⁵. People at the end of the eighties love commercial theatre, easy to understand and with few problems. The difficulty of Wannūs seems to be exactly that of adapting himself to this type of mentality, far from his ideals as a socially and politically committed writer.

Mawqif al-adabī, 86 (1978), pp. 116-126; this article was followed by an answer from Wannūs himself: "Ḥawla muqāranat ad-duktūr al-Ḥamw bayna masrahiyyatī al-Malik huwa al-malik wa-Raġul bi-raġul", *al-Mawqif al-adabī*, 90 (1978), pp. 93-110. See also: Zahīr Ḥasan, "al-Malik huwa al-malik wa-masraḥ al-mir'āt", *al-Ādāb*, July 1978, pp. 92ff; ʿAbdalkarīm ʿUmrayn, "al-Malik huwa al-malik bayna taqrīr Wannūs wa-stifhām Bulbul", *al-Hayāt al-masrahiyya*, 28-29 (1987), pp. 195-200.

¹³ To this subject they devoted a special issue for theatre in *al-Maʿrifa*, 34 (1964).

¹⁴ Whose articles can be found in a second special issue about theatre in *al-Maʿrifa*, 104-105 (1970).

¹⁵ Also in *al-Mawqif al-adabī*, 1 (1972), several articles were devoted to drama, above all in sight of the creation of a really independent Arabic theatre.

One detail which came to light just recently in November 1988, makes one suspect however, that the writer is showing a more open attitude towards the modern audience. During the last International Theatre Festival in Damascus¹⁶, Wannūs presented a re-elaboration of *al-Malik huwa al-malik*. It was completely changed, introducing considerable number of songs, very modern scenery and playing upon satire and paradox. The very complex costumes of the characters in the original work, minutely described as an indispensable part to the development of the play, are now made fun of and reduced to essentials, similar to the simple dressing up of children: a large red funnel represents the king's crown, for example; his regal mantle is made of tin foil; and so on¹⁷.

It is not yet clear, however, which path Wannūs intends to take, if he really is considering the idea of changing his way of making theatre. An essay by Hālida Sa'īd in the magazine "at-Ṭarīq" in 1985¹⁸ is interesting in helping to understand the author and his artistic development up to the middle of the eighties. It makes the evolution of the playwright's thoughts from the time of the *Bayānāt* very clear. Only Wannūs himself can help us understand the last four years and his future intentions.

¹⁶ About the International Theatre Festival in Damascus, which began in 1969, see Yūsuf al-ʿĀnī, *at-Taḡriba al-masrahiyya*, Beirut 1979, pp. 66-76; Ġān al-Kasān, *al-Wilāda at-tāniya li-l-masrah fī Sūriyya: 1955-1980*, Damascus 1983, pp. 227-241. The last edition of the Festival, i.e. the eleventh, was held in Damascus in November 1988.

¹⁷ On the other side, we underline the presentation of the royal figure in the first edition of the play in 1976 (first act, first scene), where the cloak and the crown are described in details, together with the royal throne, sceptre and hall, very rich and luxurious.

¹⁸ Hālida Sa'īd, "Qirā'a fī masrah Sa'dallāh Wannūs", *at-Ṭarīq* 2 (1985), pp. 194-216.

Mamdūh 'Udwān¹⁹ also spoke to us about a crisis in the theatre, questioning the future of Syrian literature in this field. His analysis of the causes of the crisis, however, led to very different conclusions from those of Wannūs, as can be seen from his main points.

I) 'Udwān blames censorship more than the public.

According to the author, a work is nowadays subjected to about a year of government controls before it can be published. This is extremely frustrating for writers, who are consequently discouraged from writing new works. It is interesting to note, however, that 'Udwān does not seem to feel the effect of these restrictions very much, as he has continued to write and publish even in the last few years, as well as putting on his plays in the theatre. On the contrary, he has shown a creative vigour and an innovative urge which most certainly do not reflect a situation of crisis. In the last four years he has published *Ziyārat al-malika* (Ṭarābulus 1984), *al-Wuḥūš lā tuḡannī* (Tūnis 1986), *Ḥāl ad-dunyā*; *al-Haddāma* (Dimašq 1986), *al-Qīma*; *az-Zabbāl* (Dimašq 1987). *al-Qīma* and *az-Zabbāl* were performed by the *Ahwāl* theatrical company in Damascus in 1986 and in 1987 respectively.

II) He bemoans the lack of financial support from the government for performances of plays in the capital's theatres.

For example, it seems that he had to rent at his own expense the al-Qabbānī theatre in order to present his work *az-Zabbāl*, on which he had worked at least six months. In addition, he only succeeded in having the theatre at his disposal for just over one week²⁰. According to the author, if he had been able to rely on a State contribution, the run could have been much longer and very successful.

We have a few doubts on that score. We are not at all certain that audiences would have appreciated a work such as *az-Zabbāl* for long. It is undoubtedly an interesting work from an artistic point of view, but

¹⁹ For biographical notes about the author, see Adīb 'Izzat wa-Isīmā'il 'Amūr, *A'dā' Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-'Arab*, Damascus 1984², pp. 488-489.

²⁰ The pamphlet described it in program since 3rd October 1987. On the 12th and the 13th it was still on stage.

quite heavy for the average taste. It is a monologue, with the author revealing his social intentions through a description of very sad feelings and situations, lived and felt by the protagonist in an almost desperate manner. The pessimistic nature of the work, despite the vivacity and miming ability of the actor Zīnātī Qudsiyya²¹, led us to the conclusion that it is not a play to win wide public acclaim.

III) The author believes that the comic element can lead to the grotesque and thereby rouse the audience.

We also have some doubts about this statement. In fact, we fear that ʿUdwān overrates somewhat the cultural maturity of his audiences, who in our opinion are more likely to remain at the level of the immediate comicality of the lines without always discerning the grotesque side.

Humorism, so cleverly used by Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm in his social comedies²², in which the comic element stimulated sometimes even bitter thoughts, here seemed to us to be used well but was not always understood by today's Syrian audiences. We had the opportunity to attend one of the last performances of *az-Zabbāl* at the Qabbānī theatre in Autumn 1987. The audience enjoyed the play and laughter echoed in the theatre, but no one seemed to perceive the author's pessimistic message nor reflect on the deep significance or social implications contained in the protagonist's lines.

IV) ʿUdwān is convinced, however, that at present (October 1987), the difficulty over publishing is simply due to the lack of paper in the country.

Once again, by identifying the causes of problems in the Arab literary and theatre world with external and contingent facts, the writer tends to excuse his public, relieving them of all blame.

His optimism also surprised us as it bears no relation to what we remember of him from the past. In 1982, when he first told us his liter-

²¹ Qudsiyya himself was interpreter and director of the monologue by ʿUdwān *al-Qima*, presented in 1986.

²² About Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm and humour in his theatre, see M. Mandūr, *al-Masrah*, Cairo 1963, pp. 107-108.

ary theories, he seemed to us to be a disillusioned and pessimistic author who had decided to write more for himself than worrying about being understood by the public. Most of his works at that time were poems, collected into volumes which he was obliged to publish abroad because of a censorship ban in his own country²³. He certainly does not appear to us to be a happy and satisfied man, neither with the public nor with the official critics. His gradual adaptation to not always easy environmental conditions has perhaps led him to make unaccustomed choices. Currently he is writing more plays than poetry, even though he talks about "crisis in the theatre" just like everyone else, and seems to have found his best creative medium in monologues²⁴. We wonder if his feverish activity in this field and his apparent optimism concerning the spectators' maturity does not in fact hide his profound discouragement. We do not wish to put forward unqualified hypotheses, but the question does come to mind if 'Udwān is not perhaps being an ostrich and hiding his head in the sand so as not to see things as they really are. The fact that he recently gave up his job as a journalist in order to dedicate himself entirely to translations, is in our opinion symptomatic: choosing to spread the thoughts of others instead of one's own has a smack of abnegation.

We discussed the same problems with 'Alī 'Uqla 'Ursān²⁵, president of the *Ittihād al-Kuttāb al-ʿArab*. Our suspicion that there is situation of uneasiness between the public at large and committed Syrian authors, above all in the theatre, was confirmed. 'Ursān too gave us his opinion, condensed to a few essential points:

- A) The Syrian Arab theatre has not evolved since the seventies.
- B) Poetry is in the same state²⁶.

²³ Compare with the list of his works till 1982, in 'Izzat wa-ʿAmūr, *Aʿdāʾ*, p. 499.

²⁴ In fact both his most recent plays *az-Zabbāl* and *al-Qīma* are monologues.

²⁵ See biographical notes in 'Izzat, *Aʿdāʾ*, pp. 401-404.

²⁶ Yet the author, in a so-called unlucky period for poetry, just published his first collection of poems only some years ago, *Šaṭīʿ al-ġurba*, Damascus 1986.

C) Only the novel has developed in these last few years²⁷.

‘Ursān is one of the most fervent supporters of the importance of dramatic activity in modern literature and these comments are therefore very surprising. Even more surprising was that during our last meeting he invited us to read his latest novel *Sabrat al-ġulān*²⁸, consequently pushing us towards studying contemporary Syrian narrative rather than dramatic literature.

Knowing ‘Ursān well not only as a theatre producer and historian but also as the author of numerous dramatic works²⁹, his attitude was bound to arouse our curiosity. Although he did not make any clear comment on our thoughts concerning the causes of the crisis in the theatre, his own change of interests confirms its existence. If ‘Ursān, a true man of the theatre, suddenly dedicates himself to narrative works and writes a novel, this can only indicate that interest in dramatic literature in Syria is somehow declining.

This author did not mention any problem concerning the change in public taste, nor did he complain about a lack of audience sympathy for the committed theatre nor point out anything lacking in state organisation. Instead, he talked about “literary tendencies”. Being used to analyzing his country’s literature, ‘Ursān perceived the crisis in the theatre, but saw the main cause as coming from the writers themselves. In his opinion they are no longer able to write outstanding works.

He judges this period of stasis to be transitory and has decided that other literary styles merit consideration by scholars and critics, while waiting for the times to mature and give back to the theatre the role it deserves.

It is significant that ‘Ursān considers both theatre and poetry to be in the same situation of stagnation. Not by chance are these the two

²⁷ About modern Arabic novel, see F. Mūsā, *Fī r-riwāya l-‘arabiyya l-mu‘āšira*, Cairo 1971; ‘A. R. ‘Īd, *Dirāsāt naqdiyya fī r-riwāya wa-l-qīṣṣa*, Damascus 1980.

²⁸ Published for the first time in Damascus in 1982 and then reprinted in 1987.

²⁹ Compare with the list of his works in ‘Izzat wa-‘Amūr, *A‘dā’*, p. 404.

literary forms which most need a deep feeling of understanding between each author and his public.

The relationship between the modern Syrian playwright and the contemporary audience is therefore at the root of the problem and the heterogeneity of the audiences seems to aggravate the problem further.

Although many people want an easy and commercial theatre, there is on the other hand a more cultured class who feels the emptiness of such productions and looks for valid alternatives. Sometimes rhetoric, euphuism and politicisation suffocate artistic impulses, creating theatrical forms which in turn fall short of expectations. At the same time, there is a progressive tendency by intellectuals to turn to the outside, to divert the attention from the real problems by creating a series of "distractions".

One of the last numbers of "*al-Ḥayāt al-maṣraḥiyya*"³⁰ is almost entirely composed of translations of European works and studies on Western authors³¹. Syria, cradle of the modern Arab theatre, seems to be tired and prefers to turn its attention elsewhere.

And yet, the restlessness of Syrian youth and their characteristic intellectual curiosity are the sign that the way of the theatre is still open. Students crowd the theatres, greedy for what is new, and although sometimes they turn away disappointed this should not prevent a search for other expressive possibilities more understandable to them. On the other hand, the ambiguities, contradictions and difficulties which line the path of Syrian dramatic literature, as well as the actual disputations which trouble both audiences and writers, are, however, proof that interest is still alive for this form of art.

³⁰ 28-29 (1987).

³¹ There we can find studies about Greek tragedies, Dario Fo's dramatic art, about Bergmann and his works. Of thirteen articles, eight are translations.



SOME ACCOUNTS OF ZOOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTS IN CLASSICAL ARABIC LITERATURE

Herbert Eisenstein

University of Vienna

Classical Arabic literature presents a great number of accounts concerning animals, dealing especially with their behaviour and also, but less detailed, with their physiognomy. Most accounts are passed on without reference to the observer himself and thus have been transmitted through centuries. Within these descriptions, there is a certain number of references to practical occupations with animals, undertaken also by persons, whose historical background may be traced. This paper is going to deal with such references, excluding, however references to domestic animals and their use to man, although literature on horse and hawks includes many descriptions of practical treatment. Preference will be given to occupations with rarely or never tamed animals, as referred to by classical Arabic authors¹.

¹ Medical treatment is not included. As to dissections (*tašriḥ*) on animals, they were probably not practised by Muslim physicians, cf. E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1962 (repr. of the 1921 ed.), p. 36 sq; G. Petit and J. Théodoridès, *Histoire de la zoologie des origines à Linné*, Paris 1962, p. 172; J. Ch. Bürgel, Dogmatismus und Autonomie im wissenschaftlichen Denken des islamischen Mittelalters, in *Saeculum* 23, 1972, p. 43. The Christian physician Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh (d. 243/857) is said to have done dissections on monkeys, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, cf. G. van Vloten, *Ein arabischer Naturphilosoph im 9. Jahrhundert [el-Dschāhiz]*, ... übertragen von O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1918, p. 10; J. Théodoridès, La zoologie dans l'oeuvre de quelques médecins orientaux du Moyen âge, in *Actes du VIII^e Congrès International d'Histoire des Sciences, Florence-Milan 3-9 Septembre 1956*, vol. II, IV^a sezione ..., Firenze-Paris 1958, Collection de Travaux de l'Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences 9, p. 619; Bürgel, *op. cit.*, p. 43 sq.

Practical occupations with animals may be divided into different categories and, even, degrees²: Firstly, observations which happened accidentally, as well as, secondly, intentional verifications and, thirdly, deliberate tests. And one must not forget to mention that it is difficult to draw a line between real scientific aim and, just, curiosity.

Arabic literature deals very often with the first category quoted, observations which happened accidentally, but only very seldom the observers themselves are ascertained. Especially Arabic lexicographers are known to pass on knowledge not derived from practice, like Abū 'Ubayda (d. ca. 209/824-5) who is supposed to have written fifty booklets on horses - without being able to show at least one part on a living animal³. On the other hand, we meet with lexicographers like al-Azharī (d. 309/980). This author, in his *Kitāb tahdīb al-luġa*, noted several observations of his own concerning animals of the Arabian Peninsula, e.g. on the bustard and the number and colour of the eggs of this bird⁴.

Based on observation as well is what the caliph al-Mu'taḍid (reigned 279-289/892-902) and his chamberlain did. They collected butterflies which buzzed around a lamp and found out that there were 72 different shapes of them, according to the account of al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283)

² A system similar to the following, referring to al-Ġāhiz' *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, has just been pointed out in N. Bel-Haj Mahmoud, *La psychologie des animaux chez les Arabes*, Paris 1977, Etudes arabes et islamiques, Série 3, Etudes et Documents VIII, pp. 34-42, where the division is made into *enquête*, *observation* and *expérimentation* (used in a wider sense than according to the definition of experiments in the following discussion), emphasising especially the *methodes de recherches*, but referring also to further occupations with animals.

³ Cf. van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 2; GAS III, p. 364.

⁴ Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azharī, *Tahdīb al-luġa*, ed. 'Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, Muḥammad 'Alī an-Naġġār et al., 15 vols, al-Qāhira 1964-67, vol. 5, p. 36; cf. H. Eisenstein, Die Trappe in der klassisch-arabischen Literatur, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75, 1983, p. 51.

in his *Kitāb 'ağā'ib al-mahlūqāt*⁵. There is also a series of observations by travellers, who mention and sometimes describe certain animals, even such from outside the Islamic world, like the report of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368-9) in his *rihla* concerning Ceylon leeches⁶.

And we know about personal observations made by authors of literature on animals themselves, like those of al-Ġāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), the author of the Arabic book on animals *par excellence*, the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. He himself observed rats freeing a trapped rat by gnawing parts of the trap⁷. al-Ġāḥiẓ also reports the statements of Muṭannā ibn Zuhayr - obviously the author of a very important book on pigeons⁸ - who describes how female and male pigeons behave towards each other⁹.

⁵ Zakariyā' ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb 'ağā'ib al-mahlūqāt wa-ğarā'ib al-mawğūdāt*, *Zakariya Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie, Erster Theil, Die Wunder der Schöpfung ...* hrsg. von F. Wüstenfeld, Wiesbaden 1967 (repr. of the 1849 Göttingen ed.), p. 443.

⁶ Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Aballāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Lawātī aṭ-Ṭanġī al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuhfat an-nuzzār fi ġarā'ib al-amṣār wa-'ağā'ib al-asfār*, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, texte arabe, accomp. d'une trad. par C. Defrémery et R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols and 1 vol. *Index alphabétique*, Paris 1914-26, vol. 4, p. 178; cf. E. Wiedemann, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften LIII, Über die Kriechtiere nach al Qazwīnī nebst einigen Bemerkungen über die zoologischen Kenntnisse der Araber, in *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen* 48 and 49, 1916-17, p. 241 sq; Petit, o. cit., p. 210 sq.

⁷ Abū 'Utmān 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ed. Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, 8 vols, ²Miṣr 1385-89/1965-69, vol. 5, p. 249; cf. Bel-Haj Mahmoud, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁸ Cf. GAS III, p. 362.

⁹ al-Ġāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 165; this report is passim to be found in Arabic literature, e.g. in Ibn Qutayba's (d. 376/889) *Uyūn al-abbār*: Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba ad-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb 'uyūn al-abbār*, 4 vols, al-Qāhira 1343-49/1925-30, vol. 2, p. 91; cf. tr. L. Kopf, *The Natural History Section from a 9th Century "Book of Useful Knowledge"*, *The 'Uyūn al-akhbār of Ibn Qutayba*, ed. b F. S. Bodenheimer and L. Kopf, Paris-Leiden 1949, Collection de Travaux de l'Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences 4, p. 67; E. Wiedemann, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften XLIII, Naturkundliches aus Ibn Qutaiba, in *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen*

also able to disprove another statement viz. that vipers are supposed to dislike rues (*šadāb*)¹⁸. From these two quotations it becomes clear that al-Ġāhiz has proved to be an experimenter, trying to verify or to refute former statements¹⁹. And this leads to the third category of personal occupations with animals quoted, i.e. tests with the character of experiments, and without any reference to former statements. Again it is al-Ġāhiz who reports tests he did on his own, as well as others known to him.

Among other things, al-Ġāhiz cut an ear wig (*dabḥāl al-udn*) into two pieces to observe the two halves, but, unfortunately, he lost sight of them²⁰. He broke eggs of vipers into pieces to find out what they contain, and he describes the contents being extremely viscous and abominable²¹. The author himself witnessed the experiment of a certain ʿUbayd ibn aš-Šūnizī, who observed the behaviour of twenty scorpions and twenty mice kept in a glass²². The animals were only fighting each other, in opposition to the statement put forward by al-Ġāhiz that runs: observing a scorpion and a rat (or a mouse), kept in a glass bottle, one sees that the mouse outwits the scorpion by gnawing away the sting of the latter²³.

¹⁸ al-Ġāhiz, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 399; cf. Bel-Haj Mahmoud, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁹ Also al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050) disproved a former opinion by experiments, namely that snakes would lose their eyes by their running out when looking on an emerald, cf. the translation of the passage from al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-ġamāhir fi maʿrifat al-ġawāhir*, in *Al-Bīrūnī, In den Gärten der Wissenschaft, Ausgewählte Texte aus den Werken des muslimischen Universalgelehrten, übersetzt und erläutert* von G. Strohmaier, Leipzig 1988, Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 1228, p. 241 sq; gratitude to Dr. G. Strohmaier, Berlin, for this reference.

²⁰ al-Ġāhiz, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 54; cf. Bel-Haj Mahmoud, *op. cit.*, p. 40 (where, however, the report is seen in connexion with a lizard quoted before).

²¹ al-Ġāhiz, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 170; cf. Bel-Haj Mahmoud, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²² al-Ġāhiz, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 248; cf. Bel-Haj Mahmoud, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

²³ al-Ġāhiz, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 247 sq; cf. Bel-Haj Mahmoud, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

One also could mention a pseudo-experiment, which al-Ġāḥiẓ reports in his *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*: a drunkard provided different kinds of animals with alcohol, animals like camels, buffaloes, cows, horses, sheep, dogs, and even vultures and snakes, but he does not give any results²⁴.

The most important experiment reported by al-Ġāḥiẓ - known for a long time, but still relevant - was carried out by a certain Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh under the guidance of al-Ġāḥiẓ' teacher, the Muʿtazilī theologian an-Nazzām (d. before 230/845). This experiment went as follows: hot stones and hot iron were thrown before an ostrich in order to find out if this animal could digest or liquefy those after swallowing. The ostrich swallowed several pieces, indeed, but he died from a knife that was given to him recklessly²⁵. an-Nazzām had intended to slaughter the animal after a few days in order to see the result. The famous orientalist R. Paret objected that this might not really be called an experiment on animals, as the subject of research was rather the relation between the substances as well as the nature of heat and fire²⁶. Actually, an-Nazzām supposed that the ostrich could eat hot coal without being hurt, as the heat would die away in the belly of this animal, but he doubted that the ostrich could do the same with hot stones, and that is why he started this experiment or, rather, this series of experiments. So, this is in fact a deliberate experiment and - though there is a reference to former statements - not just a verification, and even R. Paret had to admit this fact²⁷, as also an-Nazzām himself stated that he intended to undertake some "research".

²⁴ al-Ġāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 228 sq; cf. van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p. 35 sq; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, HO, 1. Abteilung, Ergänzungs-Bd. VI, 2. Abschnitt, p. 20.

²⁵ al-Ġāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 320 sq; cf. van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p. 28 sqq; R. Paret, An-Nazzām als Experimentator, in *Der Islam* 25, 1939, pp. 228-233; B. Lewin, Djāḥiẓ' djurbok, in *Lychnos* 1952, p. 228 sq; *GAS* III, p. 360 sq.

²⁶ Cf. Paret, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

²⁷ Cf. Paret, *op. cit.*, p. 231 sq.

Trying to draw a conclusion from analyzing the accounts on verifications and tests quoted which may be called experiments, there are several remarkable aspects:

- In certain cases, but, obviously, not very often, animals are objects of examinations.
- Examiners of some importance are especially al-Ġāhiz, who undertook a number of experiments, verifications as well as tests, and an-Nazzām, who undertook an experiment of real importance, especially if one takes into consideration the intention, which was the basis for his experiment. Both examiners are *Mu'tazilīs* and this seems not to be a coincidence, as especially men of the *Mu'tazila* were predestined not to be satisfied with mere speculations on nature, but also to intend to find an answer to certain questions by experimenting on living objects.
- The experiments, as they are, are of a very simple nature, and mostly small animals are objects of the investigations. In most cases, we know about the aim of the observation, but none, or only very few, details concerning the realisation.
- The results of the experiments - if there actually are results - are sometimes quite curious and, apparently, not very reliable, especially the results of some of the verifications quoted.

Finally, these examples of research were of no lasting importance, and knowledge about animals was obviously not increased methodically and according to plan. From today's point of view, this development could not lead to scientific zoology. Instead of it, a kind of zoography emerged in the classical Arabic-Islamic civilization. Mere pieces of information - indeed, also extensive ones - were collected and passed on, but in an uncritical manner. Former knowledge was hardly replaced by results of recent research. Another point of consideration is that the animal was mainly regarded in relation to its usefulness, as also to its noxiousness, to man, and so there was no development of an objective scientific zoology (according to today's point of view, as just pointed out). Only a few experiments like those quoted differ from this usual attitude.

STREET-ARABS, SATIRE, AND THE STATUS OF POETRY

Geert Jan van Gelder

University of Groningen

Children's verse in Classical Arabic literature, though not abundant, exists in several forms. Goldziher published an article in 1879 on 'Jugend- und Strassenpoesie in Kairo', about children's verse and language in his own days as well as in the time of aš-Širbīnī (11th/17th century). The few pages that he wrote on lullabies and cradle-songs ('Altarabische Wiegen- und Schlummerlieder', 1888)² were followed up in more recent studies, notably Enno Littmann's 'Kinderlieder und Kindersprache im heutigen Ägypten' (1935)³, Wiebke Walther's 'Altarabische Kindertanzreime' (1968)⁴ and Aḥmad Abū Sa'd, *Aḡānī tarqīs al-atfāl* 'inda l-ʿArab (1974)⁵. But there is another sort of poetry for children, or at least enjoyed by them.

There are quite a number of stories where young children, *sibyān*, play a part in the spread of poetry, usually invective or satirical⁶. The poet Abū š-Šamaqmaq (d. c. 190/806) is said to have exploited this and

¹ ZDMG 33 (1879) 608-30, reprinted in Ignaz Goldziher, *Gesammelte Schriften*, hrsg. von Joseph Desomogyi, Hildesheim 1967-73, ii, 49-70.

² WKZM 2 (1888) 164-67, reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften* ii, 322-25.

³ Enno Littmann, 'Kinderlieder und Kindersprache im heutigen Ägypten', *Mémoires de l'Institut Français*, t. lxxviii (*Mélanges Maspero*, vol. iii) Le Caire, 1935, pp. 207-40.

⁴ Wiebke Walther, 'Altarabische Kindertanzreime', in *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, hrsg. von Manfred Fleischhammer, Halle, 1968 (= *Wissensch. Zeitschr. der Martin Luther-Universität, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, Heft 2/3, Jhrg. 17, 1968), pp. 217-33.

⁵ Aḥmad Abū Sa'd, *Aḡānī tarqīs al-atfāl* 'inda l-ʿArab, Beirut, 1974 [not seen].

⁶ Although *saby* is often defined in classical dictionaries as '[a boy] that has not yet been weaned', it usually denotes a child between the age of a *tifl* ('toddler') and that of a *gulam* or 'adolescent'.

to have blackmailed both Baššār Ibn Burd and Marwān Ibn Abū Ḥafṣa. When Abū š-Šamaqmaq recites his epigram ending in ... *Baššāru yā Baššāru yā bna z-zāniyah*, Baššār jumps up and gives him 200 dirhams, saying, 'Don't let the children hear it'⁷! In another story Abū š-Šamaqmaq says to Baššār, 'I heard the children recite:

Hallilīnah hallilīnah

Inna Baššāra bna Burdin

ta'na qittātin li-tīnah

tīsun -a'mā fī safīnah

Hallelujah, hallelujah,

Baššār, son of Burd,

a cucumber pricking a fig!

is a billy-goat in a boat.

(According to al-Ġāhiz this last expression denotes a very stupid person)⁸. Baššār again pays 200 dirhams and says, *Lā takun rāwīyat aš-šibyān*! 'Please do not teach your verses to the children'⁹! The same expression, *lā takun rāwīyat aš-šibyān*, is used by Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa speaking to Abū š-Šamaqmaq, on the occasion of another scurrilous epigram (Marwān, though, pays only two dirhams, or ten in another version)¹⁰. Di'bil (d. c. 860) paid a thousand dirhams (five would have been ample, according to his friends) in order to silence a poet of doggerel who had made two obscene lines on him that were certain to be popular among the common people and children, *al-amma wa-š-šibyān*. He paid in vain, for 'they became widely known and the rabble, the lower classes and slaves loudly declaimed them'¹¹.

⁷ Abū l-Faraġ al-Išfahānī, *al-Aġānī*, Cairo, 1928-74, iii, 194 f.

⁸ al-Ġāhiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo, 1965-69, ii, 150, v, 457.

⁹ al-Išfahānī, *al-Aġānī* iii, 195, al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ Baġdād*, Cairo, 1931, xiii, 146, ar-Rāġib al-Išfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Cairo, 1287, i, 55. The translation of the exclamation *hallilīna* (not found elsewhere) may not be wholly correct. The cucumber and the fig refer to homosexual practice (which is, probably, why *Tārīḥ Baġdād* has a different, not indecent, version of the first line). Note the elision of the hamz of *a'mā*.

¹⁰ al-Išfahānī, *al-Aġānī* x, 79.

¹¹ Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šū'arā'*, ed. 'Abdassattār Farrāġ, Cairo, 1968, p. 265; cf. ar-Rāġib, *Muḥāḍarāt* i, 55.

Sometimes the children call out only snatches of verse, a few words of a line. In this manner they pester a certain doctor called Nuṣayr, with an expression from an epigram by al-Ḥusayn Ibn aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk¹². Children force an administrator in ar-Rayy to give up his post by repeating a few words from an epigram on an unfortunate accident: 'the fault came from a fart', *min ad-ḍarti ġā'a l-ġalat*¹³. Ḥālid b. Yazīd al-Kātib is pursued by boys shouting *Yā Ḥālid yā bārid*, 'Hey Ḥālid, you daft one!', after lines by Abū Tammām¹⁴. In edition of the *Agānī* one reads, after these lines, *fa-'alimahā ṣ-ṣibyānu*, 'the children got to know them'; another version¹⁵ has *fa-'allamahā ṣ-ṣibyāna* 'he taught them to the children' a reading that is entirely possible. Di'bil, mentioned before as a victim, was himself not wholly innocent of this practice. He had a quarrel with Abū Sa'd al-Maḥzūmī, who made a poem against him that was only known to the learned people in town. Abū Sa'd complained:

What can I do? I make good poetry that is recited by nobody, and he makes bad verse that is recited... He has taught it to the school-children, to people on the street and the lower classes. Now wherever I go I hear this gibberish from the rabble. Some of them know me and blame me, others do not know me but let me hear it because it is so easy on the tongue¹⁶.

The epigram in question is certainly one that would appeal to boys: an easy, short metre, colloquialisms, grotesque comparisons and obscenities. Di'bil himself is reported to have said: 'I got some nuts, called the children and gave them some. Then I told them, "Shout to him:

¹² al-Isfahānī, *al-Agānī* vii, 214.

¹³ al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-masāwī*, Beirut, 1970, p. 252; cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, Cairo, 1948-53, iii, 455.

¹⁴ al-Isfahānī, *al-Agānī* xx, 280; cf. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt* 405 (not mentioning the verse ascribed to Abū Tammām). The lines are not found in the *Dīwān* of Abū Tammām.

¹⁵ Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam al-udabā'*, Cairo, 1936-38, xi, 49 f.

¹⁶ al-Isfahānī, *al-Agānī* xx, 166, 167.

Abū Saʿd, old bag [apparently a nickname], who whores with his sister and his wife

*Yā Abā Saʿdin Qawṣarah zāniya l-uhṭi wa-l-marʿah*¹⁷.

Diʿbil knew of course that the lines were merely doggerel: 'I only made some silly verses on him, such as children and slave girls play with.' Someone objects: 'you should not do that. The man has hurt you. Now get even with him by means of a similar reply. This nonsense that you are so proud of will miscarry and you will be disgraced forever'¹⁸. But Diʿbil's reputation does not seem to have suffered from his occasional indulging in vulgarity.

The incidents mentioned so far all date from early Abbasid times. This does not mean that children played no part before that period. Shortly before the coming of Islam, for instance, the three brothers aš-Šammāh, Muzarrid and Ġazʿ, when children, *ṣibyān*, successfully prevent their mother's second marriage by means of a few *rağaz* lines¹⁹. But here we have talented youths making their own verse for their own purpose, not a band of obnoxious boys shouting obscenities just for the fun of it. Hassān Ibn Tābit was perhaps the first poet to exploit schoolchildren in this way: it is said that he ordered someone to write down an invective epigram and hand it to the schoolchildren, *ṣibyān al-kuttāb*²⁰.

In the anecdotes dating from Abbasid times other categories are often mentioned together with such children: the rabble, the lower classes, slaves and slave girls, water carriers, muleteers. In earlier periods these same categories are rarely mentioned in similar contexts, although of course there were slaves, water carriers and children. I think we may

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xx, 174. According to the version in Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaqāt* pp. 296 f. Diʿbil gives raisins and *nabaq* ('lotus-fruits').

¹⁸ *al-Ağāni* xx, 175 f.

¹⁹ al-Ğāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-t-tabayīn*, ed. ʿAbdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1968, iv, 34 f.

²⁰ Hassān Ibn Tābit, *Diwān*, ed. Sayyid Ḥanafī Ḥasanayn, Cairo, 1974, p. 179.

say that in pre-Islamic tribal society there were no higher and lower classes, only individuals or clans with higher or lower status. After the conquests this situation changed, but it took some time for these 'lower classes' to appear in anecdotes about poetry; after all, many of them must have had an imperfect knowledge of the Arabic poetic language, Arabic being their second language. Ibn Mufarrīg, who died c. 69/688, himself an Arab, replied with a few lines in Persian when boys shouted at him in Persian while he was paraded through the streets of Basra in a rather humiliating fashion²¹. By this time, however, also the Arab population of the garrison cities was clearly divided into an elite group, the *hāssa*, and the *ʿamma* or common people²².

Among the earliest of the anecdotes under consideration is the one about Ġarīr and al-Aḥṭal, somewhere in the middle of the Omayyad period. al-Aḥṭal was rather proud of his own line, the best invective line known to him:

People who, when the approaching guests make their dogs bark,
say to their mother, 'Piss on the fire'²³!

However, says al-Aḥṭal, the line was known only to connoisseurs of poetry, whereas a line by his rival Ġarīr was recited by 'every water carrier or slave girl'. The line in question was:

²¹ al-*Iṣfahānī*, *al-Aġānī* xviii, 264; cf. al-Ġāhiz, *al-Bayān* i, 143. Ru'ba Ibn al-ʿAġġāġ (d. 145/762) is pestered by children in Basra who shout *yā mardum, yā mardum!* (*al-Aġānī* xx, 352); I suppose Persian *mardum* 'man' is meant. Children sing a line in Persian against Asad b. ʿAbdallāh in 108/726-7: 'From Ḥuttal he came / he was put to shame'. (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ*, VII, Cairo 1966, p. 43; cf. the variants pp. 44 and 119.)

²² See Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton, N.J., 1984, p. 258.

²³ al-*Iṣfahānī*, *al-Aġānī* viii, 318. The line is often quoted and discussed, see e.g. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig, 1894-92, p. 734, al-Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, ed. Ġaʿfar al-Kattānī, Baghdad, 1979, i, 349, Ibn Rašīq, *al-ʿUmda* ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi d-Dīn ʿAbdalḥamīd, Cairo, 1955, ii, 175, 181 (respectively, in the chapter on *hiġāʾ* and, together with al-Aḥṭal's complaint, in a section on *sayrūrāt aš-šīʿr* 'the currency of poetry').

The Taglibite, saying 'Ahem!' while expecting hospitality [or, as most people interpret it, 'when his hospitality is expected'], scratches his arse and quotes proverbs [i.e. mumbles some platitudes]²⁴.

al-Aḥṭal seems to regret this state of affairs; indeed, to be popular, even with the populace, was a sign of superiority. When Ġarīr is informed that his other great rival al-Farazdaq is more popular with the elite and the learned, *ḥarwāṣṣ an-nās wa-ʿulamāʾuhum*, but he himself rather with the common people, *ʿāmma an-nās wa-dahmāʾuhum*, he is pleased: 'I have won'²⁵! When al-ʿAġġāġ and Abū Nuḥayla, two *raġāz* poets, hold a slanging match, someone is about to chase away the children that have gathered. But al-ʿAġġāġ insists on their presence: 'Leave them; they will decide who wins and will pass it on, (*yugallibūn wa-yuballigūn*)²⁶.

Popularity among the masses is a good thing according to many poets and critics. Ibn al-Muʿtazz, poet and critic, was himself from the highest possible circle, being an Abbasid prince. But in his book on poets he remarks, more than anyone else in such works, on the popularity of poets among the *ʿāmma* or *ḥāṣṣa* or both²⁷. One particular line, he says, is recited in every market place or street, which only happens to a line 'when its meaning is good, its diction sweet and easy on the tongue'²⁸. He admires another line in spite of its 'silly' diction; but, he

²⁴ al-Isfahānī, *al-Aġānī* viii, 318 and many other places; see e.g. al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwaṣṣah*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Baġāwī, Cairo, 1965, p. 224, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd* v, 273, 301, vi, 187, Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-ahbār*, Cairo, 1925-30, i, 283, al-Hātimī, *Ḥilya* i, 346, Ibn Rašīq, *al-ʿUmda* ii, 181, al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* p. 322.

²⁵ aṣ-Ṣūlī, *Aḥbār Abī Tammām*, ed. Ḥalīl Maḥmūd ʿAsākir et al., Cairo, 1937, p. 219. Rather confusingly, Ibn Daʿb (d. 171/787) pronounces al-Farazdaq to be *aʿaru ʿāmmatan* and Ġarīr *aʿaru ḥāṣṣatan* (al-Isfahānī, *al-Aġānī* viii, 5), which seems to mean the opposite.

²⁶ Ibn Qutayba, *aṣ-Šīr*, p. 602.

²⁷ See Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 78, 88, 125, 130, 131, 150, 165, 241, 322, 416.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

explains, the poet made it so intentionally, so that the common people and children would recite it²⁹.

One of the merits of poetry, says Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, is its currency among people; ‘nothing is more current than good poetry’³⁰. Yet after two pages he qualifies this: the status of poetry is diminished by its abundance and the fact that everyone practises it, including the common people and the lower orders³¹.

Some great poets were esteemed by the critics and the masses alike. ‘When I was in Basra’, says a contemporary of Baššār, there was not an amorous man or woman who did not recite some of Baššār’s poetry, nor a professional wailing woman or female singer who did not earn money with it, nor any noble person who did not respect him and fear his wicked tongue³².

But not everyone agreed that such popularity was always a good thing. Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa seems to be of this opinion when, asked to name the best poet of his time, he answered: ‘Our best poet is the one with the widest circulation, *ašʿarunā asyarunā*, meaning Rabīʿa ar-Raqqī³³. However, Ibn al-Muʿtazz tells us that some poems by Rabīʿa ar-Raqqī were recited ‘everywhere on earth among the elite – for Rabīʿa’s poetry was rarely found in the hands of the common people’³⁴.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *aš-Šināʿatayn*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Baġāwī and Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1971, p. 143.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145; cf. Diyāʾ ad-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Ġāmiʿ al-kabīr*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ġawād and Ġamīl Saʿīd, Baghdad, 1956, p. 75: prose is superior to poetry, because the latter is often produced by those who have no conscious knowledge of the rules of composition, such as *as-sūqa wa-l-ʿamma min arbāb al-ḥīraf wa-ṣ-ṣanāʿi*. According to Ibn al-Aṭīr, those poems are often successful; yet it is obvious that he and other critics and anthologists gave but scant attention to them (one thinks of illiterate poets such as al-Ḥubzaruzzī or al-Ḥabbāz al-Baladī, who are mentioned in at-Taʿālibī’s *Yatīmat ad-dahr*).

³² al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī* iii, 149.

³³ *Ibid.*, xvi, 254.

³⁴ Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 165.

So for Marwān the common people did not count at all, and he was not the only one. As a matter of fact, the term 'common people' usually *al-ʿamma* or *al-ʿawāmm*, could include surprisingly many. Used in court circles it could denote anyone not belonging to court circles, but those that we would call 'the lower classes' are sometimes thought to be too low to be considered at all. In *ar-Risāla al-ʿadrā*, a ninth-century treatise on the art of the *kātib*, the lowest of the eight classes that are enumerated are those of the scholars and the educated. The rest, merchants, market-people and such, do not matter³⁵. To Hālid b. Šafwān there are three classes: scholars, orators or preachers, and educated people, *udabāʿ*; as for the dregs that remain, they only raise the prices, through the market-places and pollute the water³⁶. When you hear me speak of the common people, *al-ʿawāmm*, says al-Ġāhiz,

I do not mean peasants, the vulgar herd, artisans and vendors; nor do I mean the Kurds in the mountains or the island dwellers in the seas... The common people of our religion, our language, our *adab* and our morals, are the class whose intellects and morals are above these people but do not reach the level of our elite³⁷.

With these remarks al-Ġāhiz comments on an essay by Bišr Ibn al-Muʿtamir on oratory and its stylistics, where it is stressed that one's style should be adapted to one's audience, depending on whether one addresses the *ʿamma* or the *ḥāṣṣa*. Whatever al-Ġāhiz means by *al-ʿamma*, it appears from several of his works that his opinion of them is rather low³⁸; an attitude shared by many writers and poets. An early instance

³⁵ Ibn al-Mudabbir, *al-Risāla al-ʿadrā*, ed. Zakī Mubārak, Cairo, 1931, pp. 10 f.; cf. *Rasāʾil al-bulagāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAli, Cairo, 1954, pp. 229 f., Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-Iqd* iv, 180 f.

³⁶ Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-Iqd* ii, 293.

³⁷ al-Ġāhiz, *al-Bayān* i, 137.

³⁸ See for instance his *Risāla fī nafy al-tašbih*, in *Rasāʾil al-Ġāhiz*, ed. ʿAbdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1964-79, i, 283 ff., or his *Maqālat al-ʿUṣmāniyya*, in *Rasāʾil* iv, 33, 36-43. For more on the lower classes vs the elite, see the article by M. A. J. Beg, 'al-Khāṣṣa wa-l-ʿamma' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Jan-Olav Blichfeldt,

is provided by two well-known Omayyad poets, al-Kumayt b. Zayd and aṭ-Ṭirimmaḥ, both good friends in spite of their opposed allegiances, for one was a Shiite and the other a Ḥārīḡite. When asked how this could be, they answered, 'We both dislike the common people'³⁹. It seems obvious to me that their dislike is not based on religion or politics, but on culture and education. They both belong to the urban literate and literary elite; al-Kumayt's poetry is old-style desert poetry but he, a schoolteacher, had only second-hand knowledge of the desert.

It was in their time, during the Omayyad period, that an important urban literary elite was formed, which grew in the course of the eighth century and which cultivated the traditional poetic idiom. It became more and more difficult for a poet, using this idiom, to please both the elite and the masses with one and the same poem. When he managed to do this, it was a matter to be noted; when he did not, he could try to please the illiterate only, which was also a matter to be noted, if he was a famous poet. But then he would not be employing the old idiom but the diction, themes and metres of the 'modern' poetry of Abbasid times. Most of the great 'modern' poets, such as Baššār, Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and Ibn ar-Rūmī, used the elevated style as well as the low and vulgar idiom; the latter mostly for invective poetry of course, although Abū l-ʿAtāhiya deliberately employed a low style for the poems on *zuhd* or 'renunciation [of worldliness]' that made him famous. He is said to have told an admirer:

Poetry ought to be like that of the early great poets or like that of Baššār and Ibn Harma. If it is not, then the right thing to do is to make one's diction so that the masses will understand it, like my own poetry; especially my poems on *zuhd*⁴⁰.

'Khāṣṣa and ʿamma: On slogans, concepts and social settings in Islamic history', *Orientalia Suecana* 38-39 (1989-90) 14-20.

³⁹ al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aḡānī* xvii, 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 70. Compare *ibid.* iv, 94 f.: Salm al-Ḥāsir says to Abū l-ʿAtāhiya, 'You have made a good [poem], but for the fact that the wording is vulgar (*sūqiyya*)'. Abū l-ʿAtāhiya replies, 'By God, what makes you dislike it is precisely what makes me like it'.

Similarly, Baššār defended his little poem on Rabāba, who has 'ten hens and a cock with a good voice'. For she, he said to a critic, admires this even more than you admire the *Mu'allaqa* of Imra' al-Qays⁴¹: An anonymous poet said :

I shall make *hiġā'* on you, if I live to do it, in poetry that isn't worth twopence [even] if they correct its faults.

They say it's bad. But it is enough for me that they call it bad and that it is recited⁴².

In early Abbasid times it was still possible for a poet to be both esteemed by the elite and truly popular among all layers of society, although not as a rule with the same poems. As for later periods, I find a curious lack of information. Anthologies and works of criticism keep repeating the old anecdotes about lines being recited by boys and the lower classes, but hardly any new ones are added. Of course this may reflect the concerns of the anthologists and critics; perhaps things went on much as before. But one suspects that the dearth of such anecdotes is an indication that from about the tenth century there was a widening gap between the literate elite and the illiterate, of whom we do not know much; a gap based on the increasing divergence between the literary and the spoken language, as studied in particular by Johann Fück in his *'Arabīya*⁴³.

Early Abbasid poetry is full of colloquialisms; Abū Nuwās for instance, or Baššār's verses for Rabāba which Fück thought should be read without *i'rāb*⁴⁴. They are found less often in the so-called neoclassical poets, although Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and Ibn ar-Rūmī wrote numerous lines that could still appeal to children and the illiterate, both

⁴¹ al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aġānī* iii, 163, al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwaššah*, p. 388.

⁴² aṣ-Ṣūlī, *Aḥbār Abī Tammām*, p. 28, al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwaššah*, p. 575.

⁴³ Johann Fück, *'Arabīya. Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte*, Berlin, 1950, French translation (by Claude Denizeau): *'Arabīya. Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue et du style arabe*, Paris, 1955.

⁴⁴ Fück, *'Arabīya* (French translation) p. 84.

by virtue of their diction and their themes. In his monograph of Ibn ar-Rūmī, Said Boustany suggested the possibility that some epigrams were in fact made by the poet primarily with children in mind⁴⁵. But there are no accompanying anecdotes to confirm this. It is tempting to think that lines with silly jokes, crude obscenities, colloquialisms or metrical irregularities were meant to be enjoyed and recited by a juvenile or lower class audience; however, there is abundant evidence that the literate elite itself occasionally indulged in precisely these things wholly among themselves.

The lower classes, it is true, could serve to inspire the poet in these matters, as in the notorious case of Ibn al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ in the second half of the tenth century. He learned his art of pornographic and scatological verse by listening, notebook at hand, to the people on the roofs of the taverns next to his father's house⁴⁶. Yet he was a respected man of some standing, who as a *muhtasib* was even charged with the supervision of public moral behaviour in Baghdad for a time. Later, in the 14th century, a manual of *ḥisba* enjoins schoolteachers to keep the *ḏīwān* of Ibn al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ away from their pupils, which proves that they liked it⁴⁷. But there is no reason to suppose that Ibn al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ composed his poems for them or for the common people.

Even the poets known to us who composed poems in a language resembling the spoken tongue belonged to the elite, as a general rule. The earliest known *zağals* and similar non-classical forms date from the time when these forms became acceptable among the educated. It is well possible that more or less similar forms existed before among the illiterate, but the texts and the names of the poets are not recorded.

⁴⁵ Said Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī: sa vie et son oeuvre*, i, Beirut, 1967, p. 328.

⁴⁶ aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wafī bi-l-Wafayāt*, Wiesbaden, 1962-, xii, 333 f.

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Uḡuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-qurba fi aḥkām al-ḥisba*, ed. by R. Levy, London, 1938, p. 172, Engl. abstract, p. 60.

After the great conquests of early Islamic times, Classical Arabic poetry was never truly popular, in the sense of known to and appreciated by all layers of society, except for the odd line or short epigram, usually of the jesting kind, *hazl*, which had a lower status than *ğidd*. It is a conclusion that is hardly surprising, but it may serve to counterbalance overenthusiastic statements on the importance of poetry for the Arabs. In pre-Islamic times things were different, but even here one should be careful not to exaggerate. Is it really true that, whenever someone in a clan turned out to be poetically gifted, other clans came to congratulate, meals were prepared, women played the lute, men and boys rejoiced together, all as if there were a wedding? This is what Ibn Rašīq wants us to believe; he is quoted by as-Suyūṭī, Wilhelm Ahlwardt, Sir Charles Lyall, R. A. Nicholson and probably others⁴⁸. Ibn Rašīq, writing in the eleventh century, gives no sources or references for these remarkable customs. Perhaps he, esteemed poet and critic, wrote during a bout of wishful thinking, regretfully recalling the days when the status of the poet was higher, but his poetry popular among young and old, high and low.

⁴⁸ Ibn Rašīq, *al-Umda* i, 65, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Ġād al-Mawlā et al., Cairo, s.d., ii, 473, Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Ueber Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, Gotha, 1856, p. 3, Charles J. Lyall, *Translations of ancient Arabian poetry, chiefly Pre-islamic*, London, 1885, p. 17, Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, repr. Cambridge, 1966, p. 71.

SOME NOTES ON WOMEN IN CLASSICAL ARABIC LITERARY TRADITION

Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila

University of Helsinki

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role and image of women in an *adab*-monograph, viz. the *Kitāb Aḥbār an-nisā'* of Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya¹, leaving aside the problem whether the work is rightly attributed to him or not. The book is by no means ingenious – it is mainly compiled from highly popular sources such as *Uyūn al-ahbār* of Ibn Qutayba and *Kitāb al-Aġānī* of Abū l-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī² – but its size is convenient for this analysis and the book may well be looked upon as a typical representative of this genre.

The book consists of stories, mainly anecdotes, most of which are not *about* women, but merely *involving* women; the main interest of the author – like that of other *adab*-writers – is the presentation of witticisms and elegant verses, as well as the display of his philological expertness; he is less interested in analyzing the role or behaviour of women.

Before taking a closer look at the women of the *Aḥbār*, it must be noted – and this holds true also in most of the *adab*-literature and e.g. Persian literature – that the portrayal of women in the *Aḥbār* does not reflect, at least not closely, the actual status of women in Islamic society at any given period: the image of women, or anything else, in the *adab*-literature is subject to literary conventions, which deform the reality, sometimes beyond recognition. Gleaning information on Islamic society from these works of art would require a close scrutiny of a large corpus of texts belonging to different genres and a comparison with non-literary texts.

¹ Ed. Nizār Riḍā, Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt. Bayrūt 1985.

² Or other, later sources drawing on the same material.

After these preliminary notes, we may turn to our subject. The roles in which women are introduced are conventional and can be reduced to a few, archetypal roles, of which four are more frequently used. Note that the first three are somewhat overlapping. These four stock figures are:

1. wife – which includes widow as a variant
2. 'beloved'
3. slave-girl
4. old woman

The chief aspect in the image of wife is either her faithfulness or her infidelity. In the romantic – a term which I use here more or less in the same meaning as *'udrite* – stories wife's faithfulness to her husband is emphasized, and she remains faithful even after the death of her husband. A larger group of anecdotes deals with her infidelity, including her so-called infidelity after his death – which, from a modern point of view, is not exactly faithlessness, but only incapacity to conform with the unrealistic standards of *'udrite* love. Those anecdotes in which the widow is remarried, sometimes under the pressure of her family, and then, often already before the wedding night, repents and dies or disappears, have a romantic tone and can be grouped together with other romantic anecdotes. In some nonromantic anecdotes the widow, or the divorced wife remarries. If she has given her first husband an oath not to remarry, or not to marry a certain person, she may absolve herself from the oath. This is seen as infidelity even when the oath has been given e.g. to appease the dying husband.

In a certain group of anecdotes a woman deceives her husband when he is still alive, or has not yet divorced her, which is infidelity even by European standards. Frequently this infidelity is only suspected, it is not proven in the story. When it is real, the driving force of the woman to be faithless to her husband is usually not explicitly stated to be her sexual appetite, contrary to e.g. the stories of *Alf layla* and erotic literature like *The Perfumed Garden* of Shaykh an-Nafzāwī³, where the

³ *The Perfumed Garden of Shaykh Nefzawi*. Translated by R. Burton (several editions).

'stout, black slave' is a common figure and a cause of women's faithlessness. In accordance to this the cunning wife à la *Decamerone* or *Tūtī-nāma* (I am referring here to the Muḥammad Qādirī recension⁴) is not frequently depicted. More often a faithless wife is a passive object of seduction. Rather astonishingly, this group of anecdotes is quite small: even in the chapters *Mā yudkaru min ḡadri n-nisā'* (p. 144-167) and *Mā ḡā'a fī z-zinā wa-t-tahḏīri min al-imi 'iqābihi* (p. 168-208) these anecdotes clearly represent a minority. With this one could compare the fact that faithless wives are almost non-existent in the works of the Persian bel esprit Sa'dī.

Main instances of the faithless wife are the story of 'Amr ibn Qamī'a (where the 'Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar'-theme is used) (p. 177-178), the story of the wife deceiving her husband while her lover's friend disguises as her (p. 188-190), and the famous story of Waddāh al-Yaman and Umm al-Banīn (p. 156-158).

