

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 37

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 37

SERIES EDITOR

KINGA DÉVÉNYI

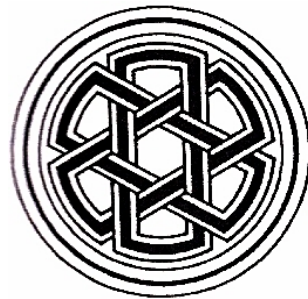
REVIEW EDITOR

TAMÁS IVÁNYI

Copyright Ed. Csoma de Kőrös Soc. 2016
MÚZEUM BLD. 4/B BUDAPEST, 1088 HUNGARY

Studies in Memory of Alexander Fodor

EDITED BY
K. DÉVÉNYI



EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES
&
CSOMA DE KŐRÖS SOCIETY SECTION OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
BUDAPEST, 2016

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 37

ISSN 0239-1619



CONTENTS

Preface	ix
A Bibliography of Alexander Fodor's Publications (1969-2015)	xiii
Francesca M. Corrao (Rome): <i>Some Observations on Humour in Islamic Culture</i> ..	1
Kinga Dévényi (Budapest): <i>Manuscripts of En 'ām-i Şerīf in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences</i>	9
Ida Fröhlich (Piliscsaba): <i>"Because He Loves Her ...": The Figure of the Demon in the Book of Tobit</i>	25
Antonella Ghersetti (Venise): <i>Des lièvres et des djinns : notice sur une amulette préislamique dans les sources arabes</i>	37
Aḥmad Ḥasan (Asyut): <i>Dirāsa naqdiyya li-aqwāl Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. ca. 185/801) fī t-turāt al-islāmī</i>	51
Tamás Iványi (Budapest): <i>On Circumambulation in Chellah and Elsewhere: Popular Traditions, Legal Prohibitions</i>	65
Alan Jones (Oxford): <i>So That You May Be Reminded</i>	99
István Ormos (Budapest): <i>Between Stage Décor and Reality: The Cairo Street at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 at Chicago</i>	115
Anne Regourd (Copenhagen, Paris): <i>al-Mandal as-sulaymānī appliqué : une section interpolée dans le ms. Sanaa 2774 ?</i>	135
Gabriel M. Rosenbaum (Jerusalem): <i>Shabbat (Saturday) in Modern Egypt: Customs and Their Reflection in Spoken Judeo-Arabic</i>	153
Avihai Shivtiel (Cambridge): <i>On a Known – Unknown Strophic Poem from the Cairo Genizah: An Authentic or a Plagiarized Version?</i>	167
Dóra Zsom (Budapest): <i>Another Arabic Version of Sefer ha-Razim and Ḥarba de-Mošé: A New Sifr Ādam Manuscript</i>	179
List of Contributors	203
Volumes of <i>The Arabist</i> published so far	207

PREFACE

مَنْ سَلَكَ طَرِيقًا يَطْلُبُ فِيهِ عِلْمًا سَلَكَ اللَّهُ بِهِ طَرِيقًا مِنْ طُرُقِ الْجَنَّةِ
وَإِنَّ الْمَلَائِكَةَ لَتَضَعُ أَجْنِحَتَهَا رِضًا لِطَالِبِ الْعِلْمِ
حديث نبوي شريف

Alexander Fodor (1941-2014)

Professor Alexander (Sándor) Fodor was born in Budapest on the 6th of November, 1941 and died in Ábrahámhegy, at Lake Balaton, on the 2nd of August, 2014. He studied Arabic and History at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, between 1960 and 1965. He counted among his beloved teachers Julius (Gyula) Germanus – also born on the 6th of November as Alexander used to point it out – and Károly Czeglédy. The former made him love the Arabic language and the Arab world, while the latter was the supervisor of his doctoral thesis written on the origins of the Arabic legends of the pyramids of Giza. Since his graduation in June 1965, he was working at the Department of Semitic Philology and Arabic Studies of the University. Having been advanced to the position of Reader in 1981, he became the Head of the Arabic Department till 2006. He acquired a full professorship in 1996, and held the post of Director of the Oriental Institute at the University between 1999 and 2006. Having served the Faculty of Humanities thrice as Vice-Dean in charge of the international relations, he held the post of Dean in the academic year 2000/2001.

After having spent a year in Egypt on a scholarship grant in 1966 he repeatedly visited that country where he had the honour to be elected member of the *Mağma' al-Luğa al-'Arabiyya*. For 15 years he returned to Kuwait every autumn for lecturing and investigating the amulet collection of the Tareq Rajab Museum. He spent a lengthy period of research in 1994 at the London based Warburg Institute. He also spent six months in Jerusalem as a guest research fellow at the Hebrew University. A regular participant of international conferences with his presentations, he contributed since 1974 to 2014 to almost all the congresses of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (UEAI). He organised two of these

congresses in Budapest in 1988 and in 2000. On the occasion of the first of these congresses he founded *The Arabist (Budapest Studies in Arabic)* of which he was the series editor until his death. In 1993 and 1995 he organised conferences on the popular beliefs in the religions of the Middle East and North Africa. He was vice-chairman of the 35th ICANAS held in Budapest and the chairman of the Arabic Studies Section thereof in 1997. In 2002 he organised a conference on the theme “Paradise and Hell in Islam” in the town of Keszthely at Lake Balaton. On this occasion he also helped to bring into being an Islamic art exhibition on loan from the Tareq Rajab Museum of Kuwait which remained open for twelve years.

His attraction to the survival of ancient legends and beliefs in the Middle-East (Egypt included) was decisive in his scholarly work all his life. His main academic interests were, however, from his student days, magic and sorcery. One of his early articles was written about the evil eye in today’s Egypt and from here there remained only one step to the world of amulets, which remained his favourite theme. His first article in this field bears the title “Notes on an Arabic Amulet Scroll”. In the centre of his research work lay the study of popular religion in the Middle East in general and popular Islam in particular, with a special emphasis on Egypt and Mesopotamia. Moreover he studied with never ceasing interest the so called religious syncretism which was the subtitle of his first book which earned him the degree of PhD: *Arabic Legends on the Pyramids* (in Hungarian). In the field of Islamic divination he published several articles, among them a study with the textual edition of the *Malḥamat Dāniyāl*, and a long treatise on the connection between Arabic bowl divination and Greek magic papyri. His main scholarly endeavour in the field of studying popular religion was to demonstrate the identical features of Muslim, Christian and Jewish popular religions in the Middle East and to show the survival and continuity of ancient ideas and practices in the Islamic world. The main matter of interest and importance to him, however, was to give an idea about the birth, growth and degeneration of making amulets as far as the material, craftsmanship and complexity of the contents are concerned. In “The Rod of Moses in Arabic Magic”, for instance, he deals with certain Jewish elements in Arabic magic, by following the path of a popular Biblical motif until its full integration into Islam. To the scriptural sources he always connected his personal observations made in the Arab world. In the above article, for instance, he mentioned a Nubian house he had seen in the neighbourhood of Aswan with the Mosaic serpent on its entrance door. From the beginning of his scholarly research he emphasised the outstanding significance of the words inscribed on the magic objects to which the magic power is attributed not the objects themselves. He held that the use of names, sometimes unintelligible but always tending to be alliterative, is a basic characteristic of Arab magic.

Alexander Fodor did not only come to be an expert of international reputation on Islamic talismans and amulets, and especially talismanic charts and amulet

scrolls, but he also was the owner of one of the bulkiest collections of such material. When the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants held its 14th Congress in Budapest in 1988 on the central theme “Popular Culture in Islam”, this occasion gave him the opportunity to organise an exhibition from a part of his collection, about 400 pieces, of amulets, magical books and manuscripts, fear cups, censers and rosaries. His book under the title *Amulets from the Islamic World* represents best his collection.

Though he published a great number of significant articles, as is shown by his bibliography in the present volume, he was working on several topics in his last months which he could not finish and had held many lectures at various conferences which he planned to publish. All of his friends, colleagues and students were hit hard by his sudden death which is a great loss to Arabic and Islamic studies.

Budapest, on the 6th of November, 2016

Tamás Iványi

توطئه

أود أن أعبّر عن خالص شكري وتقديري وكذلك عرفاني للمستشرق المجري الراحل الأستاذ الدكتور شاندور فودر (Alexander Fodor)، ذلك الرجل الذي أسهم طيلة حياته في خدمة الدراسات العربية والإسلامية بعمل صادق ونية طيبة، فأسس جمعية الصداقة المجرية المصرية ببودابست، وكان لجهوده الأكاديمية والثقافية العظيمة أطيّب الأثر في مد جسور التواصل المعرفي والثقافي بين الشرق والغرب، ذلك التواصل القائم على البحث والدراسة والمعرفة. فاستحق بذلك وعن جدارة وسام الاستحقاق في الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية من جمهورية مصر العربية عام 2005م. كما حظي بتقدير واحترام دراسي الثقافة العربية الإسلامية في الشرق والغرب.

لقد تشرفت بالتعرف على شاندور فودر الأستاذ والمفكر والإنسان في عام 2009م بالقاهرة حينما قدمني إليه السيد/ بيتر جولدوش - السفير السلوفاكي السابق بالقاهرة - نظرا لاهتمام كلانا بحقل التصوف الإسلامي. وفي عام 2010م استضافني أكثر من مرة بشقته بقلب العاصمة المجرية بودابست - تلك الشقة التي يدهشك كل ما فيها من أساس وديكور شرقي كلاسيكي حتى تجعلك لا تصدق وأنت بداخلها أنك في قلب أوروبا! بل تصدق أنك في إحدى المدن العربية: القاهرة أو دمشق أو تونس ... - وفي تلك الأثناء تشرفت وسعدت أكثر بمعرفة العالم والإنسان: شاندور فودر.

نعم! إن الكلمات تقف عاجزة عن التعبير عن عمق مشاعري وحيي وتقديري واحترامي لهذا الرجل، وهنا تنطبق عبارة المتصوف الشهير عبد الجبار النفري (ت:354هـ/965م): "كلما اتسعت الرؤيا ضاقت العبارة"، حقا تتساقط الكلمات أمام تلك المشاعر الإنسانية التي أحملها بداخلي لهذا الرجل، الذي استحق بعلمه وعمله وتواضعه وفكره لقب أستاذ.

نعم لقد تعلمت الكثير والكثير من هذا الأستاذ، فاستمتعت معه بالنقاش الإنساني والفلسفي، هذا النقاش الذي كان يمتد أحيانا إلى ساعات نتناول خلالها قضايا متعددة في الفلسفة الإسلامية عامة والتصوف خاصة. وليس من قبيل المصادفة أننا سبق وأن ناقشنا معا فكرة هذه الدراسة - المهداة إليه - ويظهر بين ثنايا الدراسة مدى استفادتي من آرائه حتى في العنوان "دراسة نقدية" نظرا لما كان يتمتع به من عقلية نقدية تؤثر إيجابا على الحقل المعرفي في الثقافة العربية الإسلامية. علاوة على تركيزه الأساسي على مجال "التصوف" وهو المجال الفني الدقيق لهذه الدراسة البسيطة. كما أنه نصحني أيضا بالتركيز على المصادر الشفوية والقصصية في الأدب العربي قائلا بأهمية الأخذ في الاعتبار احتمالية أن يكون هناك مصادر شفوية - غير مدونة أو مكتوبة - لأقوال رابعة العدوية في التراث الإسلامي عامة، ولدى الصوفية في العصور الوسطى خاصة. علاوة على تأكيده على أهمية التساؤل الرئيسي لهذه الدراسة الذي وصفه قائلا: بأنه يمكن أن يشكل إعادة قراءة لحركة الزهد في الإسلام. كل هذه الأسباب هي التي دفعني لإهداء هذه الدراسة - على وجه التحديد - إلى روح شاندور فودر. ومهما كتبت من كلمات فإنها لن تفي هذا الرجل حقه، فهو لا يزال حاضر في حاضري وذاكرتي، ولا أستطيع أن أقول له وداعا يا صديقي العزيز، فهو الغائب الحاضر، والحاضر الغائب بحاضري وذكرياتتي..... وخالص شكري وتقديري لكل أصدقائه وزملائه الذين بذلوا الجهد الوفي لإخراج هذا الكتاب.

أحمد حسن أنور

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
SÁNDOR (ALEXANDER) FODOR'S PUBLICATIONS

- (1) "Chaires d'études orientales". *Annales – Sectio Philologia Moderna I*. Budapest (1969–70) 39–49.
- (2) "The Origins of the Arabic Sūrīd-Legend". *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* 96 (1970) 103–109.
- (3) "The Origins of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids". *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 23 (1970) 335–363.
- (4) "Az arab piramis-legendák eredete" [= No. 3 in Hungarian]. *Antik Tanulmányok* 17 (1970) 24–46.
- (5) *Arab legendák a piramisokról* [Arabic Legends on the Pyramids]. (Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971, 178 p.
- (6) "The Evil Eye in Today's Egypt". *Folia Orientalia* 13 (1971) 51–65.
- (7) "Kákosy László: Varázslás az ókori Egyiptomban" [Magic in Ancient Egypt] (Budapest, 1969) (Review)".
- (8) *Epigraphica Bulgarica (A volgai bolgár-török feliratok)*. *Studia Uralo-Altica* I. Szeged, 1973. (Together with András Róna-Tas).
- (9) "Notes on an Arabic Amulet Scroll". *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 27 (1973) 269–289.
- (10) "A gonosz szem a mai Egyiptomban" [= No. 6 in Hungarian]. *Keletkutatás* 73, 45–53. Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1973.
- (11) "Mózes botja az arab varázslásban" [= No. 26 in Hungarian]. *MIOK Évkönyv 1973/74*, 155–157. Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselőlete.
- (12) "Journal of Arabic Literature 1–2. (Review)". *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 27 (1973) 141.
- (13) "The Solar Bark in a Muhammadan Mi'rāj Text". *Studia Aegyptica I. Recueil de textes dédiés à V. Wessetzky*. Budapest (1974) 83–87.
- (14) "Malḥamat Dāniyāl". *The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. by Gy. Káldy-Nagy, 85–159. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1974.
- (15) "Szinkretizmus az iszlámban: Malḥamat Dāniyāl" [Syncretism in Islam: Malḥamat Dāniyāl]. *Keletkutatás* 74, 7–14. Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1974.
- (16) "Az Ezeregyéjszaka világa" [The World of the Thousand and One Nights]. *Élet és Tudomány* XXIX/28 (1974) 1299–1305.

- (17) “The Role of Fir‘awn in Popular Islam”. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1975) 238–240.
- (18) “Ádám könyve: Egy zsidó mágikus mű újonnan felfedezett arab változata” [The Book of Adam. A newly discovered Arabic version of a Jewish work on magic]. *MIOK Évkönyv 1975/76*, 79–92. Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete.
- (19) “The Metamorphosis of Imhotep – A Study in Islamic Syncretism”. *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft (Göttingen 1974)*, ed. by A. Dietrich, 155–181. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- (20) “Haram and Hermes: Origin of the Arab Word Meaning Pyramid”. *Studia Aegyptica* II. Budapest (1976) 157–167. (Together with László Fóti).
- (21) *Arab–magyar kishótár [Arabic–Hungarian Pocket Dictionary]*. Budapest: KKI, 1976, 460 p. (Together with Tamás Iványi).
- (22) “Dán Róbert: Humanizmus, reformáció, antitrinitarizmus és a héber nyelv Magyarországon” [Humanism, Reformation, Anti-Trinitarian Views and the Hebrew Language in Hungary]. Budapest, 1973. (Review)”. *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 31 (1977) 268–270.
- (23) “Mohamed, a próféták pecsétje. A Biblia és az iszlám” [Muhammad, the Seal of Prophets. The Bible and Islam]. *Beszélgetések a Bibliáról*, ed. by László Rapcsányi, 229–245. Budapest: RTV-Minerva, 1978.
- (24) “The Use of Psalms in Jewish and Christian Arabic Magic”. *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951–1976*, ed. by Éva Apor, 67–71. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1978.
- (25) “A zsoltárok felhasználása a zsidó és keresztény arab varázslásban” [= No. 24 in Hungarian]. *MIOK Évkönyv 1977/78*, 135–143. Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete.
- (26) “The Rod of Moses in Arabic Magic”. *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 32 (1978) 1–21.
- (27) *Magyar–arab kishótár [Hungarian–Arabic Pocket Dictionary]*. Budapest: KKI, 1976, 460 p. (Together with Tamás Iványi).
- (28) *Arab legendák a piramisokról. Szinkretizmus az iszlámban* [Arabic Legends on the Pyramids. Syncretism in Islam]. Dissertation defended at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. 1979, 251 p. [Unpublished].
- (29) “A piramisok az arab néphitben” [= No. 35 in Hungarian]. *MIOK Évkönyv 1983/84*, 95–109. Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete.
- (30) “Amuleti nella magia araba, copta ed ebraica”. *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei faraoni*, ed. by László Kákósy, 144–147. Modena : Panini, 1985.

- (31) "Alexander Scheiber (1913–1985)". *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 39 (1985) 366–368.
- (32) *Arab–magyar szótár [Arabic–Hungarian Dictionary]*. Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1988, xxxiv, 272 p. (Together with Tamás Iványi and Ernő Juhász).
- (33) *Magyar–arab szótár [Hungarian–Arabic Dictionary]*. Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1988, xi, 304 p. (Together with Tamás Iványi and Ernő Juhász).
- (34) *Az iszlám (források) [The Islam – sources]*. (*Keleti vallások*, 6.) Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1988, 47 p.
- (35) "The Pyramids in Arabic Folk Beliefs". *Occident and Orient: A Tribute to the Memory of A. Scheiber*, ed. by R. Dán, 155–165. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988.
- (36) "A Group of Iraqi Arm Amulets (Popular Islam in Mesopotamia)". *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (1987–88) 259–277.
- (37) *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 1 (1988). (Editor).
- (38) "A Popular Representation of Solomon in Islam". *The Arabist* 1 (1988) 43–56.
- (39) *Amulets from the Islamic World. The Arabist* 2 (1990), 192 p.
- (40) "Az Isis-kultusz nyomai az arab szerelmi varázslásban" [= No. 42 in Hungarian]. *Keletkutatás* (1991, Autumn) 16–31.
- (41) "Muszlim ünnepek" [Muslim Festivities]. *História* 14/10 (1992) 20–23.
- (42) "Traces of the Isis Cult in an Arabic Love Spell from Egypt". *Studia Aegyptica* 14 (1992) 171–186.
- (43) "Types of Shiite Amulets from Iraq". *Shi'a Islam, Sects and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious Practice and Methodological Considerations*, ed. by Frederick De Jong, 118–143. Utrecht: M. Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992.
- (44) "Hungary". *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, ed. by Geoffrey Roper, I, 387–394. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1992.
- (45) *Studies in Honour of Károly Czeglédy on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday. The Arabist* 8 (1994), 163 p. (Editor).
- (46) "Another Representation of Solomon in Popular Islam". *Studies in Honour of Károly Czeglédy on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday. The Arabist* 8 (1994) 1–7.
- (47) "Arabic Bowl Divination and the Greek Magical Papyri". *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Popular Customs and the Monotheistic Religions in the Middle East and North Africa. The Arabist* 9–10 (1994) 73–101.

- (48) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Popular Customs and the Monotheistic Religions in the Middle East and North Africa. The Arabist* 9–10 (1994), 385 p. (Editor, together with A. Shvitiel).
- (49) *Proceedings of the XIVth Congress of the UEAI. Part One: Philosophy, Theology, Popular Culture in Islam. The Arabist* 13–14 (1995), 341 p. (Editor).
- (50) *Proceedings of the XIVth Congress of the UEAI. Part Two: Linguistics, Literature, History. The Arabist* 15–16 (1995), 333 p. (Editor).
- (51) “Popular Religion and Politics in the Middle East: Miracles in Muslim and Coptic Egypt”. *Proceedings of the XIVth Congress of the UEAI. The Arabist* 13–14 (1995) 209–220.
- (52) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa (LEM). Part Two. The Arabist* 18 (1996), 175 p. (Editor, together with A. Shvitiel).
- (53) “Šūfī Magic – Graeco-Egyptian Magic”. *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa (LEM). Part Two. The Arabist* 18 (1996) 1–11.
- (54) “A Talismanic Chart in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait”. *Quaderni di Studi Arabi. Studi e Testi* 3 (1999) 93–111.
- (55) “Goldziher’s Abū Riš”. *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS). Part 2: Islam, Popular Religion and Culture, Islamic Law, History of Arabic Studies, History of Islamic Art. The Arabist* 21–22 (1999) 167–190.
- (56) *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 Two. The Arabist* 23–24 (1999), 300 p.
- (57) “Magical Bowls, Cosmology and Divination”. *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Budapest, 10–17 September 2000. Part Two. The Arabist* 26–27 (2003) 211–234.
- (58) *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Budapest, 10–17 September 2000. Part Two. Islam, Popular Culture in Islam, Islamic Art and Architecture. The Arabist* 26–27 (2003) vi, 322 p.
- (59) *The World of Islam: the Arts of the Islamic World from the Early 18th to the End of the 20th Century*. (Together with Jehan S. Rajab et al.) Keszthely: Helikon Castle Museum, 2002, 160 p.
- (60) *Az iszlám világa: az iszlám művészete a 18. század elejétől a 20. század végéig* [= No. 59 in Hungarian]. Keszthely: Helikon Kastélymúzeum, 2002, 160 p.

- (61) “The Rod of Moses in Arabic Magic”. *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (= *The Formation of the Classical World*, 42.), ed. by Emilie Savage-Smith, 103–123. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004. [Reprint of No. 26].
- (62) “Goldziher and Magic in Islam”. *Goldziher Memorial Conference, June 21–22, 2000* (= *Oriental Studies*, 12.), ed. by Éva Apor and István Ormos, 51–65. Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005.
- (63) “A magic bowl from India in the Tareq Rajab Museum”. *Sifting Sands, Reading Signs: Studies in Honour of Professor Géza Fehérvári*, ed. by Patricia L. Baker and Barbara Brend, 187–198. London: Furnace Publishing, 2006.
- (64) “An Arabic Version of *Sefer Ha-Razim*”. *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13.4 (2006) 412–427.
- (65) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Paradise and Hell in Islam: Keszthely, 7–14 July 2002, Part I.* = *The Arabist*, 28–29 (2008). (Editor, together with K. Dévényi).
- (66) *Sufism and Magic: Amulets from the Islamic World*. Keszthely: Helikon Castle Museum; Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2009, 160 p.
- (67) *Szűfizmus és mágia: amulettek az iszlám világából* [= No. 66 in Hungarian]. Keszthely: Helikon Kastélymúzeum; Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2009, 160 p.
- (68) *Fulfil the Needs of your Brother: Social Solidarity in Islam: Selected Works of Islamic Calligraphy from the Albaraka Collection = Segíts felebarátodon: társadalmi szolidaritás az iszlámban: iszlám kalligráfia: válogatás az Albaraka gyűjteményből.* (Joint author). Eger: [s.n.]; İstanbul: Albaraka Türk, 2011, 80 p.
- (69) *Letters and Words: Catalogue of the Exhibition of Egyptian Calligraphy held in Cairo in 2010*. Cairo: Balassi Institute, 2011. (Editor, together with I. Zimonyi and Salah Abd-al-Khaliq).
- (70) “An Arabic Version of ‘The Sword of Moses’”. *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, ed. by Gideon Bohak, Yuval Harari and Shaul Shaked, 341–386. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- (71) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Paradise and Hell in Islam: Keszthely, 7–14 July 2002, Part II.* = *The Arabist* 30 (2012). (Editor, together with K. Dévényi).
- (72) “A Magical Banner with the Representation of Paradise from the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait”. *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Paradise and Hell in Islam: Keszthely, 7–14 July 2002, Part II.* = *The Arabist* 30 (2012) 11–36, Plates II–VI.
- (73) “In Memoriam Fehérvári Géza (1926–2012). *Keletkutatás [Oriental Studies]* 2013. ősz (Autumn) 157–160. [In Hungarian]
- (74) “An Ottoman Magic Bowl from Istanbul”. *Ottoman Metalwork in the Balkans and in Hungary*, ed. by Ibolya Gerelyes and Maximilian Hartmuth, 59–78. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2015.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON HUMOUR IN ISLAMIC CULTURE

Francesca M. Corrao

LUISS University Rome

“And that it is He who makes (men) laugh
and makes (them) weep; and that it is
He who causes death and gives life”
(*Qur’ān* 53: 43–44)

To remind the importance of humour in Islam, even if in a short article, after the terrorist attack to the satirical magazine *Charlie Eβδο* in Paris, might help driving away some clouds of misunderstanding. It is not an easy task but I felt the need to dedicate to the memory of the dear colleague Alexander Fodor some observations on a topic dear to both of us.

With the above quotation from the *Qur’ān*, al-Ġāhiz emphasizes the degree of consideration God has given to laughter, relating it to life as the opposite to death; furthermore he adds that smiling is a child’s first beautiful expression which makes his/her blood richer with joy and strength (al-Ġāhiz, *Buḥalā’* 9). This is one of the earliest observations made upon humour in Islamic literature. No precise definition was given, even though the origin and the cause of laughter were problems that interested physicians and philosophers (Rosenthal 1956:132–8).

Among the many definitions applying to laughter, the most common connects laughing with the relief felt at the momentary withdrawal of one of the many restrictions which the physical and social environment imposes upon men.

Al-Ġāhiz in his foreword to his *Kitāb al-Buḥalā’*, explains that he collects anecdotes and short stories to amuse his readers while informing them on various aspects of knowledge and exposing the mistakes by which misers betray themselves (al-Ġāhiz, *Buḥalā’* 3). Not far from these observations are the reasons given by Ibn al-Ġawzī in the introduction to his *Aḥbār al-ḥamqā wa-l-muġaffalīn* (Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Aḥbār al-ḥamqā* 5–10) to justify his writing of it. Firstly, he states that a fool’s stories cause intelligent people to give thanks to God that they are not made so; secondly, it might put some people on guard against foolishness; thirdly, humour serves as a natural relaxation and to this

purpose is supported by many sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad and the early Muslims.

Arabic literature is richly provided with such humorous collections and the very content of *adab* works is to a large extent made up of amusing stories which have been greatly enjoyed by Arab readers (al-Ḥūfī 1956:12–21).

The earliest materials of Muslim humour belonged to the oral tradition and were only later recorded in anthologies of proverbs and anecdotes. It was during the 3rd/9th century that monographs dealing with humorists were written, although none (of them) is preserved in its original form. Muḥammad ibn an-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* informed us of the most famous titles and names. It contains two rather long lists of anonymous monographs dealing with humourists: Abū š-Šaʿb al-Maḥzūmī, Ibn Aḥmar, Damdam al-Madaynī and others. The immediately following list deals with anecdotes about fools that were collected by unknown authors, the names of the fools are: Ğuḥā, Sawrah the bedouin, Ibn al-Mawṣilī, Abū Alqama and many others that are unidentified. It should be added that the *Fihrist* does not mention other famous humourists as Ašʿab, for instance, whose stories still enjoy a certain popularity but only in the literary field (Rosenthal 1956:17–27). Among these the only one whose fame has survived both in oral and written tradition is Ğuḥā, the protagonist of the sly humorous anecdotes so widely known both in the East and the West. A large number of humorous tales from Arabic literature were translated and spread throughout Europe during the Arab dominion over Spain and Sicily, among these there were Ğuḥā's anecdotes (Corrao 1991:20–3; Makkī 1970:70–90). His stories are still enjoyed by both western and eastern public and are spread throughout printed literature and cartoons.

Ğuḥā is a hero common in the Mediterranean folklore, his anecdotes share various features, but here I will confine my attention to the theme of the fight against the abuse of power and the relationship with the sacred.

The presence of certain themes, known since the pre-Islamic age, is common both in the tales of Ğuḥā, the Sicilian Giufà (Corrao 1994), and also the Turkish Nasreddin Hoca. The poor fool who puts the powerful wise man in difficulty already appeared in Mediterranean collective imaginings in the *Dyalogo tra Salomone e Marcolfo* (5th cent.). To these stories Giulio Cesare Croce and Alessandro Banchieri made reference in their *Bertoldo, Bertoldino and Cacasenno*, an Italian Ğuḥā's stereotype, Bertoldo, whose heritage is perpetrated by his son and his nephew (Croce & Banchieri 1973). Transgression is a characteristic feature of the tales of the fool. In the various traditions of Mediterranean folklore, however, the fool also turns out to be crafty, and the Turkish one in particular, more often than not, shows true wisdom.

Faced with authority, as in the tales of Ğuḥā with Abū Muslim (700–755), the Caliph al-Mahdī (754–785), or Nasreddin Hoca with the terrible Timur (historically known as Tamerlane 1336–1405), folly becomes a peculiar weapon of defence (Anselmi 2000:236–8; Marzolph 1996c). In the Islamic tradition there was a general need to give historical evidence to the heroes of pre-Islamic folklore; for this reason, in some stories the fool meets a powerful personality.

Although Ğuḥā is not a historical person, az-Zabīdī in his *Tāğ al-‘arūs min ġawāhir al-qāmūs* wrote that his mother was the servant of Anas b. Mālik (612–709) and most stories which he is a hero of are ill-founded and that the people were asking God to allow them to profit from Ğuḥā’s blessing (al-Zabīdī, *Tāğ al-‘arūs*, s.v. “Ğuḥā”). We find at other Arab and Turkish scholars the same interest to prove the historical existence of Ğuḥā or Nasreddin. For Alessandro Bausani it is a peculiar attitude of early Muslim authors willing to cancel the pre-Islamic origins of folktales, but the debate is still going on until today¹. It is worth noticing that al-Ġāḥiz explained the use of introducing a well known person as a literary device to give credibility to what had been said (al-Ġāḥiz, *Buḥalā’* 9). Furthermore, to associate the trickster with a historical person who actually existed is expedient to mythologize people and events.

It was on the strength of Ğuḥā as the weak rebel that in the 1970s various Arab and Turkish scholars saw him as a popular hero serving as a safety valve, affording justice to the poor against the oppression of the powerful (Nağğār 1979:113–38; Gürsoy 1977:174–7).

The wise man is also a fool and at the same time a cunning rogue able to use this ambiguous attitude to express common people’s critical attitude towards human faults and the abuse of power as shown from the following anecdotes:

“Abū Muslim, the lord of the country, while visiting Kūfa asked the people around him:

— Who of you knows Ğuḥā and can fetch him for me?

Yaqṭīn said:

— I do.

And called him. When Ğuḥā entered the assembly, there where only Abū Muslim and Yaqṭīn, and Ğuḥā asked:

¹ Ğuḥā’s name, according to ad-Damīrī (1341–1405), a Šāfi‘ī jurist, in his *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, was Dağīn b. Tābit Abū l-Ġusn al-Yarbū‘ī al-Baṣrī; cf. Corrao 1991:19–23. We still find on line the defence of Ğuḥā’s seriousness, see <http://salaf-us-saalih.com/2013/09/15/juha-was-from-the-tabieen-not-a-cartoon-character-so-preserve-his-honor-explained-by-shaykh-muhammad-al-wasaabi/>. (Last opened 13 April 2015). Cf. also Marzolph 1996b.

— Oh Yaqtīn, which of you two is Abū Muslim?” (al-Maydānī, *Mağma‘ al-amṭāl* 396).

In another anecdote where he appears with al- Maḥdī we read:

“The Maḥdī wanted to mock him (Ĝuḥā) and sent for a leather mat (used in former times for executions) and a sword, Ĝuḥā stuck his neck out and warned the executioner:

— Do be careful! Do not hit my cupping-glass with the sword because I have already asked for a cupping!

The Maḥdī laughed and forgave him” (Ibn al-Ĝawzī, *Aḥbār al-ḥamqā* 27).

Ĝuḥā’s anecdotes were so famous that prestigious authors used to rephrase some of them in a more sophisticated and elegant style in order to amuse an educated public. This is the case of the *Maqāma* of Badī‘ az-Zamān al-Ḥamadānī (969–1007). As for Ibn Dāniyāl (1248–1310), Ĝuḥā is mentioned for his being fool and ambiguous (Corrao 1996b:24–5; cf. Corrao 1996a, 1998 and 2002). Satire often spreads when there is no freedom of expression hence some stories criticize the decadence of justice and the hero champions the people’s need for justice. As an example I will recall Ĝuḥā’s anecdote rephrased by al-Ḥamadānī in his *al-Maqāma al-ḥamriyya* where the hero is Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī. The story tells that Ĝuḥā/Abū l-Faṭḥ stole the *ḡubba* of a judge who was lying drunk in the fields. When the theft was discovered and the thief brought in front of the judge, Ĝuḥā/Abū l-Faṭḥ said he could prove that the *ḡubba* belonged to a drunkard, and the judge set him free (‘Abd al-Ḥamīd 1979:415–437).

Here Ĝuḥā is mocking the judge who pretends to be serious and upright while he is not; it is also evident that the story denounces a general moral corruption. Satire makes people laugh at what is considered to be an acquired value; it reminds us that values have been established to organize human society that would be in a total state of chaos otherwise, but this does not mean that such values must be considered eternal or sacred. Ĝuḥā infringes upon these values and laughs at them, but he is not a rebel; his infringement is unintentional – he is a fool and he cannot understand the real meaning of it. In fact, he makes the Sultan laugh. Ĝuḥā expresses, through paradoxes, contradictions that are deep within us and that we often disclose through our behaviour in the social gambit.

The anecdotes are affected by the nature of the social and linguistic peculiarities of the land where they are current, and by the laps of the years and their accompanying historic change. Few centuries later, when the Turks replaced the Arabs in the rule of the region, we find Ĝuḥā’s anecdotes attributed to Nasreddin Hoca with new adventures showing the trickster with the powerful

Tamerlane. The following anecdote demonstrates that the relation between the fool and the powerful man remained unchanged.

It is reported that Nasreddin gained the favour of the ruler because of his boldness, and here he bravely answers to Tamerlane question:

— ... Am I just or unjust? ...

Nasreddin Hoca answered to him:

— You are not a just king, nor an unjust tyrant, for it is we who are unjust, and you are the sword of justice that the One, the Subduer (God), has set up as overlord over the unjust (Nağğār 1979:113).

There are no historical reports that the two men ever met, the role of the trickster is not one of political mediator between the tyrant and the oppressed people. Here the hero, to avoid persecution, is cunningly accusing the poor faith of the people to justify the cruel behaviour of the ruler. Nasreddin's boldness is not typical of an epic hero, rather responds to the technique of the satirical use of paradox. It is interesting to notice that almost a century earlier the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) had fought against the Mongols because of their corrupted faith, he believed that among the causes of Islamic decay there was the spread of un-Islamic practices (Michot 2012). For the same reason he was also criticizing some Ṣūfī orders when he believed them to be influenced by un-Islamic beliefs.

The fact that Nasreddin is considered to be a Ṣūfī in the Turkish tradition is an opportunity to show how different the Ḥanbalī and the Ṣūfī critical attitudes toward corruption are. It is worth mentioning the mystical understanding of the above mentioned anecdote, where the two oppositions, good versus evil, are solved on a higher level, which lies according to Nasreddin's moral in the will of the "One, the Subduer (God)". Furthermore it is worth recalling that Ğalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273) used paradoxes to explain his mystical understanding of life. In addition, he also used to mention Nasreddin Hoca's anecdotes (Corrao 1991:25–6). On the meaning of the struggle to survive Rūmī wrote an interesting passage useful for a deeper understanding of the conflict between the poor and the tyrant:

“... for the longing for God and considering of life as a constant struggle in which the fighter should never relent, even for a single hour; for pain is the road to pleasure, and weeping the cause of laughter” (Tamer 1973:172–3).

To conclude, these anecdotes have crossed the borders of time and space thus making evident the universal nature of their satire. Ğuḥā/Nasreddin and the

Sicilian Giufà have always embodied eternal human contradictions setting up good versus evil, nature versus culture. Our hero is ambivalent and that is what made him adaptable to different cultures. Ğuhā's anecdotes, in their modest frame, combine the mystical wisdom of Islam and the sturdy wit of the Arabs in a particular Mediterranean way that highlights their universal values

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

- Croce, Giulio Cesare and Alessandro Banchieri, *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno*. Milano: Mursia, 1973.
- ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* = Abū l-Baqā' Kamāl ad-Dīn b. Mūsā ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*. Ed. by Ḥasan al-Hādī Ḥusayn. Cairo: Ṣubayḥ, 1274 [1857/8].
- al-Ġāḥiz, *al-Buḥalā'* = Abū 'Uṭmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Ġāḥiz, *Kitāb al-Buḥalā'*. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1951.
- Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Aḥbār al-ḥamqā* = Abū l-Faraġ 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Aḥbār al-ḥamqā wa-l-muġaffalīn*. Damascus: al-Ġazālī, 1925.
- Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* = Abū l-Faraġ Muḥammad ibn Ishāq an-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. = *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, ed. and transl. by Bayard Dodge. Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1989.
- al-Maydānī. *Maġma' al-amṭāl* = Abū Faḍl Aḥmad b. Ibrāḥīm al-Maydānī, *Maġma' al-amṭāl*. 4 vols. Cairo 1955.
- al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-'arūs* = Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-'arūs min ḡawāḥir al-Qāmūs*. Ed. by 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāġ *et al.* Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' at-Turāṭ al-'Arabī.

B. Secondary sources

- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Muḥammad Muḥyī d-Dīn. 1979. *Šarḥ Maqāmāt Badī' az-Zamān al-Ḥamadānī*. Beirut.
- Anselmi, Gian Mario, ed. 2000. *Mappe della letteratura europea e mediterranea. Dal Barocco all'Ottocento*. Milano: Mondadori.
- Corrao, Francesca Maria. 1991. *Giufà: il furbo, lo sciocco, il saggio*. Milano: Mondadori.
- _____. 1994. "The Infraction of the Religious Codes in the Mediterranean Folk Literature: The Case of the Islamic Ğuhā and the Sicilian Giufà". *The Arabist* 9–10.283–293.

- _____. 1996a. *Il riso, il comico e la festa al Cairo nel XIII secolo – Il teatro delle ombre di Ibn Dāniyāl*. Roma: Istituto per l’Oriente C. A. Nallino.
- _____. 1996b. “Laughter Festival and Rebirth. Ibn Dāniyāl’s Shadow Plays, an Example of Cultural Tolerance in the Early Mamlūk Age”. *The Arabist* 18. 13–28.
- _____. 1997. “Quelques observations en marge des recherches sur la littérature ‘populaire’ arabe ». *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the UEAI*. 46–61. San Peterburg: Thesa.
- _____. 1998. “The Culture of Laughter and the Anti-Heroes in Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Tayf al-Khayāl* (XIII cent.)”. *Philosophy and Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. by U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet, 123–134. Leuven: Peeters.
- _____. 1993. “I paradigmi della stupidità: *humq* e *hamqā* nella letteratura d’*adab*”. *Annali Cà Foscari* 24.83–95.
- Gürsoy, Sevin. 1977. “Nasreddin Hoca’nin düşünce sistemi” [Nasreddin Hodja’s way of thinking], in: *Uluslararası Yunus Emre, Nasreddin Hoca, Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey ve Türk Dili Semineri bildirileri*. Konya: Mevlâna Enstitüsü.
- al-Ḥūfī, Aḥmad. 1956. *Al-fukāha fī l-adab*. Cairo: Maktabat Naḥḍa Mişriyya.
- Makkī, Maḥmūd ‘Alī. 1970. “Fī l-adab”, in *Ātār al-‘arab wa-l-islām fī n-nahḍa l-urubiyya*. Cairo: al-Hay’a l-Mişriyya l-‘Āmma li-t-Ta’lif wa-n-Naşr.
- Marzolph, Ulrich. 1996c. *Timur’s Humorous Antagonist, Nasreddin Hoca*, 485–498. Roma: Istituto per l’Oriente C.A. Nallino.
- Michot, Yahya. 2012. “Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328)”, in: *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, ed. by Gerhard Bowering *et al.*, 238–241. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Nağğār, Muhammad Rağab. *Ğuḥā al-‘arabī*. Kuwait: al-Mağlis al-Waṭanī li-t-Taqāfa wa-l-Funūn wa-l-Adab, 1979.
- Rosenthal, Franz. 1956. *Humor in Early Islam*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Tamer, Aref. 1973. “Sufism in the Art of Idries Shah”, in: *Sufi Studies East and West*, ed. by W.L.F. Rushbrook. New York: Dutton.

**MANUSCRIPTS OF *EN'ĀM-I ŞERİF*
IN THE ORIENTAL COLLECTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE
HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

Kinga Dévényi

Budapest

1. Introduction

One of the last, unfinished projects of Alexander Fodor was the description and examination of an Ottoman amulet scroll found during the excavations in the Castle of Buda several years ago.¹ While working on this topic, he wished to inspect a well-known group of prayer manuals, known as *En'ām-i şerīf*, copies of which are found in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was hoping to spend some time studying these manuscripts during the autumn of 2014. The following contribution is a tribute to his unrealized intent.

2. The *En'ām-i şerīf*

Several recent publications highlighted the importance of *En'ām-i şerīf*, a special genre of Ottoman devotional literature, and treated the choice of its texts and imagery.² The present article wishes to describe the copies preserved in the Oriental Collection and to compare their contents with those of other prayer books there and the Ottoman scroll A. Fodor had intended to edit.

The only comprehensive analysis of Muslim prayer-manuals in common use was conducted by Constance E. Padwick.³ Her analysis, however, was based on various types of printed prayer books in common circulation during her time.

¹ A few sketchy paragraphs and the slides of a presentation entitled *An Arabic Amulet Scroll from the Castle of Ottoman Buda* in A. Fodor's legacy attest to his interest. The place and date of his presentation could not have been ascertained. The paper scroll, measuring 160 cm in length and 4 cm in width, was found in an octagonal amulet case made of bronze.

² Cf. especially the unpublished PhD dissertation of Bain (1999), and the studies of Bain (2001), Gruber (2010), and Witkam (2010).

³ See Padwick 1961.

These are, on the one hand, much later than the manuscripts in the Library of the Academy, while on the other hand, she seems not to have studied manuals from Central Asia, the place of origin of several manuscripts treated here. In addition, the authorship of the prayer books included in Padwick's selection is generally ascribed to a famous person. This is not the case of the *En'ām-i şerīf*, which contains a specific selection of Qur'ānic verses, supplemented by some additional material. Some other prayer books in the collection, however, are attributed to known authors.

The recitation of *Sūrat al-An'ām*, the sixth chapter of the Qur'ān, is considered highly beneficial. Both Sunnī and Šī'ī *ḥadīṭ* collections contain reports to its special revelation in its entirety, make references to the angels who brought it down and to its healing function.⁴ In addition to rare manuscripts that contain only this chapter,⁵ it is much more common to find copies of manuscripts where this *Sūra* is supplemented by some other, shorter chapters which are usually recited together with *Sūrat al-An'ām*, since they are all considered having apotropaic or curing function.

