

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 36

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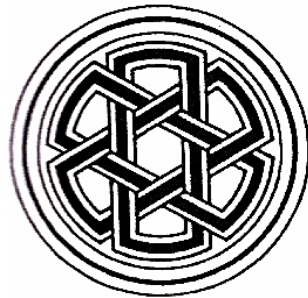
TAMÁS IVÁNYI

ISSN 0239-1619

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MÚZEUM BLD. 4/B BUDAPEST, 1088 HUNGARY

The Arabist
Budapest Studies in Arabic 36

EDITED BY
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EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES
&
CSOMA DE KŐRÖS SOCIETY SECTION OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
BUDAPEST, 2015

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**BEER IN EARLY ISLAM
A ḤADĪṬ PERSPECTIVE**

Stefanie Brinkmann

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[...] That abstinence from Malt
Has always struck me as extremely curious.
The Greek mind must have had some vital fault,
That they should stick to liquors so injurious –
(Wine, water, tempered p'raps with Attic salt) –
And not at once invent that mild, luxurious,
And artful beverage, Beer. [...]

Charles Stuart Calverley (1831–1884)

Beer: a neglected beverage

Indeed, the amazement of this 19th century English poet – student at Oxford (from where he was expelled), and student and scholar at Cambridge (where his *Ode to Tobacco* is eternalized in a bronze plaque in Rose Crescent) –, his bewilderment and implicit criticism could easily be transferred from Greek culture, so obsessed with wine, to medieval Arabic–Islamic cultural expressions, as well as to the scholarship dedicated to it. It is wine, mainly grape wine that dominates poetry and *adab an-nadīm* literature, it is wine and viticulture that attracts attention as symbol-laden beverage, as prestigious drink, and as high art of agriculture.

It was wine that became a symbol for the cyclic life of death, birth and growth, a symbol for intoxication and gnostic insight. The poor beer could not – and still cannot – compete on these grounds. Even though some beers, especially when fortified with honey or sweet dates to reach higher alcohol rates, could age to a certain extent, it seems likely that most beers had, compared to wine, a lower alcohol strength. With an alcohol level of maybe 3 % (and lower) to 8 % on the average, they therefore had to be drunk relatively young. There was much less charm of ageing, and being one of the many daily products of grain, beer and the spike of barley could never match with wine and grape. It remained a drink, at its best intoxicating, for the average population ('*awāmm*). There are vague attempts to praise beer in Arabic verses, as has been done in numerous poems on wine, but

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 36 (2015)

<https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.2015.36.1>

such beer poems are hardly known, were much less written down and, reflecting the more popular character of beer, were most probably mainly written in dialect, not in classical Arabic. An example is the *zağal* “*mā našribi l-mizr al-‘ağīb*” on *mizr* beer, composed by the Mamlūk poet Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mar (d. 749/1348).¹ On another type of beer, the *fuqqā’*, many more Persian verses can be found.² Here, we even find attempts to adapt mystical verse to beer instead of wine. The moment when the sealed beer vessel was opened and the carbonated gas exhausted was compared to the moment of mystical experience and sudden insight into the Divine (Gouchani. and Adle 1992:83). But the fact that we do not have a study or anthology on *mizriyya* or *fuqqā’iyya*, as compared to the overwhelming presence of the *hamriyya*, speaks for itself.

However, this neglect of beer does not seem justified in many terms. According to some, beer was one, if not *the* motivation for humans to settle down and start cultivating crops, a decisive step in civilisation. In their opinion, cultivating barley, at least from Neolithic times on, did not serve primarily the production of bread, but the production of beer. Be that as it may, it seems most likely that beer was some kind of side-product of one of the most basic dishes in the history of mankind: porridge. Grain and water started to ferment at a given time under the influence of wild yeast – the first primitive beer was born. Beer production as part of the baking process seems to be of a later stage.³

Humans soon discovered the intoxicating effect using it in many contexts from the private to the medical and ritual, and they observed that such alcoholic beverages seemed to be less contaminating than many water sources they used. Beer was healthy, beer was food.

It was maybe this impact beer had for early civilisation that, even though becoming a widespread drink, it played a decisive role in rituals and was connected to Divinities, such as the Egyptian Goddess Hathor, or the Sumerian Goddess Ninkasi. In ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia beer was food, but it was also used in ritual – beside the more luxurious beverage wine. A number of texts and chemical analyses give evidence that a vast number of beer types have been

¹ Gregor Schoeler and Thomas Bauer have published on the biography and verse of this poet. The *mizr* poem has been published alongside a German translation and commentary by Hinrich Biesterfeld, see Biesterfeld 2012, Bauer 2005.

² See the entry of *fuqqā’/fuqā’* in Dihḥudā’s *Luğatnāma*.

³ This debate has been vivid already in the 1950ies, with Robert Braidwood (University of Chicago) as critic of the beer hypothesis, and Jonathan Sauer (University of Wisconsin) as its defender. See for their opinions *The American Anthropologist* 55 (1953):515–526, referring to a symposium “Did man once live by beer alone”. The key thesis is discussed until today, Patrick McGovern und Solomon H. Katz (both from University of Pennsylvania) defending the theory of beer’s decisive importance for the beginning of sedentariness. See McGovern 2009:71f, 269ff.

identified, different kinds of dark beers, sweet beers, or spiced beers. It does not come as a wonder that research on beer has a much better standing in the academic disciplines of the Ancient Near East than in Arabic and Islamic Studies, where beer culture is basically absent.⁴

But apart from this civilising significance, beer does not deserve to be labelled as simple when it comes to practical production – it actually can require more work than wine made of fruit. While fruit has enough sugar to be converted into alcohol, grain has not, and therefore its starch needs to be converted first into sugar before undergoing fermentation. In this case, grain is moisturised and germinates, paving the way for the diastase enzyme which will be responsible for the conversion of starch into sugar. After germination the grain is dried and ground (and sometimes in addition slightly roasted).

The key problem with many beers was that they partly had such a low alcohol content, that people at the advent of Islam were insecure in how far they should be classified alcoholic or not. This insecurity connected to alcohol-free and alcoholic versions of beer is something which becomes evident in *ḥadīth*. Such low alcoholic beers could be fortified with honey or dates, or other fruits with high sugar content, and they were very often spiced, still in Islamic times.

The second way to produce beer was to use the yeast during the baking process; *ḥamīr* (Ibn Bayṭār, *al-Adwiya* I, 69) is fermenting dough, and, being tightly connected to baking, made beer production an act closely connected to the kitchen and female labour. Taking into account that *ḥadīth* gives extremely little information of how to produce beer, a tradition from ‘Ā’iṣa stands out as interesting – it is the only *ḥadīth* in the six canonical Sunnī collections and the Ṣūfī collections up to Al-Kulaynī’s 10th century *al-Kāfi* that refers explicitly to beer made of bread. In contrast to a *ḥalāl nabīd* that is prepared in the morning and drunk in the evening, or prepared in the evening and drunk the next morning, she prohibits an intoxicating beverage made of bread (*ḥubz*).⁵

A decisive advantage of beer was its availability. Since grain usually does not decay as fast as grapes (and other types of fruits, especially in warm climates) it could be transported and stored much longer. And because of beer being one of the many products made from grain, and grain being central to nutrition, it was an extremely widespread beverage. In terms of quantity, it has definitely surpassed wine through centuries and cultures. It was often considered food – something

⁴ On studies on beer referring to the Ancient Near East, see Bottéro 2004:92, Damerow 2012, Homan 2004, Huber 1938, Jennings 2005, Lutz 1922, McGovern 2009, and Milano 1994.

⁵ an-Nasā’ī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb dīkr al-aḥbār allatī i’ talla bi-hā man abāḥa šarāb al-muskir* (48), 5698.

which might be reflected in *sawīq*, a term explained in detail below. *Sawīq* could designate both a certain type of food, porridge, as well as a beer that was drunk.

Assuming that grain was basic to nutrition on the Arabian Peninsula at the advent of Islam, and that fruit cultivation was restricted to a few areas (namely the oases, the Southwest and the Southeast), and taking into consideration that beer was a widespread beverage in all surrounding pre-Islamic cultures, we can expect that beer was known and widespread on the Arabian Peninsula at the time of Muḥammad and his successors, as well. And in fact, the presence of beer is scattered through a variety of medieval sources (and even later, but this is beyond the scope of this article).

Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/885) and Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī (d. ca. 325/937) treat it on medical grounds, it forms part of Ibn Sayyār's 10th century Baġdādī cookery book, and some beer names entered lexical works such as Ibn al-Manzūr's *Lisān al-ʿArab*. In Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's (d. 449/1057) description of Paradise, there are not only rivers of water, milk, honey and wine, there are, beside wine in bird-shaped jars and honey wine, even different types of beer: *al-ġiʿa*, *al-mizr* and *as-sukurka* (al-Maʿarrī, *Ġufrān*, 152). And even in Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muʿtazz's work (d. 296/908) *Fuṣūl at-tamāʾīl fī tabāšīr as-surūr*, which is usually treated as a compendium on wine, two known beer names appear among the many names for wine (*asmāʾ al-ḥumūr*): *as-sawīq* and *as-sukurka*.⁶

From later historical, geographical, medical or *ḥiṣba* works, above all from the Fāṭimid until the Mamlūk period, we know that beer was consumed, that beer taverns, *buyūt al-mizr*, existed in Cairo as well as wine houses, *buyūt al-ḥamr*. Sometimes beer, depending on the whim of the ruling caliph, was permitted and served as a source for tax revenue,⁷ other times it was forbidden when Islamic laws were followed more strictly in public, or in periods of hunger or scarcity of grain supply.⁸ It was the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākīm (disappeared 411/1021) who, after 1003, renewed several times edicts that prohibited, among other things, the consumption of *mizr* and *fuqqāʾ* beers. Other rulers were more tolerant, or they could act more generously in periods when food supply was sufficient. Beer and wine were drunk by people of different religious faiths, including Muslims, during the Coptic New Year (*nawrūz*) in Egypt, and some Muslims followed the popular

⁶ For other versions of this Ethiopian beer see below. On the list of wine names, see the manuscript of *Fuṣūl at-tamāʾīl fī tabāšīr as-surūr* by Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Leipzig University Library, Vollers 512, f. 40v. See at www.refaiya.uni-leipzig.de/receive/RefaiyaBook_islamhs_00001928?lang=en.

⁷ One of the examples is the edict from 590/1194 by al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUṭmān in Egypt, by which he protected the *buyūt al-mizr*, raising high taxes on their business while prohibiting at the same time private beer production, cf. Lewicka 2001:489–490.

⁸ On possible reasons relating to the scarcity of grain and hunger crisis see Shoshan 1981:183ff.

tradition of opening *fuqqā'* beer vessels on the first of Muḥarram, maybe an alcohol-free variant.⁹

But as in many other cases of historical research, many more sources are available from the 9th and 10th centuries on, while the situation for the first centuries of Islamic history remains often in the shadows. This does not only refer to text material, but also to the lack of relevant archeological and archeobotanical studies. For any topic concerning food and drink, such excavations and research would be of extreme importance. But when it comes to archeological evidence for beer, we have to refer, again, to the period from the 10th century on. From this time, we have evidence for a vessel which is often labelled as *kūz al-fuqqā'*, or *kūz-i fuqā'*, a relatively small, spheroconical clay vessel apparently made for beer (though, maybe not exclusively), known from Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Iraq, and finally from Iran to Central Asia.¹⁰ I am not aware of such a vessel from the limited excavations in today's Saudi Arabia, and it remains questionable if a certain vessel type would anyhow officially be classified as wine or beer vessel due to religious-political reasons.

***Ḥadīṭ* as a source for early Islamic beer culture**

Facing this scarcity of sources, *ḥadīṭ* texts become a key source for the early period, whether collected in proper *ḥadīṭ* collections, or as part of *mağāzī* literature or later historical works. This article investigates *ḥadīṭ* in the six Sunnī canonical collections and the *Muwatta'*, as well as the four Šī'ī canonical collections. It represents therefore only a selection, even though a decisive one, of the *ḥadīṭ* material.

The debates on the authenticity of this material are well known, from the 19th century on up to our days, and they do not have to be repeated here.¹¹ But these occasionally fierce debates mainly revolved around historical, theological, or legal matters. Apart from a few works such as the ones from Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003), *ḥadīṭ* has rarely been used for anthropological studies on material culture and daily life.¹² Not even within the studies on food and drink, becoming more

⁹ Šādiqī 1988:38–40. On beer in Egypt from the Fāṭimid to the Mamlūk period, see Lewicka 2011: 487–493.

¹⁰ Gouchani/Adle 1992. Compare the vessel at the Metropolitan Museum of Art measuring 9,8 x 8,3 cm, www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/140007200?rpp=20&pg=1&gallerynos=452&ft=*&pos=15 (last check 8. August 2014). See furthermore below on *fuqqā'*.

¹¹ For an overview, see Brown 2010:197–268, Brown 1996:81–107.

¹² Studies on prophetic medicine (*aṭ-ṭibb an-nabawī*) are an exception. Waines (1987) refers to al-Buḥārī in his article on cereals and bread in medieval Iraq. For an anthropological study on the Prophet's humor see Maghen 2008.

vivid since the 1990ies, does *ḥadīṭ* play a significant role when it comes to the first decades of Islamic history. In fact, most scholars start investigating the situation from the 10th and 11th centuries on, having a wider range of sources at their disposal.

But the advantage of studying *ḥadīṭ* in the scope of material culture and daily life is obvious.

Ḥadīṭ was not exclusively written down and collected for the delight of a few scholars – these texts were meant to guide the early Muslim community, discussing theological matters as well as the preparation of food or personal hygiene. These texts were told by story-tellers (*qāṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣāṣ*), preachers (*wā'iz*, pl. *wu'āz*) (Berkey 2001), or religious scholars ('*ālim*, pl. '*ulamā*'), in order to teach the population new norms, or to modify existing habits, or sometimes only to confirm existing habits. The individual Muslim needed guidance in daily life, on matters such as washing (and not only the ritual one!), cleaning the teeth or shaving body hair, storing vessels, prohibited food and drink, what textiles to wear, what and how to hunt – all topics embodied in the many chapters, or books and sub chapters on purity (*tahāra*), clothing (*libās*), hunting (*ṣayd*), food (*aṭ'ima*) and drink (*ašriba*), medicine (*ṭibb*), and many others.

In addition, mapping the geographical references in *matn* and *isnād*, and comparing earlier collections with later ones, we can extract information on local habits and temporal developments. Comparing the Šī'ī 10th century *al-Kāfi*, a *muṣannaḥ* work collected by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 328 or 329/939 or 940), with the major Sunnī collections of the 8th–9th centuries, one can, for example, observe the development of agriculture by studying crops mentioned in the collections. The variety of fruits and vegetables in al-Kulaynī's *Kāfi* mirrors this agricultural development and its local distribution, dedicating a number of separate chapters to numerous crops, from rice, to lentils, pomegranate, apple, quince, the *utruḡḡ* lemon, banana, celery, purslane, eggplant, reddish, wild thyme and many others.¹³ Some of these are not mentioned in earlier Sunnī collections, or only occasionally, indicating that they were perhaps not widely known in the areas the texts refer to. Rice, citrus fruits, the banana, the eggplant, and some other crops, were only introduced or more intensively cultivated in the course of the 8th–10th centuries on, a decisive period for agricultural innovation in the early Islamic Empire.¹⁴

¹³ See al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṭ'ima, abwāb al-ḥubūb*.

¹⁴ See Watson 2008. An example: The banana (*mawz*, or *talḥ*; *mawz* could designate both the banana and the plantain) was probably known in 7th century Oman and Yemen, even if only due to trade, but it is not mentioned in the six canonical Sunnī collections. In the 10th century, the banana is recorded, even though to a limited extent, in geographical and botanical works, e.g. by al-Hamdānī (d. 945 A.D.), al-Mas'ūdī (d. 957 A.D.), al-Muqaddasī (d. after 1000 A.D.), Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 977 A.D.), Ibn Rusta (d. after 913

In addition, comparing the canonical Sunnī collections and the Šī'ī ones, local phenomena in terms of crop cultivation, trade connections, food and drink, or even language, can be traced. Since the *fuqqā'* beer is mentioned as proper beer only in the Šī'ī collections with a transmitter network active in the Iraq-Iran region, and since this beer is recorded in other sources of that region, *ḥadīṭ* can give evidence of its strong presence in this area (even though we know about *fuqqā'* in Egypt, too).

In terms of language, the following *ḥadīṭ* can indicate local terminology for different dates. Here, the 6th Šī'ī Imam, Ğa'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, resident in Medina, travels to al-Ḥīra in Southern Iraq, where he meets a local Iraqī from Kūfa:

“Sa'dān b. Muslim reports on the authority of some of our companions (*'an ba'di aṣḥābinā*): After Abū 'Abd Allāh [Ğa'far aṣ-Ṣādiq] had come to al-Ḥīra, he rode with his mount to [the fortress] Ḥawrnaq, and dismounted in the shadow of his mount [for a break]. Accompanying him was his black servant, who witnessed a man from Kūfa who had just bought dates. This [man] asked the servant: 'Who is that?' And he [the servant] answered: 'This is Ğa'far b. Muḥammad.' Then, he [the man] came closer with a filled bowl and put it between his [Ğa'far's] hands. [Ğa'far] asked the man: 'What is this?' He answered him: 'This is the *barnī* date.' [Ğa'far] said: 'There is healing (*šifā'*) in it.' And he looked at the *sābirī* date and asked: 'And what is this?' [The man] answered: 'The *sābirī* date.' And [Ğa'far] said: 'We call it *al-bayḍ*.' And, referring to the *mušān* date, [Ğa'far] asked: 'And what is this?' And [the man] answered: 'The *mušān* date.' [Ğa'far] added: 'We call it *umm ġirdān*.' And he looked at the *šarafān* date and asked: 'What is this?' And [the man] answered: 'The *šarafān* date.' [Ğa'far]: 'We call it *'ağwa*, and there is healing in it.'”¹⁵

The dialogue character that can be often encountered in *aḥādīṭ* on daily life, gives evidence for the need to get answers on what is permissible and what is not. In the scope of the Islamic prohibition of alcohol, people approached the Prophet or one of the Imams, asking if their beverage would still be permissible. In these contexts, they sometimes describe what the beverage was made of and if it underwent a fermentation. This is a key situation in *ḥadīṭ* on beverages. Whenever the Prophet or one of the Imams suggests, in return, an alcohol-free variant as an

A.D.), Ibn Waḥšīyya (9th–10th centuries A.D.), Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī (d. at the end of the 9th century A.D.), and Ibn Sayyār's cookery book has one recipe with banana (Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2007:375, see also 159). It can be assumed that it became better known during the 9th century, but we can't yet say exactly how this knowledge was distributed geographically. It is the Šī'ī *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn* from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥālid al-Barqī (d. ca. 280/894), and al-Kulaynī's *Kāfī* from the 10th century that have *aḥādīṭ* on the banana, both under the *bāb al-mawz* in the *kitāb al-aṭ'ima*.

¹⁵ al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṭ'ima, bāb at-tamr*, 15.

alternative, we can have cases where recipes for legally permitted *nabīd* are given. In the *Kāfī* there are a number of such, partly detailed, recipes for *ḥalāl* beverages.

Such texts intended to exemplify, and, depending on the context of reception, have a story-elaborated character, or simply consist of a short guiding utterance.

But even though such texts may only have served as an example, telling a story that was possibly purely fictional, they needed to adhere to the contemporary reference frame in order to be understood. In this sense, and from the point of view of gaining information on material culture and daily life, the question of authenticity becomes less crucial. In this way, *ḥadīth* becomes a pool of information. It reflects discussions alive at a certain period in history, and from these discussions, we can filter to a certain extent facts about material culture and daily life. The huge impact of *ḥadīth* in this context is that it addresses and reflects large parts of the community not only a political or cultural elite. Whereas many other sources, including cookery books, often reflect social elite, *ḥadīth* presents, to a certain extent, the common people, too, like e.g. traders, or farmers. The traditions do not exclusively speak of gold and silver vessels, or glass, but of wooden or clay vessels, hollowed-out gourds or tree stumps.

At the same time, the information recorded in *ḥadīth* is obviously limited due to its selective character – it does not intend to represent entirely the early Muslim community, but it reacts on chosen fields that needed special attention, questions to be clarified, boundaries to be established when it comes to religious norms.

Talking about beverages and beer, this selective character becomes clear. We get informed about the main ingredients in the production of (alcoholic, and a few non-alcoholic) beverages and a number of vessels, and several transmissions describe the border between permissible and prohibited, namely the fermentation (*ḡaliya*, *ištadda*, *taḡayyara*, *hadara*). But we hardly get any or very little information about the place and time of consumption, womens' part in it, the motivations to drink alcoholic beverages, or, rather obviously, discussions on the quality. And, very often, the actual consumer remains vague, if not unknown. One the few examples of the motivation to drink beer is mentioned in Abū Dāwūd's collection. A person called Daylam al-Ḥimyarī apparently felt the need to clarify his own and his people's habit to drink beer with the Prophet Muḥammad. He said: "O messenger of God, we live in a cold region where we have to work hard. And from this wheat (*qamḥ*) we prepare a beverage (*ṣarāb*) in order to strengthen us with it for our hard work and against the cold in our region." The Prophet asked him straight if this beverage was intoxicating (*hal yuskiru*), which Daylam affirmed. Consequently, the Prophet ordered him and his people to abstain from this drink.¹⁶

¹⁶ Abū Dāwūd, *k. al-ašriba, bāb an-naḥyi 'an al-muskir* (5), 3685.

And even though social references with respect to beer are vague in *ḥadīṭ*, we have a tradition from the 10th Imām stating that *fuqqā'* beer is an intoxicating beverage made of fermented dough (*ḥamīra*), and that it was not highly regarded by the populace (*hiya ḥamīratun istaṣṣarahā n-nāsu*).¹⁷

Comparatively few *ḥadīṭ* texts talk about social settings and places of beer or wine consumption, or places of selling and purchasing such drinks. One of these rare texts can be found in al-Kulaynī's *Kāfi* where an entire sub-chapter (*bāb*) is dedicated to the *fuqqā'* beer. Here, Abū Ḡamīla and Yūnis were passing a market in Baghdad (the market is not specified), right in the moment when the *fuqqā'* seller opened one of his vessels. Some splashes of this beer hit Yūnis's clothes, and the text continues dwelling on the topic in how far Yūnis can perform the prayer with beer on his clothes.¹⁸ Even though the main intention of this tradition refers to the question in how far it is legitimate to perform the prayer with spots of an intoxicating beverage on one's clothes, we get by the way information about a *fuqqā'* vendor on a market in Baḡdād. In a tradition in aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Istibṣār*, 'Alī b. Yaḡṡīn asked the 7th Imām, Mūsā al-Kāzīm (Abū l-Ḥasan), about the *fuqqā'* beer "that is produced and sold on the market (*sūq*), and I do not know how nor when they produce it – is it allowed for me to drink it?" Something, the Imām denied.¹⁹ Since 'Alī b. Yaḡṡīn was born in 124/741–42 in Kūfa, and al-Kāzīm spent his later life in Iraq as well, we might assume that both were talking about a market in Iraq, either Kūfa, or another city.

City markets had often both shops, as well as products laid out on mats on the ground; *ḥānūt* could signify a place where liquors were sold, and even though we can assume that there were vendors specialised in beer (or a specific type of beer), while others were selling different types of wine, we do not have a concrete image on how this division of liquor sales was structured at different times and different places. What is known is that vendors offering the same kind of wares were often located in the same area of the market. But there were not only goods bought and exchanged on the market. Markets were also places to eat and drink, especially since most households in the first Islamic centuries did not necessarily have their own kitchen. Cooked dishes were often bought on the market and eaten at home, or, depending on aspects like social class, they were eaten on the market that is, directly on the spot. Others, in return, stored food in a special place in the house, but they had to go to the market in order to get it cooked, e.g. in an oven. Even

¹⁷ aṭ-Ṭūsī, k. *al-aṭ'ima wa-l-wa-l-aṣriba, bāb taḥrīm šurb al-fuqqā'*, 6. Al-Kulaynī, k. *al-aṣriba, bāb al-fuqqā'*, 9. *Ḥamīr(a)* can designate both the fermented dough as well as the yeast. In this tradition, a beer made of bread dough seems more likely.

¹⁸ al-Kulaynī, k. *al-aṣriba, bāb al-fuqqā'*, 7; on this discussion see also aṭ-Ṭūsī, k. *al-aṭ'ima wa-l-aṣriba, bāb taḥrīm al-fuqqā'* (60), 10, and Ibn Bābūya, *bāb ḥadd šurb al-ḥamr wa-mā ḡā'a fī l-ḡinā' wa-l-malāhī* (11), 4.

¹⁹ aṭ-Ṭūsī, k. *al-aṭ'ima wa-l-aṣriba, bāb taḥrīm šurb al-fuqqā'* (60), 13.

though we have scattered evidence from a number of sources, though most of them dating from the 9th–10th centuries on, we still do not know how this part of daily life was organized at many places at a given time.²⁰ The same refers to the production and storage of alcoholic beverages.

As there were beer sellers on the markets, it is likely to assume that beer was also produced at home. We have an indication to this in the above mentioned *ḥadīṭ* of al-ʿĀʾiṣā, where she forbids a beverage made of bread, which could refer to a kitchen or at least a location of baking. And while the above quoted *ahādīṭ* with Abū Ğamīla and Yūnis give evidence for beer on the market, another tradition points out that *fuqqāʾ* was actually produced for Imām al-Kāzim in his private home (*kāna yuʿmalu li-Abī l-Ḥasani al-fuqqāʾu fī manzilihi*). An information which is promptly followed by the remark that this *fuqqāʾ* would not undergo fermentation (*wa-lā yuʿmalu fuqqāʾun yaġlī*). In fact, there were alcoholic and non-alcoholic versions of *fuqqāʾ* beer, something which caused a debate when it comes to its classification as *ḥamr* and therefore *ḥarām*.

But even though *ḥadīṭ* may serve as a pool of information on early Islamic daily life, including food and drink, the approach to use these texts in this way has definitely a decisive weakness, which is tightly connected to the problem of authenticity. Neither can we be completely sure which person is responsible for the text, nor can we be certain of the time and place. Some early transmitters settled in other regions like Syria or Iraq already at the end of the Prophet’s time or shortly after his death, what leads to the problem of situating a text in a concrete geographical area, if no further information is given in the *matn*. From a radical point of view, the possible vagueness of the *isnād* makes it impossible to refer the information of a *ḥadīṭ* text to a specific time or a specific place. Food and drink production and consumption differed enormously in terms of time and place, even if only taking into account the Arabian Peninsula. We cannot say with 100% security if a certain text really refers to Muḥammad’s lifetime and Medina, or if it is a later back projection reflecting much more the transmitter’s contemporary setting than the Prophet’s. In the end, this methodological problem does not arise only in connection to *ḥadīṭ*, but it is a central issue in any historical research, vividly depicted in the debate on Patricia Crone and the “revisionists”.²¹ In addition, concentrating on *ḥadīṭ* as source for early beer production and consumption is but a glimpse on early Islamic beer culture.

²⁰ See for this topic as an example Lewicka 2011:88–119, 351–380, referring, though, to Cairo from the Fāṭimid, and especially the Mamlūk period. On *sūqs* in Baṣra, see Naji and Ali 1981.

²¹ See on the 6th–7th century Ḥiġāzī trade Crone 2004, and, for a summary of the debate Heck 2003.

Despite all of these problems in methodology: *ḥadīth* is one of the few sources we have for the first centuries of Islam. Trying to identify possible time references and geographical settings, on the basis of content, lexicography, and people involved, we still have a considerable amount of information that, in its totality, can give us answers on food and drink during the first centuries of Islamic history. It seems unlikely that this mass of texts on aspects of daily life, be it food and drink, or even discussing cleaning the teeth or shaving pubic hair, was part of a large scale forgery. In fact, it makes this kind of information more likely to be authentic than *ḥadīth* material relating to decisive historical events, regulation of power, or theological and legal disputes.

In order to avoid the methodological problem that *ḥadīth* stands alone as source material, further sources would be necessary for verification and complementation. But the fact, that no relevant archeological or archeobotanical studies are carried out for these centuries on Ḥiǧāzī ground, deprives us of the necessary material and scientific evidence. Arabic papyri, another possible crucial source for daily life, are so far silent when it comes to beer.²² While one encounters grain, above all, of course, wheat, on numerous occasions, its by-products are comparatively rare. This is not only true for beer, but also for bread.²³ In return, this scarcity of sources for the topic of beer makes *ḥadīth* an even more important source.

What was beer made of according to *ḥadīth*?

Ḥadīth mentions three types of grain for beer production. They are mainly mentioned in the famous “list of five” that defines the basic substances of *ḥamr*. This list is usually introduced with “*al-ḥamru hiya min ḥamsatin*“, or similar formulations. The table below shows only a selection of this enumeration of ingredients²⁴:

²² This statement is based on a search with the edited Arabic papyri material on the Arabic Papyrology Database (<http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/project.jsp>). Considering the fact, that out of a rough number of 200.000 Arabic papyri less than 2000 are edited, it is not a definite assessment.

²³ Bread is mentioned, for example, in so called household lists, or lists for (food) rationing for employees or soldiers, see Grohmann 1952:134f.

