THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 19-20

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PREFACE

The present volume contains the first part of selected papers that were presented at the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS) held in Budapest between 1-7 July 1997, and organized by the Csoma de Kőrös Society of Hungarian Orientalists and the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.

The Congress has attracted nearly a thousand scholars from all over the world, whose interests in the Asian and North African area cover a much wider scope of subjects and disciplines than could be dealt with within the limits of *The Arabist*.

This part is devoted to papers dealing with various aspects of Arabic linguistics, literature and history.

In the present volume within each discipline the papers have been grouped according to the chronological order of their topics.

In the section of linguistics the first three articles (M. G. Carter, A. al-Hamad and S. I. Sara) are concerned with the history of medieval Arabic linguistics. The next three papers (A. M. Omer, A. Hanafi, A. Shivtiel) are devoted to the history of Arabic language and its influence on other languages. While the last four articles (L. I. Torlakova, A. R. Ismail, A. al-Mekhlafy and G. M. Rosenbaum) within linguistics deal with different aspects of Modern Standard Arabic.

In the next section (literature) the first two papers (D. A. Riedel, H. Aʿlam) are devoted to medieval Arabic literature, while the last five (H. Jamsheer, K. Skar-żyńska-Bocheńska, E. Machut-Mendecka, B. Rayhanova and B. Michalak-Pikulska) are concerned with different aspects of 20th century Arabic literature.

The last section (history) starts with six papers (M. Yahaya, I. Hajnal, M. S. Omran, B. Major, K. Yusoff, Z. Szombathy) dealing with medieval Arabic history, followed by a paper devoted to the history of Ottoman period (A. R. Yaccob) and one to 20th century Arab history (E. Tauber).

The second part of the Proceedings – which will appear as Vols. 21-22 of *The Arabist* – will deal with Islam, popular religion and culture, Islamic law, history of Arabic studies in Europe in the last century and history of Islamic art.

Budapest, 1 December 1998   The Editors

I. LINGUISTICS

THE TERM *MUḌĀRIʿ* IN THE *KITĀB* OF SĪBAWAYHI

M. G. Carter

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0.1. In this paper I shall look at Sībawayhi's use of the concept of "resemblance" in the *Kitāb* as expressed by the term *muḍāraʿa* and its verbal cognates. I shall refer to a number of examples in the Table attached, and will discuss briefly the place of *muḍāraʿa* in the system as a whole, concluding with some remarks on the survival of the term in later grammar and my own speculations as to why it virtually disappeared, except in the well-known sense of "imperfect verb"[1].

0.2. You will, I hope, be surprised and intrigued by the extent of Sībawayhi's use of *muḍāraʿa* in the *Kitāb*, which obliges us to take it seriously as a technical term. We can all be grateful to Gérard Troupeau for his *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi* (1976), which has certainly made the preparation of this paper much easier, but at the same time it is necessary to point out that his *Index* only differentiates between two usages of *muḍāraʿa*, the general but unexplained notion of "resemblance" and the specifically phonological sense of "assimilation" (to which I return later); one would not deduce from Troupeau that the term *muḍāriʿ* frequently denotes the imperfect verb *per se*, sometimes absolutely as *al-muḍāriʿ* (e.g. Derenbourg I. 3, line 2/Būlāq 4, line 10), but frequently also with explanatory qualifications, which I list in ascending order of length: *al-fiʿl al-muḍāriʿ* (e.g. I. 78, 9/94, 10), *al-afʿāl al-muḍāriʿa li-l-asmā'* (e.g. I. 363, 11/409, 5) and finally the complete formulation *al-afʿāl al-muḍāriʿa li-asmā' al-fāʿilīn* (e.g. II. 476, 9/426, 5). It goes without saying that when used alone in this sense, the single word *al-muḍāriʿ* is always to be taken as a mere shorthand for the full concept, rather as Sībawayhi's term *mawḍiʿ* always stands for *mawḍiʿ fī l-kalām*.

1.1. But, as the Table is intended to show, Sībawayhi identified a "resemblance", *muḍāraʿa*, between many kinds of elements at all levels of analysis, phonological, morphological and syntactical. The Table provides only minimal evidence of the thirty grammatical categories in which *muḍāraʿa* is involved (a more detailed subclassification might make this arbitrary total even larger). References are to the Hartwig Derenbourg and Būlāq editions respectively, and the line numbers indicate the place where *ḍāraʿa* occurs, not necessarily where the linguistic topic is fully treated. For the sake of consistency *ḍāraʿa* and its derivatives are always translated as "resemble".

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[1] The traditional term "imperfect verb" is used merely for convenience, the question of its accuracy being of no consequence for this paper.

1.2. Apart from the *locus classicus* of the imperfect verb (no. 13), the Table shows that for Sībawayhi a "resemblance" of one sort or another accounts for the syntax of the agent noun (no. 1), the quasi-participial adjective in annexation (no. 2), adjectival phrases of the type *abū ʿašratin* (no. 3), and some peculiarities of relative and adjectival phrases (nos. 4, 5). Item 6 shows how some adjectival phrases may take a *damīr al-faṣl* when they are predicates because they resemble proper nouns. The rules for corroboration with *nafs* depend on resemblance in no. 7, and resemblance also justifies the fact that interjections such as *ʿalayka* sometimes behave like verbal nouns (n. 8). What may seem a rather forced resemblance explains why only *an* (and not *li-an*) appears after what was in later grammar termed the *lām al-ǧuḥūd* (no. 9). Perhaps the most interesting set of examples is in nos. 10, 11 and 12, where a general resemblance between conditionals and non-assertive sentences (i.e. negatives, interrogatives and imperatives) is invoked by Sībawayhi rather frequently. There is a large scale pragmatic theory here which obviously still needs to be explored.

1.3. In morphology the most conspicuous example of the effects of "resemblance" is the feature of partial inflection (nos. 14, 15, 16) which extends to cover also the complete absence of inflection (nos. 17, 18, 19). But note also that "resemblance" explains the distribution of one and two-letter words (no. 20), the selection and behaviour of certain plural patterns (nos. 21, 22), and the incomplete paradigm of *laysa* (no. 24). Exactly what is in Sībawayhi's mind in no. 23 is not entirely obvious: the form *umayyī* (orthographically *umayyiyy*, with four *yāʾs*) is reluctantly and perhaps only theoretically conceded as acceptable alongside the more familiar *umawī*, which is said to be the *qiyās* "regular form" (II. 70, 12f/74, 20), so it may be that Sībawayhi is here implicitly rejecting the hypothetical **siqāyī*, where the *alif* counts as one weak consonant in a cluster of four weak consonants (scil. *siqaʾyiyy*), hence it is to be dismissed on the same grounds as *umayyī*.

1.4. At the phonological level there are four straightforward consequences of resemblance: the behaviour of the weak verbal radicals in the *maṣdar* (no. 25)[2], the prevention of *imāla* (no. 26), the elision of the *hamza* in *aymun* (no. 27) and the reciprocal resemblance of *hamzat al-waṣl* and *hamzat al-qaṭʿ* (no. 28), to which I shall return shortly. Item no. 29 includes several kinds of assimilation, of which part (d) deserves a separate treatment, since it implies a different kind of resemblance from all the other cases, and that too, I will discuss shortly. Finally there is the odd item

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[2] In a very perceptive comment from the floor Dr. Aḥmedc ʿOmar Muḥtār pointed out that this topic should have been placed among the morphological items. Indeed it would have been just as appropriate (and that is in fact where I had originally put it), but I preferred in the end to emphasize the phonological aspects: a "weak" verb such as *waṣala/yaṣilu* also has a weak *maṣdar*, namely *ṣila*. It is a true borderline case.

which accounts for the masculine gender of the verb in the metalanguage on the grounds that it resembles the agent noun pattern (no. 30).[3]

2.1. In looking now at the general use of the term, the first and obvious point to be made is that *muḍāraᶜa* "resemblance" is only one of a cluster of terms all referring to similarity or comparison. It is quite beyond the scope of this paper to try to unravel the relationship between *muḍāraᶜa* and the terms *qiyās*, *qāsa*, *šabbaha*, *ašbaha*, *naẓīr*, *ǧarā maǧrā/aǧrā muǧrā*, *miṯla* and *ka-*, not to mention *aḫ/uḫt/aḫawāt*, which Troupeau declares to be synonyms of *naẓīr*. One is not much helped in this by Jahn's translation, which tends to reproduce them somewhat indiscriminately by the word *ähnlich* (a good example in I. 112 = *Kitāb* I. 73/87: "das Partizip wird nur ähnlich derjenigen Verbalform behandelt (*šubbiha*), welche ihm ähnlich ist (*ḍāraᶜahu*)!". But to be fair the later Arab grammarians seem to have solved the problem in much the same way: one has the impression that *ḍāraᶜa* is often replaced by *šābaha* (which term, curiously, is used only once by Sībawayhi, II. 314, 17/288, 2: Troupeau obligingly, but without much authority, glosses it as *muḍāraᶜa*!).

2.2. We must, however, assume that these terms could not all have been synonymous. Perhaps *naẓīr* may be disposed of rather quickly: from the collocation of *naẓīr* and *ḍāraᶜa* (which occurs more than once) we can deduce that *naẓīr* refers to an equivalent and symmetrical item of data while *ḍāraᶜa* refers to a process or state of resembling. This is presumably what Sībawayhi means when he says that the plural *baṭḥāwāt* occurs when it is used as a noun "just as they say *ṣaḥrāwāt*, and the equivalent (*naẓīr*) of that is the plural *abāṭiḥ* which resembles (*ḍāraᶜa*!) a noun" (II. 222, 14f/213, 3f). Likewise the obliqueness of nouns and the apocopation of verbs are symmetrical, *naẓīr*, to the extent that each of them is unique to its own word class (4, 13/5, 15).

2.3. It is also possible to separate the concepts of *qiyās* and *muḍāraᶜa* by interpreting *qiyās* as a systematic term and *muḍāraᶜa* as a descriptive term, by which I mean that while *muḍāraᶜa* refers to empirical resemblances in the data, *qiyās* and its verb denote abstract regularities in the system, principles of analogy which may be used to extend existing patterns. It is illuminating that *qāsa* overlaps very much with *šabbaha*, i.e. to treat as similar, while *ḍāraᶜa* often appears in the same contexts as its synonym *ašbaha*, to be similar.

2.4. One significant clue to the difference between *ḍāraᶜa* and derivatives of *š-b-h* is found in the striking terminological parallelism between *fiᶜl muḍāriᶜ (li-smi l-fāᶜil)* and *ṣifa mušabbaha (bi-smi l-fāᶜil)*. Here both items are compared to the *fāᶜil*, but in

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[3] There is an implicit distinction here between the masculine gender of words referred to as a class in the metalanguage and the gender of words referred to as individual items, which is usually feminine because they are thought of as a "*kalima*". This subtlety is well worth exploring further.

the case of the imperfect verb we have to understand the active participle *muḍāriᶜ* as implying that the verb inherently resembles the agent while with the quasi-participial adjective the passive *mušabbah* makes it equally clear that the similarity has been imposed on the word by speakers. This is in keeping with what has already been said about *muḍāraᶜa* being a descriptive term and *šabbaha*, like *qāsa*, a process term.

2.5. The nexus of terms for similarity includes, of course, *miṯla* and *ka-*, expressing the fundamental assumption of the *Kitāb* that language operates on the basis of similarities. However, the picture is not as simple as it seems, for Sībawayhi surprises us by telling us that *ka-*, normally translated innocently enough as "like, as" does <u>not</u> mean the same as *muḍāriᶜ*! The Arabs treat negative particles the same as interrogatives, imperatives and prohibitives (*uǧriyat muǧrā[hā]*, *šabbahūhā*), he says, because they are all non-assertive. However, "they are not <u>the same as</u> interrogative and conditional particles, they merely <u>resemble</u> them, *laysat ka-ḥurūfi l-istifhāmi wa-l-ǧazā'i, innamā hiya muḍāriᶜatun lahā*" (I. 61, 11ff/72, 16ff: the difference is that negative particles deny the occurrence of the event while the others simply fail to assert it). This makes it clear that, in the *Kitāb*, at least, *ka-* should perhaps always be understood as meaning "identical, the same as". Whether this holds true for *miṯla* remains to be established: one would certainly look for inspiration in the Qur'ān commentaries on *laysa ka-miṯlihi šay'un* (Sūra 42:11, though Sībawayhi himself has nothing to say on the matter).

2.6. This is not the time to attempt a complete analysis of all these closely related terms. We should, however, proceed on the assumption that Sībawayhi was far too good a linguist to use them haphazardly, and that there is indeed a substantial technical difference between them all, considerably more subtle than the elementary distinctions outlined above. There is also the possibility that some apparent synonyms might represent inputs or survivals from differing sources. If *naẓīr* and the *ah/uht/ahawāt* group do indeed mean the same, as Troupeau states, they may be seen as representatives of two alternative concepts of linguistic relationships, much in the same way that the pair *isnād/ibtidā'* might be explained as a doublet from two different sources, and perhaps even *waṣf* and *naᶜt*, though these eventually did acquire a independent technical meaning.

3.1. By far the most fascinating aspect of resemblance, however, is that it sometimes operates in two directions: the linguistic behaviour of element A is determined by its resemblance to element B and that of B by its resemblance to A. Thus the imperfect verb resembles the agent noun (no. 13) and the agent noun resembles the imperfect verb (no. 1); conditionals resemble interrogatives and interrogatives resemble conditionals (no. 10); *hamzat al-waṣl* resembles *hamzat al-qaṭᶜ* and vice versa (no. 28). Occasionally the reciprocity is implicit, though none the less circular for that: indeclinable nouns that end in *sukūn* resemble verbs, but verbs end in *sukūn* precisely because they do not resemble nouns! (cf. nos. 17, 18)

3.2. In addition to these unmistakably circular relationships, there are a number of chains of resemblance which, to maintain the metaphor, we should perhaps call spiral resemblances. The behaviour of the semi-declinable nouns is determined by their resemblance to verbs which in turn resemble fully declinable nouns (nos. 14, 13); conditional particles resemble the agent nouns in their syntactic flexibility but the flexibility of agent nouns comes from their resemblance to verbs (nos. 12, 1); phrases such as ᶜ*alayka* resemble *masdar*s but the ability of a *masdar* to take a free object pronoun derives from its similarity to the imperfect verb (no. 8; note that the similarity of the *masdar* to the verb is this time expressed through *ǧarā maǧrā* not *ḍāraᶜa*, I. 79, 15ff/97, 1ff).

3.3. We can even construct a spiral which appears to end in a circle: the syntax of epithets such as *abū* ᶜ*ašratin* (no. 3) is based on their resemblance to the quasi-participial adjectives, which resemble the agent nouns (no. 2), which resemble the imperfect verb (no. 1), whose inflections are due to its resemblance to the agent noun in the first place (no. 13)!

3.4. The obvious image for this situation is the Möbius strip, a continuous surface on which one moves from one face to the other without leaving the circle. It should come as no surprise to us to find that Sībawayhi is well aware of the apparent circularity of *muḍāraᶜa*. As he puts it when disussing the resemblance between the imperfect verb and the agent noun: "each one goes inside the other", *kullu wāḥidin minhumā dāḫilun ᶜalā ṣāḥibih* (73, 9/87, 5), perhaps more technically to be translated as "each one belongs to the other one's set". Ibn Ǧinnī also noticed this paradox when discussing the way Sībawayhi explained *al-ḥasanu waǧhan* by its resemblance to *ḍāribun raǧulan* and conversely *aḍ-ḍāribu l-raǧuli* by its resemblance to *ḥasanu l-waǧhi* (cf. Table nos. 1, 2). He justifies Sībawayhi's reasoning by saying, "when the Arabs make a similarity between two things (*šabbahat šay'an bi-šay'in*), they fix that similarity firmly in their minds and build up the relation between the two: do you not see how, having made the imperfect verb (*al-fiᶜl al-muḍāriᶜ*) similar to the noun and given it inflections, they complete that concept (of similarity) between the two by making the agent noun similar to the verb and giving it (verbal) operation?" (Ibn Ǧinnī, *Ḥaṣā'iṣ* I, 304)[4]

3.5. By Ibn Ǧinnī's time it was impossible to see this as anything but a violation of the hierarchy of *aṣl* and *farᶜ*, hence the need to defend Sībawayhi against charges of inconsistency: as is well known, the old Baṣran v. Kūfan debate about the priority

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[4] The translation is deliberately literal: more precise renderings such as "assimilate" for *šabbaha* carry too many distracting associations.

of inflections was finally resolved by the axiom that nominal inflection was primary, *aṣl*, and verbal inflection merely secondary, *farʿ*, in an irreversible order.[5]

4.1. In the subsequent history of Arabic grammar the term *dāraʿa* has tended to drop out of the vocabulary, and seems (at least impressionistically) to have been largely replaced by *šabah* and its cognates. Sometimes the survival of the term can be explained as merely the reflection of the author's close dependence on Sībawayhi (e.g. al-Mubarrad and Ibn as-Sarrāǧ), other times perhaps it is not even thought of as a technical term at all, e.g. when Ibn Yaʿīš says that the elision of the *tanwīn* under certain conditions is possible because "it resembles the semi-vowels *w/y* because of its nasality" (Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ*: IX. 37 [= *Mufaṣṣal* § 609, end]). As one might expect, with al-Farrāʾ we may have an interesting exception: the seven times he explicitly uses the concept of *mudāraʿa* in the *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* (which we know thanks to Kinberg's superb *Lexicon*)[6], reveal a general similarity to Sībawayhi in usage, but only a very slight overlap in the actual cases dealt with by both authors, which suggests that there is still much work to be done on this early phase.

4.2. There are only three prominent survivals of the Sībawayhian terminology, the outstanding one being the imperfect verb, exhibiting what al-Zaǧǧāǧī calls *al-mudāraʿa l-mašhūra* "the well-known resemblance", as Versteegh translates it[7]. It is not important to follow the history of this term much further, except to point out that for Ibn as-Sarrāǧ it was obviously so familiar as a technical term that he saw no incongruity in using it twice in the same sentence in different meanings, in combinations such as "resembling the imperfect verb" *mudāriʿ li-l-mudāriʿ*[8], an uncomfortable juxtaposition which Sībawayhi seems consciously to avoid by saying in the same context *dāraʿa l-fiʿl al-mudāriʿ*, e.g. I. 5, 11/6, 12.

4.3. Secondly we note that an expanded vocative of the type *yā ṭāliʿan ǧabalan* has attracted the name *al-mudāriʿ li-l-mudāf* because the two elements are in an operating relationship with each other which resembles *idāfa*. What is most interesting about this is that Sībawayhi does not use the term himself when discussing this very issue, which he treats, with al-Ḥalīl's manifest help, as case of a long compound word (*mamṭūl*) in which the second element structurally completes the first (I. 282f/324f);

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[5] See Versteegh 1995: esp. chs. IV and X on the logical priority of parts of speech generally and of nouns over verbs in particular.

[6] al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī*, now exhaustively indexed by Kinberg 1996. The verb *dāraʿa* is found in I. 175, 8; 409, 7-8; 414, 15; II. 48, 9; III. 6, 5, with a further reference to I. 265, 12 (although not involving *dāraʿa*), and *mudāriʿ* is used in II. 105, 5 and III. 191, 13.

[7] Cf. Versteegh 1977: 78, 1995: 129, 143. both from al-Zaǧǧāǧī *Īdāḥ*: 86.

[8] Ibn as-Sarrāǧ, *Uṣūl*: II. 145. It is also true that Ibn al-Sarrāǧ uses the expression *dāraʿa l-fiʿl al-mudāriʿ* here too, but that is beside the point.

nor is it found in al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 224-6). The earliest occurrence may be as early as Ibn as-Sarrāǧ (d. 316/929), who uses it both for the vocative and for the categorical negative in similar circumstances (*Uṣūl* I. 328, 344, 390). It looks as if Ibn as-Sarrāǧ may have made a creative innovation of his own and, by using it in his elementary pedagogical grammar, wanted it to gain acceptance as a technical term (*Mūǧaz*, 45, 47). It is well established in the later grammars, e.g. al-Zamaḫšarī, *Mufaṣṣal* § 48 (Mufaṣṣal 18-9), whence it finds its way into Howell and Reckendorf, though, surprisingly, not Wright.

4.4. The other survival is rather more problematical, since it seems to have a specific and self-contained phonological application and, moreover, refers to a process applied to the language by the speakers in contrast with the commonest (though not exclusive) meaning of a perceived empirical similarity between elements. It is used transitively with *bi-* and denotes what might be called partial assimilation, e.g. of [s] to [z] in the context of voiced consonants, thus *mazdar* for *maṣdar* etc. To be sure, the concept of a speaker "making something (phonologically) resemble something else" is well within the general principle that languages operate on the basis of internal similarities as implied by *muḍāraᶜa* elsewhere in the *Kitāb*, but it is very tempting to look at the purely phonological application as a survival from the vocabulary of an earlier stage of phonetics, rather in the way that other phonetic terminology existed outside the *Kitāb* (Fischer 1985: 194-203). In support of that is the lexical fact that *ḍāraʾa bi-* is simply not the same word as *ḍāraᶜa* and should not be treated as such. It certainly gave problems to later grammarians[9], but it does survive in Ibn Ǧinnī, for example, though Bakalla omits to identify it as a technical term (Bakalla 1982: 83). In any case Ibn Ǧinnī seems to have preferred the more more transparent synonym *qarraba* which Sībawayhi also uses in the same context.

5.1. We can sum up by observing that the term *muḍāriᶜ* almost disappeared, and survived only in a much narrower meaning than it had in Sībawayhi, rather as happened to the term *sabab* and the theoretical principles it represented (Carter 1985: 53-66). Although *muḍāriᶜ* continued to be used in the three senses described above, it lost the broader implications of its important role in Sībawayhi's general theory of linguistic analogy. That, of course, is a topic which is worth its own investigation: one would have to examine very carefully the different terms for similarity, and one would expect to find interesting parallels with the theory of *qiyās* in legal reasoning. It is not always clear in Sībawayhi whether the analogies he describes are inherent in the structure of the language or imposed on it by the speakers, or indeed whether

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[9] Cf. Ibn Yaᶜīš, quoted in Jahn's notes to *Kitāb* § 569, referring to his own edition of Ibn Yaᶜīš 1392 (= X. 52f in Cairo n.d.): note that Jahn correctly translates it here *angeähnelt*, to express the fact that it is done by the speaker.

the distinction needs to be made at all, but these are exactly the questions which could not be asked until the legal and theological systems had evolved far enough to be able to frame them: I need only mention Ibn Jinnī's fascinating explorations in this area.

5.2. The paper will end by speculating that it is precisely the bidirectionality of *muḍāriᶜ* which accounts for the term's disappearance from nearly all grammatical contexts except that of the imperfect verb: subsequent developments in the theory of *qiyās* required a specific *aṣl* from which the *furūᶜ* could be correctly derived, and *muḍāraᶜa* was simply too ambiguous to be accommodated in that system. Another way to put it is that the system itself changed and Sībawayhi's ideas were abandoned: we can note that Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) in his *Lumaᶜ* (esp. ch. 22.) does not even consider the possibility that resemblances between elements can be reciprocal, because for him there can be no exception to the hierarchical order of *aṣl* and *farᶜ*.

TABLE

1. Syntactical

(1)   When the agent noun resembles the imperfect verb it keeps its *tanwīn* and is followed by the *naṣb*, e.g. *hāḏā ḍāribun zaydan* (I. 73, 9/87, 6)

(2)   Adjectives resemble agent nouns, and so may agree with their antecedent although they refer to the following noun, e.g *marartu bi-raǧulin ḥasanin abūhu* (I. 200, 10/233, 15)

(3)   The concord of *marartu bi-raǧulin abī ᶜašratin abūhu* is based on its resemblance to *marartu bi-raǧulin ḥasanin abūhu* (I. 200, 20/234, 7)

(4)   Adjectives resemble nouns in that they can be qualified, thus *sīra ᶜalayhi ṭawīlun min al-dahr*, like *sīra ᶜalayhi sayrun ḥasanun* (I. 96, 19/117, 4)

(5)   In phrases of the type *mālun aṣābū* the relative clause resembles an adjectival complement (which already contains a pronoun), so the referential pronoun may be omitted (I. 34, 11/45, 4)

(6)   *Ḫayrun minka, miṯluka* etc. resemble proper names and so are definite enough to be separated from their subjects by the *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, (e.g. *zaydun huwa ḫayrun minka*) (I. 348, 2, 3, 5/395, 14, 16 bis)

(7)   *Nafs* can corroborate oblique pronouns because they resemble the dependent pronoun suffix, i.e. *marartu bika nafsika*, like *ra'aytuka nafsaka* (I. 344, 1/391, 13)

(8)   A free pronoun may occur with expressions such as *ᶜalayka iyyāhu* because these resemble (verbal) nouns (I. 334, 14/382, 16)

(9)   The particle *an* is elided after negative *kāna* to make it resemble other cases where only one particle (scil. *sa-*) is used before the verb (I. 362, 25/408, 18)

(10) (a)   Non-assertive sentences resemble conditionals, so interrogatives may be followed by inversion, e.g. *kayfa zaydan ra'ayta* (I. 40, 16/51, 14)

  (b)   Conditionals resemble interrogatives, and so may have an apododis with *wa-* or *fa-* and dependent verb (a poetic licence, I. 398, 24/448, 22)

(11) When the conditionals *man* etc. meaning "whoever, whatever" resemble the assertives *inna* and *kāna*, their verbs remain independent, e.g. *a-taḏkuru man ya'tīna na'tīhi* (I. 391, 14/440, 16)

(12) Because conditional particles resemble the agent noun in their syntactic flexibility (*taṣarruf*), they may be separated from their verbs in poetry, e.g. *wa-in maᶜmūruhā ḫariba* just as in *daribun ᶜabdallāhi* the agent noun is separated from its object by *tanwīn* (I. 406, 18/457, 15)

2. Morphological

(13) The imperfect verb resembles the agent noun, and so it has nominal inflection (I. 2, 4ff/3, 7ff and passim)

(14) (a)   Semideclinable nouns do not have complete inflection because they resemble the imperfect verb (I. 5, 11f/6, 12f)

  (b)   Some resemble the fully declinable noun, e.g. *min ᶜalu/ᶜalin*, and so may inflect fully (I. 3, 3f/4, 7f)

(15) Adjectives of the *afᶜal* pattern resemble the imperfect verb (II. 268, 16/251, 5)

(16) Adjectives of the pattern of *ᶜatšān* resemble *ḥamrā'*, hence they are also semideclinable (II. 10, 17, 18/10, 24 bis)

(17) (a)   The invariable nouns *ᶜan*, *qaṭ* and *ladun* resemble the verb more than the noun, so they are unvowelled (I. 340, 9/387, 20)

  (b)   *al-āna* resembles *ayna* in being a *zarf* and *ḥīna'idin* resembles *ayna* in being annexed to an uninflected element (II. 48, 1, 2, 3/51, 12 bis)

  (c)   *Ḫāzibāzi* is invariable because it resembles *ḫamsata-ᶜašara* (II. 48, 3/51, 13)

(18) Some invariable nouns and verbs also resemble the particle, e.g. *sawfa*, *qad* and the *faᶜala* (*māḍī*) verb form (I. 2, 18, 20/2, 20, 21)

(19) Imperative verbs have no functional resemblance at all to the verb, any more than *kam* etc. have to the fully inflected noun, so they have no inflection (I. 3, 7/4, 10)

(20) (a)   There are no one-letter verb forms (except for weak radicals) because the verbal derivatives include elements which resemble nouns, which therefore must preserve the range of nominal inflections (II. 332, 1/305, 1)

(b)   Indeclinable two-letter nouns are more common than declinable ones because they resemble particles (II. 336, 1, 21-22/309, 1, 18-19)

(c)   Two-letter words which function as verbs are more common than two-letter verb forms because they resemble particles (II. 336, 3/309, 3)

(d)   *Aymu* reduces to *mu-* because it resembles a *ḥarf*, which is also common when two-letter nouns resemble particles (II. 336, 21-2/309, 18-19)

(21) (a)   Plurals which themselves take a plural are fully inflected because they then resemble regular singulars, e.g. *aqwālun/aqāwīlu* (II. 16, 23/16, 23)

(b)   *ʿAduww* is an adjective by its pattern but takes a broken plural because it resembles a noun (II. 201, 23/195, 10)

(22) (a)   The plural pattern *fiʿāl* is fully inflected as a man's name because it is originally a feminine (i.e. broken plural), but since it refers to men it resembles the masc. words without *-at* which always refer to women (II. 21, 13/21, 15)

(b)   Plural patterns such as *fiʿāl* for some adjectives are selected because the singular resembles a noun and is treated as if in the *faʿīl* pattern, e.g. *niyām, jiyāʿ* (II. 214, 21/206, 16)

(23) *Nisba* suffix: if the *hamza* were not substituted for a weak radical in words like *siqāʾī* (< *s-q-y*) it would come to resemble *umayyī* without the regular *ibdāl* to *umawī* (II. 71, 23/76, 1)

(24) *Laysa* resembles *layta* so it has no full paradigm (II. 399, 6/361, 15)

3. Phonological and Miscellaneous

(25) The *maṣdar* functionally resembles the verb (e.g. when you say *saqyan laka*) so it has congruent forms, showing the same weakness as the verb, e.g. *yaṣilu/ṣilatun* (II. 395, 2/358, 7)

(26) *Imāla* in cases such as *yaḍribuhā qāsim* is prevented by the resemblance of *-hā* to the *alif* in *fāʿil* which retains the *naṣb* (here: back vowel quality) if an appropriate consonant is nearby (II. 288, 12/266, 15)

(27) The initial *hamza* of *aymun* can be elided because the *alif* resembles a *ḥarf* (II. 296, 19/273, 10)

(28) *Waṣl* and *qaṭʿ* may resemble each other, e.g. when you say *yā ʾallāhu* etc. with the *alif* of the article resembling the *alif* which is elided in *alaḥmar* < *al-ʾaḥmar* (II. 459, 18/410, 20)

(29) (a)   *Fāʾ* assimilates to *bāʾ* because of its resemblance to *ṭāʾ* (II. 461, 15, 17/412, 8)

(b)   Final unvowelled *lām* assimilates, e.g. *har-ra'ayta*, where the two letters resemble two from the same *maẖraǧ* (II. 467, 6/416, 23)

(c)   Final unvowelled *mīm* should not assimilate to *bā'* because by its nasality *mīm* resembles *nūn* (II. 468, 21/418, 17)

(d)   The *-t* agent suffix in *ḥafittu* < *ḥafiẓtu* etc. assimilates because it resembles the *-t-* infix of Stem VIII (II. 473, 18/423, 4)

(e)   Some letters are made to resemble each other because of a resemblance in their point of articulation, thus *maṣdar* > *mazdar* (II. 476, 18ff/426, 13ff)

(f)   Assimilation (*idǧām*) in *iqtatalū* > *qittalū* is correct, like *jaᶜal-laka* because of the resemblance to doubled roots of the type *iḥmarartu* (II. 459, 22/410, 24)

(30)   Verbs named in the metalanguage are masculine because they resemble the word *fāᶜil* (II. 32, 17/34, 22)

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مصطلحا "الأصل" و"الأصول" فى كتب النحو وأصوله

على الحمد

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سيحاول هذا البحث أن يقدم دراسة مستوعبة لمعانى هذا المصطلح "الأصل" واستعمالاته؛ اعتمادا على النصوص والدراسات المتخصصة، ولن يكتفى بما جاء فى كتب المصطلحات المختلفة[1]، رغم الثقة العالية بها.

فالأصل وجمعه الأصول — فى اللغة: ما يبنى عليه غيره، سواء كان البناء حسّيًا أو عقليًا أو عرفيًا (الحفناوى، د. ت.: ٢٦) أو هو ما يتفرّع عنه غيره (العبد خليل أبى عيد، ١٩٨٧: ٣٦).

وجاء فى ابن منظور، لسان العرب/أصل: "الأصل: أسفل كل شيء، وجمعه أصول". وفى المعجم الوسيط/أصل: "أصل الشيئ: أساسه الذى يقوم عليه، ومنشؤه الذى ينبت منه، والأصول — أصول العلوم — قواعدها التى تبنى عليها الأحكام".

أقول: هذه الكلمة "أصل" ترادفها كلما "أساس"، و"الأصول" — بصورة عامة — هى الأسس التى يقام عليها بناء ما، أو علم ما، أو شيء ما.

فالأصول — على هذا — في علم النحو: هي القواعد والأسس العامة التي قام عليها بناء هيكل النحو العربي بقواعده وأحكامه المختلفة.

أما "الأصول" كما استخدمها النحويون في كتبهم ومؤلفاتهم فقد حملت المعاني الآتية:

أولا: الأصل: هو الدليل؛ فيقال: "الأصل في هذه المسألة الكتاب والسنة، أي أن الدليل المثبت لحكمها هو الكتاب والسنة" (الفاروقي، كشاف ١، ٨٦). وهذا هو المعنى الذى يدل عليه هذا المصطلح في الفقه وعلم أصول الفقه، وهو كذلك في علم أصول النحو.

فنقول — مثلا: الأصل في هذه الأحكام أو الظاهرة اللغوية هو المسموع عن العرب، أو هو السماع، وقد يكون الأصل "الدليل" الذى بنينا عليه أحكامنا هو قياس هذه المسألة على مسألة شبيهة أخرى مسموعة؛ وقد يكون الأصل إجماع العلماء من اللغويين والنحويين، أو كما قالوا (إجماع أهل المصريين — البصرة والكوفة) مثلا، وقد يكون غيره كاستصحاب الحال مثلا.

ومن أمثلة اسخدام "الأصول" بهذا المعنى ما جاء في كتاب تمام حسان (١٩٨٢: ١٠٢): "فقد وجد النحاة أنفسهم ينظرون في المسموع وفي أيديهم أصول ثابتة يقيسون عليها، ويتخذونها معايير حتى بالنسبة لما يقوله الفصحاء".

فأصول النحو — أو أي علم آخر — هي أدلته التي قامت عليها أحكامه. وقيدها الإمام السيوطي بأنها "الأدلة الإجمالية للنحو" (السيوطي، الاقتراح[1]، ٢٧)؛ ثم يقول: "وقولي «الإجمالية» احتراز من البحث عن التفصيلية..." (نفسه ٢٨)؛ لأن الأدلة التفصيلية خاصة بعلم النحو نفسه لا أصوله.

ولأبي البركات الأنباري توضيح للأصول أو الأدلة هذه بقوله: "أصول النحو: أدلة النحو التي تفرّعت منها فروعه وفصوله، كما أنّ أصول الفقه أدلّة الفقه" (لمع الأدلة، ٨٠).

وهذه الأصول نفسها كان لا بد من ضبطها أيضا، وحدها، وتحديد مسائلها وشروطها وبيان كيفية الاستدلال بها واستخدامها، والموازنة بينها، وترجيح أي منها عند تعارضها، ثم بيان منهج

استخدامها اسخداما دقيقا مأمونا يوصل العالم الى غرضه. وقد تفرد علم النحو بهذه المهمات وقام بها؛ وليس من غرض هذا البحث التعرض الى تفصيل تلك المسائل؛ لكن قد يكون من المناسب هنا أن تعرف بالأصول فقط، فهى مصطلح ضمن مجال هذا البحث، له دلالة معينة، وأثر معين كبير فى الدراسات اللغوية بعامة، وفى قواعد النحو وأحكامه بخاصة.

فالأصول أو أدلة النحو الإجمالية الثابتة أربعة، ذكر ابن جنى — مؤسس علم الأصول فى النحو واللغة — ثلاثة منها: هى السماع والإجماع والقياس (السيوطي، الاقتراح٢، ١٢٤)؛ بينما ذكر الأنبارى أن تلك الأصول ثلاثة — أيضا —، وهى — فى رأيه: نقل "سماع" وقياس واستصحاب حال (نفسه ١٢٤؛ لمع الأدلة ٨١).

فيتحصل لنا من الأصول مما ذكرناه أربعة، وهى: السماع والقياس والأجماع واستصحاب الحال.

وقد عنوا بالسماع أو النقل — كما ذكر الأنبارى — ما نقل من كلام العرب الفصيح أو سُمع عنهم من شعر أو نثر، بشروط معروفة، علاوة على القرآن الكريم بقراءاته، والحديث النبوي الشريف — على خلاف وبتفصيلات ليس هذا موضعها.

واستدلوا بهذا المستوى اللغوي على صحة أحكامهم وقواعدهم الفرعية التى توصّلوا اليها في محتفاتهم اللغوية.

وهذا الأصل — السماع — منتشر جدا ومعروف فى كتب النحو وأصوله، بشكل يغنى عن إعادته أو ذكر شيء منه.

أما القياس فهو حمل غير المنقول على المنقول إذا كان في معناه (الأنباري، لمع الأدلة ٤٥). وللقياس شروط وأركان وأحكام وأنواع وعلل؛ ويهمنا — هنا — احتفال العلماء الشديد بالقياس، إذ "يقرر الشافعي أن الاجتهاد هو العلم بأوجه القياس، بل يذهب إلى أكثر من ذلك: أن الاجتهاد هو القياس، فلا بد أن يعرف المجتهد منهاج القياس السليم، ويكون عنده من العلم بالأصول المستنبطة من النصوص التى وردت بالأحكام" (أبو زهرة ١٩٥٨: ٣٠٦).

وإحساسا بخطره وعظيم أثره؛ فقد خصص له علماء الأصول مساحات واسعة من كتبهم، يؤيد ذلك ما في كتاب "الاقتراح في علم أصول النحو" للسيوطي — مثلا؛ الذي وضعه في مسائل تمهيدية، وفي كتب سبعة؛ خصص منها الكتاب الثالث للقياس؛ ولو أحصينا صحائف هذا القسم وحده لوجدناها تغطي أكثر من ثلث الكتاب كله، بل هي أقل من نصفه بقليل. وقل مثل ذلك في غيره من كتب الأصول. فكتاب "لمع الأدلة" للأنباري — أيضا — وضعه في ثلاثين فصلا؛ منها ستة عشر فصلا خصصها للقياس وشروطه ومسائله وأقسامه وعلله؛ فيكون القياس — على ذلك — قد شغل أكثر من نصف الكتاب؛ وهذا الأمر له دلالة طبعا. فقد فصلوا وأسهبوا وأكثروا في عرض هذا الأصل الخطير؛ لأنه هو الاجتهاد، وهو معيار العلم ومقياسه.

وتزخر كتب النحو بالقياسات المختلفة٢، في جل أبوابه ومسائله، وربما أطلق عليه العلماء والنحويون مصطلحات أخرى مرادفة، فقد قالوا فيه: "إجراء وجَرْي" (ابن السراج، الأصول في النحو ١٢٣/١؛ السيوطي، الاقتراح٢ ٢٢٨)، وربما أطلقوا عليه "الحمل" (نفسهما، ٢٤١/١؛ ٣٧٥؛ السيوطي، الاقتراح١ ٥٩)، وربما أطلقوا عليه — أيضا — "بناء"؛ أي: بناء شيء على شيء، وهو قليل موازنة بغيره (القياس والإجراء والحمل)؛ وبالنسبة إلي — على الأقل — فقد وجدت الفراء استخدمه، إذ قال: "وإن جاءك تشبيه جمع الرجال موحدا في شعر فأجزه، وإن جاءك التشبيه للواحد مجموعا في شعر فهو أيضا يراد به الفعل فأجزه، كقولك: ما فعلك إلا كفعل الحمير، وما أفعالكم إلا كفعل الذئب، فابن على هذا، ثم تلقي الفعل فتقول: ما فعلك إلا كالحمير وكالذئب" (معاني القرآن ١٥/١).

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٢   كثرت هذه القياسات كثرة أغنت عن الإحالة على مظانها.

وقد تشير كثرة المترادفات الدالة على مفهوم واحد الى اهتمام مستخدميها بهذا المفهوم وخطورة شأنه، كما هو الأمر في القياس مثلا.

الإجماع: أرادوا به اتفاق نحاة البلدين (السيوطي، الاقتراح[2] ٢٠٤). واشترط ابن جني في حجة الإجماع ألا يخالف سماعا (نقلا)، ولا مقيسا على مسموع (الخصائص ١٨٩/١)، ولم يوجب الأخذ بالإجماع والالتزام به، لأن ذلك — في ظني — يعطل الاجتهاد والتقدم الفكري، بل أجاز ذلك فقط، وهو مذهب ذكي، وقد عزاه الى المازني (ابن جني، الخصائص ١٩١/١).

كما ذكر علماء أصول الفقه الإجماع ضمن أصولهم، وعدوه بعد السماع في القوة والاحتجاج، وذكروا له مراتب (أبو زهرة، ١٩٥٨: ١٥٦–١٦٨).

وهذا الأصل بكره ابن جني ضمن أصوله الثلاثة، ولم يذكره الأنباري، بل أحل محله استصحاب الحال كما ذكرنا من قبل. مما دعا السيوطي الى اتهامه؛ أو الشك في أنه لم ير الاحتجاج بالإجماع في العربية؛ لأنه لم يذكره، كما هو رأى قوم — على حد قوله (السيوطي، الاقتراح[2] ١٢٤).

وقد رد محقق كتاب الاقتراح (السيوطي، الاقتراح[2] ٢٩) هذه التهمة عن الأنباري، وكفانا مهمة البحث والرد، بقوله: "كيف يستقيم هذا مع قول الأنباري في لمع الأدلة (الأنباري، لمع الأدلة ٩٨): والإجماع حجة قاطعة؟!"

وربما صرّح بعض العلماء من النحويين بلفظ "إجماع" أو "أجمعوا على..." في بعض المواضع علاء احتجاجهم أو استدلالهم؛ من ذلك ما جاء على لسان ابن هشام (قطر الندى ١٣٥): "وأجمعوا على عدم التعدد في مثل زيد شاعر وكاتب، وفي نحو الزيدان شاعر وكاتب، لأن ذلك كله لا تعدد فيه". وقوله: "ولا يجوز بالإجماع أن يتقدم المخصوص على الفاعل...، ويجوز بالإجماع أن يتقدم على الفعل والفاعل (نفسه ٢٠٤).

وربما استخدموا مصطلحا آخر مرادفا لمصطلح "الإجماع"، وهو قولهم "الاتفاق" مثلا، كما جاء في قول ابن هشام — أيضا — في مسألة تقديم خبر "كان وأخواتها": "ويمتنع ذلك في خبر ليس ودام؛ فأما امتناعه في خبر دام فبالاتفاق..." (نفسه ١٤٥).

استصحاب الحال[3]: هذا هو الأصل "الدليل" الرابع، ويعنون به "إبقاء حال اللفظ على ما يستحقه في الأصل عند عدم دليل النقل عن الأصل...، وهو دليل معتبر، لكنه من أضعف الأدلة، لا يجوز التمسك به ما وجد هناك دليل" (السيوطي، الاقتراح[2] ٣٢٤؛ ٣٢٦).

وهذا الأصل لم يعطه النحويون حقه من الاهتمام والعناية عند عرضهم وتنظيرهم لأصول النحو (تمام حسان ١٩٨٢: ١١٤)، ولا أدل على ذلك من قلة ما جاء عنه في كتابي الأنباري "لمع الأدلة" و"الإغراب في جدل الإعراب"، وكذلك الأمر نفسه في كتاب "الاقتراح" للسيوطي، إذ لم يزد نصيبه على ثلاث صفحات صغيرة. أما ابن جني فلم يفرد له بابا، ولم يتناوله على مستوى التنظير، ولم يذكره ضمن أصوله كما أسلفنا من قبل؛ وإن كنا لم يهمله على مستوى التطبيق؛ بل اتخذه أحد قواعده الأصولية في التوجيه والاستدلال — كما فعل غيره من اللغويين والنحويين —، دون أن ينص عليه أو يذكره على مستوى النظر، فعنده وعند غيره تعثر على عبارات ومصطلحات من مثل قولهم: "الأصل في كذا...، وأصل الاشتقاق، وأصل الصيغة، أو أصل الكلام، أو أصل الجملة، أو أصل الوضع مثلا، وما أرى ذي هذه الأصول إلا أنهم عنوا استصحاب أحوالها، وبقاء لها على أصولها الأولى، وعدم العدول أو الخروج عن تلك الأصول المردة المفترضة أو تغييرها.

وأوافق د. تمام حسان أن استصحاب الحال يعني أن تأتي اللفظة "حرفا كانت أو كلمة" أو الجملة على أصل وضعها التجريدي المفترض القائم في ذهن النحوي، وذاك يسمى "أصل الوضع"،

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[3]   للاستزادة انظر: تمام حسان، ١٩٨٦: ١١٣–١٦١، لأهمية هذا الأصل، ودقته وعمقه، وتشعب مباحثه.

وقد يعني أيضا الاستدلال بالقاعدة الأصل، وهو ما أطلق عليه "أصل القاعدة" (تمام حسان ١٩٨٢: ١١٤، ١١٥، ١٣١).

ومن الأصول — بمعنى الأعلة — أيضا ما أطلق عليه السيوطي في "الاقتراح" في الكتاب الخامس منه بعنوان "في أدلة شتى"، ذكر منها الاستدلال بأنواعه، والاستحسان، والاستقراء، والدليل المسمى بالباقي، والتعارض والترجيح[٤].

ثانيا: الأصل بمعنى المستصحب (الحفناوي د. ت.: ٢٧)، وقد وضّح أحد الباحثين المعاصرين المقصود بهذا بقوله: "يقال: تعارض الأصل والطارئ، أي المستصحب، كما لو تطهّر إنسان وشكّ في الحدث؛ فإن عنده أمرا مستصحبا وهو الطهارة [وهي الأصل]، وطارئا مشكوكا فيه، وهو الحدث" (العبد خليل أبي عيد ١٩٨٧: ٣٦–٣٧).

هذا في علم أصول الفقه، فماذا عنه في علم أصول النحو؟

يقول د. تمام حسان (١٩٨٢: ٦٦): "أما فيما يتصل بالاستصحاب؛ فقد كان على النحاة أن يجردوا صورا أصلية لعناصر التحليل النحوي، قبل أن يتكلموا فيما إذا كانت هذه الصور "تستصحب" في الاستعمال أو يعدل عنها. ومعنى الاستصحاب: البقاء على الصورة الأصلية المجردة من قبل النحاة؛ سواء كانت هذه الصورة صورة الحرف أم صورة الكلمة أم صورة الجملة، وكل صورة من هذه الصورة الأصلية المجردة تسمى "أصل الوضع"؛ وكما جرد النحاة أصل الوضع جردوا كذلك "أصل القاعدة".

فالمقصور بالأصل — بمعنى المستصحب — الأصل التجريدي المفترض للحرف أو للكلمة أو للجملة، قبل أن يمس أيا منها تغيير (أو عدول) بحذف أو زيادة، أو إبدال، أو غير ذلك من الطوارئ؛ وحكم هذا الأصل عندهم أنه من الأدلة المعتبرة، فقد أورد الأنباري قاعدة أصولية كلية لا يأتي ما جاء على أصله لا يسأل عن علته، وذكر في موضع آخر: أن التمسك بالأصل تمسك باستصحاب الحال، وهو من الأدلة المعتبرة، ومن تمسك بالأصل خرج عن عهدة المطالبة بالدليل، ومن عدل عن الأصل افتقر إلى إقامة الدليل (الأنباري، الإنصاف م.٤٠، ٦٧)، ومع ذلك فقد عد العلماء استصحاب الحال من أضعف الأدلة (الأنباري، لمع الأدلة، ١٤٢).

ولعل عد النحويين إياه من أضعف الأدلة، إن لم يكن أضعفها؛ أنه من تجريد العلماء وصنعهم، لا من صنع العربي الفصيح صاحب السليقة؛ ويؤكد هذا المذهب ما أورده د. فجال بقوله: "وعلة ذلك أن الأصل المستصحب إنما جرده النحاة فأصبح من عملهم، ولم يكن من عمل العربي صاحب السليقة الفصيحة؛ فإذا عارضه السماع فالسماع أرجح؛ لأن ما يقوله العربي أولى مما يجرده النحوي، وإذا عارضه القياس فالقياس أرجح؛ لأن القياس، وإن كان تجريدا، فهو حمل على ما قاله العربي" (السيوطي، الاقتراح[٢] — مقدمة التحقيق، ٦٨).

ويرى د. تمام حسان أن "النحويين لم يعطوا "استصحاب الحال" حقه من العناية، فلقد دأبوا عند ذكر الاستصحاب أن يكتفوا بشرح المصطلح [هذا إن شرحوه]، دون الدخول في تفصيل النظر..." (الأصول ١١٤).

ويضعه الدكتور تمام حسان في المرتبة الثانية بعد السماع وقبل القياس؛ "لأن القياس لا يكون إلا بعد أن يتضح الأصل والفرع، ويعرف المطرد من الشان؛ فالنحوي يبدأ بجمع المادة التي يطلق عليها (المسموع)، ويجري عليها الاستقراء والملاحظة، ثم يخضعها للتصنيف، حتى إذا ما استقامت له الأصناف (الأبواب)، واتضحت معالمها بدأ في إنشاء هيكل بنيوي مجرد يمثل تصورا ما للتفاعل بين الصور المختلفة لمباني اللغة" (نفسه ١١٤).

وأوفق د. تمام حسان على أن القياس يأتي بعد مرحلة من تدخل النحوي وعمله وتجريده وتصنيفه، وتوضيح الأصل والفرع؛ هذا صحيح؛ وقد يكون القياس بعد عملية الاستصحاب، لكن ذلك ليس بالضرورة أن يكون دائما بعد اعتبار أصل الوضع أو تجريده؛ وأضيف: أن كل تلك العمليات التي قام بها النحوي قبل القياس واستعدادا له ليس الغرض منها الموازنة بين الأصل المجرد المفترض (استصحاب الحال) وما جاءت عليه مثلا كلمة أو جملة ما مثلا لبيان العدول أو الخروج على الأصل كما يقولون؛ وبذلك لا يُعدى استصحاب الحال اهتماما أو انتباها خلال العمليات التي توبق القياس؛ وأضيف كذلك: أن القياس قد يكون تاليا للاستصحاب متأخرا عنه زمنيا خلال الملاحظة والاستقراء والتصنيف والعمليات التي توبق القياس وتمهد له، لكنه — القياس — أقوى وأدل؛ لأنه قانون اعتمد واستنبط من كلام العرب الفصيح، وقديما قالوا: ما قيس على كلام العرب فهو من كلام العرب؛ وهذا مبدأ مهم، خصص له ابن جني بابا خاصا مستقلا في كتابه "الخصائص"، وقد عزاه ابن جني إلى المازني ثم أبي علي الفارسي، وجاء فيه: "هذا موضع شريف، وأكثر الناس يضعف عن احتماله لغموضه ولطفه، ولمنفعة به عامة، والتسائد إليه مقرٍ مجدٍ،... [و]إنه أشبه أصول كلام العرب" (ابن جني، الخصائص ٣٥٧/١). ويختم ابن جني هذا الباب بقوله: "وذكر أبو بكر بن السراج أن منفعة الاشتقاق لصاحبه أن يسمع الرجل اللفظة فيشك فيها، فإذا رأى الاشتقاق قابلا لها أنس بها، وزال استيحاشه منها، فهل هذا إلا اعتماد في تثبيت اللغة على القياس، ... قياسا أقوى من كثير من سماع غيره، ونظائر ذلك فاشية كثيرة" (نفسه ٣٦٩/١).

فهذا وغيره مما أورده ابن جني في هذا الباب دفاع قوي وأدلة مقنعة — في نظري على الأقل — قد ترفع القياس الى مرتبة السماع، إن لم يكن بعضه أقوى من بعض السماع؛ ونحن لا نقول ذلك؛ بل نكتفي بالقول إن القياس يعقب السماع بالقوة، ويتقدم على الاستصحاب؛ ولا نرى الاستصحاب يتقدمه بأي حال.

أما موقف ابن جني من هذا الأصل (استصحاب الحال): فلعله عزف عن عده دليلا معتبرا وقويا، وبالتالي لم يذكره ضمن أدلته عند التنظير، ولم أعثر عليه واضحا أو صريحا على مستوى التطبيق أيضا في كتابه "الخصائص" بكل غزارته وسعته؛ لعله عزف عنه لانه لم يأنس بقوة حجيته، ولم يره يدنو من مرتبة الأدلة الثلاثة الأخرى التي ذكرها.

لكن من يدقق وينعم النظر في كتاب "الخصائص" قد يجد عددا من المواضع التي احتج فيها ابن جني واستدل بهذا الأصل (الاستصحاب) على نوعيه (أصل الوضع وأصل القاعدة)، وإن لم يصرح بذلك أو يذكر المصطلح نفسه صراحة؛ كقوله مثلا: "والأصل الوصف بالمشتق" (نفسه ٢٦٠/٣). وإذا عددنا العدول عن الأصل من باب استصحاب الحال، واسخداما سالبا له — إن جاز لنا هذا التعبير — فإن ابن جني قد أشار الى الخروج والعدول، وأصّل على ذلك قواعد للتحجيج؛ بل ربما زاد على الإشارة واستخدم مصطلح "العدول" أو "الخروج" صراحة (نفسه ٤٦٢/٢-٤٦٣؛ ٣/١٨-٢٠).

وتزخر كتب النحو — ومن ضمنها كتب ابن جني النحوية والصرفية — بقواعد توجيهية أصولية من باب "أصل القاعدة" كما أسماه د. تمام حسان، كقولهم: الأصل في الأسماء ألا تعمل، والعمل أصل للأفعال، وأصل الأسماء الإعراب، وأصل الحروف البناء، وما أشبه ذلك من القواعد التوجيهية العامة.

ومن الأمثلة الواضحة الصريحة على استخدام استصحاب الحال ألا يُستدل به ما أورده الأنباري — على سبيل المثال — في كتابه "الإنصاف" (م. ٤٠)، إذ قال: "احتج البصريون على عدم تركيب "كم" بأن الأصل الإفراد، والتركيب فرع، ومن تمسك بالأصل خرج عن عهده المطالبة بالدليل".

ويعني بالأصل في هذا النص "أصل وضع الكلمة"، أي أنها استصحبت حالها الأصلي، ويعني بالفرع هنا العدول والخروج عن الأصل.

وقد اعتمد سيبويه استصحاب الحال أو العدول عنه في كثير من المواضع في "الكتاب"، اعتمده دليلا من أدلة المعتبرة، من ذلك قوله (الكتاب ٨/١): "اعلم أنهم مما يحذفون الكلم، وإن كان أصله في الكلام غير ذلك، ويحذفون ويعوضون مثل قولهم: اللهمّ، ويستغنون بالشيء عن الشيء الذي أصله في كلامهم أن يستعمل حتى يصير ساقطا... فما حذف وأصله في الكلام غير ذلك (لم يكُ ولا أدرِ)؛ ... وأما استغناؤهم بالشيء عن الشيء فإنهم يقولون يَدَعُ، استغنوا عنها بـتَرَكَ". ويعلق السيرافي على عبارة سيبويه هذه بقوله في الحاشية (٨/١): "يعنى ما يعرض في الكلام فيجيء على غير ما ينبغي أن يكون عليه قياسه"، أقول: وهذه الأمثلة التي ذكرها سيبويه من باب ما أطلقوا عليه (العدول عن الأصل).

وجاء في كتاب سيبويه أيضا (٧/١): "واعلم أن الاسم أول أحواله الابتداء، فالابتداء أول".

وكقوله في موضع آخر (الكتاب ٢٨٨/١): في العدول عن الأصل أو الخروج عن الحال: "ومن ذلك: هل من طعام؟ أي: هل من طعام في زمان أو مكان". فالعدول هنا تم — على حد رأيه — بحذف أحد ركني الجملة، وهو الخبر. وأقول: ألا يمكن أن نلمح علولا آخر في مثاله الذي أورده، وهو عدول عن الأصل بزيادة حرف الجر مِن؟

وقد يكون من باب رد الكلام الى أصل وضعه قول سيبويه أيضا (٣٠٥/١): "وقال الخليل: من قال يا زيدَ والنضرَ فنصب؛ فإنها نصب لأن هذا من الموضع التي يُرد فيها الشيء الى أصله".

ومن استعمالات ابن السراج لهذا المصطلح أصلان ودليلا من أدلة الإجمالية المعتبرة قوله في العدول عن الأصل وعدم استصحابه: "وتقول: أعلمتُ زيدا عمرا هند معجبُها هو، كان أصل الكلام: علم زيدٌ عمرا هند معجبُها هو" (ابن السراج، الأصول في النحو ١٨٨/١).

وجاء في موضع آخر قوله: "أن يكون أصل الكلام إضافة أسماء الزمان الى مصدرٍ مضاف، فحذف اسم الزمان اتساعا، نحو: جئتُك مقدم الحاج...، فالمراد في جميع هذا: جئتك وقت مقدم الحاج" (نفسه ١٩٣/١).

وربما استخدم النحويون مصطلح "الوجه" بدلا من المستصحب أو "أصل الوضع" مرادفا لهما وبدلالتهما[6].

كما استخدم ابن السراج "أصول الكلام" مصطلحا بمعنى "أصل الوضع" في قوله: "ويجوز في قول الكوفيين ظن زيدٌ قائما أبوه على معنى أن يقومَ أبوه، ولا يجيز هذا البصريون؛ لأنه نقض لباب ظن، وما عليه أصول الكلام"[7].

وقد استخدمت بعض كتب النحو هذا الأصل بمعنى "المتصحب" أو أصل الوضع، واتخذته دليلا وأصلا من أصولها المعتبرة.

فاستخدم ابن هشام — مثلا — هذا المصطلح في غير موضع دالا على أصل الوضع والاستصحاب، كقوله في الفعل الماضي: "وأنّ حكمة في الأصل البناء على الفتح"، وقوله في موضع آخر: "وذلك أصل الباب"، أي: أصل الوضع المتصحب. وكقوله أيضا: "حكم فعل الأمر في الأصل البناء على السكون"، وكقوله: "بتقديم الفعل على فاعله بالأصالة" (ابن هشام، قطر الندى ٣٢، ٣٦١، ٣٢، ٢٩٨، على التوالي).

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٥   جاءت كلمة "زيد" في كتاب "الأصول في النحو" منصوبة، وهو خطأ طباعة؛ لأن ابن السراج يشرحها بعد ذلك بقوله "مرفوع" (ابن السراج، الأصول في النحو ١٨٨/١).

٦   سيبويه، الكتاب ١٨١/١؛ وابن السراج، الأصول في النحو ١٦٨/١؛ ٢٠٣؛ وربما عبروا بهذا المصطلح "الوجه": الراجح والأولى والغالب، كما سيأتي في "خامسا".

٧   ابن السراج، الأصول في النحو ١٧٦/١. وربما استخدم مصطلح "أصل" — صراحة — بمعنى المستصحب، وأصل الوضع. انظر — مثلا — كتابه الأصول في النحو ٥١/١.

ومثل ذلك ما ذكره ابن هشام نفسه في شرح أوضح المسالك (١/٣٦): "والفعل ضربان؛ مبني وهو الأصل، ومعرب وهو بخلافه". وقد علق محقق الكتاب الشيخ محمد محيي الدين عبد الحميد على قول ابن هشام "الأصل" قائلا: "المراد بالأصل في هذا الموضع الغالب، أو ما ينبغي أن يكون الشيء عليه، وكل شيء جاء على ما هو الأصل فيه، فإنه لا يسأل عن علته (نفسه هـ، ١).

وأقول: لعل الشيخ — رحمه الله — لم يجانب الصواب هنا، بقوله إن المراد بالأصل هنا الغالب؛ أو ما ينبغي أن يكون الشيء عليه، وهو "استصحاب الحال"؛ إذ بين المعنيين تقارب وتداخل، والمعنيان محتملان فعلا في هذا النوع؛ وإن كنت أميل الى أن المعنى هنا أقرب الى معنى "أصل الوضع المستصحب"؛ أي ما ينبغي أن يكون الشيء عليه.

ومن عبارات ابن هشام الدالة الدريحة أيضا قوله: "وأنواع البناء أربعة؛ أحدها السكون، وهو الأصل (نفسه ١/٣٨).

ثالثا: الأصل بمعنى الصورة المقيس عليها، وهو المقابل للفرع، ويقاس عليه الفرع في عملية القياس لاستنباط حكم ما؛ فهو أحد أركان القياس.

يقول السيوطي في الاقتراح٢ (٢١٧): "للقياس أربعة أركان: الأصل وهو المقيس عليه، والفرع وهو المقيس، وحكم وعلة جامعة". قال الأنباري (لمع الأدلة ٩٣): "وذلك مثل أن يركب قياسا في الدلالة على رفع ما لم يسم فاعله، فتقول: اسم أسند الفعل اليه مقدما عليه، فوجب أن يكون مرفوعا قياسا على الفاعل. فالأصل هو الفاعل، والفرع هو ما لم يسم فاعله". وقال بعد ذلك — أيضا: "والأصل في الرفع أن يكون للأصل الذي هو الفاعل..." (نفسه ٩٣).

أقول: وردت في عبارة الأنباري الأخيرة كلمة "الأصل" مرتين بمعنيين مختلفين، فالأولى مصطلح بمعنى الأساس والمستصحب المراد به "أصل القاعدة"، والثانية مصطلح أيضا بمعنى المقيس عليه، وهو الفاعل، بينما نائب الفاعل — في أول كلامه — فرع مقيس.

واستخدام مصطلح "الأصل" بمعنى المقيس عليه شائع كثير في كتب النحو وأصوله، وبخاصة في بحث القياس، أو خلال إجرائه؛ فهذا ابن جني يستخدمه بهذا المعنى في مواضع كثيرة، حتى أنه وضع عنوانا خاصا لأحد أبواب كتابه (الخصائص ١/٣٠٠)، وهو "باب من غلبة الفروع على الأصول"؛ وقد استخدم هذا المصطلح في هذا الباب بالمعنى المشار اليه كثيرا خلال عرضه أمثلة كثيرة على غلبة الفروع على الأصول، من ذلك قوله: "وهذا المعنى عينه قد استعمله النحويون في صناعتهم، فشبهوا الأصل بالفرع في المعنى الذي أفاد ذلك الفرع من ذلك الأصل" (نفسه ١/٣٠٣). ويقول: "ومن ذلك حملهم الاسم — وهو الأصل — على الفعل — وهو الفرع — في باب ما لا ينصرف" (نفسه ١/٣١١).

وأراه هنا عنى بقوله "الأصل" ما كان ينبغي أن يكون أصلا مقيسا عليه في عملية القياس هذه، ولكن العملية قلبت، كما يتضح في الأمثلة وفي عنوان الباب أيضا، وبذلك أصبح الأصل فرعا، والفرع أصلا.

وقد جاء هذا المصطلح "الأصل" بمعنى "المقيس عليه" في مؤلفات الأنباري أيضا؛ يقول: "ما حُذف للضرورة لا يجعل أصلا يقاس عليه" (الإنصاف م. ٧٢)، وجاء له في موضع آخر: "الفروع تنحط دائما عن درجة الأصول" (نفسه م. ٨، ٢٢، ٢٧).

ويقول د. تمام حسان في كتابه (١٩٨٢: ٢٠٣) عن الأصل المقيس عليه: "فإذا أصلوا أصلا جعلوه مقيسا عليه ما ظل مطردا"؛ فنرى أنه قيد الأصل بالاطراد، وجعله شرطا ليصح أن يكون مقيسا عليه.

رابعا: الأصل بمعنى القاعدة العامة الكلية؛ نجد كثيرا من هذه القواعد الأصولية الكلية العامة التي تضبط ظاهرة معينة واسعة في اللغة، قد يندرج تحتها أحكام فرعية متعددة، فهو — والحال هذه — كالدستور الذي يضبط القوانين الفرعية وموادها، كقول النحويين: "لا يضاف الشيء الى نفسه" (ابن جني، الخصائص ٣/٢٤)، وكقولهم: "الألفات في الحروف والأسماء المبنية أصول فيها

لا زوائد" (نفسه ٢٢٨/٣)؛ والعبارة نفسها تعني قاعدة أصولية عامة كلية، أما مصطلح "أصول" في تلك العبارة فيعني الحروف الأصلية مقابل الزوائد، وسيأتي هذا المعنى. وكذلك كل ما جاء في الباب الثامن من كتاب مغني اللبيب (٦٧٤) الذي وضعه تحت عنوان "في ذكر أمور كلية يتخرج عليها ما لا ينحصر من الصور الجزئية"؛ وهو احدى عشرة قاعدة كلية؛ ومن تلك القواعد الكلية الأصولية ما جاء في القاعدة الثالثة، وهو قوله: "قد يشربون لفظا معنى لفظ فيعطونه حكمه، ويسمى ذلك تضمينا" (نفسه ٦٨٥). وأضاف (نفسه ٢٨٥–٢٨٦): "وفائدته أن يؤدي كلمة مؤدى كلمتين... وهو كثير؛ قال أبو الفتح — ابن جني — في كتابه التمام: أحسب لو جمع ما جاء منه لجاء منه كتاب يكون مئين أوراقا". وفي هذا النص دليل على أن القاعدة الكلية العامة "التضمين" يندرج تحتها ظواهر وأحكام فرعية قد تصل الى مئات كما ذكر أبو الفتح.

ويمكن أن نسوق مثالا أوضح على قواعد فرعية تندرج تحت القاعدة الأصولية العامة الكلية، وهو قوله في القاعدة الثامنة (نفسه ٦٩٢–٦٩٣): "كثيرا ما يغتفر في الثواني ما لا يغتفر في الأوائل، فمن ذلك: كلّ شاة وسخلتها بدرهم، و: ربّ رجل وأخيه، فلا يجوز: كل سخلتِها، ولا: ربّ أخيه... إذ لا تضاف ﴿كلّ﴾ و﴿أيّ﴾ إلى معرفة مفردة، ولا تجر ﴿ربّ﴾ إلا النكرات".

أقول: إن التمثيل واضح تماما في هذه القاعدة فهو قد ذكر قاعدة كبرى كلية، وذكر تحتها أحكاما خاصة بكل وأي، ورب، وكل منها تمثل قاعدة فرعية.

وجاء مثل ذلك في كتاب الأصول في النحو (١٨٨/١) لابن السراج، كقوله: "فكل من جرّ بجارّ عامل فيه فهو اسم"؛ فأرى أن هذه القاعدة كلية عامة، يمكن أن يندرج تحتها قواعد فرعية، من مثل: "حرف الجر مختص بالأسماء" و"الإضافة من خصائص الأسماء"، كذلك "المجرور بالتبعية اسم"، و"الجر من علامات الأسماء"، إذ يمكن إدراج قواعد فرعية متعددة تحت هذه القاعدة الكبرى.

وأورد قاعدة أصولية كبرى تنتظم كل أنواع الكلام والجمل في العربية، وهو قوله: "وإنما يراعى في هذا الباب وغيره الفائدة، فمتى ظفرت بها في المبتدأ وخبره فالكلام جائز، وما لم يُفِد فلا معنى له في كلام عيرهم" (نفسه ٥٩/١).

وقد اسخدم ابن السراج نفسه هذا المصطلح "الأصول" بالمعنى الذي نحن فيه، وهو القواعد العامة الكلية، بقوله: "فتفهم هذه الأصول والفصول، فقد أعلنت في هذا الكتاب — الأصول في النحو — أسرار النحو، وجمعته جمعا يحضره، وفصلته تفصيلا يظهره، ورتبت أنواعه وصنوفه على مراتبها بأخصر ما أمكن من القول وأبينه؛ ليسبق الى القلوب فهمه، ويسهل على متعلميه حفظه" (نفسه ٥٦/١).

أقول: نفهم من قوله "الأصول" في هذا النص: الأبواب ذات المسائل الكبرى العامة، فهي تقابل الفصول، فالفصول قرينة تدل على ما ذهبنا اليه، علاوة على ما بعدها، من قوله: "ورتبت أنواعه..." حتى نهاية النص فأرى هذه الجمل القصيرة كلها قرائن تشير بأنه أراد القواعد الأصولية العامة الكبرى.

ويقول — أيضا — بعد ذلك عبارة تؤكد ما ذهبنا اليه، وهي قوله: "فمتى وجدت حرفا مخالفا لا شك في خلافه لهذه الأصول، فاعلم أنه شان..." (نفسه ٥٦/١)، إذ الشذوذ يكون بمخالفة جزئية أو فرعية لقاعدة أصولية كبرى.

وأورد قاعدة أصولية كبرى تنتظم كل أنواع الكلام والجمل في العربية، وهي قوله: "وإنما يراعى في هذا الباب وغيره الفائدة، فمتى ظفرت بها في المبتدأ وخبره فالكلام جائز، وما لم يفد فلا معنى له في كلام غيرهم" (نفسه ٥٩/١).

ومن قواعد الأنباري الأصولية الكلية قوله: "الدليل إذا تطرق إليه الاحتمال بطل به الاستدلال" (الإنصاف م. ١٠٤)؛ وقوله: "المصير إلى ما لا نظير له في كلامهم مردود" (نفسه م. ٩٢)؛ وكقوله أيضا — على سبيل التمثيل لا الحصر: "الأصل في الأسماء ألا تعمل" (نفسه م. ٥، ١١)، وقوله:

"حرف الخفض لا يدخل على حرف الخفض" (نفسه م. ٧٨)، وأخيرا قوله: "كثرة الاستعمال تجيز الخروج عن الأصل" (نفسه م. ٧٢).

وقد أطلق د. تمام حسان على هذه الدلالة لمصطلحي "الأصل" و"الأصول" مصطلح "قواعد التوجيه"، ونعتها بأنها "الكلية الأصولية" (تمام حسان. ١٩٨٢: ٣٩)؛ وذكر لها مثالا في موضع آخر لاحق وهو قوله: "... كما تشهد القاعدة الأصولية القائلة «لا اجتهاد مع النص»" (نفسه ٤٥)، وحقا لقد وفق في مصطلحه، فهى فعلا قواعد للتوجيه، وليست قواعد وأحكاما لظاهرة معينة؛ كما أنها كلية أصولية عامة أيضا.

وكذا فقد قرأت له مصطلحا طريفا موفق آخر، وهو "أصل الأصول"؛ فقال: "وعرفنا كذلك أن أصل الأصول بالنسبة للجملة هو الإفادة، فلا يمكن العدول عن هذا الأصل، ولا يقبل هذا العدول مهما كان" (نفسه ١٥٤).

أقول: ولعل عدم جواز العدول عن هذا الأصل هو الذي عداه إلى إطلاق مصطلح "أصل الأصول" عليه، إذ إن الأصل يمكن العدول عنه كما عرفنا، أما هذا الأصل الكلي وما يماثله فلا يمكن العدول عنه، وإذا أوررت على الخروج "العدول" عنه انهدم الكلام ولم يبق أصل مقبول صحيح.

خامسا: الأصل بمعنى الراجح والأولى، أو الغالب، وهو الأعلى، والوجه والأفصح، وغيره مرجوح، أو أقل، أو أدنى، وكثيرا ما يستعمله النحويون في أحكامهم، كقولهم: هذا هو الأصل، أو الراجح، أو الأفصح، وربما أطلقوا المصطلح "الوجه"[8] مرادفا له، وما عداه مرجوح أو ردىء، أو قليل، على أن يكون اللغتان صحيحتان مقبولتين مسموعتين أو مقيستين؛ أي لكل منهما دليل يسنده.

وقد حاول أحد الباحثين في علم أصول الفقه توضيح معنى الأصل هذا بإيجاز بقوله: "الأصل بمعنى الراجح، يقال «الأصل الحقيقة» يعني الراجح؛ فإذا تعارضت الحقيقة مع المجاز في لفظ وقيل «الأصل الحقيقة» كان معنى ذلك أن الحقيقة ترجح على المجاز" (العبد خليل أبو عيد ١٩٨٧: ٣٦). فالأصل ― عندهم أيضا ― هو الراجح والأولى، وما يرادفهما، كما هو في علم أصول النحو، ولا يختلف عنه بشيء في هذه المسألة.

فإذا ما قلنا ما يجوز في إعراب الأسماء الخمسة (الستة) ثلاث لغات، هو: لغة التمام وهي إعرابها بالحروف، ولغة القصر، وتعنى: أن تعرب بحركات مقدرة على الألف، ولغة النقص: وتعرب بحركات قصيرة على حرفها الثاني بعد حذف حروف المد من أواخرها، ونقول: لغة التمام هو الأصل؛ فقولنا "الأصل" هنا، نعني به "الأرجح والأولى والأفصح"، لأن اللغتين الأخريين مسموعتان، لكنهما مرجوحتان، وأقل من اللغة الأولى.

ومن ذلك ما جاء في كتاب سيبويه (١٨١/١)، وهو قوله: "هذا باب ما يختار فيه الرفع، وذلك قولك له عِلمُ عِلمَ الفقهاء وله رأيٌ الأصلاء؛ وإنما كان الرفع في هذا الوجه؛ لأن هذه خصال تذكرها في الرجل كالحلم والعقل والفضل، ولم ترد أن تخبر أنك مررت برجل في حال تعلّم ولا تفهّم".

ومنه أيضا ما جاء في كتاب "الأصول في النحو" (١٦٨/١) لابن السراج: "فإن قلت سير بعبد الله سيرٌ، وذهب إلى عبد الله ذهابا فالنصب الوجه؛ لأن المصادر مؤكدة، أما جواز الرفع فعلى بُعد".

ولعل ما أورده ابن السراج في موضع آخر أدل وأوضح، فهو يقول: "وتقول سير على بعيرك فرسخان يوم الجمعة؛ فإن شئت نصبت يوم الجمعة على الظرف، وهو الوجه؛ وإن شئت نصبته على أنه مفعول على السعة، كما رفعت الفرسخين على ذلك" (نفسه ٢٠٣/١).

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[8]   مرت الإشارة إلى هذا المصطلح في "ثانيا": الأصل بمعنى المستصحب.

وأقول: إنهما — سيبويه وابن السراج — استخدما مصطلح "الوجه" في هذه النصوص بدلا من "الأصل" ومرادفا له، وأراه هنا بمعنى "الراجح" والأكثر والأولى.

لكن ابن السراج قد استخدم مصطلح "الأصل" أيضا بمعنى الراجح أو الأعلى والأكثر والأفصح، فقال: "وإذا قلت زيد حسن وجهه، وكريم أبوه، وفاره عبده، فهذا هو الأصل، وبعده في الحسن: زيد حسن الوجه، وكريم الحسب، ويجوز: زيد كريم الحسب، وحسن الوجه، ويجوز: زيد حسن وجها، وكريم حسبا ... والأصل ما بدأنا به" (نفسه ١٣٢/١).

أقول: هذه الفقرة واضحة إلى آخر درجات الوضوح، وقد تضمن النص قرائن تؤكد ذلك، فقوله بعد عبارات "فهذا هو الأصل" (وبعد في الحسن) قرينة؛ وقوله "ويجوز" بعد ذلك قرينة دالة أخرى، أي أنه بدأ بالأرجح والأولى، ثم ذكر ما بعدها والأقل منها.

سادسا: الأصل بمعنى الحرف الأصلي مقابل الزائد وضده؛ فقد ورد وارد تعمله اللغويون على النحو الآتي:

تكرر هذا المعنى لمصطلح "الأصل" و"الأصول" بمعنى الحرف أو الحروف الأصول التي ليست بزوائد في كتاب "الخصائص"[٩]، وجاء في "شرح أوضح المسالك" (٦٨/١) لابن هشام قوله فيض باب الجمع بألف وتاء مزيدتين: "فإن كانت التاء أصلية كأبيات وأموات، أو الألف أصلية كقضاة وغراة نصبت بالفتحة"[١٠].

وكقول ابن عقيل (شرح ٥٦٠/٢) — مثلا: "فالصحيح: ما خلت حروفه الأصول من أحرف العلة الثلاثة، والمعتل: في أصوله حرف منها أو أكثر".

وكقوله أيضا: "وشذ قولهم في عيد: عُيَيْد، والقياس عُوَيْد، بقلب الياء واوا؛ لأنه من عاد يعود" (نفسه ٤٤٥/٢).

ومما جاء بهذا المعنى قول رضي الدين الأستراباذي في "شرح الشافية" (٣٦٨/٢): "وإن كان ثاني الكلمة ياء، والثالث والرابع كالأول والثاني نحو صيصية لم يقل إن إحدى الياءين من الغالبة تكون زائدة، لأن معها ثلاثة أصول".

فهذه النصوص، تظهر بجلاء استخدام المصطلح "أصل" أو "أصول" بمعنى الحروف الأصول في كلمة ما، ومما يوضح هذا الأمر ورود قرينة وهي "الزيادة"، وهي تدل على المعنى الذي ذكرناه مقابل الزائد أو الزوائد.

كما استخدم الأنباري هذا المصطلح في كتبه أيضا بدلالته على الحرف المقابل للزائد في بنية الكلمة في مواضع كثيرة، كقوله: "حروف الحروف كلها أصلية، والأصلي أقوى من الزائد عند الحذف، والحرف الأصلي قد يحذف لعلة عارضة" (الإنصاف م. ٢٦، ٩٣ — مثلا).

وقد جاء هذا المصطلح أيضا على لسان السيوطي في كتابه (الاقتراح[٣] ٦١/٦٠) بهذا المعنى، في قوله: "قال — يعني سيبويه — ... حذف الحروف للجزم وهي أصول، حملا على حذف الحركات وهي زوائد".

ويشيع هذا المصطلح "الأصل" مقابل الحرف الزائد في كتب الصرف وقواعده وأحكامه، فاستعماله هناك أكثر من أن يحصى.

سابعا: الأصل بمعنى الحرف الأصلي مقابل الحرف المقلوب أو المبدل؛ وأكثر ما يشيع هذا المصطلح بهذا المعنى في كتب الصرف أيضا؛ وبخاصة في بابي الإعلال والإبدال، والتصغير، والنسب، وبعض الأبواب الصرفية الأخرى.

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٩ ابن جني، الخصائص ٦٧/١، ٢٠٢، ٤٧٧/٢-٤٨٠، ٢٢٨/٣، ٢٢٨.