The most frequent theme in the anecdotes that deal with wives is, perhaps surprisingly, divorce. Normally in the anecdotes, as surely in the real life, too, the one who wants the divorce is the man. The cause of divorce may be his wish to marry somebody else - e.g. her sister, when the Islamic laws make divorce compulsory (e.g. p. 78) -, his sexual dissatisfaction with her (p. 78, 79, et passim), or a temporary fit of anger caused by her behaviour (e.g. p. 80-81). In a group of anecdotes the husband is seen repenting his rashness in divorcing his wife (e.g. p. 73-74, 74). In a few cases it is the woman who wants to be divorced (e.g. p. 79). The reason for this is usually the sexual incapacity of her husband or her wish to be married to some other man or perhaps both.

I have not seen the edition of the Arabic text. Note that women with a strong sexual appetite are found in some other anecdotal *adab*-books, e.g. the *Balāḡat an-nisā'* of Ibn Ṭayfūr (especially the chapter *Ahbār mawāḡin an-nisā'*).

⁴ Anonymous (= Fr. Gladwin), *The Tooti Nameh or Tales of a Parrot*. Calcutta/London, 1801. Same remarks hold true also for other *Tūtī-nāma* recensions, both Persian and Turkish (cf. e.g. G. Rosen (übers.), *Tuti-nameh, Das Papageienbuch*, several editions, e.g. Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1987).

Marriage is not explicitly criticized, as it often is in Šūfī literature⁵ and e.g. the works of Sa‘dī⁶. The qualities of an ideal wife are often summarised in maxims: her physical good looks, nobility of birth, and above all, her faithfulness and obedience are emphasized, the last-mentioned also receiving the sanctification from *ḥadīths* quoted. In some maxims of ‘*udrite* tenor, romantic love and the sexual act are contrasted: the latter, even if it is not explicitly stated, can be equalized with marriage, and its sole *raison d’être* is to beget children – an idea common with several genres of Persian literature.

Bigamy and polygamy have only a minor part to play in the anecdotes. Even though in theory the jealousy of women is stated in the *Aḥbār* to be lesser than that of men (p. 84), in practice in nearly all the stories where a man takes a second wife, or a concubine, or even uses the services of a prostitute, his wife is seen to resort to different tricks and stratagems in order to prevent him from marrying or seeing her, or to force him to divorce the other woman, if he already has married her. Even the caliph Mu‘āwiya is seen to submit to his wife in this situation (p. 185-186), and in another hilarious story (p. 121-122) a man, who had been stung by a scorpion when he was enjoying one of his slave-girls, has to bear his wife’s eulogy to scorpions which, says she, defend the moral of the house. In another anecdote (p. 180) the jealous wife of Baššār ibn Burd plays the part of prostitute, and the blind poet gets caught by her – the same story is told in the *Kitāb al-Aḡānī* about al-Farazdaq, and it is paralleled by stories in *Tūtī-nāma*, its Indian predecessors, and Decamerone.

In some stories the happy union of a man and his wife is depicted: a just-married husband has been compelled to go to war, and he misses his wife and is duly sent back home to her (p. 196-198); a man can not

⁵ See e.g. James A. Bellamy, “Sex and Society in Islamic Popular Literature”, p. 30-34, in Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot (ed.), *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam*, Sixth Giorgio Levi della Vida Biennial Conference, 1979, p. 23-42.

⁶ See “Sa‘dī – a Misogynist?” by the present writer in *Studia Orientalia* 64, 1988, p. 169-175.

travel because he can not bear to be separated from his wife (p. 30-31). In these anecdotes the aspect of *šawq* is emphasized, and they come near to 'udrite stories as the husband takes the role of lover not able to meet his beloved.

The figure of 'beloved' belongs mainly to 'udrite stories, in most of which both the lover and the beloved are abstinent and faithful to each other. The faithfulness vs. infidelity themes are by and large the same as with wives. The general atmosphere of anecdotes dealing with the relationship of lover and beloved, if we exclude the 'udrite stories, is that of lighthearted flirt – stories centring mainly upon Abū Nuwās, 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a and al-Farazdaq. The masochistic theme of *la belle dame sans merci* is not customary in the *Ahbār*.

The roles of slave-girls in these anecdotes range from romantic beloved to singing girl and prostitute in urban settings, but they normally play an extremely passive role, except when they help a lover and his beloved to meet. One figure worth mentioning is the slave-girl who loves in 'udrite style her previous master who either has died or has been forced to sell her (e.g. p. 137-138).

Old women are introduced mainly as *qawwādas*, matchmakers or 'madames', and they are normally seen in unfavourable light, whereas in e.g. the works of Sa'dī they are normally more or less agreeable figures⁷. In one anecdote the old age of the wife is explicitly stated to be the cause of divorce (p. 11). In another the religiosity of an old woman is the cause which prevents a bedouin from seeing his host's wife and committing *zinā* (p. 176); though from an Islamic point of view this is naturally a good thing, I am not by any means sure that the woman's behaviour is not to be seen here as irritating scrupulousness, since the general atmosphere of this anecdote is that of light-hearted love-making.

⁷ See M. Southgate, "Men, Women, and Boys: Love and Sex in the works of Sa'dī", *Iranian Studies* 17 (1984), p. 413-452, especially p. 423.

Other female figures in the *Aḥbār* include poetess, who normally is at the same time the beloved, the 'Mysterious Knight'⁸ of the prose romances (only once, p. 199-204), and grown-up daughter, whose chastity and virginity, just as in real life, is a constant cause of worry to her father. From the stock figures of *Alflayla* the sorceress is, of course, totally absent, as are other magical elements. Mothers and children, boys as well as girls, are also missing.

If we turn for a while from the figures to the settings of the anecdotes, before taking up the question of the book's attitude towards women, we see that the range of these settings is very limited, and they are usually neither specified nor described in any detail even in the short stories. The only exception to this in the *Aḥbār* is the short story about Abū Nuwās (p. 158-165), which begins with an elaborate *saġ'*-description, which, if not specifying the place, at least describes it, though in an uninformative way. The scene of most of the anecdotes is not even hinted at. If it is mentioned, it is either desert, as in most romantic anecdotes, or city, and there e.g. the palace of the caliph, a private house, or a house of the *qayna*'s.

The attitude towards women in the anecdotes varies from the favourable one in the 'udrite stories to outright misogyny. The most misogynous element in the *Aḥbār* is not provided by the anecdotes themselves, but by the proverbs, maxims, gnomic verses and gnomic *ḥadīṡs*, where women are often described as lascivious, disobedient and prone to infidelity if not mischievous in general. To take but a few random examples of this kind of material:

maxim: *lam tunḥa qattu mra'atun 'an šay'in illā fa'alathu* (p. 11)

advice, attributed to 'Umar: *ista'īdū bi-llāhi min širāri n-nisā'i wa-kūnū min ḥiyāribinna 'alā ḥadar* (p. 144)

gnomic verse: *inna n-nisā'a matā yunḥayna 'an ḥuluqin / fa-innabu wāqi'un lā budda mafūlū* (p. 11)

⁸ Cf. Fr. Rosenthal, "Sources for the Role of Sex in Medieval Muslim Society", p. 13-14, in al-Sayyid-Marsot (ed.), *Society*, p. 3-22.

gnomic verse: *lā ta'mani l-'untā ḥabatka bi-wuddihā / inna n-nisā'a
widādubunna muqassamū // al-yawma 'indaka dalluhā wa-
ḥadītuhā / wa-gadan li-ḡayrika kaffuhā wa-l-mi'ṣamū* (p. 11)

*ḥadīt: inna l-mar'ata ḥuliqat min dil'in 'awḡā'a fa-in dāhabta
tuqawwimuhā kasartahā fa-stamti' bihā 'alā 'irwāḡin fihā* (p. 144;
though here the end mitigates the misogynous tenor of the
ḥadīt)

ḥadīt: šāwirūhunna wa-ḥālifūhunna fa-inna fī ḥilāfihinna l-baraka
(p. 145)⁹.

This last-mentioned *ḥadīt* which forbids men to ask advice from women is an especially favoured theme in Arabian, Persian and Indian literary traditions.

In the *Aḥbār* one chapter, *Mā yudkaru min ḡadri n-nisā'* (p. 144-167), contains many statements and anecdotes of this kind, but as it has already been noted, several concentrate on the fidelity of widows and accordingly are less misogynous. It has also been already mentioned that old women are mainly seen in an unfavourable light.

To counterweight these misogynous elements, there are several anecdotes where women are sympathetic figures. This is true, first of all, in the romantic anecdotes, but also in other anecdotes. One feature in a few cases attributed to women in the anecdotes as well as in prose romances and even in the *Būstān* of Sa'dī¹⁰ is religiosity, though we have of course anecdotes and maxims with just the opposite attitude. This feature is now and then mentioned, but it is only once elaborated, namely in a much quoted anecdote, where a bedouin girl advises a man

⁹ 'Never has a woman been prohibited to do something, but that she has done it'; 'Take refuge with God from bad women, and be on guard against good women'; 'When women are prohibited from something, /it no doubt will happen'; 'Do not rely from something, / on a woman who gives to you her love, / because women's love is divided (to several men); // today she coquettes and chats to you, / but tomorrow her palms and wrists belong to somebody else'; 'Women are created from a crooked rib, and if you try to make them straight, you will break them, so enjoy them though they are crooked'; 'Ask the advice of women, and then act contrary to it, for therein lies blessing'.

¹⁰ See my remarks in *Studia Orientalia* 64, cited above in note 6.

who is searching for his lost camels to ask God about their whereabouts, because it is He who has given him the camels in the first place, and it is He who has taken them from him (p. 125-126).

As has already been noted women are mostly in passive and secondary roles in the *Aḥbār*, and far from the active and cunning wives or women of *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, *Decamerone* and other European or Indo-Persian tales, as well as from the women of *Alf layla*. If, for example, we exclude the *ʿudrite* stories and sporadic verses in other anecdotes, we are left with few quotations of women's direct speech; women don't speak, they are spoken of.

From a purely impressionistic point of view it can be said that the stories where women have active roles – e.g. the Abū Nuwās short story (p. 158-165); the story, similar to the 18th story of *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (p.98-101), of how a married woman meets her lover whose friend meanwhile takes her place in disguise (p. 188-190); and the above cited stories of the wife extolling the merits of scorpions (p.121-122), and the wife of Baššār disguising herself as a prostitute (p. 180) – are more amusing and nearer to European literary taste.

Explicit statements about the character of women are not frequent in the *Aḥbār*; except for the above mentioned statement of them being less inclined to jealousy, and some misogynous maxims, we only find one or two passages (p. 95-96, 96-98) stating that women are innately faithless and easily seduced due to the weakness of their nature. In the anecdotes the mere seeing of other men is described as a temptation in face of which women usually yield: the importance of seeing as a cause of infidelity is emphasized by the compiler of the *Aḥbār*, who cites similar and even literally same anecdotes one after another, e.g. the anecdote of veiling woman's eyes instead of her face is quoted twice¹¹.

As we have seen, the anecdotes deal with types rather than with individuals, although the characters of the anecdotes are fairly often given the names of historical persons; here historical persons have

¹¹ See e.g. p. 93, 175, and cf. p. 94 *et passim*.

become representatives par excellence of this or that type, so that new anecdotes may freely be coined around these persons.

In each anecdote of the *Abbār* only one type of women is outlined, though often each anecdote may give the impression that *all* women belong to the particular type the anecdote is describing. Due to the piecemeal character of anecdotal literature contradictory statements can thus be found side by side.

In individual anecdotes the female characters are extremely flat, one-sided and over-simplified, as one anecdote exemplifies only one facet of one character, but when the anecdotes are considered as a whole, the characters begin to merge into more rounded, archetypal figures.

PROBLEMS OF AUTHORSHIP IN CLASSICAL ARABIC LITERATURE

A. B. Khalidov

Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg

Researches into the classical Arabic literature are inevitably connected with comprehension and identification of great number of authors. Till now Arabistic does not dispose of an exhaustive or nearly full index of authors notwithstanding efforts enterprised: the situation hardly having analogues in studies of the history of any other literature. Difficulty of embracing of all those, who wrote in Arabic consists in the fact that cataloguing of the manuscripts is still off the end, and that it is not always possible to ascertain the name of an author after a manuscript. But even the success in cataloguing of Arabic manuscripts all through the world will bring only a possibility to take down a list of title-page authors of the books which reached us. Besides that, more detailed study of texts reveal names of unknown authors.

In endeavours to understand and explain the greatness of numbers of Arab authors it does not suffice to remind the length of literary history on the vast territory, where Islam and the Arabic language were spread, the intensity of its development in certain periods, the prevalence of author's works over anonymous. The most essential circumstance consists obviously in the fact that the conditions of functioning of literature, ideology and sciences in the medieval Muslim society favoured the multiplicity of their agents, who endeavoured ambitiously to reserve their names for the progeny. It is to be taken into account at least the following: an aiming at possession of the knowledge was one of the most important value orientations in the system of Arab-Islamic culture¹; the sphere of literary activities enjoyed maximum of en-

¹ F. Rosenthal. *Knowledge triumphant. The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*. Leiden 1970. In Russian: Moscow: Nauka, 1978.

couragement and special preferences, compensating to some degree the restrained and weak development of fine arts; joining to the literary and scholarly activities was in practice a significant form of social stratification; there did not exist any legitimate formal restriction (of race or cast for example) on acquiring of knowledge, this rested on its turn upon the notion of equality of believers, the unity of Islamic community deprived of distinctions between laymen and clergy.

There was not elaborated in Arabic literature a generalizing term for designation of author as a person, who creates verbal works. An authorship or a literary propriety in most general form was expressed by usual linguistic means for designation of belonging – *status constructus*, or preposition *li-*, or rarely the word *ṣāhib* (of). Besides there exists a fairly developed nomenclature for designation of the literary work and workers, derived from the roots denoting “to say”, “to write”, “to gather”, “to compile”, “to comment”, “to possess” and others. But relations binding the names with texts, complete or fragmental, are not the same in reality, of no equal value.

Most characteristic for the Arabic literature in its early stage are works of twofold – may be permitted to say – authorship. Before being fixed in script the verbal works were current in oral sphere during some longer or shorter period and were transmitted in lifetime of generations again and again. It is important that an act of making and promulgating of certain work is separated in time and space from its fixation, irrespective of its belonging to folklore or to an author, and of its being preserved as unchangeable text or differently retold. Genuine creators, authors in true sense of the word, did not write their works. In majority they were illiterate but frequently having firm consciousness of being the author. Thanks to the writing down they entered into the Arabic literature as authors of some verses, speeches, tales, sayings, aphorisms, jokes, witty replies: they were cited and perceived as authors. Unfortunately one cannot always be sure of the truth of such authorship – names were forgotten and substituted unintentionally or deliberately for others, even for legendary ones.

Through a phase of oral transmission had gone many works of early Islamic period too. An appreciable space of time separates the pronouncing of *āyas* and *sūras* of al-Qur'ān from transformation of them into written *mushaf*, or *al-Kitāb*.

The writing philologist (or logographer - after R. Blachère) was not an initiator of verbal work. His efforts consisted of gathering, selection and arrangement of what was by somebody uttered, expressed in word, composed. He was just transferring a verbal work from oral sphere into written one, recording that, which was fixed in a system of sounding signs into a system of written signs. In the context of the cultural history the services rendered by a logographer are of high esteem and he may be recognized as second author: with him begins the written work, even when the text one hundred per cent belonged to other person. It was of his competence and mastering of two systems of signs that depended the stock and quality of texts, not to mention of his preserving the names of ancient authors. He fixed at times data on circumstances of composition, explained difficult words and phrases. Twofold authorship is inherent in the other large layer of early Arabic literature, the translated one. We may consider the translator as co-author of an Arabic version of the work. Translations introduced into Arabic literature a fair amount of foreign authors and names of those, whose dicta or opinions were cited in their works. At all probability foreign authors of this kind penetrated as well into Arabic books by medium of oral translations and retellings, which were afterwards written down.

The "logographical" method is not confined to the beginnings of Arabic literature, but remained productive in later periods. For instance, poets rarely made their verses putting them down immediately; *dīwāns* of poets were mostly cared for by educated philologists and admirers of poetry. Oral poetry was feeding the written Arabic literature during all historical periods. Beside poetry were written down speeches of politicians and religious authorities, table-talks of aristocracy, utterances of ascetics and *ṣūfīs*, eye-witness accounts, memoirs of participants of historical events. Such materials were often subjected to literary treatment and emendation.

The writing author emerges in Arabic literature probably in 2nd/8th century and naturally becomes the central figure in it. With growing in scope of the forming literature, and reducing of translation and fixing of oral materials, there begins to play an essential role in author's work, progressing in time, the reproduction, remaking and exposition of the texts extant and of the facts, notions, images, forms, which are included in them. Every new work becomes further a small item which is added to a great whole, continuing to absorb later supplements.

Under these conditions obtained wide recognition the method of compilation: an author painstakingly draws from former books what he considers necessary or suitable, and inserts it into his work. Not infrequently his own contribution comes to simple rearranging of ready literary materials, different grouping or systematization of them.

Popularity was gained by the method of making new books by commenting on existing works. Originals of what was translated into Arabic partly consisted of commentaries. And when the oral lore was written down some explanations to them were added here and there. With commentaries was supplied a wide range of works – poetical, theological, scientific. And the same work might be commented on many times and repeatedly.

Favourable attitude to imitative and compilative methods in literary work opened facile and easy ways to the authorship to abundant productivity of diligent erudite.

Traditionalism was dominating in the medieval Arabic literature, science and social thought. But the problem of literary propriety and genuine authorship was of vital importance, however it may seem paradoxical. Frequently we meet accusations in plagiarism, but they concern mainly the poetry, which was most sensitive to what is personal, original, individual in an author. Theoretical discussion of the matter restricted to the field of poetry too; in 3rd/9th – 5th/11th centuries was displayed a particular activity in creating treatises on poetics. There was discussed a difference between imitation and theft (*sariqa*), attempts were made to ascertain the verge beyond which using of traditional motive

turned into simple borrowing, discernible or concealed, into misappropriating of somebody else's "invention" (*ihtirā*).

In the field of Arabistic the first to pay attention to the theory of *sariqa* was G. Grunebaum², who had given an account of it after the work of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 1010). Arabic treatises on poetics were investigated afterwards more thoroughly and appraised more precisely in works of Iḥsān ʿAbbās³ and A. B. Kudelin⁴.

Meanwhile not only the philologists who wrote special treatises were interested in the problems of authorship. On pages of numerous and various medieval Arabic books, especially those of prefaces and introductions, are to be found reasonings about author's individual contribution, achievements or misgivings of the predecessors, originality or imitation, competition as an impetus to the author's efforts, scientific or literary plan of composition, true or false right to be recognized as an author⁵. Of course, such materials did not pass the attention of scholars, were used and investigated by them in catalogues of manuscripts and in works on the history of literature. But the results achieved are scattered and need summarising and classification.

There is a set of problems concerning Arabic authors, partly very specific, partly common with other medieval literatures. It appears that to discuss them on a theoretical level and to elucidate is necessary for specialists as well as for representatives of continuous fields. They may also serve as stimuli to comparative studies in medieval literatures.

² G. E. von Grunebaum, "The concept of plagiarism in Arabic theory". *JNES*, III (1944), 234-253. In Russian: Moscow: Nauka, 1981.

³ Iḥsān ʿAbbās. *Ta'riḥ an-naqd al-adabī ʿinda l-ʿarab*. Beirut 1971.

⁴ A. B. Kudelin, *Srednevekovaya arabskaya poetika*. Moscow: Nauka, 1983, esp. pp. 100-123.

⁵ Some examples in: A. B. Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaya rukopisnaya traditsiya*. Moscow: Nauka, 1985, chapter 3. On the conception of *sabq* in the lexicographical tradition: Idem. *Slovari Iḥṣāq al-Fārābī i Maḥmūda al-Kāṣḡarī*. Moscow: Nauka, 1987.

EGYPTIAN FICTION AND ARABIC LITERARY TRADITION*

Hilary Kilpatrick

Lausanne

It is a truth generally acknowledged that the modern Arabic prose genres, novel, novella and short story, were borrowed from European literature. To support this view scholars have been able to establish affiliations between works of fiction in Arabic and European models, models which the authors concerned have sometimes explicitly mentioned as influencing them. A dissenting view, however, is put forward by a few Arab critics who maintain that earlier Arabic literature also contains novels, and that the real origins of modern Arabic fiction are to be found in the élite and popular literary heritage.¹

I do not believe that this dissenting view is tenable, if only because it ignores both the characteristics of what is understood to be a novel and the statements of so many writers about what has influenced them. But it has the merit of pointing to a one-sidedness in the study of Arabic fiction written before the mid-sixties, namely the implicit assumption that early Arab novelists and short story writers should have broken completely with their own literary traditions.

In this paper I shall look at the relationship between the indigenous literary heritage and Egyptian fiction. I have limited myself to Egypt because its literature is the one I know best. I hesitate to generalise from Egyptian literature to that of the Arab world at large, given that developments in different Arab countries do not follow an exactly

* I would like to thank Dr. A. Khairallah and Dr. U. Marzolph for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ An example of this argument can be found in: Fathī Salāma, *Tatawwur al-fikr al-iḡtimā'ī fī r-riwāya al-'arabiyya*, Cairo 1980, pp. 21-47, where the ambiguity of the term "riwāya" is exploited. Cf. the discussion in: Roger Allen, *The Arabic Novel. An historical and critical introduction*, Manchester 1982, pp. 15-18.

parallel course; my remarks may be valid for fiction in other parts of the Arab world, but only detailed studies can show if this is the case.

When speaking of the Arabic literary tradition I mean the language itself and the inherited body of forms, conventions, themes and devices available to a writer using the language. The issue is complicated here in two respects. First, there are in fact two traditions, one élite and literary in the strict sense, i.e. produced in a literate culture, for literates, and the other an oral folk tradition.² The élite tradition of literature has been studied far more intensively than the oral tradition, and it may well be that I have underestimated the importance of the oral tradition because of my own ignorance of it. In the second place, literary tradition is not static, but is continuously being added to by each new generation of writers. It is now possible to discern an indigenous Egyptian tradition in fiction, with a history of some hundred years behind it, and I have therefore devoted the second part of this paper to this recent phenomenon and its relation to specific novels.

Although it would be fruitful to consider earlier Egyptian novels in the light of the Arabic literary tradition, for reasons of space I start with *Zaynab* (1913). This novel has rightly been regarded as dealing with crucial issues of contemporary Egyptian culture and society, and its author's debt to French and English literature, and especially to Rousseau's novels, has already been noted. Yet I believe that it also reveals a twofold debt to the Arabic heritage. In the first place, the meetings between the landowner's son Hämüd, who is the hero, and his cousin 'Azīza, whom he played with as a child and believes he is in love with, take the reader back a thousand years to the world of courtly *gāzal*, as we know it from 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf's poetry. This is the world of the *raqīb*, the vigilant watcher, of secrets which even a glance could betray, of the torment of being in the beloved's presence yet

² Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word*, London and New York repr. 1985, pp. 10-15. But in the absence of English equivalents for the terms "Dichtung" and "Wortkunst", which are free from associations with writing, it seems impossible entirely to dispense with the expression "oral literature".

unable to speak to her, of the *ḥayāl*, the beloved's image which visits the lover at night.³ Given that the conventions which govern the relation between Ḥāmid and his cousin have not moved with the times it is appropriate that Haykal should have drawn on an age-old literary register in this part of his novel.

Haykal's second debt to the literary heritage is in the area of plot. It has recently been established that Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Émile* exerted a marked influence on the writing of *Zaynab*,⁴ but as far as *Zaynab* the *fallāḥa*'s plot is concerned the efforts to establish a derivation from Rousseau overlook some basic differences. The real parallel *Zaynab*'s plot offers is to the traditional Arabic stories of 'Uḍrī lovers, slightly altered in detail to fit into Egyptian village life. *Zaynab*, the peasant girl, has fallen in love with Ibrāhīm, the overseer, but she is married off to another man, the wealthy farmer's son Ḥasan. *Zaynab* and Ibrāhīm continue to see each other, but their relationship remains unshakeably chaste. *Zaynab* is torn between her love and her duty, and when Ibrāhīm is called up for military service she goes into a decline and dies. The modification which Haykal has introduced here is to tell an 'Uḍrī plot with an eye to the heroine's experiences rather than the hero's, but it is still an 'Uḍrī plot, as is indicated by the almost asexual⁵ nature of the couple's love. Called upon to weave a plot round a *fallāḥa*, Haykal not surprisingly turned to the Arabic heritage. And interestingly the combination of traditional and modern plots which *Zaynab* offers has been identified as a hallmark of a period of literary transition.⁶

³ Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, *Zaynab*, repr. Cairo 1963, pp. 99-101, 191, 194.

⁴ Ali B. Jad, *Form and Technique in the Egyptian novel 1912-1971*, London 1983, pp. 58-63.

⁵ The term is Jad's, *op. cit.* p. 60.

⁶ René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 3rd ed., repr. Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1973, p. 217.

Another example of recourse to the classical Arabic tradition is, I believe, to be found in al-Māzinī's *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931). Here it is a matter of a probably unconscious attitude. The three love affairs in which the main character, Ibrāhīm, becomes involved all end with him breaking off the relationship, or else with the girl breaking it off in a way which proves her unworthiness of him. To the reader expecting a modicum of psychological realism this cannot but appear unconvincing, and he will probably be left with the final unsatisfactory impression of a book in which the author, who is in this case his hero's *alter ego*, is seeking to make up for his disappointments in real life by projecting a series of self-gratifying scenes of success with women. But supposing al-Māzinī's attitude were akin to that of the classical poet out to glorify his own achievements and vaunt his prowess? In other words, should this book not be regarded as, amongst other things, a unique example of a novel of *fahṛ*?

As well as these few examples of borrowings in plot, motifs and attitude there are numerous cases of stylistic echoes, sometimes even including rhymed prose, in early Egyptian novels and short stories. In this pioneer period the recourse to the élite literary heritage may well have been an unconscious reflex on the part of writers whose early reading must to a considerable extent have consisted of classical Arabic texts.⁷

The conscious exploitation of the Arabic heritage in the writing of novels or short stories (apart from historical novels) seems to start with that independent and original artist, Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī. Ḥaqqī appreciated the value of the oral tradition and realised its possibilities for enriching the developing genre of Egyptian fiction. In his story *Qissa fī s-siġn* (1931), in which a young peasant falls passionately in love with a gypsy

⁷ The Taymūr brothers and Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī grew up in families with a love of classical Arabic literature. Al-Māzinī studied at Dār al-ʿUlūm, where teachers of Arabic for state schools were trained. Ḥaqqī's contemporary, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, however, whose family had no particular literary interests, preferred to read adventure stories as a boy. (Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, *Siġn al-ʿumr*, Cairo n.d., p. 106) In this he resembles later writers such as Maḥfūz.

girl, only to discover that his conventional nature and her lawlessness are incompatible, it is a verse of a *mawwāl* which puts the girl's dissatisfaction into words and sparks off her flight back to her people, and another *mawwāl*, quoted by a listener, which concludes the story.⁸ A later story, *Umm al-ʿawāğiz* (1947), is more essentially indebted to the oral tradition, since its mode of narration apparently reflects that of the story-teller. This story starts with a first-person narrator invoking God and then explaining what his story will be about.⁹ The narrator frequently uses emotive expressions and dramatises important moments in the story, and he goes so far as to relate scenes which he could not possibly have witnessed in his role as a minor actor or been told of by any other character. His presence and his attitude are pervasive; the reader is confronted here with a narrative situation very different from that usually to be found in contemporary Western literature. It is not unreasonable to assume that Ḥaqqī is employing throughout the story the conventions of the oral narrator which explicitly set the tone at the beginning; until more research is done into narrative techniques in the oral tradition this must, however, remain a hypothesis.

Yūsuf Idrīs, an author of the next generation, admits an explicit debt to the Egyptian oral narrative, both the story proper, the *ḥaddūta*, and the joke; the *nukta*, and in his early stories and his novel *al-Ḥarām* their influence can sometimes be felt in choice of theme and technique.¹⁰ But it is his contemporary ʿAbdarrahmān aš-Šarqāwī whose novel *al-Ard* (1954) exhibits the greatest concentration of features

⁸ Yahyā Ḥaqqī, *Dimā' wa-tīn (Mu'allafāt Yahyā Ḥaqqī: al-qiṣaṣ 3)*, Cairo 1979, pp. 93, 99.

⁹ Idem, *Umm al-ʿawāğiz (Mu'allafāt Yahyā Ḥaqqī: al-qiṣaṣ 4)*, Cairo 1984, 6. Cf. the examples of openings of oral narrative performances in: Bridget Connelly, *Arab Folk Epic and Identity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1986, pp. 88-101.

¹⁰ In interviews and lectures he has repeatedly spoken of his efforts to create an authentically Egyptian variety of fiction (and drama). How difficult it can be to discover exactly what he means by this is discussed in: Albert Jan van Hoek, *al-ḥarām: Drie Verkenningen*, unpublished *doctoraal-scriptie* (= M.A. thesis), Nijmegen 1988, pp. 83-84.

associated with oral tradition. Instability of the text,¹¹ concentration on external events with a high proportion of conflictual situations,¹² episodic structure,¹³ repetitions: all these characteristics of oral narratives are to be found in this novel, which has generally attracted unfavourable critical comment for weaknesses of plot and inconsistencies of characterisation as well as for its ideological *parti pris*. This last certainly detracts from the effect of the work, but the other offences against the canons of novel-writing are by no means faults in a context of oral narrative. The fact that *al-Ard* achieved an immediate and immense popularity¹⁴ may have been due not only to its theme, the peasants' struggle against injustice, its celebration of Egyptian village life and its faithful rendering of the colourful and violent idiom of the fellahin but also to its manifold links with the folk epic tradition.

From the 1950's on the Egyptian tradition of oral narrative is one of the recognised sources available to short story writers and novelists. In Yahyā at-Tāhir 'Abdallāh's novel *at-Tawq wa-l-aswira* (1975), a far more sophisticated book than *al-Ard*, the loss of Palestine and establishment of the state of Israel are presented in fairy-tale form with stock characters, while the Upper Egyptian village in which most of the action is set is frequently visited by miraculous happenings. Certain stylistic traits, such as the repetition of formulaic phrases to mark the passage of time, are clearly borrowed from oral tradition.

¹¹ Between the first (1954) and third (1968) "editions" (*ṭab'a*) *al-Ard* has evidently undergone a thoroughgoing stylistic revision, and one of its chapters has been divided to two. There is nothing in the third edition to indicate that it differs from the first one, and is thus more than a simple reprint, and a comparison of all the impressions would be needed to show how many versions of the text are extant. In such cases the ambiguity of the term *ṭab'a* ("impression", "reprint", "edition") becomes evident.

¹² Ong, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144. Cf. the example in Connelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79.

¹⁴ It was reprinted the year of its appearance in book form (Naguib Baladī in *MIDEO*, 2 (1955), p. 307) and also frequently in subsequent years (V. N. Kirpichenko, *Sovremennaya egipetskaya proza 60-70e gody*, Moscow 1986, p. 58). What the publisher (or perhaps the author) meant by "*at-ṭab'a at-ṭalita*: 1968" is not certain. See note (11) above.

The classical literary tradition took longer to prove itself as a source of inspiration for modern fiction. The first writer to appreciate its potential was, I believe, Ġamāl al-Ġiṭānī, whose collection of short stories, *Awrāq šabb 'ās mundu alf 'amm* (1969), immediately attracted attention for treating issues of political oppression and brutality in periods apparently remote from the present. Two of the stories are set in late Mamlouk Cairo and borrow the style of Ibn Iyās, while one of them includes a quotation from the lexicographer Ibn Sīda on the roots ḥā', bā', sīn and sīn, ġīm, nūn to illustrate the divorce, in a sadistic prison governor's mind, between words and what they signify.¹⁵

Al-Ġiṭānī's resort to the past here and in his novel *az-Zaynī Barakāt* (1974) has been more than a ploy to avoid censorship; it enables the reader to distance himself from the present situation and consider it in a different perspective, while the drawing of parallels between the later years of Nasser's regime and the end of the Mamlouk period adds a further dimension to his interpretation of Egypt's current predicament. Furthermore the Mamlouk setting puts at the author's disposal a number of different styles: the formal, measured and authoritative wording used in the Sultan's proclamations, the concise, rhythmic, formulaic announcements of the street criers, the smooth expository prose of technical reports, the more abrupt, nervous narrating of events and the characters' reflections on them. Although al-Ġiṭānī owes a debt to Ibn Iyās and al-Maqrīzī, he has modified the style of these mediaeval historians to enable it to reflect the inner world of individuals, a typical preoccupation of the modern writer; likewise, he exploits the different levels of diction available to him to point up the contrasts between those in authority and the private citizen, the state apparatus and the isolated individual.

Al-Ġiṭānī has not been the only writer to draw on the classical heritage in recent years. An example of a different kind of borrowing is provided by Ibrāhīm Aṣlān's novel *Mālik al-ḥazīn* (1983), the title of which alludes to a character in one of the fables sometimes included in

¹⁵ Ġamāl al-Ġiṭānī, *Awrāq šabb 'ās mundu alf 'amm*, 3rd. ed., Cairo n.d., p. 92.

Kalīla wa-Dimna.¹⁶ The heron in the fable can warn others of danger but is powerless to escape when it threatens himself, and the allusion to this fabulous bird underlines the tragic situation of the central figure, Yūsuf an-Nağğār, a passive character who realises full well that his world and that of his friends is collapsing but cannot do anything to prevent it.

It is also worth noting that one development in the modern novel, the custom of incorporating into the narrative different kinds of texts which is exemplified in *az-Zaynī Barakāt*, brings the genre closer to mediaeval Arabic *adab*, where works are so often constructed out of a variety of texts from a variety of provenances. For the Arab novelist to be modern, at least in this respect, means to follow tradition.

Egyptian writers today do not only look for inspiration in models from abroad, their own oral folk tradition or the classical literary heritage. They are also influenced by their immediate predecessors, as they often indicate in general terms, though they seldom point to specific works.¹⁷ The Egyptian novel of literary merit, if it is dated from the publication of *Zaynab*, has been with us for the last three-quarters of a century, and that is a period long enough for certain themes, certain types of interest, certain settings to have emerged as characteristic for this particular branch of the world-wide phenomenon of the 20th century novel. It is now possible, therefore, to study Egyptian novels not only in isolation, in relation to Western examples of the genre and in relation to the Arabic literary and oral heritage but also to look at them within what can now be called the local Egyptian tradition.

¹⁶ The fable in question, *al-Ḥamāma wa-t-ta'lab wa-mālik al-ḥazīn*, is not in the edition of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām, but André Miquel included it in the appendix to his translation, *Le livre de Kalīla et Dimna*, Paris 1957, pp. 309-310.

¹⁷ It would be well worth trying to establish which novels of, for instance, Nağīb Maḥfūz have played an important part in the formation of subsequent generations of novelists, or whether the novels of a writer more famous for his works in another genre, such as Yūsuf Idrīs, have had any influence on them.

Identifying the salient features of this tradition is a task still waiting to be performed. There are, for example, recurrent types of novel. One of these is what I will refer to as the "street novel"; centred on a street or neighbourhood, it usually has a central character but also includes several prominent subsidiary characters who have their own plots. Unity of place is an important element in the structuring of such works, in which the characters' concerns and activities may vary widely. The interplay between the characters, who are relatives or neighbours of each other, ensures that these novels are full of drama, while the interest they reflect in social intercourse clearly relates to the nature of Egyptian society with its communal inclinations. The forerunner of this type is Tawfiq al-Hakim's *'Awdat ar-rūh* (1933). Generally regarded as a celebration of Egyptian nationalism, although this theme takes up very little space in the book, it also has elements of the *Bildungsroman*. But much of its attraction is due to the gently humorous depiction of life in a lower middle-class household, three members of which fall in love with the attractive daughter of the neighbours across the street while a fourth, the spinster housekeeper, pines for the personable bachelor in the flat above.

The street proper makes its appearance with Maḥfūz's *Zuqāq al-midaqq* (1947)¹⁸ the first depiction of a neighbourhood community with its varied, even grotesque, types, its social centre, the café, even its resident moral authority. With all its violence and frustrations the alley is depicted as a safe and predictable world, in contrast to the economic and moral chaos of wartime Cairo. Ṣāliḥ Mursī's *Zuqāq as-Sayyid al-Bulṭi* (1963), whose title echoes that of Maḥfūz's novel, widens the scope of the street novel. It is set in an Alexandrian fishing community, which lives in an alley named after the founder of the original family, who has achieved mythical status. The main interest here is less in the details of

¹⁸ As Fāṭima Mūsā observes, (*Fī r-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya al-muʿāšira*, Cairo 1972, p. 68) *Ḥan al-Ḥalīlī* can be regarded as a sketch for *Zuqāq al-midaqq* in some respects. But the focus of interest in the earlier novel is on one family, and the street mainly provides a colourful decor.

social interaction than in the community's struggle to preserve its way of life, threatened by modern large-scale fishing methods, and its need to free itself from the weight of the myth of the founding father which paralyses individual initiative.

The street novel takes a further trip with Maḥmūd Diyāb's *Aḥzān madīna* (1971), which relates in the first person a boy's growing up in the Arab quarter of Ismailiya in the period before and during the second World War. Despite the nostalgic evocation of the city, at the time of the novel's publication destroyed by bombardment during and after 1967, this novel is much less successful than its predecessors, chiefly because the street's inhabitants, who are always described from a young boy's perspective, are normal, reasonably happy families who do not start to quarrel until towards the end of the book. The single point of view, the lack of differentiation of characters and the harmonious atmosphere are major blunders in this type of novel.

With Ḡamāl al-Ġīṭānī's *Waqā'ī ḥārat az-Zaḥarānī* (1976) it is again an alley in Old Cairo which is the setting. Despite its debt to *Zuqāq al-midaqq* al-Ġīṭānī's is a greater novel. This is partly thanks to the author's sophisticated use of interior monologue and changing point of view, and his richer style. It is also due to his humane vision; none of the inhabitants of the alley of any significance are simply presented from the outside as grotesque, but the reader is enabled to share in their inner world. The only character whose thoughts remain a closed book is the sinister shaykh who sets out to exploit the epidemic of impotence among the alley's menfolk in order to establish his domination over everyone. And the interaction between the alley's inhabitants is splendidly intense, even culminating in epic quarrels between some of the women. But this celebration of the variety of human existence in a confined space is also a study of how, through the manipulations of people's fears and the exploitation of their weaknesses, an unscrupulous individual can isolate them from one another and reduce them to obedient pawns.

A more recent example of the street novel is Ibrāhīm Aṣṣalān's *Mālik al-ḥazīn*, mentioned above, which traces the last day in the life of

‘Awadallāh’s café, centre of the streets round the Kit-Kat square in Embāba. Although its concentrated form does not allow for the same detailed evocation of the quarter as in al-Ġītānī’s work, this book comes alive through the consciousness of a few key characters and the assumption, underlying the writing, that the reader is no stranger to Embāba and so it is not necessary to explain everything to him; he is told just enough to make him feel one of the crowd. The closure of the café in this book and its supplanting by a butcher’s shop represent the perhaps only temporary dislocation of a community whose roots go back several generations, the destruction of a dense tissue of human relationships and the victory of a ruthless, killing materialism.

In all these novels the street or neighbourhood can be seen as a microcosm of Egyptian society, even when on another level it represents a part of society leading a life at variance with that adopted by the community at large. This restricted setting is an ideal laboratory for the examination of issues of contemporary Egyptian culture, issues which change according to historical developments and the perceptions of the individual writers. At the same time these novels bear witness to their authors’ interest, even delight, in observing man as a social animal with all his oddities, his virtues and failings.

Just as it can be helpful to look at *Waqā’iḥ ḥārat az-Zāfarānī* as a representative of a particular type, the street novel, so the achievement of a writer such as ‘Abdalḥakīm Qāsim can be better understood when his work is discussed within the framework of the Egyptian novelistic tradition. *Ayyām al-insān al-sab’a* (1969), his contribution to that type of *Bildungsroman* in which the hero, as he grows up, moves from the countryside to the city, is a distant descendant of *Zaynab* and, thanks to the course the hero’s intellectual development takes, has some affiliations with Maḥfūz’s Trilogy; it shares a consciousness of the peasants’ poverty and harsh life with aš-Šarqāwī’s *al-Ard*. But thanks to his poetic style and above all to his ability to make the narrative point of view keep pace with and reflect the hero’s psychological and intellectual development Qāsim has produced a novel which is the classic statement of the country-born Egyptian’s growing away from his

roots in a society built on religious certitudes, into the city and the modern world of metaphysical doubt.

Muḥāwala li-l-ḥurūġ (1980) reinterprets the well-worn motif of the love-affair between an Egyptian and a European woman,¹⁹ for not only is the heroine Swiss, and thus free from the stereotypes of the former colonisers, but the meeting takes place on Egyptian soil. As the hero shows her round Cairo and takes her to his village his feelings towards her develop from simple physical attraction, the intensity of which is partly due to the sexual frustration commonly experienced by young Egyptians, to a profound attachment both emotional and intellectual. At the same time he gains progressively more insight into his own society, as he learns to see what has always been familiar with an outsider's eyes. Yet despite the revelation of the deprivation in which so many Egyptians including himself live, he cannot in the end bring himself to abandon his country and accompany Elsbeth to Europe. It is evident that Qāsim is here proposing a radically new treatment of the relationship between Egypt and Europe, a treatment dictated more by his consciousness of the actual predicament of his fellow-countrymen in all its dimensions than by philosophical theories of culture.

Qāsim's third novel, *Qadar al-ġuraf al-muqbiḍa* (1982), which is a highly original approach to narrating a man's life through the rooms and flats he has lived in, does include a journey to Europe. But this journey is worlds apart from those of Muḥsin al-Hakīm's *ʿUṣfūr min aš-šarq* or Ismāʿīl in Ḥaqqī's *Qindīl Umm Hāsim*.²⁰ Qāsim's hero goes to West Berlin with his family, the West Berlin of the 1970's, and what he sees is its delapidated student housing, its insolent prosperity and its xenophobia; it has more in common with the Paris of some North African writers than with the Europe which offered earlier Egyptian novelists so much cultural enrichment. It is the last station of a journey marked throughout by economic, cultural and affective deprivation, and

¹⁹ For earlier treatments of this theme see Rotraud Wielandt, *Das Bild der Europäer in der modernen arabischen Erzähl- und Theaterliteratur*, Beirut 1980, pp. 489-553.

²⁰ See the discussion of these two works in *ibid.*, pp. 314-397.

whatever mitigation of this it provides is more than offset by the bleakness of exile.

It is clear that in all three novels Qāsim is indebted to his Egyptian predecessors, but his originality lies partly in the way he reshapes the material he has borrowed. Indeed, unless his works are placed in the context of Egyptian fiction their importance cannot be thoroughly appreciated.

What I have tried to show in this paper is that the relationship between Egyptian novels and short stories and Western literature is not the only one worth taking into consideration, and that looking at a novel against the background of the oral folk tradition or the classical Arabic heritage or relating it to writing by other Egyptians may help the researcher to understand it, and Egyptian literature, better. This approach also has the advantage of proposing an alternative to the method which consists simply of identifying the European models of Egyptian novels and judging the latter essentially according to their success in imitation. Processes of literary borrowing are, after all, much too subtle, and too interesting, to be reduced to such primitive paradigms²¹.

²¹ Some of the issues treated in this paper, which was written in 1988, were being discussed around the same time in studies which came to my attention later. See, for instance, Sāsūn Sūmīḥ, "al-'Alāqāt an-naṣṣiyya fī n-nizām al-adabī al-wāḥid", *Al-Karmil* 7 (1986), pp. 109-129; Samia Mehrez, "Al-Zayni Barakāt: Narrative as Strategy", *Arab Studies Quarterly* 8 (1986), pp. 120-142; Fedwa-Malti Douglas, *Blindness and Autobiography. "Al-Ayyām" of Tāhā Husayn*, Princeton 1988, pp. 144-170. Intertextuality is now regularly addressed in research into Egyptian and other Arab fiction, although the relation between oral literature and modern works of fiction, where one cannot properly speak of intertextuality, has still hardly been investigated.

DER GESANDTSCHAFTSBERICHT DES
HASAN IBN AḤMAD AL-ḤAYMĪ
(MITTE DES 17. JAHRHUNDERTS)
TEXTANALYSE

Maria Kowalska

Jagellonische Universität, Kraków

Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī al-Kawkabānī ist 1608 in Ḥayma geboren, starb als *qādī* in der Stadt Kawkabān im Jahre 1660¹. Er war Gelehrter, Dichter und Diplomat. Der in Jemen herrschende Imām der Zayditen al-Mutawakkil ‘alā-llāh (1644-1676) sandte ihn mehrmals nach Hadramaut mit wichtigen diplomatischen Aufträgen, und 1647, gleich nach dessen Rückkehr von der dritten Wallfahrt nach Mekka, sandte er ihn zum König Abessiniens Fāsīladas (herrschte 1632-1677), der in der damaligen Hauptstadt Äthiopiens Gondar seinen Regierungssitz hatte. Diese Gesandtschaft war eine Antwort auf die zweimalige Ankunft der Gesandten von Fāsīladas in Jemen. Der erste kam 1642, zur Zeit der Herrschaft von Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh (1621-1644), der zweite 1647, zur Zeit der Herrschaft des obengenannten al-Mutawakkil. Dem König Abessiniens ging es darum, daß man an seinen Hof einen zuverlässigen Mann schickt, mit dem er geheime Unterredungen führen könnte, angeblich über die Annahme des Islams.

Im Jahre 1650, also ein Jahr und fünf Monate nach der Heimkehr al-Ḥaymīs wurde sein Reisebericht beendet. Aus den in die arabische Handschrift geschickt eingetragenen Korrekturen haben die Forscher des Werkes die Schlußfolgerung gezogen, daß es nach al-Ḥaymīs Diktat von seinem Sekretär oder Schüler geschrieben wurde. Als erster interessierte

¹ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, I-II, Weimar 1898, Berlin 1902; Supplementband I-III, Leiden 1937-1942; G II, 402, N° 7; S II, 550-551. Ignatij Kračkovskij, *Izbrannye Sočinienia*, Moskwa-Leningrad 1957, Band IV. S. 712-714.

sich für diese Handschrift der deutsche Semitist F. Praetorius², ferner F. E. Peiser³. Im 20. Jahrhundert veröffentlichten al-Ḥaymī's Werk Murād Kāmil⁴ und E. J. van Donzel⁵. F. E. Peiser schreibt im Vorwort seiner Arbeit, daß in der erhaltengebliebenen Handschrift⁶ die Titelseite fehlt, und der Originaltitel des Werkes anscheinend lautete: *Ḥadiqat an-nazar wa-bahğat al-fikar fi 'ağā'ib as-safar* "Der Garten für den Augenaufschlag, Freude für Gedanken in den Eigentümlichkeiten der Reise".

al-Ḥaymī's Werk ist ein typischer Reisebericht (*riḥla*), den man in drei Teile, den drei grundsätzlichen Reisetappen entsprechend, einteilen kann. Der erste Teil umfaßt die Hinreise, der zweite den Aufenthalt am Bestimmungsort (Gondar) und der dritte die Rückreise.

Die Hinreise

Die Abreise der Gesandtschaft aus Šahār, dem Wohnsitz des zayditischen Imāms, gelegen unweit von Šan'ā', erfolgte am 4. Juli 1647. Die Gesandtschaft bildeten: der Gesandte al-Ḥaymī, seine Berater, zehn Soldaten, zwölf Flintenträger und der nach Abessinien zurückkehrende Gesandte von Fāsīladas Sālim b. 'Abdarrahīm al-Ḥāğğ mit seinen Gefährten. Die Reise führte aus Šahār zum jemenischen Hafen Muḥā (Mokka).

² Franz Praetorius, "Ein arabisches Document zur äthiopischen Geschichte". In: ZDMG 49 (1885) S. 403-10.

³ Felix Ernst Peiser, *Der Gesandtschaftsbericht des Hasan ben Aḥmed El-Ḥaimī (sic)*. Arabischer Text, Berlin 1894; id., *Zur Geschichte Abessiniens im 17. Jahrhundert. Der Gesandtschaftsbericht des Hasan ben Aḥmed El-Ḥaimī (sic)*. Deutsche Übersetzung, Berlin 1898.

⁴ al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*. Hrsg. Murād Kāmil. Kairo 1958, 1972².

⁵ Emeri Johannes van Donzel, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia 1647-1649. Al-Ḥaymī's Sīrat al-Ḥabasha*. Newly introduced, translated and annotated. Stuttgart 1986. Manfred Kropp, *Rezension des oben erwähnten Buches*, Schwetzingen 1988.

⁶ Handschrift - MS Leiden Or 2600, 8. August 1650.

Hier hielten sich die Reisenden auf, um die mit der Abreise verbundenen Angelegenheiten zu erledigen, und verließen den Hafen erst Mitte September. Die Fahrt über das Rote Meer zum Hafen Baylül, gelegen an der östlichen Küste Afrikas, dauerte zwei Tage. In Baylül blieben sie zwei Monate lang, dort verbrachten sie Ramaḍān, die Ankunft des Sultans Šuḥaym b. Kāmīl Dankalī erwartend. Die Abreise aus dieser Stadt erfolgte am 7. November. Die Gesandtschaft begleitete der oben erwähnte Sultan mit einer Gruppe von 30 Mann, so viel zählte auch die Karawane der abessinischen Kaufleute, die sich den Reisenden anschloß. Zwei Tage reisten sie durch flache, steinreiche Gegend zu Tälern zwischen hohen Bergen mit fließendem Wasser. Das war sehr gefährliches Gebiet wegen der Angriffe der Gallastämme und anderer Nomadenvölker. Nach zwölf Tagen (am 21. November) erreichte der Gesandte mit seiner Begleitung ‘Ayna-malī. An diesem Ort hielten sie sich einen Monat auf, weil hier der Bote mit der Antwort ankommen sollte, welche der Sultan Šuḥaym an den Emir Aḥaba Anbasa genannt Ba‘ala Ġāda sandte, der das Gebiet von Enderta verwaltete; es ging nämlich darum, den Emir über die Ankunft der Gesandtschaft zu benachrichtigen und den Ort ihres Treffens festzustellen. Ende Dezember machten sich die Reisenden wieder auf den Weg, der wegen der Aktivität der Galla immer gefährlicher wurde. Sie reisten mit dem Sultan Šuḥaym noch fünf Etappenorte über ‘Ayna-malī, und dann kehrte dieser am 24. Dezember nach Baylül zurück, und hinterließ den Reisenden einen Führer. In der Nähe des Salzsees, gelegen mitten in hohen Bergen, verbrachten sie drei Nächte voll Furcht vor wilden Tieren und der Galla, mit großer Vorsicht Feuer anmachend, um ihre Anwesenheit nicht zu verraten. Weiter nach Westen reisend trafen sie sich am 5. Januar 1648 mit dem Emir von Enderta, Ba‘ala Ġāda, und seinen Soldaten. Nach fünf Tagen gemeinsamer Reise erreichten sie am 10. Januar das erste abessinische Dorf, gelegen zwischen zwei hohen Bergen, an dem Fluß namens Wasama. Auf dem Berg Kuḥl befand sich eine Beobachtungswarte gegen die Galla. Der Gesandte und die ihn begleitenden Personen verweilten vierzig Tage in der Residenz des Emirs von Enderta, gelegen auf dem Berg Hintālū, bis zur Rückkehr des an den König Fāsīladas gesandten Boten.

Hier traf sich al-Ḥaymī mit Kabīrī Ṣāliḥ, einem Anhänger der orthodoxen Rechtsschule von aš-Šāfi‘ī. Er überreichte ihm, im Auftrag des Imāms al-Mutawakkil ‘alā-llāh, einen Brief und Ehrenkleider. Nach drei Tagen Reise, am 22. Februar verließen die Reisenden das Gebiet von Enderta. Der weitere Weg führte über das Gebiet Saḥart, dessen Statthalter ein Mann namens Ishāq war. Nachher kamen sie am 27. Februar in das Land Abar qallī, das unter der Verwaltung Qabā Qustūs war. Den riesigen, zwischen zwei Bergen fließenden Fluß nannte al-Ḥaymī "wunderbares Gotteszeichen" (es geht um den Fluß Takkaze). Der weitere Weg führte über das Siedlungsgebiet der Falāša. al-Ḥaymī erwähnt hier das Tal Uḡna und das Berges Sumaym. Und dann, wie al-Ḥaymī berichtete, führte der Weg über das Gebiet Amḥara, welches unmittelbar dem König untergeordnet war. Am 18. März hielten sich die Gesandten in der moslemischen Vorstadt von Gondar auf und am 20. März erfolgte der Einzug in die Königsstadt.