²⁴ The table is taken from Brinkmann 2014:89–90.

al-Buḥārī	grape (' <i>inab</i>), date (<i>tamr</i>), honey (' <i>asal</i>), wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>) ²⁵ raisin (<i>zabīb</i>), date (<i>tamr</i>), wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>), honey (' <i>asal</i>) ²⁶
at-Tirmidī	wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>), date (<i>tamr</i>), raisin (<i>zabīb</i>), honey (' <i>asal</i>) ²⁷
Abū Dāwūd	grape (' <i>inab</i>), date (<i>tamr</i>), honey (' <i>asal</i>), wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>) ²⁸ grape juice (' <i>aṣīr</i>), raisin (<i>zabīb</i>), date (<i>tamr</i>), wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>), sorghum (<i>ḍura</i>) ²⁹
Ibn Māḡa	wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>), raisin (<i>zabīb</i>), date (<i>tamr</i>), honey (' <i>asal</i>) ³⁰
an-Nasā'ī	date (<i>tamr</i>), wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>), honey (' <i>asal</i>), grape (' <i>inab</i>) ³¹
al-Kulaynī	grape juice (<i>al-'aṣīr min al-karm</i>), raisin (<i>an-naqī' min az-zabīb</i>), honey (<i>al-bit' min al-'asal</i>), barley (<i>al-mizr min aš-ša'īr</i>), date (<i>an-nabīḍ min at-tamr</i>) ³² date (<i>tamr</i>), raisin (<i>zabīb</i>), wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>), barley (<i>ša'īr</i>), honey (' <i>asal</i>) ³³
Ibn Bābūya	grape juice (' <i>aṣīr wa-huwa min al-karm</i>), raisin (<i>an-naqī' wa-huwa min az-zabīb</i>), honey (<i>al-bit' wa-huwa min al-'asal</i>), barley (<i>al-mizr wa-huwa min aš-ša'īr</i>), date (<i>an-nabīḍ wa-huwa min at-tamr</i>) ³⁴

²⁵ al-Buḥārī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb al-ḥamr min al-'inab* (2), 5640, *bāb mā ḡā'a fī anna l-ḥamr mā ḥāmara l-'aql min aš-šarāb* (5), 5647.

²⁶ Ibid., 5648.

²⁷ at-Tirmidī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb mā ḡā'a fī l-ḥubūb allatī yuttaḥaḍu minhā l-ḥamr* (8), 1992.

²⁸ Abū Dāwūd, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb fī taḥrīm al-ḥamr* (1), 3671, see also *bāb al-ḥamr mimmā huwa* (4), 3678 with the same ingredients, but here wheat is *burr* instead of *ḥinṭa*.

²⁹ Abū Dāwūd, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb al-ḥamr mimmā huwa* (4), 3679. This is the only enumeration with six substances. The fact that so many lists in the *ḥadīṭ* collections have either five or ten objects has, according to the author's opinion, a mnemotechnical function, not a symbolic one.

³⁰ Ibn Māḡa, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb mā yakūnu minhu l-ḥamr* (5), 3504.

³¹ an-Nasā'ī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb ḍikr anwā' al-aṣyā' allatī kānat minhā l-ḥamr ḥīna nazala taḥrīmuhā* (20), 5596, 5597, 5598.

³² al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb mā yuttaḥaḍu minhu l-ḥamr*, 1 and 3.

³³ al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb mā yuttaḥaḍu minhu l-ḥamr*, 2.

³⁴ Ibn Bābūya, *bāb ḥadd šurb al-ḥamr wa-mā ḡā'a fī l-ḡinā' wa-l-malāḥī* (11), 3.

A typical example in al-Buḥārī is: “*Nazala taḥrīmu l-ḥamri wa-hiya min ḥamsatin: al-‘inabi wa-t-tamri wa-l-‘asali wa-l-ḥinṭati wa-š-ša‘īri wa-l-ḥamru mā ḥāmara al-‘aql.*”³⁵

The main grain types are barley and wheat. Sorghum is rarely mentioned in this list of five, but it appears regularly in the context of a beer called *sukurka*, *sukukra*, *suqurqa*, or *ḡubayrā*, which is always specified as an Ethiopian beer.

Having a closer look at these grain types, we have to face the same problem as for many other plant names. Nomenclature differs in terms of time and place. In addition, we sometimes lack precise knowledge on when a specific type of grain was introduced in a given area, or when its cultivation became widespread.

Barley (*ša‘īr*) was apparently not only the first cereal cultivated in southwest Asia and the Middle East, at least around 8000 B.C., but it was also the primary cereal for beer production in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Barley remained the most common cereal in early and medieval Islam. E. Ashtor’s assumption that barley was either given as fodder to the animals, consumed “in times of distress”, or as “food of ascetics” should be met with suspicion (Ashtor 2010). To a certain extent, it might reflect an attitude evident in a number of sources, including the cookery books that do represent a social elite, either political, economic, or cultural. Here, wheat was preferred, while barley considered the cereal of the common people, or even looked at with some contempt. We know much less about the daily life of the common people. Among them, barley was definitely the most prevalent cereal, at least with reference to the Arabian Peninsula (Waines 1987:264). David Waines (2010:26) points out that barley used in bread preparation “formed an essential part of the diet of all but the most well-off of the population”. Barley was, among others, the basis for porridge (*sawīq*), used for baking, and was the main ingredient for a famous condiment in medieval Arab cookery, the *murrī*. *Murrī* was a condiment of fermented barley, that had some soy-sauce-like taste, and its use can be compared to the Roman *garum*, fermented fish sauce.³⁶ But barley was the primary cereal for beer production in early Islam, too. It is always mentioned in the “list of five”, something that does not apply to wheat, even though wheat is named very often. The appearance of barley in *ḥadīṭ* can give evidence of its importance and widespread use and cultivation in early Islam. Apart from its widespread cultivation and availability, the importance of barley for beer production is due to its comparatively high content of diastase enzymes, responsible for converting starch into sugar which is then turned into alcohol in the course of fermentation. Wheat contains much less diastase enzymes, so that a beer called wheat beer, with an alcohol percentage of more than 3–4%

³⁵ al-Buḥārī, *k. al-ašriba, bāb al-ḥamr min al-‘inab* (2), 5640; see also *ibid.*, 5639, *bāb mā ḡā‘a fī anna l-ḥamr mā ḥāmara l-‘aql min aš-šarāb* (5), 5647–48.

³⁶ Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2007 (see index p. 862); Perry 1988; Zaouali 2007:54–56.

(and higher), most probably had barley, too. (Or it was produced together with sugar-containing fruits such as dates, or with honey.) Only light beers could be prepared from wheat alone.

Wheat, in return, was considered the “better” cereal, the more exclusive one. In early Islamic times, wheat was mainly imported to Mecca (via the port Ġidda) and Medina (with al-Ġār as its port) from Egypt, to a lesser extent from other regions.³⁷ But we cannot yet map the exact differences between *ḥinṭa*, *qamḥ*, and *burr*. Ashtor’s (2010:24) classification should be read critically: “*Ḷamḥ* is the name for wheat in Syria and in Egypt; in ‘IrāḶ wheat is called *ḥinṭa* and in Arabia it was called *dhurr*.” But botanic terminology surely was depending on local idioms that, in return, might have changed over time. While the term *qamḥ* definitely dominates Arabic papyri (that is, mainly in Egypt), *ḥinṭa* dominates clearly when it comes to the chapters of beverages in *ḥadīṭ*, supposing “Arabia”³⁸ as geographical reference. But Arabia is too diverse to be taken as the all-encompassing geographical unit for one lexical term. *Burr* occurs extremely seldom in the chapters on beverages. Even when referring to Yemen in *ḥadīṭ*, wheat is usually *ḥinṭa*; but from the Rasūlīd period (1229–1454), we have sources stating that *burr* was the Yemeni term for wheat.

Apart from such questions of local lexical differences, we do not know whether these terms described actually different varieties of wheat, such as emmer or durum.³⁹ Neither the diploid einkorn, the first wheat species, nor the tetraploid emmer were favourable for beer production. Emmer has been known in Egypt at least since the 6th millennium B.C., from where it spread to Ethiopia. But at the latest during the Ptolemaic period (late 4th century B.C.), durum wheat was introduced and became the dominant type of wheat in Egypt, and subsequently in North Africa and the Near and Middle East. Even though hexaploid bread wheat dominates the world today with approximately 90%, durum is still one of the main cereals in the MENA region. Latest research, including archeobotanical studies, have questioned if not disproved A. Watson’s assumption that hard wheat cannot be documented in Egypt before the Byzantine Empire (van der Veen 2011:141–42; Watson 2001:20). Hexaploid wheat (bread wheat) is known from the 8th millennium B.C. Western Iran, Northern Iraq and Anatolia. It came to Egypt in the 6th millennium B.C. and spread from there to neighbouring regions. But we do

³⁷ As, for example, regions in North Africa, northern Iraq, Syrian provinces of Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ, and Ba‘labakk and Ḥawrān, as well as in the coastal region of Palestine and parts of Yemen, see Ashtor 2010:24.

³⁸ For a definition see Hoyland 2001:2–8.

³⁹ On *burr* see also Varisco 1991. He states (p. 15, footnote 75): „The term *burr* or *birr* is the Yemeni variant for wheat. This is a Hebrew cognate also found in Sabaeen dialects.” Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī classifies *burr* as a sub-species of *ḥinṭa*, see ad-Dīnawarī 1953:64, no. 106.

not know whether *qamḥ*, *ḥinṭa*, or *burr*, are actually names for these different varieties of wheat, or whether they all simply designated wheat in different geographical and periodical contexts. Since durum wheat was the dominating wheat type in early and medieval Islam, it seems likely that durum was the main wheat type also used in beer production, even though surely not exclusively.⁴⁰

Another problem poses the term *dura* (or *durr*, or *durra*). Whereas Ashtor classifies it as an Arabian term for wheat, it seems more appropriate to connect it to sorghum in the context of beverages in *ḥadīṭ*. Sorghum evolved in the steppes and savannas of central and southern Africa, and it is still the most important crop in sub-Saharan Africa due to its high tolerance of heat and drought. As with wheat, sorghum has a number of species, and their exact history and classification is not clear. Most probably, diploid sorghum came from sub-Saharan Africa to India (according to Andrew M. Watson between 1100 and 800 B.C.), from where a tetraploid version spread again westwards through Iran and Iraq. But the time frame is vague or even unknown. And it cannot be determined if the sorghum in *ḥadīṭ* (and other early Islamic literature) is a diploid type, native in Africa, or a tetraploid type, coming from India. Both species might have existed side by side.⁴¹ Sorghum beer is still produced in parts of Africa, a continent rich in beer. Dates might have been added to the grain mash in Arabia in order to fortify the beer and add to its taste. Even today, bananas are added to sorghum beer in Tanzania to both raise the alcohol content, and improve the taste (Arthur 2003:517).

Terminology only adds to the confusion. In Persian, sorghum was named *ḡāwars hindī*, or *ḡawariš* and *gawariš*, but also *dura* (maybe from Sanskrit *zoorna*); in Arabic it became *ḡāwars hindī*, or *dura* (or *durra*). But it is not clear in how far these terms designated different types of sorghum, maybe even a specific *dura*-type (of which archeological evidence is only found much later) (Harlan and De Wet 1972). Watson, following Ibn Waḥṣīyya, classifies *ḡāwars hindī* and *dura* as two different varieties of sorghum, while Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī states that *dura* would be a variety of cereal (*al-ḥabba*), that is also called *al-ḡārūs al-hindī*, having white (*abyaḍ*) and black (*aswad*) variants (Watson 2008:12, ad-Dīnawarī 1953:183, no. 418). As mentioned earlier, the term *dura* in the *ḥadīṭ* chapters on beverages usually refers to a beer from Ethiopia (see below on *sukurka*, or *ḡubayrā*'), or Yemen. It can be assumed that *dura* designates

⁴⁰ Apart from its adaptation to warm climate, durum had the advantage of having no spelt.

⁴¹ Earliest archeobotanical evidence for sorghum in general comes from India (2nd millennium B.C.), earliest archeobotanical findings in Africa are from South Libya (4th–2nd centuries B.C.), Berenike, Qôm el-Nana in the Nile Delta (4th–6th centuries A.D.), and Ethiopia (6th–7th centuries A.D.). Latest from the 10th century A.D. it is known in Yemen where it became an important crop.

sorghum or one of its varieties. *Dura* as a term might occasionally have been used for wheat, too.

The beers

There is no general term for beer in *ḥadīṭ*. The Arabic *bīra* is obviously a relatively modern loanword, referring to an Old English *bēor*, Old High German *bior*, Middle High German *bier*, and from here to contemporary languages such as English *beer*, German *Bier*, or Italian *birra*. There is discussion as to how closely the Latin noun *biber* (drink) is related to this, which would link beer to the Latin verb *bibere*. It is still uncertain when and where the term *al-bīra* entered the Arabic language.

If alcoholic they are legally classified as *ḥamr*. When it comes to their ingredients, they can be, alcoholic or not, classified as *nabīd*, for example *nabīd aš-ša'īr*, a barley beer. They are usually described in this way in lexicological works, as well. A third type of denomination is the proper beer names. In *ḥadīṭ* these are: *mizr*, *fuqqā'*, *sukurka* or *ḡubayrā'*, *sawīq*, and *ḡi'a*. Since these are the beers more or less discussed in *ḥadīṭ*, we can at least assume, that they were (among?) the most known and common ones with reference to the relevant time and place, that is the time span from the 7th to the 10th century, with a focus on Ḥiḡāz, Yemen, and Iraq. (When it comes to wine, *ḥadīṭ* shows many references to the Syrian region, aš-Šām, and Yemen.)

Other beer names are not part of the chapters on beverages, such as a beer called *kasīs*, mentioned by Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, this was apparently an alcoholic beer made of *dura* and/or barley and consumed in the Ḥiḡāz. Ibn Durayd, author of the *Ḡamhara fī l-luḡa* from the 9th century A.D., names a certain *fayḥa* beer, which he holds to be synonymous with *sukurka*, while others classify it above all as beer made of bread (*fayyaḥta l-'aḡīna – ḡa'altahu ka-l-fayḥa*) (Ibn Sīda, *Muḥaṣṣaṣ* XI, 91). The *Muḥaṣṣaṣ* (*ibid.*) has a beer called *kašk*, defined as barley water (*mā' aš-ša'īr*), a beer that is also mentioned by Paulina Lewicka in her study on food and foodways in medieval Cairo, where she dedicates a chapter to the “Beers of Egyptians”, referring above all to source material from the Fāṭimid to the Mamlūk period (Lewicka 2011:487–493). The Egyptian *būza* (*bouza*), which might have originated in Nubia or the Sudan, did not find its way into the *ḥadīṭ* collections.⁴² Also, the allusion in al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in the book on beverages, makes a vague reference to “something

⁴² Dihḡudā actually names *būzā* (or *buzā*, *būza*) as a synonym of *fuqqā'*, see his entry on *fuqqā'* in the *Luḡatnāma*.

they prepare of rice in Sind” (*šai’un yuṣna’u bi-s-Sindi min ar-ruzz*).⁴³ Since research on beer is basically absent in Islamic or Arabic Studies, the future might bring more classifications on beer terms to light. More research has been done for the Iranian region in the Islamic period.⁴⁴

al-Fuqqā’

The *fuqqā’* beer is not present in the canonical Sunnī collections, with one exception, al-Buḥārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. But here, the only tradition mentioning *fuqqā’* refers to honey wine, and does not define *fuqqā’* as a proper beer, that is, a beverage made of cereal (see below). This stands in contrast to the *mizr* beer which appears in a number of Sunnī collections. It is the Šī‘ī collections that specifically mention *fuqqā’*, or even dedicate separate chapters to it. Taken the background of an Iraqi-Iranian based transmitter environment for Šī‘ī *ḥadīṭ* (Newman 2000), this supports other sources, such as Persian lexical works or poetry, giving *fuqqā’* a strong foothold in the Iraq-Iran region.⁴⁵

Al-fuqqā’ (or *al-fuqā’*, in Persian *fuqā’*, *faqā’*, sometime shortened to *faqa’*) (Šādiqī 1988:39. Farūḥfāl 1988: 87–88) designates most seemingly the bubbles in the beverage, creating foam on top of it.⁴⁶ Scholars are at issue if the term *fuqqā’*

⁴³ al-Buḥārī, *k. al-ašriba, bāb mā ḡā’a fī anna l-ḥamr mā ḥāmara l-’aql min aš-šarāb* (5), no. 5647.

⁴⁴ In an article on the *fuqqā’* beer, published in 1988, Šādiqī quotes a number of other beer names recorded in dictionaries and other Persian texts (*farhanghā wa-mutūn-i fārsī*) with reference to Iran and Central Asia, such as: 1. *Būza*: Here, *būza* is not mentioned in an Egyptian context, but with reference to Transoxania and India; it is a beer made of barley, sorghum, or rice, with a light alcohol content, but not strong as *ḥamr*, and it is known in Turkish and Mongolian language, as well; 2. *Bangī*: made of barley, rice, or sorghum, also known in Uḡūz and Turkish language; 3. *Baḥsum*: made of wheat or sorghum, sometimes used synonymously with *būza*, known in Turkish language, and maybe originating from Soḡdian; 4. *Šalmāb* (*šalamāb*?): according to some it is made of barley (*āb-i ḡau, mā’ aš-ša’ir*), according to others of wheat; 5. *Ġadw* (*ḡadū*): made of sorghum, in Ḥwārezmian also called *ḡuduk*; 6. *Fūḡān*: synonymous with *fuqqā’*; Šādiqī assumes that the original Arabic term *fuqqā’* led to the Persian loanword of *fūḡān*; 7. *Mirz*: synonymous with *būza*, in the *Tafsīr* of Abū l-Futūḥ ar-Rāzī made of sorghum (*ḡāwarz*), in correct Arabic: *mizr*; 8. *Mawwīz āb*: made of raisins, according to Dihḥudā a synonym of *fuqqā’* or *būzā/būza*. In addition to these eight beer designations, Šādiqī names five further beverages made of cereals, which are, though, mainly consumed in Buḥārā: *sab sum*, *sab sis* or *siš*, *ḥasma*, *aḡradḥū* (*aḡradḡū*), *baḥsī* (most probably synonymous with *baḥsum*, see above). Šādiqī 1988: 39–40.

⁴⁵ The reasons why and how *fuqqā’* became registered in lexicographic works still needs to be investigated.

⁴⁶ *Lisān al-’arab* under *fuqqā’* and *faqāqī’*. Steingass 2006 under *faqqā’a*, *faqāqī’*. See also Ibn Sīda, *Muḥaṣṣaṣ* XI, 91.

is a loanword from Persian *fūgān*, or, if *fūgān* is a loanword from the original Arabic *fuqqā'*, or *fuqā'*.⁴⁷ In the sense of a carbonated beverage, the Persian *fuqā'* *gušūdan* could also designate the moment when its vessel is opened and the gas escapes. And even though this could be applied to other carbonated beverages as well, sources mainly mention it in the context of beers.⁴⁸

Fuqqā' was primarily made of barley.⁴⁹ But as it was quite common with beers in general, other ingredients might have been added, and whatever cereal was available, or considered better, could have been used. In addition, we can observe the general tendency that simple recipes from early Islamic times underwent some kind of refinement in the following decades and centuries of urbanization and court culture, such as it is with the famous dish *tarīd*. In this way, even a simple barley beer found its way into the 10th century Arabic cookery book from Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, giving the instruction for how to produce this *fuqqā'* beer, followed by a number of refining recipes (Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2007:453–459). We encounter a number of *fuqqā'* recipes in different sources adding mint, spices, raisins, dates, honey, rice, and other possible ingredients. N. Nasrallah stresses that *fuqqā'* is an alcohol free beer, “a bubbly drink made from barley. It is usually served before the meal, unlike wine, which is served after the meal” (Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2007:551. Šādiqī 1988:38).

Furthermore, the term *fuqqā'* could be applied to a beverage completely without barley, or even any kind of cereal. Šādiqī mentions, for example, that a beverage made of boiled grapes would be called *fuqqā'* in Ḥurāsān. And some of Ibn Sayyār's *fuqqā'* recipes have no grain at all. Finally, also Dihḥudā adds that *fuqqā'* would be a beer made of barley, or raisins, or other ingredients.⁵⁰ In the *ḥadīṭ* texts, *fuqqā'* appears nearly exclusively as simple (grain) beer, with one exception. An interesting transfer from the beer, made of cereal, to a honey wine can be observed in a few sources, including *ḥadīṭ*. *Fuqqā'* is mentioned in al-Buḥārī's collection under the chapter on honey wine, *bāb al-ḥamr min al-'asal wa-huwa al-bit'* (in the *kitāb al-ašriba*). But here, the first tradition does not refer to the common term for honey wine, *bit'*, but to *fuqqā'*: “And Ma'n said: ‘I asked Mālik b. Anas about the *fuqqā'*, and he answered: If it does not intoxicate, there

⁴⁷ Steingass and Šādiqī vote for the latter, while Dihḥudā holds the view of the former, see Steingass 2006 on *fūgān*, *fuqā'*, *faqqā'at*, *fuqā'gušūdan*, *fuqā'ī*. Šādiqī 1988:40.

⁴⁸ Kazimirski 1860: II, 621 on *fuqqā'*.

⁴⁹ See *Lisān al-'arab* on *fuqqā'*; Schlimmer 1874:75 (*āb-i ḡau*, *šarāb-i ḡau*); Maurizio (1970:122) identifies the beer Fogga, or Fokka, with the Zythos-beer, already mentioned in the Talmud, cf. Lutz 1922:93.

⁵⁰ Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (9.-10. century), *kitāb al-aḡḍiyya wa-l-adwiyya*, in Lewicka 2011:468. See on different additions to the barley beer: Šādiqī 1988:38, 40. *Luḡatnāma* on *fuqā'*.

is no harm (*lā ba's*).”⁵¹ This is the only reference to *fuqqā'* in the canonical Sunnī collections, and it classifies *fuqqā'* apparently as honey wine, without giving further information. The same linguistic usage can be found in the Cairo Geniza documents; S. D. Goitein mentions a honey wine called *fuqqā'*:

“Take fifteen pounds of honey and put on it one pound of *dādhī*. Stir it up every day until it loses the taste of honey. Then take it, clarify it, put it into a gl[ass] vessel [and pour] over each pound of honey three pounds of water.” (This recipe supposedly comes from Aden.) And Goitein adds: “This alcoholic honey wine is the honey sherbet, the *fuqqā'*, which God has permitted [to drink]”. Jews were trading this honey wine in Egypt, and producing it, among others, in the Tunisian al-Mahdiyya (Goitein 1983:260–261).

Al-Kulaynī's *Kāfi* and other sources give evidence for the strong presence of *fuqqā'* beer in Iraq and Iran. The earliest evidence for *fuqqā'* in Egypt dates from Fāṭimid times on (10th century), either in government prohibitions or travelers' observations.

From all the beer names *ḥadīṭ* offers, there is only one, the *fuqqā'* beer, which we can connect to a specific vessel: *kūz al-fuqqā'* (*kūz*, pl. *kīzān*), or in Persian: *kūz-i fuqqā'*. This vessel appears in a number of sources, but scholars are obviously at issue when it comes to its form. In 1992, an article by A. Gouchani and C. Adle describes the *kūz al-fuqqā'* as a small, clay sphero-conical vessel, with an average height of 15 cm, and a diameter of 12 cm (even though other sizes exist, too). It has a short neck, which was usually closed with skin. Some have inscriptions indicating that the content was indeed a beverage – an important clue since some scholars have identified these vessels as perfume vessels, or even containers for explosives. Archeological evidence reaches from the 10th to the 13th century A.D., from Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia. In her edition of Ibn Sayyār's cookery book, Nawal Nasrallah defines this *kūz*, though, as “cup with a handle but no spout” (Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2007:687). Besides clay, she mentions metal and wood as material. David Waines has them as “long and narrow vessels [...] often fitted with a handle“, and he quotes Goitein translating *kīzān* as “bowl”.⁵² *Ḥadīṭ* does not give us clear evidence for this kind of vessel.

Some beers, and this applies to *fuqqā'* as well as to others, certainly had alcoholic and alcohol-free versions. The very fact that beers could have such a low alcohol percentage, led to a certain insecurity as to how far they could still be considered *ḥalāl*.

As alcoholic beer, *fuqqā'* was prohibited from time to time in Egypt, as for example, by the Fāṭimid ruler al-Ḥakim bi-Amrillāh (ruled 996–1021), or the

⁵¹ al-Buḥārī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb al-ḥamr min al-'asal* (4).

⁵² Waines 2010:133. Compare the images of vessels in Homan 2004:87, 89.

Mamlūk ruler az-Zāhir Baybars who banned this beer in 663/1265; but most of the times during the first centuries of Islam, high taxes were levied on *fuqqā'* business (and that of other beers). Unfortunately, we are not informed in detail about the beer consumption of the common people about which the sources are often silent. City chronicles or travel accounts can give an idea about daily consumption, but it requires more future research to establish a clearer image of the beer consumption among the average population.⁵³

Hadīṭ supports the assumption of a mainly alcoholic *fuqqā'*, with some alcohol-free variants. Most traditions treat it as intoxicating and put it thereby legally on the same level as *ḥamr*. In al-Kulaynī's *Kāfī*, *fuqqā'*, to which al-Kulaynī dedicates a whole sub-chapter (*bāb al-fuqqā'*), is treated consistently as intoxicating and therefore *ḥarām*. *Fuqqā'* is either one of the beverages defined as *ḥamr* (*fa-innahu min al-ḥamr*), or it is simply equated with *ḥamr* (*huwa l-ḥamru bi-'aynihi*). When asked about *fuqqā'*, the Imāms usually would reply that it is *ḥarām* and deserves the same punishment as consumption of *ḥamr*.⁵⁴ The narrative *hadīṭ* quoted above, where Abū Ğamīla al-Baṣrī and Yūnis were on a market in Baġdād, and Yūnis got splashes of *fuqqā'* beer on his clothes in the moment the *fuqqā'* vendor opened a *fuqqā'* vessel, represents the reading of *fuqqā'* as alcoholic. It led to the debate, in how far Yūnis is legally entitled to perform the prayer.⁵⁵

While the *Kāfī* treats *fuqqā'* as alcoholic, aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Istibṣār* gives evidence that alcohol-free versions existed as well. *Fuqqā'* was apparently prepared in the 7th Imām's home (*fī manzilihi*), a fact complemented by the note that this *fuqqā'* would not ferment (*lā yaġlī*).⁵⁶ Another time, 'Alī b. Yaḡfīn asked Abū l-Ḥasan [Mūsā al-Kāzim] about the consumption of *fuqqā'* that is produced and sold on the market (*sa'altuhu 'an ṣurbi l-fuqqā' i llaḏī yu'malu fī s-sūqi wa-yubā'u*). "I do not know how it is prepared or when it is prepared – is it permissible for me to drink it?" And the Imām answers that he does not approve it (*lā uḥibbuhu*).⁵⁷ This

⁵³ Such as the observation noted down by Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw who observed in 439/1948 that Cairo's inhabitants would not consume alcoholic *fuqqā'*, see: Ḥusraw 1373:78f. See the important works of Lewicka 2005 and 2011.

⁵⁴ al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb al-fuqqā'*, 8; see also aṭ-Ṭūsī, *k. al-aṭ'ima wa-l-aṣriba, bāb taḥrīm ṣurb al-fuqqā'*, 1–9.

⁵⁵ Here, aṭ-Ṭūsī supports the need to wash the clothes before the prayer, while Ibn Babūya stresses that Yūnis could perform the prayer (*lā ba's*) because "God has forbidden drinking it, but has not forbidden the prayer in clothes that are contaminated by wine". aṭ-Ṭūsī, *k. al-aṭ'ima wa-l-aṣriba, bāb taḥrīm al-fuqqā'* (60), 10, and Ibn Babūya, *bāb ḥadd ṣurb al-ḥamr wa-mā ġā'a fī l-ġinā' wa-l-malāhī* (11), 4.

⁵⁶ aṭ-Ṭūsī, *k. al-aṭ'ima wa-l-aṣriba, bāb taḥrīm ṣurb al-fuqqā'*, 11.

⁵⁷ aṭ-Ṭūsī, *k. al-aṭ'ima wa-l-aṣriba, bāb taḥrīm ṣurb al-fuqqā'*, 13.

does not imply a general prohibition but shows the caution to buy *fuqqā'* from somebody whose procedure of *fuqqā'* preparation one cannot judge.

Hadīṭ does not supply us with closer information on how *fuqqā'* was actually prepared. It was important to state that alcoholic *fuqqā'* was part of the prohibition of intoxicating beverages, and that such drinks, whether prepared of barley, wheat or sorghum, fell under the legal *ḥamr* prohibition. Fermentation was given as borderline between *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*, and this was the main message of these texts. Such a selective character recalls sources on Sumerian beer – even though much more numerous and informative on distribution and amounts produced, they are also lacking in information on the actual production. “Hundreds of such texts document more or less explicitly administrative activities performed in the context of the production, distribution, and consumption of beer, although the information they provide is specifically restricted. They were written for people who knew the context of beer production and distribution and not to inform modern readers about these processes. They contain detailed records of the required raw materials, of the amounts of beer produced, and of economic transactions such as the delivery of raw materials and the disbursement of beer products but not, however, about the real activities performed in brewing processes.” (Damerow 2012).

This silence in the source material does not imply that people did not discuss matters of beer preparation. We get an idea that this was actually happening also in the context of *fuqqā'* from a correspondence of a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad ar-Rāzī with the 9th Imām, Abū Ğa'far al-Ğawwād: “I have taken notice that you have explained the *fuqqā'* to me because we are in doubt on it. Is it *makrūh* only after fermentation or even before it?” To this the Imām answered (*fa-kataba ilayhi*) that *fuqqā'* should not be drunk from damaged vessels. Questioning the level of damage (*ḍarāra*) and being new (*ġadīd*), 'Abd Allāh asked in how far it would be permissible to drink from vessels made of *ḡadāra* clay⁵⁸, glass (*zuġāġ*), wood (*ḥašab*) or the like. The Imām answered: “*Fuqqā'* can be prepared in glass vessels and those of fired clay (*faḥār*), using these not more than three times.” After these three times of preparation, one should not use them any longer but choose new vessels instead.⁵⁹ Even though we are still left in the dark when it comes to the proper *fuqqā'* preparation after this *ḥadīṭ*, we get a glimpse that such things were discussed, apparently even in letters, and that certain instructions were given when it comes to the use of vessels. Such instructions to clean vessels regularly, or to switch them, can be found in other chapters in the *ḥadīṭ* collections, too, showing the awareness that dregs and remainders in vessels could cause, or intensify fermentation.