١٠ يعني بالألف الأصلية أحد حروف الكلمة الأصول غير الزائدة، وإن كانت مبدلة أو منقلبة عن أصل آخر.

وقد ورد هذا المصطلح مقابل الحرف المبدل أو المقلوب في كتاب "الخصائص" (١/٣٧٧): غير مرة، منها: "حرف أصل لا زائد ولا بدل"، وكقوله: "قد تكون أصلا كما تكون بدلا"، وتكررت هذه العبارة نفسها في موضع آخر (نفسه ١/٣٩٦). وقالوا — مثلا — إن ألف الحرف والأسماء المبنية أصل أو أصلية، مقابل الألف في الأفعال والأسماء المعربة، إذ هي هناك مبدلة (أو مقلوبة) أو زائدة، فهي لا تكون أصلا أبدا فيهما (نفسه ١/٣٧٧).

ومن الأمثلة على هذا المصطلح بمعنى الحرف الأصلي مقابل الحرف المقلوب أو المبدل، ما جاء في كتاب "شرح الشافية" (٢/٣٦٩): يقول الرضي: "وقال الخليل أصل دهديت: دهدهت؛ لاستعمالهم دهدهت بمعناه، ولا مانع أن يقال ياء نحو قوقيت أصلية، إنها ليست ببدل من الواو".

وقال في نص آخر واضح أيضا: "فعلى هذا تبين كذلك أن الهمزة في نحو رداء، وكساء، وقائل، وبائع، وأوائل، وبوائع، وعجائز، وكبائر أصلها الألف المنقلبة عن الواو والياء" (نفسه ٣/١٠٢).

نلاحظ بعد هذا العرض أن المعاني الخمسة الأولى لمصطلح "الأصل" معان اصطلاحية اكتسبها هذا المصطلح، وقد ورد هو نفسه في علم النحو وأصوله، كما ورد في علم أصول الفقه أيضا[11]؛ أما المعنيان الأخيران — السادس والسابع — فأحسبهما مقصورين على علمي النحو والصرف وأصولهما، وخاصين بهما، أو على الأقل لم أجد لهما ذكرا في علم أصول الفقه.

بعد هذا الاستعراض والتتبع لمصطلح "الأصل" وجمعه "الأصول" في كتب علم أصول النحو، وبعض كتب النحو والصرف؛ أقول: لعل دلالاته أصبحت واضحة ممتازة، ولعل هذا البحث نجح — ولو جزئيا — في التفريق بين بعض المعاني والدلالات احتكاما واستنادا إلى السياق والنصوص، وأقول: إن التفريق — أحيانا — وبخاصة بين المستصحب والقاعدة الكلية العامة، أو بين المستصحب والراجح — كما مر بنا في بعض النصوص والاستعمالات، أقول: إن التفريق كان عسيرا أو كاد يكون كذلك، وقد يعاني الباحث في بعض المواضع حتى يستطيع أن يتخذ موقفا حاسما، وذلك لما بين بعض المعاني من تداخل وتقارب سيلحظه القارئ حتما؛ ولكن ما يخفف على المرء أنه لا يجانب الحقيقة أو الصواب كثيرا إذا ما ذهب مذهبا معينا وخالف غيره في فهمه، فهو لن يبتعد كثيرا عن الاحتمال الآخر.

<div align="center">مصادر البحث ومراجعه</div>

<div align="center">أ — المصادر</div>

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THE PHONETICS OF AL-AZHARĪ

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Summary:

In the eighth century, al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī wrote the first comprehensive dictionary of Arabic, called *Kitāb al-ᶜayn* (The book of ᶜayn). Of interest to phoneticians and phonologists of Arabic is that he pre-pended a treatise on Arabic phonetics to this dictionary. It is the first full treatise on Arabic sound system. This practice became a tradition that subsequent lexicographers followed in writing their own dictionaries. Ibn Durayd, a ninth century lexicographer included a phonetics treatise in his dictionary: *Ǧamharat al-luġa* (Compendium of Language). The current author; Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī, a tenth century lexicographer, also included a treatise on the phonetics of Arabic in his *Tahḏīb al-luġa* (Rectification of Language). In addition to the documentary trail that these lexica establish for their interest in phonetics and phonology of Arabic, they chart the changes that were occurring in Arabic sound system in different generations of speakers.

This presentation will provide, in a summary fashion, the details of the sound system of Arabic as presented by al-Azharī with references to his two predecessors. Emphasis will be placed on the organization of the system, and the system of features that he established to describe each segment of the sound system.

0.0. Preliminaries

True to the tradition of Arab nomenclature his name is Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭalḥa b. Nūḥ b. al-Azhar al-Azharī al-Harawī aš-Šāfiᶜī. He is often referred to by the highlighted abbreviation. (Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad al-Azharī). He lived mostly in the tenth century (282/895-370/981). He was born in Herah in Ḫurāsān, but moved to Baghdad for his studies. He travelled among the tribes, and while living among them, he observed their speech, and recorded many of their expressions and idioms in his dictionary. The motivation for the composition of his dictionary, he claimed, was to set the record straight, and point out all the errors that he noticed the other linguists had made (al-Azharī, *Tahḏīb*: 54). Consequently, he called his dictionary: *Tahḏīb al-luġa* (Rectification of Language). He detailed in the introduction to this dictionary his evaluation of his sources, his judgements on his predecessors and his contemporaries. Indeed, this forms a short history of linguistics as al-Azharī perceived it. His judgements are forthright about the people on his list. His list mentions all of his predecessors and contemporaries to whom he feels he is indebted in the composition of his dictionary. He is quite severe on some of the linguists, in particular his contemporary, Ibn Durayd. He does, however, show measured respect

for al-Ḫalīl and his dictionary. al-Azharī felt that he could incorporate into his own dictionary materials from the sources at his disposal rather freely. He was a very self-possessed person, who was sure of his own judgement, and the judgements he passed on his predecessors. It is to his credit that he put great value on the verification of his information by re-eliciting his material, or ascertaining that the material provided in the sources was properly elicited and accurate. Here, we can not go into the details of his critique of others, but one of the persons he respected and whose work he used, or more accurately stated, he incorporated, verbatim in many part, into his dictionary was al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad, whose dictionary is called: *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (The book of ʿayn). This was the first full-fledged dictionary of Arabic and had become the model for the dictionaries that came after it.

After a review of the literature, the evaluation of the authors he considered worthy of mention, and following al-Ḫalīl's initiative, al-Azharī also included a section on the phonetics of Arabic, as part of the introduction to his dictionary, just before he began to record the lexical entries of the dictionary. It is a section of about a dozen pages (*Tahḏīb*: 41-54) in a fifteen volume dictionary. But it is a significant contribution to the understanding of the sound system of Arabic of that time.

It is very instructive to review these ancient lexica of Arabic and try to follow the development, or lack of it, of the phonological changes in the language that these lexicographers noted in their works, in particular in their dictionaries. This is a way of documenting the subtle changes that they observed in Arabic of their day, and from a phonological perspective, the classifications and subclassifications they introduced into the process of accounting for the sounds of the language. Their arrangements and classifications of the sounds of Arabic might not appear revolutionary from our current perspective, but from the perspective of the eighth, ninth and tenth century phonologists it was an original and significant advancement in phonological analysis and systematization.

With that perspective in mind, one can follow the examination of the "treatise" of al-Azharī in order to understand better his approach and methodology in describing and classifying the sounds of Arabic as he perceived them. It will be immediately noticed that this treatise of al-Azharī is substantially the same as that of al-Ḫalīl, with minor variations.

1.0. Word Structures

He begins by stating that Arabic words are constructed on four patterns: *aṯ-ṯunāʾī* (the bi-radical), *aṯ-ṯulāṯī* (the tri-radical), *ar-rubāʿī* (the quadri-radical), and *al-ḫumāsī* (the quinque-radical) patterns. Examples[1]:

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[1] N.B. in the examples above, the *ḥarakāt* (the motions), i.e. the vocalic elements, are not counted, but only *sawākin* (still letters) i.e. the consonantals, are counted.

1.1. The Patterns:

aṯ-ṯunā'ī (bi-radicals) e.g. *qad* (may), *lam* (not)
aṯ-ṯulāṯī (tri-radicals) e.g. *ḫaraǧ* (exit), *ḍarab* (strike)
ar-rubā'ī (quadri-radicals)   e.g. *daḥraǧ* (tumble), *qarṭas* (hit target)
al-ḫumāsī (quinque-radical)   e.g. *safarǧal* (quince), *šamardal* (youth), *isḥankak*
                                                (become pitch dark), *iqša'arr* (shiver)

To be noted in the above examples is that the Arabic writing system does not indicate the *ḥarakāt* (motions), also called 'short vowels', in the sequence, and the author is counting only *as-sawākin* (the still letters). In Arabic, anything above the five radicals in a word is an augment, for example: *'ankabūt* (spider) is from *'ankab*. Substantive words, on the other hand, may not be less than three letters. If, however, nouns appear on the surface as bi-radicals as in words like: *yad* (hand), *fam* (mouth), then one is to look at their derivations for their full structures to surface, i.e. that they are tri-radical as it appears in the plural *aydīhim* (their hands), and *yudayya* (the diminutive form for hand). That makes the tri-radical stem for hand as [*ydy*] cf. 1.2 below:

1.2. The Radicals of Bi-lateral Nouns

yad   (hand)
aydīhim   (their hands)
yudayya   (hand, diminutive form)
[*ydy*]   the tri-radical stem for hand

It will be stated later that the language does have forms that go beyond the canonical patterns, but if they are encountered, then they are either borrowed or made up (*Tahḏīb*: 41-43).

2.0. *al-ḥurūf* (The Letters): Their labels and their *madāriǧ* (localities)

To ascertain the articulatory quality of the letters of Arabic, al-Azharī followed the technique that al-Ḫalīl used in defining the sounds of Arabic, thus: In the production of any one letter: one is to begin with the pronunciation of an [*a*] and end up with the intended letter, like this: [*ab*], [*at*], [*ah*], etc. One is to stop at the intended sound that is the object of observation, as [-*b* , -*t* , -*h*] in the above examples. In this fashion one will come up with the following list of letters at different *mahāriǧ* (exits) for Arabic:

[*' ḥ h — ḫ ġ — q k — ǧ š ḍ — ṣ s z — ṭ d t — z ḏ ṯ — l r n — f b m — w A y '*]

The order in which these letters occur is significant. It will be noticed that it is a departure from the traditional sequencing, [*alif, bā', tā',*] etc., in that it organizes the letters of Arabic according to an articulatory criterion that begins with the deepest letter in the pharynx, and ends up with the labial ones according to their proper grouping *madāriǧ* (localities) and *mahāriǧ* (exits) (*Tahḏīb*: 41) the last four letters are a special case as it will be pointed out below.

2.1. Subdivisions of the Letters

The letters of Arabic are re-grouped into six classes according to particular articulatory features.

2.1.0. Letters of _dulq_ (fluency) and _šafawiyya_ (labiality) are six:

[_l, r, n, f, b, m_].

2.1.1. "The letters of fluency [_l, r, n_] are produced with the apex of the tongue" (_Tahdīb_: 44).

2.1.2. "The letters of labiality [_f, b, m_] are produced between the two lips, but the two lips are involved in the production of no other letters" (_Tahdīb_: 44).

2.1.3. The balance of the letters are higher than those just mentioned above:

[_t, d, z, t, d, t, s, z, s, d, ǧ, š_].

"These letters flow over the hump of the tongue between the incisors at the exit of [_t_] and the exit of [_š_], between the upper concavity and the surface of the tongue. The hump of the tongue does not deviate in the production of these letters as it does with the production of the letters [_l, r, n_]" (_Tahdīb_: 44).

2.1.4. "The exits of [_k, q_] are between the knot of the tongue and the uvula at the extremity of the mouth" (_Tahdīb_: 44).

2.1.5. "The exits of [_ʿ ḥ h ḫ ġ_] are in the throat" (_Tahdīb_: 44).

2.1.6. "The _hamza_ ['] is produced at the extremity of the throat. It is not like the other letters, since it changes to an _alif_ [_A_], a _wāw_ [_w_] and a _yā'_ [_y_], which the other letters do not do" (_Tahdīb_: 44). The orthographic representation of the glottal stop varies depending on the context. It may look like an [_A_], [_y_] or a [_w_], or itself as the context dictates.

It is note-worthy to mention that al-Azharī approaches the letters of Arabic from two directions. In the first approach, he followed al-Ḫalīl who took the flow of the exhaled air through the vocal tract, as his guide, in listing the letters from the deepest letter in the throat, and proceeding by degrees, until he ended up with the lips; but in section # 2.0. above, al-Azharī explains these exits by proceeding from the front of the oral cavity with the fluency letters, and ending up with the deepest, the _hamza_ ['], i.e. the glottal stop, which is a departure from al-Ḫalīl.

There was a deeply seated intuition or insight among the early Arab phoneticians that the ease of the articulation of certain sounds led to their frequency in the composition of words. That is, the more flexible organs are the more adept ones at sound production than the less flexible ones. They considered the tip of the tongue and the lips the more mobile, hence they would be more frequently used in the formation of words. The more complex words, i.e. the longer words, would need more muscular flexibility in their articulation than the shorter and less complex words. They felt vindicated when they examined the lexicon of the language and found out that no quinque-radical or quadri-radical word is produced without one or more of the letters of fluency or labiality. This, they felt, followed from the nature of speech and the ease of the articulation of these sounds in Arabic. If a

quadri-radical or quinque-radical word were to occur without one or more of these letters, one would intuitively know that it is either a made-up word or a borrowed word. E.g. *ḥaḍaʿtaǧ* and *kaša͗ʿtaǧ*. There are precious few exception to this generalization. The authors list ten such words in Arabic, like: *ʿasǧud* (gold), and *qasaṭūs* (balance).

In speech, there was also the notion of sonority and elegance to which the Arab ear responded. In such matters of the phonetics of Arabic, the inclusion of [ʿ, q] in words added to their sonority and elegance. Consequently they considered [ʿayn] to be *anṣaʿu l-ḥurūf* (the silkiest of letters), and *aladdu samāʿan* (the most pleasant to hear), while [qāf] had *aṣaḥḥuhā ǧarasan* (possessing the clearest ring). This is true to such an extent that when a native quadri-radical word comes along it invariably includes one or both of these letters of fluency or labiality. Needless to say, these are among the sounds of Arabic that new adult learners of the language find difficult to master. To round off this excursion into the phonotactics of Arabic, the letters [d, s] are considered the lighter members of their respective locales, and are to be frequently found in these quadri-radical stems. These observations on the nature of the composition of Arabic words became the metric by which one judged which words were genuinely native Arabic words and which ones were not.

3.0. *aḥyāz* (The Locales) and *madāriǧ* (Localities) of the Letters

The Arab phonologists divided the vocal tract into discrete and definite sections each of which is called *ḥayyiz* (locale), the plural is *aḥyāz*. Within the locales there are specific areas where more than one letter may be produced. This is called *madraǧ* (locality), the plural is *madāriǧ*. Where a single letter is produced is called *maḫraǧ* (exit), plural is *maḫāriǧ*. The production of the Arabic letters is associated with these physiological structures.

Arabic has twenty nine letters in both its orthography and its phonological inventory. Twenty five of which have locales, localities and exits, and four of them are cavity letters (*Tahdīb*: 48). Cavity letters are [w, y, A, ͗]. These last four are called *ǧawf* (cavity) letters because they are produced in the cavity as a whole, and they have no definitely assigned localities; and since they are produced in the air they have no locales with which they can be clearly associated like the other letters.

4.0. First Tier Classifications

There are nine locales in the vocal tract with which the groups of letters are associated. They are separated here by [—], and each locale is designated by a specific articulatory area of the vocal tract:

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[2] These made up structures mimic the pattern of Arabic words, e.g. *tafaʿlal* but are not real lexical items.

4.1 The Inventory
[ʿ ḥ h − ḫ ġ − q k − ǧ š ḍ − ṣ s z − ṭ d t − ẓ ḏ ṯ − l r n − f b m − w A y ʾ]

4.2 The Locales

ḥalqiyya	throat-I:	[ʿ, ḥ, h]	ﻫ ح ع
	throat-II[3]:	[ḫ, ġ]	خ غ
lahawiyya	uvular:	[q, k]	ق ك
šaġriyya	softpalatal:	[ǧ, š, ḍ]	ج ش ض
asaliyya	apical:	[ṣ, s, z]	ص س ز
niṭʿiyya	palatal:	[t, d, ṭ]	ط د ت
liṯawiyya	gingival:	[ẓ, ḏ, ṯ]	ظ ذ ث
ḏawlaqiyya	laminal:	[l, r, n]	ل ر ن
šafawiyya	labial:	[f, b, m]	ف ب م
hawāʾiyya	airy:	[w, A, y, ʾ]	و أ ي ء

4.3 al-Azharī's Chart of Arabic speech sounds

aḥyāz	Locales	madāriǧ/maḫāriǧ Localities/Exits	
ḥalqiyya	throat I	[ʿ, ḥ, h]	ﻫ ح ع
	throat II	[ḫ, ġ]	خ غ
lahawiyya	uvular	[k, g]	ق ك
šaġriyya	softpalatal	[ǧ, š, ḍ]	ج ش ض
asaliyya	apical	[ṣ, s, z]	ص س ز
niṭʿiyya	palatal	[t, d, ṭ]	ط د ت
liṯawiyya	gingival	[ẓ, ḏ, ṯ]	ظ ذ ث
ḏawlaqiyya	laminal	[l, r, n]	ل ر ن
šafawiyya	labial	[f, b, m]	ف ب م
hawāʾiyya	air/cavity	[w, A, y, ʾ]	و أ ي ء

5.0 Second tier classification

The second tier classification goes beyond the the locale and exit designations for each letter of Arabic, and elaborates a grouping of sounds according to shared features across articulatory locales and localities. In this manner, a new set of features are introduced into the classification of the sounds of Arabic. These new features are listed and exemplified below:

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[3] In al-Ḫalīl there are no such divisions in the throat. It is one continuous cavity.

5.1 Feature Classification:

5.1a	*mutbaqa*	Covered:	one letter	[*m*]
5.1b	*muᶜtalla*	Weak:	four letters	[*w, A, y,* ']
5.1c	*saḥīḥa*	Strong:	twenty five letters	

[', ḥ, h, ḫ, ġ, q, k, ǧ, š, ḍ, ṣ, s, z, ṭ, d, t, ẓ, ḏ, ṯ, l, r, n, f, b, m]

5.1d	*mudlaqa*	Fluent:	six letters	[*l, r, n, f, b, m*]
5.1e	*muṣmata*	Silent:	nineteen letters	

[', ḥ, h, ḫ, ġ, q, k, ǧ, š, ḍ, ṣ, s, z, ṭ, d, t, ẓ, ḏ, ṯ]

5.1f	*famawiyya*	Oral:	fourteen letters	

[*q, k, ǧ, š, ḍ, ṣ, s, z, ṭ, d, t, ẓ, ḏ, ṯ, l, r, n, f, b, m*]

5.1g	*ḥalqiyya*	Throat:	five letters	[ᶜ, ḥ, h, ḫ, ġ]
5.1h	*mustaᶜliya*	Raised:	five letters	[*q, ḍ, ṣ , ṭ, ẓ*]
5.1i	*muḫtafiḍa*	Lowered:	nine letters	[*k, ǧ, š, s, z, d, t, ḏ, ṯ*]

The advantages of the above sub-classifications are that sounds can be regrouped and cross classified in terms of shared features that extend beyond the articulatory parameters of locales and exits and thus lend themselves more easily to a shared feature analysis. al-Azharī considers the weak letters the more complex ones. There is, he claims, complexity in their orthographic representations. If they were to be localized, then the [*A*] is to be localized towards the upper concavity, the [*y*] towards the grinders, and the [*w*] between the two lips. The source of all three is, however, the *hamza* [']. When one pauses on one of the weak letters, one stops at *hamza* ['].
E.g. '*ifᶜalī*' (you — f. — do), '*ifᶜalā*' (you — d. — do), '*ifᶜalū*' (you — pl. — do), in order to halt the breath. The second tier features are summarized in the following chart (# 5.10), where the following abbreviations are used:

c = covered *mutbaqa*, w = weak *muᶜtalla*, s = strong *saḥīḥa*, f = fluent *mudlaqa*, x = silent *muṣmata*, o = oral *famawiyya*, t = throat *ḥalqiyya*, r = raised *mustaᶜliyya*, l = lowered *muḫtafiḍa*.

These features with the articulatory classifications found in chart # 4.3, that deal with the divisions of the vocal tract into designated locales, provide a complete list of all the features that characterize the inventory of the letters of Arabic.

5.10. al-Azharī's shared feature matrix

	c	w	s	f	x	o	t	r	l
'		+							
y		+							
A		+							
w		+							
m	+		+	+		+			
b			+	+		+			
f			+	+		+			
n			+	+		+			
r			+	+		+			
l			+	+		+			
ṭ			+		+	+			+
ḍ			+		+	+			+
ẓ			+		+	+		+	
t			+		+	+			+
d			+		+	+			+
ṭ			+		+	+		+	
z			+		+	+			+
s			+		+	+			+
ṣ			+		+	+		+	
ḍ			+		+	+		+	
š			+		+	+			+
ǧ			+		+	+			+
k			+		+	+			+
q			+		+	+		+	
ġ			+	+	+	+			
ẖ			+	+	+				
h			+	+	+				
ḥ			+	+	+				
ʿ			+	+	+				

6.0 Summary

al-Azharī was not a pioneer in phonology. He followed faithfully the tradition that was begun by al-Ḫalīl. His dictionary is a third generation dictionary of Arabic. *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was of the first generation and served as the model for subsequent dictionaries. Al-Ḫalīl was the first systematizer of Arabic sound system which others followed, added to or amended. Al-Ḫalīl's phonetics appears in al-Azharī's treatise almost in its completeness. Al-Azharī acknowledges his debt to al-Ḫalīl in this matter, but he also does contribute organizational features not found in his primary source, al-Ḫalīl, and sub-classifications that were not mentioned by al-Ḫalīl. E.g. Throat subdivisions, or the 'silent', 'raised' and 'lowered' subgroups of sounds.

al-Azharī also refers to Ibn Durayd's dictionary in not too complementary terms, even though he incorporates most of it in his own dictionary. On matters of phonology, Ibn Durayd had taken into account other sources of phonology besides al-Ḫalīl, e.g. Sībawayhi[4]. He had also given a fuller synthesis of the state of the art at his time. Ibn Durayd documented many dialectal and local changes in the Arabic of his time. al-Azharī does not account for the contributions of others besides al-Ḫalīl, and in that sense he is less adventurous and less complete. Both al-Ḫalīl and Ibn Durayd have been treated elsewhere and will not be repeated here (Sara 1991; Sara & Zawawi 1995). al-Azharī's treatise, for all its conservatism, is a continuation of the tradition that began with al-Ḫalīl, and a manifestation of interest in the sound system of Arabic by the lexicographers. This treatise is yet another stage in the development in the understanding of the phonetics of Arabic.

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[4] For details cf. Sara & Zawawi (1995).

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARABIC IN EGYPT

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The contact between Arabic and the Egyptian language does not go back only to the Islamic era, but to centuries before the Islamic conquest, or even before Christianity, when Arabs used to go to Egypt either as merchants or emigrants. Historians show that there were sea and land trading routes between Egypt and Arabia, and that Gaza, for instance, was a very important centre for businessmen, and a port to which Arab traders used to go to conclude bargains (ʿAlī 1969-1976: VIII, 67, 132). From a document which goes back to a year around 263 B.C., we know that there were commercial relations between the Egyptians and Arabs in that remote period (*ibid.* VIII, 67). It is also said that in pre-Islamic days, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs paid a visit to Egypt as a trader, and went across the Delta to Alexandria (al-Kindī, *Wulāt* 6-7).

Turning to the second category, it is certain that a series of emigrations took place in the pre-Islamic period, among which were:

1. The emigration of some tribes of Kaḥtanite origin, which encroached on the north-eastern part of Egypt as early as the dawn of the Christian era (ʿAmmār 1944: I, 21).
2. The emigration of some tribes of Ṭayyiʾ (another Kaḥtanite branch) among whom the most famous were: Ǧuḏām and Laḫm which settled in aš-Šarqiyya (*ibid.* I, 23).
3. In ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb's reign, after the conquest of aš-Šām and before the conquest of Egypt, some tribes of Ġassān, Ǧuḏām, and ʿĀmila, who were Christians, emigrated to Egypt, and settled in the north-west of Sinai, and the Roman Emperor granted them the sovereignty of Tennīs (al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* 90, 91).

The Greek historians including Strabo (66 B.C.) informed us that the number of Arabs had increased in their time, so that they had occupied the area between the western shore of the Red Sea, and the River Nile, an area which was parallel to the southern part of Upper Egypt (*ibid.* 89). Strabo besides describes Koptos as a town under the Arabs (Weil 1913-36: 991), and states that half of its population was made up of these Arabs.

In addition to that, the same above-mentioned document dated 263 B.C. informs us that there was a colony of southern Arab emigrants which settled in Egypt in that remote period (ʿAlī 1969-1976: VIII, 67).

It is of great importance to mention here the fact that the language of this document seems closely related to Arabic, a fact which means that those people formed an isolated linguistic area. Of words which are still used in Arabic, or can be

easily traced back to Arabic or perhaps Semitic origin, we refer to the proper name "Zayd", the word *dayn* which means "loan", the word *nafaqa* which means "his fortune" from the stem *"nfq"*, the word *maḥramihi* which means "sanctuary" and finally the word *"Miṣr"* (*ibid.* VIII, 67, 68).

However, it is natural that there should have been a sort of struggle for dominance between the Egyptian language and Arabic, and an exchange must have occurred between them. It seems that the influence of each language over the other was remarkable, so that there was created a high degree of resemblance which astonished modern linguists and made some bound to think of attributing them both to one origin (*ibid.* VII, 25; Sorabji 1932)[1].

The influence of the Egyptian language (or languages, if we include Greek which was influential in Egypt as well) on Arabic during this period, seems remarkable as far as the vocabulary is concerned. There are many Egyptian words which entered Arabic and were entirely accepted as standard Arabic. From these words we refer to the word *qabas*, which occurred in the Qur'ān, the word *sudāᶜ* (Sobhy 1950: 186; Zaydān, *Luġa* 11), the word *mišt* (Labīb 1901: 20), which occurred in the *ḥadīṯ* "*an-Nās sawāsiyya ka-asnān al-mišt.*", the word *bardī* (al-ᶜUnaysī 1932: 9), which occurred in al-Aᶜšā's poetry (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* "*barad*"), and others.

as-Suyūṭī, moreover, mentions a list of words of Coptic origin used in the Qur'ān (*Mutawakkilī* 12), but we cannot take his list seriously, as we know that he was not an authority on this question.

There is, besides, a long list of words of Greek origin (al-ᶜUnaysī 1932: 1-55; Warrell 1942: 330-40), but no one can tell whether the transfer of these words to Arabic took place in Egypt or in Syria.

Generally speaking, we can say that in the pre-Islamic period, Arabic was spoken in Egypt in the Arab colonies and by the Arab traders, and that the conflict between Arabic and Egyptian languages left some traces from one side on the other, but neither of the two sides lost ground.

The real confrontation between Arabic and the Egyptian language, which we shall term the Coptic language, occurred after the conquest of Egypt by Muslims. There was a great battle between the two languages which ended with a complete defeat of Coptic, and victory of Arabic. This did not, of course, happen at once, but step by step, and it took a comparatively long time. The defeat of Coptic was due to different factors which served in favour of Arabic, and the delay of that defeat can be attributed to certain obstacles which hindered the quick progress of Arabic.

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[1] O'Leary also wrote a paper attempting to place in brief outline the points of resemblance between the Semitic languages and those which are commonly classed as Hamitic (O'Leary 1915: Preface).

To provide a basis, we should at first refer to the general factors mentioned by modern linguists and which apply to any two languages which come into contact with each other. They are:

1. the political situation
2. the economic condition
3. the religious aspect
4. the prestige of a language (Vandryes 1925: 281-82).

These factors all served in favour of Arabic, and collaborated to bring Coptic to an end.

Regarding the political and economic situation, it is obvious that the power was in the hands of the Arabs who did their utmost for the arabicization of the country and the spread of Islam, which in turn had an effect on the economic conditions. Their major steps can be summed up under the following headings:

1. The replacement of Greek and Coptic as official languages by Arabic.
2. The transfer of several Arab tribes to Egypt for permanent settlement.
3. The replacement of Copts[2] by Muslims in general posts.
4. Imposing different kinds of taxation on Copts.

Regarding the religious factor, although there was no direct pressure on Copts to become Muslims, the privileges which were granted to Muslims and the prestige attached to them as rulers stimulated many Copts to enter Islam in order to achieve equality. Some Copts in fact were convinced by the instruction and character of the new religion, and made their decision of their own free will. Once anybody became Muslim, he had to behave as Muslims behave, i.e. go to the mosque, read the Qur'ān, pray in Arabic, and, in general, live a full Muslim life.

From the linguistic point of view, this factor is of great value and we completely agree when De Lacy O'Leary attributes considerable importance to the spread of Islam, saying, "Undoubtedly, the spread of Islam was a very potent factor in replacing Coptic by Arabic" (O'Leary 1934: 244).

Some scholars writing about Egypt tried to draw a conclusion that Islam was imposed there by force. They relied almost entirely on a book entitled "History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Churches of Alexandria", written by Severus b. al-Muqaffaʿ, the bishop of Ašmūnayn about the year 375/985. This book is, in fact, full of fabricated lies and was therefore distrusted by many scholars both in the East and the West (Abbot 1938: 57, 64; Bell 1928: 284.). It is, however, beyond our purpose

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[2] Although scholars do not agree on the origin of the word Copt, the most acceptable view is that it is a corruption of the Greek name for Egyptians. It seems, however, that it was used at first as a title for any non-Muslim Egyptian, regardless of his religion, and when we use it here we mean this concept. By the passage of time it became a title for the Christian Egyptians and did not include any other religion.

to discuss this claim, which needs a whole paper dealing with the process of the spread of Islam in Egypt.

We do not deny that there were some clashes between Muslims and Copts in this early period of Arab rule, but one can easily attribute them to the extremists from both sides, or to the ignorant people who are mostly sentimental. Even in these clashes between governors and Copts, one can easily find the excuse; for they were entirely a reaction to a provocative step taken by Copts, or a temporary action committed by unjust rulers, or a result of the dispute between the main Christian parties, the Yaʿqūbites, and Malakites who caused the government much trouble (Ibn Saʿīd 1924: 715-716). We do not want to go further into details, but we find this explanation applying to all cases of persecution which touched churches or churchmen.

Before leaving this factor, a quick glance should be made at the lack of accuracy of writers who misread Arabic texts and draw conclusions which are undoubtedly wrong. I refer in particular to the scholar B. Evetts, the editor of the above-mentioned book, "History of the Patriarchs", who read Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's statement, "فأحصى جمصع الرهبان... و جعل عليهم جزية", read it "فأُخصى" and translated it to "mutilated" (Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Siyar I, 51).

Regarding the last factor, the prestige of a language is usually justified by its value. In the case of Arabic, the value is considerable and greatly transcends the intrinsic value of Coptic. It is the language of rulers, the language of the Qur'ān and Prophet, and above all it represents a culture more venerable than Coptic. We can estimate the gap between the two languages if we take into account the two following facts:

1. That Arabic became widespread in many countries, and absorbed different cultures, which, in fact, gave it superiority. By the lapse of time, this factor made progress, and served in favour of Arabic which became a highly cultivated language.

2. That Coptic at the time of its first contact with Arabic was in a very weak position. A long time before, Coptic had been encroached upon and supplanted by Greek as a written language. This means that the serious books were written in Greek, not Coptic, and this weakened Coptic to a great extent. It is said besides, that Coptic was not the only spoken language in some parts of Egypt (including Alexandria), and was rivalled by Greek.

Moreover, it seems that Copts were not zealous enough about their language so that they gave up their alphabet in the fourth or fifth century A.D. and adopted a new one taken from Greek with the addition of six or seven Demotic symbols (ibid. 5-9; Moorhouse 1953: 76; Diringer 1949: 470). So, when the movement of translation from different langaages reached its peak, scholars did not find anything worth translating from Coptic. Up to the fourth century A.H. or so, the only translations from Coptic we find were connected with religion, and were mainly made by Severus b. al-Muqaffaʿ and his colleagues at the end of the fourth century.

If we want to analyse these factors, and arrange these events chronologically, adding to them the special cases which applied to Egypt in particular, and try, besides, to stress the turning points throughout this series, we would suggest a process of three stages. By the end of every stage, some progress had been made, and after the last one, there was a complete triumph. These stages can be summarised as follows:

1. The stage of skirmish.
2. The stage of priority.
3. The stage of victory.

The first stage can be said to have lasted until the end of the first century A.H. (718 A.D.). In this stage, there was a natural exchange between Arabic and Coptic, and the interaction of one upon the other. Despite the support of Arabic by the conquerors, the balance was for the most part maintained, and neither had the advantage. This conclusion is the result of the following factors:

1. The continuing use of Greek and Coptic as the official languages until the year 87/706 when the ruler, who was then ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdalmalik ordered them to be replaced by Arabic (al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* I, 98; al-Kindī *Wulāt* 58-59). The Arabic sources refer only to Coptic as the official language of Egypt before Arabic (*ibid.*), but many modern scholars say it was only Greek (Ḥusayn n.d.: 29-30). It seems that both languages were used. From ancient documents, written between 56/675 and 159/775 it appears that both languages were used side by side, sometimes with Arabic. The greatest portion in one of these documents was of Coptic (85% Coptic, 9% Greek and 6% Arabic) (Kahle 1945: 8) but some of the documents that have been discovered were completely written in Greek, and the last of these is dated 164/780.

   It was impossible, of course, that such a change should have been accomplished thoroughly in a short time, so it is suggested that the first ten years of the second century or so were the time of the use of Arabic in offices, either completely, or as a first language in bilingual documents (Abbot 1938: 12).

   From an ancient Greek-Arabic papyrus dated 22 A.H., about 65 years before the attempted general official change, we can say that the use of Arabic in documents (but as a second language) had started, if not with the conquest, then soon after (*ibid.*). The first papyrus composed wholly in Arabic is dated 90/709 (Weil 1913-36: 1000).

2. The second factor of equalization between Arabic and Coptic during the first century is found in the fact that the Copts remained in their former positions, either as governors and high-ranking employees, or as clerks in offices, up to the last year of that century, when the ruler who was then Ayyūb b. Šuraḥbīl (99/717-101/719) began to replace them by Arabs or Muslims (Becker 1913-36: 7; Taġrībirdī, *Nuǧūm* I, 238), in obedience to the order of ʿUmar b. ʿAbdalʿazīz (al-Kindī, *Wulāt* 68-69; Tritton 1949: 21-23).

It seems, however, that this movement was not all-inclusive at any time, as we find among the tax-collectors up to the third and fourth centuries names such as: Mīnā b. Šannūda, Sawīras b. Zakariyyā and Yūḥanna b. Mīnā (Grohmann 1934: III, 158, 162, 163).

3. According to Severus b. al-Muqaffaʿ, al-Aṣbaġ b. ʿAbdalʿazīz b. Marwān (d. 86/705), who was regent of Egypt in his father's reign imposed heavy taxation on the monks, and their lands. Before him there was no taxation taken from them at all. He also ordered governors and employees in some towns of Upper and Lower Egypt either to leave their posts or to accept Islam. Owing to this twofold policy, many people became Muslims, among them Peter, the governor of Upper Egypt, his brother Theodore, the governor of Maryūṭ and innumerable priests and laymen (Grohmann 1934: II, 52).

This action did not of course take effect immediately, and its results did not appear until the following stage.

With this single exception, there was no pressure on Copts to become Muslims (Guest 1912: 2), but they had to pay a special tax or taxes.

4. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdalʿazīz must be mentioned again in this stage as he was the first to abolish the poll-tax on Copts if they become Muslims, an action which induced some Copts to accept Islam, but again its result did not appear during this stage.

5. The majority of the Arabs had, so far, been performing military service[3], and we cannot expect to find friendly relations, for a while between them and the conquered. In addition to this, there were the orders to the army not to leave its camps for the country districts, or to hold any civilian posts (as-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn I, 75, 76).

6. The process of islamization progressed very slowly, throughout this century, and there were no significant conversions except those mentioned above, and also the islamization of the pre-Islamic Arab settlers in Egypt. Historians inform us that a good number of those Arabs did not hesitate to follow their brethren, and to compensate for ʿAmr's losses in the first stage of his struggle (Weil 1913-36: 991; ʿAmmār 1944: I, 26).

Almost certainly, the result of these incompatible factors was, that Arabic made a little progress over Coptic which in turn lost some ground in its fight for survival. The existence of the two languages side by side, and the failure of each to overcome the other, do not mean that they were static. There would have been a sort of mutual influence, and each language must have affected the other.

The second stage can be said to end in the year 215/830. In this stage the scales were turned in favour of Arabic which made remarkable progress. This result was brought about by the following factors:

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[3] There was some limited emigration of tribes for non-military business (al-Maqrīzī, Bayān 23).

1. The increased arabicizing of the state, and the replacement of Copts by Arabs or Muslims. This fact did not only cause Copts to be Muslims, but also to claim kinship to an Arab tribe. There is no better proof of the increased preference for Arabs rather than Copts; even if the latter became Muslims — than the famous case of the judge al-ʿUmarī. He took a bribe said to be six thousand dinars from some Coptic guards to give them a decision which granted them kinship to the Arab tribe Ḥawtaka (al-Kindī, *Quḍāt* 397, 412-14). This occurred in the last ten years of the second century (805-815), and was mentioned by some Arab poets among whom was Yaḥyā al-Ḥawlānī who said:

ومن أعجب الأشياء أن عصابة   من القبط فينا أصبحوا قد تعربوا
وقالوا أبونا حوتك وأبوهمو   من القبط علج صبله متذبذب
وجاءوا بأجلاف من الحوف فادعوا   بأنهمو منهم سفها وأجلبوا

2. The tightening of restrictions on Copts to prevent them from freeing themselves of taxation by any means apart from accepting Islam. After the increase in the number of people who claimed exemption on the basis of their affiliation to the church, the governor imposed poll-taxes on all churchmen as we have already mentioned. And after the frequent abandoning by Copts of their villages where they were registered, and settling in other districts where they were not so well known, in order to have a chance of escaping the tax, every effort was made by the governor to thwart it. No one was allowed to go out of his native district without being furnished with a passport, and any caravan seen travelling without a permit was liable to confiscation (Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Siyar* 68-70; Weil 1913-36: 994).

3. The consequent emigrations to Egypt by the Arab tribes who were attracted by its fertility. This occurred frequently during this period, and is best represented by the case of the tribe Qays. They were transported in the year 109/727 in large numbers said to be three thousand. They settled there, and spread in the eastern Ḥawf, occupying farms and rearing animals. Their number increased every year because of the richness of that region, and many other tribesmen were drawn by its reputation (al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* 65-68; *Ḥiṭaṭ* I, 80). The importance of this tribe did not only come from its great number, but also from its location. It occupied fertile land in the eastern part of Lower Egypt heavily populated by Copts. The result of this, whether it was intentional or not, is that these Arabs, contrary to most who had previously settled in remote areas, created relations between them and Copts and intermarried with them, a fact which greatly helped the spread of Islam (al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* 101).

4. Severus b. al-Muqaffaʿ, besides, speaks of several waves of conversions that took place in this period. As far as linguistics is concerned, these conversions, regardless of their causes, helped arabicization to a great extent. We refer here to the following two cases mentioned by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ:

a) In Ḥafṣ's governorship (some time between 124/741 and 128/745), a number
    of Copts amounting to 24 thousand became Muslims (Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Siyar*
    I, Part 2. 117).

b) In Abū ᶜAwn's governorship (133/750-136/753 and 137/754-141/758), heavy
    taxation was imposed on Copts, so that "many of the rich and poor denied
    the faith of Christ and followed ᶜAbdallāh"[4] (*ibid.* 189; al-Kindī, *Wulāt* 101-
    106).

The third stage was the final one. It saw the end of the intensity of the struggle;
and was followed by a period of relaxation. We might suggest the end of the third
century as the end of this intensity, and the fourth century as the period of
relaxation. One can trace this consequence back to the following causes:

1. The increase of the Arab emigrants during this stage. From the chain of tribal
    emigrations we refer to the tribe of al-Kanz which spread in various districts
    especially in Upper Egypt, in the middle of the third century A.H. They
    intermarried with the people and became an important political factor in later
    days (Lane-Pool 1925: 29; al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* 44).

2. In the year 216/831, there was a great rising caused by some Copts. It was
    ruthlessly put down by al-Ma'mūn and his generals (al-Kindī, *Wulāt* 190). After
    defeating them, al-Ma'mūn gave his sentence killing the men, and selling the
    women and children as slaves (*ibid.* 192; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ* I, 79). From that
    moment, there was no national revolution by Copts, and many of them embraced
    Islam (Lane-Pool 1925: 38).

    From the third century A.H. (9th A.D.) the number of Christians notably
    decreased, and they no longer had a majority in Egypt (Weil 1913-36: 997). The
    process of islamization went on further and further and it can be estimated that
    by the 8th century A.H. (14th A.D.) the Christians were barely a tenth of the
    total population of Egypt as in our time (*ibid.* 998).

3. In the year 218/833 orders were given by the Caliph himself disbanding the Arabs
    from service and crossing their names out from the military *dīwān* (al-Maqrīzī,
    Ḥiṭaṭ I, 94; Taġrībirdī, *Nuǧūm* II, 223). This event decreased the official influence
    of the Arabs on the one hand, and on the other was a new weapon in the hand
    of the Arabic language.

The result was that the Arabs began to look for civil occupations and spread to
the country districts, thus creating good relations with the Coptic people and
intermarrying for the first time with the others. The process of assimilation went on.
The Copts became accustomed to hearing Arabic all the time, and the state was
completely arabicized. A knowledge of Arabic became a condition for appointment
to office, and Arabic was the language of the ruling class. It became impossible for

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[4] He means the caliph Abū Ǧaᶜfar ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad.

any one to oppose this trend or ignore the Arabic language, and if he did, he would still be forced to hear it and it would become his mother tongue with the passage of time. This progress continued through the third century A.H. and by the fourth century, we find that the Coptic ecclesiastic had to write in Arabic if he wished to be understood (Becker 1913-36: 6). Severus b. al-Muqaffaᶜ, writing in the fourth century says in his preface of the "History of the Patriarchs...": "I requested the help of those Christian brethren, with whose fitness I was acquainted, and begged them to assist me in translating the histories that we found written in the Coptic and Greek languages into the Arabic tongue, current among the people of the present day in the region of Egypt, most of whom are ignorant of Coptic and Greek" (Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Siyar* 115).

This does not necessarily mean that the Coptic language had entirely lost its function and disappeared. It survived as a spoken language among Copts for a long time, probably right down to the end of the fourth century. Al-Maqdisī, writing in the second half of the fourth century A.H., declared that he had found Egyptian Christians speaking their Coptic language (al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan* 203). They must have been bilingual. Moreover, it survived longer in Upper Egypt, especially in monasteries, or remote areas (Ḥusayn n.d.: 33).

The questions to be raised now are: what sort of Arabic was established in Egypt? And to what extent was Egyptian Arabic influenced by Coptic? And could Egyptian Arabic be distinguished from the Arabic of the other Arab countries?

To answer these questions we must acknowledge from the beginning that Arabic lay under the influence of Coptic perhaps for about three centuries when the two languages were alive and spoken. But Coptic was not alone on the stage, since there were besides two other factors which coloured Egyptian Arabic, and gave it its special characteristics. They were:

— the various Arabic dialects which were spoken by the Arab tribes which came to Egypt, and
— the ordinary process of simplification of any language, especially if it is spoken by foreigners.

These three factors existed side by side, and left their traces on Egyptian Arabic. The degree of its alteration varied from writer to writer, and from speaker to speaker, but one may notice, in general, three main levels:

1. The standard Classical Arabic.
2. The semi-classical Arabic.
3. The colloquial Arabic.

The first level was kept by the chiefs of *Dīwān al-Inšā'* who served immediately under the rulers or Caliphs, the specialists in the Arabic language, the classical poets and the men of letters.

There is no noticeable difference between this level and the corresponding ones in other Arab countries. The reason may be found in the theory which was accepted by all scholars that standard Arabic is only found in the Qur'ān, Ḥadīṯ, ancient prose and poetry. This fact made it the ambition of every writer to try to imitate these old texts, without any alteration[5].

It may be said that despite the fact that these writers were very eager to follow the elegant style and keep the high standard, the investigation reveals some differences, but they, as a matter of fact, were few, and the effect of the factors mentioned above was limited.

Among the Coptic words used were proper names, in addition to a very few Coptic words such as the word "قسطال" which means "mayor" and the word "تـلِّـيس" (big sack) which had Coptic origins (Sobhy 1950: 6). But the latter may be considered as an Arabicized word; so we do not find any reference to this foreign origin in the Arabic dictionaries (Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān; al-Fīrūzābādī, Qāmūs).

Surviving from the ancient Arabic dialects we find some examples such as: "العشرين الدينار" instead of "العشرين دينارا" (Ibn ad-Dāya, Mukāfa'a 21; Ibn al-Anbārī, Inṣāf 140), "اشتاهوا صبيانى" instead of "اشتهى صبيانى" (Ibn ad-Dāya, Mukāfa'a 116; Ālūsī, Kašf 320-21), "تُغيظينى" instead of "تُغيظينينى" and "بَقَالك" instead of "بَقِى". In addition, we find a very few errors which cannot be traced back to any Arabic dialect such as: "لم يبق لى إلا جارية ... ومنزلا" (Ibn ad-Dāya, Mukāfa'a 33) and the correct version is "ومنزل".

The second level was represented by the writings of lower officials and clerks, and authors who were not interested in the Arabic language. The texts of this level survived in documents written in the early period and are preserved in different libraries in many countries, in addition to some books written by Coptic authors such as Severus b. al-Muqaffaᶜ and Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīq (Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, Siyar 385-6, 493-4; al-Biṭrīq, Tārīḫ II, 2, 6, 74; Grohmann 1952: 130, 164).

In this level, the development was more noticeable, and the gap between it and the standard Arabic was very wide.

Concerning the first factor, we refer, in particular, to the fact that many of these lower officials, during this period, bore Coptic names (Grohmann 1934: III, 156, 162)[6], a fact which means that they were non-Muslims, and their Arabic must have been affected by their native languages.

The influence of the Coptic language had appeared in the retention of the names of Coptic months, even if the date of the year was written according to the Hiǧrī calendar, such as: "هاتور من عدد القبط سنة ٢٦٣ هجرية" and "توت من سنة ٢٣٣"

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[5] For specimens representing this level, see: Abbot 1938: 47, 48; Grohmann 1952: 131; Qalqašandī, Ṣubḥ VII, 5, 6; Mubārak 1934: I, 302.

[6] Such as: Mīnā b. Šannūda, Sawīras b. Zakariyyā and Yūḥannā b. Mīnā.

"هجرية" (*ibid.* II, 116; III, 142). It is significant that some people used to bear two names, one Arabic, and another Coptic: أنها أعتقت "صفراه" بالعربية واسمها بالقبطية دجاشة ابنة أرْ يَنْهُ (*ibid.* I, 61).

We also refer to some foreign words which occur in these documents such as: "ز نجار، سَفنتَجه، جسطال" and "إسباذاج" (*ibid.* III, 17, 183; Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Burhān* I, 30) in addition to the names of places, persons and months.

The traces of the second factor were also significant and it is sufficient to refer to some of them:

1. The addition of suffixes for the dual and plural to verbs which precede their subjects such as: "ملكوا المسلمون مدينة الإسكندرية" instead of "ملك المسلمون".

2. Omitting the "فاء" from the main clause of "أمّا" such as: "أما بنوكم قد سقطوا" (al-Biṭrīq, *Tārīḫ* I, 10).

3. The usage of the predicate of "*anna*" in the accusative case such as "أن كسرى رجلا" (*ibid.* II, 4).

With regard to the third factor the change was enormous and could not be checked, so we shall merely give a few examples: - "فى يومين الأربعاء والجمعة"، "فهذا قياسا، فلم يزداد الماء، لا يعلم بك أحدا".

With respect to the third level, the characteristics are unfortunately obscure because the material was not recorded, and the earliest linguists took no trouble to study it. Therefore our observations will be purely hypothetical.

With regard to the first factor, the traces which we find in the written language must have existed in the spoken language. We also prove the power of this factor by the various traces which are still apparent in contemporary spoken Arabic. These traces are believed to go back to the first centuries when Coptic was still a living and flourishing language, and had a strong effect on Arabic.

However, scholars differ widely about the estimation of the degree of Coptic influence on spoken Arabic, particularly from the phonetical and syntactical points of view. We do not want to go into details and perhaps it is sufficient therefore to summarise our view in the fact that the Coptic influence on Arabic pronunciation was absent, and on syntax was insignificant, whereas its influence on vocabulary was remarkable. The borrowing was notable in medical terms, some names of plants and fish, kinds of food not known to the Arabs; words connected with Christianity, such as: "جبنة حالوم، مِدة، بعج، شونة، شبورة، برش، بصارة، أنبا، هجاص".

The Arabic dialects must be considered as the parents of colloquial Egyptian Arabic, and the bulk of its characteristics may be traced back to this source. For instance the word *imbāriḥ* (yesterday) is taken from the Ḥimyarī dialect, the pronunciation "*fīhum*" instead of "*fīhim*" is found also in some Arabic dialects. The dialect of Upper Egypt renders "*q*" as "*g*" a modification which is due to the settlement of some Arab tribes there in mediaeval times (O'Leary 1934: 255).

With regard to the third factor, we refer to the fact that when a language is used by those whose mother tongue it is not, there is a natural tendency to discard more difficult forms, and thus to simplify the language (*ibid.* 251). The first difficulty faced by foreigners is the pronunciation of sounds which are not familiar to their language, and the result would be an alteration of the sound. Sībawayh noticed this phenomenon and explained it by saying that they had learned Arabic in adult life, and their vocal organs were not able to pronounce those sounds because they did not occur in their native language (*ibid.* 254). There are some other sounds which needed more effort or collaboration of several organs of speech, and the tendency was to simplify them by replacing them by more convenient sounds. We should like to refer in particular to the sound "*ṯ*" which was replaced by "*t*" such as "*talāta*" instead of "*ṯalāṯa*", the sound "*ẓ*" which was replaced by "*ḍ*" such as "*iḥfaḍ*" instead of "*iḥfaẓ*", the sound "*ḏ*" which was replaced by "*d*" such as "*aḥdaq*" instead of "*aḥḏaq*". The simplification was achieved as well by the omission of the glottal stop such as: "*gānī*" instead of "*gā'ānī*", "*ar-radī*" instead of "*ar-radī'*"; etc.

The tendency towards simplification occurred also in syntax such as the abolition of inflection, and keeping the dual, the sound masculine plural and the five names in one form.

Summing up the process of the establishment of Arabic in Egypt in a few lines, we may say that it took about three centuries, and moved through three stages before it became the national language. Local characteristics are absent on the whole in standard Arabic but are well represented in both the semi-classical and colloquial languages.

Finally we would like to make our last point which is very striking. This is the fact that Egypt was occupied successively by the Hyksos, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, but none of them succeeded in completely replacing the native Egyptian language, until the Arabs came and imposed their language. After Arabic became well established in Egypt no foreign language, including Turkish, French and English was capable of uprooting it or taking its place (Bishai 1960: 226).

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TWO PRIVATE LETTERS

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The papyrus is of moderate quality, torn off irregularly at the bottom and left–hand–side. There are also a number of small holes in the middle. It has been folded six times.

Two private letters from the Tulunid period were written on the recto and on the verso by two hands. Clearly the letter written on the recto is from a father to his son. The language of the letter and the orders that have been directed to the receiver (L1. 2; 4; 5) prove this. Besides, the letter on the verso is a reply from that son to his father (L.3).

On the recto, the letter was written in 8 lines, in black ink. At the top, there is a margin of 3,8 cm. The hand writing is of a skilled scribe. Diacritical points occur rarely.

The suggested provenance and date, that is before 270 AH, depend on the appearance of the heir of Isḥāq b. Kāmil, also called ʿAllān = علان (L.1) in Grohmann 1934 -61: IV, 235, 15, 16 (dated in 270 AH).

On the verso, there is a margin of 1,8 cm at the right–hand–side.

The handwriting is large, clear, points to the 3rd c. AD (Grohmann 1934–61: V, 296, VII). The document is a letter from a son to his father (L.3). It was written in 9 lines, in black ink. In this letter, the son explains to his father that he got from his uncle what he had demanded from the wheat and he sent it to him (L1. 2, 7).

1. A Letter from a Father to his Son

١ — [وأتم نعمته] عليك وصلت إلى جبارة كتبك، مع علان، وبعثت بكتب
٢ — [سأل]ته عن سلامتك وسلامة أخوتك فسر فى الله واكترث ؟
٣ — []. شر جار فى الدنيا — يقولون لإبر(ا}هيم النحاس
٤ — [؟ وأخذ من]ه رهن ويلك اخرج إليه وخذ حقك منه
٥ — []. وألح إن تخرجوا مع بر مصر تكونوا
٦ — [؟ وقال لـ]ه عبد الرحمن أبو الحسن يبعث الدين
٧ — [] ولكنى أ[د]يته ألف لا غير يرقد فيه
٨ — [] و[سـ]لا[متـ]ه

Translation:

1 — ... And may He fulfill His loving kindness] unto you. Your letters have been delivered to Ǧubāra by ʿAllān, and I sent letters

2 — ... I asked?] him about your safety and the safety of your   others. Go on
depending on Allah, and pay attention to

3 — ...] An evil moves in the world (= in the present time). They say to Ibrāhīm,
the coppersmith

4 — ... and he got?] from him a security. Damn you. Go ahead to him, and take
your right from him.

5 — ...], and I insist if you go out along with the land of Miṣr, you will be

6 — ... and?] ʿAbdarrahmān Abū al-Ḥasan, [said to him (?)] to send the debt

7 — ...] And I gave him on credit one thousand not more but he sleeps on it
(meaning: he does not want to pay it).

8 — ...] and his safety?

Commentary:

L.1 — عليك [وأتم نعمته]: Clearly this line is the first line in the letter. It bears
the salutation formula or the opening formula of the letter (al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ
al-aʿšāʾ* VIII, 160)[1].

— جبارة: The name is dotted. It could be vocalized according to aḏ-Ḏahabī,
Muštabih 83. We met a person named جبارة in Grohmann 1934–61: V, 291 (13 date
in 4th AH). It seems that he is not the same person of our document since we met
the heir of Isḥāq b. Kāmil also called ʿAllān in Grohmann 1934–61: IV, 234, r., 15;
16 dated in 270 AH.

— علان: The name علان is superscribed. In Grohmann 1934–61: IV, 234, r.,
L1.15; 16 (270 AH), we met the heir of Isḥāq b. Kāmil, also called ʿAllān.

— Clearly كتبك refers to more than one letter. If it is one letter only, and
the *alif* of كتابك is omitted as usual, then the verb will be وصل not وصلت.

L.2 — [؟]سأل[ـ]ته عن سلامتك وسلامة أخوتك فسر فى الله واكترث: According
to Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* VI, 51 ff., in the year 270 AH, there were big troubles because
of the death of Ahmed b. Tūlūn. So, perhaps the sender of the letter asked ʿAllān
about the safety of the receiver and his brothers.

— فسر فى الله: It is a local expression. The sender advises the receiver to go
out with the blessing of Allāh. Usually the expression is فسر على بركة الله = go
on the benediction of *Allāh* (Abū Dāwud, *Sunan*, "al-Ǧihād", No 2301).

— واكترث: It means واهتم (= take care or pay attention). The sender advises
his son also to pay attention to himself. Usually the word comes in negative form

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[1] أطال or ;may Allah preserve you and may he protect you = أبقاك الله وحفظك وأتم نعمته عليك
may Allah prolong your life and = الله بقاك وأدام عزك وكرامتك وتأييدك وسعادتك وأتم نعمته عليك
may cause your might honour, strength and happiness to continue and complete his favours towards you;
or similar formula could be restored BACPS VI, P. Haun.10, note 4; and Grohmann 1934–61: V, 309,
2–3).

such as اكترث له ما, but here the word is affirmative and this is rare (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* V, 3848).

L.3 — شر جار فى الدنيا = an evil moves in the world (= in the present time). This sentence may mention some troubles in Egypt at that time, or because of the security on a debt (cf. note L.2 and L.4). There is a small dash between الدنيا and إلبر < ١ > هيم. It may serve as a dot in the end of the paragraph.

— إبر < ١ > هيم النحاس: The proper name إبر < ١ > هيم was written according to the local, not the classical language. He has not been identified. النحاس is either a surname or a profession (= coppersmith).

L.4 — وأخذ من]ه رهن؟: May be restored since the sender of the letter exhorts the receiver to go and to take his rights from someone. Clearly the security is movable. It could be jewels and alike. و يلك (= damn you): This expression indicates that the sender of the letter is in higher position than the receiver such as a father or someone from his relatives such as his uncle.

L.5 — وألح: There are two variant readings for this word; either وأْلِحُّ (= and I insist) or وألَحّ (= and he insisted). The first reading is preferable in the context. — ان تخرجوا مع بر مصر تكونوا: إن is a conditional particle here because تكونوا is an apodosis (جواب الشرط) of the conditional sentence (Wright 1971: II, 14). The verb تخرجوا (protasis = فعل الشرط) is a transitive verb. It should be followed by the preposition إلى not مع, or to omit the preposition according to classical Arabic syntax. This verb is from الخروج (= going out). It is opposite of الدخول (= entrance). It is said: دخلت البيت (= I entered the house). The correcting sentence is دخلت إلى البيت (= I entered to the house). The preposition إلى is omitted (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* II, 1341). So forth is verb خرج. The preposition مع (= with, along with) indicates association and connection in time or place, as the Arab grammarians remark (Wright 1971: II, 164). One of the usages of إلى indicates also association (Wright 1971: II, 145). So, it seems to me that there is an interchanging here between them. Using the preposition مع in this sentence is vulgar language.

من قولهم البر (= the land or the desert) is contrary of البحر (= the sea). "خرج فلان برا" إذا خرج الصحراء (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* I, 254). This is another advice from the sender of the letter. He insists to push the receiver of the letter and his brothers to go out of their home.

L.7 — يرقد فيه؟: (L. يرقد عليه, literary: sleeps on it). It is a colloquial expression meaning that the borrower has delayed the payment for a long time. The expression is still used to date.

L.8 — For the restoration cf. L.2.

2. A Letter from a Son to his Father

<div dir="rtl">

١ —   [...]

٢ — من العم بما أريد أن أصيب من ا[لقمح؟ وأكثر (؟)]

٣ — يا به جعلت فداك بالدعاء كثيرا لله عـ[سى والله على]

٤ — كل شيء قدير وإ[ذ]ا أتبرك بدعا<ئـ>ك و.. [وخرجنا كما؟]

٥ — ذكرت بر مصر وحبس. []

٦ — لا أصل الى حا... الـ...[أنه؟]

٧ — حمل قمح اليك وأرجو أ[ن]

٨ — عدوا ولكن لا تكتب الـ[ى]

٩ — اليك تـ[]. [].‥

</div>

Translation:

1 — [...]

2 — from uncle, as I want, to obtain from the [wheat?. And increase, (?)]

3 — O my father, may I be made your ransom, praying so much for Allah perhaps [and Allah has]

4 — the power to do all that He will, and I seek the blessing of your prayers and. [And we went out as]

5 — you mentioned along the land (or country) of Miṣr, and he imprisoned him [...]

6 — I do not reach to [...]

7 — an amount of wheat for you, and I hope to [...]

8 — an enemy. Whoever do not write to (?) [...]

9 — to you. [...]

Commentary:

L.2 — العم: The word is not dotted. It is either العم (= the uncle) or الغم (= the grieve). I prefer the first the word since it is followed by بما أريد (= as I want), and what is wanted here is perhaps wheat (cf. L.7).

— أن أصيب: There is one dot under the word أصيب. It is written between the letter yā' and the letter bā'. It should be under the yā' because أصيب is an infinitive after verb أريد (= I want) (Wright 1971: I, 26).

— من ا[لقمح: is possible restoration (cf. L.7).

L.1.2/3 — وأكثر/يا به جعلت فداك بدعاتك كثيرا may be restored (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* II, 1385): وفى حديث عرفه: أكثر دعاتى.

L.3 — يا به: Is vulgar language. The classical Arabic language is يا or يا أَبَتَ أَبَت. It becomes in pause يا أبة (Wright 1971: II, 78; 88; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* I, 18 "وقال: يا أَبَةٍ و يا أَبَةُ لغتان").

— جعلت فداك: al-Qalqašandī in his book says (*Subḥ al-aʿšāʾ* VIII, 161) that this expression was part of the opening ofletters at that time (Grohmann 1934–61: V, 326,2; 332,1;2; 358,2; 360,2).

— بالدعاء: The *hamza* is omitted. It is a usual phenomenon in that period.

L1.3/4 — والله قدير على كل شىء for the restoration, see *Sūrat al-Baqara* (Q. 2:285). This *sūra* is used in praying by Muslims when they are in trouble. Obviously, the sender of the letter was in trouble (cf. L1. 2–5; r.; L1.5, 7, v).

— بدعا<ئـ>ك (pap. بدعاك). It is a colloquial expression. For *hamza* at the end of a word see Wright 1971: I, 17.

L1.4/5 — "إن: خرجنا كما؟/ذكرت بر مصر: For the restoration see L.5, r. تخرجوا مع بر مصر". This line affirms that this letter is a reply to the letter written on the recto. Here, clearly there is no preposition before بر مصر (= the land of Miṣr).

— حبسه (= and he imprisoned him). Who is imprisoned here? It is not clear. Perhaps he is one of the brothers of the letter's sender. So this could be the reason behind the advising of their father to leave their place and to go out along with the land of Miṣr (cf. L.5, r.)[2].

L.7 — حمل قمح اليك: The word حمل is either a verb حُمِلَ (= carried) or حِمْل (= an amount of wheat)[3]. I prefer the second because if حمل is a verb, the word قمح should be in accusative case قمحا, according to the classical Arabic grammar (cf. L.2 and its note; Wright 1971: I, 236).

L.8 — عدوا: The word is undotted. عَدُوًّا (= an enemy, Acc.) or عَدُوا (= running) may be read. I prefer the first because it goes with the context (cf. L1.3; 4; 5, r.; L.5, v.)

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[2] Ibn Iyās in his book says (*Badāʾiʿ* I, 168): "وكان (أحمد بن طولون) كريم اليد... غير أنه كان شديد الغضب... حتى قيل مات فى حبسه ثمانية ألف انسان"؛ (= he [Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn] was generous... However he was more severe in his anger... So much so that it is said that 8.000 persons died in his prison.) Is there a relation between the imprisoned person here and what Ibn Iyās says in his book? We do not know.

[3] Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān* II, 1002) wrote:
والحَمْل: ثمر الشجر، والكسر فيه لغة والحِمْل بالكسر ما حُمِل على ظهر أو رأس.

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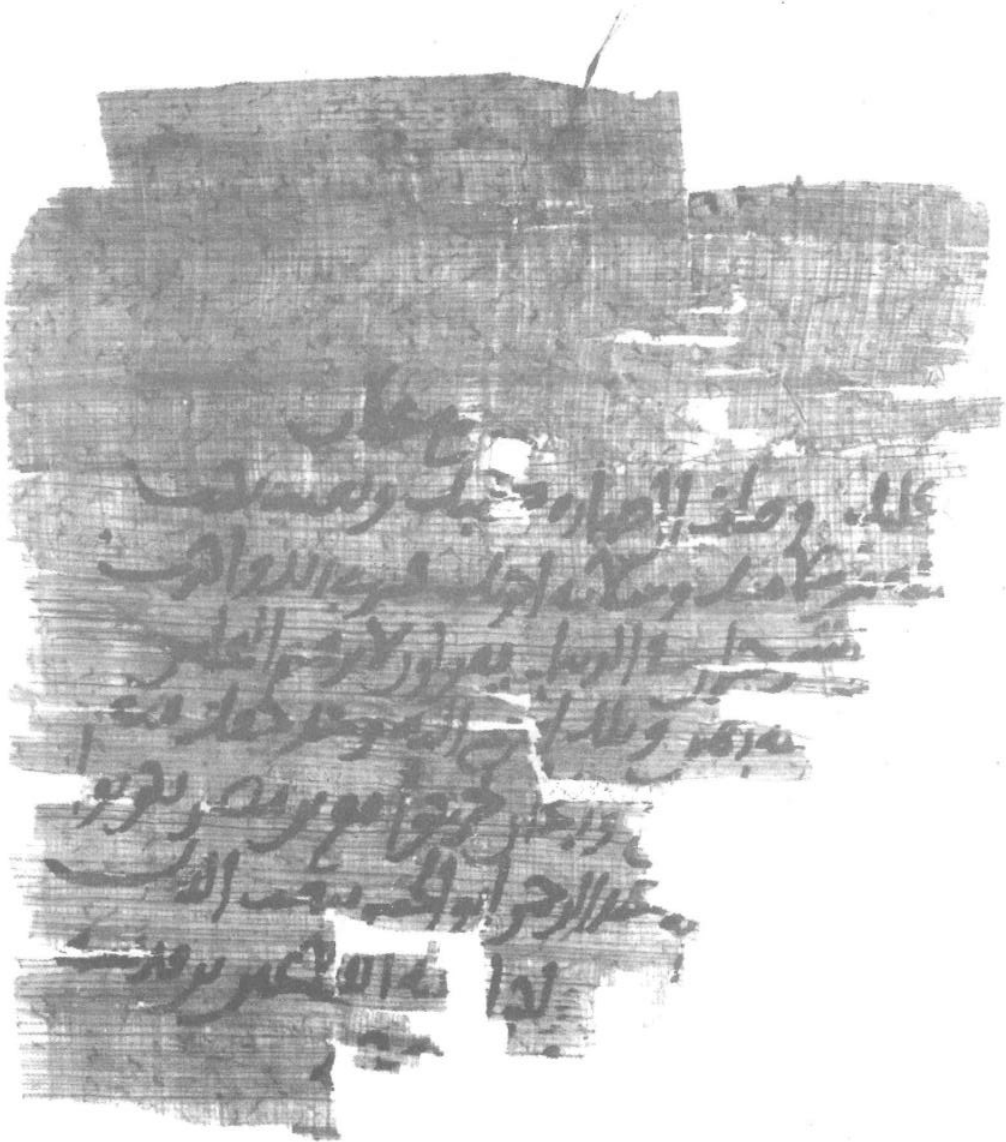
Recto
P. Haun. inv. Arab. 5
13 x 13.7 cm
Provenance al-Fayyūm
3rd c. AH / 9th c. AD

Verso
P. Haun. inv. Arab. 5
13 x 13.7 cm
Provenance al-Fayyūm
3rd c. AH / 9th c. AD

ARABISMS IN HEBREW

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Introduction

Scholars are accustomed to divide the history of the Hebrew language into five main periods: the Biblical period, the time of the Mishnah and the Talmud, the Hebrew used in the Middle ages, the Revival era and contemporary Israeli Hebrew[1].

However, during these stages there were other sub-periods' which had their own characteristic features, and which are not of less importance, whenever they are examined, both synchronically or diachronically, mainly because of their linguistic position as a connecting link between the main periods. For example, the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls (from about the 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.); the language of the *Piyyut* (probably from the 3rd-4th century A.D.) or the Hebrew of the Enlightenment period (from the end of the 18th until the end of the 19th century). Moreover, since Hebrew has, during its long history, been in close contact with other languages, the contribution of the latter to the former has often been of great significance. Consequently, it has never ceased to adopt phonemes, morphemes, grammatical patterns, syntactic structures and meanings, and indeed foreign words in their original or a slightly modified form, adapting, often smoothly, to the Hebrew pattern system. This tendency has equally applied to oral and written Hebrew, though spoken Hebrew had largely been replaced, from the Second Temple to the Revival era, first by Aramaic and later by other local languages or Jewish vernaculars, such as Judaeo-Arabic, Yiddish and Ladino.

Foreign words had been borrowed from the earliest stage of the language. Thus, we find in Biblical Hebrew many borrowed words from Semitic languages such as Accadian, Aramaic, etc., as well as non-Semitic languages, such as Sumerian, Hittite, Philistine, Greek and Sanskrit. The Hebrew of the Mishnah and the Talmud, however, contained many Aramaic, Persian, Greek and Latin words, while Mediaeval Hebrew, which was mainly used in Spain, across the Mediterranean and the Near East was mainly influenced by Arabic, and in the northern part of Europe, by French, Spanish, Italian, German, Russian and the like. This influence has continued uninterruptedly over many centuries and is, in fact, continuing in our present time,

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[1] For a detailed discussion of these stages, see Chomsky 1967, Rabin 1973, Kutscher 1982 and more recently Saenz-Badillos 1993.

when the vocabulary of Israeli Hebrew is expanding[2] *inter alia* by adopting many foreign words, mainly from English.

Hebrew versus Arabic

When examining the contacts between these two Semitic languages, one can immediately discern that Arabic has influenced Hebrew during three, out of the five periods mentioned above, that is to say, the Middle Ages, the Revival era and contemporary Israeli Hebrew. However, if during the Middle Ages the Hebrew used by Jews who lived under Islam acquired Arabic morphological and syntactic patterns as well as Arabic words and meanings, the influence of Arabic over Hebrew during the Revival era and contemporary Hebrew is mainly confined to semantics, while original Hebrew moulds, patterns and structures have been and are being employed. It is noteworthy, however, that during all these three periods the contribution of Arabic has been more significant in prose, while poetry, both religious and secular, has generally remained intact, except for few Arabic words and calques which have managed to infiltrate the poetical works of medieval and modern poets. On the other hand, the strict rules of Arabic prosody were applied to medieval Hebrew poetry to the extent that Arabic metres and rhyme were used in Hebrew too[3]. It is also worth mentioning that while Arabic had contributed to literary Hebrew in the Middle Ages and the Revival era, its influence on modern Hebrew is mainly confined to Hebrew slang (Avineri 1964: 456-459), though we may find rather a large number of Arabisms in modern Hebrew literature, where Israeli writers, who wish to gain credibility, incorporate Arabic phrases and idioms in their descriptions and dialogues, especially when the plot takes place in an Arab environment, or when the protagonists are Arabic speakers.

The causes for the influence

Since both Arabic and Hebrew have been in contact for centuries, and since Jews, who, for many years were living under Muslim rule, or in the vicinity of Arabic speakers, spoke Arabic too, and since the Arabic dictionary is the richest of all other Semitic languages, it is not surprising that Arabic has influenced, and still is influencing Hebrew.

There are two main reasons for the borrowing of Arabic words, phrases and in particular meanings: cognizant and non-cognizant. Cognizant borrowing occurs when Arabic words and phrases are deliberately and knowingly incorporated in Hebrew,

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[2] For more details regarding foreign words in Hebrew, see, e.g. Tur-Sinai 1935, Klausner 1957 and Avinery 1946: 36-58, Avinery 1964: 338-343.

[3] For a detailed discussion of the Arabic influence on Medieval Hebrew poetry, see e.g. Allony. Chs. 1 and 2, Bakon, Ch. 1.

usually to fill a gap. However, sometimes, mainly during the Middle Ages, some Arabic morphological patterns and syntactic structures had been introduced in Hebrew, though a Hebrew mould or construction had existed.

Thus we find thousands of examples of Arabisms in the original writings of famous authors (e.g. Maimonides), and in particular in translations from Arabic into Hebrew, which were often literal renderings of the Arabic original word or expression.

Moreover, since most of the prose which was composed by Jews in the Middle Ages was written in Judaeo-Arabic, and since this medium of communication was also used orally, it was only natural for Oriental Jews to think' in Arabic moulds and to use them even in Hebrew. This should be termed as a non-cognizant influence. One should also add that since the science of Hebrew grammar and lexicography was usually discussed in comparison with that of Arabic, it is easy to understand the reasons for this influence. For even if we find similar structures in the language of the Old Testament and in post-Biblical Hebrew, there is no doubt that their existence in Arabic played a decisive role in motivating users of Hebrew to use Arabic morphological patterns and syntactic structures.

The types' of influence

a) *Phonetic influence*: A cursory glance at the Arabic words which entered Hebrew since the medieval period shows that the Hebrew phonetic system has hardly been affected by the wider system which is found in Arabic. It is therefore only in contemporary Hebrew where we find the sound ǧ which entered the Hebrew system, probably because some Jewish Oriental communities (e.g. Yemenite Jews) sometimes pronounce the sound g in Hebrew as ǧ, and since foreign words, which entered modern Hebrew from European languages, use sounds such as ǧ (e.g. Jeep, Job, giraffe).

b) *Morphological influence:* though many of the verb, noun, adjective and adverb patterns in Arabic differ from those in Hebrew, because of their different vocalization systems, the contribution of Arabic is usually characterized by the inspiration given to Hebrew morphology to adopt certain patterns. The most striking example in Medieval Hebrew is the use of the Arabic *yā' an-nisba* (freely used in adjectives and adverbs which are derived from nouns) which although found in Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew, its wide use since Medieval Hebrew is no doubt the result of Arabic influence. For example: *tiv'ī* — natural; *ruḥanī* — spiritual; *gašmī* — physical. Or the suffix *ūt* which, following the Arabic suffix *iyyā*, is used to denote abstract nouns. E.g. *kammūt* — quantity; *eiḫūt* — quality; *metzi'ūt* — reality. (On the other hand, Arabic nouns ending with the suffix *ūt* are either borrowed from Aramaic/Syriac or patterned accordingly. E.g. *lāhūt* — divinity; *ǧabarūt* — might; *ʿazamūt* — magnitude.) During the Revival period more words which contained the Arabic *yā' an-nisba* were coined by Eli'ezer Ben Yehuda (1858-

1922) and his colleagues. E.g. *rišmī* — official; *retzīnī* — serious. This practice is continuing in modern Hebrew, where nearly all nouns can in principal be turned into adjectives or adverbs by the addition of the suffix *yōd*.

Contemporary Hebrew slang contains a few Arabic patterns. E.g. the passive participle of the first form which is formed according to the pattern *mafʿūl*, e.g. *mabsūṭ* — happy; *mabrūk* — blessed; *masṭūl* — drunk. An interesting example is the word *maskūn* which is a variation of the Arabic word *miskīn* — poor, miserable, which is found in literary Hebrew too as *misken*. However, by wrong analogy, the word is formed according to the pattern *mafʿūl*.

Another popular Arabic pattern in modern Hebrew slang is the elative *afʿal*. Thus we find a number of examples such as: *akbar* — excellent; *aḥsan* — better, very good; *ahbal* — stupid.

c) *Syntactic influence.* Arabic syntax influenced Hebrew word order only in medieval Hebrew writing, especially through translations from Arabic into Hebrew, where the Hebrew sentence was nearly always formed in accordance with the Arabic word order. Moreover, this influence is characterized by the adoption of many syntactic phenomena which are either rare in Hebrew or are not found at all, such as the absolute accusative, untrue *iḍāfa*, specification (*tamyīz*) and in particular, the use of prepositions, both with verbs and nouns as well as combined, which are typical of Arabic grammar and usage (Gottstein 1954, Klar 1954: 31-41). It seems that although the Jews in the Middle Ages were at home in the Hebrew sources, such as the Old Testament, the Mishnah and the Midrash, they seldom used their syntax and style, either orally or in writing, with the exception of poetry or special stylistic formulae of correspondence. On all other occasions Arabic syntax and style had been used, since Judaeo-Arabic was the major medium of communication. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the influence of the Arabic language over Hebrew was so strong that we often find structures which are in breach of the rules of Hebrew grammar. E.g. confused genders usually involving a noun in the masculine followed by an adjective in the feminine; sentences beginning with a conjunction or using the article in an indefinite structure[4].

d) *Semantic influence.* The Semantic influence is characterized by the borrowing of words, expressions and idioms and Hebraising them. This is achieved by three main methods:

1. The Arabic word has been transplanted in Hebrew verbatim, or with very minor changes, mainly by moulding it in accordance with the Hebrew pattern. For example:

Medieval Hebrew: *ofeq* (horizon); *aqlīm* (climate); *digdeg* (to tickle).

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[4] Cf. e.g. Avinery 1946: 457. See also the dictionaries of R. Sappan and D. Ben Amotz and N. Ben-Yehuda.

Revival period: *miḫtavah* (desk); *mitbaḫ* (kitchen); *zimzem* (to buzz)
Modern Hebrew: *nabbūṭ* (baton); *bārid* (indifferent); *stannah šewayyeh* (wait a minute!)

2. The Arabic word has been moulded into different Hebrew patterns:
Medieval Hebrew: *kammūt* (*kammiyya*) — quantity;
Revival period: *mivraq* (*barqiyya*) — telegram;
Modern Hebrew: *hitkayyef* (*takayyaf*) — to enjoy oneself

3. Loan translation (= calque or borrowing of meaning): Loan translation occurs when an Arabic word, a collocation or an idiom is translated verbatim and transplanted in Hebrew. Through this process or practice existing Hebrew words acquire meanings of Arabic words in addition to their original meaning(s). This may be the result of some kinship between the two words or even resemblance of sound (assonance). For example:

Medieval Hebrew: *higgayon* — logic (Biblical Hebrew: a statement, Arabic: *manṭiq* — logic from *naṭaqa* say, speak); *ḥag* — pilgrimage (Biblical Hebrew holiday, festival. Arabic — pilgrimage).
Revival period: *tappil* — parasite (Mishna'ic Hebrew *tafel'* — unimportant. Arabic *ṭifl* child, *ṭufayliyy* — parasite, where the common denominator is the idea of being dependent on someone else).
Modern Hebrew: *ḥatīḫah* an attractive girl (Mishna'ic Hebrew: *ḥatīḫah* — a piece of something. Arabic *šaqfeh'* a piece; an attractive girl).

Has Arabic influence been significant?