Aufenthalt im Bestimmungsort

Die Abgesandten des Imāms al-Mutawakkil ‘alā-llāh verweilten in Gondar neun Monate, vom 20. März bis zum 16. Dezember 1648. Ihr Aufenthalt verlängerte sich vor allem aus den folgenden zwei Gründen: erstens war die Einstellung des Königs zu der Gesandtschaft unschlüssig, zweitens stand die Regenzeit unmittelbar bevor. Das Reiseunternehmen zu solcher Zeit war unmöglich, weil die Flüsse geschwollen waren. Mit Begeisterung beschreibt al-Ḥaymī die Burg des Königs aus Stein und Kalk, die einzige in ganz Abessinien, von einem hinduistischen Baumeister errichtet. Auch mit Begeisterung beschreibt er das Innere des Schlosses, seine Pracht und Reichtum. Wie al-Ḥaymī schreibt, erschien zur Begrüßung der Gesandtschaft der ganze Hof in Gala. Dolmetscher war während der ersten Audienz Šarīf Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Buḥārī. Fāsīladas interessierte besonders der Brief des Imāms al-Mutawakkil, aber al-Ḥaymī überreichte ihn dem König erst am nächsten Tag, mit den Geschenken, während der zweiten Audienz, was in Übereinstimmung mit dem Gebrauch war, welcher in Jemen herrschte, aber gegen

den Gebrauch des königlichen Hofes in Abessinien. Den Gesandten wurde Schutz und Verpflegung zugeteilt, und sie wohnten auf ihren eigenen Wunsch im moslemischen Stadtteil. Die dritte private Audienz bei dem König erfolgte am 26. März, nach sechs Tagen des Aufenthaltes al-Ḥaymīs in dieser Stadt. Sie fand in engem Kreis statt. Von den Jemeniten war nur al-Ḥaymī anwesend, und den König begleiteten nur drei Wesire und als Dolmetscher al-Ḥāḡḡ Sālim, der von der Gesandtschaft aus Jemen zurückgekehrt war. Aber wie al-Ḥaymī berichtet: "die übrigen Wesire entzogen sich ein wenig unsern Blicken, um zu hören, was von der Angelegenheit gesagt wird". al-Ḥaymī schreibt, daß Fāsīladas seine geheimnisvollen Pläne darstellte, aber aus seinem Bericht geht hervor, daß dieser jedoch nicht alle seine Absichten enthüllte. Was für Pläne das aber waren, sagt al-Ḥaymī nicht, vielleicht deswegen, weil die Teilnehmer an der Audienz vom König verpflichtet wurden, das Geheimnis für sich zu behalten. Es ist schwer festzustellen, ob Fāsīladas wirklich an die Annahme des Islams dachte, aber sicher lag es ihm in vieler Hinsicht viel daran, freundschaftliche Beziehungen mit Jemen anzuknüpfen. Andererseits hielt ihn vom Konkretisieren seines Vorhabens die Angst vor Rebellion im Land ab. Beim Treffen mit den Mitgliedern der Gesandtschaft spielte der König nur auf die Annahme des Islams an, er täuschte sie merklich, hielt sie zurück, und schließlich hat er keinen konkreten Entschluß in dieser Angelegenheit gefaßt. al-Ḥaymī bemerkte die Abhängigkeit des Königs von seinen Hofwürdenträgern, kritisierte die Landesverwaltung und das feindliche Verhältnis der Christen den Bekennern des Islams gegenüber. Er erwähnt die Brandlegung im Hause, wo er mit seinen Gefährten wohnte. Während dieses Brandes entrannen alle zwar dem Tode, aber ihr Hab und Gut ging verloren, darunter von den arabischen Werken zwei Exemplare des Korans.

Aus der Unterredung al-Ḥaymīs mit dem Amīr 'Abdalwahhāb, einem Gesandten des türkisches Pašas Muḥammad aus Su'ākin zu Fāsīladas, kann man vermuten, daß die geheimnisvolle Angelegenheit des Fāsīladas nicht die Annahme des Islams betraf, sondern die Eröffnung eines von türkischer Bevormundung freien Handelsweges Baylül - Mohā. Drei

Erzählungen al-Ḥaymī sind sehr interessant für die Erforschung der Geschichte Äthiopiens unter der Regierung des Fāsīladas. Die erste Erzählung betrifft die Beseitigung des Abūna Marcos, die zweite den Schüler Abūna Marcos, namens Ḥātīrūs, den Vorsteher eines Klosters in Gondar, und die dritte Erzählung betrifft den rebellischen Königsbruder Galāwdewos. al-Ḥaymī legt auch in seinem Werk zwei Qaṣīden vor, die er während des Aufenthalts in Gondar geschrieben hat.

Die Rückreise

Am 16. Dezember 1648 reiste al-Ḥaymī mit seiner Begleitung von Gondar ab. Ihre Rückreise von Gondar nach Dabārwā (Debaroa) dauerte fünfunddreißig Tage. Dann blieben sie zwölf Tage in Dabārwā (19-31. Januar). Wie lange sie von dieser Stadt nach Masawwa^c fuhren, hat al-Ḥaymī nicht gesagt. Dieser Abschnitt des Weges führte durch eine wasserlose Wüste und war sehr gefährlich wegen der Feindschaft der christlichen Beduinen. In Masawwa^c hielten sie sich acht Tage auf. Aus dem Hafen Masawwa^c erreichten al-Ḥaymī und seine Gefährten die Insel Dahlak, wo sie wegen ungünstigen Windes vier Tage blieben. Während der weiteren Seefahrt überstanden sie einen heftigen Sturm und kamen glücklich in dem Hafen Luḥayya an, woher sie am 18. März 1649 auf dem Landweg Ṣāhāra erreichten.

Textanalyse

Das Werk von al-Ḥaymī kann man als eine literarische Reisebeschreibung der Gesandtschaft aus Jemen nach Abessinien bezeichnen. Sicher war das kein Bericht für die Kanzlei des Imāms al-Mutawakkil ʿalāllāh, obwohl die Gesandtschaft einen politisch-religiösen Charakter trug, weil es hier an systematischem Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Gesandtschaft und einer Zusammenfassung ihrer Ergebnisse fehlt. Wenn es um die Erfüllung der Dienstobliegenheiten gegangen wäre, hätte der Bericht anders ausgesehen, wäre die Angabe der Ursachen dieser Gesandtschaft entbehrlich gewesen, hätte der Autor nicht so viele ausführliche Be-

schreibungen und persönliche Eindrücke eingeschlossen, sie hatten für den Imām keine wesentliche Bedeutung. Zweifellos wurde al-Haymī davon geleitet, den anderen die eigenen Erlebnisse mitzuteilen, was im Zusammenhang mit seinem Erzählertalent einen sehr interessanten Reisebericht gab. Die Erzählung wird in der ersten Person Plural geführt, in einigen Fällen sagt der Erzähler "ich", gebraucht auch die Wendung "wisse", also er wendet sich direkt an den Leser, der, wahrscheinlich, als erster der Imām sein sollte. al-Haymī beendete sein Werk nach der Heimkehr. Es entstand sicher auf Grund seiner Notizen, die der Autor, obwohl nicht systematisch und genau, während der Reise und des Aufenthalts im Wohnsitz des abessinischen Königs machte.

Es scheint, daß al-Haymī's Reisebeschreibung der arabischen Literaturtradition nicht fremd ist, man kann hier über eine gewisse Abhängigkeit dieses Werkes von den älteren Denkmälern der arabischen Literatur sprechen. Besonders nah ist ihm die Reisebeschreibung von Aḥmad b. Faḍlān⁷, die über die Gesandtschaft schreibt, die der Kalif al-Muqtadir (908-932) aus Bagdad an den König der Wolgabulgaren in den Jahren 921-922 sandte. Die beiden Werke haben die gleiche Struktur. Sie bestehen aus folgenden Teilen: der kurzen Einleitung, die die Umstände der Gesandtschaft und ihre Zusammensetzung angibt, der Beschreibung der Hinreise, dem Aufenthalt am Bestimmungsort und der Rückreise. Ibn Faḍlān verwendet in seinem Werk keine deutliche Form des Tagebuches. Seine Erzählung entwickelt sich in der objektiven Zeit, das heißt, er beschreibt die aufeinanderfolgenden Reiseetappen, ohne genaue Angabe der Daten, aber mit der Chronologie der wichtigsten Ereignisse. Ähnlich geht al-Haymī vor, die Daten gibt er selten an, er gibt die Beschreibungen der Städte und Orte an, geographische und ethnographische Informationen, die Gebiete betreffend, über die seine Reise führte, die zurückgelegten Entfernungen gibt er in Tagen an (nicht in Meilen, wie es oft arabische Geographen machten). In dem Teil, der bei Ibn Faḍlān die Beschreibung des Bulgarenstaates, und bei al-Haymī die Be-

⁷ Maria Kowalska, *Średniowieczna arabska literatura podróżnicza*. Kraków 1973. S. 25-35.

schreibung des Aufenthalts in Gondar enthält, fehlt es merklich an dem Kompositionsrahmen. Die beiden Autoren übermitteln eine Reihe von Erzählungen und Beschreibungen, viele Angelegenheiten und Ereignisse betreffend. Die Dramatik vieler Situationen, übermittelt von Ibn Fadlān, findet auch in al-Ḥaymī's Beschreibungen ihren Platz. Er beschreibt die spannungsvolle nächtliche Erwartung der Mitglieder der Gesandtschaft des Angriffs des Gallastammes, über den sie von einem vertrauten Mann rechtzeitig informiert wurden. Sie befanden sich damals in einem Tal mit fließendem Wasser zwischen hohen Bergen. Zum Zusammenstoß kam es aber nicht, dank dem Zufall, am Wasser erschien nämlich eine große Elefantenherde. Die jemenischen Soldaten erschrakten, griffen zu den Flinten, und auf den Widerhall der Schüsse zerstreuten sich nicht nur die Elefanten, sondern auch etwa 500 Gallamänner. Der Besitz von Flinten, der Waffe, die die Bewohner Abessiniens nicht kannten, gab der Gesandtschaft noch einige Male Sicherheits- und Überlegenheitsgefühl, besonders während der Rückreise. Voll Dramatik ist auch die Geschichte, von al-Ḥaymī übermittelt, als zwei Gefährte des abessinischen Gesandten al-Ḥāḡḡ Sālīm, eines Moslems, dem königlichen Wesir zur Kenntnis brachten (der Ankunft der Gesandtschaft in der Hauptstadt vorausgehend), daß das Ziel der Gesandtschaft ist, Fāsīladas zum Islam zu bekehren und in seinem Reich die christliche Religion zu vernichten. al-Ḥaymī hatte Angst vor der Verbreitung dieses Gerüchtes und vor Repressionen wegen deren, so las er mehrmals den offiziellen Brief des Imāms al-Mutawakkil an den abessinischen König, er war sogar bereit, den zu korrigieren, damit darin keine Erwähnung steht, die diese Nachricht bestätigen könnte. Ebenso dramatisch ist bei Ibn Fadlān dargestellt, wie dem Bulgarenkönig eine beträchtliche Geldsumme, für ihn vom Kalifen bestimmt, nicht eingehändigt wurde. Dadurch gerieten die Mitglieder der Gesandtschaft in Verdacht, und die ganze Angelegenheit drohte mit ernststen Konsequenzen. In beiden erwähnten Werken kann man auch andere Elemente der Gemeinsamkeit bemerken. Ibn Fadlān zum Beispiel vergleicht einen Türken, den sie getroffen haben, mit einem Bock. al-Ḥaymī schreibt über Emir Baʿala Ġāda folgendermaßen: "Er hatte einen entblößten Kopf, lange graue Haare und Nägel, er war ei-

nem Affen ähnlich". Das Werk von Ibn Fadlān hatte, als eins der besten in der mittelalterlichen Reiseliteratur, einen großen Leserkreis. So fügte zum Beispiel Yāqūt (1179-1229) fast ein Drittel dieses Werkes in sein "Geographisches Wörterbuch" (*Muğam al-buldān*) ein. Nicht ausgeschlossen scheint also, daß auch al-Ḥaymī die Reisebeschreibung von Ibn Fadlān kannte. Wenn es aber um die arabische Geographieliteratur geht, so hatte sie eher keinen Einfluß auf das Werk al-Ḥaymīs. Seine Beschreibungen sind einfacher, man sieht, daß sie auf Grund des Augenscheins und mündlicher Informationen entstanden sind. Eine Ausnahme kann der Abschnitt mit der Beschreibung des Flusses Takkaze, eines Nebenflusses von dem Nil sein, den der Autor, in Betracht auf seine Größe, mit dem Nil, Sir Daria (Sayḥūn) und Amu Daria (Ġayhūn) vergleicht. Er erzählt, daß sie im Wasser etwas gesehen haben, was einer großen Kuppel ähnlich war, und erst, als sie näher kamen, erkannten sie, daß es der Körper eines toten Nilpferdes war. Es geht um den Hippopotamus (arab. *faras al-mā'*, d. h. Flußpferd) dem al-Mas'ūdī viel Platz im Werk "Goldene Wiesen" (*Murūğ ad-dahab*) widmete⁸. Die ausführliche Beschreibung des Schlosses des Fāsīladas erinnert ein bißchen an den Meister der Beschreibungen von Städten und Architektur, Ibn Ġubayr (1145-1217), aber es kann hier keine Rede sein vom Einfluß dieses hervorragenden Autors von Reisebeschreibung (*riḥla*) auf das Werk al-Ḥaymīs. Die geographischen Beschreibungen, die westliche Küste des Roten Meeres betreffend, würden sicher die Berichte von Ibn Fāṭima (XII Jh.) bereichern, dem Segler und Schriftsteller, der in seinen Reisen bis nach Sofala kam. Sein Werk ist leider verlorengegangen, ihn benutzte noch Ibn Sa'īd, der im 13. Jh. lebende Autor des Werkes "Das Geographiebuch über sieben Klimate" (*Kitāb ġuğrafiyā fi l-aqālīm as-sab'a*). Aber al-Ḥaymī kannte das Werk von Ibn Fāṭima wahrscheinlich nicht.

al-Ḥaymī zeigte sein großes Talent zum Dichten, indem er in sein Werk viele Gedichtsfragmente, vom Kontext abhängig, einfügte. Man

⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ ad-dahab wa-ma'ādin al-ğawābir*. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*. Texte et traduction. Paris 1861-1877, Vol. II, S. 393-394.

kann sagen, daß die Quelle seiner Inspiration die altarabische Poesie bildete. Einen engen Zusammenhang mit dem Werkinhalt zeigen seine zwei Qaṣīden (Zweckgedichte), die eine traditionelle Form besitzen, mit einem Versmaß und einem Reim. Der Autor fügte in den Text seine Traumgeschichte ein, die die zwei Qaṣīden rechtfertigt, welche er in seiner Reisebeschreibung unterbrachte. Die erste Qaṣīde enthält 50 Verse (*bayt*), jeder besteht aus zwei Halbversen, der Reimbuchstabe ist *bā* und das Metrum *at-tawīl*. Anstelle einer lyrischen Einleitung (*nasīb*) setzt al-Ḥaymī reflektierende Erwägungen zum Thema der Erreichung des bestimmten Ziels an. Im weiteren Teil der Dichtung (*wasf*) spricht der Autor, indem er sich an den Fürsten der Gläubigen (Imām al-Mutawakkil) wendet, über die Schwierigkeiten, auf die die von ihm in das Land der Schwarzen (Abessinien) geschickte Gesandtschaft stieß. Fehler und Unwissenheit der Christen sieht er in ihrem Glauben an die heilige Dreifaltigkeit, in der Religion, deren Wesen, seiner Meinung nach, Pranger, ewige Einschüchterung und Strafe ist. Der Dichter scheint sich zu entschuldigen, wenn er sich an seine Hilflosigkeit erinnert, in dem Land, wo er sogar Essen und Trinken verabscheute. In den nächsten Versen bittet er Gott um baldige Heimkehr, drückt seine Sehnsucht nach der Stimme des Muezzins, dem Elternhaus und einer nützlichen Arbeit aus. Bei Gott bringt er auch die Klage vor, daß er in einem Land verweilt, in dem "Hunde über Löwen herrschen" - er meint hier Islamanhänger, die unter den Christen lebten. Anschließend geht al-Ḥaymī zu dem Zweckteil (*qaṣd*) der Dichtung über. Er nimmt die Einstellung eines altarabischen Dichters ein, dessen ehrenvoller Auftrag es war, den Heerführer und die Kämpfer des Stammes zum Kampf gegen den Feind anzuspornen, ihnen Mut zuzusprechen und den Sieg vorauszusagen. An den Fürsten der Gläubigen, den er mit einem Adler vergleicht, richtet er den Appell, den Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen des Landes anzufangen, die Nachkommen von Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn (gest. 740) dafür zu gewinnen. Der Dichter zeigt in dieser Lobrede die Abstammung des Imāms, bringt seine Überzeugung von der siegreichen Kraft der vereinigten Nachkommen von al-Ḥusayn im Kampf gegen den Feind zum Aus-

druck. Er beendet seine Dichtung mit einem religiösen Ausdruck, er bittet Gott, die Gläubigen und den Imām unter seinen Schutz zu nehmen.

Die zweite Qaṣīde zählt 49 Verse, ihr Reimbuchstabe ist *ʿayn*, sie ist im arabischen Metrum *ar-ramal* geschrieben. Sie vereint in sich die Kritik des Christentums, Ermahnungen religiöser Natur mit dem politischen Ziel, die Moslems zum Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen aufzurufen. al-Ḥaymī erinnert sich hier an Badr. In Wirklichkeit ist es das wichtigste Datum in der Geschichte des Islams. Der Sieg, den dort 624 der Prophet Muḥammad über die Mekkaner davongetragen hatte, machte den Islam dazu, wofür ihn von dem Moment an die ganze Welt hielt - zu einem Kriegsstaat. Die Qaṣiden von al-Ḥaymī kann man deuten als eine Verteidigung vor dem Angriff des Imāms wegen des Mißerfolgs des Auftrags, und als einen Versuch, sich bei dem Herrscher in Gunst zu setzen.

Die Forscher von al-Ḥaymīs Werk schätzen es hoch. Sie betonen den Wert der in ihm enthaltenen Informationen aus dem Bereich der Geographie, Ethnographie, Religion, Kultur und Geschichte. Man macht darauf aufmerksam, daß es eine wertvolle Erkenntnisquelle für die Geschichte der Herrschaft des Königs Fāsiladas ist. Aber die Forscher lenkten keine Aufmerksamkeit auf dieses Werk aus dem Gesichtspunkt seines literarischen Wertes.

Man kann sagen, daß al-Ḥaymī ein guter Literat war. Er konnte schön beschreiben und interessant erzählen. Sein Werk trug ihm Erfolg ein, dies beweisen die zahlreichen Abschriften⁹ dieses Werks und nicht nur in Jemen. al-Ḥaymīs Reisebeschreibung besitzt jedoch auch gewisse Mängel. Manchmal ist seine Reiseroute unklar, weil er die Namen von Orten, Bergen, Flüssen nicht immer erwähnte. Auch nicht immer notierte er die Zeit der durchfahrenen Abschnitte des Weges. Ähnlich ist es mit Personen, manche von ihnen bleiben namenlos. Trotzdem kann man feststellen, daß al-Ḥaymīs Werk einen großen literarischen Wert besitzt, obwohl es in der Zeit des Verfalls der arabischen Literatur entstanden ist.

⁹ E. J. van Donzel, *op.cit.*, S. 75-82 - The Manuscripts.

THE SEDULOUS APE

John N. Mattock

University of Glasgow

Almost the first word of Arabic that I learnt was *qird* (memory insists that the next was *atān* (she-ass), but here it may be at fault). A number of people will probably know the first version of *Teach Yourself Arabic*, by A. S. Tritton – a title, in this case, the justification for which seemed less well grounded the further one proceeded –, which, with youthful self-confidence I set myself to work through in the summer vacation of 1959. The introductory section concludes with a reading exercise, fully vocalized, with a phonetic transcription and translation. This begins:

kāna ḥammārun yusāfiru bi-ḥamrin labu wa-mā'ahu qirdun ...,
which is, not altogether felicitously, rendered as:

A wine merchant used to travel in wine he had and a monkey was with him ...

The merchant mixes his wine, half and half, with water. The monkey tries to stop him, and gets beaten for its pains. On the return journey, the monkey takes the merchant's purse, climbs the mast of the ship in which they are travelling and proceeds to throw one dirham into the ship and one into the sea until he has divided the proceeds of the adulterated wine into two¹.

It was only comparatively recently that I discovered that this moral tale was alleged to occur in a Prophetic *ḥadīṭ*. According to ad-Damīrī it is transmitted in two versions: the first by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Abū Hurayra that the Apostle of God said:

inna raḡulan ḥamala mā'ahu ḥamran fī safīnatin li-yabī'ahu wa-mā'ahu qirdun ...;

¹ London, English Universities Press, 1943, 23-4.

the second, in which we may perhaps see the hand of an early Bowdler, by al-Bayhaqī from Abū Hurayra that the Apostle of God said:

lā tašūbū l-laban bi-l-mā', *fa-inna rağulan kāna fī-man qablakum yabī^c al-laban wa-yašūbuhu bi-l-mā'*, *fa-štarā qirdan wa-rakiba l-baħr*
...²

I imagine that *laban* here must be yoghurt, rather than milk, which one would suppose ill-suited to distribution involving a sea-voyage.

I do not wish to go into the question of the authenticity of this *ħadīth* or, indeed, to linger on this not very interesting or remarkable story. It has merely caused me to wonder about the occurrence of monkeys in Arabic stories, since they do seem to appear fairly frequently, given that there cannot have been all that many of them in circulation, particularly at so early a period.

A plural, *qirada*, of course, occurs three times in the Qur'ān, in connexion with God's turning men into monkeys as a punishment, supposedly, for fishing on the Sabbath³. Just how much experience the Arabs of the Hijaz at this period could have had of monkeys it is difficult to tell. Baboons, and notably Hamadryas Baboons (*Papio/Comopithecus hamadryas*) are indigenous to parts of the Arabian peninsula, particularly the Yemen, and are common in Somalia and Ethiopia, where *Theropithecus Gelada* (Gelada Baboons) are also found; it is not impossible that some Indian Macaques were already being brought back to 'Umān by Indian Ocean traders. For the existence, alleged by F. Viré⁴, of native Macaques in Arabia, at least in modern times, there appears to be no evidence at all; a piece of *ħiğā'* by Bušayr b. Abī Ġadīma al-^cAbsī on the tribe of Hidyam may perhaps indicate that they did once exist there:

² *Kitāb ħayāt al-ħayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1330, II, 321-2.

³ II, 65; V, 60; VII, 166.

⁴ *Et*, IV, 131-4 [*ķird*].

*a-taḥtīrū li-l-ašrāfi Hidyamu kibratān [yā qirda Hidyamin]
 wa-hal yasta'iddu l-qirdu li-l-ḥaṭarāni
 abā qīṣaru l-adnābi an yaḥtīru [taḥtīru] bihā
 wa-lu'mu qurūdin waṣṭa [banī qirdin bi] kulli makāni
 la-qad saminat qirdānukum [qīdānukum] āla Hidyamin
 wa-aḥsābukum fī l-ḥayyi ḡayru simāni*

O [monkey of] Hidyam, do you wag your tail to the nobles arrogantly?

Is a monkey equipped to wag its tail?

They [you] are prevented doing so by the shortness of their [your] tails

and by the low regard in which monkeys [the monkey tribe] are held everywhere;

your camel-ticks [young riding camels] are fat, family of Hidyam, but your esteem in the tribe is not fat at all⁵.

Some Macaques are tailless or have only vestigial tails; Baboons, on the other hand, are always tailed. The Barbary Ape (*Macaca sylvanus*), a tailless relative of both the Baboon and the Macaque, is not, at an early period, a very likely contender, though later some may well have found their way eastward.

The actual identity of the kinds of monkeys that figure in stories is hardly important; indeed, it is probable that, in many cases, the storyteller had no particular kind in mind; for that matter, he might never have seen one. It is true that later there were *qarrāds*, such as Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī turns out to be in *al-Maqāma al-qirdiyya* of Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadānī. It is impossible to tell how common these

⁵ al-Ġāhiz, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ed. 'Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, Beirut 1969, IV, 67. The variants in square brackets are the readings of Abū Tammām, *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abdalqādir Sa'īd, Cairo 1322, II, 182. The implication of the first hemistich of line 3 is, in either case, said to be that Hidyam favour their beasts at the expense of their neighbours and guests.

were, however; the fact that even in the sophisticated capital a large crowd was attracted by a dancing monkey may perhaps be an indication of their comparative rarity.

Some of the supposedly factual accounts of monkeys are strange enough. The king of Nubia is said to have sent to al-Mutawakkil two monkeys, one who could sew (*ḥayyāt*) and one who could make either things in general (*ṣāniʿ*) or jewellery (*ṣāʿig*) – more probably one who could dye stuff (*ṣābiḡ*)⁶. Can one really believe this? It is, I suppose, just possible to believe that the Yemenis ‘teach monkeys to serve them, and even the butcher and greengrocer teach monkeys to guard their shops until their masters return’⁷, but I find it incredible that, however intelligent and imitative a monkey might be, it would be capable of giving to any task the kind of undivided attention that it would require, and particularly something as delicate as sewing. Another monkey, in Zafār, in the Yemen, is said, in *Kitāb ‘aḡā’ib al-Hind* by Buzurg b. Ṣahryār ar-Rāmhurmuzī, to have blown the bellows for its blacksmith master all day for five years. Admittedly, it is because he regards this as remarkable that he recounts it⁸. I do not think it is possible.

Another story from *Kitāb ‘aḡā’ib al-Hind* is quite reminiscent of the accounts of tradesmen getting monkeys to guard their shops. It too is set in the Yemen:

The man bought some meat which he brought home. He made signs to the monkey telling it to guard the meat. A kite (*ḥid’a*) came along and seized the meat, and the monkey did not know what to do. In the [courtyard of the] house was a tree; it climbed to the top of this and raised its backside to the heavens, letting its head hang down and placing its hands on each side of its backside. The kite thought that its backside was some more of the meat that it had

⁶ al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb ‘aḡā’ib al-maḥlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, 401 (*ṣāniʿ*); ad-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, II, 320 (*ṣāʿig*).

⁷ *Ibid.* (Q. & D.)

⁸ Ed. P. A. van der Lith (French tr. “Livre des Merveilles de l’Inde”, L. Marcel Devic) Leiden 1883-6, 77-8.

taken, so it swooped on it and struck. The monkey, however, grabbed it with both hands, held it fast, took it down into the house and put it under the cooking-pot, which it covered with something heavy. The master of the house returned and, not finding the meat, advanced on the monkey, intending to beat it. But the monkey went to the pot and took out the kite. The man realised what had happened. he took the kite, plucked its feathers and crucified it on the tree⁹.

Clearly, the point of this story has to do with the erythropogy that characterizes certain types of monkeys, the Mandrill being the best known. It seems probable that a Macaque, rather than a Baboon, is indicated here, since the presence of a tail, although not an unsurmountable obstacle, might be thought to constitute a definite hindrance to the technique adopted.

Monkeys, you will observe, are always getting beaten. Here is another, in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. There are a number of stories that feature monkeys in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, but most of these are fables, in which the monkey or monkeys are merely substitutes for human beings. In this story the monkey is real:

They say that a monkey saw a carpenter splitting a piece of wood with two wedges; he sat on it like a rider on a horse and as he hammered in a wedge he would take out the other and bring it forward [i.e. he would keep moving forward, putting in a wedge in front of him and removing the one behind him]. Then the carpenter went away to attend to something else, and the monkey proceeded to meddle with what was not its business. It mounted the piece of wood and put its back against a wedge; its tail hung down in the gap [the medieval Spanish version has *cojones*; it seems more probable that our Arabic version has been diluted than that this is a Latin embellishment]¹⁰. It manipulated the wedge, in order to

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ I am indebted to Dr Robert Hillenbrand for the observation that in an illustrated text of the *Pañcatantra* it is clear that it is not the monkey's tail that is in question.

pull it out, and when it came out the wood sprang back on its tail, and it fell in a swoon. It remained thus until the carpenter returned, and the beating it received from its master as punishment was worse than what it had suffered from the wood¹¹.

The curious feature of these stories, and, indeed, that about the fraudulent wine/yoghurt/milk-seller, is the inconsequential manner in which the monkey makes its appearance. Why should the wine/ yoghurt/milk-seller have bought a monkey, which could be of no conceivable use to him in his business? I suppose that it may be suggested that he has bought it to take home for his wife and children, or just as a pet for himself. However, he clearly takes it with him on his outward journey, while conducting his fraudulent transactions, and not merely on his return journey.

In the story of the monkey, the meat and the kite, there is no good reason why the man should leave the monkey guarding the meat. It would seem far preferable, particularly in a region where kites behave in this fashion – something that has been, I understand, commonly observed to occur in India – to take the meat indoors where, apart from anything else, it would probably be cooler; why not, indeed, put it under the cooking-pot? Are we to suppose the monkey to have other duties as well, besides this one, which it signally fails to carry out? The fact that the man desists from his intention of beating it, when he is made aware of the identity of the true culprit, implies that he thought that it had itself eaten it, in which case, there seems to be every reason for not entrusting it to its charge in the first place. The function of the monkey appears to be simply to display its ingenuity, stimulated by its fear of being beaten.

In the story of the monkey and the carpenter, there again appears to be no good reason for the carpenter to let a monkey, even a pet one, loose in his workshop, where it would almost inevitably cause some disruption. In the event, it does not do any harm that we are told of,

¹¹ Ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1977 (10th imp.), 63-4.

except to itself. There is no suggestion that the piece of wood is damaged, and there seems no reason for the carpenter to beat it.

The last story that I wish to examine here is a lengthy one, which falls into two parts. I shall deal with the second part only, the first having nothing to do with monkeys; the first part is, however, quite entertaining, and I commend it to the attention of anyone who is not already familiar with it. It is taken, again, from *Kitāb 'ağā'ib al-Hind*.

An amorous, not to say insatiable, young man visiting Baghdad is taken with the face of a woman, glimpsed briefly at a window, as he walks through the city. His companion, discovering that the face is that of the wife of a *wazīr*, attempts to dissuade him from pursuing the matter, but the young man is adamant: 'By God, I shall not desist, until I either achieve congress with her or am killed.' The old woman from whom his companion has learnt the woman's identity then intervenes:

'If I arrange for this, my boy, what will you give me?' The youth immediately opened a purse that was at his waist and counted out for her ten dinars. The old woman was pleased, wrapped herself up and, coming out [of her house], knocked on the *wazīr*'s door. The eunuch opened it for her and she went in. Coming out again, she said: 'I have arranged matters for you, for a consideration.' He said: 'What is that?' she said: 'Fifty *mitqāls* for her, five for overheads and five for the eunuch.' He gave her sixty *mitqāls*, and she went in again. She came out and said: 'Off you go to the baths and clean yourself up. Come to my door between the *magrib* and the 'iṣā' prayers and wait to be admitted.'

The youth went to the baths and spruced himself up; then he waited at the old woman's door at the time appointed. The eunuch came out and admitted him. He went into a reception room, which was perfectly fitted out. He was brought food, and he ate, then drink, and he drank. When the drinking session was over, he and the woman went to bed. They had just taken off their clothes when a monkey sprang out from behind a curtain and savaged the youth with its claws, wounding him in the thighs and the private parts, and causing him to bleed profusely. He put on his clothes again, and being rather drunk, fell

asleep, fully dressed. In the morning, the eunuch woke him up and said: 'Come on, get out, before it is light enough for faces to be recognised!' So he left, considerably depressed.

When the *ṣayḥ* [his companion] woke up he decided to visit the young man, to see if he had got on well. On arrival, he found him sitting at the old woman's door, with his chin in his collar. He asked him what had happened, and the youth told him. He called the old woman and told her about it, and she went in to the woman and asked her why things had gone wrong. She said: 'Well, we forgot to provide the master's monkey with its usual pound bag of sweets. However, if the youth wants to try again, we shall charge him tonight only half of what we charged him last night.' So the youth gave her thirty dinars, and he was told that when he came at the appointed time that night he should bring with him a pound bag of sweets for the master's monkey. In fact, he took several bags with him. He was admitted; he was offered food, and he ate, and drink, and he drank. Then, when he turned his attention to the woman, the monkey sprang out at him, so he threw it a bag [of sweets]. The monkey took it and retired, and the youth finished his business. Later, when he was about to resume, the monkey sprang out at him again, so he threw it another bag [of sweets], and it again retired. He made a number of payments to the monkey in the same way. Finally, when the youth was tired and rather overcome by drunkenness, the monkey emerged, woke him up and proceeded to drag him towards the woman and to place its finger in the palm of its hand indicating to the youth 'Go on!' It would not let the youth sleep, urging him to action with the woman, until morning, when the youth left and went on his way¹².

¹² 79-85. I am indebted to Dr Arie Schippers for drawing my attention to an anecdote that has certain similarities to this one in at-Tanūḥī's *al-Faraḡ ba'd aš-šidda* (Cairo 1955, Vol. 1, 294-5). Here the monkey, which happens, again quite inconsequentially, to be on a journey with its master and his wife, bribes the narrator to turn a blind eye to its sexual relations with the woman. The narrator is eventually obliged by his conscience to reveal all, when a Jew is accused, at the instance of the monkey, of having stolen the money that constitutes the bribe. The monkey is killed; the woman is found to have fled.

Now, this story, which, to my mind, has distinct affinities with the story of The Tutor of Ephesus, in the *Satyricon* of Petronius¹³, is, on the face of it, a perfectly simple 'shaggy-dog' story, that is to say, a story of some improbability that is, or may be, considerably extended by repetition or the introduction of extraneous material, the end of which one can predict from an early stage but may have a final, unexpected twist. The element that requires explanation, when one thinks seriously about it, is the presence of the monkey. What on earth is it doing there? It may appear, at first, that it is an essential property for the execution of a confidence-trick – a 'rip-off' – on the youth. If this were so, however, one would not expect the offer of a half-price return visit the next night; it would be far simpler for the confidence-tricksters to content themselves with the two-thirds of the potential profit that they have already taken. Besides, it is not a trick that they could hope to practise frequently, in this form, since word would surely spread that one was well advised to take along a bag of sweets. If they simply bundled the disappointed, and shaken, clients out, they would be more likely to ensure silence, since the clients would hardly wish their humiliation to become common knowledge.

Nor is it very likely that the, presumably, absent *wazīr* has trained the monkey to act in this way to prevent his wife entertaining customers. It is true that this is suggested in the 'moral' that is appended to the story: 'that the bribing of servants will get one what one wants, in despite of their masters.' This moral, however, does not seem particularly appropriate to the story at all. The *wazīr* could surely devise better precautions to prevent the admission of clients in the first place; to have a monkey trained to behave in this way is a bizarre inner line of defence; and, in any case, as we see, it can be easily circumvented. Neither is it easy to see quite how it could have been trained to behave like this.

If, on the other hand, the monkey's behaviour is natural, surely the wife and servants would have contrived somehow to get rid of it, even

¹³ Loeb Classical Library, London & Cambridge, Mass. 1956, 168-73.

though it explicitly belongs to the master of the house; they do not seem to have a great deal of respect for his other property. To have this kind of performance on every occasion would be somewhat trying. It is clear, too, that the wife's prostitution is habitual, since the bag of sweets is referred to as a *rasm*. There are also other anomalies in the story, which one does not notice at first. What is the woman doing, while the youth is being savaged by the monkey? Why does he not leave the house then, rather than falling asleep, 'being rather drunk' (*atqalahu s-sukr*), having put his clothes on again after being injured? Is it not rather remiss of the woman to remember the bag of sweets only next morning? None of these things can really be explained.

As far as the monkey is concerned, however, it seems to me that its only real function is to act as an instrument for surprising both the youth and the audience, and discomfiting the former, in two separate and contrasting ways. It is difficult, too, to see what other instrument would have been half so effective in this situation.

It is tempting to fabricate elaborate theories concerning the importance of monkeys in the Arab psyche, based on memories of the early worship of them as tribal totems, and the later association of them, in the Qur'ān, with 'worshippers of aṭ-Ṭāgūt'¹⁴, identified as 'idol/devil', and the fact that the actual word *qird* is said to be used to mean 'devil' – a number of dictionaries give this sense, but I have been unable to verify it. Because of their quasi-human attributes, they have held a curious and somewhat sinister fascination for various peoples throughout history. The punishment for a parricide in ancient Rome was allegedly to be sewed up in a leather sack and thrown into the river or sea, together with a dog, a cock, a viper and an ape. This is a late description of a very early practice; the limited availability of apes in Italy would seem to cast doubt on the likelihood of at least one element of it. Parricide was, perhaps, an uncommon crime, but the inconvenience of maintaining an ape on hand, in case of its occurrence, would

¹⁴ V, 60.

have been considerable. The very fact, however, that the animal should be mentioned in such a context is significant.

Quite possibly such deep-lying feelings can be shown to play their part. It seems to me, however, that the frequent appearance of monkeys in Arabic anecdotes is, perhaps rather obviously, due to much the same factors as the equally or more frequent appearance of parrots. Both creatures, because of their possession of characteristics that are otherwise associated only with rational beings, can be assumed to display a degree of rationality or even complete rationality. They are both creatures that are extremely convenient to use as subjects of unexpected good or bad fortune, or as the cause of either for others, evoked, very often, by some timely or untimely application of skill or ingenuity, in circumstances in which it would be less appropriate, or at any rate less amusing, for a human being to play the same role.

SURVIVAL OF AN OLD LITERARY GENRE: AL-BAĠDĀDĪ'S ACCOUNT OF HIS JOURNEY TO BRAZIL

István Ormos

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

The work *Musalliyat al-ġarīb* (The Stranger's Entertaining Story of Oddities)¹ by ʿAbdarrahmān al-Baġdādī exists in a unique manuscript belonging to the German State Library in Berlin². The manuscript was first mentioned by G. Hazai and the present writer³; the work itself is an account of his journey to Brazil in 1865.

Little is known about the author. His autograph *dīwān*, composed during a visit to India in 1293-94/1876-77, found its way from the private library of aṣ-Ṣayḥ Amīn al-Madanī at Medina into the University Library at Leiden⁴. He may have moved to Medina prior to his visit to

¹ In the English translation of the title, account has been taken of the two meanings of the word *ġarīb*, both of which are relevant in the present context: 1/ *extraordinary, wondrous, marvellous*; the description of the *wonders* of the world (*ʿaġāʾib, ġarāʾib*) is the subject of many a geographical work in Islam; 2/ *stranger, foreigner, one far from his home or native country*; this is triply true of our author, who was a stranger in Brazil, and having been born in Baghdad, he was a stranger both in Damascus and Constantinople. Both meanings of the word occur in the text, and the title is explained along these lines, too. (The device of a word occurring in two different meanings simultaneously in a text is called *tawriya* in Arab rhetoric; see August Ferdinand Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen-Vienna 1853, p. 133.) The female participle may refer to the words *risāla, hikāya* or *riwāya*.

² Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

³ Georg Hazai-István Ormos, "Abenteuer eines Irakers in Brasilien". In: *Acta Orientalia Hung.*, 36, 1982, pp. 215-226. See also Georges Hazai, "Aventure d'un arabe iraquien au service de la Marine Ottomane". In: *Revue d'Histoire Maghrebine*, 10, 1983, pp. 219-221.

⁴ See Carlo Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à el-Medīna et appartenant à la Maison E. J. Brill*, Leiden 1883, pp. V, 7 (No. 21), [epilogue]; M. J. de Goeje-M. Th. Houtsma, *Catalogus codicum arabicorum Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, Leiden 1888, p. 495 (No. DCCLXXVIII., Cod.

India, because in his *dīwān* he styles himself *mubāğir al-Madīna al-Munawwara*. On f.1a of the *dīwān* he is described, in a foreign hand, as *aš-Šayh ‘Abdarrahmān al-Bağdādī nazil al-Madīna al-Munawwara*. He is said to have died at Medina in 1298/1880-1881⁵. He seems to have been a traveller of a certain stature, a late successor of the great Muslim travellers of the Middle Ages. He was born in Baghdad. Then, having spent some time in Damascus (where it seems that he married, because at the end of his journey to Brazil he returned to Damascus to see his family) he moved on to Constantinople. In any event, successfully to have carried out a journey to Brazil and another to India in the second half of the last century was, though not a miracle, yet not an ordinary feat. He seems to have found inner peace in the vicinity of the Prophet at last. His fondness for poetry is attested to not only by the verses with which he adorns his narrative, which is mainly in rhymed prose (*sağ‘*), but also by his free use of quotations without explicit reference to their source, quite a widespread practice in Arabic literature.

In 1865 a number of steamers of the Imperial Ottoman Navy were ordered to sail from Istanbul to Basra. Since the Suez Canal was not to open until 1869, this was only possible at the time by circumnavigating Africa. In the Atlantic, however, the ships ran into a storm and were driven off course, landing finally in Brazil instead of Basra. Our author, who was active as an *imām* in the Imperial Ottoman Navy, was on one of the ships. In the present work he first gives an account of all he saw

1756=Amin 21). The present shelf-mark of the MS is Or. 2398 (Ar. 1756); see P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, Leiden 1957, p. 62. The present writer is indebted to the staff of the University Library at Leiden for their generosity in supplying him with a microfilm of the MS and allowing him to consult it. See also Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd supplement volume, Leiden 1938, p. 789 (No. 14). The Leiden MS is probably an autograph: on f.1a we read *Dīwān ‘Abdarrahmān al-Bağdādī nazil al-Madīna al-Munawwara wa-hādihī n-nusha bi-hattihī wa-hiya musawwada*. If we accept this as a fact, then the Berlin MS cannot be an autograph because it seems to stem from a different hand.

⁵ Landberg, l.c.

in Brazil, and subsequently, somewhat more succinctly, relates his impressions of the places he visited on his way back to his home in Damascus. His interest was captivated above all by the black Muslims in Brazil, whose existence itself was a great surprise to him. He was interested above all in their history, their stories, habits, customs and behaviour. It would appear that he mixed directly only with them in the course of his sojourn in Brazil, even staying with them for some time in order to provide them with religious education. This was the reason for his remaining behind when the Ottoman ships set sail for Turkey on their homeward journey, and it was only somewhat later that he left for his home in Damascus, passing through Spain, Tangier, Algiers, Alexandria and Cairo, as well as fulfilling the duty of Pilgrimage *en route*. Everything he writes on the subject of these Muslims is of importance to us, even if his account is not rich in precise details and concrete data, telling us instead more about the author himself and his mentality than about Brazil.

Muslim and Christian Arabs reached the Americas in large numbers in the 2nd half of the 19th c., a result of the *Emigration*, caused by economic, political and religious factors, from the Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and later from Egypt, resulting in the familiar *mahāğir* in North and South America⁶. This was, however, not the first time that Muslims had reached the Americas in large numbers: before this, shiploads of black Muslims from the Sudan (in its broad sense) had been transported to South America as slaves. The modern slave trade from Africa to Portugal started around 1450; the year 1517 is regarded as the official beginning of slave trade to America, and it was around 1570 that Brazil became the destination of large-scale slave traffic. In Brazil slaves were employed first on the sugar cane plantations, then in the gold mines,

⁶ See al-Badawī al-Mulattam (Ya'qūb al-'Awdāt), *an-Nātiqūna bi-d-ḡād fi Amīrikā al-ğanūbīya*, Beirut 1956, vol. I, pp. 78-115; Nādira Ğamīl Sarrāğ, *Ši'arā' ar-rābīta al-ğalamīya. Dirāsāt fi šī'r al-mahğar*, Cairo 1957, pp. 25-66; Philip Khuri Hitti, "Djāliya". In: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Leiden-London 1960- (henceforth *Et*), Vol. II, col. 403b-404b; 'Abdalkarīm al-Ashtar, "al-Mahđjar". In: *Et*, Vol. V, col. 1253a-1257b.

and later on the coffee plantations. The total number of slaves to reach Brazil in the course of three centuries is usually estimated at between 5 and 18 million. Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888⁷.

Many of the slaves transported from Africa to Brazil came from the Sudanese cultural area and were Muslims; they originated from the Sahara and the area between the Sahara and the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa. The Islamization of this area began under the Almoravids in the 11th C., after which Islam spread gradually south towards the Gulf of Guinea. Initially the slave trade from the Sudan went north along the Trans-Saharan route, where salt, weapons and luxury goods were traded for slaves and gold. Later on, however, with the gradual emergence of European merchant colonies and trading settlements (*feitorias* = factories) on the Western coast of Africa and in the Gulf of Guinea in the 15th C., the direction of the slave trade changed gradually, and these settlements on the Western coast of Africa and in the Gulf of Guinea became the new destinations for slave traders. It was through the Gulf of Guinea that Sudanese Muslim slaves reached Brazil, the Portuguese port of Mina playing an important role in this process. The most important ethnic groups represented among them were the Hausa, the Tapa, the Mandingo and the Fulla⁸. They were not Arabs but were

⁷ See Roger Bastide, *Les religions afro-brésiliennes*, Paris 1960, pp. 41-66; id., *Les Amériques noires*, Paris 1967, pp. 11-28; Ernst Gerhard Jacob, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Brasiliens*, Darmstadt 1974, pp. 69-82; Arthur Ramos, *Die Negerkulturen in der Neuen Welt*, transl. Richard Katz, Erlenbach-Zürich n.d., p. 142.

⁸ See Jacob, *Grundzüge...*, p. 71; Ramos, *Die Negerkulturen...*, pp. 147f.; Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande e senzala*, 21st ed., Rio de Janeiro 1981, pp. 299-314. An interesting proof for the origin of (at least some of) the Muslims al-Bağdādī met in Brazil is supplied by the word *alfā*, which occurs three times in our text (9b11 *fā* and 10b13 *alfā* twice: the wrong form *fā* is no doubt due to a misinterpretation of the first part of the word as the Arabic article!). In Etienne's interpretation this word was used to denote Muslim theologians ("priests"), and this is the usage attested in our text, too: "Les Alufas sont les théologiens de la secte en question"; see L'abbé Ignace Etienne, "La secte musulmane des Malès du Brésil et leur révolte en 1835". In: *Anthropos* 4, 1909, p. 99. Ramos says it is one of the names of the Muslims in Rio de Janeiro; see Ramos, *Die Negerkulturen...*, p. 170. It is in fact a Fula word of African origin its meaning being "scholar", "educated person", "a per-

Arabized in their culture. According to contemporary sources, as late as the beginning of the 19th C. the level of culture of these Sudanese slaves was much higher than that of the great majority of whites in Brazil: most of the participants in the great Muslim insurrection of 1835 in Bahía could read and write Arabic⁹. They had priests who taught them to read and write; they had Muhammadan schools and prayer-houses. Meanwhile most whites were still illiterate. These well-educated Muslim slaves have since died out, leaving no trace beyond what can be attributed to their influence in popular Christian religiosity, for example amulets and rites for the commemoration of the dead¹⁰. It was these Muslims that ‘Abdarrahmān al-Baġdādī met in 1865. At the time they knew only a few words of Arabic, nothing of reading or writing, and, as our author expressly indicates, as a result of the “war” between Muslims and Christians, by which in all probability he means the 1835 Muslim insurrection of Bahía, they were extremely anxious to hide their true religious affiliation. They knew little of the rites of Islam: our author was horrified to see that they prayed just as they wanted to,

son well-versed in the precepts of religion”, “master”, but it also means a certain rank and is used as an honorific title before names, too. See Semyon Yakovlevič Kozlov, *Ful’be Futa-Džallona. Očerki etničeskoj, političeskoj i social’noj istorii*, Moscow 1976, p. 15; Tirmiziou Diallo, *Der theokratische Fulbe-Staat ‘Futa-Jaloo’. Beitrag zur Theorie der Staatenbildung in Westafrika des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Berlin 1979, p. 138; G. V. Zubko, *Fula-russko-francuzskij slovar’*, Moscow 1980, p. 24 (*Alfaa* - 1. titre donné aux lettrés; 2. homme lettré; 3. seigneur); Viktor Alekseevič Vinogradov-Antonina Ivanovna Koval’-Viktor Yakovlevič Porhomovskiy, *Socio-lingvističeskaya tipologiya: Zapadnaya Afrika*, Moscow 1984, pp. 106-110. For the grammatical form, see August Klingenberg, *Die Sprache der Ful (Dialekt von Adamana)*, Hamburg 1963, pp. 159-161 (“Kurzform”). The word is originally a loan-word from Arabic (*halifa*); see Heinrich Barth, *Sammlung und Bearbeitung Central-Afrikanischer Vokabularien*, Gotha 1862-1866, pp. 230f. (No. 14).

⁹ Etienne, *La secte...*; Freyre, *Casa-grande...*, pp. 299, 310. For a modern assessment of the 1835 Bahía insurrection, see Dennis Walker, “Black Islamic slave revolts of South America. A little-known chapter of Islam’s sphere of influence”. In: *The Islamic Review and Arab Affairs* 58, 1970, Nos. 10-11, pp. 9ff.

¹⁰ Etienne, *La secte...*, pp. 99-105, 404-415; Freyre, *Casa-grande...*, pp. 310-312; Ramos, *Die Negerkulturen...*, pp. 171ff.

fasted in Ša'c̣bān, did not follow the laws of inheritance, their wives did not wear veils, and they were buried in Christian cemeteries according to Christian customs. In this respect, our text is an important historical source even if its data are rather scanty and vague, since in general we have few sources on the history of Islam in Brazil¹¹. This aspect apart, as far as the rest of the data is concerned, our text is devoid of historical, geographical, etc. importance for the modern researcher.

On the other hand, the present text is very interesting as a fairly late illustration of a well-known and popular genre of Arabic and Islamic literatures: *riḥla* (= travel) and *'ağā'ib* (= mirabilia)¹². Our author is extremely interested in all the miraculous elements and phenomena he encounters on his journey, and makes every effort to register them one by one: in this respect he is a late but true follower of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṭī, who in the 12th C. gave an account of his journey to Russia, Hungary and the Volga Bulgars¹³. Abū Ḥāmid can be regarded as the founder of this literary genre, if we forget al-^cUḍrī of Andalusia, whose works have not survived: we know only that he was one of the main sources of al-Qazwīnī¹⁴. Now, if we compare Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṭī and ^cAbdarrahmān al-Baġdādī, we find that there is absolutely no difference between the two as concerns their literary technique, their relationship to the world and their treatment of geographical facts. Their style, their lack of critical sense (in the modern meaning of the

¹¹ Cf. Rolf Reichert, "El ocaso del Islam entre los negros brasileños". In: XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, España 1964, *Actas y Memorias*. Vol. 3, Sevilla 1966, pp. 621-625; *Os documentos árabes do Arquivo Publico do Estado da Bahia*, ed. Rolf Reichert, Rio de Janeiro 1970.

¹² See César E. Dubler, "^cAdjā'ib". In: *EP*, Vol. I, col. 203b-204a.

¹³ See Gabriel Ferrand, "Le Tuḥfat al-albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī". In: *Journal Asiatique* 207, 1925, pp. 1-148, 193-304; César E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid el-granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, Madrid 1953. Cf. also O. G. Bol'sakov-A. L. Mongayt, *Putešestviye Abu Hamida al-Garnati v Vostočnuyu i Central'nuyu Evropu (1131-1153 gg)*, Moscow 1971.

¹⁴ Ignatij Yulianovič Kračkovskij, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura. (= Izbrannijye sočineniya, IV)*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, pp. 273ff., 365.

word) and their view of the world are the same in every respect, although more than 600 years separate the two. This esteem of tradition and the survival of the popularity of old literary genres are not unknown in Islam; in the field of geographical literature we have a particular illustration of these two parallel phenomena: in 1906 in Cairo, Aḥmad Amīn aš-Šinqīṭī reprinted Yāqūt's (died 626/1229) *Geographical Dictionary* with minor emendations, and Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥānḡī supplemented this edition with two volumes of later data relating to Europe, America and Australia under the title *Manḡam al-'umrān fī l-mustadrak 'alā Mu'ḡam al-buldān*. This supplement is devoid of any scientific value, but proves that the traditional literary genre corresponded perfectly to the needs and expectations of contemporary readers at the beginning of the 20th C.¹⁵ The same can also be said in our case: a Turkish translation of our text was published in 1288/1871-1872 under the auspices of the Great Council of Public Instruction in Turkey¹⁶.