⁵⁸ Green and/or dark clay, without salt earth.

⁵⁹ at-Ṭūsī, *k. al-aṭ'ima wa-l-ašriba, bāb taḥrīm šurb al-fuqqā'*, 12.

On the whole, *fuqqā'* became forbidden in Ġa'farī law, pointing at its alcoholic character. But a few samples show, that alcohol-free versions were known. And in fact, a certain type of *fuqqā'* was permissible in the Sunnī law schools, and it was consumed even at the end of Ramaḍān.⁶⁰ To draw the conclusion, however, that *fuqqā'* must have been alcohol-free, because we have evidence that it was drunk by Muslims, is a rather modern interpretation.⁶¹

Mizr

While *ḥadīt* shows a geographical Iraq-Iran orientation with reference to *fuqqā'* (even though it was known in Egypt, as well) *mizr* became somehow the Egyptian beer par excellence. While some state that *mizr* beer was foremost a beer made of wheat, one has to correct this assumption by adding that this is valid for Egypt, where wheat was a dominant crop.⁶² The *mizr* beer appearing in the Geniza documents was most likely a wheat beer and, according to Goitein, popular among the Jews in Egypt. He adds: “We hear again about *mizr* from Acre (Akko) in Crusader times when [...] shellfish gatherers from Alexandria were reported there for drinking it in a tavern of bad repute. [...] I have not found that beverage mentioned elsewhere; it was probably popular in circles not much represented in the Geniza” (Goitein 1983:261). Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī defines *mizr* in the 9th century as a beer made of wheat (Ibn Sīda, *Muḥaṣṣaṣ* XI, 91).

But to limit *mizr* to wheat and Egypt is not justified in the context of the history of *mizr* and other regions where *mizr* was produced. Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-'arab* (13th century) defines *mizr* as *nabīd* made of barley (*ša'īr*), wheat (*ḥinṭa*), or other ingredients. Some claim it to be foremost a beer of sorghum (*dura*), and Abū 'Ubayd is quoted that *bit'* would be a *nabīd* made of honey (*'asal*), *ḡi'a* a *nabīd* of barley (*ša'īr*), *mizr* of sorghum (*dura*), *sakar* made of dates (*tamr*), and *ḥamr* made of grapes (*'inab*). In Fīrūzābādī's *Qāmūs* (14th-15th century), *mizr* is said to be a *nabīd* of sorghum? (*dura*) and barley (*ša'īr*).

Concerning the term *dura* we might encounter the problem, that it may partly have been applied to wheat, too. In *ḥadīt*, though, beer of *dura* is sometimes presented as different from beer made from wheat, *dura* and *ḥinṭa* named side by

⁶⁰ See *Luḡatnāma* on *fuqqā'*, and Šādiqī 1988:38. See also Lewicka 2011:469, giving from the 14th century Egyptian Ibn al-Uḥuwwa's *ḥisba* manual two recipes for the alcohol-free *fuqqā'* variants, *ḥāṣṣ* and *ḥarḡī*.

⁶¹ See for this discussion also Šādiqī 1988:38. Šādiqī classifies *fuqqā'* as mainly alcohol-free beverage, with a few exceptions.

⁶² As such it appears in Lewicka 2011:487ff. But note that in her article Lewicka (2005:72) defines it as beer made of barley. Cf. Biesterfeldt 2012:383. Lutz 1922:95, refers to Ibn Bayṭār, and states that *mizr* “was the national drink of Egypt long after it had embraced Islam“.

side, each being the basic ingredient for a special type of beer. These two terms either designated two different varieties of wheat, or they designated two different types of grain, namely sorghum and wheat. Owing to the mention of *ḥinṭa* and *ḍura* as two main ingredients for (alcoholic) beverages in *ḥadīṭ* and due to the close connection of *ḍura* to the Ethiopian beer *sukurka*, which was of sorghum, it can be assumed, that *ḍura* in *ḥadīṭ* refers in fact to sorghum, not to wheat.

Other sources link *mizr* beer clearly to South Arabia, and specifically Yemen. Alongside barley beer, *mizr* of *ḍura* was known in pre-Islamic South Arabia.⁶³ In Islamic times *mizr* of *ḍura* could apparently be used synonymously with *sukurka* (or *ḡubayrā'*), a *ḍura* beer known from the Abyssinians (*min al-ḥabaša*).

Ḥadīṭ supports the definition of *mizr* as made of barley or sorghum (*ḍura*), placing it mainly in a Yemenite context. In Muslim's collection, Abū Burda relates from his father, Abū Mūsā al-Aṣ'arī, that he and Mu'āḍ were sent to Yemen by the Prophet Muḥammad. There, they encountered two beverages, *bit'* made of honey (*'asal*), and *mizr* made of *ḍura* and barley (*ša'ir*). Both were prepared in a way that they "get strong" (*yunbaḍu ḥattā yaštadda*), that is, fermented and got intoxicating.⁶⁴ This tradition is recorded in many *ḥadīṭ* collections.⁶⁵ In a variant version in Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan*, Abū Mūsā asked the Prophet about the intoxicating beverage made of honey, and the Prophet identified it as *bit'*. When Abū Mūsā asked about a *nabīḍ* prepared of barley (*ša'ir*) and sorghum (*ḍura*), the Prophet is said to have answered: "This is *mizr*."⁶⁶

In other versions transmitted in Muslim's collection by Abū Burda's son, Sa'īd b. Abī Burda, *mizr* is exclusively made of barley.⁶⁷ Other collections include this tradition, too. The *Kāfī* has two traditions defining *mizr* as barley beer: "*al-ḥamr* is made of five [things]: *al-aṣīr* is of grapes, *an-naqī'* is of raisins, *al-bit'* is of honey, *al-mizr* is of barley, and *an-nabīḍ* is of dates".⁶⁸ (A third tradition adds *mizr* as beer of wheat, *ḥinṭa*.)

A third group of traditions identifies *mizr* as a beverage exclusively made of sorghum (*ḍura*). One day, the Prophet met someone from the Yemenite Ḡayṣān who asked him about the beverage *mizr*, made of sorghum, and consumed in their

⁶³ Maraqtan 1993:98. In addition, he mentions a Sabaic inscription where *mzr* was made of dates.

⁶⁴ Muslim, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb bayān anna kull muskir ḥamr wa-anna kull ḥamr ḥarām* (7), 5334.

⁶⁵ See e.g. an-Nasā'ī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb tafsīr al-bit' wa-l-mizr*, 5621, 5622, 5623.

⁶⁶ Abū Dāwūd, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb an-nahy min al-muskir* (5), 3686.

⁶⁷ Muslim, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb bayān anna kull muskir ḥamr wa-anna kull ḥamr ḥarām* (7), 5332, 5333.

⁶⁸ al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb mā yuttaḥaḍu minhu l-ḥamr*, 1, 3. See also Ibn Bābūya, *bāb ḥadd šurb al-ḥamr wa-mā ḡā'a fī l-ḡinā' wa-l-malāhī* (11), 3. al-Muqrī 2007:38, where *mizr* is made of barely, not of *ḍura*.

region (*bi-arḍihim*). When the Prophet got to know that this *mizr* was intoxicating, he said that *kullu muskirin ḥarāmūn*, everything intoxicating is prohibited.⁶⁹

The *ḥadīṭ* texts support, together with other sources, that a beer called *mizr* was prominent in Yemen at the time of the Prophet, and its name appears already in pre-Islamic inscriptions. As far as we know at this point, *mizr* beer became famous only later in Egypt. While being mainly a beer of barley and sorghum in Yemen, it became known as a wheat beer in Egypt. P. Lewicka (2011:487) holds it possible that *mizr* beer came from Yemen to Egypt with the first Islamic armies from Yemen. Maybe the soldiers who settled in al-Fuṣṭāṭ after the conquest of Egypt from 21/642 brought their Yemeni tradition to Egypt and made it part of Egypt's drinking culture. In order to reconstruct this possible influence further research would be necessary in order to map the linguistic appearance and use of *mizr* in connection to agriculture.

Different from *fuqqā'*, where we have a discussion on its alcoholic or non-alcoholic nature, *mizr* was apparently classified as alcoholic and therefore a forbidden beverage.

Sukurka (suqurqu', suqruqa') or ġubayrā'

In *ḥadīṭ* and other sources, *sukurka* is tightly connected to the Abyssinians and is said to be an intoxicating beer based on sorghum (*ḍura*). *Lisān al-'arab* states that *sukurka*, or *suqurqu'*, is “the wine (*ḥamr*) of the Abyssinians, which is made of *ḍura* and intoxicating”.⁷⁰ *Ġubayrā'* is mentioned either as a synonym of *sukurka* beer, or as fruit of the tree *ġabrā'*. Abū Ḥanīfa also calls the tree *ġubayrā'*. And the philologist Ṭa'lab (d. 291/904) defines *ġubayrā'* as a wine (*ḥamr*) made of the *ġubayrā'* fruit. In general, *ġubayrā'* may designate either the fruit or the tree.⁷¹

In any case, *sukurka* was an Arabised, originally Abyssinian word. The reference in *ḥadīṭ* is with the Abyssinians (*min al-ḥabaša*), not with a geographical region. It is usually made of *ḍura*. A typical example may be found in Abū Dāwūd's collection: “*Al-ġubayrā'* is *as-sukurka*, made of *ḍura*, an [intoxicating] beverage that the Abyssinians prepare.”⁷² And in a tradition recorded in the *Muwaṭṭa'*, the Prophet forbade *ġubayrā'* and, when asked by Zayd b. Aslam what *ġubayrā'* actually is, he simply answered: “It is *as-sukurka*.”⁷³

⁶⁹ Muslim, *k. al-ašriba, bāb bayān anna kull muskir ḥamr wa-anna kull ḥamr ḥarām* (7), 5335. See also an-Nasā'ī, *k. al-ašriba, bāb ḍikr mā a'adda Allāh 'azza wa-ġalla li-šārib al-muskir min al-ḍull wa-l-hawān wa-alīm al-'aḍāb* (49), 5727.

⁷⁰ *Lisān al-'arab* on *sukurka*.

⁷¹ See the entries on *sukurka* and *ġubayrā'* and *ġabrā'* in *Lisān al-'arab*.

⁷² Abū Dāwūd, *k. al-ašriba, bāb an-naḥy 'an al-muskir* (5), 3687.

⁷³ *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, *k. al-ašriba, bāb taḥrīm al-ḥamr* (4), 1549.

While the names *sukurka* or *ġubayrā'* are usually connected to a beer made of *dura* by the Abyssinians, this beer was sometimes equated with *mizr* in Yemen. As to the reason for this, we can only speculate at this time. Perhaps *mizr* was the locally known beer in South Arabia, often made of *dura*. In the course of the close contacts between the Aksumite Empire and Yemen, either through trade or settlements, and later trade connections between Ethiopia, Yemen, but also the Ḥiġāz, the name of this Abyssinian beer found its way into the Arabic language. And the fact that it was a beer made of sorghum caused it to be used synonymously with *mizr*, a previously known *dura* beer. In the *Muḥaṣṣaṣ* we find the information that *suqurqu'* (or *suqurqa'*) was known among the Ḥiġāzī population, a further evidence for the connections between Abyssinia and the eastern coast of the Red Sea. It was known through trade, direct political rule, immigration, or even through Abyssinian slaves on the Arabian Peninsula. These political, economic, and cultural contacts over the Red Sea have recently gained more attention⁷⁴, and *ḥadīṭ* can surely add to our attempt to reconstruct these exchanges of the first centuries of Islam.

Sawīq

In contrast to the previously mentioned beers, *sawīq* can be both a beer and food (if one does not take into account the fact that beer has been considered as food for centuries). As with the other beers, *sawīq* could be prepared of both barley and wheat, while the most common basis was barley.

As food, *sawīq* was some kind of porridge, mentioned in a number of *ḥadīṭ* chapters, such as *kitāb al-aṭ'ima*, *aṭ-ṭahāra*, *al-wuḍū'*, *an-nikāh*, *aṭ-ṭalāq*, *al-maġāzī*, *al-ġihād*, in short, it was a widespread staple dish. In *ḥadīṭ*, it often appears alongside the date, eaten on private invitations, or marriage festivities. As with many other, formerly simple dishes from the time of the Prophet and his environment, *sawīq*, as well as the dish *ṭarīd*, underwent some kind of refinement under the Umayyad, and above all during the Abbasid period. While originally made of barley and, to a lesser extent, wheat, we find later *sawīq* varieties in *ḥadīṭ* and other sources with different ingredients. Al-Kulaynī has a *sawīq* of lentils ('*adas*') in his *kitāb al-aṭ'ima*⁷⁵, and *Lisān al-'arab* has a *sawīq* made of almonds. *Sawīq* could be prepared for travels. In this case, the grain was dried after treatment, and whenever needed, water or milk was added. In more refined contexts, barley was substituted by wheat, and one could add sugar, pomegranate,

⁷⁴ See The Red Sea Project at Durham University, [www.dur.ac.uk/mlac/arabic/red sea](http://www.dur.ac.uk/mlac/arabic/red%20sea) (last consulted: August 2014)

⁷⁵ al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṭ'ima*, *bāb sawīq al-'adas*. See the chapter before: *bāb al-aswiqa wa-faḍl sawīq al-ḥinṭa*.

or other further ingredients. David Waines mentions *sawīq* as a dish, but he does not include *sawīq* in his entry on beers, where he refers to *mizr*, *ǧā'a (sic)*, *būza*, *fuqqā'*, and *aqsimā* (Waines 2010:133).

It is also true that in *ḥadīṭ*, *sawīq* is most prominent as a dish. But one encounters *sawīq* as beer, as well, and the difference between these two was at times apparently vague. Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908–909) recorded it in his *Fuṣūl at-tamāṭīl fī tabāšīr as-surūr* as one of the names for wine (*asmā' al-ḥumūr*), alongside the *sukurka*.⁷⁶

As beverage, *sawīq* meant first of all some kind of beer made of barley (*ša'īr*) or wheat (*ḥinṭa*). But from here, one can observe a semantic transfer, namely to beverages made of grapes. *Lisān al-'arab* states that *sawīq* is something made of wheat (*ḥinṭa*) or barley (*ša'īr*), and adds that a *sawīq* made of grapes would be *ḥamr* (*sawīqu l-karmi al-ḥamru*). Fredrick Lutz writes: „The *sawīq* (سويق), a particularly favored drink, seems to have been quite harmless. It was a barley-water, which was imbibed from the vessel by means of straw, and was generally drunk by sick persons” (Lutz 1922:95).

In fact it seems, that *sawīq* was a beverage with either very low or no alcohol content. As with the barley cake mentioned by David Waines, the procedure of soaking the grain, drying it, and roasting it, made *sawīq* a proper drink for travels. It was mixed with water, and maybe other ingredients, as a refreshing drink. It appears in Ibn Sayyār's 10th century cookery book, where the editor Nawal Nasrallah writes in her glossary (2007:555): “[S]*awīq* (سويق) refreshing and nourishing drink usually made from ground toasted grains, nuts, sugar, and water. Men are urged not to let their wives drink *sawīq*, and if they do, they need to keep an eye on them because *sawīq* makes women gain weight and become beautiful and lusty (ad-Dīnawarī, *'Uyūn al-Aḫbār*, 349).”

Facing the possible danger of an alcoholic beer, it seems that some people still inquired about the permissibility of *sawīq*, and Ubayy b. Ka'b recommends: “Drink water (*al-mā'*), drink honey (*al-'asal*), drink *sawīq*, and drink milk (*al-laban*).”⁷⁷

As a beverage it appears in *ḥadīṭ*, but usually without further explanation about what it actually is. We can only assume that it was a drink, since it was drunk (*šariba*), but here, we encounter the vague difference between beverage and food, since *sawīq* could also be prepared as some kind of soup, too, and in this case, it could be drunk.⁷⁸ Reading the passages on *sawīq* in the *Kāfī*, it becomes obvious that *sawīq* was at times eaten, and at times drunk – either as a beverage, or as a

⁷⁶ MS Leipzig University Library, Vollers 512, f. 40v.

⁷⁷ an-Nasā'ī, *k. al-ašriba, bāb ḍikr al-ašriba al-mubāḥa* (58), 5772.

⁷⁸ As, e.g., in an-Nasā'ī, *k. aš-šiyām, bāb as-suḥūr bi-s-sawīq wa-t-tamr* (28), 2179 (*šaribtu šarbata sawīqin*).

soup. “*Iṣrab sawīqa l-’adas*” – “drink the lentil *sawīq*”, is recommended in the *Kāfi* because it is supposed to quench the thirst and strengthen the stomach.⁷⁹ Other traditions recommend drinking *sawīq* made of wheat for 40 days⁸⁰, or drinking *sawīq* with oil (*šurbu s-sawīqi bi-z-zayti*).⁸¹ The 8th Imām, Abū l-Ḥasan ar-Riḍā, praised the *sawīq*: “What an excellent food (*qūt*) this *sawīq* is! When hungry, it satisfies you, and when you are full, it helps you to digest.”⁸²

In fact, according to the 6th Imām, Ğa’far aṣ-Ṣādiq, *sawīq* is the food of the prophets, and the 7th Imām adds: “It was sent through divine revelation from the Heavens (*innamā unzila s-sawīqu bi-l-wahyi min as-samā’i*).”⁸³

Ĝi’a

The *ĝi’a* beer is hardly mentioned in *ḥadīṭ*. Originally, *ĝi’a* was a beer made of barley (as most beers were), while wheat might have been used, too, depending on time and location. Abū Ḥanīfa defined it as barely beer (Ibn Sīda, *Muḥaṣṣaṣ* XI, 91). According to *Lisān al-’arab*, it was alcoholic: “*nabīdu ša’irīn [...] šarābun yuttaḥaḍu min aš-ša’iri wa-l-ḥinṭati ḥattā yuskiru*.”⁸⁴ This beer, that David Waines most probably intended with the spelling “*jā’a*” (Waines 2010:133), is not further explained in *ḥadīṭ*. Abū Dāwūd mentions it simply in the context of vessels,⁸⁵ while we find support for *ĝi’a* as barley beer in an-Nasā’ī, where it is recorded in the chapter *an-nahy ‘an nabīḍ al-ĝi’a wa-huwa šarābun yuttaḥaḍu min aš-ša’ir*.⁸⁶

Conclusion

There seems to have been some kind of confusion concerning beer, be that in terms of ingredients or terminology. In this respect, beer does not differ from other beverages, but this is beyond the scope of this article.⁸⁷ Local availability of grains, language use, and some kind of culturally determined taste were reasons for the vagueness of many beer names. While the future will hopefully bring forth more results on beer culture and terminology, *ḥadīṭ* is but a first step. And while

⁷⁹ al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṭ’ima, bāb sawīq al-’adas*, 3.

⁸⁰ al-Kulaynī, *k. al-aṭ’ima, bāb al-aswiqa wa-faḍl sawīq al-ḥinṭa*, 12.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 4 and 5.

⁸⁴ *Lisān al-’arab* on ĝ’h and ĝ’w

⁸⁵ Abū Dāwūd, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb fi l-aw’iya* (7), 3699.

⁸⁶ an-Nasā’ī, *k. al-aṣriba, bāb an-nahy ‘an nabīḍ al-ĝi’a wa-huwa šarābun yuttaḥaḍu min aš-ša’ir* (26).

⁸⁷ Cf. Brinkmann 2014, al-Muqrī 2007:19–28.

ḥadīṭ can serve as a source for material culture of the first decades and centuries of Islamic history, as it has done for the purpose of this survey, it might be approached from a literary and discourse-oriented perspective, as well, as shown in the study of Kathryn Kueny (2001). As shown above, *ḥadīṭ* literature is a negotiation to define new norms, or modify or confirm existing ones for the early Muslim community. As such, it gives us information about existing habits when it comes to food and drink, while at the same time being selective and sometimes vague when it comes to concrete time and place references.

A history of beer culture in the Islamic world has still to be written. Paulina Lewicka has dedicated some attention to it for the Fāṭimid and Mamlūk periods, and there are glimpses here and there in other publications that beer was consumed, be it under Qajar rule in Iran, or in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and early 20th century on, where beer factories such as the Bomonti beer factory, were founded. And even today, beer forms part of the drinking culture. Nadim Khoury is owner of the Taybeh brewery in the West Bank, where he produces a number of alcoholic beers according to the *deutsche Reinheitsgebot*.⁸⁸ Muslims abstaining from alcohol can simply order his alcohol-free version.

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**SCHOLARS IN PRIVATE
ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GOLDZIHHER AND VÁMBÉRY¹**

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1. Letters by Ármin Vámbéry in Ignaz Goldziher's Correspondence²

The monumental correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) occupies a prominent place among the scholarly correspondences of several centuries. Despite its one-sidedness – since it mainly consists of letters addressed to him – it clearly reflects the intricate systems of relationships and networks of communication that existed at the late 19th and early 20th centuries.³ In this collection from the legacy of the influential figure of European research on Islam one has to do with more than 13,000 documents. These pages preserve the messages and thoughts of leading contemporary scholars, faithful disciples, editors of journals, professors of renowned foreign universities, and rabbis of small rural communities alike. The documents show an extraordinary variety concerning their language, content and even the amount of letters from different persons. Goldziher's chief corresponding partner was the Dutch Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) who discussed in nearly 500 letters various scientific issues with his esteemed Hungarian counterpart.⁴ At the other end of the line are the persons who sent just one note, a business card or a birthday wish. These include, among others, the later Nobel laureate Albert Szent-

¹ The first version of this paper was written on the occasion of the centenary of Á. Vámbéry's birth. It was published online at <http://vambery.mtak.hu/en/06.htm>.

² Goldziher's correspondence was donated to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by his son, Károly [Charles], who was also responsible for the careful arrangement of the letters. The letters have been digitised and are available online within the digital collections of the Library. All the call numbers start with "GIL", an abbreviation which stands for "Goldziher Ignaz Letters" at the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

³ It is clear from the letters that Goldziher was a very conscientious letter writer, trying to answer the questions put to him almost instantly. He preferred to reply by return mail, but even if he had to look up something, he usually responded as soon as he obtained the requested information, see Dévényi 2005:29.

⁴ See Koningsveld 1985.

Györgyi (1893–1985) who – during his stay in Leiden – was recommended to Snouck Hurgronje’s attention and patronage by Goldziher. Szent-Györgyi, in the only surviving letter⁵ from him in this collection, gratefully informs Goldziher of his friendly reception at the Dutch scholar’s house.

Altogether more than 1,600 persons were in correspondence with Goldziher, and Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913) features among those who sent a significant number of letters to him. There are only 56 persons who sent more than 50 letters, and the “dervish” – as he was often referred to – is among them with 71 letters signed by him. Besides these, there are in the envelope⁶ of Vámbéry’s letters two business cards from his wife, an envelope and a letter from the Turanian Society,⁷ Goldziher’s draft response to a letter of Vámbéry, and three obituaries⁸ of Vámbéry, one of which was sent by the Academy, and two by the University of Budapest.

Ármin Vámbéry stayed in close contact until the end of his life with his preeminent student, Ignaz Goldziher. A good documentation of their relationship is provided by Vámbéry’s letters and – in lack of Goldziher’s replies – Goldziher’s entries in his *Tagebuch*,⁹ as well as his *Memorial speech* written on the occasion of Vámbéry’s death.¹⁰ Their communication was determined by the teacher–student relationship. Goldziher often emphasised how great an impact Vámbéry’s suggestive lectures had on him:

“This vivid immediacy necessarily influenced the spirit of the young student, and transferred him by magic into that living Oriental milieu whose spiritual phenomena he tried to understand” (Goldziher 1915:17).

“Ich wäre eine gemeine Seele, könnte ich ihm dies je vergessen, oder verläugnen wollen, dass ich Vámb[éry] die aufrechte Liebe für die orientalischen Studien verdanke” (Goldziher 1978:26).

⁵ GIL/42/42/01. Although Szent-Györgyi’s letter is undated, it could only have been written between 1920–21 during his stay in Leiden.

⁶ The call number of the complete Vámbéry envelope is GIL/44/09.

⁷ GIL/44/09/01: an invitation dated 3 January 1912 to a committee meeting in order to organise the celebration of the 80th birthday of Ármin Vámbéry, honorary president of the society.

⁸ GIL/44/09/21–23.

⁹ Goldziher 1978. It has partially been translated into Hungarian in 1985.

¹⁰ His memorial speech was read in the Academy on 25 October 1915 and was published the same year.

At the same time, Vámbéry was understandably proud that the attention of the young researcher, who became one of the most prestigious scholars of Islam in the contemporary world, was directed by him towards the Orient.

“Doch wenn man den Studiengang Dr. Goldziher schildert und von seinen Lehrjahren spricht, da darf ich mir es nicht nehmen lassen dass ich in ihm meinen ersten Schüler kenne, den ich in der Vorhalle des orientalischen Wissens eingeführt, dessen ersten Schritte ich geleitet und für dessen Aufkommen ich viel complimentieren und antichambrieren musste.”¹¹

It should, however, be mentioned that by the time Goldziher started to write his diary on his fortieth birthday, he resented Vámbéry’s earlier patronage, was embarrassed by it, and felt that it was disadvantageous for him from several points of view. As he writes (Goldziher 1978:26):

“Er pries mich allenthalben als Wunderknaben, als orientalisches Sprachgenie an Bald wurde ich auch in die Schriftstellerei hineingetrieben und der Grund zu verfrühter Publizität meiner Studien gelegt, die ich späterhin bitter bereute.”

2. The language and style of Vámbéry’s letters¹²

The distribution of the letters is interesting both linguistically and thematically. Vámbéry started to correspond with his student in the 1860s. The language of the letters was almost exclusively German¹³ until 1894. Twenty-seven letters have survived from this period, and this series of German letters was broken by just two letters in Hungarian and one in English.¹⁴ However, in 1894, there was a sudden change in the main language of the letters. While at the beginning of the year Vámbéry penned his letters in German, in June he recommended his “private secretary”¹⁵ to Goldziher’s attention in Hungarian. And from then on – with four exceptions – he was writing exclusively in Hungarian, a total of thirty-seven letters. The main language of the letters is often broken by a Turkish or

¹¹ GIL/44/09/19.

¹² The orthography of the original letters was kept throughout the transcription. No attempt was made to correct their spelling and grammar or modify them according to present day orthography.

¹³ On Goldziher’s mother tongue and the contemporary linguistic situation in Hungary, see Ormos 2005.

¹⁴ GIL/44/09/11. For its contents, see below.

¹⁵ GIL/44/09/09, dated 27 June 1894 is the first in the series of Hungarian letters.

Arabic word or phrase. Sometimes even Vámbéry's signature is written with Arabic characters.

Among the letters we also find postcards and business cards on which Vámbéry wrote a few words. The tone of the letters is always very friendly. An undated, early letter is addressed as "Liebes Kind". This cordial message clearly indicates that Vámbéry had great affection for the young Goldziher:

"Liebes Kind

Du hast dich für den unglücklichen Scheich exponirt fahre fort nach dein الاحسان بالاتمام dein Mannern zu helfen, und eine kleine Collecta behuffs Weiterbeförderung zu machen.

Konntest du nicht heute auf ein Wort zu mir kommen?" (GIL/44/09/65)

Other letters in German are addressed as "Lieber Natzi", while those in Hungarian as "Kedves öcsém uram" (My dear young lord). Goldziher addresses Vámbéry in his surviving Hungarian letter as "Nagyon tisztelt professor ur!" (Very honoured Professor), and in the early German one as "Hochwürdiger Herr".¹⁶ The three letters written in the 1910s by Vámbéry's son, Ruzstem (1872–1948), to Goldziher were addressed to "Mélyen Tisztelt Goldziher Bácsi"¹⁷ (Deeply Revered Uncle Goldziher), and "Kedves Goldziher Bácsi"¹⁸ (Dear Uncle Goldziher).

3. The themes of the letters

3.1 An even more nuanced picture can be obtained from the thematic distribution of the letters. In the long letters written in the 1870s Vámbéry provides the young scholar with advices, or asks from him some favours during his European university studies, and afterwards.¹⁹ Vámbéry also felt the death of

¹⁶ GIL/44/08/01. This letter, written in Leipzig on 15 March 1870, was acquired by the Library of the Academy in 2007.

¹⁷ GIL/44/10/01. In this letter written in December 1913 Ruzstem only asks to meet Goldziher.

¹⁸ GIL/44/10/02; GIL/44/10/03. In the first, undated letter Ruzstem mentions that a posthumous work of his fathers will be sent to Goldziher, In the second letter, written in 1918, Ruzstem turns to Goldziher as the editor of the *Hungarian Law Society Gazette* (*Jogtudományi Közlöny*) to request an article on Muslim jurisprudence on the occasion of the visit of an important delegation of Turkish lawyers to Hungary.

¹⁹ Here belong, e.g. GIL/44/09/02 and GIL/44/09/55 in which Vámbéry writes, among others:

"Lieber Natzi

József Eötvös²⁰ to be a major blow for Oriental studies in Hungary, and shared this opinion with Goldziher. In addition, we can find the following topics:

3.2 Request for support

Several letters were written by Vámbéry in support of various persons. He liked to help people who deserved it. We have a testimony for this trait of his, for example, in the bequest of a scholar of Persian studies, Alexander Kégl (1862–1920) who was also supported in his scholarly endeavours by Vámbéry, his professor at the University of Budapest.²¹ Kégl did not only receive from his master letters of recommendation that he could make use of during his study tour in Iran, but he was also persistently supported by Vámbéry in his election among the members of the Academy, a position which he finally attained after several attempts for a number of years. In his support, Vámbéry found an ally in Goldziher who backed Vámbéry's proposals as is apparent from the records of the yearly elections (*Akadémiai Értesítő* 1905:5).