There is no doubt that Arabic phonetics had a very little success in influencing the Hebrew phonetic system. This is because the latter, being a Semitic language, already includes most of the Arabic sounds, and those sounds which are mainly the interdental (*t* and *d*) and the emphatic (*ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *q*) have long been assimilated with other sounds.

Arabic syntax has recorded some success but only during the Medieval period when translators, in particular, used to translate Arabic texts literally. The syntax which dominates the Revival and modern Hebrew periods is mainly an improved version of post-Biblical syntax.

The greatest area in which Arabic has been quite successful in influencing Hebrew is, understandably, semantics. This can be proved by the thousands of Arabic meanings and words which entered the Medieval Hebrew lexicon, but of which only a small number survived. Moreover, the attempt made by the personality with which the Revival period is mainly associated, Eli'ezer Ben Yehudah, to introduce hundreds of roots from Arabic to the Hebrew language (Piamenta 1961, Shivtiel 1985: 95-113), achieved a relative success, since many of these words were rejected by the Hebrew speakers of his time, who were more in favour of reviving Biblical and post-Biblical

words or borrowing from Aramaic, a Semitic language which has accompanied the Jews for a long time.

Contemporary Hebrew has borrowed and is still borrowing words and meanings from Arabic, but all these foreigners are still confined to the spoken stratum, with very few words which are used, mainly in dialogues, in modern Hebrew literature. However, the greatest influence on modern Hebrew is that of English, which has contributed to the Hebrew lexicon hundreds, if not thousands, of words and expressions either original or translated.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Hebrew is in debt to its sister the Arabic language, whose rich vocabulary has for over a millennium, penetrated and established itself in that of Hebrew. However, if in the Middle Ages we can certainly talk about influence, during the last hundred years one may only speak of the contribution of the Arabic language to Hebrew.

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SOME CULTURAL AND ETHNIC ELEMENTS
IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC IDIOMS

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Phraseology is a comparatively new field of research in modern linguistics. Idioms, which constitute its subject, are defined as a specific type of ready made expression "consisting of two or more words whose meaning cannot be simply predicted from the meanings of its constituent parts" (Trask 1993: 132). Being semantically and often syntactically restricted, they function as single units, and, from a linguistic point of view, form their own system, which can be studied from different aspects.

The problem of the national and international (universal) elements in idioms has been discussed a great deal recently and scholars are deeply interested in the "complicated dialectics of the relation between them" (Solodub 1992: 55).

On the one hand, idioms are linguistic units which bear the so-called "national cultural semantics" (Felitsyna 1990: 7) of language because they are related to external reality, which they express by referring directly to objects and phenomena which surround, or previously surrounded, men in a given society. As a specific type of expression, moreover, they have, besides this nominative function, the function of expressing relation, opinion, characterization, and emotional judgment in a way dependent on the image they convey. The pragmatic function of idioms, furthermore, can be called "essential and dominant" (Chernysheva 1977: 37).

Idioms reflect the general lines of human ideas, associations and reactions, so that it is always intriguing to look for the universal character and direction in the meanings of idioms, and to find the universal linguistic and extralinguistic aspects in the system that governs them (Dobrovol'skij 1992; Solodub 1992 and idem. 1982). A study of the specific, distinctive elements which determine the national and cultural identity of idioms, however, gives information about the mentality, way of thinking, and system of values of a nation, and reveals much about its spiritual and material tradition. Whatever the extent of the general cultural and ethnological information provided by idioms, a study of their cultural specificity is no less interesting from the point of view of linguistics.

In the present paper I intend to outline briefly certain problems and to discuss some elements of the structure and meaning of idioms, in Modern Standard Arabic which not only identify a given idiom as Arabic but which at the same time, to cite V. Kiuvlieva's characterization, can be considered as elements bearing "enormous information about an ethnic group's culture" (Kiuvlieva-Mishaikova 1986: 5).

The greater part of Arabic idioms reflect directly and spontaneously some stage in the development of the environment of the Arabs and their relationship to it. Simultaneously, they also encapsulate their attitudes and views on life, their social and historic experience, and their scale of values. They have important symbolic meaning and can be viewed as markers of national identity. It is possible to ascertain that Arabic idioms reflect national culture and specificity on the one hand "as a complex" (synthetically), with all elements of their formal and semantic structure together, and on the other hand, "element by element" (analytically) (Vereshchagin & Kostomarov 1990: 68). This view can be demonstrated by analysis of both structure and meaning, that is to say, the character, meaning, and syntax of the constituent words and the image they convey.

I consider that the verbal elements of idioms and their syntactic relations should be discussed first as constituents of the formal structure belonging to readily identifiable classes (parts of speech, names of persons and places, and the like). The formal structure is the framework which holds the huge treasure of both semantic and connotative meanings. Only after it is understood, should meanings and images, that is, the content of an idiom, be analyzed.

In these pages I will discuss the formal structure with reference to certain commonly used words and their contribution to the creation of images which demonstrate the cultural and ethnic specificity of Arabic idioms.

The character and meaning of the constituent words are significant tokens of the ethnic and cultural identity of idioms. The constituent words directly and analytically turn the hearer's attention to objects and phenomena which are, or have been, part of the reality surrounding the Arabs. Frequent use of certain words show the significance of the object or phenomenon expressed by these words. They also give some idea about modes of thinking and relating concepts. Through them, we can judge what kind of associations are made and how images are built so that they have a given emotional effect, and express a given opinion. Constituent words and their particular combinations in the metaphoric structure of idioms can help to identify some of the most fundamental concepts in culture.

Here are some relevant examples from Arabic tradition:

1. Animals and plants of the Arabian Peninsula
   tala'at 'alayhi ġazālatun — to go mad (lit., a gazelle appeared before him)
   lā nāqatī fī hādā wa-lā ğamalī — I have nothing to do with this (I have neither she-camel in this nor he-camel)
   'amarru min al-ḥanẓali — very bitter (lit., more bitter than colocynth)

2. Objects from everyday life
   tālitatu l-'atāfī — the last straw (lit., the third stone under the cooking pot)
   nafaḫa fī qirbatin maqtū'atin — to do s.th. in vain (lit., to blow in a torn waterskin)
   ḫālī l-witābi — poor, empty-handed (lit., with an empty milkskin)

dassa s-samma fī d-dasami — to spoil everything (lit., to put poison in the fat)

3. Proper names

a) Names of persons

laysa lahu šay'un ḥattā wa-lā mismāru Ǧuḥā — he has nothing (lit., he has nothing, not even Ǧuḥā's nail)

raǧaᶜa/ᶜāda bi-ḫuffay Ḥunaynin — to return empty-handed (lit., to come back with Ḥunayn's shoes)

'aǧwadu min Ḥātimin — very generous (lit., more generous than Ḥātim)

waᶜdu ᶜUrqūbin — false promise (lit., promise given by ᶜUrqūb)

Many of the idioms in which names of persons are used function like common nouns and can be used alone, preserving all the connotations they have acquired. Idioms containing names of persons constitute a very wide area and could be the subject of an independent study because of the strong Arabic tradition to pay a special attention and record a person's name and his or her deeds, behaviour and personal qualities[1].

b) Names of peoples and tribes

tafarraqa 'aydī Sabā — they were scattered to the four winds (lit., the hands of Sheba scattered)

al-fahmu l-ḥimyariyyu — misunderstanding, false understanding (lit., ḥimyarite understanding)

bi-kulli wādin banū Saᶜdin — good and bad exists everywhere (lit., in every valley there is the tribe of Saᶜd)

c) Place names

šarada min al-mawti wa-waqaᶜa fī Ḥaḍramawta — get in big trouble (lit., to escape from death and end up in Ḥaḍramawt)

'arḫasu min at-tamari fī l-baṣrati — very cheap (lit., cheaper than figs in Basra)

'ālafu min ḥamāmi Makkata — very friendly (lit., friendlier than the doves in Mekka)

d) Names of stars

fawqa as-Suhā wa-t̠-T̠urayyā — impossible (lit., higher than *as-Suhā* [the weakest star in the Great Bear] and the Pleiades)

'abᶜadu manālan min Ǧawzā'a — impossible (lit., more difficult to obtain than Gemini)

'annā yaltaqī suhaylun bi-s-Suhā — impossible (lit., When will Canopus meet *as-Suhā*?)

4. Compound expressions from scriptural sources

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[1] Medieval Arabic dictionaries of proverbs and idioms, such as *al-Amt̠āl al-ᶜarabiyya* by al-Maydānī and *Timt̠āl al-amt̠āl* by aš-Šaybī, are full of expressions containing proper names.

Phrases from the Koran and the Hadith deserve special mention, since many of them have become idioms. A considerable number, being used out of the context, have acquired wider meaning and application. Some of them have provided grounds for creating new idioms, whose origin in Koran or the Hadith may be difficult to recognize, but they form a group of idioms that can provide rich cultural and ethnic information concealed in their metaphorical structure[2]. Here are a few examples:

ka-'asnāni l-mušti — equal, similar (lit., like the teeth of a comb)

ṭāhiru ḏ-ḏayli — innocent, having a good reputation (lit., with clean robe-tails)

fī s-sarrā'i wa-ḍ-ḍarrā'i — for better or for worse (lit., in happiness and distress)

wallā d-dubura — to flee, run away (lit., to turn one's back)

Some Koranic expressions should be studied in a broader geographical and cultural context, since their nature, the images they convey, and the underlying concepts are specific not only to the Arab world, but in general to the area we nowadays refer to as the Middle East.

5.   Other ready-made compound expressions

Among other compound expressions we should consider idioms which consist of phrases from or about Pre-Islamic poetry, medieval Arabic poetry, or other early literary sources. Thus:

ya'tīka bi-l-'aḫbāri man lam tuzawwidī — News will reach you anyway, you do not have to ask (lit., News will be brought to you by a messenger whose journey you have not provided for)

'ašharu min qifā nabkī — very famous (lit., more famous than "let us stop and weep," the beginning of one of the most celebrated Pre-Islamic odes, attributed to Imru' l-Qays)

Idioms stemming from these sources, as well as from the Koran or Hadith, are interesting primarily because of their derivation and metaphoric structure. Few of them are used in Modern Standard Arabic.

The words used as constituents of Arabic idioms are the "building material" for the images (inner form) conveyed by idioms. These images together with the connotation are the most important elements demonstrating the national specificity of Arabic idioms since they reflect the material, social, and spiritual life of the Arabs, and their historic experience. But they reflect this reality indirectly, in a figurative, metaphorical way. This is why the most characteristic feature of Arabic idioms (and idioms in general) is the extensive use of metaphorical imagery to conceptualize and

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[2] A comprehensive study of the types, structure and semantics of the idioms in the Koran is given in: Ushakov 1996.

express social and moral messages. And this is what makes some idioms very difficult, sometimes impossible to understand, while at the same time other idioms appear familiar and their meaning is quite easy to guess. If the metaphor (or metonymy) used is beyond our culturally inherited everyday mode of cognition and relating concepts, or our background knowledge is insufficient, the idiom will not be understandable. To understand the meaning of such an idiom, we must try to understand and relate the real meanings of the constituent words. In most cases the meaning when translated is familiar, but the metaphor itself poses the difficulties. Consider the following examples:

rafaᶜa ᶜaṣāhu — to set off, leave (lit., lifted his stick)

nāᶜimu l-ʾazfāri/aẓ-ẓufri — young (lit., with soft nails)

qāla wāḥidan wa-sittīna — to run away (lit., he said "sixty-one")

laᶜiqa ʾuṣbaᶜahu — to die (lit., to lick one's finger)

On the other hand, for many idioms, if we wish to understand what is said and what the target is when the idiom is uttered, we must be aware of the underlying assumptions, the specific Arabic cultural virtues referred to, and other background information. Consider these examples (the first two have been mentioned above in other contexts).

ʾašaru min qifā nabkī — very famous (lit., more famous than "let us stop and weep")

laysa lahu šay'un ḥattā wa-lā mismāru Ǧuḥā — he has nothing (lit., he has nothing, not even Ǧuḥā's nail)

baytu l-qaṣīdi — the main point, the core of the matter (lit., the principal verse of the *qaṣīda*)

ʾašharu min nārin ᶜalā ᶜalamin — very famous (lit. better known than a fire on a hill [made for travellers lost in the desert])

ʾalqā ḥablahu ᶜalā ġāribihi — to give a free hand (lit., to put the rope on the camel's neck and let it pasture at freedom)

In such cases as these, the cultural models and background knowledge we have inherited are of little help in understanding the meaning and the moral or social message. Native speakers inherit this knowledge with their "mothers' milk" and immediately understand the message. They do not need to know the etymology of the words in a given idiom or how it came into being. It is for this reason that I maintain that these idioms with their metaphoric images and connotations reflect Arab reality and an Arabic understanding of life. They are created, over time, by people sharing the same milieu and the same values, and they exist in order to exercise some influence over those who share this milieu and these values. Such idioms constitute a significant group within the system of idioms in Modern Standard Arabic.

Another group of Arabic idioms, although culturally specific and also demonstrating culturally determined modes of relating concepts, consists of

metaphors which are understandable or recognizable by the non-native speaker and the meaning of which his or her intuition, mode of cognition, and background knowledge make it possible to guess. Thus:

taqīlu d-dami — unpleasant, disagreeable (of a person) (lit., heavy-blooded)

'aswadu l-kibdi — vicious, envious (lit. with a black liver)

lā yusāwī qišrata baṣalatin - worthless (lit., not worth the skin of an onion)

How the images (the inner form, the metaphors) of idioms were created, whether by slow development and metaphoric changes of free collocations (as elements and as a whole) or the adoption of ready-made metaphoric expressions, is beyond the scope of this paper. Here we are concerned with the fact that idioms, with their meaning and images, have to meet special needs in communication and fulfil certain emotional, pragmatic, and didactic functions. In a very specific way, idioms have to respond to confirmed, established standards, principles, and values, by pointing out what is wrong and unacceptable or what is good and most worthy of praise. These processes cannot be independent of conscious human influence and modelling, because it is the mechanism of relating the meanings of the idioms with already established values and cultural models that produces the content of the so-called "national cultural connotation" (Teliia 1996: 219). Revealing the national cultural connotation of Arabic idioms makes it possible to trace important information concerning the ethnic and cultural identity of the Arabs. The following idioms, though as individual concepts they may be found in other cultures, may perhaps, taken together, serve to demonstrate these assertions:

'alā kaffi 'ifrītin — very bad (of work or a job) (lit., by the hand of a [desert] demon). Poorly done work is condemned as resembling that of the mischievous and malicious desert demon.

'akala muḫḫahu — to deceive (lit., to eat his brain). An Arab man should always maintain control of his own thoughts and never let anyone dupe him.

ḥafiẓa 'an/'alā ẓahri qalbin — learn by heart (lit., to preserve on the back of the heart). The heart is the most important part of the body, the container of all feelings and emotions. If a man wants to learn something and preserve it, he has to engrave it on the back or outer side of this most significant organ.

ṭāra ġurābuhu — his hair became white (lit., his crow flew away). Black hair among the Arabs, who are generally black-haired, is a symbol of youth, health, and strength. When man grows old, these things, like a black crow, fly away.

daḫala l-ǧannata bi-ṯiyābihi — to go to heaven right away (lit., to enter Paradise with one's clothes on). This may be said when a very pious person, or a martyr, dies. He piety makes him acceptable to God without the traditional preparation, which includes the body of the deceased person being undressed, washed, and wrapped in a shroud prior to interrogation in the grave.

To continue, if we consider the concept of impossibility, we notice that it includes the idea "not worth trying", and is often expressed by idioms which have as a component the name of a star or stars.

fawqa as-Suhā wa-t-Turayyā — impossible (lit., higher than *as-Suhā* [the weakest star in the Great Bear] and the Pleiades)

'abʿadu manālan min Ğawzāʾa — impossible (lit., more difficult to obtain than Gemini)

'annā yaltaqī suhaylun bi-s-Suhā — impossible (lit., When will Canopus meet *as-Suhā?*)

ka-l-farqi bayna t-Tarā wa-t-Turayyā — miles apart, like the sky and the earth (lit., like the difference between Earth and the Pleiades); variant with a slightly different stylistic usage: *'ayna t-Tarā min at-Turayyā* — What has the earth to do with the Pleiades? (of things of disproportionate value)

All these idioms convey the image of something very far away or impossible to reach, the connotation being clearly that it is useless to attempt or to seek to obtain the thing described. The concept of impossibility is connected with the concept of being far away, and the image has its foundation in the everyday experience of the Arabs, who, living in the desert, could observe the stars and their movement and often knew their names. As a rule, a precise star is mentioned in these idioms.

The colour blue in some Arabic idioms constitutes a metaphor expressing great fear or describing a dangerous person or enemy.

ʿaduwwun 'azraqu — a great enemy (lit., blue enemy)

hawfun 'azraqu — great fear (lit., blue fear)

ʿaraqun 'azraqu — cold sweat (lit., blue sweat)

huwa 'azraqu l-ʿayni — he has an evil (malicious) eye (lit. he has blue eyes)

The fact that the concept of enemy in Arabic includes the blue colour metaphor as a very important constituent has its roots in the far past of the Arabs. The metaphor has a real reflection in Arab history, since many of the enemies of the Arab tribes had blue eyes.

To take another example, one of the most highly praised qualities in a man in Arab society is his generosity, while stinginess is the quality most reproached. All the following idioms mean "to be stingy," and the images conveyed by them have the connotation of not giving.

ğullat yaduhu 'ilā ʿunqihi — very stingy, tight-fisted (lit., his hand is tied to his neck)

lā tasqutu hardalatun min yadihi — very stingy (lit., not a mustard seed falls from his hand)

ğamadat yaduhu/kaffuhu — stingy, tight-fisted (lit., his hand became stiff)

dayyiqu l-ʿatani — stingy, tight-fisted (lit., with a narrow resting-place for camels)

dayyiqu l-bāʿi — stingy, tight-fisted (lit., with a short distance between his stretched hands)

ǧaᶜdu l-yadi/l-yadayni — stingy, tight-fisted (lit., with curled hand/hands)
yaduhu nāšifatun — stingy, tight-fisted (lit., his hand is dry)
yaduhu māsikatun — stingy, tight-fisted (lit., his hand is tight)

With these examples perhaps I have been able to provide some indication of how information about cultural and ethnic specificity can be reflected in Arabic idioms and how this is possible because idioms reflect directly the cognitive activity of the native speakers of Arabic, their picture of surrounding reality, their place in it, and their relations to it. If we wish to proceed further in the study of the cultural information built into Arabic idioms, we can look at them as examples of a cognitive process which has become embodied in an explicit and stable structural form. Looking at the matter in this way can help us to find those concepts in Arab culture that define its identity and its unique nature. According to George Lakoff, "the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 22). The system of idioms is one of the best fields in linguistics in which to investigate this assertion.

The problem of the meaning and imagery structure (inner form, metaphor) of idioms has many different and interrelated aspects. In order to discuss the meaning we have first to look for the metaphor and then go on to the concept and its relation with established standards, principles, beliefs, and values, which, taken together, constitute established cultural models. It is these same cultural models that both define ethnic and cultural identity and demonstrate the universality of human nature and thought.

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THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF ARABIC LANGUAGE PROGRAMME TO THE SOCIAL NEEDS: A CASE STUDY

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Introduction

This paper aims at demonstrating how the absence of a systematic approach to the designing of a language programme, Arabic in particular, has led a programme into its fundamental problem of accountability. That is to say that the absence of such an approach has produced a language programme which is not accountable to the social needs, and a programme whose components: goal, objectives, syllabus, teaching methodology and evaluation and assessment, are not accountable to one another.

To achieve this aim, this paper discusses the issue under five headings. Firstly, *The Role and the Status of Arabic in Malaysia* which presents a general description of the role and the status of Arabic in Malaysian society and in Malaysian educational system. Secondly, *The Needs for Arabic in the Faculty of Islamic Studies* which describes the results of a needs analysis carried out in the faculty. Thirdly, *The Arabic Programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies: Goal, Objectives, Syllabus and Teaching Methodology* which discusses in detail the components of the Arabic programme in the Faculty. Forthly, *The Programme Contributions and Attainments* which presents views and opinions of the learners and the teachers of the faculty regarding the achievement of the programme. Finally, *The Accountability of the Programme* which evaluates the programme based on the discussions under the previous headings.

The discussions in this paper are based on data and findings from a research conducted upon the Arabic programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies in the National University of Malaysia in 1991 (Ismail 1993). Thus, the statements regarding the programme, especially those under the third, the forth and the fifth headings of this paper, are somehow invalid for the programme, since some changes have been made to the programme. However, the statements regarding the role and the status of Arabic in Malaysia and the needs for Arabic in the Faculty are still applicable since there are no significant changes in the Malaysian language situation and no significant changes have been made upon the curriculum of the faculty.

Despite these, the discussions in this paper could highlight some fundamental problems facing most of the traditional Arabic programmes in many Muslim countries, which are designed on the basis of the traditional teachers' experience, and are left without any proper evaluation.

1. The Role and the Status of Arabic in Malaysia

The role and the status of Arabic in Malaysia can be succinctly described as follows:

Firstly, the role of Arabic in Malaysia is confined within Malay society only. In Malay society, Arabic serves as an important language for carrying out religious purposes such as reciting the Qur'an and Hadith and understanding Islamic teaching. Although Islamic teaching can be acquired through the Malay language, the recent resurgence of Islamic awareness among members of Malay society, particularly educated Malays, has increased the demand for learning Arabic. This is due to their belief that the essence of Islamic teaching can only be obtained by means of Arabic. Furthermore, Arabic is regarded as a sacred language within Malay society.

Secondly, the role of Arabic as a medium of national and international communication hardly exists in Malaysia. Similarly, the need for Arabic in the national labour market is restricted to serving Islamic affairs of the Malay community only.

Thirdly, in the Malaysian educational system, Arabic is a component of Islamic religious education. In government boarding schools, primary schools, since 1996, and language centres at universities and colleges, Arabic is an elective subject and taught for absolute beginners only. In Arabic and religious schools and Islamic faculty, academy and university, Arabic is a compulsory subject. Apart from being a compulsory subject, Arabic is also used as a medium of instruction in teaching Islamic disciplines, particularly at high secondary and university levels.

Finally, the role and the status of Arabic in Malaysia suggest that developing Arabic reading skills is highly needed by Malay society. The need for developing other Arabic skills is relevant only to the requirements for studying Islamic disciplines at religious schools and universities.

2. The Needs for Arabic in the Faculty of Islamic Studies

The needs for Arabic in relation to Arabic and religious studies in the Faculty of Islamic Studies can be outlined as follows:

1 — Arabic is one of the most important languages used in the teaching and learning of Arabic and religious courses in the Faculty of Islamic Studies. In comparison with the other main languages (i.e. Malay and English), Arabic is "equally important" as Malay and "more important" than English for the majority of teachers. Moreover, the number of teachers who consider Arabic as "more important" than Malay is more than the number of those who consider Malay as "more important" than Arabic (Appendix: Tables 1 and 2).

2 — The amount of Arabic required in the teaching and learning of Departmental, Faculty and Complementary Courses is very significant. The number of

teachers who describe the Arabic requirement of 51 % or more is greater than the number of those who describe the Arabic requirement of 26 % to 50 % and the number of those who describe the Arabic requirement of 25 % or less. Moreover, the number of those who describe the Arabic requirement of 26 % to 50 % is greater than the number of those who describe the Arabic requirement as 25 % or less (Appendix: Table 3).

3 — The teaching and learning of Arabic and religious courses in the Faculty requires students to carry out reading, listening, speaking and writing activities in Arabic. However, reading is found to be the most important activity of all. Listening, which is far less important than reading, is second in importance, while writing and speaking are the least important of all (Appendix: Table 4).

4 — According to teachers' opinions, the actual proportions of each individual Arabic skill required in the teaching and learning of Arabic and religious courses in the Faculty are far less than what they wish their students to have (Appendix: Table 5).

5 — In reading, students are required to read Arabic references, textbooks, notes, articles, magazines and newspapers. Most of the teachers require their students to read references and textbooks, many of them require their students to read notes, and only some of them require their students to read the rest. Despite the actual requirements, the majority of teachers, however, responded that reading these materials is "important" in their courses (Appendix: Table 6).

6 — In writing, students are required to write examinations' answers, notes, articles and reports in Arabic. Writing examinations' answers is the most important, writing notes is second in importance, while writing reports is the least important of all. The majority of the teachers who require their students to write in Arabic say that they "frequently" require their students to write in Arabic and that writing in Arabic is "important" in undertaking their courses (Appendix: Tables 7, 8 and 9).

7 — In listening, students are required to listen to lectures and tutorials in Arabic. Although the majority of the teachers "seldom" use Arabic in their lectures and tutorials, the number of those who "frequently" speak Arabic in their lectures and tutorials, in particular, is significantly high. Moreover, despite the actual listening requirements, most teachers agree that it is important for their students to listen to Arabic from their lecturers, tutors, and friends and colleagues during their course of studies in the Faculty (Appendix: Tables 10 and 11).

8 — Most of the teachers believe that students "seldom" use Arabic in their communication with their Arabic and religious teachers, and they never use it when they speak to their friends and colleagues (Appendix: Table 12).

3. The Arabic Programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies: Goal, Objectives, Syllabus and Teaching Methodology

The description of the goal and objectives, the syllabus content and the teaching methodologies of the programme can be summarized as follows:

1 — The goal of the Arabic programme in the Faculty is to enable students to read and comprehend Islamic classical sources written in Arabic. This goal is pursued by different sets of objectives which are spread through the content of seven Arabic courses.

2 — There are three main objectives pursued by seven Arabic courses. These are (1) to impart grammatical, morphological and rhetorical knowledge to the learners, (2) to expose the learners to, mostly, classical and also modern Arabic texts from various types of Islamic disciplines, and (3) to teach the four language skills of speaking, reading, listening and writing.

The organization of the first and the second objectives within one and in different courses does not reflect different levels of objectives or courses. The organization of the third objective above reflects different levels and also different focuses of the objectives and courses.

The objectives of the different skills set for Arabic I are lower in standard than those which are set for Arabic II. The set of objectives in Arabic I emphasizes speaking and writing more than reading and listening, while the set of objectives in Arabic II emphasizes on reading more than other skills.

3— The statement of objectives of different courses are made in terms of teachers' behavior, content or subject and learner behavior. The statement of objectives for the study of Arabic rules and the study of Arabic texts are made in terms of teachers' behavior and content. The statements of objectives for teaching skills are made in terms of learners' behaviours.

The objectives which are stated in terms of teachers' behaviour and language content do not make any reference to what learners should be able to do after following the course. In contrast, the objectives which are made in terms of learners' behaviour do indicate the learners' target behaviours. However, the conditions in which learners are to perform are not stated in the statements, while the definition of standards of behaviours in the statement are very general.

4 — Similar to the objectives, there are three main types of contents: the content for teaching rules, the content for teaching texts and the content for teaching skills.

The content for rules, namely grammar, morphology and rhetoric, are selected from topics which are normally found in Arabic grammar, morphology and rhetoric books. The selection of these types of contents seems to be based on the course designer's personal taste. Furthermore, the

organization of the selected rules within one and in different courses does not reflect different levels or standards of rules but simply follows the way in which such rules are ordered in Arabic grammar, morphology and rhetoric books.

The contents for teaching texts are also selected and organized according to the course designer's individual taste. Thus, different texts and courses indicate only the differences in content but not in standard or level of texts or courses. The content for teaching skills is selected and organized on the basis of what has been introduced in the earlier books of *al-ᶜarabiyya li–n–nāši'īn* and also on the basis of the complexity of the selected content. Thus, the content for teaching skills which is given in Arabic I are lower in standard in comparison with the content given in Arabic II.

5 — The available teaching documents suggest that the teaching of Arabic in the programme follows the Grammar–Translation Method and also an eclectic Approach. Grammar–Translation Method is used in the teaching of rules, namely, grammar, morphology and rhetoric, and also in the of teaching texts, while an eclectic Approach is used in teaching the four skills.

The relevant materials for teaching rules and texts suggest that rules and texts should be taught explicitly and deductively. Thus, rules are to be taught by means of definitions, isolated examples and direct explanations, and texts are to be taught by direct explanation, including translation. Hence, the focuses of teaching rules are terminologies and language analysis and the focuses of teaching texts are text comprehension and translation. In addition, the teaching of texts by non–Arabic teachers in the Faculty was also carried out by means of a traditional Arabic teaching method, which focuses on vowelling the texts and analyzing Arabic pronouns in the texts.

As for the teaching of skills, the materials used in teaching these skills suggest the use of various techniques and procedures. The techniques and procedures dictated by these materials are a mixture of techniques and procedures derived mainly from various types of structural methods, namely, the Reading Method, the Audio–Lingual Method, the Direct Method, and also the Grammar–Translation Method.

6 — Despite the stated goal of the programme, the document analysis of the programme's objectives, the syllabuses' content and the teaching methodologies demonstrates that the programme is projected towards many divergent aims and goals. The materials used in the programme aim mainly at imparting students with knowledge about rules and about various religious and Arabic subjects rather than focusing on developing students' skills in reading Arabic texts. Moreover, irrespective of the stated goal, other Arabic skills, listening, writing and, particularly, speaking, are also emphasized in Arabic I and II.

4. The Programme Contributions and Attainments

The extent of the achievements of the Arabic programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies can be summarized as follows:

1 — The contributions of the programme to the standard of reading, writing, listening and speaking Arabic of the majority of students is little and insignificant (Appendix: Tables 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17).

2 — The number of students who describe the contribution of the programme to their standards of Arabic in reading, writing, listening, and speaking as very little is far greater than the number of those who described it as much (*ibid.*).

3 — The majority of students and teachers believe that the Arabic programme in the Faculty is less successful in achieving its own stated goal (Appendix: Table 18).

4 — A significant number of students and teachers believe that the programme is unsuccessful in achieving its goal. The number of those who believe that the programme is successful is insignificant (*ibid.*).

5. The Accountability of the Programme

Based on the results and discussions presented above, some important conclusions can be made concerning the Arabic programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies.

In the first place, it is found that there is a great mismatch between the specification of end and the prescription of means for the Arabic programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies. In other words, the specified goal of the programme have been pursued by divergent means, manifested in the teaching syllabuses, teaching material and teaching methodologies used in the programme.

To illustrate the point made above, the stated goal of the programme is to equip students with an Arabic reading ability that enables them to read Arabic and original religious sources. However, it is found that many of the objectives which are set for the programme project towards teaching and learning Arabic rules. Thus, the main content of Arabic courses offered by the Faculty is Arabic rules, most of the teaching materials used in the Faculty are Arabic grammar, morphology and rhetoric books, which contain nothing but rules and the teaching methodologies adopted by most teachers in the Faculty induce students towards learning rules.

Furthermore, it is also found that the teaching of Arabic rules, as practiced by most Arabic teachers has in the Faculty been projected towards a divergent aim. That is to say that, instead of teaching rules as means to acquire Arabic and to interact in Arabic, most Arabic teachers teach them as an end in itself. Thus, the main objective of most of these teachers in teaching Arabic rules is to impart the knowledge of Arabic rules to students and to ensure that the students are able to produce these rules successfully at the end of the course. In other words, students are not so much

expected to use or to exploit their knowledge of rules in their communication, but to demonstrate their ability to understand and to memorize the rules.

In addition to Arabic rules, however, there are some objectives which are set for developing reading abilities in Arabic. Nevertheless, apart from intensive and extensive reading in Arabic II, it is found that the teaching of reading, as practiced by most Arabic teachers, has in the Faculty been led into wrong directions. On the one hand, it is found that the main objective of most teachers in teaching Arabic texts was the students' comprehension of the given texts, and their ability to give the correct answers for the given comprehension questions which accompanied the texts. On the other hand, it is found that the texts themselves were the main target of the teaching and learning, thus, the teaching did not go beyond the completion of the texts.

Furthermore, it is also found that many teachers, particularly those who teach Arabic VI and VII, concentrated on teaching Arabic grammar morphology and parsing while teaching Arabic texts. To sum up, it can be concluded that the teaching of reading in the Faculty focused, not so much on developing Arabic reading abilities, but more on the students' comprehension of the given texts, the students' ability to provide correct answers for the given comprehension questions, and the students' ability to explain and to analyze rules contained in the given texts.

Another important conclusion regarding the Arabic programme in the Faculty concerns the question of the compatibility of the programme with the needs for Arabic in Malaysia and the needs for Arabic in the Faculty of Islamic Studies itself. Based on the discussion of *The Roles and the Status of Arabic in Malaysia* and the results of the data obtained by means of teachers' questionnaires, it is found that reading is the most important Arabic skill required in order to serve religious purposes in Malaysia, and also in order to pursue Arabic and Religious Studies in the Faculty. In addition, it is also found that Arabic and Religious Studies in the Faculty also require the Faculty students to carry out, in order of importance, listening, writing and speaking activities in Arabic.

Thus, based on the needs for Arabic in Malaysia and the needs for Arabic in the Faculty of Islamic Studies, the Arabic programme in the Faculty should be aimed at developing all four Arabic skills in the learners. Furthermore, based on the relative importance of these skills in Malaysia and in the Faculty, the programme should focus, firstly, on developing reading skills, followed by other Arabic skills, namely, listening, writing and speaking, respectively.

In spite of this, however, as already explained above, the Arabic programme in the Faculty focuses on the teaching and learning of Arabic rules, above the teaching and learning of Arabic skills. It is found that only Arabic I and II have been focused on teaching Arabic skills. Nevertheless, Arabic I emphasizes more on speaking and writing. Thus, it is clear that there is no compatibility between the Arabic

programme in the Faculty and between the needs for Arabic in Malaysia and in the Faculty itself.

In addition to the problems of mismatch and compatibility, described above, it is also found that the Arabic programme in the Faculty has been designed as based entirely on the learning and teaching experiences of the traditional Arabic lecturers and teachers. Thus, the outcome is a language programme whose major components do not comply with principles of SL programme design.

To elaborate on this point, firstly, it is found that the specification of the goal of the programme was not made on the basis of a careful analysis of needs for Arabic in Malaysia and in the Faculty. Secondly, the prescription of many objectives of the programme was made on the basis of the false belief which equate second language learning with learning SL rules only. Furthermore, most of the objectives of the programme were stated ambiguously in terms of teacher behaviour and language content. Some of the objectives of the programme which are stated in terms of learner behaviour do not completely comply with conditions for designing objectives in such a term.

Thirdly, the selection and the organization of the content of most programme syllabuses were not made on the basis of acceptable criteria but on the basis of the syllabus designers' personal taste, and on the basis of how the language content is organized in Arabic grammar, morphology and rhetoric books. Thus, the organization of the selected content between different courses and within one Arabic course does not reflect different levels or standards of Arabic between courses and within one particular course. With the exception of skills content in Arabic I and II, this circumstance applies to all types of the syllabus content and to all Arabic courses offered by the Faculty.

Forthly, due to the objectives set for the programme, and also to the lack of appropriate teaching materials in Malaysia, the programme relies mostly on Arabic grammar, morphology, and rhetoric books in teaching and learning Arabic in the Faculty. It is obvious that these types of books is not designed for teaching and learning of Arabic as means of communication, but for teaching and learning the system of Arabic. In addition, the teaching materials used for teaching and learning Arabic texts in the Faculty are also not suitable for the purpose of teaching reading in Arabic. Apart from comprehension questions, these materials do not contain any procedures and activities which could lead to developing Arabic reading skills in the learners.

Fifthly, due to the objectives set for the programme, the materials used in the programme, and particularly to the untrained teachers, it is found that most teachers in the programme predominantly focused on presentation in their teaching. Thus, language practice and production were neglected by most of them. In relation to this, it is also found that most teachers concentrated only on conscious teaching and

learning. Hence, the teaching was carried out deductively and explicitly by means of direct explanation and translation.

Finally, it is also found that the examination system adopted in the programme was based mainly on assessing the students' mastery of Arabic rather than assessing the students' proficiency in Arabic. In assessing the students' mastery of Arabic rules, it is found that students were normally asked to give definitions of rules, to explain these definitions by means of direct explanations and by producing isolated examples, and to do the parsing for the given phrases or sentences. In relation to texts studies, students were normally asked to vowel the text, to translate the text into Malay, to answer the comprehension questions and to give the parsing for phrases and sentences selected from the given text. Furthermore, the text and the questions asked from students to answer in their examination were normally based on texts and questions previously learned in the classroom. In summary, it is observed that most students could successfully answer most of their examination questions by relying largely on their memory.

Clearly, the problems described in the conclusions about the Arabic programme above have immensely affected the product, the contribution and the success of the programme in question. Based on the results obtained from teacher and learner questionnaires, it is found that the majority of students as well as teachers described the programme as "less successful" in achieving its goal. A very significant number of them described it as "unsuccessful", while the number of them who described it as "successful" is very insignificant. Regarding the contribution of the programme, it is found that the majority of students described the contribution of the programme to their standard of reading, writing, listening and speaking in Arabic as "little". Moreover, the number of students who described it as "very little" is far greater than the number of those who described it as "much".

Thus, based on the results concerning the success, the contribution and the product of the Arabic programme, it is undoubtedly clear that the Arabic programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies has failed to produce satisfactory outcomes. In fact, it is very difficult even to find the ground on which the justification for the continuation of the present conditions of the programme can be made.

In conclusion, these findings show that the Arabic programme in the Faculty of Islamic Studies suffers from three major flaws. Firstly, the internal inconsistency between the major components of the programme. Secondly, the incompatibility of the programme with the needs for Arabic in Malaysia and in the Faculty of Islamic Studies. Finally, the incompatibility of the programme with principles in SL and FL syllabus design. Considering these, it is very unlikely that the programme would be able to improve the quality of its product without making a fresh revision or major changes upon its components.

APPENDIX

The needs for Arabic in the Faculty of Islamic Studies

Table 1: The importance of Arabic compared to Malay

Types of courses	MI		EI		LI		NI	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Departmental	14	32.5	22	51.2	7	16.3	0	0
Faculty	9	34.6	11	42.3	6	23.1	0	0
Complementary	5	26.3	9	47.4	5	26.3	0	0
Total	28	93.4	42	140.9	18	65.7	0	0
Averages	9.3	31.1	14	46.96	6	21.9	0	0

MI = more important   EI = equelly important   LE = less important
NI = not important   freq. = frequency

Table 2: The importance of Arabic compared to English

Types of courses	MI		EI		LI		NI	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Departmental	21	47.7	20	45.5	3	6.8	0	0
Faculty	17	65.4	9	34.6	0	0	0	0
Complementary	11	57.9	8	42.1	0	0	0	0
Total	49	171	37	122.2	3	6.8	0	0
Averages	16.3	57	12.3	40.7	3	2.26	0	0

MI = more important   EI = equelly important   LE = less important
NI = not important   freq. = frequency

Table 3: The Arabic requirement in the teaching of Arabic and religious courses

Types of courses	0–25 %		26–50 %		51–75 %		76–100 %	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Departmental	5	11.4	19	43.1	9	20.5	11	25
Faculty	3	11.5	9	34.6	8	30.8	6	23.1
Complementary	5	26.3	5	26.3	4	21.1	5	26.3
Total	13	49.2	33	104	21	72.4	22	74.4
Averages	4.3	16.4	11	34.7	7	24.1	7.3	24.8

freq. = frequency

Table 4: The actual requirements of skills in Arabic and religious courses

Types of courses	Reading %		Writing %		Listening %		Speaking %	
	0–25	51–100	0–25	51–100	0–25	51–100	0–25	51–100
Departmental	6.8	79.6	56.8	27.1	54.5	25	63.6	20.5
Faculty	7.7	80.8	53.9	23.1	38.5	34.6	50	34.6
Complementary	15.8	73.6	73.7	10.6	63.2	26.3	63.2	10.5
Total %	30.3	234	184.4	60.9	156.2	85.9	176.8	65.6
Averages %	10.1	78	61.5	20.3	52.1	28.6	58.9	21.9

Table 5: Teachers' opinions about the requirements of skills in Arabic and religious courses

Types of courses	Reading %		Writing %		Listening %		Speaking %	
	0-25	51-100	0-25	51-100	0-25	51-100	0-25	51-100
Departmental	2.3	86.3	6	47.8	15.9	50	18.2	40.9
Faculty	0	92.3	3.8	57.7	7.7	61.5	11.5	53.9
Complementary	5.3	73.7	21	31.6	15.8	46.8	21	26.4
Total %	7.6	251.9	30.8	137.1	39.4	158.3	50.7	121.2
Averages %	2.5	83.9	10.3	45.7	13.1	52.8	16.9	40.4

Table 6: The importance of reading Arabic materials

Arabic materials	VI		I		LI		NI	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
References	33	68.8	13	27.1	2	4.2	0	0
Textbooks	31	64.6	12	25	5	10.4	0	0
Notes	10	20.8	16	33.3	22	45.8	0	0
Articles	3	6.3	18	37.5	27	56.3	0	0
Magazines	12	25	35	72.9	0	0	1	2.1
Newspapers	13	27.1	33	68.7	2	4.2	0	0
Total	102	212.6	127	264.5	58	102.9	1	2.1
Averages	17	35.4	21.1	44.08	9.6	17	0.16	0.35

VI = very important   I = important   LI = less important   NI = not important
freq. = frequency

Table 7: Types of Arabic writing (1)

Types of writing	Agree		Disagree	
	frequency	%	frequency	%
E.A.	21	43.8	27	56.3
Notes	11	22.9	37	77.1
Articles	7	14.6	41	85.4
Reports	2	4.2	46	95.8
Total	41	85.5	151	314.6
Averages	10.3	21.3	37.8	78.7

E.A. = examination's answers

Table 8: Types of Arabic writing (2)

Types of writing	VF		F		S		VS	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
E.A.	7	33.3	8	38.1	6	28.6	0	0
Notes	8	72.7	2	18.2	1	9.1	0	0
Articles	1	14.3	4	57.1	1	14.3	1	14.3
Reports	0	0	0	0	2	100	0	0
Total	16	120.3	14	113.4	10	152	1	14.3
Averages	4	30.1	3.5	28.3	2.5	38	0.25	3.6

VF = very frequent   F = frequent   S = seldom   VS = very seldom
E.A. = examination's answers

Table 9: Types of Arabic writing (3)

Types of writing	VI		I		LI		NI	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
E.A.	12	57.1	7	33.3	2	9.5	0	0
Notes	1	9.1	8	72.7	2	18.2	0	0
Articles	2	28.6	4	57.1	1	14.3	0	0
Reports	0	0	0	0	2	100	0	0
Total	15	94.8	19	163.1	7	142	0	0
Averages	3.8	23.7	4.8	40.8	1.8	35.5	0	0

VI = very important   I = important   LI = less important   NI = not important
freq. = frequency   E.A. = examination's answers

Table 10: Teacher's use of Arabic in their speak

Places	VF		F		S		VS	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Lecture halls	8	16.7	6	12.5	32	66.7	2	4.1
Tutorial rooms	9	18.8	11	22.9	27	56.2	1	2.1
Total	17	35.5	17	35.4	59	122.9	3	6.2
Averages	8.5	17.8	8.5	17.7	29.5	61.5	1.5	3.1

VF = very frequent   F = frequent   S = Seldom   VS = very seldom

Table 11: The importance of some listening inputs

Listening inputs	VI		I		LI		NI	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Lectures	23	47.9	20	41.7	3	6.2	2	4.2
Tutorials	21	43.8	24	50	2	4.2	1	2
Students' talks	17	35.4	22	45.8	7	14.6	2	4.2
Total	61	127.1	66	137.5	12	25	5	10.4
Averages	20.3	42.4	22	45.8	4	8.3	1.7	3.5

VI = very important   I = important   LI = less important
NI = not important   freq. = frequency

Table 12: Students' use of Arabic in their communication

Parties	VF		F		S		N		Missing values
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	
AT	1	2.2	9	19.6	33	71.7	3	6.5	2
RT	0	0	1	2.1	31	65.9	15	31.9	1
F.I.C	0	0	0	0	23	48.9	24	51.1	1
F.O.C	0	0	0	0	22	46.8	25	53.2	1
SG	0	0	2	4.2	22	46.8	23	48.9	1

VF = very frequent   F = frequent   S = seldom   N = never
AT = Arabic teachers   RT = religious   SG = students groups
F.I.C. = friends in the classrooms   F.O.C. = friends outside the classrooms

The programmes' contributions and attainments

Table 13: The contribution of the programme to students' standards in Arabic

Arabic skills	so much		much		little		very little		none	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
Reading	12	2.4	133	26.7	266	53.3	86	17.2	2	0.4
Writing	7	1.4	105	21	213	42.6	150	30	25	5
Listening	11	2.2	125	25.1	276	55.3	78	15.6	9	1.8
Speaking	3	0.6	62	12.5	214	43.1	166	33.4	52	10.5

Table 14: Contribution in reading by years of study

Years of study	so much		much		little		very little		none	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
First	3	3	31	31	47	47	19	19	0	0
Second	1	0.9	19	17.6	55	50.9	32	26.9	1	0.9
Third	7	5	47	33.3	75	53.2	12	8.5	0	0
Fourth	1	0.7	36	24	89	59.3	23	15.3	1	0.7

Table 15: Contribution in writing by years of study

Years of study	so much		much		litte		very little		none	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
First	6	5.9	32	31.7	51	50.5	12	11.9	0	0
Second	1	0.9	34	31.5	52	48.1	19	17.6	2	1.9
Third	0	0	28	19.9	62	44	46	32.6	5	3.5
Fourth	0	0	11	7.3	48	32	73	48.7	18	12

Table 16: Contribution in listening by years of study

Years of study	so much		much		little		very little		none	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
First	6	6	29	29	54	54	10	10	1	1
Second	1	0.9	28	25.9	67	62	10	9.3	2	1.9
Third	4	2.8	43	30.5	66	46.8	26	18.4	2	1.4
Fourth	0	0	25	16.7	89	59.3	32	21.3	4	2.7

Table 17: Contribution in speaking by years of study

Years of study	so much		much		little		very little		none	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
First	3	3	16	16.2	60	60.5	19	19.2	1	1
Second	0	0	20	26.6	50	46.3	25	23.1	4	3.7
Third	0	0	14	10	60	42.9	64	45.7	12	8.6
Fourth	0	0	3	2	44	29.3	68	45.3	35	23.3

Table 18: The programme attainment by years of study

Years of study	VS		S		LS		US		NS	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
First	1	1	13	12.9	67	66.3	17	16.8	3	3
Second	2	1.9	12	11.1	71	65.7	23	21.3	0	0
Third	1	0.7	17	12.1	94	66.7	29	20.6	0	0
Fourth	0	0	8	5.3	86	57.3	53	35.3	3	2
Total	4	0.8	50	10	318	63.3	122	24.4	6	1.2

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العربية الفصحى والتعليم في جامعة صنعاء

علي محمد غالب المخلافي

جامعة صنعاء

نقصد بالعربية الفصحى في هذا البحث ذلك المستوى اللغوي القديم الذي تم استنباطه من مصادره المحددة القرآن الكريم والشعر العربي حتى نهاية سنة ١٥٠ هـ. وكلام العرب في المدر حتى القرن الرابع الهجري إضافة إلى الحديث النبوي الشريف الذي وقع الاختلاف بين النحويين في الاحتجاج به.

ويشمل ذلك مستوى الأصوات والصرف والقواعد والمعجم وما من شك في أن هذا المستوى المعياري الفصيح الذي وضع النحاة أسسه في ضوء المصادر السابقة هو الذي ساد حركة التأليف والكتابة في فروع المعارف العلمية المختلفة على مر التاريخ سواء ما يعرف الآن بالبلاد العربية أو في بعض البلدان الإسلامية التي فتحت على أيدي العرب كبلاد فارس وتركيا والأندلس... إلخ والتي تراجعت فيها العربية في فترات لاحقة.

أما ما ظهر من محاولات للتكابة بغير العربية الفصحى منذ أن وضعت قواعد العربية فإنه لا يكاد يذكر ولم يكن ذا شأن كبير وخطر جليل، بيد أنه تجدر الإشارة إلى أن العربية الفصحى هذه قد خضعت لسنة التطور اللغوي وقوانينه، فلم تكن ثابتة المستويات طوال هذه الفترة. وقد تعرضت لتطورات مختلفة في مستوياتها وبخاصة في مستوى المعجم والدلالة واشتقاق الصيغ وبقيت محتفظة بمستوى القواعد وتراكيب الجمل. ذلك ما نجده في مستويات اللغة المكتوبة التي هي موضوع اهتمام هذا البحث أما اللغة المنطوقا فإن لها شأنا آخر ليس هذا مكانه.

وحينما ننحدر إلى العصر الحديث سنجد أن العربية الفصحى ما تزال حية المعالم في جميع البلاد التي يطلق عليها البلدان العربية — ولكنها ليست عربية القرون الأولى بل هي عربية العصر الحديث التي انحدرت من العربية الفصحى وخضعت لتطورات مختلفة، تلك التطورات لم تقض على الصلة بين الفصحى الأم والعربية المعاصرة وبخاصة في مجال الأصوات والكلمات.

وليس الحديث عن العربية الفصحى في جامعة صنعاء منقطع الصلة عن الحديث عنها في بقية الجامعات العربية.

ذلك أن أوجه الشبه كثيرة ومتعددة بين هذه الجامعات وما زالت اللغة واحدا من المظاهر التي تجمع بين العرب. وعلى الرغم من وجود لهجات كثيرة ومتعددة في البلدان العربية واستعمال تلك اللهجات في الحديث الجاري بين الناس، فإن ذلك لم يقض على العربية الفصحى المعاصرة ولم تستطع اللهجات حتى الآن أن يحل محلها وأن تشغل الأماكن التي تشغلها.

وإذا ما حاولنا أن نحصر الأماكن التي تشغلها العربية الفصحى المعاصرة فسنجد أنها تبرز غالبا في: الكتابة والتأليف والترجمة؛ التعليم؛ الإعلام. تلك في أبرز الميادين التي تعني بأمر العربية الفصحى المعاصرة في غالبية البلاد العربية.

ونظرا للتشابه القائم بين البلدان العربية في مجال التعامل مع العربية الفصحى الحديثة في الميادين السابقة مع ملاحظة (تفاوت الاهتمام بالعربية من بلد إلى آخر) في تلك الميادين فإن النتائج قد تكون متشابهة إلى حد بعيد.

إن الاتصال بين الشعوب العربية قائم على أساس الصلة اللغوية في المجالات التي ذكرناها. فإذا ما انقطعت تلك الصلة وانصرف كل بلد إلى لهجاته المحلية فإن آثار ذلك كثيرة ومعقدة — يدرك المعنيون هذا الخطر ويعملون جاهدين على المحافظة على هذه الرابطة الوثيقة الحافظة لهوية العرب ولشخصيتهم بين الأمم.

لقد كانت جامعة صنعاء من ضمن الجامعات العربية التي عنيت بتدريس العربية انطلاقا من أهدافها التربوية والقومية والدينية وفي هذا الصدد أنشأت الجامعة أقساما متعددة تختص بتدريس العربية في كليات الآدب والتربية واللغات التابعة للجامعة، حيث تدرس اللغة العربية بمختلف علومها كتخصص تمنح به شهادة جامعية بعد أن يمضي الطالب أربع سنوات في الدرس والتحصيل [1].

وقبل الإجابة عن هذا السؤال وحتى لا تحمل الجامعة كامل العبء لا بد من وقفة قصيرة نسلط خلالها الضوء على واقع اللغة العربية في المرحلة قبل الجامعية في الجمهورية اليمنية إذ أن تلك المرحلة هي التي يبنى عليها مستقبل الطالب اللغوي ويترتب عليها تقرير نجاح ذلك المستقبل أو فشله بل إن بعض اللغويين يذهب إلى القول بأنه ما لم يستوعب الطالب القوانين اللغوية الأساسية في المراحل المبكرة من عمره فإن من العسير أن يجيد تعلم اللغة في المراحل المتأخرة ومنها مرحلة الجامعة.

وتظهر للمستقري في مناهج اللغة العربية في المراحل الابتدائية والإعدادية والثانوية ملاحظات عدة نوجز أهمها فيما يلي:

١ — أن تلك المناهج تحتوي على قبض من المعلومات بعضها أساسي وبعضها غير ذلك.

٢ — أن منهج النحو في المرحلة (الابتدائية) لا يتسق مع القدرات العقلية للطلاب في تلك المرحلة، ونجد مصطلحات نحوية ليست ضرورية في هذه المرحلة مثل (المفعول المطلق، المضاف إليه، الضمائر... إلخ).

٣ — أن تلك المناهج لا تعني بالقراءة الصحيحة المضبوطة بالشكل.

٤ — أن جانب التطبيق يغيب في أغلب الموضوعات.

٥ — أن تلك المناهج لا تشتمل على حاجات أساسية مهمة (طرق القراءة، الإملاء، التعبير، مناقشة الأفكار... إلخ).

٦ — تخلو النصوص من الضبط اللغوي الذي يعود (الطالب) على السليقة اللغوية.

هذا في جانب المنهج. أما في جانب المعلم فإن الأساتذة الذين توكل اليهم مهمة تدريس اللغة العربية يفتقر معظمهم إلى الخبرة التربوية والمعرفة الموضوعية لأن معظم المدرسين في المراحل الابتدائية هم من المتخرجين من معاهد المعلمين. ومخرجات تلك المعهد لا تتصف بالحد الأدنى من الكفاءة العلمية ناهيك عن عدم تخضضها في مواد معينة. يضاف إلى ذلك أنه قد يعهد إلى أستاذ غير متخصص في اللغة بتدريس مواد النحو والبالغة والأدب مما يؤدي إلى إهدار الجهد والوقت والمال.

يضاف إلى هذين الجانبين جانب آخر معمول به في المراحل قبل الجامعة وهو تخصيص مادة اللغة العربية (نحو، قراءات، أدب، قصة، إملاء... إلخ) بدرجة نجاح واحدة لكل الشعب، ويمكن للطالب الذي يحصل على خمسين درجة في مادة القراءة مثلا أن ينجح فيما تبقى وهكذا فإن الطالب ربما يتخرج من الثانوية العامة وهو لا يعلم شيئا في مسائل النحو وقواعد اللغة. أما جانب الطلاب فإنهم قلما يكترثون لمادة اللغة العربية لأسباب مختلفة.

لقد نجم عن تلك الاختلالات في المنهج والمدرس ودرجة الامتحان والطالب آثار خطيرة انعكست على طالب المرحلة قبل الجامعية. حيث يلازم الطالب ضعف شديد في مراحل دراسته الابتدائية يكبر معه في المرحلة الإعدادية والثانوية. وهذا الضعف قد لا يظهر أثره في الامتحانات التي يؤديها الطالب في تلك المراحل وذلك بسبب دمج مواد اللغة العربية في مادة واحدة وإمكانية نجاح

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١   توجد في جميع كليات الآداب والتربية أقسام اللغة العربية.

الطالب في مادة واحدة تغني عن بقية المواد. وحينما يصل الطالب إلى أبواب الجامعة يصل مثقلا بتلك المشكلات المعرفية المختلفة.

فهو   أولا: لم يفد كثيرا من مادة اللغة العربية في تلك السنوات الطويلة.

ثانيا: لم يدرك الهدف طوال تلك الفترة.

ثالثا: لم يفهم الطريقة التي سار عليها مدرسوه في توصيل المادة وهكذا يتساوى أحيانا والرجل العامي في قلة المعرفة.

تلك هي الصور المختزلة للحالة التي تشخص وضع التحصيل اللغوي في المرحلة ما قبل الجامعة.

فإذا انتقلنا إلى مرحلة الجامعة فسنجد أن قضية العربية الفصحى في المحور الأول وهو أقسام اللغة العربية ومناهجها في الجامعة تعني بتدريب مواد الأدب واللغة.

وما يعنينا هنا هو مادة النحو والصرف التي يكتسب الطالب من خلالها مهارة العربية الفصحى في النطق والقراءة والكتابة. وهذه المادة تدرس بطريقة واحدة في جميع الأقسام، حيث تقسم جميع أبواب النحو على سنوات أربع، مقرر فيها كتاب شرح ابن عقيل غالبا.

أما الطريقة الغالبة في الشرح فهي كتابة الشواهد في الدرس الذي سيلقى على السبورة، ثم تذكر القاعدة، ويشار إلى الشاهد الذي يؤيد تلك القاعدة.

ونظرا لطول المنهج وضيق الوقت فإن الطالب غالبا لا يلم بجميع أبواب النحو المقررة وإنما يتوقف عند بعض الأبواب والمسائل بحسب رغبة المدرس.

وفي الاختبار يجرى قياس إلمام الطالب بالمسائل التي درسها قياسا نظريا إذ تتوزع الأسئلة على بعض القواعد والشواهد والإعراب وشرح عبارات من الكتاب المقرر.

وقد ينجح الطالب إذا ما اعتمد على قوة الحافظة وهو لم يكتسب مهارة التمرين في الحديث والكتابة بالعربية الفصحى، ولذلك فقد وجدنا من خلال عينات[2] أجريناها على إجابات الطلاب المتخرجين في قسم اللغة العربية بكلية الآداب، والذين حازوا على شهادات الليسانس نسبة عالية من الأخطاء النحوية التي كان من المتوقع عدم وقوع الطالب فيها خاصة وأنها تأتي ضمن الأبواب التي درسها في المرحلة الجامعية.

ومن ذلك الأخطاء في اسم (إن وكان) إذا تقدمه الخبر وكان شبه جملة والخطأ في نصب بعض مفاعيل الأفعال المتعدية والخطأ في معمولات المشتقات والخطأ فيما يظهر وما يقدر من الحركات على المقصور والمنقوص والخطأ في التوابع... إلخ.

فضلا عن الأخطاء الإملائية الكبيرة التي وقع فيها بعض هؤلاء الطلاب المتخصصين في العربية والذين أمضوا في دراستها أربع سنوات.

إن النقص الذي يلحق الطلبة المتخصصين في العربية بعد تخرجهم من الجامعة والذي يشعر به الطلاب والأساتذة يرد إلى المنهج المقرر وطريقة الأداء فالمنهج الغالب في النحو العربي من الكلام العادي ولما شذ وندر، وربما كان بعض تلك الشواهد مصنوعا لا يمت إلى العربية بصلة.

والنحو الذي ندرسه نحو شكلي يهتم بالحركة الإعرابية، والعامل النحوي، وقد وجهت إلى نظرية العامل انتقادات قديمة وحديثة، والدليل على أنها ما يزال تواجهنا هو أن تأليفنا للكتب ينطلق منها، ويعود إليها، فنحن ندرس المرفوعات والمنصوبات والمجرورات والمجزومات، والجمل التي لها محل من الإعراب والتي لا محل لها، والإعراب والتقدير، والمجرور بالفتحة عوضا عن الكسرة، إن هذا كله مهم، ويجب أن نعرفه، ولكننا ندعو إلى أن نولي المعنى النحوي أهمية أكبر، ونوازن بين الحركة الإعرابية والمعنى المقصود فالنحو غايته إبراز المعاني النحوية.

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٢   أجريت العينات على أربعمائة وخمسين ورقة من أوراق إجابات الطلاب.

ونحن لا نعني بتحليل التراكيب، فالتطبيق والإعراب أهم ما في تدريسنا، ومدرس النحو يعلم الطلاب أجزاء الجملة، وارتباط هذه الأجزاء بعضها ببعض معتمدا على الحركة الإعرابية ونظرية العوامل، ولا يهتم بطريقة التركيب، أو طريقة تأدية المعنى، وربما تبادر إلى الذهن أن هذه وظيفة مدرس الأدب الذي يختبر كتابة الطالب وتراكيبه وجمله التي يضعها، ولغته التي يكونها، لكننا إذا عرفنا أن انقطاعا يكاد يكون جذريا بين فروع المعرفة اللغوية هو الطاغي في المرحلتين الجامعية وما قبلها فإننا ندرك حجم المشكلة.

إن أقسام اللغة العربية في الجامعة تعاني من مشكلات مختلفة انعكست على مستوى تحصيل الطلاب ومن أهم تلك المشكلات:

١ — أن أغلب الذين يلتحقون بقسم اللغة العربية لا يلتحقون وفقا لرغباتهم وإنما لعدم قبولهم في أقسام أخرى.

٢ — غياب الهدف الواضح من التدريس.

٣ — ضعف الطالب من المرحلة التي تسبق الجامعة ضعفا يكاد يمنعه من تمثل هذا العلم بمصطلحاته ومفهوماته وتراثه وقضاياه كما أشرنا.

٤ — ضعف الصلة بين المدرس والطالب، لأن الأعداد كبيرة، والمختصون بالنحو والصرف قليلو العدد.

٥ — مفردات المقرر شاملة للغالب والقليل والنادر والشاذ، ويصعب على طالبك غير مؤهل أن يستوعبها.

٦ — لغة الكتاب لغة قديمة لأنه صنع لنمط آخر من الطلاب.

٧ — الاختبار لا يؤدي الغرض، لأن طريقته تحتاج إلى تقويم وإلى تغيير إلى غير ذلك من الأسباب الكثيرة.

المحور الثاني: العربية في الأقسام غير الاختصاص ومناهجها:

إذا نظرنا إلى العربية في الأقسام غير المختصة في كليات الجامعة فسنجد أن وحدة اللغة العربية التابعة لمركز اللغات تقوم بعبء تدريس العربية العامة كمتطلب جامعي لمدة عام واحد ويحتوي المنهج المدروس قائمة من الموضوعات النحوية والأدبية[3] وهي في الغالب تأتي تكرارا لما يدرسه الطلاب في مرحلة ما قبل الجامعة بل إن بعض المسائل النحوية قد حذفت من المنهج وظهرت بصورة أكثر اختصارا.

ونظرا لتدني مستوى الطلاب القادمين من المراحل الأولى إلى الجامعة فالأساتذة الذين يقومون بالتدريس غالبا ما ينزلون عند مستويات الطلاب المتدنية، ويظهر من خلال عينة الامتحانات التي أخذت من الكليات المختلفة مدى نزول الأساتذة إلى تلك المستويات الدنيا[4] إذ ظهر في تلك الأسئلة مسائل نحوية هزيلة لا يتوقع من خلالها الارتقاء بمستوى الأداء في مرحلة الجامعة.

ولا شك أن هذه المشكلة لا تتحمل مسئوليتها الجامعة إذ هي نابعة من المراحل التعليمية الأولى — ولو أن الأداء كان جيدا خلال تلك المراحل لما احتاجت الجامعة إلى إعادة فرض اللغة العربية على طلابها وكأنها لغة أجنبية، فإذا ما أضفنا إلى ذلك عدم وجود نتائج ذات قيمة فعلية في واقع الطلاب وعدم تحسن مستوياتهم وعدم ظهور ما يشير إلى تقدمهم في النطق والقراءة والكتابة فإن ذلك يشير إلى حجم المشكلة.

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٣   انظر كتاب اللغة العربية (متطلبات الجامعة). مجموعة من المؤلفين.

٤   أجريت العينة على ستمائة ورقة من أوراق الامتحانات المختلفة.

إنها مشكلة كبرى تؤرق أساتذة العربية منذ زمن طويل وقد وقف في إزائها كثير من المعنيين بشؤون اللغة العربية وأجريت دراسات كثيرة وعقدت ندوات مختلفة وكله تبحث عن الخلل وجميعها يشكو من ضعف الطلاب وعدم قدرتهم على التعامل مع اللغة بالصورة الصحيحة وما زالت طرق تعليم العربية وطرق اتقانها تلقى كثيرا من العقبات لأسباب نفسية وعلمية وتاريخية مختلفة.

إن كثيرا من الأساتذة الذين يعنون بتدريس اللغة لغير المختصين يضطرون إلى النزول إلى المستوى الأدنى للطلاب ويتخلون عن ما يعرف بالمستوى الأكاديمي الجامعي، ويكررون الموضوعات التي سبقت في المراحل الأولى ويرون أن هذا أنفع وأجدى من السير على الطريق الأخر.

ولعلنا الآن ندرك السبب الذي يكمن وراء هذا التكرار في المنهج وهذا التبسيط الذي هو موضوع نقد كبير من قبل الفرقاء الذين لا يدركون ماهية المشكلة.

وإذا ما أردنا السير في الطريق الصحيح فلا بد من بحث عن معالجة ولا بد من بحث عن طريق قويم يجمع بين مرحلتين متكاملتين هما مرحلة التعليم قبل الجامعة ومرحلة التعليم الجامعي. وتدرك الخلل الواضح والكبير الذي يعضف بالطالب في المراحل الدراسية الأولى.

والخطوة الأولى في هذا الطريق تتمثل في تحديد الأسئلة التالية وهي:

١ – لماذا ندرس اللغة العربية لأقسام غير الاختصاص؟

٢ – ماذا ندرس من المادة اللغوية؟

٣ – كيف ندرّس تلك المادة؟

أما السؤال الأول فنحن في غنى عن الإجابة عنه، لأننا جميعا نعلم أن اللغة هي الفكر، وهي شخصية الفرد والأمة وهي مظهر القوة والانتماء وهي الوسيلة الأساسية في الاتصال الإنساني فاللغة هي الحياة.

وأما السؤال الثاني (ماذا ندرس؟) فإن إجابته تنبع من خلال الممارسة العلمية في فصول الدراسة وتلمس الحاجات اللغوية للدارسين.

وقد اتضح لنا من خلال ذلك أن الغالبية العظمى من الطلاب تفتقر إلى المعلومات الأساسية في الحقول التالية:

١ – بعض القواعد الأساسية؛

٢ – التعبير (الكتابة)؛

٣ – القراءة الصحيحة؛

٤ – الإملاء.

ويمكن في ظل هذه الاحتياجات وضع منهج يشتمل على قواعد الإملاء التي يفتقر إليها الطلاب ويخطئون في كتابتها. كما يمكن تغطية جوانب النقص فيما يحتاجون إليه من قواعد اللغة الأساسية التي تظهر في القراءة والكتابة والحديث وتحديد الموضوعات المتصلة بذلك، واستبعاد ما عدا ذلك مما يدخل في دائرة المختصين في أقسام اللغة العربية.

وتبقى الإجابة عن السؤال الأخير وهو (كيف ندرس؟). وهنا تظهر أمامنا مناهج مختلفة لعل أفضلها بالنسبة لموضوعنا هو المنهج التكاملي الذي يقوم على:

الاتيان بنص متكامل يقرؤه الطلاب قراءة صحيحة معربة ويناقشون معناه، ويقوم المدرس بتصحيح الأخطاء وتحليلها والإرشاد إلى القاعدة التي يراد توضيحها في المحاضرة من خلال ورود أمثلتها في النص[5].

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٥   انظر Freeman 1986.

لقد درج كثير من أساتذة اللغة العربية على طرق تقليدية في التدريس ومنها الطريقة القياسية والطريقة الاستقرائية في شرح قواعد النحو، وفي النصوص الأدبية يتم شرح النص شرحا عاما بعد معرفة ما فيه من الغريب ثم نستخرج الصور الفنية إن وجدت.

وهكذا يتم الفصل بين النص والقاعدة ولا يوظف النص بشكل صحيح ويتناول من كافة جوانبه ولذلك ينعدم الرابط للطالب ويظل وضع اللغة غائما في ذهنه وإن تخرج من الجامعة. ولا تستغربن إذا ما وجدت متخرجا من الجامعة لا يقيم عبارة سليمة أو يخلو من خطأ في الإملاء.

ويمكن للباحث إجمال معالم طريقة توصيل المعلومات السابقة التي يحتاجها الطالب في النقاط التالية:

١ — اختيار نصوص متنوعة تتفق وتخصصات الطلاب؛
٢ — تدريب الطلاب على قراءة النص قراءة صحيحة معربة؛
٣ — مناقشة الطلاب في محتوى النص ومضمونه؛
٤ — مناقشة الطلاب في بنية النص اللغوية (نوع الجمل ومعانيها، التقديم والتأخير، والحذف... إلخ، والكلمات، والأسلوب والمفاضلة بين الكلمات والجمل والأساليب... إلخ)؛
٥ — شرح بعض القواعد الأساسية التي يحتاجها الطالب من خلال النص؛
٦ — تكليف الطلاب بكتابة موضوعات المختلفة. يتم من خلال ذلك مناقشة ما يلي:

أ —   الأخطاء الإملائية (إن وجدت)
ب —   الأخطاء النحوية والصرفية
ج —   طريقة ترتيب الأفكار
د —   نوع الأسلوب ومناسبته للموضوع

٧ — تكليف الطلاب باختيار نصوص أدبية من الكتب الأدبية وإلقائها على الطلاب، وتصويب قراءتهم ومناقشتهم في المعاني المختلفة؛
٨ — تصحيح بعض الأخطاء الشائعة في الصحافة والإذاعة والكتابات العامة.

إن منهجا كهذا يحتاج إلى أمرين أساسيين:
الأول: أن يكون عدد الطالب قليلا جدا في الصف.
الثاني: أن يخصص لمنهج اللغة العربية الفترة الزمانية الكافية إذ لا يستوعب الفصل الدراسي مناقشة ودراسة ما يحتاجه الطلاب وهو كثير وكثير.

وهذا الأمر يمكن أن ينطبق على طلاب أقسام اللغة العربية الذين هم بحاجة كذلك إلى هذه المهارات الأساسية حتى وإن كانوا يدرسون موضوعات متخصصة.

وأما بالنسبة لوضع الأساتذة فإن الأمر لا يختلف كثيرا سواء أولئك الذين يعلمون في الجامعة أو في مراحل ما قبل الجامعة وذلك لأن كثرة من هؤلاء قد تلقوا تعليمهم بعيدا عن مسألة أهمية العربية.

وفي إحصاء سريع للأساتذة الذين يجيدون الحديث بالفصحى في أقسام كلية الآداب ما عدا قسم اللغة العربية وجدنا ثلاثة من بين سبعة وسبعين أستاذا والأخطر من هذه النتيجة أن قسما من أساتذة قسم اللغة العربية لا يلتزم الفصحى في حديثه أمام الطلاب ولا يلتزم في محاضراته اللغة العربية الفصحى.

وتشير الإحصاءات التي قمنا بها للأخطاء اللغوية في أبحاث بعض أساتذة الجامعة إلى جهل عظيم بالعربية ليس في مستويات الكلمات العربية بل وفي تراكيب الجمل والأساليب.

ولكن الالتزام بلغة هذه المناهج أمر ليس باليسير سواء على المعلمين أو الطلاب — ولذلك فإن اختبار الطالب في هذه المراحل يعتمد على المعلومات ويهمل جانب اللغة وربما امتد أمر التساهل هذا إلى مواد اللغة العربية كالأدب والقراءة والتعبير... إلخ.

إذ غالبا ما يركز الأستاذ على المعلومات ولا يعني بجانب الأخطاء اللغوية والإملائية ولذلك فإن الطالب يتجاوز هذه المراحل وهو جاهل باللغة وأساليبها وقواعدها الصحيحة.

وفي الجامعة يختلف الأمر قليلا إذ غالبا ما تكون المناهج المقررة من اختيار الأستاذ — وهذا الاختيار قد يكون من مؤلفات تلتزم العربية وقد يكون من مؤلفاته وكتاباته، فإذا كان غير ملم بقواعد العربية فإن الأخطاء تظهر في تلك المناهج المقررة.

ولا تعني الجامعة كثيرا بهذا الأمر الخطير ولا تتدخل الهيئة الأكاديمية في ذلك ويبقى الأمر محصورا بين الأستاذ والطالب الذي لا يعلم الصواب اللغوي من الخطأ، والأستاذ — هنا — معني كذلك بالمعلومات لا اللغة.

التوصيات:

١ — توضيح الغاية من تدريس مقرر النحو والصرف، وتبسيط درس القواعد عن طريق:

أ — وضع مناهج ميسرة تتلاعم مع ذهنيات الطلاب وتركز على اللغة التي تظهر في الحياة العلمية وعدم التركيز على الاختلافات والشواذ والاستفادة من نظريات علم اللغة الحديث في ذلك؛

ب — ربط النحو والصرف، بالنصوص القديمة والحديثة، الشعرية والنثرية؛

ج — ربط النحو والصرف بالأدب والبلاغة والنقد فتصبح وظيفته لغوية رقية.

٢ — معالجة الضعف اللغوي في المرحلة التي تسبق الجامعة ولا سيما في تدريس النحو والصرف.

٣ — رفع مستوى المقبولين في قسم اللغة العربية، ويتم ذلك عن طريق الاقتصار على من حصل علامة عالية في اللغة العربية في امتحان الشهادة الثانوية وألا يبقى القبول مقتصرا على الحائزين شهادة الدراسة الثانوية القسم الأدبي، بل يسمح لطلاب القسم العلمي أيضا بالانضمام إلى قسم اللغة العربية، لأن ما يدرسه هؤلاء ليس أقل مما يدرسه أولئك.

٤ — احتساب الأسلوب اللغوي ضمن تقدير النجاح في المراحل المختلفة والحاسبة على كافة الأخطاء والنحوية واللغوية والإملائية.

٥ — إقامة دورات لغوية للمعلمين.

٦ — اشتراط إجادة القدر المطلوب من العربية عند تعيين المعلم.

٧ — إنشاء هيئات لغوية لمراجعة المناهج في جميع المراحل.

٨ — وضع امتحان شامل في العربية الأساسية ليتوقف عليه منح الدرجة الأكاديمية.

٩ — إضافة بعض الامتيازات للمتخصصين في اللغة العربية، ووضع الحوافز لذلك التخصص، وإعطاء أولوية التوظيف لهم.

١٠ — إقامة الندوات اللغوية لتقويم المناهج والمستوى اللغوي في مجال التعليم.

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ADDRESS FORMS IN EGYPTIAN LITERATURE[1]

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Introduction

In many languages it is customary in everyday communication to use different forms of address, depending on the status of the speakers within the social hierarchy or the speakers' relative kinship or intimacy. Differential address forms are expressed through grammatical changes (ask in the use of the third person in addressing the second person, or the plural in addressing a single person), or by the use of epithets and titles which serve as address forms, or a combination of the above.

Whenever there is a change in the status of the speakers within the social hierarchy or in their mutual relations, there is a rite of sorts in which the speakers signal to each other their wish to change the character of the address forms. In French, for example, there is the verb *tutoyer*, and in Hungarian there is the verb *tegeződni*; these verbs mean, in French and Hungarian cultures, "to start using the non–formal personal pronoun *tu* or *te*", respectively. Expressions fulfilling a similar function in colloquial Egyptian Arabic are ما تعملش تكليف or بلاش تكليف as well as the expression خلي البساط أحمدي, all of which mean "without formalities".

The use of differential address forms is receiving growing attention in sociolinguistics. Today there are many studies which describe systems of address forms in various languages, cultures and societies. Some of the better known studies are: Brown & Ford 1964; Brown & Gilman 1964; Ervin–Tripp 1972. A chapter on the subject is included in many books dedicated to sociolingistics.

A study done by Parkinson (1985), encompasses most address forms used at present in Egyptian society. The findings of his study fit to a large extent my own impressions as to the use of address forms in Egyptian Arabic, both in oral communication and in written texts.

There are some studies which deal with the use of address forms in literature, and I will mention only one: *Structural Implications of Russian Pronominal Usage* by Friedrich, in which he demonstrates how the system of address forms in the Russian language answers various needs of literary works. Friedrich describes a variety of symmetric and asymmetric relationships between addresser and addressee which are expressed through the use of address forms. In order to simplify the description of the phenomenon, I will deal here with two basic addresser–addressee situations:

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[1] This paper is based on a chapter from my PhD thesis: *The Language of Dialogue in Modern Egyptian Drama (Mainly Since 1952)* and on further research.

Equality or inequality of addresser and addressee in the social hierarchy or in their mutual relationships.

I believe that there is no need to discuss here the diglossia in Arabic-speaking societies. I want only to mention that there are address forms in *fushā*, the standard language, which are used in formal communication, oral or written. Egyptian *ʿāmmiyya* has a larger variety of address forms which are used in everyday communication.

In contemporary Egyptian Arabic dozens of address forms have become established, some of them dating from the period before the 1952 revolution. Some address forms changed function after the revolution, and new forms were created. The intensive use of address forms in everyday communication in Egyptian society has brought about the creation of new address forms, as well as a devaluation in the status of some common address forms and their replacement by others, considered more "respectable". The title *bāšmuhandis*, for example, meaning literally "chief engineer", has become an address form for any engineer. Today people of various trades, including manual ones, may be addressed as *bāšmuhandis*. Another version of this address form is *yā handasa* (lit.: Your Engineeringness). This address form (or the more popular form *yā handaza*) at times replaces the address form *bāšmuhandis*.

Only a few of those will be described below. The following is a table with address forms which will be mentioned here:

Address Forms (a selection)

باشا	bāša	before 1952: official titles (very respectful) after 1952: "mister", "sir" (neutral/polite)
بيه (بيك/بك)	bēh	

Address form	Transliteration	Meaning	Function
حضرة/ حضرتك	ḥaḍrit/ḥaḍritak	sir, the honorable, your honor, your excellency	polite
سيادة/سيادتك	siyādit/siyādtak		polite/more polite
سعادة/سعادتك	saʿādit/saʿādtak		very polite/respectful
افندم/يا فندم	afandim/yā-fan-dim	(1) your honor, your excellency (for males & females) (2) yes? sir?/ma'am?	very polite/ respectful
ست	sitt	Mrs, Ms, lady, mistress	polite
هانم	hānim		more polite
ست هانم	sitt-i hānim		very polite/respectful

سيدي/سيد	sīdi/sayyid	mister	polite
معلم	miʿallim	"boss"	very polite/respectful (among the working classes)
يا ولد	yā–walad	"hey you" (lit.: boy!)	familiar/ disrespectful
يا واد	yā–wād		↓
يا وله/يا له	yā–walah/yā–lah		↓
ياد	yā–d		more familiar/ disrespectful
بنت	bint	"hey you" (lit.: girl!)	familiar/ disrespectful
بت	bitt		more familiar/ disrespectful
يا... انت	yā ... inta	"you...", "... you"	(structures stressing disrespect)
انت... انت	inta ... inta		
يا... يا	yā ... yā		
... يا	... yā		

Some Egyptians disapprove of the high frequency of address forms in communication and, at times, of the very existence of certain address forms. This disapproval is occasionally given expression in letters to the editor. Magīd Ṭūbya, a well known Egyptian writer, refers in a satirical way to the change of values in Egyptian society, and consequently to the change of prestige of various address forms:

For a tip of half an Egyptian pound you can acquire the title of *bēh* from a waiter in a popular coffee-shop.