In conclusion, 'Abdarrahmān al-Baḡdādī's work *Musalliyat al-ḡarīb* can be regarded as a traditional if late representant of *riḥla/aḡā'ib* literature, which, however, belongs in Dubler's classification to the earlier type in which the *mirabilia* were correctly situated geographically, as opposed to the later type wherein data had lost their precision and reference to exact geographical location¹⁷.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 333.

¹⁶ *Tercüme-i Seyahatname-i Brezilya*, eser-i Şerif efendi, mükafat-i saniye, biikrar-i Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif, Constantinople 1288. Cf. also M. Belin, "Bibliographie ottomane ou notice des livres turcs imprimés à Constantinople durant les années 1288-1289 de l'hégire". In: *Journal Asiatique*, VII. série, 1873, tome I, p. 535 (n. 43). (In this latter article the title of the work is given erroneously as *Brezilya Seyahatnamesi*).

¹⁷ See Dubler, *'Adjā'ib*.

ON THE QUESTION OF TRADITION IN MODERN SYRIAN PROSE

Bayan Raihanova

University of Sofia

In our time, characterized by increasing interest towards the monuments of the world civilization, the problem of the interrelation between the literature of every nation and its artistic past is especially actual.

The Syrian literature is a developed system with thematic, stylistic and expressive variety, which are typical of the contemporary level of the artistic mind. The Syrian literature is characterized by the representation of reality in its national, historical and psychological concreteness. Because of that, the Syrian prose-writers, along with their usage of the newest achievements of world literature, are more and more inclined to look back towards their own literary sources. Some elements, taken from the medieval classical literature and from oral tales, appear in their novels and short stories. These elements are worked out and implemented according to the individual style of every writer.

We must notice that a characteristic feature of the Syrian literature from the earliest period of its formation is its close relation to the historic past and to the traditions. But the approach to it did change with the interrelation and competition between the basic artistic trends, with the development of the aesthetic and ideological views of the men-of-letters.

So, during the 19th century (during the spread of Enlightenment and of the arising of new prose genres), in Syrian literature existed the so-called "conservative" trend. Its representatives propagated a Renaissance of the Arabic Past. They cultivated the old literary forms (beginning with poetry), they strove to make popular the history of the Arabs, in order to awaken their national feelings.

The prominent Syrian public figures and men-of-letters Fransiš Marrāš (1835-1874) and Nuʿmān al-Qasātlī (1854-1920), used the

maqāma genre to give an artistic interpretation of their enlightened ideas.

Fransīs Marrāš is the author of "The Pearl of Nacre - concerning the curious aspects of change" (*Durr aṣ-ṣadaf fī ġarā'ib aṣ-ṣadf*, 1872). It consists of 18 parts and is devoted to love themes. The very title suggests the influence of Classic literature. The composition of the work is also in conformity with medieval tastes. The narrative of the author's love towards the beauty of Sa'dī continues with the history of the two brothers – Sālīm and Amīn. The vivid description of a trip to India carries the reader away to the times of Sindbad and the Caliphate, reminding him of Sheherezade's tales from "A Thousand and One Nights". Peculiar to the author is his use of plot and a system of characters to present his enlightened concepts. The writer criticizes the thoughtless imitation of Europeans, defends women's rights, and talks about the necessity of recognition of marriage for love.

Nu'mān al-Qasāṭlī's works resemble those of Fransīs Marrāš. Since childhood he had the possibility to be in touch with educated persons from Damascus and Beirut, and was interested in European science and culture. Nu'mān al-Qasāṭlī wrote several books: "Interlocutors" (*Anīs wa-Anīsa*, 1881), "The Young Girl Amīna and Her Mother" (*al-Fatāt Amīna wa-ummuhā*, 1880), "Guardian and Temptation" (*Muršid wa-fiṭna*, 1881) etc. Most of the writer's works had been published on the pages of *al-Ġanān* magazine.

The love theme is treated also in Nu'mān al-Qasāṭlī's works. The writer criticizes the early marriages, reveals his thoughts about the necessity of women's education and their equality in society. In the book "The Young Girl Amīna and Her Mother" the author, through his characters, Amīna and her beloved Tābit, expresses his protest against the old customs impeding the happiness of the young. The parents' adherence to traditions brings Amīna and Tābit's love to a tragic end. Nu'mān al-Qasāṭlī's style of narrative is similar to that of Fransīs Marrāš works. His books are also characterized by moralization. But Nu'mān al-Qasāṭlī turns his attention not to a historical or mystic person, but to the living real man, the author's contemporary.

His works are obviously influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution. The call for equality and respect of human personality resounds in all books of this writer.

Another representative of modern Syrian literature is Šukrī al-ʿAsalī (1868-1916), a contributor to *al-Muqtabas* magazine and author of the books "The Calamities of the Miserable" (*Fağā'ir al-bā'isīn*, 1907) and the "The Consequences of Neglect" (*Natā'ig al-ihmāl*", 1913). The writer defines his work "The Calamities of the Miserable" as a "national novel, a novel of manners"¹. There Šukrī al-ʿAsalī treats actual problems, worrying Syrian society in the beginning of 20th century. He describes in detail the life of his character Sa'īd, representative of the lower middle-class. The failures in his personal life and the social milieu drive him to despair and death becomes the only salvation. In a society, where many social and economic problems have not been solved, a man could not be happy – this is the main idea of the book.

Šukrī al-ʿAsalī's next book, "The Consequences of Neglect", is also devoted to contemporary problems. The preface points that "it has been written for those, who cannot understand the meaning of freedom. The real freedom is one, which serves the progress and welfare of people"². This work sharply condemns the disregard of the national cultural wealth. According to the author, the passion for gambling, dances and fashion clothes is not a sign of freedom of meetings and of education.

Šukrī al-ʿAsalī's works reflect the social relations, prevailing in Syria to the First World War. The writer shows how the new, progressive views win recognition in the fight with the old concepts of culture, freedom, manners and moral.

The above-mentioned works, reflecting various problems of Syrian reality of the time, are characterized by publicistic and didactic features. Sometimes the narrative structure includes numerous digressions of the author into the fields of medicine, philosophy, and music and also

¹ Ibrāhīm al-Aṭraš, *Ittiğāhāt al-qissa fi Sūriyā ba'd al-ḥarb al-ʿālamīyya t-tāniya*, Damascus 1982, 33.

² Muṣṭafā Šākīr, *al-Qissa fi Sūriyā qabl al-ḥarb al-ʿālamīyya at-tāniya*, Cairo 1958, 134.

contain poetic fragments from the *dīwāns* of medieval poets, without being directly related to the basic idea of the work. Gradually Syrian writers give up the traditional *sağ̣c* and try to write in an ordinary and comprehensible language.

The increase of national self-awareness during this period is expressed in the heightened interest in the historical past of their people, not only the history of the Muslim period, but of more distant times as well. The first to treat historical themes are the poets. They glorify the feats of national heroes, their bravery and nobility. Many poems are devoted to the lives of Arab poets (al-Ma'arrī, al-Mutanabbī, etc.).

After poetry, historical themes penetrate into dramaturgy. It is about 1868, when in Damascus takes place the performance of the historical tragedy of "Alexander the Great" by Ibrāhīm al-Ahdab³. Later appear plays, devoted to Arab antiquity. They are marked by the influence of European literature (Dumas, W. Scott, Corneille, Racine and many others). Unlike the poetry of that time, play writing does not suffer from excessive idealization of national history. Following European models, the authors try to represent truly the images of the historical characters, and to a certain extent, the historical processes as well.

Along with poetry and play writing, there begins the publishing of historical prose works as well. A notable event in the Syrian literary life of the beginning of this century was the literary activity of 'Abdalmasīḥ al-Antākī (1874-1922) and 'Abdalḥamīd az-Zahrāwī (1871-1916). According to Arab literary historians, they both were the founders of the Syrian historical novel⁴. Using Biblical scenes, 'Abdalmasīḥ al-Antākī made an artistic interpretation of the history of Christianity in his works "The girl from Israel" (*Fatāt Isrā'īl*, 1903) and "Peter the Great" (*Butrus al-akbar*). 'Abdalḥamīd az-Zahrāwī was known as a follower of the Muslim reformers. Under their influence, he wrote the

³ Z. Arasli, *Giergi Zaidan i arabski istoricheski roman*, Moscow 1967, 40.

⁴ Fayṣal Sammāk, *al-Wāq'ā fī r-riwāya s-sūriyya*, Damascus 1979. Adnān b. Zurayl, *Adab al-qissa fī Sūriyā*, Damascus 1966.

novel "Hadīḡa, the Mother of the Faithful" (*Hadīḡa umm al-mu'min īn*, 1908), which deals with events from the early history of Islam.

These works as well as the whole literature of this period are characterized by information, didactic content and artistic recreation of the subject. The characters are schematic, lacking in individual features. The authors do not try to reveal the psychological base of their deeds and historical determination of the characters. Often these are introduced into the plot with the only purpose of a social or moral sermon.

The works of the first Syrian prose writers, in spite of their artistic imperfection, have played a certain part in the formation of modern Syrian prose and its evolution during the following decades.

The future development of the national literature was characterized by a still greater deviation from the traditional norms, by a search for new means and forms of artistic expression. The writers learned a great deal from the foreign (West European and Russian) literature. They mastered so far unknown genres: the short story, the novel, the play; in that they departed further from their own literary traditions.

Along with the overcoming and outliving of the forms and stylistic norms of traditional genres, and the creation of the new contemporary genres, the critical study of the heritage developed with the help of European scientific methods. The activities of the scientific and literary societies have helped the active mastering of the different layers of heritage, and the wide popularization of the monumental pieces of medieval culture. Turning the attention to the study of the problems of language, culture and centuries-old Arab history, they have contributed to the strengthening of patriotic feelings, and after all they have created the conditions for the use of heritage elements for the purposes of artistic enrichment and vitalization of national literature.

During the 30's and 40's, the interest of the Syrians in their cultural heritage and national history increased. It was due to the uplift of the national movement for political and economic independence. But this interest showed itself differently. History, seen through the modern situation, gave the Syrian writers a rich material for expressing the real

needs of their creation: the needs for national consciousness and for national self-determination.

The writers 'Alī at-Taṭawī (b. 1906), Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid (b. 1918) and Ma'rūf al-Arnā'ūt (1892-1948) tried their pens in the fields of the historical novel. In their work they relied upon the canonized texts: *sīra* and *ḥadīṭ*. In 1940, 'Alī at-Taṭawī published his collection of short stories "From the history of Islam" (*Min at-tārīḫ al-islāmī*). Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid was the author of the books "In the Palaces of Damascus" (*Fī quṣūr Dimašq*, 1944) and "The Singing Devil" (*Iblīs yuḡannī*", 1943). Ma'rūf al-Arnā'ūt wrote several novels: "The Lord of Qurayš" (*Sayyid Qurayš*", 3 Vols., 1929), "Umar ibn al-Ḥattāb" (2 vols., 1932), *Tāriq ibn Ziyād* (1942) and "The Chaste Fāṭima" ("*Fāṭima al-batūl*", 1942). Throwing their glances back towards the long passed events, the Syrian prose-writers idealized the past glory of the Arabs, in order to awaken the spirit of patriotism and free thinking in their contemporaries.

In contrast to the enlightened literature, the authors of these works handle the historical materials more freely. Their historical thinking is more advanced. Depicting the past, they try to relate it to modern times, to find analogies, to follow certain objective laws in the historical development of society.

All this is due to the rise of the general level of historical knowledge, the acquaintance with European studies in Arab and Muslim history and the development of national studies in history, cultural heritage and religion (the texts of the *sīra* and *ḥadīṭ* become the object of scientific study and artistic treatment) on the ground of contemporary scientific methods.

Undoubtedly all these factors had a beneficial influence on the development of Syrian literature, contributing to its uplift in the post-colonial period.

The last few years are characterized by the increasing interest in the traditional artistic values, above all in the works of the medieval classical and folk literature. This interest is due not only to the pursuit of preservation of the cultural and aesthetic heritage, but also to the wish to

master new material of expression. Attempts for using the traditional narrative forms of Arab prose in writing modern novels have multiplied. We can find among the traditional sources a wide range of genres from the folk novel, through the tales of "A Thousand and One Nights", and the *hikāya* to the historical chronicles.

One of the first modern Syrian prose-writers to turn to the cultural heritage was ʿAbdassalām al-ʿUğaylī (b. 1918). In 1963, he published a collection of *maqāmāt*. The tradition of folk poetry can be traced in the short stories of his collection titled "Horses and Women" (*al-Ḥayl wa-n-nisā*) (1965). Legends and folk tales are included in Adīb Naḥwī's novel "Wedding in Palestine" ("ʿUrs Filastīn", 1969); in the works of Fārūq Zarzūr (b. 1926): *Ḥasan Ġabal* (1969), "The Guilty Men" (*al-Mudnibūn*, 1974) and others. Sayings, proverbs, songs are also often to be met. We must notice that the abundance of folk traditions in the poetic structure of these works is one of the characteristic features of modern Syrian prose.

The Syrian prose writers also use the genres of Medieval literature. The form of *hikāya* is used by ʿĀdil Abū Šanab in his short stories: "The Whistle of the Arriving Train" (*Šafir qitār qādim*, 1977) and "The Gloomy Nights" (*Umsiyyāt bāhita ahyānan*, 1977); by Muḥsin Yūsuf (b. 1939) in "The Shadow" (*az-Zill*, 1978) and by Šubḥī ad-Dassūqī in "Sysiphus" (1978). The narrative methods of "Kalīla and Dimna" found their artistic re-interpretation in the short stories of Zakariyyā Šarikī (b. 1940): "The last message from al-ʿAlīq village" (*Āḥir aḥbār qaryat al-ʿAlīq*, 1979) and by Muḥammad Kāmil al-Ḥaṭīb in "The Dark Green Palm-Tree" (*an-Naḥla al-mudiya*, 1978). The so called "circle" composition (story within a story), so popular in the classical literature, is used in the novel "Arabian Nights" (*Layālī ʿarabiya*, 1980) by Ḥayrī ad-Dahabī (b. 1946). It is also to be found in the works of Fārūq Zarzūr, Ḥannā Mīna (b. 1924), Fādīl as-Sibāʿī (b. 1929), Ḥašīb al-Kayālī (b. 1921) and others.

The above-mentioned works serve as evidence of the deep connection between the modern Syrian literature and the cultural heritage of the Syrian people. If in the first half of this century the main emphasis

in Syrian literature was placed on the more rapid and widest mastering of the genre forms of European fiction, in modern national literature visibly increases the part of narrative elements, borrowed from the Arab-Muslim heritage. The widely used images, motives, structural and compositional forms from the Medieval Classical and Arabic folk literature undoubtedly enrich the Syrian literature in variety of style as well as in variety of genre. They give it expressiveness and a touch of local colour.

ANIMAL DESCRIPTION IN THE POETRY OF IBN HAFĀĜA

Arie Schippers

University of Amsterdam

Everyone who occupies himself with the *Dīwān* of the Andalusian poet Ibn Hafāġa will be confronted sooner or later with his animal descriptions. If we look at the index of his *Dīwān* compiled by Muṣṭafā Ġāzī, we see how frequently the horse in particular is described by Ibn Hafāġa, whereas among birds the dove description is one of the poet's favorites¹. Other animal descriptions which occur in his *Dīwān* are those of camels, dogs, and wolfs². His horse descriptions belong to the themes of bravery, dove descriptions belong to garden and nature poetry, wolf descriptions or descriptions of the desert by night to the realm of the *raḥīl*. Other orientalists such as Henri Pérès³ and more recently Manfred Ullmann⁴ have devoted attention to animal descriptions by Ibn Hafāġa and translated small portions of his poetry.

The reason, however, that I have occupied myself with a poem of Ibn Hafāġa in which animal descriptions are prominent, is that I wanted to make a brief analysis of the structure of *qaṣīdas* by Ibn Hafāġa and

¹ See Ibn Hafāġa, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Ġāzī, Alexandria 1960, nos. 67 (p. 114), 73 (p. 123), 157 (p. 211), 158 (p. 211-212). (horses) and nos. 65 (line 11; p. 113), 74 (line 13; p. 125), 78 (line 1; p. 128), 82 (line 3; p. 132), 99 (line 9; p. 143), 105 (line 5; p. 148), 235 (lines 1 sqq.; pp. 289-290) (doves). Ġāzī lists all the *qaṣīdas* with horses (p. 407) and doves (p. 408) [Numbers and pages of Ibn Hafāġa's quoted in the following are referring to this edition].

² See Ibn Hafāġa, *Dīwān*, listed on p. 407.

³ See Henri Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1953, pp. 235 sqq.

⁴ See Manfred Ullmann, *Das Gespräch mit dem Wolf*, München (Akad. v. Wissenschaften & Beck Verlag) 1981, pp. 132-133. Translation of no. 134 (p. 180).

others, especially with regard to the succession of the different themes⁵. Ibn Hafāḡa's poem no. 2 was one of the poems which struck me because of their thematic sequence. Its structure looked at first sight like that of most of Dū r-Rumma's poems, with the difference that his animal descriptions are developments of the camel description: the camel's speed is compared with the speed of other animals⁶. The structure of Ibn Hafāḡa's poem no. 2 also resembles the structure of many poems by al-Buḡturī, which often are preceded by visions of the beloved and contain passages in which the poet is surrounded by *fitya* (youthful people) such as the *fitya* of the Nāḡiyya family in al-Buḡturī's poem no. 903⁷.

Poem no. 2 (*Dīwān* p. 33), a laudatory poem on Abū Yaḡyā, begins with a *nasīb* in which there is also an appearance of the poet's beloved in a dream (*tayf al-ḡayāl*). There is also a description of the night (lines 1-12). Then a visit to a garden in the morning is described (lines 13-18); this brings the poet into the company of young men (*fitya*; lines 19-35). Then follows a description of these young men on horses while hunting. Animals which are hunted are described, such as a fox (*rawwāḡ*) and apparently an ostrich (*tayyār*; lines 40-43).

Then follows the transition to the laudatory passage (line 44-90): if the animals had asked help from Abū Yaḡyā, then he would have helped them. In the final passage the poet asks his *maecenas* for a gift in return for his poetry and poetry in general (line 90-99).

⁵ See Arie Schippers, *Arabic Tradition and Hebrew Innovation. Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry*, Amsterdam (Institute for Modern Near Eastern Studies) 1988, pp. 104-118 esp. p. 109.

⁶ See e.g. Dū r-Rumma, *Dīwān*, ed. Carlile Henry Hayes Macartney, Cambridge 1919, no. 1: lines 40-66 (wild donkey; pp. 10-16) and 67-106 (wild bull; pp. 17-27); no. 68: lines 32-63 (wild donkey; pp. 529-538); ed. 'Abdalqaddūs Abū Šāliḡ, Damascus 1392/1972, no. 1: lines 35 sqq. (Vol. I, pp. 50 sqq); no. 14: lines 32 sqq. (Vol. I, p. 518 sqq.).

⁷ See al-Buḡturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥasan Kāmīl al-Šayrafī, Cairo (Daḡā'ir al-ʿarab) 1963-78 [I-IV], no. 903 [IV, pp. 2375-2382].

We will quote some of the more interesting passages from this *qaṣīda* and, where necessary, refer to the animal descriptions of *Ḍū r-Rumma* and passages quoted by al-Ġāhiz in his *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*.

The poet begins the poem by combining several love motifs: the *tayf* or phantasm comes to visit him at night, when the morning already announces itself; the motif is combined with the description of the poet's burning love, because the phantasm is portrayed as a night guest who drinks the water of the lover's weeping and avails himself of the fire of his burning pain. But by means of this visit he quenches his lover's thirst. But because of the pangs of love, the lover is clothed in emaciation, which means he is stripped, he has become transparent, he has become invisible because of this extreme emaciation.

In the meantime it has become morning, which gives the poet the opportunity to describe the heavens, beginning at line 8. Various personifications and comparisons occur in this passage: the night whose clothes become wet in the morning; clothed with the galaxy, it is compared with a monk wearing a *zunnār* turning and tossing in his bed; lightning and rain or tears go together.

In the morning the winds are looked for as messengers at the places where the rainstars and the lights are setting. The rain is introduced as a tearful glance of one looking at the lightning coming from the Najd. In this way the poet links this passage with the introductory passage with its love motif.

Thereupon the morning inspires the poet to describe a garden. This passage is well-known and often quoted in anthologies. In this description the central verb is not introduced until several lines after the mention of the object. This is perhaps a pre-Islamic or early Islamic feature which we find in the poetry of *Ḍū r-Rumma*. In *Ḍū r-Rumma* we find many times the phrase 'many a desert' (*ḥarq*) followed after a few lines by 'I have traversed'⁸. In the meantime the poet describes the

⁸ See e.g. *Ḍū r-Rumma*, *Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, no. 46: line 26 sqq. (p. 347 sqq.) no. 41: line 32 (p. 318); ed. 'Abdalqaddūs Abū Ṣāliḥ, no. 23; lines 26 sqq. (Vol. II, pp. 732 sqq.); no. 36: line 31 (Vol. II, 1131).

desert. This device is reversed by Ibn Ḥafāḡa in another poem, no. 81, where the poet says: 'In many such a night I undertook a journey' and the phrase 'through a desert' some lines later. In poem no. 2 the desert description has been replaced by a garden description.

The garden description begins with the object 'many a place where a cloud drags its train (*wa-maḡarri ḡayli ḡamāmatin*)' followed three lines later by the verb 'I visited in the early morning (*bākartubu*)'. The garden description itself contains a number of personifications such as the rivers who have their shoulders clothed in embroidered garments produced by the rain; the branches, which bend their necks; and the white blossoms which are mouths; the wind slapping the buttocks of the hills and kissing the faces of the flowers; the doves acting as preachers on the branches of the trees.

- 13) And to many a place where a cloud drags its train, the shoulders of the rivers clothe themselves in embroideries of bubbles,
- 14) The shadows of the [thick] wood wave [their] forelocks, the swail of the stream quivers [its] buttocks,
- 15) The branch bends its long neck, which the mouths of the white blossom have kissed.
- 16) I came in the morning while the cloud is a piece of ambergris blazing, the lightning is the burning of a fire.
- 17) And the wind slaps the buttocks of the hills in play, and kisses the faces of the flowers.
- 18) While on the pulpits of the trees the eloquent preachers are the birds.

The next passage contains hunting motifs. The poet is accompanied by young men (*fiṭya*), who make an expedition with him. The brightness of young men is contrasted with the darkness of the night and the dust cloud of battle: they are moons and their anger sparks. Their high hopes are described.

- 19) Amidst young people who have dispelled the cloud of dust at night and frequently display [faces like] moons.
- 20) The darkness assaults them with smoke and the flint of [their] anger causes sparks of fire to fly from them.

21) I saw their ambition as lofty mountains and their beneficence as overflowing seas.

They chase the quarry with so called *qayd tarīda*, which expression reminds us of the pre-Islamic expression *qayd al-awābid*, translated by Lane as 'the light or active horse which overtakes the wild animals and which they can hardly or never escape'⁹. But here apparently birds of prey are meant, noisy of wing, and red painted of claws. The birds have golden eyes and are wrapped in variegated garments.

26) They chase the quarry each with something that fetters the tracked beasts, noisy of wing and red painted of claws;

27) Its sides are wrapped in a newly made variegated garment, and its eyelids anointed with pure gold;

28) By which he aims at a distant hope so that it bends the painted claw and beak which are like the letter *rā'*.

Its claws and beak are coloured red, I think, because of the blood of its prey. Apparently, dogs are also assisting at the hunting party. They are introduced in line 29. They are trained to the chase and hungry and wide ranging. I quote:

29) And each with something that is wide ranging and open jawed and small eyed, hungry [thin, folded up of intestines], adorned by the wearing of a collar, trained to the chase;

30) Showing the teeth in smiling like the blade of a sword and walking as if on brandished spears;

31) Asking hospitality from the traces of the quarry on the stones while the night wrapped itself in a cloak of pitch [tar];

The next animal which is described, a *rawwāġ*, is apparently a fox, although Ġāzī thinks perhaps it could be a hare or a rabbit¹⁰. The fox

⁹ See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863, p. 5 [s.v. *ābid*]; see Imru' al-Qays, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Abū Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo (Dahā'ir al-‘arab) 1969, no. 1 (*mu‘allaqa*): line 49 (p. 19); Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*, Greifswald 1970, no 48, line 47 (p. 148).

¹⁰ I deduce Ġāzī's interpretation from the index of his edition of Ibn Ḥafāġa's *Dīwān*, pp. 407, 408.

is described *atlas al-atmār* 'grey as worn out clothes', an expression borrowed from a poem by Dū r-Rumma used by him for a hunter in a *bā'iyya*¹¹. The fox is running away, jinking to right and left: it is like a ball thrown by one desert to another.

- 36) How many a *rawwāg*, white spots on the side, sharp of ears and grey as old garments;
- 37) Running cautiously and gathering his stretched body, while speeding down so that it is curved like a bracelet.
- 38) Pushing himself to the limit; going quickly; deceitfully deviating from the track – he nearly escapes the hands of Fate.
- 39) Doubling back, while fear of perdition throws it like a ball which hands of bare deserts toss one to another.

The next creature that runs away is apparently a bird, I would say an ostrich, because its eggs are not laid in nests¹². It is portrayed with a neighbour flying behind it which Pérès claims to be its tail¹³.

- 40) And many an ostrich running lightly, departing with a neighbour flying behind it;
- 41) Whose stride is short; swaggering like a girl dragging the train of her garment.
- 42) Painted of beak, you would think that it had sipped, from thirst, a cup of wine;
- 43) The places where they lay their eggs are not constant from fear of a night of distress or a day of perdition;

¹¹ See also al-Ġāhiz, *Kitāb al-hayawān*, ed. 'Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1965², IV, p. 438. The line of Dū r-Rumma is to be found in his *Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, no. 1: line 93; ed. 'Abdalqaddūs Abū Šāliḥ, Vol. I, no. 1: line 88 (p. 100).

¹² Apparently Ġāzī thinks here a partridge or bird is meant although the word *udhiyy* usually refers to ostriches (see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 857 ['The place of the laying of eggs and of the hatching thereof, of the ostrich, in the sand']).

¹³ See Henri Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, pp. 245-246: 'Souvent une [autruche] rapide (*tayyār*) et légère a couru en levant (*šalā*) la queue qui lui sert de compagnon véloce derrière elle'. Henri Pérès says also: 'Ibn Ḥafāḡa est le seul à décrire l'autruche; il n'est pas impossible qu'il en ait vu en Espagne même'. See also: an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923-1949, Vol. IX, pp. 340-341. The poet probably refers to Arabian ostriches.

Then follows the transition to the laudatory passage. The animals would have been safe, if protected by the poet's addressee.

- 44) And if either of them had sought refuge with Abū Yaḥyā, then he would have rendered it secure with a most glorious [powerful] protection.
- 45) It would be sacrosanct, without having fear for an injustice taking place, if a fugitive beast put itself under his protection,
- 46) The winds stand still at his side out of fear [veneration]; and the sea of the tremendous army drinks its fill;
- 47) And the gazelle of the sand hill takes its rest in safety guaranteed by him, in the very mouth of the den of the roaring lion.
- 48) The Divine Decree serves his will and it is as if his hands grasp the bridles of Fate.

al-Ġāḥiẓ¹⁴ mentions that in an elegy hounds are killing wild cows; in a laudatory poem however, camels are compared with wild cows. In which case the dogs are usually killed. The remark of al-Ġāḥiẓ is confirmed by elegiac poetry of Abū Du'ayb¹⁵ and the laudatory poetry of Dū r-Rumma¹⁶. In this laudatory poem by Ibn Ḥafāġa the end of the hunting party is not described, but the poet makes a skillful connection with the description of the powerfulness of the Maecenas, to whom even the Divine Decree is subservient.

In the succession of themes within Ibn Ḥafāġa's *qaṣīda* analogies are to be found with the structure of al-Buḥturī's *qaṣīdas*.

¹⁴ al-Ġāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, II, p. 20; G.H.J. van Gelder, *Beyond the Line*, Leiden (E. J. Brill) 1982, p. 41; Yūsuf Ḥulayf, *Dū r-Rumma, šā'ir al-ḥubb wa-ṣ-ṣaḥrā'*, Cairo (Dār al-Ma'ārif) 1970, p. 177 note 1.

¹⁵ Cf. Abū Du'ayb in the *Dīwān al-budaliyyīn*, Cairo 1965, Vol. I, pp. 1 sqq/ [= *Mufaddaliyyāt* no. 126: lines 37-45].

¹⁶ Cf. Dū r-Rumma, *Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, no. 1: lines 40-66 (wild donkey; pp. 10-16) and 67-106 (wild bull; pp. 17-27); no. 68: lines 32-63 (wild donkey; pp. 529-538); ed. 'Abdalqaddūs Abū Šāliḥ, Vol. I, no. 1: lines 35 sqq. (pp. 50 sqq); no. 14: lines 32 sqq. (p. 518 sqq.).

Moreover, the poet Ibn Hafāḡa deliberately used ancient concepts from hunting description by Dū r-Rumma; but he made some innovations. He replaces the desert description with a garden description. In Ibn Hafāḡa's poetry the hunt is not a part of the comparison of the speed of the animals with his camel, but it is a celebration of travel amidst his *fiṭya*, or young companions.

The innovation here is perhaps that the outcome of the hunting party remains suspended, whereas the hunting party itself serves as a *rahil*, which does not consist of a camel description, but of the hunting party itself.

APPENDIX

Quotations from the Arabic text from Gāzi's edition of Ibn Hafāḡa's *Dīwān*, no. 2 (pp. 33 sqq.).

lines 13-18

وَشَى الْحَبَابِ مَعَاطِفَ الْأَنْهَارِ
وَأَرْجَى رِدْفًا مَائِجَ النَّيَّارِ
قَدْ قَبَّلْتَهُ مَبَاسِمَ النُّوَارِ
مَشْبُوبَةَ وَالْبَرْقَ لَفْحَةَ نَارِ
لَعِبًا وَتَلْتِيمَ أَوْجِهِ الْأَزْهَارِ
خُطْبَاءَ مُفْصِحَةَ مِنَ الْأَطْيَارِ
وَلَرُبَّمَا سَفَرُوا عَنِ الْأَقْمَارِ
زَنْدَ الْحَفِيفَةِ مِنْهُمْ بِشَرَارِ
إِشْرَافِ أَطْوَارِ وَفَيْضِ بَحَارِ

وَمَجْرَ ذَيْلِ غَمَامَةٍ لَيْسَتْ بِهِ
خَفَقَتْ ظِلَالُ الْأَيْكِ فِيهِ ذَوَائِبُ
وَلَوَى الْقَضِيبُ هُنَاكَ جِيدًا أَتْلَعَا
بِأَكْرَمِهِ وَالغَيْمُ قِطْعَةً عَنَبَرِ
وَالرَّيْحُ تَلَطَّمَ فِيهِ أَرْدَافَ الرَّبِيِّ
وَمَنْابِرَ الْأَشْجَارِ قَدْ قَامَتْ بِهَا
فِي فَيْتَةٍ جَنَّبُوا الْعَجَاجَةَ لَيْلَةً
ثَارَ الْقَتَامُ بِهِمْ دُخَانًا وَأَرْتَمَى
شَاهَدَتْ مِنْ هِمَاتِهِمْ وَهَبَاتِهِمْ

lines 26-31

زَجَلِ الْجَنَاحِ مُورِدِ الْأُظْفَارِ
مَكْحُولَةِ أَجْفَانِهِ بِنُضَارِ
مَخْضُوبِ رَأْيِ الظُّفْرِ وَالْمِنْقَارِ
طَاوِي الْحَشَى حَلِي الْمَقْلَدِ ضَارِ
يَمْشِي عَلَى مِثْلِ الْقِنَى الْخَطَّارِ
وَاللَّيْلِ مُشْتَمِلٍ بِشَمْلَةِ قَارِ

طَرَدَ الْقَنِيصَ بِكُلِّ قَيْدٍ طَرِيدَةٍ
مَلْتَمِئَةً أَعْطَافَهُ بِحَبِيرَةٍ
يَرْمِي بِهِ الْأَمْلُ الْقَصِي فَيَنْقِنِي
وَبِكُلِّ نَائِي الشَّأْوِ أَشْدَقِ أَخْزَرِ
يَفْتَرُّ عَنِ مِثْلِ النُّصَالِ وَإِنَّمَا
مُسْتَقْرِيًا أَثَرَ الْقَنِيصِ عَلَى الصَّفَا

lines 36-48

ذَلِقِ الْمَسَامِعِ أَطْلَسِ الْأَطْمَارِ
يَهْوَى فَيَنْعَطِفُ انْعِطَافِ سِوَارِ
فَيَكَادُ يَفْلِتُ أَيْدِي الْأَقْدَارِ
كُرَّةَ تَهَادَاهَا أَكْفُ قِفَارِ
فَشَلَا بِجَارِ خَلْفَهُ طَيَّارِ
مَشِي الْفَتَاةِ تَجْرُ فَضْلُ إِزَارِ
كَرَعَتْ عَلَى ظَمَأٍ بِكَأْسِ عُقَارِ
مِنْ لَيْلٍ وَيَلُّ أَوْ نَهَارِ بَوَارِ
يَحْيَى لَا مَنَهَا أَعَزُّ جَوَارِ
لَمْ يَخْشَ مِنْ جَوْرِ هُنَالِكَ جَارِ
وَيَعْبُ بِحَرِّ الْعَسْكَرِ الْجَرَّارِ
فِي جِحْرِ خَيْسِ الضَّيْغِمِ الزَّارِ
مَلَكَتْ يَدَاهُ أَعْيَنَةُ الْأَقْدَارِ

فَلَرَبُّ رَوَاغِ هُنَالِكَ أَنْبَطِ
يَجْرِي عَلَى حَذَرٍ فَيَجْمَعُ بَسْطَهُ
مَمْتَدَّ حَبْلِ الشَّأْوِ يَعْسِلُ رَائِغًا
مُتَرَدِّدًا يَرْمِي بِهِ خَوْفَ الرَّدَى
وَلَرَبُّ طَيَّارٍ خَفِيفٍ قَدْ جَرَى
مِنْ كُلِّ قَاصِرَةٍ الْخَطِي مُخْتَالَةٍ
مَخْضُوبَةِ الْمِنْقَارِ تَحْسَبُ أَنَّهَا
لَا تَسْتَقِرُّ بِهَا الْأَدْحَى خَشِينَةٍ
وَلَوْ اسْتَجَارَتْ مِنْهَا بِحِمَى أَبِي
حَرَمٍ إِذَا اشْتَمَلَ الطَّرِيدُ بِظَلِّهِ
تَقِفُ الرِّيَّاحُ بِجَانِبِيهِ هَيْبَةٍ
وَيَقْبِلُ مِنْ أَمْنٍ بِهِ ظَبْيُ النَّقَى
خَدَمَ الْقَضَاءِ مُرَادَهُ فَكَأَنَّمَا

LA LIBERTE ET SES SYMBOLES DANS L'OEUVRE D'ADONIS
‘ALĪ AḤMAD SA‘ĪD IṢBIR, POÈTE ARABE DU LIBAN
(Essai axiologique)*

Krystyna Skarżyńska-Bocheńska

Université de Varsovie

La tâche de hommes de culture et de foi n'est, en tout cas, ni de désertier les luttes historiques, ni de servir ce qu'elles ont de cruel et d'inhumain. Elle et de s'y maintenir, d'y aider l'homme contre ce qui l'opprime, de favoriser sa liberté contre les fatalités qui le cernent¹.

Albert Camus

Commençons par une courte définition de l'état d'oppression de l'homme du XX^e siècle, tellement déploré par Romano Guardini: "Il est admirable et regrettable à la fois jusqu'à quel point l'homme peut renoncer à une existence libre, jusqu'à quel point il peut l'esquiver, combien il peut se limiter à la satisfaction de quelques besoins psychiques, biologiques ou sociaux. L'expérience européenne a démontré que la structure socio-politique peut être totalement dépourvue de liberté, que les nations entières peuvent en être dissuadées"².

Mais les nations se composent d'individus. Et ce sont justement les individus, leur dignité, leur courage et leur attitude, qui préoccupent les philosophes et les artistes analysant les causes de "la fuite devant la liberté" et essayant d'y trouver un remède. Voici comment Guardini perçoit l'attitude de l'homme contemporain: "A la violence exercée par l'Etat,

* Je voudrais remercier madame Beata Geppert d'avoir traduit cet article de polonais.

¹ Albert Camus, Conférence, Déc. 1957, vol. II. p. 999; cité après: M. Melançon, *Albert Camus, analyse de sa pensée*. Fribourg-Paris 1976, p. 179.

² Romano Guardini, *Wolność, łaska, los (La liberté, la grâce, le destin)*, Kraków 1969, éd. "Znak", p. 34.

les individus réagissent par la dépersonnalisation, par l'éloignement de soi-même par la fuite devant la responsabilité, par la soumission passive au pouvoir"³.

La critique de l'époque contemporaine par Camus et encore plus perçante: "Le matérialisme historique, le déterminisme absolu, la négation de toute liberté, cet affreux monde du courage et du silence, ce sont les conséquences les plus légitimes d'une philosophie sans Dieu⁴. Et, ailleurs: "...Ce monde est écoeurant et montée universelle de la grandeur, ce déperissement de l'honneur"⁵.

Adonis, poète et penseur arabe, juge l'époque contemporaine avec autant de sévérité que les Européens. C'est ainsi qu'il en parle dans le psaume intitulé "Sāḥir al-ḡubār" (Le charmeur de la poussière), premier poème de recueil "Aḡānī Miḥyār ad-Dimašqī" (Les Chants de Miḥyār le Damascène):

...Epoque de nuages nommée troupeaux,
de plaque de tôle nommées cerveaux,
époque de soumission et de mirages,
de marionnettes et d'épouvantails,
époque de l'instant glouton,
époque d'une chute sans fond⁶.

Chez lui, tout comme chez les penseurs européens, c'est l'individu qui est le vrai coupable, par sa passivité, sa soumission, son refus de s'opposer au mal, son désespoir et sa fuite dans la mort:

Yakfīka an tarā (Il te suffit de voir, fragment):
Aucun silence dans tes yeux
aucune parole - comme si tu étais la fumée (...)
Il te suffit, vaincu et aussi muet qu'un clou

³ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁴ A. Camus, *Carnets*, vol. II. p. 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. I. p. 155.

⁶ D'après la traduction française par Anne Wade Minkowski dans: Adonis, *Chants de Miḥyār le Damascène*, Paris 1982, Sindbad, p. 45-46.

habiter le labyrinthe
 Tu n'apercevras Dieu sur aucun front
 Il te suffit, Mihyar, de garder le secret
 qu'il l'a effacé...⁷.

En parlant de la liberté positive, Erich Fromm la décrit comme une capacité de "...déployer une action créative qui intéresse nos acte, intellectuels et sensibles, autant que notre volonté. Bref, la liberté positive consiste dans l'activité spontanée de la personnalité complète... Bien que la spontanéité soit une qualité relativement rare dans notre civilisation, nous n'en sommes pas totalement démunis... Pour la plupart ce sont des artistes(..) certains philosophes et hommes de science..."⁸.

Il me semble qu'Adonis est un des rares artistes qui savent spontanément réaliser leur liberté personnelle et artistique. 'Alī Aḥmad Sa'īd Iṣḥāq, fils d'un simple fellah, né en 1930, dans le village syrien Qaṣṣa-bayn, aux environs de Lattaquié, étudia la philosophie à Damas. Ses premiers poèmes, écrits au début des années 50, furent publiés dans des revues libanaises, sous le pseudonyme d'Adonis. Il se lia avec un groupe de poètes novateurs de Beyrouth et, en 1954, il s'installa dans cette ville où il participa à la rédaction de la revue littéraire *Šī'r* (Poésie) qui propagait, en théorie et en pratique, le renouvellement de la poésie arabe. Ensuite, il fonda la revue *Āfāq* (Horizons) et *Mawāqif* (Attitudes).

Déjà quand il était jeune, Adonis sut accomplir sa "liberté de...", et ceci sur deux plans. D'abord, il se libéra rapidement des conditionnements géopolitiques de sa patrie Syrie. "J'étouffais à Damas, dira-t-il en 1987, où divers partis politiques et diverses idéologies ont essayé de m'amener à me mettre à leur service, et moi, je voulais rester libre. Le Liban était un pays ouvert au monde, à la mer. J'y trouvé des milieux indépendants, intellectuellement stimulants"⁹. Adonis "échappa à l'escla-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸ Voir: E. Fromm, *Le peur de la liberté*, trad. d'anglais par C. Janssens (*Escape from Freedom*), Paris 1941, p. 206.

⁹ D'après l'entretien que j'ai eu avec le poète, à Paris en juin 1987.

vage" et, jusqu'aujourd'hui, loin de perdre sa propre liberté, il lutte, courageusement et sans compromis, pour celle des autres dans le monde arabe. Dans une de ses interviews, parue en novembre 1986, dans la revue "*al-Yawm as-sābi*" (Le septième jour), il reprocha aux intellectuels arabes de divers pays de s'être mis au service des idéologies et des souverains, et même de faire fonction de police et de censure, combattant la liberté de la parole, la liberté d'exprimer ses opinions. "Dans la société arabe, l'individu lui-même, et non seulement le pouvoir, n'attache aucune importance particulière au droit à la liberté, surtout celle de la pensée et de la parole, grâce à laquelle l'homme devient homme. Et les intellectuels arabes, au lieu de l'enseigner à leurs sociétés, poursuivent leur combat idéologique dans le cadre de divers services des régimes particuliers. Les souverains des pays arabes traitent leur pays comme leur propre maison, dont l'entrée peut être interdite à certains des citoyens considérés, eux, non pas comme cohabitants, mais comme invités..."¹⁰.

Deuxièmement, Adonis sut, en théorie tout comme en pratique, par une analyse profonde et consciente, se libérer des conditionnements d'un homme écrasé sous la tradition littéraire arabe, vieille de plusieurs siècles et presque immuable. Dans sa thèse de doctorat d'Etat, soutenue à l'Université de St. Joseph de Beyrouth et intitulée "*at-Tābit wa-l-mutaḥawwil*" (Les constantes et les variables), Beyrouth 1973, Adonis entreprend de séparer ce qui, dans la culture et la littérature arabes, est contant et stérile, de ce qui y est vivant et créatif. L'auteur attache un rôle primordial à l'originalité et à l'imagination créative de l'artiste. Il rend hommage aux révoltés, aux mystiques, aux martyrs *šī'ītes*, à tous ceux qui ont le courage de s'opposer à la tyrannie des hommes au pouvoir pour défendre la liberté de leur propres convictions ou celle des autres. Ce personnages: Nādir al-Aswad, les mystiques al-Ḥallāğ et Suhrawardī, le calife 'Alī et son fils al-Ḥusayn, tué à Karbala, deviennent, dans la poésie d'Adonis, symboles du bien et de la liberté.

¹⁰ Adonis, dans *al-Yawm as-Sābi*, nr. 131, le 10. 02. 1986.

C'est dans son oeuvre poétique que sa conception de la liberté s'exprime le plus pleinement et profondément, bien que jamais de manière explicite, directe. Ses poèmes, ambigus, abstraits et concis, ne sont pas toujours faciles à analyser. Souvent, il s'avère indispensable de connaître son oeuvre à fond, ce qui nous permet de saisir les concepts principaux, les lignes essentielles dévoilant, avec une logique précise, les idées du poète, son chemin formé sur les valeurs, son ascension graduelle vers l'Absolu.

Le concept de liberté s'incarne, semble-t-il, dans le personnage principal de l'oeuvre d'Adonis: Mihiyār le Damascène, sujet lyrique de presque tous les poèmes du recueil ainsi intitulé, héros de quelques drames poétiques du recueil "*al-Masrah wa-l-marāyā*" (Le théâtre et les miroirs), publié en 1968. Les métamorphoses de Mihiyār, démon des vents, artiste et poète, vagabond parti en quête de Dieu, prophète et martyr, finissant par accéder à la compréhension de la Vérité suprême, semblent refléter les recherches et les hésitations du poète.

Nous pouvons y distinguer quatre étapes du chemin vers la liberté:

- I. *Rupture avec tout conditionnement, celui de la nature humaine, de la foi, de Dieu, de Satan. Désir agressif de détruire le monde actuel qui est un monde opprimé. Désir ardent d'affranchir les autres.*

Dans le premier psaume du recueil "*Agānī Mihiyār ad-Dimašqī*", nous voyons émerger du chaos Mihiyār, personnage obscur, ambigu, mystérieux:

Il vient désarmé comme la forêt
et comme le nuage ne peut être refoulé.

Hier il portait un continent
et déplaçait la mer (...)

Il et le réel et son contraire,
la vie et ce qui n'est pas elle.
(...)

Le voici annonçant
l'entrecroisement des extrêmes,

gravant sur le front de notre temps
la signe de la magie¹¹.

Le fragment que nous venons de citer contient une définition importante de la méthode créative d'Adonis: "l'entrecroisement des extrêmes" et "le signe de la magie". Le poète est libre, il n'accepte aucune limitation de son imagination poétique, il va au delà des époques et des mondes, ses héros ne se soumettent ni aux dieux, ni aux souverains, ni à l'histoire, ni à la mort. La puissance de la magie c'est le génie extraordinaire de la transformation miraculeuse (en arabe: *tahawwul*) des héros et des objets.

Mihyār, né du chaos, et lui-même porteur du changement: il efface ce qui est ancien, il apporte une prophétie mystérieuse et des éléments de la lumière:

"*Yahmilu fī 'aynayhi*" (Il porte en ses yeux)
A ses yeux il emprunte leur éclat
à la lisière des jours et aux vents une étincelle
A ses mains, aux îles de pluie
il prend leur substance et crée le matin.
Je le connais - il porte en ses yeux
la prophétie des mers¹².

Mihyār est poète, "chevalier d'étranges paroles", "il se cache ou le givre des lettres", "dans le désir des errants". Nous voyons apparaître ici le problème de la liberté de chacun de choisir son chemin, le problème de ses recherches et de ses égarements. Dans le poème "*al-Ḥayra*" (L'incertitude)¹³, Mihyār appelle les hommes à douter, à penser librement, à franchir les frontières de l'imagination:

(...)
Parce qu'il est incertain
un nuage né de son feu

¹¹ Adonis, *Chants de Mihyar*...p. 19-20.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

né de la soif des générations
est passé sur nos mers...

Cette première étape de la quête spontanée de la liberté est pourtant dominée par le désir de détruire notre époque, trop petite pour ceux qui cherchent la vérité. Miḥyār apporte donc la révolte et le changement. Dans sa quête de la liberté absolue, il détruit et rejette tout ce qui pourrait la restreindre. Voici un fragment qui illustre bien cette tendance:

“*Wağḥ Miḥyār*” (Le visage de Miḥyār)

Le visage de Miḥyār est feu
dévorant la terre familière des étoiles
Voici qu’il transgresse les frontières du calife
brandissant l’étendard du déclin
détruisant toute demeure ...¹⁴.

La révolte de Miḥyār culmine dans le poème “*Ḥiwār*” (Dialogue) où le héros, devant le choix entre Dieu et Satan, choisit la liberté absolue et l’angoisse créative:

Je ne choisis ni Dieu ni diable
Tous deux sont muraille
Tous deux obturent mes yeux...¹⁵.

Dans deux parties du recueil “*Agānī Miḥyār ad-Dimašqī*”, – “*Sāḥir al-ğubār*” (Le charmeur de la poussière) et “*al-Ilāh al-mayyit*” (Le dieu mort), à côté des rejets spontanés, on retrouve de passages qui expriment la nostalgie de Miḥyār, son espoir de voir arriver un Dieu nouveau, inconnu, plein d’amour, proche aux hommes. Dans le poème “*Ru’yā*” (Vision), le héros confesse:

J’attends un dieu qui hésite,
flumine, pleure, s’incline, rayonne...¹⁶.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

II. *Moment de solitude, de réflexion.*
Recherche de valeurs nouvelles.

Cette situation se précise dans les poèmes de la partie intitulée "*al-Ilāh al-mayyit*". Le sujet lyrique s'enfoncé dans le néant qui se manifeste comme un sentiment d'impuissance, d'incroyance, de rejet, de faiblesse. Mihyar est hanté par les images du "prophète à l'agonie", de la trahison, de la "joie souffrante dans les choses", de la "faim des arbres", de ruines, de désespoir et de la mort; encore une fois, dans le poème "*al-Ilāh al-mayyit*", Mihyar rejette toute les confessions:

J'ai brûlé aujourd'hui le mirage du sabbat
 et le mirage du vendredi
 Aujourd'hui j'ai jeté le masque familial
 j'ai remplacé le dieu aveugle de la pierre
 et le dieu des sept jours
 par un dieu mort¹⁷.

Romano Guardini souligne le rôle de la "solitude bien vécue qui délivrance de l'homme, sa liberté"¹⁸. Dans "Le dieu mort" le "moi" lyrique, Mihyar-Adonis, luttant contre le monde actuel, cherchant un Chemin nouveau, encore imprécis mais déjà instinctivement deviné, oscille entre la honte de la chute et l'orgueil de l'élévation. Dans les moments d'élévation, il s'unit et s'identifie avec la nature qu'il entraîne avec lui dans sa quête de la liberté absolue. Et il s'unit aux hommes qui portent la braise, symbole d'un amour sublime. Voici comment il l'exprime dans le psaume prologue.

"(...) Un arbre change de nom et vient vers moi,
 une pierre se lave dans ma voix,
 une plaine s'habille de mes feuilles -
 ce sont mes troupes et l'herbe est mon arme.
 (...) J'abandonne la patrie pleine de deuil,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁸ Voir: R. Guardini, *op. cit.* p. 251.

pleine comme l'oeuf dans lequel il n'y a place
 ni pour le soleil ni même pour le vent.
 (...) Ceux qui minent l'écorce du monde,
 pleins de braise ardente, pleins comme la braise,
 ceux qui se tiennent aux frontières de l'horizon
 (...) - je leur ai donné mes noms¹⁹.

Dans plusieurs poèmes apparaît le motif de la trahison du monde ancien, de la vie ancienne. On voit en même temps émerger des valeurs nouvelles, un Dieu nouveau devant lequel la sujet lyrique se prosterne avec une humilité jadis inconnue, comme par exemple dans le poème "*Tā'ih al-wağb*" (Visage errant):

Le visage errant, je prie pour ma poussière
 et je chante mon âme exilée
 En route vers un miracle inachevé (...) ²⁰.

III. *Libre choix de Dieu, de la souffrance, du chemin. Disparition de la peur devant la mort.*

L'attitude de Mihyar-Adonis semble proche de certains aspects de la philosophie d'Emmanuel Mounier qui dit que "transcender c'est dépasser dans un mouvement"²¹. Mounier voit en Dieu "la source d'un mouvement d'Amour"²². Le mouvement mouniériste consiste dans le fait de sortir de soi-même, d'arriver à une vraie compréhension d'autrui, de s'offrir à lui. La liberté de Mounier est à la foi une "liberté de l'esprit", et dans ce sens elle est absolue, et une "liberté de la personne", et dans ce sens elle est conditionnée par la situation concrète de l'homme.

La philosophie de la liberté d'Emmanuel Mounier permet de mieux comprendre les élévations surréelles, absolument libre de Mihyar, en tant

¹⁹ Adonis, *Chants de Mihyar...*, p. 94.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²¹ E. Mounier, *Introduction aux existentialismes*, Paris 1962, p. 179.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 182.

qu'esprit, démon ou prophète. Elle explique en même temps ses hésitations, purement humaines, liée au choix basé sur la réflexion et la justesse, mais éveillant aussi l'angoisse et la crainte.

Les poèmes, obscurs, ambiguë, empreints tantôt de force, tantôt de désespoir, semblent refléter les hésitations du jeune poète qui dans sa recherche d'un Dieu de l'amour, s'éloigne de l'islam orthodoxe, pour se rapprocher des élévations mystiques musulmanes, voire de la foi catholique²³.

Malgré tout, le poète prendra une décision allant à l'encontre de la tradition et de conditionnements sociaux. Dans la partie suivante des "*Aġānī Mihyār...*", ainsi que dans les recueils "*Kitāb at-taḥarwulāt wa-l-ḥiġra fī aqālīm an-nahār wa-l-layl*" (Le livre de Migration, 1965) et "*al-Masrah wa-l-marāyā*" (Le théâtre et les miroirs, 1968), et le sujet lyrique de nombreux poèmes suivre sans fléchir le chemin vers la Lumière (l'Absolu)²⁴, s'enrichissant ainsi de nouvelles vertus.