3. The Muslim prayer books in the Library

3.1 An overview

Although the number of hand written Muslim prayer books⁶ in the Library's collection of Arabic manuscripts is small, they present a diverse picture.⁷

- From among these volumes, the earliest dated piece (Arab O. 074) is a mystical litany by al-Qārī' al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605), the Ḥanafī jurist of Herāt, entitled *al-Ḥizb al-a'zam wa-l-wird al-afḥam*. It was copied by Muṣṭafā aṭ-Ṭirawī on 1 Dū l-Qa'da 1103 [14 July 1692].

⁴ On the circumstances of the revelation of this Chapter together with an abundant quotation of the relevant Sunnī and Šī'ī traditions, see aš-Šawkānī, *Fath* 407.

⁵ For an exquisite example, see Derman 1998:48–49, copied by the famous Ottoman calligrapher, Şeyh Hamdullah (833–926/1429–1520).

⁶ Our research is limited to the Arabic manuscripts. In addition to these, there are four prayers of one folio and nine prayer books and mystical litanies of various lengths among the Turkish manuscripts in the Library's collection. For their description, see Parlatur *et al.* 2007:57–63.

⁷ For further information on the Arabic manuscripts in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, see Dévényi *et al.* 2016.

- These manuscripts also include two 18th century copies of *Dalā'īl al-ḥayrāt*,⁸ the celebrated mystical prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad by Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Ġazūlī (d. 870/1465) of Morocco.
- In addition, there are two manuscripts of *En'ām-i şerīf*. One of these (Arab O. 041) was copied by 'Alī Badr Mādarīn, a disciple of as-Sayyid Darwīš Yūsuf. This manuscript is dated 2 Dū l-ḥiġġa 1147 [25 April 1735], while the other (Arab O. 036) was copied only two years later, in 1149/1736–37 by an unnamed person.
- Four more volumes can be added to the five manuscripts mentioned above. From among these, two undated, probably 18th century manuscripts (Arab O. 046 and Arab O. 048) belong to a specific Central Asian selection of the Qur'ān, known as *Haftiyak-i šarīf*.⁹ These collections, used in the traditional elementary religious education of that region, contain a carefully selected group of easily memorisable, short chapters of the Qur'ān which were usually supplemented by various prayers (*du'ā'*). The selection of the *sūras* centred around five invariable elements (the so-called *panġ sūras*): 36 (*Yā-Sīn*), 48 (*al-Faḥ*), 55 (*ar-Raḥmān*), 56 (*al-Wāqī 'a*), and 78 (*an-Naba'*) to which several others were added. This selection, however, never seems to have included *Sūrat al-An'ām* which sets it aside from the manuscripts of *En'ām-i şerīf*, used primarily in personal devotion and not in religious education. The remaining two volumes (Arab O. 018 and Arab O. 040) are undated prayer books which do not fall into any of the above categories. They both contain a selection of Qur'ānic passages followed by various other texts in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish.
- To the nine manuscripts listed above two undated collections may be added. The first one (Arab O. 047) is a composite volume containing five parts. (1) A selection of *ḥadīṭ qudsī* by al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) with a mystical intent (ff. 1r–55v); (2) *Munāġāt Rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-sallam* (ff. 56r–73v); (3) a Şūfī collection of prayers (ff. 74r–93v) that mainly contains texts used by the Şādīliyya order in addition to the basic text of the Ḥalwatī order, i.e. *Wird as-Sattār* by Sayyidī Yahyā al-Bākūbī aš-Şirwānī, d. 869/1458; (4) an anonymous

⁸ These are Arab O. 050, copied by a certain Ibrāhīm ibn al-ḥāġġ 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ḥumaydī for his personal use on 22 Ramaḍān 1146 [25 February 1734] and Arab O. 054, which was made by a certain Ibrāhīm al-Adhamī in 1166/1753.

⁹ On the peculiarities of these collections, see Togan 1939:168–169, Exk. § 50a and Efthymiou 2015:6–7.

epistle in Ottoman Turkish on Šūfī prescriptions from the Naqšbandī order, as well as advice on pious and mystical practices; and (5) an anonymous and undated collection of morning prayers (*Wird ṣubḥ*). The second collection of texts (Arab O. 051) is of slightly different kind, since it is an undated fragment (pp. 181–518) of a ritual textbook of the Mīrganiyya Šūfī order.¹⁰

3.2 Comparison of select items

Our further analysis will exclude those compositions which either have named authors (Arab O. 050, 054, 070) or belong to a Šūfī order (Arab O. 047, 051). In addition to the two unspecified prayer books (Arab O. 018, 040), only the manuscripts of *En'ām-i šerīf* (Arab O. 036, 041) and *Haftiyak-i šarīf* (Arab O. 046, 048) will be analysed.

The following table contains a comparison of the contents of the common elements of these six prayer books. In addition to the recurrent Qur'ānic passages, divine attributes, descriptions and names of the Prophet, the manuscripts also contain several additional texts which are uniquely found in only one manuscript.¹¹

	<i>En'ām-i šerīf</i>		<i>Haftiyak-i šarīf</i>		<i>Ad'iya</i>	
	O. 036	O. 041	O. 046	O. 048	O. 018	O. 040
Q. 1		x	x		x	
Q. 6	x	x				
<i>Q. 36</i> ¹²	x	x	x	x	x	x
Q. 44	x	x	x			
<i>Q. 48</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
Q. 50	x	x				
Q. 53		x				
<i>Q. 55</i>	x	x	x	x	x	
<i>Q. 56</i>	x	x	x	x	x	
Q. 67	x	x	x	x	x	x

¹⁰ For its contents in detail, see Dévényi *et al.* 2016:223–226. It is important to mention, however, that among many other religious poems, it also contains the text of *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* by al-Būšīrī (d. 694/1296).

¹¹ These unique texts are not listed in the table, but their number is mentioned in the last line of the table, and their contents are also listed after it.

¹² Numbers in italics indicate those easily memorisable five chapters (*pañḡ sūras*) of the Qur'ān which form the core contents of the manuscripts of *Haftiyak-i šarīf*.

	O. 036	O. 041	O. 046	O. 048	O. 018	O. 040
Q. 68–77						x
Q. 78	x	x	x	x	x	x
Q. 79–92						x
Q. 93				x		x
Q. 94			x			x
Q. 95				x		x
Q. 96				x		x
Q. 97			x	x		x
Q. 98				x		x
Q. 99				x		x
Q. 100				x		x
Q. 101				x		x
Q. 102				x		x
Q. 103			x	x		x
Q. 105			x	x		x
Q. 106–109						x
Q. 110			x	x		x
Q. 111			x	x		x
Q. 112	x	x	x	x	x	x
Q. 113	x	x	x	x	x	x
Q. 114	x	x	x	x	x	x
Q. 1	x			x	x	x
Q. 2 (1-5)			x	x	x	x
Q. 2 (255)						x
99 names of God	x	x	x		x	x
99 names of Muḥammad	x	x	x		x	
description of M.	x	x	x		x	x
description of the first four caliphs		x	x			x
number of unique texts	4	1	10	19	16	5

The unique texts in one of the *En‘ām-i şerīf* manuscripts (O. 036) include: (1) the benefit of the Prophet’s names and the names of the Seven Sleepers (*aşhāb al-kahf*) in Ottoman Turkish; (2) prescriptions concerning rituals and praying related to the Meccan pilgrimage in Ottoman Turkish with inserted prayers in Arabic; (3) a prayer before meals (*du‘ā’ ta‘ām*) in Arabic; (4) a recipe and a prayer for healing in Ottoman Turkish. In the other *En‘ām-i şerīf* manuscript (O. 041), only a few supplementary instructions on prayer can be found. These are in Ottoman Turkish and include the text of the prayers and *tasbīh* formulas in Arabic.¹³

In O. 046, a manuscript of *Haftiyak-i şarīf*, the additional texts include further Qur’ānic verses with special apotropaic and curing effects, and different prayers in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish. In the other manuscript of *Haftiyak-i şarīf* (O. 048), the additional texts are also for the most part different prayers in case of various illnesses in Arabic together with their commentary in Ottoman Turkish.¹⁴

In the prayer book O. 018, the pages following the core part of the manuscript contain several prayers in Arabic for various occasions, like e.g. eating, breaking the fast, wedding. In addition, this volume also contains several simple drawings, like those of the Banner of Gratitude (*liwā’ al-ḥamd*), *Ḍū l-fiqār*, the famous double-edged sword of ‘Alī, and a heart for a cure. The manuscript ends with various magical notes in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish. Ms O. 040 contains only a few additional prayers in Arabic with their comments in Ottoman Turkish. It includes, however, the image of the Seal of the Prophet.¹⁵

4. The Ottoman amulet scroll as compared to the manuscripts

4.1 An overview

The Ottoman amulet found in the Castle of Buda contains six panels:¹⁶

- a cypress tree;
- the popular description of Prophet Muḥammad (*Hilye-i şerīf*);
- the seal of Solomon (*Muhr Sulaymān*) together with Q 27:30–31;
- the seal of prophethood (*Muhr nubuwwa*);
- the seal of ‘Alī (*Muhr ‘Alī*);
- *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1296)

¹³ Cf. Dévényi *et al.* 2016:199–200 and 202.

¹⁴ For their detailed description, see Dévényi *et al.* 2016:204–205, and 208–209.

¹⁵ For a detailed description of all these additional texts, see Dévényi *et al.* 2016:210–211, and 216.

¹⁶ The description is based on A. Fodor’s sketches for his presentation, cf. fn 1 above.

It is the centrality of the prophet Muḥammad which connects the amulet and the prayer books. The sections of the amulet show clearly that the Prophet Muḥammad stands in its focus, in addition to whom only Solomon and ʿAlī are mentioned. Love for the Prophet and his veneration have been in the centre of Islamic piety and devotion.¹⁷ In addition to the contents of the amulet, this is also aptly shown by the contents of the pocket-size, embellished prayer manuals.

4.2 The cypress tree

None of the manuscripts contain images of a cypress tree, but it is no wonder, since these manuscripts contain only a few illustrations which will be described later.¹⁸ The lack of the representation of cypresses in these manuscripts does not mean that similar manuscripts and other artefacts did not contain this element. On the contrary, cypresses are used as decorations of buildings,¹⁹ and as accompanying visual elements of the Prophet's description (*Hilye-i şerîf*).²⁰ In the scroll, the cypress tree stands on a small mound, against a background with foliate decoration in gold.

¹⁷ On Muḥammad's role in Islamic piety, see primarily Andrae 1918 and Schimmel 1985. The expression of this love has been formulated in a number of ways from the popular celebrations of Muḥammad's birthday (cf. e.g. Kaptein 1993) to poetry (cf. e.g. Asani and Abdel-Malek 1995) and first and foremost in the prayer manuals (cf. Padwick 1961: esp. 137ff.).

¹⁸ Bain (1999:129) found no representational or architectural images in the manuscripts of *En'ām-i şerîf* before 1170/1757, the date of ms OR 4251 of the British Museum. She (1999:130) considers the proliferation of images to be a sign of Sunnī reaction to the emerging Wahhābī fundamentalism. By the end of the 18th century, however, images of Mecca and Medina were also sometimes added to the manuscripts, in addition to other, devotional images. See, e.g. Derman 1998:92–93.

¹⁹ Among others, cypresses adorn the facade of al-Azhar Mosque built in 1753 and can also be found on the 17th century Iznik style tiles in Cairo's so-called Blue Mosque, also known as Ğāmi' Ibrāhīm Āgā – with reference to its 18th century renovator –, or Ğāmi' Āq Sunqur – with reference to the emir who founded it in the 8th/14th century. Cf. <https://www.wmf.org/project/jama%E2%80%99-al-aqsunqur-blue-mosque> where a part of the cypress tiles can be seen.

²⁰ See, e.g. the *hilye* from 1749 by Esmā İret Hanım (calligrapher) and Mehmet Şevki (illuminator) in the Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art No. 2763, quoted by Uludas and Adiloğlu 2011:59.

4.3 The popular description of Prophet Muḥammad (*Hilye-i şerîf*)

It was the famous Ottoman calligrapher, Hafiz Osman (d. 1698) who established the custom of designing illuminated paper or sometimes wooden boards containing calligraphies of the physical description of Prophet Muḥammad. The text of the *hilye*, which until his time continued to be copied in *nashî* script, in an unassuming style, due to his efforts became associated with a fixed graphic form, which, however, lent itself to some variations. He defined ten sections (Fig. 1): (1) “head station” for the *bismillāh*; (2) the “belly” for the beginning of the *hilye* text; (3) the crescent – if present, it represents the moon, while the “belly” stands for the sun; (4–7) the four corners – usually occupied by four names; these can be the names of the four rightly guided caliphs, or four names of Muḥammad (Aḥmad, Maḥmūd, Hāmid and Ḥamīd) from among his *asmā’ aš-šarīfa*, etc.; (8) is set aside for a Qur’ānic verse in connection with Muḥammad (like Q 21:107, Q 68:4, or Q 48:28–29); (9) the lower part, which usually contains the end of the *hilye* text together with a prayer for the Prophet; this part might also include the calligrapher’s signature; (10–11) empty spaces which may be illuminated.²¹

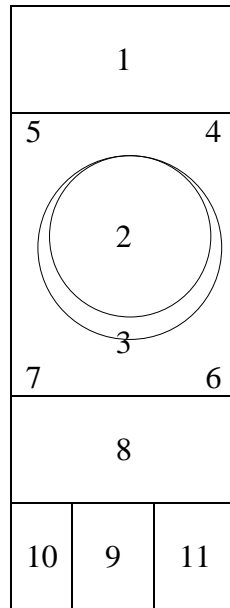


Fig. 1. The schematic arrangement of a *hilye*

²¹ For a detailed description of *hilyeler*, see Derman 1998:34–37. Cf. also Behiery 2014.

The various texts usually take their origin in *ḥadīṭ*. There are several descriptions of the Prophet, one is attributed to Hind ibn Abī Hāla,²² while another one is going back to ‘Alī. The texts in our manuscripts are based on this latter version, which is mentioned with negligible variations by at-Tirmidī²³ and Ibn Hišām.²⁴

In the scroll, the description of the Prophet is arranged in 30 squares. This is similar to the arrangement of the divine names and that of the Prophet in several manuscripts.

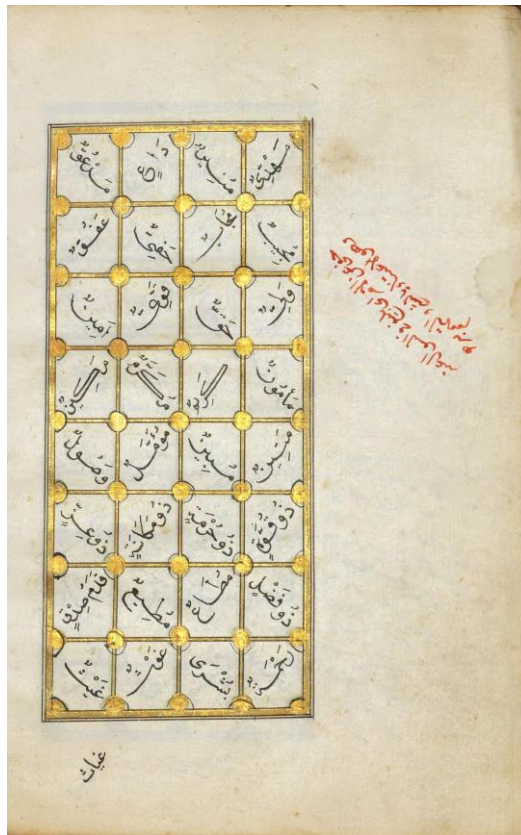


Fig. 2. The names of the Prophet Muḥammad, Arab O. 050, f. 9v

²² Cf. al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘gam al-kabīr*, Vol. 25, No. 29.

²³ at-Tirmidī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-Manāqib, Bāb mā ḡā’ a fī šifat an-Nabī*, No. 3638, where he mentions that this a report the chain of which is not continuous (“*ḥādā ḥadīṭ laysa isnāduhu bi-muttaṣil*”).

²⁴ Ibn Hišām, *Sīra*, II, 51-52.

In the present collection, the following instances can be found of a similar arrangement of these names: Arab O. 050 (*Dalāʿil al-ḥayrāt*) the names of the Prophet (ff. 8v-11v),²⁵ Arab O. 046 (*Haftiyak-i šarīf*, ff. 36v-41v), and Arab O. 041 (*Enʿām-i šerīf*). In the last manuscript, the divine names are placed in golden squares (ff. 55v-57r), but the names of Muḥammad are listed in a tabular format with golden dots used as dividers (ff. 57r-58r).²⁶

The manuscripts generally contain only the central part of the *hilye* boards. Their overall quality influences the rendering of the Prophet's description. Irrespective of the style of the writing, the text is always fully dotted and vowelled.

In O. 036 (ff. 60v-61r) the text is written in two golden crescents (one per page) surrounding the sun. Their background is filled with a blue flower motif. The characteristic traits of the Prophet are divided by golden circles. The crescents are enclosed in golden frames which – in addition to the central part – also contain a head station and a section at the bottom set aside for a Qurʾānic verse or a *ḥadīth* in connection with Muḥammad. These contain the following texts:

f. 60v: head station: *bismillāh ar-raḥmān ar-raḥīm*

f. 60v: bottom part: *wa-mā arsalnāka illā raḥmatan li-l-ʿālamīn* (Q. 21:107)

f. 61r: head station: *lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*

f. 61r: bottom part: *lawlāka lawlāka la-mā ḥuliqat al-aflāk (ḥadīth)*²⁷

Similarly to O. 036, the text is written in two golden crescents (one per page) surrounding the sun in O. 041 (ff. 61v-62r). The characteristic traits are divided by golden circles coloured with red and blue. The crescents are enclosed in golden frames where spaces have been left for text to be entered both at the top and the bottom. These have, however, remained unfilled.

In O. 046 (ff. 56r-57v) the text is arranged in three circles (one per page) surrounded by floral motives on a golden background. Golden circles divide individual characteristics and golden brush strokes fill the space between the lines.

In O. 018 (ff. 42v-44v) the text is arranged in six white circles (two per page) on a coloured (green) background in a simple red frame.

²⁵ In the other manuscript of *Dalāʿil al-ḥayrāt*, the Prophet's names (ff. 8r-10r) have a tabular arrangement in a thick golden frame, the individual names are divided by golden circles decorated by red and blue dots.

²⁶ As for Arab O. 036, the other copy of *Enʿām-i šerīf*, all of these names are arranged in a tabular format (ff. 56r-59v) and are divided by golden signs. The same holds true for the layout of the divine names in Arab O. 040 (ff. 51v-53r). As for the divine names and the names of the Prophet in Arab O. 018 (ff. 35v-37v and 37v-42r), they are arranged within a ruled red border into three columns divided by narrow red lines.

²⁷ This *ḥadīth* is generally considered to be forged, see aš-Šawkānī, *Fawā'id*, 326: “*qāla ṣ-Ṣaḡānī mawḍūʿ*”.

In O. 040 (ff. 69v–70r) the text is written in two golden crescents (one per page) surrounding the sun. The text lines are written in white clouds, the characteristic traits of the Prophet are divided by golden circles. The colour of the background is orange. The crescents are enclosed in golden frames which also contain a head station and a section at the bottom. The texts of these sections do not always correspond to the main text:

- f. 69v: head station: *Allāh ġalla ġalāluhu*
- f. 69v: bottom part: *Muḥammad 'alayhi s-salām*
- f. 70r: head station: *Abū Bakr raḍiya Allāh 'anhu*
- f. 70r: bottom part: *'Umar raḍiya Allāh 'anhu*²⁸

4.4 The seal of Solomon (*Muhr Sulaymān*)

The scroll contains a simple hexagonal image of King Solomon's legendary signet ring, known as the seal of Solomon, surrounded by verses 30-31 from *Sūrat an-Naml* (Q 27), referring to King Solomon:

- Q 27:30 *innahu min Sulaymān wa-innahu bismillāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm*
- Q 27:31 *allā ta'ū 'alayya wa-tūnī muslimīn*

None of our manuscripts contain this image. The pentagonal or hexagonal image of this ring often appears in Arabic manuscripts of *En'ām-i şerīf*, although usually of a slightly later date than our two manuscripts.²⁹ This seems to be connected to Bain's observation (1999:129) according to which the earliest manuscript of *En'ām-i şerīf* containing representational imagery dates from 1170/1757, slightly more than two decades later than our manuscripts.³⁰

4.5 The seal of prophethood (*Muhr nubuwwa*)

Only one of the prayer books (Arab O. 040) contains (f. 64v) the image of the seal of the Prophet (*Muhr Muḥammad*, Fig. 3), but it bears a close resemblance not only to the graphical representation of this seal in the Ottoman amulet, but also to its text. In the amulet, the image of the seal is composed of one big and four smaller circles below it. All the circles contain four inner semi circles containing inscriptions praising the Prophet Muḥammad. The empty spaces between the semi

²⁸ The characteristic traits of these caliphs can be found f. 70v.

²⁹ A well-documented example for this can be found on p. 337 in MS Victoria 1995-014 from the McPherson Library in Victoria B.C., see Bain 1999:114–116 and Witkam 2010:119. The manuscript was copied in 1201/1786–87, and Solomon's seal is “shown as a five-pointed star set in circular form” (Witkam 2010:119).

³⁰ Cf. fn 17 above.

circles are filled with the names of the first four caliphs. In the manuscript, the *šahāda* is not written in the main circle – as it is in the amulet – but is repeated above and underneath the circle. Fodor could decipher Q 68:4 in the circular band of the amulet, and the same Qurʾānic passage (*innaka la-ʿalā ḥuluqⁱⁿ ʿaẓīmⁱⁿ*) is written at the top of the main circle in the manuscript. The four smaller circles contain the names of four archangels, Ġibrāʾīl, ʿAzrāʾīl, Mīkāʾīl and Isrāfīl. The same names surround the circular band of the amulet.

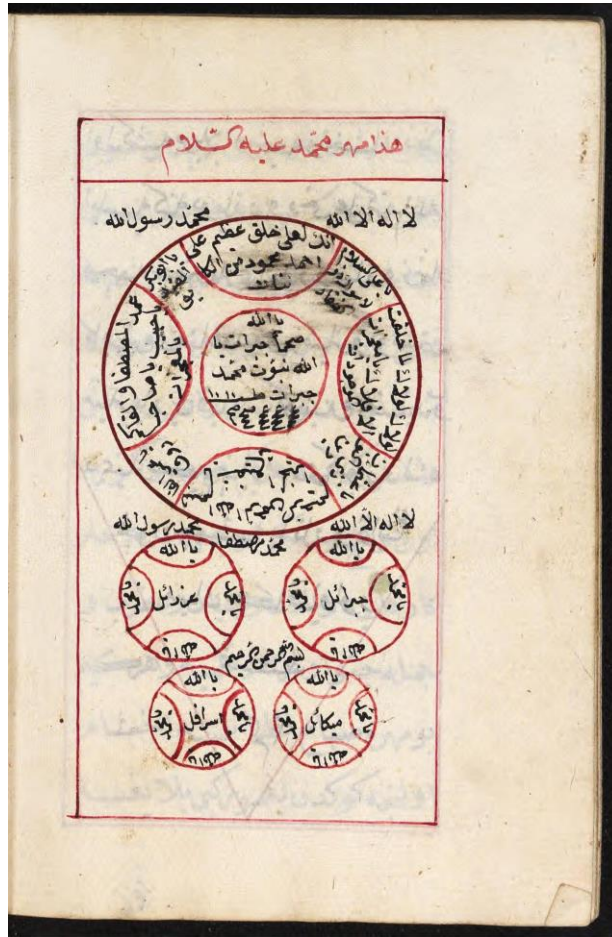


Fig. 3. The seal of the Prophet Muḥammad, Arab O. 040, f. 64v.

4.6 The seal of 'Alī (*Muhr 'Alī*)

This seal does not figure in any of the manuscripts, which is, however, not to say, that later prayer manuscripts would not contain this image. In the scroll, this seal is represented by a circle containing a 4 by 3 magic square filled with the words of *Sūrat al-Ihlās* (Q 112:1-4).

4.7 *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1296)

This poem, conspicuously absent from manuscripts of *En'ām-i şerīf* occupies three quarters of the scroll. Its lines are written diagonally which greatly enhances its artistic value. Several similar scrolls containing this poem have survived.³¹ The place occupied by this poem in the devotional life of persons and communities alike has been thoroughly analysed by Stetkevych (2006 and 2010).

In this small collection of different types of Arabic prayer manuals, only the ritual textbook of the Mīrganiyya Şūfī order (Arab O. 051) contains this important devotional poem.

5 Conclusion

Building on the same tradition, the amulet and the manuscripts served different purposes. This is also reflected by their contents. In our view the amulet is centred on al-Būṣīrī's poem, which occupies its major part. The preceding panels serve as a build-up towards this climax, in order to protect the wearer of the amulet.

The prayer manuscripts analysed above also present a diverse picture. Some of them follow special genres (*En'ām* or *Haftiyak*), while others belong to unspecified collections of prayers (*ad'iya*). All of them, however, focus on special passages of the Qur'ān. These passages are supplemented with a narrower or wider choice of supplementary devotional texts. So, although there is some resemblance between the amulet and the devotional texts, their difference seems to be greater than their similarities, since both their starting points and their aims are different. While the amulet was meant to be worn, the devotional texts were put together to be recited.

³¹ An exquisite example is the much larger (675 by 13.7cm) scroll from the late 13th/early 14th century which – in addition to this poem and the 99 divine names – also contains several prayers. For a full description, see Sothebys, Lot 52, Arts of the Islamic World, 09 October 10:00 am Bst, London 2013 [last accessed: 09 June 2016] <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.52.html/2013/arts-of-the-islamic-world-113223>.,

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

- Ibn Hišām, *Sīra* = ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hišām, *as-Sīra an-nabawiyya*. Edited by ‘Umar ‘Abd as-Salām Tadmurī, 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1410/1990.
- aš-Šawkānī, *Fath* = Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad aš-Šawkānī, *Fath al-qadīr al-ġāmi‘ bayna fannay ar-riwāya wa-d-dirāya*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 2007.
- aš-Šawkānī, *Fawā'id* = Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad aš-Šawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-maġmū'a fī l-aḥādīṭ al-mawḍū'a*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1995.
- aṭ-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muġam al-kabīr* = Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muġam al-kabīr*. Edited by Ḥamdī ‘Abd al-Maġīd as-Salafī, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' at-Turāṭ al-‘Arabī, 1983. 25 vols in 23.
- at-Tirmidī, *Šamā'il* = Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā at-Tirmidī, *aš-Šamā'il al-muḥammadiyya*. Edited by ‘Izzat ad-Da‘ās. Beirut: Dār al-Ḥadīṭ, 1408/1988.
- at-Tirmidī, *Sunan* = Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā at-Tirmidī, *al-Ġāmi‘ al-kabīr*. Edited by Baššār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf. Beirut: Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1996.

B. Secondary sources

- Andrae, Tor. 1918. *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*.
- Asani, Ali S. and Kamal Abdel-Malek. 1995. *Celebrating Muḥammad: Images of the Prophet in Popular Muslim Poetry*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Bain, Alexandra. 1999. *The Late Ottoman En'am-ı şerif: Sacred Texts and Images in an Islamic Prayer Book*. PhD thesis, University of Victoria.
- _____. 2001. "The *En'am-ı Şerif*: Sacred Texts and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book". *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19.213–238.
- Behiery, Valerie. 2014. "Hilya". *Muhammad in History, Thought, and Culture: An Encyclopedia of the Prophet of God*, ed. by Coeli Fitzpatrick and Adam Hani Walker, 2 vols., Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Derman, M. Uğur. 1998. *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection, Istanbul*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Dévényi, Kinga, with Munif Abdul-Fattah and Katalin Fiedler. 2016. *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*. Leiden: Brill, Budapest: MTAK.

- Efthymiou, Marie. 2015. "The Qur'ān Manuscripts in the Al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent, Republic of Uzbekistan. An Overview". *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6.1–16.
- Ernst, Carl W. 2009. "Muḥammad as the Pole of Existence". *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, ed. by Jonathan Brockopp, Ch. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gruber, Christiane. 2010. "A Pious Cure-All: The Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library". In: *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in India University Collections* edited by Christiane Gruber. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Parlatır, İsmail, György Hazai and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele. 2007. *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*. Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Kaptein, N. J. G. 1993. *Muḥammad's Birthday Festival*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Padwick, Constance E. 1961. *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use*. London: SPCK.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. 1985. *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety (Studies in Religion)*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney. 2006. "From Text to Talisman: al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah (Mantle Ode)* and the Supplicatory Ode. *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37.2.145–189.
- _____. 2010. *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muḥammad*. Bloomington
- Togan, Ahmed Zeki Validi. 1939. "Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht". *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 24.3.
- Uludas, Burcu Alarşlan and Fatos Adiloğlu. 2011. "Islamic Gardens with a Special Emphasis on the Ottoman Paradise Gardens: The Sense of Place between imagery and Reality". *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*. 1.4.44–96. <http://www.ojcm.net/articles/14/143.pdf> [last accessed: 16 December 2015].
- Witkam, Jan Just. 2010. "The Islamic Manuscripts in the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, Victoria B.C.". *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1.1.101–142.

**“BECAUSE HE LOVES HER ...”
THE FIGURE OF THE DEMON IN THE BOOK OF TOBIT**

Ida Fröhlich

Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba

During my work on Qumran magical texts I often consulted Sándor on various questions raised by the texts. Our favourite topic was demonology, especially the question of demons as obstacle to a marriage. He referred to me cases known by him from contemporary Near Eastern practice. Girls who for some reason do not want to marry refuse the marriage proposal under the cover that they are already married to a demon. In order to get married to a human the girl should first divorce from her first husband. Gerda Sengers' book portrays similar cases from modern Egypt, where mental and physical health problems of married women are interpreted as consequences of an invasion of demons called *ǧinn/asyād*. Women are obsessed by demons who have entered the body through “openings”. The spirit resides in the body of the woman and raises obstacles in family life. Healing usually results from the *zār* ceremony and Koran healing (Sengers 2003).

The Book of Tobit relates, among others, the story of the exorcism of a young woman obsessed by a spirit who means to be an obstacle to her successful marriage to a human. The story is known from the Greek versions of the *Septuagint*, the longer version GI, and the shorter and later version GII. The book embraces the life stories of three persons: Tobit, a pious man exiled to Nineveh from the northern kingdom of Israel; his son Tobiah, and Sarah, a young girl from the Jewish diaspora of the far Media. She is the only child and heir of her father. She enters into the story when praying to God for death because she is no longer able to support her fate. She had been given to marriage already seven times, but the demon Asmodeus killed all her bridegrooms in the bedroom, before their marriage had been consummated. Sarah was accused by neighbours to have killed her bridegrooms (Tob 3:7–15). She is finally saved by Tobiah, son of Tobit who is on his way to Media, in order to get his father's ten talents of silver deposited there by a client. Tobiah is guided by the angel Raphael whose identity is not recognized by him during their common travel. Approaching to the destination of their travel the angel informs the boy that they shall spend the night at the home

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 37 (2016)

<https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.2016.37.4>

of Raguel who is a relative of Tobit. Raphael speaks about Raguel's only daughter and heiress Sarah. He informs the young man that he is the closest relative of the girl, a cousin, so it is he who has the hereditary right to her, and through the marriage he has the right to inherit her father's estate (Tob 6:10–12a).¹ Besides, Raphael recounts the girl's good qualities, mentioning at the end her remarkable beauty: "the girl is sensible, brave, and very beautiful" (Tob 6:12b). The angel is ready even to mediate the marriage negotiations with her father (Tob 6:13). When proposing to Tobiah the marriage plan with Sarah the angel refers to the Mosaic Law which prescribes endogamous marriage. Raguel cannot withhold his daughter from Tobiah or promise her to another man without incurring the death penalty (Tob 6:13). Tobiah is familiar with Sarah's story, "that she has already been given in marriage seven times, and each man has died in the bridal chamber" being killed by a demon (Tob 6:14).² Also he knows the demon does not harm Sarah "because he loves her" (Tob 6:15). Raphael now refers to a paternal instruction that Tobiah should "marry a woman on your father's side" (Tob 6:16). He informs Tobiah about the means to expel the demon from Sarah, and assures him about divine protection (Tob 6:17–18). He repeats emphatically that Tobiah should not be afraid; "for Sarah was destined for him before the world existed, and it is Tobiah who will rescue her (Tob 6:18).³ On the wedding night Tobias, following Azariah's advice put the fish's heart and liver on the burning incense. Asmodeus fled to Egypt, a land distant from Media. The angel Raphael had power over the demon since he followed him, and "at once bound him there hand and foot (*kai edēsen auto ho angelos*)" (Tob 8:3). Therefore there was no obstacle to the consummation of Sarah's and Tobias's marriage (Tob 7:1–8:21). The Septuagint version GII relates differently the banishment of the demon Asmodaeus; the demon gets divorced from his victim by the angel Raphael: the angel sets "free (*lūsai*) the wicked demon Asmodaeus from her" (Tob 3:17).⁴ The binding of the demon is to be found in both recensions (Tob 8:3).

¹ I.e. Raguel had no other patrilinear heir. For this reason his daughter should marry to her next of kin, a case similar to levirate marriage. The case is unknown in the Mosaic Law. On heritage law and levirate, see Moore 1996:203; Davies 1981.

² Earlier narrative (verses 10–13) does not lead one to suppose Tobiah's informations about Sarah. The inconsistency may be a result of redaction.

³ Greek *ētiomasmenē* „appointed for". Compare Gen 24:44, where it is said that "the Lord had appointed" [LXX *ētoimasen*] Rebekah to be Isaac's wife. The conformity of endogamy and law is repeated in Raguel's words when he gives Sarah as a wife for Tobiah: "Take her as your wife in accordance with the law. In accordance with the decree written in the Book of Moses she is your wife..." (Tob 7:12).

⁴ Ego 2006: esp. 374.

The book of Tobit is composed of material originating from various sources and representing various literary genres, including folkloristic ones.⁵ The plurality of the genres of the sources composing the book makes it difficult to define the genre of the whole work. Narrative parts are intertwined by short blocks of wisdom sayings. Despite the heterogeneity of its literary material the Book of Tobit is a consistent narrative, with several levels of meanings. Tobit is the best labelled as a “wisdom tale” and “Diaspora novella” – a story that gives a model for life-style and ethics to those living in the diaspora. Both the sayings and the narrative express ethical teachings. One of the ideals of the author is the idea of endogamic marriage, prescribed, by the author of the book of Tobit, by the Mosaic Law as a law incurring the death penalty (Tob 6:13). In view of the overall purport of the book any literary and folkloristic element of the story should be considered in the light of these ideas and ideals.

Until recently Tobit had been known only in Greek translations. The library found in the Qumran caves offered fragments of four Aramaic and one Hebrew copies of the book of Tobit.⁶ Along with them fragments of the original Hebrew or Aramaic texts of other apocryphal works (Ben Sira, 1Enoch, and Jubilees) were found. It is to be supposed that Tobit was composed in Aramaic, and translated into Hebrew, the holy language. The number of the copies and the fact of the translation indicate that the book had a special authoritative status in the community, similar to that in the Enochic collection (partly identical with the apocryphal book known as Ethiopic Enoch or 1Enoch) the Aramaic fragments of which were found in Qumran.⁷ The earliest part of the Aramaic manuscripts tradition from Qumran dated to the end of the 3rd century BCE contains the story of the fall of the Watchers (1En 6–11) relating the history of the intermarriages of a group of heavenly beings (two hundred Watchers) with earthly women.⁸ The motive of the Watchers’ descending to the earth was their lust aroused by the women. Consequences of the intermarriages were, first of all, the males becoming

⁵ Huet 1915. Nickelsburg (1996) assumes even material of Greek origin.

⁶ The Aramaic text is represented by frgs. 4Q196–199, the Hebrew text by 4Q200. All the copies were written between 100 and 50 B.C.E. A linguistic analysis defined the Aramaic of Tobit as Middle Aramaic, the Hebrew as late postexilic Hebrew, see Fitzmyer 1995a. The Aramaic and Hebrew fragments were edited by Fitzmyer (1995b). A commentary in the light of the Aramaic fragments is Fitzmyer 2003. On the text tradition of Tobit, in the light of the Aramaic and Hebrew fragments, see Weeks *et al.* 2004; Hallermayer 2008.

⁷ The Aramaic fragments of the book were edited by Milik 1976. Before the finding of the Aramaic fragments 1Enoch was known in a shorter Greek and a longer Ethiopic (Ge’ez) translation.

⁸ Gen 6:1–4 is a parallel to the story.

impure. The teachings of the Watchers (preserved also in the Greek text as sorcery, spellbinding, and 'cutting of roots' (*rizotomia*) – given to women were again the origin of further impurities.⁹ Another consequence of the unequal marriages was the subversion of the natural order: the offspring originating from the mixed marriages were monster giants who devoured everything, and committed bloodshed and blood-related sins of impurity. The punishment of the Flood in 1En 6–11 was, ultimately, a retribution for the sins of the Watchers and their offspring originating from intermarriages. The story of the Watchers is about the origin of the physical evil, shaped by a community in terms of disobedience to divine laws, intermarriage of divine beings and humans being a striking example of it. At the same time the story of the Watchers serves as an aetiology to the origin of the demons, representatives of the physical and ethical evil in the world. Further pieces of the Enochic tradition (1En 15) originate the evil spirits from the Watchers: it was the spirits of the Giants killed in the Flood that became evil spirits.¹⁰

The Enochic story is reflected in several points of the narrative in the book of Tobit, and one can say that Tobit is a kind of counter-story to the Enochic tradition. The motif of the lust of the Watchers for the earthly women leading to intermarriages is counterpointed in Tobit by the ideal of the marriage preordained by the Law. Tobiah's decision for the marriage was made on the effect of the demand of endogamy, the legal reason of the marriage, and not by the call of his own senses and emotions. Tobiah's feelings are aroused not by his senses but by his love for the Torah and by his understanding the Torah's prescription: "When Tobiah heard the advice of Raphael, and learned that she was a relative on his father's side, "he loved her very much, and his heart was drawn to her" (*hē psukhē autou ekollēthē autē sphodra*)" (Tob 6:18).¹¹ Tobiah refuses the direction of senses and does not superimpose himself on the commandment of endogamy (Deselaers 1990:132–33). His marriage with Sarah is preordained from creation (Tob 6:18).

The motif of overpowering demons is another substantial element of the book of Tobit. Endogamy was an effective means for overpowering demons originating

⁹ Terms reconstructed by Milik as *hršh*, *kšph*, and *mqt' šršyn*. Dt 18:9–12 forbids foreign forms of magic (among them *kšpym* – cf. Akk *kišpu*), and not generally magic, according to modern understanding; Lev 20:27 forbids necromancy. What is called *rizotomia* in Greek wording is often synonymous with witchcraft, see Luck 2006:506; Dickie 2001:14; Erskine 2003:459.

¹⁰ Cf. 1 En 15.

¹¹ The Aramaic text contains here the expression *wlb <dbq> bh l[hd]*, "and his heart <clung> to her [exceeding]ly" (4Q197 f4 iii:1). The mentioning of "heart" refers again to Tobiah's mind and not to his feelings. In ancient Jewish thinking heart is the center of the mind and thinking – and not that of the emotions; see, Wolff 1974:40.

from intermarriages. Demons are represented in Tobit by the figure of Asmodeus.¹² Asmodeus is called “an evil demon (*Asmodaios to ponēron daimonion*)” who kills Sarah’s husbands (Tob 3:8a). Nothing is told here about the demon’s nature, his origin, and habitat, and there is no information about his relation to Sarah. It is repeatedly mentioned that the demon “kills (*apekteinen*) anyone who desires to approach her” (Tob 6:15). Together with this the narrative stresses upon that the demon does not harm Sarah, “because he loves her” (Tob 6:15; NRSV 6:14). Exorcising the demon goes on with the help of prayer and *materia magica*.¹³ Demons were supposed to be spiritual beings, and as such to be able to fly in the air since after having been exorcised from Sarah, Asmodeus fled to Egypt, a land distant from Media.¹⁴ The angel Raphael had power over the demon since he followed him, and “at once bound him there hand and foot (*kai edēsen auto ho angelos*)” (Tob 8:3).¹⁵

As it was mentioned GI and GII reflect different concepts about the idea of the banishment of the demon Asmodeus, and GII reports that the demon gets divorced from his victim by the angel Raphael. In virtue of the remark “because he loves her” and the divorce motif B. Ego thinks that both concepts are linked to the idea that Asmodeus is in love with Sarah, and that the demon’s aggressiveness and violence can be understood against this background. She labels the demon Asmodeus as an *incubus*, i.e. a demon who desires sexual relationship with his victim, while Sarah represents the type of the killer-wife who means a danger for her husband(s). Any sexual contact with such a wife can prove deadly. Worse still: a killer wife is viewed as being directly responsible for the death of her husbands (Ego 2015:75). The killer wife is an international folk motif, known also as the narrative motif in catalogues of international folklore as “The Monster in the Bridal Chamber”.¹⁶

¹² The noun *aēšma* is derived from the Persian. The word means “wrath” in Younger Avestan texts, both metaphysically, as a distinct demon, and psychologically as the function and quality of that demon realized in man. See, *Elr* 1985: I, 479.

¹³ On exorcising demons, see Moore 1996:211–215.

¹⁴ Egypt was renowned as the land of magic, cf. Ex 7:11, 1QapGen 20:20. The Giants, demon-like beings originating from the fallen Watchers are said to be capable of flying according to some Aramaic fragments belonging to the Enochic collection in Qumran (4QEnGiants/b) III.4–5). Demons usually were imagined as wind-like beings, cf. 1En 15.4–12.

¹⁵ The method of making demons inoffensive and harmless is binding them. According to 1Enoch the archangels Gabriel and Raphael bind the chiefs of the fallen Watchers; Asael is bound by Raphael (1Enoch 10.4–6; see also 88.1) while Shemihazah is bound by Michael (1En 10.10–12, see also 88.3). Cf. also Rev 12:7–9. Raphael, together with Michael is addressed in several magical texts, see Stuckenbruck 1995:194–195.

¹⁶ For the type of the killer-wife, see Schüngel-Straumann 2000:82, 86; Ilan 2012.