If you are an owner of a car and have paid the "car-boy" half an Egyptian pound he will bid you farewell with the title "Doctor" or *bāšmuhandis*.

If you give him one complete Egyptian pound he will award you with the title *bēh*, but if you award him five Egyptian pounds (which is unlikely), he will give you a great salute bidding you farewell with the title *miʿallim*!!

The *miʿallim* has become more important than the engineer, the doctor and the nuclear scientist! (Ṭūbya 1996: 16–17)

As is the custom in satire, the description here is exaggerated, since in Egyptian society the title "doctor" still enjoys higher esteem than the title *miʿallim*.

The Functions of Address Forms in Egyptian Literature

This study is based on dramatic literature as well as prose literature. It should be noted that dialogues in modern Egyptian drama, are written for the most part in the colloquial. Writers of prose may use the two languages.

The differences in using address forms in drama and in prose are due to the difference between these two genres: Whereas the narrator in prose may interfere and express his own views, or tell us the views of the characters, in drama there is no narrator and the characters speak for themselves. This will be evident in some of the following examples.

Let us now consider some examples from Egyptian literature (as mentioned above, the address forms which are reviewed here do not constitute an exhaustive repertory of address forms in Egyptian Arabic, but only a selection).

The first two examples are taken from narrative prose, showing the presence of the author in the text: In the first example, the narrator refers to the way Ḥasan's wife addresses him: — كانت تدعوه "سيدي"، ولا تقعد في حضرته إلا إذا أذن لها "She used to address him as «my master» and never sat in his presence unless he gave her permission" (Maḥfūẓ n.d.: 263).

In the next example, we have both the author's interference and the use of an address form in a dialogue. The title ʿamm which literally means "(paternal) uncle", is used also as a popular form of address:

وفي الاسبوع الثالث نزلت الخادمة الصغيرة الغبية من العمارة وفي يدها خطاب... وتلقاها عم جابر البواب، ليسألها في لهجته الآمرة التي يخطب بها كل خدم العمارة:
— رايحة فين يا بت!!

"In the third week the silly young maid came down from the building carrying a letter in her hand. ʿAmm Gābir, the doorman, met her asking her in his commanding voice with which he addressed all of the building's servants:
— Where are you going, bitt?!" (ʿAbdalquddūs 1978: 220)

From this excerpt we see also the relativity of social status, when the doorman, a position not enjoying high prestige in society, feels himself superior to others and addresses them accordingly.

Narrative texts do not usually open with address forms. In drama, address forms appear many times already at the outset of a play, supplying the audience with instant information. The next example is taken from the beginning of a play, in which the scene is that of a simple coffee shop. The play opens with voices coming from a recorded tape. These voices are calling to ʿAsfūr, the hero of the play, using a variety of address forms which enable the audience to comprehend quickly ʿAsfūr's social standing:

الأصوات   انت ياد انت جا قهوجي.
(تصفيقات)... ياد يا عصفور... انت يا له.
يا جدع انت فين القهوة...

The voices   Hey, you, *yād*, *qahwagi* [the owner of a coffee shop or someone who works there].

(Applause) *yād*, ʿAṣfūr, you, *yā lah*.

Hey, man, where's the coffee? (Bakīr 1981: 110).

At the opening of the play *as-Sibinsa*, whose plot is set in the pre-revolutionary period, Darwīš, the sergeant major at the police station, answers the telephone. At the other end of the line is the station commander, who is looking for the commander of the provincial police. The sergeant major buttons up his jacket immediately and speaks in a fearful tone while using a variety of polite address forms, very intensely. Note the double use of the word *afandim* here which in its first appearance means "yes?":

درويش   افندم... سعادة الحكمدار ذاته. افندم سعادة الباشا...
(يزرر جاكتته ويتحدث في خوف شديد)... لسه يا سعادة الباشا اول
سعادته ما يوصل اقول لسعادته يكلم سعادتك... يا سعادة الباشا...
لا يا افندم [...]

(Wahba 1966: 8)

Beyond the comic effect credated by the intensive use of polite address forms and titles in this scene, the playwright succeeds in clarifying already in the opening lines of the play the hierarchical relations between the sergeant major and his superiors, and also in recreating the atmosphere of the period preceding the 1952 revolution, during which the title Pasha was extremely important.

When two speakers who have unequal status in the social hierarchy, or in their mutual standing, address each other, each of them is expected to use address forms which reflect this inequality. The following dialogue is also from a beginning of a play. The differentiation here is created through the use of the address form *bitt*, the feminine counterpart of *wād*, contrasted with the polite address form *sitt*. Thus, from the very first lines of the play the difference in status between the two women is clear, before we get acquainted with the characters themselves:

ناعسة   (تغني) يا نعلتين في العلالي [...] (منادية) شلباية... بت يا شلباية...
شلباية   (وهي تدخل مسرعة) ايوه يا ستي...

Nāʿsa   (Singing) Two palm trees standing on high [...] (Calling) Šilbāya, *bitt*, Šilbāya.

Šilbāya   (Entering in a hurry) Yes, mistress. (Našātī & Saʿīd n.d.: 371–372)

In the following example Zaydān, the land owner, addresses one of the village guards with the familiar/disrespectful form *wād*, while the guard replies with a sentence composed of three words, each of which is a polite address form:

زيدان   (ينادي احد الخفراء)... واد يا عبد السميع...
عبد السميع افندم حضرة البيه...

Zaydān   (Calling one of the guards) *Wād*, ʿAbdassamīʿ.

ʿAbdassamīʿ Yes, sir (*afandim*), Your Excellency (*ḥaḍrit*) the *bēh*. (Wahba 1967: 51)

A change in tone accompanied by the use of the common polite address forms changes their function and transforms politeness into contempt and derision. (By the same token, a change in tone may transform a disrespectful address form into one expressing affection.) Appropriate stage directions in drama may stress the ironic use of the address forms, as in the following example, in which Suʿād addresses Muḥammad, who is courting her:

سعاد   [...] (بتمثيل) وعايز ايه حضرة جنابك؟

Suʿād   (Acting) And what does Your Honor want? (Idrīs 1974a: 66)

The address form *ganāb* used here is a very respectful address form used mostly in formal communicative situations. The next example is a similar one, this time from prose: The wife, in a quarrel with her husband about preparing supper, asks:

تقدر تقول لي حضرتك، انا باشتغل ايه هنا؟! — "Would your honor be kind enough to tell me, what I am supposed to be doing here?!" (Mursī 1993: 188).

Later on, the husband pays his wife with her own coin:

"طيب اقدر اعرف حضرتك عاوزة ايه دلوقت؟!"

Well, may I know what your honor wants now?! (Mursī 1993: 191).

In the play *ʿĀʾilat ad-dūġrī*, Muṣṭafa expresses his anger at his brother Sayyid. The word which expresses that anger is non other than the address form *ḥadritak* wich is used ironically:

مصطفى   اللي يتصرف في ملك غيره لازم يتسجن...
سيد   ومين اللي عمل كده بقى؟!
مصطفى   حضرتك!!

Muṣṭafa   Whoever deals in property which he does not own should be put in jail.

Sayyid   Who dared do this?!

Muṣṭafa   Your Excellency!! (ʿĀšūr, 1976: 205).

An addressee usually becomes aware of address forms when he perceives a deviation from normal usage. Whole scenes may revolve around the awareness of the characters participating in the conversation of the address forms being used and thus the use of address forms becomes part of the plot. Addressees may demand to be addressed in a certain form, or they may protest against the use of certain address forms, etc.

In many cases an addressee who was not addressed in a form reflecting the high status he deserves, in his opinion, may demand to be addressed in a form which he thinks is his due. In the play *Kullu ʿāyiz yitgawwiz Ṣallūḥa*, Idrīs and Firyāl are employed as doorman and cook, respectively, by the same family. Idrīs is in love with Firyāl and courts her. Firyāl is not willing to have Idrīs call her by name only, without an address form: وكمان مش عايزاك تنده لي بفريال كده حاف... فاهم؟؟ — "Also, I don't want you to call me just plain Firyāl, see?" (Hamāda 1990: 49). Idrīs protests against Firyāl's demand to be addressed with an address form, while she addresses him by name only:

ادريس   يعني اقول يا ست فريال هانم؟؟ ايه العنطزة دي!!

فريال   لا عنطزة ولا فنطزة... انا نبهت عليك قبل كده ما تندهليش خالص... انا حرة...

ادريس   اشمعنى انت بتندهي لي كده خاف؟؟... يا ادريس هات تاكسي للست يا ادريس ابعت المكوجي... وليه ما تقولليش يا سيد ادريس... يعني انا اللي واقع من قعر القفة.

Idrīs   You mean I should say mistress Firyāl? Why do you give yourself such airs?

Firyāl   Airs or no airs, I warned you before not to call me at all. I am a free person.

Idrīs   Why can you call me just by my name? "Idrīs, get a taxi for the mistress", "Idrīs, call the laundryman". Why don't you call me "Mr. Idrīs"? Am I too lowly for that? (Ḥamāda 1990: 49–50).

In the following scene the addressee, Bilya, protests against the use of the address form yā wād by Sūma. The protest is strengthened by the stage direction "shouts". Bilya, an apprentice in a coffee shop, demands to be addressed as miʿallim, which in his social milieu is considered an address form which expresses esteem. Sūma does not recognize his right to this address form and refuses to address him thus:

سومة   يا واد يا بلية.

بلية   (يلتفت إليها صارخا)... جرى ايه... ما قلنا ميت مره بلاش يا واد دي.

سومة   (تضع الانبوبة) بسم الله... خضتني يا واد حابس حابس.

بلية   جرى ايه يا سومة هو انا مش الي عينك واللا ايه... دانا معلم كبير مدور قهوة بحالها.

سومة   امسك الانبوبة بلاش لا... انت لا معلم ولا حاجة سيب المعلمة لصحابها.

Sūma   Bilya, yā wād.

Bilya   (Turns to her and shouts) What's the matter with you? Didn't I tell you a hundred times not to call me wād?

Sūma   (Putting down the gas cylinder) Oh, great, you've really scared me, yā wād.

Bilya   What's the matter, Sūma? I'm not good enough for you? Is that it? Even though I'm a big boss (miʿallim), running a whole coffee shop?

Sūma   Hold the cylinder. No, there's no need. You're not a miʿallim or anything else. Leave the title of miʿallim to those that deserve it. (Raḥmī 1988: 14)

In the following example, the one protesting against the omission of a polite address form is the addressee's father. Nine–year–old Saʿd, son of land owner as-Sunbā-ṭī, is playing with ten–year–old ʿAwaḍ, the son of a farmer. After ʿAwaḍ calls Saʿd by his first name, as is the wont of children, as–Sunbāṭī rebukes ʿAwaḍ: سعد حاف "How dare you call him just قول له يا سي سعد يا وله امشي يا كلب. يا وله. plain «Saʿd», yā walah? Call him mister Saʿd, yā walah, go away, you dog!" (Idrīs 1974a: 59).

The next two examples are from prose: In the first one, the dialogue takes place between neighbors in the street:

<div dir="rtl">

— جرى ايه يا ولد؟!

— ما تقولش واد.

</div>

— What's happened, you *walad*?

— Don't say *wād*. (Ḥusayn 1988: 105)

In the second one, Mrs. Tawḥīda reacts angrily when she is addressed by her first name, without the polite address form *hānim*: وكادت الهانم ان تشهق، بل وتصرخ "The lady almost في الولية قائلة... «توحيدة في عينك وعين اللي خلفوك» choked, and screamed in the woman's face, saying: «How dare you call me Tawḥīda, damn you and those who brought you into the world»" (Mursī, 1993: 269).

The curse *ʿama fi ʿēnak* — "May your eye go blind", is said usually in colloquial Egyptian by an addressee after being addressed as *ʿamm*, much to his chagrin, as is the case here:

<div dir="rtl">

الشاب   انا ما اعرفهاش والنبي يا عمي.

فرحات   عمى في عينك. قلنا مليون مرة انا الضابط النوبطشي.

</div>

The youth   I swear by the prophet that I don't know her, "uncle".

Farahāt   What "uncle" are you talking about? [Lit.: May your eye go blind]
              Haven't I said a million times that I'm the duty officer? (Idrīs 1974:
              38–39)

Occasionally an addressee may resist being addressed with a polite address form, because of modesty or a wish to change the status of the relationship existing between him and the addresser. The addressee here expresses his dissatisfaction for being addressed as "mister" (*ustād*) in letters from a girl with which he has been hoping to develop romantic relationship: كانت تستخدم كلمة «استاذي» في مخاطبتي — احيانا. كنت اضيق بها وبكلمتها. "She was in the habit of using the word *ustād* occasionally when corresponding with me. I felt uneasy with her and with the word she used" (Šalaš 1994: 430).

Kassāb, in the next example, opposes being addressed as *bēh*:

<div dir="rtl">

نسرين   اتفضل يا كساب بيه...

كساب   لا... كساب بس... انا عمري ما كنت بيه... ومش مهم ابقى بيه.

</div>

Nisrīn   Please, Kassāb *bēh*.

Kassāb   No, just Kassāb. I was never a *bēh*, and I'm not interested in
              becoming one. (Salāma 1990: 72).

Kassāb, beside being modest, has romantic aspirations with respect to Nisrīn, and tries to bring about a change in their relationship through changing the way she addresses him, or to have that change in relationship confirmed by the change in address form.

In a story by ʿAbdalquddūs, the hero who is frustrated because he knows that he cannot attain a girl from a higher social stratum than his, refers directly to the role address forms play in society: ولكن... الثورة لم تحطم الجدار الذي يفصل بين

«اللاسـي» و «سـي» — "But the revolution has not broken down the barriers between «Mister» and «Non–Mister»" (ʿAbdalquddūs n.d.: 36).

In two similar scenes in the play *Šaqqa fi l-Gīza*, the addressee protests the use of polite address forms, in the hope of changing the status of the relationship existing between him and the addressers. Ḥamāda, tries to seduce the beautiful ʿAliyya and later on Samīha, and tries to change the nature of the relationship by changing the address forms. He appears at first in the disguise of Galāl, and later on in the disguise of ʿAbbās:

حمادة	[...] (يحاول تقبيلها).
علية	(في دلال وهي تتمنع) جلال بيه...
حمادة	(في حرارة) جلال بس، ارجوك...
علية	(في انوثة) جلال...

Ḥamāda   [...] (Tries to kiss her)
ʿAliyya   (Coyly, avoiding his kiss) Galāl *bēh*!
Ḥamāda   (Warmly) Just plain Galāl, I beg you.
ʿAliyya   (Femininly) Galāl. (Ġurāb 1967: 109)

Later on, in a similar scene, Ḥamāda makes the same demand of Samīha (Ġurāb 1967: 117).

Conclusion

The use of address forms is common in both prose and drama, but in drama it is more extensive than in prose, not only because dialogues are usually more dominant in drama than in prose and consequently reflect everyday acts of communication, but because this is an excellent method for conveying/revealing to the audience easily, quickly and fully vital information about the characters, more often than not even before the unfolding of the plot. For this purpose, a large variety of address forms is used (much of which could not be shown here; a more complete study is in preparation).

The Egyptian reader/spectator, who is familiar with these address forms, can identify their function on the spot and come very quickly to understand the relational hierarchies among the characters, before they become clear through the development of the plot.

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II. LITERATURE

MEDIEVAL ARABIC LITERATURE BETWEEN HISTORY AND PSYCHOLOGY: GUSTAVE VON GRUNEBAUM'S APPROACH TO LITERARY CRITICISM[1]

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> *Personality is, in some way, a projection of the work*
> Jorge Luis Borges

Introduction

Gustave von Grunebaum died in 1972, 25 years ago, at the age of 62. Between 1964 and 1984, Mohammad Arkoun, Georges Anawati, Amin Banani, Abdallah Laroui, Bryan Turner, and David Waines[2] analyzed Grunebaum's understanding of modern Islam. With the exception of Amin Banani, these scholars criticized Grunebaum's point of view, according to their temperament more or less severely, and they criticized him as a historian of contemporary Muslim societies. Between 1976 and 1981, Dunning Wilson, by contrast, concentrated on Grunebaum the medievalist by editing two selections of his articles on medieval Muslim societies and literatures[3]. Franz Rosenthal also portrays Grunebaum the medievalist in an article published in 1995[4].

Rosenthal wrote it for a reference book on medieval scholarship among historians in which Grunebaum is the only representative of Near Eastern studies. Grunebaum himself, however, started his career with a *Habilitationsschrift* on pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (Grunebaum, *Wirklichkeitsweite*), and Arabic and Persian literature never ceased to catch his interest[5].

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[1] I would like to thank Giselle von Grunebaum, Franz Rosenthal, and Leon Zolondek for corresponding with me on behalf of Gustave von Grunebaum and for their encouragement. I am also indebted to Karin Hoerner, Fedwa Malti-Douglas, Hussein Kadhim, and Kevin Sushka for their helpful comments on the earlier drafts of this paper.

[2] Arkoun 1964, Anawati 1970, Anawati 1972 & 1976. I am greatly indebted to David Frasier and Tom Glastras for acquiring this publication for me. Badani 1975, Laroui 1973, Turner 1984, Waines 1976.

[3] Grunebaum, *Islam*, Grunebaum, *Themes*.

[4] Rosenthal 1995. I would like to thank Franz Rosenthal for bringing this article to my attention.

[5] The most complete bibliographies of Grunebaum's writings can be found in: Tikku 1971, Grunebaum, *Studien*.

This paper deals with Gustave von Grunebaum's approach to literary criticism. The topic accounts for his reputation within the scientific community of Near Eastern studies. Although the above mentioned articles by Laroui, Turner, and Waines are part of the discussion on Grunebaum the Orientalist which concentrates on Grunebaum's way of representing modern Muslim societies to his Western audience, Edward Said's concept of Orientalism will not be my frame of reference, because I am interested in Grunebaum's understanding of medieval Arabic literature.

Since Grunebaum was a prolific author, I have to focus on a small selection of his writings. This selection includes: his *Habilitationsschrift* — titled *Die Wirklichkeitsweite der früh-arabischen Dichtung* — and the article "Begriff und Aufgaben der arabischen Literaturwissenschaft", both published in 1937; his famous and widely read *Medieval Islam*, first published in 1946; *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, a collection of articles about Arabic literary history, translated into German and published in 1955; and the small volume on *French African literature*, published in 1964.

I shall argue that Grunebaum's contribution to the understanding of medieval Arabic literature is the contribution of an historian rather than that of a literary critic. My argument is based on the following three observations:

(1) his philological assumption that true facts are transported within texts,
(2) his assumption of an anthropological constant, of a *homo dicens*, and
(3) his understanding of the terms *humanist* and *medieval*.

The philological assumption that true facts are transported within texts

As already mentioned, in 1937 Grunebaum published both his *Habilitationsschrift*, (*Wirklichkeitsweite*), and the article *"Begriff"*. These two texts complement each other by employing different approaches.

The article gives a survey of the state of the arts in the field of Arabic literature. It contains lengthy notes in which Grunebaum proves that he has diligently read his way through the Western Orientalist library. He knows his predecessors and his contemporaries, and he concludes bluntly that the field of Arabic studies is underdeveloped when compared with the state of the arts in Western languages: "Der Fortschritt der arabischen Literaturwissenschaft hängt im Augenblick davon ab, daß sie ihre partielle Rückständigkeit erkennt und aus dieser Einsicht die Konsequenzen zieht" (*Begriff*, 151. See also *ibid.*, 147).

The *Habilitationsschrift* has the subtitle *Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung*. It represents an example of the kind of literary criticism within the field of Arabic studies whose very absence Grunebaum deplores in his survey. The *Habilitationsschrift* contains a wealth of references to the Arabic sources in question and lacks any reference to any literary theory or methodology. Moreover, the introduction displays two remarkable details. First, Grunebaum skips two important *topoi*: one *topos* answers the question of why the author chose that topic. Grunebaum is indebted to his predecessors, but he does not specify to whom or for what: "Daß... die Lei-

stungen der Vorgänger ausgewertet worden, ist dankbar verzeichnete Selbstverständ-lichkeit" (*Wirklichkeitsweite*: III). The other *topos* answers the question of why the author chose the texts in question. Grunebaum confesses a certain predilection, appeals to his reader's sympathy, and remains silent: "daß bei der Auswahl zumindest persönliche Vorliebe maßgeblich mitbestimmt, mag entschuldbar heißen" (*ibid.* III). Second, Grunebaum addresses in his thesis not only Arabists but also scholars of comparative literature and aesthetics: "Bemühung und Anspruch, gewissermaßen ein Porträt der früharabischen Dichtung zu entwerfen, wenden sich über die eigentliche Orientalistik hinaus an vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft und Ästhetik" (*ibid.* III). However, he does not provide any introductory manual or information for non-Arabists. Afterwards, Grunebaum starts his thesis with a high-strung polemic against theory and philosophy: "Der Versuch, nach allgemein literaturwissenschaftlichen Ge-sichtspunkten zu einer zusammenfassenden Charakteristik der früharabischen Dicht-ung durchzudringen, darf nicht dahin mißdeutet werden, als sollten bestimmte Theo-reme oder überhaupt philosophisch deduzierte Grundsätze an dem mehr oder wenig-er zufälligen Stoff dieses Schrifttum auf ihre Stichhaltigkeit untersucht werden" (*ibid.* 1). Grunebaum claims to use universal criteria of literary criticism in order to determine the comprehensive characteristics of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, whereas he rejects the use of certain theorems and philosophically deduced principles in order to prove their correctness by applying them to the corpus of pre-Islamic poetry which is more or less just a randomly chosen corpus of texts. Therefore, theorems and philosophically deduced principles are the very opposite of universal criteria. These universal criteria can be identified within each literary text because they are universal so that each reader can find them and each text must contain them. That each text must contain them and each reader can find them is, on the other hand, also taken as a guarantee for their universal truth. Grunebaum is not applying some-thing alien to a text's outside. He is extracting some universal and true essence from its inside due to his "Bestreben, dem künstlerischen Wesen des philologisch verstan-denen Werkes beizukommen und dabei, soweit eben Einfühlung und exakte Deutung reichen, Struktur und Grenzen der poetischen Gattung aus den Zeugnissen selbst, also gleichsam von innen her, abzuleiten" (*ibid.* 1)[6]. Grunebaum hereby has found his way to the philologist's last resort, the positivistic axiom that a text provides its reader with the instruction of how to read it[7]. Taking this into consideration, the

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[6] This is, of course, a platonistic approach to the philosophical problems of knowledge and percep-tion, though I do not know a text by Grunebaum in which he explicitly refers to Platonism or Neopla-tonism in order to describe his own individual convictions as a scholar.

[7] A critical analysis of this positivistic axiom can be found, for instance, in Lucien Febvre's inaugural lecture held in 1933 at the Collège de France: "Aber jede Geschichte ist Wahl. ... Sie ist es vor allem des-wegen, weil der Historiker seine Stoffe erschafft oder, wenn man so will, neuerschafft: der Historiker, der nicht auf gut Glück wie ein Lumpensammler die Vergangenheit durchstreift, sondern mit einer präzisen

lack of reference to any literary theory or methodology is telling. Grunebaum pays his respect to his scientific community which is still defining the business of Oriental studies as philology, as reading texts in order to dig out their true facts. Grunebaum is defensive, but not too defensive. There is no remark at all about the textual transmission of the poems in question, the very touchstone of philology. He neither reflects on historiography and other non-fictional texts nor questions the use of fictional texts as historical sources. He too is still digging for true facts[8], even if he is mainly interested in universal facts of the Arab's mind-set as "the description of mental structures, or in other ways, psychological truth" (*Modern Islam*: 40).

The assumption of an anthropological constant, of a *homo dicens*

Grunebaum can dig true facts of the Arab's mind-set out of texts because the human being is a *homo dicens*. This means that Grunebaum sets the *homo dicens* as an anthropological constant: "Man stands revealed through any and all of his words and works. Depending on the medium in which his mind manifests itself, its bent is bared with greater or less immediacy. Despite their appeal to our emotions, confessions made through the filter of music or stone remain ambiguous, their verbal, even their psychological interpretation, conjecture. Muslim civilization's greatest contribution to man's spiritual life were [*sic*] offered on the verbal level. ... literature bespeaks the concept Islamic civilization formed of man" (*Medieval Islam*: 258)[9]. Literature provides the historian with historical documents for the mind-set of the time of its production so that the human essence of a civilization can be detected in its literature

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Absicht, einem Problem, das es zu lösen, einer Hypothese, die es zu überprüfen gilt. ... Das Wesentliche seiner Arbeit besteht doch darin, die Objekte seiner Beobachtung sozusagen zu erzeugen, ... und erst dann... zu «lesen». Eine äußerst verzwickte Aufgabe; beschreiben, was man sieht, geht ja noch an; sehen, was man beschreiben muß, da liegt die Schwierigkeit." (Febvre 1990: 13). It is ironic, indeed, that Grunebaum himself proves his own diagnosis of the time lag between Near Eastern studies and other studies in the field of humanities, while even his critics (e.g. Laroui 1973: 15 and Turner 1984: 194) respect his interest in improving the methodological foundations of Near Eastern studies.

[8] "Stammesgeschichte und Kampfbeschreibung, nie ganz frei von mahnender Berühmung vorgetragen, werden weder phantastisch verziert noch paradigmatisch verdichtet, die zweckhaft-engen Stilisierungen ändern nichts daran, daß die Dichter Tatbestände... berichten." (*Wirklichkeitsweite*: 208 f.)

[9] See also "Die Weite der dichterischen Wirklichkeit einer bestimmten Epoche wird dem Verständnis am ehesten zugänglich werden, wenn zeitlos notwendige Beziehungen des schöpferischen Menschen als die gemeinsame Grundlage der Motivbearbeitung aller Themenkreise in ihrer einmaligen historischen Ausprägung analytisch erkannt und geschildert werden" (*Wirklichkeitsweite*: 3). Cf. "More conscious of their language than any people in the world, seeing it not only as the greatest of their arts but also as their common good, most Arabs, if asked to define what they meant by 'the Arab nation', would begin by saying that it included all those who spoke the Arabic language" (Hourani 1962: 1). Therefore, one has to ask of how Grunebaum's assumption of a *homo dicens* mirrors a certain self-understanding of Arabs, though I cannot answer this question within this paper.

and described in articles like "The spirit of Islam as shown in its literature" or "Literature in the context of Islamic civilization."

This anthropological constant has two important implications.

First, Grunebaum's assumption of a *homo dicens* is not only an assumption of an anthropological constant, but it is also an idealistic assumption. He still believes and claims that human reason should be "a universal regulatory force... that human intelligence, carrying its binding norms in itself, would arrive at unified and total truth" (*French African*: 9 f), even if he feels "the burden of a rational universe" (*ibid*. 11).

Second, the anthropological constant of a *homo dicens* converts literary terms and aesthetic judgements into ahistorical psychological categories of the human being's intellectual development[10]. Literary criticism thus gains a scientific objectivity and respectability by being interpreted as a kind of applied psychology. Although Grunebaum embraces psychology as an objective anthropological explanation for human creativeness and intellectual productivity, Grunebaum's psychology is the very opposite of psychoanalysis whose founding father Freud "by projecting human motivation into the subconscious contributes to the deprecation of intellect and consciousness as sources of error and self-deception" (*French African*: 10). Born in Vienna, Grunebaum spent almost the first half of his life in the Austrian capital living in the same city as for instance, Sigmund Freud, Karl Kraus, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Robert Musil, Elias Canetti, and Arnold Schönberg. There is no possible answer for the question of how Grunebaum himself would have explained his own intellectual education during those heady times in Western Europe, encountering both the spread of Fascism and the high noon of the classic modern arts.

Grunebaum's assumption of a *homo dicens* reflects his lifelong interest in human beings' self-expression, self-experience, self-realization, self-statement, self-consciousness, and self-view which forms the central thread in his writings. Grunebaum, however, does not direct within his studies on the self-experience of others the same scrutinizing gaze on his own writings, though they also can be read as an expression of his own self-experience. He remains absolutely silent on behalf of his own person[11]. He describes the same kind of silence as "an aspect of Islam's outlook on man" (*Literature*: 11) and explains it with "the deep-seated inhibition that protects... the person *per se* from his own as from others' indelicacy" (*ibid*. 12). Grunebaum knows analyzing the texts of others that there is "the stage in which the author is, in the last

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[10] Cf. the dictum that Orientalism argues "from the specifically human detail to the general transhuman one" (Said 1979: 96).

[11] This statement refers, of course, only to the public person Gustave von Grunebaum. I do not know a text in which he explicitly reflects on the possibility to analyze his own writings the way he analyzes the writings of others. Cf. "Was man sieht - aus der zu jeder Optik nötigen Distanz -, ist immer schon die Negation des Eigenen. Keiner fügt gern für sich hinzu: Wie sollte es anders sein?" (Blumenberg 1987: 114).

analysis, speaking only of himself (if under assumed names)" (*French African*: 35), while he himself is writing about others. Having witnessed the reminiscences of the last shows on the multicultural stage of the Austrian empire before 1918, Grunebaum develops a very strong sense for the psychological side-effect of the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy with the end of World War I. For this breakdown forced the survivors to construct a new self-understanding out of the unwieldy piles gathered on the ruins of the shattered grandeur. Grunebaum does not use this knowledge as an historian of Austria. He uses it for an anthropological interpretation of the more or less traumatic turning points in Muslim history, as for instance the grapple of contemporary Muslim societies with Western modernity represented as colonialism and democracy. At the same time, he never stops to work on his own experiences: "that perpetual tension through which we grope farther and farther onward unto the unknown" (*ibid.* 41). The consequence is the ambivalent understanding of his own work as *simul imperfectus et perfectus*: "Es liegt im Wesen der Wissenschaft begründet, daß alle Forscherarbeit sich in einem als vorläufiger Versuch und als gültige Prägung darstellt" (*Wirklichkeitsweite*: III). Grunebaum's solution was to analyze comparable experiences made by others. As such he never talked about himself, but instead talked about nothing beyond his own experiences[12].

The understanding of the terms *humanist* and *medieval*

Nevertheless, for Grunebaum, it is psychology that is the frame of reference just for the individual, the singular human being. The frame of reference for the social human being is provided by history, and this history has to be world history because all human beings are equal by birth, and world history has to be an infinite process because "we do not consider our present stage as final" (*French African*: 40). In addition, world history is a process divided into pre-modern history and modern history by the European Renaissance, and more specifically and also in accordance with

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[12] See for instance "It should be noted that in general, the Arabs did not reflect on human creativeness as a problem, be it anthropological or psychological. Intellectual productivity would be a subject of admiration but not of inquiry. Nowhere is it designated as the common characteristic of thinker, poet, and artist; and nowhere are the creative minds singled out from the merely receptive in virtue of their very creativeness. In contrast cf. the attitude of the Greeks as expressed by (Pseudo-) Aristotle, *Problems*, trans. W.S. Hett, XXX, 1 (953 a): «Why is it that all men who are outstanding in philosophy, poetry or the arts are melancholic...?»" (*Aesthetic foundation*: 325, n.5). Grunebaum argues that the Arabs did not reflect on creativity while the Greeks did so, for the Arabs did not distinguish between creative and receptive while the Greek knew that outstanding men were melancholy. Besides the problem that for the Greeks melancholy as one of the four temperaments was also related to black bile, Grunebaum's quote does not demonstrate that for the Greeks a melancholy outstanding man was creative, not just receptive.

Grunebaum's idealistic approach, by Humanism, so that pre-modern is medieval, while humanist is modern[13].

Grunebaum, however, was not the first to use Humanism as the landmark of European intellectual history and as the litmus test for modernity. In 1921, the German Orientalist Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) published the article *Der Islam im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte*. Becker compared Islam with Christianity by contrasting their adaptations of the classical heritage and the outlines of their development. Becker concludes that the actual difference between Orientals and Occidentals is due to Humanism[14]. Grunebaum thus defines Humanism as "the Greek tradition, the scientific impulse, the historical sentiment, the cultivation of reason over against authority"[15]. This means that "Man is to be... educated to develop his self in developing this world as the deed most deserving of everlasting reward" (*Medieval Islam*: 230).

This usage of the term *humanist* has two implications concerning the model of world history from which it is derived.

First, this model of world history is hierarchical. Grunebaum puts it this way: "we term all civilizations before his [*i.e.* Descartes'] time, Eastern or Western, 'medieval'... those civilizations possess, in varying degrees, these characteristics"[16]: If one would try to project this hierarchy onto a two-dimensional map of world hist-

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[13] Grunebaum, *Cultural function*: 5. See also Grunebaum, *Parallelism*: 91-111. In this article, Grunebaum describes the "unconscious rapprochement of mood and thought in Islam and Greek Christendom" (105), but he concludes nevertheless that the "assertion of human independence, of man's choice of spiritual affiliation is one of the features of that 'Latin' humanism which was to separate Islam and the West for good and for all" (111). I would like to thank Jacques Waardenburg for reminding me of Grunebaum's comparative studies on Arab, Byzantine, and Latin Middle Ages.

[14] "Das große unterscheidende Erlebnis des Abendlandes ist eben der Humanismus. Im Abendland lebt die Antike nicht nur weiter wie im Islam, nein, sie wird dort neu geboren. Und mit ihr wird der vom Orientalen grundsätzlich verschiedene abendländische Mensch geboren. Der Unterschied liegt in einer vollkommen anderen Auffassung von Mensch und Menschentum." (Becker 1967: I, 34). Friedrich Nietzsche, however, decribes the "Bevorzugung des Alterthums als einer Abbreviatur der Geschichte der Menschheit, als ob hier ein autochtones Gebilde sei, an dem alles Werdende zu studiren sei" (Nietzsche: 91). Nietzsche explains this predilection with the assumption that "mit der griechischen und römischen Historie steht es anders als mit allen andern, nämlich *klassisch*... Darüber sind einige Vorurtheile sehr verbreitet. Erstens das Vorurtheil, welches im synonymen Begriff 'Humanitätsstudien' liegt: das Alterthum ist klassisch, weil es die Schule des Humanen ist. Zweitens: das Alterthum ist klassisch, weil es *aufgeklärt* ist" (*ibid*. 201).

[15] *Aesthetic foundation*: 339. See also "The cleavage between Byzantium and the Arabs... is due essentially to the different principles of selection applied to the classical heritage" (*Parallelism*: 92). Cf. "Gewiß wurde dann auch vom Islam der Aristotelismus neubelebt, aber weder einer der großen Dramatiker, noch gar Homer. ... Man brach nirgends mit der antiken Überlieferung und konnte deshalb das vergessene und verschüttete Hellas auch nicht wiederentdecken" (Becker 1967: I, 35).

[16] *Cultural function*: 5. Cf. the criticism of Grunebaum's culturalism by Laroui 1973: 17 f. And see also the cautious defense of the history of mind-sets by Rodinson 1987: 102.

ory by translating the degree of intellectual progress into spatiality, each civilization would occupy a certain space within the boundaries of the one map called world history so that each civilization must occupy a different space according to its different intellectual development: Different civilizations can be similar, but they will never be equal.

Second, within this model of world history time is secondary to mind-set, for hierarchy is determined by the degree of intellectual progress that characterizes the mind-set of an era and that can be dug out of its textual remnants. Grunebaum defines 'classicism' as "the acceptance of a moral obligation to reproduce a model of past perfection"[17] so that he can compare different kinds of 'classical' mind-sets such as the Greek, the Arab, the Muslim, or the German[18]. On the one hand, this produces absolutely ahistorical relationships, as for instance, between 'classical' Arabic poetry and 'classical' Islam because for Grunebaum 'classical' Arabic poetry is pre-Islamic poetry and 'classical' Islam characterizes the *umma* during the ninth and the tenth centuries. On the other hand, the pure simultaneity of Arabic and European medieval texts is no ground for a comparison. The Christian Middle Ages are just a transition from antiquity to Humanism, while late antiquity and the Christian Middle Ages are only Dark Ages in comparison with the classical antiquity. Therefore, Grunebaum cannot compare medieval 'classical' Arabic literature with European medieval 'non-classical' literature. The argument for a comparison is an essential 'classicality' which produces the similarity of different 'classical' mind-sets. Grunebaum can apply Johann Wolfgang Goethe's 'classical' definition of poems as texts "expressing and recapturing personal, private sentiment"[19] to 'classical' Arabic poems, even

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[17] *Literature*: 10. See also *Concept*. Although I cannot answer the question within this paper, one has to ask if it would be possible to find a way out of the dead ends of classicism and *taqlīd* by using Eric Hobsbawm's concept of inventing traditions because the "term 'invented tradition'... includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less traceable manner within a brief and dateable period... and establishing themselves with great rapidity." (Hobsbawm 1983: 1).

[18] Cf. Laroui's observation that "the adjectives that von Grunebaum unites with the word Islam (mediaeval, classical, modern) are neutral or even super-redundant: there is no difference between classical Islam and medieval Islam, or just Islam. ... there is only one Islam which changes within itself when tradition takes form on the basis of a period which is reconstructed and presumed to be classical" (Laroui 1973: 27). Laroui's criticism misses the point that Grunebaum defines "the classical (as against the post-classical, «Hellenistic», i.e. Orientalised, or Gnosticised) heritage of antiquity" (Grunebaum, *Islam and Hellenism*: 22). Therefore, Grunebaum describes for instance "he concept of the Mystic Saint who first continues the «classical» Divine Man but gradually develops into the Perfect Man of «post-classical» antiquity"(*ibid*. 21), and he concludes that "by A. D. 1100 the period of «enlightenment» had come to a close" (*ibid*. 21).

[19] *Literature*: 11. Cf. "Die Welt ist so groß und reich und das Leben so mannigfaltig, daß es an Anlässen zu Gedichten nie fehlen wird. Aber es müssen alles Gelegenheitsgedichte sein, das heißt die Wirklichkeit muß die Verlassung und den Stoff dazu hergeben. Allgemein und poetisch wird ein spezieller

if as a result he must complain that "Human conflict is strangely absent from Muslim and especially Arab-Muslim literature."[20]

Conclusion

The British scholar and author C. S. Lewis warns the reader of medieval poetry that "what we find inside will always depend a great deal on what we have brought in with us."[21] Hence, C. S. Lewis does not accept the often heard statement of disappointment that "one cannot find what is not there" (*ibid*. 4), and calls this patronizing attitude unduly optimistic, for "Here, as elsewhere, untrained eyes or a bad instrument produce both errors; they create phantasmal objects as well as miss real ones" (*ibid*. 4).[22]

Keeping C. S. Lewis' warning in mind, it seems to me that Gustave von Grunebaum's most important contribution to the understanding of medieval Arabic literature is the establishment of literary criticism within the field of Near Eastern studies. He accomplished this in two ways. First, Grunebaum the scholar never stopped to work on Arabic and Persian *belles lettres*, thus lending prestige to literary studies as such in accordance with his career. Second, Grunebaum the administrator developed the institutional infrastructure for Near Eastern studies by organizing not only institutions like the research center at the University of California, Los Angeles, but also conferences like the Della Vida Conference. This is especially important because research depends on both well equipped libraries and personal exchange. Consequently, it seems to me that I too would create a phantasmal object, as C. S. Lewis might have called it, if I were to reject Grunebaum's writings for not supplying me with the answers I wanted to hear. His approach to medieval Arabic literature is not my approach, but his writings are an important part of the Western Orientalist tradition.

Fall eben dadurch, daß ihn der *Dichter* behandelt. Alle meine Gedichte sind Gelegenheitsgedichte, sie sind durch die Wirklichkeit angeregt und haben darin Grund und Boden. Von Gedichten, aus der Luft gegriffen, halte ich nichts." (Eckermann 1981: 44).

[20] *Literature*: 11. See also "Aber verdient eine Lyrik, der das persönlich verbindliche Stimmungselement ebenso abgeht wie jegliche Bekenntnishaftigkeit, noch diesen Namen?" (*Wirklichkeitsweite*: 202 f.).

[21] Lewis 1966: 1. According to Hans Georg Gadamer's hermeneutics an aesthetic experience requires at first the assumption of the aesthetic foreignness of a text and second the readiness to get involved in it.

[22] Cf. "Ich frage nun nach der Entstehung des Philologen und behaupte:
1) der junge Mensch kann noch gar nicht wissen, wer Griechen und Römer sind,
2) er weiss nicht, ob er zu ihrer Erforschung sich eignet" (Nietzsche: 96).

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THE ARABIC TRANSLATION OF DIOSCORIDES' *DE MATERIA MEDICA* BY MIHRĀN B. MANṢŪR IN COMPARISON WITH THE OLDER TRANSLATION BY STEPHANOS AND ḤUNAYN B. ISḤĀQ

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The dominant influence of the botanico-pharmacological work, *Peri hilēs iatrixēs*, of the famous Greek physician and herbalist Pedanios Dioscorides (1st century C.E.) on the pharmacology and medicinal botany of the scholar-physicians (*ḥukamāʾ*) of the Islamic period is a well established and well known fact.

In the Islamic world, Dioscorides' masterpiece was first known during the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61) thanks to the Arabic translation by the erudite Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (194–260/809–83) and his student and assistant Stephanos son of Basileos (Isṭifān b. Basīl) at the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* established by the caliph al-Maʾmūn in Baghdad in 214/830. The well-known medical historian Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa has related the story of this translation (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* II, 46–48). It seems that Stephanos first translated Dioscorides directly from Greek. Anyway, the arduous task of translating the Greek names of outlandish materials proved above his abilities; therefore he contented himself with transcribing (that is, arabicizing) the terms whose Arabic (or Arabo-Persian) equivalents he ignored, and sometimes with literally translating the Greek terms having a lucid composition. Humbly he expressed the hope that after him God would send someone knowledgeable who could make up for the defects or inadequacies in his translation. Although Ḥunayn, who had previously produced a Syriac version of Dioscorides (see below), reportedly checked, corrected and "approved" his pupil's work, many place names and pharmacological items (specially plants) remained unidentified and, consequently, without Arabic or arabicized Persian equivalents. One can imagine the disappointment of the physicians-pharmacologists who had to depend on this text.

Because of the intrinsic scientific value of Dioscorides' contribution, which aroused the admiration of the Islamic period scholars, earnest efforts were later made by some herbalists-physicians (mainly from Andalus/Iberian Peninsula whose flora had much in common with those of the eastern countries of the Mediterranean basin that Dioscorides had explored) in order to identify the unknown or uncertain species and varieties mentioned by the latter, and to find common vernacular names for them (Andalusian, Berber, dialectal Arabic, etc.). In this connection are to be mentioned here the meritorious studies by Ibn Ǧulǧul (332–77/994–87)[1] and Aḥmad

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[1] Cf. his *Tafsīr*, which seems to be lost, but of which quotations are found in some later authors.

Incidentally, my quotations from Mihrān's text are reproduced from a magnificent ms. (both as to copying precision, calligraphy, and 4–colour paintings) kept in the library of the former royal palace Gulistān in Teheran. Commissioned for the private physician of the Ṣafawid king ʿAbbās I, it was completed in 1038/1629. It is far superior to the Mašhad ms. of Mihrān's translation.

<div dir="rtl">

ايرسا

حنين: ايرسا هو السوسن الاسمانجونى... قال ديسقوريدس: "هو السوسن المعروف بالايرسا وهو نوع من السوسن وورقه يشبه ورق كسيفين، غير انه أعظم وأعرض وألزج. وله ساق عليه زهر منحن فيه الوان يوازى بعضها بعضا، وهى مختلفة فيها بياض وصفرة وفرفيرية ولون السماء. ومن أجل اختلاف الألوان فيه شبه بالايرس وهو قوس قزح. وله أصول صلبة ذات عقد، طيبة الرائحة وينبخى، إذا قلعت أن تحفظ فى ظل وتنظم فى خيط كتان وتخزن. وأجور هذا النوع من السوسن ما كان من بلاد التى يقال لها اللوريفن [sic] والذى من بلاد... ماقدونيا. والجيد من هذا ما كان أصله كيفا فكان صغيرا، عسر الرض ولونه مائل إلى الحمرة، طيب الرائحة جدا، لا تشوبه رائحة الندى ويحذو اللسان ويحرك الحطاس إذا دق. أما ما كان من هذا النوع من نينوى [sic] فانه أبيض وقوته دون قوة السوسن الذى ذكرناه. وإذا عتق السوسن المعروف فالايرس تسوس وتثقب غير انه يكون حينئذ أطيب رائحة منه قبل ذلك. وقوته مسخنة ملطفة ويصلح للسعال ويلطف ما عسر نفثه من الرطوبات التى فى الصدور. وإذا سقى منه وزن سبع درخميات بماء العسل، أسهل كيموسا غليظا بلغميا ومرة صفراء ويجلب النوم ويجلب الدموع ويبرى من المخص. وإذا شرب بالخل نفع من نهش الهوام والمطحولين والذين بهم تشنج بالحصب وينفع من البرد والنافض..."

مهران: "ايرسا أصل حشيشة وورقها شبيه بورق السوسن البرى الا انه أعظم منه وأعرض. فاما زهرها فيشبه زهر السوسن البرى وهو اسمانجونى اللون أي لونه لون قوس قزح. فاما لون السوسن البرى فهو متفرق الالوان فمنه أبيض وأصفر وفرفيريون [sic]. واما الايرسا وهو أصل السوسن الأسمانجونى فأجوده ما كان مدمجا صلدا لا خلل فيه، ذا عقد ورائحة ذكية يكب من ماقاذونيا وايللوريقى، فانه ملزز صلب الجرم عسر التفرك والتشظى ويختار منه مع هذه الصفة المائل بلونه إلى الحمرة والنصاعة الزكى الرائحة المحذى للسان عند مذاقه والمحرك للعطاس بقوة عند دقه وانسحاقه لايشوبه نداوة ولا بلل. ومنه نوع يطب من لينيوى/لييوى [sic]، أبيض اللون، مر الطعم، مختلف القوة، ذكى الرائحة، يعرض له بثقب إذا عتق وتسوس. الطبع: سائر ألوانه مسخنة ملطفة. الفعل: نافع للسعال، ملطف ومنضج للرطوبة الغليظة العسرة التحليل، نافع للأخلاط الغليظة والموارية إذا شرب منه سبع درخميات مع ماء العسل، جالب للنوم، محدر للدموع، مشفى للأمخاس، الجمود والنافض والبرد..."

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Iris[5]

Iris is soe named from the resemblance of the rainbow in heaven, but it beares leaves like unto a little sword but greater and broader & fatter (or thicker): the

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[5] *Iris germanica* or *Iris florentina*; *zanbaq* in Persan.

flowers on the stalke, are bended in, one ouer against another, & diuers, for they are either soon white or pale or black or purple or azure. Whence for the varietie of colours it is likened to the heauenly rainebow. The under are knotty, strong (or sound), of a sweet savour, which after the cutting ought to be dryed in the shade, & soe (with a linnen thread put through them) to be layed up. But ye best is that of Illyria & Macedonia, & of these the best is that which hath a thick roote, stumped, & hard to breake, & in color of a faint yellow, & exceeding well–scentting, & very bitter to the taste, of a sound smell, & not enclining to nastinesse, & moving to sneesing in ye beating. The second is that of Lybia, white according to the colour, bitter according to the tast, next in strength (to the former), but when they grow old they will be worm–eaten, yet then they smell the sweeter. But all of them haue a warming, extenuating facultie, fitting against coughs, & extenuating grosse humors hard to get up. They purge thick humors & choler, being dranck in hydromel to the quantity of seven dragms they are also causers of sleep & prouokers of tears & heale the torments of the belly...
(English tr., 1655 A.D. pp. 5–6)

عنكبوت

حنين: ديسقوريدوس فى ٢: العنكبوت اذا خلط بالمراهم ولطخ على خرقة وصير [؟] على الجبهة أو على الصدغين أبرأ من الحمى حمى الغب. ونسجه اذا وضع وحده على موضع ليسيل منه دم قطعه واذا وضع على القروح التى لا عمق لها منع منه الورم. ومن العنكبوت صنف يكون نسجه أبيض كثيفا وهو على ما زعم قوم اذا شد فى جلد و علق على العضد منع من حمى الربع واذا طبخ بدهن الورد وقطر فى الأذن نفع من وجعها.

مهران: عنكبوت: يسميه بعض الناس اولقوس أي الناسج المتعلق وآخرون لوقوس أي دنب [sic = ذئب]. اذا سحق وخلط مع القيروطى وضمدت به الجبهة والصدغ وللدوار ثلثة أيام أبرأ منه. ونسيجة العنكبوت اذا ضمد بها منعت انبعاث الدم وحفظ قروح الابرية لئلا يتصلب. ومن العنكبوت نوع آخر ينسج مثل الحجاب الأبيض النقى. وقيل أن هذا النوع اذا عمل فى جلد وعلق فى الذراع أربعة أيام أبرأ من الدوار وكذلك اذا طبخ فى دهن ورد وقطر في الأذن ابرا من وجعها.

Arachne

The spider, that creature which somme call Holcos, or Lycos (that is, Raptor, vel Lupus), being wrought into one masse with a plaister, and spread vpon linnen, & soe layed to ye forehead or temples, doth cure the periodicall circuits of tertian aguees. The cobweb of it being leyd on doth stanch bloud, and keeps such vlcers as breake out at ye top of the skinne from inflammation. There is another kinds of spider, which spinns a white web, thinne, and thick, of which it is sayd that being put into a purse of leather & hanged about the arme, it doth cure the courses of quartane agues. Being sod together with rosaceum, & soe poured in, it doth help the paine of the eares.
(*ibid.*, 107)

خطاف/خطاطيف

حنين: خطاف. ديسقوريدوس فى الثالثة: "اذا أخذ فرعه فى زيادة القمر وكان أول ما أفرع وشق وأخذ من الحصا [sic] الموجود فى جوفه حصاتان أحدهما ذات لون واحد والأخرى مختلفة اللون وشدتا فى جلع من جلد الأيل والخجل قبل أن يصيبهما تراب، وربطتا على عضد من به صرع أو [على] رقبته انتفع كثيرا ما فعل ذلك. فأبرأ من به صرع برءا تاما. وإذا أخذت كما يؤخذ الطير المسمى سقلندس [sic] وجففت واكتحل به أحدتك البصر. فإذا أحرقت الأم مع فراخها فى قدر وأخذ رمادها وخلط بعسل وأكتحل به أحد البصر. واذا يحنك برمادها نفع من الخناق وورم اللهاة. واذا طبخت وجففت وشرب منها مقدار درخمين بماء نفع من الخناق أيضا."

مهران: خطاطيف. إذا شققت أجواف فراخ الخطاف أول بطن تجد فى أجوافها حجارة. خذ منها إثنين أحكمها ملونة والأخرى ذات لون واحد وصرهما فى جلد عجل أو أيل وعلقهما فى ذراع المضروع. فانه يبرء. واذا أكلت الخطاطيف كالحمام والفراخ فانها تحد البصر. فأما رماد فراخ الخطاطيف مع رماد أمهاتها اذا خلط بالعسل واكتحل به حد البصر وينفع ايضا لأصحاب الخوانيق اذا لطخ به الحنك والحنجرة واللهاة والنعانم [؟]."

Chelidon

Cutting asunder at ye increase of ye moone young swallowes which are of the first hatching, you shall finde stones in their bellyes, of which taking two, (you shall haue) one of diuers colours, & the other cleare (& of one colour). Putting these in an heyfer's or hart's skinne, before they touch the grond, & tying them to ye arme or neck, you shall hereby ease, & many tymes wholly recouer ye epilepticall. But they being eaten, as also ye ficedulae, are a medicine for causing sharp sighet; & the ashes of them & of their dammes being burnt in an earthen pott, & anointed on with hony doth cause sharpenesse of sight. It is good also, being anointed on, for such as haue ye squinancie, & for the inflammations of ye uvae, & ye tonsillae. But they themselues, & their young ones being dryed & dranck, ye weight of one dragme with water, doe help such as haue ye squinancie.

(*ibid.*, 105)

مو[6]

حنين: مو. ديسقوريدوس فى الأولى: اما منطقون [sic] وهو المو. قد يكون كثيرا بالبلاد التى يقال لها مقدونيا وهى الاسكندرية. والمقدونس منسوب اليها. والبلاد التى يقال لها اسبانيا ايضا وهى الاندلس. وقد يسمى لنا المرمنطيقن [sic]. وساقه يشبه ساق الشبت وورقه شبيه بورقه غير أنه أغلظ من ساق الشبت وله إكليل كإكليله. فيه برز يشبه الكمون، يعلو نحوا من ذراعين، متفرق الأصول وأصوله دقاق لبعضها معوجة وبعضها مستقيمة، طوال، طيبة الرائحة، يحذ واللسان. واذا أغليت بالماء أو لم تخل وشربت مسحوقة سكنت الوجع العارض من اختناق الفضول فى المثانة والكلى. وهى صالحة لعسر البول. وإذا سحقت وحلطت بعسل ولحقت نفعت من الريح العارضة فى فم

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[6] *Meum athamanticum* Jacq.

المعدة والمغص وأوجاع الأرحام والمفاصل والصدر الذى تنصب اليه المواد. واذا سلقت
وجلس النساء فى مائها أدرت الطمث. واذا ضمد بها عانة الصبى أدرت البول. واذا أخذ
منه أكثر من المقددار الكافى صدع.

مهران: اما منطيقون وهو المو. أكثر ما ينبت المو بماقاذونيا وببلاد الهند ويشبه فى نباته
وزهره وورقه الشبت. وارتفاع شجرته ذراعين. وأصوله متشتتة دقاق ومنها منحنية
ومنها منتصبة النبت، لذيذة الرائحة، يحذو اللسان عند المذاق. الطبع: مسخن. الفعل: اذا
شرب الماء المطبوخ فيه المو أو الشراب سكن أوجاع الكلى والمثانة وأزال عسر البول،
وحلل النفخ الحادثة فى المعدة وسكن الأمغاس وأراح من أوجاع الرحم ومن ضربان
المفاصل. واذا سحق [المو؟] وأدير فى العسل وأخذ كالحسا[ء] لمطف المواد النازلة إلى
الصدر. واذا جلس النساء فى الماء المطبوخ فيه أحدرت دم الطمث بقوة. واذا اتخذ من
المو ضماد العانة من الأطفال (؟) أدر بولهم. واذا استحمل بافراط جلب وجع الرأس.

Meon

That Meum, which is called Athamanticum, doth grow abundantly in Macedonia
& Spain, is like in the stalke & leaues to Anethum, but thicker than Anethum,
somme tyme rising up to two cubits, underscattered with thinne, winding, &
streight, long rootes, sweet–smelling, warming the tongue. Which being sod with
water, or being beaten smooth (or small) without seething, & soe dranck, doe assuage
the paines caused by stoppage about ye vesica and the Renes; & they are good for the
vrinae difficultas, & for the Inflatio stomachi, & for the Tormen, & for diseases of
the matrix, & ye paine of the joints. Being beaten small with hony, & taken in
manner of an Eclegma, they helpe a rheumatick thorax; being boiled for an Insessus,
they draw ye bloud by ye menstrua; bewing layed on pleyster–wise to ye lower part
of children's bellies, they move the vrina. But being dranck more than is fitting, it
causeth the Dolor capitis.
(*ibid.*, 7–8)

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GREAT ARAB MODERNIST THINKERS OF THE 20TH CENTURY. THE CASE OF ṬĀHĀ ḤUSAYN

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The struggle between the then–called modernists (*muǧaddidūn*) and traditionalists (*qudamā'* or *salafiyyūn*) could be traced back to late 19th and early 20th century. It was the time, when the revivalist thinkers (*nahḍawiyyūn*) reached the end of their lives, leaving their messages to be continued by the next generation. So, ʿAbdarrahmān al-Kawākibī parted in 1903 after publishing in Cairo his *Umm al-Qurā*, while Muḥammad ʿAbdu lectured at al-Azhar until his death in 1905. Earlier, Ǧamāl ad-Dīn al-Afġānī ends his life in his "golden cage" in Istanbul as the guest–captive of the despotic Ottoman Sultan.

Perhaps the publication of the work of Qāsim Amin *Taḥrīr al–mar'a* (Emancipation of the woman) in 1899, followed later by *al–Mar'a al–ǧadīda* (The new woman), could be regarded as the dawn of new 20th century enlightened orientation. Then we have a series of ideas and demands for social and cultural reforms, propagated by successive thinkers (to mention Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā, Luṭfī as–Sayyid, ʿAlī ʿAbdarrāziq). It was demanded to cancel religious courts (*šarīʿa*), which meant the introduction of civil laws based upon modern legislative foundations; or the innovation of modern secular (both state and private) education: schools and universities were hitherto subject to the nearly sole domination of religious education supervised by the religious institution; or above all the application of parliamentary and party political life to replace the absolute power of kings and rulers.

Among the other major themes of thought to be singled out were: the compatibility of civilization with Islam, education as the path towards modernism, the relationship between modern statehood and the caliphate, the idea of an Egyptian *umma* instead or alongside the Arab or Islamic *umma*, Arab and Islamic identity. A quite comprehensive reflection of all that is found in the life and ideas of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn.

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was born in 1889 in a small locality Kīlo, so called because of being one kilometre far from Maġāġa, an administrative centre in the department of al-Minyā in central Saʿīd. His father Ḥusayn ʿAlī was an official at the local sugar plant. As the seventh among thirteen children, Ṭāhā learned above all how to fight and defend himself. This consideration explains to some of his biographers the polemic nature of the writing of this Egyptian thinker — among others in the press (Šaraf 1977: 17–18). At the age of six he was unfortunate to lose his sight as a consequence of trachoma — badly treated by the barber (Ḥusayn, *al–Ayyām* I, 20; 1–3; 145–6). After this accident he joined the circle of the local *faqīh*, who headed a Quranic school, leading the boy to know the Quran at the age of nine and receive the title of *šayḫ*.

At this stage of life, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was brought up in a traditional society, charac-
terised — according to his own autobiography — by low culture and feeble level of
education, as well as susceptibility to superstition (*ibid.* 93; 96). At the next stage, he
left his home to study at the famous al-Azhar. This religious educational centre was
not keen on listening to calls for reform or innovation. Here, during the years
1903–1905 he is found among the beginners (Šaraf 1977: 23).

At al-Azhar, in spite of the prevailing rigidity and unjustified excessive duties
(Samīḥ 1977: 29–30), a live intellectual life was focused around Imām Muḥammad
ᶜAbdu. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn points out the impact of the movement inspired by the Imām
upon the very conservative university and beyond it (Sallāma 1927). He mentions
about his own generation of Azharites that they were strong adherents of the free-
dom of speech, antagonists of obsolete opinions, and supporters of the right to inter-
pret the sources of faith (*iğtihād*). He reminds himself too about attending the
lectures of ᶜAbdu in the field of Quran interpretation (*tafsīr*), rhetoric (*balāğa*) and
logic (*manṭiq*). Together with friends, they believed to be distinguished from other
students. They regarded themselves as messengers of reform, modernity and revival-
ism. They decided to wage a struggle against backwardness and polygyny, also to
endeavour for limiting the right to divorce. Their plans envisaged the innovation of
the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd, besides the complete neglect of obsolete
scriptures that had hitherto devastated the mentality of al-Azhar and the minds of
Azharites (Ḥusayn, *Riḥla* 134–135).

With the death of Muḥammad ᶜAbdu, al-Azhar introduced substantial restrictions
against supporters of innovation. For this reason, Ṭāhā and two of his colleagues
(Aḥmad Ḥasan az-Zayyāt and šayḫ Maḥmūd az-Zanātī) stopped attending lectures
with the exception of selected ones — for which they were relegated from the list of
students; and students rights were restored to them only due to the intervention of
Luṭfī as-Sayyid. However, even then he shifted from one group to another, showing
simultaneously dislike for the atmosphere of combating the innovation movement
and ideas on the part of traditionalists. Hence, we note an early readiness on his side
to reject the traditionalist mode of thinking, while years spent at al-Azhar he regard-
ed as an exceptionally dark period in his life[1].

Shortly, in 1908 a private Egyptian University, also called the Old University
(*al-Ğāmiᶜa al-Miṣriyya al-Qadīma*) was established. Without interrupting studies at
al-Azhar, where he continued his education until 1912, he started to attend lectures
at the Egyptian University. In contrast to al-Azhar, here lectures explained issues and
it was not necessary to explain the very lectures (Ḥusayn, *Muḏakkirāt* 11). The
general intellectual transformation he underwent directed his interests towards the

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[1] He used to polemise with Azharite professors, and they did not spare him invectives (Ḥusayn,
Muḏakkirāt; Samīḥ 1977: 35–36).

knowledge of sources, as against the acceptance of the opinions of self-declared authorities. He focused his main attention upon literature, and not theology as his father wished. The gap in the substance and method of teaching between al-Azhar and the Old University, as well as his increasing adherence to the latter, lead Ṭāhā Ḥusayn to the path of revolt against the religious university and collision with its *šayḫs*. He expresses this clearly in press publications on the need to reform this institution and its curriculum (Samīḥ 1977: 29).

At *al-Ǧāmiʿa al-Miṣriyya* he was among listeners to lectures of Aḥmad Zakī on Islamic civilization and of Aḥmad Kamāl on ancient Egyptian civilization. Thinking about attaining a scientific grant to France, he learns the French language. At the same time he prepares a doctoral thesis *"Ḏikrā Abū l-ʿAlāʾ"* (In memory of Abū l-ʿAlāʾ), devoted to the also blind Arab poet-philosopher of the 10th–11th century. The public discussion on the dissertation took place in May 1914, and he was granted the title of doctor with distinction. It was the first Phd.D. title granted by the so-called Old University.

Ṭāhā was granted a stipend to France, and instead of Paris he travelled in 1914 to Montpelier (after the outbreak of World War I, the French capital came within the war zone). After a brake in studies in connection with the bankruptcy of the Egyptian University, he again returns to France (1915), this time to the Paris Sorbonne, where he attends lectures of the history of ancient Greece, Rome and Byzantium, as well as modern history, philosophy, sociology and French literature. In addition to these, he attended lectures on the Quran and the field of psychology, delivered at *Collège de France*. Moreover, he was often present at the Library of St. Genovef. He learned Latin, too. Everywhere he was educated under the guidance of prominent professors, and the doctoral thesis on the social philosophy of Ibn Ḫaldūn was prepared at the seminar of Emile Durkheim.

The sources that shaped Ṭāhā Ḥusayn intellectually were:

a) Egyptian sources such as literature and folk writing, and also the heritage of ancient Egypt; for him new Egypt shall rise upon the eternal pillars of old Egypt, including antic culture (Ḥusayn *Mustaqbal* IX, 16);

b) Arab sources, which are composed, according to him, of language, literature, religion and civilization (*ḥaḍāra*);

c) foreign sources, always present and influential in the history and life of Egypt; however, in the individual case of the discussed thinker, the primary factors are French culture, next Latin civilization.

It is difficult, even briefly, to present the works of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. None the less, it is necessary to point to some of them, posing upon the most significant one for our deliberations, namely: *"Mustaqbal aṯ-ṯaqāfa fī Miṣr"* (The future of culture in Egypt). We find among them the Arabic translation from Greek of Aristotle's "The Athenian System", translations of Greek dramas (including "Electra" and "Antigone" of Sophocles), an autobiography *al-Ayyām*, works from the field of

literary criticism, fiction and short stories, commentary to the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, history of the Rightly Guided Caliphs. In 1926 his controversial book *Fī š–šiʿr al–ǧāhilī* (On the literature of the *ǧāhiliyya* period) appeared. Soon, it was withdrawn from bookshops, and the author had to face a judicial trial against the background of hostile intimidation carried out for religious, political and scientific or rational considerations (Šiblī 1972: 70).

The professional career of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was as spectacular as his writings. After his return from France in October 1919 he was appointed lecturer of ancient history of Greece and Rome at the Egyptian University, and when in 1925 it attained the status of a government institution (from that time it became called the New University: *al–Ǧāmiʿa al–Ǧadīda*) he was nominated lecturer of Arabic literature at the Department of Humanities (*kulliyat al–ādāb*). Next, he occupied the post of Dean of that Department, but had to resign when the political and religious elites reminded themselves about the mentioned work *"Fī š–šiʿr al–ǧāhilī"*, to return to that function in 1930. However, in 1932 another scandal broke out, because — in the name of preserving the prestige of academic titles — Ṭāhā Ḥusayn rejected the requests to grant four ministers of the time the title of doctor honoris causa (ʿAlī Māhir, Ibrāhīm Yaḥyā, ʿAbdalʿazīz Fahmī, Tawfīq Rifʿat). It should be noted that the four received doctoral honourary degrees from the University's College of Law, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was altogether dismissed from the posts of Dean and lecturer (1932) (Samīḥ 1977a: 56–57).

During the following years, he worked as editor–in–chief of the newspaper *al–Wādī*, again as lecturer at the Department/College of Humanities (since 1934), Dean of that College (1936–1939), simultaneously inspector of culture at the Ministry of Education (1939–1942), adviser to the Minister of Education and at the same time Rector of the Alexandria University (1942–1944). It is worthwhile to add, that he played an important role in the establishment of this University. This was in line with his concept of creating an academic–didactic centre, free from government and party pressures, capable to draw its own criteria and goals and to attract the best students, open to Mediterranean culture, and able to become a centre of humanistic and classical studies (Hourani 1977: 404).

He was however dismissed from rectorship in 1944, because the King disfavoured him and Alexandria was then the summer capital of Egypt. After this date he worked at non–governmental posts until 1950, when he received the post of Minister of Education in the *Wafd* Party government. He occupied the post until January 26, 1952 (the known Cairo fire). In the capacity of Minister, he soon decided to introduce free intermediate and technical education (primary education became free in 1944). He attempted to cover higher education by his decision, but King Farūq rejected the idea. Besides, Minister Ḥusayn brought about a change in the status of a huge number of semi–primary schools (*awwaliyya*) into primary, and opened thousands of new classes. His motto was: "Education is as necessary for people as water and air", for which he

was mockingly called "minister of water and air" (*wazīr al-māʾ wa-l-hawāʾ*) (Samīḥ 1977: 97–110).

These activities for the cause of educational reform, also his later activity after the Egyptian July Revolution of 1952 (membership of the Supreme Council for Arts, Literatures and Social Sciences, chairmanship of the Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo, membership of the Egyptian Academy, correspondent membership of numerous foreign academies of sciences), in addition to his incessant intellectual creativity — were an embodiment of his convictions and thoughts declared since his return from studies in France. The arising deep thoughts took the shape of a detailed programme in his work: *"Mustaqbal aṯ-ṯaqāfa fī Miṣr"*.

The background for the book were such historical events as the signing in 1936 of the British–Egyptian Treaty that granted Egypt formal independence, the liquidation of the capitulation system in 1937 by the Montreux international conference that hitherto crippled Egypt's economic life, the joining by Egypt of the League of Nations in the same year, in addition to the expectations and hopes that at last Egypt will follow the example of democratic countries (Ḥusayn, *Mustaqbal* 7; Cleveland 1994: 185–186; Hourani 1977: 390).

The work *Mustaqbal*, which was first published in 1938, was accompanied by intense widely–publicised discussions, not less than those that accompanied the publication of *"Fī š-šiʿr al-ǧāhilī"* in 1926. *Mustaqbal* however occupies an exceptional place among the attainments of the author. It has consolidated his position as an outstanding writer, also in the capacity of a reformist and modernist thinker — author of an original socio–political thought. He remained a steadfast continuator of the work of ʿAlī ʿAbdarrāziq[2].

The work published in 1938 is an important milestone in Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's intellectual development. In the previous period, he was inspired by literature as well as by ancient thought and culture. After the publication of this book, his writings started to become dominated by interest in the political, social and educational life of his times and society (Saʿīd n.d.: 210). Here we find the basic elements of ideas, which he developed later in academic lectures published, among others, in such collections as *Ḥadīṯ al-arbiʿāʾ* (Wednesday talks), *Qādat al-fikr* (Pioneers of thought), *Min ḥadīṯ aš-šiʿr* (Talks on poetry).

The ideas covered by the analysed book could be very briefly presented as follows:

The Egyptian path towards the future and progress will definitely be the same as the one followed at present by Europeans. Proceeding in that direction we will become their partners, and consequently participants in the creation of human

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[2] During the wide campaign of fierce attacks against ʿAlī ʿAbdarrāziq, the author of *al-Islām wa–usūl al-ḥukm*, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn publicly and steadfastly defended him.

civilization. Since the dawn of history, the Egyptian mind had been functioning within the sphere of Mediterranean culture; in ancient times the Egyptian mind did not possess an oriental nature.

We have undertaken an obligation towards Europe (meaning the treaty with Britain and the Egyptian constitution) to apply the same doctrine of government, a similar administrative system, analogical legislation, and so on. Now, if we reject these obligations and return to our archaic system or pattern, we can entangle ourselves into serious troubles. The next important case is the old–fashioned thought of al-Azhar and Azharites. This consideration, against the background of the strong position of the institution in the Egyptian educational system, creates a barrier that encounters the introduction of patriotic and citizenship ideas in the modern European sense (*Mustaqbal* 438–440).

For Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, neither faith nor language are an adequate basis for the formation or functioning of the state. It should be remembered that in the past Muslims arranged their relations with the outer world, and formulated their policies, on the basis of the category of practical benefits (*ibid.* 21) — and not religious, linguistic or ethnic arguments. In other words, a long time ago believers in Islam discovered one of the foundations of our contemporary life, i.e.: politics is one thing, while faith is something else.

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn refutes the idea which puts the allegedly materialist West in opposition to the spiritual East (*ibid.* ch. 12). According to him, the opinion regarding the material civilization as the sole product of matter is unjustified. Surely, it is the product of imagination (*ḫayāl*) and spirit (*rūḥ*), the outcome of live spirit attached to the mind, and the result of thought that generates activity. Thus, he regarded the mentioned opposition of East and West as ridiculous.

In general terms, the work is an "attempt to outline Egyptian identity" (al-Ġariyā 1995-96: 208). The strong sympathy for the Egyptian society was coupled with an excellent awareness of its weaknesses or shortcomings, as well as the ways of their correction. A central moment of his thought is culture and its value. "Had it not been for Egypt's carelessness, willingly or not, towards the essence of culture and science, it would not have lost its freedom, and would not have needed such a glorious relentless fight for the restoration of freedom and independence" (*Mustaqbal* 12–13).

The book works out then a comprehensive programme of reforming the entire sphere of culture, a programme bringing in effect the regeneration of culture and the nation. Emphasis is laid too upon the historical role of Egypt in defence of humanity's intellectual heritage; and that happened twice: once, when Egypt acquired, and took care of for over ten centuries, Greek philosophy and civilization; a second time, when she accepted and defended the civilization of Islam, lasting until contemporary times.

The development of education has to be the first remedy, and only the state in the foreseen future should be assigned with educational issues. Due to the fact that

the decisive majority of Egyptians were illiterate, it is the state which has to prepare them to understanding the fundamentals and goals of democracy (*ibid.* 81). It is worth while to add that the insignificant number of literates among Egyptians (Ṭāhā Ḥusayn estimates them as about 20% of the population) were subjected to diversified types of education.

First, there was the state–secular type. The British had seriously limited its range and lowered its level. "For years we have been doing what we can to repair what the English had put out of order" (*ibid.* 82). There was besides the foreign education, established as a result of granted concessions, which were not subjected to Egyptian government jurisdiction. In this case, the idea was to emancipate Egypt from alien biassed education. The same idea applied to French religious teaching, and to French, Italian, British, American and German secular schools. Among the functioning types, there were also the private Egyptian educational institutions of different levels; a type of education that disseminated widely at times when the few state schools and institutes could not satisfy the nation's rising demands in this field.

Finally, there existed the religious education carried out by al–Azhar, to which the author devoted a substantial part of his work. The religious status of this institution and the great allegiance of people towards it protects it from the supervision of civil authorities. The nature of this educational institution, the conservative attitude of its leadership and their application of medieval practices, bring about a situation whereas al–Azhar educates pupils and students in a specific manner, contradictory to what is done by secular education. Thereby, two divergent visions of events and issues arise.

al–Azhar desires against all rules to impose its will upon public life in the name of faith. This higher educational institution attempts to monopolise scientific and practical life (*al–ʿilmiyya wa–l–ʿamaliyya*): the state introduces new branches of higher studies, then al–Azhar introduces the same; the state defines higher academic degrees, al–Azhar does the same. Subsequently, it directs to the state categoric demands; for, since it has the same institutes and academic degrees, its graduates should then have the same rights to governmental posts. Otherwise, it claims that the state inflicts damage upon religious hierarchy and faith. The result is the establishment of a dual educational system. "Nowhere outside Egypt is it attempted to achieve such absurd demands" (*ibid.* 44).

He did not intend to radically curtail the rights of al–Azhar, but merely to adjust them to requirements of the "proper democratic system, so that al–Azhar would not become a state within a state (...)" (*ibid.* 95). He postulates then the formation of the educational profile there in compliance with the determinants of the country's endeavour for national unity, and also the requirements of consolidating democracy and independence (*ibid.* 94).

To the demand of al–Azhar to secure sole responsibility for teaching the Arabic language, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn replies: "Those who hold the opinion that only al–Azhar can

be trustworthy in caring for the Arabic language, they uphold a naive view. It is not al–Azhar that introduced the sciences of Arabic. Rather al–Azhar is an incident in the sciences of Arabic" (*ibid.* 291). It is true that al–Azhar preserved these studies for centuries, but it did not develop them nor added anything new. Thereby, it is not prepared to monopolise supervision upon teaching the Arabic language; it cannot match the requirements of modern life (*ibid.* 293). Hence, this institution cannot be assigned with the task of teaching the Arabic language, nor preparing teachers for the subject. The state has to do that, and the state has to prepare for its performance.

The central place of the general access to education in the thought of Ṭāhā Husayn is connected with the consideration that for him freedom could not coexist with ignorance, while education makes the individual conscious about his rights and duties. Freedom depends on the possession of so–defined consciousness, however, democracy has to ensure freedom. A further conclusive idea: only a free individual could possess the consciousness of affinity to the wide national community (*umma*), having Egypt as its geographical boundaries (*ibid.* 101–106).

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ERRANCE ET PATRIE DANS LA POESIE D'ADONIS

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La migration, l'exil – forcés ou choisis de bon gré –, deviennent un phénomène de plus en plus répandu dans le monde actuel. C'est bien visible, si on se penche sur les biographies des créateurs de la littérature arabe contemporaine. Les poètes: al-Ǧawāhirī, al-Bayātī, as-Sayyāb, Aḥmad ʿAbdalmuʿṭī Ḥiǧāzī, Maḥmūd Darwīš, Saʿdī Yūsuf, Hātif Ǧanabī et nombre d'autres, ont passé de longues années à l'étranger. Indépendamment des raisons pour lesquelles ils ont quitté leur patrie, la nostalgie de leur pays laisse une empreinte plus ou moins forte sur leur poésie. Les plus dramatiques sont, je crois, ces paroles de Badr aš-Šākir as-Sayyāb contenues dans le poème *"Ġarīb ʿalā l-ḫalīǧ"* (Le solitaire au bord du golf), où le poète identifie les souffrances d'un exile avec celles du Christ:

J'ai chante ma terre bien-aimée, et je la porte,

moi - le Messie, traînant la croix en exile (...) (as-Sayyāb 1971: I, 321)

Adonis (ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd Iṣbir, né en 1930) est un exemple particulier de poète dans l'oeuvre duquel on retrouve e r r a n c e – comprise comme "hésitation, rêverie, vagabondage". (*Dic. Robert* 1985: IV, 102) et p a t r i e , ou bien trois patries à vrais dire, qui constituent les éléments de la définition de cette notion dans le Grand Larousse: "Pays où quelqu'un est né (Syrie), ou dans lequel ont vécu ses ancêtres (la patrie arabe), et auquel il est attaché par des liens affectifs (Liban)".

SYRIE - C'est là où Adonis est né dans le petit village Qassabāynī dans les environs de Lataqiyya. Il a fait ses études à Damas où on a essayé de l'entraîner dans l'activité politique. En 1954 il s'installa à Beyrouth, il se libera des conditionnements géopolitiques de sa patrie. "J'étouffais à Damas, dira-t-il en 1987, où divers partis politiques et diverses idéologies ont essayé 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 ai trouvé des milieux indépendants, intellectuellement stimulants"[1].

Dans les poèmes du troisième recueil d'Adonis *"Aġānī Mihyār ad-Dimašqī"* (Chants de Mihyār le Damascène, 1961), on retrouve des mentions, nettement perceptibles, de la Syrie abandonnée. Il parle souvent de Damas, sa capitale qui serait le symbole de tout son pays, ce qui prouve que le poète est partagé, parce qu'en critiquant âprement son pays, il ne peut tout de même pas, se libérer du regret et de

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[1] Entretien que j'ai eu avec le poète à Paris en juin 1987. Après Skarżyńska-Bocheńska 1995:169.

la nostalgie de sa patrie. Dans la plupart de ses poèmes il accuse son pays de l'avoir obligé à partir parce qu'il ne donne ni promesse, ni liberté. Il en parle dans les fragments du poème *"Arḍ bilā maʿād"* (Adūnīs, *Ātār* I, 396) (Terre sans retour):

Même si tu revenais, Ulysse,

même si les distances s'amenuissient (...)

tu serais toujours l'histoire du départ

toujours tu resterais dans une terre sans promesse,

dans une terre sans retour. (tr. fr. de A. Wade-Minkowski)

Sa patrie abandonnée mérite une appréciation encore plus sévère dans ce fragment du psaume qui commence la partie de *"Chants de Mihyār..."* intitulé *"al-ilāh al-mayyit"* (Le dieu mort):

(...) J'abandonne une patrie pleine de deuil, pleine comme

l'oeuf dans lequel il n'y a place ni pour le soleil ni même

pour le vent. Je crée une patrie amie comme les larmes." (Adūnīs, *Ātār* I, 406)

La vision de sa patrie – morose, endeuillée, fermée au soleil, au vent, alors symboliquement privée de la lumière et de liberté, cette liberté à laquelle Adonis aspire toujours, aussi bien dans sa vie que dans son oeuvre – semble expliquer les raisons de son exil. Il est intéressant de constater qu'il y a plus de 100 ans, F.R. Chateaubriand, célèbre écrivain français a exprimé des sentiments semblables dans ses *Mémoires*:

(...) quand la liberté disparu, il reste un pays, mais il

n'y a plus de patrie" (Chateaubriand 1846: IV, 299)

Pourtant, Adonis fait la distinction entre ce qui dans son pays lui est proche et lui importe, et ce qu'il rejette décidément. Il en parle dans le poème *"Watan"* (Patrie) (Adūnīs, *Ātār* I, 453):

(...) Devant les visages qui se dessèchent

sous le masque du chagrin,

devant les routes sur lesquelles

j'ai oublié mes larmes,

devant l'enfant vendu pour prier

et pour cirer les souliers,

devant une maison dont j'ai emporté la poussière

dans mon égarement – je m'incline.