Parmi les poèmes du recueil "*Aġānī Mihyār...*", celui qui mérite une attention particulière du point de vue de l'axiologie, c'est le poème intitulé "*al-Ġurḥ*" (La plaie)²⁵, consacré à la sublimation de l'âme par la souffrance, ainsi que "*Ilāh yuḥibbu ṣaḡā'ahu*" (Dieu aime sa souffrance), qui apporte la vision d'un dieu pardonnant, vision liée à la tradition chrétienne de la souffrance et de la victime

(...)

un dieu qui écarte les pierres
de notre chemin
aime sa souffrance
et bénit même l'enfer
Il récite avec moi les mêmes prières

²³ D'après l'entretien que j'ai eu avec le poète en juin 1987. Voir aussi les poèmes du cycle "*Zahrat al-kīmiyā*" (Fleur d'alchimie) et beaucoup d'autres.

²⁴ Le problème de la signification de la lumière, est analysé par l'auteur en article "Problemy teoretyczne związków literatur i sztuk Orientu i Zachodź", Kraków, 1992, pp. 73-86.

²⁵ Adonis, *al-Ātār al-kāmila*, Beyrouth, 1971, vol. I. p. 358.

et rend l'innocence au visage de la vie²⁶.

Malgré la force de l'amour divin, la liberté de choisir exige beaucoup de courage, nécessaire pour s'opposer au monde, aux hommes, à l'opinion. Grâce à son courage, le sujet lyrique est capable de passer d'une existence moins libre à la vraie liberté. Le choix n'en est pas moins dramatique, ce dont témoigne le fragment suivant:

"*Laysa laka ihtiyār*" (Tu n'as pas le choix)

(...)

N'y aurait-il pour toi d'autre choix
qu'un chemin de feu
ou l'enfer de refus
lorsque la terre deviendra
guillotine muette
ou dieu²⁷.

Dans la poésie d'Adonis, le feu symbolise l'amour de l'Être Suprême, et la guillotine - la condamnation par les coreligionnaires. C'est grâce au sentiment de liberté que le sujet lyrique retrouve ses forces. Dans le premier psaume de la partie "*az-Zaman aṣ-ṣagīr*" (Le temps étroit), Mihyar essaye de s'unir aux hommes qui, comme lui, sont sensibles à la Lumière, symbole de l'amour que Dieu porte aux hommes²⁸.

(...)

Je cherche un soleil qui se dresserait dans les yeux
et des yeux qui verraient la lumière tout entière²⁹.

Dans la suite du psaume, la pensée panthéiste unit les contradictions de la nature, unit les êtres spirituels avec l'Être Suprême, miséricordieux même envers Satan:

Je cherche ce qui saurait rendre ondoyantes
les frontières invisibles entre mer et rochers,

²⁶ Adonis, *Chants de Mihyar...*, p. 116.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²⁸ Voir: K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, *La lumière et le feu...* cf. supra.

²⁹ Adonis, *Chants de Mihyar...*, p. 150.

entre nuages et sable, entre jour et nuit.
 Je cherche ce qui unirait nos inflexions -
 celle de Dieu et la mienne,
 celle de Satan et la mienne,
 celle du monde et la mienne...³⁰.

Celui qui croit en Dieu, à sa miséricorde infinie, ne doit pas, semble-t-il, lutter contre la peur de la mort. Pour Adonis, la mort constitue un "passage" (*ubūr*) de ce monde vers un autre, vers une nouvelle vie, belle et merveilleuse. Il l'exprime dans nombreux poèmes; je citerai ici un fragment du poème intitulé

"*Faṣl al-ḥaḡar*" (Saison de la pierre)
 Le jour mûrit en nostalgie vers la mort
 Tout voyage sous le drapeau de bourgeons
 Bourgeons de la résurrection et de la tombe
 Chaume et pluie
 Semence et moissons
 Tout est noire fleur³¹.

IV. *Passage vers une liberté réflexive, limitée par l'amour de Dieu et des hommes.*

Dans "*Aḡānī Miḥyār ad-Dimašqī*", il s'agissait avant tout d'établir un lien entre l'homme et Dieu, et cette question semblait absorber l'attention du poète. Dans le recueil "*al-Masrah wa-l-marāyā*" (1968), Adonis se sent plus proche des humains et des problèmes qui les tracassent. Le plus grave de ces problèmes c'est, pour Adonis, l'oppression des hommes par toutes sortes de tyrans, anciens et contemporains, ainsi que par leurs "masques" obéissants, masques sans visage: bourreaux et soldats. Cet état d'oppression, matérielle et même spirituelle, s'exprime le mieux dans le poème "*Mir'āt at-tāḡiya*" (Miroir de tyran)

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Adonis, *Le livre de la migration*, traduction française par Martine Faideau, Paris 1982, p. 192.

Epi, épi,
 Ne laissez pas un seul épi!
 Car c'est la moisson,
 - c'est notre paradis promis,
 notre futur pays.
 Déchirez les coeurs avant de déchirer les poitrines,
 arrachez les racines,
 changez de sol
 qui les soulève,
 Effacez le temps qui raconte leur histoire,
 effacez le ciel qui se penche sur eux
 épi après épi..³²!

Ce poème, remarquable par son universalisme, pourrait avoir trait à n'importe quel pays du monde, sans limite dans l'espace ni dans le temps. Dans le poème "*Madā'in al-Ġazālī*" (Les villes d'al-Ġazālī)³³, il y a un fragment qui décrit une ville captive: le réverbère c'est éteint, la colombe est morte, et les hommes, qui se cachent affolés, sont tirés de leurs appartements et arrêtés

(...)
 Et la ville dort, ses portes sont fermées,
 Pas une clé qui les ouvrirait.
 Pas une lampe qui l'éclairait.
 Et pas un exilé
 ni un martyr
 qui lèverait le front sur ses places..³⁴.

L'idée du martyr qui périt de la main du tyran, afin de délivrer les hommes en leur prêtant un sentiment de liberté spirituelle, culmine dans

³² Adonis, *al-Āṭār al-kāmila*, Beyrouth, 1971, vol. II. p. 327; trad. de l'arabe en polonais. K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, trad. en français Beata Geppert.

³³ *Ibid.*, vol. II. pp. 405-455.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II. pp. 440-441; trad. d'arabe en polonais K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, trad. en français Beata Geppert.

éprouvé comme la sensation de "déployer ses ailes", "d'atteindre l'infini et la puissance, le Bien et la grâce"³⁹.

Quelle ressemblance entre ces sentiments et le dernier hymne de Mihyar - martyr qui dans un envol mystique, par la mort et la souffrance, atteint la Plénitude:

(...)

Sur deux rivages - l'Amour et les hommes,

J'ai aujourd'hui atteint la plénitude:

ma voix se fait comprendre par les tremblements de terre,
les enfants et le printemps,

elle se fait comprendre par toute chose.

J'habite chaque brin d'herbe,

j'unis les rochers et les plantes

la poussière de pollen et les miroirs,

mes chants.

J'ai une patrie

qui ne connaît de frontières

qu'aucun rivage ne borne,

deux Signes la limitent - le soleil et l'Homme⁴⁰.

³⁹ Guardini, *op.cit.* p. 251.

⁴⁰ Adonis, *al-Āṭār al-kāmila*, vol. II. p. 396. Trad. d'arabe en polonais K. Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, trad. en français Beata Gepert.

CLASSICAL POETRY PARODIED
THE CASE OF HUṢAYN ŠAFĪQ AL-MIṢRĪ (1882-1948)

Willem Stoetzer

Leiden University

“After his passing away¹ the Egyptian journalist and poet Ḥusayn Šafīq al-Miṣrī was elegized by only a very few of his friends, in spite of the fact that his death caused grief to the hearts of millions of people, who found themselves cut off from his literary and humorous masterpieces. With his death the shadow of comic literature dwindled and the Arabic language became henceforth deprived of the most brilliant comic style.”

These are the opening words of the book *Abū Nuwās al-Ġadīd* (“The new Abū Nuwās”), which bears the subtitle *Muḥtārāt min ḥayr mā katab amīr al-fukāḥa* (“Selection of the best writings by the Prince of Humour”), edited by Muḥammad Šalāḥ ad-Dīn and Abū Buṭayna². The book contains no year of publication, but probably appeared soon after Ḥusayn Šafīq’s death³.

Some biographical details are given in Abū Buṭayna’s introduction, according to which Ḥusayn Šafīq was born in Cairo in 1882 of Turkish parents. His father, Muḥammad Efendi Nūr, was the owner of several

¹ On the 30th of September 1948.

² Abū Buṭayna is the penname of Muḥammad ‘Abdalmun‘im (b. 1905). Brockelmann (*Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. III, p. 178) mentions a collection of *zağal* poems by his hand published in 1930. In 1932 he founded the Union of *Zağal* Poets (*Rābiṭat az-Zağālīn*). His ninth volume of *zağal* poems was published in Cairo in 1974. His book *az-Zağal al-‘arabi, māḍihi wa-ḥāḍiruhu wa-mustaqbaluhu* (Cairo 1973, Kitāb al-Hilāl No. 270) contains some information on a controversy between Ḥusayn Šafīq al-Miṣrī and Bayram at-Tūnisi. Under the leadership of Abū Buṭayna the Union of *Zağal* Poets of Cairo and the Society of Popular Poets (*Gam‘iyyat Udabā’ as-Šā‘b*) of Alexandria organised the General Conference of *Zağal* Poets in the *Dār al-Udabā’* in Cairo on 1 March 1977.

³ The book was printed by Maṭba‘at Aḥmad Muḥaymar, Š. Fārūq.

houses and landed property, but his extravagance in living was responsible for the loss of the greater part of his wealth. The recurrence of the disastrous results of an extravagant lifestyle as a theme in Ḥusayn Šafīq's verse seems to echo his father's experiences.

On account of an ill-fated treatment of an eye disease, Ḥusayn Šafīq almost lost his power of vision and was therefore unable to complete his primary education. Yet he did have access to classical Arabic literature, especially Arabic poetry, for which he developed a devoted passion.

He was later engaged as a journalist, writing for several papers and magazines, at some stages acting as an editor as well; he also wrote for the theatre⁴.

He appears to have led a life of roaring frivolity for several years, becoming more tranquil by the time he was forty. His non-Arabic origin, his bent for humour, wit, irony and mockery, and his addiction to drink and worldly pleasures (*laddāt*) represent many of the characteristics that are usually ascribed to al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī' Abū Nuwās and therefore, in the view of Abū Buṭayna in his Introduction, fully justify his nickname "the new Abū Nuwās". The honorific title "Prince of Humour" (*Amīr al-Fukāḥa*) is bestowed on him on account of some fifty pieces of comic verse which are at the centre of interest in this article.

These compositions constitute a body of criticism of all kinds of social abuses that were prevalent in Egypt in the 1930s. The author uses a subtle medium to express his criticism: rather than posing as a lampoonist or satirist and using opprobrious language, he writes what, at first sight and to all intents and purposes, looks like a classical poem, creating – by the use of all kinds of formal features of classical poetry

⁴ Ḥusayn Šafīq's journalistic activities and his prose work are outside the scope of this article. His *Ḥawādīṭ wa-ārā' al-ḥāḡḡ Darwīš wa-Umm Ismā'īl* in Egyptian colloquial Arabic, published in Cairo 1929 and mentioned by Brockelmann (*GAL* 5 III, p. 237), acquired further publicity after its republication (with transcription in Roman letters) by Karl-G. Prasse, Copenhagen 1980.

- a lofty atmosphere that is diametrically opposed to that of washing one's dirty linen in public.

That it is not a regular classical poem becomes clear soon enough, but still the initial tone is such that the Arabic listener immediately feels in touch with his glorious past. Before long, however, the great expectations that are thereby created are destroyed as it appears that the theme of the poem is the dirty misery of everyday life, nothing to be proud of.

Ḥusayn Šafīq's social criticism is aimed at the privileged position of the rich in society, whose wealth is not based on merit. Often they have come by it through inheritance rather than work. They squander it and will, as a result, get into problems. No use for the needy to count upon them. They tyrannize their servants and are addicted to alcohol and frivolities; they never fast in Ramadan, but instead eat more. They shield each other in a society full of nepotism.

By contrast, the poor have nothing to expect from a government ruled by the rich. They have to live in misery, in houses without electricity, full of dirt and often in a state of decay, in town quarters where five minutes of rain cause a complete dislocation of the entire infrastructure. It would even seem that there is little hope for improvement for the poor man's condition, as in this society the only thing that counts is money, even in love, the other important theme of Ḥusayn Šafīq's poetry. Love is often pictured as a torment, especially as there operates a "no money no love"-law in Ḥusayn Šafīq's Egypt. The rich man's daughter cannot marry the man of her heart.

Love is, on the whole, a tricky business. For a man, that is. He is readily trapped by a fickle woman. When he thinks she is still young, it turns out that she dyes her hair and that she is even older than her lover's mother. Or, when the lover thinks his beloved is a virgin, there is a Leporello-like critic who reveals the entire catalogue of her former lovers. And if ill luck has it that he becomes united with her in matrimony, he will find her more exacting every day. She spends her house-keeping money at the jeweller's shop and wants to be taken to the

theatre, in indecent clothing even. And when her husband tries to keep her under control, she threatens to call out her male relatives.

These are the sad conditions pictured, and at the same time relativized, in poems of an average of sixteen lines, in one of the classical metres, monorhyme, full *i'rāb* and with several stylistic devices characteristic of classical poetry.

For example, there are many instances of poetically vague expressions, such as when undefined instead of defined nouns are used:

“A man deserves honour on account of his work, not on account of the wealth of a mother deceased or the wealth of a father”: *wa-l-mar'u bi-š-šugli ablun li-l-karāmati lā / bi-māli ummin tawaffat aw bi-māli abi* (45/2)⁵.

This line also shows a characteristic syntax. In comparison with prose, Arabic poetry enjoys a greater syntactical liberty which allows the separation of elements that in prose would go together⁶, the transposition of words from their usual order (*hyperbaton*) and periphrastic constructions. These features also abound in Ḥusayn Šafīq's verse. To quote some examples:

“In Nejd is an electricity company ...”: *nağdun bihā li-n-nūri kumbāniyyatun* (53/1)

“My heart is a perfectly made water-pipe and the best tobacco to fill it is your delight”: *wa-š-šadru minn i šīšatun matqūnatun / wa-ridāki fi hā aḥsanu t-tumbāki* (50/3)

Temporal clauses introduced by *idā* followed by a noun are rare in prose but relatively common in poetry⁷. Characteristically, they also occur in Ḥusayn Šafīq's work, e.g.:

“She takes asafetida which, when a dog smells it, will produce a headache in the dog, so that it will start barking”: *wa-ta'kulu*

⁵ The figure 45/2 refers to the second line of the poem starting on page 45 of *Abū Nuwās al-Ġadīd*.

⁶ This is the phenomenon called “*Sperrung*” by Alfred Bloch in his *Vers und Sprache im Altarabischen, Metrische und Syntaktische Untersuchungen*, Basel 1946, p. 114ff.

⁷ Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

*hintītan idā l-kalbu šammahū / ašāba š-šudā'u l-kalba minhu
fa-habbabā* (60/7)

The following lines, taken from an elegy on the gold Egyptian pound when it was replaced by paper money, show several classical features, e.g. a classical syntax, the use of a *maqṣūr*-form *bukā* instead of the regular *mamdūd*-form *bukā'*, the phrase *yā lahā min*, the use of a periphrastic *ra'ā*, etc.:

"My eye didn't shut, nor his eye, until we heard the roosters' crowing. What a night that was! We only weeped and wailed, lamenting the bygone days of the pound; our tears flow, whenever it comes to mind": *lam taḡtamid' aynī wa-lā 'aynuhū / ḥattā sami'nā mi-d-
duyūki š-šiyāḥ // fa-yā lahā min laylatin lam yakun / fīhā lanā illā
l-bukā wa-n-nurwāḥ // nabkī 'alā 'abdi l-ḡunayhi lladī / idā dakarnā-
hū tarā d-dam'a sāḥ //* (61/1-3)

The contrast between the classical style and trivial subjects is further accentuated in two ways. On the one hand, by interspersing the classical language with colloquial Egyptian, the poet consciously breaks the rule that poetic diction must be characterized by *faṣāḥa*. On the other hand, he does not limit himself to formulating social criticism in macaronic verse, for each composition is presented as an imitation of an existing classical poem or a follow-up to it. This heightens the natural antithesis of classical and colloquial, of serious literature and farce, and the result is attractive, as both the style of the classical examples and Ḥusayn Šafīq's own themes can now be appreciated within a less severe, more lighthearted perspective.

The fusion of these diverse elements leads to comic results, especially when classical stylistic devices are applied to colloquial expressions, or when the original poem and its imitation are ingeniously brought into connection. Some examples may well serve to illustrate these points.

On one occasion Ḥusayn Šafīq uses an expression which freely translated runs as follows: "I have to cough up the money for them as well". The paronomastic Arabic construction *aku'u aṭmānahā fīmā uka'a'uhū* (37/7) means literally "I cough up their prices among that which I am made to cough up". The construction reminds us of classical

usage, but it is here applied to the root *ka^ca*, which, in this sense, is purely colloquial. But at the same time, the passive voice of the second form is not found in ordinary Egyptian colloquial usage, where it would be replaced by the *it*-form *itka^ca*.

Another paronomastic construction is used when the poet says: "you tuck your money away in the banks": *wa-tadfiṣu fī l-bunūki l-māla dafsan* (40/11). Of current usage in classical Arabic, this construction is not normally applied to a colloquial word like *dafas*. Another verse starts with the expression "how many a man have we seen", rendered as *kam min fatan šufnāhu* (58/1), where the classical phrase *kam min fatan* is combined with the non-classical verb *šāf*, which, however, receives classical treatment leading to the hybrid *šufnāhu*, which is neither classical nor colloquial.

Very often prosodic requirements lay at the root of the formation of hybrids, as when Ḥusayn Šafīq's words "it is difficult for someone like me to serve a person who is offensive to his servants" are phrased as *wa-ṣā^cbun 'alā miṭlī l-ḥadāmatu 'inda man / yakūnu 'alā ḥuddāmiḥī yatarāḍal* (52/6), where *yatarāḍal* (a form not recorded in Wehr's Dictionary) is but a classicized reflex of the intended colloquial *yitrāzil*.

Proverbs and set expressions are also often adjusted to the special framework in which they are used. "No smoke without fire" becomes *wa-mafīṣi min ḡayri nārīn qatṭu duḥḥānun* (54/11). The identification of typically Egyptian expressions is not always easy for a non-Egyptian, but Hinds and Badawi's new *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*⁸ proves very useful. Under the word *būz* we find the expression *huwwa mādid būzu šibrēn* (literally: "he has extended his mouth by twice the span of his hand") explained as "he is pouting or sulking", and the phrase *rakbu 'afrīt* as "he is possessed by a demon" or "he is in a bad humour, likely to blow up if provoked". These expressions are used and partly adapted by Ḥusayn Šafīq when he says: "Look at my mouth and you will find it to be two metres long because of my never-ceasing cares, sulky as if

⁸ Martin Hinds and El-Said Badawi, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Arabic-English*, (Beirut), Librairie du Liban, (1986).

a sickening demon had taken possession of me": *unzur ilā būzī taḡīd tūlahū / mitrayni min hammī lladī lā yazāh // mukalḏimin ka-annanī rākibun / ʿalayya ʿifritun taqīlu l-mizāh* (61/8-9).

References or allusions to the Koran or to Koranic usage can also be found. The line *fa-idā š-šūʿūbu tahāsamāt wa-tahārabat / baqiya l-ilāhu wa-kullu šayʿin fānī* (69/15), for instance, echoes Koran 55/26-27: *kullu man ʿalayhā fānin wa-yabqā waḡbu rabbika dū l-ḡalālī wa-l-ikrām*. In another line we read: "Whoever walks into the traps of an old woman, and marries her, that will be a moon without honey!": *wa-man yaqaʿ fi ʿaḡūzin in tazawwaḡahā / fa-dālīka šahrūn ḡayru dī ʿasali* (33/6). The association with Koranic *qurʿān* ʿarabiyyan ḡayra dī ʿiwaḡin (Koran 39/28) and *bi-wādin ḡayri dī zarʿin* (Koran 14/27) seems intentional.

The relationship between Ḥusayn Šafīq's compositions and their models varies from case to case. Sometimes the analogy appears to be limited to identity of rhyme and metre. In other instances each line of the imitation is closely tied up with lines of the original. In most cases, however, there is a certain relatedness between the opening lines of the two poems, after which Ḥusayn Šafīq, sometimes quite ingeniously, develops his own theme.

In the opening line of one of his elegies, aš-Šarīf ar-Raḏī (970-1016) speaks metaphorically of Abū Ishāq aš-Šābi' as a light having gone out.⁹ Ḥusayn Šafīq makes this line his point of departure for a tirade against the electricity company, which cut off his electricity because the poet was two days late in paying his monthly bill, a very unjust action on the part of the company as it still had in its possession a three months' guarantee payment!

"The meter has been removed by a company, curse its fathers and grandfathers! So that the electric wires are now more like threads of simple ordinary cotton. Electricity, true, but in my house its

⁹ *a-ʿalimta man ḡamalū ʿalā l-ʿwādi / a-raʿayta kayfa ḡabā ḏiyāʿu n-nādī*, ed. Aḡmad ʿAbbās al-Azharī, Beirut 1307, pp. 294-298. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aš-Šābi' died in 994. at-Taʿālibī found the elegy so impressive that he included all of its 82 lines in the *Yatimat ad-dahr* (ed. Muḡammad Muḡyī d-Dīn ʿAbdalḡamīd, vol. II, pp. 306-310.)

brightness has been replaced by blackness! My electricity cut off!
 That is a slap in the face to me in front of friend and foe alike":
šalat lanā l-kuntūra kumbāniyyatun / ma'ūnatu l-ābā'i wa-l-ağdādi
// fa-ğadat sulūku l-kabrabā'i ka-annahā / haytun min-a l-quṭni l-ādī
// huwa laktarikun ġayra anna bayādahū / fī baytinā mutabaddilun
bi-sawādi // fa-n-nūru munqatī'un wa-dālika kasfatun / fī wiṣṣi
bayna ahibbatin wa-ādī (41/1-4)

Not all of the original poems that inspired Ḥusayn Šafīq date from early times. A poem by his contemporary Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm (1871-1932) starting with the line *lā talum kaffī idā s-sayfu nabā / saḥḥa minnī l-azmu wa-d-dahru abā* ("do not blame my hand if the sword misses! my determination is all right, but Fate refuses")¹⁰ triggers off a complaint about the discomforts of the hot Egyptian weather, in which he explains that the sword was made slippery in his hand by sweat streaming like water: *zaflata s-sayfa bi-kaffī 'araqun / sāla ka-l-mā'i idā mā sarsabā* (62/1).

Another fine connection between the opening lines of an original poem and its parody is when Ḥusayn Šafīq quotes the 10th-century poet Ibn al-Ḥayyāt: *hudā min sabā nağdin amānan li-qalbihī / fa-qad kāda rayyāhā yaṭīru bi-lubbihī* ("search for a refuge for his heart from the Nejdī eastwind, for its fragrance almost makes him go out of his mind"). In his own opening line Ḥusayn Šafīq pictures the lover as unable to get over the memory of his beloved. The Arabic word *salā* or one of its derivations is very often used when this motif is expressed. In this case, although there is no such word, there is an ingenious allusion to it. This is because in Egyptian Arabic the word *tasāli* (or *musalliyāt*) is used as a collective noun for assorted nuts, chick-peas, melon and sunflower seeds, etc., consumed to kill time. The idea is that if you have any problems, these noshes will help to keep your mind off of them. At public gatherings *tasāli*-vendors will cry out: "*tasāli, libb, kakōla, tasāli, libb*". *Libb* in particular is used for dried sunflower seeds, and these are

¹⁰ *Dīwān Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad az-Zayn and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1980², Vol. II, pp. 7-10.

meant when the poet says: *wa-lam yulbihī ‘anhā tiqazqīzu lubbihī* (36/1: “he did not find distraction from her in munching seeds”). The colloquial *libb* is dressed up in *fushā* clothing and the resulting *lubbihī*, identical in form but of course not in meaning, constitutes the link with the original verse.

In these examples, where the original line is actually quoted, such a relationship is easily understood. But references to other parts of poems also occur, and a knowledge of the original poem is then essential for a correct appreciation of the parody. As an example I wish to refer to al-A‘šā’s *mu‘allaqa waddī‘ hurayrata inna r-rakba murtaḥilu / wa-hal tuṭīqu wadā‘an ayyuhā r-raḡulu* (“take your leave of Hurayra; the party of riders is about to leave. But will you, man, be able to bear this farewell?”)¹¹. Ḥusayn Šafīq continues as follows:

They took their baggage and all of them went at dawn to a steamer with wheels under it, which runs and lets off steam, which seems to you interlaced clouds: *šālū l-‘izāla wa-rāḥū kulluhum saḥaran / ilā baḡūrin labū min taḥtīhī ‘aḡalu // yaḡrī wa-yanfuhu duhhānan fa-taḥsibuhū / saḥā‘iban ba‘duhā bi-l-ba‘di muttaṣilu* (55/1-2)

The interlaced clouds of the second verse (*saḥā‘iban ba‘duhā bi-l-ba‘di muttaṣilu*) echo two lines of the original: *yā man yarā ‘āridan qad bittu armuqubū ka-annamā l-barqu fī ḥāfātihī š-šū‘alu // labū ridāfun wa-ḡawfun mufamun ‘amilun / munattaqun bi-siḡāli l-mā‘i muttaṣilu* (“Seest thou there beyond the cloudmass heaped as we gaze, wherein its sides fly the darts of lightning’s flickering flame? A mighty backing it has, a middle broad, full of play, and girded round with a belt of buckets charged with a flood”; translation Lyall)¹². The word ‘*ārid*’ is used for

¹¹ *Dīwān*, ed. R. Geyer, London 1928, no. 6 (p. 41-48). Ch. J. Lyall, *A Commentary on Ten Ancient Arabic Poems: Namely, the Seven Mu‘allaqāt*, Calcutta 1894, pp. 143-151.

¹² Lines 22 and 23 in Geyer, lines 36 and 37 in Lyall. Lyall’s translation in *Festschrift E.G. Browne*, 1922, pp. 283-292. Geyer’s translation (in *SBAW* Wien, 192,3/1919 p. 13) runs as follows: “O, wer die Wolkenbank gesehen hätte, die ich nachts beobachtet! Es war, als ob das Aufleuchten an ihren Rändern Feuerbrände wären. Sie hatte Nachzügler und einen aufgeblähten Kern, unaufhörlich blitzend, gegürtet mit Wasserschaffen, unablässig (giessend)”.

clouds in the first of these two lines and Ḥusayn Šafīq's rhyme-word *muttasīlu* is identical with the rhymeword of the second of the two lines.

In a five-line poem by Baššār b. Burd beginning *lam yaṭul laylī wa-lākin lam anam / wa-nafā ʿannī l-karā tayfun alamm* ("my night was not long, yet I have not slept; a haunting phantom banished sleep from me"¹³) the physical consequences of Baššār's love for ʿAbda are described as follows: "Beneath my coat there is a wasted body; were you to lean on it, it would collapse": *inna fī burdiya ġisman nāhīlan / law tawakka'ti ʿalayhi la-nhadam*. In the parody the poet is kept awake not by the memory of his beloved, but by hosts of bedbugs, cockroaches and mosquitoes. The landlord demands prompt payment of the monthly rent, but is unwilling to provide the necessary maintenance of the house in order to prevent these evil circumstances. An extra note of humour is added to Ḥusayn Šafīq's lamentation by his borrowing, and subtle adaptation, of the idea of a collapse: ending his parody he uses the very same rhyme-word *inhadam* of the original: "The landlord is an ignorant miser. Would that his house had collapsed over him": *šāhibu l-bayti šahīḥun ġābīlun / laytabū min fawqihī kāna nhadam* (70/16).

Cases of a more extensive relationship between parodies and their originals can be found in the so-called *Muša'laqāt*, imitations of the famous *Mu'allaqāt*. A discussion of these interesting examples of Egyptian humour is, however, beyond the scope of this article.

¹³ *Dīwān Baššār*, ed. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭāhir b. ʿĀšūr, IV (Cairo, 1966), p. 166. *Agānī* III, p. 151 (ed. Dār al-Kutub, 1919). A.F.L. Beeston, *Selections from the Poetry of Baššār*, Cambridge 1977, no. 2.

AL-BĪRŪNĪ UND DER GRIECHISCHE PARTHENOPEROMAN

Gotthard Strohmaier

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Im Jahre 1967 wurde durch den pakistanischen Gelehrten Muhammad Shafi ein großes Fragment von 'Unṣurī's (gest. 1039/40) bislang verschollenem Versepos "*Wāmiq u 'Adrā*" bekanntgemacht¹. Die Namen der handelnden Personen wie der Orte ließen sogleich daran denken, daß der Dichterkönig an al-Maḥmūd's Hof in Ghazna einen altgriechischen Erzählstoff verarbeitet hat, wenngleich noch unklar war, um welchen es sich handelte und ob noch etwas davon erhalten war. Die Geschichte der allmählichen Identifizierung durch die Forschung der letzten Jahrzehnte ist vielleicht noch spannender zu erzählen als es die Handlung selbst je war, denn vollständig ist sie immer noch nicht zu rekonstruieren.

V. A. Sachranov vermutete als erster, daß ein griechischer Prosaroman zugrunde lag, und zwar der von "Parthenope", wozu er bereits drei erhaltene Papyrusbruchstücke zum Vergleich heranzog und einige Parallelen feststellte². Inga Kaladze, der eine 1983 erschienene Sammlung aller Fragmente 'Unṣurī's verdankt wird, lehnte dies zwar ab³, erkannte aber die Parallelen mit dem Grundmuster des griechischen Romans im allgemeinen an⁴. Inzwischen aber war Herwig Maehler ohne Kenntnis der orientalischen Parallelüberlieferung die richtige Zusammensetzung der drei Papyrusfragmente gelungen, die er dem Anfangsteil des Parthe-

¹ *Maṭnawī Wāmiq-o-'Adrā* ta'lif Abū l-Qāsim Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad 'Unṣurī, Lahore 1967.

² Persidskaja versija grečeskogo romana. In: *Internacional'noe i nacional'noe v literaturach vostoka*, Moskau 1972, S. 187f.

³ *Ėpičeskoe nasledie Unsuri*, Tbilisi 1983, S. 37f.

⁴ Ebenda, S. 31f.

noperomans zuweisen konnte⁵. Auf dieser Grundlage kamen dann Tomas Hägg und Bo Utas zu dem sicheren Schluß, daß das Epos des 'Unṣurī den griechischen Roman ziemlich getreu reproduziert, soweit sich die Parallelität verfolgen läßt⁶. Damit war auch klar, daß "cAdrā" als "redender Name" der griechischen "Parthenope" entsprechen soll.

Aus den beiden Überlieferungssträngen läßt sich die Handlung wenigstens in der ersten Hälfte des Romans rekonstruieren⁷. Die pseudo-historische Aufmachung erinnert an Charitons "Kallirhoe"; während dort die Hauptpersonen aus Thukydides entlehnt sind, stammen sie in dem anonymen Parthenoperoman aus Herodot⁸. Man kann mit Hägg den einen wie den anderen durchaus als einen historischen Roman im modernen Sinn dieser Bezeichnung ansehen⁹. Parthenope ist die Tochter des Polykrates, des Tyrannen auf Samos, ihr Geliebter ist Metiochos, der, von seiner Stiefmutter Hegesipyle vertrieben, auf die Insel kommt. Bei Gelegenheit eines Symposiums unter der Leitung des Philosophen Anaximenes streiten sie sich über das Wesen des Eros, was aber ihrer wachsenden Verliebtheit keinen Abbruch tut. Dann aber folgt die für den antiken Roman obligatorische Trennung der Liebenden. Nach dem Tod des Polykrates hat sich Parthenope der Nachstellungen seines Nachfolgers Maiandrios zu erwehren, wird in die Sklaverei verkauft, unter Umständen, die nicht mehr deutlich sind, kommt sie nach Rhegion in Unteritalien zu dem Tyrannen Anaxilaos, schließlich wird sie allem An-

⁵ Der Metiochos-Parthenope-Roman. In: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 23, 1976, S. 1-20; vgl. M. Gronewald, "Ein neues Fragment aus dem Metiochos-Parthenope-Roman" (Ostrakon Bodl. 2175 = Pack² 2782). *Ebenda* 24, 1977, S. 21f.

⁶ T. Hägg, The Parthenope romance decapitated? In: *Symbolae Osloenses* 59, 1984, S. 83f.

⁷ T. Hägg, Metiochos at Polycrates' court. In: *Eranos* 83, 1985, S. 92-102; B. Utas, Did 'Adhrā remain a virgin? In: *Orientalia Suecana* 33-35, 1984-86, S. 431-437.

⁸ 3, 124; 6, 23.39-41; 7, 165.

⁹ Callirhoe and Parthenope: The beginnings of the historical novel. In: *Classical Antiquity* 6, 1987, S. 184-204, bes. 198f.

schein nach auch noch an den persischen Königshof verschlagen. Das weitere ist ungewiß, am happy end ist trotzdem nicht zu zweifeln.

Wie aber soll man den Weg der Vermittlung von dem griechischen Roman, der vermutlich im ersten Jahrhundert v.u.Z. entstanden ist, bis hin zu dem tausend Jahre später verfaßten persischen Epos rekonstruieren? Utas hat in einer sorgfältigen Analyse der griechischen Eigennamen in beiden Fassungen gezeigt, daß sie im Persischen nur sehr wenig verunstaltet sind, so daß man nicht allzu viele Zwischenstadien oder möglichst gar keine ansetzen sollte¹⁰. Kaladze rechnet nun tatsächlich mit der Möglichkeit, daß ʿUnṣurī den griechischen Erzählstoff auf eine direkte Weise kennengelernt und selbst übersetzt hat¹¹. Dagegen spricht unter anderem dies, daß der Roman zwar bis ins zweite oder dritte Jahrhundert u.Z. populär gewesen ist, wie die Papyri und Fußbodenmosaiken bei Antiochien¹² zeigen, daß aber Erwähnungen aus byzantinischer Zeit fehlen. Ibn an-Nadīm nennt in seinem auf Vollständigkeit angelegten Fihrist einige obskure Titel von Unterhaltungsliteratur griechischer Herkunft, auch hier findet sich nichts Entsprechendes¹³. Man sollte daher annehmen, daß die Parthenopegeschichte schon längst zur Zeit ihrer Popularität im griechischen Raum entweder ins Syrische oder ins Persische übergegangen war. Bei Ibn an-Nadīm finden wir an anderer Stelle den von ʿUnṣurī her bekannten Titel auf Arabisch, nämlich als *Kitāb al-Wāmiq wa-l-ʿAdrā*¹⁴, ein Werk des Sahl ibn Hārūn, der ein Direktor des von al-Maʿmūn begründeten *bayt al-ḥikma* und ein Protagonist des persischen Kultureinflusses in Bagdad war¹⁵. Wir wissen aber nicht, ob sich hinter diesem Titel auch derselbe Inhalt verbarg wie im griechischen Roman oder bei ʿUnṣurī, so daß es keinen Zweck hat, an diesem

¹⁰ S.o. Anm. 7, S. 435f.

¹¹ S.o. Anm. 3, S. 52.

¹² Vgl. Maehler (s.o. Anm. 5), S. 1f., Tafel I. u. II.

¹³ Hrsg. v. G. Flügel, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1871, S. 305f.

¹⁴ Ebenda, S. 120,9f.

¹⁵ J. H. Kramers, Art. Sahl b. Hārūn. In: *Enzyklopädie des Islam*, 1. Aufl., s.v.

Punkt weiter zu spekulieren. Schließlich gab es nach ʿUnṣurī auch noch andere Epen, die unter dem gleichen Namen von Wāmiq und ʿAdrā eine ganz andere Handlung boten.

Anders steht es mit einer zweiten Bezeugung des arabischen Titels, wo wir zwar auch den Inhalt nicht wissen, aber doch sicher sein können, daß er mit dem bei ʿUnṣurī und damit auch mit dem griechischen Roman übereinstimmte. Al-Bīrūnī nennt in einer von ihm selbst zusammengestellten Liste seiner eigenen Werke auch eine *Qissa Wāmiq wa-ʿAdrā*¹⁶. Der choresmische Gelehrte war nicht nur ein Zeitgenosse ʿUnṣurīs, sondern befand sich mit ihm zusammen am selben Hof des Maḥmūd von Ghazna. Er nennt des weiteren in seiner Liste zwei andere belletristische Titel, nämlich einen *Ḥadīṭ Qasīm as-surūr wa-ʿAyn al-ḥayāt* und einen *Ḥadīṭ ṣanmayi l-Bāmiyān*¹⁷, die ebenfalls genau mit zwei nicht erhaltenen Werken des ʿUnṣurī übereinstimmen, nämlich *Šād-bahr u ʿAyn al-ḥayāt* und *Ḥing-but u Surḥ-but* ("Der weiße und der rote Götze"). Hägg vermutet, daß sich hinter dem *Qasīm as-surūr wa-ʿAyn al-ḥayāt* Charitons Liebespaar Chaireas und Kallirhoe verbirgt¹⁸, und aus den wenigen Zitaten des persischen Epos geht in der Tat hervor, daß es ebenfalls im griechischen Milieu spielt¹⁹. Das dritte Buch über die beiden Götzenbilder behandelte aber einen bodenständigen persischen Sagenstoff²⁰. In allen drei Fällen ist vorauszusetzen, daß al-Bīrūnī unter den drei fast identischen Titeln auch denselben Stoff geboten hat wie ʿUnṣurī.

¹⁶ *Épître de Bērūnī contenant le repertoire des ouvrages de Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā ar-Rāzī*, hrsg. v. Paul Kraus, Paris 1936, S. 39, Nr. 80 (Nachdr. hrsg. v. M. Mohaghegh, Teheran 1406 A.H., S. 35).

¹⁷ Ebenda, Nr. 81 u. 83.

¹⁸ The oriental reception of Greek novels: A survey with some preliminary considerations. In: *Symbolae Osloenses* 61, 1986, S. 111.

¹⁹ Vgl. Kaladze (s.o. Anm. 3), S. 52 u. 150, Nr. 78.

²⁰ Über al-Bīrūnīs persönliche Bekanntschaft mit dem Ort in Afghanistan vgl. A. D. H. Bivar, The stations of al-Bīrūnī on the journey from Ghazna to Peshawar. In: *Al-Bīrūnī commemorative volume*, hrsg. v. Hakim Mohammed Said, Karachi 1979, S. 168.

Wollte er, der Vertreter der exakten Wissenschaft, damit dem ʿUnṣurī Konkurrenz machen oder wollte er ihm auf irgendeine Weise nützlich sein? Hägg vermutet, daß al-Bīrūnī die alte arabische Version des Sahl ibn Hārūn in eine neupersische Prosa übertragen habe²¹, aber ʿUnṣurī war als gebildeter Mensch des Arabischen mächtig und hatte eine solche Hilfe nicht nötig. Außerdem hegte al-Bīrūnī eine solche Aversion gegen das Persische, daß er sich zu dem Ausspruch verstieg, es sei ihm lieber, auf arabisch beschimpft als auf persisch gelobt zu werden²². Umgekehrt meint darum Pavel Bulgakov, daß al-Bīrūnī von einer alten Pehleviversion eine arabische Übersetzung gemacht habe, die dann ʿUnṣurī als Grundlage für sein persisches Epos nehmen konnte²³. Uta, der vom philologischen Befund der Eigennamen her ein solches Zwischenstadium des Pehlevi ausschließt, stellt die Möglichkeit zur Diskussion, daß al-Bīrūnī direkt aus dem Griechischen ins Arabische übersetzt habe²⁴. Das ist abzulehnen, al-Bīrūnī kannte einige griechische Wurzelwörter, so wie sie auch heute jedem Naturwissenschaftler geläufig sind, aus manchen Stellen in seinen Werken geht aber eindeutig hervor, daß er trotz seiner weitgespannten Interessen nie Gelegenheit hatte, die griechische Sprache richtig zu lernen²⁵. Somit bleibt nur noch eine andere Möglichkeit, die Uta erwägt, nämlich daß al-Bīrūnī die Erzählung aus dem Neupersischen des ʿUnṣurī oder eines seiner Vorläufer in arabische Prosa übertragen hat. Aber welchen Zweck sollte er damit verfolgt haben?

²¹ S.o. Anm. 18, S. 107.

²² *Al-Biruni's book on pharmacy and materia medica*, hrsg. u. übers. v. Hakim Mohammed Said, Karachi 1973, S. 12 (arab.); Übers. in: Al-Bīrūnī, *In den Gärten der Wissenschaft. Ausgewählte Texte ...* übers. u. erläutert v. G. Strohmaier, Leipzig 1988, S. 34.

²³ *Žizn' i trudy Beruni*, Taschkent 1972, S. 304 u. 358; ich habe mich dem früher selbst angeschlossen, in: Al-Bīrūnī, *In den Gärten ...* (s.o. Anm. 22), S. 23.

²⁴ S. o. Anm. 7, S. 436.

²⁵ Vgl. meine Rez. zu: Beruni, *Farmakognozija v medicine*, übers. v. U. I. Karimov (*Izbrannyye proizvedenija IV*), Taschkent 1973. In: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 73, 1978, Sp. 56.

Die Überschrift, die er über die betreffende Gruppe von Schriften in seiner Bibliographie gesetzt hat, lautet: *Wa ammā mā yağrī mağrā l-ihmād min al-hazl wa-s-sahf fa-qad tarğamtu*. Das ist nicht leicht zu verstehen, ihmād bedeutet den Übergang von einem seriösen Thema zu einem lustigeren; die Kamele fressen das Kraut, das hamd heißt, als eine Art Dessert, davon ist der Ausdruck ihmād metaphorisch gebildet. Die Überschrift wäre also zu übersetzen: "Von dem, was auf eine unseriösere Weise als Scherz und Blödelei anzusehen ist, habe ich übertragen:". Nun ist der Parthenoperoman von seinem unbekanntem Autor sicher nicht in diesem Sinne geschrieben worden, er wollte damit bei seinem Leser Spannung und allenfalls Tränen der Rührung erwecken.

Al-Bīrūnī aber hatte eine eigene sarkastische Art, volkstümliches Erzählgut wiederzugeben und dabei die inneren Widersprüche hervortreten zu lassen. In der "Mineralogie" kommt er auf den Alexanderroman und auf die darin enthaltene Sage vom Diamantental zu sprechen: "In ihm hausen Schlangen, die man nicht ansehen kann, ohne zu sterben. Er aber ließ einen Spiegel vorantragen, hinter dem sich die Träger versteckten, und als die Schlangen sich darin selbst erblickten, starben sie auf der Stelle. Vorher hatten sie sich gegenseitig angesehen, waren aber davon nicht gestorben." In dem gleichen Zusammenhang referiert er die unheimliche Geschichte von der Messingstadt nach einer Briefsammlung des Mūsā ibn Nuṣair, "daß er in den Wüsten des Westens zu einer Burg mit einer hohen Mauer gekommen sei. Er habe kein Tor gefunden, und es habe auch niemand herausgeschaut. Sie aber hätten ihre Lasten übereinandergeschichtet, bis fast die Höhe der Mauer erreicht war. Dann habe er einen seiner Leute hinaufsteigen lassen. Als er oben war, drehte er sich zu der Truppe um und lachte, dann ließ er sich nach drinnen hinunter. Zwei weitere seiner Leute mußten ihm folgen, und an ihnen bestätigte sich dasselbe. Sie stiegen hinauf und taten dasselbe wie ihr Gefährte, und ebenso noch ein dritter. Darum habe sich seiner die Furcht bemächtigt, und so sei er beunruhigt umgekehrt. So gab es also in dieser Gesellschaft von Dummköpfen keinen, der den Hinaufsteigenden am Bein festgehalten hätte, um ihn, sobald er anfangen zu lachen, wieder mit Tatkraft und Geschick nach draußen zu zerren

und ihn von den Lasten hinunter auf die Erde zu rollen und ihn auszufragen, was es damit auf sich hat"²⁶.

Man kann es nur lebhaft bedauern, daß wir seine Version des Parthenoperomans nicht mehr lesen können. Al-Bīrūnī hat noch nicht die moderne Kategorie der Fiktionalität²⁷, innerhalb derer er diese Art von Literatur würdigen könnte, er nimmt vielmehr ihren scheinbaren Anspruch auf authentische Geschichtserzählung ernst, um ihn zurückzuweisen. Er reagiert damit nicht anders als griechische und arabische Intellektuelle, die den Roman mit Verachtung gestraft haben; Julian Apostata hat den Priestern seiner neuplatonischen Gegenkirche die Lektüre dieser pseudohistorischen "Machwerke" (plasmata) ausdrücklich verboten²⁸, zu vergleichen wären auch die abfälligen Bemerkungen Ibn an-Nadīms über die Vorformen von "Tausendundeiner Nacht"²⁹. Warum aber hat sich al-Bīrūnī die Mühe oder den Spaß gemacht, eine Übersetzung vorzulegen, die sicher in dem angedeuteten Sinne bearbeitet war? Man wird dahinter eine erzieherische Absicht vermuten dürfen. Genauso verhielt er sich nämlich, als er nach vierzig Jahren angestrengten Suchens in den Besitz von Manis "Buch der Geheimnisse" gelangte. Er schreibt: "Da überkam mich eine Freude, wie sie den Verdurstenden beim Anblick der Fata Morgana überkommt, und hernach eine Betrüb- nis, wie sie jenen wegen der Enttäuschung trifft, wenn er näher kommt. ... Dann machte ich von dem, was an reinem Schwachsinn und glattem Unfug in diesem Buche steht, einen Auszug, damit ein jeder, der von derselben Krankheit wie ich angesteckt sein sollte, sich damit vertraut

²⁶ *Kitāb al-ġamāhir fī ma'rīfat al-ġawāhir*, hrsg. v. F. Krenkow, Hyderabad 1355 (1936/37), S. 99 u. 101f.; Übers. in: Al-Bīrūnī, *In den Gärten ...* (s.o. Anm. 22), S. 212; vgl. hier auch S. 129-131 u. 209.

²⁷ Vgl. H. Kuch (Hrsg.), *Der antike Roman. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Kommunikation und Gattungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1988.

²⁸ Epist. 89b; vgl. weiter H. Gärtner, Charikleia in Byzanz. In: *Antike und Abendland* 15, 1968, S. 47f.

²⁹ S.o. Anm. 13, S. 304,20, vgl. 305,27.

machen kann und seine Genesung ebenso rasch vonstatten geht wie in meinem Falle³⁰.

Das Rätsel, wieso und auf welchem Wege ausgerechnet einem antiken Trivialroman die Ehre einer so nachhaltigen Rezeption im Orient zuteil wurde, wie sie beispielsweise einem Homer verwehrt war³¹, ist damit noch lange nicht gelöst. Das Problem ist aber nunmehr ein wenig einfacher geworden, als wir al-Bīrūnī aus der Kette der Überlieferer herausnehmen dürfen.

³⁰ S.o. Anm. 16, S. 4; Übers. in: Al-Bīrūnī, *In den Gärten ...* (s.o. Anm. 22), S. 147.

³¹ G. Strohmaier, Homer in Bagdad. In: *Byzantinoslavica* 41, 1980, S. 196-200.

AR-RUMMĀNĪ ON ELOQUENCE (*BALĀGA*)

László Tüske

Budapest

1 Recent historical and systematic researches attest the fact that the dogma of the inimitability of the Koran (*i'ğāz al-Qur'ān*) was firmly established in the early period of Islam (Grotzfeld 1969; Neuwirth 1983). The systematic analysis of "inimitability" was commenced only in the period of the development of rational theology (*kalām*), at the turn of the 8-9th centuries. Within this framework, the theory was developed that God had sent his significant prophets to perform miracles, and thus Muḥammad's miracle, i.e. the sign of his prophecy, had been the Koran just as Moses's miracle had been magic and that of Jesus healing. There are sources available from the mid-9th century, which regarded the grammatical and stylistic features of the Koran as the basis of its inimitability. It appears from these sources that their authors, while trying to explain the perceptible extraordinariness of the revelation (Neuwirth 1983:169-170), based their research on the outcome of literary and, especially, poetical research¹. Works on the inimitability of the Koran in the 10th century (Ġurġānī, *Risāla*; Ḥaṭṭābī, *Bayān*; Rummānī, *Nukat*) summarized the theological and prophetic reasoning of the 8-9th centuries; they only concentrated on the elucidation of rhetorical and stylistic, i.e., literary aspects. The theological analysis of *i'ğāz* was preserved along with the linguistic, rhetorical, and stylistic lines of approach.

On the other hand, the turn of the 8-9th centuries and the 9th century brought the most significant change from the point of view of medieval Arabic literature. The poetry of the so-called "moderns" (*muḥ-*

¹ It is important to point out that most references of the earlier period have been preserved only in fragments; and/or some statements appeared as parergons in works dealing with other questions.

datūn) resulted in a modification of traditional literary structures and creative methods; these poets introduced new literary structures, tools and methods. The poetic life of the 9th century was "officially" characterized by the confrontation of traditional and new (*badī'*) poetry. At the same time, there was a large-scale synthesizing-disclosing activity. The subtlety of the situation was manifested in the fact that the outstanding representatives of the new trend took the lead in collecting, systematizing and making the works of old Arabic literature available for the public (Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī)².

The literary examination of the language of the Koran, the critical reception of the *badī'* poetry and the disclosure of the traditional Arabic poetry occurred almost simultaneously in time³. Concrete historical circumstances, the question of being created or not being created, and the parallel theological (*mu'tazila*) and political debates (as to the introduction of the *mihna* 'inquisition') necessitated the linguistic examination of the inimitability of the Koran⁴. The age, called the formative period of Islamic culture because of the initiatives and the renewed attempts to study the phenomena of literature and the Koran, lasted some two hundred years (from the 9th to the 11th century). During this period distinguished scholars formulated the conceptual framework and the set of rhetorical methods, which had defined the aesthetic language of Arabic literature almost up to this date. In answer to identical or similar questions, a new structure of scholarship had evolved from the inter-

² It is important to notice that the great syntheses of Arab scholarship were written during the second half of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century. The significant syntheses of the science of Tradition (the four big *badī'*-collections) and history (The Chronicle of at-Ṭabarī) were also composed during this time.

³ Cf., the circumstances of birth and the origin and character of the stylistic, rhetorical material of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Badī'*.

⁴ It is of common knowledge that during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, examinations were carried out with the objective of making the system of Mu'tazilite theology universal, i.e., to create a centralized theological system in the Empire. Government officials were to support the theological lines accepted by the government. After 22 years the centralisation efforts failed around 847-9.

action between literary studies and the Koranic sciences: the Arabic rhetorical poetics known as the *'ilm al-balāġa*.

The examination of rhetorical works within the framework of Muslim society requires, above all, the consideration of their literary (aesthetic) and non-literary (theological) aspects. This contradictory situation itself is remarkable. The medieval Muslim thinkers had the task of justifying the dogma (born outside literature but showing some literary characteristics) with the Koran and its text. It appears practical to examine the story of their activity, paying special attention to the "rhetorical"⁵ system in which they interpreted their dogma; what role the central concepts of rhetoric thus developed were destined to play in securing the hegemony of theology; how these concepts were connected to one another and/or to the conceptual framework and set of terminology of the representatives of the literary tradition; and how they could be inserted into the triad of rhetoric sciences (*'ilm al-ma'ānī*, *'ilm al-bayān*, *'ilm al-badī'*) to be developed later on. The answers to these questions may get one closer to the solution of certain dilemmas of the Arabic literary tradition⁶.

Answers to the questions raised above will be supplied by analyzing the work of a distinguished author of *i'ğāz*; the role the dogma of the inimitability of the Koran played in the history of rhetoric will also be outlined.

2 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Īsā ar-Rummānī (d. 384/994) became known as Mu'tazilite grammarian for the succeeding generations, who paid homage to his comprehensive knowledge in the field of philosophy in his grammatical works (Brockelmann 1937-1949 I, 113; S I, 175; Carter

⁵ It should be noted that the medieval Arabic science of literature was not differentiated. However, it is unavoidable that by applying a set of concepts developed in later periods, such characteristics be attributed to earlier stages which had not existed then. Such differences will, as far as possible, be indicated. "Rhetoric", as it will be seen later, means "style" in this context.