However, the motif of the killer wife and the demon's status in the book of Tobit is to be reconsidered in the light of the Near Eastern belief system. The group *lilû*, *lilîtu*, and (*w*)*ardat lilî* are well-known figures of Mesopotamian incantation texts and catalogues of demons.¹⁷ They are repeatedly mentioned in the texts of the Aramaic and Mandaean magic bowls, originating from late antique Mesopotamia.¹⁸ The texts written inside the bowls served apotropaic purposes. The name and the function of the *lilîtu* can be identified with that of Lilith. It is a dangerous female demon, attacking, above all new-born babies, sucking their blood and eating their flesh. Her characteristics are very similar to those of the Mesopotamian female demon Lamaštu. Her numerous representations show her with a lion head, a female body, bird's legs, holding snakes in her hands, and suckling a dog and a swine. The *lilû* and (*w*)*ardat lilî* are male and female night demons, types of *incubus* and *succubus*. They tend to victimize persons of the opposite sex having intercourse with them and withering their life force. These demons were believed to be recruited from among young persons who died young and childless just before marriage and attempted at getting sexuality and children from the living. Neither cuneiform nor bowl texts refer to attacks against the consorts of their victims, thus, there is no base to equal them with the „monster in the bridal chamber”.

The enigmatic comment “because he loves her (*hoti daimonion philei autēn*)” (Tob 6:15) does not necessarily refer to sexual relationship between the demon and the girl. The Greek verb *phileō* (used in both GI and GII versions) means “to like, be fond of, cherish”.¹⁹ The Aramaic text used here the root *rḥm*: [*dhl 'nh mn šd' dn*] *dy r[h]m lh* (4Q196, frg. 14 i; 1.4). This part of the text is not contained in the Hebrew fragments. It is to be supposed that the Hebrew text rendered it with a derivative form of the root *'hb* which has a multiple meaning, including (1) human love for human object (including sexual relation), (2) appetite for food, drink for object, food, etc., and (3) love for God. Group (2) includes a very special meaning “to be mindful of, to attend to, to care about”. Such is the meaning of the verb in 2Chron 26 relating the rule of the king Uzziah, who “had farmers and vine-dressers in the hill-country and in the fertile lands, for he loved the soil (*ky-'hb 'dmh hyh*)” (2Chron 26:10). The Septuagint renders the same construction with a derivative of the verb *phileō* (*philogeorgos*). On the basis of the above arguments there are good reasons to suppose that the demon was rather the protector and

¹⁷ The best studied series of Mesopotamian incantations is Meier 1937. The comprehensive catalogue of demons *utukkū lemnūtu* was edited by Geller 2007.

¹⁸ The majority of the bowls originate from the Jewish community of Nippur. Their edition is Montgomery 1913; Geller 1986. Other bowl texts are continuously edited.

¹⁹ The Aramaic seems to support this reading of GI (*hoti daimonion philein autēn*) and GII (*hoti philei autēn*): [*dhl 'nh mn šd' dn*] *dy r[h]m lh* (4Q196, frg. 14 i; 1.4). On the motif, see Ego 2003.

defender than the lover of the girl, since – paradoxically enough – his role in the story is to impede Sarah’s non-endogamic marriage, by killing the girl’s bridegrooms. Thus, against pretence Sarah is not a killer wife.²⁰

Nevertheless, her family and neighbourhood take her for dangerous. The servant-girl openly accuses her of having sexual relation with a demon and killing her husbands: “It is you who kill your husbands! You have already been given in marriage to seven, and you have not borne the name of any one of them. Why punish us because they are dead? Go and join your husbands! I hope we never see any son or daughter of yours!” (Tob 3:8b–9). She considers the unnatural death of Sarah’s husbands to be a danger for the human community she lives in.²¹ Her mention of children – “I hope we never see son or daughter of yours!” – is a possible reference to a case when earthly women brought forth demonic children from spiritual beings, the Watchers. The motif of the danger of the birth of demonic children recalls again the tradition of the Watchers, a tradition which might have been well known to Tobit’s author.

Getting rid of a demon is offered in two ways in the book of Tobit: binding it by an angel, and divorcing it – again, with the help of an angel. Both motifs are well known in the ancient Near Eastern written tradition. According to the Enochic tradition the Watchers, originators of the evil demons were punished and made ineffective by binding.²² Figures bound represented on the bottom of Aramaic and Syriac magic bowls from late antiquity represent demons overpowered by the incantation written inside the bowl. Incantation texts written on the bowls often contain divorce formulae. Although much later than the book of Tobit these texts are good references for the idea of overpowering demons. Divorcing from the demon is a frequent motif in apotropaic incantations, especially in magic bowls from late antiquity – but the practice is well known also from Talmudic literature.²³ In order to get rid of a demon, a get (divorce letter) is given to it. The document is necessarily issued by an authority, in most of the cases a rabbi (Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥiah was taken such an authority), while other

²⁰ Her situation is similar to that of Tamar of Gen 38 who is thought by her family to be a killer-wife, although her husbands die because of their own sins, cf. Gen 38:6–9.

²¹ Raguel, Tobiah’s future father-in-law calls the young man’s attention to the danger, see Tob 7:11; Raguel is convinced that Tobiah will die in the wedding room, see Tob 8:10–12.

²² The archangels Gabriel and Raphael bind the chiefs of the fallen Watchers; Asael is bound by Raphael (1Enoch 10.4–6; see also 88.1) while Shemihazah is bound by Michael (1En 10.10–12, see also 88.3). Cf. also Rev 12:7–9. Raphael, together with Michael is addressed in several magical texts, see Stuckenbruck 1995:194–195.

²³ A collection of Aramaic magic bowls with divorce formulae in the Schøyen Collection were recently edited by Shaked *et al.* 2013. On the use of the legal formulae of literature in the divorce letters in Talmud, see Manekin Bamberger 2015.

texts refer to an angel (usually Gabriel).²⁴ People who give a divorce letter to a demon are in most cases married couples like “Gundas, son of Raševandukha and Makdukh, daughter of Nevandukh” (JBA 14:3–4, 7; 15:9–10). In some cases the letter is given by a sole male person (Abusamka, son of Sibta, JBA 13:3, 7), while some of them are issued by women (JBA 37, Dukhtbeh, daughter of Gušnasp-fri). The letters obligate demons to leave the house of the sender(s) of the *get* (JBA 13:7; 15:9).

The demons expelled can be both male and female. Frequent are the appellations “male lili and female lili”, “demons, no-good ones, liliths”, “demons, *dēv-s*” (JBA 14:2, 5–6, 8). Other texts call them „satans and lilis”, “demons, sorcerers, *dēv-s*, satans, idol spirits” (JBA 13:3, 6). Some of the texts were written against “the three (four, five) liliths”, called also “the grabber and the snatcher” (JBA 15:3), and called also “the fornicating singing girl” (e.g. JBA 54:6). The lilith is described as a naked female, her “hair dishevelled and cast behind her back” (JBA 15:4–5; 18:3). Ašmedai is mentioned in the above set of bowls four times. The first text mentions him as “the king of demons”, along with “Ram Šad, king of the demons”, and Šeda and „all demons and dark ones that are in Babylonia” (JBA 26:3–5). Another text mentions “Ašmedai, the evil demon”, along with the “ili, [the lilith]” (JBA 48:6). The end of the text mentions “the severe angel Hafkiel” as the final authority of the divorce (JBA 48:10). In the third incantation the demon Ašmedai is expelled in the name of YHWH Sabaoth. Ašmedai is here mentioned as “the king of *dēv-s*”, along with “Lili the lilith” (JBA 49:4) as a demon faced with the “severe angels” from the Horeb (JBA 48:9). The fourth text refers to a strange case when the divorcing letter (*get*) is given “by the name of the angel Ašmedai” (JBA 58:15).²⁵

Summing up, Ašmedai is characterized in the texts by his position as the “king of demons”, and his hostility to angelic powers. Other demons in the same texts are characterized by their sexuality and devastating nature. The motif of sexuality might refer to their characters as *incubi* and *succubi*. Their aggression (especially that of the *lilith*) seems to be directed towards children, especially the new-born. The divorce letters are given to both male and female demons, from both male and female senders. Although some of the demonic figures are connected with sexuality, there is no reference to sexual relations between human signatories of the letters and their demonic addressees. The authority issuing the divorce letter (*get*) is a rabbi or an angel. It is to be noted here that the reference to the angel

²⁴ *Get-s* issued in the name of Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia are JBA 13–25, in Shaked *et al.* 2013:103–147. Angelic authority is referred to in e.g. JBA 21:13 (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael), JBA 50:10; 51:7 (Gabriel and other angels). Michael and Raphael are often referred to but not in a context of divorce.

²⁵ Another incantation is written in the name of Elisur Bagdana (JBA 31:1–2), the spirit mentioned most frequently as “king of demons”.

Raphael as separating Sarah from the demon (Tob 3:17) might be the earliest reference to the idea of being divorced from a demon.

Getting divorced from the demon is the end of a human-demonic relation, and not of a sexual one. The idea of the divorce letters given to demons comes from the world of legal procedures where a husband can give a divorce letter (*get*) to his wife, thus ending their relationship. Divorce letters are given exclusively by men to women – no different practice is known. As to the logic of the magical texts, humans represent here the male side of the partnership while the demons are representatives of the female side, notwithstanding their biological sex. The implication of the *get* is that the receipt of a document issued by a judicial authority means an end to a relationship and results in physical separation of the clients. This is expressed in the following way in the magic bowl texts: “Just as demons write deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not come back again. Take [your deed of divorce and] accept [your adjuration and fl]ee ...” (JBA 29:7). *Get*-s given to demons are the performative utterance of ending a relationship in a magical context – and not the expression of ending a sexual relationship. Although the bowl texts are later than the book of Tobit yet it can be supposed that all these texts reflect the same idea. Divorcing from the demon in Tobit means getting rid of a killer-demon, in order that the real end of the marriage, cousin marriage can be fulfilled.

Ancient Near Eastern cultures attributed illnesses, anxiety and psychological disorders, afflictions, epidemics, and all kinds of natural evil to the work of demons. However, spirits and demons were believed to mediate not only in physical plagues, illnesses and dysfunctions of the body and soul. Negative emotions and troubles in human relationships were similarly attributed to demonic agents. Mesopotamian texts mention the “spirit of disagreement between mother and daughter”, and the Old Testament speaks of an evil spirit sent by God “to create a breach between Abimelech and the inhabitants of Shechem” (Judges 9:22). Demons can also serve as signals of a trouble in human relationships as it is suggested in the book of Tobit by the figure Asmodeus.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

Tobit ed. by J. Fitzmyer = Fitzmyer 1995b

Tobit, in: *Septuaginta*, ed. by Alfred Rahlfs. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979.

B. Secondary sources

- Davies, Eryl W. 1981. "Inheritance Rights and the Hebrew Levirate Marriage". *Vetus Testamentum* 31.138–144; 257–268.
- Deselaers, Paul. 1990. *Das Buch Tobit. Geistliche Schriftlesung*. Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag.
- Dickie, Matthew. 2001. *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. London: Routledge.
- Ego, Beate. 2003. "'Denn er liebt sie' (Tob 6,15 Ms. 319): Zur Rolle des Dämons Asmodäus in der Tobit-Erzählung". *Die Dämonen – Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt – The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment*, ed. by A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, 309–317. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- _____. 2006. "Textual Variants as a Result of Enculturation". *The Septuagint Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* ed. by Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 371–378. Atlanta: SBL.
- _____. 2015. "A Self-Response to 'Textual Variants'." *A Feminist Companion to Tobit and Judith* ed. by Athalya Brenner, Helen Efthimiadis-Keith, Chapter 4A. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- EIr* = *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater *et al.* London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985–
- Erskine, Andrew. 2003. *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 1995a. "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4". *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57.655–675.
- _____. 1995b. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: XIX. Qumran Cave 4. XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*, 1–76. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- _____. 2003. *Tobit* (= *Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature*, 8.). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Geller, Markham J. 1986. "Eight Incantation Bowls." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 17.101–117.
- _____. 2007. *Evil demons. Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu Incantations. Introduction, Cuneiform Text, and Transliteration, with a Translation and Glossary* (= *State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts*, V.). Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Hallermayer, Michaela. 2008. *Text und Überlieferung des Buches Tobit*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Huet, G. 1915. "Le conte du 'mort reconnaissant' et le livre de Tobie". *Revue d'Histoire Religieuse* 71.1–29.

- Ilan, Tal. 2012. “Babatha the Killer-Wife: Literature, Folk Religion and Documentary Papyri”. *Law and Narrative in the Bible and in Neighbouring Ancient Cultures*, ed. by Klaus-Peter Adam, Friedrich Avemarie, Nili Wazana, 263–278. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Luck, Georg. 2006. *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Collection of Ancient Texts*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Manekin Bamberger, Avigail. 2015. “Jewish Legal Formulae in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls.” *Aramaic Studies* 13.69–81.
- Meier, G. 1937. *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû neu bearbeitet* (= *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 2.). Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag. [Repr. 1967].
- Milik, Joseph T. 1976. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. London: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press.
- Montgomery, J.A. 1913. *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (= *Publications of the Babylonian Section*, 3.). Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Moore, C.A. 1996. *Tobit. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (= *The Anchor Bible*, 40A). New York: Doubleday.
- Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 1996. “The Search for Tobit’s Mixed Ancestry. A Historical and Hermeneutical Odyssey”. *Revue de Qumrân* 17/65.339–349.
- Schüngel-Straumann, Helen. 2000. *Tobit*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Sengers, Gerda. 2003. *Women and Demons. Cult Healing in Islamic Egypt* (= *International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 86.). Leiden: Brill.
- Shaked, Shaul, James Nathan Ford and Siam Bhayro. 2013. *Aramaic Bowl Spells. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls, I* (= *Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity*, 1.). Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. 1995. *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (= *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.70). Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck).
- Weeks, S., S.J. Gathercole, L.T. Stuckenbruck, eds., 2004. *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. 1974. *Anthropology of the Old Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

DES LIEVRES ET DES DJINNS : NOTICE SUR UNE AMULETTE PREISLAMIQUE DANS LES SOURCES ARABES

Antonella Ghersetti

(Université Ca' Foscari, Venise)

1.

Dans son traité de pharmacie intitulé *Institutionum pharmaceuticarum libri quinque*, le médecin de Henri IV, Jean de Renou, inclut parmi les remèdes utilisés à son époque ce qu'on appelle les périaptes¹, autrement dits les amulettes, talismans ou fétiches (Renou 1608)². Il en décrit deux catégories : ceux composés de mots ou de caractères, et ceux faits de médicaments pendus au cou ou attachés à quelque partie du corps. S'il se méfie grandement des amulettes faites d'écrits ou de figures, il semble faire confiance à celles faites d'éléments naturels qui communiqueraient (notamment les plantes) leurs qualités naturelles et des vertus « belles, rares et occultes » qui feraient des merveilles. Cette foi que le médecin de cour prête aux propriétés de ces remèdes ne doit pas choquer, car la croyance en ce type de remèdes était répandue à l'époque non seulement dans les milieux populaires, mais aussi dans les milieux scientifiques. Trois siècles plus tard, Léon Kauffeisen, pharmacien, dans un article consacré à ce sujet cite encore le texte de Jean de Renou et affirme que les périaptes sont « de tous les temps et de tous les lieux » (Kauffeisen 1928:117). Les Arabes, anciens et modernes, ne font pas exception et on constate que des vertus occultes sont attribuées aux mêmes amulettes, même si ce fut pour des fins différentes, dans la France du XVIIe siècle ainsi que dans la Péninsule arabe de l'époque préislamique. En effet, l'osselet qui se trouve au jarret du lièvre qui, comme M. de Renou le dit, était appliqué au corps pour soulager les calculs ou les convulsions (Kauffeisen 1928:118), est aussi mentionné dans les sources arabes anciennes pour sa capacité à prévenir le

¹ Périapte: “figure magique qu'on portait anciennement suspendue au cou pour se garantir de diverses maladies. Nom donné aussi à plusieurs remèdes qu'on portait au cou” (Littré). « Les *périaptes* ou *brevets* sont des écrits ou des objets que l'on porte sur soi pour éviter certains maux ou pour les guérir » (Kauffeisen 1928:113).

² La première traduction française du traité fut publiée à Lyon en 1616 par Louis de Serres, sous le titre *Œuvres pharmaceutiques de Jean de Renou* (Guitard 1936:298–9).

mauvais œil et les actions des djinns³. Dans cet article, nous nous pencherons brièvement sur ce sujet, en hommage à la mémoire de notre ami et collègue Sándor (Alexander) Fodor, lequel consacra maintes études aux amulettes et aux talismans.

2.

Dans les études consacrées à la vie culturelle et spirituelle dans l'Arabie préislamique, y compris ses pratiques magiques et son rapport avec le surnaturel, on fait allusion à l'habitude de pendre au corps des parties d'animaux, parmi lesquelles figure le jarret de lièvre ('Alī 1993 VI, 813 ; Alūsī 1964: II, 316, 324 ; Fahd 1966:213, n. 7 ; Chelhod 1986:58 ; Henninger 2004:35, n. 186)⁴. Les sources arabes qui consacrent à cette amulette des remarques plus ou moins étendues sont nombreuses et de genres divers. Si les grands dictionnaires anciens, « ...des véritables encyclopédies ethnographiques » (Chelhod 1986:12), ne font pas mention de cette pratique, les anthologies et les encyclopédies d'*adab*, ainsi que certains ouvrages à caractère encyclopédique, en parlent assez souvent. Au sein des notices consacrées aux « choses étranges » des Arabes (*awābid al-'arab*), où il est question de talismans et d'amulettes utilisés par les gens du désert, les auteurs anciens décrivent l'habitude de se pendre au corps une partie d'un animal (par ex. une dent de renard ou de chat) pour se protéger des faits surnaturels⁵. Selon ce que semble suggérer Smith, on pourrait expliquer le fait que, dans la conception du surnaturel de l'Arabie préislamique, on considérait efficaces contre les êtres surnaturels les animaux (parties anatomiques, mais aussi comportements, voir ci-dessous) à cause de l'analogie entre les démons et les bêtes sauvages, binôme qui s'oppose à l'autre binôme comprenant les divinités et les êtres humains (Smith 1927:121, 128). Le jarret de lièvre (*ka'b al-arnab*), sujet traité avec assez de détails, est ainsi indiqué pour se protéger du mauvais œil et des sortilèges des djinns. Les auteurs arabes et, ajouterons-nous, Arabes d'époque islamique, considèrent, certains avec méfiance ou mépris, d'autres avec un œil curieux d'ethnologue *ante litteram*, cette habitude comme appartenant à un passé païen. Il nous a donc paru intéressant de présenter les sources dans lesquelles la

³ L'habitude d'utiliser des parties d'animaux à des fins prophylactiques contre les djinns (notamment des parties de loup) est attestée encore de nos jours auprès des bédouins du Negev (Henninger 2004:11, n. 45, d'après Chelhod; aussi Kriss-Kriss 1962:32–3).

⁴ Sur les amulettes dans le monde musulman, l'ouvrage de référence reste Kriss-Kriss 1962.

⁵ Dans le chapitre sur les *awābid al-'arab* (n. 85) 'Alī 1993 ne traite que des différentes formes de la divination ; la perspective est radicalement différente.

pratique du *ta'liq ka'b al-arnab* est mentionnée et analyser la façon dont elle est décrite, ainsi que la signification qu'elle prend dans les différents contextes.

3.

Pour autant que nous le sachions, le premier témoignage à ce propos se trouve dans le *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* d'al-Ġāḥiẓ (m. 255/868). Parmi les informations qu'il donne à propos du lièvre, ce polygraphe mentionne l'habitude qu'avaient les Arabes païens de pendre une patte de lièvre au corps pour se protéger contre le mauvais œil et les sortilèges. L'information vient juste après un passage sur les « merveilles » (*ağā'ib*) du lièvre, parmi lesquelles on signale le fait – remarquable aux yeux des savants musulmans – qu'il aurait des menstruations tout comme les êtres humains⁶. La croyance aux pouvoirs préservatifs de la patte de lièvre, que notre auteur semble rapporter avec un certain scepticisme dans la modalité « *relata refero* », serait justement due à la présence des écoulements de sang signalés dans le passage précédent, lesquels seraient aussi la raison pour laquelle les djinns s'abstiennent d'utiliser les lièvres comme montures⁷. Cet interdit est expliqué plus en détails dans un paragraphe consacré aux montures de ces êtres surnaturels, où le lecteur est informé que les djinns évitent les lièvres du moment qu'ils ne se lavent pas après avoir saigné (!) et seraient donc impurs. L'impureté, comme semble le suggérer le texte, est donc la raison ultime à la base de la réticence des djinns à les chevaucher (al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* VI, 46). Cette explication si prudemment évoquée nous semble dénoncer l'absorption dans le cadre de la pensée religieuse islamique d'un fait qui aurait plutôt ses racines dans la magie, c'est-à-dire les qualités surnaturelles « universellement » reconnues au sang menstruel (Smith 1927:133, n. 2) ou, dans d'autres termes, ce processus d'absorption des legs de l'animisme arabe dans l'islam, ce que Chelhod définirait comme la « rationalisation du sacré » (Chelhod 1986:61). En guise de

⁶ al-Ġāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* VI, 357 (*wa-kānat al-'arabu fi l-ğāhiliyyati taqūlu: man 'ulliqa 'alayhi ka'bu arnabin lam yuṣibhu 'aynun wa-lā nafsun wa-lā siḥrun wa-kānat 'alayhi wāqiyatun li-anna l-ğinna tahrubu minhā wa-laysat min maṭāyāhā li-makāni l-ḥayḍ*). Sur cette croyance, voir Smith 1927:133, n. 4.

⁷ Le lien entre les djinns et les bêtes qu'ils utilisent comme montures serait pour ainsi dire génétique : un trait typique de l'évolution du totémisme est la transformation des animaux surnaturels en êtres anthropomorphiques qui chevauchent l'animal qu'ils étaient (« the supernatural animals of the original conception appear as the beasts on which they ride » Smith 1927:129 ; n. 2 pour le jarret de lièvre). Sur le totémisme et l'animisme chez les Arabes à l'époque préislamique et sur leurs évolution après l'arrivée de l'Islam voir Smith 1927 et Chelhod 1986 (ce dernier plutôt critique vis-à-vis de Smith ; voir par ex. p. 75).

complément à ses informations, al-Ġāhiz mentionne aussi les vers de *hiġā'* du poète Imru' al-Qays où résonnent les échos de l'utilisation des jarrets de lièvre à des fins prophylactiques (al-Ġāhiz, *Ḥayawān* VI, 357–8 ; Imru' al-Qays, *Diwān* 77). Les différents passages du *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* constituent dans leur ensemble la présentation la plus complète et la plus articulée de cette amulette. En effet, dans ce texte, tous les fragments d'information pertinents au *ta'liq ka'b al-arnab* sont donnés : la coutume et ses fins, ses échos littéraires et aussi, ce qui est le plus remarquable, une explication logique et conséquente des raisons pour lesquelles cette amulette était considérée comme efficace.

4.

Deux des vers d'Imru' al-Qays cités dans le *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* se trouvent aussi, avec des variantes mineures, dans le *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-kabīr* d'Ibn Qutayba (m. 276/889), un traité consacré aux grands motifs de la poésie arabe ancienne. Le fragment de poésie est contenu dans la section sur les bêtes sauvages (*sibā'*) dont trois pages sont réservées aux vers célèbres où les lièvres sont cités (*al-abyāt fī l-arānīb*). L'approche et la focalisation sont bien évidemment différentes. Étant donné le caractère de l'ouvrage, l'intérêt porte sur la poésie et ces vers sont donc cités en raison de leur pertinence thématique ; en conséquence, la croyance relative aux pouvoirs magiques des pattes de lièvre, ainsi que le commentaire philologique détaillé qui suit de près, sont plutôt un appendice nécessaire à la compréhension du fragment de poésie dont le sens resterait autrement difficile – sinon impossible – à saisir (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ānī* I, 211). La mention de cette amulette est donc strictement fonctionnelle pour élucider la poésie et ne veut avoir, *per se*, aucune valeur historique ou ethnographique. En passant, il faut remarquer que – assez curieusement, vu qu'il s'agit d'un ouvrage de poétique – Ibn Qutayba passe sous silence le fait que la paternité de ces vers est discutable⁸. La mention des pattes de lièvre revient dans un autre passage du *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-kabīr*, dans la section consacrée aux autruches et notamment là où on évoque les rapports entre les djinns et les différents types d'animaux sauvages. En énumérant les diverses montures utilisées par ces êtres surnaturels, Ibn Qutayba signale que les djinns évitent les lièvres à cause des menstruations (*li-makān al-ḥayḍ*) et que c'est donc pour cela qu'« ils [les Arabes] pendent [sur eux] la patte de lièvre » (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ānī* I, 344). Ici aussi la notice est donnée en passant,

⁸ La paternité de ce fragment de poésie est discutée par le critique littéraire al-Āmidī (m. 371/987) : celui-ci qualifie de mensongère (*bāḥil*) l'attribution à Imru' al-Qays al-Kindī, l'auteur de la *mu'allaqa*, et attribue les vers à un homonyme moins célèbre, Imru' al-Qays al-Ḥimyarī (al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif* 13).

comme information visant à donner la clef de compréhension du sens d'un vers de poésie qui resterait autrement obscur⁹.

L'usage du *ta'liq ka'b al-arnab* évoqué dans la poésie préislamique a dû susciter la curiosité des hommes de lettres, puisqu'on en retrouve encore les traces dans un ouvrage de poétique plus tardive, le *ʿIyār aš-šīʿr* du poète et critique littéraire Ibn Ṭabāṭabā¹⁰ (m. 322/934) (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār* 43). Dans ce cas, l'utilisation de cette amulette semble être classée comme un fait sortant de la rationalité, une sorte de bizarrerie ethnologique, tout comme d'autres habitudes propres aux Arabes préislamiques. La notice est en effet placée dans une section de l'ouvrage consacrée aux « coutumes des Arabes en usage chez eux, dont on ne comprend le sens que grâce à l'audition »¹¹. La notice figure juste après un passage où on relate la croyance selon laquelle répéter dix fois le braiement de l'âne préserverait de la peste lorsqu'on entre dans un lieu qui en est frappé¹². Cette croyance est implicitement ridiculisée par Ibn Ṭabāṭabā qui, citation poétique à l'appui, met en scène le poète préislamique ʿUrwa b. al-Ward et ses compagnons qui s'approchent d'un lieu frappé de peste : le poète reste indemne malgré le fait qu'il a orgueilleusement refusé de braire, tandis que ses compagnons – qui l'ont tous fait – meurent ou tombent malades¹³. La notice sur l'amulette de jarret de lièvre suit de près celle-ci, ce qui ne nous semble pas anodin car le ton de scepticisme est plutôt évident : Ibn Ṭabāṭabā relate qu'« à ce qu'ils affirment, celui qui pend sur lui-même un jarret de lièvre n'est pas atteint par les djinns », sauf qu'il ajoute immédiatement ce vers anonyme :

Il est inutile de braire dix fois quand un événement malheureux a été décrété :
le cri par lequel tu pousses tes bétails ne suffit pas, ni un jarret de lièvre

⁹ L'écho de l'utilisation d'une amulette similaire (la tête du lièvre, plutôt que la patte) résonne aussi dans le *Dīwān al-Hudāliyyīn* (Smith 1885).

¹⁰ Pour des détails bio-bibliographiques sur ce poète et philologue, voir al-Amīn, *A ʿyān* IX, 72–80.

¹¹ *Sunanu l-ʿarabi l-mustaʿmalati baynahā llatī lā tuḥḥamu maʿānīhā illā samāʿan* (*ibid.*). Le terme *samāʿ* semble avoir ici le sens de «réception d'un fait attesté» qui reste inexplicable sur le plan rationnel et qu'il faut donc accepter tel qu'on le reçoit.

¹² L'habitude de braire est aussi attestée, à l'époque préislamique, comme mesure contre des démons (ʿAlī 1993 VI, 807 ; ʿĀlūsī 1964: II, 315 ; Henninger 2004:35, n. 185).

¹³ Les vers de ʿUrwa font référence à l'oasis de Ḥaybar, au nord de Médine, qui était infestée par les fièvres. Le poète prête cette croyance aux Juifs qui l'habitaient et se vante de son courage qui l'empêche de pratiquer ce rite propitiatoire ; ces vers seraient aussi à relire comme un document sur l'opposition entre vie sédentaire et vie nomade (Capezio 2011:90–91).

Le bien-fondé de cette habitude fait même l'objet d'une discussion entre savants dont, pour autant que nous en sachions, la première occurrence est celle-ci. La narration qui rapporte cette discussion représente le philologue kufiote Ibn al-A'rābī (m. 231/846 ca.) et le poète Zayd b. Kaṭwa¹⁴ : le premier interroge le deuxième à propos de cette coutume, et ce dernier de confirmer avec enthousiasme l'efficacité du remède en question contre toutes sortes d'êtres mystérieux (*al-ḥawāfi*)¹⁵.

5.

La pratique d'inclure dans les anthologies littéraires un chapitre sur « les choses étranges des Arabes [païens]» semble s'établir à une époque assez ancienne : *Naṭr ad-durr*, l'anthologie du vizir al-Ābī (m. 421/1030)¹⁶, contient une section intitulée *Awābid al-'arab* où l'auteur énumère une longue liste de curiosités parmi lesquelles le jarret de lièvre mérite un traitement assez étendu (al-Ābī, *Naṭr* IV, 203). Al-Ābī rassemble dans une unique phrase toutes les informations données par al-Ġāḥiẓ dans des passages éparpillés et donne la description ainsi que les raisons à la base de cette pratique (la répulsion des djinns vis-à-vis des lièvres à cause de leurs menstruations). Il reprend aussi presque *verbatim* le vers anonyme cité par Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, ainsi que l'anecdote où le poète Zayd b. Kaṭwa (le philologue Ibn al-A'rābī est gommé de cette version) confirme l'efficacité de cette amulette contre toutes sortes de créatures mystérieuses, y compris les goules. Par analogie, al-Ābī rappelle aussi, peu de pages après, d'autres types d'amulettes spécifiquement utilisés pour les enfants et informe le lecteur que les dents de renard ou de chat en guise de pendentifs protégeraient les enfants du mauvais œil

¹⁴ Le texte d' *'Iyār aš-ši'r* donne Kiswa, mais il s'agit d'une mauvaise lecture. Le même passage figurant aussi dans *Naṭr ad-durr* d'al-Ābī (*Naṭr* IV, 203), nous avons pu corriger cette lecture : Zayd b. Kaṭwa est un poète ainsi nommé d'après le prénom de sa mère (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *kuṭwa*). L'anecdote est reprise dans Alūsī 1964: II, 315, sur l'autorité d'al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī, autorité qui n'est pas mentionnée dans nos sources.

¹⁵ Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *'Iyār* 43 ; dans ce qui suit, le texte fait référence à la fonction prophylactique du sang menstruel et des substances qui lui ressemblent, comme l'exsudation rouge de l'arbre de la gomme (*samura*) appelée justement *ḥayḍ as-samura*. Le lien entre le sang menstruel et la protection des êtres surnaturels est souvent rappelé dans les sources, surtout pour motiver l'utilisation du jarret de lièvre ou d'autres amulettes (voir p. e. al-Ābī, *Naṭr* IV, 205–6 ; aussi 'Alī 1993 VI, 813). Le mot *al-ḥawāfi* est un synonyme de djinns ; sur les différentes catégories de djinn et leurs caractéristiques, voir Fahd 1971:186–196 (196 en particulier pour l'onomastique) et Chelhod 1986:72.

¹⁶ Sur cet ouvrage et son influence, voir Marzolph 1992: I, 38–45.

et de la mauvaise action des *ġinniyyas* (al-Ābī, *Naṭr* IV, 205–206)¹⁷. La section de *Naṭr ad-durr* sur les *awābid al-‘arab* connut apparemment une certaine fortune. Elle est ouvertement reprise, mais de façon abrégée, dans *Našwat aṭ-ṭarab*, ouvrage historique du poète, historien et géographe grenadin Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī (m. 685/1286) consacré à la période préislamique : le *ta‘līq ka‘b al-arnab* apparaît dans un passage extrêmement succinct où ne figure que l’essentiel, sans citations poétiques et sans anecdotes (Ibn Sa‘īd, *Našwa* II, 786). Par contre, an-Nuwayrī (m. 733/1333), dans la section de son encyclopédie consacrée aux *awābid al-‘arab*, rapporte *verbatim* le passage de *Naṭr ad-durr* à propos du *ta‘līq ka‘b al-arnab*, poésie et anecdote incluses (an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* III, 118).

La mention de cette amulette figure encore dans *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’* d’ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī (V/XI s.), une anthologie littéraire hautement prisee par les successeurs de l’auteur (Riedel 2004). L’information est placée, au sein d’une liste des croyances des Arabes, dans le premier chapitre consacré à l’intellect, à la science, à l’ignorance et aux « questions associées », et notamment dans une section destinée à décrire « les sciences des peuples et les ‘énigmes’ (*rumūz*) des Arabes » (ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt* I, 155). Le texte donné par ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī s’inspire de près de ceux d’Ibn Ṭabāṭabā et d’al-Ābī, y compris l’anecdote avec Ibn al-A‘rābī et Zayd b. Kaṭwa. Dans sa version, c’est toutefois le nom de ce dernier qui disparaît au profit d’un anonyme bédouin (*a‘rābī*) qui semble avoir pour rôle de représenter par métonymie les païens de la péninsule et leur croyance aux éléments surnaturels. Parmi les autres amulettes utilisées contre l’œuvre des djinns sont aussi cités – ce qui ne figure pas dans les autres sources – les os des morts ainsi que les serviettes hygiéniques imbibées de sang (*hiraq al-ḥayḍ*) qui préservent de la possession (*ġunūn*), un élément qui n’est pas sans rappeler la répulsion pour le sang attribuée aux djinns¹⁸.

La perspective, en quelque sorte plus nuancée, dans laquelle ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī donne l’information (après tout, elle est en continuité avec un chapitre sur les sciences) n’est pas exactement celle adoptée par Ibn Ḥamdūn (m. 562/

¹⁷ Dans la même perspective, Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī (m. 414/1023) mentionne très rapidement et comme en passant l’usage du jarret de lièvre parmi les usages « irrationnels » (*fī ġānibin mina l-‘aqli wa-‘alā bu‘dīn mina l-ḥaqq*) qui caractérisent les Arabes, malgré l’excellence de leur caractère et leur supériorité parmi les peuples anciens (at-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā’ir* VII, 169, 172).

¹⁸ Les dents de renard et de chat et l’exsudation de l’*acacia gummifera* (*samura*), appelée *ḥayḍ as-samura*, sont aussi évoquées. L’utilisation de cette dernière comme amulette est plutôt intéressante car, du fait que cette gomme ressemble à un caillot de sang menstruel, l’arbuste dont elle provient était assimilé par les Arabes de l’époque préislamique à une femme : on croyait en fait que les arbres étaient doués d’une vie et d’un pouvoir surnaturels (Smith 1927:133).

1066–7), homme de lettres et fonctionnaire d'état, dans son anthologie où information historique, anecdotes et poésie se combinent dans la meilleure tradition de l'*adab*. Un chapitre entier est consacré à énumérer systématiquement les croyances des Arabes païens dans ce qui semble avoir pour but de démontrer leur absurdité ou, pour mieux dire, leur hérésie. Le chapitre en question (le 35^e, intitulé *fī aḥbāri l-ʿarabi l-ḡāhiliyyati wa-awābidihim wa-ḡarāʿibin min ʿawāʾidihim ... wa-ʿaḡāʾiba min akāḍibihim ...*) débute résolument par le constat que « les Arabes avaient des habitudes et des bizarreries qu'ils considéraient comme une religion, et des égarements (*ḍalāl*) qu'ils estimaient être la bonne voie (*al-hudā*) » (Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Taḍkira* VII, 326). Parmi ceux-ci, il est question de l'amulette du jarret de lièvre ; l'information est accompagnée par la même anecdote que nous avons déjà trouvée dans les textes d'Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, al-Ābī et ar-Rāḡib al-Iṣfahānī mais, cette fois-ci, sans aucun nom et donc sans ancrage dans une réalité historique, comme si la mémoire de cette habitude bizarre était en train de s'estomper au fur et à mesure dans un passé inconnu.

6.

Dans les périodes suivantes, les sources qui prêtent attention à cette amulette ne sont plus des anthologies d'*adab*, ni des œuvres de poésie ou de critique littéraire, mais plutôt des ouvrages à caractère scientifique, et notamment zoologiques (dans un sens très large) et historiques, ou des encyclopédies conçues à l'usage des fonctionnaires de l'état, comme *Nihāyat al-arab* que nous avons déjà mentionnée plus haut. Tout comme an-Nuwayrī, al-Qalqaṣandī (m. 821/1418), autre fonctionnaire de la chancellerie mamelouke, estime nécessaire d'instruire ses collègues en leur fournissant toutes les notions utiles pour leur travail, y compris des notions sur l'histoire ancienne, et parmi celles-ci il inclut une section sur « les choses extraordinaires » des Arabes, où le *taʿlīq kaʿb al-arnab* est aussi mentionné (al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ* I, 406). Dans ces manuels pour les secrétaires, la notice est apparemment donnée comme une curiosité ethnologique appartenant à un passé lointain dont la connaissance ne pouvait pas manquer dans l'encyclopédie du secrétaire compétent, mais sans aucune curiosité de type philologique, ethnographique ou historique au sens large du terme.

Dans un autre domaine, les ouvrages à caractère scientifique comme la cosmographie de Zakariyyā' al-Qazwīnī, ne pouvaient évidemment pas passer sous silence cette information à propos du lièvre. En effet, dans la fiche consacrée à *al-arnab* et parmi les propriétés des différentes parties de cet animal, al-Qazwīnī (m. 682/1283) affirme très sèchement à propos du jarret (*kaʿb*) que « les Arabes prétendent qu'il est utile contre le mauvais œil et la magie » (al-Qazwīnī, *Aḡāʾib* 417), sans ajouts, commentaires, ou explications ultérieurs. La référence à la

répulsion des djinns pour le sang menstruel disparaît, et même si l'auteur nous informe que le lièvre a des menstrues, cette information reste isolée : au contraire de ce qu'al-Ġāḥiẓ avait fait dans *al-Hayawān*, al-Qazwīnī ne l'utilise pas pour expliquer l'utilisation de l'amulette. Le recours à la patte de lièvre avec fonction prophylactique est aussi signalé dans un autre ouvrage plus tardif du même caractère, l'« encyclopédie para-zoologique » (Kopf 1977:110) d'ad-Damīrī (m. 808/1405) où l'auteur rapporte que « les Arabes prétendent *parmi leurs mensonges* [c'est nous qui soulignons] que les djinns fuient les lièvres à cause du fait qu'ils ont des menstrues (*ḥayḍ*) ». Cette information vient juste après un passage qui se réfère à la croyance que les lièvres meurent en voyant la mer, là où ad-Damīrī s'empresse de prendre ses distances en précisant « mais à mon avis cela n'est pas correct » (ad-Damīrī, *Hayāt* I, 97), et cette contiguïté semble suggérer une attitude plutôt sceptique à propos de ces croyances dans leur complexité. Al-Ġāḥiẓ est mentionné peu après, dans la section consacrée aux propriétés du lièvre, quand ad-Damīrī le cite comme source pour rapporter la coutume préislamique : « Les Arabes de la *ġāhiliyya* disaient que celui qui pendait sur lui un jarret (*ka'b*) de lièvre n'était pas atteint par le mauvais œil ni la magie, du fait que les djinns le fuient parce qu'il a des menstrues » (ad-Damīrī, *Hayāt* I, 97), sans ajouter de commentaire ni donner un avis personnel, comme il l'avait fait à propos des deux informations données ci-dessus. Le *ta'līq ka'b al-arnab* préislamique passe ainsi, à titre de curiosité, dans les ouvrages à caractère scientifique, mais cette pratique reste dénuée de tout contexte historique, culturel et de commentaire philologique, et ce n'est que le lien zoologique qui en justifie la mention.

Al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf, anthologie encyclopédique due à l'Égyptien al-Ibšīhī (m. 850/1446 ca), est la dernière source, en ordre chronologique, où le jarret de lièvre est très brièvement évoqué dans un synthétique catalogue de « bizarreries » du chapitre sur « les histoires, les curiosités et les habitudes bizarres des Arabes de la *ġāhiliyya* », bref à tout ce qui est considéré « hétérodoxe » ou déviant de la « normalité » (al-Ibšīhī, *Mustaṭraf* II, 85). Évidemment, et en accord avec l'esprit et les finalités de l'ouvrage, le caractère curieux de cette information l'emporte sur l'intérêt, historique ou ethnographique, vis-à-vis des modalités de vie à une époque lointaine et dans un milieu culturel éloigné.

En guise de conclusion

La notice concernant l'utilisation du jarret de lièvre à des fins prophylactiques est contenue dans des sources de genres différents qui s'étendent sur six siècles, du IIIe/IXe au IXe/XVe siècles. Même s'il s'agit pratiquement de la même information factuelle, elle prend une ampleur et des valeurs différentes en fonction

du contexte et de la focalisation de l'ouvrage. Les sources appartiennent aux genres de la zoologie et de la cosmographie, de la poétique et de l'historiographie, des anthologies d'*adab* et des grandes compilations encyclopédiques destinées aux fonctionnaires de la chancellerie d'état. Les différents contextes sont assez variés mais reviennent tous à trois grandes aires thématiques où prévalent, selon les cas, le lien naturaliste/zoologique, le lien philologique et le lien ethnographique. Ce dernier, axé sur ce que nous pourrions définir d'après les auteurs comme « les curiosités de l'époque païenne » et plutôt évident à partir du VIe/XIe siècle, semble dénoncer le progressif glissement du *ta'īq ka'b al-arnab* dans la catégorie conceptuelle de l'« étrange », placé dans un passé lointain qui a très peu ou rien à voir avec la dimension de l'islam. La croyance au mauvais œil, antérieure à l'islam mais toujours vivante dans les pays musulmans (ce qui, d'après Chelhod 1986:255–6, marque une différence entre dogme et comportement), est en fait condamnée par le Prophète et rejetée par l'islam orthodoxe pour lequel les legs du passé culturel arabe sont encombrants et difficilement acceptables (*ibid.* 81–85) et qui valorise plutôt le texte coranique pour se protéger contre les maladies, le mauvais œil ou les esprits (*ibid.* 206). Reléguer dans une autre dimension conceptuelle les mœurs païennes comme l'amulette dont il est question ici, dénonce, à notre avis, la volonté de marquer une césure nette entre l'avant et l'après-révélation dans une culture qui, par contre, montre une continuité parfois étonnante dans le domaine des croyances, des rites et des institutions (*ibid.* 261).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

A. Sources

- al-Ābī, *Naṭr* = Abū Sa'd (Sa'īd) Maṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī, *Naṭr ad-Durr*. Édition Muḥammad 'Alī Qurna *et al.* Le Caire: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1980–90. 8 v.
- al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif* = Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Bišr al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-muḥtalif fī asmā' aš-šua'rā' wa-kunāhum*. Édition F. Krenkow. Beyrouth: Dār al-Ġīl, 1411/1991 (réimpression de l'éd. or. Le Caire, 1354/1935).
- al-Amīn, *Aḡyān* = Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aḡyān aš-šī'a*. Édition Ḥasan al-Amīn, Beyrouth: Dār at-Ta'āruḡ li-l-Maṭbu'āt, 1413/1993. 12 v.
- ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt* = Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā Kamāl ad-Dīn ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*. Édition Ibrāhīm Šāliḡ. Damas: Dār al-Bašā'ir, 2005. 4 v.
- al-Ibšīhī, *Mustaṭraf* = Bahā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḡmad al-Ibšīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf*. Beyrouth: Maṣūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1412/1992.