Tout cela est ma patrie, - pas Damas! (tr. fr. A. Wade-Minkowski)

Les poèmes qu'il a consacré à son pays, sont empreints du romantisme, de nostalgie, de souvenirs, ils se distinguent nettement des poésies violentes et pleines de révolte juvénile du recueil *"Aġānī Mihyār ad-Dimašqī"*. Il n'y a que le motif de rejet de Damas – pouvoir dominant la Syrie qui correspond du ton général de ce recueil. Ce même motif est aussi présent dans le poème *"al-Bilād al-qadīma"* (Le vieux pays) (Adūnīs: I, 397) où le poète abandonne des "appels étranglés" pour venir à "la fierté du refus".

Dans le recueil suivant *"Kitāb at-taḥawwulāt wa-l-hiǧra fī aqālīm an-nahār wa-l-layl"* (Livre des métamorphoses et de la migration dans les provinces du jour et de la nuit, Beyrouth 1965), la première partie du poème *"Taḥawwulāt aṣ-Ṣaqr"* (Les métamorphoses du Gerfaut) intitulée *"Faṣl ad-damᶜ"* (Saison des larmes, Adūnīs, *Taḥawwulāt* II, 45-58) est entièrement consacrée à Damas, mais pas à Damas contemporain, seulement à Damas historique: "Patrie dont le nom était Damas"[2]. J'en parlerai dans la partie consacrée à la "patrie arabe". Il est pourtant difficile de ne pas saisir que dans les strophes pleines d'émotion, le sujet lyrique (le poète) exprime son déchirement entre le désir de voir renaître sa patrie opprimée, son amour pour elle et la haine et le mépris qu'il ressent. Il écrit: "Comment pourrions-nous accéder à la mort, au repos, ô Damas?" (*Migration* 64) et en même temps il l'accable d'épithètes injurieuses: "Ô femme offerte à tout homme qui vient...", "femme vouée au péché, à la boue" (*ibid.* 63), "femme (...) qui écoutes les mortes, les tombeaux, les idoles, (...) qui aimes les jeunes cadavres et les victimes" (*ibid.* 66).

Dans les derniers vers il prie Damas qui est ici identifiée à une femme vénale, de lui pardonner. Le déchirement du poète s'exprime le plus fort dans ce fragment où il oscille entre l'amour et la haine pour la patrie abandonnée:

Et j'ai dit: Non, que dans mon coeur
et dans mon sang vive Damas.
Et j'ai dit: - Non, que brûle brûle Damas. (*Ibid.* 65)

LA PATRIE ARABE – La grand popularité du recueil *"Aġānī Mihyār ad-Dimašqī"* (1961) que Adonis a écrit dans sa jeunesse et qui a été traduit en français et édité à Paris en 1983, a fait que dans les nombreux cercles intellectuels de l'Orient arabe et de l'Europe, Adonis est considéré (jusqu'à nos jours) comme un révolté qui rejette la tradition, l'histoire et l'héritage des Arabes. Ceci est dû aussi aux publications arabes des années '60. Par exemple Ḥalīm Barakāt dans son article *"Aġānī Mihyār ad-Dimašqī wa-ᶜalam aš-šiᶜr al-aġnā"* est enchanté par la poésie de la révolte et de la négation, du rejet de la tradition et même des racines que le jeune poète veut créer en commençant par lui-même.

Mais il suffit de passer au recueil suivant d'Adonis *"Kitāb at-taḥawwulāt..."* pour voir qu'Adonis est profondément enraciné dans la tradition et l'histoire arabe. Ce sont des personnages de l'histoire arabe tels que ᶜAbdarraḥmān ad-Dāḫil, Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī, les mystiques al-Hallāǧ et al-Ġazālī ou les poètes Abū Tammām, Baššār ibn Burd et d'autres qui sont les héros de ses poèmes les plus connus. Adonis, poète et philosophe ne nie pas l'histoire ni la culture du monde arabe, seulement il juge de façon critique la tradition.

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[2] Adonis, *Migration* 63. Voir aussi Adonis, *Soleils* 43-71.

Dans sa thèse de doctorat de 3-ème degré *"at-Ṭābit wa-l-mutaḥawwil"* (Le Fixe et le mouvant), publié en 3 volumes à Beyrouth dans les années 1974, 1977, 1978), à la suite d'une analyse profonde il fait ressortir de la tradition arabe ce qu'il considère comme vivant et créateur, capable de subir les transformations (*mutaḥawwil*) et il rejette ce qui est mort et fixe (*ṭābit*). Il a choisi le personnage de ᶜAbdarraḥman I, le dernier ᶜUmayyade qui échappa au massacre de sa famille fait par les ᶜAbbāssides, et qui commença la dynastie de ᶜUmayyades de Cordoue. Malgré son succès en Andalousie ce monarque à la nostalgie de Damas, et peut-être pour cela le poète se sent proche de lui. Le poème "Les jours du Gerfaut" (*"Ayyām as-Saqr"*, *Āṭār* II, 25-42) renoue avec les jours de la gloire de "patrie arabe", exprime la nostalgie de son auteur, et célèbre le prince héroïque que le calife ᶜabbāsside, son rival, appela *"Saqr al-Qurayš"*. Le titre-même du poème *"Ayyām as-Saqr"* évoque *"Ayyām al-ᶜArab"* de la période *al-ǧāhiliyya* – anciens contes arabes glorifiant les jours des batailles célèbres et les héros de celles-ci. As-Saqr - l'alter ego du poète entend de loin la voix de l'Euphrate:

- Qurayš...
Une caravane vers l'Inde
Elle porte d'Afrique et d'Asie jusqu'à l'Inde
Elle porte le feu de la gloire. (*Migration* 39)

Cette voix - le refrain répété dans ce poème montrant le prince fuyant devant les bourreaux des ᶜAbbāssides, une fois de plus décrit la gloire de Banū ᶜUmayya descendant de Banū Qurayš:

- Qurayš...
perle rayonnante du Damas
toute occultée d'encens et de santal,
toi la plus tendre des tendresse du Liban,
la plus belle des légendes de l'Orient... (*Soleils* 44)

Et il se termine par un accent dramatique:

Il ne reste de Qurayš
rien d'autre que le sang giclant comme une lance,
rien d'autre qu'une plaie. (*Āṭār*: II, 30. tr. de l'arabe par l'auteur, tr. fr. J. Karna)

Dans la troisième partie du poème *"Taḥawwulāt as-Saqr"*, intitulée *"Faṣl aṣ-ṣūra al-qadīma"* (Saison de l'image d'antan, *Āṭār*: II, 79-93) le sujet lyrique (poète) revient cette fois-ci à Bagdad, ville-symbole de la culture arabe florissante, il se fond en un tout avec l'Euphrate, retrouve les racines de son ancienne patrie arabe:

Je cours avec l'Euphrate
en un temps ensorcelé
coulant de la source de l'ancienne enfance
de l'ancienne vieillesse.
Tout le sang de l'Euphrate
coule dans mon corps et dans ma nostalgie. (*Migration* 92)

Le poème du recueil *"al-Masraḥ wa-l-marāyā"* (Le théâtre et les miroirs, 1968), intitulé *"as-Samā' aṭ-ṭāmina"* (Le huitième ciel) et portant le sous-titre *"Raḥīl fī madā'in al-Ġazālī"* (Voyage dans les villes d'al-Ġazālī, *Āṭār*: II, 405-454) a une importance capitale pour démontrer le lien unissant Adonis avec le monde arabe, contemporain cette fois-ci. Le poète y décrit le voyage du mystique al-Ġazālī aux cieux; il y est allé chercher de la lumière divine pour sauver ses villes en péril symbolisant les pays arabes dont il dépeint ainsi la situation:

Patrie ouvert comme un linceul
- colombe assassinée près de source.
Je vois en elle la nation
je vois en elle la lune coupée des visages d'enfants,
(...)
et le temps survenant comme un tremblement de terre.
La chute des villes d'al-Ġazālī a commencé
la rue tremble comme un rideau
et le temps est assis aux portes
comme un kandjar planté dans le cou. (*Āṭār*: II, 408. tr. de l'arabe par l'auteur, tr. fr. J. Karna)

"Kitāb qasā'id al-ḫams" (Le livre de cinq poèmes, 1980) présente aussi de nombreux exemples de liens attachant Adonis à sa patrie arabe ancienne et contemporaine.

LIBAN – Sa patrie de choix, "pays auquel le poète est attaché par des liens affectifs", apparaît rarement dans les premiers recueils d'Adonis. Du recueil *"Aġānī Mihyār..."* j'ai choisi deux poèmes pleins de tendresse et de compassion pour la terre qui l'a accueilli.

"Amaniyya" (Voeu, fragment)
Si un cèdre parmi les arbres des profondeurs et des ans
m'ouvrait les bras
s'il me gardait de la tentation des perles
et des voilures.
Si j'avais ses racines
si mon visage s'ancrait derrière son écorce triste
- je deviendrais alors nuages et rayons
dans horizon, pays fidèle (...) (*Chants* 75)

Le cèdre, symbole du Liban, indique bien qu'il s'agit de ce pays-là.

En juin 1987, lorsque j'ai rencontre Adonis à Paris, je lui ai demandé à quel pays il pensait en disant "mon pays"? – Au Liban! – m'a-t-il répondu sans hésiter. Je crois qu'on peut avancer une thèse qu'à mesure que les destructions et les malheurs s'abattent sur Liban, il devient de plus en plus cher au poète. Cela se reflète dans le poème *"Ṣawt"* (Voix) venant du même recueil:

Tu est plus riche que la terreur
plus riche que la rébellion vaincue
que le tonnerre sur le désert,
Ô patrie dans ta gangue de résine
patrie brisée
qui chemines avec moi à pas chancelants. (*Chants* 142)

Après l'invasion du Liban, Adonis qui a vécu le siège de Beyrouth, publie le recueil *"Kitāb al-ḥiṣār"* (Le livre de l'encerclement, 1985), où la plupart des poèmes sont consacrés à la tragédie de Beyrouth et ses habitants. Ces poèmes laissent transparaître la douleur et le désespoir d'Adonis face aux crimes et torts qu'il voit, ainsi que le sentiment de l'amour de sa patrie - Liban en péril personnifie cette fois-ci par la ville Beyrouth. Par contre on n'y trouve aucun appel à la vengeance. On est frappé par la force des sentiments humanitaires. L'image de la ville exterminée peut-être celle de chaque ville du monde en danger de mort. Surtout le poème *"aṣ-Ṣaḥrā'"* (Désert) dont je cite quelques extraits, est vraiment poignant:

(...) La tuerie a changé l'aspect de la ville
ces pierres sont des têtes d'enfants,
ces fumées-là, - respiration de ses habitants.
Et toutes les choses chantent
l'exil... la mer du sang qui coule.
(...)
Veillez avec la ville, restez en éveil!
La ville tient la mort dans ses bras
et tourne ses journées comme des pages abîmées.
Gardez en mémoire sa dernière beauté,
la ville roule dans les sables,
dans le foyer d'étincelles,
sur son corps - les stigmates des gémissements d'hommes
grain après grain
se répandent sur notre terre. (...) (*Ḥiṣār* 23)

Ces paroles peuvent se rapporter à chaque ville sans défense, brutalement mise en ruine: Hiroshima, Varsovie, Saraievo, Groznyi... Mais Adonis parle ici de Beyrouth: une sorte de litanie funèbre où revient le nom d'une place célèbre de Beyrouth, l'indique nettement:

Sāḥat al-Burǧ – l'inscription chuchotant le secret
                              aux ponts démolis...

Sāḥat al-Burǧ – souvenir qui se cherche au milieu
                              de la poudre et du feu.(*ibid.*)

Cette litanie se termine par une question:
Les dépouilles mortelles ou les ruines
              sont-elles la face de Beyrouth ?

La tristesse et l'absence d'espoir se retrouvent aussi dans un autre fragment du même poème:

Tu verras;
- tu diras son nom,
- ou tu diras - j'ai dessiné son visage,
- ou tu tendras les bras,
- ou tu souriras...
tu diras - autrefois je me réjouissais,
ou - autrefois j'étais triste,
Et tu verras alors:

<div align="center">Il n'y a plus de Patrie...! (ibid.)</div>

ERRANCE – La notion de l'errance - hésitation, vagabondage en arabe: *taraḥḥul*, *tayhān* (*Dict. fr-arabe* 404) et "errant" en arabe: *tā'ih, dā'ī* reviennent souvent dans le recueil *"Aġānī Mihyār ad-Dimašqī"* où le jeune poète se concentre sur lui-même et sur la recherche du sens de la vie. C'est l'époque où il change de patrie et part en Occident. Adonis exprime son égarement et son errance. Dans le premier psaume de ce recueil on tombe sur cette pensée caractéristique:

(...) ses paroles se tournent vers l'errance, l'errance,
l'errance. (*Chants* 20)
Le poème *"Ulysse"* a un sens semblable:
(...) Mon nom est Ulysse
Je me suis égaré par ici.
Avec mes poèmes je me suis égaré là-bas. (*Migration* 51)
Le recueil *"Livre de la Migration"* prouve qu'Adonis a vite retrouvé sens de la vie – l'amour, le mariage, l'élan créateur, le sentiment de sa mission poétique et l'attitude ouverte envers le monde et les gens. C'est à leurs problèmes, considérés à l'échelle du monde arabe ou bien du monde entier qu'il consacre ses recueils suivants. Mais c'est dans le poème *"Ayyām as-Saqr"* du recueil *"Kitāb at-taḥawwulāt..."* (Livre de la Migration) que nous aurons déjà la quintessence de cette idée, lorsqu'il parle du prince ᶜUmayyade, son alter ego:

As-Saqr dans son égarement, dans son désespoir créateur
Lève au ciel du fond des abîmes
l'Andalousie originelle,
l'Andalousie de celui qui vient de Damas
et porte à l'Occident la moisson d'Orient. (*Migration* 51)
Cette idée de "porter à l'Occident la moisson d'Orient" d'offrir au monde les valeurs de la culture de sa propre patrie, prise au sens large du mot, ainsi que la richesse

de ses meilleurs traditions, fait qu'Adonis ne regarde pas le monde comme un exile, mendiant une place pour vivre, mais comme un vainqueur cherchant une place à conquérir. Conquérir uniquement par la force et la beauté de sa poésie. L'errance (aḍ-ḍayāʾ) change en conquête (fatḥ).

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THE WARRING SHEHEREZADE
TRADITION AND FOLKLORE IN THE IRAQI DRAMA

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Contemporary Arab writers of various fields of literature incessantly look back towards the past of human communities, particularly that of their own. This trend has developed since the middle of the 19th century, i.e. from the beginning of the *nahḍa* — the Arab Renaissance. Well-known poets like Aḥmad Šawqī and ʿAzīz Abāza in Egypt sought their themes in historical events, myths and legends. Generally speaking, Arab writers of this period considered the past of human communities as a source of artistic devices and reflections over contemporaneity.

Iraqi authors shared this attitude with the whole of the Arab world. For instance, a famous traditional poet, representative of the so-called trend of the renewal of classical poetry, Ǧamīl Ṣidqī az-Zahāwī, in his poem *"The Arabic community"* (*ʿUrū-ba*), expressed nostalgic longing for the excellent Arab past. In an other poem, *"The revolution in hell"* (*Tawrat al-ǧahīm*), he recalled the great poet Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 1058) and raised him to a post of leader of a rebellion in the beyond (Bielawski & Skarżyńska & Jasińska 1978: 308). Such pairs of notions like *the past* and *revolution, the tradition* and *renewal* irrevocably entered literature, and they had wide repercussions in the Iraqi drama of the successive decades.

In this place, I would like to confine myself to the wide semantic field of the notion of tradition: "However, the word «tradition» has many various meanings according to what aspects of the dependence of the present day on the past are borne in mind. Generally, it can only be said in this subject that it refers to a phenomenon of the durability of culture or of some of its elements (...), and to the «inheritance» of culture by consecutive generations" (Szacki 1991: 207).

This understanding of tradition seems to be very close to Arabic culture, in view of the great popularity of the notion of *turāt̲*, the cultural heritage, in Arab countries. The strong links with *turāt̲* guarantee the durability of culture and its further development today and in future. Contemporary Arab playwrights do not spare pains in order to create and strengthen these links.

Precursors of the Iraqi drama on the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries already showed an indisputable "will of inheriting", which Szacki links (*ibid.* 210) to the notion of tradition, as they found their plots in myths, legends, folklore and a broadly-conceived past. Seeking their themes, they reach the oldest times; one of the first dramas in Iraq is a play "Adam and Eve" (*Adam wa-Ḥawwāʾ*, 1800) by Ḥanna Ḥabašī, on the origins of human kind. Iraqis, together with Lebanese, — both communities connected to the church — introduced Christian subjects into Arabic plays.

At the beginning of the 20th century and in the following decades, Iraqi playwrights were taking their themes from the life of ancient communities, but most willingly they presented the events and legends of their own region. The writers were attracted by the ancient past, and old, semi-legendary kingdoms experienced once more their full bloom and collapse in Iraqi play-writing, e.g. in the play "The ring—dove from Niniweh" (*Yamāmat Naynāwa*) of Sulaymān Ṣā'iġ. However, the protagonists representing the Arabs and Moslems of the first centuries of the *hiǧra* took the lead in this drama. The Arabs carried on here their desperate tribal struggles, and fought for honour and reputation according to a vendetta law which often served as a basis of dramatic conflicts, e.g. in "The valour of Arabs" (*Šahāmat al-ʿarab*, 1938) of Nasīm Malūl. The authors also used to stage the victorious march of the first Muslims on the various roads of Asia and North Africa. The concrete stages of this march were reflected e.g. in *al-Qādisiyya* (1935), "The conquest of Syria" (*Fatḥ aš-Šām*) by Yaḥyā ʿAbdalwāhid or "The conquest of Amūriyya" (*Fatḥ al-Amūriyya*) by ʿAbdalmaǧīd Šawqī. Till the 1960s and even 1970s, long Iraqi plays, sometimes even five-act plays, were written in a discursive and didactic manner. They were illusionary dramas imitating the phenomena of the past, and showed, above all, the right and wrong of old-time, always full of moralising examples. Their aesthetics was meeting the rules of literature rather than the needs of theatre. The language of these plays consisted of poetic and prose utterances, and it included rhymed prose, often all appearing in one play. I include this kind of Iraqi plays in trend of Arabic drama which I call neoclassicism (from the second half of the 19th century to the 1960s).

Neoclassical dramas in Iraq referred to the broadly-conceived tradition, understood as a part of the past submitted to "the will of inheriting". Starting with the 1960s and 1970s, it has shown distinctly folk and folkloristic features. The beautiful and clever Sheherezade, whose charming figure stood on the front of the new drama in Iraq, has originated from the folk epics. In this period, Iraqi writers included the dramas in a current of changes which permeated the whole of Arab dramaturgy. Arabic playwrights resisted the former illusionism and became great creators of a new dramatic reality, full of unusual solutions and approaches. Above all, they juggled and played with time and space, trying to encompass *turāt* and ground it in contemporaneity. A spirit of change existed also in the contents of the dramas of the new wave. The playwrights protested openly or by way of various camouflages against all the forms of coercion, compulsion and violence in relation to an individual and a community[1]. I include this drama, developed in the 1960s and 1970s, in a trend which I call crea-

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[1] They are particulary: Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣiddīqī and Aḥmad al-ʿAlaǧ from Morocco, ʿIzz ad-Dīn al-Madanī from Tunisia, ʿAbdallāh al-Quwayrī from Lybia, Ṣalāḥ ʿAbdaṣṣabūr, Šawqī ʿAbdalhakīm, Mahmūd Diyāb, Alfred Faraġ, Yūsuf Idrīs, Mīḥā'īl Rūmān, Naǧīb Surūr from Egypt, Walīd Iḥlāṣī and Saʿd Allāh Wannūs from Syria, Yūsuf al-ʿĀnī, ʿĀdil Kāẓim, Qāsim Muḥammad from Iraq.

tionism (Machut-Mendecka 1992: 118). Iraqi playwrights do not lag behind but keep up with other Arabic writers. One of the first plays written in the new style in Iraq is "The Death and Matter" (al-Mawt wa-l-qaḍiyya) by ᶜĀdil Kāzim. This is exactly the play in which Sheherezade entered with her inseparable companion Shahriyar, though this sinister king from *The Arabian Nights* assumed here a form of a dolly listening to the princess' fairy-tales. Sheherezade lived on the border of dream and reality, and in this fantastic space, she coped with the inertia of two dervishes inefficiently seeking purity. A Revolutionist tears her out from the dream, conveying the Book of the Revolution to her. It seems that the brave Sheherezade will carry out this responsible task. Sheherezade is not a lonely figure in Iraqi drama. Her duties are shared particularly by the protagonists of the plays of Yūsuf al-ᶜĀnī, ᶜĀdil Kāzim and Qāsim Muḥammad. All those protagonists occur in the same space, on the border of fantasy and reality, which form a coherent unity. The real part of this space is a fairyland of Baghdad, Kufa, or Damascus, vibrant with life. In these towns, active merchants, sellers, smart beggars and avaricious, boastful rich men experience many adventures; there stir about various craftsmen, wander ruffians as well as heralds who always have to say something important. On streets and bazaars pass figures of folk artists, trainers of apes and other animals, and walk about more or less gifted poets or chiromancers. The latter group offers services which meet the spiritual needs of the inhabitants. There come and go figures of wise men; one of them is Abū l-ᶜAql, the literary Rational in "It once happened" (Kān yā mā kān), who wanders through out the world, seeking knowledge. The colourful crowd from Arabic towns and countryside keeps exactly medieval standards. It is offered by authors who enclose with their texts lists of the historic, literary or folkloristic sources of artistic concepts. In this form, ᶜĀdil Kāzim mentioned a dozen or so maqāmāt on which he had based his drama "Maqāmāt of Abī l-Ward" (Maqāmāt Abī al-Ward), while Qāsim Muḥammad quoted titles of folk tales which he used in writing his play "The eternal Baghdad, half joking, half serious" (Baġdād al-azal bayna l-ǧadd wa-l-hazal). The traditions, precisely outlined, begin almost to live their own life. The drama free of the cause-and-effect order of events and linear time enables one to develop creative imagination. That is why in the play titled "The time Killed in Dayr al-ᶜAqūl. al-Mutanabbī" (az-Zamān al-maqtūl fī Dayr al-ᶜAqūl. al-Mutanabbī) by ᶜĀdil Kāzim, two great poets from the different epochs of the Arabic Middle Ages, Abū l-ᶜAlāʾ al-Maᶜarrī, and al-Mutanabbī (915-965), about one century more recent, stood side by side. Perhaps this example shows to what extent the Iraqi playwrights disregard the natural course of events while creating a new dramatic reality. Despite their ethnographic disposition and inclination to outline all the details of medieval customs and habits, they decidedly opposed illusionism in the theatre. Their resolute attitude almost automatically brings to mind the personality of a great foe of theatrical illusionism, Bertold Brecht. Above all, Iraqi drama is lavish in Brecht's famous effect of alienation, which ʹ does not leave the spectator to identify himself with the course of dramatic events,

and makes him keep distance from what is going on in the scene. Such a spectator avoids excessive excitement and is able to develop a discursive and critical thought. I do not intend to discuss here Brecht's influences on Iraqi drama. I am rather talking about parallelisms, all the more so, as the person responsible here for the effect of alienation is usually a classic Arabic narrator, called *rāwī*, *rāwiya*, *maddāḥ* or *ḥākī*, who conducted traditional folk spectacles. A typical *rāwiya* appeared in "The eternal Baghdad..." where he told the story of the town, from time to time interspersing the dramatic action with his remarks. *Rāwiya*, actors and choirs comment events, and link or unite loose, dramatic images, which are so popular in creationist dramas. Such a composition is another aspect of Iraqi play-writing that resembles Brecht's works. But parallelisms are more numerous, as they include Brecht's famous songs and stage setting, full of information or even statements. Folk songs illustrate the events of the Palestinian conflict outlined in "Maqāmāt of Abī al-Ward" by ʿĀdil Kāẓim or "I, personal pronoun" (*Anā ḍamīr al-mutakallim*) by Qāsim Muḥammad. In the same play, inscriptions with the dates of 1948 and 1968 indicate the successive stages of the conflict: the establishment of the state of Israel and the period, very painful for the Arabs, following the so-called June war. Inscriptions and watchwords usually appear in the stage setting of the dramas. All those theatrical means are to stimulate the spectator's imagination and encourage him to become active. The rich fables and the dynamism of the dramas enhance the suggestiveness of the plays. Simple, folk tales turn into a jungle of crossing plots, bewildering a receiver. In "Maqāmāt of Abī al-Ward", the main hero leads a folk theatrical troupe and experiences various adventures, as well as passing through hard times in the course of the drama. Simultaneously, the troupe's spectacle on the medieval Iraqi, folk uprising is being developed. At the same time, the Damascus bazaar lives its own life and a family of beggars is in constant conflict with the local police. The dramatic action also takes place in the palace, where the strong queen-mother governs, while her son, the ruler, and the minister plan to resist a Byzantine attack at the expense of the people. This fable is also enriched with additional plots. Similar examples can be multiplied. There are many examples, but it is worthy of note here that "The Eternal Baghdad" by Qāsim Muḥammad includes about fifty dramatic persons and each of them has something to communicate. Only those approaches pointed to the significance of narrative forms and fables in the Iraqi drama. That is why I am inclined to call it epic drama. Similarly to the old *rāwī*, who once had been informing and entertaining his listeners, usually in a didactic way, the contemporary drama of Iraq conveys a clear message to its spectators. Within its framework, somewhat metaphorically speaking, Sheherezade is no more a submissive spouse of a despotic king, but stands in a row of fighters. Their number increases and encompasses many other protagonists of Iraqi drama. All the innovatory dramatic means and complicated fables make the heroes to clamour for their rights. The plays reject the illusionism of former play-writing but preserve its clear didacticism, which seems to be even tendentiously exaggerated.

Maybe this means a new kind of an old genre of *piece a these*. The thesis indicates a categorical will of action; it is an assumption and a requirement, as well as a patriotic declaration. The will of action leads to useful and active life, based on the work of the heroes' own hands and minds in "Once happened" by Qāsim Muḥammad, the play in which the king's daughter, exhausted with life of sloth in a palace, willingly turns into a weaver. Above all, Iraqi drama sounds calls for a renewal and general change of the reality, to which the protagonists of "The Key" (*al-Miftāḥ*) by Yūsuf al-ʿĀnī wander, according to the contents of an old, folk lullaby. In other plays — "The Ruin" (*al-Ḥarāba*) by the same author, "The killed time in Dayr al-ʿAqūl. al-Mutanabbī" and "Maqāmāt of Abī al-Ward" by ʿĀdil Kāẓim, "The Eternal Baghdad..." by Qāsim Muḥammad — the thesis stands for a concept of revolution, formulated *expressis verbis* by the protagonists themselves. The meaning of revolution is perhaps wider than that usually connected with this notion. After all, it is to break out because *turāt* is on fire in "The traditional repasts" (*Maǧālis at-turāt*) by Qāsim Muḥammad, and also because an inherited beautiful, free mare was lost in "I, the personal pronoun" by the same author. The revolution seems to be inseparably linked to the will of inheriting and the collective memory of the Arabs. Moreover, in the creationist Iraqi dramas, sometimes the echo of antiquity can be found e.g. in "The Ruin" by Yūsuf al-ʿĀnī, a play devoted to Arab, Palestinian and Vietnamese struggle. Here *licencia poetica* enables a contemporary, ruthless woman, an advocate of the defence of Israel, to turn into Ashtarut, an ancient goddess cruel towards men, whose marriage proposals are being constantly rejected by the great Gilgamesh. In this way, the legendary hero warns against the force of evil that has been so vital since ancient times.

However, the plays of Yūsuf al-ʿĀnī, ʿĀdil Kāẓim and Qāsim Muḥammad most often refer to the great Arab-Muslim community. In this respect, trends of neoclassicism and creationism in the Iraqi drama carry a similar message. The dramatic thesis of works of the two trends expresses a feeling of the unity of the Arab-Muslim community in every historical period. Al-Mutanabbī, the title protagonist of the play by ʿĀdil Kāẓim, goes to the desert to restore the great Arab state. Baghdad occupies the particular position of a capital of a real state and a meaningful symbol in "The traditional repasts" by Qāsim Muḥammad, since the author describes this town as the place of action, and calls it "a symbolic homeland as well as part of our great homeland that was, is or will be raped" (Muḥammad, *Maǧālis*). The protagonists of the play "I, personal pronoun" declare their affiliation to the Arab nation, resorting to arms among explosions and the whistle of bullets... The Iraqi drama indicates that "the will of inheriting" is significant for present and future relations. This semantics is emphasised by the new lay-out of time and space, inconsistent with the natural course of events, which I mentioned above. The signs of the three realities — past, present and future — simultaneously force their way to the old Baghdad, "The eternal Baghdad", the play by Qāsim Muḥammad which I often quoted in my paper as very

representative of the Iraqi creationist drama. Here, against a background of medieval stage setting, carefully observing a traditional style, there appears a merchant in a palanquin assuming the form of a contemporary car. This small detail, besides many verbal statements, points out that, for Iraqi playwrights, the past and the present are inseparable.

The epic, monumental theatre with a thesis has been developing due chiefly to three outstanding authors, Yūsuf al-ᶜĀnī, ᶜĀdil Kāẓim and Qāsim Muḥammad, whose literary output served as a basis for my paper. In addition to this trend, lyrical dramas, free of pathos, are also written in Iraq, e.g. "The white tragedy" (*al-Masā' al-baydā'*, 1977) by Ġālib Fāḍil al-Muṭṭalibī, a play which takes place in the unconsciousness of a ruler longing to become a beggar. Nevertheless, the attachment to tradition and folklore distinguishes Iraqi playwrights against the background of the whole of Arab drama. With the admirable ardour of patriots, they promote their wide legacy in defence of national and humanistic values.

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THE IMAGE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE IN THE MODERN SYRIAN NOVEL

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One of the specific features of the modern literary process in the Arab countries consists in that - taking into consideration its constant artistic and thematic renewal - the interest of fiction writers towards the "rural" theme is not abating. Writers do find in it the inexhaustible abundance of human characters, a vast range of situations and conflicts as well as the ethical set of problems of intransigent significance.

One may find a lot of common traits between the modern "rural" Syrian fiction, so far as its aesthetic purpose and orientation to particular problems are concerned, and the literary work of writers of a number of Eastern literatures, which is a natural phenomenon. To a great extent, this is being determined by the typological closeness of the processes of literary development, by the active interaction of different artistic systems, as well as by the similarity of historical development, and, at last, by the common logic of life itself, the latter, however, being treated and reproduced in the best of masterpieces with originality and individual uniqueness. Therefore, the examination of the "rural" theme in the Syrian novel seems topical in the context of the literary traditions nurturing it.

A substantial role in the artistic process pertains to traditions. The attention paid thereto in literary research works is completely justified. Articles as well as collective monographs[1] are being published, discussions and congresses take place[2], being dedicated to different problems of the folklore and classic heritage, the literary traditions. In the works of the orientalists from different countries the rationalization of traditions gathers momentum as a live process of perception and creative remodelling by writers of those aesthetic achievements of the past which correspond to the greatest extent to their individual features as well as to immanent goals of literature. As Hilary Kilpatrick writes, "literary tradition is not static, but is continuously being added to by each new generation of writers" (Kilpatrick 1995: 150).

It should be noted that the range of modern interpretations of the notion "literary tradition" is broad, it extends from establishing the closeness of aesthetic positions to finding parallels discovering harmony, registering similar images, situations, words, seeking ready models for the works researched.

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[1] See, e.g. *Chudogestvenni traditsii literatur Vostoka i sovrememennost: traditsionalizm na sovremennom etape*, Moscow 1986.

[2] See, e.g. *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Budapest 1995.

For the purpose of specifying the conceptual apparatus we distinguish tradition in the broad sense of the word (or general literary tradition) - a complex of ideal and artistic values accumulated by mankind and used by subsequent generations - and concrete or particular literary tradition, which is predominantly style-oriented, if by style the aesthetic integrity of the meaningful form is understood.

In other words, the monotype of cognition by images and the proximity of artistic structure linked thereto allow us to speak about the presence of a concrete literary tradition in different works of Syrian writers.

It is not only the tradition of European cultures and classical heritage par excellence, but the achievements of modern Egyptian writers as well, that are deemed fruitful for the development of 20th century Syrian literature, as well as other literatures of the Arab region. Among a multitude of brilliant talents and creative individualities who investigate the rural theme in multiple dimensions, we shall mention only ꜥAbdarraḥmān aš-Šarqāwī and Yūsuf Idrīs, whose traditions are reflected more conspicuously in the work of a number of Syrian writers. The works of these fiction writers, quite unlike each other, are specific, they reflect different aspects of Egyptian reality, simultaneously complement one another, enriching the common experience of Arab literature, its content of problems and themes, its arsenal of artistic pictorial means.

It is remarkable that the artistic and aesthetic search of Egyptian writers finds resonance in the works of the League of Syrian writers, founded in 1951 in Damascus. In 1954, at its regular conference, its was transformed into the League of Arab writers[3].

Thanks to the creative work of the League's members, the story genre obtains a key position in the artistic process. They publish their works on the pages of the magazines *"al-Adīb"*, *"al-Ādāb"*, *"aṯ-Ṯaqāfa al-waṭaniyya"*, in 1952 by means of their combined efforts they published a collection of stories *"Darb ilā l-qimma"* (The Road to the Top), where, for the first time in the history of national literature, the realities of the Syrian countryside became one of the dominating themes.

Mawāhib al-Kayyālī, one of the promoters of the League's creation dedicates many stories of the collection *"al-Manādīl al-bīḍ"* (The White Kerchief, 1954) to the rural theme. Depicting the social structure and way of life of a Syrian village, the situation of small tenant-farmers, the author addresses the problem of migration of landless peasantry. Thus, in the story "Hero" he narrates about the life experience of a young peasant Aḥmad who is forced to leave the nurturing land and become an actor in the city. In search of employment, the heroine of Liyān Dayrānī, the widow Umm Nazār, goes to Damascus, "never thinking that one day life's turmoil

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[3] Writers of some Arab countries participate in this conference, among them Yūsuf Idrīs, representing Egypt.

would throw her out in city where she would have to fight desperately with poverty" (Dayrānī 1976: 31). Ṣamīm aš-Šarīf, who received recognition subsequently as an art critic and a great connoisseur of European classical music, wrote novels which distinguish themselves by blunt axiology and emotionality of the author's narrative. In the centre of his collection of stories *"Anīn al-arḍ"* (The Earth's Groaning, 1954) is the theme of the "little man", shown by the author not only as an individual careworn and deprived of rights, but also as a man capable to raise protest, similarly to the heroes of ʿAbdarraḥmān aš-Šarqāwī. But in elaborating the characters, the author often lacks the everyday life and psychological precision of detail inherent to the best of Yūsuf Idrīs' stories.

It should be noted that in many works of the 50's, the main accent is laid upon the social and critical purpose, upon the diversity of national life in its contrasts and contradictions, without a deep psychological motivation of deeds and characters.

The writers in their artistic analysis of the world and man turn towards the experience of other literatures. They not only try to assimilate their achievements but through practical activity they help Syrians join the spiritual treasures of other nations.

As Ṣamīm aš-Šarīf recollects in a conversation with the author of these lines, after the creation of the League literary life in Syria invigorates. In clubs, among young people, discussions take place and lectures are read, dedicated to the problems of the national culture's development, to the creative work of renowned Egyptian and European writers. Model works of fiction are translated, representing different trends, tendencies and schools. Ḥusām al-Ḫaṭīb remarks that in "the mid 50's, translation activity reached such heights that all the history of Syrian culture did not yet know" (al-Ḫaṭīb 1972: 46).

The expansion of contacts with European and Egyptian literature, the latter being the closest, is one of the indices showing the intensification of the literary process in the country. These contacts influence propitiously the creative work as well as the creative practice of different generations of Syrian writers.

Konrad writes: "Our time is an epoch of national literatures, but, together with this, it is an epoch of literary communities" (Konrad 1978: 32). These words may be a sui generis symbol of the artistic process in Syria in the decades to come, although interaction is one of the most important principles of national literature's existence and development at all stages. Syrian literature reaches new frontiers in the process of active contact with other systems of art.

Some most general signs of innovation are the exploitation of new themes, and the striving to penetrate into the essence of the national character, the formulation of problems and ideas concordant with the spiritual life of society, the enrichment of an ethical and humanitarian set of problems, the renovation of artistic forms, the creation of necessary narrative structures and the rise of other genre modifications, the perfection of composition methods, the enlargement of the range of individual

styles - and, as a stimulus for all these transformations - the strengthening of links with contemporaneity.

The aspiration of Syrian writers towards thoroughness and multilaterality of perception of the world manifests itself in all literary genres. But it obtains the greatest momentum in the ideas and images of epic narration.

The status of the novel in the general system of literary genres changes. The intensive development in the precedent decades contributes for the novel's confirmation as a leading genre of Syrian literature till the present. Synthesizing the positive experience of all problem-centred and theoretical schools and varieties, genre and style trends, the modern national novel becomes the index showing the level of literary development reached. A characteristic feature of the Syrian novel at the new stage is the absorption, intensive as never before, of contemporaneous themes and topics.

The rural theme, traditional for Arab literature, receives new filling and rationalization now not only in light prosaic forms but in the epic narrative as well, reflecting those essential problems of national progress which until then were not set out in the national literature, and with such a force and intensity at that.

A number of objective reasons, including difficulty to obtain access to literary sources, determine our interest in regard to just a few, but in a certain sense quite representative, novels of Syrian writers, each of them having found his own standpoint of the embodiment of a given theme, and his own style.

One of the first among the novelists to follow the rural theme is Ḥaydar Ḥaydar, which he does in his work *"al-Fahd"* (The Cheetah, 1968)[4]. In a small book as a volume, the author narrates the history of the life of a mountain village Buʿalī, covering the period before and after the achievement of national independence. The ordinary Šāhīn, quite inconspicuous among other peasants, who however turns out to be ready for decisive acts, becomes the main protagonist. It is to him that the author entrusts the presentation of a lot of his ideas. The time comes for the peasants to pay a tithe. Šāhīn refuses to pay, chases away the tax-collector, and, as a result, is imprisoned. Killing two guards, the hero flees to the mountains. However, he does not evade the death penalty. The depiction of Šāhīn's tragic fate commingles in the narrative with the accusation of the feudal arbitrariness and the description of the growing popular discontent.

The process of restructuring the patriarchal standpoint of view, the melting of the peasant character formed during the centuries, are investigated by Nabīl Sulaymān in the novel *"Yandāḥ aṭ-ṭūfān"* (The Flood Will Ebb Away, 1970). The book's action extends during the post-revolutionary period, when the heroes already do not face

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[4] This work was first published in the collection *Ḥikāyāt an-Nawrus al-muhāǧir* in 1968. In 1977 a separate edition was published.

the problem of "choosing the way" as the situation was in *"al-Fahd"*. Here the author strives to rationalize the results of the choice made, and of the ensuing reforms, depicting the fighting and the mores of one of the villages in the province al-Lādiqiyya. If in the book *"al-Fahd"* the main plot line is connected with the life story of one particular hero, and the author is more interested in the different stages of the development of this personality, the attention of Nabīl Sulaymān concentrates mainly upon the diversity of his heroes' fates. Painting the generalized image of a Syrian village, he shows its deep social stratification.

Similarly to the Egyptian writer Yūsuf Idrīs in the book *"al-Ḥarām"* (Sin, 1959), Fāris Zarzūr in his novel *"al-Ḥufāh wa-ḫuffay Ḥunayn"* (The Barefoot and the Shoes Hunayn, 1971)[5] addresses the life of agricultural season workers driven by hunger and unemployment to seek employment in the other end of the country. However, given the identity of the material chosen for description, given the specific similarity of topics, the writers solve in their own specific manner the artistic tasks set before them.

If the book of Idrīs "contains not a single word about the social strife in the village - the work is based on the principle of everyday life drama" (Kirpichenko 1980: 88), the novel of the Syrian writer is transfixed by the pathos of the rejection of social injustice. Its plot, briefly speaking, comes down to the following. The season workers, nurturing radiant hopes, gather to undertake a long travel. Then the acute problem of the transportation of all these people arises. The enterprising contractor ʿAwwād solves the problem with least expenses for himself: he drives the peasants to a freight wagon adapted for the carriage of cattle, and goes himself to a passenger compartment.

During the trip the mother of ʿUmar and Farḥa falls ill. All think that she is to die, they even make preparations for her funeral at the next station. The doctor, after having examined the ill woman breaks the news of her premeditated poisoning to the peasants and then to the coroner, who initiates an investigation and brings charges against ʿAwwād in connection with the perpetrated felony. With the help of cash, the latter succeeds to evade punishment. Munīra gives birth to a son in the dirty and stale wagon. The contractor gives her a few miserable pennies as allowance, not wishing to take her with the child to the passenger compartment. The youngster Masʿūd who is in love with Farḥa also is a source of trouble for him. ʿAwwād by all means tries to get rid of the serious rival: dumps him down from the train, or sends him to prison, or chases him back home. And there the train arrives at the point of destination. The eyes are filled with happiness upon the sight of the boundless open spaces, the ripen wheat ears... But harvest machines work in the fields.

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[5] The title of the novel is connected with the ancient Arab proverb: "to come back with the shoes of Ḥunayn", which means "to come back without anything".

Thus do the last illusions crumble of the peasants, and first of all, of the young people who failing to become agricultural workers turn out to be useless and without a job.

As we see, the novel's plot is dynamic, full of situations of suspense. Life attacks the travellers with many problems, and through these conflicts different angles of Syrian reality are clearly brought up to light, and the characters of Zarzūr's heroes are brought to trial.

Among them, ʿUmar distinguishes himself. It is exactly him that becomes the bearer of the ethical ideal of the author, having condensed into him the best traits of the people's soul and wisdom. Typologically, his image corresponds to the image of the peasant leader created by ʿAbdarraḥmān aš-Šarqāwī in the novel "al-Arḍ" (the Earth, 1954).

Comparing the novels of these two writers, it may be noted that if, as R. Allen writes, "aš-Šarqāwī's commitment to the cause of social reform is at times obtrusive in al-Ard" (Allen 1982: 79), then in the works of the Syrian writer the author's ideas and ideals dominate in the creative reproduction of reality, predetermining its plot and composition as well as its graphic structure. Zarzūr narrows down the artistic and descriptive potentialities of the novel form. The dialogue turns to be the chief artistic means upon which the narrative is based. Possibly it is not by chance that Zarzūr's novel is put on stage and its radio version is broadcasted by the Syrian radio.

A year after publishing "al-Ḥufāh wa-ḫuffay Ḥunayn", the novel of Ṣalāḥ Dihnī[6] "Milḥ al-Arḍ" (The Salt of the Earth, 1972) was published, being dedicated to the migration of landless peasants. The plot canvas of the work consists of the life motions of the young peasant, ʿAwayḍa, who has gone to look for his native village Bāhita due to his father's illness. After his father's death, the hero remains to live with his relatives, but he does not want to be a farmhand as his ancestors. He leases a plot of land belonging to the village elder, with whose daughter he decides to cast his lot, and he tries alone to tackle with natural calamities. But scorching drought and a horde of rats destroy all crops and compel the hero to take the road again in search of a better lot.

Similarly to Zarzūr, the writer, while addressing the fate of the poverty-stricken peasants, wandering around in search of happiness, tries to rationalize the difficulties of village life in the first years of independence. The artistic concept of the world and man coincides in many aspects, the author's biased attitude and the reproduced reality determines its inevitable polarization, the insufficient plasticity of the depiction of characters, and the organic character of the plot action of the novel.

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[6] Ṣalāḥ Dihnī is known as a film director and critic.

It is appropriate to remember the just essential remark of R. Allen who wrote: "In Syria a number of writers of social-realist novels deal with the problems of the country's peasantry, although it has to be admitted that the results often tend to underline the frequently stated view that the expression of commitment to a cause does not guarantee a successful work of art or a positive critical response." (Allen 1992: 208)

The Syrian rural novel develops in the mainstream of the general tendencies of the genre, and of literature as a whole, with its failures and achievements, in the foundations whereof lies above all things the growing consciousness of the complexity, ambiguity, dialectical controversy of life events and the striving to attain them, to rationalize the multiformity of the subjective - objective reality. However, as the experience of a number of writers shows, these aspirations do not always find adequate artistic embodiment. Often the persuasiveness of the conceived characters, of plot development, even of details diminishes due to unskilful stylistic transposition, banality.

It is characteristic that the attention of Syrian novelists concentrates not only on the village with its diverse unsolved social and economic problems, but on the rationalisation of village reality through depiction of a particular fate by means of the analysis of the complex world of human feelings and emotions, by means of fathoming the ethical dominant of the hero. In this respect, the influence is felt of the tradition of Idrīs, in whose creative work, as V. Kirpichenko puts it, one can distinctly trace the striving to generalize one's own observations of reality, find the link of the individual's psychology with the social environment, the determination of the spiritual world of man by means of the ethical and moral rules dominating in society." (Kirpichenko 82)

A similar tendency is obviously emerging in the subsequent novel of Zarzūr "al-Mudnibūn" (The Guilty Ones, 1974), which, according to the confession of the author himself, is one of his most suffered books. The first drafts of the book were written in the years of his imprisonment in jail, and he undertook systematic work on the text in the mid sixties[7]. Taking into account a certain unevenness of the narrative which possibly may be explained by the long periods of writing, "al-Mudnibūn" considerably differs from the precedent novel of Zarzūr, although in certain aspects it repeats the general ideas thereof, deepens particular motives. But here the depiction of village life is realized not so much in its social dimensions as through moral and ethical manifestations, and is being supplemented by a deeper penetration into the spiritual world of the protagonists, as well as being accompanied by a fresh and authentic life environment.

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[7] See e.g. al-Mawqif al-adabī, Damascus 1982, No 129-130, p. 182.

Already the first lines of the work, representing an original poetical introduction, submit the key for the comprehension of the author's artistic manner, of his approach to the material, and bring evidence of the writer's disposition for a calm and measured narration.

Episodes from the life of two kin families change in sequence before the eyes of the reader. On the one hand, the first is the family of the poor man Ǧadʿān al-ʿAbdallāh as an expression of the immortal patriarchal and national pillars; on the other hand, the second family is the family Ṣāliḥ ad-Diyāb, which is ranging high among other peasant families and is respected by the authorities. According to the author's free will, these families embody opposite ethical principles. The interaction thereof gives birth to the dramatic collision, which is the cornerstone of the novel's design and composition.

A long-lasting drought which has scorched the crops of the farmers compels the family of Ǧadʿān al-ʿAbdallāh as well as many other people to become tenant farmhands. This is the situation whereby the peasant engaged in farming already is not a landowner but still does not seek employment, still some visibility of land possession exists.

However, a real danger becomes imminent, that of losing even this visibility. For as many years as the cruel drought reigns, the harvest remains minimal. The funds for living and for payment of the rent hardly suffice. Will Ǧadʿān al-ʿAbdallāh be able to hold on to his plot of land, or will he, sooner or later, share the lot of many other landless farmers having left their native places in search of employment - this is the alternative inevitably emerging before the heroes.

It is remarkable that in this novel the writer finds a new method, in comparison with "al-Ḥufāh wa-ḥuffay Ḥunayn", of portraying the peasant personality. His protagonist does not possess that consciousness that characterized ʿUmar - the central personality of his precedent novel. Ǧaʿdān does not perceive things happening to him or to his fellow villagers as a manifestation of the general crisis in the country compelling them finally to leave their well inhabited places and move to town. "Their thoughts, Zarzūr writes, concentrated only on one thing - money... Every one of them mortgaged his plot of land and now worked with full efforts to save more money and repay the loan" (Zarzūr, al-Muḏnibūn 258). Such is peasant psychology - eternal attraction to land. Wherever they find themselves, they think about it.

The author underlines the ethical mainstay of his heroes. The foundations of sound ethics, according to him, are the traditions consecrated by centuries of time. The scene of the wedding is represented like a fresh, colourful people's celebration. The traditional hospitality, the flaming dances, the ancient songs - all of these represent not an ethnographic intermission but the spiritual atmosphere peasants live in, and which the author succeeds to portray convincingly by artistic means. The reason contributing for this is that Zarzūr uses diverse methods of narration in contrast with the precedent novel-dialogue.

Through keen psychological analysis, without the author's persisting intervention, the realities of Syrian rural life are reproduced and a greater than ever plasticity is achieved as well as a true-to-life depiction of the personalities.

The rural theme is subject to investigation in Jān Aleksān's novel *"an-Nahr"* (The River, 1979). The plot of the novel takes place along the banks of the Euphrates river. In times of floods, the river manifests its wild character, sweeping away along its way farmers' shacks as well as land estates. The village teacher Aḥmad gives advice to his fellow villagers to erect a dike against the floods, but upon orders by the Šayḫ, the peasants are compelled to dig irrigation canals (in order to prepare the land for sowing seeds). The danger of a spring river flood arises each year. The peasants ultimately take in the appeal of the teacher and get ready to counteract the forces of nature. "Every time we shall erect a dike against floods. This year we have built it using earth but the dike was carried away by the flood waters. Next year we shall erect a stone dike and if it is once again carried away, then we shall construct a steel and concrete one... We shall not be stopped until we have built such a dike that won't be carried away by any flood" (Aleksān, *an-Nahr* 225), says one of the peasants. The Euphrates dam was finally erected and the dreams of Aleksān's protagonists came true.

It is remarkable that the writer observes the events of the past through the prism of subsequent experience. For him it is not so much the conflict character of the situation in those years that goes to the first plan of the novel as the objective laws, the unwavering steadfastness of the process. Time smooths out the sharpness of perception of the contradictions between different social strata; new nuances, new features appear in the portrayal of peasant types. The author accentuates as a trait of paramount importance in his heroes the devotion to land, the comprehension of the laws of nature, the feeling of fusion with it.

Aleksān's work is characterized by the clarity and wholeness of conception, the unity of plot and composition development, an organic style. The accuracy of social and psychological portrayals is in combination with the expressive verbal characterization of heroes, the juicy humour, the capability to capture the beauty of nature in its different manifestations. It should be also noted that, similarly to the book *"al-Muḏnibūn"*, the novel *"an-Nahr"* does not contain idealization, thickening of colours, sentimentality or nostalgia, but psychologically true, persuasive images of personalities.

The work of ʿAbdassalām al-ʿUǧaylī called *"al-Maǧmūrūn"* (The Flooded, 1979) in a certain sense bears semblance to the novel *"an-Nahr"*. The writing of this book is preceded by stories about the rural countryside written in different periods. Among them are *"al-Kamʾāh wa-l-kīnīn"* (Mushroom and Quinine) and *"Sāla d-dam"* (Blood Gushed), published in the collection *"Sāʿat al-Mulāzim"* (The lieutenant's watch, 1951), and *"an-Nahr sulṭān"* (The River Sovereign), published in the collection *"al-Ḫāʾin"* (The Traitor, 1960), where al-ʿUǧaylī shows the finality, irreversibility of

changes in the village, linked to the scientific and technical progress. The author strives to express the human aspect of these changes in the novel *"al-Maġmūrūn"*.

The transformations due to the progress of science and technologies in the village attract the sharp attention of the writer towards the traditional and ethical values connected with the close-to-nature rural life, which to a certain extent turn out to be in danger of disappearance. This major and complex philosophical question is treated in his new book.

The title of the work itself *"al-Maġmūrūn"* (The Flooded) is symbolic, it is of a dual sense. On the one hand, the title is historically specific. The chronological frames of the novel embrace the 70's, when the government undertook certain measures for the development of agriculture and for the improvement of peasant life. The construction of electric stations and urban housing began, co-operative associations were created.

The author narrates about the destinies of people forced to leave their native places and migrate to the uninhabited eastern regions, where in the desert "a handful of water is equal to a handful of blood" (al-ʿUġaylī, *al-Maġmūrūn* 25). Due to the erection of a dam, their village turns to be within the flooded zone. The submerging and the migration connected therewith obtain in the novel a generalized connotation, expressing to a certain extent the philosophical views of the writer: life is a motion, a motion in the search of unattainable happiness.

The dual plan contained in the title itself of the novel is present in the narrative structure as well. Al-ʿUġaylī subordinates it to the task of reproducing in artistic form the events which have had a place during the construction of the dam, and, together with this, of following the development of the character of the central personality.

The writer does not go deep into the details of the pre-history of the hero, he just marks it with a few strokes. The hero's father Ġābir al-Mabrūk, known by his nickname "the newcomer", kills as a young man his cousin and flees from retribution, hiding in one of the villages spread out along the banks of the river. Many years he lives with a feeling of guilt and remorse. The local inhabitants meet him with distrust and constantly humiliate him. All of his hopes Ġābir lays on his son ʿUtmān, who distinguishes himself among the youngsters of his age by his natural intelligence and perspicacity.

He is endowed with other qualities too - an intuitive penetration into the essence of things, a faultless sense of ethics, but, first of all, he achieves his own "truth", expressed by the commitment of love to people. The hero preaches it among his co-villagers, among the members of the co-operative farm. In regard to it, all are equal: natives and newcomers. Always in the focus of events, he is not indifferent to the needs of his fellow villagers. As his mother remarks about him, in the village ʿUtmān is "more useful than all gentlemen taken together" (*ibid.* 10). Faced by the problem of choice, he waives personal happiness, the union of marriage to a rich girl from

town. Together with other peasants, he goes to the East, to the place of illusions and unrealisable dreams.

The image of this personality is important for understanding the concept of the creative work of al-ʿUǧaylī. ʿUṯmān perhaps is one of his heroes, not so many in number, who have got to know the "truth". He is not much educated, he cannot rationalize and explicate all problems posed to him by his co-villagers, but he is capable of empathy, capable to discern without error human anguish, suffering, imperfection and disproportions. His philosophy is the philosophy of moral sense, of moral intuition.

It is characteristic that the ethical principle is made objective by means not of "high" ideas, or quality appraisals, but by a definite ethical perception, ethical emotion, and it touches the reader exactly on the sensual, emotional level.

The world created by the author is first of all the artistic analogue of reality. Therefore, he strives to show village life in conformity with the level of consciousness of his protagonists, not infrequently with the level of their "everyday life" consciousness, without corrections, without pressure or intervention, but granting freedom to their self-expression, skilfully using at that the potentialities of the modern novel technique.

In that way, each of the reviewed works reflects different aspects of the life of the Syrian rural countryside, and each is marked by the original talent of its author, by the level of artistic mastership that is manifested by means of the composition, by the choice of topics, by the methods of the portrayal of human character, by the specificity of narrative manner, by the latter's tonality, by the attachment to different artistic and expressive means.

Taken together, these works witness for the crystallisation of the concept of personality in the Syrian novel, which is displayed by the increased interest of writers in man in his individual manifestations, in the process of the achievement by the hero of the whole complexity and ambiguity of life phenomena, in his ethical search. This in its turn determines the changes in the structure and poetics of the novel. The hero not infrequently begins to act not only as the exponent of the author's ideas, but as a sui generis linking element of the overall composition of the work, since the sequence and continuity of narration are being determined now by his experience in no lesser degree than by the objective chronology of events. The portrayal develops on many planes, and associations begin to play a considerable role in it. Beside that, a marked shortening of distance takes place between the author and his hero, who more and more transforms from "an object of research" into an exponent of the most cherished ideas and emotions of the author. All this in the aggregate essentially stretches out the artistic horizons of national literature, and represents an index of the level of its development.

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PAINTING IN THE LITERARY OUTPUT OF ṬURAYYĀ AL-BAQṢAMĪ

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Ṭurayyā al-Baqṣamī discovered her passion for art even as a child. It was while at school that her talent manifested itself and her first successes she started to relate through drawing as well as through story. As she herself claims: "I would paint for afternoons on end. It happened that, while in the fourth class at primary school, I tried to write poems and then paint pictures to accompany them"[1]. It was also while at school that she organized her first exhibitions for which she received prizes. Although her studies in this field were initiated at the Academy of Fine Art in Cairo, they were quickly interrupted due to a bureaucratic oversight. Her husband, Muḥammad al-Qadīrī convinced her of the importance of studying Fine Art in Moscow, where she managed to study in 1974. At the Surikov Institute she studied graphics for seven years. In 1978 she held her first individual exhibition in Zaire. The next stage of artistic activity occurred in Senegal, where, after having finished her studies, she was able to join her husband, who at the time was head of the diplomatic mission.

Ṭurayyā al-Baqṣamī's high graphic qualifications enabled her to illustrate those stories closest to her heart. And so she became the illustrator of all of her collections of stories: *al-ᶜAraq al-aswad* (Black sweat) 1977, *aṣ-Sidra* (Lotus) 1988, of her war stories *Šumūᶜ as-sarādīb* (Cellar Candles) 1992, *Raḥīl an-nawāfiḏ* (The Windows' Flight) 1994 and the fairy tale for children *Muḏakkirāt Fatūma al-kuwaytiyya aṣ-ṣaġīra* (Recollections of a Small Kuwaiti Fatuma).

The line drawing illustrations to the first collection *al-ᶜAraq al-aswad* are of high artistic merit. In the sensitive and worked line we can recognize many years of academic study, and an equally individual artistic expression. This drawing also draws on the legacy of European Expressionism of the 19th and 20th centuries. At the same time, there are visible features of other cultures. To a small extent, we find here typical Arabic details. These drawings are in themselves an individual act of artistic activity. It is felt that they are not secondary, but rather of parallel relation to the stories. Among them a particular impression is generated by the drawings to the stories *"Umm Adam"* (al-Baqṣamī, *al-ᶜAraq* 21) and *"al-Mullā"* (The Teacher, al-Baqṣamī, *al-ᶜAraq* 49).

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[1] On the basis of an interview conducted by the author with al-Baqṣamī in Kuwait, 7th April 1995.

Her subsequent exhibitions were in Dakar and Tunis. From 1984, that is, from the time she returned to Kuwait, Ṯurayyā al-Baqsamī has worked for the Ministry of Information, the journal *al-ʿArabī*, where she illustrates and writes her own texts. She has gained during this time the reputation as a fine art artist and often she meets the reproach that she is equally involved in literary forms. The years 1984-1990 are packed with artistic activity. In an interview carried out with her in Kuwait, she admitted: "I have written and painted. I have flown with my exhibitions all over the world"[2].

During the occupation, where for reasons of safety no writing could be undertaken, she painted. Being an individual of a versatile artistic education, and in this widely travelled, she was able to freely participate in the actual currents and tendencies of contemporary art. She is the author of a book entitled *al-Marsam al-ḥurr wa-riḥla 25 āman* (Free Art in the course of 25 years) which deals with contemporary Kuwaiti painters. In her notes, she writes of the inspiration of the images and creators of world art. She marvels at the dynamism of Picasso, Matisse's colour and the naive depth of Gauguin.

The drawings for the second collection of 1988 entitled *as-Sidra* (Lotus) appear to be already increasingly dependent on the stories that accompany them. In their form they represent the already later tendency in Ṯurayyā's creativity. Here are numerous elements of stylization, strongly outlined forms, of which many indicate the inspiration of antiquity and other distant epochs. Of the drawings the composition for the cover story *"as-Sidra"* (Lotus) stands out where a symbolic threatening form — like an ancient mask — of a tree, which on the one hand is worshipped and on the other is a threat. Notable also in its expression is the drawing of the winged artist upturned to her work due to unfavourable circumstances in the short story *"Buqʿat lawn"* (The Coloured Stain, al-Baqsamī, *as-Sidra* 37). In this drawing appears what is already especially typical for Ṯurayyā's later creativity, the marginal symbol representing a known cultural connotation — Fāṭima's hand, a bird or sunflower. The coloured cover to the collection of short stories *"as-Sidra"* presents a stylized portrait of a woman covered simply with symbolic and stylized elements of the real world, as well as of an intuitively active imagination. It is the voice of female judgement turned into a symbol, and, at the same time, the voice of universal inspiration.

The collection *"Šumūʿ as-sarādīb"* (Cellar Candles) of 1992 is opened by a colourful cover, the artistic origin of which could be European. One could find in it the Expressionist legacy of the noted creators of the 1920s and 1930s. The drawings inside already possess the stylized form typical for her later period. The drama of the plot — similar to Greek expressions — is almost imperceptible. Among the works I would

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[2] On the basis of the interview *ibid*.

single out the illustrated *"Abwāb muǧannaḥa"* (Winged Doors), full of lyricism — like the work of Chagall —, or *"Ataš bū Ṣaḫīr"* (Abū Sahir's Desire) modern as far as divisions and stylistics are concerned (al-Baqṣamī, *Šumūʿ* 62).

Muḏakkirāt Fatūma al—kuwaytiyya aṣ-ṣaġīra (Recollections of a Small Kuwaiti Fatuma) of 1992, describing the painful war experience of Fāṭima — Ṭurayyā's daughter —, are illustrated with typical fairy tale stylization approaching colourful childish drawings and with the child's drawings themselves. It seems to me these are Fāṭima al—Qadīrī's own drawings — Ṭurayyā's daughter's.

The last collection of short stories is *Raḥīl an-nawāfiḏ* (The Windows' Flight) of 1994 in which the author says that "it carries the deepest artistic expression and has a very refined graphic lay-out"[3]. The stylistics of the illustration are very mixed and refined. The picture is often divided and the contents of the segments create mutually interacting detail — a lyrical composition. The drawings — still stylized and symbolic — portray the tragic atmosphere of the accompanying stories. Particularly striking is the visionary correspondence of the illustration to the story *"Raǧul bilā ʿaynayn"* (Man without Eyes, al-Baqṣamī, *Raḥīl* 19) and the almost ancient heroic tragic nature of the illustration to the story *"Tuqūb fī ḏ-ḏākira"* (Gaps in Memory, *ibid.* 49) and of the cover itself. The outstanding poetic beauty of the distinct composition characterizes the illustration to the story *"Qalbuhā al-aḫḍar"* (Her Green Heart, *ibid.* 11).

Enjoying such a long artistic career, Ṭurayyā uses various artistic techniques. In one of the interviews, to the question: 'How in one exhibition can one exhibit so many different works?', she answered: "I follow my heart when it's painting or writing, for every creation tells of a real experience and my experiences are as different as these works" (Janssen 1992).

Ṭurayyā al-Baqṣamī uses in her artistic creativity very lively colours because she feels life very strongly. One can feel that she is constantly artistically activated, because she does not like using conventional colours. She uses sky-blue, for it underlines her astrological feature of Pisces, and also green and brown, because they are dominant in nature. She uses comparatively little black, claiming that it is static and depressing in its expression. In the interview she assures: "I will paint as long as I'm able to. I will organize exhibitions. This gives me the opportunity of meeting people and the chance of constructive criticism for improving my own art" (Janssen 1992).

Ṭurayyā uses the acrylic painting technique with as equal freedom as she does other graphic techniques, drawing or ceramics. She oscillates with equal freedom between the various cultures to which she devoted separate studies: Mesopotamian, Indian, Greek — the civilization of the Failak island amongst others — and African.

Arabian motifs and portrayals in her works accompany the religious and secular use of the metaphors of culturally different beliefs and civilizing experiences. "Her

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[3] On the basis of the interview *ibid.*

art can be best described as giving — unlimited giving of time and impressions" (Aḥmad 1994: VI, 22). In each of her works — as Kāmila Aḥmad writes in the above mentioned article — there exist sharp lines and one can feel the pulse of the East. Some of the works have names before they are created, while, in other cases, the picture is named after its completion. The works created during the war are particularly outstanding for their layered symbolism. Various inter-cultural symbols contained in the drawings and graphics are proof of her humanistic attitude and unyielding imagination, in which there is no division into past and present, because everything is always there, the whole stock of civilizing thought forming. In later works, the divisions are often complex, and the surface consists of several segments filled with various magical-symbolic contents like in "The Alphabet of Peace" of 1991. In this work, in six accompanying segments, are abstract magic pictures and signs connected with the symbolism of peace, among others, a face, a pigeon, an arrow. The different colours of each segment create, however, an agreeable composition in a warm colour scheme. In the catalogue of her XIIIth exhibition we read: "In most of her pictures the dream of peace if obvious. White pigeons have appeared more than once expressing the real desire to end the real phantoms. In the pictures, all the individuals are without hair, reminding one more of mummies than of human beings, which signifies death and the approaching terrible end. Only through symbolism can her humanism, full of despair and protest, have its expression".

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III. HISTORY

THE PEOPLE OF *AL-AYYĀM* AND THEIR ROLES DURING THE EARLY ARAB CONQUEST OF IRAQ

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Introduction

This paper aimed at introducing the people of *al-Ayyām* and their roles during the Arab conquest of Iraq in the mid-seventh century A.D. The situation in Iraq following the Arab conquest was dominated by the people of *al-Ayyām* who considered the conquered land in Iraq their own property, and were very sensitive to any change in the system.

To begin with, who were the people of *al-Ayyām*? The answer to the question must necessarily be sought in the early history of the Arab conquest of Iraq, in which this group was involved.

The conquest of Iraq and the emergence of *ahl al-Ayyām*

The Arab conquest of Iraq began in 12/633, just after the *ridda*-War in 11/632, in which Ḥālid b. al-Walīd of Maḥzūm, one of the most powerful clans of Qurayš, became eminent among the Arab army commanders. Being a great and influential leader, Ḥālid fought the apostates with minimum instructions from the Caliph Abū Bakr. In this famous war Ḥālid succeeded in defeating *ridda* tribesmen of Asad, Ṭayy, Ġaṭafān, Fazāra and Tamīm, most of whom were nomads (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 1871, 1893, 1896, 1902, 1908, 1921, 1922-3, 1980; Shaban 1971: 24). The last and crucial campaign was against the settlement of the most powerful Central Arabian tribe of Ḥanīfa at al-Yamāma under the leadership of the false prophet, Musaylima, one of the most powerful *ridda* tribesmen and a crucial challange to Ḥālid's leadership[1]. This tribe had never been a party to the Madīnan alliance and had its own so-called false prophet, Musaylima, whose aim was to establish his own power in the area centred in the populated and well cultivated area of al-Yamāma whose main market had been Makka until the latter was brought under Prophet Muḥammad's control[2]. Under the leadership of Musaylima, the forces, reported to amount to 40,000 men, tried but failed to control the nomads in the surrounding territories, who obeyed only their leader's or so-called false prophets, two of whom were Ṭulayḥa b. Ḥuwaylid of Asad and Saǧāḥ of Tamīm. Ṭulayḥa was supported mainly by the clans of

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[1] aṭ-Ṭabarī, *ibid.* 1930, 1946, 1962; where the tribesmen of Ḥanīfa are called *ahl al-qurā*.

[2] aṭ-Ṭabarī, *ibid.* 1930, 1946, 1962; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ǧamhara* 309; Watt 1956: 135-36; Shaban 1971: 20; Einkelman 1967: 17-25, see particularly: 41, 47, 52.

Asad in Samīra, Ġaṭafān in Tiba and Ṭayy in the area between Samīra and Tiba, al-
beit some of them declared their support for Abū Bakr (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 1871,
1873, 1889, 1899, 1902, 1930-4; Einkelman 1967: 42). Saġāḥ, who belonged to Ḥanẓala
of Tamīm was related to the clan of Taġlīb of Ġazīra on the mother's side. She
arrived from Ġazīra at the head of a band of followers belonging to *afnā'* Rabīᶜa,
i.e. splinter clans of Rabīᶜa, among whose leaders at this time were al-Huḏayl b. ᶜIm-
rān of Taġlīb, ᶜAqqa b. Hilāl of Namir, and Abū ᶜAdī b. Watad of ᶜIyāḏ (aṭ-Ṭabarī,
Tārīḫ I, 1911-12; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 99). In Arabia, she was followed by the clan of
Ḥanẓala of Tamīm, one of whose leaders, Šabaṯ b. Ribᶜī b. Ḥusayn ar-Riyāḥī,
joined in his campaign. It must be stressed, however, that some of Saġāḥ's followers
of Tamīm also went over to Abū Bakr's side (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 1871, 1889, 1899,
1917-19, 1911-12, 1919-20, 1963, 1970; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 51, 99; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamhara*
227; Einkelman 1967: 46). Although Saġāḥ was reported to have been allied to
Musaylima and come over to al-Yamāma, her stay in the region was only for a short
span of time, after which she returned to Ġazīra taking with her half of the revenue
of al-Yamāma. The essential point here is that neither Ṭulayḥa nor Saġāḥ appeared
to be among Musaylima's forces in the great battle of ᶜAqrabā'. Ḫālid's victory at
ᶜAqrabā' was due in some measure to the nomads who, while declaring their support
for Abū Bakr, were also actively involved in the former's army.

The composition of Ḫālid's army

It is crucial to have an understanding of the composition of Ḫālid's army, for
therein lies information about the people of *al-Ayyām*. Some of the nomads who de-
clared their support for Abū Bakr were actively involved in the army of Ḫālid. Most
of these nomads came mainly from the Arab clan of Ġaṭafān, Fazāra, Ṭayy and Ha-
wāzin as well as clans from Asad led by Ḍirar b. al-Azwar and Sinan, clans of Sulaym
led by Maᵓin b. Ḥāġiz and Ṭurayfa b. Ḥāġiz, Ḥanẓala of the Tamīm clan with 1000
from Ġadīla and 500 from ᶜAdī (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 1871, 1887, 1887, 1889, 1893,
1894, 1905, 1911, 1922; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 91). It is interesting to note that different
terms were used to denote these groups. If a whole clan joined in the war its
members were called *barara*, i.e. those who proved true and obedient; however, if
only a section, they were referred to as *ḫiyara*, i.e. select or chosen (Shaban 1971: 23).
Because of pressure and fear of being controlled by the powerful tribesmen of Ḥanīfa
these fragmented clans decided to throw in their lot with the Madīnan government
against the powerful army of Musaylima. Together with these tribesmen, the
muhāġirūn and *anṣār*, and other Arab clans who did not fall into apostasy, Ḫālid was
able to defeat the Ḥanafite forces at ᶜAqrabā'.

An attempt to identify the people of *al-Ayyām* would necessarily call for looking
at Ḫālid's and his successors' expedition in Iraq. During Abū Bakr's time, al-Muṯannā
b. Ḥāriṯa b. Salāma aš-Šaybānī with his troops numbering 8000 men were fighting
against the Sāsānians on their own initiative, particularly in the region of Ḥīra

which was later known as Kūfa (al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 241, 340; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2016, 2018). He was the first Arab to raid the Sāsānian territories on this front (al-ʿAskarī, *Awāʾil* 225; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ǧamhara* 325). It is reported that when Ḫālid reached Iraq, the Caliph Abū Bakr wrote to al-Muṯannā advising him to join forces with Ḫālid, who was at the time with his forces at Ubulla, the most important port in southern Iraq, in hope of gaining success against the Sāsānians in Iraq (al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 241, 340; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2016, 2018, 2021, 2025, 2029; al-ʿAlī 1953: 23.12).

Our sources do not particularly give the number of Ḫālid's Arab forces in Iraq. However, during the *ridda*-war several Arab clans were present and fought with Ḫālid with the maximum number from any one clan being 1,000, albeit many of them were killed during the campaign. It is possible that only a few hundred or less than a hundred of each clan remained with Ḫālid and it is almost certain that not all of these clans had followed him to Iraq. He was probably joined on the way by other tribesmen from different Arab clans from Fayd, in central Naǧd, and Ṯaʿlabiyya, on the west bank of Euphrates, who were probably not involved either for or against Madīna in the *ridda*-war. In Iraq, Ḫālid was reinforced by a force, whose number was also unspecified, led by al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī. Eventually, Ḫālid's forces exceeded 2,000 men, but was still small in comparison to that of al-Muṯannā's 8,000 men. However, all these forces were placed under the general leadership of Ḫālid.

A study of the formation of Ḫālid's forces in Iraq demonstrates that several Arab clans were involved, particularly those of Šaybān, Tamīm, Ṭayy, Muzayna, Asad, Ḏuhl, Ḥimyar and Aslam. Together with these clansmen, the majority of whom were from Šaybān, Ḫālid fought the Sāsānians at Ubulla and succeeded in capturing them. He then proceeded to al-Mazār, leaving Maʿqil b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī in Ubulla to look after the area. In the meantime, he sent al-Muṯannā b. Ḥāriṯa aš-Šaybānī to Baḥr al-Marʾa to pursue the enemy. In the raid of al-Mazār, Ḫālid was also able to subdue the region and defeat its population. The latter agreed to pay a tribute to the Arabs, and Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī was put in charge of collecting it (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2021, 2025, 2029).

From al-Mazār Ḫālid advanced to al-Walaǧa and appointed Suwayd b. Muqarrin over Ḥafir and Ḥīra. He then advanced to ʿUllays and then to Amġisiyya. Many other minor raids were made in the regions of Ḥīra, all of which ended with victory without any serious resistance from the Sāsānians. Several Arab leaders were involved and became eminent in these raids, and they included al-Muṯannā b. Ḥāriṯa aš-Šaybānī, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim aṭ-Ṭāʾī, Bišr b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasasiyya aḏ-Ḏuhalī, Suwayd aṭ-Ṭāʾī, Suwayd, an-Nuʿmān, Ḍirār, Maʿqil, the sons of Muqarrin al-Muzanī, ʿUtayba b. Naḥḥās al-ʿIǧlī, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī, Hasaka al-Habaṭī, al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Ḥūr, al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Ḏī l-ʿUnuq, Busr b. Abī Ruhm, Ḫālid b. al-Wašima (*ibid*. I, 2022), ʿAtta and Rabīʿa b. ʿIsl. Following the

success of these raids, the booty gained on the battlefield was distributed among the Arab fighting-men with only one-fifth of it sent to Abū Bakr in Madīna[3].

After a short period Ḫālid was transferred to the Syrian front, together with his military forces, to fight the Byzantine forces there. His departure for Syria took place in Rabīʿ aṯ-ṯānī year 13/634. al-Balāḏurī and aṭ-Ṭabarī estimated Ḫālid's forces to be 800 men only, while the Arab army in Iraq at that time numbered 10,000 men, made up of different unimportant Arab tribesmen of al-Ḥiǧāz and Eastern Arabia, with a small number being muhāǧirūn and anṣār. The authorities of Ibn Isḥāq and Yaʿqūbī emphasised that the forces brought to the Syrian front were from ahl al-quwwa while the rest were left with al-Muṯannā b. Ḥārita aš-Šaybānī in Iraq. Only a few from ahl al-quwwa — after a special request by al-Muṯannā — were left in Iraq, including Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIǧlī, Bišr b. ʿUbaydallāh and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwra al-Aslāmī. In the meantime, some of Ḫālid's forces in Ḥīra led by al-Qaʿqāʾ b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī, Masʿur b. ʿĀdī al-ʿIǧlī, Ḍirār b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb al-Fihrī and Ḍirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī, were taken to the Syrian front. It is clear from the foregoing survey that the Arab forces in Iraq at that time were divided into two categories, namely ahl al-quwwa and non-ahl al-quwwa. In order to distinguish between these two groups of people, it is important to examine every account which deals with this event. Yaʿqūbī's account refers to the forces going to Syria as ahl al-quwwa without describing the rest who were left in Iraq (al-Yaʿqūbī, Tārīḫ II, 133). The accounts of al-Balāḏurī and aṭ-Ṭabarī do not describe either of these groups (al-Balāḏurī, Futūḥ 110, 249; aṭ-Ṭabarī, Tārīḫ I, 2109). Sayf's account divides them into ṣaḥāba and non-ṣaḥāba (ahl al-qanāʿa), while Ibn Isḥāq's tradition makes a distinction on the basis of physical strength between the strong (ahl al-quwwa) and the weak (daʿafat an-nās). From these various accounts one can easily conclude that the first group, ahl al-quwwa, were the strong people (or according to Sayf, the companions of the Prophet), while the other, ahl al-qanāʿa, were non-ṣaḥāba, and daʿafat an-nās, weak Muslims, or tribesmen from unimportant Arab clans.

With the departure of Ḫālid, the raiding parties, made up of the weak, remained under the command of al-Muṯannā b. Ḥārita in Iraq. Not long after, al-Muṯannā unsuccessfully sought Abū Bakr's permission to enlist ex-ridda tribesmen for his raids in Iraq. He then returned to Iraq to continue raiding with his forces. This incident clearly demonstrates Abū Bakr's policy of prohibiting ex-ridda participation in Arab campaigns, and none of them was to be found in the earliest conquest (fa lam yašhad

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[3] *Ibid.* 2022, 2027, 2028; also 2037, where the amount of the booty received by the Arab fighting-men reached 1,500 dirhams; 2052, 2057-8.

al-ayyām murtaddun)[4]. This policy was successfully carried out by Ḫālid and other Arab leaders during Abū Bakr's reign. The Caliph Abū Bakr had placed his full trust in *non-ridda* tribesmen, either Qurayšites or non-Qurayšites, for the campaign against the Sāsānians. However, the campaign did not gather momentum until *ex-ridda* tribesmen were allowed to join Arab fighting-men after ʿUmar's succession in 13/634.