⁶ The literary justification of the inimitability of the Koran became general by the mid-11th century. In the same period the development of poetry and literary works stuck, the neoclassical trend of the 10th century became increasingly dominant.

1990:129). Beside his grammatical works, his tractate on the inimitability of the Koran, titled *an-Nukat fī i'ğāz al-Qur'ān* (Questions pertaining to the inimitability of the Koran) has also survived. The thoughts of ar-Rummānī have always been taken into account in the history of criticism and of the theory of literature⁷.

3 ar-Rummānī's short, thirty-eight and a half-page treatise can be divided into three major sections structurally. The short introduction lists the seven aspects (*ğiha, wağh*), practically in one sentence, on the basis of which the inimitability of the Koran is referred to. Subsequently, the author embarks on the treatment of one distinguished aspect, eloquence (*balāğa*), covering more than thirty-four pages. After having elucidated on eloquence, which was his primary concern, he discusses the remaining six aspects on merely four pages.

4 In the introduction, ar-Rummānī summarizes the aspects on the basis of which the miraculous inimitability of the Koran is understood. The *i'ğāz* is manifested in: 1) the lack of a counter-Koran despite reasons and claims that might have necessitated it (*tark al-mu'arada*); 2) that no one (people and jinnees) has lived up to its challenge (*at-tahaddī li-l-kāffa*); 3) that God diverted people from the creation of a work of art which could be measured against the Koran (*aş-şarfa*); 4) that eloquence prevails in the Koran (*al-balāğa*); 5) that the Koran provides true information about future events (*al-ahbār aş-şādiqa 'an al-umūr al-mustaqbala*); 6) that the Koran breaks with the accepted (literary⁸) tradition (*naqd al-'āda*); 7) that it is comparable to all other inimitable miracles (*qiyāsubu bi-kull mu'ğiz*) (*Talāt rasā'il* 75).

These theological viewpoints are well known from the history of *i'ğāz*⁹. ar-Rummānī enumerates all possibilities of examination. It

⁷ See the commentaries of ar-Rummānī's followers on his views on *balāğa* conveniently collected in *Talāt rasā'il* 164-196.

⁸ *Talāt rasā'il* 111, where the Koran and the contemporary methods of literary composition are compared to one another.

⁹ Cf., Grotzfeld 1969; Neuwirth 1983, and especially Ch. 64 (*Fī i'ğāz al-Qur'ān*) of Suyūtī, *Itqān* 147-160.

appears as if he was doing it in order to put aside everything which is not about the Koran perceived as a linguistic phenomenon. His aim is to interpret the accepted inimitability of the Koran, belonging to the sphere of language, from linguistic aspects – thus further widening the scope of interpretation of the dogma. He undertakes the challenge of approaching the text of the Koran (which cannot be regarded as a piece of literature) from the aspect of eloquence so that the extraordinary feelings and experience resulting from the reception of the Koran be explained by means of literature.

5 ar-Rummānī commences the examination of the questions referring to eloquence by its definition. In his attempt to define *balāga*, he alludes to three spheres of question which constitute the principles of his doctrine. As these spheres permeate through his whole work, they provide its most important foundation. These are the following: 1) the spheres of interpretation of *balāga*; 2) questions of content and form; 3) problems of reception.

5.1 In the first step ar-Rummānī lays down the different types of eloquence (*genera elocutionis*). He says: “*balāga* has three (stylistic) levels. It has an upper and a lower level, and it has a middle (stylistic) level between the upper and lower levels¹⁰. Everything that falls into the upper (stylistic) level is miraculously inimitable (*mu‘ġiz*). This is the *balāga* of the Koran. Everything that is below this level is the *balāga* of the eloquently speaking people” (Rummānī, *Nukat* 75).

By reading the work of the author, who relies on direct, practical observations, one can understand that the triad of stylistic levels appears virtually in all the works of Muslim authors during the Middle Ages¹¹. It is not known in what circumstances it was first formulated in Arabic literature; it was not necessarily a Hellenistic borrowing. The appearance and application of division can be understood as an important

¹⁰ Similar wordings had been formulated by Greek and Roman authors, e.g., “There are three stylistic genders ...: the first is elevated, the second is medium, the third is simple”, Cornificius, *Rhetorica* 207.

¹¹ Cf., e.g., Ḥaṭṭābī, *Bayān* 26.

sign of realization within rhetorical examinations. Every human speech act can be characterized by these three levels; notwithstanding, where ar-Rummānī introduces the aforementioned levels, he cites examples taken only from the Koran and the eloquent speech of learned men, and ignores the third level. Therefore, it appears that the three stylistic levels, for some reason, veil a double division.

“As to beauty (*al-ḥusn*)”, he says later, “the highest level of *balāġa* is the eloquence of the Koran. The highest level of *balāġa* is the Koran specifically. The highest level of *balāġa* is inimitable (*mu‘ġiz*) by either the Arabs or the non-Arabs as poetry is inimitable (its level of eloquence cannot be reached) by people who (for whatever reason) are unable to speak. This (the poetry) is inimitable specifically by people unable to speak; that (the Koran) cannot be imitated by the whole mankind (*al-kāffa*)” (Rummānī, *Nukat* 76). The most important message of the dogma of *i‘ġāz* from a literary (aesthetic) point of view was formulated by the author: the spoken (Arabic) language has two spheres: 1) the divine with its own miraculous inimitability and uniqueness; 2) the human sphere, which lacks this miraculous characteristic. This dichotomy is one of the fundamental principles of Muslim (literary) aesthetics. It permeates the circumstances of its development, spreading, reception and subsequent evaluation. It also circumscribes the scope of literature that can be produced in Arabic. He virtually admits the restricted nature of human creative force because he initially rules out the possibility that literature can reach the highest stylistic level. The actual aesthetic evaluation is preceded by an approach of a theological nature, and at this point, ar-Rummānī’s system can be regarded as an adequate manifestation of Muslim faith. That is why the viewpoint attributed to the Mu‘tazilite an-Nazzām (d. 846) has a special significance. According to him, the essence of *i‘ġāz* is that Allah diverted the Arabs from creating the counter-Koran (*ṣarfa*); therefore, *i‘ġāz* could be created only by divine will (Boullata 1988:141-142). It is to an-Nazzām’s credit that, by considering the linguistic tools of the Koran and Arabic literature, he attempted to re-establish the powers of human creativity. ar-Rummānī, on conditions of a kind of prophetic adjustment, accepted the

viewpoint of the *ṣarfa* (Boullata 1988:110) as one of the possible viewpoints. However, he failed to meditate upon its rhetorical consequences and to work out this concept¹². He asserted that, from his point of view, the Koran was part of the signs of prophecy¹³. When he united the starting and central theses of the whole *i'ğāz*-complex (i.e., the separation of the divine and human spheres of the art of speech) and the principle of the three stylistic levels known from literature, he actually laid down their sphere of validity. It appears in the theological prejudice that permeates through his treatise: the perfect realization of the given stylistic tool can be found in the Koran.

5.2 ar-Rummānī continues the introduction to *balāġa* with the following remark: "Eloquence (*balāġa*) does not (simply) mean making the content (*ma'nā*) understood, because it can happen that out of two speakers, both of whom can communicate the content, one is eloquent, while the other is not. Nor does *balāġa* mean the mere correlation between expression and content (*taḥqīq al-lafz 'alā l-ma'nā*) because even if the content correlates with the expression, the latter can be weak, dull, strange and affected. On the contrary, *balāġa* can only be attained if the content gets to the heart in the nicest form of expression (*fī aḥsan ṣūra min al-lafz*)" (Rummānī, *Nukat* 75-76).

ar-Rummānī treats the definition of *balāġa* carefully. He avoids overemphasizing the factors serving for the communication of content or the factors of expression, i.e., the elements of content and form. He seems to apply a new phenomenon called *ṣūra* (form, shape), which is aimed at relieving the dichotomy between content and form. In connection with this, it is worth mentioning that 'Abdalqāhir al-Ġurġānī used the same word to describe the expressions denoting the artistic unity be-

¹² Cf., Ibn Sinān al-Ḥafāġī's criticism on ar-Rummānī's explanation of harmony (Ibn Sinān, *Sirr* 181-185). Ibn Sinān raises objection to ar-Rummānī's distinguishing three levels with regard to harmony: harmonic, disharmonious and intermediate. As an-Nazzām's follower, he stresses the point that these kinds of division and separation deprive the Arabic language of artistic forms.

¹³ Cf., *Talāt rasā'il* 110.

tween content and form one hundred years later¹⁴. Gustave E. von Grunebaum ignores the attempts in connection with the phenomenon of the *šūra* when he perceives the fixed and insoluble dichotomy of *ma'nā/lafz* as one of the most important limitations in Arabic literature¹⁵. According to von Grunebaum, the abovementioned limitation is manifested in the Arab authors' linking things (*ma'ānī, res*) and words (*lafz, verba*) as independent entities in their works (Grunebaum 1955:134-135). Tradition provides the inventory of poetical objects (*ma'ānī*) on one hand, and the unchanged system of language, mechanically separated and at the creators' disposal, on the other hand. The linguistic elements ideally preserve and maintain their identity (Grunebaum 1955:135). ar-Rummānī's careful separation of *ma'nā, lafz* and *šūra*, and also their use as rhetorical terms indicate that *šūra* is a new, separate category from *ma'nā* and *lafz*. This approach cannot be accentuated as it deserves. As it could be observed, it was continued, and probably had precedents in circles under Mu'tazilite influence.

5.3 According to the definition mentioned already, the message gets into the heart. A couple of pages further the author says the following: "According to the points of consideration mentioned, *i'ğāz* is manifested in a way that all (linguistic) phenomena are present in it; so that it becomes clear for the soul that the given speech belongs to the upper stylistic level, the *balāga*" (Rummānī, *Nukat* 78). The concepts in this excerpt can be understood as follows: It is well known that Muslim psychology in the Middle Ages differentiated between sense, soul and spirit. Sensible thinking (sense of judgement) did not play an important part because for man, "whose intelligence distinguishes him from animals", intellectual activity was important. This belongs to the intellectual part of the soul (*'aql*) – and the heart, according to the ancient traditions, is its centre. Where ar-Rummānī talked about the message getting into or out of the heart, he meant the receptive function of intelligence; but he

¹⁴ Cf., Heinrichs 1969:77.

¹⁵ Cf., Grunebaum 1952.

did not mention the senses. Thus, he employed the terminology of tradition which separated sensual perception from thinking. Intellectual activity has a definite role in his system. According to him, the function of literature examined is to forward the message, which forms part of the intellectual activity, to the receiver¹⁶.

6 By summing up the important points of the introduction, the following can be deduced. According to ar-Rummānī, the divine and human spheres are clearly separate with regard to eloquence (*balāġa*). Eloquence is not manifested in the *lafz*, nor in the *ma'nā*, but in the *šūra*. The latter is a completely different entity comprising the previous two phenomena. Literature is the subject of the intellectual activity. These statements, as it was pointed out above, permeate ar-Rummānī's whole work; they prevail in every fragment thereof; they serve as the basis of the aesthetic manner of speech, which can be called medieval Muslim aesthetic.

7 It is widely known that ar-Rummānī was a distinguished linguist well versed in Greek logic. Therefore, it is not surprising that in introducing *balāġa*, he defined it with a logical order of division. After having elaborated on the conception of the *balāġa*, he embarked on division. According to him, *balāġa* consisted of ten levels. It seems practical to introduce them according to the grouping suggested by A. Neuwirth. She created three groups: 1) the actual *badī'* elements (*tašbīh*, simile; *isti'āra*, metaphor; *taġānus*, paronomasia; *mubālaġa*, hyperbole); 2) elements which can be regarded as linguistic characteristics (*iġāz*, condensation; *bayān*, clarity, elocution; *talā'um*, harmony); 3) and those three *balāġa* elements which were newly introduced by ar-Rummānī: *tasrif al-ma'ānī* (systematic change in the subject), *tadmīn* (inclusion, or reference, by means of the stem but the content is not manifested by linguistic means), *fawāšil*

¹⁶ Arabic literature also saw the function of poetry and literature in teaching and pleasing; *bayān* (clear communication) and *sihr* (enchantment) were the two key-words. They were attributed to the Prophet and were legitimized by revelation. Cf., Grunebaum 1955.

(rhyme or the rhythmical units of the Koran)¹⁷. The division exemplifies clearly that the classes or elements of *balāġa* are identical with the linguistic tools (*figurae elocutionis*) developed during the study of literary works of art. In the course of his analyses, ar-Rummānī makes important remarks, e.g., the separation of simile and metaphor with regard to the interpretation of the types of metaphor. His popularity and fame can be observed in the history of defining and treatment of stylistic elements. ar-Rummānī's thoughts and ideas can be traced in the works of subsequent authors: Ibn Rašīq, Ibn Sinān al-Ḥafāġī, ʿAbdalqāhir al-Ġurġānī and others¹⁸.

8 If a comparison is made between the structure of the rhetorical works known from European tradition and the structure of ar-Rummānī's work on *balāġa*, the two approaches are clearly distinct. According to Aristotle, rhetoric constitutes an organic system. In his synthesis he regards rhetoric as an independent branch of science. He determines its peculiar reasons, the types of rhetoric, psychological and logical evidence, relation to ethic and politics, stylistic requirements and the parts of rhetorical speech (Aristotle, *Opera* 1403b6-1420b4). If we look at the structure of his *Rhetoric*, it becomes clear that the *balāġa* elements analyzed by ar-Rummānī resemble the contents only of Book Three. Book Three of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* discusses the following: 1) General questions as to the manner of presentation and style (the style is excellent if it is of appropriate clarity; it is poor if it is rigid); similes, metaphors, grammatical correctness, the majesty of style, appropriateness, prosaic rhythm, periodic style, witty, expressive, lively, styles characteristic of certain types of speeches. 2) Parts of the rhetoric speech: introduction, refutation of accusation, narrative, evidence, question as means of refutation, conclusion (*ibid.*). However, ar-Rummānī's work shows some resemblance, pertaining to stylistic elements, only with the first part of Book Three. Further comparisons of con-

¹⁷ Cf., Neuwirth 1983:77.

¹⁸ The individual stylistic elements will be studied in another paper.

tents¹⁹ proves that ar-Rummānī's apologetic *balāga*, after all, deals with the execution of rhetorical elocution, eloquence and style; and can only be regarded as rhetoric in a restricted sense²⁰.

If the concept of *balāga* is compared with 'ilm al-*balāga*, later to become universal, the following can be deduced. 'ilm al-*balāga* with its treble system incorporates all knowledge of the science of speech accumulated until the 12-13th centuries. The executors, or more likely systematizers, were Fahraddīn ar-Rāzī (d. 1209) and as-Sakkākī (d. 1229), who relied upon well-known traditions and, above all, 'Abdalqāhīr al-Ġurġānī (d. 1078), who presented an analysis with regard to *nazm* (linking, forming)²¹. The synthesis provided by as-Sakkākī titled *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* (Key to the Sciences), whose third part under the subtitle title "The Sciences of *Maʿānī* and *Bayān*", discusses the following: 1) Arabic syntax (introduction and clarification of the main points of *maʿānī*); 2) Stylistic tools (the science of *bayān*); 3) The science of *badīʿ*. ar-Rummānī's elements of the concept of *balāga* can be found in all three parts; however, all elements of his concept in all three parts cannot be traced²².

¹⁹ See e.g., the subject of Book Four of Cornificius, *Rhetorica*: 1) Stylistic genders are elevated, medium and simple; 2) Stylistic requirements are elegance, being well-wrought and majesty. Further, see the subject of Quintilianus, *Institutio*, 419-478 (Book VIII): on style in general; virtues of style are clarity, possessing the features of the Latin language, eloquence, sententiousness, metaphors (tropes).

²⁰ Pseudo-Longinus's work titled *On the Sublime* examines the factors of majestic effects from the point of view of the creative artist and the receptor. These can be nature's gifts and can be acquired through the process of learning. Ideas and emotions make up the first group. The second group is made up of thoughts, speech formations, word order, rhythm and fine sound. It cannot be accidental that modern Arabic literary criticism discovered the thoughts of Pseudo-Longinus with regard to the inimitability of the Koran. Cf., 'Abbās 1978:339.

²¹ Ġurġānī, *Asrār*; Ġurġānī, *Dalā'il*. al-Ġurġānī argued that 1) certain words are not more distinguished than others; 2) thoughts, as it were, do not exist alone without words; therefore, they cannot be evaluated alone. According to his principle, the distinguished style can be attained by way of combining, *nazm*; locution results in different meanings.

²² ar-Rummānī's interpretation of *taṣrīf* was not acknowledged in later literature. According to Aḥmad Maṭlūb's summary, only al-Bāqillānī followed in his footsteps. Cf.,

The later development of *'ilm al-balāga* resulted in al-Qazwīnī's (d. 1338) *Talḥīṣ al-miftāḥ* (The Extract of the Key - with reference to as-Sakkākī's work)²³. It is divided into 1) *'ilm al-ma'ānī*, a branch of science belonging to the syntactic part of grammar and formal logic with regard to its contents; 2) *'ilm al-bayān* (the same thought can be expressed at different levels of clarity; its elements are the simile '*tašbīḥ*', metaphor '*isti'āra*' and metonymy '*kināya*'); 3) *'ilm al-badī'*, the science of stylistic tools²⁴. The continuation of ar-Rummānī's elements of *balāga* can only be accepted in this complete system with certain restrictions. Out of the classes of *balāga* set up by ar-Rummānī, *taṣrīf* and *taḍmīn* developed on the basis of a considerably formal grammatical synthesis, but they cannot be found in as-Sakkākī's works; *fawāṣil* were also seldom used later. However, it is also clear that ar-Rummānī primarily expressed his views with regard to these questions in the sphere of *'ilm al-bayān*. In the introduction it was asserted that the studies of the inimitability of the Koran led to its examination as a linguistic phenomenon, during which the experts employed the given elements, conceptual framework, and methodical tools of literary tradition. As a result of medieval efforts, the new aesthetic manner of speech, which can be summarized in the *'ilm al-balāga*, evolved. In the previous comparison we intended to show that certain categories set up by ar-Rummānī had been further developed by later authors, while others fell out of use. In some respect ar-Rummānī's idea of the *balāga* was more restricted than, for example, al-Qazwīnī's; however, sometimes it can be understood in a wider sense. The reason for this is that ar-Rummānī did not undertake to analyze the speeches of art stylistically (aesthetically), but explained his views in connection with the inimitability of the Koran. Essentially, he analyzed the parts of the art of verbal expression, the stylistic levels (*genera elocutionis*), and the stylistic elements (*fī-*

Maṭlūb 1986:II, 251.

²³ Published in: Mehren 1853.

²⁴ Cf., Mehren 1853:19, 20, 97. He rendered *'ilm al-ma'ānī* by "Begriffslehre", *'ilm al-bayān* by "Darstellungslehre", and *'ilm al-badī'* by "Tropenlehre".

gurae elocutionis). That is how he formulated the concept of *balāġa*, which, taking into consideration the sacred characteristic of the text, was related to the concept of elocution in rhetoric. This rhetoric, i.e., *‘ilm al-balāġa*, however, was more restricted than the Aristotelian rhetoric.

9 Finally, one more remark should be made. In the introduction it was asserted that the study aimed at the inimitability of the Koran lead to its examination as a linguistic phenomenon. During the examinations the experts utilized the given elements, the conceptual framework, and the set of methods found in the literary tradition. Medieval Muslim scholars drew up a peculiar rhetorical system within the framework outlined above. Their primary intention was to justify the linguistic inimitability of the Koran; that is, that the Koran is rhetoric itself. As a result of this, there is a considerable difference between the rhetorical works of Greeks and Romans and the Middle Ages in Western Europe, and the rhetorical works of the Muslim world. The development and the continuous study of the rhetorical works in the Antiquity were aimed at the exposition and analysis of the factors of rhetoric, thus providing reference books for would-be rhetors. Thus the ancient rhetorical works were prescriptive and normative in nature. Even a superficial comparison provides ample proof as to the difference between the traditional rhetoric of the Antiquity and the rhetoric developed in the Muslim world. In the latter, the authors intended to describe, list, and justify theological reasons, as opposed to their literary reasons. Therefore, the outcome of their examinations fell within the sphere of theology. Their works were descriptive and, with regard to their task, apologetic. In this context, Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī’s and others’ opinions appear acceptable, who regarded the function of *balāġa* (rhetoric) as the understanding, and the promotion of the acquisition of the Koran²⁵.

²⁵ Cf., ‘Askarī, *Šinā‘atayn* 7, and Ibn Haldūn, *Muqaddima* III, 338.

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III. HISTORY

ÖKONOMISCHE ENTWICKLUNG DES NAHEN OSTENS IM MITTELALTER IM LICHTE DER WEIZENPREISE

O. G. Bolschakov

Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg

Es ist wohlbekannt, daß die Preise für das wichtigste Nahrungsmittel das ganze Preisniveau und den Lebensstandard bestimmen; ihre stabile dauerende Veränderung kann einen sicheren Indikator der Veränderungen in der Wirtschaft einer Gesellschaft sein, besonders wenn wir keine direkten Angaben darüber haben.

Für den mittelalterlichen Nahen Osten, wo das Weizenbrot den wichtigsten Teil der Ration für die Mehrzahl der Bevölkerung ausmachte, können als einen solchen Indikator die Weizenpreise dienen. Die Möglichkeit eine solche Analyse auszuführen verdanken wir den Forschungen von E. Ashtor, der ein umfangreiches Material darüber sammelte und uns zum erstenmal eine ganzheitliche Konzeption der ökonomischen Entwicklung dieser Region gegeben hat¹.

Diesen Forschungen gemäß stiegen die vieljährigen Durchschnittspreise für den Weizen in Ägypten von Anfang des 8. Jh. bis zum 10. Jh. von einem Zehntel des Dinars für ein *irdabb* (Artabe) bis zu einem Dinar für ein *irdabb*. Im 12. Jh. sank der Preis bis zu 0,125 Dinar, und blieb auf dieser Stufe bis zur Mitte des 15. Jh. Gleichzeitig stieg der Arbeitslohn ungefähr dreifach, so daß ein Tagelöhner, der im 8. Jh. für seinen Monatslohn 888 *ratl* Brot und 17,3 kg Hammelfleisch kaufen konnte, im 11. Jh. imstande war, nur 60 kg Brot und 8 kg Fleisch zu kaufen, im 12. Jh. aber – 90 kg Brot und 15 kg Fleisch². Das heißt, der Reallohn verkleinerte sich zum 11. Jh. fast siebenfach und sogar nach

¹ E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiévale*. Paris, 1969; E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*. London, 1976; außerdem zahlreiche Artikel.

² Ashtor, *A Social History*, pp. 94, 201, 220.

einiger Steigerung im nächsten Jahrhundert noch viermal niedriger war als im 8. Jh.

Eine solche sprunghafte Weizenpreissteigerung im 9. Jh. erklärt E. Ashtor durch die Vermehrung der Geldmasse im Verkehr, die die Entwertung der Edelmetalle nach sich zog. Im 11. Jh. sei der Verteuerungprozess durch die Zunahme der Stadtbevölkerung verschärft³. Als aber am Anfang des folgenden Jahrhunderts zahllose Bewohner Ägyptens einer schrecklichen Pestseuche zum Opfer gefallen waren, gingen die Preise wegen der Depopulation des Landes herunter, da die Nachfrage nach den Lebensmitteln heruntergegangen war⁴. Denselben Prozess der Depopulation und Verbilligung des Weizens glaubt E. Ashtor auch im Iraq zu finden⁵.

Diese für das Verständniß der ökonomischen Entwicklung des Nahen Ostens sehr wichtigen Konsequenzen scheinen auf den ersten Blick ganz wahrhaftsgetreu und gut fundiert zu sein. Jedenfalls sind mir keine Einwände bekannt. Doch ein tieferer Einblick in diese Konsequenzen deckt ernste Widersprüche auf.

Das erste, was uns in Verlegenheit bringt, ist das kaum mögliche Zurückbleiben der Löhne hinter dem Anwachsen der Weizenpreise. Unter diesen Umständen bestehen nur zwei Erklärungen: entweder sollten die Löhne der Arbeiter im 8. Jh. groß genug sein, um nach einer siebenfachen Senkung für das Leben noch auszureichen, oder sollten die Tagelöhner im 10. Jh. alle mit Frauen und Kinder aussterben. Da aber es nicht geschah, sollen wir ein Fehlschluß in Ashtors Auslegungen feststellen.

Es ist auch unverständlich, wie es möglich ist, daß eine zehnfache Steigerung der Kornpreise keiner allgemeine Preissteigerung verursachte. Schließlich: wie kann es sein, daß der Preis für das Brot vom 8. Jh. bis

³ Ashtor, *Histoire*, p. 76.

⁴ Ashtor, *Histoire*, p. 128; Ashtor, *Les métaux précieux et le balance des payments du Proche Orient à la basse-époque*. Paris, 1971, p. 15-16; Ashtor, *A Social History*, p. 92-94, 128.

⁵ Ashtor, *A Social History*, p. 169, 221, 251.

zum 10. Jh. um 230% stieg während der Weizenkorn um 900% teurer wurde⁶? In diesem Fall sollte der Korn viel teurer sein als das gebratene Brot.

Es ist nicht zu verkennen, daß die Angaben der mittelalterlichen Quellen zu mangelhaft und einseitig sind. Sie berichten uns meistens von den außerordentlich hohen Preisen der Hungersjahre und fast nie – von den normalen; sehr selten werden die Preise für Weizen und Brot gleichzeitig angegeben, aus diesem Grunde ist es schwer die Zusammenhang dieser Preise festzustellen und Fehler zu vermeiden. Doch gestatten die Gesetze der Ökonomik nicht, daß das Endprodukt (im vorliegenden Fall – das gebratene Brot) billiger wäre als das Ausgangsmaterial, oder daß der Reallohn eines Tagelöhner niedriger wäre als ein *minimum minimorum* genügendes für die Reproduktion seiner Arbeitskraft.

Daraus folgt, daß Ashtors Schlußfolgerungen auf irgendeiner falschen Voraussetzung gegründet sind. Es entstehen bei der Forschung der Preise zweierlei Möglichkeiten falsche Konsequenzen zu ziehen: entweder irrtümliche Bewertung der Geldseinheit oder eine unrichtige Bestimmung der Größe der Gewichts- oder Maßeinheiten. Mit der Bewertung der Geldeinheiten ist alles in Ordnung, anders steht's mit dem Maß. E. Ashtor ging von der Annahme aus, daß das ägyptische Hohlmaß *irdabb* im 8. Jh. den 109 kg Weizen betrug und im 10. Jh. – 69 kg⁷. Doch ist es bekannt, daß eine Artaba im vorislamischen Ägypten 36 l Weizen umfaßte, d.h. ungefähr 25 kg. Ein solches Maß ist von Ibn 'Abdalḥakam für die Zeit der arabischen Eroberung bestätigt: es bestand aus 6 *wayba* zu je 6 *mudd*⁸; schließlich wird in einem arabischen Papyrus (PERF No 641) des 8. Jh. eine Artaba Mehl zu 62,2 *ratl miṣrī* erwähnt. Wie groß auch dieser *ratl* sein kann, sollte der nach ihm gemessene *irdabb* viel kleiner sein als 69 kg.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁷ Ashtor, *Histoire*, p. 78, n. 4; Ashtor, *A Social History*, pp. 94, 127.

⁸ Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā aṣ-Šūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*. Cairo 1341 A.H., p. 271.

Im 9. Jh. wurde der kleine *irdabb* durch einen größeren aus 6 *wayba* zu je 27-30 *ratl baġdādī* ersetzt, dadurch entstand ein *irdabb*, der den 69 kg entsprach⁹. Gerade da liegt der Hund begraben: der ungeheuere Sprung des nominalen Weizenpreises wurde durch die Veränderung des Maßes verursacht und die Verteuerung war also mehr nominal als reell. Ende des 12. Jh. finden wir einen noch größeren *irdabb* zu 108 kg und das fordert noch weitere Korrektive bei der Analyse der Preise.

Jetzt ist es klar, warum bei E. Ashtor die Brotpreise mit Weizenpreisen nicht übereinstimmen, denn das Brot wurde mit *ratl* und nicht mit *irdabb* gemessen, der *ratl* aber veränderte sich wenig: im 8. Jh. wog er ungefähr 300 g im 9-10. Jh. – 406 g und von der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jh. ab – 437-450 g.

Im Iraq, wo die wichtigste Maßeinheit, *kurr*, keine Veränderungen erlitt, fand Ashtor natürlich keine sprunghafte Weizenpreissteigerung.

Die Veränderung der Irdabbsgröße erklärt das ganze Problem nicht, denn in jedem Fall besteht eine Verdoppelung der Weizenpreise in Ägypten. Um festzustellen zu können inwiefern sie reell ist, müssen wir zuerst übereinkommen darüber, welche Preise wir beim Mangel der Zahlangaben für die Durchschnittspreise halten können. Wenn wir zum Beispiel für ein Hundert Jahre zehn Preisangaben haben, die sich auf drei oder vier Jahre beziehen und neun dieser Angaben uns über extraordinary Preise berichten, wie können wir diese Zahlen addieren und die Summe durch zehn dividieren? Auf diese Weise bekommen wir keinen Durchschnittspreis, sondern einen Durchschnittswert einiger zufälliger Größen.

Gibt es hier irgendeinen Ausweg oder bleiben wir ewig in Gewalt der Subjektivität? Mir scheint, daß ein solcher Ausweg zu finden ist. Den Schlüssel dazu bieten uns dieselben mittelalterlichen Informatoren, denen wir so oft die Vorwürfe machen, daß sie uns meistens außerordentliche Vorfälle und ungewöhnliche Preise mitteilen, aber kein Mas-

⁹ As'ad b. al-Mammātī, *Qawānīn ad-dawāwīn*. Cairo 1943, p. 365-366; *The Ma'ālīm al-Qurba fī ahkām al-ḥisba of Diyā' ad-dīn Muḥammad... known as ibn al-Ukhuwwa*. Ed. R. Levy, Cambridge, 1938, p. 90.

senmaterial für die statistischen Berechnungen geben. Doch bieten sie uns etwas besseres nicht ein rohes Material, sondern das fertige statistische Resultat, ein Resümee der Lebenserfahrungen der Leuten des Mittelalters in der Gestalt ihrer Vorstellungen und Meinungen über das Normale und Außerordentliche. Ein solches Urteil der Zeitgenossen überwiegt eine Menge anderer Angaben und soll betrachtet werden als echtes statistisches Resultat der vieljährigen Beobachtungen.

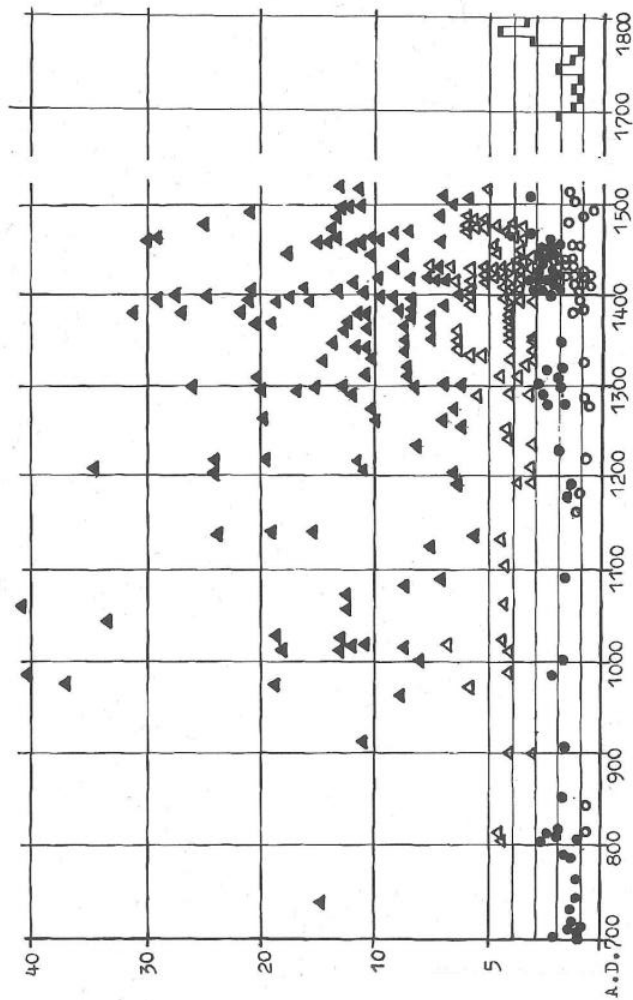
Anordnen wir solche Preisangaben nach den Beurteilungen der Zeitgenossen in vier Stufen: ungewöhnlich billige, normale, hohe und katastrophisch hohe, so bekommen folgendes Schema, das den Streifen von Normalpreisen zutage bringt (Schema 1). Es zeigt, daß in Ägypten Normalpreise im Bereich von einundhalb bis zu drei Gramm Gold für ein metrische Zentner von Weizen liegen. Im Iraq schwanken sie in 8.-13. Jh. zwischen 2 und 3,5 g. Gold¹⁰. Das gestattet uns zu behaupten, das Niveau der normalen Preise in den beiden wichtigsten Agrarländer des Nahen Ostens im 8.-16. Jh. stabil war. Vergleichen wir diese Preise nach den guten statistischen Angaben von 17-18. Jh. in Ägypten¹¹, so finden wir, daß sie auch in denselben Grenzen schwanken.

Die Stabilität der Weizenpreise gibt uns einen festen Stützpunkt für die andere Forschungen im Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Ökonomik.

¹⁰ O. Bolschakov, *Srednewekoviy gorod Blizhnego Wostoka. VII- seredina XIII weka.* Moscow 1984, p. 186 (Russisch).

¹¹ A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII-e siècle*, I, Damas, graf 5.

Die Niveau der Weizenpreise im mittelalterlichen Ägypten nach dem Urteil der Zeitgenossen (Gramme von Gold für 100 kg.)



o niedrige Preise; ● normale; Δ erhöhte; ▲ katastrophisch hohen.
 Die zehnjährige Durchschnittspreise (1650-1800 - nach A. Raymond)

SOME REMARKS ON THE TERMINOLOGY OF IRRIGATION
PRACTICES AND HYDRAULIC CONSTRUCTION
IN THE EASTERN ARAB AND IRANIAN WORLD
IN THE 3RD-5TH/9TH-11TH CENTURIES

C. E. Bosworth

Manchester University

I. *Introduction*

The Arabs and Persians of the mediaeval Islamic period inevitably fell heirs to the extensive and complex irrigation systems of their pre-Islamic predecessors; immediately preceding them in Iraq the Aramaic-speaking population whom the Arabs called an-Nabat, but beyond these the Akkadian-speaking Assyrians and Babylonians and ultimately the Sumerians; and immediately preceding them in Persia and Transoxania (the *mā warā' an-nahr* of the Arabs) the Persians of the Sasanid period, the Soghdians and the Khwarazmians, and beyond these the ancient Iranians of Achaemenid times and earlier. Areas like Mesopotamia (the Tigris-Euphrates basin), Ahwāz or Hūzistān (the basin of the Kārūn river and its affluents) and the river basins of the Oxus, Zarafshan and Jaxartes, with such oases as those of Hurasān, Marw, Buḥara, Samarqand, etc., in northeastern Persia and Central Asia, exhibit the hydrological phenomena and their attendant political and social institutions of what the American sinologist Karl A. Wittfogel has called "hydraulic societies"¹. The researches of such scholars as the Russian archaeologist S. P. Tolstov in Hwārazm (in the modern Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan)² and the American one R. Mc C. Adam in the Tigris-

¹ See his *Oriental despotism, a comparative study of total power*, New Haven and London 1957.

² See his *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953.

Diyala rivers plains to the northeast of Baghdad³, have shown the essential continuity of land utilisation and irrigation practices there from pre-Christian up to Islamic times. Not surprisingly, the language of Islamic times of the technical terminology of practices in these regions of highly-organised, irrigated agricultural exploitation goes back frequently to such more ancient tongues as Aramaic, Middle and Old Iranian, Akkadian, Sumerian and perhaps Elamitic.

A considerable part of this terminology is known to us from certain early Islamic writers, such as the mathematician in Persia and Iraq Abū l-Wafā' Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Būzaǧānī (d. 388/998 or in the preceding year)⁴; Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥwārazmī (*floruit* in the second half of the 4th/10th century), secretary in the bureaucracy of the Sāmānid amīrs of Buḥara and author of a pioneer encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Kitāb mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, which has valuable information on the terminology of irrigation practices in the oases of Ḥurasān and Transoxania⁵; and the unknown author of a mathematical treatise, probably written in the second quarter of the 5th/11th century under the last Būyids as a guide for the use of financial officials in Iraq, the *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī li-l-a'māl as-sultāniyya wa-rusūm al-ḥisāb ad-dīwāniyya*⁶.

³ See his *Land behind Baghdad, a history of settlement on the Diyala plain*, Chicago and London 1965.

⁴ See *El*² art. "Abū l-Wafā' al-Būzaǧānī" (H. Suter).

⁵ See on him in general, *El*² art. s.v. (A. L. Sabra); on his book, C. E. Bosworth, "A pioneer Arabic encyclopedia of the sciences: al-Khwārizmī's 'Keys of the sciences'", *Isis*, LIV (1963), 97-111; and specifically on the section of the book dealing with irrigation terminology, *fī alfāz tustā'malu fī dīwān al-mā'*, idem, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art: a contribution to the administrative history of Mediaeval Islam", *Jnal. of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XII (1969), 151-158.

⁶ See Cl. Cahen, "Le service de l'irrigation en Iraq au debut du XIe siècle", *Bull. d'Études Orientales*, XIII (1949-50), 117-143.

II. *The Terms*

As a preliminary, one may note that many of the basic Arabic terms relating to agriculture, the processes of cultivation, sowing and harvesting, and the names of plants and crops, seem to have originated – not surprisingly – in the well-watered region of Mesopotamia, where the terrain and climate were so suitable to growth, and go back to the pre-Islamic Semitic society there or even beyond that to the preceding Sumerian civilisation. Thus Arabic *akkār* “peasant, cultivator” goes back, probably via Aramaic *akkārā* (Hebrew *ikkār*) to Akkadian *ikkāru* (root ḫ - k - r) and Sumerian *engar*⁷. Arab *ḥarata* “to plough, till the ground” (Ugaritic *hrt*; Hebr. *ḥāraš*; Ethiopic *ḥarasa*) goes back to Akk. *erēšu*⁸. Ar. *dara’a* “to sow seed” (Ug. *dr*; Hebr. *zāraʿ*; Aram. *dʿraʿ* or *zʿraʿ*; Eth. *zarʿa*, i.e. with glottal stop for the third radical ‘ayn here in South Semitic, as in the Arabic also) goes back to Akk. *zarū*⁹. Ar. *ḥiṭa* “wheat” (Ug. *ḥtt*; Hebr. *ḥittā*; Aram. *ḥiṭtā* “wheat”; Eth. *ḥettat* “grain”) goes back to Akk. *utta/etu* “corn, barley (the word for the latter cereal in Arabic, *šāʿir*, coming from a West Semitic form, Ug. *šʿrm*; Hebr. *šʿōrā*; Aram. *šʿartā*)¹⁰. Ar. *sunbula* “ear of corn” is from a common Semitic origin (Hebr. *šibbolet*; Aram. *šbaltā*; Syrian *šablʿtā*; Eth. *sabl*), with its oldest form seen in Akk. *šubultum, šumbultu*)¹¹, whilst Ar. *ḥaql* “field” is likewise common Semitic, Hebr. *ḥēleq* “share”; Aram. *ḥaqlā* and Akk. *eqlu* “field”.¹²

⁷ A. Salonen, “Akkadian lexicography”, *Orientalia*, N.S. XIX (1950), 405; idem, *Alte Substrat- und Kulturwörter in arabischen* (*Studia orientalia, Societas orientalis fennica*, XVII/2), Helsinki 1952, 10.

⁸ Idem, *Agricultura mesopotamica nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen* (*Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae*, Ser. B, vol. CXLIX), Helsinki 1968, 29-30.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

What now follows is only a brief selection of words dealing with irrigation, canals and the control of river waters; an exhaustive examination of the topic would certainly need a complete book.

1. *Ma'şir*. This is defined by al-Ḥwārazmī as “a chain or cable which is fastened right across a river and which prevents boats from getting past”¹³, and more specifically by Ibn Rusta in the geographical section of his *al-A'lāq an-nafisa* as a barrier across the Tigris at Ḥawānit near Dayr al-Āqūl consisting of a cable stretched between two ships at each side of the river, preventing ships passing by night (and thus evading the tolls levied by the official traffic and toll-house regulators, the *aṣḥāb as-sayyāra wa-l-ma'āşir*¹⁴. Then from being a barrier across the river to halt shipping, it soon acquired the meaning of “customs house where tolls (*mukūs, ma'āwin*) were collected” and then the actual tolls themselves, so that in the caliphate of al-Mu'taḍid (279-289/892-902) one hears of a body of officials attached to the *şurta* or police of Baghdad called the *ma'āşiriyyūn*, who collected tolls from river traffic on the Tigris¹⁵

The Arabic root *'-ş-r* “to confine, constrict; to attach a tent to the ground by means of a short rope, *işr* or *aşr*” (*Lisān al-ʿarab* V, 80-82) gives some clue to the word's general meaning of a barrier preventing river traffic, but the actual form may go back to Akk. *maşāru* “to delimit, fix a boundary”, *muşsuru* “to set a border line”, *maşartu* “watchman, guard, watch house”¹⁶.

¹³ *Mafātih al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 70, Eng. tr. in Bosworth, “Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art”, 155.

¹⁴ Ibn Rusta, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, 185, French tr. G. Wiet, *Les atours précieux*, Cairo 1955, 213.

¹⁵ Hilāl aṣ-Şābi', *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, ed. ʿA. A. Faraġ, Cairo 1959, 20, German tr. in H. Busse, “Das Hofbudget des Chalifen al-Mu'taḍid billāh”, *Der Islam*, XLIII (1967), 21-22. See also M. ʿAwwād, *al-Ma'āşir fī bilād ar-rūm wa-l-islām*, Baghdad 1948, and *Elʿ* art. “Ma'şir” (Bosworth).

¹⁶ See *Chicago Akkadian dictionary*, Letter M, x/1, 333 ff., x/2, 245; W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1959-81, II, 619-621, 659.

2. *Musannāt*, this is dismissed by al-Hwārazmī as being well-known and thus requiring no elucidation¹⁷. It denotes, in fact, a dam or embankment with sluices or gaps to let the water through in a controlled flow, and is mentioned quite often in early Islamic sources on the conquest and history of Iraq. The great Umayyad governor al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf constructed *musannayāt* in the lands of Mesopotamia under his charge¹⁸. al-Ya'qūbī describes the Round City of Baghdad constructed by al-Manṣūr as having a fore- or outer wall (*faṣīl*) with towers, beyond which lay a strong rampart, *musannāt*, made from fired brick bonded together by quicklime mortar (*al-āḡurr wa-ṣ-ṣārūḡ*), and then a trench (*ḥandaq*) filled with water led in from the Karḥayā Canal¹⁹. The Qur'ān commentators and authorities on the lore of the ancient Arabs explain the South Arabian term *al-ʿarim*, used in Qur'ān, 34. 15, in connection with the story of the breaking of the Dam of Mārib, as a *musannāt* or strongly-constructed barrage²⁰. The Arabic plural form must be via Aram. *mʿšannʿyāt*; in Judaeo Aramaic we have *mʿšōnītā*, used in the Mishna to mean "dam". The ultimate origin of the term is Akkadian; in late Babylonian documents and letters it is fairly common, with the meaning "embankment, barrage" for *mušannita/mušennita*²¹.

3. *Bazand*. This is defined by al-Hwārazmī as a garden (*bustān*), which must be merely a stab in the dark²². The word does not appear in any of the native dictionaries and is frequently mis-written, with

¹⁷ *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 70, tr. in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 154.

¹⁸ al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, Cairo 1959, 290-291.

¹⁹ *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, 239, French tr. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Paris 1937, 13.

²⁰ Cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḡ ad-dahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861-77, III, 371-372; Yāqūt, *Muʿḡam al-buldān*, Beirut 1374-76/1955-57, IV, 110, s.v. "al-ʿArīm".

²¹ Salonen, "Akkad. *musannitu* = arab. *musannāh*", *Orientalia*, N.S., XXXII (1963), 449-451; idem, *Agricultura mesopotamica*, 219-223.

²² *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 70, tr. in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 154, cf. 164.

displacement of consonantal dots, as *barīd*, *yazīd*, etc., by e.g. authors like al-Balādurī, Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, but is clearly written in the manuscripts of Qudāma b. Ġaʿfar's *Kitāb al-ḥarāġ*. It is often associated with *sukūr* "weirs" and *butūq* "diversions from a river in order to feed water into a canal"²³, and its meaning emerges plainly from the *Kitāb al-ḥāwī* as denoting an embankment of brushwood, reeds and packed-together earth used to block up a breach in the banks of an irrigation canal. Although given an Arabic plural as *bazandāt*, the word looks basically Iranian and may date from the period of Sasanid domination in Iraq during the centuries before the Arab conquest²⁴.

4. *Mallāḥ*. This well-known word is defined, obviously, by al-Ḥwārazmī, as *ṣāḥib as-safīna* "sailor, man connected with boats", and less obviously as *mutaʿabhid al-māʾ* "one who frequents the waterways"²⁵. In early Islamic times, and assuming that al-Ḥwārazmī's two definitions are not synonymous, this last seems to have denoted a person responsible for maintaining the river banks, keeping the channels clear of débris and obstructions, etc., a meaning found in some of the native dictionaries (e.g. *Tāġ al-ʿarūs*, II, 229: *mutaʿabhid an-nahr*). The word is ultimately from Akkadian (as is, indeed, the common Arabic word for

²³ On *baṭq/biṭq*, see the comments on the word's use by Abū Yūsuf given by E. Wiedemann, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften. X. Zur Technik bei den Arabern", in *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim 1970, I, 279-280. The same word or its root would appear to lie behind the name of the river channel or canal in the neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ mentioned by al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 289, as al-B.zāq, in the local Aramaic speech, al-B.sāq.

²⁴ Cahen, "La service de l'irrigation en Iraq", 123-124, 135-138.

²⁵ *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 69, tr. in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 153.

"ship", *safīna*²⁶) *malāhu* "seaman, captain of a ship", itself going back to Sumerian *ma₂-lah₆*, cf. Mishnaic Hebrew *mallaḥ*, Aram. *mallaḥā*²⁷.

5. *Šādurwān*. This is defined by al-Ḥwārazmī as a constructional work (*asās*) which protects and strengthens the foundations of a bridge (*qantara*)²⁸. Ahwāz, in particular, was the region where *šādurwāns* were used extensively, and the great *šādurwān* or weir across the Duḡayl at Tustar built by the Sāsānid Emperor Šāpūr I was regarded by the Muslims as one of the wonders of the world²⁹. al-Maqdisī describes in considerable detail the *šādurwāns* on the river of Ahwāz, i.e. the Kārūn, barriers which divide up the waters dammed up behind them and direct them into channels for irrigation, also at the same time relieving the pressure of accumulated waters in winter and spring when snow and rain in the Zagros Mountains to the north swelled the rivers of the plains below³⁰.

The word has clearly a wide range of meanings, in Arabic usage alone, some of which are enumerated by Dozy, such as a basin for ablutions; a fountain with jets of water; a raised platform; a pipe or conduit conveying water to a tank or basin; and the base on which the

²⁶ Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen... Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Studia Orientalia, Societas orientalis fennica, VIII/4)*, Helsinki 1939, 19: Akk. *sapīnātu*; Hebr. *špīntā*; cf. H. Kindermann, "Schiff" im Arabischen. *Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini*, Zwickau-im-Sa. 1934, 40, 108.

²⁷ See H. Zimmer, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonische Kultureinfluss*, Leipzig 1915-17, 45; Salonen, *op. cit.*, 133-134; von Soden, *Akkadisches Wörterbuch*, I, 592.

²⁸ *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 70, tr. in Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 154-155.

²⁹ See G. Le Strange, *The eastern lands of the caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 57-58, n. 3, 235-236; Abū Dulaf Miṣʿar b. Muḥalhil, *Travels in Iran (circa 950 A.D.)*, ed. and tr. V. Mirowsky, Cairo 1955, text 28, tr. 61, comm. 110.

³⁰ *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 411; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, 322-327.

Ka^cba at Mecca stands³¹. It is this last meaning which seems to come nearest to al-Hwārazmī's definition of *šādurwān* as a revetment or supporting course of masonry, etc., round the base of the pierre of a bridge or some other hydraulic construction. The etymology of the term was extensively investigated by the French Iranist E. Benveniste. He showed that this obviously Iranian word was probably Parthian in origin, i.e. stemming from pre-Sāsānid Iran, and spreading into the languages of neighbouring countries such as Armenia and into the Semitic Mandaean language of southern Iraq, where it seems to denote a large sheet of water, on which boats can sail, in a basin. The basic meaning is apparently that of a raised platform or dais (which might be covered with carpets or such coverings, hence the word's sense in Armenian and in Middle and New Persian), which was extended to constructions with walls and embankments to raise the level of water in basins, and thence to various other hydraulic devices for raising or directing the flow of water for fountains, to weirs, to dams with sluices, to streams canalised between brick and stone embankments, etc³².

6. *Tawf*. This is explained by the Arabic lexica (see Lane, *s.v.*) as a raft constructed either from inflated goat or water skins lashed together with ropes or palm fibres or else from wooden spars similarly fastened together. In the first sense, it is obviously identical with the well-known *kelek* used especially on the Tigris above Baghdad and its tributaries like the Great and Little Zab, mentioned as in use till modern times by Western travellers in that region. The use of such rafts of inflated skins must be ancient in Mesopotamia, for Arabic-Turkish *kelek* goes back to

³¹ R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leiden 1927, I, 715; see also for the term's usage in the Arab world, G. Marçais, "Salsabil et Šādirwān", *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, II, 639-648.

³² "Le sens du mot persan *šādurwān*", *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1342/1963, 31-37.

Akkadian (Old Babylonian), the *kalakku* being depicted also on Assyrian reliefs, and ultimately to Sumerian *ka.lá*³³.

The term was used in 'Abbāsīd times, for when the general al-Afšīn planned his clandestine escape from arrest by the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim in 225/839-40, he got ready materials for constructing *aṭwāf* in his palace at Sāmarrā, with the intention of crossing the Little Zab and fleeing northwards³⁴. Also, an anonymous, mid-4th/10th century work written in early Būyid times and very probably in Iraq, dealing with various categories of officials and somewhat misleadingly entitled *Siyāsat al-mulūk*, as if it were one of the familiar "Mirrors for Princes" genre, speaks in its section concerning the duties of the *muḥtasib* or market inspector about the *ṭā'if* (= *ṭawf*), and in as much as this construction was clearly used also as a means of controlling river traffic as well as for transportation, consideration of the *ṭawf/ṭā'if* is appropriate here. The unknown author says:

"It is necessary for the *muḥtasib* to place in the river a *ṭā'if* which is chained up with the skiffs (*zawraqs*), and [the ensemble of these] prevents anything from passing along the river by night except with a licence (*ḡawāz*). The *muḥtasib* should appoint at each docking-place (*furda*) a supervisory official (*'arīf*) who can act as an arbitrator of disputes between the boatmen (*al-mallāḥīn*) and deal with each of them in turn (? *yunāwibu baynahum*), who will not treat them inequitably and who will prevent them from demanding excessively high rates of hire (i.e. for transporting goods)³⁵.

³³ See Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, 66-68; von Soden, *Akkadisches Wörterbuch*, I, 423; *Chicago Akkadian dictionary*, Letter K, 64; Kindermann, "Schiff" im Arabischen, 59-60; *EP* art. "Kelek" (Kindermann).

³⁴ aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, ed. Leiden, III, 1305-1306.

³⁵ J. Sadan, *Une nouvelle source sur l'époque būyide. Étude préliminaire, Haḍāra, texts and studies in the civilization of Islam*, Dept. of Arabic Language and Literature and Dept. of Middle Eastern and Islamic History, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv n.d. [ca. 1981], Arabic text, 22.