- 2 v. (trad. franc. G. Rat, *al-Mostaṭraf. Recueil de morceaux choisis çà et là dans toutes les branches de connaissances réputées attrayantes*. Paris : Leroux ; Toulon : Isnard & Brun, 1899–1902, 2 v.).
- Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Taḍkira* = Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamdūn, *at-Taḍkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*. Édition Iḥsān ‘Abbās et Bakr ‘Abbās. Beyrouth: Dār Ṣādir, 1996. 10 v.
- Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* = Ğamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mukarram al-Ifriqī, *Lisān al-‘Arab*. Beyrouth : Dār Iḥyā’ at-Turāṭ al-‘Arabī, 1408/1988. 18 v.
- Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ānī* = Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba ad-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-ma‘ānī al-kabīr*. Hyderabad: Maṭba‘at Maġlis Dār al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uṭmāniyya. 1368/1949, 2 v.
- Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī, *Našwa* = Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī, *Našwat aṭ-ṭarab fī tāriḥ ġāhiliyyat al-‘Arab*. Édition Našrat ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, ‘Ammān: Maktabat al-Aqṣā, [1982] 2 v. (trad. Allemande Fritz Trummer. *Ibn Sa‘īd’s, Geschichte der vorislamischen Araber*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928).
- Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *Iyār* = Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-‘Alawī, *Iyār aš-šīr*. Édition ‘Abbās ‘Abd as-Sātir, Nu‘aym Zarzūr. Beyrouth: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1426/2005.
- Imru’ l-Qays *Dīwān* = Imru’ l-Qays b. Ḥuġr al-Kindī, *Dīwān*. Édition ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Muṣṭawī. Beyrouth: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1425/2004.
- an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-‘Arab fī funūn al-adab*. Édition Mufid Qumayḥa *et al.* Beyrouth: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1464/2004. 33 v.
- al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ašā fī sinā‘at al-inšā’*, Le Caire: al-Mu‘assasa al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma li-t-Ta’līf wa-t-Tarġama wa-t-Ṭibā‘a wa-n-Našr, s.d. 14 v. (réimpr. éd. Dār al-Kutub, 1913–1919).
- al-Qazwīnī, *‘Aġā‘ib* = Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *‘Aġā‘ib al-maḥlūqāt wa-ġarā‘ib al-mawġūdāt*. Édition Fārūq Sa‘d. Beyrouth: Dār al-Āfāq al-Ġadīda, 1991.
- ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt* = Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, Qūm: Intiṣārāt al-Maktaba al-Ḥaydariyya, 1995. 2 v.
- at-Tawḥīdī, *Bašā‘ir* = Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī, *al-Bašā‘ir wa-d-ḍaḥā‘ir*. Édition Wadād al-Qāḍī. Beyrouth: Dār Ṣādir, 1988. 10 v. in 6.
- ‘Urwa b. al-Ward. *Una voce nel deserto*. A cura di Oriana Capezio. Milano: Ariele (traduction italienne, avec texte arabe en face, introduction et notes).

B. Études

- ‘Alī, Ġawād. 1993. *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ta’rīḥ al-‘arab qabla l-islām*. 2^e éd. [Beyrouth: s.n.]. 10 vol. (éd. or. 1955)
- Alūsī, Maḥmūd Šukrī. [1964]. *Bulūġ al-arab fī ma‘rifat aḥwāl al-‘arab*. 2^e éd. s.l. : s.d. [Le Caire: Maktabat Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭayyib] (éd. or. Bagdad 1896).
- Capezio, Oriana. 2011. voir ‘Urwa b. al-Ward. *Una voce nel deserto*.
- Chelhod, Joseph. 1986. *Les Structures du sacré chez les Arabes*. Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Fahd, Toufic. 1966. *La Divination arabe: études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l’islam*, Leiden : E.J. Brill.
- _____. 1971. « Anges, démons et djinns en Islam ». *Génies, anges et démons*. 153–214. Paris: Seuil.
- Guitard, Eugène-Humbert. 1936. “Histoire sommaire de la littérature pharmaceutique. Conférences-Leçons à l’usage de MM. les Etudiants en Pharmacie. 3^e Conférence : Les traités de pharmacie privés au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles”. *Revue d’histoire de la pharmacie* 24.94.297–313.
- Henninger, Joseph. 2004. « Beliefs in Spirits among the pre-Islamic Arabs ». *Magic and divination in early Islam* ed. by Emilie Savage-Smith. 1–53. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum. (traduction anglaise de “Geisterglaube bei den vorislamischen Arabern”, in *Arabia Sacra*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht press 1981.118–69).
- Kauffeisen, Léon. 1928 « Les périaptes ou brevets ». *Bulletin de la Société d’histoire de la pharmacie* 16.113–119.
- Kopf, L. « al-Damīrī ». 1977. *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, n. é. vol. 2, réimpression, Leyde: Brill; Paris: Maisonneuve (éd. or. 1965). 109–110.
- Kriss, Rudolf et Hubert Kriss-Heinrich. 1962. *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*. Vol. 2: *Amulette, Zauberformeln und Beschwörungen*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.
- Littre, Emile. 1863–72. *Dictionnaire de la langue française*. Version en ligne <http://www.littre.org> (consulté le 22 Mars 2015)
- Marçais, Philippe. 1975. « ‘Ayn ». *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, n. é, I, 808–809, réimpression, Leyde: Brill; Paris: Maisonneuve (éd. or. 1960).
- Marzolph, Ulrich. 1992. *Arabia ridens. Die humoristische Kurzprosa der frühen adab-Literatur im internationalen Traditionsgeflecht*. Frankfurt: Klostermann. 2 v. (*Frankft. wiss. Beiträge. Kulturwiss.*, 21.)
- Renou, Jean de. 1608. *Joan. Renodæi med. Parisien. Institutionum pharmaceuticarum libri quinque, quibus accedunt de materia medica libri tres. Omnibus succedit Officina pharmaceutica sive Antidotarium*. Paris.

- Riedel, Dagmar A. 2004. *Searching for the Islamic Episteme: the Status of Historical Information in Medieval Middle Eastern Anthological Writing*. Ph.D. diss. Indiana University.
- Savage-Smith, Emilie, ed. 2004 *Magic and divination in early Islam*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.
- Smith, William Robertson. 1927. *Lectures on the religion of the Semites: the fundamental institutions*. With an introd. and additional notes by Stanley A. Cook. 3rd ed. New York: The Macmillan company; London: A. & C. Black.
- _____. 1885. "Zu den Liedern der Hudhailiten". *ZDMG* 39.329.

دراسة نقدية لأقوال رابعة العدوية (ت: 185هـ/801م؟) في التراث الإسلامي

أحمد حسن أنور

جامعة أسيوط، الوادي الجديد

التصوف نور من الحق وخاطر منه يشير إليه
التصوف فناؤك عن الكونين ليبقى مكوئهما
أبو القاسم النصرابادي

مقدمة الدراسة:

حظت رابعة العدوية بشهرة واسعة في التاريخ الإسلامي بصفة عامة، وفي تاريخ التصوف بصفة خاصة، وبرغم هذه الشهرة الواسعة، إلا أن الجدل ما زال دائراً بخصوص كل ما ارتبط برابعة العدوية. فهناك خلاف بين مؤرخي التصوف الإسلامي حول: تاريخ ميلادها، وتاريخ وفاتها، سيرتها الذاتية، أقوالها،... وهلم جرا من الآراء المختلفة بل والمتضاربة والمتناقضة في الكثير من الأحيان.

1. اسمها وحياتها:

يكتنف الغموض اسم أبيها واسم أسرتها، وقد جاء ذكر اسمها لأول مرة في المصادر العربية – حسب المصادر التي اطلعنا عليها – عند الجاحظ (ت: 256هـ/869م) في كتاب: "البيان"، وكتاب: "الحيوان"، ومن المعروف أن هذان الكتابان كتبيا في النصف الأول من القرن الثالث الهجري، أي في تاريخ قريب من فترة حياة رابعة. وقد ذكر الجاحظ في هذان الكتابان – وهو أول من كتب عنها – أن اسمها "رابعة القيسية"¹، أما المصادر الصوفية التي دونت في القرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريين فقد اتفقت مع ما جاء عند عبد الرحمن السلمي (ت: 412هـ/1021م) حينما ذكرها قائلاً: "رابعة العدوية من أهل البصرة، وكانت مولدة لآل عيتك"². في حين جاءت بعض المصادر المتأخرة – كابن خلكان (ت: 681هـ/1282م) لتضيف على ما سبق – لتقول: "أم الخير بنت إسماعيل، العدوية البصرية، مولدة آل عتيك"³.

اختلف المؤرخون والباحثون حول تاريخ وفاتها، فقد ذكر ابن العماد في الشذرات احتمال موتها سنة 185هـ/801م، في حين حدد ابن خلكان أن موتها كان سنة 135هـ/752م، أما عبد الرؤوف المناوي فقد ذكر أنها ماتت سنة 180هـ/796م. والغريب في الأمر أن أغلب المصادر السابقة وقعت في تضارب بل تناقض واضح، فكيف يذكر ابن خلكان أن وفاتها كانت عام 135هـ/752م وفي الوقت نفسه يذكر لقاءها بسفيان الثوري (ت: 161هـ/778م) الذي أتى البصرة بعد عام 155هـ/772م تقريباً؟! وكيف يذكر ابن العماد أن وفاتها كانت عام 185هـ وفي الوقت

¹ لمزيد من التفاصيل راجع: الجاحظ، البيان والتبيين، ج2، ص85؛ الجاحظ، كتاب الحيوان، ج1، ص78.

² أبو عبد الرحمن السلمي، ذكر النسوة المتعبدات الصوفيات، ص27.

³ أحمد بن محمد بن خلكان، وفيات الأعيان، ج2، ص48.

نفسه يذكر لقاءها وحوارها مع الحسن البصري (الذي توفي عام 110هـ/728م)؟! وهلم جراً من مثل هذه الآراء المتناقضة والمتضاربة في الوقت نفسه⁴.

أما موقف دارسي التصوف الإسلامي فلقد ذهب لويس ماسينيون (Louis Massignon) إلى أنها توفيت سنة 135هـ وقد ذكر هذا التاريخ لتبرير الحكايات التي رويت عنها وعن الحسن البصري المتوفى 110هـ، فكيف يمكن التناؤهما لو كانت رابعة توفيت 195هـ؟!، ولكن بعد ذلك عدل عن هذا الرأي ليذكر أنها ماتت سنة 195هـ في حين أن الدكتور كامل الشيبلي يذكر أنها توفيت عام 155هـ، ويتوسط الدكتور قاسم غني بينهما فيختار سنة 185هـ لوفاتها، أما الدكتور عبد الرحمن بدوي فيرجح أنها توفيت سنة 180هـ أو 185هـ في حين تذكر الموسوعة الإسلامية أنها توفيت سنة 185هـ، والملاحظ من الدراسات السابقة أنها لم تقدم المبرر التاريخي الكافي والمؤيد لهذا التاريخ أو تلك، بل إن بعض هذه الدراسات اكتفى بسرد تاريخ ما دون مناقشة الأمر على الإطلاق!! فأين الحقيقة التاريخية؟!⁵.

وبصفة عامة لا نكاد نعلم وفقاً لما بين أيدينا من وثائق عن حياة رابعة الأولى ونشأتها إلا ما رواه فريد الدين العطار (ت: 586هـ/1190م) في كتابه: "تذكرة الأولياء"، والعطار رجل جامع الخيال لا يمكن أن يُطمأن إلى أقواله إلا بعد أن تثبت من صدقها عن طريق المصادر التاريخية الأخرى⁶، بالإضافة إلى مجموعة الخوارق والكرامات التي رواها العطار عنها⁷. فلا نعرف كيف عاشت رابعة العدوية حياتها الأولى، وكيف وقعت في الرق؟ وكيف تحررت من رقها؟ وإلى أين اتجهت وماذا عملت بعد تحررها؟ وما الظروف التي دفعتها إلى حياة الزهد؟ (كل هذه التساؤلات قد تكون مباحة في حالة الوثوق فيما رواه فريد الدين العطار) وحتى لو صدقنا ما رواه العطار عنها، فسنكون أمام اضطراب للإجابة على التساؤل الأتي: كيف وصلت هذه الأخبار إلى فريد الدين العطار دون أن تكون مدونة ومذكورة في المصادر السابقة عليه؟ ومع الأسف الشديد لا تستطيع المصادر التاريخية تقديم إجابات واضحة عن هذه التساؤلات ولم يجد الدكتور عبد الرحمن بدوي في المصادر التاريخية التي اعتمد عليها في كتابه "شهيذة العشق الإلهي" حلوًا لهذه الإشكاليات التاريخية. ونتيجة ذلك لا نستطيع من خلال المصادر التاريخية تقديم إجابات واضحة عن هذه التساؤلات.

ولم تتوقف الإشكاليات التاريخية عند هذا الحد فقط، بل حدث خلط وقع فيه المؤرخون وجاراهم عليه بعض المحدثون الذين كتبوا عن رابعة العدوية، وبخاصة المستشرقة مارجريت سميث Margaret Smith في كتابها⁸: (رابعة وزميلاتها المتصوفات في الإسلام) ذلك الخلط بين رابعة العدوية البصرية (ت: 185هـ/801م؟)، ورابعة الأزديّة (معاصرة عبد الواحد بن زيد ت: 177هـ/793م تقريباً)، ورابعة الشامية (ت: 235هـ/852م تقريباً)⁹. والغريب أننا نجد تحديراً تاريخياً قديماً لهذا الخلط بين الرابعات في التاريخ الإسلامي لدى عبد الرحمن السلمي

⁴ لمزيد من التفاصيل راجع: ابن العماد، شذرات الذهب ج1، ص193؛ ابن خلكان، وفيات الأعيان، ج2، ص48-49؛ المناوي، الكواكب الدرية ج1، ص108.

⁵ لمزيد من التفاصيل راجع: عبد الرحمن بدوي، شهيدة العشق الإلهي: رابعة العدوية، ص7 وما بعدها، وانظر أيضاً: ص104؛ قاسم غني، تاريخ التصوف في الإسلام، ص54-55؛ على سامي النشار، نشأة الفكر الفلسفي في الإسلام، ط7، ج3، ص176-177؛ جوزيبي سكاتولين وأحمد حسن، التجليات الروحية في الإسلام، ص30.78.1968. Caspar.

⁶ عبد الرحمن بدوي، شهيدة العشق الإلهي، ص7-8 (بتصرف).

⁷ راجع: فريد الدين العطار، تذكرة الأولياء، ج1، ص259-275.

⁸ Smith 1984:21.

⁹ عبد الرحمن بدوي، شهيدة العشق الإلهي، ص43-44.

(ت:412/هـ/1021م) حينما فرق بين رابعة العدوية، ورابعة الأزدية ورابعة الشامية¹⁰ زوجة أحمد بن أبي الحواري (ت:230/هـ/848م)¹¹.

2. شخصية رابعة العدوية بين الأسطورة والحقيقة:

لعبت الأسطورة التاريخية، دورًا مرموق الأهمية في تاريخ "رابعة العدوية" ذلك لأن كثيرًا من المصادر التي أمدتنا بتراجم لرابعة لا يعول عليها، لأن أغلب الذين ترجموا لها عاشوا بعيدًا عنها¹². فقد لحق برابعة العدوية مجموعة كبيرة من الأساطير الغير قابلة للتصديق، والتي لا تخضع لمنطق ولا يصدقها عقل، ولا تضيف إليها شيء¹³. فليس من المنطقي مثلاً أن تذهب حاجة إلى بيت الله الحرام متقلبة على جنبها لتصل إلى الكعبة بعد ثماني سنوات (اللهم إلا إذا كان سرد مثل هذه العبارة على سبيل المجاز)، وليس من المعقول أنه عندما يذهب إبراهيم بن أدهم (ت:161/هـ/778م) إلى بيت الله الحرام فلم يجد الكعبة فيمتف به هاتف: إن الكعبة قد ذهبت لاستقبال رابعة¹⁴. ويعلق الباحث الكسندر كنيش Alexander Knysh على هذه الأساطير قائلاً: إن صمت الجاحظ (ت:256/هـ/869م) الكاتب العربي الأصيل الذي يعد أول من سجل لرابعة العدوية يشير إلى أن صورتها الأسطورية كانت ما تزال في طور الإعداد في القرن الثالث الهجري¹⁵.

إن معظم ما ينسب إلى رابعة العدوية من أخبار وأقوال يفترق إلى التحقيق العلمي، كما أنه خليط من عناصر أسطورية وعناصر تنسب إلى آخرين غيرها، ومن العسير على الباحث أن يقتنع بأن كل ما هو منسوب لرابعة العدوية صادر عنها بالفعل. فقد روى عنها أنها حجت فقالت: هذا (أي البيت الحرام) الصنم المعبود في الأرض، وإنه ما ولجّه الله ولا خلا منه¹⁶. ونحن على رأي المشككين¹⁷ في مدى انتساب هذه العبارة لرابعة العدوية، فإن تلك الأقوال تعد بحق بدايات الشطح الأولى، ونعتقد أن مثل هذه الأفكار قد نشأت فيما بعد على يد أبي يزيد البسطامي (ت:261/هـ/874م أو 264/هـ/878م)¹⁸ وظهرت في صورتها الكاملة عند المتصوف الحسين بن منصور الحلاج (ت:309/هـ/922م).

¹⁰ قد تشير تفرقة عبد الرحمن السلمي بين رابعة العدوية، ورابعة الأزدية، ورابعة الشامية على أن هذا الخلط قد حدث في عهد مبكر جدًا، مما أدى بالسلمي إلى التنبيه عليه تجنباً للخلط. انظر: عبد الرحمن السلمي، ذكر النسوة المتعبدات الصوفيات، ص 27، ص 54، ص 59. وراجع أيضاً: الذهبي، سير أعلام النبلاء، 241/8 و 243/8، ابن الجوزي، صفوة الصفوة، 300/4، ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ 565/5، الذهبي، تاريخ الإسلام، 22/6.

¹¹ من المهم التفرقة بين رابعة العدوية، ورابعة الشامية. وسينتج عن ذلك: أن كل الأخبار التي ثبتت سند روايتها وفهم أحمد بن أبي الحواري يجب أن نسقطها من حساب رابعة العدوية البصرية إذا نسبت إليها غفلاً من كل سند، لأن ما حدث به أحمد بن أبي الحواري يرتبط بزوجه رابعة الشامية، كما أن الأدلة التاريخية لا تدل على معرفته برابعة العدوية (ت:185/هـ/801م؟) كما أنه شامي ولا نعلم أنه أتى البصرة.. لمزيد من التفاصيل انظر: عبد الرحمن بدوي، شهيدة العشق الإلهي، ص 46-47.

¹² سهام خضر، رابعة العدوية بين الأسطورة والحقيقة، ص 17.

¹³ مأمون غريب، رابعة العدوية في محراب الحب الإلهي، ص 6.

¹⁴ راجع هذه الرواية: فريد الدين العطار، تذكرة الأولياء، ج 1، ص 262-263.

¹⁵ راجع موقف الباحث الكسندر كنيش حول هذا الموضوع: Knysh 2000:26-32.

¹⁶ ابن تيمية، الرسائل والمسائل، ج 1، ص 73. راجع أيضاً: عبد ال-رحمن بدوي، شهيدة العشق الإلهي، ص 39.

¹⁷ شكك العديد من الباحثين في مدى انتساب هذه العبارة لرابعة العدوية، راجع: حسين مروة، النزعات المادية، ج 2، ص 183؛

على سامي النشار، نشأة الفكر الفلسفي في الإسلام، ج 3، ص 212؛ عبد القادر محمود، الفلسفة الصوفية، ص 167-169؛ محمد الطيب، وحدة الوجود في التصوف الإسلامي، ص 26.

وأيضاً يوجد بعض الباحثين يرون أنه من المحتمل أن تكون هذه العبارة صادرة عن رابعة العدوية داخل إطار الحب المطلق لله وحده ومن منظور أنه لا محبوب إلا الله... انظر: إبراهيم بسبوني، نشأة التصوف الإسلامي، ص 195.

¹⁸ نجد ما يشابه ذلك عند البسطامي حين قال: حججت أول حجة فرأيت البيت؛ وحججت الثانية، فرأيت صاحب البيت ولم أر البيت، وحججت ثالثاً فلم أر البيت ولا صاحب البيت، راجع: عبد الرحمن بدوي، شطحات الصوفية، ص 102.

ورغم كثرة الأساطير المرتبطة بشخصية رابعة العدوية إلا أن ذلك ليس مبرراً لأن نتفق مع ما ذهب إليه الدكتور حسين مروة من تحليل لشخصية رابعة العدوية من منظور ماركسي حين قال: "إن الفقر الوحشي أدى برابعة إلى الكهف الداخلي العميق الذي أصبح عوضاً وهمياً لها عن الحرمان المادي الذي افتقرت شبابها"¹⁹. فالمصادر التاريخية لا تستطيع أن تؤيد ما قدمه النص السابق، علاوة على ذلك فمهما يكن من أمر هذه الأساطير فإنها أصبحت من أشهر المتحدثات عن الحب الإلهي في التاريخ الإسلامي²⁰.

3. مصادر أقوال رابعة العدوية (رؤية نقدية):

يعتبر البعض أن رابعة العدوية تعد من النقاط الفاصلة بين حركة الزهد وظهور التصوف، ونظراً لذلك نرى أهمية لتحديد دورها في نشأة المصطلحات والأفكار الصوفية في النصف الأخير من القرن الثاني الهجري، وهذا الأمر يتطلب بداية التحقق من مصادر أقوالها، فلو صدقت بعض المصادر قليلة الثقة فيما نقلته من أقوال عن رابعة العدوية لنتج عن ذلك إسقاط لبعض المعاني الصوفية التي ربما ليس لها أي صلة برابعة العدوية، وليس لها أي صلة بالنصف الأخير من القرن الثاني الهجري. ولو صدقنا على سبيل المثال أنها وصفت الكعبة قائلة: أنها الصنم المعبود في الأرض²¹ لربما لزم عن ذلك القول بأنها قد سبقت البسطامي (ت: 261هـ/874م أو 264هـ/878م) والحسين بن منصور الحلاج (ت: 309هـ/922م) في بعض الأقوال التي يمكن أن ندخلها في إطار الشطح، وربما أدخلها البعض في إطار الأقوال المبكرة المرتبطة بوحدة الوجود. لذلك نرى أهمية إعادة النظر ولو بشكل سريع في مصادر أقوالها التي جاءت حسب الترتيب التاريخي التالي:

- 1- الجاحظ (ت: 256هـ/869م): يُعد أول من أرخ لرابعة، عاش في البصرة في زمن قريب جداً من زمن رابعة العدوية، ومن المحتمل أن يكون عرفها في طفولته المبكرة، أو على الأقل عرف هؤلاء الذين عرفوها شخصياً من مريديها²². وقد ذكرها في كتاب: "البيان والتبيين"، وكتاب: "الحيوان". ومع ذلك لم يذكر عنها إلا عبارتين فقط، بالإضافة إلى أنه ذكر نسبها، حيث ذكر لنا أن عشيرة رابعة هم "القيسيون"، ومهم: "رياح القيسي"، و"حيان القيسي"²³.
- 2- أبو بكر الكلاباذي (380هـ/990م أو 384هـ/994م): في كتاب "التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف" يذكر لرابعة ثلاث عبارات فقط، ولم يذكر نسبها²⁴.
- 3- أبو طالب المكي (ت: 386هـ/996م): في كتاب "قوت القلوب" يذكر ثماني عبارات فقط لرابعة العدوية، كما فرق بينها وبين رابعة بنت إسماعيل زوجة أحمد بن أبي الحواري²⁵. ومن ضمن ما ذكره أبو طالب المكي لرابعة العدوية:

¹⁹ حسين مروة، النزعات المادية، ج2، ص181.

²⁰ في إطار النقد الذاتي: سبق وأن قدم كاتب هذه الدراسة - في دراسة سابقة - صورة لحياة رابعة العدوية تفتقد إلى الأدلة التاريخية، كما تقترب من الصور الأسطورية التي قدمتها المصادر التاريخية المتأخرة، كما تفتقد إلى النقد حين قال: "فقدت أبوبها وهي صغيرة، وما إن شبت حتى بيعت لخدمة رجل غليظ القلب، وهكذا كان احتكاكها الأول بالحياة مذاقه مُر من قسوة قلوب الناس واستبدادهم بالفقراء والضعفاء، فرأت أن لا ملجأ لها إلا الله، فهو الوحيد الذي يقدر على إنقاذها من هذه الدنيا المليئة ظلماً وجوراً، فأكثر في ذكره والدعاء إليه حتى استجاب الله لاشتياقها، وفي ليلة من الليالي رآها سيدها تصلى، فتأثر برؤيتها في تلك الحالة فأعتقها، هكذا انتقلت رابعة من حياة عادية إلى حياة دينية صوفية، فاختارت لنفسها كوخاً فقيراً في ضواحي البصرة، فأقبلت على الزهد والعبادة لا تريد شيئاً من هذه الدنيا". راجع: التجليات الروحية في الإسلام، ص78-79.

²¹ ابن تيمية، الرسائل والمسائل، ج1، ص73. راجع أيضاً: عبد الرحمن بدوي، شهيدة العشق، ص39.

²² سهام خضر، رابعة العدوية، ص18.

²³ الجاحظ، كتاب الحيوان، ج1، ص81.

²⁴ راجع: أبو بكر الكلاباذي، التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف، ص108، ص120، ص172.

²⁵ راجع الأقوال: أبو طالب المكي، قوت القلوب ج1 ص320، ج1 ص381، ج2 ص80، ج2 ص112، ج2 ص113، ج2 ص472.

أحبُّكَ حبين: حب الهوى وحبُّاً لأنك أهل لذاك
فأما الذي هو حب الهوى فشغلي بذكرك عمن سواك
وأما الذي أنت أهل له فكشفك للحجب حتى أراك
فلا الحمد في ذا ولا ذاك لي ولكن لك الحمد في ذا وذاك

ولم يكتف صاحب القوت بذكر هذه الأبيات فحسب، بل لقد شرح وعلق على هذه الأبيات، كما شرح بوضوح تفرقتها بين الحبين وما يحتاج إليه من تفصيل حتى يقف عليه من لا يعرفه. والغريب في الأمر أن الأبيات السابقة المنسوبة لرابعة العدوية لا نجد لها في مصادر القرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريين (حسب ما اطلعنا عليه من مصادر) إلا في كتاب: "قوت القلوب" لأبي طالب المكي فقط. وهذا يجعلنا نتساءل هل هذه الأبيات حقاً لرابعة العدوية؟ وربما نكتشف ذلك في الصفحات القادمة.

4- عبد الملك الخركوشي (ت: 406هـ/1015م): في كتابه "تهذيب الأسرار" يذكر تسعة أقوال لرابعة²⁶. إلا أن هناك أمراً في غاية الأهمية، حيث يذكر الخركوشي عن أحمد بن أبي الحواري قال: كان لرابعة أحوال شتى، فمرة غلب عليها حال الأنس فقالت:

لقد جعلت في الفؤاد محدثي وأبحت جسبي من أراد جلوسي
فالجسم مني للجليلس مؤانس وحبيب قلبي في الفؤاد أنيسه²⁷

وإذا كان الراوي هو أحمد بن أبي الحواري (ت: 230هـ/848م) زوج رابعة الشامية²⁸ (ت: 235هـ/852م تقريباً) فربما يعني ذلك أن هذه الأبيات قد نسبت إلى رابعة العدوية (ت: 185هـ/801م؟) نتيجة الخلط بينها وبين رابعة الشامية. كما أننا لا نجد هذه الأبيات منسوبة لرابعة العدوية (ت: 185هـ/801م) في المصادر الأخرى للقرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريين، بل نجد لها في المصادر المتأخرة²⁹. ويرفض الذهبي نسبة هذه الأبيات لرابعة العدوية مستنداً إلى قول أبي سعيد بن الأعرابي (ت: 341هـ/952م أول من صنف في طبقات الصوفية³⁰): أما رابعة، فقد حمل الناس عنها حكمة كثيرة، وحكى عنها سفيان وشعبة وغيرهما ما يدل على بطلان ما قيل عنها (أي الأبيات السابقة)³¹. وإذا ذهبنا إلى بعض المصادر المتأخرة سنجد أن كتاب "روض الرياحين في حكايات الصالحين"

²⁶ راجع الأقوال: الخركوشي، تهذيب الأسرار، ص 32، 35، 40، 42، ص 61، ص 62، ص 77.

²⁷ الخركوشي، تهذيب الأسرار، ص 62.

²⁸ من المفيد الإشارة إلى أن كل رواية ذكرت رابعة وذو النون المصري هي عن رابعة الشامية، التي ربما التقى بها ذو النون المصري أثناء أسفاره بالشام. راجع: سهام خضر، رابعة العدوية، ص 19.

²⁹ ربما لم تنسب هذه الأبيات لرابعة العدوية إلا في المصادر المتأخرة مثل: عبد الرؤوف المناوي (ت: 1031هـ/1621م)، طبقات الأولياء، ص 202.

³⁰ أبو سعيد الأعرابي (ت: 341هـ/952م) أول من صنف في طبقات الصوفية، وله كتاب مفقود اسمه طبقات النساك، ورد ذكره في العديد من المصادر التاريخية، وقد نقل عنه أبو الحسن الديلمي بعض العبارات، انظر: أبو الحسن الديلمي، عطف الألف المألوف على اللام المعطوف، ص 56.

³¹ الذهبي، سير أعلام النبلاء، 8/242.

تأليف محمد بن أسعد اليافي (ت:768هـ/1367م) قد ذكر ما ذكره الخرکوشي بالحرف بخصوص هذه الأبيات³². (أي نسيها لرابعة الشامية وليس لرابعة العدوية) ولنا أن نتذكر أن الخرکوشي وقتها كان من الشخصيات المجهولة³³، أي أن النص الذي أورده الخرکوشي (ت:406هـ/1015م) ربما كان معروفاً في بعض المصادر الأخرى حتى وصل إلى أسعد اليافي (ت:768هـ/1367م).

5- عبد الرحمن السلمي (ت:412هـ/1021م): في كتابه "ذكر النسوة المتعبدات الصوفيات" يذكر ثمانية أقوال لرابعة العدوية، كما فرق بينها وبين (رابعة الأزدية من أهل البصرة) و(رابعة بنت إسماعيل الشامية)³⁴.

6- أبو نعيم الأصفهاني (ت:430هـ/1038م): في كتابه الشهير "حلية الأولياء"، قد ذكر عبارتين فقط لرابعة العدوية.

7- عبد الكريم القشيري (ت:465هـ/1073م): في كتابه الشهير "الرسالة القشيرية" ذكر ست عبارات فقط لرابعة العدوية، دون أن يفرق بينها وبين رابعة الشامية³⁵.

8- أبو حامد الغزالي (ت:505هـ/1111م): في كتابه الشهير "إحياء علوم الدين" ذكر ست عبارات فقط لرابعة العدوية³⁶، كما أنه فرق بينها وبين رابعة الشامية، حين قال: وكانت رابعة [زوجة أحمد بن أبي الحواري] هذه تُشبه في أهل الشام برابعة العدوية بالبصرة³⁷.

جدول رقم (1): يوضح مصادر أقوال رابعة العدوية حسب ظهورها التاريخي وتكرار الأقوال بين المصادر المختلفة³⁸

الأقوال على حسب ترتيب ظهورها التاريخي ³⁹	الشخصية
(1) + (2)	الجاحظ (ت:256هـ)
(3) + (4) + (5)	الكلاباذي (ت:380هـ)
(6) + (7) + (8) + (9) + (10) + (11)	المكي (ت:386هـ)
(12) + (13) + (14) + (15) + (16) + (17) + (18) + (19)	الخرکوشي (ت:406هـ)
(20) + (21) + (22) + (23) + (24) + (25)	السلمي (ت:412هـ)
(26) + (21)	الأصفهاني (ت:430هـ)
(27) + (28) + (24) + (19) + (5) + (8)	القشيري (ت:465هـ)
(7) + (6) + (4) + (8) + (14) + (29) + (30) + (31)	الغزالي (ت:505هـ)
الأقوال من (32) حتى (320)!!!	من القرن السادس وما تلاه..

³² محمد اليافي، روض الرياحين في حكايات الصالحين، ص102.

³³ لمزيد من التفاصيل عن عبد الملك الخرکوشي انظر: جوزيبي سكاتولين وأحمد حسن أنور، الأبعاد الصوفية عند عبد الملك الخرکوشي "دراسة ونصوص"، ص33 وما بعدها.

³⁴ راجع الأقوال: عبد الرحمن السلمي، ذكر النسوة المتعبدات، ص27-31، ص54، ص59-60.

³⁵ راجع الأقوال: عبد الكريم القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ص322، ص366، ص424، ص516، ص624.

³⁶ راجع الأقوال: أبو حامد الغزالي، إحياء علوم الدين، 1/415، 2/240، 3/241، 3/373، 5/244، 5/261.

³⁷ الغزالي، إحياء علوم الدين، 2/119.

³⁸ تشير الألوان إلى مدى تكرار بعض الأقوال.

³⁹ تم ترقيم وترتيب أقوال رابعة العدوية الواردة في المصادر المتعددة حسب الترتيب التاريخي للمصادر حيث تم ترقيم الأقوال الواردة في المصادر من الأقدم إلى الأحدث. فمثلاً سنرمز للعبارات الواردة لدى الجاحظ برقم (1) + (2) .. والكلاباذي رقم (3) وما يليه وهكذا.. حسب الظهور التاريخي لهذه الأقوال.. أما الأقوال المكررة في هذه المصادر فسندكر رقمها حسب المصدر الأقدم، وستلون الأرقام التي تعبر عن الأقوال المتكررة.

ويمكننا من خلال الجدول السابق أن نلاحظ ما يلي:

1- يتضح من هذا الجدول أننا يمكن أن نثق في الأقوال رقم (4 + 7 + 8) بنسبة كبيرة جدا، نظرا لتكرار هذه الأقوال في ثلاث مصادر تاريخية مختلفة.

2- الأقوال رقم (1+5+6+12+14+15+19+21+24) يمكن أن نثق بها بنسبة كبيرة، نظرا لتكرارها في أكثر من مصدر تاريخي مختلف.

3- أما الأقوال الأخرى، فيمكن أن يختلف مدى ثقتنا فيها على حسب ظهورها التاريخي. فالقول المنسوب لرابعة العدوية والمشار إليه برقم (2) يمكن أن نثق فيه بشكل أكبر من القول المشار إليه برقم (27) و(28). حيث إن القول رقم (2) وصل إلينا عن طريق الجاحظ (ت:256هـ) وهو قريب لزمن رابعة العدوية. أما القول رقم (27) و(28) فقد وصل إلينا عن طريق أبو حامد الغزالي (ت:505هـ/1111م)، ونظرا للمسافة التاريخية، وعدم تكرار هذا القول في المصادر التاريخية السابقة على الغزالي، فلا نستطيع أن نثق بمثل هذا القول بالقدر الكافي إلا إذا ثبت من خلال المصادر التاريخية الأقدم، وإن لم يثبت فيبقى هذا القول موضع الشك. وقد يكون هناك طريق آخر للتأكد من هذه الأقوال، وذلك عن طريق رؤية مدى اتساق مفردات ومصطلحات هذه الأقوال مع مفردات ومصطلحات الأقوال الموثوق بنسبتها لرابعة العدوية بشكل أكبر.

4- وجدنا في بعض المصادر التاريخية التي تم كتابتها في القرنين السادس والسابع الهجريين وما تلاهما بعض الأقوال المنسوبة لرابعة العدوية. ويمكننا القول بأن أي قول ورد في هذه المصادر المتأخرة لا يمكن تصديقه إلا إذا تم التأكد منه عن طريق المصادر التاريخية الأقدم، وإلا فلا يمكننا تصديق نسبة هذه الأقوال لرابعة العدوية. فكيف وصلت هذه الأقوال إلى مؤلفي القرن السادس الهجري وما تلاه رغم عدم وجودها في المصادر التاريخية السابقة لذلك؟!.

5- من القرن السادس حتى القرن العاشر الهجري وجدنا العبارات من رقم (32) حتى رقم (320) أي ما يقرب من 300 عبارة، لم تكن مدونة فيما قبل عصر الغزالي - حسب المصادر التي اطلعنا عليها - فكيف انتقلت هذه الأقوال من القرن الثاني الهجري عصر رابعة العدوية إلى القرن السادس الهجري وما تلاه دون أن تكون مدونة في المصادر التاريخية السابقة؟ وكيف وصلت هذه الأقوال إلى مؤلفي القرن السادس الهجري وما تلاه رغم عدم وجودها في المصادر التاريخية السابقة لذلك؟! هذا هو السؤال الجوهرى في هذا البحث، بالرغم من أن الباحث لا يملك إجابة واضحة عليه.

6- بعد حصر أقوال رابعة العدوية - الـ (31) عبارة المدونة من المصادر التاريخية من القرن الثالث الهجري حتى نهاية القرن الخامس الهجري - نعتقد أنه قد يكون من المفيد جمع المصطلحات المركزية الواردة في هذه الأقوال، ونعتقد أن ذلك قد يساعد في تحديد الأبعاد الصوفية لديها.

جدول رقم (2): المصطلحات المركزية لدى رابعة العدوية

العدد	المصطلح	العدد	المصطلح	العدد	المصطلح
2	المعرفة	6	الحزن	2	الخوف
5	القلب	3	الرضا	4	الاستغفار
2	الحجاب	2	القرب	4	التوبة
2	الشوق	1	السكر	1	الزهد
15	المحبة	1	الأنس	1	الصدق

ويوضح الجدول السابق أن مصطلح "المحبة" هو المصطلح المركزي في أقوال رابعة العدوية، حيث ورد (15) مرة على وجه التحديد، كما وردت مصطلحات أخرى لها علاقة مباشرة بالمحبة مثل (القلب - القرب - السكر - الألس - الشوق)، وبناءً عليه سنبدأ في دراسة مفهوم المحبة عند رابعة العدوية، ربما ساعدنا أكثر في موضوع الدراسة.

4. مفهوم المحبة عند رابعة العدوية "رؤية تاريخية تحليلية":

اختلفت وتضاربت الآراء والاتجاهات حول دور رابعة العدوية في صياغة مفهوم الحب الإلهي. فهناك من قام بتأكيد ذلك، وهناك من اعتبر ذلك مبالغة تؤدي إلى الكثير من الأخطاء التاريخية المرتبطة بحركة الزهد. إذن نحن بصدد اتجاهين:

1. الاتجاه الأول: يشير أصحاب هذا الاتجاه إلى أن هناك العديد من المصادر والمراجع العربية التي تقدم رابعة العدوية باعتبارها أول من فتحت بأقوالها المنظومة والمنثورة فتحًا جديدًا في تاريخ الحياة الروحية الإسلامية⁴⁰. وإذا كانت المستشرقة الألمانية مارجريت سميث Margaret Smith قد اجتمعت في جمع المعلومات المتعلقة بحياة بعض المعاصرات لرابعة من الصالحات العابدات الزاهدات اللاتي عشن في أواخر القرن الثاني للهجرة ممن كن يعرفن بـ "بكاوات الدهر"⁴¹. فإن هؤلاء جميعًا لم يبلغن في الشهرة مبلغ رابعة العدوية التي نسب إليها الفضل في إدخال مفهوم الحب الإلهي الخالص في التصوف الإسلامي في مرحلته الزهدية، وفي عهد لم يكن للحديث في أمر المحبة الصوفية طريقًا ممهّدًا. هنالك استعملت في غير تهيّب كلمة الحب في العلاقة بينها وبين الله، فكانت من أوائل من تغنى بنغمة الحب الإلهي⁴². ومن أبرز المؤيدين لهذا الرأي الدكتور عبد الرحمن بدوي، والدكتور أبو الوفا التفتازاني، والدكتور محمد مصطفى حلبي، والدكتور محمد الراشد والمستشرق الروسي أرتور سعديف والمستشرقة الألمانية مارجريت سميث، والمستشرقة الألمانية أنا ماري شيميل وغيرهم⁴³.

2. الاتجاه الثاني: يذهب أصحاب هذا الاتجاه إلى عكس ما ذهب إليه أصحاب الاتجاه الأول. حيث يرون أن معظم ما قدمه فريد الدين العطار عن رابعة العدوية يضع الباحثين في مجال غير دقيق.. خاصة إذا وضعنا الشواهد المهمة التي ذكرها الكلاباذي حول مذهب رابعة في الحب والذي يتضمن أبياتها المشهورة التي تبدأ بقولها (أحبك حين). فقد ذكر الكلاباذي (ت: 380هـ/994م) هذه الأبيات ولكنه لم يذكر أنها لرابعة العدوية، بل قال: (قال بعضهم:...) هذا من ناحية، ومن ناحية ثانية عدم التفات كل من الطوسي والقشيري والخركوشي إلى هذه الأبيات. ومن ناحية ثالثة: أنه إذا كان أبو طالب المكي (ت: 386هـ/996م) قد نسب هذه الأبيات لرابعة العدوية وحاول شرحها، فلا ننس أن الكلاباذي معاصره صاحب كتاب: التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف (الذي وصفه بالعبارة الشهيرة: لولا كتاب التعرف لما عرف التصوف) والذي أرخ فيه للتصوف ورجاله، مما يدل على معرفته الجيدة بتاريخ التصوف الإسلامي في القرنين الثاني والثالث الهجريين ذكر أبياتها قائلاً (قال بعضهم).. وفي الوقت نفسه أورد ثلاث عبارات أخرى لرابعة العدوية.. مما يدل على أنه كان على معرفة بها. ونعتقد أن أبي طالب المكي لا نستطيع أن نعتمد عليه كمؤرخ للصوفية السابقين عليه مثلما نستطيع أن نعتمد ونثق في أبو بكر الكلاباذي

⁴⁰ محمد مصطفى حلبي، الحياة الروحية في الإسلام، ص 20.

⁴¹ أنا ماري شيميل، المرأة في التصوف، ص 21.

⁴² محمد بن الطيب، وحدة الوجود في التصوف الإسلامي، ص 21.