Iraq during ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb's reign

ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb was proclaimed Abū Bakr's successor in Madīna. His first act was to reverse the latter's policy by bringing together all elements, *ridda* and non-*ridda*, to campaign in Iraq. The Caliph ʿUmar took this decision for two reasons: firstly, he realised that a strong Arab force would be needed to defeat the numerous and strong army of the Sāsānians in Iraq. Secondly, he also realised that by not enlisting *ex-ridda* in these campaigns he was depriving the Islamic community not only of fighting-men but also of an important source of wealth.

Before the arrival of *ex-ridda* forces in Iraq, ʿUmar appointed Abū ʿUbayd of Ṭa-qīf as a new leader of the Arab forces on the Sāsānian front. Abū ʿUbayd began his campaign against the Sāsānians at Qarqas or Ġasr, the bridge, in Ramaḍān, 13/634, where the Arab forces were defeated. Abu ʿUbayd together with seven commanders of Ṭaqīf, and his brother and son, were killed, while al-Muṯannā b. Ḥāriṯa aš-Šaybā-nī was wounded but continued the campaign. During this time, many of the Madī-nan forces and their families, *ahl al-Madīna*, had returned to Madīna while the rest was scattered in the desert, leaving al-Muṯannā with his own forces. The latter took his men to Ullays, then to al-Buwayb, where he was joined, for the first time, by *ex-ridda* tribesmen. The first *ex-ridda* forces to arrive in Iraq were led by Ribʿī b. Ḥusayn and his son, Šabaṯ b. Ribʿī ar-Riyāḥī of Ḥanẓala of Tamīm, Anas b. Hilāl of Namir and Anas b. Fihrī of Taġlib, all of whom had been with Saǧāḥ's army in the *ridda*-war against Abū Bakr (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2188-9, 2190). In fact, followers of Saǧāḥ were the weakest among *ex-ridda* forces and mainly belonged to splinter clans of Rabīʿa, such as Namir and Taġlib, among whom ʿAqqa b. Hilāl, Anas's brother, and al-Huḏayl b. ʿImrān were prominent. Likewise Šabaṯ b. Ribʿī ar-Riyāḥī is reported to have been with Saǧāḥ and became prominent among *ex-ridda* of Banū Tamīm (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* 1918-9; Ibn Durayd, *Ištiqāq* 223; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ǧamhara* 227; al-Isfahānī, *Aġānī* XVIII, 165).

Besides *ex-ridda*, many *non-ridda* tribesmen were also invited by ʿUmar to join al-Muṯannā in Iraq, the most important among whom was Ǧarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Baǧalī who had with him 2,000 Baǧalīs. It is reported that they agreed to join al-Muṯannā provided that one-quater of the booty would be assigned to them. Other clans which

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[4] aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2021; for the prohibition of *ahl al-ridda* from Arab campaign during the time of Abū Bakr, see *ibid.* I, 2014, 2046, 2081, 2225, 2458; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḫ* II, 131.

joined al-Mutannā were fragmented and of little importance, and their leaders included Hilāl b. ᶜUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm, ᶜArfaǧa b. Hartama al-Azdī and ᶜAbdallāh b. Dī s-Sahmayn al-Hatᶜamī. All these Arab tribesmen, ex-ridda and non-ridda, were taken to al-Buwayb, where a battle was fought, in which the Sāsānians were defeated and their properties seized by the Arabs. The booty gained was distributed between the conquerors, with non-ridda tribesmen receiving proportionately bigger shares than ex-ridda, while a propotion was set aside for the children of non-ridda tribesmen who were left at Hīra during the campaign.

Having defeated the Sāsānians at al-Buwayb, al-Mutannā continued the raid by sending troops to different directions. He sent Bišr b. ᶜUbaydallāh ad-Duhalī to Hīra, Ǧarīr b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Baǧalī to Maysan and Hilāl b. ᶜUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm to Dast Maysan, while he himself went to Ulays, a village in al-Anbār, and then to al-Hanafīs. After these expeditions the troops returned to Hīra to prepare for further raids (at-Tabarī, Tārīḫ I, 2202-8). Shortly afterwards, al-Mutannā and his troops overran Dū Qar, Ǧull, Šaraf and Ǧuda, where Hilāl's brother, al-Mustawrid b. ᶜUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm was in charge of his clan ar-Ribāb. With him were three members of afnā' Tamīm, i.e. splinter groups of Tamīm, Ǧazᶜ b. Muᶜāwiya as-Saᶜdī, al-Husayn b. Niyār al-ᶜAmrī and al-Husayn b. Maᶜbad al-Hanzalī.

During this time too the Caliph ᶜUmar appointed Saᶜd b. Abī Waqqās, the prominent companion, to lead the Arab campaign in Iraq. This appointment came about not because of his military skills, but rather because of his services to Islam and his readiness to co-operate in full measure with the ex-rebels (ahl ar-ridda).

There is some agreement about the strength of his forces which set out from Madīna to Iraq, claiming that it was 6,000, while Sayf put it down to 4,000, made up of 600 from Hadramawt, 1,300 from Madhiǧ, 1,000 from Qays ᶜAylān and around 1,000 from other tribes. Of these only 2,000, including their wives and children, were taken to Iraq, most of whom belonged to the Arab clans of Madhiǧ and Qays ᶜAylān. Saᶜd was latter joined by other Arab tribesmen, including 2,000 from Yaman and 2,000 from Ǧatafān and Qays. When he reached the area of Zarud/Taᶜaliyya and Šaraf, between Madīna and Hīra, he was joined by 1,700 Yamanites led by al-Ašᶜat b. Qays al-Kindī, one of the prominent leaders of ex-ridda, who had been confined to Madīna since his rebellion against the Madīnan government.

When Saᶜd reached Qādisiyya at the end of 15/636, he was joined by the people of al-hamrā', the local population who sympathised with the Arabs and had converted to Islam, as well as 12,000 of al-Mutannā's troops, all of whom were ahl al-ayyām, of whom 8,000 had been with him throughout his raids in Iraq. Before his death al-Mutannā appointed Bišr b. ᶜUbaydallāh, one of Prophet companions, to take charge of this army. This appointment, however, was rejected by the majority of al-Mutannā's forces who were from the clan of Šaybān, and the leadership passed on to al-Mutannā's brother, al-Muᶜannā b. Hārita aš-Šaybānī, who then brought the army to Qādisiyya to form forces with Saᶜd at Zarud. al-Muᶜannā's forces were later joined by

1,000 tribesmen led by Hāšim b. ʿUtba b. Abī Waqqāṣ (or according to Sayf led by al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī). According to Yaʿqūbī, these tribesmen belonged to *afnāʾ al-muslimīn*, i.e. Muslim splinter groups, while Sayf's account claims they belonged to *afnāʾ al-Yaman min ahl al-Ḥiǧāz*, i.e. splinter groups of the Yamanite tribe of Ḥiǧāz. Elsewhere, Sayf refers to them as *ahl al-ayyām*, the earliest conquerors (*Ibid* 2305, 2367). However, these tribesmen had been actively involved in the earliest conquest of Iraq and 800 of them were reported to have been with Ḥālid's forces in Ḥīra (al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 110; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2109), while the remaining 200 were not mentioned in the sources. It is, however, very probable that they were of al-Aštar Mālik b. al-Ḥāriṯ an-Nahāʿī's group. This is because al-Aštar himself was a Yamanite and fought gallantly at Yarmūk before he was sent to Qādisiyya (*Ibid.* 2101; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab* add. 23297, fol. 244B; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḫ* II, 142). However, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, who was a Tamīmite, loomed large in Sayf's account. He was also of Banū Tamīm, and was given the credit of leadership from the very beginning of the Arab conquest of Iraq.

The Arab fighting-men in the earliest campaign of Iraq were, with the exception of *muhāǧirūn* and *anṣār*, made up of tribesmen of little tribal standing, who had fought against the apostates in the *ridda*-war, and against the Sāsānians in Iraq before the arrival of Ḥālid. All of them took part in Ḥālid's expeditions. It was to their participation in these expedition that the term *ahl al-ayyām* was subsequently applied by way of distinguishing them from the people of Makka and Madīna (*muhāǧirūn* and *anṣār*) (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2021; Shaban 1971: 45). The people of *al-ayyām* mainly belonged to comparatively unimportant Arab clans, or splinter groups, *afnāʾ*, of Arab clans. Notwithstanding this fact, they had an equitable share of the gains, and were privileged by being *ahl al-ayyām* which was of great value for them in the future. They came mainly from the East-Arabian clans, of Rabīʿa with 6,000 from Šaybān and 2,000 from other Rabīʿa clans, and they represented the core of al-Muṯannā's forces in Iraq. Others hailed from the Arab clans of Ṭayy, Muzayna, Ḍabba, Kināna, Asad, Ḏuhl, ʿIǧl, Aslam and the splinter groups of Tamīm clans such as ar-Ribāb, Saʿd, Ḥanẓala and ʿAmr. They were actively involved in the campaign of Iraq before the arrival of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ who later led them to Qādisiyya where some of them excelled themselves as heroes (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2183, 2187-8, 2207, 2221, 2226, 2236, 2239, 2245, 2261, 2336-7, 2340; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 259; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḫ* II, 145). At Qādisiyya, they were joined by their families, of whom 1,000 were women from Baǧīla and 700 from Nahāʿ who married *afnāʾ* men just before and after the battle of Qādisiyya (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2362-4). This suggests firstly that the number of *ahl al-ayyām* increased at Qādisiyya, and secondly, that the people of *al-ayyām* began to develop their own interest and power.

Several prominent leaders emerged from among the *ahl al-ayyām*. Hilāl b. ʿUllafa aṭ-Taymī of Tamīm, for example, was sent to Dast Maysan in al-Anbar by al-Muṯannā b. Ḥāriṯa aš-Šaybānī to campaign against the Sāsānians in 13/634, a campaign

which took place shortly after the battle of Buwayb where he was in charge of ar-Ri-
bāb. He was also reported to have excelled himself at Qādisiyya, where he was able
to kill Rustum, the Sāsānian King. His brother, al-Mustawrid b. ʿUllafa at-Taymī of
Tamīm, was also among al-Mutannā's forces and, in 13/634 was active in the expedi-
tion of Ġuda, near the area which was later known as Basra, in which he commanded
ar-Ribāb with three other *afnā'* Tamīm leaders, Ġazʿ b. Muʿāwiya, al-Husayn b. Ni-
yār al-ʿAmrī and al-Husayn b. Maʿbad al-Hanzalī. Another prominent leader was
al-Aštar Mālik b. Hārit al-Nahāʾī who had been with the Madīnan forces in the
ridda-war, and was a hero in the earliest campaign of Iraq before he was taken to
Yarmūk and then sent on to Qādisiyya. Equally outstanding were Suwayd, an-Nuʿ-
mān, Dirār and Maʿqil, sons of Muqarrin al-Muzanī of Aws, who, despite their small
band of followers, fought gallantly in the *ridda*-war against the apostates, and became
prominent in Hālid's army in Iraq, particularly an-Nuʿmān and Suwayd.

Following their victories in the various campaigns, these leaders then joined the
all important battle of Qādisiyya. The battle which took place at the end of 15/636
saw approximately 30,000 men of different Arab clans, both *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*,
including the followers of *ex-ridda* leaders, al-Ašʿat b. Qays al-Kindī and Qays b. al-
Makšūh al-Murādī. The participation of *ex-ridda* in this battle needs to be examined.
According to our sources, ʿUmar allowed an *ex-ridda* leader to lead a maximum of
100 men only. However, it is doubtful if Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās observed this limit. Si-
milarly, according to Sayf, the number of al-Ašʿat's forces at Qādisiyya was 1,700
Kindīs, while other sources claim, Qays b. Makšūh's followers to be 700 men. How-
ever, during ʿUmar's time it is possible that *ex-ridda* leaders' power and influence
were held in check, and none was appointed to any responsible position, either in the
army or in the conquered territories. Two other *ex-ridda* leaders, Ribʿī b. Husayn
and his son, Šabat b. Ribʿī al-Hanzalī of Tamīm, were also present in Iraq since the
battle of al-Buwayb, and fought along with al-Mutannā's forces. However, neither the
strength of their followers was mentioned nor were they ever appointed to any re-
sponsible position, whether at al-Buwayb or Qādisiyya[5].

The participation of *ex-ridda* forces at Qādisiyya, however, was not without its
significance in that it enabled the Arabs to defeat the Sāsānians whose empire in Iraq
then began to decline. Futher, Arab warriors, both *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, were given
their share of the booty gained on the battlefield (at-Tabarī, *Tārīh* I, 2356). The term
ahl al-Qādisiyya was subsequently applied to refer to their participation in this great
battle and a specific amount of *aʿtāʾ*, stipends, was given to them (at-Tabarī, *Tārīh*
I, 2165, 2183, 2217-22, 2633). It was the first time that *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*

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[5] *Ibid.* 2188-92, 2356; even the people of *al-hamrā'* had also shared the booty by their being *ahl al-
Qādisiyya* (at-Tabarī, *Tārīh* I, 2261).

tribesmen had been placed on an equal footing under the newly acquired term of *ahl al-Qādisiyya.*

After their victory at Qādisiyya, Saᶜd and his Arab forces moved on to al-Madā'in in Ṣafar 16/637, making their base in Iraq and living in deserted houses left behind by Yazdağird, the Sāsānian King, his family and officials, after their defeat. By this time many Madīnan and Makkan people had returned home with their families (*ibid.* 2362-3, 2400, 2441, 2443, 2451). The rest of Saᶜd's troops were brought to Kūfa and only some chose to stay behind, and they were splinter groups, mainly from the clan of ᶜAbs who moved to Kūfa probably in the same year (16/637).

During the period of settling in al-Madā'in, some important campaigns were launched to the east and north, all of which were aimed at establishing garrisons, *ma-sālih*, in those regions. One of these regions was Ğalūlā'. This campaign was headed by Hāšim b. ᶜUtba b. Abī Waqqāṣ az-Zuhrī and al-Qaᶜqāᶜ b. ᶜAmr at-Tamīmī with an army of 12,000 men. An additional 600 men were sent from al-Madā'in to Ğalūlā' to reinforce Hāšim and al-Qaᶜqāᶜ's army. Huğr b. ᶜĀdī al-Kindī, who had earlier been at Qādisiyya, was appointed leader of the army and was accompanied by three *ex-ridda* leaders, Qays b. Makšūh, ᶜAmr b. Maᶜdīkarib and Ṭulayha b. Ḥuwaylid. After several battles, the Sāsānian troops were defeated, and booty in the form of land and property was left to the Arabs, who then returned to al-Madā'in.

Another expedition to Masabaḏān, which took place just after their return from Ğalūlā', was led by Saᶜd himself. In the meantime, al-Qaᶜqāᶜ b. ᶜAmr at-Tamīmī led an army of *afnā' an-nās*, splinter groups and the people of *al-ḥamrā'* to Ḥulwān. Hul-wān was soon conquered and al-Qaᶜqāᶜ returned to al-Madā'in, leaving some of his troops behind to look after the region. This took place while Saᶜd and his troops were still at Masabaḏān, fighting against the Sāsānians. An army from al-Madā'in, commanded by ᶜAbdallāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī, a *ḥalīf* of Bağīla, together with three other leaders, Ḍirār b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Fihrī, al-Muḍarrib b. Fulān al-ᶜIğlī and Qaddām b. al-Huḏayl al-Asadī, was sent to Masabaḏān to reinforce Saᶜd. Saᶜd's army succeed-ed in subduing the Sāsānians and returned to al-Madā'in. Another army of 5,000 from al-Madā'in was despatched to Takrīt under the leadership of ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Muᶜtamm accompanied by Ribᶜī b. al-Afkal al-ᶜAnzī, al-Ḥariṯ b. Ḥassān aḏ-Ḏuhalī, Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ᶜIğlī, Hāni' b. Qays aš-Šaybānī and ᶜArfağa b. Harṯama al-Azdī. The defeat of the enemy at Ḥulwān, Masabaḏān and Takrīt, respectively, marked the end of the Sāsānian empire in Iraq, and once again the Arabs secured a vast amount of fertile land.

Saᶜd's essential task now was to protect the conquered territories and to find a new and suitable base for his Arab forces. However, following Caliph ᶜUmar's order to attack Qarqisiyya in the north, Saᶜd sent another army from al-Madā'in, led by Ribᶜī b. ᶜĀmir al-ᶜAmrī of Tamīm, one of the early conquerors who had been with al-Muṯannā b. Hāriṯa aš-Šaybānī since the battle of the Bridge (*Ibid.* 2479).

The founding of Kūfa

Saʿd then began moving his base from al-Madāʾin, looking at several sites before settling on Kūfa. It has been suggested by some sources that the move from al-Madā-ʾin was due to the unsuitability of the province, which the Arab found too dirty and infested with insects. This explanation, however, is not convincing in the light of the military reasons which prompted the move. An examination of the area's geographical location would highlight three strategic possibilities. Firstly, Kūfa was more strategically placed to send help to Syria should it be needed (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 276; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2360, 2483); secondly, Madīna could be easily cut off by a thrust from the still unsubdued and powerful province of Fārs, and thirdly, in a large city like al-Madāʾin it was probably not easy to control the tribesmen effectively, an easier task in the garrison town of Kūfa (Shaban 1971: 51). After having decided on Kūfa as the military base in Iraq, all Arab tribal leaders, *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, and their followers were brought to Kūfa, and every tribal grouping set up their houses and mosques under their own leader such as ʿAdī b. Ḥātim in Ṭayy, Ġarīr b. ʿAbdallāh in Baǧīla and al-Ašʿat b. Qays in Kinda (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 275.35).

For purposes of financial administration, the stipends were paid to the *umanāʾ al-asbāʿ* and *ashāb ar-rāya* i.e. tribal leaders, who turned them over to the *ʿurafāʾ*, *nuqabāʾ* and *umanāʾ*, i.e. trustees, who duly paid, those entitled to them. The *ʿarāfa* became a unit for the distribution of 100,000 dirhams in the following way:

(i)   an *ʿarāfa* of *ahl al-ayyām*, received 100,000 dirhams for 20 men (3,000 each), 20 women (300 each), and it is assumed that the 340 children received (100 each).

(ii)   an *ʿarāfa* of *ahl al-Qādisiyya*, received 100,000 dirhams for 43 men (2,000 each), 43 women (200 each), and 500 children (100 each).

(iii)   an *ʿarāfa* of *ahl ar-rawādif*, received 100,000 dirhams for 60 men (1,500 each), 60 women (100 each), and 40 children (100 each) (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2495-6).

The above figures clearly show that *ahl al-ayyām* received proportionately bigger stipends than any other group. When a *dīwān*, or a list of Arab warriors entitled to stipends, was established in 20/641[6], stipends for *ahl al-ayyām* were still higher than those for *ahl al-Qādisiyya* and *rawādif*, as shown by the figures below:

(i)   *muhāǧirūn* and *anṣār* received 3,000-5,000 dirhams per annum.

(ii)   *ahl al-ayyām* received 3,000 dirhams per annum.

(iii)   The people of Yarmūk and Qādisiyya, *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, received 2,000 dirhams per annum.

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[6] al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 275.35; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2495-6; Shaban 1972: 53. Hinds 1971: 349. Only Sayf's account says that the *dīwān* was established in 15/636, but according to others, such as al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 450; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḫ* II, 153, it was established in 20/641.

(iv) *rawādif*, i.e. new-comers to Iraq after the battles of Yarmūk and Qādisiyya received between 1,500 to 2,000 dirhams per annum, according to the time of their arrival (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2412-3; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 449; Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaqāt* III, i, 213-5; al-Yaᶜqūbī, *Tārīḫ* II, 153; al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām* 199-201; Shaban 1971: 55).

The people of *al-ayyām* not only had large shares of the revenue from the abandoned lands and the surplus thereof, but also exclusive enjoyment of the authority over the occupied land in the Sawād. Moreover, it is hard indeed to believe that the *dīwān* of 20/641 was put into effect immediately, a point supported by Ibn Saᶜd, aṭ-Ṭabarī and al-Balāḏurī's claim that the *dīwān* was still incomplete at the time of ᶜUmar's death in 23/644 (Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaqāt* III, i, 144, 214; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2752; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 452; Hinds 1971: 350). Similarly, Hinds points out that "it was only at the tail-end of ᶜUmar's caliphate that the beginning of administrative organization in Iraq appeared; and by then the early-comers had enjoyed what amounted to a free run of the area for five years or more" (350-1). This was the period from the establishment of the trusteeship of the abandoned land, which took place after the conquest of al-Madā'in in 16/637 until the death of the Caliph ᶜUmar in 23/644. In fact, not all of the original conquerors had enjoyed the authority over the occupied land in the Sawād, particularly that of the abandoned land, as Hinds has suggested[7], rather only those *ahl al-ayyām*, or trustees, to whom the Caliph ᶜUmar entrusted the administration of the land. Some of the *ahl al-ayyām* also shared the task of receiving the taxes collected by *dahāqīn*, local heads and officials, and the transferring of the money to the public treasury in the Sawād. It is quite probable that they also supervised the assessment and collection of the poll-tax, *ǧizya*, in the area[8].

The Founding of Baṣra

In order to relieve the pressure of ceaseless immigration into Iraq, a new garrison town at Baṣra was established. In order to understand the situation in Baṣra, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the Arab conquest in the region. During the time of Abū Bakr (12/633), some Arab forces, mainly from the clans of Bakr b. Wā'il, raided Ubulla. The name of their leader, however, was a matter of some disagreement. Abū Miḥnaf claimed it was Suwayd b. Qutba ad-Duhalī (al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 241, 340) while al-Madā'inī contended it was Qutba b. Qatāda as-Sadūsī[9]. al-Ma-

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[7] Hinds 1971: 350, early-comers are mentioned here.

[8] Shaban 1971: 53. Some of their names and the villages to which they were sent are mentioned above.

[9] aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2381, also 2016, where Qutba b. Qatāda as-Sadūsī is also mentioned.

dā'inī's account of Baṣra and eastern provinces is more reliable than that of Abū Miḥnaf, whose main interest after all was Kūfa and its affairs. Thus, one is inclined to accept al-Madā'inī's narrative on this particular point.

According to our sources, Qutba b. Qatāda as-Sadūsī and his men fought in Baṣra separately from al-Muṯannā b. Ḥāriṯa aš-Šaybānī's force, who at the same time were raiding the same area. This contention is supported by the fact that when the Arab forces led by Ḫālid b. al-Walīd arrived in Baṣra, Qutba and his men made their way to Ḥurayba, the ruins of the old Sāsānian post, while al-Muṯannā and his troops joined Ḫālid who succeeded in defeating the Sāsānian army at Ubulla (al-ʿAlī 1953: 23-4). This early raid of Qutba is mentioned by Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī who suggested that with their small force they fought on their own initiative, without receiving any instruction from the Caliph Abū Bakr in Madīna, and no significant victory was reached in this raid (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2382; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 242; al-ʿAlī 1953: 24-5). When ʿUmar became Caliph, he sent Šurayš b. ʿĀmir as-Saʿdī with a small force to wage war on this front, but the latter was unsuccessful and was killed in one of the battles against the Sāsānians in the area[10]. Not long after, in 14/635, another Arab force was organised to raid the Baṣran territory. This newly organised Arab army was led by ʿUtba b. Ġazwān al-Muzanī al-Anṣārī who set out from Madīna with a force of 300 men and was later joined by another 200 nomads (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2377, 2384, 2385). On reaching Ḥurayba, ʿUtba, a prominent companion of the Prophet, chose the location to establish his military camp where his army could rest during the winter, when they were not campaigning. It has been pointed out by al-ʿAlī that few women came along on this campaign (al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 346), showing that the Arabs at that time did not intend to settle in Baṣra permanently (al-ʿAlī 1953: 26). It is also worth mentioning that the Arab forces brought by ʿUtba had achieved no significant victory in their raid against the Sāsānians in the Baṣran territory (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2378; al-ʿAlī 1953: 27). Understandably, the founding of Baṣra at this time was a temporary measure, and its importance as a military base was not as great as that of Kūfa. In reviewing the importance of Kūfa, Hinds is correct in suggesting that "the difference between Kūfa and Baṣra at this stage was, therefore, that Kūfa was established from necessity and Baṣra from convenience".

At the end of 17/638 the Arab tribesmen from Eastern Arabia began to pour into Baṣra. This move took place following the Arab defeat in the expedition to Fārs, an expedition sent by al-ʿAlā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī with a force from Baḥrayn. This force was led by ʿArfağa b. Harṯama al-Barīqī of Azd (al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ* 386), while Sayf was

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[10] Sayf gives the date of ʿUtba's raid in 16/637 (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2377). Sayf's chronology of this particular event is, however, not attested by aṭ-Ṭabarī (*Tārīḫ* I, 2377). All our authorities such as al-Madā-'inī, aš-Šaʿbī and aṭ-Ṭabarī give the date of ʿUtba's campaign in 14/635 (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2377).

of the opinion that it was headed by Ḥulayd b. al-Mundir b. Sāwī al-Ḥanzalī of Ta-mīm, and two other Arab leaders, al-Ġarūd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥanaš b. Muʿalla and as-Saw-wār b. Ḥammām of ʿAbd al-Qays (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2546). They raided Fārs by sea without the Caliph ʿUmar's order, showing their tendency to act independently from the Madīnan regime. When they arrived at Fārs, they were strongly resisted by the Sāsānian forces and defeated at Tawus, while their two leaders, Ḥulayd and al-Ġarūd were killed and the rest withdrew to Baṣra, the safest and nearest place to Fārs (*Ibid.* 2547-8; al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 386; Shaban 1971: 51-2).

al-ʿAlī's discusses in detail the social and economic system of Baṣra from the time of ʿUmar. He also gives a detailed account of the Arab expeditions into Baṣran territory and concludes that the founding of Baṣra took place during the time of ʿUtba b. Ġazwān in 14/635 (al-ʿAlī 1953: 25). Although al-ʿAlī was aware that ʿUt-ba's army was small and that they had no intention of staying in Baṣra permanently (*ibid.* 26), he nevertheless failed to realise that the coming of the Arab tribesmen from Baḥrayn into the province was a turning point in the history of Baṣra. Having stayed temporarily, ʿUtba's army decided to settle permanently in Baṣra. This decision had to be made in order to accommodate those tribesmen from Eastern Arabia. We may, therefore, agree with Shaban's suggestion that the coming of the Arab tribesmen from Baḥrayn, after their failure to establish a safe base in Fārs, was another factor in the establishment of the garrison town of Baṣra (Shaban 1971: 51-2). We can fur-ther conclude that the actual founding of Baṣra was not done until the year 17/638, by which time the garrison town of Kūfa was already established.

When the Caliph ʿUmar was informed about the defeat of al-ʿAlā's army in Fārs, he wrote to ʿUtba b. Ġazwān in Baṣra, asking him to recruit a strong army to fight the Sāsānian in Fārs. ʿUtba was able to gather as many as 12,000 men from the East-Arabian tribesmen, including those who were already with him in Baṣra. By this time, tribesmen from nearly all the clans of Eastern Arabia were involved in fighting against the Sāsānians in Fārs. Among the prominent leaders who were engaged in the wars during this time were ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī, ʿArfağa b. Harṭama al-Azdī, Hudayfa b. Muḥsin al-Ḥimyarī, Mağzaʾ b. Sūr as-Sadūsī of Bakr, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays at-Tamīmī, Saʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya at-Tamīmī and Abū Ṣabra b. Abī Ruhm al-ʿĀmirī of ʿAbd al-Qays (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2548-9). The list of leaders would suggest that they belonged to different Arab clans of Tamīm, Bakr, Azd and ʿAbd al-Qays, which in actual fact represented the core of the Arab army fighting on this front at that time (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 386). After their campaign in Fārs, most of these tribesmen followed ʿUtba to Baṣra (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2550).

Towards the end of ʿUtba's governorship of Baṣra (17/638), he and his Baṣran forces also raided Ahwāz and Tustar, but he died before the areas were subdued and the governorship of Baṣra was taken by Abū Mūsā al-Ašʿarī. The latter continued the campaign, particularly in the regions of Ramhurmuz and Tustar, with the help of the Kūfan army (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2541 ff). With the defeat of the army at

Tustar, the Arab campaign in Iraq came to a standstill until the year 21/642, in which the important battle of Nihāwand took place, and which saw the predominance of the Kūfan forces.

It can therefore be concluded that the Arab tribesmen's raid of Baṣra achieved no significant progress in comparison to that of Kūfa. Baṣra at the time of its founding was largely made up of Eastern-Arabian clans of Tamīm, Bakr, Azd and ʿAbd al-Qays. The majority were new-comers to Iraq and had taken no role either in the ridda-war or in the earliest conquest of Iraq (Shaban 1971: 52). Except for ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī, ʿArfaǧa b. Harṭama al-Azdī and Ḥuḏayfa b. Muḥsin al-Ḥimyarī, their leaders were clearly not involved in the ridda-war (aṭ-Ṭabarī, Tārīḫ I, 1880-1), their task was confined only to fighting against the weak and small group of apostates in Mahra (Ibid. 1976-9). The Islamic-Arab forces regained their position when they received support from tribesmen of Naǧiya led by al-Ḥirrīt b. Rāšid, ʿAbd al-Qays led by Sayḥān b. Ṣawḥān, and other Arab tribesmen of Rāsib and Saʿd of Tamīm (Ibid. 1979, 1980). This suggests that the two leaders, ʿArfaǧa and Ḥuḏayfa, played no important role in defeating the apostates in the ridda-war. Further, some of those who were involved in the ridda-war, such as ʿArfaǧa and his tribesmen, did not come to Iraq until the battle of al-Buwayb in 13/634 and after the departure of Ḥālid for Syria. Thus the number of the early arrivals in Baṣra must have been very small, and probably did not exceed 300 men, while the rest were new emigrants who did not come to Iraq until the year 17/638. A good number of these new emigrants came from the Arab clans of ʿAbd al-Qays of Baḥrayn, who did not become apostates during the time of the Prophet and remained loyal to the Madīnan regime after the death of the Prophet[11].

For purposes of distributing the stipends, the people of Baṣra were initially organised along genealogical lines, but this proved unsuccessful as newcomers arrived irregularly, thereby varying the size of the tribal grouping in Baṣra (al-ʿAlī 1953: 35). To overcome this problem, the system of ʿarāfa was applied in Baṣra, by which only the recognised leaders received 2,500 dirhams, while the rest of the Arab tribesmen in Baṣra received between 250 and 300 dirhams (aṭ-Ṭabarī, Tārīḫ I, 2413, 2496; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt III, i, 112 ff; al-ʿAlī 1953: 127-9; Shaban 1971: 55).

Meanwhile, new waves of tribesmen continued to pour into Kūfa. These new-comers were given low stipends, and they resented the position of ahl al-ayyām. They once complained to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the governor of Kūfa, for having divided the wealth unequally among the people (al-Balāḏurī, Futūḥ 278; aṭ-Ṭabarī, Tārīḫ I, 2606-7). al-Ašʿaṯ b. Qays al-Kindī and riǧāl min ahl al-Kūfa, i.e. leaders of the people

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[11] aṭ-Ṭabarī, Tārīḫ I, 1958-9, 1960, 1961 (with special reference to al-Ǧarūd and his tribesmen of ʿAbd al-Qays).

of Kūfa, are reported to have said "that Saʿd was biased and deprived us of our right" (al-ʿAskarī, *Awāʾil* 225). No trouble arose, however, partly because the Caliph ʿUmar is said to have raised the stipends of the new-comers who had shown valour at Nihāwand to the level of the stipends of *ahl al-Qādisiyya*, 2,000 dirhams per annum (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīh* I, 2633), and partly because the plentiful booty gained on the battlefields during ʿUmar's caliphate had helped to ease the situation (Shaban 1971: 54.73; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīh* I, 2676-7; al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 279).

However, after the campaign of Nihāwand (21/642), Saʿd, the governor of Kūfa, was replaced by ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, and the situation changed as the activities on the battlefield decreased, and the new emigrants became more numerous in Kūfa. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, the new governor of Kūfa, was accused of being weak with no political shrewdness (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīh* I, 2676-7; al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 279). The people opposed ʿAmmār because he tried to impose order in Kūfa and to exercise more authority over them. He was reported to favour the demand of the Baṣrans for authority over the province of Masabaḏān and to refuse control of Ramhurmuz to the Kūfans (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīh* I, 2672). In fact, these two provinces, particularly Masabaḏān, were conquered by the Kūfan army, in which many of *ahl al-ayyām* were involved (*Ibid.* 2476, 2551 ff). The new arrivals, however, no longer pressured when their stipends were raised by ʿAmmār. Opposition, however, came from the people of *al-ayyām* who had large interests in the conquered territories of the Sawād. A case in point was Ǧarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Baǧalī, a Kūfan military commander during the conquest of Ramhurmuz with an interest in the area, who became an opposition leader in Kūfa at the time. His opposition cost ʿAmmār his governorship (*Ibid.* 2552, 2676-7). Although various sources attributed the dismissal to his political weakness, it would appear that his failure to look after the interest of *ahl al-ayyām* and their prestige was equally responsible for his fate. It was at this time too that Abū Mūsā al-Ašʿarī began to exert his influence among the people of *al-ayyām* in Kūfa and he eventually became their governor, albeit only for a year, before he was transferred to Baṣra (*Ibid.* 2678, 2693).

From the forgoing pages we come to the conclusion that the people of *al-ayyām* benefited from the policy carried out by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Although different in some ways, the two caliphs nevertheless shared a common policy of prohibiting the *ex-ridda* from assuming positions of responsibility, either on the battlefield or in the conquered territories, thereby confining leadership roles to *ahl al-ayyām*. Consequently, whether they were from Ḥiǧāz or from North-Eastern Arabia, *ahl al-ayyām* had established their power and privileges in Kūfa and indeed in all of the Sawād. Their success in collecting revenues, supplying food from the villages of the Sawād to the people in the towns and in protecting the Arab front against the enemy was succintly summed up by the Caliph ʿUmar when he referred to the Kūfans as the spear of Allāh ... and the skulls of the Arabs (*rumḥ allāh ... wa-ǧumǧumat al-ʿarab, yakuffūna tuǧurahum, wa-yamuddūna l-amṣār*) (*Ibid.* 2515; al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 289; Ibn

Saᶜd, *Ṭabaqāt* VI, 1). Saᶜd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the governor of Kūfa, used a similar phrase to refer to *ahl al-ayyām* of Kūfa in the Sawād (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* I, 2432).

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THE PSEUDO-MAHDĪ INTERMEZZO OF THE QARĀMIṬA IN BAḤRAYN

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According to the information furnished by Mediaeval Muslim chroniclers, the long-awaited Mahdī appeared among the Qarāmiṭa of Baḥrayn in Ramaḍān, 319/September-October, 931.

These radical dissidents of the Ismāʿīlī movement, that is the Qarāmiṭa[1], had already earned a particularly frightful reputation in the Eastern as well as the Western territories of the Empire. This was due, first of all, to their military forces, which represented, at that time, the most dreadful and effective army in the whole of the Islamic World, and secondly, to their constant raids and devastating marauding campaigns against the caravan routes of Southern Iraq and the urban centres of the region. Their military presence posed a permanent threat to the whole area, and it was to become one of the principal factors contributing to the disintegration of the Caliphate. In 316/928, it was only with extraordinary luck that Baghdad escaped Qarmaṭī occupation, unlike Mecca, which suffered hugely from their invasion in 319/930.

The Qarāmiṭa justified their aggression against the existing order by propagating the reign of the legitimate *imām*, descended from the "House of the Prophet", the Mahdī, who is to rule over the world and restore justice and order, and whose appearance was expected to be very near[2]. Parallel to their military offensives, the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn gave expression to their firm belief in the imminent appearance

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[1] After the schism in 286/899 these dissident Ismāʿīlīs who broke with ʿUbaydallāh the future Fāṭimid imām–caliph, al-Mahdī and refused to acknowledge his claim to the imamate retained their original belief in the Mahdiship of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the expected *Qāʾim* (Daftary 1991: 230; 1993: 138ff. Cf. Madelung 1961: 59ff; Halm 1987: 202, 206).

[2] The Qarmaṭīs and their predecessors, the earliest Ismāʿīlīs maintained that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl who remained alive, was the *Qāʾim* and last of the great messenger–prophets. On his reappearance, he would bring a new religious law or *šarīʿa*, abrogating the one announced by the Prophet Muḥammad (Daftary 1991: 230).

On the believes of the Qarāmiṭa see an–Nawbaḫtī, *Firaq* 62.9–10:

تشعبت فرقة [من المباركية] تسمى القرامطة وزعموا أن محمد بن أسماعيل حي لم يمت وإنه في بلاد الروم وإنه القائم المهدي ومعنى القائم عندهم أنه يبعث بالرسالة وبشريعة جديدة ينسخ بها شريعة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

According to an–Nawbaḫtī (*Firaq* 62–63) the Qarāmiṭa founded their thesis of the abrogation of Islam by the religion of Mahdī on the well-known *ḥadīt* wich *šīʿīs* ascribed to the Imām Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq: "Islam began as a stranger (*ġarīban*) [meaning in Medina]; it will return as a stranger as it began. Good tidings therefore to the strangers." So their attributed a great significance to it. (Cf. Madelung 1961: 83–84.)

of the Mahdī on several occasions. Abū Saʿīd al-Ǧannābī, one of the founding fathers of the *daʿwa* in Baḥrayn, claimed to be acting on behalf of the expected Mahdī who was to appear in 300/912[3]. The unfulfilled expectations of the adherents quite probably caused internal frustration within the *daʿwa*, which may have contributed to the assassination of Abū Saʿīd and other leaders of the movement in the summer of 300/913[4].

Then his second successor in the leadership of the Baḥrayn community, his son Abū Ṭāhir, prophesied the Mahdī's imminent arrival after the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 316/928, marking the end of the Islamic period and the beginning of the final religious era, as did other Qarmaṭī *dāʿīs* in Northern Iran[5].

As the much awaited date was drawing near, the Qarmaṭīs increased their offensive activity against the dominions of the Caliphate. They embarked upon a series of raids against Southern Iraq and pillaging the *ḥaǧǧ* caravans returning from Mecca, and in 315/927 they even made an attempt, unsuccessful though it was, at seizing Baghdad. As a result of the advances of "the Mahdī's messengers" in Southern Iraq, the local partisans of the Mahdī revealed their allegiance in the *Sawād* of Kūfa, attaching exaggerated expectations to the personality of Abū Ṭāhir. They said that the Truth had appeared and the Mahdī had resurrected: the ʿAbbāsids had come to their end, as had *fuqahāʾ*, *qurrāʾ* and *ahl al-ḥadīt*. "We have not come to establish another dynasty, but to abolish *šarīʿa*" — they claimed; and they announced the realm of the Mahdī, and collected the poll-tax, but government troops very soon suppressed this uprising[6]. Afterwards, at the beginning of 317/929, the Qarāmiṭa unexpectedly re-

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[3] Abū Saʿīd's profecies on the Mahdī (ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 379, 381):

قال إنه رسول الأمين الإمام حجة الله على خلقه وهو محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن الحنفية [sic] وهو مقيم في بعض هذه الجبال وإنه في سنة ثلاثمائة للهجرة [912] يخرج ويملك الأرض كلها. وكان هذا القول والوعد من أبي سعيد في سني نيف وثمانين ومائتين للهجرة [892].

[4] al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 394; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XXV, 243; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* VI, 61; Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* I, 164. Cf. Halm 1991: 225.

[5] On the prophecies of Abū Ṭāhir: ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* 381; al-Baġdādī, *Farq* 287. Cf. de Goeje 1886: 122ff. The expectation of the Mahdī is also reflected in a propagandistic poem by Abū Ṭāhir. In it he designates himself as the one who summons to obey the Mahdī. The fragments of the poem: al-Bīrūnī, *Āṯār* 214; al-Baġdādī, *Farq* 287. Cf. de Goeje 1886: 113–115; Madelung 1959: 79ff; Naššār 1977: II, 341–342; Halm 1991: 229.

[6] On the details of the military events: Miskawayhi, *Taǧārib* I, 172–177. Cf. Bowen 1975: 266–275; Halm 1991: 226–228. On the *baqliyya* revolt in the *Sawād* of Kūfa: ʿArīb, *Ṣila* 132ff; 137; 162; ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 383. Cf. Madelung 1959: 82–84; Halm 1991: 227–228.

turned to Baḥrayn, where construction works on a fortified "refuge" (*dār al–hiğra*), the prospective residence of the awaited Mahdī, had been completed near al–Aḥsā'[7].

In 319/930, they arrived in Mecca during the pilgrimage season. Having succeeded in getting admission into the city by an appeal to a sense of Islamic solidarity, they, acting like infidels, massacred the pilgrims and the townspeople for several days and committed numerous acts of desecration. They finally tore out the Black Stone of the Kaᶜba, presumably with the aim of symbolizing the end of the era of Islam, and carried it off to their new capital of al–Aḥsā'[8]. It is these disastrous events that lead us along to the obscure incidents in Ramaḍān 319/September–October 931 when Abū Ṭāhir handed over the power to a young stranger from Iṣfahān, only to dismiss and kill him eighty days later. This episode was already investigated by de Goeje (1886: 129–137), who made a translation of the then available source material as a part of his monograph that set the trend for the study of the Qarāmiṭa. He initiated his explanations for the events by stating that an impostor had appeared among the Qarmaṭīs in 319/930, who then succeeded in making himself recognized as the much–awaited *"maitre de la chose"* (*ṣāḥib al–amr*). However, his conclusion that this adventurer could get recognition as the emissary of the Fāṭimid ᶜUbaydallāh is now superseded (*ibid.* 136). Later researches, namely those of Massignon (1974: 220–223), Lewis (1940: 87–89) and Stern (1983: 206ff)[9], viewed these events as a temporary forsaking of the Fāṭimids by the Qarmaṭīs.

The Mahdī's intermezzo, however, received but slight attention from scholars. Of modern Muslim experts on the subject, as far as our knowledge goes, it is only Naššār (1977: II, 343–344), Zakkār (1987: I, 152–154) and Bazzūn (1988: 188–196)[10] who analysed this issue in merit. Particularly surprising is the fact that the renowned Ismāᶜīlī scholars Tāmir and Ġālib entirely avoid mentioning the episode in their relevant writings.

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[7] On the *dār al–hiğra*: Ibn al–Ğawzī, *Muntazam* VI, 326.14–15:

لما رجع القرمطي [Abū Ṭāhir] من سفره بنى دارا سماها دار الهجرة ودعا إلى المهدي.

Cf. Ṯābit, *Aḫbār al–Qarāmiṭa* I, 223; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Nuğūm* III, 220.

As Medina, the *dār al–hiğra* of the Prophet, was the place of the foundation of Islam, for the Ismāᶜīlis the *dār al–hiğra* was the residence of the Mahdī and the place of the foundation of his religion. (Cf. Madelung 1956: 81ff)

[8] ᶜAbdalğabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 384–386; on the different opinions about the events in Mekka: Shaᶜbān 1977: 167ff; Naššār 1977: 339–340; Zakkār 1987: I, 153; Kennedy 1989: 290ff.

[9] Concerning his views, he told: "I am, I hope, not too far off the mark in suggesting that the adventurer from Iṣfahān claimed to be Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl reappearing from his century–old hiding and that he was for a time accepted as such by the Qarmaṭians of Baḥrayn".

[10] His appraisal on the Mahdī episode is remarkable but very controversial.

During the last decades two eminent scholars, Prof. Madelung (1959: 75–85; 1988: 96–100) and Prof. Halm (1991: 225–236), have carried out a thorough research and a reconstruction of accounts on the Iṣfahānī. We draw on their findings in our re-appraisal of the heavily divergent aspects of this web of problems. In fact, our conviction is that this episode occupies a focal position in the history of the Qarmaṭī community of Bahrayn, being such a turning–point as can serve to provide an explanation, from both a political and an ideological point of view, to the various facets of the contradictory history of this regional movement turned state.

All the sources agree in stating that the youth was a young Persian, but different versions of his name have been reported. He is said to have been a Persian from Iṣfahān or Hurāsān. Some even asserted that he was a descendant of the Persian Kings and described him as a Zoroastrian[11].

However, the reports on his appearance are contradictory, confused, and differ radically from one another. One group of sources, represented by Ṯābit b. Sinān[12], who was followed by Miskawayhi (Taǧārib II, 55–56) and Ibn al-Aṯīr (Kāmil VIII, 351-352), states that Abū Ṭāhir was deceived into giving up power by his chief dāʿī, Ibn Sanbar, who wanted to use the Iṣfahānī to throw out one of his opponents. Then the Iṣfahānī proceeded to kill some prominent Qarmaṭī leaders and others until he was exposed by Abū Ṭāhir and put to death.

Another, rather more astonishing, version, given by Ibn Rizām[13] and mostly adapted by ʿAbdalǧabbār (Taṯbīt II, 386–88) and partially by Niẓām al-Mulk (Siyāsatnāme 287–288), makes Abū Ṭāhir declare that the Iṣfahānī is god incarnate, and that he is restoring the true "religion of Adam" and has ordered the people to curse all the other prophets. He also commanded them to commit debaucheries and

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[11] Concerning the names of the stranger from Iṣfahān: Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 58: Abū l–Fadl al–Maǧūsī; ʿArīb, Ṣila 162: Zakarī al–Hurāsānī; Masʿūdī, Tanbīh 391: az–Zakarī min abnā Mulūk al–Aʿāǧim min bilād Isfahān; ʿAbdalǧabbār, Taṯbīt I, 28: Dakīra al–Isfahānī; I, 107: al–Asfar [the Dressed in yellow]; II, 386–388: Dakīrat al–Isfahānī al–Maǧūsī; Niẓām al-Mulk, Siyāsatnāme 288: Zakīra [the] Ǧabrā [Zoroastrian from] Iṣfahān; al–Baġdādī, Farq 270 & al–Bīrūnī, Āṯār 213: Ibn Abī Zakariyya' at–Tamāmī al–Isfahānī; Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 55; Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kāmil VIII, 351; ʿUyūn IV, 389; an–Nuwayrī, Nihāya XXV, 302: al–Isfahānī; Ṯābit, Aḫbār al–Qarāmiṭa I, 225: as–Safawī Ḏū n–Nūr [from] Isfahān.

[12] Ṯābit, Aḫbār al–Qarāmiṭa I, 225–226:

ان رجلا منهم [من القرامطة] يدعى ابن سنبر من خواص أبي سعيد والمطلعين على سره له عدو من القرامطة اسمه أبو حفص الشريك، فقصد ابن سنبر لصاحب له هناك يدعى الصفوي ذو النور، فتكلم معه وقال له: بما إني واقف على أسرار أبي سعيد وغوامض أحوال القرامطة وعلومهم وإشاراتهم، أريد أن أرشدك الى ذلك كله، حتى أجعلك سيدا عليهم يطيعونك فيما تأمر وينتهون بنهيك بشرط أن تقتل عدوي أبا حفص الشريك.

[13] Ibn Rizām, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭā'ī al-Kūfī, how wrote before 345/956 and his treatise, the Kitāb fī radd ʿalā al-ismāʿīliyya has been lost but parts of it have been preserved by various scholars.

the like. After a while Abū Ṭāhir discovered that he had been duped and had the Isfahānī murdered.

Most probable of all reports on his arrival is the one that makes the young man being carried off into slavery from North of Babylon, as the Qarāmiṭa returned from their campaign in Northern Mesopotamia in 316/928 (ʿArīb, Ṣila 162.18-21).

It is also reported[14] that the young man was of a very powerful character, excelled in intelligence and learning, soon being initiated into the affairs of the Qarāmiṭa. According to the explanation found in one of the reports (Ṯābit, Aḫbār al-Qarāmiṭa 255), Ibn Sanbar had initiated him into some secrets which Abū Ṭāhir had entrusted him alone and had instructed the youth thus: "Go to Abū Ṭāhir and tell him that you are the man to whose allegiance his father and he himself have summoned the people. If he then asks you for signs and proof, reveal these secrets to him"[15].

Abū Ṭāhir had no doubts about the validity of these signs and announced to his adherents: "This is the man I have summoned you to follow, and to him belongs the command"[16].

In another source[17] it is stated that the proud and lordly appearance of the youth irritated his owner, the dāʿī Ibn Sanbar himself, who therefore brought him before Abū Ṭāhir. In this passage, there is a mention of a sign by which the Isfahānī was able to deceive Abū Ṭāhir and his brothers into believing that he was the "Expected One".

According to al-Bīrūnī (Āṯār 313), the date of the Isfahānī's arrival was chosen to coincide with the passing of 1,500 years from the death of Zoroaster, at the end of the year 1242 of Alexander's era for which prophecies attributed to Zoroaster and Ğāmasp were predicting the restoration of the reign of the Magians. As has been mentioned before, the young Persian was said to be a Magian and a descendant of the

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[14] ʿArīb, Ṣila 193.2-3; al-Bīrūnī, Āṯār 213.1-2; Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 55.15-18.

[15] Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 55-56:

امض الى أبي طاهر وعرفه أنك الرجل الذي كان أبوه وهو يدعوان اليه فإذا هو سألك عن العلامات والدليل أظهرت له هذه الأسرار.

[16] Ṯābit, Aḫbār al-Qarāmiṭa 225:

فقال أبو طاهر هذا الذي ندعو اليه فأطاعوه ودانوا له.

Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 56.4-5:

وقال [أبو طاهر] لأصحابه: هذا هو الذى كنت أدعوكم اليه والأمر له.

(Cf. ʿUyūn IV, 389.14-15; Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kāmil VIII, 351.11-12; an-Nuwayrī, Nihāya XXV, 302.18)

[17] ʿArīb, Ṣila 163.2-4:

فلما نظر [عريفه] الى قوة كلامه [زكري الخراساني] وجرأته هابه وأمسك عنه وأنهو خبره الى الجنابي.

al-Bīrūnī, Āṯār 313:

كان [ابن أبي زكريـاء الطماميُ] غلاما فاجرا ومؤاجرا.

(Cf. Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 59.14)

Persian kings[18]. Iṣfahān, his home town, had long been associated by the astrologers with the rise of a Persian dynasty which would overthrow the Arab Caliphate. His clothes were depicted as being in accordance with the Persian fashion. He was sometimes titled aṣ-Ṣafawī Ḏū n-Nūr[19] ('The Pure Possessor of Light') or al-Aṣfar[20] ('[Dressed in] Yellow'/'The Persian'). As Madelung has observed (1988: 97ff), the Iṣfahānī appeared, judging from his deeds, rather a restorer of Persian religion than that Expected One of the Prophet's House who reveals the truth behind all previous religions. He ordered the worship of fire and the cursing of all prophets, and also initiated various extravagant ceremonies that disgusted the Qarāmiṭa[21]. It is well-known that the settled population of Baḥrayn, formally a province of the Persian Empire, consisted largely of Persians and Jews[22]. Abū Saʿīd, the founder of the daʿwa, was a Persian by origin from Ganāfa, a town on the coast of Fārs, and he was active there as a dāʿī before being sent to Baḥrayn[23]. Some of his grandsons bore the names of Persian kings: Sābūr/Šāpūr b. Abī Ṭāhir, and Kisrā/Ḥosrō b. Abī l-Qāsim (Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣūrat al-arḍ 26). Notwithstanding all these arguments, Madelung draws our attention to a careful appreciation of the events in this respect. Then he adds that, while Abū Ṭāhir could perhaps expect a certain amount of sympathy for some aspects of Persian religious traditions among his adherents, his transformation of the Mahdī into a restorer of the Persian religion and kingship would have needed a complete refusal of much traditional Ismāʿīlī doctrine and the expectations concerning the seventh Speaker Prophet, the Mahdī (Madelung 1988: 98). On the other hand, the Qarāmiṭa from the beginning of their activity depended upon the support of Arab tribes, and many of their leading men were of Arab descent. This fact could by no means have been disregarded by Abū Ṭāhir (Kennedy 1989: 287–292). Therefore, while keeping in mind the Persian background motives of the episode, we can safely state that it was not these motives that set the overall direction of events.

Among the accounts of the advent of the Iṣfahānī there is an eyewitness report, that of Abū Ṭāhir's personal physician, a certain Ibn Ḥamdān, which Ibn Rizām

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[18] Masʿūdī, Tanbīh 361.15–16; ʿAbdalǧabbār, Taṯbīt I, 107; II, 387; Niẓām al-Mulk, Siyāsatnāme 288.

[19] Ṯābit, Aḫbār al-Qarāmiṭa 225.8.

[20] Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 58.4; ʿAbdalǧabbār, Taṯbīt I, 107.9.

[21] al-Bīrūnī, Āṯār 313:

وسن لهم هذا الغلام أن تشق بطون الموتى وتغسل وتحشى خمرا وقطع يد من أطفأ نارا بيده وقطع لسان من أطفأها بنفخه والفجور بالغلمان... وأمرهم بعبادة النيران وتعظيمها ولعن من مضى من الأنبياء وأصحابهم فأنهم كانوا محتالين ضالين.

[22] Naǧm 1973: 46–49. Cf. de Goeje 1886: 36.

[23] al-Maqrīzī, Ittiʿāẓ 107. Cf. Madelung 1988: 97.

(Miskawayhi, *Taǧārib* II, 57–60) transmitted in his narrative of the events. This report, regardless of some less reliable details, was considered by Madelung (1959: 75ff) as being of particular interest. Halm (1991: 231ff) confirms that the information of the physician are trustworthy and consistent in all details with what we know about the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*.

Ibn Ḥamdān reports[24] a clear description of the young man's appearance, as follows: "We came to the palace of the Qarmaṭī Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān and there was a handsome young man. He was around twenty years old, and he wore clothes according to Persian fashion, and he sat upon a grey horse. His name was Abū l-Faḍl the Zoroastrian". After this the doctor tells us how the power was handed over: "The people, including the Qarmaṭī Abū Ṭāhir and his brothers, were staying around him. Then Abū Ṭāhir called out as loudly as he could: «You people! Know: We, and you also, were all donkeys! But now God has sent us this person» — and he pointed to the youth — «This is my Lord and your Lord, and my God and your God. We are all his slaves! The rule has now been transferred to him, and he will be king of us all!». Thereupon Abū Ṭāhir declared: «Know you people, that the [true] religion has now appeared! It is the religion of our father, Adam, and all religions we have belonged to until now are null and void, and everything that the *dāʿīs* have been telling you is null and void and false, all the talk about Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad! The true religion is the original religion of Adam, and those are all wily deceivers, so curse them. Then the people cursed them including Abraham, Muḥammad, even ʿAlī and his descendants»".

In another version based on Ibn Rizām, that of ʿAbdalǧabbār[25], Abū Ṭāhir told his adherents that all the previous religions they had believed in were not valid. "This was a secret which we and our predecessors kept hidden for sixty years, but today we have uncovered it! This one here is our God and yours, our Lord and yours. If he punishes, then it is with justice; and if he forgives, then it is with mercy."

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[24] Miskawayhi, *Taǧārib* II, 58.1–12 [the spot of the events is in the port of al–Qaṭīf on the Gulf]:
فخرجت فإذا الناس يهرعون الى أن أتينا دار أبي طاهر سليمان القرمطي فإذا بغلام حسن الوجه دری اللون خفيف العارضين له نحو عشرين سنة وعليه عمامة صفراء تعميم العجم وعليه ثوب أصفر وفي وسطه منديل وهو راكب فرسا سهباء اسمه أبو الفضل المجوسي والناس قيام وأبو طاهر القرمطي وأخوته حوله فصاح أبو طاهر بأعلى صوته: يا معشر الناس من عرفني فقد عرفني ومن لم يعرفني فأني أبو طاهر سليمان بن الحسن اعلموا أنا كنا وإياكم حمير وقد من الله علينا بهذا (وأشار الى الغلام) هذا ربى وربكم والهى الهكم وكلنا عباده والأمر اليه وهو يملكنا كلنا... ثم قال أبو طاهر اعلموا يا معشر الناس أن الدين قد ظهر وهو دين أبينا آدم وكل دين كنا عليه فهو باطل وجميع ما توصلت به الدعاة اليكم فهو باطل وزور من ذكر موسى وعيسى ومحمد إنما الدين دين آدم الأول وهؤلاء كلهم دجالون محتالون فالعنوهم. فلعنهم الناس.

[25] ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 386.10–12:
[وقال أبو طاهر] وهو سر كنا نكتمه ومن قبلنا منذ ستين سنة واليوم قد أظهرناه وهذا الهنا والهكم وربنا وربكم يعني ذكيرة الإصفهاني فإن عاقب فبحق وإن عفا فبفضل.

As witnessed by these passages, the innovation of the Iṣfahānī consisted mainly of the abolition of the religious laws. The other sources[26] which are independent from the doctor's statements confirm that he did declare the religious law abolished. Madelung[27] observed that the antinomian tendencies that characterized a major part of the Ismāʿīlī movement, and which now came to the surface, brought about a radical turn in this event. The lawgivers, the prophets were, without exception, utterly rejected. It is the true religion of Adam, the lawless religion, that was now being revived by the "Expected One" turned god.

Ibn Ḥamdān's report[28] further states that the Iṣfahānī encouraged various sorts of extreme behaviour. Abū Ṭāhir and the people used to circle around him, completely naked, and shout: "Our God, he is mighty and exalted!". These ritual ceremonies were regarded by Halm (1988: 219; 1991: 232ff) as a Qarmaṭī attempt at restoring the Adamite religion, a way of "returning to Paradise". He moreover states that it is by no means a unique notion held only by the Qarāmiṭa. A century later quite similar ideas were to emerge among the Druse, who were also Ismāʿīlī heretics (Bryer 1975: 54–56; 1976: 21ff).

There were already Adamite sects in late antique gnosticism, which is one of the roots of Ismāʿīliyya. Halm calls attention to the fact that the signs of these Adamite communities are always the nakedness of the participants in the rituals, and sexual freedom; since no sooner have they entered the condition of prelapsarian innocence than their bodies become incapable of sinning[29]. The Qarmaṭīs in their turn worshipped, completely naked, the visible Creator–God, the focus of circumambulation (ṭawāf) being him in the same manner as the Kaʿba traditionally is.

While the Persian background and the antinomian tendencies of the movement are now manifest, the true impetuses of the events are still to be seen. The reign of the Iṣfahānī Mahdī lasted for only eighty days. Several leaders of the daʿwa were dismissed from power and killed by his order. Therefore, those who had doubts about

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[26] Niẓām al-Mulk, Siyāsatnāme 288:

و بفرمود تا بر پیغامبر ان آشکارا لعنت کردند.

[He commanded public cursing of the prophets.]
    Cf. al-Bīrūnī, Āṯār 313:

ولعن [أبو زكرياء] من مضى الأنبياء وأصحابهم فأنهم كانوا محتالين ضالين.

[27] Madelung 1979: 76ff. Cf. Halm 1988: 203.

[28] Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 58.12–14:
وكان أبو الفضل المجوسي (يعني الغلام الامرد) قد سن لهم اللواط ونكاح الأخوات وأمر بقتل الامرد الممتنع وكان أبو طاهر
ليطوف هو والناس عراة به ويقولون "إلهنا عز وجل".
    Cf. al-Bīrūnī, Āṯār 313.2–5; ʿAbdalǧabbār, Taṯbīt 387.3–7; Niẓām al-Mulk, Siyāsatnāme 288.2–8.

[29] On the Adamita religion and sects: Halm 1988: 203; 1991: 233.

the authenticity of the Mahdī pressed Abū Ṭāhir to put the Iṣfahānī to a test. After the falseness of his claims were proven, he was put to death[30].

The Qarmaṭī community was shocked by the episode; while rumours were fast spreading among allied tribes. Abū Ṭāhir and the chief dāʿīs were forced to invent excuses to calm down their followers.

According to our main source[31], Ibn Sanbar made a speech to the people. He asked them not to give an occasion to the Muslim community to feel triumphant over them. Furthermore, he tried to convince them to give up all that Abū Ṭāhir had told them and return to the previous teaching according to which they were preparing the way for the Mahdī and they were Believers and šīʿites. He also said: "We have always told you that a frightful trial (fitna) must befall the believers, which is then immediately followed by the appearance of the Truth (ḥaqq)". It is this utterance that Halm[32] claims provides the key to both the previous disturbances in Mecca and the puzzle of the Mahdī's intermezzo.

Therefore, the hideous crimes committed in Mecca, served as the expected sign of the arrival of the Revealed God. It seems as if Abū Ṭāhir and Ibn Sanbar arranged this act deliberately so that it should facilitate the appearance of the expected Mahdī. De Blois (1986: 18ff) points out that a common feature of the two groups of sources is that they represent Abū Ṭāhir as if he had been deceived in supposing the Iṣfahānī to be someone that he actually was not, which is why he handed over the power willingly to him. Now, if we take into consideration the facts mentioned before, this view does not seem to be acceptable.

De Blois regards the Iṣfahānī as a puppet created by Abū Ṭāhir, who arranged the whole intermezzo in order to fulfil his plans of gaining more power. Halm (1991: 235ff) even depicts these events as a well-designed scenario, which comprises the capture of the youth (316/928), the arrangement of the predicted catastrophe with the

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[30] On the different versions of the pseudo-Mahdī's exposure: Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 59.13–15; Ibn al-Atīr, Kāmil VIII, 351–352. Of the two groups of sources, one cites a remarkable confession of the pseudo-Mahdī (Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 59.8–9):

فقال [أبو الفضل المجوسي]: لا تعجلا علي ودعاني أخدم دوابكما الى أن يأتي أبي فإنني سرقت منه العلامة فجرى في رأيه.

When drawing conclusions of the failure, Ibn Sanbar made this remark (ibid.):

قال لهم: إن هذا الغلام ورد يكذب سرقه من معدن حق وعلامة موه بها فاطعناه لذلك... فقتلناه.

[31] ʿAbdalǧabbār, Taṯbīt II, 388.3–5:

وقال لهم ابن سنبر: إن شئتم أن تذهبوا فاذهبوا، فما نعرفكم السبب [واقعة] ثم قال لهم: يا قوم لا تفضحونا وأنفسكم، ولا تشمتوا بنا المسلمين وبكم، وارجعوا عن جميع ما قاله لكم أبو طاهر الى ما كنتم عليه وكنا من قبل ذلك، من أنا أصحاب المهدي؛ والدعاة الى المهدى، والمؤمنون والشيعة.

(Cf. Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 59.14–17.)

[32] ʿAbdalǧabbār, Taṯbīt II, 388.6–7; Miskawayhi, Taǧārib II, 59.15–16:

فإنه كنا نحدث أن ستكون للمؤمنين زلة وهى هذه...

(Cf. Halm 1991: 235ff.)

disgrace of the sanctuary in Mecca (317/930), and also the disclosure of the youth's
divinity to the community (319/931). Notwithstanding the above arguments, persuas-
ive as they are, we have not yet got a clue as to why Abū Ṭāhir had to resort to
these measures. We opine that the antecedents reach back to the times prior to his
ascension to power. ad–Dahabī[33] has very instructive remarks concerning this point,
saying: "In 305/913 [Abū l–Qāsim] Saʿīd [the eldest brother] handed power over to
his brother Abū Ṭāhir, and a group of people rallied to Abū Ṭāhir's cause, being
won over by him as he had led them to some treasures he alone knew from his
father. It so happened that he was informed of a well and its exact location in the
desert, so he said [to his followers]: «I want to dig up a well here.» The answer was:
«No water gushes forth here!» He insisted and went on digging, and soon water
gushed forth. This further increased their attachment to him." As must be obvious
from this quotation, Abū Ṭāhir, although extremely young, displayed extraordinary
skills at both orientation in the desert and, as witnessed by his successful raids, the
military art. His personality strengthened the influence of the military cadres within
the movement at the expense of the conciliative policies of his predecessor Abū l–Qā-
sim Saʿīd, representing urban and commercial interests. ad–Dahabī[34] furthermore
indicates that exaggerated expectations were attached to Abū Ṭāhir's personality by
his followers, like those we mentioned in connection with the uprising in the *Sawād*
of Kūfa. He completes his account by saying that, "given no more delay by God,
[Abū Ṭāhir] felt that his downfall was near, so he handed his power over to Abū
l–Faḍl al–Maǧūsī al–ʿAǧamī". The charisma of Abū Ṭāhir was seriously impaired
by the failure of the invasion of Baghdad, the tragic turn of the events in Mecca, and
the frustration felt by the Qarmaṭīs over their unfulfilled expectations of the
Mahdī's arrival. This situation heightened the tension between the two opposing fac-
tions of the leadership. Abū Ṭāhir had to face this situation immediately after his
sudden return to Baḥrayn from the Baghdad raid.

   At this stage, we should definitely mention two leading figures of the *daʿwa* who,
as attested by our sources, played an outstanding role in the events, one of whom,
Ibn Sanbar, was the scion of an indigenous lineage which was the first to side with
the cause of Abū Ṭāhir, who even married into the family. Due to this situation, the

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[33] Miskawayhi, *Taǧārib* II, 57.13–16:

فلما كان في سنة ٣٠٥ [916] سلم سعيد الأمر الى أبيه طاهر فاستجاب لأبي طاهر خلق وافتتنوا به بسبب أنهم دلهم على
كنوز كان والده أطلعه عليها وحده فوقع لهم أنه علم عينا وتخبر موضعها عن الطحراء وقال: أريد أن أحفر هنا عينا. فقيل
له: هنا لا ينبع ماء فخالفهم فحفر فنبع الماء. فازدادت فتنتهم به.

[34] *Ibid.* II, 57.17–22:

وزعم بعض أصحابه أنه [أبو طاهر] ومنهم من زعم أنه المسيح ومنهم من قال "هو نبى" وقيل "هو المهدى" وقيل "هو
الممهد للمهدى"... وثم لم يمهله الله بعد ذلك [الحوادث في مكة] فلما أشفى على التلف سلم ملكه الى أبي الفضل ابن زكريا
المجوسى العجمى [sic].

Sanbar clan always had the upper hand in the affairs of the Qarāmiṭa, yet their status as town dwellers makes it likely that they represented urban and mercantile interests within the community. According to one set of sources, Ibn Sanbar himself was instrumental in the handing over of power by initiating the youth into the secrets of the *daʿwa* on the one hand, and, on the other, by persuading Abū Ṭāhir, through his *protégé*, to relinquish his power. His deeds were motivated, according to the sources, by the wish to get rid of his adversaries and, chiefly, of Abū Ḥafṣ aš-Šarīk. Another set of sources (ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 387–388), however, makes Ibn Sanbar's role much more contradictory. He appears to have been a trendsetter of events at first, along with Abū Ṭāhir, seizing the initiative as the head of the opposition later when events took to an inauspicious course, and coercing Abū Ṭāhir to put the Iṣfahānī to a test. The other leading personality at issue is Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Zurqān aš-Šarīk, who was none other than the husband of Abū Ṭāhir's sister Zaynab. His links to the leadership of the *daʿwa* and the Ǧannābī clan were therefore also strong. The first group of sources (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 392.1-3) portray him as the archenemy of Ibn Sanbar, yet we are also told that he was the soundestminded, most knowledgeable and most intelligent among them, that is, one of the ablest leaders. The other group of sources[35] informs us that Abū Ḥafṣ played an outstanding part in the seizure of Mecca, being the person who, mounted on a horse in front of the Kaʿba sanctuary, recited the Qurʾānic text in mockery while his companions were busy belying the sacred revelation. After the Iṣfahānī rose to power, Ibn Zurqān was the first victim of his rule, followed by his child, whereas his wife was taken into the Iṣfahānī's possession[36]. Ibn Zurqān was probably a representative of the wing of military cadres recruited from militant, nomadic elements in the conflict of internal forces in the background of the Mahdī's intermezzo.

In final assessment, our opinion is that Abū Ṭāhir, a successful military leader, was caught up in a sort of legitimacy crisis caused by the above-mentioned factors. He sought to solve this crisis by arranging a kind of theocratic *coup-d'état*, that is, the intermezzo of the pseudo-Mahdī. Because of the eschatological nature of the whole movement, such a solution is an integral part of the requisites of the Ismāʿīliy-

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[35] ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 385.7-12:

وأبو حفص عمر ابن زرقان صهر أبي سعيد واقف حذاء البيت والسيف يأخذ الناس، وهو على فرسه يضحك ويتلو: "لإيلاف قريش" حتى [وصل] الى قوله: "وآمنهم من خوف" قال: ما آمنهم من خوفنا، ظهر الباطن يا أهل مكة، حجوا الى البحرين، وهاجروا الى الأحساء من قبل أن نطمس وجوهها فنردها على أدبارها.

Miskawayhi, *Taǧārib* II, 59.1-4:; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsatnāme* 229; al-Maʿarrī, *Risāla* III, 30.

[36] ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 387.12-15:

وقتل بني زرقان وبني سلمان ومن وجوه عسكره... وأمرهم [الاصبهاني] بأن يعرضوا عليه نساءهم من بيت أبي سعيد وغيره فعرضوهن فاختار منهن من أراد فكان فيمن أختار زينب بنت أبي سعيد امرأة عمر بن زرقان وقد كان قتل زوجها وكان له منها ابن فأمر اين ذكيرة أبا طاهر بذنب به فأخذه أبو طاهر خاله فذبحه.

ya. In other places, in other historical periods, similar methods or means can be observed.

Watt (1963: 75) points it out when he speaks on the features of the Ismāʿīliyya: "This was a political movement masquerading as a religious and philosophical one. Though there were ismaʿilite doctrines, the leaders of the movement do not seem to have been committed to any definite doctrines, but rather to have manipulated the doctrines to serve their political ends".

This unfortunate experiment with the incarnate god had seriously demoralized the Qarāmiṭa in Baḥrayn and weakened their influence over the Ismāʿīlī communities in the east. However hard did Abū Ṭāhir try to propitiate them, many of his tribal allies left Baḥrayn to serve during the following decades in the armies of various local rulers[37]. The movement's ideologists in the Eastern territories tried to restore the ideological unity of Qarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism, with but little success (Madelung 1988: 98-100). Abū Ṭāhir and his advisors were, nevertheless, able to maintain their power.

To conclude, we cannot but strongly emphasize the primary importance of the intermezzo of the pseudo–Mahdī in the development of the views, policies and state organization of the Baḥraynī Qarāmiṭa community. Only as a result of their learning the lessons provided by the dénouement of the above–mentioned events did changes appear in their policy, which we have described in a previous article (Hajnal 1994: 16ff) as being a revival of the "peace–for–privileges" policy that gave priority to economic interests over ideology, a policy that had already proven to be successful in the time of the early *daʿwa*, under the leadership of Abū l-Qāsim Saʿīd, eldest son of the community's founder, Abū Saʿīd.

So much about the political aspect of the events. As for ideology, it is rather more complicated and difficult to assess, as reliable information about the "post–intermezzo" period of Qarmaṭī statehood is all but lacking. The Islamic rite was restored to its rightful position, since the Mahdī still had not arrived. As noted, according to Ibn Ḥawqal (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ* 25), one fifth of the taxes was set aside for the "Lord of the Time", and al-Muqaddasī (*Taqsīm* 94) mentions a treasury of the Mahdī in the capital of Bahrayn, in al-Aḥsāʾ. A century later, Nāṣir-i Ḥosrō[38] reported

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[37] On the conciliatory attempts of the Qarmaṭī leadership: ʿAbdalǧabbār, *Taṯbīt* II, 388–389.

[38] Nāṣir-i Ḥosrō, *Safarnāme* 82.12–15:

ابو سعید ایشانرا کفته است که من باز پیش شما آیم یعنی بعد از وفات وکور او بشهر لحسا اندر است ومشهدی نیکو جهت او ساخته اند

[Abū Saʿīd told them that he would come among them again after his death, and his tomb, a fine shrine, is located inside the city [al-Aḥsāʾ].]

Ibid. 88.28–35:

وپیوسته اسپی تنك بسته وبا طوق وسرافسار بدر کورخانهء ابو سعید به نوبت بداشته باشند روز وشب یعنی چون ابو سعید بر خیزد برآن اسپ نشیند وکویند ابو سعید کفته است. فرزندان خویش را که چون من بیایم شما مرا باز نشناسید نشان آن باشند که مرا یاشمشیر من بر کردن بزنید اکر من باشم در حال زنده شوم وآن قاعده بدان سبب نهاده است

the Qarāmiṭa of Baḥrayn still believed they were in the era of the Prophet of Mu-ḥammad and Islam, and they abstained from drinking wine. He also relates the inter-esting detail, certified for the most part by Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī[39], that the com-munity had continued to await the Šarīf Abū Saʿīd's return from the dead, as he himself had promised. The old idea of the Mahdī had, in about a century, crystal-lized as a myth, and some facets of the theocratic attributes of the Imām-Mahdī were inherited by the founder of the *daʿwa* in the region, as was bound to happen in other areas and times in a Šīʿite milieu. It is not clear, however, whether Abū Saʿīd had in fact replaced Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the expected Mahdī for the Qa-rāmiṭa of Baḥrayn.

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تاكسى دعوى بو سعيدى نكند.

[A horse outfitted with collar and crown is kept always tied by the tomb of Abū Saʿīd, and a watch is continually maintained day and night for such time as he should rise again and mount the horse. Abū Saʿīd said to his sons, "When I come again among you, you will not recognize me. The sign will be that you strike my neck with my sword. If it be me, I will immediately come back to life". He made this one stipulation so that no one else could claim to be him.]

[39] al-Maʿarrī, *Risāla* III, 235:

وحكى لى أن للقرامطة بالأحساء بيتا يزعمون أن إمامهم يخرج منه ويقيمون على باب ذلك البيت فرسا بسرج ولجام ويقولون للمهج والطغام: "هذا الفرس لركاب المهدي، يركبه متى ظهر."

[It was said to me that the Qarāmiṭa had a house in al-Aḥsāʾ from which their Imām would come out. So they put a horse with saddle and bridle in front of that house. They used to say to the masses: "This horse will be mounted by the Mahdī. He will sit on it when he appears".]

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EDWARD I, KING OF ENGLAND AND THE HOLY LAND (JERUSALEM)

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England took a great part in the history of the Crusades. It participated in the First Crusade, and, with its navy, in the Second Crusade, which tried to reach the Holy Land through Jebel Tarik (Gibraltar Pass), but it stopped at Oporto, and helped the King of Portugal in occupying Lisbon in 1147 (*Conquest*). Richard I, Lion-Heart (1189-1199), was a good contributor to the Third Crusade. We also notice English forces in the Fifth Crusade (Oliver, *Capture* 63, 65). During the Fifth Crusade, the legend of Prester John (Otto, *Two Cities* 343; Oliver, *Capture* 50, 70, 83) was revived after the Crusaders captured Damietta, so they hoped for his help to occupy Egypt and recover Jerusalem, but the Crusade failed. In 1240 Richard of Cornwall led a Crusade to the Holy Land, and he stayed in Palestine till May 1241. He returned to England after he had gained some success, and had made a treaty with the Moslems (Matthew, *English History* I, 203; Runciman 1953: II, 218-9). About the same time the Mongols sacked Khwarazm in 1219, and Russia and eastern Europe in 1237-42. We can see the bad effect of the Mongol invasion of Russia in the Novgorod Chronicle where we read that "in the same year [1238] foreigners, called Tartars came in countless numbers, like locusts, into the land of Ryazan..." (*Novgorod Chronicle* 8).

An English source gives us in (1241) more facts and details in a long letter sent from the German Emperor Frederick II (1212 - 1250) to Henry III, King of England (1216-1272) saying:

"We cannot be silent on a matter which concerns not only the Roman empire, whose office it is to propagate the Gospel, but also all the kingdoms of the world that practise Christian worship, and threatens general destruction to the whole of Christianity: we therefore hasten to bring it to your knowledge, although the true facts of the matter have but lately come to ours. Some time since a people of a barbarous race and mode of life called (from what place or origin I know not) Tartars, has lately emerged from the regions of the south, where it had long lain hid, burnt up by the sun of the torrid zone, and, thence marching towards the northern parts, took forcible possession of the country there, and remaining for a time, multiplied like locusts, and has now come forth, not without the premeditated judgment of God, but not, I hope, reserved to these latter times for the ruin of the whole of Christianity. Their arrival was followed by a general slaughter, a universal desolation of kingdoms, and by utter ruin to the fertile territory, which this impious horde of people roved through, sparing neither sex, age, nor rank, whilst they confidently hope to destroy the rest of the human race,

and are endeavouring to rule and lord it alone, trusting to their immense power and unlimited numbers.

The Tartars took to pillage and destruction. By the sudden attacks and assaults of that savage race, which descends like the anger of God, or like lightning, Kiev, the chief city of that Kingdom, was attacked and taken, and the whole of that noble kingdom, which ought to have united itself with that of Hungary, for its defence and protection, but which it carelessly neglected to do, was, after its inhabitants were slain, reduced to a state of utter destruction and desolation.

As we have been informed, and as the rumour of their proceedings, going in advance of them, declares, their innumerable army is divided into three ill-omened portions, and, owing to the Lord's indulging them in their damnable plans, has proceeded thus divided. One of these has been sent through the Prussian territory and entered Poland, where the prince and duke of that country have fallen victims to their exterminating pursuers, and afterwards the whole of that country has been devastated by them. A second portion has entered by Bohemian territory, where it is brought to a stand, having been attacked by the king of that country, who has bravely met it with all the forces at his command; and the third portion of it is overrunning Hungary, adjoining to the Austrian territories.

And we most sincerely adjure your majesty, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the author of our Christian faith, with the most careful solicitude, and by prudent deliberation, to take precautions for the protection of yourself and your kingdom, which may God keep in a state of prosperity, and to prepare as soon as possible a complete force of brave knights and soldiers, and a good supply of arms; and this we beg of you, by the blood of Christ shed for us, and by the ties of relationship, by which we are connected[1]. And let them prepare themselves to fight bravely and prudently in conjunction with us, for the freedom of Christianity; so that by a union of our forces against these enemies, who are now purposing to enter the boundaries of Germany, which is, as it were, the door of Christendom, the victory may be gained, to the honour and renown of the Lord of Hosts (Matthew *English History* I, 341-46).