Election to the membership of the Academy was a serious issue with a long list of meritorious candidates each year. Accordingly, it is no wonder that applications had to be submitted repeatedly for several years. Vámbéry and Goldziher, however, were always supportive of talented people and united their forces for a good cause. Such was the election to honorary membership in 1895 of Aurel Stein (1862–1943) to the success of which both scholars contributed a great deal as is attested by their correspondence.²²

Goldziher became the secretary of the Jewish Community of Pest in 1874, a position in which he could help the members of the community to get financial support. No wonder that he received numerous letters asking for his help. Vámbéry also called his attention to several persons in need. These included his

Sei so gut und frage den شيخ الشيوخ [i.e. Heinrich L. Fleischer (1801-1888), Goldziher's professor in Leipzig] in meinem Namen ob ein geographisches Werk über den mohammedanischen Osten aus der Mitte der 4ten Jahrhunderts der Hira”

²⁰ GIL/44/09/55. József Eötvös (1813–1871), a man of great erudition, and Minister of Religion and Education between 1867 and 1871 was an ideal statesman and a liberal politician who held progressive views since his youth. Among these it is important to mention that he advocated Jewish emancipation already in one of his first speeches at the National Diet (published, with additional matter, in 1841). He was instrumental in providing Goldziher with a state scholarship to study abroad in the years 1868–1872.

²¹ On Kégl's life, oeuvre and his collection of Persian manuscripts see Dévényi *et al.* 2010.

²² See, e.g. GIL/44/09/08 (dated 8 January 1895), and GIL/44/09/51 (dated 3 February 1895) from which it becomes apparent that Vámbéry was very keen on this issue, discussing the different options with a number of academicians. A friendly tone also shines through these two cards, in the second of which he addresses Goldziher in Arabic: *yā ḥabībī, yā 'azīzī*.

students²³ and relatives alike. The following rare English letter (GIL/44/09/11) dated 22 May 1887 has a very peculiar style. It also demonstrates Vámbéry's familiarity with people as well as the fact that he liked to support persons in case it did not involve a donation from his own purse:

“My dear Natzi,

I beg leave to send you with the best possible recommendation Rabbi Mordekhai Deutsch, the husband of my step-sister, consequently my brother in law who is a downrigh[t] S[c]honorer by profession, a Jewish dervish in the strictest sense of the word, and who of course came here to empty my purse as far as possible.

Knowing, as You do, that my purse suffers of stricture, and knowing as I do, that You have the strings of a much wider purse, namely that of the Community in your hand, I will ask You to make the Község [community (in Hungarian)] for this time my exchequer and to participate Rabbi Deutsch in the fund of charity.

This is all what I ask and nothing else, take care of the Rabbi, he is a first rate scamp in spite of his considerable Talmudic knowledge.

Yours sincerely,

A. Vámbéry”

3.3 Congratulations

As a famous person in and outside Hungary, Goldziher received several hundreds of congratulations on the occasions of the great events of his life, personal or professional. Vámbéry was evidently among the well-wishers. He sent notes on the occasions of Goldziher's promotions,²⁴ family events,²⁵ or the launch of his books;²⁶ as well as his condolences (GIL/44/09/35) on the occasion of the death of Goldziher's mother.

²³ Cf. e.g. GIL/44/09/05 where Vámbéry pleads the cause of Mór Eismann, a student of Turkish language, detailing his circumstances, or GIL/44/09/66 where he asks Goldziher to help two talented young scholars, Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937) and Ignác Kúnos (1860–1945) who applied for Jewish community scholarships.

²⁴ GIL/44/09/61, dated 24 December 1872 on Goldziher's appointment as Honorary Professor at the University of Budapest; and GIL/44/09/48, dated 05 June 1905 on Goldziher's appointment as full professor at the University of Budapest.

²⁵ Among others GIL/44/09/52, on the occasion of the wedding of Goldziher's niece and ward in 1898.

²⁶ Goldziher even sent his longer works to Vámbéry who always acknowledged their receipt and in his letter of thanks he also included some critical remarks. Here belong the letters GIL/44/09/49 and GIL/44/09/56 in which Vámbéry writes about the two volumes of Goldziher's *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*.

3.4 Greetings, invitations

Goldziher's correspondence also contains a lot of greetings on various occasions. Their survival shows that Goldziher did not discard anything, irrespective of the importance or the insignificant nature of the contents.²⁷ Accordingly, some of these cards are nothing more than New Year's wishes,²⁸ and other, similar greetings,²⁹ or invitations.³⁰

3.5 Etymologies and other linguistic matters

Beyond the exchange of courtesies and asking favours, the two scholars counted on each other's knowledge in the languages of their specializations. This is actually the professional part of the correspondence, and it clearly shows that Goldziher repeatedly turned to his former master when he could not cope with a Turkish expression, and Vámbéry also counted on Goldziher's answer in the case of the Arabic language in which he never attained an appropriate level of proficiency.

Only one letter survives in which Vámbéry asks Goldziher a question related to the Arabic language. The simple nature of the problem, however, shows well that Vámbéry did not really master this language.

27. 11. 1896³¹

"Please translate the following passage to me

لحوم العلماء مسمومه من شمشها مرض و [من] اكلها فقد مات³²

²⁷ It does not mean, however, that despite the great quantity of letters everything survived from the correspondence. It can, however, be supposed that the percentage of loss is quite low, as can be seen, e.g. from the correspondence of Goldziher and David Simonsen (1853-1932) chief rabbi and university professor in Copenhagen. Whereas the Simonsen Archives (<http://www.kb.dk/en/nb/samling/js/dsa>) preserve only seven letters from Goldziher, there are 13 letters written by Simonsen in the Goldziher collection. If, however, the two sets are paired, it becomes apparent that a few letters might be missing from the Budapest collection as well.

²⁸ Like e.g. GIL/44/09/25 and GIL/44/09/37.

²⁹ See GIL/44/09/31.

³⁰ Like, e.g. GIL/44/09/49 (dated 17 June 1896) sent from the small Austrian hillside town of Mürzzuschlag, where Vámbéry retired for the summer, and GIL/44/09/24.

³¹ GIL/44/09/50, in Hungarian. In another Hungarian letter (GIL/44/09/54) dated 13 October 1911 Vámbéry only quotes one Arabic phrase:

"Could you please tell me the name of خبز مسهل you mentioned yesterday and the place it can be bought?

sincerely

”وامبرى

³² Vámbéry's problem was caused by the fact that he wrote the last two words as one (فقد مات). This was underlined by Goldziher who also inserted the second pronoun by

I do not understand the last word, so the whole is a bit vague. Do not you know where it is from? In my text it appears as a proverb.”

He answered, however, several queries of Goldziher related to Ottoman Turkish and other Turkic languages.³³

4. Goldziher’s university appointment and Vámbéry’s role in it

There is only one, highly significant exchange of letters from the spring of 1897 which cannot be inserted in the above categories. In order to evaluate it properly, it has to be noted that Goldziher interrupted his connection with Vámbéry³⁴ in 1881 suspecting that he was a double-dealer as had already been suggested to him by the Minister of Religion and Education, A. Trefort³⁵ in 1875. Goldziher renewed his connection with Vámbéry only twelve years later, when his former professor asked him to send him his list of publications,³⁶ as this was necessary to obtain the post of full professor at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Budapest.

The subject of the 1897 correspondence is a new proposal by Vámbéry, submitted to the Faculty of Letters to provide regular remuneration to Goldziher, who has not yet received a salary for his university teaching. “My request” – writes Vámbéry in the official document – “to the respected Faculty of Letters is the following: let the Faculty address a petition to the Minister of Religion and Education, His Eminence Gyula Wlassics, in which they propose a reward of 1500 forints yearly to Ignaz Goldziher”.

This exchange of letters is also interesting because of its completeness. Not only has Vámbéry’s formal submission of 27 April 1897 survived (which he sent

pencil above the original text. The famous quote (“The flesh of scholars is poisoned meat. Whoever smells it gets ill, and whoever eats it dies”) goes back to Ibn ‘Asākir, (*Tabyīn* 29) and is not to be understood literally. It has theological implications and refers – first and foremost – to the elevated status of scholars. Its precise interpretation, however, is being debated until our days.

³³ See, e.g. GIL/44/09/03 (dated 22 February 1902, in connection with a quotation from Evliya Celebi); GIL/44/09/04 (dated 8 November 1902, on the elusive meaning of بکلردی); and GIL/44/09/43 (dated 2 June 1906, on the possible meaning of an unknown saying: چاق چملاق).

³⁴ See Goldziher 1978:105–106.

³⁵ “Hüten Sie sich vor Vámbéry, der spielt eine Doppelrolle mit Ihnen” (Goldziher 1978:105). In his diary’s entry for the year 1885, Goldziher described in quite harsh terms the character of his former teacher, using terms like “Scheusal, Lügenvater”, etc. Not denying that he was his first teacher in the field of Oriental studies, he considered it to be his misfortune (“Er ist wohl mein Lehrer gewesen, aber dies ist mein Unglück”).

³⁶ GIL/44/09/10 (in German).

over to Goldziher, after having it withdrawn from the Faculty,), but also the detailed draft response of Goldziher written during the night of 1 May, together with the two answers written by Vámbéry on 2 May and 6 May.

Goldziher, as he writes in his *Tagebuch* (1978:215) saw this proposal for the first time on the table of the Dean, and he was very upset by it:

“30. April [1897]

Um Gottes Willen! Heute hatte ich beim Dekan zu thun, traf ihn jedoch nicht in seinem Bureau an. Als ich mich hinsetze, um einige Zeilen über den Zweck meines Besuches aufzuschreiben, erblicke ich auf seinem Tische offen ein Geschäftsstück überschriebenen: „Antrag des Prof. Vámbéry in Sachen der Remuneration (jutalom) des ordentl. Honorarprofessors I.G.“ Also dahin ist es mit mir gekommen am Beginne des 26. Jahres meiner Wirksamkeit an hiesiger Hochschule? Offene Bettelei! statt regelrichtiger Anerkennung! Und obendrein das Fiasko das bevorsteht. Das wird der Lügenderwisch prachtvoll inscenirt haben zu meiner größeren Ehre. Ich bin wahrhaftig zu Tode erschrocken beim Anblick des fatalen Schriftstückes, das so für die Blicke aller Studenten und Amtsdienner frei herumlagert. Nun wollen wir doch zusehen, was sie damit machen und wie lange sie es sich überlegen.”

At that time, however, he was still thinking to let the things proceed their own way. But on the same day he also visited Vámbéry, who mentioned to him the application, and as a result, during the night of 1 May he wrote a long letter to his former professor, asking him to withdraw the submission. Vámbéry, having carefully considered Goldziher's words, first decided to present the application to the Faculty if it will be accepted “without debate and contrary vote”. However, in his second letter he writes that during his informal interviews he learned that a debate would be inevitable. Thus he withdrew his proposal, but he did not give up supporting Goldziher's advance. “I will speak to the minister, and I hope that he will fulfil my wish by his own will” –, he closes his letter.³⁷

Vámbéry did not only support his former student in his university career. Since his youth he also tried to introduce him into the Hungarian scientific world, encouraged him to publish, and presented his studies at the Academy. These endeavours, however, were later felt unjust by Goldziher, who loved to mature his works.³⁸ Goldziher felt that after the outbreak of the “Ugro-Turkish

³⁷ GIL/44/09/46 (in Hungarian).

³⁸ As Goldziher (1978:26) himself expressed it: “Bald wurde ich auch in die Schriftstellerei hineingetrieben und der Grund zu verfrühter Publicität meiner Studien gelegt, die ich späterhin bitter bereute.”

war”³⁹ many opponents of Vámbéry also transferred their hostility on him, the “home student” of Vámbéry. Vámbéry willingly wrote opinions even in the later years on Goldziher’s works waiting for publication, as it is attested by a handwritten page on his study “The religion of the desert and the Islam”. From the above exchange of letters and the other gestures of Vámbéry in support of Goldziher – recommendations of books, invitations etc. – it seems that Goldziher unjustly accused his former professor by doing a negative campaign against his university advance. The tensions may have come from their extremely different disposition: the self-taught traveller, who changed his faith several times, published with an easy hand, thereby also opening new fields of research, was the contrary of the well-trained scholar, who deeply felt his religion, and put down every single line with great consideration and care. However, upon the death of Vámbéry Goldziher was able to overcome his reservations. He devoted a part of the summer of 1915 to write the *Commemorative speech*, in which he appreciated for long and in detail the groundbreaking nature of Vámbéry’s achievements in several fields. He gave a personal and individual overtone to his commemoration and appreciation by mentioning that in October 1865 “he was the first student, who ... enrolled for his lectures”, and with the speech delivered on 25 October “he closed the “Vámbéry chapter” of his life.

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³⁹ A heated linguistic discussion – the waves of which also reached the general public – on the origins and affinity of the Hungarian language ignited by Vámbéry’s study on “Hungarian and Turc–Tatar word correspondences” published in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, the linguistic periodical of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1870.

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**QUINZE MÉMOS DE TRANSPORT
DE LA COLLECTION RÉMONDON (MUSÉE DU LOUVRE)
DATÉS DE 957/1550¹**

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Résumé

Quinze mémos/attestations de transport de la collection Denise Rémondon (musée du Louvre, Département des Arts de l'Islam), rédigés en 957/1550 pour le chargement de la récolte – sans doute du lin ou du trèfle – en provenance de Šarāra (al-Ašmūnayn, Égypte), sont étudiés selon une approche holistique, qui combine, dans l'analyse du document, le texte avec les indices fournis par l'étude paléographique et l'observation de ses aspects matériels (papier, perforations, ...).

I. Introduction

Le Département des arts de l'Islam (DAI) du musée du Louvre possède dans son fonds de papyrus, une collection de documents, la collection Rémondon. Au nombre de 34 et rangés sous 20 numéros, ils ont été réunis par Denise Gerst, qui épousa Roger Rémondon, un spécialiste de papyrologie grecque, au début des années 50².

Dans son ouvrage sur les *Papyrus grecs d'Apollōnos Anō*, datant de 1953, Roger Rémondon signe en effet une présentation datée, elle, du 27 novembre 1952, où il remercie sa femme de lui avoir prodigué sa connaissance de la langue et des chroniques arabes, ainsi que son soutien affectif³. Denise Rémondon était arabisante et philologue : diplômée de l'Institut national des Langues orientales (INALCO) et élève de Jean Sauvaget et de Roger Blachère, elle fut nommée

¹ Plusieurs présentations de ces documents ont été données dans des conférences et durant mes cours de papyrologie/épigraphie à l'UFR d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, ou à l'Institut für Orientalistik, Université de Vienne. Que soient remerciés tous ceux qui ont apporté leur éclairage et ont contribué par leurs questions à l'élaboration de cet article.

² Roger Rémondon était en fait un polygraphe. Il a beaucoup écrit sur les institutions de Rome. Il était aussi bien papyrologue qu'épigraphiste et graffitologue (voir par ex., Rémondon 1965). Il pouvait aussi lire des documents en langue copte.

³ Rémondon 1953. À la fin de l'ouvrage est en particulier édité un protocole bilingue, grec-arabe, *ibid.* : n° 105 C-D et description en A, p. 213-215.

pensionnaire à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), au Caire, en 1949. Sous l'impulsion de son mari, elle se met à la papyrologie arabe. Témoignent de ce cursus aussi bien la publication, en 1954, pour les *Mélanges islamologiques* de l'IFAO, des « Cinq documents arabes d'Edfou », réunissant un papyrus et quatre ostraca (Rémondon 1954), que la constitution de la collection personnelle de documents qui nous occupe ici⁴.

On ne peut qu'être frappé par la chronologie qui unit la publication par Roger Rémondon, dans ses *Papyrus grecs d'Apollonos Anô*, en 1952-1953, de cette jarre d'Edfou recueillant des papyri grecs et coptes, archives du pagarque Papas, et la publication des documents arabes d'Edfou par sa femme, en 1954. Dans la présentation déjà citée de cet ouvrage, Roger Rémondon défend la position que seule une connaissance « holistique » des documents mis à jour permettrait la caractérisation solide du fonctionnement de la pagarchie grecque d'Apollonopolis, distincte, dit-il, de celle d'Aphrodito : elle devrait donc inclure les documents en grec, copte et arabe⁵. Faisant écho à cette remarque, en tête de sa publication d'Edfou, Denise Rémondon cite à son tour Jean David-Weill : « La langue et les institutions d'Edfou au IX^e et au X^e siècle ne seront connues que par la publication de tous les documents de cette époque »⁶.

La collection a vraisemblablement été constituée pour l'essentiel durant le séjour que Denise Rémondon a effectué en Égypte, auprès d'antiquaires⁷. Privés de contexte archéologique, nous allons tenter ici une approche holistique d'un autre type, incluant l'étude du texte aussi bien que celle de l'objet, appliquée à quinze mémos de transport regroupés sous le n° 6 de la collection⁸. Ils seront dorénavant cités ainsi : Pap.Rém.6, puis, 6/1, 6/2, etc.⁹. Au départ de l'enquête, leur intérêt reposait à nos yeux sur deux raisons, d'ailleurs complémentaires. Tout

⁴ Le n° 20 de la collection Rémondon est un *tirāz*. Les autres pièces sont sur papyrus et sur papier, voir Regourd 2013b:120.

⁵ C'est précisément l'absence d'une vision complète qui explique son choix de ne produire, en tête de son ouvrage, qu'une présentation, et non d'y faire figurer une introduction, Rémondon1953:VIII.

⁶ Citation empruntée à David-Weill 1931:33. Toutefois, dans cet article, D. Rémondon ne précise pas la provenance archéologique précise, sur le site d'Edfou, de ces cinq documents. Pour une bio-bibliographie complète de D. Rémondon, voir Regourd 2013b.

⁷ À quelques exceptions près, tout au moins celle du papyrus Rémondon 5, peut-être acquis en Syrie, voir Regourd 2013b:119, ainsi que le texte de ce document, édité par Sourdel *et al.* 2010. Pour un historique détaillé de la collection Rémondon et son identification au sein de la collection de papyrus du DAI, au musée du Louvre, voir Regourd 2013b. On y trouvera aussi un inventaire de la collection, p. 120sq.

⁸ Sur l'épistémologie de cette approche globale, voir Regourd 2013a:11-12.

⁹ C'est nous qui introduisons les subdivisions Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/2, etc., suivant la disposition des documents, tels qu'ils sont conservés (voir ill. 1).

d'abord, il s'agit d'un matériel nouveau. Les documents publiés qui s'en approchent le plus typologiquement sont les « shipping notes » ou mémos de livraison mis à jour à Quseir al-qadīm, toujours en Égypte, sur la mer Rouge (Guo 2004:103, 229sq.; Regourd 2011:343 et fig. 24.4). Cependant, formant une série, il est possible d'en extraire et d'en établir le formulaire.

II. Papiers et formats

L'ensemble des documents est écrit sur du papier de fabrication occidentale, de couleur jaune. Est-ce le même papier qui a été utilisé ?

Tableau 1 : Dimensions de chaque document et marques du papier

Pap.Rém.6/1 4,2 x 3,8 cm 20 vergeures = 2,2 cm, perpendiculaires / écrit fil de chaînette néant	6/2 4 x 3,8 cm 20 vergeures = 2,1 cm, perpendiculaires / écrit fil de chaînette néant	6/3 5,3 x 3,8 cm 20 vergeures = 2,2 cm, parallèles / écrit 1 fil de chaînette	6/4 4,1 x 4,2 cm 20 vergeures = 2,1 à 2,2 cm, perpendiculaires / écrit fil de chaînette néant	6/5 5 x 3,8 cm 20 vergeures = 2,2 cm, perpendiculaires / écrit fil de chaînette néant
6/6 4,7 x 3,4 cm 20 vergeures = 2,1 cm, parallèles / écrit 1 fil de chaînette	6/7 4,1 x 3,8 cm 20 vergeures = 2 cm, parallèles / écrit 1 fil de chaînette	6/8 3,8 x 3,9 cm 20 vergeures = 2 cm, perpendiculaires / écrit fil de chaînette néant	6/9 4,3 x 3,8 cm 20 vergeures = 2,2 cm, perpendiculaires / écrit fil de chaînette néant	6/10 4,7 x 3,9 cm 20 vergeures = 2,2 cm, perpendiculaires / écrit 1 fil de chaînette imparfaitement rectiligne

6/11	6/12	6/13	6/14	6/15
3,8 x 3,8 cm	5,5 x 4 cm	3,9 x 4,1 cm	5,3 x 3,4 cm	5 x 3,2 cm
20 vergeures = 2 cm,	20 vergeures = 2,1 cm,	20 vergeures = 2,2 cm,	20 vergeures = 2,2 cm,	20 vergeures = 2,2 cm,
perpendiculaires / écrit	parallèles / écrit	parallèles / écrit	parallèles / écrit	parallèles / écrit
fil de chaînette néant	1 fil de chaînette	1 fil de chaînette	fil de chaînette néant	fil de chaînette néant

N. B. : « Fil de chaînette néant » signifie simplement qu'aucun fil de chaînette n'est visible dans le papier.

Dans l'ensemble, le format des documents est plutôt carré, à l'exception de 6 d'entre eux, qui sont rectangulaires. Si l'on fait le rapport entre la longueur et la largeur, on obtient ce tableau :

Tableau 2 : Format des documents : rapport longueur/largeur

Pap.Rém.6/1 4,2 - 3,8 cm = 0,4 cm	6/2 4 - 3,8 cm = 0,2 cm	6/3 5,3 - 3,8 cm = 1,5 cm	6/4 4,1 - 4,2 cm = 0,1 cm	6/5 5 - 3,8 cm = 1,2 cm
6/6 4,7 - 3,4 cm = 1,3 cm	6/7 4,1 - 3,8 cm = 0,3 cm	6/8 3,8 - 3,9 cm = 0,1 cm	6/9 4,3 - 3,8 cm = 0,5 cm	6/10 4,7 - 3,9 cm = 0,8 cm
6/11 3,8 - 3,8 cm = carré	6/12 5,5 - 4 cm = 1,5 cm	6/13 3,9 - 4,1 cm = 0,2 cm	6/14 5,3 - 3,4 cm = 1,9 cm	6/15 5 - 3,2 cm = 1,8 cm

Les six documents résolument rectangulaires sont donc, par ordre décroissant, les Pap.Rém.6/14, 6/15, 6/3 et 6/12, 6/6, 6/5. À l'exception de Pap.Rém.6/5, qui a de toute manière un rapport longueur sur largeur légèrement inférieur aux autres, ils ont tous été découpés dans le même papier, utilisé des jours différents (voir tableau 4). Le papier 6/13 est l'unique exemple de format oblong.

Le papier des documents Pap.Rém.6/3, 6/6, 6/12, 6/14 et 6/15 a la même apparence, à l'œil nu. Une fois rétro-éclairé, il apparaît plus brun que le papier des autres documents. Ces cinq documents font tous nettement partie du lot de papier au format rectangulaire (voir tableau 2). Cependant, à la loupe, on observe que la pâte à papier de Pap.Rém.6/12 présente de nombreuses fibres fines. L'écart entre 20 vergeures est sensiblement le même. L'écrit est situé parallèlement aux

vergeures. Le papier de trois des cinq documents, les 6/3, 6/6 et 6/12, trahit la présence de fils de chaînette, mais il n'y a pas moyen de mesurer la distance entre deux de ces fils. Tels qu'ils sont placés, rien ne permet de postuler toutefois un intervalle supérieur à 3 cm.

Les spécificités du papier de Pap.Rém.6/2, 6/4, 6/5, 6/7, 6/8, 6/9, 6/10, 6/11 et 6/13 se recoupent et l'écrit est dans l'ensemble perpendiculaire aux vergeures. On note simplement quelques différences dans l'épaisseur du papier. Le papier de trois des neuf documents, les 6/7, 6/10 et 6/13, laisse deviner la présence de fils de chaînette, mais, tout comme précédemment, il n'y a pas moyen de mesurer la distance entre deux de ces fils sans que, pour les 6/7 et 6/13, un intervalle supérieur à 3 cm doive être nécessairement supposé ; il est difficile de se prononcer au sujet de 6/10. Tous, sauf le 6/9, ont été utilisés le même jour (voir tableau 4), par le scribe 1 (voir tableau 3 ; le 6/5 n'est pas attribué).

Enfin, le papier de Pap.Rém.6/1 se distingue des deux papiers précédents par sa texture.

On a au total deux, voire trois, papiers différents.

Il s'agit de papiers fins, fabriqués au moule. On peut s'étonner de les voir employés pour rédiger des mémos de transport, on trouve ce type de papier plus fréquemment dans les codex manuscrits. Il y a cependant des exceptions notables¹⁰. L'hypothèse de la récupération de chutes de papier après mise à niveau de leurs bifeuillets pour constituer des cahiers par des copistes, peut être envisagée dans le cas présent¹¹. En effet, ces chutes concernent les bords externes des bifeuillets et forment des bandes dans lesquelles les mémos auraient pu être redécoupés, étant donné leur format. Les bords des Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/2, 6/3, 6/7, 6/8, 6/9, 6/13, 6/15 correspondent au bord externe de feuilles de papier originales, avant emploi. L'absence de filigrane dans ces papiers ainsi que la présence de deux à trois papiers différents va dans le sens de l'utilisation de chutes. Selon cette hypothèse, il existerait à proximité un commerce de papiers inutilisés, devenus impropres à la rédaction de codex ou de certains documents du fait de leurs dimensions et vendus certainement au poids.

¹⁰ Voir le document Quṣeir al-qadīm PA0546 dans Regourd 2011:343 et Fig. 24.4.

¹¹ Sur l'importance du massicotage et la récupération des chutes, notamment en Perse, voir Déroche *et al.* 2000:60.

III. Les scribes

Les documents sont de petite taille et la graphie irrégulière : il est risqué de conduire un examen paléographique. Cependant, on détecte des mains différentes, que nous proposons de regrouper, avec la prudence qui s'impose, dans *ad minima* quatre grands groupes.

Tableau 3 : Regroupement des documents de la même main

Scribe 1	Pap.Rém.6/2, 6/4, 6/6, 6/7, 6/8, 6/10, 6/11, 6/13
Scribe 2	Pap.Rém.6/3, 6/12
Scribe 3	Pap.Rém.6/14, 6/15
Scribe 4	Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/9

Il est difficile de se prononcer au sujet de 6/5, dont une partie du texte est effacée.

Il n'est pas exclu qu'il y ait deux mains différentes dans le groupe S1, l'une plus « nerveuse » dessinant des angles aigus, l'autre, au contraire plus souple. On notera, en outre, la ligature entre le *ḥā'* et la lettre suivante, dans *rağab* et *wāḥid*, en 6/3, 6/12, 6/14 et 6/15, que l'on va chercher au-dessous de la ligne de base, avant de remonter à l'aide d'un trait « cassé », anguleux, ou bien formant une petite boucle. Le texte de 6/3, 6/12 et 6/15 accuse la même particularité, le mois est suivi de l'épithète *al-fard* (voir section IV). En 6/1 et 6/9 – mais surtout perceptible en 6/9, l. 1, les mots sont écrits obliquement par rapport à la ligne d'écriture de base, suivant un angle de 45°, rappelant les documents administratifs ottomans.

Lorsque le format est rectangulaire, le texte a été rédigé en plaçant le support dans le sens de la hauteur, les vergeures parallèles à l'écrit. Pap.Rém. 6/3 et 6/12, d'une part, 6/14, 6/15, d'autre part, enfin 6/6, sont de mains différentes.

On distingue des calames d'épaisseur variée, ainsi que des encres de différentes couleurs¹².

Plusieurs personnes rédigent donc les mémos de transport. La superposition de ce tableau avec celui des dates de transport (tableau 4) fait apparaître un recoupement scribe/jour de la semaine, dans le cas des S1 et S4, à l'exception de 6/6. C'est une indication commerciale importante sur le fonctionnement d'une structure organisée.

¹² Le détail des variations de couleur se trouve indiqué pour chaque document en section XI.

IV. Datation : jour/mois

Les documents portent en leur début une date, qui précise chaque fois le jour du mois. Ils ont tous été émis durant le mois de *rağab* et seulement sur trois jours différents : les samedi 25, mercredi 29, enfin jeudi 30 de *rağab*, ou : « *salḥ rağab* ». À trois reprises (Pap.Rém.6/3, 6/12 et 6/15), *rağab* est suivi de l'épithète « *al-fard* ». Des exemples de cette épithète ont été identifiés dans deux codex manuscrits en arabe de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), les 3394, daté de 883/1478, et 2843, daté de 887/1482¹³. Ici, il apparaît dans trois des quatre documents datés du mercredi 29 *rağab* (voir tableau 4).

Si l'on décompte à partir du samedi, qui est ici un 25, le mercredi, qui se place quatre jours après, est bien un 29, et le jour suivant, le dernier jour du mois, un jeudi. Il peut donc s'agir de documents émis la même année, en voici un reclassement en fonction du jour du mois :

Tableau 4 : Regroupement des documents selon leur date, jour/mois

Samedi 25 <i>rağab</i>	Pap.Rém.6/2, 6/4, 6/5, 6/7, 6/8, 6/10, 6/11, 6/13	= 8
Mercredi 29 <i>rağab</i>	Pap.Rém.6/3, 6/12, 6/14, 6/15	= 4
Jeudi 30 <i>rağab</i>	Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/6, 6/9	= 3

V. Datation : année

Neuf documents donnent, après le jour et le mois, l'année (Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/3, 6/4, 6/6, 6/8, 6/9, 6/12, 6/14, 6/15), mais seulement quatre d'entre eux indiquent l'année complète, avec la centaine (Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/3, 6/9, 6/12), cinq se contentant de la dizaine et de l'unité. Il s'agit en tous les cas de l'année 957/1550 et, après vérification sur des tables de concordance, les 25, 29 et 30 *rağab* de l'année 957 correspondent bien, respectivement, à un samedi, un mercredi et un jeudi (Freeman-Grenville1995).

La date apparaissant dans le texte des mémos de transport correspond à la date de leur production.

¹³ *Fichier des manuscrits du Moyen-Orient datés (FiMMOD)*, 10 et 129, repris dans Déroche *et al.* 2000:342, 343, note 66; en outre, Gacek 2009:84-85.