⁴³ لمزيد من التفاصيل راجع: عبد الرحمن بدوي، شهيدة العشق الإلهي، ص 64-75؛ أبو الوفا التفتازاني، مدخل إلى التصوف الإسلامي، ص 84-89؛ محمد مصطفى حلبي، الحياة الروحية في الإسلام، ص 20؛ محمد الراشد، نظرية الحب والاتحاد، ص 81-86؛ Smith 1984:25؛ أنا ماري شيميل، الأبعاد الصوفية، ص 47-50. أرتور سعديف وتوفيق سلوم، الفلسفة العربية الإسلامية، ص 280.

⁴⁴ الكلاباذي، التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف، ص 129.

الذي يُظهر إمامه الكبير بتاريخ التصوف السابق عليه. ليس هذا فحسب بل إن الأصبهاني في حلية الأولياء ينسب هذه الأبيات الشعرية لسيدة تتحدث مع ذي النون المصري (ت: 245هـ/859م) في الشام⁴⁵، فربما تكون هذه الأبيات لرابعة الشامية.

ومن أبرز المشككين في مدى انتساب العديد من الأقوال (المرتبطة بالمحبة) لرابعة العدوية الشيخ مصطفى عبد الرازق الذي قال: إنه من التعسف أن ينسب إلى رابعة العدوية التصدي لمعالجة دقائق المسائل الصوفية⁴⁶. والدكتور عبد القادر محمود الذي ذهب إلى القول: أرى أن الدكتور بدوي قد أسرف في حكمه (أي وصفه لها: شهيدة العشق الإلهي) وأعطى مكاناً لرابعة ليست له.. فلا شك أنها لم تصل إلى هذا المستوى ولدينا شك في صحة أغلب ما نسب إليها⁴⁷. أما الدكتور كامل الشيبني فينتقد ما نسب إليها قائلاً: ويبدو من هذه الأبيات (أحبك حين) التأخر أولاً، وضعفها باد في التعبير والسيك، وعلوها مسحة الشعر التعليمي الذي يقصد به ضغط تفاصيل العلوم في أبيات تحفظ عن ظهر قلب. ونحله - لذلك - بين، وإن يكن الاتصال بين عبارة عامر "لو كشف الغطاء ما ازدت يقيئاً"، ويوضح هذا النحل خبر ينسب إلى الكندي الفيلسوف (ت: 185-252هـ) حين عرض عليه شعر شبيه بهذا، فقال: والله لقد قسمتها تقسيماً فلسفياً، وإذا كان هذا التعداد الجميل يدخل في باب التقسيم الفلسفي فما أخلق أبيات رابعة - والمفروض أنها سابقة عليه، والرأي عندنا أن الذي زور⁴⁸ الأبيات الماضية هو ذو النون المصري (ت: 245هـ/859م) وإليه نسبت في المخطوط: (رقم 75- تاريخ - مدار الكتب المصرية، ورقة 60 ب)⁴⁹. وكذلك الدكتور حسين مروه عندما قال: ينبغي أولاً أن نسقط من حسابنا الكثير مما تنسبه إليهما (يقصد رابعة العدوية ومعروف الكرخي) كتب الصوفية من أخبار مصنوعة في عصر متأخر عن عصرهما لإحاطتهما بهالة أسطورية⁵⁰. ويقول في موضع آخر: وأجروا على لسانها أقوالاً هي جميعاً أقرب أن تكون من صور السلوك ومن الأقوال التي عرفها عصر التصوف الحقيقي لا عصر الزهد الذي لا يزال سابقاً لمرحلة النضج والتحول⁵¹. أما العلامة على سامي النشار فيذهب إلى القول: ثم يُنسب إليها رباعيتها المشهورة والتي ترجع نسبتها لذي النون المصري (أحبك حين).. إن هذه الرباعية من روح ذي النون المصري... ثم إذا كانت الأبيات تنسب له في هذا اللقاء الروحي أو هذه المناجاة مع امرأة على الساحل، فلا شك أن الأبيات له⁵².

3. تعليق وتقييم على آراء أصحاب الاتجاهين: لم يقدم أصحاب الاتجاه الأول الأدلة التاريخية الكافية لإثبات موقف رابعة العدوية في المحبة، مما جعلهم محل النقد من أصحاب الاتجاه الثاني. وفي نفس الوقت بالغ بعض أصحاب الاتجاه الثاني في إخراج رابعة العدوية من دائرة الحديث عن المحبة. فلا يجب أن يصل شك بعضهم إلى درجة تصورها مجرد خليط جامع من مدرسة الإمام جعفر الصادق (ت: 148هـ/765م) شيئاً ومن النص المسيحي شيئاً آخر⁵³.

⁴⁵ الأصبهاني، حلية الأولياء، ج9، ص348.

⁴⁶ مصطفى عبد الرازق، مجلة المعرفة، ص15.

⁴⁷ لمزيد من التفاصيل، راجع: عبد القادر محمود، الفلسفة الصوفية في الإسلام، ص162-170.

⁴⁸ كلمة (زور) هي من استخدام الدكتور كامل الشيبني، لا تتفق تمام الاتفاق مع هذا المصطلح وربما كان من الأجدر استخدام مصطلح آخر، أو عبارة أخرى لشرح نفس المعنى.

⁴⁹ للمرة الثانية نلاحظ ربط الأبيات المنسوبة لرابعة (أحبك حين) بذي النون المصري، انظر: كامل الشيبني، الصلة بين التصوف، ج2، ص322-323.

⁵⁰ حسين مروه، النزعات المادية في الفلسفة العربية، ج2، ص179.

⁵¹ المرجع السابق، ج2، ص180.

⁵² للمرة الثالثة نلاحظ الربط بين هذه الأبيات وذي النون المصري، انظر: على سامي النشار، نشأة الفكر الفلسفي في الإسلام، ج3، ص208-209.

⁵³ راجع: محمد بن الطيب، وحدة الوجود في التصوف، ص21.. عبد القادر محمود، الفلسفة الصوفية في الإسلام، ص163-

وتثبت الأقوال التي قمنا بجمعها من المصادر التاريخية المختلفة أن لرابعة العدوية موقفًا في "المحبة"، فقد ورد مصطلح "المحبة" لديها خمس عشرة مرة، ومصطلح "القلب" خمس مرات، ومصطلح "الشوق" مرتين، ومصطلح "الأنس" مرة واحدة فقط. فكما ذكرنا يبدو أن لرابعة العدوية موقف في المحبة ويبدو أن هذا الموقف أشبه بالجدار الذي ظل يرتفع بمر السنين فتاهت أحجاره وسط بعضها البعض بين رابعة العدوية واللاحقين عليها، ممن وضعوا أحجارًا فوق أحجارها ونسبوا بناء الجدار بالكامل إليها، ونعتقد أن التعامل التاريخي مع أقوالها هو ما قد يساعد على حل هذه الإشكالية.

وفي جميع الأحوال يجب أن نتذكر أن المصادر التاريخية القديمة تقدم لنا أقوالا لرابعة العدوية (يصعب الشك في مدى نسبها إليها) – بخلاف العشرات من الأقوال التي يمكن أن نشك فيها أو حتى نرفضها) تعبر بحق عن عمق تجربتها في المحبة في وقت مبكر من نشأة وتطور التصوف، وسنرى ذلك في السطور التالية.

4. أشعار منسوبة لرابعة في المحبة: أما بخصوص الأشعار التي اختلف الباحثون حول مدى انتسابها لرابعة العدوية من عدمه، فنحن لا نعتقد بانتساب هذه الأبيات لرابعة العدوية للأسباب التي عرضناها من قبل. مثل:

- (1) ذكر الكلاباذي لهذه الأبيات قائلا: "قال بعضهم"، ولم يقل: قالت رابعة.
- (2) نسبها صاحب الحلية لسيدة أوردتها في حوار مع ذي النون المصري بالشام.
- (3) لو قرأنا هذه الأبيات وأدخلناها في مقارنة مع أشعار ذي النون المصري الواردة في المصادر المختلفة لظهر مدى التشابه الكبير في الشكل والأسلوب والمضمون مما يجعلنا نرجح أنها لذي النون المصري.
- (4) توقف العديد من الصوفية من أمثال: الطوسي والخركوشي والسلمي والقشيري وغيرهم عن تقديم هذه الأبيات.

- (5) شكوك بعض المؤرخين المسلمين كالذهبي وغيره في نسبة هذه الأبيات لرابعة العدوية.
- (6) حينما أورد الدكتور عبد الرحمن بدوي هذه الأبيات لم يعتمد إلا على أبو طالب المكي (كمصدر أول لهذه الأبيات) ويعدها اعتمد على المصادر التي كتبت في القرنين السابع والثامن الهجريين.
- (7) ربما كانت تجربتها الذاتية في حصر المحبة في محبوبها الإلهي شكلاً دافعاً لدى البعض من الاستئناس بهذه الأبيات لتأكيد عمق تجربتها في المحبة.

كل هذه الأسباب تجعلنا نتشكك في نسبة هذه الأبيات لرابعة العدوية، ولا تجعلنا نشك في أنها صاحبة تجربة روحية عميقة قائمة على المحبة لله وحده (حسب ما يظهر في الـ 31 عبارة المتكررة في المصادر التاريخية). وعلى أية حال تبقى هذه النقطة مجالاً مفتوحاً للبحث والمناقشة، وربما ظهرت بعض الأدلة التاريخية التي ترجح موقفاً دون آخر.

ورغم كل ذلك فإننا نعتقد بأن الهدف النهائي للتجربة الصوفية عند رابعة العدوية هو المحبة. ففي ضوء ما يظهر من أقوالها في: التوبة، والرضا، والزهد، والمعرفة. فإن المحطة الأخيرة للمصطلحات السابقة عند رابعة هي المحبة. وربما يمكن فهم تجربتها في المحبة حسب المراحل التالية:

- (1) **الحب لله وحده:** حيث رأت أنه لا يجدر بها إلا أن تتفرغ بقلها وفكرها لذكر الله وحده ولا شيء سواه.. فكانت لا تملك إلا نسيان الدنيا نسياناً كلياً حتى لا يدخل قلبها إلا ذكر الله وحده. ويمكننا أن نجد العديد من الأقوال التي تعبر عن هذه المرحلة مثل: قال لها سفيان الثوري: ما أقرب ما تقرب به العبد إلى الله عز وجل؟ فبكت وقالت: مثلي يُسأل عن هذا؟ أقرب ما تقرب العبد به إلى الله تعالى أن يعلم أنه لا يحب من الدنيا والآخرة غيره⁵⁴. وأيضاً في ردها على أمير البصرة: ما يسرنى أنك لي عبد وأن كل ما تملكه لي وأنك شغلتنني عن الله طرفة عين⁵⁵.
- (2) **الحب لله والشوق لمشاهدته:** حيث اشتد شوقها إلى لقاء ربها فملأها ذلك الشوق شعوراً عميقاً بالغربة والحزن، ولعل هذا ما يفسر كثرة أقوالها المرتبطة بالحزن. ومن الأقوال التي يمكن أن ندخلها في إطار هذه

⁵⁴ نرّمز لهذه العبارة برقم (23) انظر: عبد الرحمن السلمي، ذكر النسوة المتعبدات، ص30.

⁵⁵ نرّمز لهذه العبارة برقم (10) انظر: أبو طالب المكي، قوت القلوب، ج2، ص112.

المرحلة، قولها: من يدلنا على حبيبنا؟ فقالت خادمة لها: حبيبنا معنا، ولكن الدنيا قطعت بيننا وبينه⁵⁶. وأيضاً: هل طالت بك الأيام والليالي بالشوق إلى لقاء الله، فقالت: نعم⁵⁷.

(3) **الحب لله وحده المته عن أمل الجزاء وخوف العقاب:** نجد عند رابعة العدوية لونا آخر من الحب أكثر عمقا وأشد غرابة مما نعرفه عند عامة الناس لم يُفتح بابه لغيرها من قبل – ربما باستثناء إبراهيم بن أدهم في عبارته الشهيرة: "اللهم إنك تعلم إن الجنة لا تزن عندي جناح بعوضة، إذا أنت أنستني بذكرك، ورزقتني حيك، وسهلت علي طاعتك، فأعط الجنة لمن شئت"⁵⁸ – من الحب لله وحده دون ما سواه، ومن الحب لله الذي يملأ القلب شوقاً ورغبة في لقائه في الآخرة بصرف النظر عن الثواب والعقاب، والجنة والنار، ولعل عبارتها الشهيرة: ما عبدت الله خوفاً من الله، فأكون كالأمه السوء إن خافت عملت، ولا حبا للجنة فأكون كأمة السوء إن أعطيت عملت، ولكن عبدته حباً له وشوقاً إليه⁵⁹. ليس هذا فحسب بل أصبح الله وحده دون غيره هو الحبيب والمحبوب من أجل ذاته فحسب، ولعل هذا يفسر قولها لرباح بن عمرو القيسي (ت: 180هـ/796م)⁶⁰ عندما رآته يقبل صبياً صغيراً، فقالت: أتحيه؟ قال: نعم، قالت: ما كنت أحسب أن في قلبك موضع لمحبة غير الله عز وجل⁶¹. ويتطور الأمر أكثر من ذلك إلى أن قالت حين سئلت عن حبا للرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم؟ فقالت: والله إني لأحبه حباً شديداً، ولكن حب الخالق شغلني عن حب المخلوقين⁶².

5. نتائج الدراسة:

1. يظهر من المصنفات الصوفية المدونة حتى نهاية القرن الخامس الهجري أن ما هو منسوب تاريخياً لرابعة العدوية في هذه الفترة يساوي (10%) فقط من كل ما نُسب إليها حتى نهاية القرن العاشر الهجري – حسب المصادر التي اطلعنا عليها – وهذا يستدعي عدة تساؤلات منها: إذا كانت الأقوال المنسوبة لرابعة العدوية (ت: 185هـ) حتى نهاية القرن الخامس الهجري هي (31) عبارة فقط، فهل باقي العبارات التي دونت من القرن السادس وحتى القرن العاشر الهجري هي فعلاً لرابعة العدوية؟ وإذا كانت الإجابة بنعم: فكيف وصلت هذه الأقوال إلى كتاب القرن السادس وما تلاه وصولاً للقرن العاشر الهجري دون أن تكون مدونة في القرون السابقة؟ وإلى أي مدى تدخلت الصور الأسطورية في عملية بناء وتشكيل هذه النصوص والأقوال؟ وبالرغم من أن الدراسة الحالية لا تستطيع تقديم إجابات واضحة على هذه التساؤلات – فيكفينا طرح التساؤل – إلا أن مثل هذه التساؤلات تستدعي أهمية إعادة النظر في تراث رابعة العدوية.
2. نعتقد بأهمية إعادة النظر في مراجعة بعض الأحكام المرتبطة برابعة العدوية – خاصة الأحكام التي اعتمدت على الأقوال والنصوص المدونة في المصادر التاريخية المتأخرة – نظراً لأن الاعتماد على مثل هذه الأقوال قد يؤدي بدارسي التصوف إلى إسقاط أفكار ونظريات ومعاني لا تتحملها البيئة الروحية أو الصوفية في القرن الثاني الهجري، مما قد يؤدي إلى الكثير من المغالطات التاريخية.
3. غطى الجانب الأسطوري على الجانب الإبداعي لدى رابعة العدوية نتيجة إصاق العديد من الأقوال والقصص الخرافية والأسطورية بشخصيتها، وربما كان ذلك سبباً للشك فيما قدمته كافة المصادر التاريخية –

⁵⁶ نرّمز لهذه العبارة برقم (14) انظر: الخركوشي، تهذيب الأسرار، ص 40.. الغزالي، إحياء علوم الدين، ج5، ص 261.

⁵⁷ نرّمز لهذه العبارة برقم (26) انظر: أبو نعيم الأصبهاني، حلية الأولياء، ج6، ص 193.

⁵⁸ أبو نعيم الأصبهاني، حلية الأولياء، ج8، ص 35.

⁵⁹ نرّمز لهذه العبارة برقم (9) انظر: المكي، قوت القلوب، ج2، ص 112.

⁶⁰ ينسب إليه أنه تحدث عن مقام "الخلّة" أو "الصحبّة الإلهية"، وتشير بعض الدراسات أن نظريته في الخلّة قد أثرت على رابعة العدوية، لمزيد من التفاصيل انظر: Anawati et Gardet 1961:26.

⁶¹ نرّمز لهذه العبارة برقم (21) انظر: السلي، ذكر النسوة، ص 29–30. الأصبهاني، حلية الأولياء، ج6، ص 193.

⁶² نرّمز لهذه العبارة برقم (15) انظر: الخركوشي، تهذيب الأسرار، ص 42.. السلي، ذكر النسوة، ص 29.

خاصة المتأخرة منها – علاوة على أن أغلب العبارات التي نسبت إلى رابعة العدوية في الفترات التاريخية المختلفة يدور معظمها في فلك المحبة، وربما دل ذلك على أن تجربتها في المحبة دفعت البعض إلى الاستئناس بنسب عدة أقوال وعبارات إليها.

4. بالرغم من كل ما سبق تثبت الأقوال المنسوبة لرابعة العدوية حتى نهاية القرن الخامس الهجري أن لديها تجربة في المحبة الإلهية، وليس هناك دليل أقوى من أن مصطلح "المحبة" هو المصطلح المركزي في أقوال رابعة العدوية، فقد ورد مصطلح "المحبة" لديها خمس عشرة مرة، ومصطلح "القلب" خمس مرات، ومصطلح "الشوق" مرتين، ومصطلح "الأنس" مرة واحدة فقط. وبناءً عليه نستطيع القول بأن هذه المصطلحات ظهرت في فترة تاريخية مبكرة – القرن الثاني الهجري – الذي شهد فترة النشأة والتكوين لما سمي بعد ذلك اصطلاحياً بـ (التصوف).

5. يبدو أن موقف رابعة العدوية في المحبة من المواقف الجديدة في الحياة الروحية في الإسلام، وربما لم يسبق إليها أحد قبل رابعة العدوية. علاوة على أنها وصلت إلى تلك الدرجة الرفيعة من الحب ليس من باب التفلسف أو التعلم من العلماء لكن من باب قلمها المولع بحب الله، المفعم بشعور وعواطف لا يعرفها إلا المحب المخلص وحده. وبذلك يمكن اعتبارها بهذه التجربة الفريدة فتحت باباً جديداً في التصوف الإسلامي سوف يتبعها فيه الصوفية اللاحقون لها، وأصبح الصوفية يعتبرونها صاحبة الفضل في فتح باب الحب الإلهي في التصوف الإسلامي، ذلك الباب – المحبة – الذي ستظهر آثاره أكثر لدى صوفية القرن الثالث الهجري مثل: البسطامي (ت: 261هـ/874م أو 264هـ/878م)، وأبي الحسين النوري (ت: 295هـ/907م)، وسمنون المحب (ت: 298هـ/910م)، ليتطور بعد ذلك لدى صوفية القرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريين من أمثال: الحسين بن منصور الحلاج (ت: 309هـ/922م)، وأبي الحسن الديلمي (ت: أوائل الخامس الهجري – مجهول)، والغزالي (ت: 505هـ/1111م). وصولاً لقمته لدى صوفية القرنين السادس والسابع الهجريين من أمثال: عمر بن الفارض (ت: 632هـ/1235م) الذي اشتهر باسم "سلطان العاشقين"، ومحيي الدين بن العربي (ت: 638هـ/1240م) الذي سمي بـ "الشيخ الأكبر".

6. حدث مع رابعة العدوية نوع من التطور الوجداني، وقد تجلى هذا التطور في الانتقال من "الخوف" باعتباره باعثاً ومحركاً للزهد – لدى الزهاد الأوائل – إلى "الحب الإلهي". فإذا كانت أقوال الزهاد الأوائل قد عبرت عن أن خوفهم من الله أشد من حبه إياه – مثل أقوال الإمام الحسن البصري (ت: 110هـ/728م) في الخوف – فإن هذه النظرة قد تطورت من خلال خبرة رابعة العدوية في المحبة.

7. من الملاحظ بشكل مبدئي أن ما يظهر مع أقوال رابعة العدوية حسب الجدول السابق رقم (1)، يظهر أيضاً مع شخصيات أخرى من شخصيات القرنين الأول والثاني الهجريين، مثل: الحسن البصري (ت: 110هـ/728م)، ومالك بن دينار (ت: 130هـ/47-748م)، وعبد الواحد بن زيد (ت: 177هـ/793م)، وإبراهيم بن أدهم (ت: 161هـ/777-778م)، وداود الطائي (ت: 165هـ/781م)، والفضيل بن عياض (ت: 187هـ/803م)، وشقيق البلخي (ت: 195هـ/810م)، ومعروف الكرخي (ت: 200هـ/815-816م) وغيرهم. حيث نجد نصوص منسوبة لهؤلاء ابتداء من القرن السادس الهجري لم تكن مدونة في المصادر التاريخية عامة والصوفية خاصة حتى نهاية القرن الخامس الهجري. والتساؤلات التي تنطبق على أقوال رابعة العدوية تصلح لأن تنطبق على أقوال أغلب شخصيات حركة الزهد – إن لم يكن كلها – في القرنين الأول والثاني الهجريين: كيف وصلت هذه الأقوال إلى كتاب القرن السادس وما تلاه وصولاً للقرن العاشر الهجري دون أن تكون مدونة في القرون السابقة؟ وإلى أي مدى تدخلت الصور الأسطورية في عملية بناء وتشكيل هذه النصوص والأقوال؟ ومثل هذه التساؤلات – نعتقد بأنها – كفيلة بإعادة النظر في التراث الروحي لشخصيات "حركة الزهد في الإسلام".

قائمة المصادر والمراجع

المصادر والمراجع العربية:

- إبراهيم بسيوني، *نشأة التصوف الإسلامي*، دار المعارف، مصر، 1969.
- ابن العماد الحنبلي، *شذرات الذهب في أخبار من ذهب*، مكتبة القدسي، القاهرة، بدون تاريخ.
- ابن تيمية، *الرسائل والمسائل*، دار الفكر للطباعة، بيروت، 1996.
- ابن خلكان، *وفيات الأعيان*، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، 1993.
- أبو الحسن الديلمي، *كتاب عطف الألف المؤلف على اللام المعطوف*، تحقيق ج. ك. فاديه، المعهد الفرنسي، القاهرة، 1962.
- أبو الحسن الديلمي، *عطف الألف المؤلف على اللام المعطوف*، تحقيق حسن الشافعي وجوزيف نورمنت، دار الكتاب اللبناني، بيروت، 2007.
- أبو الحسن الهجويزي، *كشف المحجوب*، ترجمة إسماعيل ماضي أبو العزائم، دار التراث العربي للنشر والتوزيع، القاهرة، بدون تاريخ.
- أبو الفداء ابن كثير، *البداية والنهاية*، المطبعة السلفية، القاهرة، 1351هـ.
- أبو الوفا التفتازاني، *مدخل إلى التصوف الإسلامي*، دار الثقافة للطباعة والنشر، القاهرة، 1979.
- أبو بكر الكلاباذي، *كتاب التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف*، تحقيق أحمد شمس الدين، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، 1993.
- أبو حامد الغزالي، *إحياء علوم الدين*، دار الخير، بيروت، 1990.
- أبو طالب المكي، *قوت القلوب في معاملة المحبوب*، تحقيق سعيد مكارم، دار صادر، بيروت، 1995.
- أبو نصر السراج الطوسي، *كتاب اللمع*، تحقيق عبد الحلیم محمود، مكتبة الثقافة الدينية، القاهرة، بدون تاريخ.
- أبو نعيم الأصبهاني، *حلية الأولياء وطبقات الأصفياء*، دار الكتاب العربي، بيروت، 1980.
- أرنور سعديف وتوفيق سلوم، *الفلسفة العربية الإسلامية "الكلام، المشائية، التصوف"*، دار الفارابي، بيروت، 2000.
- أنا ماري شيميل، *الأبعاد الصوفية في الإسلام وتاريخ التصوف*، ترجمة محمد إسماعيل السيد، دار الجمل، كولونيا، ألمانيا، 2006.
- الجاحظ، *البيان والتبيين*، القاهرة، 1332هـ.
- الجاحظ، *كتاب الحيوان*، القاهرة، 1907.
- جوزيبي سكاتولين وأحمد حسن، *التجليات الروحية في الإسلام نصوص صوفية عبر التاريخ*، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، القاهرة، 2008.
- روبرت كسبار، *مدخل تاريخي لدراسة التصوف الإسلامي*، المعهد البابوي للدراسات العربية والإسلامية، روما، 1968.
- سهام خضر، *رابعة العدوية بين الأسطورة والحقيقة*، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، 2010.
- شمس الدين الذهبي، *سير أعلام النبلاء*، مؤسسة الرسالة للنشر، بيروت، 1981.
- صبري متولي الشرفاوي، *الحب الإلهي عند صوفية القرنين الثالث والرابع الهجريين*، المكتبة المصرية، الإسكندرية، 2004.

- صلاح عزام، *الأولياء الثلاثة: رابعة العدوية*، مالك بن دينار، ذو النون المصري، مؤسسة دار الشعب، القاهرة، 2002.
- عبد الرؤف المناوي، *الكواكب الدرية في تراجم السادة الصوفية*، تحقيق عبد الحميد صالح، المكتبة الأزهرية للتراث، القاهرة، بدون تاريخ.
- عبد الرحمن السلمي، *ذكر النسوة المتعبدات الصوفيات*، تحقيق محمود محمد الطناحي، مكتبة الخانجي، القاهرة، 1993.
- عبد الرحمن بدوي، *شهيدة العشق الإلهي - رابعة العدوية*، مكتبة النهضة المصرية، القاهرة، 1962.
- عبد القادر محمود، *الفلسفة الصوفية في الإسلام: مصادرها ونظرياتها ومكانها من الدين والحياة*، دار الفكر العربي، 1966.
- عبد الكريم القشيري، *الرسالة القشيرية*، تحقيق عبد الحليم محمود ومحمود بن الشريف، دار الكتب الحديثة، القاهرة، بدون تاريخ.
- عبد الملك الخركوشي، *تهذيب الأسرار*، تحقيق بسام بارود، المجمع الثقافي، أبو ظبي، الإمارات، 1999.
- عبد المنعم الحفني، *رابعة العدوية إمامة العاشقين والمحزونين*، دار الرشد، القاهرة، 1996م.
- عبد الوهاب الشعراني، *الطبقات الكبرى*، دار الفكر العربي، القاهرة، بدون تاريخ.
- علي سامي النشار، *نشأة الفكر الفلسفي في الإسلام*، دار المعارف، 1980.
- فريد الدين العطار، *تذكرة الأولياء*، ترجمة منال عبد العزيز، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، القاهرة، 2006.
- كامل الشيبلي، *الصلة بين التصوف والتشيع: العناصر الشيعية في التصوف*، دار الأندلس للطباعة والنشر، بيروت، 1982.
- لويس ماسنيون، *مصطفى عبد الرازق، الإسلام والتصوف*، لجنة دائرة المعارف الإسلامية مطابع دار الشعب، القاهرة، 1979.
- مأمون غريب، *رابعة العدوية في محراب الحب الإلهي*، دار غريب، القاهرة، 2000.
- محمد الراشد، *نظرية الحب والاتحاد في التصوف الإسلامي*، دار الأوتار، دمشق، 2006.
- محمد البياني، *روض الرياحين في حكايات الصالحين*، المطبعة الكاستلية، مصر، 1881.
- المراجع الأجنبية:

- Caspar, Robert. 1968. *Cours de mystique musulmane*. Roma: PISA I.
- Caspar, Robert. 1973. *Textes de mystique musulmane*. Roma: PISA I.
- Anawati, G. C. et Louis Gardet. 1961. *Mystique musulmane: aspects et tendances expériences et techniques*, Paris, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin.
- Knysh, Alexander, 2000. *Islamic Mysticism – A Short History*. Leiden: Brill.
- Massignon, Louis. 1999. *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*. Paris: Cerf. (1st ed. Paris: Geuthner, 1922).
- Nicholson, Reynold Alleyne. 1989. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (1st ed. 1921).
- Smith, Margaret. 1984. *Rābī'a the Mystic and her fellow-saints in Islām*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ON CIRCUMAMBULATION IN CHELLAH AND ELSEWHERE POPULAR TRADITIONS, LEGAL PROHIBITIONS

Tamás Iványi

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

1. Visiting Chellah together with Alexander Fodor

1.1 In May, 1979 I spent three weeks in the Moroccan capital Rabat together with my colleague, Alexander Fodor. On the last day of his sojourn, a Friday, we visited together the Marinid necropolis of Chellah near Rabat, where we witnessed a group of young women making a visit (*ziyāra*) to the tombs of various local saints, further on a spring-fed pond full of water and the *mihrāb* of the ruinous *zāwiya* containing a mosque and *madrasa* of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, the first Marinid sultan to be buried in Chellah in 1286. We spent the whole afternoon observing the women's movements.

On this occasion we had only a very short time to spend in the Chellah since Alexander had to prepare for his home journey on the next day. Therefore he asked me, because I was going to stay on for a further period of three months, to go and visit the cemetery and the mosque in the next Fridays in order to observe women's customs, practices and rituals there in detail. This I did enthusiastically though that time I was not in the least interested in either women's customs or popular rituals. I sent my observations in weekly letters to him two or three times to make possible for him to use this material in one of his forthcoming articles. However, he never realized this project of his and my observations were never inserted in his writings. When asked, he replied smiling like a good Egyptian: *bukra, inšalla*.

1.2 In the last quarter of a century, however, my interest has increased in both women in Islam and the reaction of Islamic law to their practices. Thus I decided to publish at least a short notice on the most exciting and at the same time most controversial part of the rituals of the women at Chellah, that is, the circumambulation of the *mihrāb*, at the end of the building opposite the minaret. This, to my knowledge, has not yet been described or even mentioned in the relevant scholarly literature.

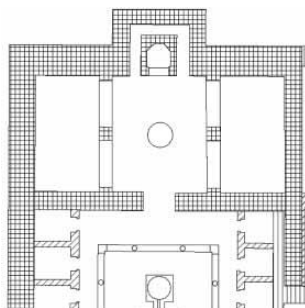
Afterwards, I describe some examples of the circumambulation around objects other than the Ka'ba from the Middle Ages, making a short mention of the similar Šūfī practice as well. Then I quote an arbitrary selection of anthropological

sources, which mention the same phenomenon in the Maghreb, Egypt, Tajikistan, the Indian Subcontinent, Indonesia, Gambia, selecting some cases when circumambulation aims at a healing process. Finally, I collected the critical remarks of some mediaeval religious scholars and modern religious opinions condemning circumambulation around places other than the House of God in Mecca. But I find it even more interesting how the official organs reacted to the increasingly disturbing circumambulation around the praying niches in the Maghreb in the past and in Chellah in the last decades trying to hinder it with physical measures.

2. Chellah – the building and the circumambulation

2.1 On the history of the building: was it a *zāwiya* or a *madrasa*, or both?¹

Only some parts of the wall of the *zāwiya* remained intact in the centre of this necropolis. It seems that this religious establishment had been at the same time a mosque, a Qur’ānic school (*madrasa*) and an accommodation for the students and pilgrims coming from all over the Maghreb. This building may have been constructed according to the same principles as the *madrasas* of Fez, not destroyed by earthquake.²



The reconstructed plan of part of the zāwiya (or madrasa) in Chellah, where the niche is supplied with a well observable ambulatory.³

The site was furnished for pilgrims, and at this point we should not forget the almost unique aspect of Chellah designed for them: the corridor for circumambulation around the *miḥrāb*. This feature is more reminiscent of a *zāwiya* than a *madrasa*, although the general architectural features recall the numerous *madrasas*

¹ Cf. Basset & Lévi-Provençal 1922:1–92, esp. 81–84 “medersa ou hôtellerie?”

² Most parts of the Chellah necropolis were demolished by the great Lisbon earthquake in 1755.

³ On the basis of Nagy 2014:134.

built by the Marinids.⁴ According to some sources the circumambulation of pilgrims was still current in the twentieth century.⁵

The former *zāwiya* could easily provide what was needed for the religious rites performed on the site and receive the pilgrims, who clearly arrived in great numbers. Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb and an-Numayrī – among others – mention that sanctity of the site and the religious practices performed there were widely known (Nagy 2014:144). It has also been proposed that some finds during more recent excavations in Chellah were connected with pilgrimage.⁶ Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡ an-Numayrī mentions the great number of travelling Sufis who attain lodgement and are abundantly supplied with provision in the *zāwiya* of Chellah (Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡ an-Numayrī, Fayḍ, 201). In the past it was supposedly the male devotees of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods or orders who performed their pilgrimages in the nearby Chellah instead of traveling to Mecca.

2.2 Chellah in the beginning of the 20th century

Within the ruins of the Abū Yūsuf mosque, in the depth of the *ḥalwa*, a strange ceremony was taking place on the 9th day of *Ḍū l-ḥiḡḡa*, the day of Arafat. It is an essential day of the Meccan pilgrimage, the vigil of the great feast, *al-ʿīd al-kabīr*. It is just this day when some Muslims gathered at this point of the *ḥalwa*. They were mainly from among the poor, living outside the town proper, in the shabby district of the *agdal* (meadows) of the Sultan (today inside Rabat, and is still called Agdal), in the community of Touarga. They had come here till some years ago, holding the view that it was equivalent with the Meccan pilgrimage. They had worn the usual clothes but they had been barefoot and their head uncovered, as it is prescribed for the pilgrims. They were headed by an imam whom the men followed in line, chanting the *talbiya* of the Meccan pilgrims. The last of these imams was called Sī Ġilālī Bel-Makkī. He died around the beginning of the 20th century.

Just as the pilgrims make seven circumambulations around the Kaʿba, they made seven circulations around the *miḥrāb* in the semi-circular corridor (apse) surrounding it, which separates it from the wall. After the seventh round they set to pray, and afterwards they made another seven tours behind their *imām*. The women, after having placed their donations in the tombs of the saints in the neighbourhood, began to prepare the food of the feast (Basset & Lévi-Provençal 1922:419–420).

⁴ Cf. Nagy 2014:141–142, esp. fn. 41.

⁵ For the rituals, see Basset & Lévi-Provençal 1922:419–22.

⁶ See El Khayari & Kbirī & Alaoui 1998:4–6, and Nagy 2014:144, fn. 47.

According to a legend the Prophet Muhammad had also prayed here so it made sufficient at an earlier time to make the circumambulations here around the *mihrāb* to call someone a *ḥāḡḡ*, pilgrim, a title otherwise could only be acquired by a Meccan pilgrimage (Ricard 1919:159).

Similar circumambulation ceremonies existed in other Moroccan places as well. Not, however, around a mihrab but around the tombs of acknowledged saints (Basset & Lévi-Provençal 1922:421).

The respect of this otherwise unlawful custom had been greatly raised by what the Moroccan Sultan did every year around the time of the Meccan pilgrimage: namely, he had made a round trip among his three royal capital visiting his castles and some holy places, for instance Chellah (*Ibid.* 1922:419).

According to Henri Basset and Évariste Lévi-Provençal this custom had been less and less followed during the first two decades of the 20th century. In 1922, only the children imitated these rites for amusing themselves and some families went out to the Chellah as part of their festivities on the vigil of the Great Feast (*Ibid.* 1922:420).

2.3 Women circumambulating in Chellah

The custom of circumambulating the *mihrāb* in the Chellah, however, had not extinct totally, only women had occupied the place of the men. The women always came to Chellah on Friday since it is traditionally held to be the most suitable day of the week for this kind of visitation. They arrived in smaller groups, three, four or five together, possibly the members of one family or neighbourhood, never with male company. First they visited the tombs of two unknown saints on the foot of a small mound near the main route of the Chellah garden.

Entering the tomb first they hung up their belts inside the *qubba* of one of the tombs accompanying this practice with a prayer and vow what they would do in case God fulfils their petition – they mainly desired male children. After paying a small sum to the keeper of the tomb, the women moved to the small pond where they stopped for a short prayer and threw small coins into the pond, while spitting into it.. Other more fortunate observers saw “sterile women come and throw peeled boiled eggs (available on the site) to the sacred eels gliding about in the depths. The eels only eat the whites, and the yolks get given to the assembled cats who obviously know the ropes.”⁷ They think that the eels found in the pond help keep them healthy.

⁷ Searight 1999:172. Searight has lived in Casablanca for more than 25 years, working as an archaeologist and tour guide.

At the end of their tour they entered the territory of the ruins going directly to the *mihrāb* to do there circumambulations and other practices of great importance for them. There three-four of them joined their palms and fingers around the prayer niche and began to circumambulate behind and around it. They rotate anti-clockwise around the *mihrāb* – that is, as the pilgrims do in Mecca and as the Arabic writing moves. This is made possible by the special structure of this niche which is built after the pattern of some Spanish (and other) Christian churches where one can circulate around the altar in the ambulatory, a semi-circular recess covered with a hemispherical vault.⁸

2.4 *Mihrābs* with a rear ambulatory

The form of the Christian apse was so strikingly similar to a *mihrāb* that it was not surprising that Arabic sources mention it as a feature borrowed from Christian churches.⁹ The *mihrāb* with a rear ambulatory is a strikingly common feature of the mosque built in the Maghreb and Andalusia in the early part of the Middle Ages. Whether it was only an architectural borrowing from the Christian church or it was originally meant to serve the purpose of circumambulation is hard to know but the fact that all of these ambulatories are nowadays blocked in some way well illustrates their “illegal” use in the past.

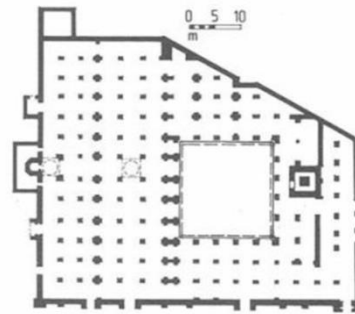
The *mihrāb* in the Great Mosque of Cordoba is framed by an exquisitely decorated arch behind which is an unusually large space, the size of a small room. “On the right of the *mihrāb* is a door for the *imām* to come in and go out. To the left of the *mihrāb* is another small door with a grating. Connecting these doors and the *mihrāb* is a fine level walk” (Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, VII, 288).

The *mihrāb* in the Great Mosque of Tlemcen in Algeria is one which reveals close connexions to that in Cordova. The niche itself is pentagonal, a form that was to be frequently used in the Maghreb and also in Turkey. The niche is flanked by an opening on either side giving access around the *mihrab*.¹⁰

⁸ Although there are ambulatories around the altar in other countries too, it may have been the Spanish church architecture which exerted an influence on the Maghrebian mosque builders.

⁹ Lammens 1912:246; Creswell 1932:98, Fehérváry 1993: “Mihrāb in the Maghreb”.

¹⁰ W. and G. Marcais 1903:140 ff; G. Marcais 1926, i, 313 ff., figs. 213–4, 381–5; Hill, Golvin & Hillenbrand 1976: 11, figs. 208–9.



It may be observed on the plan of the mosque that there is an ambulatory behind the mihrāb.

The Great Mosque of Tlemcen was first built in Tlemcen, Algeria in 1082, and then restored in 1135/6. In the Great Mosque of Tinmal in the High Atlas, the *mihrāb*, built in 548/1153, closely resembles that of the Kutubiyya. The same arrangement can be observed here. Again there are flanking niches and an open path behind, once more presenting a free-standing *mihrāb*.¹¹

3. Circumambulation around places other than the Ka'ba

3.1 In the Middle Ages

3.1.1 The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem¹²

Two explanations are generally given for the Construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. The first agrees quite well with the historical circumstances of the years 66–72 A.H. and it was introduced by Ignaz Goldziher.¹³ This interpretation is based on texts of the historian al-Ya'qūbī (d. 874). He claims that, since Ibn az-Zubayr was in possession of Mecca, 'Abd al-Malik wanted to divert

¹¹ G. Marcais 1926, i, 323, 385, figs. 181, 216–17; Hill, Golvin & Hillenbrand 1976:128, figs. 472–3.

¹² See its detailed description by Grabar 1959:33–62.

¹³ Goldziher 1889–1890: II, 35: “Der umejjadische Chalife 'Abdalmalik die Wallfahrt nach Mekka hintanhaltend wollte, da griff er zu dem Auskunftsmittel der Lehre vom stellvertretenden Hagg zur Kubbat al-sachra in Jerusalem. Er verordnete, dass an der geweihten Stätte in Jerusalem der obligate Umzug (*tawāf*) mit ebensolcher Giltigkeit geübt werden könne, wie ihn das muhammedanische Gesetz um die Ka'ba üben lässt”.

pilgrims from the Ka'ba by establishing Jerusalem as the religious center of the pilgrimage. It has been asserted that the plan of the Dome of the Rock, with two ambulatories around the Rock itself, originated with the ritual requirements of the *tawāf*.¹⁴ According to the second explanation, put forward by S. D. Goitein (1950:104–108), it is highly improbable that the Umayyad caliph would have wanted to change the site of the pilgrimage explicitly mentioned in the Qur'ān. He also called attention to the fact that no other historical sources mention this momentous attempt. In my opinion, however, there is a third explanation too which occupies a middle position between the two: although it was not meant to replace the Meccan pilgrimage with a Jerusalemian one, it was still built for circumambulation of some kind as its vehement prohibition by Ibn Taymiyya (see later) seems to prove – a prohibition always reflects an existing custom. What is more, however, Ibn Taymiyya states that it was a widely held view in the 13th–14th c. that the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik had built the Dome of the Rock for the purpose of pilgrimage and circumambulation around it, a plan severely criticised by the Ḥanbalite scholar. It is therefore hardly believable that this view had spread only from a single source, *i.e.* al-Ya'qūbī's *History*.¹⁵

3.1.2 Imitation of the ceremonies of 'Arafa and the Ka'ba

A purely spiritual ceremony has been celebrated outside 'Arafa by a *ta'rīf*¹⁶ only in certain regions and in certain periods: in Šīrāz in the ninth century, in Hurāsān and in the Ġabal 'Alam region of Morocco in the nineteenth century. It was an 'Abbāsīd, the *wālī* of Basra who instituted the *ta'rīf* in Basra as far back as the years 37–40, when Syrian rebels occupied the Ḥiğāz, which is to say, the celebration, following the *'aṣr* in the mosque, of the *waqfa* at 'Arafa, in spiritual union with the pilgrims celebrating it down there on 9 ḏū l-Ḥiğġa. This custom was adopted by the Basra school but condemned by the Medina school and was characterised by Mālīk as *bid'a munkara* (forbidden innovation). But the Mālīkite Ibn al-Ḥāğġ called it recommandable as pleasing to God (*mustaḥabb*).

¹⁴ *Tārīḥ*, vol. 2, 311: “‘Abd al-Malik prevented the people of Syria to go to Mecca for the pilgrimage ... and when they cried (against this prohibition) he told them that the mosque in Jerusalem will take the place of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca. This is the rock on which the Prophet put his foot when ascending to the Heaven, and this will replace the Ka'ba for you. He then built a dome above the rock... and urged people to circumbulate around it as they used to circumbulate around the Ka'ba.”