In 1240 Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, King of England (1216-1272) arrived at Acre on 11th October, at the head of a small expedition. He was horrified at the anarchy between the Hospitallers and the Templars. He left Palestine in May 1241 after gaining little success" (*ibid.* I, 287ff).

William, Earl of Salisbury, grandson of Henry II, King of England (1154-1189), and many other nobles assumed the Cross, led English detachments and went with the Seventh Crusade of Louis IX, King of France (1226-1270), to invade Egypt (*Chronicles* 195 ff; Matthew, *op. cit.* II, 252 ff). Pope Innocent IV (1243-54), placed the

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[1] These words show that the emperor asked for help from the King of England Henry III, but nothing was done.

question of the Mongols on the agenda of the Council of Lyons held in June 1245, and the result was the dispatch of three envoys to the Mongols, but they achieved nothing (Morgan 1986: 179-180).

After a short time the Mongols invaded Baghdad in 1259 and slipped to Syria, but the Moslem forces defeated them in the battle of Ain Jalut in 1260, which had a great effect on the Islamic Near-East, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the European states.

Henry III had taken the Cross with many of his men in the spring of 1250. He induced Pope Innocent IV to allow him to postpone his Crusade to the Holy Land. His son Prince Edward received the Cross from Othobonus, the Papal Legate in 1269 on behalf of both his father and himself, preparing himself to march to the Holy Land (Westminster, *Flowers* 450). Edward, called Longshanks, the eldest son of Henry III and Queen Eleanor, was born at Westminster on 17 of June 1239 (*ibid.* 189). He married the youthful Eleanor, the sister of Alfonso X, king of Castile and Leon (1252-84) (*ibid.* 237). Edward planned to join a Crusade with Louis IX after they heard of the fall of Antioch (1268), but the latter sailed to Tunis where he died in 1270 (*Chronicles* 346-50).

Matthew of Westminster gives good detail about this point saying:
"Edward, a man mighty in arms, and in the flower of youth and beauty, wishing to pay to God the vow which he had vowed, in the month of May set out on his expedition to the Holy Land, and was both followed and preceded by many noble and powerful men. Louis, king of France, was also bound by a similar vow, and he had preceded Edward with a large army of his nation. He, wishing to be enriched by the spoils of the barbarians, steered his fleet towards the kingdom of Tunis; and arriving there with a fair wind, he found an admirably fortified city, which is called Tunis by the inhabitants. To which city the Saracens of that country had all fled, being amazed by the sudden appearance of the numerous army of the Christians. And Edward sailed straight towards Acre, and seeing the island of Sardinia at a distance he put in there; when he received certain intelligence of the death of Louis, king of France, and of the arrival of Charles, king of Sicily. So Edward, supposing that aged prince, Charles, desired nothing but justice, because he ought not to have desired anything else, hastened to Tunis, believing that there was wisdom in old men, and prudence also, in time of necessity. But when he arrived in that country, he found the aforesaid king there with a numerous army. And Edward wishing to destroy the adversaries of the cross of Christ, desired to lead his followers against the city of Tunis, and to storm it. But king Charles hindered him, saying that the Saracens were prepared to give satisfaction, by paying the tribute which had been due to him for seventeen years, ever since the time of Frederick. At the beginning of this arrangement, or rather I should say, of this betrayal of the Christian people,

Louis, king of France, died[2]; whose eldest son, Philip, immediately received the title of king" (Westminster, *op. cit.* II, 450-1)[3].

Matthew adds:

"Accordingly the barbarians[4] sent to the king of Sicily thirty-two camels heavily laden with gold and silver, by which they delivered themselves and their city from imminent danger. After this, Charles and Edward, and the whole of the Christian army, sailed towards Sicily. And when they came near the harbour of the city of Tripoli, they were met by a storm and thrown into great confusion. But the king and the elders of the nobles, escaping danger, arrived, though with great difficulty, in port, but the others perished in the sea, and all the money of the barbarians was lost; the vessels of Edward, whose place was in the centre of the others, being saved as by a miracle, for the angel of the Lord did not advance to smite them, sparing them very deservedly, because he had not coveted the money of the barbarians, but had only desired to restore to the Christians, as far as it depended on him, the land which had been bedewed with the blood of Jesus Christ" (Westminster, *op. cit.* II, 451).

Edward insisted on leading his expedition to the Holy Land, with only about a thousand men, together with his wife, his brother Edmund, a small contingent of Bretons under their count, another one from the low countries under Tedaldo Visconti, Archbishop of Liège. Edward wintered in Sicily and sailed in the following spring (1271) to Cyprus, where he landed on 9 May at the city of Acre (*ibid.* 451; Setton 1969: II, 582). Afterwards Hugh III, king of Cyprus (1267-1284), and Bohemond VI, late prince of Antioch (1252-1268), joined him (Westminster, *op. cit.* II, 451-2). When Edward arrived at Acre, he was horrified by the state of affairs in the Holy Land (Runciman 1953: II, 335); he knew that his army was small, but he hoped to unite the Latin states into a formidable body and then to use the help of the Mongols in making an effective attack on the Moslems.

About the state of the Crusaders, we notice that the hopes raised at the time of Hugh's coronation had met disappointment. Hugh was unpopular with the common at Acre, whom he seems to have offended by his arrogance and tactlessness. The Templars and the Teutonic knights resented his reconciliation with the Montforts and the Hospitallers. His friend, Philip of Montfort, was dead, leaving two untried sons, and the Hospitallers, crippled by the loss of Krak, could give little support (Setton 1969: II, 582).

The Venetians provided the Moslems with arms and the Genoese furnished slaves. Edward punished some of the Venetians who supplied the Moslems with arms and

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[2] Louis died on 25 August 1270.

[3] See e.g. *Chronicles* 346ff; Runciman, 1953: III, 291-2.

[4] al-Mustanṣir, emir of Tunis.

provision. We notice that when Edward arrived in the Holy Land, there were no inland castles left to the Crusaders, so Edward punished those who had corrupted the garrisons (Westminster, *op. cit.* 451-2).

The only hope for Edward was to ally with the Mongols; he sent an embassy to Abaga Ilkhan of Persia (1265-1282), consisting of three Englishmen, Reginald Russell, Godfrey Welles and John Parker. Abaga agreed to send what aid he could. Abaga fulfilled his promise, detaching ten thousand horsemen from his garrisons in Anatolia. They swept down past Aintab into Syria defeating the Turcoman troops that protected Aleppo. The Moslem garrisons of the city fled before them to Hama. The Mongols continued their march to Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān and Apamea. Sultan Baibars (1260-1279) was at Damascus and had a large army. He summoned reinforcements from Egypt, and began to march to face the Mongols on 12 November. They turned back. They were not strong enough to face all the Mameluk army, and, therefore, retired behind the Euphrates, laden with booty (Runciman 1953: II, 336).

During these events, Edward led an expedition and marched out of Acre (Westminster, *op. cit.* II, 443), and passed Mount Carmel to raid the Plain Sharon. But his forces were too few for him to capture the little Moslem fortress of Qaqun, which guarded the road across the hills (Runciman 1953: II, 337). After these events Edward realized that the defeat of the Moslems required a great Crusade and a large Mongol army, and soon saw that he was wasting his time. He advised the Franks to make peace with Baibars, and his agents arranged a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of the remaining lands of the Kingdom of Jerusalem for ten years and ten months. It was signed at Caesarea on May 22, 1271. As a special concession, pilgrims were to be allowed free passage to Nazareth (Setton 1969: II, 583).

Edward began to prepare for departure. On June 16, an assassin, disguised as a native Christian, attempted to murder him in his tent in Acre. He was wounded with a poisoned dagger. It seemed that Baibars sent the assassin for that purpose, but Edward recovered. He discovered that he had lost time, and sailed from Acre in September 1272, after fearing danger from false brethren. He arrived in England to find his father dead on 16 November and became the King of England (1272-1307) (Westminster, *op. cit.* II, 453-4).

We can say that Edward left England with a small army to join King Louis for a Crusade to the Holy Land, but when Louis turned his forces to Tunis, the Crusade failed. Edward insisted on continuing the task and sailed to Acre. He discovered the bad condition of the local Crusaders, their corruption, their non-cooperation and his useless forces. He asked help from the Mongols of Persia to recover Jerusalem. After their defeat in Ain Jalut battle, and their conflict with the Golden Hord, they forgot their superiority, accepted Edward's call and sent insufficient forces to attack Northern Syria. Meanwhile, Edward assaulted the Moslem Land near Acre without harmony with the Mongols. We can consider the Mongol-Crusader attack on the Moslem land a military show-off, not a military operation.

Because Edward was interested in the Holy Land, he entrusted the prior of the English Hospitallers, Joseph of Chauncy, to supply him with the news of passing events in Palestine after he himself had quitted the Holy Land. In September 1281 there was a great Mongol invasion of Syria; one raid commanded by the Ilkhan in person, the second under his brother Mang Timer. Sultan Qalawun (1280-1290) (Setton 1969: II, 586), seriously alarmed, had already gone to Damascus where he assembled his forces, and hurried to meet the Mongol. On 30 October the Mongol and Mameluk armies met just outside Homs. The more responsible statesmen of Western Europe, such as Edward, advocated an alliance with the Mongols, but the only allies that the Mongols found in Syria were the Armenians of Cilicia and the Order of the Hospitals. Shortly, the result was a great victory of the Sultan (Runciman 1953: III, 391-2).

Joseph of Chauncy was present at the battle and wrote afterwards to King Edward to describe it, but his narrative may perhaps have been a little coloured in favour of the Mongols. He said that King Hugh of Cyprus and Prince Bohemond VII (1275-1287) "not being yet come up could join the Tartars, nor they send to us as they had settled to do" (Chauncy, *Letter* V, 7). Edward sent to Joseph saying:

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to his dearest in Christ and faithful secretary, brother Joseph de Chauncy, greeting: For the accounts which you have sent us in your letters[5] from the Holy Land we give you great thanks, because we are made the more joyful the oftener we hear good news of that land and its condition: the which we vehemently wish and desire to hear more frequently[6].

Concerning your own estate, which may the Most High prosper, we desire that you certify us thereof by frequent notification[7]. Given at Worcester on the 20th day of May, in the tenth year of our region' [1282]" (Edward, *Letter* V, 14-15).

In 1285 Arghun, Ilkhan of Persia (1284-91) wrote to Pope Honorius IV (1285-87) to suggest common action against the Mameluks in Syria and Egypt, but he received no answer. In 1287 Arghun decided to send an embassy to Europe; he sent Rabban Sauma, who took the way to Constantinople, Naples by sea; and finding the Pope dead on arriving in Rome, Rabban left for Tuscany, on to Genoa, and Paris, and met Philip the Fair, King of France (1285-1314). The result of the tour was to meet Edward in Bordeaux, to put a plan of alliance with the whole of Europe to recover the Holy Land. Edward welcomed the Mongol envoy but he took no action (Runciman 1953: III, 398; Omran 1997: 259).

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[5] This means that Joseph had sent more than one letter before.

[6] Edward's impression was that the Mongols were victorious, and this was contrary to the truth.

[7] Edward here asked Joseph to continue sending him news about the Holy Land.

In 1289 Arghun sent Buscarel of Gisolf to the Pope Nicholas IV (1288-92), to Philip the Fair and to Edward. Arghun asked for an alliance with a Crusade. Neither of them could give any promise. In spite of the unpromising answer with which Buscarel returned, Arghun sent him once again with two Christian Mongols, Andrew Zagan and Sahadin. They went first to Rome, where the Pope received them, and then set out to visit King Edward, armed with urgent letters from the Pope, who seemed to have considered him a likelier Crusader than King Philip. The embassy reached him early in 1291, but Edward was immersed in Scottish affairs (Runciman 1953: II, 402). After a short time the fate of the Holy Land had been decided, and the Mameluks became the masters of the field.

To conclude, Edward was a likelier Crusader; he held the cross on behalf of both his father and himself. He planned with King Louis IX a Crusade to recover Jerusalem, but the diversion of Louis to Tunis corrupted the plan. He insisted on leading his forces to the Holy Land. In spite of his small army, and the corrupted state of local Crusaders, he asked help from the Mongols. The Mongol army came to help King Edward, but the result was nothing because of the lack of harmony between the Mongols and the Crusaders, and the good defence of the Mameluk forces.

When Edward discovered that he had lost time, he returned to England. Because of his interest in the Holy Land, he entrusted an English Hospitaller to supply him with news of passing events in Palestine. This Hospitaller sent him false news about the battle of Homs, which Edward considered good news. The Mongols sent Edward envoys begging an alliance to recover Jerusalem, but he was too immersed in the internal affairs of both England and Scotland. The battle of Ain Jalut left a great impact on the Islamic Near-East, because the Mameluks became the first military power in the region. The complete restoration of the Holy Land started after the battle of Ain Jalut, and was confirmed by the diversion of King Louis IX and King Edward I to Carthage. In 1291, Moslems fully recovered the Holy Land.

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CRUSADER TOWERS OF THE *TERRE DE CALIFE* AND ITS VICINITY

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"My wellbeloved hath a vineyard
in a very fruitful hill:
And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof,
and planted it with the choicest vine,
and built a tower in the midst of it ..."

(Isaiah 5.1-2)

On the territory once called by the Crusaders the *Terre de Calife* and in the close proximity to it lie the remains of a special kind of Crusader settlement in the form of relatively small towers with subsidiary buildings adjoining them in some cases. The aim of this short study is to draft some general observations of these remains; their history, their structure and of the functions they once fulfilled, and so to attempt to shed some light on the area in the days of the Crusades.

This paper concentrates on seven towers: 1. Qalᶜat Yaḥmūr (the Crusader Chastel Rouge) — 2. Burǧ Mīᶜār — 3. Tuḫla — 4. Qalᶜat Umm Ḥūš — 5. Burǧ ᶜArab — 6. Burǧ Zārā — 7. Burǧ Maqṣūr. These towers belong to one specific group of Crusader structures. The remains of the seven towers concerned in this study I have visited in the summer of 1995, with the exception of the tower of Tuḫla which has documentation fairly enough to be incorporated.

Location and general historical background

The *Terre de Calife* lies in the southern littoral of present day Syria. The strategic importance of the area can hardly be overestimated. The Crusader states during the most part of their existence were concentrated mainly on the "*sāḥil*", the littoral area of the Levant. This territory has important natural defences: a long mountain range separates it from the interior of Syria as part of the western boundary of the East–African Rift System stretching from the Taurus Mountains of Southern Turkey to the Gulf of ᶜAqaba. One of the few easy ways of approach from the interior of Syria to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea is through the Homs - Tripoli gap; a plain some 10 km wide known by the name Buqayᶜa in the Arab sources dividing the Anṣāriyya mountains from the Mountains of Lebanon (Van Berchem 1914: 42), thus providing a good road to the hearth of the smallest Crusader state; the County of Tripoli. Immediately to the north of the western side of the entrance of this gap lies the fertile area dotted with hills, which the Crusaders called the *Terre de Calife* deriving its name from the Nahr al-Ḫalīfa that flows through the territory (Dussaud

1927: 94). In the 12th and 13th centuries this area formed part of the County of Tripoli (Richard 1945: 1).

The location of the territory had heavy effects on its history in two ways. Above all, after the Crusaders acquired it around the year 1110 (Deschamps 1973: 307), it was exposed to the attacks of the Muslim powers of Syria.

It would be an impossible task to reconstruct the precise history of each tower individually owing to the lack of sources. Of the seven towers concerned, only two: Qal'at Yaḥmūr and Burğ Mī'ār are mentioned in the medieval sources, and only in the case of Qal'at Yaḥmūr do we know the Crusader name, which was Chastel Rouge[1]. The other towers — equally evidently Crusader constructions — seem to be totally missing from the contemporary documentation. However the Arab sources make a few references to "towers" or to obviously less important "other castles" occupied together with the main castles of the area during Muslim military operations. As the towers usually had a series of buildings around them, often connected with a curtain wall to form one defensive unit, it is not surprising that they are no longer referred to as mere towers, but as castles. The indication of their reduced importance is in the fact that they are not named individually. While the muslim victory accounts of the age rarely miss to enumerate every castle of considerable size or importance taken from the enemy, they seldom mention lesser forts and towers, and the seven towers concerned fall to this latter category. The main castles nearest to these towers were the famous Crac des Chevaliers (today: Ḥiṣn al-Akrād), Chastel Blanc (today: Ṣāfītā), Arima (today: Qal'at 'Arīma) and Tortosa (today: Ṭarṭūs). When a chronicle tells us that these were occupied with a number of other castles, one might rightly suspect the forts of the *Terre de Calife* to be amongst them. Yet information is still too scarce to permit the drawing of at least general statistics on how many times these towers were affected by muslim military operations[2].

According to the contemporary sources we must count with more than a dozen of Muslim attacks directed against this part of the County of Tripoli during the nearly two centuries of its existence. The line was opened in 1137 by the Damascene *amīr* Baswāğ (Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Damascus Chronicle* 241). In 1138 'Imād ad-Dīn Zankī, (Ibn al-Atīr, *at-Tārīḫ al-bāhir* 57) in 1148 (Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Damascus Chronicle* 288; Ibn al-Atīr, *at-Tārīḫ al-bāhir* 90), 1152 (Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Damascus*

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[1] In the contemporary latin sources Yaḥmūr is referred to as Castrum Rubrum, and it was E. Guillaume Rey who "invented" the Frankish name analogously to the preserved frankish place-name of the nearby templar fortress of Chastel Blanc (Deschamps 1973: 317).

[2] As the individual names are not mentioned, one cannot be entirely sure which towers were attacked and which remained safe during a raid. Furthermore towers could sometimes repel the siege and were not necessarily occupied. In addition to these, the sources are not consequent: sometimes they just mention "other forts", at other times they give the number of the occupied towers, or in the case of Chastel Rouge and Mī'ār even mention the name.

Chronicle 312; Ibn al-Atīr, *at-Tārīḫ al-bāhir* 110), 1167 (Ibn al-Atīr, *Kāmil* X, 5) and 1171 (Ibn al-Atīr, *at-Tārīḫ al-bāhir* 154-155) his son Nūr ad-Dīn conducted his armies against the Crusader territories behind the Buqayʿa. The famous sultan Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn raided the coastal plain in 1180, (William of Tyre, *History* II, 447-449) then in 1188 his army marched through here during its victorious northern campaign (Abū Šāma, *Rawdatayn* II, 126). Two devastating raids were conducted by the latter Ayyubids, one in 1207 by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriǧ al-kurūb* III, 173), the other in 1218 by al-Malik al-Ašraf (*ibid.* III, 265). The last decade of the Crusader domination in the region was interrupted by the restless military activity of the Mamluk sultan Baybars. His attacks took place in the years 1260-61 (Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids* II, 45), 1266 (Ibn ʿAbdazzāhir, *Rawd* 252; Abū Šāma, *Dayl* 239-240), 1268 (Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids* II, 113-118), 1270 (*ibid.* II, 139-140) and finally in 1271 (*ibid.* II, 143-144). The detailed examination of these military movements is beyond the scope of this paper. Though it is sometimes hard to make clear distinctions, the majority of the attacks should be regarded as raiding expeditions, rather than major campaigns. Their main aim was the destruction of the resources of the enemy and not the permanent occupation of the territory. They rarely wasted time on besieging the main strongholds of the area, but the occupation of towers and less important castles was not infrequent. In 1137 the Damascenes "... captured the castle of Wādī Ibn al-Aḥmar amongst others." (Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Damascus Chronicle* 241)[3]. In 1152 Nūr ad-Dīn having captured Tortosa, "... took possession of a number of other castles..." (*ibid.* 312). In the year 1166 Nūr ad-Dīn took a number of the important castles in the northern part of the County of Tripoli, including Chastel Blanc and Arima and his troops devastated the surrounding area (Ibn al-Atīr, *Kāmil* IX, 5). It was also him who in 1171 while besieging ʿArqa "... sent a part of the ʿaskar to the castles of Ṣāfītā (Chastel Blanc) and ʿArīma, and took them by force, and similarly he took others as well" (Ibn al-Atīr, *at-Tārīḫ al-bāhir* 154-155). During his campaign in 1188 Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn "... ordered raids to be started against the castle (the Crac des Chevaliers), against Ṣāfītā, ʿArīma and the like, and brought out what was stored in them. He took Ḥiṣn Yaḥmūr and the raids did not cease as long as they camped in this territory till the end of the month" (Abū Šāma, *Rawdatayn* II, 126). The next Arab report on the fall of less important forts (here expressly towers) comes from the year 1266, when the army of Baybars took three castles and no less than sixteen towers in the northern part of the County of Tripoli (Abū Šāma, *Dayl* 239-240). It was sultan Baybars who began the systematic reconquest of the region. The larger part of the area, together with the *Terre de Calife* reverted to Muslim hands in the beginning of the year 1271, when its major castles; Chastel Blanc and the Crac des Chevaliers fell. As

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[3] Jean Richard attempted to identify the castle of Wādī Ibn al-Aḥmar with Chastel Rouge (Richard 1945: 65, n. 2).

Ibn al–Furāt reported: "He then took over Safitha and its territory together with the forts and towers in the neighbourhood of Hisn al-Akrād, such as Tell Khalifa and others. God knows better" (Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids* II, 144). In all probability only one tower–fort escaped this fate in 1271. This was Chastel Rouge. It fell only in 1289, the year in which Tripoli was taken from the Crusaders by sultan Qalāwūn (Müller-Wiener 1984: 64).

The Gap of Homs was not only the clashing point of the forces of East and West, but it was also a point of collision between the African and Arabian Plates which manifested itself in the form of serious earthquakes, the most devastating ones being in the years 1157 (Ibn al-Atīr, *at-Tārīḫ al-bāhir* 110; Talās 1990: 198–199), 1170 (William of Tyre, *History* II, 370–371) and 1202 (Abū Šāma, *Dayl* 29).

The structure of the towers

The Crusaders adopted several local practices during their long stay in the Levant, but they also brought the traditions of their homelands. This clearly manifests itself in their tower fortresses discussed here. Their prototypes are in all probability those castles of Northern–France which combined a tower–keep and a fortified enclosure. (Pringle 1986: 15).

Though the towers in the region of the *Terre de Calife* are uniform in general design, they show quite a diversity in their details; both in their architectural arrangement and in the masonry employed. The restricted length of this paper makes only a general description possible.

The towers are in most cases entirely stone structures with quite similar external dimensions. Deschamps gave the basic area of three towers; that of the tower of Tuhla is 14 m x 12.8 m, the tower of Burǧ ʿArab is 14 m x 13.4 m, and the tower of Chastel Rouge is 15 m x 14 m (Deschamps 1973: 328). These proportions[4] show a marked preference for the square or almost square plans, over elongated ones[5].

As nearly all the Crusader towers of the Holy Land, the towers of the *Terre de Calife* and its vicinity consist of two vaulted levels[6]. The ground floor is always barrel vaulted, with the only exception of Chastel Rouge which has groin vault. The first floors are vaulted with groin vault, except in the case of Burǧ Maqsūr, having a simple barrel vault on both its ground and first floors. In Tuhla and in Chastel

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[4] There is no data on the basic area of the other towers of which Burǧ Zārā is the only well preserved one. It clearly belongs to the group of towers with a square or almost square base. In the case of the remaining three towers, all of which lack at least one of their facades, only excavations could produce the lacking data.

[5] It supports the argument of Denys Pringle, who was the first to verify this tendency on the Crusader towers of Palestine (Pringle 1994: 339).

[6] At Burǧ Mīʿār all that remains is the vaulted undercroft of the tower, but given the surviving remains, its very improbable to have consisted of three vaulted levels.

Rouge there were also wooden floors — as can be clearly detected from the putlog holes in the walls and from the positioning of some of the openings — dividing the large internal space and creating an additional floor. Tuḥla had this wooden mezzanine floor on both levels (Rey 1871: 101, fig. 29), while the tower of Chastel Rouge had it only on its first floor. This seems to be a local device as no examples of it are found outside Syria (Pringle 1994: 339). These two towers are exceptional amongst the concerned ones in other respects as well. Below Tuḥla one can find a cistern carved into the rock, and in Chastel Rouge the four bays of groin–vaults on each floor spring from great central piers. Probably every tower had some kind of crenellation.

The positioning of the doors and the connection between the two levels of the towers is quite various on those, that have sufficient remains or records to inspect. In Chastel Rouge the two levels were reached by individual doors, opening on two opposite sides of the tower. There was no internal connection between the ground and first floors, while the roof could be reached by an internal staircase, running in the thickness of the north wall[7]. A very similar arrangement of the entrances can be seen in Burǧ ʿArab[8]. Though its only a hypothesis, and an excavation will provide the definite answer, Qalʿat Umm Ḥūš might have had the same arrangement as Chastel Rouge and Burǧ ʿArab. In my opinion the large opening of the first–floor on the south wall was the entrance of the towers main living area, and there must have been another entrance to the basement, opening on the northern side of the tower[9]. The tower of Burǧ Zārā had only one entrance, and that was on the ground floor. The first floor could be reached by an internal staircase. The communication between the different levels of the tower of Tuḥla was rendered by a combination of wooden ladders and staircases running in the thickness of the walls (Rey 1871: 102).

The masonry construction of the seven towers follows the usual Crusader practice: the thick walls of the towers were built with two facings of limemortared ashlar enclosing a rubble core bonded with plentiful mortar. The rusticated ashlars so popular in the 12th century Crusader architecture are totally missing or are restricted to the quoins of the towers, which latter fact is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the 12th century Crusader rural structures (Ellenblum 1992: 171–172). The stone types employed, generally follow the geological conditions of the area (Richard 1945: 2)[10], they are either limestone (Chastel Rouge, Burǧ Mīʿār and Tuḥla) or

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[7] Further examination is needed to resolve the questions which the positioning of this stairway poses (Pringle 1986: 17).

[8] I could not enter yet the first floor of the tower still used for domestic purposes and I have no information on how the roof could be reached.

[9] For explanation see the paragraph on the residential and administrative functions of the towers.

[10] See the geological map of the County of Tripoli: Deschamps 1973.

basalt stone (Burǧ Zārā and Burǧ Maqṣūr), and in the walls of Qalʿat Umm Ḥūš and Burǧ ʿArab the two types are mixed. The quality of the masonry shows significant differences giving some indication on the financial capacities of the owners. While the keep of Chastel Rouge and Burǧ Mīʿār is built of very finely cut ashlars, the same can't be told about Burǧ ʿArab built in a much poorer quality[11].

The masonry of the towers of Qalʿat Umm Ḥūš, Burǧ Zārā and Burǧ Maqṣūr shows differing parts indicating more than one construction phase, or perhaps re-buildings after the earthquakes or the demolitions of the enemy raids and campaigns so frequent in this area. In the walls of Burǧ ʿArab and Burǧ Zārā some byzantine spolia can be detected in the form of huge ashlars, well cut stone frames and the cover of a sarcophagus (Deschamps 1973: 327).

The settlement

The presence of the towers of the *Terre de Calife* and its vicinity with their dis-tinctively Crusader features described above is clearly indicating some form of Cru-sader presence in the countryside. The building of these towers might have been evoked by two factors.

To the contrary of the European practice, the overwhelming majority of the Cru-sader society was living in the well fortified towns, most of which was to be found in the coastal area (Prawer 1972: 66–67). Yet in the formative period of the Crusader states; that means the first decades of the 12th century, the Europeans tried to intro-duce a system familiar to that of their homeland (*ibid.* 65). The seigneurs of indivi-dual territories enfeoffed certain proportions of land to their followers especially in fertile areas like the *Terre de Calife*[12]. Chastel Rouge in our territory was in the hands of the Montolieu family, provençal vassals of the count of Tripoli when the Hospitallers received it in the year 1177 (Deschamps 1973: 317; du Cange 1869: 557). The knightly families built small defensive structures in the centres of their estates, just like the remains described above.

There was a parallel move to this. As it is documented in some areas of the King-dom of Jerusalem (Prawer 1980: 120–142) authorities made serious attempts to settle certain areas with European population. The European rural settlements were forti-fied some way (Prawer 1972: 83)[13]. Amongst the simplest methods was the construc-tion of a tower serving as a place of refuge in times of danger (Pringle 1997: 398).

These attempts however ended in failure (Prawer 1980: 142). The majority of these lesser vassals became bankrupted in the "land of perpetual war". By the second

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[11] It must be kept in mind of course, that volcanic stones are much harder to work, than the limestone.

[12] See the case of the Plain of Sharon (Pringle 1986).

[13] al–Bīra can be taken as the typical case for a Frankish 'new town' (Pringle 1985: 147–148).

half of the 12th century their castles were usually taken over by the Military Orders, which possessed the resources to cope in an increasingly hostile environment. After the victories of Ṣalāh ad–Dīn it became very risky for any part of the European population to live in the countryside, away from the centres of the coast. Towers like the ones considered "went out of fashion" and though not all of them was abandoned, they remained a reminiscence of a 12th century project in the Levantine landscape[14].

The establishment of the military orders took place quite early in the northern part of the County of Tripoli which became — with some exaggeration — the lordship of the Orders; the Hospitallers', centred on their mighty castle of the Crac des Chevaliers[15] and the Templars'[16] with their headquarters based in Tortosa. It is almost sure that the 12th century towers of the *Terre de Calife* also formed an integral part of the Hospitaller and Templar possessions, as this was the case with nearly all the forts and casals of the area, of which Crusader documentation survived[17].

Functions

Though these tower fortresses seem to be extremely small compared with the nearby fortification complexes of the Military Orders, they fulfilled several important functions.

1. Defensive function:

Naturally the most important function any fortress fulfilled was the defensive role it played in providing refugee to the inhabitants of a certain region. These small towers were not impregnable at all, but they offered useful protection against the countless raiding expeditions their territories were exposed to. Mounted warriors usually didn't waste their time besieging towers which took precious time so diminishing the surprise nature of the raids. There was also the danger that a relieving force might appear meanwhile. But if the attacking force decided to begin a siege the defenders

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[14] Apart from the typology, the way of execution and the historical context, another fact supports the dating of at least one tower to the 12th century; the engraving of a cross on one of the blocks of Burǧ ʿArab, the parallel of which can be found on the wall of the Frankish church of Amioun, dated to the 12th century (Deschamps 1973: 327).

[15] For the acquisition of the castle and the lordship around it in 1142 see Richard 1945: 62; Röhricht 1887: 259–260.

[16] The templars acquired the city of Tortosa which became the nucleus of their properties in 1152 (Riley–Smith 1969: 278–287).

[17] See the map entitled "Carte des environs du Crac des Chevaliers" which shows the distribution of the properties of the Military Orders in the area extending from Valenie to Tripoli (Deschamps 1973).

couldn't hope to resist too long[18]. The best example for the vulnerability of the towers can be quoted from Abū Šāma, whose report tells that in the year 1266 the raiding forces of Baybars took no less than 16 Frankish towers in the area of the Gap of Homs (Abū Šāma, _Dayl_ 239–240).

Though the architects tried to employ much of the possible defensive devices they could on this small scale, the nature of defence these towers possessed remained passive. The defenders relying on their supplies accumulated in the tower waited until the marauders left. As the main strength of the towers lay in the thickness of their walls, broken by only a few openings (not to weaken the wall too seriously) they could not put up a much harder resistance even if they wanted to[19].

An additional element of defence was the employment of the machiculis above the main openings of the towers. The defence of the entrance of Tuḥla was strengthened this way, and the corbels still hanging over the ground–floor entrance of Chastel Rouge and over the first–floor opening on the south wall of Qalʿat Umm Ḥūš indicate the existence of box–machicolations in these cases as well. At the first–floor entrance of Chastel Rouge and at the entrance of Burǧ Zārā one can find a slot–machicolation above the entrances in the thickness of the wall.

At certain sites the towers don't stand alone. The best preserved example of a curtain wall surrounding the tower can be seen at Chastel Rouge. The careful interrelation of the tower and enclosure is proven by the positioning of the arrow slits as well. They are highly concentrated on the southern side of the tower, facing the only gate of the enclosure. In the first half of our century Deschamps noted the traces of trenches around Burǧ Maqsūr (Deschamps 1973: 327) and its very probable, that the subsidiary buildings around Qalʿat Umm Ḥūš were connected into a defensive line by means of a curtain wall[20].

2. Residential and administrative functions:

In all probability this category of towers — with regard to the function — were also built to fulfil the residential and administrative needs of a lesser vassal in the centre of his estates. The towers were built by vassals of a seigneur as was outlined above, but it seems very probable that most of these knights and their families lived

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[18] The tower of Būria in Palestine fell to the ground in the space of four hours, after the Muslims "put up mighty efforts to undermine it" in the year 1182 (William of Tyre, _History_ II, 470).

[19] On the ground floor the number of surviving openings is divided between few real arrow–slits and windows for admitting light and air. In the case of the surviving first floor rooms the tendency seemed to have no more than one arrow–slit on one surface of each floor, like at Tuḥla, Qalʿat Umm Ḥūš, Burǧ ʿArab. At Burǧ Zārā we find a pair of symmetrically arranged arrow–slits in each wall of the first–floor. First–floor arrow–slits are quite concentrated at Chastel Rouge, on the south wall, which faces the gate of the enceinte. See the plans and cross sections of Chastel Rouge: Pringle 1986: 16.

[20] Kennedy registers that Tuḥla is surrounded by outbuildings (Kennedy 1994: 77).

only for a short period here or never moved to the countryside at all (Marshall 1992: 127). In some cases we have data from the Kingdom of Jerusalem of stewards using these towers as the administrative centre of the surrounding district (Pringle 1997: 398), but in our territory this type of documentation is missing, and one has to rely mainly on the architectural analysis.

However, it was not only the adjoining vaulted halls in the centre of an estate that could fulfil repository function. In many cases these outbuildings never existed or left no trace at all. The basements of the towers could also serve as stores (Pringle 1994: 340). These ground–floor halls are very badly lit. Their few, small slit windows are just enough to provide a minimal light and some ventilation needed for the accumulated crops, but not enough to serve as living–quarters in contrast to the better–lit first-floor rooms. Accepting the repository function of the ground–floors of the towers and the residential of the first–floors, we might find a possible solution for the puzzling fact that in spite of all defensive deliberations, at the relatively small towers of the considered region either there are two entrances; one on the ground-floor and one on the first–floor[21] or there is only one entrance, but that only entrance can be found exclusively on the ground–floor, and not higher. It was more practical to move the goods directly into their final destination, than to lift and carry it on a longer way, through the living quarter of the owner or his steward down to the basement. Having an entrance on the ground–floor would solve this problem. Could the administrative, repository function of a tower be so important as to counterweight the requirements of defence to this extent?[22].

Though indirectly, both one Latin and some Arab sources confirm to some extent the repository function of the towers of the *Terre de Calife* and its wider vicinity. A letter of the papal legate, Simon reports that during the raiding expedition of Baybars against the County of Tripoli in the year 1266, the marauders destroyed houses and the local mill in a village belonging to Simon, but they did not attempt to break into a tower in which his goods were stored (Ibn al–Furāt, *Ayyubids* 211, n. 3). In 1188 the Muslim raiders "...brought out what was stored in..." the forts occupied (Abū Šā-ma, *Rawdatayn* II, 126). In 1207 the soldiers of al–ʿĀdil got into the tower of Aʿnāz in the Buqayʿa and "took five hundred men plus great quantity of goods and arms" (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriǧ al–kurūb* III, 173).

In contrast to the simple execution of the ground floors, the first–floors are more suited for everyday living. The cross–vaulted chambers are more spacious and have

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[21] The weakening static effect of this was reduced by the architect in the simplest way; he placed the two entrances on the opposite sides of the towers, as can be seen on the two surviving examples of Chastel Rouge and Burǧ ʿArab.

[22] This assumption and the new questions which it evokes need to be answered in a detailed study after a longer visit to all the sites of the region, and a more thorough study in the written sources.

more openings to admit light. The size of the first–floor living areas of the towers may give some indication on their possible uses, and professor Pringle performed the comparison of the Palestinian crusader towers (Pringle 1994: 341–347). Though only Chastel Rouge, Tuḥla and Burǧ ʿArab are measured, and in the latter case only externally, it is worth to consider the data. The internal area of the first-floor of Chastel Rouge is about 129.5 m², Tuḥla's is around 56 m² and as the external dimensions of Burǧ ʿArab are almost identical to that of Tuḥla, we might suppose that the internal ones can't be very different either. Using the breaking–point of 61–70 m² established by Pringle between the so called hall–keeps and the much smaller solar keeps its clear that Chastel Rouge was a hall–keep. We must remember however, that both Chastel Rouge and Tuḥla had a mezzanine floor which doubled the basic area, making it possible to record Tuḥla among the hall–keeps. Whether Burǧ ʿArab had such a device, only an internal inspection can answer[23].

The numbers are just indicators, and the possibility that certain solar–keeps were used as the residences of vassals of poorer status can't be excluded. Chastel Rouge however illustrates how well the theory accords with the historical reality. The owners of the enormous hall–keep; the Montolieu family produced members of rank for the aristocracy of the county (du Cange 1869: 557).

3. Policing function:

The sources concerning the Crusader period are witnesses to a quite peaceful co-existence of the different races of the Crusader states during most of their existence. However it is a proven fact that an unbridgeable gap existed between the ruling Frankish society and the conquered Muslim population, which often manifested itself in times of stress. The danger of uprisings existed (Prawer 1985: 59–115). The towers of the *Terre de Calife* spreading between the major castles of the area could also have served to keep the Crusader control tighter and help the process of taxation. As small control-posts some of them might have kept a check on the trade passing between the *sāḥil* and the interior of Syria. According to the map of Dussaud which attempts to reconstruct the medieval routes, Chastel Rouge lied directly on the road that led from Hama to the coast town of Tortosa (Dussaud 1927: map XIV).

4. Centres of colonization?

Attempts of colonizing the desolated countryside with settlers from Europe is relatively well documented in some areas of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Prawer 1980: 102-142), but this activity is still doubtful in the *Terre de Calife* owing to the lack of sources. The rural settlements of the Europeans were always fortified in some way.

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[23] It seems from the positioning of the first–floor door that the internal height of the room is quite large, and the existence of a mezzanine floor can't be excluded altogether.

Either they had some kind of curtain wall, or had a fortified tower, yet not every tower can be interpreted as the remainder of a latin village. A far better indicator is the existence of latin churches. According to the testimony of the agreement between the master of the Templars Everard de Barres and Bishop Wiliam of Tortosa in 1152, the existence of such churches cannot be denied in the region. The names enumerated in the document are identified with places other than the seven towers, but one place-name: Castrum Novum is still unidentified (Riley–Smith 1969: 285).

The tower forts once conquered by the enemy could also serve as bases of his settling the area with the appropriate population (Marshall 1992: 206). In Palestine the fortresses of Qāqūn, the Red Tower and Calansue fulfilled this function (*ibid.*). On our territory Burǧ Mīʿār might have had a similar task after it fell to the Muslims. The fort of Burǧ Mīʿār of which only a vaulted undercroft of a tower can be seen today[24], was listed among the muslim possessions in 3 texts of the treaties between sultan Qalāwūn and the leadership of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the County of Tripoli (ʿAbdazẓāhir, *Tasrīf* 21; 38; 210; Gabrielli, *Arab Historians* 324). It could have been a frontier post of considerable importance as Chastel Rouge a few kilometres away was still held by the Crusaders at that time.

5. Parts of a signalling system?

It has been proved and is generally accepted, that the defensive system of the Crusaders does not reflect a homogenous conception, above all because there was no power in these states to carry through such (Smail 1956: 204–208). The towers of the *Terre de Calife* were also built by individuals acting to their own will, building their towers wherever they wanted to. But once they were built they could have been used for observation and signalling as well, especially when they were possibly concentrated in the hands of the Military Orders. Most of them command the surrounding area in 360 degrees. It would be an important project to make a carefully detailed study of the area both on the field and both from the surviving sources) to answer the question; to what extent were these towers used as parts of a signalling system?

Though my visit to the area was short and more work on the sources may yield interesting results in the future, some preliminary observations might be ventured. As was stated most of the towers are in a good position of observation, but the best observation point in the region is the dungeon of the once enormous templar castle of Chastel Blanc, which is situated 380 metres high on the emergence of a long spur.

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[24] The tower had at least a first-floor room, which collapsed around the year 1914. (Ḥannā: 63).

As one can experience, Chastel Blanc can be seen from all the seven towers, with the exception of Chastel Rouge[25].

From Chastel Blanc one can even see the peaks of the Lebanon in good weather conditions. However this is not entirely characteristic of the region receiving very high humidity from the neighbouring sea. Even in the middle of summer it is not surprising to meet haze or fog. Another factor makes indispensable to have more observation points than a few castles scattered in a vast territory. The majority of the raiding parties departed in the evening to reach its target at dawn, travelling at night making use of the covering of darkness and the low night temperatures (Marshall 1992: 197). In this case the commanding position of Chastel Blanc alone was of little use, but it was harder to bypass the environs of the densely placed towers without being noticed. Noticing the approaching enemy in time was not of minor importance. Time was needed to accumulate the goods of a given region into the safety of a tower[26]. If the area of the towers was attacked directly the population taking shelter in a tower could ask for a relieving force to be sent from the numerous garrison of Chastel Blanc[27].

The signalling could be done either by fire or by the way of pigeons. Several examples demonstrate, that the Crusaders used both (Deschamps 1973: 155). One report of the Crusader pigeon post in action comes just from the territory of Chastel Blanc (*ibid*)[28].

As in the case of several points in the military architecture and military sciences the parallels of the signalling system in the form of watchtowers can be found on the muslim side as well. One noteworthy example was established to the east of the Buqayᶜa just opposite to the *Terre de Calife*. Ibn Wāṣil notes in his necrology of al-Malik al-Muǧāhid, the ruler of Homs that the *amīr* who had much trouble on account of the raids of the Hospitallers of the Crac des Chevaliers, ordered towers to be built

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[25] In this respect Chastel Blanc gains much more importance than the famous Crac des Chevaliers from which one can see Chastel Blanc but cannot see the majority of towers concerned, because of a neighbouring ridge that closes down the view. See the map attached to the study which contains the visibility list of Deschamps (excluding the visual connections of the castle of ᶜAkkār), and my personal observations, concentrating on the visibility between the towers. The map naturally is far from complete, and more visibility lines can be drawn, including more places after longer journey to the area.

[26] Lingering could result in the serious weakening of a regions economic potential; examples quoted by Molin (1997: 380).

[27] Ibn al-Furāt's account indicates, that the garrison of Chastel Blanc was numerous enough to conduct sallies against the raiding detachments of Baybars' in the year of 1266 (Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids* II, 86).

[28] Its interesting to note that while Baybars had to build several watchtowers with pigeon posts on the highway between Damascus and Homs, his improvement of the pigeon post system in the northern territories of the county of Tripoli is recorded only in ᶜAkkār (Ibn Šaddād, *Tārīḫ al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir* 357).

between them and the Muslims, to prevent the Franks from reaching the territory of Homs unnoticed (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriǧ al-kurūb* V, 254).

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I hope that in this short paper I could provide some general sketches on the *Terre de Calife* and its vicinity and could direct the attention to a territory which deserves more elaborate research programs and study.

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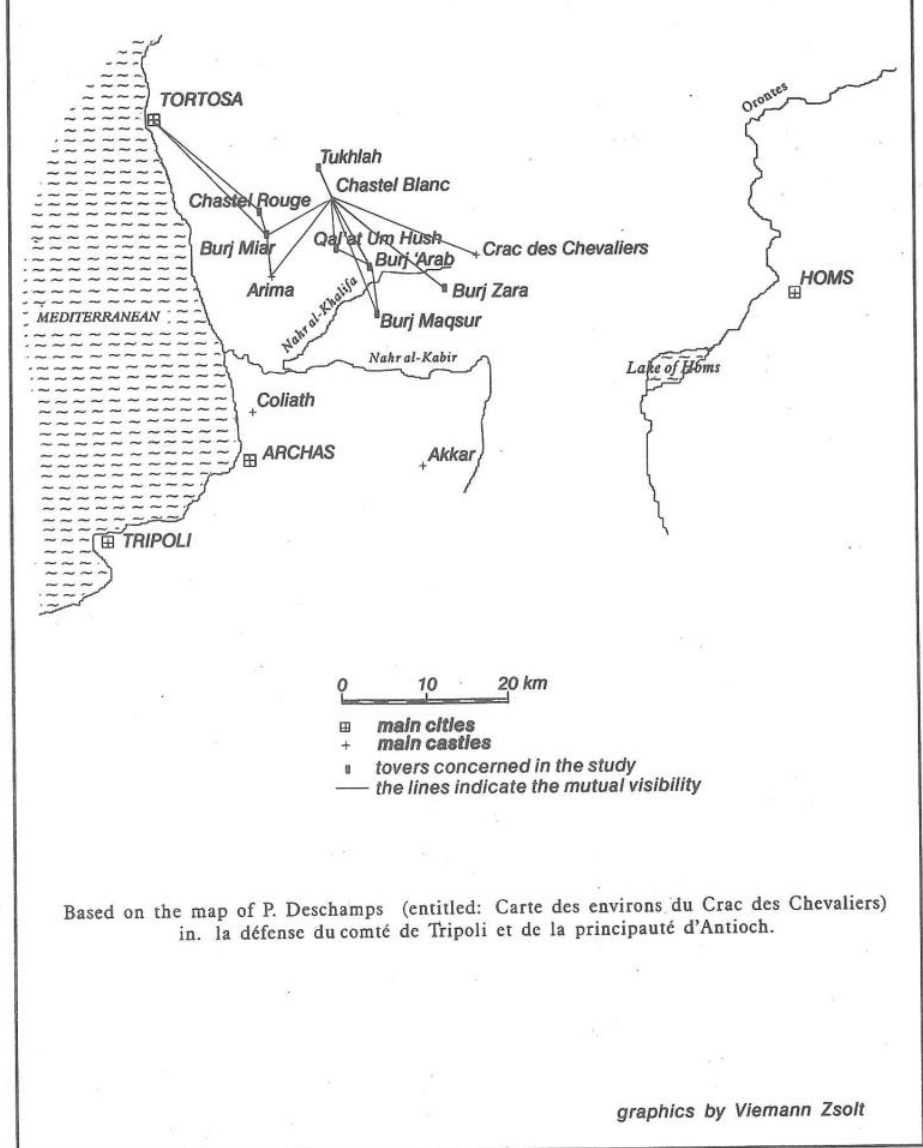
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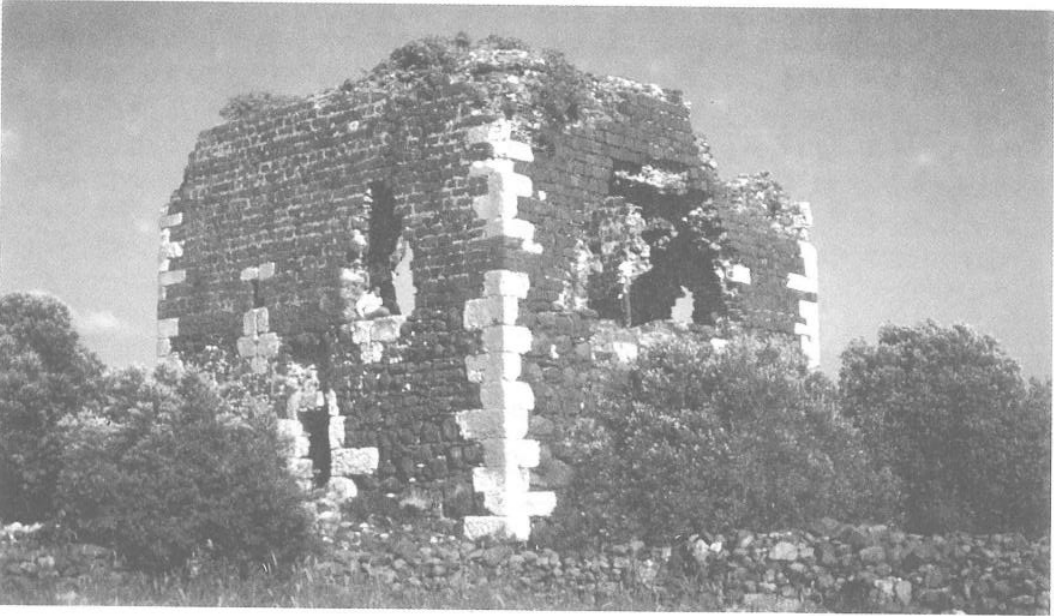   and Studies, 25*.) New York. 1976.

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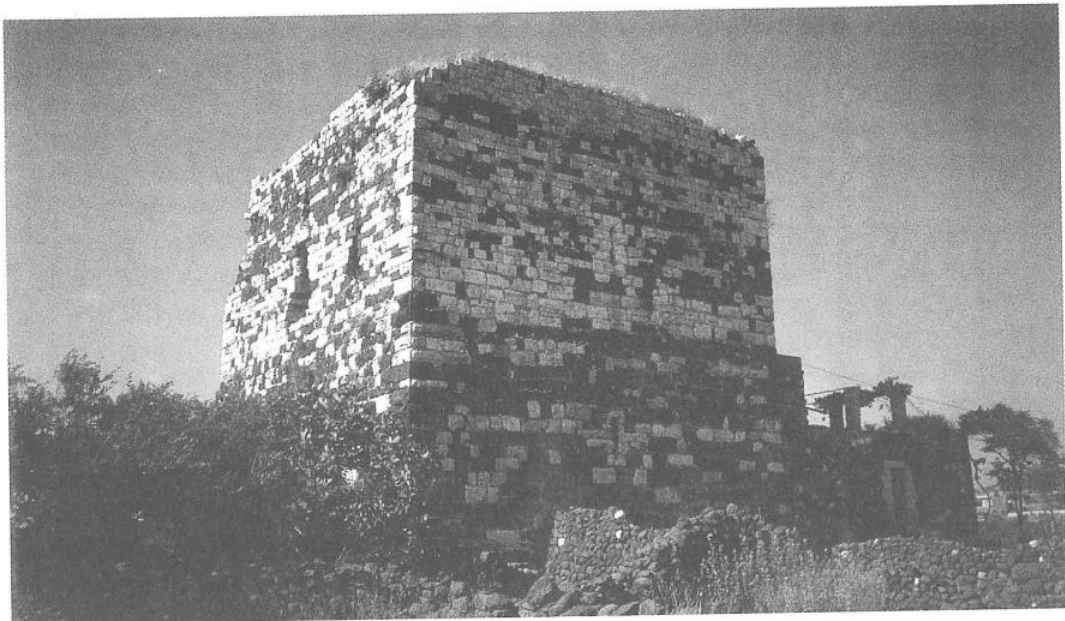
THE TERRE DE CALIFE AND ITS VICINITY

TORTOSA

Tukhlah

Chastel Blanc

Chastel Rouge

Burj Miar   Qal'at Um Hush   Crac des Chevaliers
                   Burj 'Arab

Arima   Burj Zara

MEDITERRANEAN   Burj Maqsur

                   Nahr al-Khalifa

                   Nahr al-Kabir

Orontes

HOMS

Lake of Homs

Coliath

ARCHAS   Akkar

TRIPOLI

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0         10        20 km
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⊞   main cities
+   main castles
▪   towers concerned in the study
—   the lines indicate the mutual visibility

Based on the map of P. Deschamps (entitled: Carte des environs du Crac des Chevaliers)
in. la défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioch.

graphics by Viemann Zsolt

Burǧ Zārā

Qalᶜat Umm Ḥūš

Burǧ ʿArab

Burǧ Mīʿār

EGYPT AND *NŪBA* IN THE 13TH CENTURY: A PRELIMINARY NOTE

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Introduction

Contact between the Muslims and the Nubians had begun as early as the first century A. H. when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ sent Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbdalqays al-Fihrī to occupy Nūba in 21/641-2 (Ibn ʿAbdalḥakam, *Futūḥ* 173). In 25/646-7, more troops were sent to Nūba under the leadership of ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Saraḥ, ʿUtmān's governor in Egypt. A treaty which regulated relations in respect of security and trade was drawn up between the Muslims and the Nubians in 31/652[1]. It was from this time that the so-called *baqt* (tribute) was introduced as a tribute paid from time to time by the Nubian Christians to the Muslim rulers.

Baqt differed from other tributes. The Nubians had to send slaves together with other gifts to the Muslims (Lokkegaard 1960: 966). This fulfilled the needs of the Arabs for slaves and *baqt* therefore became one the most important source of obtaining slaves, especially from Nūba. On the other hand, the Muslims were also obliged to send wheat and other grains, as well as textiles, to Nūba (*ibid.*).

Thereafter, the Nubians, who were Christians, continued to send tribute to the Muslim rulers in Egypt, albeit reluctantly. Towards the close of the ʿUmayyad period, however, they revolted against their Muslim neighbour in Egypt (Hasan 1967: 29). Except for a few odd occasions, however, relations between the Nubians and the succeeding Islamic dynasties, the *Ṭulūnī*s (254-92/868-905), the *Iḫšīdī*s (323-58/935-69) and the *Fāṭimī*s (297-567/909-1171) had been generally serene. This was probably the result of a recognition on the part of the Christian leaders of the requirement to send regular gifts and slaves to the other party.

When the last *Fāṭimī* caliph was overthrown by the *Ayyūbī*s in 567/1171, the Nubians began to show signs of aggression. This resulted in retaliations on the part of the *Ayyūbī*s and the occupation of *Nūba* by al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ's son, Tūrān Šāh in 568/1172 (Ibn al-Atīr, *Kāmil* XI, 386; Adams 1977: 456). His army seized Ibrīm, the capital of the kingdom of al-Marīs (*Kāmil* XI, 387; Hasan 1967: 97). Later on, the *Ayyūbī*s left *Nūba* unattended, as they were preoccupied with the internal conflict in Aswān.

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[1] From then onwards, the Nubians started to send slaves as their tribute. Cf. Ibn ʿAbdalḥakam, *Futūḥ* 169-70, 174; Budge 1928: I, 103.

Egypt and Sudan during the Time of Qalāwūn (678/1279-689/1290)

In Mamlūk times, *Nūba* consisted of three major kingdoms: al-Marīs, al-Muqurra and ʿAlwa (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ* I, 289; Hasan 1967: 5). al-Marīs, with its capital at Ibrīm, lay in the northernmost part of *Nūba*. In the centre was the kingdom of al-Muqurra with its capital at Dunqula. Further south lay ʿAlwa, with its capital, Suba.

Relations between the Mamlūks and the Nubians began in the time of Baybars when in 667/1268, King Dawūd of *Nūba* sent a mission to Cairo. Accordingly, Baybars ordered the former to present him with the *baqṭ*. For all that, the sultan busied himself with other problems and was quite unconcerned with the affairs of *Nūba*. It was perhaps owing to this that King Dawūd ignored Baybars' demand for *baqṭ* (Hasan 1967: 107). In 671/1272, the king infringed the mutual understanding for peace with Baybars when he killed a number of Muslim merchants during his raid against Ayḏab, a port on the coast of the Red Sea[2].

In 674/1275, another Nubian prince, Šankanda sought Baybars' help to overthrow King Dawūd. This opportunity was taken up by Baybars who wished to retaliate against King Dawūd's imprudence by sending his army to Dunqula (Ibn ʿAbdaẓẓāhir, *Tašrīf* 154; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḫ* VII, 45). As a result, Šankanda gained the throne and he later signed a truce with the sultan (al-Furāt, *Tārīḫ* VII, 45-6; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 973; Hasan 1967: 108). The principal terms of the treaty were firstly that Šankanda had to send half of the Nubians' revenues to the sultan every year together with other gifts (Hasan 1967: 109; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 973; Ibn Šaddād, *Tārīḫ* 130). Secondly, Baybars was given the power to govern al-Marīs, the northern part of *Nūba* (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* 1, 974)[3]. At the same time, Baybars sent two assassins to act as watch-dogs over the new ruler of *Nūba*. In the rest of Nubian territory, the indigenous princelings had a more or less free hand (Lokkegaard 1960: 966).

During the first year of Qalāwūn's reign (678/1279), Šankanda was killed by one of the assassins and Barak, another prince, gained power in al-Muqurra (Ibn ʿAbdaẓẓāhir, *Tašrīf* 154). Later, he showed signs of wishing to break free from Qalāwūn's rule. Consequently, the Sultan despatched Sangar al-Manṣūrī to overthrow Barak. In his place, Šamamun, another Nubian prince, was given the mandate to rule *Nūba* (*ibid.*; Hasan 1967: 112) on condition that he sent *baqṭ* to Cairo annually.

In Ramaḍān 685/October 1286, King Adur of ʿAlwa, the ruler in the south of *Nūba*, sent a mission to Qalāwūn with gifts such as elephants and giraffes. He also complained about the King of Dunqula's hostility towards the Mamlūk representative. When Šamamun was notified of his visit he too sent gifts to Cairo to pacify Qalāwūn. Accordingly, in the same year, two ambassadors, ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sangar and

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[2] *Ibid.*, see also al-Yūnīnī, *Ḏayl* III, 2; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* VIII, 167; Ibn ʿAbdaẓẓāhir, *Rawḍ* 416; Ibn Šaddād, *Tārīḫ* 52-3, 129.

[3] Ibn Šaddād states that at this point al-Muqurra was one of the sultan's provinces. (Cf. *Tārīḫ* 323)

ᶜAlam ad-Dīn ar-Rusnī, were sent to Abwāb and Dunqula respectively to look after the affairs of the two states (Hasan 1967: 112; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *ᶜIbar* V, 400-i; Arkell 1961: 198). After completing his investigation, Sanǧar was captured by Šamamun on his way back to Egypt. ᶜIlm ad-Dīn ar-Rusnī returned safely to Cairo and brought back evidence of Šamamun's undesirable conduct (ᶜĀšūr 1964: 84). Qalāwūn inflicted reprisals on Šamamun by sending an army from Cairo and Qus, as well as tribesmen from Upper Egypt, namely, Banū Abī Bakr, Banū Šarīf, Banū Šaybān and others, to lay siege to Dunqula. This army was divided into two groups. Aydamur led the soldiers on the east bank of the Nile, whereas on the other side, the troops were under the leadership of ᶜIlm ad-Dīn Sanǧar al-Ḥayyāt. As expected, Šamamun was outnumbered by the Mamlūk contingents and he fled to the south.

When Qalāwūn was notified of this success, a nephew of King Dawūd, Saᶜd ad-Dīn, a newly converted Muslim, was sent to assist the Egyptian ambassador in Dunqula. Once the latter reached Qus, he chose to remain there instead of going to Dunqula (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 743; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḫ* VIII, 67). Presumably Saᶜd, who knew Šamamun well, was terrified of the possibility that Šamamun would reappear and inflict punishment on him for supporting the sultan. The throne of Dunqula was then filled by Šamamun's nephew and a treaty was signed by him and Qalāwūn. This treaty is recorded by al-Qalqašandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā* (XIII, 290-1). The newly elected leader swore in the name of God, the Bible and the Virgin Mary. In addition, the king is also promised to send one half of the country's income to Egypt. He also had to collect a poll-tax of one dinar from every adult in his country to give to the sultan. In conclusion, he was prepared to receive any punishment from God if he broke his oath. Aydamur was instructed to remain in Dunqula whereas the rest of the army journeyed home, bearing a large amount of booty (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 743; Hasan 1967: 113; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *ᶜIbar* VI, 401; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḫ* VIII, 83). In the same year, shortly after his defeat, however, Šamamun reappeared in Dunqula, routed the Mamlūk garrison and reinstated himself on the throne. The leader of the garrison and the Nubian king fled to Cairo and informed the sultan of the incident.

Three years later, in Šawwāl 688/October 24, 1289 the Egyptian army once again raided *Nūba*. The army was again divided into two groups, each following the two banks of the River Nile. However, when the Mamlūks reached Dunqula, the Mamlūk sources relate that the capital was devoid of people except for an old man who told them that Šamamun had fled far from Dunqula (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* I, 750; ᶜĀšūr 1964: 88; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḫ* VIII, 83-4). The Egyptian army gave chase, and upon reaching Šamamun's hide-out, they ordered him to surrender, but the latter refused to back down. As a result, he was fiercely attacked and took flight. The Egyptian army met with hardly any opposition. The victors entered Dunqula and crowned Prince Budamma as the new ruler. Budamma took an oath of allegiance and promised fealty to the sultan. Except for a Mamlūk garrison, the rest of the army returned to Cairo. Rukn ad-Dīn Baybars al-ᶜIzzī was left in command of the army in Dunqula.

According to Qalāwūn's biographer, Ibn ʿAbdazẓāhir, the Egyptian troops in this expedition had penetrated into areas where no Muslim army had previously entered (Ibn ʿAbdazẓāhir, *Tašrīf* 155; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīẖ* VIII, 92).

No sooner had the Muslim troops left than Šamamun once again made an appearance in Dunqula. A similar fate befell Budamma when he was overcome by Šamamun. This time, the shrewd man changed his tactics by sending a letter to Qalāwūn promising to pay a larger amount of tribute to the sultan (Hasan 1967: 114; Holt 1986: 134; Adams 1977: 527). However, Qalāwūn was intent on attending to more pressing matters in Syria with the advancing Crusaders, and he was also aware of Šamamun's unreliable attitude and promises. For this reason, he ignored the latter's request to be his vassal. This gave Šamamun the opportunity to remain in power in *Nūba*.

All in all, Qalāwūn failed to instal his representative and establish a permanent presence in *Nūba*. Although he succeeded in defeating the local leader in his two great expeditions (Hasan 1967: 44; Hrbek 1977: III, 70), his army was forced to leave *Nūba* and Prince Šamamun was able to reestablish himself on the throne, where he stayed until the end of Qalāwūn's reign and beyond.

One might wonder why the Muslims in general and the Mamlūks in particular were so keen to occupy *Nūba*. It was probably for commercial reasons that the Muslims penetrated into *Nūba*, although politically it was also an added advantage to conquer this territory. Since early times, *Nūba* had been renowned as a source of slaves. As already mentioned, periodically the Nubian leaders sent *baqṭ* to the Muslim leaders in Egypt in the form of slaves. These slaves were used as domestic servants, labourers and custodians of families and they were also acquired to be recruited into military service. Slaves could also be bought from the slave market in Muslim towns. It was said that Muslim merchants stole Nubian children and sold them as slaves. The slave trade which brought slaves from *Nūba* and expanded to the rest of the Muslim world existed up to the early tenth/sixteenth century (Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīẖ* VII, 69).

Apart from the slaves who were acquired through tribute and the slave trade, there were also those who were captured by the Mamlūks during their expeditions. Ibn al-Furāt mentions that in 687/1288, Sanǧar al-Mansūrī and his troops entered Cairo. They captured one of the leaders of *Nūba* and his slaves. The sultan distributed the slaves and a number of them were sold at cheap prices (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīẖ* III, 1429; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūra* 53).[30]

Secondly, there were gold and emerald mines in *Nūba* which attracted the Muslims, especially those from Egypt and encouraged them to encroach further south. These mining activities had begun as early as in the third/ninth century. There is a certain amount of evidence which indicates that there were large numbers of Arabs working in this "Land of Mines" in 240/854 (Crowfoot 1911: 528-9).

The presence of natural harbours on this African coast facing the Red Sea was also a contributory factor which attracted the Egyptians. To control *Nūba* would mean

that they would have access to international trade routes. The famous ports in *Nūba* were Badī, Ayḏab and Sawākin (Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam* I, 147; Hrbek 1977: 70). These ports were under the control of Arab merchants. In Badī, the merchants were usually engaged in exchanging combs and perfumes for Ethiopian ivory tusks, ostrich eggs and other products (Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb* 335; Hrbek 1977: 72). Ayḏab, which linked Egypt and the East was famous for its trade in gold. Sawākin, on the other hand, emerged as an important port after the fall of Badī in the sixth/twelfth century.

It was therefore important for the Mamlūks, as the most powerful Muslim rulers of the time, to ensure safety of access to these international trade routes and to exploit the resources within their dominions. In this way they would be able to encourage the economy to flourish. It was as an extension of these activities that the Mamlūks tried again and again to penetrate *Nūba*.

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AL-QAZWĪNĪ ON THE CHARACTERS OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN HIS *ĀṮĀR AL-BILĀD*

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It seems to be a natural phenomenon that every society seeks to describe its neighbours and grab the differences that identify these neighbours and set them apart from itself. In trying to do this, all human societies attach supposed "characteristics" to other ethnic groups, nations and races, and the Middle East is naturally not, and has never been, an exception to this rule. The whole of the supposed characteristics of another ethnic group ever tends to be made into a consistent image, or stereotype, of the group in question, for which I have used the term "character" in the title of this paper. The alleged characters of ethnic groups, both Muslim and otherwise, has been a recurrent, constant topic in mediaeval Arabic geographical writing and belles-lettres alike. The discussion on the characters and peculiarities of various nations usually went under the heading *tabā'iʿ al-bilād* or *ḫasā'iṣ al-bilād*, and precious few Arabic works on geography failed to spare some pages at least for this issue. The tableau of various ethnic groups" characters that emerges from the descriptions of Arabic geographical science and *adab* works has remained remarkably unaltered throughout the centuries. The characters of ethnic groups, as well as those of individuals, were as a rule perceived as hereditary, innate, and inclusive of both physical and mental features. According to mediaeval Arabic authors, nations differ in their mental faculties and morals as much as they do in their physical appearances. It must be, however, strongly emphasized here that this way of stereotyping did not ever turn into a rigid system of prejudices, let alone outright racist ideas, which were completely alien to the Islamic world view, so omnipresent in culture. No Arabic author made the assertion that any "characteristic" feature of a nation must be true and valid of every single individual of that nation. Their opinion is perhaps amply exemplified by what al-Ǧāḥiẓ expressed in one of his *Rasā'il*:

"We are not going to say that there cannot exist a Turk who is not like what we have described. As a matter of fact, not every Greek is a sage, not every Chinese is a masterly artisan, and not every Bedouin is an outstanding poet. Nevertheless, these characteristics in these ethnic groups are more widespread, more perfect, more evident, and more conspicuous than in others" (al-Ǧāḥiẓ: *Rasā'il* I, 73).

Stereotypes should of course be furnished with some *rational* explanation, or rather, an explanation that *looks* rational and acceptable. So as to make stereotypes seem reasonable, true and valid, they must be in some way or another "explained", "rationalized". My point is that mediaeval Arabic science usually offered two ways

of explaining alleged ethnic characteristics, and I will use the book titled Āthār al-bilād, written by al-Qazwīnī, typical as it is, to illustrate my point[1].

To start with, I have selected out the images of four ethnic groups as they appear on the pages of al-Qazwīnī's work. These four groups are the Nabateans (Nabaṭ), the Berbers (Barbar), the Black Africans (Sūdān), and the Turks (Turk). Nabateans have always been reputed in Arabic literature, scientific and otherwise, as having a markedly negative type of character. They have as a rule been described by various authors as lowly, cowardly, stupid, treacherous, full of evil intent, perfidious, etc (an-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-arab I, 283; Goldziher 1967: 145). al-Qazwīnī describes them in just exactly this light; and he has this story to account for their supposed character:

"The inhabitants of Iraq are called Nabaṭ. It is reported that Nabaṭ was the name of a very wicked man who perpetrated a great many crimes in the time of Solomon, son of David. Solomon therefore ordered that Nabaṭ should be confined to prison. But the inmates of the prison, unable to bear Nabaṭ's constant lying, gossiping and war-mongering among his fellow-prisoners, asked for Solomon's help. Then Solomon ordered that Nabaṭ should be fastened with chains and brought to the prison of evil demons (šayāṭīn). But lo! the šayāṭīn cried for help and said, "Oh Prophet of God, do not multiply the pains of imprisonment by exposing us to this Nabaṭ!" So, Solomon thought that Nabaṭ should be given some job in order to keep him from wrongdoing" (Āṯār 281).

The exact goal of the job Nabaṭ was given will perhaps be best left unsaid; the important point is that Nabaṭ's working partner was a prostitute, whom he, quite predictably, made pregnant. She then bore a child, whose offspring spread over Iraq and were called Nabaṭ. al-Qazwīnī concludes his story thus: "This is why you can observe such a great deal of gossip, evil words and adultery among the Nabateans. It was a characteristic feature of their ancestor Nabaṭ.'

The next example of an explanation is the case of the Berbers, whose image in Arab eyes was also on the whole negative, but in a different sense from the former group. The reputed characteristics of the Berber nation are the following: coarseness, ruthlessness, wildness, fierceness, a barbaric lifestyle, love of combat and murder and pillage, primitiveness, with a fair amount of courage thrown in for good measure[2].

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[1] I definitely do not want to discuss the point whether these explanations of "ethnic characters", or the very notion of "ethnic characters" for that matter, are true or not. It is of course assumed that all these notions are wholly false, and the question why they arose in the first place is not part of this study.

The choice of al-Qazwīnī and his work as the subject of this paper is not due to any particular originality in the book. Quite to the contrary, this work serves our purpose exactly because it is so much like a hundred others.

[2] See an-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-arab I, 282, 283; Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣūra 98; al-ʿUmarī, Masālik I, Book 2, 69, 71–2.

This image of the Berbers as ruthless barbarians was as generally accepted throughout the Middle Ages as the above caricature of the Nabatean. We know of an astonishingly great number of legends, fabrications, and myths concerning the origins of Berbers in mediaeval Arabic lore. al–Qazwīnī cites one of these legends, perhaps the most widespread of all, which claims that Berbers are the descendants of Goliath (Ǧālūt). According to this legend, the people of Goliath fled to North Africa after David had killed their leader and father, and all the alleged negative attributes of the Berbers, especially their quick response to all sorts of heresy and false beliefs (anwāʿ aḍ–ḍalālāt), can be put down to this supposedly "historical" fact[3]. al–Qazwīnī does not say anything else in this matter, but other Arabic authors attribute these peculiarities of the Berbers to quite different reasons, like the influence of the planets Mars and Venus, as is stated in al–Hamdānī's *Ṣifa* (I, 40–1).

The case of Black Africans is perhaps the best–known of all these explanations on ethnic stereotypes. al–Qazwīnī, speaking of this theme, mentions two absolutely different explanations, and makes no judgement of his own, leaving it to the reader to decide which approach to favour and consider as correct. He states that all African Blacks are descended from Kūš, son of Kanʿān, son of Ḥām, son of Nūḥ (Noah). Then he briefly mentions the famous Biblical story, equally well–known in mediaeval Muslim science and folklore, according to which Noah once became pitifully drunk and lay down half–naked. Thereupon his son, Ḥām, peeped at him and was highly amused by what was to be seen, while Noah's two other sons, Sām and Yāfiṯ, covered up his nakedness. On regaining his senses, Noah cursed his son Ḥām, which resulted in the latter's colour turning into an ugly black. Ḥām's offspring are black to this day and they also are slaves to their cousins, the descendants of Sām and Yāfiṯ[4]. This is one explanation for the blackness and other distinctive features of Africans, but al–Qazwīnī offers another one, vigorously favoured by most of his contemporaries. He says that the black complexion of the skin of Africans is the result of their long exposure to the burning sun of their equatorial habitat (Āṯār 14). Another version of this explanation, mentioned among others by Ibn Qutayba, is that Black Africans acquire this colour by spending too much time boiling in the wombs of their mothers prior to birth (Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyūn II, 67). So, in either case, the effect of excessive heat accounts for their supposed characteristics, which are again almost exclusively negative: they are described as easily enslaved, cowardly, weak,

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[3] *Āṯār* 109. An obviously false ḥadīṯ is also mentioned here by the author, making the Prophet discredit the Berbers and describe them as wholly unfit for religious life.

[4] *Āṯār* 14. The story was a very popular one, see for example Ibn al–Aṯīr, *Kāmil* I, Part 1, 31; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 25–6. Ibn Ḥaldūn felt it necessary to refute this legend, which he did in *Muqaddima* I, 388–9.

ignorant, adulterous, careless, oblivious of consequences, and, to top all, ever happy and frivolous[5].

The last example is that of the Turks, whose image among Arabic authors resembles in many ways that of the Berbers. They are also pictured as bloodthirsty, fierce, wild, untameable, competitive, born fighters[6]. For this image of the Turk, astrological reasons are provided by al-Qazwīnī, for he claims that the influence of the planet Mars is behind the Turk's fierceness, and their martial prowess and unresistable physical strength and stamina are due to their dwelling-place, which is the land of extreme chill and frost[7]. But al-Qazwīnī again offers a totally different explanation as well, saying that they are descended from Yāfit, son of Noah, whose offspring are almost exclusively wild inhabitants of the Northern wastes. The people of Gog and Magog are among these folk, and the Turks are closely related to this uncanny nation, who are supposed to be the destroyers of this world (al-mufsidūn fī l-arḍ). al-Qazwīnī even claims that Yāǧūǧ wa-Māǧūǧ, that is, Gog and Magog, are a tribe of Turks, or else Turks are a tribe of Yāǧūǧ wa-Māǧūǧ (Āṯār 416, 400). al-Qazwīnī does not press this claim beyond that, but another author, notably al-Idrīsī in his Nuzhat al-muštāq, even elaborates on this statement and claims that when Alexander the Great invaded the lands of Yāǧūǧ wa-Māǧūǧ, and built a wall for defence against them, he let some of them, who were somewhat less evil than the rest, live on the near side of the wall. Even the name Turk or Atrāk is derived from this event, according to al-Idrīsī, for Alexander left them to live in peace: "... fa-sammathum al-ʿarab Turkan li-'annahum mimman taraka l-Iskandar min āl Yāǧūǧ wa-Māǧūǧ"[8].

If we make a careful scrutiny of the reasons given by al-Qazwīnī and other Arabic authors to account for ethnic peculiarities and characteristics, we find that there are two clearly distinguishable sets of explanations. The first of these two may be termed the **genealogical approach/ method**, while the second I am going to call the **climatic approach/ method**. The genealogical approach to ethnic differences and peculiarities is certainly the more ancient, more "classical" method of Arabic

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[5] See Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣūra 19; al-Ǧāḥiẓ, Bayān III, 12–3; al-Masʿūdī, Murūǧ I, 163, 166–7. This negative image of Africans has proven to be quite long-lived, as even modern Arabic proverbs often display such attitudes; see Zenner 1970: 426; Taymūr 1986: 8 (proverb No. 47).

[6] On the image of the Turk in Arab eyes, see esp. al-Ǧāḥiẓ, Rasā'il I, 59, 70–71; and Haarmann 1988: 176, 178, 184. For modern proverbs on the subject, see ʿAṭā'llāh 1987: 149, 203.

[7] Āṯār 346 (on the influence of the Mars); 6 (on the effect of cold).

[8] al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-muštāq VII, 850–51. al-Idrīsī all but praises the Turks' character in this passage, quite unlike the way Arab authors usually wrote, but they certainly appear in this light only in comparison with Gog and Magog; for on 851 he states, in concert with the generally held view: "... their character is mostly uncouth, their souls crude, and they rarely obey any victorious power."

thinking, and it is entirely indigenous to their old, nomadic, pre–Islamic culture. Goldziher has shown how important a role genealogical points played in the *hiǧā'* poetry of *Ǧāhiliyya* times[9], and certainly the genealogical method dominates the ancient genres of *mafāḫir* and *maṯālib*. Another phenomenon which shows the significance of genealogical explanations for the Arabs of *Ǧāhiliyya* is the Arabic "art' of *qiyāfa*, or telling an individual's descent by his outward appearance[10]. All this belongs to the folklore of pre–Islamic Arabia, but the reasoning and method of these phenomena were taken over into mediaeval Arabic science. How this genealogical bias of explanation was incorporated into Arabic geographical thinking is well illustrated by the examples I have already cited. In addition to these examples, al–Qazwīnī's book, like other works of its kind, displays a surprisingly copious amount of scattered genealogical explanations for geographical facts and ethnic idiosyncrasies. It is usually implied that the inhabitants of a country or a town are the descendants of their eponymic ancestor, and their characteristics also derive from their respective pedigrees.

So much about the genealogical method of explanation, and now let us have a brief look at the other approach, which I termed the climatic one. This is much more consistently laid out in the Āṯār al–bilād and other geographical books of the Middle Ages, since it was a leading and victorious scientific current, not to say fashion, from Abbasid times on. This scientific system, the theory of climes (*aqālīm*) is not an Arab invention. It was borrowed from ancient Greek science, specifically, from the works of Ptolemy (*Baṭlamyūs al–Qalūdī*). It was regarded as "modern science", a really fashionable current of thought in Abbasid times, as is attested by the great number of books devoted to this subject and using this system. Astrology went hand in hand with the theory of climes (*aqālīm*), and ethnic characteristics were quite often accounted for by astrological reasons as well as climatic ones[11]. The great popularity of the theory of *aqālīm* is well illustrated by a sentence in the *Ṣūra* of Ibn Ḥawqal, hardly the most dogmatic–minded of Arabic geographers:

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[9] Consult his Muslim Studies. It should be kept in mind that Arabs of the *Ǧāhiliyya* took for granted the inheritance of moral and physical characteristics alike, hence the importance of *ansāb* in the service of defamation and mockery.

[10] al–Qazwīnī, *'Aǧā'ib* 318. He defines *qiyāfat al–baŝar* ("the qiyāfa of humans") thus: "... the recognition of a person's genealogy (*ansāb*), judging from the appearance of his limbs. This knowledge is possessed chiefly by a tribe of Bedouins, called Banū Madliǧ..."

[11] Perhaps the most consistent and useful treatment of the theory of climes is that given us by al–Hamdānī in his Sifa I, 28–31, under the heading "An outline of what reached us from Ptolemy on the nature of the Earth's inhabitants" (*mā atā 'an Baṭlamyūs al–Qalūdī fī ṭabā'i' ahl al–'umrān min al–arḍ 'alā l–ǧumla*).

"I take refuge with God (*aʿūḏu bi-llāh*) from the idea that someone like Ptolemy may mention any mistaken views, or describe anything at variance with what it is really like" (*Ṣūra* 22).