From this passage it emerges that *atwāf* were also used in the composition of a static barrier of boats plus inflated pontoons or rafts placed across a navigable river, fulfilling the same function as a *ma'ṣir* (see 1. above).

The etymology of *tawf* is, however, somewhat obscure. In Biblical Hebrew the root *ṣ.-w.-f* means "to float on the water", and Fraenkel adduces Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic *t.f*, requiring Arabic **z.w.f.*³⁶. Arabic *z.w.f* does actually exist, see Lane *s.v.*, with the general meaning of "to get hold of someone by the scruff of the neck, by the hair hanging down at the back of the neck, the *ṣūf raqabatihī*", but apart from the vague connotation of such hair with the hair of the goat skins used in the construction of a *tawf*, this is not of any help. The indigenous Arabic root *t.-w.-f* "to go round, circumambulate (e.g. a ritual object) does not help here either, although Arabic *tūfān* "flood, the Deluge", Rabbinical Hebrew *tōfnā*, has the requisite connection with water³⁷. It does not seem possible to trace *t.w.f.* any further back, and the exact origin of *tawf* must remain obscure.

³⁶ Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 798a; S. Fraenkel, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 220.

³⁷ A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 207.

1092: A MURDEROUS YEAR

Carole Hillenbrand

University of Edinburgh

The year 485/1092 was a momentous one in Islamic history. It witnessed the deaths in quick succession of the two most famous men in the eastern Islamic world, in the great Seljuq empire which had flourished since the middle of the 5th/11th century. Those two men, as any student of Islamic history knows, were the great vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk and the Seljuq sultan himself Malikšāh. The received version of events goes as follows: Niẓām al-Mulk was the first important victim of the Assassin sect who as the avowed enemies of the Sunnī Seljuq world aimed at the removal of major political and religious figures in their attempt to topple the Sunnis and usher in the Ismā‘īlī imamate. Niẓām al-Mulk fell, then, slain by an Assassin’s knife. Shortly afterwards the sultan Malikšāh went hunting outside Baġdād, ate some rotten meat and died a few days later. With the removal of these two key figures, the Seljuq empire fell into disarray and was never again to enjoy the unity and prosperity of the two decades of Malikšāh’s rule (1072-92). As for the Assassins, the impetus of their movement had been lost by the middle of the 5th/12th century, not before.

This received version of the deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and Malikšāh is very difficult to dislodge from one’s mind. As Bernard Lewis writes:

“Tactical and propagandist motives combine in the murder of major figures such as the great vizier Niẓām al-Mulk”¹. As if to confirm this point, the illustration of Niẓām al-Mulk’s death on the front cover of the recent reprint of his book *The Assassins*, confidently juxtaposes the Assassin group with the actual murder. As for the death of Malikšāh,

¹ *The Assassins*, London, 1985, p. 134. For a similar view, cf. D. Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, London, 1988, p. 32.

this is tacitly accepted by most modern scholars as having been due to natural causes².

Some scholars have already cast tentative doubts on whether Nizām al-Mulk's assassination was indeed perpetrated by the Assassins³ and a few have also questioned, still more haltingly, the circumstances surrounding the death of Malikšāh⁴. They have not, however, scrutinised all the evidence and allowed it to lead them away from the well-trodden path. That will be the aim of this paper.

But first a few words to set the scene. Throughout the reign of Malikšāh and earlier, during the time of his father Alp Arslān, the Seljuq empire had been ruled by the vizier, Nizām al-Mulk. Inevitably, such a man would attract rivals who would try regularly to unseat him. It is reasonable to assume that Nizām al-Mulk had reached supreme

² Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³ Cf. C.E. Bosworth, "The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world (AD 1000-1217)" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge, 1968, V, p. 101. C. Cahen, "The Turkish invasion: the Selchūkids" in M. W. Baldwin and K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Wisconsin, 1969, I, p. 154. Cahen's phrasing on this point is somewhat confusing: "The Assassins, whose first victim of note - if indeed they were the perpetrators of the crime which was incited by his other foes - was the vizier, Nizām al-Mulk" (*ibid.*, p. 161). Bowen, (following Rašīd ad-Dīn) tentatively suggests that Nizām al-Mulk was killed by a combination of the vizier's enemies at court and the Assassins. Cf. *EP*, s.v. Cf. also K. Rippe, "Über den Sturz Nizām-ul-Mulks" in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul, 1953, p. 428.

⁴ For a recent treatment cf. *EP*, Malik-Shāh (C.E. Bosworth). Although Houtsma draws on only a few sources, he firmly believes that Malikšāh was murdered at the instigation of the caliph. He does not, however, employ the identical critical faculty when discussing the murder of Nizām al-Mulk which he attributes in too facile a manner to the Assassins. Other possibilities mentioned in the sources (such as the involvement of Tāğ al-Mulk and Malikšāh in Nizām al-Mulk's murder) are dismissed by Houtsma as unsubstantiated rumours. He prefers instead to rely on some of the evidence of Ibn al-Aṭīr (X, pp. 213 and 216). If the stories about the caliph's rôle in the death of Malikšāh merit credence, so too do the other anecdotes about Tāğ al-Mulk and Malikšāh; it is illogical in this mass of rumours to select only a few. Cf. M.T. Houtsma, "The death of Nizām al-Mulk and its consequences", *Journal of Indian History*, 1924, Vol. II, Series 3, pp. 147-60.

power by masterminding the grisly⁵ demise of his predecessor, al-Kundurī, who is alleged to have warned Nizām al-Mulk that a similar fate awaited him⁶. Once in power, Nizām al-Mulk stayed there by filling a vast network of administrative posts with his sons, grandsons, sons-in-law and other relations and by surrounding himself with a sizeable personal army of Turkish *mamlūks*, the *Nizāmiyya*⁷.

The young sultan Malikšāh who came to power in his late teens does not seem to have found the authority of Nizām al-Mulk irksome, at least at the beginning of his reign, but the longer the great vizier lived (and he lived a long time) the more likely it became that Malikšāh might wish to involve himself more personally in governing the empire and the more likely it would also be that other ambitious and talented rivals would wish that the vizier would retire and leave room for younger men. If he would not fall, perhaps he might need to be pushed.

Let us now examine the events of the three years 485-7 and see where such an examination leads us. In Ramaḍān 485/October 1092 Malikšāh and his court, including Nizām al-Mulk with his entourage, were on their way from Iṣfahān to Baġdād. They stopped at a place called Saḥna, near Nihāwand, and Nizām al-Mulk, en route in a large *mêlée* of people to his women's quarters, was struck down and killed by an assailant's dagger. The date was probably 10 Ramaḍān/14 October 1092⁸. The assassin himself was killed at once. Malikšāh continued his journey, arriving in Baġdād in Šawwāl 485/November

⁵ al-Kundurī died in 456/1064. His scrotum was stuffed with straw and sent to Nizām al-Mulk at Kirmān, where it was committed to the earth. (Ibn Ḥallikān, III, p. 295).

⁶ "You have acted wrongly in teaching the Turks to put to death their *wazīrs* and the chiefs of the civil administration: he that digs a pit shall fall into it" (*ibid.*, p. 294).

⁷ Cf. *as-Subkī*, III, p. 144; *Aḥbār*, p. 67. According to *Aḥbār*, Nizām al-Mulk had more than 20,000 *mamlūks*.

⁸ Cf. *Aḥbār*, pp. 66-7; Ḥ. Mustawfī, pp. 459-60; Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 121; Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, p. 137; *as-Subkī*, III, p. 142; Ibn Ḥallikān, pp. 414-5; Ibn al-Azraq, p. 229. Rāwandī p. 135; Rašīd ad-Dīn, under year 485; Bundārī, p. 62; Ibn al-Ġawzī, IX, pp. 66-7.

1092. En route he appointed as his vizier Tāğ al-Mulk, a long-standing rival of Niẓām al-Mulk. Malikšāh became ill after a hunting trip outside Bagdād and died, probably on the 16 Šawwāl 485/19 November 1092⁹. Shortly afterwards, his widow Terken Hātūn persuaded the ‘Abbāsīd caliph, al-Muqtadī, to pronounce the *ḥutba* in the name of her young son, Maḥmūd. She then went back to Persia to bury Malikšāh¹⁰. The next year, 486/1093, began with the savage murder by the *Niẓāmiyya* of Tāğ al-Mulk on 12 Muḥarram/12 February. These *mamlūks* espoused the cause of Barkyāruq, Malikšāh’s son from another wife, Zubayda Hātūn and, according to some sources, they actually pronounced the *ḥutba* in Barkyāruq’s name¹¹. Meanwhile in Bagdād the young son of the marriage between the caliph and Malikšāh’s daughter died some time in Ġumādā I/June 1093¹². The catalogue of deaths continued into 487/1094. Barkyāruq arrived in Bagdād in Muḥarram and had the caliph pronounce the *ḥutba* in his name on 14 Muḥarram/3 February 1094. The following day, 15 Muḥarram/4 February 1094 the caliph al-Muqtadī was dead¹³. Later that year, in Ramaḍān/September-October 1094 Terken Hātūn, Malikšāh’s widow, and her young son, Maḥmūd, also died. Barkyāruq was now Seljuq sultan and his appointee, al-Mustazhir, was the new ‘Abbāsīd caliph¹⁴.

Even if this catalogue of names and events is difficult to follow, it will be obvious that almost all the prominent figures in this drama had died during the short space of under three years. This chain of events

⁹ Cf. *Aḥbār*, p. 71; H. Mustawfī, p. 461; Ibn al-Qalānisi, p. 121; Bundārī, p. 70; Ibn Hallikān, III, pp. 444-5; Ibn al-Azraq, p. 229; Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, p. 142; Rašīd ad-Dīn, under year 485; Ibn al-Ġawzī, IX, p. 62.

¹⁰ Cf. H. Mustawfī, p. 462; Rašīd ad-Dīn, under year 485; Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, n. 145; Rāwandī, pp. 139-40.

¹¹ Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, p. 145; Rašīd ad-Dīn, under year 485.

¹² Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, p. 154.

¹³ Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, p. 154; *Aḥbār*, p. 75; Bundārī, p. 68.

¹⁴ *Aḥbār*, p. 75; Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, 154.

had begun with the two most important deaths, those of Nizām al-Mulk and Malikšāh, and it is to those that we now return.

Who killed Nizām al-Mulk?

Let us examine the various possibilities.

1. *The Assassins*

By this I mean the Assassins acting independently out of political motives and not being hired out by any other party. What is the evidence for the Assassins' perpetrating the deed? Firstly, all the primary sources say that Nizām al-Mulk was murdered by a Daylamī youth, most of them adding that he was from the Assassins (*bāṭiniyya*) at Alamūt¹⁵. Moreover, the Mongol historians, al-Ġuwaynī and Rašīd ad-Dīn, had access to Assassin sources at the time of the Mongol sacking of Alamūt and above all to the life of Ḥasan-i Šabbāh, the *Sarguzašt-i Sayyidnā*, which they allegedly quote¹⁶. These two authors state firmly that it was the Assassins who carried out the murder. al-Ġuwaynī no doubt quoting or misquoting his Ismā'īlī source, writes: "Ḥasan-i Šabbāh spread the snare of artifices in order at the first opportunity to catch some splendid game, such as Nizām al-Mulk, in the net of destruction and increase thereby his own reputation."

He then goes on to name the assassin, Bū Ṭāhir Arrānī, who came to his victim in the guise of a Šūfī, and confidently concludes: "He (Nizām al-Mulk) was the first person to be killed by the *fidā'īs*"¹⁷.

It is true moreover that Nizām al-Mulk had fought long and hard against the Assassins, that earlier in 485/1092 two expeditions had been sent out against them by Malikšāh, one to Alamūt and the other to Qūhīstān¹⁸, and that Nizām al-Mulk's own obsession with the Assassins'

¹⁵ Cf. note 8.

¹⁶ Cf. the discussion by Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹⁷ Ġuwaynī, pp. 676-7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

threat to the Sunnī world had led him to vituperate against them in his *Siyāsatnāma* and to encourage al-Ġazālī to write a refutation of their doctrines¹⁹. As al-Ġuwaynī put it: "He (Nizām al-Mulk) ... strove to excise the pus of the Sabbahian rebellion"²⁰. So, the Assassins, it could he argued, needed to rid themselves of this dangerous enemy of theirs²¹.

2. *Malikšāh*

There is evidence in the sources which could be interpreted as suggesting Malikšāh's deep complicity in Nizām al-Mulk's murder. As he was the supreme sultan, his complicity should mean that he instigated the murder himself. Malikšāh had good reason to wish to be rid of Nizām al-Mulk. Nizām al-Mulk had waxed exceedingly proud. According to as-Subkī, "Nizām al-Mulk's vizierate was not a vizierate; on the contrary, it was above the sultanate"²². A number of the sources cite various, probably semi-apocryphal stories of Malikšāh's resentment at sharing his throne with Nizām al-Mulk and his family network²³. Nizām al-Mulk had allegedly courted the caliph, al-Muqtadī, on Malikšāh's first visit to Baġdād (in 480/1087) and Nizām al-Mulk had even been invited to be seated in the caliph's presence²⁴. Ibn Ḥallikān states explicitly that some reports said that the assassin of Nizām al-Mulk had been hired by Malikšāh who was tired of seeing Nizām al-

¹⁹ For a recent comprehensive treatment of the intellectual life of Baġdād in the time of al-Ġazālī and Nizām al-Mulk, cf. E. Glassen, *Der Mittlere Weg. Studien zur Religionspolitik und Religiosität der späten Abbasiden-Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1981, pp. 63-84, 131-176.

²⁰ Ġuwaynī, pp. 676-7.

²¹ This is the view accepted by as-Subkī, who does, however, present other possible suspects (*op. cit.*, p. 143).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²³ H. Mustawfī, pp. 457-8, 461; Rāwandī, p. 134; Ibn al-Aḡīr, X, p. 138.

²⁴ as-Subkī, III, p. 142; Ibn Ḥallikān, I, p. 413.

Mulk live so long²⁵. Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī alleges that Malikšāh had actually gone so far as to dismiss Nizām al-Mulk²⁶. Other sources, however, mention that Malikšāh had decided to remove Nizām al-Mulk from office but that he could not do it because of the immense military strength of Nizām al-Mulk's entourage²⁷. The only alternative therefore was to kill him. The timing was also crucial. It would appear that Malikšāh was resolved, on arrival at Baġdād, to bring the caliphate more firmly under his own control. This he would do by deposing the caliph, al-Muqtadī, and appointing in his place his own grandson, Ġa^cfar, who was the offspring of the unhappy marriage between al-Muqtadī and Malikšāh's daughter, Mah Malik Hātūn²⁸. This course of action was strongly opposed by Nizām al-Mulk. So Nizām al-Mulk had to be disposed of before the Seljuq court reached Baġdād. Bundārī on the authority of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī from the Seljuq vizier Anūširwān b. Hālīd writes cryptically: "It was as if Nizām al-Mulk's assassination was secretly authorised by the sultan and was a matter which had been plotted and pre-arranged"²⁹.

3. *Tāġ al-Mulk*

This man, the avowed enemy of Nizām al-Mulk and Nizām al-Mulk's short-lived successor in the vizierate, certainly stood to gain by Nizām al-Mulk's death³⁰. Nizām al-Mulk blocked his path, just as al-Kundurī had blocked that of Nizām al-Mulk many years earlier, in 456/1064. Tāġ al-Mulk is explicitly mentioned by some sources as being

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ H. Mustawfī, p. 458. For a long discussion of this whole question, cf. Rippe, *op. cit.*

²⁷ *Aḥbār*, p. 67; as-Subkī, III, p. 142.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

³⁰ For details on the life of Tāġ al-Mulk, cf. Bundārī, p. 61; Ibn al-Ġawzī, IX, 46, 62-3, 74; Rāwandī, pp. 133-5; Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, 120, 142, 145-7.

involved in Nizām al-Mulk's murder³¹. He is seen either as being directly responsible or as the one who poisoned Malikšāh's mind against Nizām al-Mulk. Perhaps the most telling evidence against him is his own violent death, only two months or so later, which, according to most of the sources, was at the hand of the *mamlūks* of Nizām al-Mulk, who wished to avenge the death of their master by killing the man who had been responsible for Nizām al-Mulk's death³². And the plot thickens still further, for it was even said that they were incited by Terken Hātūn's rival, Zubayda Hātūn³³.

4. Terken Hātūn

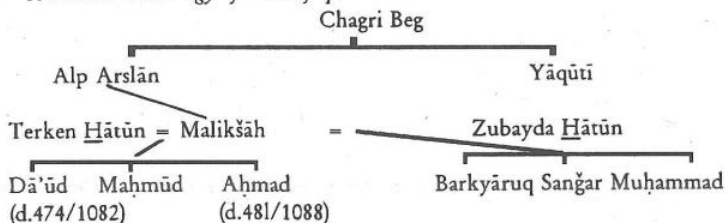
This Karahānid princess, one of Malikšāh's wives, is seen by most of the sources as playing a major role in the events of 485/1092 and thereafter. As will be seen from the genealogical table³⁴, two of her sons from Malikšāh had predeceased their father. The only hope of power for this *valide sultān* lay in her third son, the young boy, Maḥmūd. Before Nizām al-Mulk's murder Terken Hātūn had tried to persuade Malikšāh to declare Maḥmūd his heir instead of Barkyāruq, the elder son of Malikšāh by another wife, the Seljuq princess, Zubayda Hātūn. These attempts by Terken Hātūn had been foiled, largely because of Nizām al-Mulk's continuing support of Barkyāruq and his firm opposition to Terken Hātūn and her young son Maḥmūd. Not surpris-

³¹ Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, p. 145; Ibn Hallikān, I, p. 415.

³² Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, p. 147; Ibn Hallikān, I, p. 415; Bundārī, pp. 62-3; *Abḥār*, p. 67.

³³ Rašīd ad-Dīn, under year 485.

³⁴ *A Partial Genealogy of the Seljuqs*



ingly, Terken Hātūn harboured a violent animosity towards Nizām al-Mulk³⁵.

These four, then, are the major murder suspects. What may be concluded from the evidence, detailed very fully in the sources and summarised here? All the primary sources, including al-Ġuwaynī and Rašīd ad-Dīn, are Sunnī and heavily biased against the Assassins. Yet there is something half-hearted, tame and inconsistent about their stereotyped phrases attributing Nizām al-Mulk's murder to the Assassins. The only sources which attribute the murder *solely* to the Assassins are the Ismā'īlī ones, doctored or not by Rašīd ad-Dīn and al-Ġuwaynī, and certain early Sunnī accounts such as those of Ibn al-Qalānisi³⁶ and Ibn al-Azraq in *Mayyāfāriqīn*³⁷ which do not emanate directly from the eastern Islamic world. All the other sources, although they say almost perfunctorily and certainly elliptically that the Assassins were responsible for the murder, go on to mention in detail one person or several people from amongst the suspects already discussed above and to implicate them.

One may safely infer that the Assassins were not the instigators of Nizām al-Mulk's murder, especially since - as will be argued shortly - it was followed by a spate of other most opportunely timed deaths for which no source at all blames the Assassins.

What of the other three major suspects? With or without hiring an actual Assassin from Alamūt, it would appear that all three had good motives. Of course it is quite conceivable that no single person was exclusively responsible and that two or even three of these suspects conspired together to get rid of Nizām al-Mulk. The duo of Tāġ al-Mulk and Terken Hātūn are probable culprits although Malikšāh himself cannot be excluded. Such personages did not need to hire a heretic from Alamūt to perform the crime. Indeed, the sultan had only just sent armies there to attack the citadel and contact with Alamūt

³⁵ H. Mustawfi, p. 456; Rāwandī, p. 134.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

asking for assistance in Nizām al-Mulk's murder just after the Seljuqs' ignominious retreat from Alamūt that same year³⁸ seems unlikely.

Who killed Malikšāh?

1. Terken Hātūn

Telltale evidence for her possible involvement in the killing of Malikšāh may be found in her actions after Malikšāh's death. Her cajoling and bribes to induce Malikšāh's troops to support her, and her persuading the caliph to pronounce the *ḥutba* in favour of her infant son, Maḥmūd, could be construed as the actions of someone who, even after the death of Nizām al-Mulk, had not been able to persuade her husband to change his mind about his heir. She therefore decided to dispose of Malikšāh too, at a time when he was far from his home base in Iṣfahān and when the only one of his sons who had accompanied him to Baġdād was her own son Maḥmūd. Alternatively, she may have planned to murder both Nizām al-Mulk and Malikšāh all along. The method of murder is significant. Very few Seljuq sources are close to the events they record: a relatively early account, that of Ibn al-Azraq³⁹ writing in the second half of the sixth/twelfth century, mentions elliptically that Malikšāh was poisoned. A century or more later, the historians of Iraq and Syria⁴⁰ relate an elaborate story of rotten meat and a fever, details quite compatible with poisoning although Ibn Hallikān gives one account of Malikšāh's being poisoned with a toothpick⁴¹. Terken Hātūn is reported by some sources as having behaved suspiciously after Malikšāh's death. Ibn Hallikān notes that Malikšāh's funeral was conducted in a most private manner, no prayer said over the grave, no condolences paid, no hair cut off the tails of horses.

³⁸ Ğuwaynī, pp. 674-5.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁴⁰ Cf. the sources quoted in n. 9.

⁴¹ Ibn Hallikān, III, p. 445.

Indeed, "one would have thought he had been snatched bodily from this world"⁴². Ibn al-Aṭīr reports that Terken Hātūn took Malikšāh's body to Iṣfahān having won over Malikšāh's soldiers with money, and having concealed the news of his death until she had arrived safely and secured her position there⁴³.

2. *Tāğ al-Mulk*

It is conceivable that this man, either single-handedly or in conspiracy with Terken Hātūn, brought about Malikšāh's murder. It is possible that just as Nizām al-Mulk had acquired his unassailable hold of the Seljuq empire when Malikšāh was in his teens, so too Tāğ al-Mulk hoped to be the *de facto* ruler under cover of Terken Hātūn's son, Maḥmūd.

3. *The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Muqtadī*

Whilst it is extremely unlikely that al-Muqtadī would have been involved in the murder of his ally and supporter, Nizām al-Mulk, there are, however, stories of his complicity in Malikšāh's sudden death. The details vary but the general impression is that Malikšāh was in Baġdād on extremely serious business, namely to oust al-Muqtadī from the caliphal office and to make his (Malikšāh) own grandson, Ġaʿfar, caliph. This demarche was the last in a series of acrimonious exchanges between the caliph and the sultan which had occurred when Malikšāh visited Baġdād. Malikšāh's daughter had married the caliph, al-Muqtadī, in 480/1087, and had borne him a son⁴⁴ but she had soon complained of bad treatment from her husband and had gone back to her father in Iṣfahān, where she died in 482/1090⁴⁵. This can scarcely have improved

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, pp. 142-3.

⁴⁴ Ibn Hallikān, III, p. 444.

⁴⁵ as-Subkī, III, p. 143.

Malikšāh's feelings towards the caliph. According to as-Subkī⁴⁶, Malikšāh left Iṣfahān for Baġdād in Ramaḍān 485, determined to remove the caliph. On arrival in Baġdād he found that al-Muqtadī had already appointed another son of his, al-Mustaẓhir, as his *walī ʿabd*. Thereafter, a violent row must have erupted. Malikšāh demanded that al-Muqtadī should remove himself as soon as possible from Baġdād, leaving the way clear for Seljuq control of the caliphate within the Seljuq family. This was indeed a momentous design. According to some sources, Malikšāh contemptuously asked the caliph to vacate Baġdād and go wherever he chose. Having failed to dissuade Malikšāh from this course of action, the caliph asked for a period of ten days in which to prepare his departure⁴⁷. Before that elapsed, Malikšāh was dead, at the tender age of 38.

These three people, Terken Hātūn, Tāġ al-Mulk and al-Muqtadī, are the three major suspects in the murder of Malikšāh. It is an open question which one person or combination of people performed the deed. One thing is clear: Malikšāh died in his prime and not of natural causes.

Postscript

Within two years of the violent deaths of Nizām al-Mulk and Malikšāh most of the key figures in this power struggle had also been removed. By 487/1094, Barkyāruq no doubt with the support of his mother Zubayda Hātūn and the *mamlūks* and family of Nizām al-Mulk, had disposed of al-Muqtadī, Ġaʿfar, Tāġ al-Mulk, Terken Hātūn and Maḥmūd. The way was now clear, for a short time at least, for

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Bundārī, p. 70; Ibn Hallikān, III, p. 445; as-Subkī, III, p. 144; Ibn al-Ġawzī, IX, p. 62.

Barkyāruq to assume the sultanate, supported by the scions of Nizām al-Mulk⁴⁸.

This bloodbath heralded the shattering of the tenuous unity built up within the Seljuq empire not by the first three sultans but by the personal empire of Nizām al-Mulk himself.

General observations

As well as being an episode full of interesting historiographical problems and unanswered questions, the events surrounding the deaths of Nizām al-Mulk and Malikšāh raise a number of important issues.

It would appear likely that the Assassins were not involved in Nizām al-Mulk's murder. Later, Sunnī writers from a milieu ruled by staunchly Sunnī Turkish dynasties such as the Ayyūbids would wish to shift the blame for Nizām al-Mulk's murder squarely onto the Assassins. Yet, the practice of such writers of compiling reports from earlier historians, reports which modify or contradict Assassin involvement in Nizām al-Mulk's murder, led them, in spite of themselves, to give a truer picture of the events. As for Assassin sources quoted by Mongol historians - if indeed they are cited correctly - it is highly probable that the Assassins would wish to claim credit for the most devastating blow to Seljuq power, namely, the murder of Nizām al-Mulk. It is even more possible that Mongol Sunnī historians doctored Assassin accounts.

As for the thorny question of who killed Nizām al-Mulk, the burden of evidence from the sources points to Tāğ al-Mulk, especially

⁴⁸ The chronology of deaths may be tabulated as follows:

485/1092			
10 Ramadān/14 October	...	Nizām al-Mulk murdered	} 36 days
16 Šawwāl/19 November	...	Malikšāh murdered	
486/1093			
12 Muḥarram/12 February	...	Tāğ al-Mulk murdered, aged 47	
Ġumādā I/30 May-28 June	...	Ġa'far died, aged 6	
487/1094			
15 Muḥarram/4 February	...	al-Muqtadī murdered, aged 38	
Ramadān/14 Sept.-13 Oct.	...	Terken Hātūn and Maḥmūd died. Maḥmūd was aged 7; Terken Hātūn's age is unknown.	

since the Nizāmiyya murdered him as soon as they could lay their hands on him after his return to Persia from Baġdād. Tāġ al-Mulk may well have been aided and abetted by Terken Hātūn who also wanted Nizām al-Mulk out of the way. As for Malikšāh's demise, this was probably at the instigation of the caliph, although once again the complicity of Terken Hātūn cannot be ruled out.

This episode demonstrates clearly the strong pressures working against any attempt at centralised government in the Seljuq empire, even in its heyday. The thirty-year rule of one man, Nizām al-Mulk, was a remarkable achievement, made possible only by his own subtle and ruthless personality and by a Mafia-type family network. And it is all too often the fate of a Godfather to die a violent death.

It is also apparent from this episode that the usual generalisation that the Seljuqs elevated the status of the caliphate from its humiliation under the Būyids requires modification, even during the heyday of Seljuq power, which is generally accepted as being the twenty years of Malikšāh's rule. Considerable tensions between caliph and sultan complicated the task of Nizām al-Mulk whose own attitude towards the caliph in the latter part of his life seems to have been one of alliance and conciliation, perhaps in part as a response to his awareness of Malikšāh's increasing resentment at being under the thumb of his vizier. The caliph's own attitude remains unclear but it is certainly likely that al-Muqtadī may well already have had the same political and territorial aspirations as were to become apparent in his successors in the caliphal office, al-Mustazhir, al-Mustaršid and above all al-Muqtafī.

As for Malikšāh's intentions vis-a-vis the caliphate, it would appear possible that he had intended to bring it definitively under sultanal control, within the Seljuq family itself, through his own grandson, the ʿAbbāsīd Ġaʿfar⁴⁹; indeed, it is possible to postulate that he was aiming at merging the two institutions, or even at abolishing the caliphate

⁴⁹ It is tempting to read too much into as-Subkī's words on this subject. What is clear, however, is that there was considerable tension between Malikšāh and al-Muqtadī (*op. cit.*, p. 143).

altogether. This is a timely reminder of the high stakes for which the various suspects in this drama were playing.

1092 was therefore not only the year in which two violent murders, emanating from within the Seljuq court itself, swiftly removed the two most powerful men in the Islamic world. 1092 also heralded the rapid disintegration of the Seljuq empire and revealed clear signs that the Seljuq sultans and the caliphs were on a collision course which was further to weaken the unity of the eastern Islamic world.

To conclude, I will return to the question I originally posed: "Who killed Nizām al-Mulk and Malikšāh?" As already mentioned, Malikšāh was probably murdered by the caliph. His manner of death, whether of natural causes or from poisoning, did not fit well with the Assassins' methods - violent death in public places - and his murder was not attributed later on to the Assassin sect. As for the assassination of Nizām al-Mulk this is a more weighty problem. It is of course conceivable that he was murdered by a member of the Assassin sect acting on the instructions of Hasan-i Sabbāh, as the sources state. I hope, however, that some doubts have been aroused about this. The event certainly does not deserve the confident generalisations which have surrounded it and have endowed it with the status of the first important political act of terrorism perpetrated by the Assassins. al-Kundurī, the man whom Nizām al-Mulk ousted to reach supreme power, was right to predict that Nizām al-Mulk would fall into the pit which he himself had dug.

Key to abbreviations used in the footnotes

Ahbār = al-Ḥusaynī, *Ahbār ad-dawla as-salġūqiyya*, ed. M. Iqbāl, Lahore, 1933.

al-Bundārī = al-Bundārī, *Zubdat an-nuṣra wa-nuḥbat al-ʿusra*, ed. M.T. Houtsma in *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seljoucides II*, Leiden, 1889.

*EI*² = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition.

- H. Mustawfī = Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Tārīh-i Guzīda*, tr. C. Defrémery, *Journal Asiatique*, April-May 1848, pp. 417-63; September 1848, pp. 259-79.
- Ibn al-Aṭīr = Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil fī t-tārīh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leiden and Uppsala, 1851-76.
- Ibn al-Azraq = Ibn al-Azraq, *Tārīh al-Fāriqī*, ed. B. A. L. 'Awad, Cairo, 1959.
- Ibn al-Ġawzī = Ibn al-Ġawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, Hyderabad, 1938-41 (editor unidentified).
- Ibn Ḥallikān, *Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān: Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, tr. Baron W. M. de Slane, Paris, 1843-71.
- Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dayl Tārīh Dimašq*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden, 1908.
- Ġuwaynī = al-Ġuwaynī, *Tārīh Ġahān Gūšā*, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror*, Manchester, 1958.
- Rašīd ad-Dīn = Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Ġāmi' at-tawārīh*, Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Arab.20.
- Rāwandī = ar-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat aṣ-ṣudūr wa-āyat as-surūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London, 1921.
- as-Subkī = as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo, 1905-6.

LA VIE MUNICIPALE À COIMBRA EN 1145

António Losa

Braga, Portugal

D'après la légende, transmise par les historiens du Moyen Age, ce fut la peau blanche du talon de la fille de Julien, gouverneur de Cepte, qui a séduit le dernier roi chrétien de la Péninsule Ibérique - Rodrigo. Les amours, moralement prohibées, et la haine du gouverneur africain auraient constitué la cause proche de l'invasion de l'Espagne, et, conséquemment, le domaine de son territoire pendant huit siècles, du Croissant islamique¹.

Curieusement, on a l'impression qu'après tant de luttes pour la reconquête chrétienne et, finalement, le décret qui a banni les derniers "maures" de notre territoire, ceux-ci sont partis portant dans le bagage la culture y comprise la langue arabe et leur foi. Et que tout est retourné au *statu quo* de 711.

Nous savons pourtant que la réalité est bien différente de la légende. Et c'est pour cela que nous nous trouvons ici.

Je vais m'occuper d'un document que je considère précieux, comme tant d'autres, du XIII^e siècle, relatif à la ville de Coimbra².

Cette ville a été définitivement reprise par les chrétiens en 1064. Le roi d'Espagne lui a donné comme premier gouverneur un mozarabe illustre de la région, Sisnando³, qui s'était distingué dans les armées

¹ V. "Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344", Vol. II, pág. 305. On y raconte: "E hũu dia aconteceu assi que, andando ella em hũa horta con outras muytas donzellas, (...) violhe o travadoiro da perna. E era tam branco e assi ben feito que nõ podya melhor seer".

² Ce diplôme se trouve dans le code désigné par "Livro Preto" de la Cathédrale de Coimbra. Ce code se trouve actuellement dans les Archives de la Torre do Tombo, à Lisbonne.

³ Il est né, probablement, à Tentúgal, près de Coimbra. Ancien prisonnier des musulmans, semble-t-il, très jeune il a été emmené à Séville où l'on a bien élevé. Il servit dans les armées abadides. C'est une figure à demi légendaire de l'histoire des mozarabes.

musulmanes. Celui-ci, à son tour, a invité pour présider à l'archevêché du diocèse un autre mozarabe, D. Paterno⁴.

Je ne m'attarde pas ici à vous parler des mozarabes de la région de Coimbra et des monastères comme celui de Lorvão, qui ont su convivre, pendant des siècles, avec l'administration musulmane. Ce n'en est pas mon propos. D'ailleurs, c'est une matière que j'ai déjà traitée, bien qu'à vol d'oiseau, dans d'autres études⁵.

La première charte de *foral* a été donnée à la ville de Coimbra par le roi Alphonse VI en 1085. Une autre lui est octroyée en 1111 par Henri et Thérèse, gendre et fille du même monarque et gouverneurs du territoire qui, plus tard, constituera le royaume du Portugal.

Le document que je vais analyser porte la date de 1145, deux ans après la proclamation d'indépendance du nouvel état. Ce n'est pas un *foral*. Il porte le titre, en latin, bien entendu: *Correctio morum Colimbrie a civibus omnibus statuta*. C'est donc un document établi par le conseil de la ville, avec l'autorisation du roi - *concedente domino rege Ildefonso quemadmodum foros et consuetudines ad communem utilitatem omnium civium corrigerent et meliorarent*.

La finalité de cet arrêté municipal c'est donc de corriger et de améliorer la législation contenue dans les chartes en vigueur.

Voyons le contenu du document, qui comprend sept paragraphes.

Le premier paragraphe s'occupe du *fer*, qui ne peut être vendu qu'au forgeron qui l'utilise dans son métier. Le forgeron seul le peut acheter.

Voici ce que l'on fait avec le fer: et les prix des objets usinés:

Il remplit un rôle vraiment notable dans l'organisation et l'administration de Coimbra après la reconquête.

⁴ Ancien évêque de Tortosa, Sisnando l'a connu à S. Jacques de Compostela, où, devant le roi de Castille, il l'a invité pour prendre possession du diocèse de Coimbra. Paterno y a développé une oeuvre extraordinaire, surtout dans l'éducation des jeunes. C'est un des précurseurs de l'Université de cette ville.

⁵ V. mes communications présentées dans les derniers congrès de l'Union Européenne.

- 1) *ferradure*⁶ *mozamedes*⁷ *caballares* – pro IIII denariis et *medalia unum par vendatur*;
- 2) *asinorum* (*ferradure*) (...) *non plus duobus denariis*;
- 3) *Eisada* (port. *enxada*) et *ferrum de aratro*⁸ *quod pesaverit VI. arrateles*⁹ *pro decem et octo denariis*;
- 4) *azeca*¹⁰ et *seca*¹¹ *de vesadoiro*¹² *III denariis arratel*;
- 5) *sachio*¹³ *de duobus arratelis pro IIII denariis*;
- 6) *de ferro de aguiar*¹⁴ *quodcumque ferrum fuerit, III denariis pro uno arratal*;
- 7) *unum par de sporis*¹⁵ *staniadas*¹⁶ *pro VI denariis*;
- 8) *ferrum stagnatum, pro XV denariis*.

Quelles sont les préoccupations du conseil municipal de Coimbra en ce qui touche le fer? Nous voyons qu'elles se tournent surtout vers l'agriculture.

La monnaie utilisée dans le commerce des objets produits par les forgerons c'était le *denarium*. Pour le pesage de ces objets on utilisait l'*arratel* – un mot arabe.

II – *Item de zapataris* – de même pour les cordonniers – c'est le titre du deuxième paragraphe.

⁶ Fer-à-cheval port. *ferradura*.

⁷ Je n'ai pas encore trouvé une explication pour ce mot.

⁸ Araire port. *arado*.

⁹ En arabe *ar-raṭl*. Cette unité de poids s'est maintenue en usage. Le mot est disparu du langage courant, de nos jours, avec l'application généralisée du système métrique actuel.

¹⁰ Je crois que c'est le mot arabe *as-sikka* "soc de la charrue".

¹¹ C'est un mot d'origine latine *seca*, représentant également un élément de l'araire.

¹² Sorte d'araire. Mot d'origine latine *versatorium* formé à partir de *versare*, labourer.

¹³ Sarcloir, Port. *sacho*.

¹⁴ Je n'ai pas d'explication pour ce mot.

¹⁵ Éperon. Port. *espora*.

¹⁶ Étamés.

D'abord on établit que le *cuir*, quelle que soit son origine, ne peut être vendu qu'aux cordonniers. Ceux-ci ne pourront pas le vendre hors de la ville.

Voyons les chaussures que l'on faisait et leurs prix:

- 1) *Zapatos bonos vacaris*¹⁷ pro XII denariis;
- 2) *zapatos zebrunos*¹⁸ et *bezerrunos*¹⁹ untados²⁰ X denariis;
- 3) *et de equa*²¹ pro VII denariis;
- 4) *avarcas*²² bene bonas muzas²³ vel acutas pro VI denariis;
- 5) *zapatos bonos cervunos* pro XV denariis;
- 6) *zapatos bonos caprunos*²⁴ de corrigia²⁵ pro XV denariis;
- 7) *et carneirunos*²⁶ pro VIII denariis;
- 8) *osas*²⁷ nigras et *zapatas phadadas*²⁸ pro I^o morabitino²⁹;

¹⁷ Je pense que cet adjectif a été formé non sur *vaca* mais sur l'arabe *baqara*. D'ailleurs, d'autres pensent comme moi. C'est l'opinion, par exemple, des auteurs du "Diccionario de la Lengua Española" Real Academia Española, 1984. En portugais – qui change la terminaison arabe *-ī* en *-io*, *-ino*, *-il*, *-im*, etc. – cette sorte de mots sont presque tous, disparus ou adaptés aux habitudes de la langue.

¹⁸ Faits en peau d'onagre.

¹⁹ En peau de veaux, de génisses. Port. *bezerro/-a*.

²⁰ Graissés, enduits de graisse.

²¹ Jument. Port. *égua*.

²² Sorte de sandales.

²³ C'est un adjectif signifiant, semble-t-il, le contraire de *acutas*.

²⁴ Fait de peau de chèvre, en port, *cabra*.

²⁵ Courroie. Port. *correia*.

²⁶ En peau de bélier, port. *carneiro*. Il faut noter que de tous ces adjectifs formés à partir du latin avec la terminaison *-unus*, seulement *vacum* – de *vacunus* – continue en usage.

²⁷ Il semble que cette sorte de chaussures, plus ou moins luxueuses, puisqu'elles étaient parfois brodées en or, ont été portées successivement par le haut clergé – chanoines et évêques – et par les grandes dames. En apparence, *osa* aurait son origine en *ursa*. En espagnol, et en portugais médiéval, a évolué comme *ça*.

²⁸ Ce mot est étrange. On a l'impression qu'il correspond, en langage populaire, peut-

- 9) *osas bonas gudemiciz*³⁰ *pro I° morabitino*;
 10) *et zapatas phadadas et zapatonas*³¹ *vermelios*³² *et de cordovan*³³
 (...) *pro medio unius mrabitini*;
 11) *decolladas*³⁴ *pro uno soldo*³⁵;
 12) *suffiutas*³⁶ *bonas, IIII denariis*;
 13) *et suffiutar*³⁷ *pro V denariis, et cum rostaes*³⁸ *pro VI denariis*;

Nous avons donc comme chaussures: *zapatos*, c'est à dire souliers, *avarças* ou sandales, *osas* - j'ignore si le nom dérive du mot *ursa* - *zapatas*, *decolladas*, *zapatonas*, *suffiutas* et *suffiutar*.

Il y a l'indication de quelques sortes de cuir utilisées, comme *gudemiciz* et *cordovan*.

Le cuir de vache s'appelle *vacari*, formé à la manière arabe ou sous l'influence de *baqarī*.

Comme monnaie, outre le *denarium*, nous trouvons *soldo* (*solidum* - fr. sou) et le *morabitino* ou *morabidi*.

être, à *almofadadas* - rembourrées ou matelassées. C'est une pure supposition.

²⁹ Ici comme dans d'autres cas, le rédacteur hésite entre les formes différentes de prononciation du même mot, qui se sont fixées, dans la Péninsule Ibérique, en *morabitino* (en espagnol *morabetino*) et *maravedi*. En arabe: *marābitī*.

³⁰ De l'arabe *Gaddāmisī*, de Gadamès, près de Tripoli, en Afrique. Ils étaient trop célèbres ces cuirs, que l'on travaillait artistiquement.

³¹ À la lettre, grands souliers - port. *sapatões*.

³² Vermeils ou rouges. Port. *vermelhos*.

³³ De Cordoue, ville et région qui sont devenues célèbres dans la préparation de peaux de chèvre.

³⁴ Je ne sais pas quelle sorte de chaussure désignait ce participe latin.

³⁵ Sou, de *solidum*. Port. *soldo*.

³⁶ Impossible de savoir le genre de chaussure indiquée par ce mot étrange, peut-être préromain.

³⁷ C'est sans doute un dérivé de *suffiuta*.

³⁸ *Rostal* représente la forme portugaise dérivée de *rosto* - *rostrum* en latin. Ici doit signifier *pointe*, *bec*, *éperon*.

III. Le paragraphe qui suit porte le titre: *Item de carnizaria*, ce qui veut dire: De même pour la boucherie. Et voici la liste des animaux abattus pour l'alimentation de l'homme:

- 1) *Carnezarii*³⁹ *dent duos arratales de carne de vaca grossa*⁴⁰ *pro I° denario*;
- 2) *de macra*⁴¹ *vero et de zeuro et de cervo (...) III arratales pro I° denario*;
- 3) *de gamo*⁴² *duos arratales pro I denario*;
- 4) *de carnario*⁴³ *grosso arratal et medium pro I° denario*;
- 5) *ed porca*⁴⁴ *grossa arratal et quarta pro I. denario*;
- 6) *quarta de cordeiro*⁴⁵ *bono pro III denariis*;
- 7) *duos colombinos*⁴⁶ *pro I denario*;
- 8) *perdix*⁴⁷ *pro I. denario*;
- 9) *conelius*⁴⁸ *I denario*; *gallina*⁴⁹ *pro III denariis*;
- 10) *octo ova pro I denario*;
- 11) *ansar*⁵⁰ *sex denariis*;
- 12) *anas*⁵¹ *domestica IIII denariis*; *anas montesina pro II denariis*;

³⁹ Bouchers. Port. *carniceiros* ou *talhantes*.

⁴⁰ Grasse. Port. *gorda*. Nous avons aussi *crassa*, avec un autre sens.

⁴¹ Maigre. Port. *magra*.

⁴² Daim. Port. *gamo*.

⁴³ Bélier. Port. *carneiro*.

⁴⁴ Truie. Port. *porca*.

⁴⁵ Agneau. Port. *cordiero*.

⁴⁶ Petits pigeons. Port. *pombinhos*.

⁴⁷ Perdrix. Port. *perdez*.

⁴⁸ Lapin. Port. *coelho*.

⁴⁹ Poule. Port. *galinha*.

⁵⁰ Mot latin - *anser* - signifiant: canard, oie, etc. Port. *pato*, *ganso*, *adém*.

⁵¹ Mot latin signifiant à peut-être la même chose que le précédent.

- 13) *avetarda*⁵² pro VI denariis; *grues*⁵³ pro VI denariis; *turtures*⁵⁴
III pro I denario.

Nous avons donc une longue liste d'animaux utilisés dans l'alimentation humaine. Quelques uns portant des noms portugais, d'autres encore en latin.

Il y a une phrase dans ce paragraphe, la dernière, pour laquelle je demande votre attention: *Et si aliquis venator occiderit aliquod venatum in monte et noluerit vendere illum ad algazar caveat ne vendat alicui pro ganancia et ipse venator vendat illum per se per talem mensuram per qualem venderent illum algezares in algazaria*. Je la traduis: "Et si quelque chasseur tue quelque gibier à la montagne et s'il ne veut pas le vendre au boucher, qu'il ne le vende pas à autrui pour le commercer mais que le chasseur le vende lui-même aux prix pratiqués par les bouchers dans la boucherie."

On voit que dans la région de Coimbra, au moins, en 1145, on employait, indifféremment, *algezar*⁵⁵ et *carnizarius* (port. *carniceiro*) pour signifier *boucher*; et *algazaria*⁵⁶ (ou *aljazaria*) et *carnizaria* dans le sens de *boucherie*.

⁵² Putarde. Port. *abatarda* ou *abetarda*. Etymologie incertaine.

⁵³ Grue. Port. *grou*.

⁵⁴ Tourterelles. Port. *rolas*.

⁵⁵ Mot arabe, sans doute, *al-ğazzār*, le boucher.

⁵⁶ Le mot arabe pour signifier, nous le savons, *mağzīr*. La forme qui se trouve dans le texte a reçu la terminaison portugaise *-ia*, d'origine latine. *Aljazaria* paraît dans deux documents de 1227, appartenant tout les deux aux "Liber Anniversariorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbricensis", vol. I, p. 113 et 253. Dans le premier on lit: "*obiit Petrus Petri (...) qui dedit pro suo anniversario huic sedi domos et furnum que sunt iuxta olim aljazariam superiorem...*". Ce qui veut dire: "Est mort Petrus Petri, qui donna pour son anniversaire à ce siège deux maisons et un four situés près de celle qui fut autre fois l'*aljazaria* supérieure". Dans l'autre on signale: "*Obiit Dominicus Iohannis qui reliquit nobis cum suo uxore Dominica Saluatoris pro suo anniversario et predictae uxoris sue quasdam domos habebat supra aliazariam...*" En traduisant: "Est mort Dominicus Iohannis qui nous laissa avec son épouse Dominica Saluatoris quelques maisons qu'il avait au-dessus de l'*aliazaria*..."

IV - *Item de piscatoribus.* - Pour les pêcheurs, desquels s'occupe cette partie du texte, on établit : Le poisson provenant soit de la mer soit du fleuve, doit être vendu, dans la barque qui l'a transporté, devant l'*almutazeb*⁵⁷. Dans le texte: *per manu de almutazeb.*

V - *Item de tendariis.*- Voyons ce qui est réglé pour les boutiquiers ou *tendarii* (port. *tendeiro*).

- 1) *Tendarii vendant libram cere pro XVI denariis et alukia*⁵⁸ *et quarta pro I denario;*
- 2) *manteca*⁵⁹ *III alukias pro I denario;*
- 3) *sevo cocto V alukias; crudo pisado de carneiro V alukias;*
- 4) *mel cubellum*⁶⁰ *et medio II solidos;*
- 5) *quatuor arenzos*⁶¹ *pimenta*⁶² *pro I denario;*
- 6) *arratal minus quarta de caseo*⁶³ *sicco pro I denario;*
- 7) *oleum*⁶⁴ *ad zumum du cubello uno pro medio morabitino;*

⁵⁷ En arabe, le directeur des marchés s'appelait, comme tout le monde le sait, *muh̄tasib*. Le charge était très important et s'est maintenu, chez nous, avec ce nom, pendant des siècles. Ce sujet a mérité l'attention du Prof. Chalmeta, notre cher collègue, qui l'a étudié dans une oeuvre vraiment notable: "El señor del zoco".

⁵⁸ C'est un nom arab *al-uqiyya* - once, qui continue vivant dans tous les pays arabes et arabisés. En portugais je ne connais pas d'autres textes où il se trouve, outre les traités d'histoire des découvertes. Mais dans ce cas on peut penser que les historiens l'ont entendu sur place, aux Indes ou ailleurs.

⁵⁹ Beurre. Port. *manteiga*.

⁶⁰ Petit cube. Le mot existe en portugais mais avec d'autres sens. La "Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira", pourtant, présente: *cubelo*. petit vase pour contenir des liquides.

⁶¹ C'est un mot trop étudié mais d'étymologie mal connue. Généralement on l'approche d'*argenteum*. Cette mesure et monnaie parait dans beaucoup de documents portugais et espagnols du moyen âge. Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Espagnole nous donne cette définition: "*Arienzo*. (Del lat. *argenteus*, de plata). Cierta moneda antigua de Castilla. 2. Medida de peso equivalente a 123 centigramas, usada en el Alto Aragón."

⁶² Poivre. Port. *pimenta*.

⁶³ Fromage. Port. *queijo*.

⁶⁴ Huile. Port. *óleo*, pour toute sorte d'huile, excepté l'huile d'olive, qui est *azeite*.

- 8) *cardineros dent XIII decubitos*⁶⁵ *de bono panno cardeno pro uno morabitino*;
 9) *additalio*⁶⁶ *de calle pro I morabitino*;
 10) *cantarus*⁶⁷ *I denario*; *quarta cum panella*⁶⁸ *I denario*; *duos asados*⁶⁹ *pro I denario*; *duos almudes*⁷⁰ *I denario*.

Qu'es-ce qu'on vendait dans les boutiques de Coimbra en cette époque-là? *De la cire, du suif, du beurre, du miel, du poivre, de l'huile, de la chaux, de la toile, des asados, des almudes, des cruches.*

Curieusement, on parle d'huile (*oleum*) et non d'azeite, qui, en portugais, signifie *huile d'olive*.

Pour les poids et mesures nous trouvons: *libra, alukia, arenzo, arratal, decubitos, additalio*.

Comme récipients: *cantarus, panella, asados, almudes*.

VI - *Item de vineis*. - Les vignes étaient objet de sérieuses précautions. Ainsi on prévoyait des punissements bien rigoureux pour ceux qui y provoquaient des dommages. Ces punissements pourraient aller jusqu'à la suspension dans la *picota*⁷¹.

Ar. *az-zayt*. Au contraire de ce qui arrive en espagnol, où *aceite* s'applique à toute sorte d'huile, en portugais *azeite* signifie seulement huile d'olive. Ici pourtant on emploie *oleum*.

⁶⁵ Coude. Port. *côvado*, mesure des tissus. Ici *decubito* est mis sans doute par *cupito*.

⁶⁶ En ce moment, je ne peux pas me prononcer sur l'étymologie d'*additalio*, mesure de poids utilisée dans le commerce de la chaux.

⁶⁷ Cruche. Port. *cântaro*.

⁶⁸ En territoire portugais, de nos jours, *panela*, un pot-au-feu. *Quarta* - quatrième - *cum panella*, j'ignore ce que c'est.

⁶⁹ Pots à anses. Port. *asados*. Ce mot est encore courant, avec le même sens, dans plusieurs régions du pays.

⁷⁰ C'est sans doute une mesure d'origine arabe, encore en usage au Portugal. Mais son emploi a toujours été variable d'après les régions. Les uns l'utilisent pour peser des grains; les autres pour mesurer des liquides.

⁷¹ Pilon, Port. *picota* ou *pelourinho*.

C'est exactement dans le paragraphe sur les vignes que le diplôme s'occupe du pain – au moins de celles qui le fabriquaient. Je transcris:

Alfabezeiras nec aliquis faciat alkeires nisi per manum de almutazeb et sit alkeir de VI arratales et medium.

Il y a encore une autre phrase sur le même sujet:

Alfabezeira faciat focciam panis de duobus arratalis et quarta.

Dans la première phrase on note que la construction de l'*alkeire*⁷² – le boisseau pour les français – obéissait à un patron que l'autorité municipale possédait. Sa capacité était de VI *arratales* et demi.

L'*alfabezeira*⁷³, nous le voyons dans la seconde phrase, était sans doute la *boulangère*. Elle faisait et vendait des pains – *focciae*⁷⁴ qui devraient peser *duo arratales*.

Ces pains continuent de se fabriquer, de nos jours, dans la région entre les fleuves Mondego et Douro. Ils portent encore le même nom. L'*alfabezeira* pourtant s'appelle en portugais *padeira*.