¹⁵ For Ibn Taymiyya's reaction to the Umayyad plan see his *Iqtīdā'*, 368.

¹⁶ *at-ta'rīf* = “*yawm 'Arafa yawm al-wuqūf bihā*”, “the day of 'Arafa, the halting there”.

Another ‘Abbāsīd, Caliph Mu‘taṣim (d. 842), living in Samarra at the time of the installation of his Turkish mercenaries, had built for them at Karḥ Fīrūz a square “ka‘ba” surrounded by a courtyard for the circumambulation (*tawāf*) and other sites patterned after Mīna and ‘Arafa; so that they could make the *ḥaḡḡ* without leaving their posts (Massignon 1982: I, 541–542).

3.1.3 The Circumambulation of great Ṣūfī masters

For the mystic, the physical Ka‘ba in the world represents the human spiritual heart, the ‘place’ within the human being where the Divine dwells, where the true human being (*al-insān al-kāmil*) meets the Divine face to face. In fact one can say that the Ka‘ba and the heart are not really two things: the real Ka‘ba is the perfect human heart, the original source of prayer, and whoever brings their heart to that state of perfection and prays from there is praying from the Ka‘ba. Thus we can find stories written about mystics who did circumambulation in some form in places other than the Ka‘ba.

3.1.3.1 Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī¹⁷

Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (804–875) may have been the first Ṣūfī of whom an improper circumambulation story was told. Farīd ad-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār inserted the following story in his book on the life of the great Ṣūfī masters, *Taḏkīrat al-awliyā’*: “A man encountered me on the road,” Abū Yazīd recalled. “‘Where are you going?’ he demanded. ‘‘On the pilgrimage,’ I replied. ‘‘How much have you got?’ ‘‘Two hundred dirhams.’ ‘‘Come, give them to me,’ the man demanded. ‘I am a man with a family. Circle round me seven times. That is your pilgrimage.’ ‘‘I did so, and returned home.’”

In a story about his ecstatic utterances he said: “I saw Mecca (i.e., the Ka‘ba) come to Madīna and circumambulate me (*yaṭūfunī*)!” (Badawī, 1978:185). In another story Ibn Bākuwayh said: “He (Abū Yazīd) ascended with me to the heaven and there circumambulated and prayed (to God)” (*ibid.* 209). According to another saying of his the pilgrims circumambulate the Ka‘ba striving for the eternal life, while the lovers (of God) circumambulate His Throne (‘*arṣ*’) striving for meeting Him (*ibid.* 180).

¹⁷ Farīd al-Dīn Attar, *Memorial of the Saints*, 1966:114, Abu Yazid al-Bestami, Anecdotes.

3.1.3.2 an-Nūrī

Abū l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī (840–907), one of the great early Sufis in Baghdad, and a companion of Ḡunayd, was known as the *amīr al-qulūb* (prince of hearts), who defined Sufism as ‘the abandonment of everything that pleases the soul’.¹⁸ According to an-Nūrī the heart is the House (*bayt*) of God, where human and divine natures lodge in perfect harmony. It is at the level of the innermost heart (*lubb*) that a complete realization of the divine unity (*tawḥīd*) is effected.¹⁹ In another story he answered to a dog’s barking with the pilgrims cry in Mecca, the *talbiya*.²⁰

3.1.3.3 al-Ḥallāğ

al-Ḥusayn b. Mansūr al-Ḥallāğ (858–922) became infamous because of many sayings and writings. Among them there was a letter turned over to the court at the time of the trial of al-Ḥallāğ that he had written to one of his disciples urging him to “destroy the Ka’ba (of his body) in order to rebuild it in Wisdom, so that it might actually take part in the *sağda* and *rak’a* of the true worshippers”, followed by another letter to a disciple: “if you want to make the *ḥağğ*, choose an appropriate room in your house, stand erect outside its door, similar to *wuqūf* at the Ka’ba gate, and enter dressed as *muḥrim*, go out again, go into another part of your house, pray two *rak’as* there, and this will be as if you had prayed in the *maqām* (of Abraham); run from this place to the door of the room which you had previously entered, and this will be as if you had run between Ṣafā and Marwa” (Massignon, 1982: I, 539–540). Because of another saying of his, that “one should circumambulate the Ka’ba of the heart seven times”, he was accused of being a Qarmaṭī, who wanted to undermine the power of the Abbasid Caliphate and to abolish the rites of the pilgrimage.²¹

al-Kalābādī (d. 380/990) writes²² the following story under the heading “Of other graces accorded to them”²³, i.e., the great Ṣūfī: “Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sa’dān relates that he heard one of the great Ṣūfī masters, (referring to al-Ḥallāğ) say to me: “One day I was sitting opposite the House (of God) when I heard a moan coming from the House: O walls, depart from the route of my friends and beloved ones, for whoso visits you for your sake circumambulates around

¹⁸ Quoted in al-Quṣayrī, *Risāla* 439.

¹⁹ Gramlich 1995: I, 394–398. Cf. Knysh 2000:62.

²⁰ See, e.g., Carl Ernst 1994:97–101, and Gramlich 1995: I, 383–386.

²¹ Cf. Ernst 1994:108ff and Knysh 2000:76.

²² al-Kalābādī *Ta’arruf*, Ch. 74, 160, tr. Arberry 1935:181–182.

²³ *min laṭā’if mā ġarā’ alayhim*.

you, but whoso visits Me for my sake circumambulates at me (i.e., in my presence).”²⁴ al- Hallāḡ interpreted this imagination of his as follows: One must include intermediate things” (*wasā’iṭ*, ‘rituals’). As long as you remain attached to this building you will remain separated from God. But when you have really detached yourself from it, then you will reach the One who built and established it; then, meditating on the temple destroyed in yourself, you will possess the real presence of its Founder.” This is the notion of *isqāṭ al-wasā’iṭ*.²⁵ That is, since God is omnipresent, it is everywhere possible to attain Him by way of circumambulation.

Another saying of his was preserved in the collection of Muẓaffar Ġulām Ğamīl:²⁶ “Sheikh Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr Ḥallāḡ recited the following to me: “People make the pilgrimage, I am going on a (spiritual) pilgrimage to my Host. While they offer animals in sacrifice, I offer my heart and my blood. Some of them walk in procession (*tawāf*) around the Temple, without their bodies, for they walk in procession in God, and He has exempted them from the *Ḥarām*” (Massignon 1982: I, 589–590).

3.1.3.4 Abū Sa‘īd

Abū Sa‘īd b. Abī l-Ḥayr (d. 1049), the great mystic of Ḥurāsān, was once asked why he refused to perform the *ḥaḡḡ* like all other good muslims. Abū Sa‘īd replied: Why have I not performed the pilgrimage? It is no great matter that thou shouldst tread under thy feet a thousand miles of ground in order to visit a stone house. The true man of God sits where he is, and the *Bayt al-Ma‘mūr* (the Ka‘ba) comes several times in a day and night to visit him and perform the circumambulation above his head. Look and see!” All who were present looked and saw it.

He used to say: The mystic’s pilgrimage takes place within himself. “If God sets the way to Mecca before any one, that person has been cast out of the Way to the Truth.” Not content with encouraging his disciples to neglect the *ḥaḡḡ*, Abū Sa‘īd used to send those who thought of performing it to visit the tomb of Abū l-

²⁴ al-Kalābādī, *Ta‘arruf* 182. Arberry’s interpretation is questioned by Massignon, who translates *bika*, *bī* as “en toi-même, en Moi-Même”, and *‘indī* as “en Moi”. See Massignon 1975: I, 589. Cf. al-Kalābādī, *Ta‘arruf* 160: *man zāraka bika tāfa ḥawlaka wa-man zārānī bī tāfa ‘indī*.

²⁵ “Extinguishing mediations”, i.e., between the believer and God. Or, with another word of similar meaning, *isqāṭ aš-šafā’a*,

²⁶ See Massignon 1982: I, 543.

Faḍl Ḥasan at Saraḥs, bidding them circumambulate it seven times and consider that their purpose was accomplished.²⁷

3.1.3.5 Ibn ‘Arabī

Ibn ‘Arabī (1160–1145) says about the relation between the heart and the House of God, the Ka‘ba:

“When God created your body, He placed within it a ka‘ba, which is your heart. He made this temple of the heart the noblest of houses in the person of faith (*mu‘min*). He informed us that the heavens, in which there is the Frequented House (*al-bayt al-ma‘mūr*), and the earth, in which there is the [physical] Ka‘ba, do not encompass Him and are too confined for Him, but He is encompassed by this heart in the constitution of the believing human. What is meant here by ‘encompassing’ is knowledge of God.”²⁸

In a lengthy chapter (72) of his *Futūḥāt* devoted to a detailed explanation of the mysteries of the pilgrimage, Ibn ‘Arabī draws a striking parallel between pilgrims at the Ka‘ba and thoughts crossing the arena of the heart. Just as pilgrims circle the Ka‘ba, some in awareness and some heedless, so do our pilgrim thoughts enter our consciousness at each moment, some thoughts aware of the sacredness of this heart-centre within, others oblivious. “The mystic Kaba is the heart of being – says Ibn ‘Arabī – God says ‘The Temple which contains Me is in your heart’. The mystery of the Divine Essence is no other than the Temple of the heart, and it is around the heart that the spiritual pilgrim circumambulates.”²⁹

In another place he describes his meeting a divine person who told him:

“This Ka‘ba of Mine is the Heart of being, and My Throne (the whole universe) is a limited body for my Heart. Neither of them encompasses me but my House which does encompass Me is your heart, which is the sought for goal (*maqsūd*) deposited in your visible body. So those circling around your heart are the secrets (of the Divine Names), who resemble your human bodies circumambulating these rocks (of the earthly Ka‘ba). So just as one who knows those secrets – who are circling about the Heart which encompasses Me – is in the loftiest and most resplendent of stations, so you (human beings) have precedence over those (angels) circling the all-encompassing divine

²⁷ Nicholson 1921:45–46. Also cf. Meier 1976:202–203, for an early example of preferring pilgrimage to saints’ tombs over the *ḥaḡḡ*.

²⁸ Ibn ‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt* III, 244, paragraph 3 (chapter 355).

²⁹ See Hirtenstein 2010:1–16. Also in www.ibnarabisociety.org/articles/mystics-kaba.html.

Throne. For you all are circling the Heart of the Being of the world: you are in the station of the secrets of those who know.”³⁰

3.1.3.6 Ibn al-Fāriḍ

It frequently occurred that the image of the Ka’ba and its physical reality departed from each other and the imaginary House attained the significance of the real one. This happened with the famous mystical poet of the 13th century Cairo, Ibn al-Fāriḍ (1181–1235) “He looked at me and said, “Oh ‘Umar! You will not be enlightened in Egypt. You will be enlightened only in the Ḥiġāz, in Mecca – may God glorify it! So head for it, for the time of your enlightenment is near!” Then I knew that the man was among the saints of God most high and that he disguised himself with [this] manner of living and by feigning ignorance of the order of ablutions. So I sat before him and said, “Oh sir, I am here but Mecca is there, and I will not find a mount or a travel companion in the non-pilgrimage months.” Then he looked at me and pointed with his hand and said, “This is Mecca before you!” And I looked with him and saw Mecca – may God glorify it! So I left him and sought it, it remaining before me until I entered it at that moment. When I entered, enlightenment came to me wave after wave, and it never left” (Homerin 2001:35–36).

3.1.3.7 ad-Dabbāġ

‘Abd al-‘Azīz ad-Dabbāġ (d. Fez, 1719), a famous Moroccan Ṣūfī of the 17th–18th c., is described by his pupil and collector of his sayings and acts, Aḥmad ibn al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī, as having a vision with angels circumambulating the light ascending from the grave of the Prophet:

“He said-God be pleased with him: 'How many times I've looked at graves in Fez! Then I see lights coming forth from the earth, heading for Barzakh in the form of a reed ... Thus I know that the possessors of those lights are outstanding Friends of God.' ... And it's like this with the light in the grave of our Prophet and our lord Muḥammad. The column of the light of his faith extends from the noble grave up to the dome of Barzakh where his pure spirit is located. The angels come in groups and circle round the noble outstretched light. ... Every angel who's too weak for a secret or too weak to bear a command or has experienced fatigue or is wavering in his post comes to the noble light and circles round it. If he circles round it, he acquires perfect power and immense striving from the Prophet's light and he returns to his place and

³⁰ Ibn Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, I, 92. See also Morris 2005:56–57.

his affair is strengthened. Moreover, he doesn't stop his circumambulation until another group of angels arrives and everyone of them undertakes the circumambulation.”³¹

3.1.3.8 The attitude of the Qalandar dervishes

A final and really extreme understanding of the circumambulation came from the wandering *Ṣūfīs*, the so called Qalandars of the 10th–16th centuries. Their conception of circumambulation differed utterly from any other *Ṣūfī* or popular interpretations. They deviated from the customary way of thinking under visitation and circumambulation only the Ka'ba and the tombs of saints and other holy places. They considered wanderings a permanent pilgrimage which perceives the entire world as a network of holy places. According to *Hwāḡa* 'Abdallāh Anṣārī of Herat “the Qalandar performs a circumambulation (*tawāf*) around the world, begging for food and wisdom, living in “dead places” (i.e., where people do not live) like sanctuaries, mosques, shrines and cemeteries in order to enjoy a spiritual death. This radical concept of the pilgrimage, which echoes the conception of total poverty, extends the ritual of circumambulation around the Ka'ba, and by imitation around the holy tombs, to the scale of the globe” (Papas 2011:21). These Qalandar wanderers “deliberately provoked the other pilgrims and announced that what they believed to be their most religious act was just not enough, that what they experienced around the Ka'ba or at Sufi mausoleums was merely a play, a performance” (ibid. 25).

3.1.4. The circumambulation around the Ka'ba as a litarey *topos*

3.1.4.1 Circumambulation in the 1001 Nights with a sexual reference³²

A facet of male cleric's worldview is revealed in how certain images of human physical posture invite comparison with other postures associated with religious rituals. A similar image occurs in “‘Azīz and ‘Azīza”. In this case sexual foreplay involving *haml as-sīqān wa-ṭ-tawāf bi-l-bayt wa-l-arkān* (“the lifting of the legs and circumambulating the 'House' and 'the Corners'”) is likened to pilgrimage rituals.³³ It runs as follows in Sir Richard Burton's translation:

“Then she undid her petticoat-trousers which slipped down to her anklets, and we fell to clasping and embracing and toying and speaking softly and biting and intertwining of legs and going round about the Holy House and the corners

³¹ Lamaṭī 2007:891. Arabic text 787–788.

³² See El-Shamy 2005:235–268.

³³ El-Shamy 2005:248, Motif Z186.7.1§.

thereof, till her joints became relaxed for love-delight and she swooned away. I entered the sanctuary, and indeed that night was a joy to the sprite and a solace to the sight” (Burton 1885: II, 318).

3.1.4.2 The elegy of Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī

In his *dīwān* called *Saqṭ az-zand* Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī celebrated in an elegy the father of the two famous Alids, ar-Riḍā and al-Murtaḍā, aṭ-Ṭāhir Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsawī (d. 1010 in Baghdad). It is a *fā’iyya*, to make possible the use of *ṭawāḥf* in the rhyme, and is called by the modern editor “aṭ-Ṭāhir al-ābā’”, referring to the name of the father and his being a “pure, virtuous” father. And after praising his deeds the poet continues saying that “two *takbīrs* in front of your grave will equal for a man with the *‘umra* and the *ṭawāḥf* together.”³⁴

3.1.4.3 A Persian poem from the 16th century

In a poem of the 16th century by Muḥtaṣan Kāšānī³⁵ written about the holy shrine in Mashhad we find that “the rest of the second section shifts the gaze from the dome to the shrine in Mashhad as a whole and elaborates on its functional meaning as a place of pilgrimage. *Ṭowf*, circumambulation, in verse nine, looks ahead to the image of the Kaaba in the first motto” (Losensky 2011:206).

3.2 Circumambulation in modern times

This kind of circumambulation imitating the one around the Ka‘ba cannot be considered as an exclusively Moroccan custom restricted to Chellah. On the contrary, it may have been known all over the Arab and Islamic world although there are only sporadic notations of it.

3.2.1 Egypt

3.2.1.1 Cairo, Lane, 1834

Edward William Lane, (1801–1876), describes the grave visitation in his famous book, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, emphasizing the

³⁴ Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, *Saqṭ az-zand*, 34: *takbīratāni ḥiyāla qabrika li-l-fatā – maḥsūbatāni bi-‘umratin wa-ṭawāḥfi*. Cf. Goldziher 1889–1890: II, 314, where he cites the line but mistakenly refers to the poem as the elegy of the two sons, not the father.

³⁵ An Iranian poet who lived in the time of the Safavid period. He was born in Kashan in 1500 and died there in 1588.

importance of grave circumambulations and its similarity to that of the Ka'ba, from left to right.

“The visiter, on arriving at the tomb, should greet the deceased with the salutation of peace (*taslīm*), and should utter the same salutation on entering the burial-ground; but I believe that few person observe this latter custom. In the former case, the visiter should front the face of the dead, and consequently turn his back (*istidbār*) to the *ḳibleh*. He walks round the *maḳṣoorah* or the monument from left to right; and recites the *Fát'ḥah*, inaudibly, or in a very low voice, before its door, or before each of its four sides. Sometimes a longer chapter of the *Ḳur-án* than the first (or *Fát'ḥah*) is recited afterwards” (Lane, 1860:237).

3.2.1.1 Upper-Egypt, Burckhardt, 1813

From the 19th century we have the description of the Swiss traveller J. L. Burckhardt (1784–1817) of the circumambulation in Qena, halfway between Sohag and Aswan:

“I may here add, that the *Towaf* is a Muselman ceremony not exclusively practised in the temple at Mekka. In the summer of 1813, I was present at the annual festival of the patron saint of Kenne, in Upper Egypt, called Seid Abderrahman el Kennawy.³⁶ Many thousands of the people of the country were assembled on the plain, in which stands the saint's tomb, at a distance of one mile from the town. Each person, as he arrived, walked seven times round the small mosque which contains the tomb; and when the new covering intended to be laid over it for that year was brought in solemn procession, the whole assembly followed it seven times round the building, after which it was placed upon the tomb” (Burckhardt 1829:95).

3.2.1.2 Blackman, 1927

Another such description is found in Winifred Susan Blackman's (1872–1950) pioneer work on the *Sa'īdī* customs of Egypt:

“The people flock in crowds to these tombs on certain days of the week—usually Thursdays or Fridays—generally to make some special request, or with the object of being freed from some disease, which they believe the sheikh can cure. A childless woman, or persons possessed by *'afārīt*, will come to beg the sheikh to intercede for them. Indeed, the performances of certain rites at the tomb may in themselves effect a cure. Having removed his or her

³⁶ In reality he was *Sīdī 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Qanāwī*, not *'Abd ar-Raḥmān*. He was born in Morocco, near Sabta, in 1127, moved into Egypt and died in Upper-Egypt in 1196.

shoes before entering the building, the visitor then walks from left to right round the catafalque erected beneath the dome three, five, or seven times, reciting meanwhile special passages from the Koran. These perambulations accomplished, the servant of the sheikh takes a broom, kept for this special purpose, and carefully brushes out all the footprints in the interior of the building. Sick animals are also brought by their owners to a sheikh's tomb, round which they are driven seven times” (Blackman: 1927:242).

3.2.2 The countries of the Maghreb

3.2.2.1 Tunisia and Algeria

Émile Dermenghem (1892–1971) describes similar circumambulation in Tunisia.³⁷ He pointed out that among other things the generally accepted order of the rites of visitation (*ziyāra*) comprises the greeting of the saint, prayer, circumambulations, songs, sacrifices and different curative procedures. Visitors turn seven times around a great number of tombs or *qubbas*, anticlockwise, just as the crowd of the pilgrims do around the Ka’ba. He wrote that when he had visited the *maqām* of Sīdī Mḥammed ben ‘Awda, in Blīda, the first thing the keeper (*wakīl*) of the tomb told him was that he had to turn seven times around the mausoleum of the saint.

3.2.2.2 Morocco

In Morocco, as in Tunisia in the second part of the 20th century, after the independence the government, in cooperation with the religious authorities, fought against Ṣūfism and popular religious customs. It was partly the consequence of the earlier opposition of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods to Sultan Muḥammad V before the 1950s, partly the fear of the government of any independent organisation not under its control. In the last twenty years, however, the situation had radically altered and the Ṣūfīs and popular Islam have become the preferred alternative to the extremist or Islamist circles. In consequence, the competent organ of the royal government, the Ministry of Religious Endowments and Islamic Affairs now gives support to the popular grave visitation.

This, of course, provoked a heated debate on the part of some religious circles. A former minister of religious affairs, Muḥammad al-Makkī an-Nāṣirī (1906–1994), for example, wrote a whole book on the falsity of what he called “grave devotion” (*qubūriyya*) published at the first time in 1925 and re-edited with

³⁷ Dermenghem 1954:124–125. Some other examples for the circumambulation can be found in Pierre Dornier 1950:392–396.

voluminous introductions in 2010, the two dates well illustrating what was said above (Nāṣirī, *Izhār*, 175ff). The part of an-Nāṣirī's book dealing with grave visitation has been reproduced by a member of the younger generation of hardliner men of religion, Abū Sufyān Muṣṭafā Bāḥū as-Salāwī (Bāḥū 2007:103–104). The whole part, then, has been put onto a web site under the title “*Maḡrib balad al-100 alf ḍarīḥ*”³⁸, subtitled: “The Moroccan Ministry of Religious Endowment sanctifies the violations of the Islamic dogmas through the revivification of the (unlawful) festivals (*mawāsim*, according to the solar year) and the (encouragement) of the polytheistic (visitation of the) grave mausoleums (*ḍarā'ih*).”

an-Nāṣirī, in condemning the many bad customs around the mausoleums, lay special stress on the actions around the grave which are only allowed at the Ka'ba: touching its walls, kissing them and circumambulating around the grave.

These prohibitions in 1925 and their repetition in 2010 show us unequivocally that the popular custom of circumambulation was and has remained in use in Morocco throughout the last hundred years.

3.2.3 The Central Asian Muslim republics before and after the disintegration of the Soviet Union

During the Soviet era the communist regime tried to eliminate the religious practices of the popular Islam in its Muslim republics, first of all the veneration of the saints and the visits (*ziyāra*) of the shrines and sanctuaries (*mazār*). Notwithstanding the official orders and pressure, the popular cults remained in use for seventy years, between 1920 and 1990, and the believers could not be efficiently prevented from doing what their ancestors had done. The visits to the graves could actually substitute for the Islamic rituals in the Soviet period. In her paper written about the veneration of the graves in Soviet Central Asia, Věra Exnerová states: “There was periodic debate among believers as to whether the famous graves of saints ... could be considered as a replacement for the pilgrimage to Mecca. For example, according to the female sheikh in the village Oltioriq ‘only Shahimardon was a saintly place that could substitute for the *ḥaḡḡ* to Mecca’ at that time” (Exnerová 2015:528–529).

In the absence of the larger religious structures and communal sites of religious authority or instruction, the mosques and religious schools having been changed to cultural institutions, local shrines became the true centres of religious life, and they have remained a prime feature of religious practice, ritual, and identity in the

³⁸ www.khayma.com/grave/arabgraves/mgrb4.htm.

Central Asian Muslim republics after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union.

In fact, in Turkmenistan the government often forbids its citizens to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, out of political consideration, but has organized in its place a tour of all the shrines in the country as an alternative. The shrine of Nejmeddin Kubra (1145–1221) is considered “a second Mecca for Muslims”, the circumambulation of the shrine substituting that of the Ka’ba (O’Dell 2011:1–15).

In Uzbekistan it was also the popular cemetery rituals that remained the main link to the Islam for the Muslims during the Soviet regime and their role has remained as a national unifying force. At the shrine of Ughlanjon-ota³⁹ a ritual very much similar to that of the women in Chellah was observed by Abramson and Karimov (2007:324) “The tomb, decorated inside and out with designs made from clay, stands as an isolated structure in an arid desert. On one side is a tree tied with numerous handkerchiefs and strips of cloth. Women, often barefoot and in a trancelike state, slowly circumambulate the tomb an odd number of times. As they walk, they make wishes, ask to be cured of an illness, or make other kinds of supplication. They concentrate on the ritual and do not interact with one another. Some women touch their hands to the walls of the tomb as they pass and then touch their eyelids.”

In another place, at the tomb of Bahauddin Naqshband⁴⁰ they observed that “the tomb of Bahauddin Naqshband stands amidst a complex which includes a mosque, a madrasa, a cemetery, a man-made pool (*hauz*), a well, a very large tree, and various other buildings. According to a well-known legend, which the sites’ imam-hatib related Bahauddin Naqshband’s walking stick turned into the sacred tree that one can see there today. Pilgrims walk around the tree an odd number of times and make wishes” (Abramson & Karimov 2007:325).

3.2.4 Aceh (Sumatra, Indonesia)

A group of scholars came together in 1939 to form the *Union of ‘Ulamā’* throughout Aceh, Sumatra. They were reformist who saw as politically threatening local particularisms in ritual performance. One leader singled out for particularly sharp criticism from the 1930s onward was the Habib leader, an offspring of the Naqshbandiyya order, of the Seunagan territory on the west coast of the province. In the late nineteenth century, an Acehnese man founded a tariqa in the district of Seunagan. The claim to descent from the Prophet was signalled by the use of the title Habib. The Habib’s followers engaged in a number of

³⁹ Kamashin Rayon, Kashkadarya Viloyat, Uzbekistan.

⁴⁰ Bukhara Rayon, Bukhara Viloyat, Uzbekistan.

idiosyncratic ritual practices (and continued so in the 1980s), among others circumambulating the grave of the first Habib, Abdurrahim, by hundreds of his followers on the tenth day of the month of pilgrimage, Dū l-Ḥiġġa, as a local substitute for the Meccan *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba. The Habibs held that these practices brought the worshipper closer to God by increasing his or her inner knowledge and made performance of the outer ritual unnecessary (Bowen 1989:603). Other cases exist elsewhere in Sumatra (Bowen 1993:12–13).

3.2.5 Circumambulation among Indian Muslims

Carl Ernst translated and commented in a paper of his (Ernst 1993:43–67) a small treatise by a learned Indian Ṣūfī of the 18th c. who explained and justified the practice of pilgrimage to saints' tombs according to the traditions of the Čištī Ṣūfī order. Like the *ḥaġġ*, *ziyāra* calls for circumambulation, in this case of the tomb rather than the Ka'ba. Some enthusiastic pilgrims actually found *ziyāra* to be superior to the *ḥaġġ*.⁴¹ Muḥammad Naġīb Čištī wrote this treatise as an introduction to a calendar of saints' festivals: *Mahzan-i a'rās* („Treasury of death anniversaries”). The treatise quotes a Sufī master, who, when asked about the lawfulness of performing circumambulation around the tomb of Šayḥ al-Islām Qutb ad-Dīn Baḥtiyār Kākī (1173–1235) said that according to the prophetic tradition “circumambulation around the tomb of a pious man is lawful” (Ernst 1993: 60). “Ashraf Jahangir Simnani also says that when one comes to make a pilgrimage to tombs, from modesty (*ḥayā'*) he enters the tomb and circumambulates three or seven times.” He also states that there are more benefits of the pilgrimage on Friday than on any other day (Ernst 1993:62).

The same Muhammad Naġīb Čištī says in the *Ādāb at-ṭālibīn*: “When (the master) goes on pilgrimage to the tomb (of one of his own masters) ... if there is no difficulty, he circumambulates it, but should he not do so, there is nothing to worry about. While circumambulating he says: God is great, then the *Fātiḥa*.” Then he emphasizes that on these occasions the pilgrim of the tomb must concentrate on the deceased master and request his help” (Ernst 1993:66).

⁴¹ Ernst 1993:50. Cf. Goldziher 1971: II, 288, on circumambulation (*ṭawāf*), and Goldziher 1889–1890: II, 314–315.

3.2.6 Circumambulation as a healing process

3.2.6.1 A Macedonian Turkish shrine

The Scottish geographer and linguist Margaret Hasluck (1885–1948) had visited a Turkish shrine in Greek Macedonia before the 1924 population exchange by which the Turks were removed from Greece to Asia Minor. In her opinion the shrine had remained unknown because it was so remote from the ordinary routes of travel. Pilgrims might go to the shrine on any day that they choose, but as usual in the Muslim world, Friday, the day of the ‘gathering’, was the best day for making the pilgrimage. Accordingly Margaret Husluck started from the nearby village, Ineobasi early in the morning of Friday, 13th April, 1923. She describes the circumambulation of the shrine as follows:

“Meanwhile the women ... had arrived. Among them was a young woman with her infant son in her arms. Moving forward to a hole like a natural arch in the rock adjacent to the cave, she passed her infant three times through the hole. Four other children she had borne had died, but she hoped to change her luck and to save this last child by passing it through the holed stone at Lija Baba’s shrine, by bringing it, that is, into contact all round with the rock, the symbol of strength. There were two interesting places down in the gulley, some 30 feet from the cave. Under our very eyes a woman took her daughter’s child down to a heap of ruined, but definitely rectangular, masonry that lay beside the bed of the torrent. The old woman led the child three times round this heap, and then she bent herself, and made the child bend, to kiss the last corner with her brow and lips three times. She hoped this circumambulation of the ruins would make the child stronger than it was. The form of the ruins suggested a rectangular building, perhaps a tomb-chamber” (Hasluck 1929:289, 292.)

3.2.6.2 Southern India

Marc Gaborieau, a specialist of the so-called “peripheric Islamic world”, especially the Indian Islam, mentions in his article (Gaborieau 1994:92) that the sanctuaries built around the sepulchre of the saints have developed into care centres for mentally ill persons where the circumambulation of the tombs is an essential element of the therapy. Elsewhere, in Murugmalla (Bangalore), in Southern India, the tomb (*dargāh*) of a Sufi Muslim saint has become a place of pilgrimage where the sick come to seek healing.

Jackie Assayag, a French anthropologist who has done research in India, has reported (Assayag 1999:35) a healing spirit possession practice, similar to *ḥāzīrī*,

ceremony of women, at a *dargāh* in Southern India. The practice is called *ṭawāf*, which is the same term used for circumambulation of the Ka'ba in Mecca.

3.2.6.3 Circumambulation of mountains in Morocco: Maqām Sīdī Šamharūš

In the Moroccan High Atlas, Berber villagers regularly make an extraordinary type of circumambulation, that is, around mountains containing a saintly shrine. The shrine of Sīdī Šamharūš is located at approximately 2365 m in altitude in Žbal Tubqal. It is around 7 kilometres from the village centre of Imlīl. It takes pilgrims around two hours and a half walking or riding on a mule to attain the summit of Sīdī Šamharūš. The first mountain they circumambulate is Aks (Maarouf 2010: 610). Most of those who circumambulate the mountains to reach the shrine are possessed patients who are called in turn to their own trial in front of the Judge, sultan of jinns Sīdī Šamharūš. The circumambulation of the mountains and the pains of the trajectory all serve to a great devotion to Šamharūš. The circumambulation of the mountains is itself a therapy for the possessed (*ibid.* 630 ff).

3.2.7 Circumambulation in Šī'ite Iran

The visitation to the shrines of the *imāms* is highly recommended for Šī'ite believers. It is intended to acknowledge their authority as the leaders of the Muslim community, and to maintain the contact and understanding (*'ahd*) between the Šī'ite believer and his *imām*, who is capable of interceding with God on his behalf on the day of resurrection. Visitation is also aimed at preserving the collective Shi'i memory and group identity as distinguished from that of the Sunnis. Karbala and Husayn's shrine, as focus of devotion for the Šī'ite believers, at times challenged the position of Mecca and the Ka'ba. Indeed in time of strife between the Safavids and the Ottomans, the visitation of Karbala substituted for the pilgrimage to Mecca which was made impossible by the Ottoman enemy.

3.2.7.1 The prescription of visiting the tombs of the *imāms*

ʿAbbās al-Qumī, an Iranian Šī'ite *ḥadīth* scholar (1877–1940) collected a great number of prescriptions in relation to the visitation of Šī'ite shrines, listing its merits: “And when you had fulfilled all these obligations (together with the circumambulations) your pilgrimage to the shrine of al-Ḥusayn (*al-ḥağğ wal-'umra*) became perfect.” (ʿAbbās al-Qummī, *Maḥāṭib*, 537) “The obligatory prayer at the tomb of al-Ḥusayn equals the Meccan pilgrimage” (*ibid.* 539). The preference of visiting the Riḍā mausoleum in Mašhad over visiting the other Shiite shrines and over the Meccan pilgrimage (*ibid.* 628). “Whoever visited (the shrines

of) Riḍā or any other *imāms* and prayed there *imām* Ğa'far's prayer had gained by every *rak'a* the recompensation of 1000 (Meccan) pilgrimages" (*ibid.* 637).

3.2.7.2 The interpretation of circumambulation by a Šī'ite *muğtahid*

On 21 April 1926 (Wednesday, 8 Shawwal 1344 A.H.), the mausoleums in Ğannat al-Baqī', Medina, were destroyed by King Ibn Saud. In the same year, he also demolished the tombs of holy persons at Mualla Cemetery in Mecca where Muhammad 's first wife Khadijah, his grandfather and other ancestors are buried. This happened despite protests by the international Islamic community.

The demolition of Šī'ite tombs in Medina in 1926 pressured the Šī'ite *muğtahids* to clarify the function of the visitation in Šī'ite Islam. In 1927 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāšif al-Ġitā' (d. 1954) rejected the Wahhābi accusations that the Šī'ites worshipped the tombs themselves, arguing that the sole function of the visitation was the worship of God. Comparing the circumambulation of the tomb to that of the Ka'ba, he explained that in both cases the act was intended for the worship of God alone (Nakash 1995:160). Moreover, the comparison of the circumambulation and the kissing of the tombs of the *imāms* to that of the Ka'ba asserted an important function of the shrine in Šī'ite Islam. Like the Ka'ba, the shrine too was a magnet attracting believers to the worship of God thus increasing the importance of the religious elite (*ibid.* 162).

3.2.7.3 A Lebanese Šī'ite *fatwā* on the lawfulness of the visitation of shrines and on the circumambulation around them

Muḥammad Ğamīl Hammūd al-'Āmilī (b. Beirut, 1959), a distinguished Šī'ite *marġi'*, published a lengthy *fatwā* in 09. 10. 2014 about the visitation of graves and the devotional acts executed there under the title *Fiqh az-ziyārāt*.⁴² He answered six questions on the lawfulness of different actions: (i) kissing the grave, (ii) giving votive money for the grave not for its inhabitant, (iii) the visitation of the grave of al-Ḥusayn at 20th of Šafar (*ziyārat al-arba'in*), (iv) the circumambulation around the grave of the infallible (*imām*) with the aim of circumambulation it, (v) turning your back on the head of the infallible (*imām*) during prayer (and turning toward the *qibla*), (vi) engraving the picture of the deceased on his grave. He answered positively for the first, second, third and fourth questions, refusing the turning the back on the *imām*, because you could not turn away from him in his life, and prohibiting the engraving. He considered especially recommendable

⁴² Markaz al-'Itra aṭ-Ṭāhira li-d-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūt, al-Fiqh, Istiftā'āt wa-Aġwiba, www.aletra.org/print.php?id=996.

the circumambulation around the shrines and by this making the dead also circumambulate it.

3.2.7.4 Obstruction and regulation of circumambulation around the shrines after the Islamic revolution in Iran

The American anthropologist, Anne Betteridge visited Iran in 2000 and noted the differences between pre- and post-Revolution patterns of shrine visitation. She became astonished to find that the essential part of the visitation of the shrines had been marred in at least two places which she visited.

“It seemed right to begin my visits by paying my respects to the city’s senior saint, Shah Cheragh. I had heard that metal posts had been put in place to divide women pilgrims from men who might jostle against them as they circumambulate the tomb. Rather than what I had supposed would be a line of posts ... the tomb to direct and divide circumambulation, I was surprised to find the shrine divided in two by a fence: the right side as one faced the tomb was for women, while men were directed to the left. The fence was opaque and effective and, most surprising to me, it prevented circumambulation by both men and women. I had thought of circumambulation as an essential element of pilgrimage visit; clearly that was no longer the case” (Betteridge 2002:285–286). “I later saw a similar temporary divider in place at the larger and very popular Seyyed Ala al-Din Husain (Asta-meh) shrine. ... At neither of these very popular shrines was circumambulation possible” (*ibid.* 287–288).

In Qum it was only the mixing of the men and women during the circumambulation of the Imām’s shrine that has been prevented by the new measures. Shahla Haeri observed before 1979: “The mere physical closeness of the flesh in the shrine enclosure, the body heat, scent, and energy that are thereby generated, coupled with the constant circumambulation of the pilgrims around the holy tomb, communicate a strong sense of sensuality. This does not negate the simultaneous presence of spirituality that may be genuinely generated among thousands of worshipping pilgrims.” When revisiting the shrine she found that “evidently, this sensuality, and subversion of the system of veils, has not been lost on the Islamic regime, either. As soon as it consolidated its power, the regime erected a glass wall separating the male and female quarters of worship around the tombs. No longer are the pilgrims allowed to circumambulate the inner sanctum together” (Haeri 1989:9).

4 Legal struggle against circumambulation in places other than the Ka'ba

4.1 Tradition minded religious scholars against popular customs in the Middle Ages

4.1.1 Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ

The Mālikite scholar of Morocco, Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ (Fez, c. 1250 – Cairo, 1336) having spent some years in Egypt was shocked at what he saw there from, according to him, the heretic customs of not only the wider population but even those of the men of religion. When he went to perform the pilgrimage in Mecca, he made the same experience there, having found people touching and kissing places which are not allowed by the Islamic law. He wrote that the man of religion must warn people visiting the mosque and grave of the Prophet in Medina to keep the regulations of the visit and first of all avoiding the circumambulation of the grave of the Prophet in Medina. “It is incumbent upon him to caution them of these heretic customs which have been innovated there, since you can see ignorant people circumambulate the Noble Grave as they circumambulate the Sacred Ka'ba”.⁴³ He also condemns the custom of touching the Prophet's grave because it was a pre-Islamic way of adoring the idols. Therefore he warns that the Mālikite religious scholars do not allow even touching the walls of the Ka'ba and the mosques or the copy of the Qur'ān (*muṣḥaf*), not with the aim of reading it, “because all these are bad customs and contradict the *Sunna*.” (*Ibid.*)

4.1.2 Ibn Taymiyya

Taqī d-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya (Ḥarrān, 1263 – Damascus, 1328), a Ḥanbalite religious scholar, had also found the Egyptian popular customs the most alien to Islam as he had conceived it and wrote a voluminous book against them: *Iqtidā' aṣ-ṣīrāt al-mustaqīm muḥālafat aṣḥāb al-ǧaḥīm*.

He also sharply criticised the illegal customs of making places similar to the sites of the Meccan pilgrimage, such as the Sacred Mosque or the Ka'ba, which he considered as grave deviation from the Islamic *ṣarī'a*. For instance, some ignorant people made the circumambulation around the Dome of the Rock, and even shaved their head as if they were on pilgrimage to Mecca. He also blamed those pilgrims who, straying from the right path, made the circumambulation

⁴³ Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ, *Madḥal* II, 263: *yanbaǧī lahu an yuḥaddīrahum min tilka l-bida'i llatī uḥdiḡat hunāka jā-tarā man lā 'ilmun 'indahū yaṡūfu bil-qabri š-šarīfi kamā yaṡūfu bil-Ka'bati l-Ḥarām.*

(*tawāf*) around the *qubba* on the top of the Mount ‘Arafā as if were the Ka‘ba (Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā’* 264).

He says: “As for their travel to the graves to do acts of devotion there, with prayer and supplication and similar things, it is undoubtedly prohibited. Some of them even call the visit to a grave pilgrimage saying that we want the pilgrimage to the grave of XY. It belongs to this kind of visit that a special day of the week is assigned for a gathering at these graves” (*ibid.* 320). Then he adds:

“Every mosque share in the same devotional service, and whatever may be done in a mosque may be done in the rest of the mosques, with the exception of those devotions which are specially bestowed on the Sacred mosque of Mecca, like performing the ritual prayer exclusively toward its direction and the circumambulation around it. As for the Prophet’s mosque and the Aqṣā mosque, whatever devotional service is allowed in them, it is allowed in the rest of the mosques, like performing the ritual prayer, supplication or remembrance of God (*dīkr*). But no type of devotion is allowed in them which are not allowed in the other mosques. It is not lawful to kiss or to touch or *to circumambulate* anything in them.”⁴⁴ “The religious scholars of the Sunna in previous times knew that it is not lawful to touch and kiss (even) the *maqām* Ibrāhīm, although the Qur’ān. II/125 encourages the believers to take it as a place of prayer” (Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā’* 361–362).

He also states angrily: “According to some people, the visit to the grave with a sanctuary built over it is more preferable than the pilgrimage to the Ka‘ba. Moreover, they call this kind of visit the greater pilgrimage (*al-ḥaġġ al-akbar*).” (Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā’* 325). Speaking about Jerusalem (Ibn Taymiyya, *Qā’ida* 11) he says that “only ordinary acts of worship should be performed in Jerusalem, above all things, the circuit, or *tawāf* must be reserved only for the Ka‘ba in Mecca.” In his severe opinion circumambulation has been made lawful by God only around the Ka‘ba.⁴⁵ He also refuses some scholars of religious law who permit or even prescribe turning towards (*istiqbāl*) the grave of the Prophet in Medina instead of the *qibla* during the supplicative prayer or asking God’s blessing on him (*ṣalāt*) (Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā’*, 335–336).

⁴⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā’* 371. Also in Ibn Taymiyya, *Da‘āwā* 343.

⁴⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā’*, 363. He states the same principle in detail in his *Maġmū’ al-fatāwā* II, 308.

4.2 The condemnation of unlawful circumambulation in modern times

4.2.1 In the Caucasus

Our knowledge of the popular circumambulation often originates from its condemnation by the religious leaders. In a leaflet circulated in Dagestan in 1999 an unknown religious leader prepared a list of condemned religious activities. Among others he wrote: “Condemned as manifestation of “polytheism” or “idolatry” (*širk*) includes ... circumambulation of any object (e.g., a grave or bonfire) other than the House of God” (Knysh 2007:504).

4.2.2 A Gambian preacher’s sermon

We can have information about the Gambian popular custom of circumambulation from a sermon against the cult of saints and visits to graves initiated there by a female saint. It says:

“According to the *sunna*, visiting a tomb, that is, *ziyāra*, is in itself not bad; it is what one says or does there that makes it sinful. How can you expect a dead body to solve your problems and reward you? . . . I have heard that people walk around that grave in the bush, the way people perform the *ṭawāf* around the Ka’ba in Mecca. God forbid, they are turning a tomb into the Ka’ba! Where is the pure Islam? Fire, nobody can boast about ending up in the fire. Nobody can be saved from hell unless he stops worshipping tombs. Let us fear God.” (Janson 2006:511)

The author tells us in a footnote to the sermon that he once attended a *ziyara* at which the participants went round the local marabout’s tomb which was covered with a black cloth so that it resembled the Ka’ba.