Even in belles–lettres and *adab* works, the concept of *aqālīm* was prevalent. Now I try to summarize, very briefly, the pillars of the climatic theory. Of the seven climes on Earth, the third and fourth are in a central position, therefore only these two are described with the word *iʿtidāl*, moderation and harmoniousness. The very centre of Earth is the region of *Bābil*, that is Iraq, consequently this region is distinguished by an absolute perfection in every sense, including the outward and inward characteristics of its inhabitants. The farther one lives from this centre, the more extreme, disharmonious and anomalous (*munḥarif*) one is likely to be, so that the most imperfect of mankind live in the extreme North and South. al–Qazwīnī's *Āṯār* is firmly based on this theory, as can be seen right from its first pages, the Prefaces to the book. al–Qazwīnī even summarizes this picture of the Earth, saying in the second Preface of the book:

"The inhabitable territories of the Earth are only a small part of it, consisting of the central tracts of the third, the fourth and the fifth *iqlīm*. What lies beyond these regions is a veritable penitentiary for its inhabitants; and suffering [from excessive cold or heat, that is] is their everyday experience" (*Āṯār* 6).

al–Qazwīnī moreover states that most human characteristics can be explained by the influence of the climate of one's dwelling–place. He even says that Black Africans may assume a more pleasing appearance and physique (*istaqāmat amziǧatuhum*) if they enter moderate lands, by which he means, what else, the Middle East (*Āṯār* 14). In another passage, he asserts that Greece (*Yūnān*) is a country that has the beneficial effect of turning its inhabitants into sages, and even visiting foreigners become wiser while staying there (*Āṯār* 382). It is obvious from these ideas of the *Āṯār* that al–Qazwīnī is a typical exponent of the climatic theory, yet we have already seen how numerous the remnants of the older genealogical reasoning are in his work. This sheds light on an important fact: we are not likely to come across a mediaeval Arabic book on geography and ethnic characters where the two methods, the genealogical and the climatic, are not both present and mixed up. This may be so for several reasons, but I suggest that the following are the most important ones. First, the mixing of the two approaches was facilitated by the fact that both were ideally suited to explain an underlying notion of the superiority of the Muslim peoples of the Middle East. In other words, both approaches are basically ethnocentric theories of a moderate kind. It makes very little difference whether the Iraqis' perfectness is

attributed to their descent (notably from Sām, son of Noah) or to the location of their habitat; what counts is that they should be shown as the best of mankind[12].

The other, and perhaps more significant, reason for which the genealogical method of explanation was kept alive and mixed into books based on the climatic theory is that the theory of *aqālīm* has its limits; there are cases which it cannot explain. These cases usually appear when it comes to dealing with differences of two ethnic groups that live in identical climatic conditions. The Nabateans and the Berbers are a case in point. While the alleged characters of Turks and Black Africans can be accounted for by climatic reasons (one of these two ethnic groups lives in markedly cold regions, the other in extremely hot ones); Nabateans and Berbers live in the same climes as, say, Arabs or Persians, yet they are described as having quite different attributes. It is therefore not surprising that al-Qazwīnī should only mention a genealogical explanation of their supposed character: their descent from a certain ancestor. In this sense, the genealogical method served as a sort of "last resort" that one could always fall back on, short of a better explanation.[13]

As a final remark, I want to point to the fact that quite a long time had to pass until an author dared to dismiss completely the old and rather worn-out genealogical approach. This author was none other than the brilliant Arab historian, Ibn Ḥaldūn. He went as far as even to criticize on some points the all-too-powerful climatic method, but far more important is that he sought no longer to mix genealogical reasons into the question of ethnic peculiarities. As we have seen, this was far from the attitude of al-Qazwīnī and almost all other mediaeval geographers, who comfortably utilized genealogical reasoning whenever it suited their needs[14].

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[12] It is strongly emphasized here that ethnocentrism is, and has always been, a universal cultural phenomenon; and no nation, no group of people, I even venture to say no individual, is totally free from it. Ethnocentrism is an exceptionally easy and comfortable tool for dismissing the problem of others' distinctness, no wonder it is a tool so often used.

An extreme and funny example of an ethnocentric world-view in an Arabic context is furnished by the illustrious al-Ǧāḥiẓ, who quotes a certain Ǧaʿfar b. Sulaymān saying: "Iraq is the centre of Earth; Baṣra is the centre of Iraq; the *Mirbad* is the centre of Baṣra; and my house is the centre of the *Mirbad*." (See *Rasāʾil* II, part 4, 139.) The same attitude, though in a less sarcastic form, can be discerned in Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam* I, 53; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 34–5, 41; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* I, 347. (The last example reads: "Baghdad is the urban part of the world; the rest is desert/countryside" [*Baġdād ḥāḍirat ad-dunyā wa-mā ʿadāhā bādiya*]).

[13] It is not to say it was done consciously, like saying: "I can discern no satisfactory explanation in the climatic theory, let's try some genealogy instead." Yet one cannot help but wonder why genealogy-based arguments continued to be used despite the great credit accorded to the climatic theory.

[14] To show what al-Qazwīnī and his contemporaries did not ever accomplish, I quote a passage from Ibn Ḥaldūn's *Muqaddima*: "What caused this error [of mixing genealogical reasoning into geographical science] is the misconception that differences between nations exist only on account of their genealogical pedigrees. This, however, is not true. Differences between races or nations may well be genealogical with some of them, as with Arabs or Hebrews or Persians. Yet the differences may as well

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be determined by custom, special traits, or even descent too, as among Arabs. Or again, they may be determined by anything else of a nation's ways or distinctive features or distinguishing marks. Consequently, broadly asserting that the inhabitants of any given region, be it in the South or the North, are the descendants of such-and-such a person, because of a common characteristic or colour or feature, shared by that ancestor too, is a gross mistake, resulting from a total ignorance of the nature of things and regions ..." Despite some superficially similar points in their treatment of supposed ethnic characteristics, such a level of scientific consciousness as betrayed by this text of Ibn Ḫaldūn was positively never reached by either al-Qazwīnī or any of his contemporaries and predecessors.

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OTTOMAN-ARAB RELATIONS AND THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN STATE OF YAMAN

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1.1 Introduction

The presence of the Ottomans in Yaman transformed the history of Yaman notably, when the country was again linked with other Arab lands, and these were governed unitedly under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. The period was marked by the revolts of the *Yamanīs*, the *Zaydīs* and the *Šāfiʿīs*. It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of studies on the history of the Ottomans in Yaman have emphasised the theme of the Ottoman-Yamani conflict. This paper attempts to examine the presence of the Ottomans in Yaman, underlining the Ottoman imperial administration of the country and their relation with the *Yamanīs*.

The Ottomans first ruled Yaman since 1538, following their conquest of Egypt from the *Mamlūks* in 1517. Yaman was previously under the *Mamlūks*, who occupied the country in 1515-16 as a response to the presence of the Portuguese in the Red Sea, and it was accordingly surrendered to the Ottomans. The Ottomans, therefore, succeeded without much difficulty in gaining control of the greater part of Yaman, and likewise the Red Sea, assuming responsibility for protecting the area from further Portuguese incursions (Baldry 1963: 156, Serjeant 1963: 47-8). The country was then administratively divided into 7 districts: Ṣanʿāʾ, Muḫā, Zabīd, Sahla, Kawkabān, Ṭawīla, Maʾrib and ʿAden (Abāza 1987: 26). During this period the Upper Yaman Highlands, the area north of Sanʿāʾ including Saʿda, Šahara and Ḥaǧǧa, remained in the hands of the *Zaydī Imāms* (Mādī 1950: 15). This circumstance enabled the *Zaydīs* to form a potential threat to the Ottoman authorities and the *Zaydīs* proved to be capable of expelling the Ottomans from the country in the 1630s, during the time of Imām Qāsim and his son, Imām Muḥammad (Baldry 1963: 158). After that date, the greater Yaman, from ʿAsīr in the north to Ḥadramawt in the south, remained under the *Zaydī Imāms*. But less than a century later the Zaydī Imāmate rapidly collapsed into disarray. Tihāma and the Lower Yaman were declared independent under local authorities; the southwest under the Laheǧ Sultanate since 1728 (Anīs 1963: 225-61), ʿAsīr and Tihāma under Šarīf Aḥmad, Imām's governor of Abū ʿArīš, since 1730 (Baldry 1985: 46).

At the end of the 18th century, the *wahhābiyya* movement appeared in Naǧd and the *Wahhābīs* succeeded in gaining control over the greater part of Arabia, including Yaman, after they took Muḫā in 1804, and they remained there until the arrival of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt in 1819. In 1837, the whole Tihāma came under the control of Muḥammad ʿAlī, including Ḥudayda, Zabīd, Muḫā and Šayḫ Saʿīd (*ibid.*). The British, fearing partly that Muḥammad ʿAlī, who was a great admirer of the

French, might extend his influence to seize ʿAden on his own or in conjunction with the French, and therefore pose a serious threat to India, took ʿAden in January 1839 (Kour 1976: 28)[1]. The British, now apprehensive about the safety of their newly acquired possession of ʿAden, secured the co-operation of several European powers, Russia, Austria and Italy, who jointly pressured Muḥammad ʿAlī to evacuate his forces from Arabia, and in April 1840 Yaman was evacuated (Baldry 1963: 161).

The withdrawal of Egyptian forces from Yaman paved the way for the Ottomans to return to the country. In 1849, the Ottomans decided to occupy Yaman as part of their claimed sovereignty on the grounds of previous occupation. In April 1849, they took Ḥudayda and other parts of the Tihāma from Šarīf Ḥusayn of Abū ʿArīš, who succeeded Muḥammad ʿAlī at his withdrawal from the Tihāma (Anis 1963: 225-6; Admiralty 1917:40; Baldry 1963: 162). The Ottomans proceeded to the hinterland and entered Ṣanʿāʾ on 24 July 1849, at the invitation of Imām al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (Anīs 1963: 225-6; al-ʿAmrī 1984: 333-4). In the situation of being a nominal Imām, one would suggest that the Imām's action was presumably to look for a support to strengthen his position as Imām. The Imām was invited to conclude an agreement, whereby he would consent to the stationing of a small Ottoman garrison in Ṣanʿāʾ, but the highlands would continue under his government. The Imām was to be considered a vassal of the Porta and the revenues from the highlands were to be divided between the Imām and the Ottomans (NID 1964: 272-273). The Imām, in return, was to have been provided with a monthly salary of 4,000 riyāls. Soon a revolt took place in the capital. The Imām was denounced as treacherous by the rebels, notably for his consent to the presence of Ottoman forces in Ṣanʿāʾ, and a new Imām was appointed, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh, on 26 July 1848. And on 18 August of that year, the Ottomans were expelled from the capital, and forced to retire to the Tihāma (Anīs 1963: 225-6; al-ʿAmrī 1984: 334-41). But the atmosphere in the highlands was far from quiet. Imām ʿAlī was soon rejected, and the country was again divided among rivalling Imāms until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which eventually encouraged the Ottomans, who retained their foothold in the Tihāma, to secure their position in the greater Yaman. Following an invitation from the notables of Ṣanʿāʾ, discontented by the alleged incompetence of the Imāms, the Ottomans were able to establish themselves in the central highlands after 1872 (Admiralty 1917: 40).

1.2 The Ottoman administration of Yaman 1872-1908

After the re-occupation of Yaman in 1872, the Ottoman Provincial Reform Law of 1864 was extended to Arabia, including Yaman, but apparently was not put fully

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[1] In the 1840s the French themselves revived their interest in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean where they had had great influence in the 18th century. (Waterfield 1968: 137)

into force until a later date. Even by the end of 1876, when the new provincial system was in operation all over the rest of the empire, the Arabian Peninsula was at least in part still exempted (Davison 1963: 158). At some date after 1872, Yaman was treated as a *wilāyet* (province) and divided into four *sanǧaqs* (districts): Ṣanᶜā', Ḥudayda, ᶜAsīr and Taᶜizz. These four *sanǧaqs* officially constituted the *wilāyet* of Yaman until 28 April 1913 (19 Rabīᶜ aṯ-ṯānī, 1331) when another provincial law was issued which excluded ᶜAsīr from the province of Yaman (Grohman 1993)[2]. It is most likely that ᶜAsīr from 1913 was administered as an independent *sanǧaq* under the direct control of the Porta, like those of Ǧabal Lubnān, al-Quds (Jerusalem), Diyār az-Zur and Banǧāzī (Abāza 1987: 104). The continuing trouble in the *sanǧaq* of ᶜAsīr seems to have been the main cause of the change.

The four *sanǧaqs* of the *wilāyet* of Yaman were administered under *mutasarrifs* (governors of districts) who were responsible to the *wāli* or Governor resident at Ṣanᶜā'. Each of the *sanǧaqs* was subdivided into *qaḍās* headed by *qā'immaqāms* and these *qaḍās* were further subdivided into *nāḥiyas* under the responsibility of *mudīrs* (Admiralty 1917: 48).

Although the Imāms relapsed into subsidised obscurity, the Ottomans did not effectively hold or administer the area north of the highlands. Areas such as Ḥamīr, Ṣaᶜda, Šahara and Naǧrān remained independent from the Ottoman administration. The Ottoman effort to hold the oases of the eastern plateau, such as Mārib, did not result in any permanent occupation (Admiralty 1917:40). Their attempts to extend their rule southwards into the ᶜAden Hinterland towards Laheǧ, were, however, challenged by the British at ᶜAden. When the Ottomans sent troops to help the rival brother of the ᶜAbdali Sulṭān, the British immediately reacted by sending troops to protect the Laheǧ Sulṭān. British protection was soon extended to include other tribes near ᶜAden.

As a *wilāyet*, Yaman was militarily under the control of the 7th Army Corps. The 7th Army was not, however, recruited from Yamanīs. The Yamanīs were apparently exempt from military conscription, at a time when the Ottoman Government continued the practice of conscripting its Muslim subjects into the Army Corps for a period of twenty years. The first six years was active service, called *niẓām*, the following eight years were first (active) reserve as *redifs*, and the remaining six years as *Mustaḥfaẓa* or second reserve army. As regards non-Muslim subjects, they were exempted but had to pay a special tax, known as *"al-badl al-ᶜaskarī"*. However, in some *wilāyets*, Muslim subjects were also exempted, such as the *wilāyets* of Istanbul and Crete, the Red Sea Islands, Tripoli, Ḥiǧāz, and the Yaman itself (Abāza 1987: 106). In 1899,

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[2] al-Ḥuṣrī was wrong to believe that no further amendments were made to change the existing divisions when he referred to the Imperial report of 1332 (AD 1904) to confirm these four *sanǧaqs* as constituting the *wilāyet* of Yaman (al-Ḥuṣrī 1960: 241). Baldry, however, referring to the British records claimed that the exclusion of ᶜAsīr took place in 1909 (Baldry 1963: 180).

it was rumoured that military conscription would also be extended to Yaman in an attempt to introduce a new administrative programme, but this was denied by the Minister of War[3]. The Yamanīs were instead recruited for the Gendarmerie (*Zaptieh* or *Hamideh*) service as army volunteers. This practice started following the appointment of the new *walī*, Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī Paša, in 1878. They were normally recruited from the tribesmen, especially from the highlands, because of their endurance. A number of the people of the Tihāma too were recruited, as well as Sudanese, Somalis and Ethiopians. Their functions were to convey administrative orders to the people concerned, to assist the tax collectors, to act as intelligence agents, to keep order in the bazaars, to carry messages and to escort travellers and convoys entitled to the protection of the government (Bury 1915: 167).

The Gendarmerie had a strength of four battalions, with headquarters at Ṣanʿāʾ. Of the two battalions for the capital, one was on permanent duty and the other was kept in reserve; the other two were sent to various places in the *wilāyet*. Those in Ṣanʿāʾ were all recruited from the tribesmen of the highlands (*ibid.*). In addition, there was also a battalion of mounted gendarmerie, known as *Sowari*, with a strength of four companies, of which one was at Ḥudayda, two were on detached duty, and the remaining was at Ṣanʿāʾ. The duty of the *Sowari* was to escort officials of rank and the Ottoman mail. They were drawn from the Sudanese, Ethiopians and Somalis (*ibid.*).

The tax system of the Ottoman rule was not appreciated by the Yamanīs, and eventually led them to rebel against the Ottomans. The administration of the collecting of taxes was worsened by the corrupt practice of the officials. In the Qurayšī country, west of Zabīd, officials were in the habit of levying exorbitant octroi dues on dates entering Zabīd after the usual tithes had already been paid at the date plantations. The tribesmen refused to pay further taxes, and troops were accordingly sent to compel payment[4]. Later, during the Imām's uprising, the Yamanīs were forced to pay *zakāt* and *ʿušr* (tithes), and at the same time they were subjected to other taxes such as octroi dues levied by the Ottomans.

The Ottoman attempts to promote efficiency of the administration in the province of Yaman by introducing the new Provincial Law into the *wilāyet*, presumably after 1876, proved unsuccessful. A decade after their return to the province, the Ottomans confronted persisting revolts of the Yamanīs initially in ʿAsīr and the Tihāma, followed by a revolt in 1891 in the Yaman highlands led by Imām Muḥammad. The principal justification for this uprising was the alleged misconduct of the officials in the *wilāyet*, coupled with their seeming violation of Islamic practice that angered the

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[3] R/20/A/1188, O'Conor to Foreign Office, 5/2/1900.

[4] FO 195/2174, Report on the Yemen vilayet, administrative and economic, for the period extending from 1st April to 31st August 1904' by Richardson, British vice consulate Hudaydah, 31/8/1904.

rebels. The name of Sulṭān ʿAbdalḥamīd had, however, been spoken of by the rebels, including the Imām, with affection[5].

The Sulṭān, who according to the Imām was misinformed of the real situation in the Yaman, could not accept any justification for revolt. Marshal Aḥmad Faydī Paša was accordingly sent to the Yaman to subdue the revolt. Although the Ottomans succeeded in bringing the revolt of 1891 under control, they failed to secure the *wilāyet* from further disturbances. The malpractice of the Ottoman officials was apparently the cause behind it, and this situation became worse as one revolt followed another.

At the subsequent Imamic revolts, notably that of 1905, the Ottomans were not yet prepared to prefer any other measures than military to promote tranquillity in the country. The reappointment of Marshal Faydī Paša in May 1905 to replace Marshal Riḍā Paša[6], who had been in office only since March of that year, as the Commander of the 7th Army Corps in the Yaman with orders to retake Ṣanʿaʾ and restore order in the Yaman, indicated that the Ottoman Government would not accept the loss of Ṣanʿaʾ, which had surrendered to Imām Yaḥyā in April 1904. The continuation of the war not only led to the collapse of a truce initiated by the Imām, but also indirectly allowed the persistence of corrupt practices by the officials led by Faydī Paša himself. On 31 July 1905 Faydī Paša was appointed as acting *wālī* to replace Tawfīq Bey[7], which gave him authority over the civil as well as the military administration[8].

Faydī Paša came to Yaman first in 1873 as a Captain and attained the rank of Major in 1887. He had commanded the force that was dispatched to the Yaman in 1892 to relieve Ṣanʿaʾ and retake other towns captured by Imām Muḥammad. He then held the post of *wālī* and Commander-in-Chief of the Yamanī force for a period of seven years until he was relieved in 1898[9]. During his tenancy as *wālī* and

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[5] R/20/A/1256, Richardson's report, 6/6/1908.

[6] General Riḍā Paša, previously posted at Tripoli, was appointed Commander of the Ottoman forces in Yaman in March 1905 to replace Tawfīq Paša who had only held the post since 1904. Tawfīq Paša was previously a divisional General of the 4th Army corps at Diyār-Bakir before he was posted in the Yaman. ʿAbdallāh Paša had been the Commander-in-Chief in the Yaman before Tawfīq Paša since 1898. (FO 195/2178, 4/5/1905; R/20/A/1188, 20/7/1898.)

[7] Tawfīq Bey (the *wālī* not to be confused with Tawfīq Paša the Commander-in-Chief) was appointed as new *wālī* to replace ʿAbdallāh Paša who had been in the post since the dismissal of Ḥilmī Paša in October 1902. He was formerly a palace secretary at Yildiz for several years and had also occupied the posts of *mutasarrif* at Jerusalem and *wālī* of Konieh respectively for a short period. Just before being sent to Yaman, he became a member of the "*Šura-i Dowlat* (State Council) at Constantinople". (FO 195/2174, 31/8/1904.)

[8] FO 195/2198, Richardson's report, 1/8/1905.

[9] FO 195/2198, Richardson's report, 4/5/1905. In June 1898, Faydī Paša left Yaman for Baghdad as Commander of the 6th Army corps. (R/20/A/1188, 20/7/1898.)

Commander of the Yaman forces from 1892 to 1898, Faydī Paša had taken the opportunity to accumulate wealth at the expense of the public revenues, and it was said that when he left Yaman he possessed nearly a million pounds sterling. This practice continued after his return to Yaman in 1905. Richardson said that it was an open secret in Ṣanʿāʾ that he had not abandoned his corrupt practices, and he had helped himself liberally to the large remittances from Constantinople, with the same lavish hand that he dispensed presents to the different Arab šayḫs and tribesmen surrendering to him during his successful action in retaking Ṣanʿāʾ in August 1905[10].

It is clear that during his second tenancy as *walī* and military commander from 1905 to 1908, Faydī continued to misappropriate a substantial share of the *wilāyet*'s revenues and to persist in corrupt practices. In this, he was backed by the *mutaṣarrif* of Ḥudayda, ʿAbdalwahhāb Effendi. All posts of *qāʾimmaqāms* and *mudīrs* were sold to the highest bidder by the *walī* and the *mutaṣarrif* of Ḥudayda respectively, and these provincial officials were expected to remit separately part of the taxes collected by them to their chiefs at Ṣanʿāʾ and Ḥudayda[11].

In Yaman as well as other *wilāyets*, frequent changes of officials were part of the practice of administration under the Provincial Reform Law of 1864, in an attempt to improve efficiency in the administration of the province. Unfortunately, in Yaman, some of the more capable and honest officials were apparently recommended by the present *walī*, Faydī Paša, to be replaced with corrupt men. For example, ʿIzzat Bey, *qāʾimmaqām* of ʿUdayn and a capable officer, was replaced by ʿIzzī Fathu Effendi, a man of questionable character and antecedents. Ilyās Bey, *qāʾimmaqām* of Bāǧil, an honest and diligent officer, was dismissed for remitting the whole of the taxes collected in his *qaḍāʾ* into the treasury. Some corrupt officials, on the other hand, remained in office, such as the *mutaṣarrif* of Ḥudayda, ʿAbdalwahhāb Effendi, who had proved to be one of the most incompetent and corrupt officials ever appointed to the *sanǧaq* of Ḥudayda. He remained there for two years without initiating a single reform pertaining to the welfare of the people (*ibid.*). The British Vice-Consul at Ḥudayda, G. A. Richardson, witnessed the prevailing conditions of the Ottoman administration in Yaman. He stated in June 1908 that

> "the present regime has driven away the few capable and honest officials the vilayet contained; internal affairs are in such a muddle and the conduct of the officials so glaringly unscrupulous, that one is given the impression that the Porte sends out, with few exceptions, exiles and criminals to carry out the administrative works of this hapless province, erringly known as Arabia Felix". (*ibid.*)

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[10] FO 195/2224, Richardson's report, 5/9/1906.

[11] R/20/A/1256 & FO 195/2286, Richardson's report, 6/6/1908.

It is not true that efforts to improve the administration in Yaman were not made until the Young Turks were in power. A number of Imperial Commissions had already been sent to Yaman to make recommendations concerning this issue. An example of this is the special commission of Reform that was sent in April 1905 by the Sulṭān[12]. As a result of the investigation carried out in the *sanğaq* of Ḥudayda, Ibrāhīm Bey, *mutaṣarrif* of Ḥudayda[13], was dismissed on the recommendation of Šakīr Paša, the President of the Commission. Ibrāhīm Bey was quite unfit for the post: not only was he illiterate, but he did not possess the necessary administrative ability and tact. Furthermore, he was a protégé of the former *wālī*, ʿAbdallāh Paša[14]. Maḥmūd Nadīm Bey, the adjoint of the *wālī*, a post which was created at the end of 1904, was also replaced by a civil member of the Reform Commission, a protégé of Faydī Paša. This change coincided with the appointment of Faydī Paša as *wālī* in the place of Tawfīq Bey[15]. Marshal Šakīr Paša who was a most enlightened, just and honourable officer, and perhaps the most able officer that had yet been sent out to Yaman, however, left for Constantinople on October 6, 1905. It had been hoped that he would have remained and been appointed *wālī* and Commander-in-Chief of the *wilāyet*[16].

In April 1907, another Imperial Commission was sent to Yaman with orders to inquire further into the grievances of the people of the *wilāyet* and also to arrange a truce with the Imām[17]. Consequently, in May 1907, forty Arabs, selected by the Commission as representatives of the principal tribes in Yaman, sailed to Istanbul to place their grievances personally before the Sulṭān and discuss the causes of the troubles and suggestions for remedies. The Imperial Commission also brought about some reforms in the *wilāyet*. On the recommendation of the Commission, the Imperial Irade ordered the release of about one hundred political prisoners and rebels who had been sentenced since 1905 for participation in the revolt. This, however, led to great dissatisfaction among the military officials, who reacted by arresting three of

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[12] FO 195/2198, Richardson's report, 17/4/1905.

[13] Ibrāhīm Bey, a Circassian, was one of ʿAbdallāh Paša's protégés. He had been a brigand chief in the Caucasus mountains before he was sent to Yaman. (FO 195/2174, 31/8/1904.)

[14] FO 195/2198, Richardson's report, 31/1/1905 & 12/6/1905.

[15] Maḥmūd Nadīm was well known and greatly respected at Ḥudayda where he was the President of the Commercial Tribunal there for some time and later at Ğidda in the same office. In 1894 he was nominated *qāʾimmaqām* of Zabīd and then promoted to *mutaṣarriflik* of Tripoli. (FO 195/2198, 31/1/1905.)

[16] FO 195/2178, Richardson's report, 16/10/1905.

[17] R/20/A/1256 & FO 195/2254, Richardson's report, 27/4/1907.

the principal leaders immediately after their release[18]. In the administration, the same Commission introduced reform by prohibiting the further employment of six corrupt *qā'immaqāms* who had spent many years in the *wilāyet* accumulating wealth by squeezing taxpayers. Among these were Muḥammad Ra'ūf of Ṭawīla, his brother Aḥmad Adīb, the late *qā'immaqām* of Radāʿ, and Ṣāliḥ Bey, *qā'immaqām* at Za-bīd[19]. In August 1907, a Finance Commission was sent by the Sultān under the pre-sidency of General Sābit Paša to supervise the finances of the *wilāyet* of Yaman. The Commission proved impotent, owing to the obstruction of Faydī Paša, the *wālī* and Commander-in-Chief, and the indifference of the Istanbul authorities. Yawar Effendi, who replaced Sābit Pasha, was powerless to act, owing to the attitude assumed by the *wālī*, who reduced the power of the Finance Commission to that of an anomalous and meaningless body in the *wilāyet*[20].

The move for change in the administration of Yaman continued even after the Young Turk revolution of 1908. Negotiations with the Imām and al-Idrīsī continued to dominate the episode of the new Ottoman administration in Yaman, a develop-ment which will be further dealt with in the following discussion.

1.3 Imamic-Ottoman Relations

Opposition to Ottoman rule in Yaman began earlier in other areas than in the Imām's stronghold of the highlands. At Abhā in 1882, the Ottomans were cut off from the coast, followed by an attack on them at Luḥayya (Baldry 1963: 168). These oppositions, however, were typical of tribal resentment, which left no major injuri-ous effect on the Ottomans. Only in 1891, with the first of a series of the Imām's up-risings, did a real threat to the survival of the Ottomans in Yaman begin.

The ostensible reason for Imām Muḥammad's rising against the Ottomans in Ya-man was apparently religious. The religious issue adopted by the *Zaydī Imāms*, no-tably by Imām Muḥammad and his successor, may have been primarily inspired by *Zaydī* doctrine, which went back to Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, who rebelled openly against the ʿUmayyads after the events of Karbalā', calling for the observance of the Book of God and the *Sunna* of His Prophet, the preservation of the *Sunna*, and the abolition of *bidʿa*. Fundamentally, therefore, the *Zaydīs* and, in particular, their Imāms, were strongly inspired to rise up against any unjust ruler. This element, how-ever, is not uncommon but was shared by other groups among the *Sunnīs* in Yaman notably Sayyid al-Idrīsī, who also fought the Ottomans for religious reasons, apart from personal and political interests. The *Zaydī Imāms* may also have felt that they

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[18] R/20/A/1256, Richardson's report, 30/5/1907.

[19] Muḥammad Ra'ūf had already been imprisoned by Ḥusayn Ḥilmī Paša for some 10 years and was released in 1905 by Faydī Paša and was appointed *qā'immaqām* at Ṭawīla. (R/20/A/1256, 30/5/1907.)

[20] R/20/A/1256, Richardson's report, 6/6/1908; FO 195/2236, June 1908.

could not tolerate any more the loss of their position as temporal and spiritual leaders of the *Zaydī*s, as a result of the actions of the Ottomans. Since the occupation of Ṣanʿāʾ in 1872, the temporal role of the Imāms of the *Zaydī*s was questioned, notably, when the power to appoint officials and judges was taken away from them, and the Imāms were further restricted from ruling over the tribesmen. They were also prevented from collecting *zakāt*, eliminating, therefore, their religious claim, and naturally diminishing their influence as spiritual leaders. Instead, the Imāms and their family were paid a monthly salary of 3,000 riyāls (al-ʿAqīlī 1958: 53). The limiting of the authority of the Imāms to a position similar to that of local religious leaders, as opposed to their intended ideal position as *Zaydī Imāms*, induced them to rise up against the Ottomans in the name of religious duty as Imāms.

In addition to the religious issue, the Imāms made a conventional claim to the territory of their ancestors in Yaman. This claim not only led them to oppose the Ottomans in Yaman, but also al-Idrīsī in ʿAsīr and the British protégés of the ʿAden Protectorate, which the Imāms regarded as part of their greater Yaman. Beside the issues of the *Zaydī*s' doctrine and their territorial claims, the malpractice of the Ottoman officials in Yaman gave the final impetus to the uprising of the Imāms of Yaman. However, on a number of occasions, the Imāms were under pressure from their followers, notably the *Zaydī* tribesmen, the principal *šayḫ*s and the Imām's advisers, either to lead an uprising against the Ottomans or to decide matters concerning the future of the *Zaydī*s in Yaman. Therefore the Imām must act in accordance with the wishes of the community who selected him as Imām. Whereby the slightest inclination on his part to depart from the mandate specified by the community would be a signal for his fall and disgrace, and leading to the election of another Imam.

When Sayyid Yaḥyā was elected as Imām in June 1904, he continued in his father's footsteps in opposing the administration of the country by the Ottoman officials. Richardson, British vice-consul at Ḥudayda, reported that Sayyid Yaḥyā's accession to the Imāmate was notified to the *wālī*, as well as his intention to continue hostilities[21]. During his stay at Ṣanʿāʾ, Richardson found that it was an open secret that the new Imām would give the Ottomans considerable trouble after the departure of ʿAbdallāh Paša, the former *wālī* and Commander-in-Chief. Preparations were also made to organise a general revolt throughout the mountainous districts of Yaman, the home of the *Zaydī*s. The main strength of the Imām was drawn from the *Zaydī* tribesmen. This time the tribesmen were more willing to support the Imām. They suffered badly through droughts and famine in 1904[22], which directly affected their

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[21] FO 195/2174, Richardson's report, 31/10/1904.

[22] In July 1904, Richardson described the appalling condition of the country during his visit to Ṣanʿāʾ when he stated that "the severe hand of famine has left a very lasting impression on the agricultural population and the villages and towns present sad spectacles with their swarms of hungry and starving men,

livelihood. They were also discontented over taxation during these hard days, and this induced them to support the Imām as their new leader.

With the support of the tribesmen, Imām Yaḥyā moved towards Ṣanʿā' and succeeded in subduing the Ottomans in April 1905. Accordingly, the Ottoman authorities were demanded to sign the capitulation, which resulted in the surrender of the capital to the Imām. All troops and Ottoman officials, including the *walī* and the Commander-in-Chief, were permitted to leave for Ḥudayda, under a guarantee from the Imām for their safety[23].

The Imām made a further move by proposing to administer all mountainous districts of Yaman where the *Zaydī* element was predominant, to pay, in return, an annual tribute to the Sulṭān, and to maintain at his own expense a garrison of 5,000 Ottoman troops at Ṣanʿā. It was also suggested that the Sulṭān should receive a deputation from Yaman for the purpose of presenting grievances against the misrule of the Ottoman officials[24].

Although it was unlikely that the Ottomans would accept either the capitulation of Ṣanʿā' or the Imām's proposals, negotiations for peace with the Imām proceeded. On 8 June 1905 Maḥmūd Nadīm was accordingly sent to Ṣanʿā' to conduct negotiations with the Imām for the purpose of reaching an amicable understanding[25]. Maḥmūd Nadīm did not, however, see the Imām personally. He was met outside Ṣanʿā' by a representative of the Imām and was escorted to Rawḍa, a town about five miles north of Ṣanʿā', where the Imām resided at that time. Written communications passed between them for nearly a week. The Imām was personally in favour of a peaceful settlement, but he could not carry his advisers and the principal *šayḫs* with him. In his last proposal, the Imām offered to return Ṣanʿā' to the Sulṭān and to desist from further rebellion, on condition that the towns of Ḏamār, Yarīm, Ḥaǧǧa, Ṭawīla, Kawkabān and ʿAmrān would be given to him[26].

The Ottomans were not yet prepared to abandon these areas to the Imām, and orders were issued for a general movement against the insurgents. On 16 July 1905, Aḥmad Faydī Paša, who was in charge for the relief of Ṣanʿā', made a first advance in the direction of Ṣanʿā' with six battalions of Albanian troops, and on 29 August

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women and children. The average mortality from starvation at Manāḫa, in the district of Ḥarāz is about 15 daily, but is much greater in the neighbouring villages. I am informed that 2,000 deaths from the above cause occurred between Ibb and Taʿizz during the past few months". (FO 195/2174 28/7/1904).

[23] FO 195/2174, Richardson's report, 20/12/1904.

[24] FO 195/2198, Richardson to G.P. Devey, Jiddah, 16/5/1905.

[25] FO 195/2198, Richardson to Devey, 12/6/1905.

[26] FO 195/2198, Richardson to Devey, 15/7/1905.

1905, only four months after the surrender of Ṣanʿāʾ, the Ottomans succeeded in retaking the capital[27].

After his successful campaign in recapturing Ṣanʿāʾ in September 1905, Aḥmad Faydī Paša led an army of 10,000 in the middle of November that year towards Ša-hāra, in an attempt to crush the Imām there, where the majority of the artillery, rifles and ammunition captured from Ṣanʿāʾ had been kept. However, due to the inac-cessibility of Šahāra because of its mountainous features, and the constant counter-at-tacks of the Imām, Faydī Paša decided to abandon the campaign[28]. The renewal of the military operations against the Imām undoubtedly affected the attitude of the Imām towards the Ottomans. The Imām's resentment towards them was conveyed to the ʿAbdali Sulṭān. In September 1906, the Imām wrote to justify his action, claim-ing that the Ottoman officials were responsible for renewing a state of war in Yaman.

At the failure of military action, an option for diplomatic policy began to take place. A number of negotiations were undertaken with the aim of coming to terms with the Imām. In July 1906, the Grand Šarīf of Mecca deputed a commission to Ya-man to persuade Imām Yaḥyā to come to an agreement and to save Muslim blood in the name of Islamic unity[29]. The mission was apparently undertaken at the re-quest of the Grand Šarīf, but no doubt it was executed at the express command of the Sulṭān. In August, the delegation arrived at Ḥudayda with the above message. The Imām was reported to have replied stating his wish not to continue hostilities against the Ottomans, and his eagerness to put an end to all the bloodshed. But, the Imām said, he was not free to make the decision of his own free will in such matters, as he had to be guided by the wishes of the community who had selected him as Imām. The Imām also declined the offer of a position in Yaman under the Ottoman Government with a residence at Ṣanʿāʾ similar to that held at Mecca by the Grand Šarīf[30]. The Imām, furthermore, accused the administration of deliberately misin-forming the Sulṭān of Islām of the real situation in Yaman (Baldry 1963: 177). The Imām insisted that the basis of any understanding with the Ottomans should com-mence with the withdrawal of the troops to Manāḫa, in accordance with the treaty signed at the capitulation of Ṣanʿāʾ[31]. The Imām was apparently prepared to negoti-ate. In his counter-request, the Imām made it clear that he wanted to administer,

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[27] FO 195/2198, Richardson to Devey, 30/8/1905.

[28] R/20/A/1256, Richardson's report on Yemen, 22/7/1906. In opposition to this account Baldry (1963: 177) quoted from al-Kibsī, *"Imām and Yaman Independence"* (A.U.B. thesis) that Šahāra was re-taken.

[29] FO 195/2224, 8/9/1906; Baldry 1963: 177.

[30] R/20/A/1256, Hussein to Sir O'Conor, 8/9/1906.

[31] R/20/A/1256, Richardson to Dr. Hussein, 6/11/1906.

under the suzerainty of the Sulṭān, the mountainous part of Yaman that formerly be-
longed to his ancestors, paying tribute to the Government. A small Ottoman garrison
would also be allowed to stay at Ṣanʿāʾ[32].

At the failure of the above mission, a delegation selected from officials in Yaman
was accordingly sent to the Imām. The Imām agreed, presumably after failing to se-
cure a friendship treaty with the British by which he had hoped to obtain a supply
of arms either to protect his position or initiate a new revolt (Baldry 1963: 177). He
sent his representatives and a few of his principal followers to Rayġa about thirty
miles north of Ṣanʿāʾ to meet the delegation, which consisted of Maḥmūd Paša, Maḥ-
mūd Nadīm Bey, the adjoint of the *walī*, and Aḥmad Bey, one of the secretaries of
the Yamani *wilāyet*. The main objectives of the delegation were to persuade the
Imām to cease hostilities, to arrange for the release of the Arab hostages held by him
and to return to the Government the military stores taken from Ṣanʿāʾ. The result
of the negotiations was kept secret, but it was not fruitful[33]. Accordingly, a deputa-
tion from Istanbul reached Yaman in April 1907 with the aim of patching up matters
with the Imām and his followers (*ibid.*). Although the Commission was given very
wide powers to deal with the Imām, it did not reach an agreement as the Imām re-
peatedly demanded his autonomy in the *Zaydī* districts and the evacuation of Ṣanʿāʾ,
in accordance with the capitulation of Ṣanʿāʾ in April 1905[34], and, presumably, the
Commission was not yet given authorization to discuss the matter. The Commission
left for Constantinople on 29 May 1907.

The Ottomans were subsequently trying to bypass the Imām, presumably to win
over the Imām's followers or to divert their allegiance from him. At the instance of
the Commission, an Imperial notification was promulgated on 28 April 1907 inviting
the inhabitants to select their chiefs and *šayḫs* in order to place their grievances per-
sonally before the Sulṭān, also to point out the causes and offer suggestions. Accord-
ingly, about forty Arabs were selected from the principal tribes, and they sailed for
Istanbul[35]. This Yamani delegation cannot be considered as representative of the
Imām, although its *Zaydī* element must have obtained the consent of the Imām, be-
fore they proceeded to the capital. Ṣanʿāʾ and other *qaḍās* including ʿAmrān, Ḏamār,
Ǧibla, Taʿizz, Ḥarāz, Abū ʿAriš, Zabīd and Ḥudayda sent delegates, but there was
no representative from the Imām as he neither replied nor sent his own delegates[36].
The mission, as anticipated by the Imām, was fruitless. But the return of the delega-

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[32] R/20/A/1256, Richardson to Dr. Hussein, 6/11/1906; FO 195/2224, 5/9/1906.

[33] R/20/A/1256, Richardson to Dr. Hussein, 6/11/1906.

[34] R/20/A/1256 & FO 195/2254, Richardson to O'Conor, 27/4/1907.

[35] R/20/A/1256, Richardson to O'Conor, 30/5/1907.

[36] R/20/A/1256, Richardson to O'Conor, 30/5/1907.

tion had a calming effect in Yaman and the *Zaydī* force which had been threatening Ṣanʿāʾ and Manāḫa withdrew (Baldry *op.cit.*: 179-80).

In September 1907, at the request of the Sulṭān, another move was made by the Šarīf of Mecca to attempt to subdue the Imām. A delegation consisting of four muftis, representing the four *maḏhab*s: Ḥanbalī, Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Šāfiʿī, who resided at Mecca and four other *ʿulamāʾ* from Mecca and one from Madīna were sent to Yaman. Their duty was to tour the *wilāyet*, to advise the people to remain loyal to the Caliph, and to renounce their allegiance to the Imām, who was described an impostor and a rebel, whose acts were contrary to the laws of the Prophet[37]. The delegation also addressed a letter to the Imām, warning him against his rebellious and defiant behaviour towards the Government during the past years. They informed him that if he tendered his submission, the Sulṭān was prepared to grant him a monthly allowance and accord him a status similar to that of the Šarīf of Mecca. They further requested him to release all the Arab hostages and Turkish prisoners at Šahāra. They also earnestly advised him to desist from his illegal attitude in demanding tithes from the tribesmen in the mountainous districts, as they already had to pay such taxes to the Ottoman authorities (*ibid.*). The Imām, in reply, stated that he was not a rebel, but, on the contrary, he was loyal to the Sulṭān. The local Ottoman officials, he added, owing to their abuse of authority and the oppression of the poor agricultural classes, were responsible for his action in waging war, and for the bloodshed that had resulted (*ibid.*). A second letter was then sent to the Imām by the deputation to remind him of the severe chastisement awaiting him unless he submitted in good time and to rebuke him for having described himself as Commander of the Faithful. When they left the capital, no answer was received from the Imām and the mission was likewise unsuccessful (*ibid.*). The Imām had for some time been inactive against the Ottomans, despite his rejection of both peace missions sent from Istanbul to arrange a settlement with him. This inaction was probably due to his engagement against his rival, Sayyid Ḥasan al-Qāsimī ad-Dahyānī[38].

The restoration of the Constitution in 1908 was thought to bring new hope for the Yamanis. In November 1908, two notable Yamani *šayḫ*s, Šayḫ Muḥammad Mu-

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[37] R/20/A/1256 & FO 195/2254, Richardson to O'Conor, 18/9/1907.

[38] About three months prior to the death of Imām Muḥammad, he was affected with a stroke of paralysis in one of his upper extremities. According to the precepts of the *Zaydī* doctrine, the person selected to fill the post of Imām should be sound in every limb. Subsequently, a notable of Ṣaʿda, Sayyid Ḥasan al-Qāsimī ad-Dahyānī claimed the Imāmate, but had not a sufficiently strong body of followers at the time to back up his pretension. However, following the death of Imām Muḥammad in 1904, ad-Dahyānī had openly asserted his claim, and had been able to hold his own in the Ṣaʿda district against Sayyid Yahyā. ad-Dahyānī had been supported to a certain extent by the Ottomans at the instance of Fayḍī Paša, with a view to reducing the power of Sayyid Yahyā. During the greater part of 1908, the new Imām, Sayyid Yahyā was in conflict with ad-Dahyānī (FO 195/2320, Richardson to Lowther, 1/3/1909.)

zaykir and Šarīf ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥassān al-Mutawakkil, were sent to Yaman. Their duty was to persuade the Imām to send his deputies to Istanbul to present his claims before the Government, with a view to bringing about a permanent peace in the *wilā-yet*. Accordingly, three notables of great influence, Sayyid ʿAbdallāh Ibrāhīm, *Qāḍī* ʿIzzī aš-Šerkī and Sayyid Muḥammad aš-Šāmī, were selected by the Imām to go to Istanbul[39]. But there was no satisfactory understanding materialised.

In December 1908, however, a new move took place, when the Council of Ministers in Constantinople discussed the possibility of implementing further reforms in Yaman. These included the replacement of corrupt officials; the reorganisation of the police; prevention of malpractice in the collection of taxes and an increase in the number of schools. In March 1909, the Council of Ministers made another proposal, *i.e.* to delegate the civil and religious administration in the district of Saʿda to Sayyid Yaḥyā in their attempt to arrange the settlement with him.

These proposals remained idle for some time. Faydī Paša was, however, replaced by Ḥasan Taḥsīn Paša, who was very friendly to the Imām[40]. But the improved relationship between the Imām and the officials was short-lived, as a new *wālī*, Muḥammad ʿAlī Paša, was appointed. Malpractice again became rampant under the new *wālī*, and this in itself inevitably provoked a fresh revolt. In 1911, Imām Yaḥyā led another revolt which was provoked by the bad conduct of the new *wālī*, Muḥammad ʿAlī Paša, which caused discontent amongst the people. This coincided with the revolts of al-Idrīsī in ʿAsīr[41] and of the Zarāniq tribesmen[42]. The first manifestation of the new revolt under Imām Yaḥyā was the appearance of armed bands in the vicinity of the capital on or about 12 January 1911. Simultaneously with the operation, the rebels grabbed the town of Ṣanʿāʾ from all sides in great strength, and cut off all the communication with Manāḫa and Taʿizz to the south, and also with the garrisoned towns in the north[43]. However, at the end of April 1911, the revolt in the Yaman highlands under the *Zaydī* Imām collapsed, almost as suddenly as it had commenced. This was partly due to the lack of support and co-operation from the

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[39] FO 195/2320, Richardson to Lowther, 1/3/1909.

[40] R/20/A/1268, Imam to Aden, April 1909.

[41] ʿAsīr had been in rebellion for centuries under the leadership of Ašraf Abū ʿArīš long before the appearance of Sayyid Muḥammad Idrīs in the 1900's. During the revolt of 1904 in ʿAsīr, a large number of officials, including the *mutaṣarrif* and Military Commander of ʿAsīr, were killed. (FO 195/ 2174, 'Quarterly Report on the Yemen vilayet, administrative and economic', by Richardson, 1904.)

[42] The Zarāniq country is in the vicinity of Ḥudayda and the tribesmen had for a considerable period previously refused to pay all the taxes to the Ottoman authorities. They also pillaged the caravans en route to Bayt al-Faqīh for considerable time. (FO 195/2174, 'Quarterly Report on Yaman' by Richardson, 1904.)

[43] FO 195/2376, 18/1/1911, 16/2/1911, & 12/4/1911.

tribesmen who inhabited the agricultural districts lying between Huǧayla and Ṣanʿāʾ. They were tired of the prolonged internal strife and were busy attending to their fields, which had received plentiful rains during the previous year. Imām Yaḥyā had therefore been obliged to have recourse to the warlike mountain tribesmen of the north and north-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, such as Ḥašid and Bakil, D̲ū Muḥammad and D̲ū Ḥusayn, with whom he had overrun the country. Various tribesmen, on the other hand, had been reluctantly compelled to take sides with the Imām, owing to their having previously rendered hostages to him as a guarantee of giving him support in his cause against the Ottomans[44]. Since the collapse of the revolt, sympathy towards Imām Yaḥyā deteriorated among a considerable number of influential sections of his followers. Furthermore, there were signs of alienation from him, and even of open revolt against his authority. These factors played an important part during his negotiations with the Ottomans and undoubtedly forced pressure on him to make the best of any bargain offered by the Ottomans. In September 1911, secret negotiations between ʿIzzat Paša, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Imām materialised, when the treaty of Daʿan was concluded. The treaty marked a turning point in the history of Imamic-Ottoman relations in the Yaman since the reoccupation of Ṣanʿāʾ by the Ottomans in 1872. It eliminated all the principal sources of friction and discord between the Ottomans and the Imām. Moreover, the treaty recognised the Imām as the temporal and spiritual leader of the *Zaydīs*. Consequently, the Imām remained loyal not only to one particular official but to the Ottomans in general, as he abided by the treaty. Furthermore, the treaty became the basis of their relations throughout the First World War, and this enabled the Imām to acquire control of an independent state of Yaman, which was under the Ottomans when the war ended.

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THE POLITICAL LIFE OF RAŠĪD RIḌĀ

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The Muslim thinker Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā is better known to students of Islam and the Middle East in the modern age as the loyal disciple and follower of Muhammad ʿAbduh, the founder of the Islamic reform movement. However, a thorough research on the activities of this man from the Young Turk revolution in 1908 until the destruction of Fayṣal's kingdom in Syria in 1920, reveals that alongside his overt activity to promote ʿAbduh's perceptions Riḍā also conducted a covert activity to foster the pan-Arab idea. This duality put Riḍā in difficult dilemmas, as it was not simple to harmonize activity for a religion with activity for a nationalist idea, especially when Islam was concerned, a religion which in principle had not recognized division between men on the basis of ethnic origin. However, Riḍā's own life story, and the circumstances which passed over the Arab world during these years, brought him to pursue this path and to become the first Muslim pan-Arabist in modern times.

Following the Young Turk revolution in 1908 Riḍā returned to Syria from his exile in Egypt and opened a propaganda campaign in favour of unity between Arabs and Turks in the Ottoman Empire. He was convinced of the rosy future expected for the Ottoman Empire and for Arab-Turkish relations in the post revolution era. In 1909 he travelled to Istanbul having two aims: to establish a school for Islamic propagandists and to ameliorate Arab-Turkish relations which started then to deteriorate due to the beginnings of the Turkification policy (a mere "misunderstanding" he called it then). Riḍā failed in both goals. In 1910, after a year in Istanbul, he reached the conclusion that the Young Turks were just mocking him. Filled with bitterness and disappointment he returned to Egypt. Riḍā never forgave the Young Turks, and the "Committee of Union and Progress" which headed them, and no longer had faith in the Ottoman Empire[1].

Since his return from Istanbul, Riḍā's work had split into two levels, one open and one secret. His open activity focused upon the school for propagandists, "the House of Propaganda and Guidance" *(Dār ad-daʿwa wa-l-iršād)*, which he had managed to establish in Cairo instead of Istanbul. The secret one, which was the result of his disappointment of the Turks and the hatred he had developed towards the

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[1] The Public Record Office (Kew-London), Foreign Office Records (hereafter: FO) 371/1011: despatches 466 and 717, Gerard Lowther (Istanbul) to Grey, 6 July and 9 October 1910. *al-Manār*, many articles in vols. 12-14, 1910-11, and 19, 1916. Arslan 1937: 148. aš-Šarbasī 1970: 145-147, 149-150. Adams 1968: 197.

Committee of Union and Progress, was expressed in the establishment of the clan-
destine "Society of the Arab Association" *(Ğamʿiyyat al-ğāmiʿa al-ʿarabiyya)*.

The society's original aims were: to unify the *amīr*s of the Arabian Peninsula and
to prevent dissension among them; to achieve cooperation among the Arabs for the
development of their countries and their protection; and to establish connections be-
tween the Arab political societies in Syria, Iraq and Istanbul in a joint struggle against
the Committee of Union and Progress. Yet later Riḍā defined the purpose of the
society as aiming to create a union between the Arabian Peninsula and the Arab pro-
vinces of the Ottoman Empire. And in an oath he composed for the *amīr*s and lead-
ers who would join his society, Riḍā already went a step forward and spoke about
"the founding of a new kingdom" for the Arabs[2].

In accordance with the aims of his society, Riḍā corresponded with Ibn Saʿūd of
Nağd on the necessity to reach an alliance between all the rulers of the Arabian
Peninsula in order to strengthen the Arabs, and he sent a messenger to Imām Yaḥyā
of Yemen and to as-Sayyid al-Idrīsī of ʿAsīr. The latter two agreed in principle with
the aims of the society though Yaḥyā pointed out that he could not come to an
agreement with al-Idrīsī since he had once made a treaty with him and the latter had
betrayed him with the Italians. Ibn Saʿūd asked Riḍā to send him a messenger to
explain his plan from the religious and political viewpoints so that he could persuade
his followers. Riḍā indeed sent him a messenger with a case full of religious books,
but World War I intervened, the messenger could not reach Ibn Saʿūd, and the books
were confiscated in Bombay. The war also prevented the continuation of contacts
with Yaḥyā and al-Idrīsī. In 1912 Riḍā had gone to India on a lecture tour and on
his way back to Egypt he passed through Kuwait and Masqat and made contacts with
Mubārak aṣ-Ṣabāḥ of Kuwait, Šayḫ Ḫazʿal of Muḥammara, and the *amīr* of Masqat,
trying to persuade them of the necessity to establish an independent Arab state[3].

In 1914, ʿAbdallāh, the second son of Šarīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, visited Egypt and
entered into discussions with the British. With that he sowed the seed for the
McMahon-Ḥusayn correspondence a year later. While still in Cairo, Riḍā made him
a member of the society, swore him in and presented him with its program for a pact
between the rulers of the Arabian Peninsula. He suggested a pact wherein the rulers
of the Ḥiğāz, Nağd, Yemen and ʿAsīr would form a union based on internal inde-
pendence for each of them and mutual protection of their land against any foreign
aggression. Ḥusayn would be the president of the council of this pact, since its meet-
ings would take place in Mecca. ʿAbdallāh favoured the program and promised to

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[2] *al-Manār* 21: 4. 28 June 1919: 203. Saʿīd 1934: I. 49-50. al-ʿAzm 1925: vii.

[3] *al-Manār* 28: 1, 3 March 1927 pp. 4-5; 28: 6, 27 August 1927, p. 470. Saʿīd 1934: I. 50. Jamal Pasha
1916: 76.

forward it to his father. Ḥusayn turned the plan down due to his strained relations with the rest of the rulers of the peninsula[4].

Another reason for the establishment of the society was Riḍā's fear that the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire would fall into the hands of the imperialist European states. This fear increased after the defeat of the Empire against the Italians in Libya (1911) and its defeat in the Balkan War (1912-13). Following these two wars, Riḍā published a pamphlet woven with verses from the Qur'ān, that called for solidarity and unity among the Arabs for the salvation of their land and Islam. In the pamphlet he reported the establishment of a "Superior Committee" whose aim was to form an Arab Association that would protect the Arabian Peninsula and the Arab nation and stand up for their rights. The pamphlet warned the Arabs of the intention of foreigners to gain control over Syria and the shores of the Arabian Peninsula as a first stage, and then "to destroy the Kaʿba and transport the Black Stone and the ashes of the Prophet to the Louvre, museum of antiquities in Paris, capital of France". After vanquishing Mecca and Medina, the pamphlet continued, the Europeans would open saloons and prostitution would spread among Arab women. Therefore, the Arabs should awake and cease their internal quarrels at a time so pregnant with danger. "The Superior Committee for Arab Association" was expecting the Arabs "to prepare you all to fight, so that you will be able to quickly answer the first call". And when the Arabs answered this call they would gain their honour and independence[5].

With the outbreak of World War I in Europe Riḍā assented to a British request to send messengers to Ibn Saʿūd, Imām Yaḥyā, al-Idrīsī and a number of Syrian leaders, in order to ask them how they would react when the war spread to the Middle East. He even asked the British for 1.000 Egyptian pounds to finance the messengers, some of whom left for Syria and to the Persian Gulf as emissaries on behalf of the Decentralization Party (a Syrian party established in Egypt in late 1912). When the war broke out in the Middle East, Riḍā considered it an opportunity to start a revolt against the Ottomans and free the Arab countries. Attempting to gain British support, he tried to persuade the British Intelligence Department in Cairo of the

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[4] *al-Manār*. 24: 8, 13 August 1923, p. 607; 28: 1, 3 March 1927, p. 5. Saʿīd 1934: I. 50. ʿAbdallāh does not mention in his memoirs that he was a member of the society, probably because for him it was just a marginal episode. However, the fact that he was a member is mentioned in another source. In December 1915 Muḥammad Šarīf al-Farūqī, an Iraqi officer who also was a member of the society, sent a letter to Ḥusayn in which he wrote *inter alia*: "Rašīd Riḍā told me that your honoured son, Amīr ʿAbdallāh, share our principles and hopes with us, and we belong to the same association (*ǧamīʿa*)". See al-ʿUmarī 1924-25: I. 219.

[5] The pamphlet was also distributed by Riḍā when he fulfilled the *ḥaǧǧ* in Mecca in 1916 (see below) and a copy of it fell then into the hands of the French. Its French translation is enclosed with Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Paris) (hereafter: MAE), Guerre 1914-18, vol. 1687: despatch 440, Jules-Albert Defrance (Cairo) to Briand, 29 October 1916. See also Riḍā's words in al-ʿAzm 1925: vii.

influence his society had on the Arab officers in the Ottoman army and of the readiness of these officers to rebel against their Turkish and German commanders. But, added Riḍā, if the British wanted the rebellion to be extensive, they should inform the Arab officers of their willingness to assist them. Through his society, claimed Riḍā, the British could prove not only that they were not the enemy of Islam, but that they were willing to assist the Arabs to gain their independence[6].

On 24 October 1915, Arthur Henry McMahon, the British high commissioner of Egypt, sent his famous letter to Šarīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, in which he agreed to grant most of the territorial demands the latter had raised, in exchange for his cooperation with the British during the war. The letter, however, included several reservations with regard to the boundaries of the future Arab state promised to the Arabs, especially concerning its north-western boundaries. In December 1915 the British decided to show Riḍā the exact terms of McMahon's letter, after that in conversations with him they had learned that the information leaked to him concerning the letter was incorrect and misleading. Riḍā's reaction after looking into the terms was sharp: "This is an agreement that only an enemy of the Arabs could possibly be satisfied with, or a donkey who does not understand its meaning." Ronald Storrs, the Oriental Secretary of the British Residency in Cairo, who showed Riḍā the terms, blushed, and an angry argument followed. Riḍā complained about the vagueness of most of the articles in the letter, especially in regard to Syria's boundaries, and pointed out that they were contrary to the demands of the Arabs. When asked to put these demands down in writing, he returned two days later with a document titled "General Organic Law of the Arab Empire".

It was the most detailed program written by Riḍā regarding the shape and form of the future Arab Empire he envisioned. Its essence was to establish one large independent Arab state comprising the Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Iraq. This state, however, was to be decentralized, with each of its provinces independent in its internal administration. At the head of the new state there was to be an elected president, responsible for all civic and political matters. There would also be a caliph, of the house of the Šarīfs of Mecca, but he would govern the religious affairs of the state alone. The program also dealt with the relations between the independent rulers of the Arabian Peninsula and the new empire, and with other issues related to freedom of religion and the rights of minorities. The British did not take Riḍā's program seriously. They claimed that he did not represent the opinion of the Arab world, that his proposals were too progressive, and that there was no chance that the rulers of

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[6] Saʿīd 1960: 37. Israel State Archives (Jerusalem), 65/2855: note by Intelligence Department, War Office (Cairo), 16 November 1914.

the Arabian Peninsula would consent to accept the article of his program that subordinated them to the new empire[7].

In June 1916, Šarīf Ḥusayn of Mecca opened his Arab revolt against the Ottomans. Riḍā supported the Arab revolt enthusiastically, considering it the beginning of the realization of his dreams. In his periodical *al-Manār* he wrote: "The interest of the Muslims in general is that the Arab countries would be strong by themselves and would not need an outside force to defend them." In articles published by him in *al-Ahrām* and *al-Manār*, he clarified that the hope of the Muslims was that Ḥusayn's revolt would bring about the establishment of a strong independent Arab empire, free of foreign influences. He strongly attacked the Committee of Union and Progress people and their Turanian nationalism, who trying to separate the Turkish race from Islam gained the hatred of all the Muslims and especially of the *'ulamā'*. He reminded them their Turkification policy from before the war, and argued that their object had been to erase the Arab race and assimilate it with the Turkish one. Every Arab who knew the extent of their mischief could not but hate them. In this situation, the Arabs could no longer constitute a part of the Ottoman Empire[8].

Since the Arab revolt had broken out, Riḍā tried without success to receive an invitation to come to Mecca to be given there some office. In mid-July there were rumours in Ǧidda that Riḍā was about to come to the Ḥiǧāz with the intention of stirring up strife against the British. An agent of the British in Ǧidda who got wind of this, recommended Ronald Storrs to make it impossible for Riḍā to leave Egypt, or even better to deport him to Malta altogether. (Later, when the British intercepted several of Riḍā's letters, in which he propagandized against them, they arrested him and intended to deport him to Malta. Eventually, however, they did not do it, in order not to damage their position in Egypt, though they kept him under close surveillance.) It was, however, only four months after the outbreak of the revolt that Riḍā managed to reach Mecca[9].

In early October 1916 Riḍā arrived in Mecca as a pilgrim, accompanying a delegation on behalf of Ḥusayn Kāmil, the Sultan of Egypt. The open aim of his arrival

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[7] An English translation of the original document is enclosed with FO 882/15: note, Ronald Storrs (Cairo) to Clayton, 5 December 1915. See also *ibid:* "Note on Proposals drawn up by šayh Rašīd Riḍā for formation of an Arab Kingdom" (Cairo), 9 December 1915, and *al-Manār* 22:6, 6 June 1921, p. 449.

[8] MAE, Guerre 1914-18, 1682: despatch 265, Defrance to Briand, 18 July 1916 (enclosing a summary of an article published in *al-Ahrām* on 9 July 1916). FO 882/2: "The Opinions of the Elect (i. e. Moslems) on the Arab Question", translation of an article published on 29 August 1916. *al-Manār*, 19: 2, 5 July 1916, p. 82; 19: 4, 28 September 1916, pp. 237-238 (citing an article published in *al-Ahrām* on 16 September 1916). aš-Šarbasī 1970: 153.

[9] FO 882/4: letter, [Ḥusayn] R[ūḥī] (Ǧidda) to R[onald] S[torrs], 17 July 1916 (cited also in Storrs 1937: 192). MAE, Guerre 1914-18, 1687: despatch 440, Defrance to Briand, 29 October 1916. Arslan 1937: 156.

was for *ḥaǧǧ* purposes, but it soon turned out that he had some ulterior objects. At first, it was reported that he propagandized against the British, as had been feared formerly. An agent of the British who slept near the tent of the French delegation (Muslim French, natives of North Africa), related that he had heard Riḍā telling the French that everyone in Egypt was sick of the British. Ḥusayn was very troubled by Riḍā's anti-British tendencies. Yet, eventually, Riḍā's activities during the *ḥaǧǧ* were mainly focused on the French[10].

Riḍā began to disseminate among the pilgrims the pamphlet he had published in 1913, which included anti-European propaganda and therefore fitted his present objects. Its climax was, one might recall, the assertion that the French intended "to destroy the Kaʿba and transport the Black Stone and the ashes of the Prophet to the Louvre". The head of the French delegation complained to Ḥusayn about this, and Ḥusayn hinted to Riḍā that distributing the pamphlet was undesirable. Riḍā, nonetheless, did not content himself with the pamphlet. In a speech he delivered to pilgrims in Mīnā, he spoke about the Arab kingdom in the time of the Crusaders, about the Moors invasion into Spain and France, and finally about the French ambitions in Syria. Ḥusayn, who attended the speech, silenced him publicly, and did the same each time Riḍā tried to speak against the Allies. He actually ordered him not to speak on such topics. When Riḍā's speech was later on published in *al-Qibla*, the Arab rebels' newspaper, Ḥusayn checked it personally in advance and censored all the paragraphs that treated European politics and especially the French ambitions in Syria[11].

However, the main purpose of Riḍā's visit to Mecca was to convince Ḥusayn to join the program of his society to form an alliance (*ḥilf*) between the rulers of the Hiǧāz, ʿAsīr, Yemen and Naǧd, in which each ruler would independently govern his internal affairs, and cooperate with the others in defending the peninsula from foreign aggression. At the head of the alliance there would be a "Council of the Alliance" (*maǧlis al-ḥilf*), which would convene once a year in Mecca to discuss common interests, resulting from this that Ḥusayn would be considered the president of the alliance. Riḍā presented the program to Ḥusayn, but the latter refused it. He told

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[10] FO 371/2776: despatch 8, Cyril E. Wilson (Ǧidda) to McMahon n. d., enclosed with despatch 280, Arthur Henry McMahon (Cairo) to Grey, 26 October 1916. aš-Šarbasī 1970: 153.

[11] MAE, Guerre 1914-18, 1704: telegram, Ben Ǧabrit (Mecca) to Ǧidda, 13 October it 1916; telegram, Edouard Brémond (Ǧidda) to French Minister (Cairo), 27 October 1916. MAE, Guerre 1914-18, 1687: telegram 401, Defrance to MAE, 16 October 1916; despatch 440, Defrance to Briand, 29 October 1916. MAE, Guerre 1914-18, 1693: report by Béchir Dinguizli, 26 October 1916, enclosed with despatch 121, French Resident (Tunis) to Briand, 28 February 1917. School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham (Durham), Wingate Papers 141/1: telegram, Brémond, 11 October 1916; 143/6: letter, Gilbert F. Clayton (Cairo) to Wingate, 20 November 1916. Public Record Office, War Office Records 33/905: telegram 25612, Director of Military Intelligence to General Headquarters, Egypt, 28 November 1916. al-Qibla, 17, 13 October 1916. Brémond 1931: 53-54. Riḍā's speech is cited in Daghir 1916: 226-231.

him that he would agree to discuss the program only after he had conquered Medina from the Ottomans, so there would be no suspicion that he wanted to enter into an alliance due to his weakness. Riḍā then suggested that several Arab notables would present the program to the other rulers of the peninsula – not in Ḥusayn's name – and only after the latter had agreed, Ḥusayn would announce his own acceptance. Ḥusayn refused this too. A members of Riḍā's society later informed him that after he had left Ḥusayn told his retinue: "There is a thing today called the Imām of Ye-men and a thing called Ibn Saʿūd. Tomorrow , nothing will be left of these names. All the Arab countries will constitute one single kingdom, submitting to one king." (According to another version, Ḥusayn simply said: "Who are these dogs that I should enter into an alliance with them?") Riḍā never forgave Ḥusayn for refusing to accept his program to arrive at an Arab union, and he accused him that what mo-tivated him was his will to become king of all the Arab countries and caliph of all the Muslims, relying on the British[12].

In October 1916 discussions were held in Mecca in preparation of Ḥusayn's coro-nation (which took place at the end of that month) and the establishment of an Arab government in the Ḥiğāz. Riḍā warned Ḥusayn not to think about being declared caliph. He reminded him the _ḥadīṯ:_ "If two caliphs were pledged alliance to, kill the second of them." He also told him that a pledge of alliance (_bayʿa_) by the people of the Ḥiğāz would be worthless, since they were not from among the influential people of the Muslim _umma_ and not at liberty to choose at their own free will. He pointed out as well that large portions of the Muslim world opposed the Arab revolt. All these arguments were of course disagreeable to Ḥusayn. It is not surprising there-fore that when Riḍā offered him his services (some said his journalistic services, others that he wanted to become his Šayḫ al-Islām), Ḥusayn definitely refused. Riḍā's anti-European proclivities, his union plan, and his words to Ḥusayn concerning the caliphate, made him _persona non grata_ in the Ḥiğāz. In mid-October 1916 Riḍā re-turned to Egypt empty-handed[13].

At the beginning of 1917 Riḍā expressed himself in _al-Manār_ in a manner consi-dered by Ḥusayn to be offensive to the Arab government of the Ḥiğāz. In May 1917, the Ḥiğāzi Ministry of the Interior published an announcement in _al-Qibla_, according to which _al-Manār_ was forbidden thenceforth to enter the bounds of the Hāšimite kingdom because of the offensive expressions published in it concerning the Arab go-vernment. The directors of the Ḥiğāzi post offices received appropriate instructions

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[12] _al-Manār_ 22: 6, 6 June 1921, p. 447; 24: 8, 13 August 1923, p. 607; 33: 9, 28 February 1934, p. 712.

[13] MAE, Guerre 1914-18, 1704: telegram, Brémond to MAE, 15 October 1916. _al-Manār_ 22:6, 6 June 1921, p. 448. Brémond 1931: 54. Jung 1924-25: II. 26.

in this spirit. The split between Riḍā and Ḥusayn became at this stage a *fait accompli*[14].

The third encounter between Riḍā and a member of the Hašimite family occurred in 1920, this time with Fayṣal, Ḥusayn's third son. However, the conditions then were completely different from those that had existed on the former two occasions. At the end of World War I the whole Fertile Crescent was under the control of the British army. Yet, while in Iraq a direct British rule was installed, the British army in Syria confined itself to its barracks and an independent Arab government was established, headed by *Amīr* Fayṣal. This government held out for almost two years, until in July 1920 it was destroyed by the French in the battle of Maysalūn. Fayṣal himself was obliged to sail to Europe in November 1918 in order to take part in the Paris peace conference. He returned to Syria in April 1919, but in September was obliged to leave again in order to enter into negotiations with the French about Syria's fate. The fact that Fayṣal stayed in Europe for a considerable part of this period resulted in the actual rule of his short-lived state being in the hands of the secret nationalist society *al-Fatāt* and several other political organizations, while Fayṣal's influence in Syria was rather limited.

In mid-1919 Riḍā decided to return to Syria. When he arrived in Damascus he was elected to be representative of Tripoli in the Syrian Congress. During his whole stay in Syria Riḍā was a staunch adherent of absolute independence, and he joined the *al-Fatāt* society, which led the Syrian campaign for absolute independence. Since *al-Fatāt* kept its secrecy also in this period, its influence was mainly behind the scenes. For conducting its public activities *al-Fatāt* founded the "Arab Independence Party" (*Ḥizb al-Istiqlāl al-ʿArabī*) which was no more than its overt mouthpiece. Riḍā also joined the party, presided over some of its conferences, and soon was considered one of its prominent members. Riḍā was also participating in the demonstrations held by the "Committee for National Defence", the most extremist political body in Syria in that time, which was not content even with the nationalist activity of *al-Fatāt* and was the most anti-French organization in the country[15].

When Riḍā arrived in Syria, Fayṣal was already on his second visit to Europe. Therefore, Riḍā met Fayṣal for the first time only in mid-January 1920, when the latter returned from Europe. For the next few weeks they met several times for private conversations and Riḍā tried to convince him to accept his plan to form an alliance between the rulers of the Arabian Peninsula. He explained to him the damage ensuing from the hostility existing between the Ḥiǧāz and Ibn Saʿūd, and pointed out

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[14] *al-Qibla* 78, 14 May 1917. MAE, Guerre 1914-18, 1697: despatch 346, Defrance to Ribot, 18 July 1917. *al-Manār*, 22: 6, 6 June 1921, p. 448.

[15] *Ibid.* 23: 4, 27 April 1922, p. 316; 33: 9, 28 February 1934, p. 712 (excerpt from Riḍā's diary, 9 February 1920); 33: 10, 15 April 1934, p. 796 (excerpt from Riḍā's diary, 21 February 1920). Darwaza 1950-53: I. 77, 97. al-Ḥakīm 1966: 93.

that if his plan for such a union was realized it would place the *amīrs* of the Higāz at the head of the Arabs, since the general council of the alliance (*maǧlis al-ḥilf al-ʿāmm*) would meet in Mecca. It would convene once a year under the presidency of the *Amīr* of Mecca and discuss the common interests of the Arabs. Fayṣal approved of the plan and promised Riḍā to do his best to convince his father to agree to it too. Riḍā then related to him about his own failure to convince Ḥusayn to adhere to his plan, and the offensive way in which Ḥusayn had reacted to it. He cited Ḥusayn's words that in the future all the Arab countries "will constitute one single kingdom, submitting to one king", and told Fayṣal about this that "unity can be achieved only by complying with the law, not by submitting to a ruler". The nation would not be prepared to be ruled by an autocrat[16].

In March 1920 the Syrian nationalists obliged Fayṣal to convene the Syrian Congress to discuss the declaration of Syria's independence and Fayṣal's enthronement[17]. On the eve of the declaration the members of the Independence Party were meeting constantly every night to discuss the subject of independence and the form of the state after the declaration. They discussed the status of the future Syrian government and the status of the congress, and decided that the congress should continue to exist also after the declaration. While Fayṣal believed that the congress would disperse after the declaration and a committee would be set up to draw up a constitution for the state, the members of the Independence Party decided that the congress would continue to operate until a permanent parliament was established, and that it would be the congress to write the constitution. A sharp controversy between the congress and Fayṣal developed. According to the declaration of independence, the government to be formed was to be subordinate to the congress until the establishment of parliament. Consequently, the congress expected the new government to present its political platform before the congress for approval and a vote of confidence.

The designated prime minister, ʿAlī Riḍā ar-Rikabī, reported this to Fayṣal, who got angry and announced that the congress had exceeded its authority. He would not agree that the government would be subordinate to the congress, "most of whose members are inexperienced youngsters, mindless, and of no importance". The congress persisted in its opinion and Fayṣal persisted in his. Congress member Riḍā was sent to mediate between the two sides. Fayṣal claimed to him that since the congress was not a parliament it was not entitled to require the government to request its con-

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[16] *al-Manār* 33: 8, 31 December 1933, pp. 633-634; 33: 9, 28 February 1934, p. 712 (excerpt from Riḍā's diary, 9 February 1920). Riḍā also suggested to Fayṣal to send a messenger to Ibn Saʿūd, with letters to him from each of them about the need to accomplish Arab unity. See *ibid.* p. 713 (excerpt from Riḍā's diary, 10 February 1920).

[17] Riḍā claims that he was the first to suggest to declare Syria's independence, in order to present Europe with a *fait accompli*. See *ibid.* 714 (excerpt from Riḍā's diary, 10 February 1920), and 34: 1, 14 May 1934, p. 68.

fidence. Riḍā answered him that the congress stood at a higher level than a parlia-
ment. Fayṣal replied that he had created the congress and that he was not prepared
to grant it such authority. Riḍā answered: "No! The congress created you. Before
that, you were only a commander on behalf of Allenby, the supreme commander of
the British army, and it was the congress that made you King of Syria". And in addi-
tion to this, the congress met in the name of the nation, which had the supreme
authority according to the Islamic *šarīʿa*, and at the same time that the congress de-
cided to make Fayṣal king it also decided on subordinating the government to it.
Riḍā also told him that if already in the first moment after the declaration of inde-
pendence there was dissension between the congress and the government, they would
become a byword, and it would be a proof that the Syrians were not qualified for in-
dependence. And for conclusion, Riḍā calmed Fayṣal that in any case, "most of the
members of the congress are of our party (meaning the Independence Party), and the
members of the government are also of our party", so there was nothing to worry
about. The argument ended with Fayṣal consenting to permit ar-Rikabī to present
the government platform before the congress[18].

Ar-Rikabī's government formed after the declaration of Syria's independence did
not last long. Accusations cast on it that it was too moderate and did not prepare the
country to fight the French brought about its downfall. On 3 May the task of form-
ing a new government was assigned to the president of the Syrian Congress, Hāšim
al-Atasī. Two days later Riḍā was elected president of the congress in his place, a po-
sition he continued to hold until the destruction of the Syrian state[19].

On 14 July General Gouraud, the French high commissioner in Beirut, sent his
famous ultimatum to Fayṣal, to the effect that his forces would take over Syria by
force unless the Arab government accepted the French mandate without any reserva-
tions. When Gouraud's ultimatum arrived, a delegation of the Independence Party,
headed by Riḍā, came to Fayṣal and demanded that he replace the al-Atasī govern-
ment with one more suited to the new situation, preferably headed by a senior army
officer. Fayṣal answered them rudely that he would not act according to the opinion
of any society or party, nor even according to the opinion of the congress. Relates
Riḍā: "I gave him an answer harder and ruder than his answer"[20].

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[18] *Ibid.* 21: 8, 17 June 1920, p. 435; 23: 5, 27 May 1922, pp. 392-393; 33: 10, 15 April 1934, p. 798; 34:
2,13 June 1934, pp. 152-154.

[19] Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre (Vincennes), 6N189:
"Rapport hebdomadaire (Semaine du 4 au 10 Mai 1920)". FO 371/5035: telegram 555G, General Head-
quarters, Egypt to War Office, 13 May 1920. *Le Temps* 13 May 1920. *al-Manār* 34: 2, 13 June 1934, pp. 156-
157. al-Ḥakīm 1966: 157, 160. Darwaza 1950-53: I. 122. Saʿīd 1934: II/1. 144-145. Qadrī 1956: 205, 207.

[20] *al-Manār* 23: 4, 27 April 1922, p. 316.

Fayṣal decided to accept the ultimatum, but his acceptance reached the French too late; they in any case were determined to bring the independence of the Syrian state to an end. On 24 July the French forces crushed the Syrian army in Ḥān Maysalūn, and the next day they entered Damascus. On 28 July Fayṣal left Syria. Riḍā found himself forced to leave Syria once again, returning to Egypt[21].

In 1921 Riḍā wrote in *al-Manār*: "The King of the Ḥiǧāz and his sons do not represent the Arab nation. On the contrary, most of the Arabs and non-Arab Muslims are not content with them". In 1923 he even issued a *fatwa* calling the Muslims to save the Ḥiǧāz from the heresy and oppression of Ḥusayn. In a book he published that year, titled *al-Ḥilāfa aw al-imāma al-ʿuzmā* (The Caliphate or the Great Imamate), Riḍā linked his resentment against Ḥusayn to his hostility towards the British: "The king who nowadays rules over the Ḥiǧāz bases his reign upon a non-Muslim state that subjugates many of the Muslim peoples". The events of World War I and its consequences led Riḍā to form a negative opinion on both the British and Ḥusayn. As a matter of fact, it was but two aspects of the same matter: both rejected his plan to arrive at an Arab union and his principles for a new pan-Arab empire. Riḍā's perceptions of what the proper regime for a state according to the Islamic law was, also brought him to recurrently oppose any attempt by Fayṣal to rule Syria autocratically. Since Riḍā believed, as he wrote in the same book, that "the rule over the nation should be in its own hands"[22].

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[21] aš-Šarbasī 1970: 156. Arslan 1937: 157.

[22] *al-Manār* 22: 6, 6 June 1921, p. 479. On Riḍā's *fatwa* see his article *Istiftāʾ*: 593-618 (especially 612), and also 5-6. Riḍā, *Ḥilāfa*: 5, 74. When becoming anti-Hāšimite Riḍā also turned into a supporter of Ibn Saʿūd. It stemmed not only from the fact that Ibn Saʿūd was a Wahhābī and therefore perceived by Riḍā as close to his Salafī views, but also from Ibn Saʿūd being the only practicable candidate to expel Husayn from the Ḥiǧāz, as eventually happened in practice.

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