VI. Provenance et lieu de chargement/embarquement

Quant à la provenance des marchandises, 14 d'entre les 15 mémos de transport pointent le district (*nāḥiya*) de Šarāra, près d'al-Ašmūnayn, sur la rive occidentale du Nil¹⁴. Le texte de Pap.Rém.6/7, qui ne porte pas de provenance, suit par ailleurs le formulaire général et ne fait pas exception par ses caractéristiques matérielles ou sa date. Les récoltes transportées proviennent donc de Moyenne-Égypte, du Haut-Ša'īd (al-Ša'īd al-Adnā).

Le lieu d'embarquement est toujours Ḥāṣil, une localité qui faisait partie de la province d'al-Ašmūnayn¹⁵ ; le Pap.Rém.6/3 donne lui al-Ašmūnayn, mais suivi immédiatement de Ḥāṣil, signalant définitivement Ḥāṣil comme un point d'embarquement pour la ville d'al-Ašmūnayn. Le formulaire (cf. section X) permet d'avancer que cela pourrait être le lieu de production des documents.

La destination des marchandises n'apparaît pas¹⁶. Pap.Rém.6/1 et 6/9 indiquent la *nisba* (ou le *laqab* ?) du transporteur (*šahḥān*), al-Baḥrī¹⁷ : al-Ašmūnayn fait partie de la région Sud de l'Égypte (« *fī l-wağh al-qiblī* ») par opposition à la région Nord (« *al-wağh al-baḥrī* »), selon une classification attestée avant les Ottomans et persistante¹⁸.

¹⁴ Ramzī 1958: II/3, 179, entrée « Šarāra ». Pour la localisation d'al-Ašmūnayn, voir Garcin 1976: carte pl. XXIV, dont le propos et l'époque, début de l'époque mamelouke, diffèrent du nôtre cependant ; et TAVO/Halm 1979: carte 11, mais tirée de sources mameloukes. Sur la ville d'Ašmūnayn réputée pour sa fertilité du moins dans l'Antiquité et à l'époque médiévale, voir Becker 1913, repris en partie par Sayyid 2002; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, notice 705, 237-238, et éd. Wüstenfel, 1866: I/1, 283 ; Garcin fixe son déclin politique au profit de Mīnyā au XII^e s., id. 1976:87, n. 1; et al-Maqrīzī (m. 845/1442) parle de sa splendeur au passé dans ses *Ḥiṭat*, voir éd. 1270/1853: I, 238-239, et éd. A. F. Sayyid, I, 647-649, et note 1, p. 647.

¹⁵ Ramzī 1958: II/3, 196, entrée « al-Ḥawāšliyya ». Voir en complément l'entrée « al-Muṭāhira al-baḥriyya », *ibid.*

¹⁶ Dans le cas des « shipping notes » de Quṣeir, c'est l'origine des marchandises qui n'est généralement pas spécifiée.

¹⁷ Ou an-Naḥrī : voir l'édition du document 6/1, section XI, et les raisons, paléographiques, pour lesquelles une lecture par al-Baḥrī a été préférée.

¹⁸ Voir, par ex., d'une part, les nombreuses entrées dans al-Qalqašandī (m. 821/1418), *Šubḥ*, et, d'autre part, Wehr 1980:1053, entrée « wajh », « 3. Nominal phrases ». Cependant, le mot « *baḥr* » désigne aussi le Nil et ses voies d'eau majeures, cf. Kramers 1995:38: « Already in the Middle Ages, the word *baḥr* having come to acquire in Arabic the meaning of 'river', the Nile is also called al-Baḥr or Baḥr Miṣr (cf. al-Maqrīzī, ed. Wiet, I, 218), which is also the case with several separate parts of its river system, such as Baḥr Yūsuf or Baḥr al-Ghazal ».

VII. La marchandise

Les documents parlent de la récolte (« *al-gilāl* ») : le district d'al-Ašmūnayn est toujours un lieu de production agricole pris dans un réseau commercial au milieu du XVI^e s.¹⁹. Mais sans plus de précision sur les plantes récoltées.

Les 25, 29 et 30 *rağab* de l'année 957, ou 9, 13 et 14 août 1550, correspondent dans le calendrier copte, solaire et lié aux travaux agricoles, au mois de *misra* (7 août/5 septembre) 1266. Le transport est effectué une fois la récolte débutée. Le mot de « *gilāl* » est fréquemment employé pour désigner du grain ou des céréales²⁰ et de nombreux documents attestent de la production de blé à al-Ašmūnayn²¹. Dans le cas qui nous occupe, cependant, compte tenu de la saison, il pourrait s'agir de trèfle ou bien de lin²². Les autres plantes saisonnières ou servant de marchandise suivent un autre calendrier : les grains étaient récoltés au printemps, la canne à sucre était coupée en janvier et novembre et expédiée sans attendre. Le *birsīm*, de même que le trèfle, nécessaires à l'armée, étaient récoltés régulièrement, à quelques mois d'intervalle ; mais pour le *birsīm*, d'octobre à mars²³.

Pour le XI^e s., les documents de la Geniza montrent que les transactions commerciales autour du lin connaissaient un pic en août-septembre, une période qui correspond à la complétion de l'opération de séchage, une fois la plante retirée de l'eau : les marchands ont alors sous les yeux le produit dans son état quasiment final²⁴. Une variété de lin porte le nom d'al-Ašmūnī et plusieurs localités du district sont aussi réputées²⁵.

¹⁹ Goitein 1967: I, 243 et la note 72, donnant la référence du document de la collection Taylor-Schechter, Université de Cambridge.

²⁰ Se reporter à différents dictionnaires.

²¹ En général sur des périodes plus anciennes, voir, par ex., *APEL* 1934-1962: V, doc. **314**, inv. 296, III^e/IX^e s., au sujet de blé (*qumḥ*) et de paille (*tibn*) à convoyer depuis al-Ašmūnayn ; *ibid.*, doc. **341**, inv. 640v, III^e/IX^e s.

²² al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ*, I:269sq. ; *Ḥiṭaṭ*, éd. A. F. Sayyid, I:730sq. Goitein 1967: I, 105.

²³ Selon Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 235sq., 237 et 255. Mes remerciements vont à Gladys Frantz-Murphy (Regis University) pour l'attention qu'elle a portée à ce passage.

²⁴ Maqrīzī, *ibid.*; Gil 2004:83, la ventilation des achats par mois et le passage suivant : « The end of the processing is said, in at least one letter, to take place as early as August (see, for example, **479**, the letter from 'Ayyāsh b. Ṣedāqā, in Fustat, to Nehorai b. Nissim, in Būṣīr), when merchants begin to purchase the finished product. In most cases, however, the processing comes to an end in November, which is the end of the season (see **475**, the letter from 'Ayyāsh b. Ṣedāqā in Būṣīr, to Nehorai b. Nissim in Fustat) » [les numéros en gras correspondent aux numéros des documents].

²⁵ Goitein 1967:I, 226, 456. De même pour Bahnasā, voir *ibid.*

Au XI^e s., le lin égyptien, très prisé pour sa qualité, est à la fois utilisé en Égypte, plus au Nord, dans les fabriques du Fayyūm et du Delta, notamment pour la production des fameux *ṭirāzs*²⁶, mais il est aussi un produit spéculatif qui fait les choux gras des marchés de Tunisie et de Sicile²⁷. Il n'est pas exclu que la destination de la marchandise demeure ouverte à des marchés non-locaux au XVI^e s. Cela suggérerait alors plutôt un transport par le Nil, que par le Baḥr Yūsuf, en direction du Fayyūm²⁸. Dans les deux cas, des canaux assurent la jonction avec les localités environnantes. Ceux afférents au Nil se remplissaient grâce à la crue, qui avait lieu précisément en été.

VIII. Chiffres coptes « cursifs »

Les signes apparaissant en dernière ligne de chaque document sont des nombres exprimés en chiffres coptes (ils sont dits « cursifs » dans la *Grammaire copte* d'Alexis Mallon²⁹). Il y a un symbole pour chaque unité, chaque dizaine, chaque centaine, etc. ; dans les nombres composés, elles apparaissent dans un ordre

²⁶ Sur la qualité de la production du Fayyūm et les *ṭirāz al-Fayyūm* dans les sources narratives sur la durée, voir Ibn Ḥawqal (m. ap. 362/973), *Ṣūrat al-ard*, section I, p. 109 [29] ; al-Muqaddasī (m. ap. 380/990), *Taqāsīm* 203 ; Ibn Ḥalwānī (ca. 891/1486), *Faḍā'il* 61 ; les données sur le commerce autour de l'activité textile du Fayyūm dans les documents étant éparpillées, voir le regroupement effectué par Rāḡib 1982–96. Sur les textiles à valeur documentaire produits, surtout dans les centres du Delta jusqu'aux Fatimides, voir Kühnel & Bellinger 1952 ; puis, sur les nouvelles tendances dans l'usage de *ṭirāz* vers le VI^e/XII^e s., voir Stillman & Sanders 2000.

²⁷ Voir *APEL* 1934–62: II, 46, le commentaire de la l. 5 du doc. **81, 82**, citant as-Suyūfī, *Ḥusn* II, 230 (11f), 234 (18), et Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn* 29 ; Goitein 1967: I, 224. Sur le commerce interne à l'Égypte, voir Younes, dans Regourd (éd.) 2013.

²⁸ A. F. Sayyid rappelle qu'al-Ušmūnayn est située « on the west bank of the Nile between that river and the Baḥr Yūsuf, on lat. 27°47' N. ». Kramers (1995:38) liste les principales villes par lesquelles le Nil passe pour la Haute-Égypte médiévale, parmi elles « al-Ušmūnayn », mais le cours du fleuve s'est visiblement modifié. Il ajoute : « Shortly before al-Ušmūnayn, there branched off on the left the canal that conducted the water to al-Fayyūm, which is known to Ibn al-Faḳīh (74) as Nahr al-Lāhūn and to al-Idrīsī (50) as *Khalīdj al-Manhī*: this canal, which according to unanimous tradition was dug by Joseph, occurs already on the ms. map from the year 479/1086, of Ibn Ḥawqal in Istanbul, Top Kapı Saray ms. no. 3346 (reproduction on fol. 658 of *Monumenta Africae et Aegypti* by Youssouf Kamāl) ». Un peu avant 1830, Jean-Jacques Rifaud (1830) indique que venant du Caire, il faut aller le chercher à al-Lāhūn, montrant ainsi sa longévité comme voie de communication ; je remercie Jean-Charles Ducène (Université Libre de Bruxelles) d'avoir attiré mon attention sur cette référence.

²⁹ Mallon 1956:234 ; voir aussi Megalli 1991: VI, 1820-1822 ; Messiha 1994:25-28.

décroissant, de gauche à droite, suivant le sens de l'écriture copte, pour les dizaines et les unités tout au moins.

Le système copte a un équivalent en arabe, le *ḥisāb al-ḡumal*. Il se présente généralement sous la forme d'un tableau d'équivalence lettres/nombres. Il est couramment employé dans les sciences au sens strict (arithmétique, astronomie, ...), pour crypter une date par chronogramme – celle de la copie d'un manuscrit, d'une inscription ou d'un texte historique –, mais aussi en talismanique, amulétique, et dans la science des lettres (*'ilm al-ḥurūf*)³⁰. Cependant, les documents de la Geniza montrent qu'en matière de pratiques commerciales en général, on utilise couramment les chiffres coptes, après le V^e/XI^e s.³¹.

Des chiffres coptes apparaissent dans un document mis à jour lors de fouilles à Bahnasā, une ville de Moyenne-Égypte, située entre Banī Suwayf et Mīnyā, sur la rive occidentale du Nil, proche d'al-Ašmūnayn, et elle aussi connu, ainsi que son district, pour sa production de lin³². Ce document, fragmentaire, a été publié par Salah Saiyūr et Jonathan M. Bloom³³. Le texte donne une liste de personnes ayant reçu différentes sortes de marchandises, disposée en deux colonnes, avec, au bout de chaque ligne, ces chiffres coptes, nommés « Abū-quitya ». Les deux auteurs concluent qu'il devrait s'agir d'un feuillet isolé appartenant à un registre de mouvement de marchandises³⁴. Y figurent des noms aussi bien chrétiens et juifs que musulmans. Les auteurs rappellent enfin que ces chiffres coptes étaient utilisés à tous les niveaux de la société égyptienne, s'appuyant en ceci sur l'étude des documents de la Geniza par Goitein (1967).

³⁰ Colin 1986 ; Ifrah 1994:600-604 ; on citera, parmi de nombreux exemples pris intentionnellement sur la durée, Rashed 1997, 3 t., les « Conventions d'écriture » placées au début de chaque tome, ainsi que les planches du t. I « Astronomie, théorique et appliquée » ; Déroche *et al.* 2000:345 et la bibliographie en n. 96 ; Regourd 2006:92, ms. 13/1 ; les carrés magiques, dont un modèle connu est celui de 3x3, dit « *budūḥ* » ; Regourd 1999.

³¹ Goitein 1967: I, 209, mentionne le recours aux lettres en caractères hébreux au XI^e s., pour les ordres de paiement, voir p. 241, et note 83, qui renvoie à de nombreux exemples de la Taylor-Schechter collection, à Cambridge ; il convient d'y ajouter la série spécifique de documents de la Geniza relatifs au commerce avec l'Inde dans Goitein & Friedman 2008:15, n. 35, ordres de paiements, et p. 445, TS 18J5, f. 5, texte non publié dans lequel des chiffres, semble-t-il coptes, apparaissent sur plusieurs lignes, après une liste de 5 marchandises différentes, vraisemblablement dressée par le destinataire de la lettre figurant au recto et datée de 1135-1136 de notre ère.

³² Fouilles conduites par Géza Fehérvári, rapport final dans : Fehérvári *et alii* 2006.

³³ Exc. 85-711/Arabic, Musée islamique du Caire, inv. n° 28445 ; Saiyūr & Bloom 2006:152–153, doc. V, pl. 184/b et 194.

³⁴ « It is presumed that this document is part of a registration book of some of the outgoing goods from an agency », *ibid.*, p. 153.

Le document de Bahnasā, quant à lui, est difficile à dater à partir de son contenu³⁵. L'analyse stratigraphique indique qu'il a été mis à jour dans la zone du promontoire de la nécropole, mais en dehors de la surface occupée par le cimetière, à 4m à l'est à partir du sommet du bord du surplomb³⁶. Trente-trois fragments sur papier ont été trouvés dans la strate 85-711 ; ils sont très fragmentaires et c'est précisément le document V qui possède la plus grande surface³⁷. Le n° IV, inv. 86-1013/a, porte la date de 643/1245³⁸. Cependant, la zone du promontoire de la nécropole où ils ont été trouvés, est une poubelle (*rubbish dump*), et l'a sans doute été durant des siècles, si ce n'est des millénaires, puisque c'est de la même zone que provient une partie des papyrus grecs publiés par Grenfell et Hunt (1897)³⁹. S'il est donc difficile d'être précis dans la datation des documents, on remarquera qu'en général, la plupart des objets, inscrits ou non, exhumés dans cette zone par l'équipe de Fehérvári, sont datés par les archéologues des Fatimides au début de la période mamlouke, i. e. de la fin du IV^e/X^e au VII^e/XIII^e s.⁴⁰.

Dans l'ensemble, les Pap.Rém.6 suivent le système copte et la graphie des chiffres figurant dans les listes connues, celles de Mallon et de Megalli dans l'*Encyclopédie copte (EC)*, reprises par Messiha (1994). Il y a cependant quelques exceptions notables. Le graphisme du chiffre, récurrent en Pap.Rém.6/4, 6/5v, 6/6, 6/7, 6/8, 6/11 et 6/12, s'écarte de ces listes, de même que celui présent en Pap.Rém.6/10 et 6/14. Une autre liste de chiffres coptes, utilisés dans un recueil d'archives de l'administration du sultan rassoulide al-Muzaffar Yūsuf, VII^e/XIII^e s., qui impose une translation géographique en direction du Yémen, a été publiée en 2005 (Anon. 2005:63 et 225, tableau 4). Mais la graphie de ces chiffres accuse des variantes importantes par rapport aux Pap.Rém.6, à la liste de Mallon, ainsi qu'au document V de Bahnasā, confirmant le caractère cursif de ce système de notation.

Le document V de Bahnasā soulève un problème intéressant : en l. 5, dans la colonne centrale, figurent deux symboles de dizaine, 80, puis 60, qui se suivent

³⁵ Type de marchandises et de noms, *nisba* de métiers, cf. Saiyūr & Bloom 2006:153, commentaires du 2d par.

³⁶ Deuxième saison, automne 1985, Fehérvári *et al.* 2006:28-29, « 4. Area 'D': The promontory of the necropolis », coupe « D »/4-2 ; Saiyūr & Bloom 2006:155-156, catalogue de l'ensemble des documents.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156 ; des fragments de papier de la strate 85-711 sont reproduits pl. 188.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152 et pl. 184/a ; les documents publiés sont les n° I à IX et XI à XIII.

³⁹ De très nombreux documents ont été mis à jour également dans un dépotoir, sur le site de Quṣeir al-qadīm.

⁴⁰ La description de la zone de poubelles a fait l'objet d'un échange personnel avec Géza Fehérvári, en mai 2009. Qu'il en soit ici chaleureusement remercié à titre posthume.

sans plus d'indication. La lecture qui en a été proposée est par « 140 (?) », soit 80 + 60 (Saiyur & Bloom 2006:152). Ne serait-il donc pas possible de lire 167, en réalité 100 + 67, pour le Pap.Rém.6/13, et 360, comme 300 + 60, en Bahnasā, l. 3, le problème n'ayant pas surgi dans ces deux cas, parce qu'en quelque sorte, il n'y a pas de « télescopage » de l'ordre des unités, dizaines et centaines⁴¹. Le total en resterait inchangé, certes, mais les informations sur la livraison, elles, le seraient, par ex. en deux envois successifs, ou bien deux « colis » en un seul envoi pour le même client, ou encore deux chargements pour deux clients différents en une seule fois, ...

Le chiffre apparaissant en Pap.Rém.6/4, 6/5v, 6/6, 6/7, 6/8, 6/11 et 6/12 est bien un seul et même chiffre, si l'on en croit la ligature entre la partie supérieure, formée d'une barre verticale, et la partie inférieure, ressemblant à une sorte de « Z » dont la barre horizontale de la base s'achèverait en courbe, vers l'intérieur. En outre, les chiffres exprimant les unités, les dizaines, etc., apparaissent toujours bien séparés : il paraît difficile d'admettre qu'il y ait là deux chiffres. Il peut être interprété comme le symbole de 20, par analogie avec la liste de l'*EC*⁴². Dans l'ensemble de cette liste, c'est en effet celui qui est le plus proche graphiquement de nos documents⁴³. Cependant, dans l'*EC*, on voit bien la logique ordinale qui préside à la composition du symbole de 10, puis de celui de 20 (20 ayant en quelque sorte une seconde « encoche », dans sa partie inférieure), ce qui n'est pas le cas dans la série des Pap.Rém.6 (comparer avec le 10 dans Pap.Rém.6/4 verso et 6/5 recto). La graphie et les proportions de 300 dans Mallon, et surtout dans le document V de Bahnasā, est proche de notre chiffre, mais est dépourvue de tout axe vertical. Un doute subsiste donc.

Le chiffre qui apparaît en Pap.Rém.6/9, 6/10 et 6/14 est un peu plus complexe. Il rappelle le 9 de Mallon et de l'*EC*, bien que la manière de former la lettre avec le calame, le mouvement du scribe, dans notre document, semblent différents. Il

⁴¹ Voir Mallon, 1956:78, par. 178, sur les nombres composés, les centaines et mille.

⁴² Dans le document V de Bahnasā, le premier chiffre copte, l. 1, a été lu 20, voir *ibid.* Son graphisme est encore différent. Mais cet élément ne peut nourrir la discussion, car il s'agit sûrement d'une erreur : c'est 50 qu'il faut lire, le chiffre apparaissant d'ailleurs deux fois, la première, contigu à « Mamlūk », dans « To the hands of the Mamlūk », la seconde, aligné en colonne de la même manière que tous les autres chiffres du document. Il y a d'autres erreurs, qui se sont glissées lors de la mise en page : en l. 1, après « To the hands of the Mamlūk 20 », il faut ajouter « and to the hand of Muḥammad 40 » et rayer « to the hands of Abū Faḍl Artīn 40 », qui apparaît une seconde fois, à la bonne place et avec la bonne quantité, 2 (et non 40), en l. 3. De même, à la l. 2, nous aurions tendance à lire Farah (ou Faraḡ), plutôt que Fraḡ.

⁴³ Voir 20, mais également 25, 26 et 120, dans la colonne de droite, Megalli 1991:1821.

est formé selon la lettre grecque « *teta* », mais dans les listes des premiers, l'extrémité de la boucle supérieure prend naissance à gauche, tandis que dans notre document, elle prend naissance à droite, et la boucle inférieure ne vient pas mourir sur la base de la boucle supérieure, si bien que notre chiffre ressemble au « *b* » minuscule d'une écriture à la plume en cursive anglaise courante. Cependant, un trait se trouve placé *au-dessous* du chiffre, en Pap.Rém.6/14. C'est, du reste, la seule fois qu'un trait lié aux chiffres apparaît dans les Pap.Rém.6. Il a une fonction diacritique (comparer 1 à 1000, 2 à 2000 etc.) et indique que l'on se trouve dans l'ordre des milliers, aussi bien d'après Mallon que d'après l'*EC*. Nonobstant la même remarque sur le sens du mouvement du calame que pour Pap.Rém.6/9 et 6/10, il pourrait alors s'agir du chiffre correspondant à 9000, d'après l'*EC*. Il faudrait donc lire 9 en Pap.Rém.6/9 et 6/10 et 9000 en 6/14. L'autre lecture possible d'après Mallon est par 2000 (voir la l. 7 de l'apparat critique de l'édition du document, section XI). Mais comparés aux quantités ventilées dans l'ensemble des Pap.Rém.6 et communément présentes dans d'autres documents publiés d'époque médiévale (cf. ci-dessous la discussion sur les quantités), 9000, ou même 2000, sont des nombres considérables, d'une part, et, d'autre part, on voit dans le tableau 5 que la même quantité apparaît répétée dans deux cas : dans l'un, 6 fois, dans l'autre, 2 ou 3 fois, selon que l'on lit 9 partout ou non, traduisant peut-être un calibrage du transport, qui finit par « se tasser » autour de certaines quantités. On a donc opté pour une lecture par le chiffre 9 dans tous les cas en assumant un risque d'erreur sur Pap.Rém.6/14.

Ces différences ne sont pas surprenantes dans le cas d'une écriture « cursive », bien au contraire. C'est d'ores et déjà visible dans le tableau de Mallon, tout particulièrement dans l'expression des milliers. Les chiffres coptes de Pap.Rém.6, reproduits dans le tableau 5, représentent donc un apport et constituent une pièce à verser au dossier, aux côtés de ceux du document V de Bahnasā et des archives rassoulides.

IX. Des quantités

Compte tenu du type de document, des mémos de transport, les chiffres coptes des Pap.Rém.6 ont été interprétés comme renvoyant à des quantités. Dans le document V de Bahnasā, ils renvoient certes à des quantités, mais aussi à des prix (l. 5, « (...) the price for it 2 ») (Saiyour & Bloom 2006:152). L'unité de mesure n'est pas exprimée dans les Pap.Rém.6.

Dans le tableau 5, nous avons retenu les quantités au verso pour le calcul du total transporté, sauf dans le cas de 6/10v, illisible (voir section XI, sous les documents concernés, ainsi que la section XII).

Tableau 5 : Quantité totale transportée (© Infographie Hélène David-Cuny)

N°	Chiffres coptes	Valeur	Nb de documents portant ce chiffre	Valeur x nb
Pap.Rém.6/1	ⲗ	8	1	8
Pap.Rém.6/2, 6/4v	ⲗⲁ	61	2	122
Pap.Rém.6/3	ⲗⲃ	67	1	67
Pap.Rém.6/4r, 6/5v, 6/6, 6/7, 6/8r+v, 6/11, 6/12	ⲗ	20 ?	7	120
Pap.Rém.6/5r	ⲗ	10	1	/
Pap.Rém.6/9, 6/10r, 6/14	ⲗ	9	3	27
Pap.Rém.6/13	ⲗⲉ	167	1	167
Pap.Rém.6/15	ⲗⲃ	68	1	68
TOTAL			15 documents	579

S'il s'agit de lin, parmi les unités de mesure possibles, se trouvent les *himl*, *qiṭ'a*, *tillīs*, mais aussi la balle (*huzma/rizma*)⁴⁴. S'il s'agit de *himl*, pour l'Égypte,

⁴⁴ Pour Quseir du VII^e/XIII^e s., cf. Guo 2004:30sq., et le tableau des mesures utilisées par type de marchandise, p. 68, qui donne *himl*, *qiṭ'a*, *tillīs*, et *rizma* pour le lin ; *huzma* pour le lin apparaît dans *APEL* n 1934-62, II, 115, Inv. 304, pl. XVIII, « Receipt for flax delivered in accordance with agreement », III^e/IX^e s., provenance inconnue ; dans Goitein (1967: I, 226sq.), pour le lin, on retrouve les balles, mais aussi différentes unités de mesure dont le *qinṭār*.

une unité va jusqu'à 600 *raṭls* = 270 kg⁴⁵. On obtient un total maximal de 156 330 kg.

À titre comparatif pour des quantités transportées, dans l'une des lettres du commerçant *Zafir* publiées par Werner Diem, et datée de la 2^e moitié du VI^e/XII^e s. ou du début du VII^e/XIII^e s., 600 *irdabbs* de blé de bonne qualité (*ṭayyiba*) du Fayyūm, représentent une partie de la transaction⁴⁶. Un document comptable de Quseir donne un peu plus de 3 tonnes de blé (43 *irdabbs*), mais en total cumulé⁴⁷. L'évaluation des quantités transportées par la Cie Abū Mufarriḡ à Quseir, à partir de l'ensemble des documents lisibles, récoltés durant la campagne de 1982 à la Shaykh House, soit 50 000 kg, est très en deçà des quantités réellement transportées sur la période d'activité de la Cie⁴⁸.

Les quantités ventilées par jour donnent le tableau suivant :

Tableau 6 : Quantités transportées/jour

Samedi 25 <i>raḡab</i>	Pap.Rém.6/2, 6/4v, 6/5v, 6/7, 6/8, 6/10, 6/11, 6/13	378
Mercredi 29 <i>raḡab</i>	Pap.Rém.6/3, 6/12, 6/14, 6/15	164
Jeudi 30 <i>raḡab</i>	Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/6, 6/9	37
TOTAL		579

Cela ne signifie pas du tout que les quantités totales/jour soient transportées en un seul chargement, ni, fragmentées, en faveur d'une destination unique. À cinq reprises, il est spécifié que le transporteur sera unique pour, respectivement, une quantité de 8, 67, 20 (?), 167 et 68 (Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/3, 6/12, 6/14 et 6/15). À quatre reprises, le nom du transporteur est donné (Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/2, 6/9 et 6/13), et à deux reprises, il s'agit d'un dénommé al-Bahrī, qui transporte de petites unités (Pap.Rém.6/1 et 6/9, respectivement 8 et 9).

X. Le formulaire de transport

Les quinze documents Pap.Rém.6 ont été rédigés par plusieurs scribes. Les mains sont non seulement différentes, mais irrégulières. Les enchaînements entre deux

⁴⁵ Hinz 1955:13.

⁴⁶ DAA1, n° 44, 248, verso, l. 1 : 1 *irdabb* ± 70 kg, dans l'Égypte du XIII^e s., cela fait donc 42 000 kg, soit 42 tonnes de grains ; repris dans Guo 2004:35, note 24.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. RN 966b, p. 35 et texte 64, p. 269-273.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35-36.

lettres ou les indentations sont peu marqués dans l'ensemble. L'absence de points diacritiques ne surprend pas. On note l'amputation de parties du texte.

Les documents suivent le même formulaire. L'existence d'une série a définitivement contribué à son extraction et son établissement.

Recto

1. Date : jour de la semaine, jour du mois, année : *يوم كذا شهر كذا سنة كذا / yawm kaḏā šahr kaḏā sana kaḏā*
2. Le mot-clé, définissant le type du document : *المحمول / al-maḥmūl*
3. Ce qui fait l'objet du transport : *من الغلال / min al-ḡilāl*
4. La provenance, district et point de chargement/embarquement :
من ناحية كذا بمكان كذا / min nāḥiyat kaḏā bi-makān kaḏā
5. Le transporteur/le transport : *شحاته / šaḥḥānuhu ; نقله / naqalahu*
6. Quantité transportée (exprimée en chiffres coptes)

Seuls les Pap.Rém.6/4, 6/5, 6/8 et 6/10 portent un texte au verso :

Verso

1. *نقله*
2. Quantité transportée (exprimée en chiffres coptes)

Le formulaire reconstitué est donc le suivant (recto) :

يوم كذا شهر كذا سنة كذا المحمول من الغلال من ناحية كذا بمكان كذا شحاته / نقله / عدد كذا

Au recto, on relève une variante dans la section 5, celle qui concerne le transporteur/transport : *بشحاته واحد / bi-šaḥḥānihi wāḥid*. Elle apparaît 4 fois, dans les Pap.Rém.6/1, 6/3, 6/12, 6/14, qui n'ont pas été rédigés par les mêmes scribes. Chaque fois qu'apparaît le mot « *wāḥid* », « *šaḥḥān-hu* » se construit avec « *bi-* », sauf en 6/5. Le formulaire se lit alors ainsi :

يوم كذا شهر كذا سنة كذا المحمول من الغلال من ناحية كذا بمكان كذا بشحاته واحد / نقله / عدد كذا

XI. Edition des textes

Les notices d'édition des quinze documents comprennent : a) des éléments liés à l'écriture du texte (couleur de l'encre), à sa rédaction (mise en page, recto/verso, nombre de l.,) et à l'état de conservation du pavé écrit ; b) le texte arabe ; c) l'apparat critique (s'il y a lieu) ; d) une traduction ; enfin e) un commentaire (s'il y a lieu).