4.2.3 From the *fatwās* of *al-Lağna ad-Dā’ima lil-Buḥūt al-’Ilmiyya wa-l-’Iftā’*, Saudi-Arabia

In relation to a question on the legality of circumambulation around a newly built mosque during the opening ceremonies, which is generally accepted in some parts of Northern Saudi-Arabia, the Council stated: “It is a heretic innovation (*bid’a*) to circumambulate the mosque seven times as if it were the Holy Ka’ba”. It shows that it was a general custom even in the land of rigid religiosity, Saudi-Arabia. The Council also condemned the Egyptian custom of circumambulating the dome built upon the supposed head of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet in the

Sayyidunā Ḥusayn mosque in the Gamāliyya quarter of Old Cairo.⁴⁶ In another *fatwā* the Council condemned the illicit behaviour of the members of the Ṣūfī orders all over the Muslim world – the build mosques over the graves and circumambulate them, pray to those buried there asking for blessing from them instead of God.⁴⁷

4.2.4 A *fatwā* of Ibn Bāz on circumambulation

‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn Bāz (1910–1999) was the Grand Muftī of Saudi-Arabia from 1993 to 1999. He said about the legality of grave visitations: “I have legalized visitation of graves, but not the circumambulation around them or seeking blessing from them. I only did it to remind people of the otherworld and of meeting there God.”⁴⁸ But he refused the circumambulation of mosques and graves many times in his *fatwās*. Once, however, answering a question of the lawfulness of the circumambulation of the shrine of Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šādīlī in Ḥumaytara (now Šeyḥ Šazlī), Upper-Egypt.

Question: “Is it possible to call those who circumambulate around the graves without doubt polytheists and unbelievers? Once I was sitting together with Upper-Egyptian brothers from my home country, Egypt, and they said to me: There is a shrine in our village, that of Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šādīlī. He who circumambulates the grave seven times received the small pilgrimage (*‘umra*), and he who circumambulates it ten times received the pilgrimage (*ḥiğġa*) and he is not obliged to go to Mecca. In my turn I told them that is polytheism and unbelief. Was I right?”

He gave a twofold answer:⁴⁹ Yes, you gave the right answer to them, it is not allowed to circumambulate around the graves, not around the grave of Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šādīlī, nor around the grave of al-Badawī in Tanta, neither around those of al-Ḥusayn or Sayyida Zaynab or Sayyida Nafisa in Cairo. Even the circumambulation of the grave of who is greater than them (i.e., the Prophet) is prohibited. If he made the circumambulation supposing that it is legally allowed, circumambulating for God and not for the sake of Abū l-Ḥasan, then it would be a heretic innovation and forbidden. But if his circumambulation was for the sake of Abū l-Ḥasan and for the sake of approaching him then it is a greater polytheism and unbelief.”

⁴⁶ *Fatāwā al-Laġna ad-Dā’ima, Saudi Arabia*

www.alifta.net/fatawa/fatawaDetails.aspx?

⁴⁷ *Fatāwā al-Laġna ad-Dā’ima*.

⁴⁸ www.binbaz.org.sa/mat/9794, *Maġmū’ fatāwā wa-maqālāt Ibn Bāz* 13/155.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

4.2.5 From the website of “The World Association of Arab Translators and Linguists”⁵⁰

A certain ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Mūsā, researcher of law, writer and critic, wrote about the Ṣūfī custom of visiting the graves of saints and circumambulating there. His opinion is interesting because it is the opinion of an educated but not extremist Muslim. He does not refer to religious prescription, but he rather uses rational arguments. He does not only hold allowable the visitation of graves but also considers it an obligation for the Muslims. As for the circumambulation around these graves, however, he has stronger views. He says: “It is strange and alien to the Islam, since the circumambulation is the basic element (*rukṅ*) of the Meccan pilgrimage and it cannot be performed except for around the Ka‘ba, and the grave of a Muslim saint cannot be regarded as a second Ka‘ba. Also, the proper circumambulation (*tawāf*) has to be made seven times (*sabat ašwāf*) and the visitor of a grave does not usually make the circumambulation seven times so how could it be called *tawāf*?”

5. Physical measures against illicit circumambulation of the *miḥrāb* in the Maghreb

5.1 Hindering circumambulations around *miḥrābs*

During the centuries orthodox men of religion and state officials have adopted different measures to hinder the circumambulation around *miḥrābs* supplied with ambulatory. These ambulatories were blocked throughout the history either definitively by walls without opening, or by walls with locked doors. The Kutubiyya mosque in Marrakesh has been defended against illicit pilgrimage by a wooden fence in front of the *miḥrāb*, while the ruinous Tinnel mosque⁵¹ has kept the entrances to the ambulatory on the two sides of the *miḥrāb*, but its rear part has been built in.

The Madrasa Bū ‘Ināniyya is a *madrasa* in Fez, Morocco, founded between 1351 and 1356 AD by Abū ‘Inān Fāris. It is unusual in that it hosts a complete mosque, with a *miḥrāb* around which there is an ambulatory. It is now obstructed by a wooden construction, containing a small door on each side.

⁵⁰ WĀTĀ *al-Ġam‘iyya ad-Duwalīyya li-l-Mutarġimīn wa-l-Luġawīyyin al-‘Arab*-www.wata.cc › ... › *Muntadā al-Falsafa*, 2009. 10. 20.

⁵¹ Tinnel or Tin Mal is a small mountain village in the High Atlas 100 km from Marrakesh, Morocco. Tinnel was the cradle of the Berber Almohad empire, from where the Almohads started their military campaigns.

5.2 Chellah: Measures for protecting Islam against unlawful circumambulation

In Chellah, the religious and state authorities had been taking several steps toward the protection of 'true Islam' preventing, as they say, the irreligious activities around the *mihrāb*. Each of these steps represented a more severe measure than the previous one. First, this happened in July 1979, they tried to close the opening behind the niche with stinging tree branches, but after some weeks these were removed by someone to make the circumambulation possible again. When I visited Chellah next time, in 1994, I found that tougher measures had been made and an unmovable rusty wire fencing had been placed in the two sides of the ambulatory opening. This, however, did not prevent women from approaching the *mihrāb* and touching its wall. Eventually in 1997 when revisiting Chellah I observed that the whole ruinous hall in front of the niche had been surrounded by a high, and also rusty, iron fence, that made approaching the niche totally impossible. This state of the prayer hall of the *zāwiya/madrassa* remained unchanged until today.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

- ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Maḥāṣin* = ‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad Riḍā al-Qummī, *Maḥāṣin al-ḡinān*. Kuwait: Maktabat al-Faqīh, 2004.
- Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, *Saqī az-zand*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1957.
- Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*. Vol. VII. Edited by ‘Abd al-Maḡīd at-Tarḥīnī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1983.
- Ibn ‘Arabī, Muḥyī d-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya fī ma‘rifat al-asrār al-mālikiyya wal-mulkiyya*. Intr. by Muḥammad ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mar‘ašlī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ at-Turāṭ al-‘Arabī, no date.
- Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡ, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-‘Abdarī. n.d. *al-Madḥal*. 4 vols., Cairo, Maktabat at-Turāṭ.
- Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡ an-Numayrī, *Fayḍ* = Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡ an-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb wa-īfāḍat qidāḥ al-ādāb fī l-ḥaraka as-sa‘īda ilā Qasanīna waz-Zāb*. Ed. Muḥammad Ibn Šakrūn, Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, Beirut 1990
- Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī d-Dīn Aḥmad, *Iqtidā’ aš-širāṭ al-mustaqīm muḥālafat ašḥāb al-ḡaḥīm*. Ed. by ‘Išām ad-Dīn aš-Šabābiṭī, Cairo, Dār al-Ḥadīṭ 2002. English tr. by Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taymiyya’s Struggle against Populart Religion*. The Hague, Mouton, 1976.

- _____. *Da'āwā al-munāwi'īn*. Dār Ibn al-Ġawzī, Riyad 2003.
- _____. *Maġmū' al-fatāwā*.
- _____. *Qā'ida fī ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis*. In: Charles D. Matthews, "A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymīyyeh) on the "Merits of Jerusalem and Palestine", *JAOS*, 56 (1936), pp. 1–21.
- al-Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf* = Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Kalābādī, *at-Ta'arruf li-maḍhab ahl at-taṣawwuf*. Ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd. Cairo: Maktabat at-Ṭaqāfa ad-Dīniyya, 2004.
- Quṣayrī an-Naysābūrī 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hūzān al-. *ar-Risāla al-quṣayriyya fī 'ilm at-taṣawwuf*. Ed. by Ma'rūf Muṣṭafā Zurayq. Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2001.
- al-Ya'qūbī, Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ya'qūb Ibn Wāḍiḥ, *Tārīḥ*. Edited by Maertijn Theodor Houtsma. Leiden: Brill, 1883.

B. Secondary sources

- Abramson, David M. & Elyor E. Karimov. 2007. "Sacred Sites, Profane Ideologies: Religious Pilgrimage (Shared Shrines, Contested Practices)". In Sahadeo & Zanca, eds. 2007. 319–338.
- al-'Āmilī, Muḥammad Ġamīl Ḥammūd. 2014. "Fiqh az-ziyārāt", Markaz al-'Itra at-Ṭāhira li-d-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūt, al-Fiqh, Istiftā'āt wa-Aġwiba, www.alettra.org/print.php?id=996.
- Arberry, Arthur J., tr. 1935. *The Doctrine of the Sūfīs (Kitāb at-Ta'arruf li-maḍhab ahl at-taṣawwuf)*. Translated from the Arabic of Abū Bakr al-Kalābādī. Cambridge: University Press.
- Assayag, Jackie. 1999. "But, They Do Move ... Religion, Illness, and Therapeutics in Southern India". In: Carrin, ed. 1999. 30–50.
- Attar, Farid al-Din, *Memorial of the Saints. Muslim Saints and Mystics*. Transl. of *Tadhkirat al-awliya'* by A. J. Arberry. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Badawī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. 1978. *Šaṭaḥāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*, Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbū'āt, 3rd ed.
- Bāḥū, Muṣṭafā. 2007. *'Ulamā' al-Maġrib wa-muqāwamatuhum li-l-bida' wa-t-taṣawwuf wa-l-qubūriyya wa-l-mawāsīm*. Casablanca: Mansūrāt Ġarīdat as-Sabīl.
- Basset, Henri & Évariste Lévi-Provençal. 1922. "Chella: Une nécropole mérinide", *Hespéris: Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines* 2. 1–92, 255–316, 385–425.
- Betteridge Anne H. 2002. „Muslim Women and Shrines in Shiraz”, in: Bowen – Early 2002. 276–289.

- Blackman, Winifred S. 1927. *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt. Their religious, social and industrial life to-day with special reference to survivals from ancient times*. London: Harrap. [2nd ed. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000.]
- Boivin, Michel & Remy Delage. 2016. *Devotional Islam in Contemporary South Asia*: Shrubington – New York, Routledge.
- Bowen, Donna Lee & Evelyn A. Early, eds. 2002. *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Bowen, John R. 1989. „Salat in Indonesia: The Social Meaning of an Islamic Ritual”, *Man*, New Series 24, no. 4, pp. 600–619.
- _____. “Graves, Shrines and Power in a Highland Sumatran Society”, pp. 1–13. In: Smith & Ernst (eds.). 1993.
- Burckhardt, John Lewis. 1829. *Travels in Arabia*. London, Henry Colburn, 1829, repr. Darf Publishers, London 1993,
- Burton, Richard F., tr. 1885. *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Printed by the Burton Club.
- Carrin, Marine, ed. 1999. *Managing Distress: Possession and Therapeutic Cults in South Asia*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Creswell, Keppel Archibald Cameron. 1932. *Early Muslim Architecture*. Vol I. Cambridge, University Press.
- Dermenghem, Émile. 1954. *Le culte des saints dans l’islam maghrébin*. Paris, Gallimard.
- Dornier, Pierre. 1950. ‘Le recours aux oualis dans les campagnes du Nord de la Tunisie’, *IBLA* (Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes) 13: 392–396.
- El Khayari, Ahmed Ettahiri Abdelaziz & Mohammed Kbiri-Alaoui. 1998. “Chellah, de l’Antiquité aux pèlerinage moussem”, *Nouvelles Archéologiques et Patrimoniales* 2.
- El-Shamy, Hasan. 2005. “A Motif Index of Alf Laylah wa Laylah: Its Relevance to the Study of Culture, Society, the Individual, and Character Transmutation”, *Journal of Arabic Literature (The Thousand and One Nights)* 36.235–268.
- Ernst, Carl W. 1993. “An Indo-Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage”, In: Smith & Ernst 1993, 43–67.
- _____. 1994. *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism*, New York, S. Abdul Majeed Co.
- Exnerová, Věra. 2015. “The Veneration and the Visitation of the Graves of Saints in Soviet Central Asia. Insights from the Southern Ferghana Valley, Uzbekistan”. *Archiv Orientální* 83.3.501–536. Special Issue: *Death, Graves and the Hereafter in Islam: Muslim Perceptions of the Last Things During the Middle Ages and Today*. Guest edited by Bronislav Ostránský and Miroslav Melčák.
- Fehérváry, Géza. 1993. “Mihrāb” esp. “Mihrāb in the Maghreb”. *EF* VII, 7–15.

- Gaborieau, Marc. 1994. "Le culte des saints musulmans en tant que rituel: controverses juridiques." *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 39.85.85–98.
- Goitein, Shelomo Dov. 1950. "The historical background for the erection of the Dome of the Rock", *JAOS* 70.104–108.
- Goldziher, Ignaz. 1889–1890. *Muhammedanische Studien*. 2 vols., Halle: Max Niemeyer.
- _____. 1971. *Muslim Studies*. 2 vols., Edited and translated by Samuel M. Stern. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Grabar, Oleg. 1959. "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem", *Ars Orientalis* 3.33–62.
- Gramlich, Richard. 1995. *Alte Vorbilder de Sufitums*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Haeri, Shahla. 1989. *Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Islam*. Syracuse: University Press.
- Hasluck, Margaret. 1929. "An Unknown Turkish Shrine in Western Macedonia". *JRAS* 2.289–296.
- Hill, Derek & Lucien Golvin & Robert Hillenbrand. 1976. *Islamic architecture in North Africa*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Hirtenstein, Stephen. 2010. "The Mystic's Ka'ba." *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 48.1–16. Also in www.ibnarabisociety.org/articles/mystics-kaba.html.
- Homerin, Th. Emil. 2001. *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Farid, His Verse, and His Shrine*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Ibn Bāz, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh. 2000. *Mağmū' fatāwā wa-maqālāt mutanawwi'a*. I-XXIV. Riyad: Dār al-Qāsim li-n-Našr.
- Janson, Marloes. 2006. „We Are All the Same, Because We All Worship God.' The Controversial Case of a Female Saint in the Gambia" *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 76.502–525.
- Knysh, Alexander. 2000. *Islamic Mysticism. A Short History*. Leiden, Brill.
- _____. 2007. "Contextualizing the Salafī – Sufi Conflict (from the Northern Caucasus to Hadramawt)". *Middle Eastern Studies* 43.4.503–530.
- al-Lağna ad-Dā'ima li-l-Buḥūt al-'Ilmiyya wa-l-Iftā', Saudi-Arabia. *Fatāwā al-Lağna ad-Dā'ima, Saudi Arabia* www.alifta.net/fatawa/fatawaDetails.aspx?
- Lamaṭī, Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak (as-Siğilmāsī) al-, *Pure Gold from the Words of Sayyidī 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh (Al-Dhabab al-Ibrīz min Kalām Sayyidī Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh)*. A Translation with Notes and an Outline by John O'Kane and Bernd Radtke Brill, Leiden & Boston 2007.
- _____. *al-Ibrīz min kalām Sayyidī Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2002. Also: www.soulouk.com/vb/showthread.php?t=95 – pdf.

- Lammens, Henri. 1911–12. “Ziād ibn Abīhi: Vice-roi de l’Iraq, Lieutenant de Mo’awia I”, *RSO*, 1–45, 199–250, 653–693.
- Lane, Edward William. 1860. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. The Definitive 1860 Edition. Introduced by Jason Thompson. Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press, 2003.
- Losensky, Paul. 2011. “Coordinates in Space and Time. Architectural Chronograms in Safavid Iran.” In: Mitchell 2011, 198–215.
- Maarouf, Mohammed. 2010. “Saints and Social Justice in Morocco: An Ethnographic Case of the Mythic Court of Sīdī Šamharūs”, *Arabica* 57.589–670.
- Marçais, William & Georges Marçais. 1903. *Les monuments arabes de Tlemcen*. Paris, Thorin et Fils.
- Marçais, Georges. 1926. *Manuel d’art musulman. L’Architecture. Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile*. Paris: Picard.
- Massignon, Louis. 1975. *La Passion de Husayn Ibn Mansūr Hallāj, martyr mystique de l’Islam, exécuté à Bagdad le 26 mars 922. Étude d’histoire religieuse*. (Nouvelle édition). Paris, Gallimard, 1975
- _____. 1982. *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj, Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, tr. by Herbert Mason. Princeton, University Press.
- Meier, Fritz. 1976. “Abū Sa’īd-i Abū l-Hayr (357–440/967–1049), Wirklichkeit und Legend”, *Acta Iranica* 11, 202–203.
- Mitchell, Colin P., ed. 2011. *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran. Empire and Society*. London – New York, Rotledge.
- Morris, James Winston. 2005. *The Reflective Heart*. Louisville, KY, Fons Vitae.
- Mūsā, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb. 2009. *al-Ġam’iyya ad-Duwaliyya lil-Mutarġimīn wal-Luġawiyyin al-‘Arab* - www.wata.cc › ... › *Muntadā al-Falsafa*.
- Nagy, Péter Tamás. 2014. “Sultans’ Paradise: The Royal Necropolis of Shāla, Rabat”. *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 26.132–146.
- Nakash, Yitzhak. 1995. “The Visitation of the Shrines of the Imams and the Shi’i Mujtahids in the Early Twentieth Century”, *Studia Islamica* 81, pp. 153–164.
- an-Nāširī, Muḥammad al-Makkī, *Izhār al-ḥaqīqa wa-‘ilāġ al-ḥalīqa*. Tunis, an-Nahḍa, 1925 and intr. with a study by Idrīs Karam, Rabat, Top Press 2010.
- Nicholson, Reynold A. 1921. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. Cambridge, University Press.
- O’Dell, Emily Jane. 2011. “Government Sanctioned Shrine Visitation in Turkmenistan.” *American Councils Final Report*, 26 September 2011, Columbia University, New York.
- Papas, Alexandre. 2016. “Vagrancy and pilgrimage according to the Sufi qalandari path: the illusions of anti-structure”, in: Boivin – Delage 2014. 15–30.

- Searight, Susan. 1999. *Maverick Guide to Morocco*, Gretna, LA, Pelican Publishing.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1919. *Guide de Maroc*. Paris, Guides bleus.
- Smith, Grace Martin & Carl W. Ernst, eds. 1993. *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*. Istanbul, The Isis Press.
- Sahadeo, Jeff & Russell Zanca, eds. 2007. *Everyday life in Central Asia. Past and Present*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

SO THAT YOU MAY BE REMINDED

Alan Jones

The University of Oxford

Sándor Fodor was an excellent scholar, a caring friend and a genial host. We saw each other rarely, something we both regretted, but when we met it was as if there had been no gap. The conversation just continued, and it is deeply saddening that it will never do so again. It is a minor comfort that his death was sudden, whilst he was looking after his grandchildren. His memory will live on through them, through his work, and through the department that both he and his successors have maintained as a centre of excellence, despite the cruel government cuts to Hungarian higher education.

He always quizzed me about my work on the *Qur'ān*, and I remember discussing with him the use of *la'alla*. The following piece on *la'alla* in the *Qur'ān* fleshes out our discussion.

By the norms of *Qur'ānic* vocabulary *la'alla* is a common word. It occurs 129 times, being rare in early material, and then rising to a peak in later Meccan and early Medinan material before tailing off. One would expect a particle that occurs so many times to be clearly understood. This is not so, mainly, I suspect, because examples have normally been looked at individually rather than as a group. In addition, scholars of Arabic are overwhelmingly predisposed to think of *la'alla* as meaning 'perhaps', its meaning in the *'arabiyya*.

However, commentators, grammarians and lexicographers have always allowed that in the *Qur'ān* *la'alla* does not bear the single meaning of 'perhaps'. From time to time they acknowledge in the briefest of comments that it means 'so that'. Thus Ibn Manẓūr simply says in his secondary explanation of *la'alla* in the *Lisān al-'arab: wa-qad ġā'at fī l-qur'āni bi-ma'nā kay*. Similarly al-Bayḏāwī glosses *la'alla-kum ta'qilūn* (12:2) as *kay tafhamū-hu*. For slightly more detailed explanations, with a leavening of theological argument, see, for example, aṭ-Ṭabarī and az-Zamaḥṣarī on 2:21 (*la'allakum tattaqūna*). In this case, for example, aṭ-Ṭabarī argues that *la'alla* cannot here imply any doubt on the part of God about what might happen if the hypocrites and unbelievers were to serve their Lord.

قال أبو جعفر: فإن قال لنا قائل: فكيف قال جل ثناؤه: لعلمكم تتقون؟ أو لم يكن عالما بما يصير إليه أمرهم إذا هم عبده وأطاعوه، حتى قال لهم: لعلمكم إذا فعلتم ذلك أن تتقوا، فأخرج الخبر عن عاقبة عبادتهم إياه مخرج الشك؟

قيل له: ذلك على غير المعنى الذي توهمت، وإنما معنى ذلك: اعبدوا ربكم الذي خلقكم والذين من قبلكم، لتتقوه بطاعته وتوحيده وإفراده بالربوبية والعبادة (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ad Q 2:21)

Outside the *Qurʾān* and the odd *ṣāhid*, passages that have *laʿalla* in the sense of ‘so that’ are very rare. I recall only a couple of prose passages where *laʿalla* readily, though not necessarily, bears this meaning. The clearest¹ comes in al-Buḥārī, (*aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-aṭʿima*, *bāb* 57):

qāla ṣnaʿ lī ṭaʿāman yakfī ḥamsatan laʿallī adʿū n-nabiyya ḥāmisa ḥamsatin fa-ṣanaʿa lahu ṭuʿayman ṭumma atā-hu fa-daʿā-hu

The rarity of non-*Qurʾānic* examples of *laʿalla* meaning ‘so that’ and the relative casualness with which the commentators treat the *Qurʾānic* examples have led to western grammarians and translators usually getting the meaning wrong. In four very brief passages Wright (1979: 1,290b; 2,82c; 2,83a; 2,108c) fails to mention the meaning ‘so that’, though he is interested in the probably erroneous suggestion that *laʿalla* was sometimes used with a following genitive. Among the translators Sale gives us in 12:2 ‘that peradventure ye might understand’; Palmer ‘haply ye may understand’; Bell ‘mayhap ye will understand’; Arberry ‘haply you will understand’; and more recently Fakhry has ‘that perchance you may understand’ (Paret ‘Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein’; R. Simon ‘Talán fölfogjátok’).

The inevitable conclusion is that the haphazard treatment of *laʿalla* needs correction. The logical step is to examine all the occurrences and their contexts as a group. As soon as one does this, striking and, in my view, significant patterns emerge.

1.

A convenient place to start is the dozen verses in which it is generally agreed that *laʿalla* has the meaning ‘perhaps’, the precursor to its usage in classical Arabic. These include what is probably the earliest use of the word (80:30) and one of that is quite late (33:63 – a recasting of 42:17). Let us set them out and remove them from further consideration:

¹ I exclude the *ḥadīṭ* quoted in the *Lisān al-ʿarab*, *s.v.*

11:12

1

فَلَعَلَّكَ تَارِكٌ بَعْضَ مَا يُوحَىٰ إِلَيْكَ
وَضَائِقٌ بِهِ صَدْرُكَ
أَنْ يَقُولُوا لَوْلَا أُنزِلَ عَلَيْهِ كَنْزٌ
أَوْ جَاءَ مَعَهُ مَلَكٌ

Perhaps you are forsaking part of what is revealed to you
and your breast is straitened by it,
because they say, 'Why has a treasure not been sent down to him
or an angel come with him?'

18:6

2

فَلَعَلَّكَ بَاجِعٌ النَّفْسَ
عَلَىٰ آثَارِهِمْ
إِنْ لَمْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِهِذَا الْحَدِيثِ

Perhaps you will exhaust yourself with grief,
following them up,
If they do not believe in this discourse,

20:10

3

إِذْ رَأَىٰ نَارًا فَقَالَ لِأَهْلِهِ
امْكُثُوا إِنِّي آنَسْتُ نَارًا
لَعَلِّي آتِيكُمْ مِنْهَا بِقَبَسٍ
أَوْ آجِدُ عَلَى النَّارِ هُدًى

When he saw a fire and said to his family,
'Wait. I have spotted a fire.]
Perhaps I can bring you a brand from it
or find guidance at the fire.'²

21:111

4

وَإِنْ أَدْرِي
لَعَلَّهُ فِتْنَةٌ لَكُمْ وَمَتَاعٌ إِلَىٰ حِينٍ

I do not know.
Perhaps it is a trial for you, with enjoyment for a time.'

23:100

5

لَعَلِّي أَعْمَلُ صَالِحًا فِيمَا تَرَكْتُ
كَلَّا إِنَّهَا كَلِمَةٌ هُوَ قَائِلُهَا

² This verse has links with 28:29.

وَمِنْ وَرَائِهِمْ بَرْزَخٌ إِلَى يَوْمٍ يُبْعَثُونَ

Perhaps I shall act righteously concerning that which I have forsaken.
No indeed. It is only a word that he says.
Behind them is a barrier until the day they are raised.

26:3

6

لَعَلَّكَ بَاخِعٌ نَفْسَكَ
أَلَّا يَكُونُوا مُؤْمِنِينَ

Perhaps you are tormenting yourself
because they do not believe.

26:40

7

لَعَلَّنَا نَتَّبِعَ السَّحَرَةَ
إِنْ كَانُوا هُمُ الْغَالِبِينَ

[They said], 'Perhaps we shall follow the sorcerers,
if they are the victors.'

28:29

8

قَالَ لِأَهْلِهِ امْكُثُوا
إِنِّي أَنَسْتُ نَارًا
لَعَلِّي آتِيكُمْ مِنْهَا بِخَبَرٍ أَوْ جَذْوَةٍ مِنَ النَّارِ

He said to his household, 'Stay [here].
I have seen a fire.
Perhaps I shall bring you news from it or a brand of fire,

33:63

9

قُلْ إِنَّمَا عِلْمُهَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ
وَمَا يُدْرِيكَ
لَعَلَّ السَّاعَةَ تَكُونُ قَرِيبًا

Say, 'Knowledge of it is only with God.
What will give you knowledge?
Perhaps the Hour is something near.'³

³ This is a variant of the next verse listed. Both are notable for the use of *qarīb* (best taken as a noun) after *as-sā'ata*.

42:17

10

وَمَا يُذْرِيكَ
لَعَلَّ السَّاعَةَ قَرِيبٌ

What will give you knowledge?
Perhaps the Hour is something near.

65:1

11

لَا تُدْرِي
لَعَلَّ اللَّهَ يُحْدِثُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ أَمْرًا

You do not know.
It may be that God will cause something [new] to happen after that.

80:3

12

وَمَا يُذْرِيكَ لَعَلَّهُ يَزَكِّي

What will give you knowledge [about this]?
Perhaps he will purify himself.

The group shows some interesting features that contrast with the rest of the examples. Seven (1-3 & 5-8) come at the beginning of a verse or section of a verse; and the other five (4 and 9-12) follow some form of the verb *darā/adrā*. From a different angle we should note that they include the only three verses in which *la'alla* is followed by a noun: 33:63, 42:17 and 65:1. In those verses in which *la'alla* has a pronominal suffix we find 3 instances of the 2 m.s. (1 elsewhere), 2 of the 3 m.s. (1 elsewhere), 3 of the 1 s. (also 3 elsewhere) and one of the 1 p. (not found in the other examples). There are **no** instances of the 2 m.p. and 3 m.p. pronominal suffixes that dominate the rest of the examples. Though example 8 (28:29) has clear links with example 3 (20:10) uniquely it is followed by another clause with *la'alla* having the meaning 'so that':

لَعَلَّكُمْ تَصْطَلُونَ

so that you may warm yourselves (27:7)

2.

There two other verses in which *la'alla* occurs twice. Both are in *Sūra* 12:46, with *la'alla* meaning 'so that' on each occasion:

12:46

13a

لَعَلِّي أَرْجِعُ إِلَى النَّاسِ

so that I may return to the people

12:46

13b

لَعَلَّهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ

so that they may know

12:62

14a

لَعَلَّهُمْ يَعْرِفُونَهَا إِذَا انْقَلَبُوا إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهِمْ

so that they may recognize them when they go back to their people

32:21

14b

لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ

so that they may return

It is also difficult to keep 20:113 in the main group, as the clause including *la'alla* is the penultimate one, due, no doubt, to the assonance:

20:113

15

وَكَذَلِكَ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا
وَصَرَّفْنَا فِيهِ مِنَ الْوَعِيدِ
لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَّقُونَ
أَوْ يُحَدِّثُ لَهُمْ ذِكْرًا

Thus We have sent it down as a Recitation in Arabic,
and We have turned about in it some threats,
so that they may fear God
or that it may create for them a reminder.

One must also note that in 28:38 *la'all-ī* is at some remove from the end of the verse:

28:38

16

فَأَجْعَلْ لِي صَرْحًا
لَعَلِّي أَطَّلِعُ إِلَىٰ إِلَهِ مُوسَىٰ
وَإِنِّي لِأَظُنُّهُ مِنَ الْكَاذِبِينَ

and make for me a high building
so that I may climb up to see the god of Moses.
I think that he is one of the liars.'

Thus these four instances (13a, 14a, 15, 16) should also be removed from the main group, which still has a healthy total of 113 occurrences. It is to a crucial part of this remaining group that I wish to turn to next.

3.

In quoting some of the examples above, I have simply stated that the meaning of *la'alla* is 'so that', but it is now time to prove this. I set out the dozen verses that make the case. In them we find *wa-la'alla*-... as the penultimate phrase of the verse, followed by a second or third person pronominal suffix and an imperfect verb with the ending *-ūn*. The twelve are: 2:150; 2:185; 7:63; 7:164; 7:174; 16:14; 16:44; 28:73; 30:46; 35:12; 40:67; 45:12.

In ten of these (the exceptions are 7:164 and 7:174, see below) the previous section of the verse begins with *li-* 'so that'⁴ or even, with further parallelism, *wali-* 'and so that'. In each case we find *wa-la'alla*-... followed by the pronominal suffix *-kum/hum* and a second or third person plural imperfect indicative verb. In ten of them what happens is clear:

2:150

17

فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِي
وَلِأَتِمَّ نِعْمَتِي عَلَيْكُمْ
وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ

Do not fear them, but fear Me.
[This is] so that I may complete my blessing to you
and that you may be guided aright.

2:185

18

يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ بِكُمْ الْيُسْرَ
وَلَا يُرِيدُ بِكُمْ الْعُسْرَ
وَلِتُكْمِلُوا الْعِدَّةَ وَلِتُكَبِّرُوا اللَّهَ
عَلَىٰ مَا هَدَاكُمْ
وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

God desires ease for you,
not hardship,
and [He desires]⁵ you to complete the period and to magnify God

⁴ Or, in some cases, just 'that'.

⁵ This raises another point I discussed with Professor Fodor. There are various places in the *Qur'ān* in which *li-* is used instead of *an*. Most of the examples are debatable, but this is hardly the case where the verb *arāda* is followed by *li-*. In addition to the two examples in 2:185 set out in the main text see 4:26; 5:6a [three times]; 9:55; 33:33; and 75:5.

4:26

God wishes to make [things] clear to you

يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُبَيِّنَ لَكُمْ

for having guided you
and to be thankful.

7:63

19
وَعَجِبْتُمْ أَنْ جَاءَكُمْ ذِكْرٌ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ عَلَى رَجُلٍ مِّنكُمْ
لِيُنذِرَكُمْ وَلِتَتَّقُوا
وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ

Do you wonder that a reminder from your Lord has come to you through a man from among you, that he may warn you and that you may protect yourselves and that you may be given mercy?

16:14

20
وَهُوَ الَّذِي سَخَّرَ الْبَحْرَ
لِتَأْكُلُوا مِنْهُ لَحْمًا طَرِيًّا
وَتَسْتَخْرِجُوا مِنْهُ حُلِيَّةً تَلْبَسُونَهَا
وَتَرَى الْفُلْكَ مَوَاجِرَ فِيهِ
وَلِتَبْتَغُوا مِنْ فَضْلِهِ
وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

and to guide you by the customs of those who were before you
and to relent towards you
God is Knowing and Wise

وَيَهْدِيكُمْ سُنَنَ الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِكُمْ
وَيَتُوبَ عَلَيْكُمْ
وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ

5:6b (three times)

God does not wish to place any difficulty on you,
but He wishes to make you pure
and to complete His blessing on you
so that you may be grateful.

مَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيَجْعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ حَرَجٍ
وَلَكِن يُرِيدُ لِيُطَهِّرَكُمْ
وَلِيُنِيبَ نِعْمَتَهُ عَلَيْكُمْ
لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

9:55

God wishes to punish them through them in the life of this world

إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُعَذِّبَهُمْ بِهَا فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا

33:33

God wants to remove abomination from you,
O people of the household,
and to cleanse you.

إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ
أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ
وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا

75:5

But man wishes to act wrongly before it.

بَلْ يُرِيدُ الْإِنْسَانُ لِيَفْجُرَ أَمَامَهُ

It is He who has subjected the sea,
so that you may eat fresh fish from it
and bring forth ornaments that you may wear.
And you can see the ships cutting through it.
[That is] so that you may seek some of His bounty
and that you may be thankful.⁶

16:44

21

وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الذِّكْرَ
لِتُبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ
وَلَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ

And We have sent down to you the reminder
for you to make clear to men what has been sent down to them
and that they may reflect.

28:73

22

وَمِنْ رَحْمَتِهِ جَعَلَ لَكُمُ اللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ
لِتَسْكُنُوا فِيهِ
وَلِتَبْتَغُوا مِنْ فَضْلِهِ
وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

Of His mercy He has made for you night and day
that you may rest therein
and that you may seek some of His bounty
and that you may be thankful.’

30:46

23

وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ أَنْ يُرْسِلَ الرِّيَّاحَ مُبَشِّرَاتٍ
وَلِيُذِيقَكُمْ مِنْ رَحْمَتِهِ
وَلِتَجْرِيَ الْفُلُكُ بِأَمْرِهِ
وَلِتَبْتَغُوا مِنْ فَضْلِهِ
وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

And of His signs is that He sends the winds as bearers of good tidings
and to give you a taste of His mercy,
and that ships may run at His command,
and that you may seek some of His bounty,
and that you may be grateful.

⁶ Largely repeated in 35:12 (24), but with slightly different phraseology.

35:12

24

وَتَسْتَخْرِجُونَ جَلِيَّةً تَلْبَسُونَهَا
وَتَرَى الْفُلْكَ فِيهِ مَوَاجِرَ
لِتَبْتَغُوا مِنْ فَضْلِهِ
وَأَلْعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

Yet from each you eat fresh meat
and bring forth ornaments to wear.
And you see the ships cleaving through them
so that you may seek some of His bounty
and so that you may be thankful.

40:67

25

ثُمَّ يُخْرِجُكُمْ طِفْلًا
ثُمَّ لِيَتَّبِعُوا أَسْدَكُمْ
ثُمَّ لِيَتَّكِنُوا سُيُوحًا
وَمِنْكُمْ مَن يَتُوفَى مِنْ قَبْلُ
وَلِيَتَّبِعُوا أَجَلًا مُّسَمًّى
وَأَلْعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ

then brings you forth as infants,
then [arranges] that you attain maturity
and then that you become old men
– though there are some of you who are taken before it –
and that you reach a stated term,
and that you may understand

45:12

26

لَهُ مَقَالِيدُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ
يَنْسُطُ الرِّزْقَ لِمَن يَشَاءُ وَيَعْدِرُ
إِنَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ

It is God who has subjected the sea for you,
that the ships may run on it by His command
and that you may seek some of His bounty
and that you may be grateful.

In all these examples the assonance of the passage in which they occur is in –
ūn [/-*īn*], the dominant assonance in the *Qurʿān*. It is, of course, impossible to have
an imperfect verb ending in–*ūn* after any of the particles *li*, *likay*, *liʿan* or *hattā*,
‘so that’, all of which have to be followed by a verb in the subjunctive. This would
require –*ū* rather than –*ūn*.

What the verses show is *la'alla-kum/hum* is being used in parallel to *li-* in meaning, but with its construction allowing the verse to be rounded off with *-ūn* rather than *-ū*.

In two further verses the link between clauses is more oblique and therefore less definitive:

7:164

27
قَالُوا مَعذِرَةٌ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكُمْ
وَأَعْلَهُمْ يَتَّقُونَ

They said, 'As an excuse to your Lord,
and so that they may be god-fearing

7:174

28
وَكَذَٰلِكَ نُفَصِّلُ الْآيَاتِ
وَأَعْلَهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ

Thus We set out in detail the signs,
so that they might return.

4.

There are three instances in which the assonance is not in *-ūn*. The first two are verses from *Sūra* 20, in which the dominant assonance is in *-ā*:

20:44

29
فَقُولَا لَهُ قَوْلًا لَّيِّنًا
لَّعَلَّهُ يَتَذَكَّرُ أَوْ يَخْشَىٰ

Speak to him gently
so that he might be reminded or be afraid

20:130

30
فَاصْبِرْ عَلَىٰ مَا يَقُولُونَ
..... لَعَلَّكَ تَرْضَىٰ

So endure patiently against what they say
.... so that you may be pleasing

The third is from *Sūra* 40, in which the dominant assonance is in *-āb*:

40:36

31

وَقَالَ فِرْعَوْنُ يَا هَامَانَ ابْنِ لِي صَرْحًا
لَعَلِّي أَبْلُغُ الْأَسْبَابَ

Pharaoh said, ‘O Hāmān, build me a high building
so that I may reach the ropes⁷

This leaves a further 96 examples where a verse is rounded off immediately by *la‘alla-kum/hum* and the appropriate plural verb, plus 2 (6:154 and 13:2) where a phrase is interposed between the suffix and the verb. Dundes (2003) and his ilk would say ‘formulae’, but much successful rhetoric has what may be viewed as a formulaic basis.

2:21	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَنْقُوتَ	so that you may protect yourselves	32
2:52	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	so that you might be grateful	33
2:53	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ	so that you might be guided aright	34
2:56	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	so that you might be grateful	35
2:63	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَنْقُوتَ	so that you may protect yourselves	36
2:73	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ	so that you may understand	37
2:179	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَنْقُوتَ	so that you may protect yourselves	38
2:183	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَنْقُوتَ	so that you may protect yourselves	39
2:186	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ	so that they may be guided aright	40
2:187	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَنْقُوتَ	so that they may protect themselves	41
2:189a	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	42
2:219a	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَفَكَّرُونَ	so that you may reflect	43
2:221a	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	44
2:242	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	so that you might be grateful	45
2:266	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَفَكَّرُونَ	so that you may reflect	46
3:72	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	so that they may return	47
3:103	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ	so that you may be guided	48
3:123	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	so that you might be grateful	49
3:130	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	50
3:132	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ	so that you may be granted mercy	51
3:200	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	52

⁷ This verse has some connection with 28:38 (16 above), where *la‘all-ī* is used in the middle of the verse.

5:6b	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	so that you will be grateful	53
5:35	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	54
5:90	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	56
5:100	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	57
6:42	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَضَرَّعُونَ	so that they might be humble	58
6:51	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَنْقُورُونَ	so that they may protect themselves	59
6:65	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَفْقَهُونَ	that they may understand	60
6:69	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَنْقُورُونَ	so that they may protect themselves	61
6:151	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ	that you may understand	62
6:152	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ	that you may be reminded	63
6:153	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ	so that you may protect yourselves	64
6:154	لَعَلَّهُمْ بِلِقَاءِ رَبِّهِمْ يُؤْمِنُونَ	so that they might believe in their meeting with their Lord	65
6:155	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ	so that you may receive mercy	66
7:26	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	67
7:57	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ	so that you might be reminded	68
7:69	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	69
7:94	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَضُرَّعُونَ	so that might become humble	70
7:130	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	71
7:158	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ	so that you may be led aright	72
7:168	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	so that they may return	73
7:171	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ	so that you may protect yourselves	74
7:176	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ	so that they may reflect	75
7:204	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ	so that you may receive mercy	76
8:26	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	that you may be thankful	77
8:45	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	78
8:57	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	79
9:12	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَنْتَهُونَ	so that they may desist	80
9:122	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَحْذَرُونَ	so that they may be careful	81
12:2	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ	so that you may understand	82
12:46	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ	so that they may know	83
12:62	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	so that they may return	84
13:2	لَعَلَّكُمْ بِلِقَاءِ رَبِّكُمْ وَقِفْتُونَ	so that you may be convinced that you will meet your Lord	85

14:25	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	86
14:37	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَشْكُرُونَ	so that they may be thankful	87
16:15	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ	so that you may be guided aright	88
16:78	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	so that you may be thankful	89
16:81	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُسَلِّمُونَ	so that you may submit yourselves	90
16:90	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that you might be reminded	91
21:13	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُسَأَلُونَ	so that you may be questioned	92
21:31	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَهْتَدُونَ	so that they might be guided aright	93
21:58	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	that they might return to it	94
21:61	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَشْهَدُونَ	that they may testify	95
22:36	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	so that you may be grateful	96
22:77	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	that you may prosper	97
23:49	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَهْتَدُونَ	that they might be guided aright	98
24:1	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَذَكَّرُونَ	that you may be reminded	99
24:27	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَذَكَّرُونَ	that you may be reminded	100
24:31a	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	so that you may prosper	101
24:56	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ	so that you may receive mercy	102
24:61	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ	that you may understand	103
26:129	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَخْلُدُونَ	so that you may dwell there forever	104
27:7	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَصْطَلُونَ	so that you may warm yourselves	105
27:46	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ	so that you may be treated mercifully	106
28:29	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَصْطَلُونَ	so that you may warm yourselves	107
28:43	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	108
28:46	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	109
28:51	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	110
30:41	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	so that they may return	111
32:3	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَهْتَدُونَ	so that they may be guided aright	112
32:21	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	so that they may return	113
36:45	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ	so that you may find mercy	114
36:74	لَعَلَّهُمْ يُنصَرُونَ	so that they might be helped	115
39:27	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	116
39:28	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَنْقُورُونَ	so that they may protect themselves	117
41:26	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَغْلِبُونَ	so that you may prevail	118
43:3	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ	so that you may understand	119

43:10	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ	for you to find the right way	120
43:28	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	that they might return	121
43:48	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	that they might return	122
44:58	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that they may be reminded	123
46:27	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ	that they might return	124
49:10	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ	so that you will receive mercy	125
51:49	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَذَكَّرُونَ	so that you might be reminded	126
57:17	لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ	so that you may understand	127
59:21	لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ	so that they may reflect	128
62:10	لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ	that you may prosper	129

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

- al-Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr* = Nāṣir ad-Dīn ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Umar al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār at-tanzīl wa-asrār at-ta’wīl*. Edited by Muḥammad ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mar‘ašlī. 5 vols. in 2, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ at-Turāṭ al-‘Arabī, 1998.
- al-Buḥārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* = Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Buḥārī, *al-Ġāmi‘ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Edited by Muṣṭafā Dīb al-Buḡā, 6 vols., Damascus & Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1981.
- Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* = Abū l-Faḍl Ġamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mukarram Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*. Edited by ‘Abdallāh ‘Alī al-Kabīr, Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥasballāh & Hāšim Muḥammad aš-Šādīlī, 6 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1981.
- aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* = Abū Ġa‘far Muḥammad ibn Ġarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ġāmi‘ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān*. 12 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1992.
- az-Zamaḥṣarī, *Kaššāf* = Abū l-Qāsim Ġar Allāh Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar az-Zamaḥṣarī, *al-Kaššāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq at-tanzīl*. Edited by Muḥammad aṣ-Šādiq, 4 vols., Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1966-68.