⁷² Boisseau. Port. *alqueire*. Ce nom d'origine arabe, totalement disparu en Espagne, est encore d'usage courant dans mon pays. *Alqueire* – en arabe *al-kayl* – alterne avec *arroba*, *ar-rub'a*, de la même origine, et *rasa*. Ils sont appliqués, tous, comme mesures de grains. *Alqueire* et *rasa* fonctionnent aussi comme unités de mesures des terres cultivables, indiquant les céréales que le cultivateur doit payer au propriétaire du terrain.

⁷³ *Alfabezeira* s'est formée, sans doute, à partir d' *alfabez* – et de la terminaison portugaise d'origine latine *-eira* (en lat. *-aria*).

⁷⁴ *Alfabez* représente évolution normal de *al-habbāz* selon les habitudes linguistiques de notre langue. Dans le passage que je vais extraire du livre "Chancelarias Portuguesas – D. Pedro I." Lisboa 1984, il doit signifier *boulangerie*, ce qui est normal. Voyons: *Casas em Lisboa. Carta per que o dicto senhor deu de foro hūas casas que elle ha na Judaria de Lixboa a par das carneçarias velhas que partem no levante con Rua publica e ao poente o alfabez dos judeus...* En traduction: Maisons à Lisbonne. Lettre par laquelle le même seigneur donna de *foro* des maisons qu'il a dans la *Judaria* de Lisbonne, près des boucheries vieilles, et qui confinent par l'orient à la rue publique et par l'ouest à l'*alfabez* des Juifs." Le document porte la date du 22 Mai 1364. C'est la seule fois que j'ai trouvé ce mot dans notre langue. Pour l'espagnol, Arnald Steiger "Contribución à la fonética del Hispano-Arabe" enregistre l'*alfabaceiro*. Il ne nous dit pas clairement où il l'a trouvé ce mot curieux avec une terminaison portugaise.

Ce mot *alfabezeira* est disparu de la langue portugaise. Quand? On ne le sait pas. Au XIV siècle nous trouvons cependant, à Lisbonne, le mot *alfabez*, correspondant exactement au mot arabe *al-ḥabbāz*, bou-langer.⁷⁵

VII Finalement, on indique les peines à subir par ceux qui ne suivent pas les dispositions contenues dans cet arrêt municipal: le paiement de *V solidos* et la suspension dans la picota ou pilori (port. *pelourinho*). Les prévaricateurs seront jugés par le *concilium* de la ville.

Les moulins ou *azenias*⁷⁶ (port. *azenhas*) doivent donner *quartam decimam partem*, sans d'autres obligations.

Pour le vin, les *lagares* ou pressoirs *non dent de vino nisi de quinque quinales inferius almude*.

Les muletiers ou *almokeri*⁷⁷ (port. *almocreve*) n'étaient pas obligés d'accomplir plus qu'un service par an.

Que Coimbra ait un *almozate bonnum qui custodiat totam civitatem sine offrefione*, c'est le voeu qu'on formule.

Que les *clerici nunquam eant in exercitum per forum*.

Que ceux qui voudront aller à Jérusalem n'en aient pas l'autorisation. Ils doivent aller *in auxilio illius castelli de Leirena et tocius Extremature. Et quicumque ibi fuerit mortuus habeat talem remissionem sicut illi qui migraverit in Jherosolimis*. Ce qui veut dire qu'il aurait les

⁷⁵ Fouace. Port. *fogaça*, et le dérivé *fogaçeira*, jeune fille porteuse de *fogaças* dans les processions annuelles des fêtes religieuses de la ville de Santa Maria da Feira, près de Porto. Le mot est, évidemment, d'origine latine, formé à partir de *focus*. J'ignore si le pain qui porte ce nom a la même composition que celui du moyen âge. Les *fogaças* actuelles sont des gros gâteaux préparés à la base de bonne farine, d'oeufs et de miel. Au nord du pays, aux environs de Porto, on fabrique aussi une autre sorte de pain, de forme circulaire, comme des roues, qui conserve le nom arabe, *regueifa*, *rağ ifa*. Dans la province de Minho, ces mêmes pains s'appelle *rosas*. Ils ne sont pas doux.

⁷⁶ Moulins à eaux. Port. *azenha*. Ar. *as-sāniya*. Ce nom continue vivant. Les moulins de ce genre sont pourtant de plus en plus rares.

⁷⁷ Muletier. Port. *almocreve*. En arabe *al-mukār*. Ce nom s'est maintenu en usage jusqu'à nos jours. Il cessa d'être employé seulement avec l'introduction de nouveaux moyens de transport et de communication.

mêmes indulgences que celles qui lui étaient accordées s'il périssait en Terre Sainte⁷⁸.

Voilà comment se présentaient les choses à Coimbra, près d'un siècle après la reconquête de la ville. Malheureusement, nous ne connaissons pas d'arrêts antérieurs à celui-ci.

Et c'est tout ce que j'ai à vous dire dans l'état actuel des investigations que j'ai faites. J'espère que mes chers collègues, surtout les voisins et amis espagnols, pourront compléter cette analyse modeste mais sérieuse - d'après mon avis, bien sûr.

⁷⁸ La ligne de séparation entre le territoire chrétien et le musulman, après la reconquête de Coimbra, passait par Leiria. Alphonse I y a fait bâtir un château fort en 1135. Il a été pris par les ennemis deux ans après. Repris par les chrétiens et reconstruit, il tomba de nouveau en mains des sarrasins. Pris de nouveau, seulement après la conquête de Santarém et de Lisbonne il cessa d'être attaqué par les maures. Les préoccupations et les soins du roi dans sa défense étaient bien justifiables.

EL PAPEL DE LA MUJER EN EL PROCESO DE CONFIGURACION NACIONAL: EL CASO EGIPCIO

Caridad Ruiz de Almodóvar y Sel

Universidad de Granada

La mujer árabe, aunque excluida de la vida pública e ignorada por la historia oficial, ha tenido una participación activa en la lucha por sacudirse del yugo colonialista en sus respectivos países, pero desgraciadamente su papel está aún por estudiar, aunque ya se hayan dado algunos pasos en este sentido.

En Egipto, la decisiva y valiosa participación femenina en el proceso de configuración nacional podemos dividirla en tres etapas, de acuerdo con las acciones que llevaron a cabo.

En la primera etapa fueron los soldados anónimos. Su actuación contra el enemigo invasor consistió básicamente en distribuir documentos, difundir noticias, transmitir consignas, esconder a perseguidos, apoyar a los hombres, recaudar fondos, medicinas, ropas, etc. Actividad que pudieron realizar con total impunidad, dado que, los gobernantes del momento no se podían imaginar que las mujeres estuviesen involucradas y, por consiguiente, no se desconfiaba de ellas ni se las registraban.

A través de su participación callada, las egipcias se fueron implicando cada vez más en la causa nacional y preparándose para la lucha. Y así de forma gradual pasaron a la segunda etapa, aquella en la que ya un grupo femenino se atrevió a salir a la luz pública, de forma clara y destacada, para combatir a los colonialistas dentro del movimiento nacional de liberación de la patria en todos los niveles: intelectual, social y económico.

La mujer egipcia, ante los acontecimientos que se estaban desarrollando en su país, la revolución nacional de 1919, decidió que había llegado el momento de participar activamente en ellos sin preocuparse por las advertencias y amenazas de los ingleses, que intentaban reprimir

con todos sus medios los brotes nacionalistas e independistas, y no sólo colaboraron abiertamente codo a codo con los hombres sino que ellas mismas organizaron manifestaciones, huelgas, boicot, escribieron artículos, pronunciaron discursos contra los poderes extranjeros y en apoyo de los líderes nacionalistas e incluso formaron, para canalizar todas sus actividades contra los colonialistas y sumarse a los gritos que barrían todo el país exigiendo la libertad e independencia del yugo británico, una asociación política, dependiente del Partido político nacionalista *Wafd*. Esta asociación, que se creó pocos días después, se denominó *Lağnat al-Wafd li-s-Sayyidāt* (Comisión de Mujeres Wafdistas)¹ y fue fundada por las esposas, hermanas e hijas de los miembros del *Wafd*.

Finalmente, en la tercera etapa, la mujer egipcia empuñó también las armas para defender a su país de la agresión británica y no dejar este honor sólo a los hombres.

A continuación presento algunas de estas acciones:

1. La distribución de un comunicado de la sociedad Ḥaluwān.

Entre las acciones emprendidas contra la actuación del jedive Tawfiq, derrocar al gobierno y librar al país de la dependencia occidental, destaca el comunicado denunciando al gobierno, elaborado por esta sociedad secreta revolucionaria, que en realidad puede considerarse como el primer partido nacionalista, y que está considerado por algunos historiadores como uno de los trabajos más importantes que apresuraron la caída del gobierno².

¹ Sobre la actuación de esta asociación, véase M. Farranto Badran, *Huda Sha'rawi and the liberation of the Egyptian woman*. London: St. Antony's College, 1977, pp. 18-57; Ā. Kāmil Bayyūmī as-Subkī, *al-Ḥaraka an-nisā'iyya fi Miṣr mā bayna at-tawratayn 1919 wa 1952*. al-Qāhira: Maṭābi' al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1986, pp. 18-57; H. Shaarawi, *Harem years. The memoirs of an Egyptian feminist (1879-1924)*. Trad. por M. Badran. London: Virago Press, 1986, pp. 112-126; y mi tesis, *El movimiento feminista egipcio, estudio histórico-sociológico: Durriya Šafiq y la Unión Bint al-Nīl, presentación y valoración*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1986, pp. 202-209.

² D. Šafiq, *al-Mar'a al-miṣriyya min al-farā'ina ilā l-yaum*. al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at Miṣr, 1955, p. 96.

Para su distribución se recurrió a las mujeres cuando comprendieron que las únicas personas de los círculos nacionalista que no eran vigiladas por los espías del primer ministro Riyād, eran las mujeres, y por tanto sólo ellas podrían llevar a cabo la tarea sin levantar sospechas. Una vez confiada la misión a las mujeres, fueron las esposas de líderes nacionalista del momento, como Ismā'īl Rāḡīb Bāšā y de Sāhīn Bāšā Kuniḡ, las encargadas de organizar el movimiento femenino de distribución, que desde el 4 de noviembre de 1879 y durante tres días depositó las circulares en todas las casas tanto de El Cairo como de las demás ciudades y pueblos del país, incluso en los palacios del jedive y del primer ministro, donde muchas mujeres pertenecientes a las familias de ambos eran partidarias de la causa.

Los medios utilizados por las mujeres para realizar con éxito su trabajo, desconcertó al gobierno que no pudo detener a ninguna de las distribuidoras, conocer su procedencia, ni el lugar de impresión de las circulares.

2. La actuación en la Revolución de 'Urābī.

En esta primera revolución nacional, que estalló cuando el coronel 'Urābī, haciéndose eco del descontento general, se sublevó en septiembre de 1881 contra el jedive Tawfīq, y fue causa indirecta de la invasión de país por las tropas británicas, las egipcias, de nuevo, jugaron su papel detrás de las cortinas trasladando las noticias y transmitiendo consignas por su camino especial, sin que nadie se diese cuenta ni dudara de ellas, y ayudando a esconder a los participantes de esta revolución, exponiéndose ellas mismas directamente al riesgo de las represalias o a sus familias, a pesar de las grandes sumas ofrecidas por el gobierno en recompensa para quienes dieran noticias de los revolucionarios, como reconoció el escritor 'Abdallāh Nadīm.

3. La participación en las manifestaciones que se sucedieron tras el bombardeo británico de Alejandría en 1882 y posterior invasión del país.

Este hecho está documentado por la existencia de cadáveres femeninos entre las víctimas de la represión de estas manifestaciones.

El papel de la mujer en los sucesos que ocurrieron en Egipto desde 1879 llevó a la escritora y célebre feminista egipcia Durriyya Šafīq³ a declarar: “la mujer egipcia desempeñó un papel secreto que fue el pilar de la revolución y su gran reserva”⁴.

4. La incorporación al Partido Nacional.

Cuando este partido fue fundado por Mušţafā Kāmil en 1907, la mujer egipcia deja de ser el soldado anónimo para participar públicamente en este nuevo partido.

Sin embargo, las tradiciones del momento no permitieron que la mujer fuese reconocida oficialmente como miembro del partido, a pesar de que, desde el 7 de diciembre de 1907, día que por primera vez se presentó en la sede del partido un grupo de mujeres veladas para asistir a su reunión política, la mujer participó de hecho en todo lo que el partido convocaba, como en la manifestación organizada por el partido el 22 de enero de 1914, día de la apertura de la Asamblea Legislativa, para protestar contra la Constitución y pedir una auténtica vida parlamentaria; e incluso intervino como oradora en sus sesiones, fiestas y congresos, como: la escritora Zaynab Fawwāz⁵, que participó en la fiesta organizada por el partido el 20 de marzo de 1908; Inšīrah Šawqī⁶, que intervino en tercer lugar en el congreso en apoyo de Egipto, organizado por Muḥammad Farīd, segundo jefe del partido, en Bruselas a partir del 22 de septiembre de 1910; y las nueve mujeres que intervinieron en la ceremonia que organizó el sector femenino el 11 de junio de

³ Para la vida, obra y bibliografía de esta mujer, véase mi tesis, *El movimiento*, pp. 433-547; y mi artículo, “Las escritoras egipcias del siglo XX”, *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, XXXIV-XXXV (1985-86), pp. 186-189.

⁴ D. Šafīq, *al-Mar'a*, p. 95.

⁵ Para los datos bio-bliográficos de esta mujer, véase mi artículo, “Las escritoras”, pp. 169-170.

⁶ M. Farranto Badran, *Huda*, pp. 120-121; D. Šafīq, *al-Mar'a*, p. 114; A. Ṭāhā Muḥammad, *al-Mar'a al-miṣriyya bayna al-mādī wa-l-ḥādīr*. al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at Dār at-Tālīf, 1979, pp. 56.

1920⁷, a los pocos días de la muerte de Muḥammad Farīd, en reconocimiento a la labor de este político.

5. La distribución de propaganda nacionalista por Hadiyya Barakāt y un grupo de mujeres anónimas.

Hadiyya Barakāt⁸ comenzó a vivir la vida política del país y a participar en ella, en la medida de lo posible, desde su boda con el doctor Bahī ad-Dīn Barakāt, dado que tanto su marido como su familia estaban muy comprometidos con las ideas nacionalistas. Así, en una ocasión en la que los ingleses condenaron a varios nacionalistas por repartir propaganda con sus ideas, ella no dudó en cogerla y, como ya hicieron otras compatriotas antes, encargarse de distribuirla. Para que las circulares llegasen a la mayor cantidad de personas, tomó el tren hacia el Alto Egipto y en cada estación era esperada por una mujer, a la que entregaba parte de la propaganda para que la repartiese en su localidad. Los soldados, que continuamente registraron el tren, no sospecharon de esta mujer envuelta en sus velos y no la molestaron en ningún momento, con lo que pudo llevar a efecto su misión sin ser descubierta.

6. Las protestas durante la revolución de 1919.

En esta sublevación general que estalló el 9 de marzo de 1919, las egipcias participaron activamente en las numerosas huelgas laborales que se produjeron en este tiempo, en la destrucción de vías del tren, postes del telégrafo, depósitos, etc., y en las manifestaciones organizadas por los distintos grupos, como en la realizada por los artistas y trabajadores de los teatros, que salieron a la calle todos ataviados con la indumentaria de la obra que representaban, además estas artistas, como recuerda

⁷ D. Šafīq, *al-Mar'a*, pp. 115-116.

⁸ Miembro de las asociaciones benéficas *Mabarrat Muḥammad 'Alī* (Institución Benéfica de Muḥammad 'Alī), de la que fue tesorera y presidenta, y *Ġam'īyyat al-Mar'a al-Ġadīda* (La Asociación La Mujer Nueva), así como del partido político *Wafd* desde su fundación, véase M. Farranto Badran, *Huda*, pp. 258-259; A. Lutfi al-Sayyid and A. Marsot, "The revolutionary gentlewomen in Egypt", *Women in Muslim world*. Ed. por L. Beck and N. Keddie. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978, pp. 271-275; D. Šafīq, *al-Mar'a*, pp. 170, 171.

Fâtima Rûz al-Yûsuf⁹, escondieron en sus camerinos en varias ocasiones a manifestantes que huían de la persecución británica.

Sin embargo su actuación no se limitó a esta colaboración con los hombres sino que emprendieron ellas mismas determinadas acciones como:

- La manifestación organizada, el 16 de marzo de 1919 por la Comisión de Mujeres Wafdista que congregó a unas 300 mujeres y estuvo presidida por Hudâ Ša'rawī¹⁰, esposa del vicepresidente de *Wafd*, 'Alī Ša'rawī, que años después se convertiría en la líder del movimiento feminista egipcio.

Su objetivo era dirigirse en manifestación pacífica, gritando eslóganes contra el colonialismo, a las embajadas de Gran Bretaña y de los demás países extranjeros para entregarles a sus embajadores una carta de protesta¹¹ por la agresión británica.

Las manifestantes, al terminar de distribuir su protesta, se dirigieron al Palacio del Congreso; pero las autoridades, dándose cuenta de la gravedad y repercusión que podía tener la participación de la mujer, respondieron con violencia y mandaron a las fuerzas de orden público contra ellas. Los policías rodearon a las manifestantes, pero éstas, alentadas por los ánimos y aplausos de la muchedumbre admirada, resistieron firmes a pleno sol durante más de dos horas, sin dejarse impresionar y afeándosele en inglés a los policías su cobardía.

⁹ Ā. Kāmil Bayyūmī al-Subkī, *al-Ḥaraka*, p. 25.

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¹¹ El texto de esta carta se encuentra en D. Šafīq, *al-Mar'a*, p. 120; y la traducción en mi tesis, *El movimiento*, pp. 203-204.

Luego decidieron, a pesar del cerco, continuar su camino y al llegar al Palacio del Congreso adjuntaron a la primera protesta una segunda¹², que escribieron después de los hechos acaecidos, para que se la hicieran llegar también a los embajadores extranjeros.

- La manifestación organizada, el 20 de marzo, con objeto de entregar otra carta de protesta. Estas mujeres que portaban numerosos eslóganes patrióticos escritos en árabe, francés e inglés y a cuya cabeza iba Hudā Ša'rawī, se dirigieron por segunda vez a las embajadas extranjeras y de nuevo fueron sitiadas, y aunque consiguieron enviar sus protestas, tuvieron que dispersarse sin llegar a su destino.

- El manifiesto reivindicativo. Tras la llegada a Egipto de la comisión Milner, las egipcias decidieron de nuevo manifestar su desaprobación. Se reunieron, tanto musulmanas como coptas, el 12 de diciembre en la iglesia patriarcal ortodoxa de San Marcos de El Cairo para discutir la situación general del país y las medidas a tomar. El hecho de haberse reunido en este lugar probaba la sagacidad de estas mujeres, porque la elección tenía un sentido simbólico, ya que con ello quisieron denunciar la protección otorgada por los británicos a la minoría confesional a fin de enemistar a los dos elementos de la sociedad: el musulmán y el copto. Y al mismo tiempo respondían a la pretensión británica de explicar que la animadversión de los egipcios contra el gobierno colaboracionista del copto Yūsuf Bāšā Wahba era por causa del fanatismo religiosos y no por su proceder. Al finalizar esta reunión, publicaron un manifiesto¹³ en el que, tras hacer un pequeño resumen de los acontecimientos, expresan sus protestas contra: el rechazo de las peticiones de Egipto para asistir a la Conferencia de Paz, el exilio de los líderes nacionalistas, el gobierno formado por el copto Yūsuf Bāšā Wahba, designado por Gran Bretaña, la llegada de la comisión Milner contra el deseo del pueblo, y los crímenes cometidos por los británicos. También expusieron en él las resolu-

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ciones tomadas, que tuvieron un gran alcance político: reclamar la total independencia del país y el boicot a la comisión Milner.

- La creación, el 8 de enero de 1920, del Comité Central de Mujeres Wafdistas (*Lağnat al-Wafd al-Markaziyya li-s-Sayyidāt*) que tenía como misión: coordinar las acciones a realizar con el *Wafd*, suministrar a los líderes wafdistas lugares de reunión al abrigo de la policía y de los espías, transmitir consignas, reunir fondos, organizar conferencias y arengar al pueblo para sostener la causa nacional. También se encargó este Comité Central de redactar cartas de protesta contra todo aquello que impedía la vida libre y democrática o retrasaba la consecución de la independencia, entre ellas, contra: todos los informes de la comisión Milner y la política británica en Egipto, las negociaciones sobre el legítimo dominio del Sudán, el plan para extender el área de regadío en el Sudán, la ley marcial, etc.

- La manifestación, el 16 de ese mes, cuyo objetivo era entregar su manifiesto en el Palacio del Congreso. En esta ocasión utilizaron la argucia de salir por separado en coches, hasta el lugar del que debían partir con el propósito de intentar burlar la acción de los policías, pero no lo consiguieron. Apenas comenzaron a gritar sus eslóganes, las fuerzas armadas las sitiaron y las obligaron a dirigirse a la comisaría, donde fueron encarceladas, sin ser liberadas hasta que los líderes de la revolución respondieron de ellas con sus garantías personales. Cuando finalmente se vieron libres, los policías habían roto las ruedas de sus coches; pero esta acción no debilitó su determinación y continuaron a pie entre aplausos hacia el Palacio del Congreso.

- El apoyo y ayuda a todas las nuevas iniciativas encaminadas a lograr la liberación económica, paso indispensable para conseguir su objetivo: lograr la total independencia de Egipto. En este sentido, animaron la producción local, promocionaron las industrias nacionales y principalmente contribuyeron a la expansión del Banco Egipcio, siendo Hudā Šaʿrāwī, una de las primeras personas que no dudó en depositar su dinero en esta entidad cuando se creó, además de incitar a sus compañeras para que siguieran su ejemplo.

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- La manifestación, el 16 de ese mes, cuyo objetivo era entregar su manifiesto en el Palacio del Congreso. En esta ocasión utilizaron la argucia de salir por separado en coches, hasta el lugar del que debían partir con el propósito de intentar burlar la acción de los policías, pero no lo consiguieron. Apenas comenzaron a gritar sus eslóganes, las fuerzas armadas las sitiaron y las obligaron a dirigirse a la comisaría, donde fueron encarceladas, sin ser liberadas hasta que los líderes de la revolución respondieron de ellas con sus garantías personales. Cuando finalmente se vieron libres, los policías habían roto las ruedas de sus coches; pero esta acción no debilitó su determinación y continuaron a pie entre aplausos hacia el Palacio del Congreso.

- El apoyo y ayuda a todas las nuevas iniciativas encaminadas a lograr la liberación económica, paso indispensable para conseguir su objetivo: lograr la total independencia de Egipto. En este sentido, animaron la producción local, promocionaron las industrias nacionales y principalmente contribuyeron a la expansión del Banco Egipcio, siendo Hudā Šā'rāwī, una de las primeras personas que no dudó en depositar su dinero en esta entidad cuando se creó, además de incitar a sus compañeras para que siguieran su ejemplo.

ابن رأس غنمة ومصادر كتابه: مناقل الدرر ومنايات الزهر

قاسم السامرائي

جامعة لايدن

منذ خمس عشرة سنة تقريبا لفت الاستاذ كستر - من الجامعة العبرية بالقدس انتباهي إلى مخطوطة كتاب مناقل الدرر ومنايات الزهر لابن رأس غنمة الاشبيلي (جستر بيتي ٤٢٥٤) فقد كان أحد المصادر التي استخدمها في تعليقاته وشروحه النافعة على تحقيق الاستاذ ماكس شلوسنجر لكتاب أنساب الأشراف للبلاذري (القدس ١٩٧١). وتفضل فزودني بصورة مصورة (فوتوستات) من نسخة جستر بيتي، وحثني على تحقيقها ونشرها، لأنها في رأيه: "تحتوي على معلومات جمة ومفيدة حول الدولة الأموية في الشام، وهي مفيدة أيضا لأن مؤلفها ينقل كثيرا من مصادر لم تصل إلينا بعد".

يكاد الكتاب ينحصر في تاريخ الدولة الأموية في الشام إلا أن مؤلفه- تقليدا لأسلوب المؤرخين التقليديين - بدأ كتابه بسيرة النبي - عليه الصلاة والسلام - وأردفها (باختصار) بسيرة الخلفاء الراشدين لكي يخلص إلى الموضوع المعين الذي أراده في كتابه- تاريخ بني أمية- حتى يكون كتابه متسقا تاريخيا في ذهن القارئ. بيد أنه أدرك أن هناك من قد يتهمه بالميل للامويين، فاستدرك في المقدمة: "وربما توهم متوهم أن اقتصاري على مدة بني أمية إنما هو رغبة فيهم وميل إليهم نون سواهم وتفضيل لهم على ما بعدهم من الدولة العباسية، وليس كذلك، غير أن مدة بني أمية يمكن لقصرها حصرها، ويقرب لانتطاعها أمرها (....) فإن لتسأ الله الاجل وبلغ الامل جمعت من أخبار الدولة العباسية ما تبلغه القوة وتنتهي إليه القدوة إن شاء الله". ولما انتهى من أخبار الأمويين لم يتوقف عندها بل حاول أن يسجل أيضا بعض أخبار الدولة العباسية، فاختصر أخبارها اختصارا شديدا، فلم يزد على بضعة سطور خصصها لأخبار كل خليفة عباسي حتى بداية حكم الناصر لدين الله اعتمادا على ما أورده المسعودي في كتاب مروج الذهب وابن الجوزي في المنتظم.

نسخ الكتاب:

إضافة إلى نسخة جستر بيتي التي نسخها الحاج بن أبي عياد في يوم الجمعة، التاسع عشر من ربيع الثاني سنة ١١٩٣ هجرية (١٢٩ ورقة)، فإن هناك أيضا نسختين أخريين من الكتاب محفوظتين في الخزانة الحسينية الملكية بالرباط. أولهما برقم: ٢٤٦١ (١٢٣ ورقة)، والثانية برقم: ٢٢٤٦ (١٣٧ ورقة) وكلتاهما غير مؤرختين، وقد عابنتهما

شخصيا في شهر إبريل سنة ١٩٨٨ فظهر لي من دراسة الورق والحبر أن الأولى كتبت بخط مغربي حديث على ورق مغربي أسمر سميك يعود إلى القرن الثالث عشر (التاسع عشر م) وقد استعمل فيها الحبر الملون وزخرفت بداية طرتها بالذهب والأحبار الملونة. أما تجليدها فمغربي حديث من الورق المقوى المغلف بالجلد وفي وسط كل دفة ميدالية مضغوطة وملونة باللون الأخضر الغامق وتحيط بكل ميدالية مقرنصات مذهبة.

أما الثانية: فقد كتبت على ورق أوربي أبيض تظهر فيه الخطوط المتوازية والعلامة المائية التي نستدل منها أن الورق من صناعة القرن الثاني عشر (الثامن عشر). وقد تعرضت هذه النسخة إلى عوامل البلبي والتهرؤ وفعل الأرضة، وبخاصة في أوراقها الأولى، فأثرت على بعض النص، وهذه أيضا كتبت بخط مغربي واضح. أما تجليدها فهو من الورق المقوى أثرت فيه عوامل البلبي وخروم الأرضة.

الظاهر من دراسة النسخ الثلاث أنها تعود إلى أصل واحد لاشتراكها كلها في الأخطاء النسخية الكثيرة واشتراكها في البياضات التي كانت - على ما يبدو - في الأصل الذي لم يصل إلينا بعد. وقد أتت مقارنتي بين النسخ الثلاث إلى أن نسختي الدار الحسينية الملكية منسوخة إحداهما من الأخرى، أي: أن النسخة الأولى قد نسخت من الثانية وأن نسخة جستر بيتي ونسخة الدار الحسينية الثانية منسوختان من أصل ضاع. ومع هذا فإن الحاج بن أبي عياد (ناسخ نسخة جستر بيتي) لم يكن ناسخا فحسب بل حاول أن يكمل النص الساقط فأضاف بعض الكلمات في البياضات مما يتطلبه السياق الكلامي. إضافة إلى كل هذا فإن النسخ الثلاث تشترك بظاهرة أخرى وهي تتمثل في أن النسخة التي أنتسخت منها نسخة جستر بيتي ونسخة الدار الحسينية كانت ولا بد منسوخة من أصل يحمل بعض الحواشي والتعليقات فأدخلها ناسخ أصل جستر بيتي والدار الحسينية الثانية في النص، فتواترت هذه التعليقات في النسخ الثلاث جميعا فمثلا:

في ورقة ١١٩ ب (جستر بيتي): "فكان بنو العباس يفخرون بهذه الآية ويقولون أن العباس كان الذي شاء الله. نكر هذه في أول كتاب مناقل الدرر ومنابت الزهر"
وفي ورقة ٦٧ أ: "نكر (ابن) الجوزي في فطن الأذكياء ... " وأورد حكاية صعصعة بن صوحان والمغيرة بن شعبة^١ ثم أتبعها ب "وكتبه الفقيه أبو عبيد الله ابن الفقيه أبي يحيى المواق".

^١ كتاب الأذكياء، القاهرة ١٣٠٤ هجرية، صفحة ٩٨.

رأس غنمة، وقال المراكشي: "روي عن أبي الحسين بن خروف التحوي وأبي حفص بن عمر. ورحل إلى المشرق في حدود الخمس والتسعين وخمسائة مرافقا الشهيد أبا بكر ابن لحد الكتاني (...). فألبيا فريضة الحج ولقيا هناك بقايا الشيوخ، فأخذوا عن طائفة منهم. واستصحبوا فولد جمة وغرائب كتب لا عهد لأهل الأندلس بها، فاستسحها هناك (...). وكان أبو العباس هذا شديد الشغف بالعلم قطع دهره في صحبة أهله ولازم أبا حفص ابن عمر طويلا (...). وتوفى رحمه الله بأشبيلية في حدود ثلاث وأربعين وستمئة"².

وذكر ابن عبد الملك المراكشي في ترجمة أبي بكر محمد بن أحمد الكتاني الأشبيلي أنه: "رحل إلى المشرق حاجا مرافقا أبا العباس بن أحمد بن رأس غنمة". وأن الكتاني "استشهد على شريطة سنة ثمان وستمئة"³.

أما في ترجمة حفص بن عمر قاضي أشبيلية فقد أورد المراكشي: "روي عنه (...). وابن رأس غنمة (...). وتوفى بأشبيلية (...). عام ثلاث وستمئة"⁴. هذه هي كل الشذرات التي تمكنا من العثور عليها حتى الآن وما علينا إلا أن نستقرئ الإشارات التي أوردها ابن رأس غنمة في كتابه لتحديد عصر المؤلف وبالتالي نسبة الكتاب. جاء في ورقة ٦٢ ب: "لخبرني الفقيه أبو القاسم بن فرقد"، وهو محمد بن عامر بن فرقد الأشبيلي، "كان فقيها مفتيا عاقدا للشروط (...). وتوفى بأشبيلية يوم الجمعة لخمس يقين من شوال سبع وعشرين وستمئة"⁵.

وفي ورقة ١٠١ ب في دعاء عمر بن عبدالعزيز، قال المؤلف: "أملاه علينا أبو الحسن بن خطاب في شوال من عام ستة وعشرين وستمئة". وابن خطاب هذا - كما ذكر المراكشي (٢٣٨/٥) - "هو علي بن عبدالله بن يوسف بن خطاب المعافري الأشبيلي (...). واستقضى بأشبيلية وقتا (...). وتوفى نصف ليلة الأحد السابعة عشرة من ذي قعدة سنة تسع وعشرين وستمئة".

وفي ورقة ٢٥ ب في حديث عمر بن الخطاب قال المؤلف: "قرأته على أبي عبدالله بن خلفون". وابن خلفون هذا هو "محمد بن إسماعيل بن محمد بن خلفون الأزدي، سكن أشبيلية (...). وكان من متقني صناعة الحديث متقنما في معرفته (...). وتوفى بأشبيلية يوم التروية وقيل في الوسط من ذي قعدة ست وثلاثين وستمئة" (الذيل والتكملة ١٢٨/٦).

² الذيل والتكملة: ٢٨٨-٣٢٢ (بيروت ١٩٦٤) تحقيق محمد بن شريفة.

³ المصدر نفسه: ٢٣٢/٦. تحقيق إحسان عباس.

⁴ المصدر نفسه: ٢٢٢/٨-٢٣٢.

⁵ المصدر نفسه: ٤٢١/٦-٤٢٥.

ابن رأس غنمة ومصادر كتابه: مناقل الدرر ومنابت الزهر

قاسم السامرائي

جامعة لايدن

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نسخ الكتاب:

إضافة إلى نسخة جستر بيتي التي نسخها الحاج بن أبي عيَّاد في يوم الجمعة، التاسع عشر من ربيع الثاني سنة ١١٩٣ هجرية (١٢٩ ورقة)، فإن هناك أيضا نسختين أخريين من الكتاب محفوظتين في الخزانة الحسنية الملكية بالرباط. أولهما برقم: ٢٤٦١ (١٢٣ ورقة)، والثانية برقم: ٢٢٤٦ (١٣٧ ورقة) وكتاهما غير مؤرختين، وقد عاينتهما

شخصيا في شهر إبريل سنة ١٩٨٨ فظهر لي من دراسة الورق والحبر أن الأولى كتبت بخط مغربي حديث على ورق مغربي أسمر سميك يعود إلى القرن الثالث عشر (التاسع عشر م) وقد استعمل فيها الحبر الملون وزخرفت بداية طرتها بالذهب والأحبار الملونة. أما تجليدها فمغربي حديث من الورق المقوى المغلف بالجلد وفي وسط كل دفة ميدالية مضغوطة وملونة باللون الأخضر الغامق وتحيط بكل ميدالية مقرنصات مذهبة.

أما الثانية: فقد كتبت على ورق أوربي أبيض تظهر فيه الخطوط المتوازية والعلامة المائية التي نستدل منها أن الورق من صناعة القرن الثاني عشر (الثامن عشر). وقد تعرضت هذه النسخة إلى عوامل البلبي والتهرؤ وفعل الأرضة، وبخاصة في أوراقها الأولى، فأثرت على بعض النص، وهذه أيضا كتبت بخط مغربي واضح. أما تجليدها فهو من الورق المقوى أثرت فيه عوامل البلبي وخروم الأرضة.

الظاهر من دراسة النسخ الثلاث أنها تعود إلى أصل واحد لاشتراكها كلها في الأخطاء النسخية الكثيرة واشتراكها في البياضات التي كانت - على ما يبدو- في الأصل الذي لم يصل إلينا بعد. وقد أنت مقارنتي بين النسخ الثلاث إلى أن نسختي الدار الحسنية الملكية منسوخة إحداهما من الأخرى، أي: أن النسخة الأولى قد نسخت من الثانية وأن نسخة جستر بيتي ونسخة الدار الحسنية الثانية منسوختان من أصل ضاع. ومع هذا فإن الحاج بن أبي عبيد (ناسخ نسخة جستر بيتي) لم يكن ناسخا فحسب بل حاول أن يكمل النص الساقط فأضاف بعض الكلمات في البياضات مما يتطلبه السياق الكلامي. إضافة إلى كل هذا فإن النسخ الثلاث تشترك بظاهرة أخرى وهي تتمثل في أن النسخة التي أنتسخت منها نسخة جستر بيتي ونسخة الدار الحسنية كانت ولا بد منسوخة من أصل يحمل بعض الحواشي والتعليقات فأدخلها ناسخ أصل جستر بيتي والدار الحسنية الثانية في النص، فتواترت هذه التعليقات في النسخ الثلاث جميعا فمثلا:

في ورقة ١١٩ ب (جستر بيتي): "فكان بنو العباس يفخرون بهذه الآية ويقولون أن العباس كان الذي شاء الله. ذكر هذه في أول كتاب مناقل الدرر ومنايت الزهر"
وفي ورقة ٦٧ أ: "ذكر (ابن) الجوزي في فطن الأذكاء..." وأورد حكاية صعصعة بن صوحان والمغيرة بن شعبة^١ ثم أتبعها ب "وكتبه الفقيه أبو عبيد الله ابن الفقيه أبي يحيى المواق".

^١ كتاب الأذكاء، القاهرة ١٢٠٤ هجرية، صفحة ٩٨.

رأس غنمة، وقال المراكشي: "روي عن أبي الحسين بن خروف الحوي وأبي حفص بن عمر. ورحل إلى المشرق في حدود الخمس والتسعين وخمسائة مرافقا الشهيد أبا بكر ابن لحمد الكتاني (...). فألبيا فريضة الحج ولقيا هناك بقايا الشيوخ، فأخذوا عن طائفة منهم. واستصحبا فولد جمة وغرائب كتب لا عهد لأهل الأندلس بها. فاستنسخاها هناك (...). وكان أبو العباس هذا شديد الشغف بالعلم قطع دهره في صحبة أهله ولازم أبا حفص ابن عمر طويلا (...). وتوفى رحمه الله بأشبيلية في حدود ثلاث وأربعين وستمائة"².

وذكر ابن عبد الملك المراكشي في ترجمة أبي بكر محمد بن أحمد الكتاني الأشبيلي أنه: "رحل إلى المشرق حاجا مرافقا أبا العباس بن أحمد بن رأس غنمة". وأن الكتاني "استشهد على شريطة سنة ثمان وستمائة"³.

أما في ترجمة حفص بن عمر قاضي أشبيلية فقد أورد المراكشي: "روي عنه (...). وابن رأس غنمة (...). وتوفى بأشبيلية (...). عام ثلاث وستمائة"⁴. هذه هي كل الشذرات التي تمكنا من العثور عليها حتى الآن وما علينا إلا أن نستقرئ الإشارات التي أوردها ابن رأس غنمة في كتابه لتحديد عصر المؤلف وبالتالي نسبة الكتاب. جاء في ورقة ٦٢ ب: "لخيرني الفقيه أبو القاسم بن فرقد"، وهو محمد بن عامر بن فرقد الأشبيلي، "كان فقيها مفتيا عاقدا للشرط (...). وتوفى بأشبيلية يوم الجمعة لخمسة بقين من شوال سبع وعشرين وستمائة"⁵.

وفي ورقة ١٠١ ب في دعاء عمر بن عبدالعزيز، قال المؤلف: "أملاه علينا أبو الحسن بن خطاب في شوال من عام ستة وعشرين وستمائة". وابن خطاب هذا - كما ذكر المراكشي (٢٣٨/٥) - "هو علي بن عبدالله بن يوسف بن خطاب المعافري الأشبيلي (...). واستقصى بأشبيلية وقتا (...). وتوفى نصف ليلة الأحد السابعة عشرة من ذي قعدة سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة"⁶.

وفي ورقة ٢٥ ب في حديث عمر بن الخطاب قال المؤلف: "قرأته على أبي عبدالله بن خلفون". وابن خلفون هذا هو "محمد بن إسماعيل بن محمد بن خلفون الأزدي، سكن أشبيلية (...). وكان من متقني صناعة الحديث متقنما في معرفته (...). وتوفى بأشبيلية يوم التروية وقيل في الوسط من ذي قعدة ست وثلاثين وستمائة" (الذيل والتكملة ١٢٨/٦

² الذيل والتكملة: ٢٢٨/١-٢٢٩ (بيروت ١٩٦٤) تحقيق محمد بن شريفة.

³ المصدر نفسه: ٢٢٢/٦. تحقيق إحسان عباس.

⁴ المصدر نفسه: ٢٢٢/٨-٢٢٣.

⁵ المصدر نفسه: ٤٢١/٦-٤٢٥.

(١٣١). وقد نقل مؤلف الكتاب كثيرا من كتاب "التعريف بالصحابية الذين أخرج البخاري ومسلم عنهم" وهو لابن خلفون. من كل هذا يظهر أن مؤلف الكتاب عاش ودرس في أشبيلية، ثم كتب هذا الكتاب في سنين عديدة آخرها سنة ٦٢١ هجرية، ثم أضاف في نسخته ما سمعه من ابن خطاب في سنة ٦٢٦ هجرية، فيما بعد لأنه أكد في آخر كتابه على أن الناصر لدين الله العباسي "هو الوالي ببغداد فيما بلغنا وهو عام إحدى وعشرين وستمائة"، وهذا صحيح لأن الناصر لدين الله العباسي توفي سنة ٦٢٢ هجرية. ومن هنا يظهر أيضا أن مؤلف الكتاب هو أبو العباس أحمد بن رأس غنمة، وليس أبا الوليد إسماعيل بن رأس غنمة. فلعل اسم المؤلف كان مخروما أو مطموسا في النسخة الأصل الأولى لسبب أو لآخر فتواتر النقص في النسخ الذي نسخت فيما بعد.

مصادر كتاب ابن رأس غنمة:

لو أهملنا ذكر المصادر المشرقية المشهورة أمثال:

- ١) مروج الذهب للمسعودي الذي اقتبس منه في ٣٩ موضعا
 - ٢) وتاريخ الطبري في ٩ مواضع
 - ٣) والأغانى لأبي الفرج الأصفهاني في ٦ مواضع
 - ٤) وكتاب الإمامة والسياسة المنسوب لابن قتيبة في ٣ مواضع
 - ٥) وتاريخ خليفة بن خياط في ١٠ مواضع
 - ٦) وصحيح البخاري في ٨ مواضع
 - ٧) ومصنف حماد بن سلمة في ٨ مواضع
 - ٨) والموطأ لمالك في ١٣ موضعا
 - ٩) وصحيح مسلم في ٣ مواضع
 - ١٠) وكتاب الكامل للمبرد في ٢٠ موضعا
 - ١١) وكتاب عيون الاخبار لابن قتيبة في ٨ مواضع وكتاب المعارف له في ٤ مواضع
 - ١٢) ومن البيان والتبيين في ١١ موضعا
 - أو المصادر الأنتلسية المشهورة أمثال:
 - ١٣) العقد الفريد لابن عبد ربه في ٦٨ موضعا
- فإن المؤلف ينقل من مصادر مشرقية وأندلسية ضائعة لا نعرفها إلا من الإشارات القليلة إليها مثل:
- ١٤) تاريخ نبطويه الذي نقل منه في ١٦ موضعا نصوصا طويلة
 - ١٥) وكتاب أخبار أفريقية لعريب بن سعيد القرطبي في موضعين
 - ١٦) وتاريخ الخلفاء لابن اللبان في ٣ مواضع

- ١٧) وتاريخ إسماعيل بن علي الخطبي في ٥ مواضع
 ١٨) وأخبار الخلفاء للمدائني في موضع واحد
 ١٩) وكتاب العروس لعلي بن أحمد بن كوثر المحاربي الغرناطي (ت ٥٨٩ هجرية) في موضع واحد
 ٢٠) وبستان الزهاد لمؤلف أندلسي أو مغربي لعله كتاب بستان العارفين لمحمد بن قاسم التميمي الفاسي (ت ٦٠٤ هجرية).
 ٢١) وكتاب الجواهر لعله لابن شاس عبد الله بن نجم الجذامي السعدي المالكي (ت ٦١٦ هجرية).
 ٢٢) وكتاب الأخبار المنثورة لأبي بكر الصولي (ت ٢٤٣ هجرية) في ١٥ موضعا
 ٢٣) وكتاب طارد الهموم للصولي أيضا في موضع واحد.
 أو من مصادر لا تعرف منها الا أقساما وصلت إلينا مثل:
 ٢٤) مغازي موسى بن عقبة
 ٢٥) وكتاب الابتداء لعبد الملك بن حبيب (ت ٢٣٨) فلعل نسخة بودليان (١٢٧/٢) مارش ٢٨٨ ورقة ١٠٠-١٠٠ والمكتوبة سنة ٦٩٠) من هذا الكتاب، نقل منه في ١٠ مواضع.
 ٢٦) كتاب المغازي لابن وهب الذي نشر في هايدلبرج جزء منه، في موضع واحد.
 أو مصادر لا تعرف عنها شيئا إطلاقا مثل:
 ٢٧) كتاب أنس الواحد في موضع واحد
 ٢٨) تاريخ الذهني في ٧ مواضع
 ٢٩) كتاب التأسّي في ٧ مواضع
 ٣٠) كتاب الشاهد في التاريخ في ٣ مواضع
 إضافة الى كل هذه المصادر فإن المؤلف ينقل من:
 ٣١) كتاب ابن خلفون في ٩ مواضع
 ٣٢) كتاب الواضحة في الفقه
 ٣٣) كتاب ملحمة دانيال
 ٣٤) كتاب حلية الأولياء لأبي نعيم الأصفهاني
 ٣٥) مصنف عبدالرزاق الصنعاني
 ٣٦) الجامع لمعمر بن راشد
 ٣٧) شرح الفصيح لابن خالوية
 ٣٨) كتاب المصابيح للبلغوي
 ٣٩) كتاب حلم معاوية لمؤلف مجهول فلعله هو الذي ذكره المراكشي باسم "مصنف في أخبار معاوية" لابي القاسم بن البراق (ت ٥٩٦ هجرية) الأندلسي (الذليل والتكملة ٤٦٨/٦)
 ٤٠) الاستيعاب لابن عبد البر
 ٤١) كتاب الفصوص لصاعد بن الحسن الربيعي (ت ٤١٩)

- (٤٢) التنبيه والاشراف للمسعودي
 (٤٣) الفاضل للميرد
 (٤٤) سنن الدارقطني
 (٤٥) جامع الترمذي
 (٤٦) فوائد أبي بكر الرازي
 (٤٧) الزاهر لأبي بكر الأنباري
 (٤٨) زهر الآداب للحصري
 (٤٩) كتاب سبل الخيرات لابن الفلاس القرطبي (بروكلمان: الملحق ١/٥٩٣)
 (٥٠) تاريخ الدولابي
 (٥١) تاريخ الدوري
 (٥٢) شرح البخاري لابن بطال
 (٥٣) الجامع من مختصر المدونة لابن أبي زيد
 (٥٤) المدونة
 (٥٥) مسند ابن أبي شيبة
 (٥٦) مراتب الإجماع لابن حزم
 (٥٧) كتاب النوادر لأبي علي القالي
 (٥٨) الجمهرة في النسب لابن حزم
 (٥٩) شفاء الصدور للنقاش
 (٦٠) سيرة ابن إسحاق
 (٦١) المنتظم لابن الجوزي
 (٦٢) تاريخ المظفري للمظفر بالله أبي بكر محمد بن عبد الله بن مسلمة التجيبي أمير بطليوس (ت ٤٦٠)، وهو أهم كتاب أندلسي عند المؤلف فإنه ينقل منه في ٧٤ موضعا نصوصا طويلة.
 وقد كان هذا الكتاب أيضا من مصادر ابن خلكان (وفيات ٣٥٢/٦) وابن حجر في الإصابة والسيوطي (الإتقان ٥٣ - القاهرة، ١٣٦٨ هجرية).
 جاء في المغرب في حلي المغرب (١/٣٦٤ تحقيق شوقي ضيف): "المظفر أبو بكر محمد بن منصور عبد الله الأقطس، ورث بطليوس عن أبيه، وكان قريع المعتضد بن عباد ومحاربه، وهو الذي صنّف كتاب المظفري في الأدب والتاريخ نحو مائة مجلد". وهذا الكتاب لم يصل إلينا بعد.

أهمية الكتاب وقصد المؤلف:

لو قرأنا مقدمة كتاب ابن رأس غنمة لوحدها فإننا نفهم منها أنه أراد أن يكون كتابه في "أيام العرب وأخبارهم وخطبها وأشعارها وتوابعها وآثارها، إذ الفصلحة موجودة فيهم والغريب من الكلام موقوف عليهم البنية من المقال صادر عنهم وراجع اليهم. فعملت

أن من سلمت قريحته وصحت نفسه وغريزته حريص على رواية أخبارهم وحفظ أشعارهم وتتبع آثارهم ليعمر بذلك مجلسا ان حضره، فيسمو لذلك عند من سمعه أو خبره إذ لا تعمر المجالس - بعد ذكر الشبامتمتع من الأشعار والأمثال وبما كان للعرب في أيامها من الأفعال والأقوال، أيام كان كلامهم حجة في الكلام من أشعارهم شاهدة على صحة اللغات مع الأيام“.

ومن هذه المقدمة نفهم أنه أراد أن يكون كتابه في اللغة والادب دون التاريخ، بيد أن محتويات الكتاب مع احتوائها على نتف أدبية وطرائف شعرية شأنه في هذا شأن أي كتاب تاريخي آخر، لا تدل على أنه كتاب أدب أو كتاب مجالس أو نوازل أمثال الكامل للمبرد أو زهر الآداب للحصري أو العقدالفريد لابن عبدربه أو المعارف لابن قتيبة أو للثعالبي حيث لم يكن التاريخ السياسي هدفا للمؤلف فيها كما هو الأمر في مناقل الدرر ومنابت الزهر. الظاهرة الغربية في هذا الكتاب أن مؤلفه بالرغم من كونه أندلسيا أشبيليا فإنه اقتصر على تاريخ الأمويين بالشام، ولم يحاول ولو بكلمة واحدة أن يربط بينهم وبين أبناء عمومته الأمويين في الأندلس مع أنهم قد حكموا الأندلس زمنا أطول بكثير من حكم الأمويين المشاركة بالشام. فما هو السر في ذلك؟؟

لقد اعتذر ابن رأس غنمة في مقدمته من الاتهام بمحاباة الأمويين نون العباسيين: ”رغبة فيهم عن غيرهم وميل اليهم نون سواهم وتفضيل لهم على ما بعدهم من الدولة العباسية“ مما يدل على أن الاتجاه السياسي الذي كان سائدا في الأندلس والمغرب على أواخر عهد الموحدين كان اتجاها وميلا عباسيا إلى حد أن محمد بن يوسف بن هود - أحد ملوك الطوائف بسرقسطة - حين استولى في سنة ٥٢٥ هجرية على مرسية خطب للخليفة المستنصر العباسي^٦. والظاهر أيضا أن كراهية الأمويين كانت سائدة أيضا بعد انتهاء بولتهم في الأندلس مباشرة، فقد روى صاحب كتاب المغرب في حلى المغرب (٦٠/١-٦١) أن أيوب بن سليمان الأموي كان يخدم ابن الحاج قاضي سرقسطة فمدح وزيرها، ”فتسبب له في إحسان من قبل الملك (أمير سرقسطة) على أن يرحل عن بلدهم فرارا من هذا النسب. فقال (الأموي): الحمد لله الذي أسعنا به أولا وأشقنا به أخرا“.

ويروي صاحب كتاب المغرب أيضا أن هذا الأموي: ”نزل على بلوي في طريقه فأكرمه، وقد تخيل أنه رسول من بعض ملوك الملثمين، فلما علم البلوي أنه من نبي أمية، هاج وأخذ رمحه وحلف أن لا يبقئ له في منزل، فقال (الأموي) لغلامه: إذا سلطت عني فقل أنه من اليهود فإنه أمشي لحالتنا“^٧.

ومع اعتذار ابن رأس غنمة في مقدمته، فإن ميله للامويين واضح في الكتاب، فلا بد من القول أنه كان في الأندلس جماعة لم تزل تحن إلى عصر الأمويين الذهبي، فقصد ابن

⁶ الناصري: الاستقصاء (الدار البيضاء ١٩٥٤) ٢/٢١٠.

⁷ المغرب في حلى المغرب: ٦١/١.

رأس غنمة أن يذكر أبناء الأندلس بصورة غير مباشرة بمجدهم الزائل بعد أن عمّت الفتن والحروب والمنازعات جميع بلاد الأندلس في الوقت الذي أُلّف فيه كتابه، أو لعله قصد أن يزود الأندلسيين بمعلومات عن تاريخ المشرق وسد ثغرة في هذه المعلومات لقلّة اهتمام مؤرخي الأندلس بتاريخ المشرق وبخاصة تاريخ الأمويين في الشام. وهنا تتجلى أهمية هذا الكتاب في موقعه بين تواريخ الأندلسيين أو المغرب عموماً. وتتوضح أهمية الكتاب أيضاً في معرفتنا بالمصادر التي كانت متداولة في القرن السادس للهجرة في الأندلس وشيوعها بين الدارسين، فقد ذكر أكثر من ستين مصدراً واقتبس منها نصوصاً تمكننا هذه النصوص من معرفة طبيعة هذه الكتب أو قد تكمل بعضها ما وصل إلينا ناقصاً إضافة إلى النصوص التي أوردها مما لا نجدها في المصادر التي هي اليوم بين أيدينا⁸.

⁸ أقوم الآن بتحقيقه لنشره.