Pap.Rém.6/1

Encre brun foncé. Recto 6 l., verso vierge. Tache d'encre noire dans le coin supérieur gauche ; trois petites taches d'encre noire en fin de l. 3. Entre les l. 3 et 4, trou dû à une perforation sans contact avec l'écrit et un second trou, probablement du même type, juste au-dessus, perpendiculaire à l'écrit. Pliage volontaire du document en deux, verticalement, le texte à l'intérieur.

Texte arabe

1. يوم الخميس سلخ شهر رجب [ب]
2. سنة سبعة خمسين تسعميت
3. المحمول من ناحية شراره
4. بحاصل بشحانه واحد
5. البحري نقله
6. ط

Apparat critique

1. Une tache d'encre noire dissimule le *bā'* de *rağab*.
2. Les trois petites taches d'encre noire placées en fin de ligne n'entravent pas la lecture du dernier mot.
3. *Min* : une perforation (?) du papier croise le *nūn*.
4. *Bi-šahḥānihi* : la lecture de la ligature entre *bi-* et *šin* est « faussée » par une perforation du papier, ourlée d'une matière sombre.

Traduction

1. Jeudi de la fin du mois de *rağab*
2. de l'année 957,
3. a été chargé/embarqué, en provenance du district de Šarāra,
4. à Hāṣil, par son transporteur unique,
5. al-Baḥrī. Il l'a transporté.
6. 8

Commentaire

4. *Bi-šahḥānihi wāḥid* : lorsque *šahḥānihi* est suivi de *wāḥid*, il est construit avec *bi-*, ce pour l'ensemble des documents sauf 6/15 (voir la section X et, dans cette section, 6/3, 6/12 et 6/14).

5. al-Baḥrī ou an-Naḥrī : même transporteur qu'en Pap.Rém.6/9. On a préféré retenir la lecture par al-Baḥrī, car le scribe descend après le *lām* de l'article avant d'enchaîner sur la lettre suivante, le *ḥā'*.

Pap.Rém.6/2

Encre noire, pâlie par endroit ou disparue, là où le papier est moins épais. Recto 6 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation du papier sans contact avec l'écrit. Trous le long des bords supérieur et gauche, affectant l'écrit. Pliures des deux coins supérieurs.

Texte arabe

1. يوم السبت المبارك [خ]ـ[امس]
2. عشرين شهر رجب [سنة سبعة خمسين (?)]
3. المحمول من الغلال من ناحية [ش]ـ[ر]ـ[ار]ه
4. بحاصل شحاته ابن رماح
5. نقله
6. حل

Apparat critique

1. *Mubārak* : un trou affecte la hampe du *kāf*. *Ḥāmis* : le *ḥā'* a disparu, à cet endroit le papier est moins épais, et l'extrême fin de la courbe du *sīn* est dissimulée par un repli accidentel du papier.

2. *Šahr* : il semble que le mot ait été repris.

2-3. La fin des deux l. a disparu dans un trou.

Traduction

1. Le jour béni de samedi, vingt-
2. [c]inq du mois de *rağab* [de l'année 57 (?)],
3. a été chargé/embarqué de la récolte, en provenance du district de [Š]ar[ār]a,
4. à Ḥāṣil. Son transporteur est Ibn Rammāḥ.
5. Il l'a transporté.
6. 61

Commentaire

4. Le nom du transporteur est indiqué, même transporteur qu'en Pap.Rém.6/13.

Pap.Rém.6/3

Encre brun foncé, pâlie ou disparue par endroit, là où le papier est moins épais. Recto 8 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation sans contact avec l'écrit. Une déchirure du bord supérieur a entraîné une pliure accidentelle du coin supérieur droit.

Texte arabe

1. يوم الاربعة المبارك [ت]اسع
2. عشرين شهر رجب ال[ف]رد
3. سنة سبعة خمسين تسعميت
4. المحمول من الغلال
5. من ناحية شراره بالاشمونين
6. بحاصل بشحانه واحد
7. نقله
8. ٦٧

Apparat critique

1. *Al-arbi'ā* : le *rā'* a disparu, à cet endroit le papier est moins épais. *Tāsi'* : un petit trou se trouve au bout du *kāf* de *mubārak*, ensuite le papier est moins épais par endroit, rendant indistincte la ligature entre l'avant-dernière et la dernière lettre ; la première lettre a disparu ; le *sīn* est en tous les cas reconnaissable (comparer aux *šīn*-s et aux *rā'*-s).

2. *Al-fard* : le *fā'* a disparu pour les mêmes raisons.

Traduction

1. Le jour béni de merc[re]di, le vingt-
2. [n]euf du mois de *rağab* [p]remier
3. de l'année 957,
4. a été chargé/embarqué de la récolte,
5. en provenance du district de *Šarāra*, à *al-Ašmūnayn*,
6. *Ḥāṣil*, par son transporteur unique.
7. Il l'a transporté.
8. 67

Commentaire

5-6. « *Bi-l-Ašmūnayn bi-Ḥāṣil* », interprété comme *Ḥāṣil*, le point de chargement/embarquement d'*al-Ašmūnayn*.

6. Un seul transporteur, construction avec *bi-*, voir 6/1 et le commentaire, 6/12 et 6/14.

Pap.Rém.6/4

Encre noire. Recto 7 l., verso 2 l. Le document a été retourné de bas en haut (ou l'inverse) pour poursuivre au verso. Trou dû à une perforation en contact avec l'écrit au recto (l. 6), le papier s'est replié partiellement à cet endroit. Trou sur le bord droit en contact avec l'écrit au recto (l. 3).

Texte arabe

Recto

1. يوم السبت المبارك
2. خامس عشر رجب
3. [سنة سبعة خمسين المحمول
4. من الغلال من ناحية شرارة/هـ
5. بحاصل شحانه
6. نقله
7. ح

Verso

1. نقله
2. >

Apparat critique

Recto

3. *Sana* : la première lettre a disparu dans le trou.
4. *Nāḥiya* : le mot a été repris par une autre main, ainsi peut-être que Šarāra, dont le *hā'* a été placé au niveau de la l. supérieure.
6. *Naqalahu* : le *lām* est affecté par la perforation du papier.

Traduction

Recto

1. Le jour béni de samedi
2. le 25 *rağab*
3. de l'[a]nnée 57, a été chargé/embarqué
4. de la récolte, provenant du district de Šarār/a\,
5. à Hāṣil. Son transporteur
6. l'a tran[sport]é.
7. 20 (?)

Verso

1. Il l'a transporté.
2. 61

Pap. Rém. 6/5

Encre noire, et, au recto, pâle par endroit, là où le papier est altéré. Recto 6 l., verso 1 l. en haut + 2 l. Le document a été tourné de droite à gauche (ou l'inverse) pour poursuivre au verso. Trou dû à une perforation sans contact avec l'écrit. Trou affectant un mot de la l. 1. Une pliure accidentelle du coin supérieur gauche masque la fin de la l. 1.

Texte arabe

Recto

1. يوم السبت المبارك [رك] خامس
2. عشرين شـ[هـ] رر [ج] ب الفـ[ر] د
3. المحمـ[و] ل [م] ن ناحـ[ية] [ش] راره
4. | بحاصـ[ل] شحانـ[ه]
5. |نـ[ق]له
6. ل

Verso

En haut, au centre

1. يكوك

Bord gauche, parallèle à la hauteur, au centre

1. نقله

2. ط

Apparat critique

Recto

1. *Al-mubāarak* : un petit trou dans le papier occupe la place du *rā'*.
2. L'encre pâle rend compte des lettres manquantes.
3. Même remarque qu'en 2. Le point au centre du *hā'* de *Šarāra* est une impureté du papier.
4. Le papier, moins épais, s'ajoute ici au problème de l'encre pâle, rendant apparent le texte du verso, lorsque l'on rétro-éclaire le document : il est donc difficile de savoir si un mot figure en début de ligne. Cependant, on peut noter que sur cinq des autres documents, *بحاصل شحانه* est écrit en marquant un retrait plus ou moins prononcé vers le centre, par rapport à l'alignement à droite, laissant le début de la ligne vierge de tout écrit.
5. *Naqalahu* : l'encre des deux premières lettres du mot est pâle.

6. Chiffre copte : même remarque.

Traduction

Recto

1. Le jour bé[ni] du samedi vingt-
2. cinq du m[oi]s de ra[ġ]ab pre[m]ier,
3. a été transpor[té], [pro]venant du distr[ict] de Šarāra,
4. [à Hāṣi]l. Son [transporteur]
5. l'a [trans]porté.
6. 10

Verso

En haut, au centre

?

Bord gauche, parallèle à la hauteur, au centre

1. Il l'a transporté.
2. 20 (?)

Commentaire

Verso, en haut, au centre : Y.kūk, يوكوك ?, non lu, voir Pap.Rém.6/10.

Pap.Rém.6/6

Encre brune. Recto 6 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation du papier sans contact avec l'écrit. Trous dans les coins supérieur droit, en contact avec l'écrit (l. 1 et 2), et inférieur droit, sans contact avec l'écrit. Tache d'encre brune en bas à gauche, sans contact avec l'écrit. Taches d'humidité ?

Texte arabe

1. [يوم الـ]خميس سـ[الـ]خ شـ[هر]
2. ر[جـ]ب سنة سبعة خمسين
3. المحمول من الغلال ناحية
4. شراره بحاصل شحانه
5. نقله
6. ط

Apparat critique

1 et 2. Les trous expliquent l'ensemble des lacunes du texte.

Traduction

1. Jeudi de la fi[n du m]ois
2. de *ra[ġ]ab* de l'année 57,
3. a été chargé/embarqué de la récolte, provenant du district
4. de Šarāra, à Ḥāṣil. Son transporteur
5. l'a transporté.
6. 20 (?)

Pap. Rém. 6/7

Encre noire. Recto 5 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation du papier sans contact avec l'écrit. Nombreux trous affectant les bords supérieur, inférieur et gauche, ainsi qu'à hauteur de la l. 1, certains en contact avec l'écrit.

Texte arabe

1. يوم السبت المبارك
2. خامس عشرين رجب
3. بحاصل شحاته
4. نقله
5. ط

Apparat critique

1. *Al-mubāarak* : un trou dans le papier se trouve à la place du *kāf*.
2. On distingue un trait vertical à l'encre qui prend naissance dans la courbe du *rā'* d'*al-mubāarak*, juste avant la remontée du calame, et disparaît dans un trou : peut-être un mot manque-t-il ? Il pourrait s'agir d' « *al-maḥmūl* ».

Traduction

1. Le jour bé[ni] de samedi
2. vingt-cinq de *raġab*,
3. à Ḥāṣil. Son transporteur
4. l'a transporté.
5. 20 (?)

Pap.Rém.6/8

Encre noire. Recto 6 l., verso 1 l. Le document a été tourné de droite à gauche (ou l'inverse) pour poursuivre au verso, puis a subi une rotation de 90° vers la droite. Trou sur le bord droit à mi-hauteur sans contact avec l'écrit. Trou (perforation ?) en contact avec l'écrit (l. 5). Taches d'encre noire au recto et verso en contact avec l'écrit.

Texte arabe

Recto

1. يوم السبت خامس عشرين شهر
2. رجب سنة سبعة خمسين
3. المحمول من الغلال ناحية شراره
4. بحاصل شحاته
5. نقله [هـ]
6. ط

Verso

[نقله (؟)]

Apparat critique

Recto

2. *Rağab* : tache d'encre poursuivant le trait de la partie supérieure du *ğīm*, semble-t-il postérieure à la rédaction.

5. *Naqalahu* : le *hā'* final a disparu du fait d'une perforation.

Verso

Naqalahu (?) : le *nūn* est dissimulé par une tache d'encre.

Traduction

Recto

1. Samedi vingt-cinq du mois
2. de *rağab* de l'année 57,
3. a été chargé/embarqué de la récolte, provenant du district de Šarāra,
4. à Hāšil. Son transporteur
5. l'a transporté.
6. 20 (?)


Verso

Il l'a transporté (?).

Pap.Rém.6/9

Encre brune, pâle dans l'ensemble. Recto 6 l., verso vierge. Trou central dû à une perforation en contact avec l'écrit (l. 3) et ayant entraîné une pliure accidentelle du papier, qui masque une partie de l'écrit (l. 4). Un petit trou sur le bord supérieur et en haut à droite, sans contact avec l'écrit. Déchirure sur le bord droit à hauteur de la l. 2. ayant entraîné une pliure accidentelle et masquant le début de la l. 2. Tache d'humidité sur le coin, en haut à droite.

Texte arabe

1. يوم الخميس سلخ شهر رجب
2. سنة سبعة خمسين تسعميت اريس اخر (?)
3. المحمول من الغلال ناحية
4. شراره بحاصل البحري
5. نقله
6. 

Apparat critique

2. *Sana* : masqué par une pliure accidentelle du papier, suivant une déchirure.
3. *Al-ġilāl* : la partie centrale du mot est affectée par une perforation du papier à cet endroit.
4. *Al-Baḥrī* : une pliure accidentelle du papier due à une perforation masque le *lām* de l'article. Pour la lecture par *al-Baḥrī*, voir le document 6/1.

Traduction

1. Jeudi de la fin du mois de *raġab*
2. de l'année 957 /un autre capitaine (?),
3. a été chargé/embarqué de la récolte, (provenant du) district
4. de Šarāra, à Ḥāṣil. *Al-Baḥrī*
5. l'a transporté.
6. 9

Commentaire

2. */Rāyīs aḥar\ (?)* : apparaît dans ce seul document ; il s'agit d'une tentative de lecture et de traduction ; le mot ayant pu être rajouté par le scribe, il est peut-être à comprendre comme un rectificatif aux l. 4-5, et au convoyeur, qui ne serait donc pas *Al-Baḥrī*, mais « un autre capitaine » de bateau.


4. *Al-Baḥrī* : voir Pap.Rém.6/1.

Pap.Rém.6/10

Encre noire. Recto 5 l., verso 1 l. Le document a été tourné de droite à gauche (ou l'inverse) pour poursuivre au verso. Trou dû à une perforation sans contact avec l'écrit. Des trous sur les bords supérieur, droit et gauche, ainsi qu'à hauteur de la l. 1, affectent l'écrit. Taches d'encre noire au verso sans contact avec l'écrit.

Texte arabe

Recto

1. يوم [السب]ت خا[م]س عشرين شهر
2. رجب المحمول من ناحية
3. شراره بحاصل شحات[ه]
4. نقله
5. 

Verso

يكوك] [يكوك

Apparat critique

Recto

1. Les différents trous expliquent les lacunes du texte.
2. *Rağab* : le trou du bord droit affecte la première lettre du mot ; sur la partie supérieure de la lettre centrale, le *gīm*, se trouve un petit trou.
3. *Šaḥḥānuhu* : le bord endommagé explique la lacune.
5. À gauche du chiffre copte, ce qui pourrait apparaître comme un signe est, en fait, une perforation du papier, que l'on retrouve sur l'ensemble des mémos.

Verso

Les différents trous expliquent les lacunes du texte.

Traduction

Recto

1. [Same]di vingt-ci[n]q du mois
2. de *rağab*, a été chargé/embarqué, provenant du district
3. de Šarāra, à Ḥāṣil. [Son] transporteur
4. l'a transporté.
5. 9

Verso

? [] ? (même mot)

Commentaire

Verso : Y.kūk, يكوك ?, apparaît deux fois, non lu, voir Pap.Rém.6/5.

Pap.Rém.6/11

Encre noire, pâlie par endroit. Recto 5 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation, sans contact avec l'écrit. Quelques petits trous et les bords endommagés du coin supérieur gauche affectent l'écrit.

Texte arabe

1. يوم السبت خامس عشرين شهر
2. ر[ج]ب المحمول من ناحي[ة]
3. شراره بحاصل شحاته
4. ن[ق]له
5. ط

Apparat critique

1. Šahr : le rā' est à peine visible.
2. Rağab : l'encre du ġīm est pâlie.
3. Šarāra : l'encre du hā' final est pâlie.
4. Naqalahu : le qāf est affecté par un trou du papier.

Traduction

1. Samedi vingt-cinq du mois
2. de ra[ğ]ab, a été chargé/embarqué, provenant du distri[ct]
3. de Šarāra, à Ḥāṣil. Son transporteur
4. l'a tran[s]po[r]té.
5. 20 (?)

Pap.Rém.6/12

Encre brun foncé. Recto 7 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation jouxtant le texte. Petit trou sans contact avec l'écrit. Tache brune en haut à droite sans contact avec l'écrit.

Texte arabe

1. يوم الاربع المبارك تاسع
2. عشرين رجب الفرد سنة سبعة
3. وخمسين تسعميت المحمول من
4. الغلال من ناحية شراره

5. بحاصل بشحانه واحد

6. نقله

7. ط

Apparat critique

5. *Wāḥid* : sous la ligature du *ḥā'* au *dāl* se trouve une tache d'encre qui donne à croire à une ligature en boucle.

6. *Naqalahu* : le trou en lunule auréolé d'une matière sombre, dû à une perforation, très proche de la ligature entre le *lām* et le *ḥā'*, brouille légèrement la lecture.

Traduction

1. Le jour béni de mercredi vingt-
2. neuf de *rağab* premier de l'année
3. 957, a été chargé/embarqué de
4. la récolte, provenant du district de Šarāra,
5. à Ḥāṣil, par son transporteur unique.
6. Il l'a transporté.
7. 20 (?)

Commentaire

5. Transporteur unique, construction avec *bi-*, voir 6/1 et le commentaire, 6/3 et 6/14.

Pap.Rém.6/13

Encre noire, pâlie par endroit. Recto 5 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation, sans contact avec l'écrit. Certains trous (l. 1 et bord gauche) affectent l'écrit. Trace de pliure accidentelle.

Texte arabe

1. يوم السبت المبارك خا[مس] ع[ش]ر[ين]

2. رجب المحمول من ناحية شراره

3. شحانه ابن رماح

4. <<>> النقل

5. ط

Apparat critique

1. Les lacunes du texte sont dues à des trous.

2. *Nāḥiya* : un trou minuscule, ainsi que l'encre pâlie, expliquent le *ḥā'* manquant. *Šarāra* : les traces d'encre, évanescence à cet endroit, expliquent la lacune ; en outre, l'écriture est très serrée, du fait du peu d'espace laissé à ce mot, en fin de ligne.

4. Le texte a été raturé en début de l. *Al-naql* : une indentation entre le *qāf* et le *lām* laisse une indétermination de lecture.

Traduction

1. Le jour béni de samedi vin[gt]-c[inq]
2. de *raḡab*, a été chargé/embarqué, provenant du district de *Šarāra*.
3. Son transporteur est Ibn Rammāḥ.
4. << >> Le transport
5. 167

Commentaire

3. Le nom du transporteur est indiqué, même transporteur qu'en Pap.Rém.6/2.

Pap.Rém.6/14

Encre brun foncé. Recto 7 l., verso vierge. Trou dû à une perforation, sans contact avec l'écrit. Plusieurs petits trous affectent l'écrit. Traces d'humidité ?

Texte arabe

1. يوم الاربع تاسع عشرين
2. شهر رجب سنة سبعة خمسين
3. المحمول من الغلال من
4. ناحية شراره بحاصل بشحانه
5. واحد
6. نقله
7. ٩ (٩)

Apparat critique

1. La lacune est due à un trou dans le papier.
2. *Šahr* : la lacune est due à un trou dans le papier. *Raḡab* et *sana* : le papier est endommagé à l'endroit de la lacune.
5. *Wāḥid* : noter la ligature du *ḥā'* au *dāl*, qui forme une boucle.
7. Le chiffre copte est souligné, indiquant en principe qu'ici, nous sommes dans l'ordre des milliers. Une incertitude subsiste cependant dans son identification : dans le cas d'une lecture par 9000, se pose la question de la graphie du 9, ainsi que de l'importance des quantités concernées ; dans celui d'une lecture

par 2000, d'une part, la graphie du chiffre 2000 ressemble davantage à un 8 qu'à une sorte de « *b* » ou de « *teta* », dans le tableau de Mallon, et, d'autre part, aussi bien le tableau de Mallon que celui de Jazim s'arrêtent à 3000, dans l'ordre des milliers. Mais ce dernier point, s'il était l'indication du peu d'usage général des milliers au-delà de 3000, mériterait d'être pris en considération.

Traduction

1. Mercredi vingt-neuf
2. du mois de *raġab* de l'année 57,
3. a été chargé/embarqué de la récolte, provenant
4. du district de Šarāra, à Ḥāšil, par son transporteur
5. unique.
6. Il l'a transporté.
7. 9 (?)

Commentaire

4-5. Transporteur unique, construction avec *-bi*, voir 6/1 et le commentaire, 6/3 et 6/12.

Pap.Rém.6/15

Encre brun foncé. Recto 7 l., verso vierge. Traînée d'encre verticale sur le recto, affectant la l. 1. Trou dû à une perforation, sans contact avec l'écrit. Trace d'humidité.

Texte arabe

1. يوم الاربع تاسع
2. عشرين شهر رجب الفرد سنة
3. سبعة { خمسين المحمول
4. من ناحية شراره
5. بحاصل شحانه واحد/
6. نقله
7. ط

Apparat critique

1. La traînée d'encre verticale affecte la l. 1 sans en entraver la lecture.
3. Entre *sab'a* et *ḥamsīn*, il n'est pas exclu de lire « *wāw* », mais le scribe a eu visiblement des ennuis avec son calame et sur aucune des autres fiches, en dehors de Pap.Rém.6/12, on ne trouve le « *wāw* » de coordination : on l'a donc supprimé dans le texte.

Traduction

1. Mercredi vingt-
2. neuf du mois de *rağab* premier de l'année
3. 5{ }7, a été chargé/embarqué,
4. provenant du district de Šarāra,
5. à Hāšil. Son transporteur est /unique\.
6. Il l'a transporté.
7. 68

Commentaire

5. Transporteur unique, construction sans *bi-*, voir 6/1 et le commentaire, 6/3, 6/12, et 6/14.

XII. Documents collectés, archivés (?) et enregistrés

Seul le Pap.Rém.6/1 porte la trace claire d'un pliage volontaire : il a été plié en deux verticalement, le texte à l'intérieur. Tous les mémos, en revanche, portent une courte coupure en demi-cercle, ourlée de brun foncé. Généralement, elle apparaît dans la moitié inférieure du document et n'affecte pas l'écrit. Cette coupure est nettement différente par sa nature d'autres lacunes accusées par le support. Il s'agit nettement d'une perforation, d'un acte volontaire. Peut-être les mémos étaient-ils « empilés » sur une sorte de tige en métal, une pratique comptable encore vivace de nos jours dans les magasins ou les restaurants : une tige en métal est placée verticalement sur un socle et les commandes, les additions ou les factures sont « fichées » sur cette tige. Le format des documents, petits et de surface sensiblement identique, s'y prête.

Dans Pap.Rém.6/4, le mot *nāḥiya*, district, a été repris, ré-écrit au-dessus du premier jet, signe sinon d'une autre main, celle de quelqu'un qui aurait voulu en clarifier ainsi la lecture, du moins d'une seconde phase dans le traitement des documents. Quatre documents, les Pap.Rém.6/4, 6/5, 6/8 et 6/10, portent un texte au verso. Les trois premiers reprennent « *naqalahu* », suivis, en 6/4 et 6/8, d'un chiffre copte, qui accuse une différence notable avec les quantités exprimées au recto : on a en 6/4r, 20 (?), en 6/4v, 61, en 6/5r, 10, et en 6/5v, 20 (?)⁴⁹. Chaque

⁴⁹ Le texte de 6/10v est endommagé. En outre, le même mot, apparaissant sur 6/5v et 6/10v, ؟ يكوك, n'a pu être lu, y compris par le biais du turc-ottoman, ni même interprété (sur ces deux points, se reporter à la section XI). Nous remercions les collègues historiens et ottomanistes qui ont bien voulu se pencher sur la question, en particulier Nicolas Michel (Université de Provence).

fois, la quantité transportée est rectifiée à la hausse, dans le premier cas il s'agit de 3 fois plus au verso qu'au recto et dans le second, de 2 fois plus. Aucun des documents ne porte de *basmala*, la première « entrée » se fait par la date. Il est probable que les informations collectées dans les mémos aient été destinées à des registres, ventilés par dates et origine de la marchandise⁵⁰.

XIII. Conclusion : intérêt économique et méthodologique des documents

Il s'agit d'un matériel historique inédit, qui apporte des données sur l'économie de l'Égypte, impliquant ses provinces, au tout début de l'époque ottomane, une période encore mal connue.

Au milieu du XVI^e s., le district et la ville d'al-Ašmūmayn, situés dans le Haut-Ša'īd, sont toujours un lieu de production agricole, pris dans un réseau commercial, dont les ramifications s'étendent vers le Nord de l'Égypte et, de là, potentiellement vers l'extérieur. Les quantités transitant en trois jours de la même semaine, telles que les Pap.Rém.6 permettent de les restituer, sont substantielles. L'acheminement de la récolte, sans doute du lin ou du trèfle, est au cœur du système, des informations, telles que sa provenance, le point de chargement, peut-être les quantités transportées et, parfois, le nom du convoyeur, sont enregistrées dans des mémos, une opération qui nécessite plusieurs personnes. Ils attestent qu'un chargement donné à une date donnée a bien été fait. Il paraît vraisemblable que les mémos connaissaient ensuite une étape comptable et étaient, tout au moins provisoirement, archivés, les informations consignées dans des registres. Liée à la récolte (à des récoltes ?), cette activité de transport semble plutôt saisonnière. Le Nil paraît une voie de transport raisonnable pour le trèfle, de même que pour le lin ; mais, quant au lin, le Baḥr Yūsuf est possible. Outre la production agricole, se devine une micro-économie, avec l'existence d'une petite compagnie organisant le transport dans le district d'al-Ašmūmayn, peut-être basée à Ḥāṣil, ou la vente de papiers au souk, sans doute des inutilisés.

Au papyrologue, cette série de documents permet de dégager et d'établir un nouveau formulaire. Elle montre aussi que l'usage des chiffres coptes dans les transactions commerciales a perduré au moins jusqu'au milieu du XVI^e s. En termes méthodologiques, une approche holistique des documents a fourni à leur analyse des données complémentaires et originales par rapport au texte qu'ils ont conservé, a fait surgir quelque peu du fonctionnement interne à l'acheminement

⁵⁰ Voir la ventilation des données dans les registres administratifs pour taxation sur la durée dans Frantz-Murphy (1986:34, et chap. 11), fondée sur le traité d'al-Maḥzūmī (VI^e/XII^e s).

de marchandises, une investigation qui, loin d'être technique et aride, prête chair à des opérations, à un circuit.

Ces documents sont désormais tirés de l'oubli. Il est à espérer que d'autres verront le jour et, croisés, finiront par faire surgir une histoire économique de l'Égypte au début de la période ottomane.

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LÉGENDES



Pap.Rém.6, recto. © 2009, musée du Louvre, photos Raphaël Chipault



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Papiers des Pap.Rém.6/3-5, 8-10 et 13-15. Cliché d'étude A. Regourd, 2009.



Papiers des Pap.Rém.6/6-8 et 11-13. Cliché d'étude A. Regourd, 2009.

SUFI STORIES FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

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The Cairo Genizah preserved a fragmentary manuscript of what had once been a Sufi anthology composed of texts pertaining to different literary genres.¹ The manuscript, which is in the possession of the Cambridge University Library (T-S Ar. 41.1), has twenty barely legible pages, and unfortunately lacks the beginning and the end. Each page has 22–26 lines. The text is written in Arabic, with Arabic characters mostly accompanied by diacritical signs, but sometimes without it. The surviving text has three major parts:

- I. 1a–3b: ecstatic sayings of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875) with the commentary of a certain ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad
- II. 3b–7b: a chapter about reliance on God
- III. 7b–10b: epistles by an-Nūrī (d. 295/908) and al-Ġunayd (d. 297/910)

It seems probable that the author of this anthology copied these texts from different sources for his personal use. It does not seem likely that the text had been copied from one continuous compilation, for the following reasons: 1) the genre of the different parts varies considerably; 2) the parts are not interlaced by inner references; 3) the different parts show distinct grammatical features (parts I-II display peculiarities of Middle Arabic, while these are absent from part III).

There are no indications in the manuscript pointing towards the person of the author or the copyist. Although there are no Hebrew words or glosses in the text, it was obviously owned (and read) by Jews, since it was preserved in the Cairo Genizah. As it is widely known, the Cairo Genizah is a storehouse of medieval manuscripts dating back mostly to the 10th–13th centuries, and found in the attic of a synagogue in al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Jewish religion prohibits throwing away texts that contain, or might contain the name of God. These texts must be “hidden away” in the so-called *genizah* (meaning “hiding place” in Hebrew). Since virtually

¹ I have dealt with this Sufi anthology, especially with its third part elsewhere. See “Sobriety and intoxication in mystical sayings from the Cairo Genizah.” In: *Proceedings of Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants 27. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. (forthcoming).

every text can contain the name of God, pious Jews tended to put every unneeded text in the *genizah*, including Arabic texts, secular books, letters, business accounts, poems, recipes, etc. The importance of the discovery of the Cairo Genizah (in 1896) lies in the fact that it provides an immense material concerning the life of Medieval Egypt.² Owing to this discovery it became manifest that Jews were highly interested in Sufism, they possessed and what is more, imitated Sufi works.³ The Sufi anthology under discussion was compiled from various sources, possibly by a Jew for his own use.⁴

This paper aims to present some Sufi stories contained in the second part of the manuscript.

The full title of the chapter is the following: “Chapter about the Description of Those Who Rely on God, Who Abide by God’s Command, and Who Await Rescue from God.” (*Bāb na’t ahl at-tawakkul ‘alā Allāh as-sākinīn ‘inda amr Allāh al-muntazirīn li-faraġ Allāh ‘azza wa-ġalla*). The chapter comprises two kinds of texts: 1) short sayings of various Sufi sheiks; 2) instructive stories. As indicated by the title, the subject of both the sayings and the stories is reliance on God (*tawakkul*). A common element of the stories is wandering under harsh circumstances, usually hunger and thirst. The sequence of the stories is sometimes interrupted by short dictions quoted with the chain of the transmitters. Equanimity and perseverance are the major virtues that characterize the protagonists of the stories. The act of possession is refused since it distances man from God, whether man possesses any kind of material goods or merely some basic intentions. The mystics in these stories wander without having destination, and survive without having any means of subsistence. They are sometimes led into temptation and other times rescued miraculously by the intervention of God. However, God does not always interfere in a pleasant way. Nevertheless, facing hardships or experiencing welfare is the same for the Sufi, whose attitude is not influenced by the circumstances. Elements that recur in the stories are crossing the desert without provision; meeting strangers; meeting a lion in the desert; meeting Ḥiḍr in the desert; being fed by God with bread or roasted fish; thirst and finding water; Magians; pomegranates; temptations. One of the protagonists of the stories is Ibrahīm al-Ḥawwāš.⁵ In the *Taḍkirat al-*

² See e.g. Reif:2002.

³ See e.g. Fenton:1981, especially the introduction of the book, and the bibliography cited there.

⁴ Naturally it is also possible that the anthology was composed by a Muslim, and was copied or acquired later by a Jew.

⁵ Abū Ishāq Ibrahīm ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥawwāš (d. 291/904) of Sāmarrā’ was a companion of al-Ġunayd and an-Nūrī. Stories about him similar to those of the Genizah fragment can be found in Abū Nu’aym, *Ḥilya* X, 325–331; ‘Aṭṭār, *Taḍkira* II, 261–274; Arberry 1966:272–276.

awliyā' almost all of these elements (not the stories themselves) appear in the anecdotes about him. According to the *Taḍkirat al-awliyā'*, he was called the "leader of those who rely on God" (*ra'īs al-mutawakkilīna*), and he was famous of crossing the desert without provision, relying exclusively on God. In the Genizah fragment there are two stories about him, displaying the same features as the anecdotes of the *Taḍkirat al-awliyā'*.

Other protagonists of the stories are Abū l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī, Sahl b. Wahbān al-Anbārī,⁶ Abū Ḥamza, 'Alī ar-Rāzī,⁷ Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Baṣrī,⁸ Ġa'far al-Mubārqa', Abū Ġurayṣ, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ġawharī al-Baġdādī, Ḥasan al-Qaddār ad-Dīnawarī. Those persons mentioned in the Genizah fragment that I could identify are contemporaries of al-Ġunayd and an-Nūrī, both of whom are repeatedly mentioned in the fragment, which also contains a correspondence by them. This fact indicates that the texts preserved in the fragment are mostly early Sufi texts that originated in the circle of al-Ġunayd.

Anecdotes similar to the stories of the Genizah fragment can be found abundantly in several Sufi biographies and manuals like the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 1038), the *Taḍkirat al-awliyā'* by Farīd ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. ca. 1220), the *Ṭabaqāt as-sūfiyya* by as-Sulamī (d. 1021), etc.

The importance of the stories quoted in the anthology from the Cairo Genizah does not lie in their uniqueness: in fact there are plenty of similar stories. The significance of this anthology is that it reveals what kinds of Sufi texts were read by Jews in 13th century Egypt. In order to discuss the influence of Sufism in Judaism one should have a clear knowledge of what Sufi texts were possessed and read by Jews. This information contributes to the estimation of this influence in 13th century Egypt.

The next part of the paper will be devoted to the transliteration and translation of a coherent and continuous part of the text. Although in the manuscript *tā' marbūṭa* is never indicated (i.e., it is written with *hā'*) I decided to indicate it in the transliteration of the text. Most characters of the manuscript are accompanied by diacritical signs, but since the paper is stained and damaged in several places, the reading of the characters and the signs is sometimes dubious. *Hamza* is never indicated in the manuscript, therefore it also is absent from the transliteration. For the sake of convenience, the text in the English translation was divided into smaller chapters and chapter headings were also

⁶ According to the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* he was a contemporary of al-Ġunayd (Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, X, 359). He is not mentioned either by as-Sulamī (*Ṭabaqāt*) or 'Aṭṭār (*Taḍkira*).

⁷ A certain 'Alī ar-Rāzī is mentioned as a transmitter in as-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 113.

⁸ Mentioned in Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* VIII, 317 without biographical details.

introduced. The Arabic original itself is also divided into parts by circular dividers that were taken into consideration when dividing the English translation into subchapters. The dividers of the Arabic text are indicated in the English translation. The chapter headings do not form part of the Arabic original.

ARABIC TEXT

T-S Arabic 41.1 fol. 4b

- 12 [...] ○ روى ايوب بن بشير
 13 الطالقاني عن رجل من بعض اخوانه قال رايت رجلا في مرج
 14 الديباج وليس معه شي فدنوت منه فسلمت عليه فرد على
 15 فقلت برحمتك الله اين تريد قال لا ادري فقلت هل رايت احد⁹
 16 يريد مكانا لا يدري اين يذهب قال انا واحد قلت فاين
 17 تنوي قال مكة قلت تنوي مكة ولا تدري اين تذهب قال
 18 نعم وذلك اني كم مرة اردت مكة فيردني الى طرسوس
 19 وكم مرة اردت طرسوس فيردني الى عبادان فنتيتي ان
 20 اذهب الي مكة ولا ادري ابليها ام لا قلت فمن اين
 21 المعاش [ش] قال لا ادري قلت اخبرني باسباب [ذلك] قال [من حيث]
 22 يريد مرة يجيعني ومرة يشبعني ومرة يكرمني ومرة [يهيبيني]
 23 ومرة يقول لي ما على الارض [الا وهديتك] ومرة ويقول انت

T-S Arabic 41.1 fol. 5a

- 1 لص ومرة يطردني الطرد العنيف ولا ينومني الا عند النوا
 2 ويس قلت برحمتك الله من يفعل بك هذا قال الله قلت
 3 فسر لي كيف هذا قال انا رجل اسير نهاري فاين جنني
 4 الليل بت فرما اواني الليل الى قرية فاذا نظر الى اهلها قال
 5 بعضهم لبعض هذا لص لا تدعونه ياوي الليلة في القرية
 6 فاذا صليت عشا الاخرة يدخل على رجل المسجد فيقول
 7 يا نايم فاقول لبيك فيقول لي بالعنف قم من هاهنا
 8 ليس لك هاهنا موضع فاقول نعم وكرامة فاين ابيت
 9 فيقول عند النواويس فاقول نعم وكرامة فاذا اصبحت
 10 سرت فياويني الليل الى قرية اخرى فاذا راني اهلها قال بعضهم
 11 لبعض قد ورد عليكم الليلة رجل زاهد خير فاضل فيقول
 12 كل واحد منهم عندي ببيت فاذا صليت عشا الاخرة يقول

⁹ Sic, instead of احدا. Disappearance of *tanwīn -an* is characteristic of Middle Arabic.

- 13 لي رجل منهم قم الى البيت فاقول نعم وكرامة وامضي معه الى
- 14 منزله فيجيني بالطعام الطيب ويدهن راسي ويكحل عيني
- 15 وياتيني بالفراش اللين فينومني عليه ولا يدع شي من البر الا
- 16 فعله حتى اذا اصبحت سرت فهذه حالي وحال سيدي
- 17 قال فقلت يرحمك الله متى قدر لك ان تدخل الى بغداد فان
- 18 منزلي في موضع كذي وكذي قال فانا ذات يوم قاعد في منزلي
- 19 اذا انسان يدفع الباب فخرجت فاذا انا بصاحبي فسلمت عليه
- 20 وقلت له ايش¹⁰ صنع بك مولاك فقال اخر ما فعل بي ان ضربني
- 21 ضربا شديدا وقال لي يا لص واوراني ظهره فاذا اثر الضرب
- 22 فقلت ايش القصة قال كان قد اجاعني جو عا شديدا فلما
- 23 بلغت الانبار جيت الى مقناة وقد نبذ منها المدود المر
- 24 فقعدت اكل ينظرني صاحب المقناة فاقبل الى بعصا
- 25 يجعل يضرب ظهري ويقول لي يا لص ما خرب

T-S Arabic 41.1 fol. 5b

- 1 مقناتي غيرك [...] كم انا ارصدك حتى وقعت عليك فاذا بفا
- 2 رس قد اقبل مسرعا فاقلب الصوط¹¹ في راسه وقال تعمد الي
- 3 رجل زاهد تضربه وتقول لمتله يا لص قال فما بين ان كنت
- 4 عنده لص¹² الى ان صرت زاهد¹³ الا كما حدثتك فقال صاحب
- 5 المقناة للفارس لم اعلم ان هذا هكذي فاخذ بيدي فذهب
- 6 بي الى منزله فما بقي من الكرامة شي الا فعله بي واستجاني¹⁴
- 7 فخرجت من عنده وجيتك فاقام عندي وقت¹⁵ وانصرف ○
- 8 قال وقال سهل بن وهبان انما لم يهتموا بالمضمون لان لا يكو
- 9 نوا للضامن متهمين ○ قال وقيل لابي الحسين النوري لما حضرته
- 10 الوفاة قل لا اله الا الله قال اليس اليه فمر ○ قال ولما حضرت
- 11 ابو حمزة الوفاة قالوا له تلامذته قل لا اله الا الله قال هذا شي قد
- 12 عرفناه ○ قال ومر على المنبوح على الساحل في غير
- 13 وقت الحج وقد جاع اياما فخطر بقلبه سمك مشوي فاذا سمكة
- 14 قد خرجت من البحر تضطرب بين يديه فاخذها فبينما هو

¹⁰ The use of this interrogative is widespread in various Arabic dialects.

¹¹ *Sic*, instead of السوط. The neutralization of *ṣ* and *s* is a peculiarity of Middle Arabic.

¹² *Sic*, instead of لصا. Disappearance of *tanwīn -an* is characteristic of Middle Arabic.

¹³ *Sic*, instead of زاهدا.

¹⁴ The reading is dubious.

¹⁵ *Sic*, instead of وقتنا.

- 15 كذلك اذا برجل قد وقف عليه فقال اتريد ناراً فجاء بنار
 16 فشوها فهم في ذلك اذ وقف عليهما رجل فقال اتر
 17 يدان خبزاً فاخرج خبزاً فاكلوا وهم لا يعرف بعضهم
 18 بعضاً فسالوا صاحب السمكة من انت قال انا علي الرازي
 19 قالوا لصاحب النار من انت قال انا سهل بن وهبان الانباري
 20 قالوا لصاحب الخبز من انت قال انا صالح بن عبد الجليل
 21 البصري فاعتنقوا ثم افترقوا ○ روى ابو الحسن احمد
 22 بن محمد الرازي عن ابي الفضل المادرائي قال سمعت جعفر
 23 المبرقع يقول عقدت بيني وبين الله جل اسمه عقداً الا
 24 اكل من يد انسان شياً فخرجت في بعض اسفار لي من
 25 الحجاز الي اليمن فمكثت اربعة ايام وانا مستقل

T-S Arabic 41.1 fol. 6a

- 1 فلما كان ليلة الخامس¹⁶ وجدت ضعفاً فاصبحت وانا على عين
 2 من ما ولها مجرى فنزلت الي المجرى لاتطهر فرايت رغيفاً
 3 فوق الماء واقف¹⁷ فحدثت نفسي باخذه فخشيت ان يكون قد
 4 سقط من يد انسان فتركته وجعلت امشي الي فوق المجرى
 5 فاذا الرغيف يجري فوق الماء الي اول العين فذهب عني
 6 الشك فاخذته فاكلته فبقيت عشرة ايام بعد ذلك لا احتاج
 7 الي طعام ○ قال عبد الله نظر ابو جريش في سياحته الي
 8 رجل شيخ فقال له ايش انت قال مجوسي فقال له ليس انت ممن
 9 يرجوا¹⁸ الثواب ولا ممن يخاف العقاب فلم هذا قال نظرت في
 10 الاشياء فرايت لها مداً فاحببت ان اريح جسمي ○ قال وقال
 11 ابراهيم الخواص بينا انا اسير في بادية تبوك في طريق دمشق
 12 اذا انا برجل عليه خرقتين¹⁹ فسلمت عليه ثم وجس في نفسي منه
 13 شي فانكرت ذلك فقلت له ايش انت انت مسلم قال لا قلت فانت
 14 يهودي قال لا قلت فنصراني قال لا قلت فويلك ايش انت قال
 15 انا مجوسي قلت فايش تعمل هاهنا في بادية تبوك قال

¹⁶ The expression is elliptical, omits the word (ليلة اليوم الخامس).

¹⁷ Sic, instead of واقفاً.

¹⁸ Sic. An ortographical charateristic of this text is that *verba tertiae infirmae* usually add an *alif* after the third radical *wāw*. Examples of the same phenomenon occur in this fragment on fol. 2b, line 3, fol. 4a, line 4.

¹⁹ Sic. The use of plural suffix *-īna* instead of *-ūna* in the Nominative is characteristic of Middle Arabic.

- 16 رايت ابنا الدنيا متنافسين فيها فاحببت ان اتركها عليهم ○
 17 قال وقال ابراهيم الخواص ونزلت في بعض المواضع فطالبتني نفسي
 18 ان ادخل الى المنزل فابيت عليها ولم ادخل فلما جنني الليل
 19 اذا بحية قد جات عندي فتخيلت الوان الخيال فلم التفت اليها
 20 فلما اعيتها الحيل قالت قوم²⁰ من موضعي قلت لا افعل فجعلت
 21 توريني وادخلت تحتي يدا شعراه او رجلا شعراه²¹ على
 22 ان تقلعني من موضعي فلم تقدر فقالت لي نفسي تقرا شيا
 23 من القران فلم افعل فقلت من اجل مخلوق لا اقرا ثم غابت
 24 عني سلمة [؟] هوية [؟] ثم جاتني فقالت هو ذا قد جيتك
 25 بسمك مشوي حار كما خرج من شبكة الصياد

T-S Arabic 41.1 fol. 6b

- 1 فلان وجيتك برمان امليسي حلال من جبل مباح فلما اصبحت
 2 رايت عندي سمك مشوي ورمان امليسي فلم اكل منه شيا
 3 وتركته وانصرفت ○ قال ابو الحسن الجوهري البغدادي
 4 كنت حاجا فلما صرنا بين الخزيمية والاجهر عطش
 5 الناس عطشا شديدا وعطشنا معهم فنزلت من الجمل
 6 اطلب من يسقيني شربة من ما فلم اجد وبقيت خلف السا
 7 قة من شدة ما بي من العطش فاتيت على بركة فارغة قد
 8 جاز الناس عليها فاطلعت فيها فاذا برجل جالس في
 9 وسطها عليه اطمار رثة وهو يومي الى تشرب الما
 10 فلما رايتنه نزلت الى البركة فلما حس بي قام فخرج منها
 11 وجبت الى المكان الذي كان فيه فاذا بحفرة صغيرة
 12 يخرج منها الما في وسطها فشربت حتى رويت ولحقت
 13 القافلة فاذا بها قد عرست على ميل او ميلين فاخذت
 14 قريتي من عدلي ورجعت اليها فملاها وجبت بها
 15 والناس نزول فلما راى الناس الما على كنفى وقع في الناس
 16 صيمة²² الما خلف فرجع الناس فسقوا واسقوا جمالهم
 17 فبقيت في حيرة من امري فلما رحل الناس قلت لعدلي اركب

²⁰ *Sic*, instead of قم.

²¹ The reading is dubious. The text seems to be يدا شعراه او رجلا شعراه which is not correct grammatically. The last letter or character in both شعراه might be interpreted as a circular divider, but circular dividers which are used in the text in other places are completely different from these.

²² The reading is dubious.

- 18 ورجعت انظرها فاذا على حافتيها جمالين²³ يطرحون دلاهم
 19 ويستقون واذا الامواج تتلاطم فيها فقلت امنت بالله
 20 ان الله على كل شي قدير ○ روى عبد العزيز بن عبد الواحد
 21 عن حسن القدار الدينوري قال خرجت اريد دير بني ربيعة
 22 فاجتمع جماعة من اصحابي الى فسالوني ان لا اخذ على هذه الطر
 23 يق فقلت لا بد لي من ذلك فلما راو عزمي على ذلك قالوا لي

T-S Arabic 41.1 fol. 7a

- 1 فامضى على طريق البر لان لا يلقاك احد من اهل الذعارة فلما خرجت
 2 وصرت في البادية وحدي اخذني العطش وشدة الحر هممت
 3 بالرجوع اخذتني الانفة من ذلك فمضيت على حالي ذلك في شدة
 4 الحر فاذا برجل قد عارضني وهو يقول لي يا رجل اياك السبع فبقي
 5 يشير بيده وانا انظر الى السبع نحو يده فاذا رفع يده لم
 6 انظر الى شي فلما طال على ذلك واعيانني قلت له يا رجل اذا اوميت
 7 الى بيدك نظرت الى السبع واذا رفعتها لم انظر الى شي قال
 8 فاين تريد يا فتى فقلت اريد الى موضع ذكرته له في ذلك
 9 الوقت فقال هات يدك فدفعت اليه يدي فاذا انا في ذلك الموضع
 10 الذي اردته قال فرجعت من سفري الى جنيد فحدثته بذلك الذي
 11 اصابني فقال لي ايش صفة الرجل فوصفت له صفته وزيه
 12 الذي كان عليه زي اصحابنا الفقرا فقال لي نعم هو المغيث
 13 لهم في كل وقت لاهل الصدق ○ قال عبد الله الرحمن نعم هو الخضر
 14 على نبينا وعليه السلام واسمه الغوث فاذا احب الله عز وجل
 15 ان يقضى حوائج السائلين او يخلص عبدا من شدة او يفرج عنه كربه
 16 حرك قلبه واستنقذه به فقضيت الحاجة اذ ليس فيه هس
 17 لغير الله وانه ليزور اخوانه من صادقي هذه الامة ابتهاجا
 18 وسرورا وفرحا بطاعتهم لله جل اسمه ○

TRANSLATION

THIEF

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 4b, line 12 – fol. 5b, line 7]

[12] Ayyūb b. Bašīr

²³ Sic. The use of plural suffix *-īna* instead of *-ūna* in the Nominative is characteristic of Middle Arabic.

- [13] aṭ-Ṭāliqānī related on the authority of one of his brethren, he said: I have seen a man in Marg̃
- [14] ad-Dībāğ, who did not have anything with him. I approached him and greeted him, and he returned [the greeting].
- [15] Thereupon I said to him: “May God have mercy on you! Where do you want [to go]?” He said: “I don’t know.” I said: “Have you [ever] seen someone [who]
- [16] wanted [to get to] a place, but did not know where he was going?” He said: “I am one [like that].” I said: “Where
- [17] do you intend [to go]?” He said: “Mecca.” I said: “You intend [to go] to Mecca, and you don’t know where you are going?” He said:
- [18] “Yes indeed! And that is because many a time I wanted [to go to] Mecca, but He turned me to Ṭarsūs,
- [19] and many a time I wanted [to go to] Ṭarsūs, but He turned me to ‘Abadān. So my intention is
- [20] to go to Mecca, but I do not know if I get there or not.” I said: “How do you gain
- [21] your living?” He said: “I do not know.” I said: “Tell me, why is it so?” He said: “As He
- [22] wishes; sometimes He makes me starve, and sometimes He feeds me abundantly. Sometimes He honors me, but sometimes He [frightens]²⁴ me.
- [23] Sometimes He says to me: “Everything on earth I have given to you.” But sometimes He says: “You are
- [fol. 5a] [1] a thief!” Sometimes He chases me away harshly and does not let me sleep except at the
- [2] sarcophagi.” I said: “May God have mercy on you! Who treats you like that?” He said: “God.” I said:
- [3] “Explain it to me!” He said: “I am a man who walks all day long,
- [4] and I sleep where night falls upon me. Sometimes the night betakes me to a village and when its people see me they say
- [5] to each other: “This is a thief, so do not invite him to spend the night in the village.”
- [6] And when I pray the last evening prayer the man of the mosque comes to me and says:
- [7] “Hey you, sleeper!” And I say: “Here I am at your service!” And he says to me harshly: “Get up from here!
- [8] There is no place for you here!” And I say: “With the greatest pleasure. But where should I spend the night?”

²⁴ The reading is dubious.

[9] And he says: “At the sarcophagi!” And I say: “With the greatest pleasure.”
 In the morning
 [10] I move on. Then the night betakes me to another village, and when its
 people see me they say
 [11] to each other: “A great pious ascetic has come to you this night.” And
 [12] each one of them says: “Let him spend the night at my place!” And when I
 have finished the last evening prayer, one of them says to me:
 [13] “Get up, [come] to the house!” And I say: “With the greatest pleasure.” And
 I go with him to
 [14] his place, and he brings me good food, anoints my head, rubs my eyes with
 antimony (*kuhl*),
 [15] prepares a soft bed for me, and invites me to spend the night there. He
 shows me every sign of respect
 [16] until in the morning I move on. So that is my state (*hāl*) and that of my
 Lord.”
 [17] He said: Then I said: “May God have mercy on you! When [God] ordains
 you to come to Baḡdād,
 [18] [come to] my house [which is] is at such-and-such a place!”
 He said: One day I was sitting in my house,
 [19] when suddenly a man knocked on the door. I went out, and behold, it was
 my friend! I greeted him
 [20] and said to him: “What has your Master done to you?” He said: “The last
 thing He has done to me was that He beat me
 [21] badly and said to me: “You, thief!” He showed me his back, and behold, the
 signs of the beating were there!
 [22] I said: “What happened?” He said: “He had been starving me badly and
 when
 [23] I arrived at the granaries, I passed by a hut from where some bitter, worm-
 eaten grains have been thrown out.
 [24] So I sat down to eat, while the owner of the hut was watching me. But he
 came to me with a stick,
 [25] and began to beat my back, saying: “You, thief! It was you who
 [fol. 5b] [1] robbed my hut! [...] How long I have been lying in wait for you
 until I caught you!” But all of a sudden
 [2] a horseman was approaching hastily, swinging the whip over his head. [The
 horseman] said: “You mean
 [3] to beat up an ascetic and to say to someone like him: “You, thief?!” He said:
 “And it does not take longer
 [4] to become an ascetic from a thief than recounting this story to you. The
 owner

- [5] of the hut said to the horseman: “I did not know that he was an ascetic.”
Then he took my hand and led
[6] me to his house, and showed me every sign of respect.
[7] After that I left him and came to you.” He stayed with me some time, and
then he moved on. •
[8] He said: Sahl b. Wahbān said: “They are not committed to what has been
ensured to them, so that they would not be
[9] accused by the Ensurer” [of being concerned with created things instead of
the Creator himself].²⁵ •

LAST WORDS

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 5b, lines 9-12]

- [9] He said: Abū l-Husayn an-Nūrī was told when he
[10] was dying: “Say: There is no god other than God!” He said: “And is it not
to him [that I am going]?” And he passed away.²⁶ • He said: When
[11] Abū Ḥamza was dying, his disciples said to him: “Say: There is no god
other than God!” He said: “This thing
[12] we already know.” •

ROASTED FISH

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 5b, lines 12-21]

- [12] He said: Walking on the shore he passed by a [ritually] slaughtered animal.
It was not at
[13] the time of the Pilgrimage. He has already been starving for days. It made
him think about roasted fish. Suddenly, a fish
[14] came out from the sea and writhed before him. He took it, and while
[15] he was engaged in this, suddenly a man stopped by his side, and said: “Do
you need fire?” And he brought him fire.
[16] So they roasted the fish. While they were [engaged] with this, suddenly a
man stopped by their side, and said:
[17] “Do you need bread?” And he drew forth bread. So they ate [together],
without knowing each
[18] other. Then they asked the one with the fish: “Who are you?” He said: “I
am ‘Alī ar-Rāzī.”

²⁵ Cf. a parallel in Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 10:359. That is the only tradition in the *Hilya* quoted in Sahl b. Wahbān’s name:

“لا تكونوا بالمضمون مهتمين فتكونوا للضامن متهمين وبعده غير واثقين”

The word *dāmin* refers to God. This usage is not unparalleled, see Lane 1968: *sub voce* “*dāmin*”.

²⁶ Cf. a similar tradition about an-Nūrī in Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* II, 91.

[19] They asked the one with the fire: “Who are you?” He said: “I am Sahl b. Wahbān al-Anbārī.”

[20] They asked the one with the bread: “Who are you?” He said: “I am Šāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Ġalīl

[21] al-Bašrī.” They embraced each other, and then they parted company. •

BREAD FLOATING ON WATER

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 5b, line 21 – fol. 6a, line 7]

[21] Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad

[22] b. Muḥammad ar-Rāzī related on the authority of Abū l-Faḍl al-Mādarānī: I have heard Ġa‘far

[23] al-Mubarqa‘ say: “I made an agreement with God – may His name be exalted – that I shall not

[24] eat anything [coming] from the hand of a man. I set out to one of my journeys from

[25] al-Ḥiġāz to al-Yaman. I was completely alone during four days.

[fol. 6a] [1] On the fifth night I felt weakness. In the morning I found myself at a spring

[2] of water that had a stream. I descended to the stream in order to perform the ablution, and I saw a loaf of bread

[3] floating on the surface of the water. I said to myself that I would take it, but I was afraid that it might

[4] had fallen from the hand of a man. So I left it, and started to go upward, in the direction of the source of the stream,

[5] and behold, [also] the bread was coming on the water in the direction of the source of the spring. My

[6] doubts were resolved. I took it and ate it, and after that I did not need any food for ten days.” •

MAGIANS

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 6a, lines 7 - 16]

[7] ‘Abdallāh said: During his journey Abū Ğurayš saw

[8] an old man, and he said to him: “Who are you?” He said: “I am a Magian.” So he said to him: “You do not

[9] expect reward nor fear punishment. Why is it so?” He said: “I observed

[10] the things, and I saw that they were not lasting; I wished therefore to comfort my body.” • He said:

[11] Ibrahīm al-Ḥawwāš said: “When I was passing through the desert of Tabūk on the road of Damascus,

[12] I met a man [wearing] two patched frocks (*ḥirqatayni*). I greeted him, but somehow I had a bad feeling about him.

- [13] I ignored it, and I said to him: “Who are you? Are you a Muslim?” He said: “No.” I said: “Then
 [14] are you a Jew?” He said: “No.” I said: “Then a Christian?” He said: “No.” I said: “Woe to you, who are you?” He said:
 [15] “I am a Magian.” I said: “And what are you doing here, in the desert of Tabūk?” He said:
 [16] “I have seen the sons of this world envying one another for having a greater share of it, I wished therefore to leave it [i.e. this world] to them.” •

TEMPTED BY THE SOUL OR BY THE SNAKE²⁷

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 6a, line 17 – fol. 6b, line 3]

- [17] He said: Ibrahīm al-Ḥawwāṣ said: “I arrived to a certain place, and my soul urged me
 [18] to enter a house. But I refused and did not enter. And when the night befell upon me,
 [19] suddenly a snake came to me. She took various shapes, but I did not turn to her.
 [20] When her tricks run out, she said: “Get up from my place!” I said: “I will not!” So she began
 [21] to attack me from the rear and she put a hairy hand or a hairy feet beneath me in order to
 [22] remove me from my place, but she could not. So my soul said to me: “Recite something
 [23] from the Qur’ān!” But I did not, since I said: “For the sake of a creature I will not recite. Then she left me
 [24] tenderly and amorously,²⁸ and afterwards she returned and said: “Here you are, I have brought you
 [25] a hot roasted fish freshly taken from the net of the fisherman
 [fol. 6b] [1] [called] so and so, and I have brought you a sweet pomegranate having no stones, which is permitted to be eaten (*ḥalāl*), and which [was grown] on an allowed (*mubāḥ*) mountain.” When I woke up
 [2] I saw a fried fish and a sweet pomegranate having no stones by my side, but I did not taste it at all,
 [3] but I left it and I went away.” •

²⁷ The interpretation of the story requires to mention that the grammatical gender of both *naḥs* (soul) and *ḥayya* (snake) is feminine, therefore the feminine third-person singular pronoun recurring in the text can refer to both of them, which makes the text ambiguous, presumably on purpose. In my opinion the snake here symbolizes the soul that urges to evil (*an-naḥs al-ammāra bi-s-sū’*).

²⁸ The reading is dubious.

POOL FILLED WITH WATER

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 6b, lines 3-20]

[3] Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ġawharī al-Baġdādī said:

[4] “I was making the pilgrimage and when we passed between al-Ḥazīmīya and al-Aḡhar

[5] the people became very thirsty. We also suffered from thirst with them. So I got off my camel

[6] in order to seek someone who could give me some water, but I did not find anyone. I remained behind the rear of the company

[7] because I was so afflicted by thirst. Then I passed by an empty pool,

[8] which the company had already left behind. I looked into it and I saw a man sitting

[9] in the middle of the pool, wearing tattered rags. He made a sign with the head toward me, [as if saying]: “Drink some water!”

[10] When I saw him I descended to the pool. When he sensed me he stood up and left the pool.

[11] I approached the place where he had been sitting and I saw a small hole

[12] out of which water was flowing into the pool. I drank my fill, and I joined

[13] the caravan, which had already stopped for a rest one or two miles further on. I took

[14] my water-skin from my companion and I returned to the pool. I filled the water-skin and brought it

[15] while the people were having a rest. When they saw me bringing water on my shoulder, the people also

[16] wanted to draw water.²⁹ So they returned [to the pool]. They drank and watered their camels,

[17] but I remained there confused because of what had happened to me. When the people were gone I said to my companion: “Mount [your camel]!”

[18] I went back to see the pool, and behold, on its two rims there were camel-drivers throwing their buckets [into the pool]

[19] and drawing water, and waves were clashing in it! I said: “I believe in God,

[20] God is indeed almighty!” •

²⁹ The reading is dubious. صيمة can be interpreted as a *nomen vicis* from the stem *ṣ-w-m*, meaning “abstention”. The word *ḥ-l-f* is probably in Accusative (= adverbial case), but the case ending is not indicated, as it is normal in Middle Arabic. The stem *ḥ-l-f* can bear the meaning “remaining behind” or can be an equivalent of “*ḥilf*” = the act of drawing water. See Lane, *sub voce* “*ḥalafa*” and “*ḥilf*”.

MEETING WITH ḤIDR

[T-S Arabic 41.1, fol. 6b, line 21 – fol. 7a, line 18]

[21] ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid related

[21] on the authority of Ḥasan al-Qaddār ad-Dīnawārī that he said: “I set out on my way to the monastery of Banū Rabī’a

[22] but some of my companions gathered around me, and asked me not to take the

[23] road [I wanted]. But I said: “I have no other possibility.” When they saw that I was so resolute, they said:

[fol. 7a] [1] “Then go on the desert road, so that no dangerous person would meet you!” When I departed

[2] and I was alone in the desert, thirst and heat became so insupportable that I decided to

[3] return. But I was too proud to return, so I went on steadily in the intense

[4] heat. Suddenly, there was a man standing in my way and he said to me: “Hey you, beware of the lion!” He was continuously

[5] waving with his hand and I beheld the lion in the direction of his hand. But when he lifted his hand,

[6] I did not see anything. And when he continued doing this for a long time and I was fatigued, I said to him: “Hey you! If you make signs

[7] for me with your hand, I see the lion, but when you lift it [your hand], I don’t see anything!” He said:

[8] “And where do you want [to go], boy?” I said: “I want to go to a certain place” – which I specified to him

[9] then – and he said to me: “Give me your hand!” So I gave him my hand, and all of a sudden I was in that place where

[10] I wanted [to go] to! He said: “I returned from my journey to al-Ġunayd and I told him

[11] what happened to me.” He said to me: “How did the man look like?” I described him his outfit and the cloth

[12] he was wearing, the cloth of our companions, the *faqīrs* (*aṣḥābunā al-fuqarā’*). He said to me: “Yes, he was the one who succours (*al-muġīṭ*)

[13] the people of Truth (*ahl al-ṣidq*) at all times.” • ‘Abd Allāh ar-Rahmān said: “Yes, he was the Ḥidr,

[14] peace may be with our Prophet and with him, and his name is succour (*al-ġawṭ*) because when God – may he be exalted – wills

[15] to supply the petitioners’ needs, or to deliver a servant from distress, or to ease his grief,

[16] He [God] moves His [Ḥidr’s] heart, and He delivers him [the servant] by means of him [the Ḥidr], and then his needs will be supplied, since this does not entail whispering

[17] to other than God. He [Ḥiḍr] visits his brethren (*iḥwān*) from among the righteous of this nation, and he is glad,
 [18] pleased and delighted at their obedience to God, may His name be exalted.”•

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REVIEWS

Beiträge zur arabischen Grammatik. By MANFRED ULLMANN. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. 361 p. ISBN 978-3-447-06942-7

The author summarizes in the Foreword of his book that he intends to step in the traces of the German Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke following his pioneer work *Zur Grammatik des Classischen Arabisch* in that its examples and rules were taken from actual texts not from the grammatical treatises of the great Arab grammarians like Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* or az-Zamahšarī' *Mufaṣṣal*. Ullmann contrasts this method of concentrating on texts with the Arabic grammar books of such famous European scholars as William Wright, Mortimer Howell, Carl Brockelmann or even Hermann Reckendorf. He keeps to this conscientiously, presenting a vast amount of examples from the *Qur'ān*, prose literature and poetry, although I cannot agree wholeheartedly with his too severe judgement of the Arab grammarians of the Middle Ages, saying "Nun ist bekannt, daß die Ausführungen der einheimischen Grammatiker die tatsächlichen sprachlichen Verhältnisse der Beduinendichtung, des Korans und der frühen Prosa nur sehr unvollkommen widerspiegeln". It is enough to look up the *Ḥizānat al-adab* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baġdādī, where all the poetic examples of the Arab grammarians are collected, to find these words really exaggerated. On the other hand, the above listed European authors of Arabic grammars rely to a great extent upon Arabic texts rather than simply on earlier grammars.

The book, unequally distributed, consists of five parts. The first, largest part, containing 267 pages of the total of 361, deals with the morpheme *fā'ilatun* in the function of a noun of action. In the introductory pages Ullmann sums up the different usages of this form as a noun then he goes on publishing an „Inventar“ of as many as 157 verbal forms with 1057 linguistic examples. In every case he first gives the meaning of the verb, then the meaning of the *fā'ilatun* form, then the examples, always whole sentences, follow in Arabic script and German translation, together with its occurrences in the literature.

The second part deals with the expression *awlā* (*aulā* in Ullmann's transliteration) in 15 pages, pp. 279-294, in its two main functions: as elative and as an exclamation particle. The first type is further classified into six, the second into seven sub-types. Although the subclassification is made on a mixture of semantic and syntactic bases, the examples give an interesting and very useful account of

an uncommon noun. It must be noted, however, that many other *af'alu* forms can be used in the same syntactical constructions as *awlā:* with *an*, as independent subject, independent predicate or in a prepositional phrase, and even the “*ta'ağğub*” usage after *mā*. The inventory of the examples for the so called “Exklamativpartikel” function of *awlā*, as well as the general explanation given to this usage are also very interesting, although one prefers the denomination given by the Arab grammarians and lexicographers “*at-tahaddud wa-l-wa'īd*”.

The third part deals with *nāhīka*. Here the author, after a thorough study of the examples found in the lexicographical literature, states that the primary meaning of this construction is to give positive emphasis, express high evaluation of a man, object or event. Then he lists the frequency of the different prepositions used with *nāhīka*, finding that the most frequent usage is with the preposition *min*.

The fourth part bears the title “Die Conclusio a minori ad maius”, which is considered by the author an addendum to his earlier article published in 2010 under the title “Die Conclusio a minori ad maius im Arabischen”. In this article he dealt with nine expressions meaning “even more” or in negative sentences “even less”, in reference to the following sentence, like an *argumentum a fortiori*, “an argument from a yet stronger reason”. These nine Arabic expressions were (following Ullmann’s not always consistent transcription): *fa-mā zannuka bi-hī*, *fa-mā bāluhū*, *fa-kaifa*, *fa-kam bi-l-ḥarīyi*, *fa-kam bi-ziyādatin*, *faḍlan 'anhu*, *fa-kam yafūquhū*, *fa-kam bi-kam*, *fa-qul fīhi*. In this fourth part of his book he adds four more constructions with the same meaning: *balha*, *da' šay'an*, *aulā*, *nāhīka*.

The fifth part of the book deals with *na'am*, listing twelve usages of the word and giving ample examples for each of them. All in all this work represents a worthy and significant addition to the author’s vast oeuvre in the field of Arabic lexicography.

Kinga Dévényi

Verbal Festivity in Arabic and other Semitic Languages. Proceedings of the Workshop at the Universitätsclub Bonn on January 16, 2009. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 72.) Edited by LUTZ EDZARD and STEPHAN GUTH. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010. 115 p. ISSN 0567-4980, ISBN 978-3-447-06239-8.

The workshop, the proceedings of which is contained in the present volume, was held on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Werner Diem and the 70th birthday of Michael G. Carter, two of the most significant linguists who dealt with Arabic in the last decades. It mainly focused on the various aspects of the polite and

formal speech in the Semitic languages, especially those of the Arabic, the only exception being Pierre Larcher's communication "Formules et dérivés 'formatifs' en arabe" which treats an extraordinary characteristic feature of the Arabic verb formation.

We are indebted to one of the editors, Stephan Guth, for the far lengthiest, and perhaps most interesting contribution to this volume on the origin and development of the famous term of Arabic culture, *adab*: "Politeness, Höflichkeit, 'adab: A Comparative Conceptual-Cultural Perspective", even if it may seem a little oversized owing to the probably superfluous inclusion of the English and German cultural terms into the analysis. The parallels do not seem convincing, not helping the understanding of the Arabic term, but contributing to the already existing difficulties of overviewing the history of *adab*. Guth's article, which relies mainly on lexicographical and linguistic data, seems to be helpful for a future detailed analysis of the concept which, however, should contain thorough research into the history of the works themselves "branded" as *adab*. In our view, the starting point might not be the similarities but the (probably later) complete difference between the two concepts of *sunna*, meaning always the inherited and compulsory 'custom' for all, and *adab*, the received and differentiating habits of small minorities of the society. If one tries to review the so-called *adab* literature in the Middle Ages, however, it is not polite behaviour, which jumps to our mind but first of all received knowledge needed in various walks of life to be successful. Some of the modern usages are, beyond doubt, near to 'politeness' (*bi-adab, qalīl al-adab*), but some others are not (*ta'dīb, adab* as 'belles lettres').

Lutz Edzard, the other editor of the proceedings, prepared a paper on the formal, modal-deontic, feature in Akkadian treaty texts, the oath-clauses, investigating the grammaticalisation of elliptic conditional clauses. The author cites examples from other Semitic languages, mainly from Arabic, as well. The most interesting and probably the most problematic examples of all is the citation from Sūrat Yūsuf, 77: "*in yasriq fa-qad saraqah al-himlahu min qablu*". As can be known from the Qur'ān exegeses, this statement refers to a well known past action of Yūsuf, although the commentators differ in what it had been in reality. This type of conditional structures does not simply lack a proper apodosis with the compulsory *fa-qad* (and not only *fa-*) beginning a new syntactic period, as Edzard states, but this new 'period' is always based on a previous event known for the hearers of the utterance. Another famous example may be taken from the *Sīra* (which is also a *ḥadīth mawqūf*): "*qāla 'Umar: in astahlif fa-qad istahlafah man huwa ḥayrun minnī fa-in atrukhum fa-qad tarakahum man huwa ḥayrun minnī*", referring to the fact that Abū Bakr did appoint a successor, while the second conditional it was meant to imply that the Prophet did not.

Avihai Shivtiel presented a remarkable paper, perhaps one that fits best into the linguistic genre referred to by the title of the volume, on some features of politeness in Arabic communication under the title “Language and Mentality: Politeness, Courtesies and Gestures in Palestinian Arabic”. As the author remarks, the phrases used for polite communication express a strong belief in God and Islam, and loyalty to the family. To this latter I would like to give an addition from the Jordanian bedouin region where some tribes express “how are you” by “*guwwatek*” to which the answer should be “*guwwat el-‘ēla*”. Shivtiel’s paper lists ten types of linguistic utterances expressing: strong belief and complete devotion to God, self-honour, strong belief in superstitions, fatalism, friendliness and friendship, respect and the endearment of the other, great concern about the welfare and well-being of the other, exaggeration and love for the magnitude, generosity and kindness and finally humour. This list is completed by two subsections on gestures and a well known interesting language peculiarity: the frequent use of the *maf‘ūl* pattern of the passive participle.

Geoffrey Khan describes in his paper the various constructions expressing deontic modality in the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects spoken by the so called Assyrian Christians of North Iraq. The sentences containing deontic modality indicate some actions that would change the world so that it becomes closer to the standard or ideal, expressing oaths, wishes or addressing the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation or give permission. In spite of the shortness of the article, the author gives many examples which help to understand the intended meanings of the constructions.

In the last paper of this volume, Andreas Kaplony writes about the way merchants using Red Sea shipment tried to ensure in their writings that their goods arrived safely. For this he uses Arabic commercial documents from the 13th century discovered in the Red Sea port of al-Quṣayr al-Qadīm in 2004.

Finally I would like to note that the word “festivity” in the title is very attractive but does not comprise most of the contents of the papers. That is why the editors used in the preface the more appropriate “various aspects of formal and polite speech”, which is what the papers are in reality about.

Kinga Dévényi

No Tapping around Philology. A Festschrift in Honor of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday. Edited by ALIREZA KORANGY and DANIEL J. SHEFFIELD. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014. xxvi, 449 p. ISBN 978-3-447-10215-5.

This volume is a collection of twenty-three articles dedicated to one of the most distinguished philologists and linguists in Near Eastern Studies and one of the most prolific teachers and translators of Near Eastern languages and literatures, Wheeler McIntosh Thackston, Jr. (Harvard University), on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. It is a kaleidoscope of studies on many subjects of different Oriental cultures and languages, divided into four sections: Persian Literature; Linguistics, Philology, and Religious Studies; Middle Eastern, Central Asian, and South Asian History; and History of Art and Architecture. All or almost all of these topics reflect the wide range of interest of Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr.

The essays, written by Thackston's students, colleagues, and friends, are preceded by a *Tabula Gratulatoria*, and the bibliography of Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr.

The editors being specialists in Persian it is not at all astonishing that most of the papers deal with Persian literature, language and history. At the same time these are also the fields which gave topics to most of the papers and books written by Thackston.

In the first section on Persian literature, the most prominent article is that of one of the editors. It is Alireza Korangy's long study on the 12th century Persian poet, Ḥāqānī Šīrvānī, the most significant poet writing in the predominant genre of the age, the *qaṣīda* ("Khaqani and the Qaside of Shervan and Arran: A Brief Survey and Study", pp. 71–110). First the author summarizes the main stylistic characteristics of this content-form: the use of the art of verbal embellishment and the art of exposition. Then he gives a detailed description of Ḥāqānī's life, the milieu of the court of Šīrvān where he spent much of his life, his travels, especially to Khorasan, and finally his patrons to whom he composed high praise and eulogy. After these introductory sections the main portion of the article is devoted to the presentation and analysis of the different kinds of Ḥāqānī's *qaṣīda* poetry: the epic-didactic, the historiography, the elegy, the theosophical and didactic *qaṣīdas*. A special and rather peculiar section deals with the Christian images found in Ḥāqānī's *qaṣīda* poetry with clear allusions to a poet, himself, who is constantly trying to identify parallels between his life and Christ's. The last portion of the paper is devoted to Ḥāqānī's circle of poets in Transcaucasia. All in all, Alireza Korangy's article is an encyclopedical work on an important segment of 12th century Persian poetry.

The story of the elephant and the blind men is well known and was interpreted in different ways in the literature of Islamic mysticism. Maria Subtelny tries to shed new light on the old tale as used by Rūmī in his *Masnavī* (“An Old Tale with a New Twist: The Elephant and the Blind Men in Rūmī’s *Masnavī* and Its Precursors”, pp. 1–22).

Considering the fact that Thackston has always attributed great relevance to scholarly translations of primary sources, it is not at all astonishing that many of the papers deal with the translation of important texts. Among them there are some really crucial essays, like Michael Hillmann’s “Khâqâni’s Twelfth-Century Advice to Twenty-First-Century Iranians” (pp. 111–126), Christian Lange’s “A Sufi’s Paradise and Hell: ‘Azīz-i Nasafī’s Epistle on the Otherworld” (pp. 193–214), and David Brophy’s “High Asia and the High Qing: A Selection of Persian Letters from the Beijing Archives” (pp. 325–367).

In “Music, Rapture and Pragmatics: Ghazālī on *samāʿ* and *wajd*” (pp. 215–242), Yaron Klein deals with a frequently discussed theme, namely the special kind of mystical thinking in al-Ġazālī’s *Iḥyāʾ ulūm ad-dīn*. William Graham tries to approach the Qurʾānic text from a hitherto neglected aspect in his paper, “The Qurʾān as a Discourse of Signs” (pp. 263–276).

After a hundred years of not very successful research to trace the Islamic law back to Roman law, now in a short communication the late Richard N. Frye wants to shed light on the possible Persian influence on the latter (“Achaemenid Law, Predecessor of Roman Law? pp. 277–280).

In the fourth section, which deals with the history of art and architecture, perhaps the most interesting article is Jonathan Bloom’s “Nāṣir Khusraw’s Description of Jerusalem” (pp. 395–406). Nāṣir Ḥusraw, as is well known, gives precious information to several sites of Jerusalem not found in any other sources, such as, e.g. the description of David’s gate, where only he provides an evidence of the gate’s location. Jonathan Bloom is an acknowledged scholar in the field of Medieval Islamic art and architecture, thus it is not surprising that even this short essay adds to our knowledge of the importance of Nāṣir Ḥusraw’s travel book. Moreover, the article presents a tribute to Wheeler Thackston as the English translator of Nāṣir Khusraw’s *Safarnāme*.

All the other articles in this collection, not mentioned in my review, represent good and highly instructive reading, thanks to their authors and the editors of the volume as well.

Kinga Dévényi

Nicht nur mit Engelszungen. Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie. Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag. Edited by RENAUD KUTY, ULRICH SEEGER and SHABO TALAY. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. xx, 412 p. ISBN 978-3-447-06926-7.

The Festschrift contains 41 articles together with a bibliography of Werner Arnold from 1984 to 2011. Besides, on page xi, we find a “Tabula Gratulatoria” with 25 names of scholars from all over the world.

The articles deal mainly with dialects of Arabic (17) and Aramaic (7), but there are some fine papers on Judeo-Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, Ancient Semitic languages, Classical Arabic dialects, and Classical and Modern Standard Arabic as well. Articles dealing with ‘languages in contact’ are especially interesting in the Middle East: S. Talay writes about Aramaic-Arabic language contact in Eastern Anatolia, while J. Rosenhouse’s article is about multilingualism in the Middle East, and even F. Corriente’s “Iranian Lexical Stock in Standard and Andalusī Arabic” and O. Kapeliuk’s “Contrastive Analysis of Tenses in Urmi Neo-Aramaic and in Kurdish” fit into this picture.

In the field of Modern Standard Arabic it is James Dickins who published a remarkable paper on definiteness (“Definiteness, genitives and two types of syntax in Standard Arabic”) trying to show that commutation can be used to establish syntactic structures covering *-n*, *al-*, pronoun suffixes and genitive constructions. To prove this, he turns to a kind of paradigmatic analysis using commutation tests, i.e. analysis by substituting. In this he rigidly insists to take into consideration only the formal peculiarities of the surface structure which beside bringing about some good results, causes also incoherencies in the syntax. For example, the identification of the *-n* of the *tanwīn* ending and the *-n* found at the end of the dual and masculine plural nouns proves good in the case of genitive constructions but is meaningless when definiteness and indefiniteness are analysed. Thus this commutation analysis creates more problems than solutions. An acceptable interpretation of the final *-n* in Arabic cannot be accomplished without taking into consideration the so called pause phenomena, both in the prosaic and the poetic language, i.e., the disappearance of the short vowels together with the *-n* and the lengthening of the short vowels without the *-n*, respectively.

In spite of its shortness, it is perhaps Aryeh Levin’s paper (“The Distribution of the Medial ³Imāla in the Old Arabic Dialects of the Eighth Century”) that serves as the most important contribution to Arabic linguistics in this volume. Since the in-depth analysis of the problem treated in this article would go far beyond the possibilities of a short review, I should only like to deal here briefly with the questions connected to the relationship of Old Classical Arabic, as reflected in the

Book of Sībawayhi and the so called old Arabic dialects (*luġāt*). My remarks are restricted to three small points. First, we cannot state with certainty that the Arabic dialects in the 8th c. and before existed separately from the so called Classical Arabic which would have served as a common poetic language. All in all, we know very little about the linguistic conditions of this early age. It is also dubious that these Old Arabic dialects described by Sībawayhi reflected the linguistic situation in his time in and around Basra, There is no evidence leading to this consequence. Second, the boundaries of Ancient Arabia were very loosely defined as it has been proven by not one contemporary Arab scholars in their criticism of Rabin's *Ancient West Arabian*, where the author seems to be too sure of what can be a part of Hijaz or Najd, Eastern or Western Arabia. Third, Sībawayhi – as a 'forerunner of modern descriptive grammarians' – generally does not use definitions in the Book, so the lack of a definition concerning the *imāla* can by no means be regarded as extraordinary.

Stefan Weninger in his paper deals with the question whether al-Ġawharī in his great dictionary did only rearrange al-Fārābī's material alphabetically – as it was viewed by the earlier Western Arabists, following Krenkow's opinion – or whether he was a really original author. This latter view is supported by evidence in Weninger's paper. It is to be noted, however, independently of this debate over the originality or plagiarism of al-Ġawharī, that the notion of plagiarism as we understand it nowadays cannot be applied to the products of Classical Arabic literature.

In the field of Arabic dialectology we can find many descriptions of rare phenomena or lesser known dialects. An example of the latter is Peter Behnstedt's paper on the dialects of the Darfur region in Sudan. Although the informants were migrants in Germany, which weakens the validity of the findings, this being a unique description of this dialectal group makes it nevertheless important.

Barry Heselwood, Janet Watson, Munira al-Azraqi and Samia Naim wrote together about the lateral reflexes of Proto-Semitic *ḏ and its interdental pair in al-Rubū'a dialect of South-West Saudi Arabia. Four scholars writing one paper of ten pages seems at first strange, but one quickly finds the explanation, considering the complex nature of this study. It is not simply a bunch of collected data but the findings are supported by electropalatographic and acoustic evidence. The authors emphasize two things. First, that in the Tihāma area the lateral reflexes of *ḏād* still exist and second, that several dialects in that area continue to make a phonological distinction between cognates of original *ḏād* and its interdental emphatic pair which have been thought till this day to have merged in all Arabic dialects. This would revolutionarize Arabic dialectal phonology if supported by more data and investigation.

The importance of the papers dealing with Neo-Aramaic dialects has grown in the mirror of the latest fearful events in the Northern parts of the Fertile Crescent where these dialects are more or less still spoken but cannot be studied *in situ*. Perhaps Geoffrey Khan's paper, "Remarks on Negation in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects", based on data collected by the author, can be considered the most thoroughful and significant contribution in this volume to the Neo-Aramaic studies. In the field of linguistic history mention must be made of Christian Stadel's article: "Aspekte der Sprachgeschichte des Neuwestaramäischen im Licht des spätwestaramäischen Dialektes des Samaritaner".

The editors have done a really great work in publishing a large amount of excellent papers, though one would have preferred a thematic arrangement, helping the orientation of the readers, instead of the alphabetic order of the authors.

Kinga Dévényi

Lehrbuch der sabäischen Sprache. 1. Teil: Grammatik. (SILO: Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum Orientis 4.1) By PETER STEIN. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. 232 p. ISSN 1867-8165, ISBN 978-3-447-10026-7.

Peter Stein's grammar of the Sabeian language fits in a series of grammatical works which use the textbook form instead of the more conventional systematic grammars which do not take into consideration the learner's demands. Naturally, the present work also follows the usual structure of a grammar, proceeding from the script through phonetics to morphology and finally to syntax but in the meantime it is divided into lessons trying to help the student. Moreover, it also contains a description of the history of the Sabeian language and the development of its dialects through more than 1500 years, from the beginning of the first millenium B.C.E. till the 6th c. C.E.

This grammar contains all essential aspects of the Sabeian language in so far they have come down to us in the South Arabian inscriptions. After the Introduction there are fourteen lessons, followed by the keys of the exercises, suggestions for further reading and tables of paradigms. Each lesson is further divided into subchapters and multi-level paragraph numbering orientates would be students. At the end of the lessons short exercises help learning the grammatical rules.

The titles of the lessons are as follows. Lesson 1: Writing and orthography. Lesson 2: Phonology. Lesson 3: Nominal morphology I, states, genders, numbers, cases. Lesson 4: Nominal morphology II, nominal stems, the structure of the nouns in singular and plural, proper nouns. Lesson 5: Morphology of pronouns.

Lesson 6: Verbal morphology I, suffix conjugation, prefix conjugation and imperative. Lesson 7: Verbal morphology II, verbal stems, inner passive, infinitive, participle, conjugation of weak verbs. Lesson 8: the basic structure of the Sabean monumental inscriptions. Lesson 9: Numerals and particles. Lesson 10: Fundamentals of syntax I, sentence structure, functions of the parts of speech, infinitive constructions. Lesson 11: Fundamentals of syntax II, subject and object clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses. Lesson 12: Fundamentals of syntax III, the use of verbal tenses, sentences of wish and order, questions and swears. Lesson 13: Everyday speech and formulas. Lesson 14: Syntactic characteristics of the regional dialects.

The language of the Sabean inscriptions is not easy to learn but this excellent grammar book makes it perhaps accessible for the students and researchers.

Kinga Dévényi

Lehrbuch der sabäischen Sprache. 2. Teil: Chrestomathie. (SILO: Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum Orientis 4.2) By PETER STEIN. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012. 163 p. ISSN 1867-8165, ISBN 978-3-447-06768-3.

This is the second part of Peter Stein's Sabean textbook, the Chrestomathy. The first chapter gives some practical information on the way this textbook should be used. It explains the principles of the text selection and the use of the glossary. The themes of the texts are as follows. Chapter A: Consecration or dedication texts. Chapter B: Building inscriptions. Chapter C: Legal and economic texts. Chapter D: Letters. Chapter E: Memorial inscriptions. Chapter F: Religious and cultic texts. Chapter G: Scriptures on objects and name inscriptions. The last chapter (H) deals with what remained from the Sabean school recordings. In every chapter the Old, Middle and Late Sabean texts are grouped under different sub-chapters.

The glossary contains all Sabean words occurring in the texts together with their German equivalents. The book ends with the illustrations of the texts transcribed in the Chrestomathy and a table of the Sabean script. To assist the learners, it is also attached to the book as an independent sheet.

This Chrestomathy, together with the Grammar, represents a great help for future students of this South Arabian language in the German speaking world.

Kinga Dévényi

Sabäische Inschriften aus dem Ḥawlān. (Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 7.)
By MOHAMED ALI AL-SALAMI. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011. vi, 265
p. ISSN 0949-6815, ISBN 978-3-447-06446-0.

The Ḥawlān has always been one of the biggest tribal groups in Central Yemen from the antiquity on and even today several villages preserve its name between Sana'a and Ma'rib. The present volume deals with the recently discovered inscriptions from the Ḥawlān aṭ-Ṭiyāl area: 136 rock inscriptions and 27 inscriptions on hewn stones and tablets. The author examines the geographical position of the Ḥawlān tribe and its different branches in our time and compares his data with those found in the Mediaeval Arabic genealogical and geographical works. Then he traces back the Ḥawlān tribe to pre-Islamic times according to the widely accepted view that the modern Ḥawlān can be identified with the Ancient South Arabian Ḥawlān Ḥaḍilum tribe. Al-Salami's aim was to obtain a clearer picture of the historical developments and geographical arrangement of the tribes and subtribes through putting under thorough examination the newly found inscriptions.

The editing of the inscriptions includes their transcription, translation and short commentaries. The texts are made up from different genres. There are votive and devotional inscriptions to different gods, building inscriptions which tell mainly about the erection of water supply and distribution, mountain pass roads, gardens and city walls. Some ruins which were examined – remnants of churches, ancient settlements and cities –, mentioned in the inscriptions, could be identified. Some short scripts commemorate war campaigns. The last group of inscriptions contains personal and tribal names and is therefore of outstanding value from a historical point of view.

The final chapter of the book treats the historical evaluation of the inscriptions with the inclusion of the most important works in this field. The author puts at the end of his work some invaluable topographical maps and pictures of the objects containing the inscriptions. Al-Salami's excellent work may arouse the interest not only of scholars of the Sabean language but also of the historians dealing with Ancient and Mediaeval South Arabia.

Kinga Dévényi

VOLUMES OF *THE ARABIST* PUBLISHED SO FAR

- 1 (1988)** [Selected articles by Hungarian scholars on the occasion of the 14th Congress of the UEAI held in Budapest]
- 2 (1990)** *Amulets from the Islamic world: Catalogue of the exhibition held in Budapest, in 1988*, by A. Fodor
- 3–4 (1991)** *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Grammar, Budapest, 1–7 September 1991*, ed. by Kinga Dévényi and Tamás Iványi
- 5 (1992)** *al-Farrāʾ's Maʿānī l-Qurʾān: Index of Qurʾānic references*, by Kinga Dévényi
- 6–7 (1993)** *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography (CALL): Budapest, 1–7 September 1993, Part I*, ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi, A. Shvitiel
- 8 (1994)** *Studies in Honour of Károly Czeglédy on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by Alexander Fodor *et al.*
- 9–10 (1994)** *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Popular Customs and the Monotheistic Religions in the Middle East and North Africa, Budapest, 19–25th September 1993. Part I*, ed. by A. Fodor and A. Shvitiel
- 11–12 (1994)** *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography (CALL), Budapest, 1–7 September 1993. Part II*, ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi, A. Shvitiel
- 13–16 (1995)** *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Budapest, 29th August – 3rd September 1988. Part I, Part II*, ed. by A. Fodor, assoc. ed. Kinga Dévényi, Tamás Iványi
- 17–18 (1996)** *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa (LEM): Budapest, 18–22 September 1995. Part I, Linguistics and literature*, ed. by K. Dévényi and T. Iványi; *Part II, Popular religion, popular culture and history*, ed. by A. Fodor and A. Shvitiel
- 19–20 (1998)** *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS): Budapest, 1–7 July 1997. Part I, Linguistics, Literature, History*, ed. by K. Dévényi and T. Iványi

- 21–22 (1999)** *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS): Budapest, 1–7 July 1997. Part II, Islam, Popular Religion and Culture, Islamic Law, History of Arabic Studies, History of Islamic Art*, ed. by A. Fodor
- 23 (2001)** *Essays in honour of Alexander Fodor on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. by K. Dévényi and T. Iványi
- 24–25 (2002)** *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants: Budapest, 10–17 September 2000. Part I. Linguistics, literature, history*, ed. by K. Dévényi
- 26–27 (2003)** *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants: Budapest, 10–17 September 2000. Part II, Islam, Popular Culture in Islam, Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. by A. Fodor
- 28–29 (2008)** *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Paradise and Hell in Islam: Keszthely, 7–14 July 2002. Part I*, ed. by K. Dévényi and A. Fodor
- 30 (2012)** *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Paradise and Hell in Islam: Keszthely, 7–14 July 2002. Part II*, ed. by K. Dévényi and A. Fodor
- 31 (2012)** *Papers Presented to Alexander Fodor on His Seventieth Birthday*, by his disciples, ed. by K. Dévényi
- 32 (2013)** [Articles ed. by K. Dévényi]
- 33–35 (2014)** *Collected Papers of K. Czeglédy*, coll. and ed. by K. Dévényi