B. Secondary sources

- Arberry, Arthur J. 1955. *The Koran Interpreted*. 2 vols., London: George Allen & Unwin; New York: Macmillan. Repr.: Oxford: Univ. Press, 1983.
- Bell, Richard. 1937–39. *The Qur’ān Translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs*. 2 vols., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

- Dundes, Alan. 2003. *Fables of the Ancients? Folklore in the Qur'an*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Fakhry, Majid. 1996. *The Qur'an: a Modern English Version*. Reading: Garnet.
- Palmer, E. H., transl. 1880. *The Qur'ān*. (= *Sacred Books of the East*, 6, 9.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Paret, Rudi. 2005. *Der Koran Kommentar und Konkordanz*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 7th ed.
- Sale, George. 1734. *The Koran: Commonly Called the Alkoran of Mohamed*. Engl transl. with explanatory notes. London: C. Ackers for J. Wilcox.
- Simon, Róbert. 1987. *Korán*. Budapest: Helikon Kiadó.
- Wright, William. 1979. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language, translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections*, 3rd ed, revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje. Cambridge: University Press.

**BETWEEN STAGE DÉCOR AND REALITY
THE CAIRO STREET AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN
EXPOSITION OF 1893 AT CHICAGO**

István Ormos

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

World's fairs made their appearance in the middle of the nineteenth century: in 1851, the first world's fair, the "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations", was organised in the Crystal Palace in London. The distant roots of world's fairs can be traced to medieval church fairs, e.g., the annual festivals in commemoration of local church patrons – these were often connected with pilgrimages. Fairs also served commerce as markets where a wide assortment of wares could be acquired. At the same time, the appearance of new products at venues on which great multitudes converged from places near and far helped to popularise them, spreading their fame even to faraway places. Thus these fairs served to promote arts, crafts and industry, too. A wide selection of entertainment of various kinds was perhaps the main attraction of fairs for pleasure-seeking crowds. All these features were present in world's fairs yet on a higher scale than in previous fairs of local or regional relevance. In addition, the aspects of public relations, politics, education and even scholarship emerged and gained considerably in importance in the context of world's fairs. World's fairs became important means of spreading the image of a given country all over the world in the aspect which the given country or its leading circles preferred to display themselves. At the same time, capitalism gained supremacy in various degrees all over the world, a process which caused a previously unknown exacerbation of tensions between various layers of societies. World's fairs also helped maintain social peace in these tension-ridden times by cementing bonds among social classes. Thus it is easily understandable that huge world's fairs were many-sided events with extremely multifaceted systems of sometimes even contradictory allusions and meanings (Goldmann 1987; Greenhalgh 1988).

In connection with fairs in general, novel kinds of entertainment emerged and gained ascendancy in the nineteenth century. Answering a deep urge to get acquainted with the wonders of fascinating distant, unknown lands – partly in order to escape from a dim and bleak present to regions where the erstwhile, primeval happiness of mankind still seemed to survive – the inhabitants of European countries became more and more interested in faraway climates and

their populations. This was the period when tourism as well as ethnography began to flourish. Wandering peoples' shows were organised where various peoples from distant lands were put on display, often in their customary surroundings, in order to lend the shows as much authenticity as possible. Panoramas, in other words cycloramas, became very popular. These were large-size circular paintings showing breath-taking landscapes or important historical events on a continuous surface, in the centre of which the spectator stood, as if he was part of the landscape or partaking in the event himself. This was the period of historicism, when architects erected buildings in the styles of past ages instead of developing styles of their own for the expression of their messages. Partly as an outcome of this attitude, it became popular to erect copies of town quarters as temporary structures made of ephemeral construction materials. As a rule, these copies of town quarters did not aim at full accuracy; rather, they were meant to evoke the atmosphere of a given city. This they hoped to achieve by creating ensembles consisting of true copies of genuinely extant buildings, of buildings assembled from relatively true copies of sections of buildings, or of completely fictitious buildings erected in a given style. This field of architecture was closely connected to the "stylistic" restoration of monuments of architecture, which was practised in those days: this meant the "re-creation" of a monument in an ideal form which may never have existed in reality at any time in history. An eminent example of this approach was the medieval Pierrefonds Castle in France, creatively re-constructed and re-invented by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1858–1885), or the medieval Karlštejn Castle in Bohemia (the present-day Czech Republic), similarly re-constructed and re-invented by Friedrich von Schmidt and Josef Mocker (1887–1899). In a similar vein, fairy-tale castles were built which were closely connected to the stage décor of theatres. Some of these were not designed to fulfil practical purposes as living quarters but served as follies, the caprices of rulers, while others were used as residential buildings or as summer homes. King Ludwig II of Bavaria's Neuschwanstein Castle may serve as a good example of the former, while Pena Palace in Portugal (1842–1854/1885) or Peleş Castle in Romania (1872–1914) are examples of the latter. There is a close connection between the stage décor of theatres and this kind of architecture. Stage designers took an active part in the preparation of the designs for Neuschwanstein Castle. Several parts of the castle were in fact re-creations of actual stage sets designed for operas by Richard Wagner at the opera house in Munich. The close connection between theatre sets and the erection of historical town quarters for fairs was also warranted on a professional level because in both cases the building material was of an ephemeral nature – these buildings, just like stage sets, were not meant to exist for long periods but were to be temporary structures of limited life-span. Thus it was by no mere chance that architects specialising in stage décor were

often employed in the erection of copies of historical town quarters. Examples of such copies were the “Venice in Vienna” project by Oskar Marmorek; the exotic sections, including a Cairo Street, at the Great Industrial Exposition of Berlin 1896; the Cairo Street at the International Exposition of 1906 at Milan; the Old Buda Castle (*Ósbudavára*) of 1896 in Budapest and the “Constantinople in Budapest” project, also in 1896. In our context, the most important of all of them was the *Rue du Caire* at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 in Paris (Volait 2005).

It was against this background that the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago took place. It was organised to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. Originally it had been planned for 1892 but owing to organisational difficulties it was postponed to the following year. It was not the first world’s fair in the United States, nor was it the last. As a world’s fair, it followed the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 in Paris, which had been an unprecedented success in the history of world’s fairs. The aim the organisers set before them was to surpass it in every respect, a circumstance which determined many aspects of the fair right from the beginning. It was generally felt in America that the presence of the United States at the Paris fair of 1889 had not reflected its industrial power or the importance it had acquired in the world economy in previous years. It was also thought that the time had come for the United States to take the place it rightly deserved in world culture, too. Since there were prospects of considerable gains, both material and in terms of prestige, there was fierce competition among possible candidates such as New York, Washington DC, St. Louis and Chicago to acquire the rights to host this important event. At the same time, it was clear that only one fair could be organised and that it should be a federal event. In the end Chicago won. Many agreed that Chicago, the “City of « I Will »” was just the right place to demonstrate the American miracle to the world: about ninety years old, with more than a million inhabitants, Chicago was a major industrial, commercial and transportation centre of the United States. At the same time, it had something of a bad reputation within America, owing to the dismal living conditions, the high crime rate and the acute social tensions, while outside the country it was mostly unknown. The time had come, the local leaders thought, to present their city to Americans on the one hand, as a haven of culture and refinement in addition to its position of economic might, and on the other hand to put it on the world map as a major metropolis. Time was very short but in the end the organisers succeeded in meeting the deadline: the fair was officially opened by President Grover Stephen Cleveland on 1 May 1893. This was a real miracle in view of the relatively little time at the organisers’ disposal compared to the huge tasks to be accomplished. And while it is true that some projects were still incomplete by the time of the official opening, this was nothing new or unusual in the history of world’s fairs.

The fair was located on the shore of Lake Michigan and consisted of two major sections, the White City and the Midway Plaisance. The White City was the official part of the fair and it consisted of an impressive ensemble of magnificent edifices erected in the Beaux Arts style. They were arranged along lagoons connected to Lake Michigan, resulting in a Venetian landscape. Originally as a time- and money-saving measure, the buildings were painted white and gleamed in the sunshine, thus giving rise to the name White City. The so-called Midway Plaisance was a mile-long strip of land adjoining the White City. In contradistinction to the White City, where the exhibits of official bodies were located, such as US government agencies, the states and territories of the United States, foreign governments in their official capacity, on the Midway Plaisance one could find displays by private exhibitors, both from the United States and abroad. The exact status of this latter section of the fair was somewhat precarious. Anthropology was a nascent and upcoming field of studies at this time and played an important role at the World's Columbian Exposition, too, and the Midway Plaisance was officially regarded as belonging to the anthropological section with its numerous displays of foreign peoples and types, in accordance with contemporary scholarly theories. On the other hand, many of these shows also served the entertainment industry, which was accorded great importance at the fair on account of the considerable income it generated. In contradistinction to European fairs, which were financed mostly by governments, the Chicago fair, like most American fairs, was privately financed. Thus material questions played an important role, especially on the Midway Plaisance: whenever the number of visitors fell at a show or exhibit, swift adjustments were undertaken in order to redress the situation. Consequently, in addition to the scholarly aspects, material considerations greatly influenced the standard of the shows on the Midway Plaisance, although the extent of this varied greatly from place to place. The dignified appearance of the White City was greeted with universal admiration. The references of the Beaux Arts style to Classical Antiquity displayed Chicago and the United States as the ultimate heir and torchbearer of Western civilisation. The dignity that the White City radiated presented Chicago to the world as a haven of culture and refinement. At the same time, the White City was the first example of town planning in the United States and initiated important trends in this field. The Midway Plaisance, on the other hand, consisted of a wide selection of ensembles and shows at highly different scholarly and artistic levels. Common to all, however, was the fact that entertainment played an important role in them. It was very popular with visitors to the fair: they enjoyed tremendously the various sights, especially since they could participate in local activities in many of them. In the aftermath of the fair it seemed that this was in fact the first time in their history that Americans had a good time and enjoyed themselves.

The White City consisted of so-called “thematic buildings” (e.g., agriculture, industry, forestry, dairy, women, horticulture, fish and fisheries, etc.), of US government buildings, of buildings erected by the states and territories of the United States, and of structures set up by foreign governments in their official capacities. In this way, foreign countries could be represented on as many as three levels at the fair: in the thematic buildings of the White City, in the edifices erected by their respective governments in the White City, and also by private firms on the Midway Plaisance.¹

Some saw the contrast between the White City and the Midway Plaisance as akin to that between the Heavenly Jerusalem and Babel-Babylon. In general, biblical allusions appeared very often in descriptions of the fair: the great majority of Americans were churchgoing Protestants, who read and studied the Bible regularly.

The World’s Columbian Exposition was a many-sided event with multifaceted, often even contradictory, ideological messages, where various strands on various layers coexisted and were simultaneously present. As a rule, single exhibits cannot be interpreted on their own, taken out of the context of the fair as a whole, (a mistake many students of the fair are wont to commit), but must always be seen alongside the entire fair as a complex structure.

Contemporary scientific and ideological theories played an important role in the shaping of the fair’s messages. Some of these theories sound odd now, often even politically incorrect, yet they were mostly adequate scientific theories at the time, representing a given stage in the meandering development of human knowledge. Foremost among these theories was “Social Darwinism”, which exercised great influence on the intellectual, academic and cultural life of the period. It was assumed that Darwin’s highly influential theory of evolution and its corollaries were valid not only in biology but also in human societies. It implied, among other things, that various peoples represented different evolutionary stages in intellectual, cultural, and moral qualities, which passed from generation to generation via inheritance. This involved approaches which in some cases would be classified as racist today. Another influential theory, which laid great emphasis on quantification – that is on size and weight – in natural sciences, assumed that women were less gifted intellectually than men because the parietal lobe in their brain was smaller. This was called the “physiological imbecility of women” in the parlance of the period (Möbius, *Schwachsinn*). Both theories had widely ramifying and complex implications.

The president of the United States sent letters of invitation to all major countries of the world inviting them to participate in the World’s Columbian

¹ The best overall description of the fair is Bancroft, *Fair*.

Exposition. The Egyptian government received the invitation, too. Egypt had already participated in earlier world's fairs with great success: especially impressive was the Egyptian presence at Paris in 1867 and at Vienna in 1873. In 1867, Ismā'īl Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, personally visited the *Exposition Universelle* at Paris. The Egyptian government was fully aware of the international propaganda effects of such an event and there was no question in their minds: the Egyptian government wanted to participate in the fair at all costs. However, the British Treasury Secretary was not willing to grant more than a sixth of the sum deemed absolutely necessary by the government. Though officially an Ottoman province with special status within the Empire, Egypt was under British military occupation at the time and key posts in ministries were held by British officials. Thus the Egyptian government felt compelled to back down and gave up their plan, with the result that the country did not participate in the World's Columbian Exposition on an official level.

A private enterprise organised the project known as "Cairo Street". The manager was George Pangalo, an Egyptian subject with Greek, British and Italian roots and an Ottoman background, active in the banking sector. He raised the necessary capital and managed to obtain the concession from the world's fair authorities. This involved numerous trips to Chicago. Pangalo had several competitors, but according to contemporary press reports, the high quality of the designs presented by him convinced the authorities to declare him the winner. Pangalo also secured the cooperation of an outstanding Chicago-based architect, Henry Ives Cobb, for his project. This step was of great significance. Cobb's task was to supervise the on-the-spot erection of Cairo Street on the basis of the designs supplied by Pangalo. Cobb was a close friend of Daniel H. Burnham, director of works, which meant that his participation in the project was a guarantee of reliability and seriousness in the eyes of the fair's authorities. It was also an important consideration that only architects licensed in the State of Illinois were permitted to be active professionally in Chicago at the time – and Cobb possessed such a licence. In fact, it was Cobb who officially presented the plans supplied by Pangalo to the fair's authorities.

As far as the architectural side of the project was concerned, Pangalo obtained the participation of Max Herz, chief architect to the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* at the time. This body functioned within the Waqf Ministry (Ministry of Pious Religious Endowments) and was in charge of the conservation of monuments of Arab-Islamic architecture all over Egypt. (The conservation of monuments of ancient Egyptian [pharaonic] architecture, a task of supreme significance in Egypt, was the responsibility of a different government agency.) The chief architect directed the work of the Comité although he was not its head in a legal sense. In this capacity, Herz was regarded as the foremost expert

on Arab-Islamic architecture in Egypt: no mean achievement, especially in view of the fact that Cairo was – and still is – the richest repository of Arab-Islamic architecture in the world. In addition to the quantity, the quality of Arab-Islamic monuments in Cairo is truly unique (Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha*).

In the case of the present project, Herz was in charge of the preparation of designs. The Comité granted him permission to participate in the project on the condition that he would work for Pangalo after regular office hours only. It was also understood that Herz would travel to Chicago in the final stage of the project and would personally supervise erection works, adding to the project the final touches. A bureau was set up especially for this project in Cairo. An Austrian architect of Czech descent, Eduard Matasek, was employed direct from Vienna. Owing to Herz's connections with the Imperial capital, where he had conducted part of his studies and where he had many professional as well as family connections, it is to be assumed that it was through his mediation that Matasek was hired. In Vienna, Matasek worked with the studio of Fellner & Helmer, which had acquired great fame in Central Europe with its theatres, which the studio designed and erected in great numbers mainly in Central Europe but on occasion also further afield: the biggest and most lavish theatre the firm ever built was the opera house in Odessa in the Russian Empire (present-day Ukraine). We have already drawn attention to the close relationship between the ephemeral architecture of fairs and the world of the theatre: in our context it is highly significant that Matasek was recruited for the present project from the orbit of the theatrical world. After the conclusion of the Cairo Street project Matasek did not return to Vienna but settled in Cairo: he started to work with the Comité and was also active as a private architect. We do not know the exact details of how Herz and Matasek collaborated. There can be no doubt, though, that Matasek worked under Herz's guidance and direction, elaborating part of the detailed designs. Both Herz and Matasek were excellent draughtsmen. The designs prepared for Cairo Street have not survived, but we know that Pangalo was awarded the concession on the basis of designs of very high quality that had been presented to the fair's authorities. This means that some designs must have been prepared at an early stage. It is to be assumed that the remainder of the designs were prepared after Pangalo had acquired the concession.

The concept of the Cairo Street project was not new. Its direct forerunner was the *Rue du Caire* at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 in Paris. In general, it was a widely popular idea at the time to erect ensembles of more or less authentic copies of quarters of towns, of certain characteristic buildings of a town, or of parts of buildings. The aim was to create an ensemble evoking the authentic atmosphere of the given town. In order to heighten the authenticity of a project, the architectural ensembles were sometimes populated with authentic inhabitants

of the given city. “Venice in Vienna”, which was erected by the Austrian architect Oskar Marmorek in 1895, serves as an excellent example. It was a typical section of Venice, with waterways and gondolas, and was erected in the Prater, the famous amusement park of Vienna. It became so popular with the inhabitants of the city that it was dismantled only fifteen years later, in 1910. Marmorek described it briefly in the following words, which – *mutatis mutandis* – could stand for Cairo Street or any similar venture: “It is not a copy of an exact place but, as it were, a paraphrase of Venice. Every single house is either a direct copy or has been designed from a given basic Venetian motif... The overall aim was to demonstrate the *character*, the *atmosphere* of the Queen of the Seas in the small space at our disposal.” (Kristan 1996:187–188). We know from the memoirs of his second, Hungarian wife that Khedive ‘Abbās II Ḥilmī loved this project and visited it quite often during his regular stays in the Imperial capital (Djavidan, *Harem* 333). Of course, Marmorek erected his “Venice in Vienna” after the Chicago fair, so it cannot be considered as a model for Cairo Street there. However, it can be regarded as an excellent example of this type of project in general.

Not only the designs but many constituent parts were prepared in Cairo. The latter were shipped to Chicago, assembled, adjusted and on occasions repaired there by Egyptian craftsmen.

Cairo Street was an enclosed compound approximately 183 × 44 metres in area, in the vicinity of the Ferris Wheel in the eastern section of the Midway. Its walls were plain from the outside showing nothing to the outer world, in accordance with Middle Eastern custom. It had three doors. Proceeding from east to west, the Street proper changed direction four times, bifurcating towards the end. It was along this Street that the various buildings were located. As a rule, the lower parts of most buildings, that is to say, of the humbler ones, were occupied by merchants’ booths.

It is sometimes claimed that Cairo Street was an exact copy of a certain section of the medieval part of Cairo, namely of the *Bayn al-Qaṣrayn* area. This area is well known: it is the area where the two Fatimid palaces once stood, hence the name (Ar. *Bayn al-Qaṣrayn* “Between the Two Palaces”). It is the area where some of the most beautiful mosques of the Arab-Islamic world stand today. However, this statement is not true. As stated before, Cairo Street was an architectural ensemble of units, some of which contained copies of sections of well-known architectural monuments while others were average buildings in local, i.e. Cairene taste. None of the buildings was an authentic one-to-one copy of any actually existing monument. However, the “great” buildings erected in Cairo Street contained some very conspicuous and clearly identifiable parts of important architectural monuments in Islamic Cairo, after which they were usually named. And the result, the overall effect, was absolutely convincing. The great

buildings and the humbler ones, assembled in carefully measured proportion, added up to a solid and impressive – while at the same time very pleasant – ensemble which made a breathtakingly powerful impact. This was enhanced by the fact that visitors were, so to say, “taken captive” by the Street on account of its narrowness and high buildings. Everybody enthused about the architectural “authenticity” of Cairo Street. Comparisons with the *Rue du Caire* at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 at Paris always came out in favour of Chicago. Of course, many of those who found Cairo Street absolutely authentic had never actually visited Cairo. It is to be assumed, though, that the emphasis on authenticity in these cases was partly based on second-hand information while also partly being a metaphoric expression for the high artistic quality of the Street.

The present author has found three things which, in his opinion, detract from the much praised authenticity of the Street. Firstly, there was a balcony with a keel arch – typical of the Maghreb but alien to Cairo – on one of the buildings (see below). Secondly, the pavement was made of bricks, a method also unknown in Cairo. However, this latter feature considerably facilitates the identification of photographs taken in Chicago but offered for sale in Cairo in the aftermath of the fair as “typical” scenes taken in Cairo. Thirdly, in Chicago everything seemed brand new in Cairo Street, which was hardly the case in the medieval section of Cairo itself, as can be seen in contemporary photographs. In fact, much of the magic of the medieval section of Cairo experienced in the nineteenth, twentieth as well as twenty-first centuries is based on the romantic feeling coupled with the antiquity of the monuments.

We shall now proceed to survey the most important “great” monuments.

The most conspicuous monument in the whole Street was the mosque with its high minaret, which could be seen from afar from outside the Street. It was claimed that this mosque was an exact copy of Qāyitbāy’s funerary mosque (1474) in the Northern Cemetery, apart from its minaret, which was supposed to be an exact replica of the Circassian mosque of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir (1480) in the tortuous *Bargawān* lane in the medieval part of Cairo. This statement seems to have originated with Max Herz. Circassian mosques, of which we are lucky to possess quite a number, are without exception really very beautiful. Max Herz, who was by no means a dispassionate art historian, in addition to being a fine conservator of monuments, had a clear predilection for Mamluk architecture and a very high regard for Qāyitbāy’s funerary mosque. He wrote: “Arab art in Egypt has never produced a more harmonious ensemble.” He praised the minaret in the following words: “It can be reckoned beyond doubt among the most beautiful spire-shaped edifices of any style.” (Herz, *Islām* 164; cf. Ormos 2009: 260–261). The minaret of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir’s mosque is nearly contemporary with Qāyitbāy’s minaret. It is in the same style and is equally beautiful. During his long

career, Herz was involved with both mosques: he carried out complete restoration on both of them. In view of his admiration for Qāyitbāy's minaret it is difficult to understand why he should have replaced it with another one, even though it is itself a very fine specimen. As a possibility it comes to mind that perhaps in order not to upset religious sensitivities he wanted to avoid even the suspicion of reproducing a mosque actually extant in reality. It should be stated as a preliminary that in general, Circassian mosques, especially their minarets, closely resemble each other. A careful comparison of the three minarets in question shows that they look very similar yet are all slightly different. This means that it is not true to say that the minaret in Chicago was an exact replica of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir's minaret. It is hard to know why Herz should have claimed this if it was not so. One is at a loss for an answer. It may be that he preferred to give a clear cut, seemingly precise statement for propaganda purposes. Another possibility is that the booklet which this piece of information seems to have originated from was printed at an earlier stage of the project and that the finalisation of the plans occurred later. If we look at the "body" of the mosque we can see that it really evokes the appearance, the impression of Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque without being a true and exact copy. There are important differences which, however, do not disturb the overall effect. The original in Cairo is basically a free-standing monument, while its counterpart in Chicago is one of a series of buildings lining a street. A conspicuous and very significant constituent part of the complex in Cairo is the ruler's mausoleum with its splendid dome displaying intricate arabesque decoration; this basic constituent part of the original was not reproduced in Chicago. Also, a conspicuous foundation inscription appears above the *sabīl* window in Chicago: there is no inscription in the Cairo original. Little is known about the mosque's interior. Some conclusions can be drawn from the ground plan of Cairo Street at our disposal, which includes the mosque. It displays the customary ground plan of a cruciform *madrassa*-mosque with recesses as reduced lateral *īwāns*. The construction of the entrance was unusual. In Mamluk mosques, the passageway from the entrance to the courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) is not straight but deflected, changing direction more or less at right angles. It is assumed that this feature was employed by Mamluk builders in order to facilitate the defence, by making direct assault and entry by hostile forces impossible. In Chicago, however, the entryway leads directly, without deflection, to the covered courtyard, the *ṣaḥn*, entering it at a right angle. We do not have photographs of the interior. Contemporary descriptions mention a gallery from which visitors could watch the regular prayers of the Egyptian Muslims. There was no gallery in Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque in Cairo. However, there was an impressive pulpit (*dikkaṭ al-muballig*) at the western corner of the covered courtyard (*ṣaḥn*), which appears in contemporary photographs and on ground plans from the period but which has

since disappeared. There were very few Muslims in America at the time of the World's Columbian Exposition. Therefore it was an exceptional and exotic experience for local visitors to the fair to be able to watch Muslims performing their prayers in a mosque. Similarly, the muezzin's call to prayer resounded regularly from the minaret, another highly unusual and exotic feature in Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century. When night fell the minaret was lit by many electric bulbs, transforming Cairo Street into an enchanted medieval city straight from the Arabia of the *Thousand and One Nights*. An interesting feature of Qāyitbāy's mosque in Chicago was its lantern. There had been much discussion in the Comité in connection with the eventual restoration of Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque about whether the *ṣaḥn* had originally been covered or not. And if it had been covered, what had the roof looked like? It was assumed that there would have been a lantern in the centre of the roof but it was not clear what shape it had been. The question was especially vexed in the case of the lantern roof. Would it have been flat or pointed? Without going into the details of this long dispute, it can be stated that the final answers to these questions were not known at the time. Nevertheless, Herz and the Comité opted for a slightly pointed, nearly flat roof so as not to interfere with the overall impression of the *madrasa*-mosque of this type. As a matter of fact, all lanterns of this Circassian type were designed by Herz's office under his guidance. The problem was ultimately solved long after Herz's departure and death when the *waqfiyya* (foundation deed) of Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque, containing an architectural description of the monument, came to light. It stated clearly that the courtyard had been covered and that there had been a lantern in its centre. It was described as a *kušk*, but it was not clear what its precise shape had been (Ormos 2008; Ormos 2009:264–266). In this context it was remarkable to see that as early as around 1890 Herz already opted for a flat roof in the replica of Qāyitbāy's funerary *madrasa*-mosque in Chicago, when the debate was still going on: Qāyitbāy's lantern was reconstructed around 1899–1900, relatively late in the course of the complete restoration of the monument carried out by Max Herz.

In the detailed ground-plan at our disposal the public fountain (*sabīl*) bears the inscription "Fortune Teller". Thus we must assume that a fortune teller offered his/her services in it.

Qāyitbāy's funerary *madrasa*-mosque was located in the centre of Cairo Street, in the area indicated as "Marketplace" on the ground plan, next to the "Camel Station". Now, a market place is a typical European concept; there are of course markets, i.e. bazaars in the Orient, but there is no market place in the centre of a town in the European sense of the word. The "Camel Station" was next to the *sabīl*, the public fountain forming part of the mosque. It is to be assumed that it was there that the camels rested between rides and waited for customers. In the

photographs at my disposal there are no camels in this location. However, their kneeling rugs are there. This can be accounted for by the circumstance that camels were very popular and were probably out carrying customers around most of the time.

Just opposite the “Camel Station” stood what was described as a replica of the Mansion of Gamāl ad-Dīn aḍ-Ḍahabī (1634). It was the luxurious abode of a rich merchant. From an architectural point of view it was remarkable that although this monument was built more than a century after the Ottoman occupation of Egypt (1517), it was erected in the architectural style of the preceding Mamluk period instead of in the Ottoman style. This was certainly a case of historicism, proving that this stylistic approach existed in earlier periods too and not only in the nineteenth century. The reasons are not wholly clear. However, it seems reasonable to assume that the owner wanted to erect a building in the local style as he knew it instead of availing himself of the architectural style of the conquerors. Personal aesthetic preferences may have played a role too: maybe the patron simply found the architectural style of the Mamluks more to his taste than the style fashionable at the time in the core provinces of the Ottoman Empire. He may have been an early forerunner of Max Herz in this respect: we know that he personally liked the style of the Mamluk period very much, while he had rather a low opinion of the Imperial Ottoman style. As a matter of fact, Herz was deeply involved with Gamāl ad-Dīn aḍ-Ḍahabī’s mansion. He carried out a complete restoration of it. And it is perhaps even more important that it is generally acknowledged that it was thanks to Herz that the building had survived at all and had not shared the fate of many of its counterparts which had perished without a trace. The salvage of this mansion was all the more significant because very few secular buildings could be found among the relatively great number of surviving monuments of architecture in Cairo, most of which belonged to the sphere of religion. The building erected in Chicago under this name must be regarded as a free pasticcio rather than a replica of the original. Especially odd is the open balcony with the keel arch characteristic of the Western part of the Arab world, the Maghreb, which is conspicuously out of place here. It is very difficult to attribute such a stylistic incongruity to Herz. Maybe it was added by some local builder before Herz’s arrival? One of the main interests of this mansion was a fabulous bronze or brass door, which had been made expressly for the fair according to one report, while another stated that it was about 500 years of age and had once been the property of the Circassian Mamluk Sultan Barqūq (d. 1399). This door seems to have been one of a number of Sultan Barqūq’s doors, at least some of which were probably fakes. The late Professor Géza Fehérvári

(1926–2012) was involved with these doors for more than a decade. His monograph devoted to this subject appeared posthumously (Fehérvári 2012)².

In the vicinity of the mosque stood the *sabīl-kuttāb* of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Kathūdā, which after the mosque was the most conspicuous monument in Cairo Street. Its original (1744) stands at a bifurcation of the main thoroughfare as a landmark of medieval Cairo. It was built in a special local variety of the Imperial Ottoman style named after its inventor, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Kathūdā, the most prolific builder in eighteenth century Cairo. On account of its pleasant appearance and dramatic location, this monument is widely regarded as one of the most picturesque sights in the Egyptian capital, the Mother of the World (*Umm ad-Dunyā*). So it was in Chicago too. The edifice erected there was a very fine, though not exact, replica of the original building in Cairo. In any case, it reproduced the impression of the original very accurately. Little is known about the *sabīl*’s interior in Chicago. The interior of the original in Cairo is covered with glazed ceramic tiles displaying plant motifs in blue and green on a white ground. This kind of tile was very popular in the Ottoman Empire at the time but was only rarely employed in Cairo. There is no evidence that the *sabīl*’s interior in Chicago was covered with such tiles. Instead of dispensing water to passers-by, as in Cairo, the *sabīl* in Chicago was employed as a music pavilion. However, the *kuttāb* fulfilled its original purpose: it served as an elementary school for the Egyptian children in Cairo Street. Great importance was attributed by the manager, George Pangalo, to the proper education of children during the fair. There is no denying that the *kuttāb* was an important feature of Cairo Street: the shrill noise the children made while learning to read and write could be heard all over the place and contributed greatly to the authentic Oriental atmosphere of the Street.

Just opposite the *sabīl-kuttāb* stood the *wikāla* (okel, okella) or caravanserai, which represented a building type which played a very important role in pre-modern Cairo, right until the beginning of the twentieth century, providing travelling wholesale merchants with accommodation and storerooms. As far as its exterior was concerned, it was not a copy of any identifiable single edifice. Rather, it was a free pasticcio, a capriccio combining elements from typical representatives of this building type. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the architect preparing the designs also relied on printed albums with representations of *wikālas* in the Near and Middle East. In its interior, there were two rows of galleries with pointed arches running around the courtyard. They housed a great number of shops. The interior was also a free pasticcio using characteristic elements of this building type. There was one part of the *wikāla* which was of

² It is not known whether the text represents the final results of his research in a form approved by him.

special interest. It had a beautiful door as its main entrance, which was a copy of a door in Darb al-Labbāna in the vicinity of Sultan Ḥasan's mosque. It is still standing today, connected at right angles to the door of the *takiyya* (~convent) of Taqī d-Dīn al-Biṣṭāmī. The exact identification of this door presents difficulties but in all probability it was built in the fourteenth century.³ A few years after the Chicago fair the well-known tobacco manufacturer Nestor Gianacis asked Max Herz to remodel his villa in the centre of modern Cairo. Herz must have been fond of this door because he installed a copy of the same door as the new main entrance to the remodelled villa. Later Gianacis sold his villa, which finally became the property of the American University in Cairo. The villa is still standing in its erstwhile location: it is the old, Neo-Mamluk, central building of the American University in Cairo in Taḥrīr Square, and the door in question leads now to the President's Staircase.

At the western end of Cairo Street proper, within the compound, was a courtyard in which stood the Temple of Luxor. This pharaonic monument was in fact an independent project which did not belong to Cairo Street in the strict sense of the word. On the other hand, the general public regarded it as part of Cairo Street, and thus it usually appears as such in descriptions of the fair. It is often emphasised that these two features, the Temple of Luxor and Cairo Street, represent the two cornerstones of the most important continuous civilisation in world history: pharaonic and Islamic Egypt. The Temple of Luxor at Chicago was a rather free pasticcio on pharaonic architecture designed to evoke the atmosphere of an actual pharaonic temple, specifically that of the Temple of Luxor. It was stated in many publications that the monument in Chicago was actually an exact replica of the Temple in Luxor. This was not the case; the monument in Chicago bore little resemblance to the actual Temple, one of the major sights from the ancient Egyptian, pharaonic period in Egypt on the east (right) bank of the Nile, on the site of ancient Thebes. However, by choosing to reproduce as central elements two of the most conspicuous constituent parts, the double towers of the grandiose pylon, the builder skilfully achieved his aim, although even the function of the pylon was completely modified: in Chicago it appeared as the façade of the pharaonic temple. The interior in Chicago served both as a museum and a lecture hall, and was decorated with ancient Egyptian paintings. Replicas of the mummies of outstanding ancient Egyptian "celebrities" were displayed in glass cases. These had been executed in wax in the workshops of Thomas Cook & Son at Būlāq. Alongside Demetrius Mosconas, the director of the "Temple of Luxor" enterprise, a close friend of his, John Mason Cook, was heavily involved with the project. John Mason Cook was none other than the only son of Thomas Cook, the founder

³ It is listed as a protected monument under no. 325.

of modern tourism, whose firm was very active in Egypt. In fact, John Mason Cook was joint proprietor of the celebrated firm at the time. A genuine enthusiasm for and love of Egyptian culture along with a sharp eye for publicity added up to an irresistible force that drove Cook junior to participate in the project with heartfelt vigour. Inside the Temple, pharaonic music was played and pharaonic dances were performed. The Temple of Luxor was less popular than Cairo Street proper and attendance was much lower. It must be mentioned that the majority of American visitors to the fair were strict churchgoing Protestants, closely acquainted with the Bible. Ancient Egypt thus represented first and foremost for them a scene of Biblical history, where some of the best-known stories of both Testaments were set, stories which they had known since childhood. This aspect was conspicuously present at the fair. In connection with the Temple of Luxor, references to personalities and events from the Bible were constantly made, with the result that visitors found themselves in familiar surroundings populated with persons whom they had known from Biblical stories from their earliest years.

In addition to the authenticity from an architectural point of view, the organisers placed special emphasis on enhancing the authenticity of Cairo Street by populating it with original inhabitants shipped to Chicago straight from Cairo. In this way, visitors had the impression that they were in fact strolling along the streets of the Middle Eastern metropolis. This was not a new idea. It had been applied in Paris in 1889, too. What was new in Chicago was the high quality of the design and execution. Manager Pangalo carefully selected 175 persons (men, women and children) in Cairo who were then transported to the New World. They included donkey-boys, camel-drivers, farriers, waiters, forerunners or *saises* (Egyptian Arabic sg. *sāyis*), water-carriers, cooks, barbers, conjurers, wrestlers, jesters, coffee-grinders, musicians, scribes, and men of religion in characteristic attires commanding respect. All sorts of animals from Egypt, such as camels, donkeys, monkeys and snakes, were also transported to Chicago to enhance the Street's authenticity.

In addition to simply strolling up and down Cairo Street, there were all sorts of activities to watch and – what was even more captivating for visitors – to participate in. They could mount donkeys and take a ride, which very many people did. Much more fun both for riders and onlookers alike was a ride on a camel, an extraordinary looking animal with which Americans were completely unfamiliar. Mounting the camel and descending from it was usually an ordeal for the bold riders, and simultaneously a great occasion for hilarity and uproar for all the onlookers who always gathered in great numbers to watch the unusual event. There were regular activities within Cairo Street, such as the Prophet's birthday, the Mawlid an-Nabī, the birthdays or festivals (*mawlids*) of various holy men, wedding processions, and the departure and arrival of the Mecca pilgrims with the

Sacred Litter, the *Maḥmal* (Porter 2011). There were regular programs involving the whole Midway Plaisance, too. Processions were repeatedly organised in which the denizens of the Midway paraded up and down, drawing attention to their shows. There were also various special days, events, involving the whole fair, in which the inhabitants of Cairo Street also participated with great enthusiasm and high visibility. All the events involving Cairo Street were colourful and noisy, something that Americans were not accustomed to. The ebullient *joie de vivre* of the Egyptians was something absolutely new for Americans and many were carried away by the irresistible atmosphere. An important aspect of Cairo Street, just as with the Midway Plaisance, was the emphasis on the material aspect. Whenever profit seemed jeopardised by a fall in visitor numbers, decisive steps were taken to redress the situation, for instance by sending out a noisy procession made up of groups of native Cairenes from Cairo Street in their colourful attire, accompanied by conspicuous animals, mainly donkeys and camels. Such a noisy cavalcade of people laughing and joking in their colourful attire with their partly unusual, even exotic animals, never failed in its effect.

However, the biggest attraction of Cairo Street was the belly dance or *danse du ventre* as it was usually referred to. It had been a great success at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 in Paris, at the same time generating record profits for its manager, so there was no doubt that it was a must for Chicago too. It was staged at several venues, not only in Cairo Street. It seems, though, that the belly dance shown in Cairo Street was generally regarded as the most authentic, at the same time representing the highest standard as far as the Midway Plaisance was considered. Belly dancing was performed by Egyptian dancers in the theatre located next to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Kathūdā's *sabīl-kuttāb*, right in the centre of the Street. It elicited contrary reactions. On the one hand, visitors stormed the theatre and everybody wanted to see the show. On the other hand, many regarded it as immoral. What visitors saw was not in accordance with contemporary American ideas of public decency, which was determined by the strict morals of a somewhat puritan society. Yet it cannot have been as immoral as is often suggested because the authorities never intervened in Cairo Street: there can be no doubt that they would have done so without hesitation had anything really subversive been going on which infringed the law. It is true that regular newspaper articles appeared either demanding the prohibition of the show or announcing its imminent closure. However, it is possible that many of these articles were in fact part of a carefully orchestrated propaganda campaign: after the publication of such an article attendance always rose sharply. Belly dancing had an ambivalent position: partly it was regarded as an ethnographic feature in the field of anthropology because the Midway Plaisance belonged to the Department of Anthropology, displaying cultural features of various nations. On the other hand it was perceived as an early

variety of sex show which seemed to violate the strict moral codes of contemporary society.

Cairo Street was a multifaceted feature at a multifaceted world's fair. One may attempt to disentangle the various layers and strands of its often contradictory meanings only in the context of the whole fair. Yet one can say with reasonable certainty that, notwithstanding certain indisputably negative aspects pertaining to Orientalism in the Edward Saidian sense, as well as to colonialism and imperialism, Cairo Street was a very serious venture of high professional quality which did much to disseminate information on Arab-Islamic as well as ancient Egyptian culture, and even in a broader sense on Islam, to strata of society which did not normally come into contact with Egypt, thus creating a positive image or heightening it in circles otherwise impervious to such an effect.

REFERENCES

A. Primary Sources

- Bancroft, *Fair* = Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The book of the fair. An historical and descriptive presentation of the world's science, art, and industry, as viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*. Chicago, San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1895.
- Buel, *Magic city* = J[ames] W[illiam] Buel, *The magic city. A massive portfolio of original photographic views of the Great World's Fair and its treasures of art, including a vivid representation of the famous Midway Plaisance*. St. Louis, Mo.; Philadelphia, Pa.: Historical Publishing Company, 1894.
- Djavidan, *Harem* = Prinzessin Djavidan Hanum, *Harem. Erzählungen. Erinnerungen der früheren Gemahlin des Khediven von Ägypten. Niederschrift durch Prinzessin Djavidan Hanum und ihre Schwester Thea Ronay*. [Reprint of the 1930 edition:] (*Literatur und Wirklichkeit*, 2). Berlin: Vis-à-Vis, 1988.
- Dream city* = *The dream city. A portfolio of photographic views of the World's Columbian Exposition* with an introduction by Prof. Halsey C. Ives. St. Louis, Mo.: N. D. Thompson, 1893.
- Herz, *Iszlám* = Herz Miksa Bey, "Az Iszlám művészete [The art of Islam]". *A művészetek története a legrégebbi időktől a XIX. század végéig [The history of art from the earliest times until the end of the nineteenth century]* ed. Zsolt Beöthy. Vol. II. [1907] 108–262. Budapest: Lampel R. (Wodianer F. és fia), 1906–1912.
- Möbius, *Schwachsinn* = Paul Julius Möbius, *Über den physiologischen Schwachsinn des Weibes*. Halle an der Saale: Carl Marhold, 1920.

Shepp, *Fair* = James W. Shepp, Daniel B. Shepp, *Shepp's world's fair photographed*. Chicago, Philadelphia: Globe Bible Publishing Co., 1893.

B. Secondary Sources

Fehérvári, Géza. 2012. *Sultan Barqūq's door in Kuwait*. Additional research by Iman R. Abdulfattah. Kuwait: Tareq Rajab Museum.

Goldmann, Stefan. 1987. "Zur Rezeption der Völker ausstellungen um 1900". *Exotische Welten, Europäische Phantasien* ed. Tilman Osterwold, Hermann Pollig. 88–93. Stuttgart: Edition Cantz.

Greenhalgh, Paul. 1988. *Ephemeral vistas. The Expositions universelles, great exhibitions and world's fairs 1851–1939*. (Studies in Imperialism). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

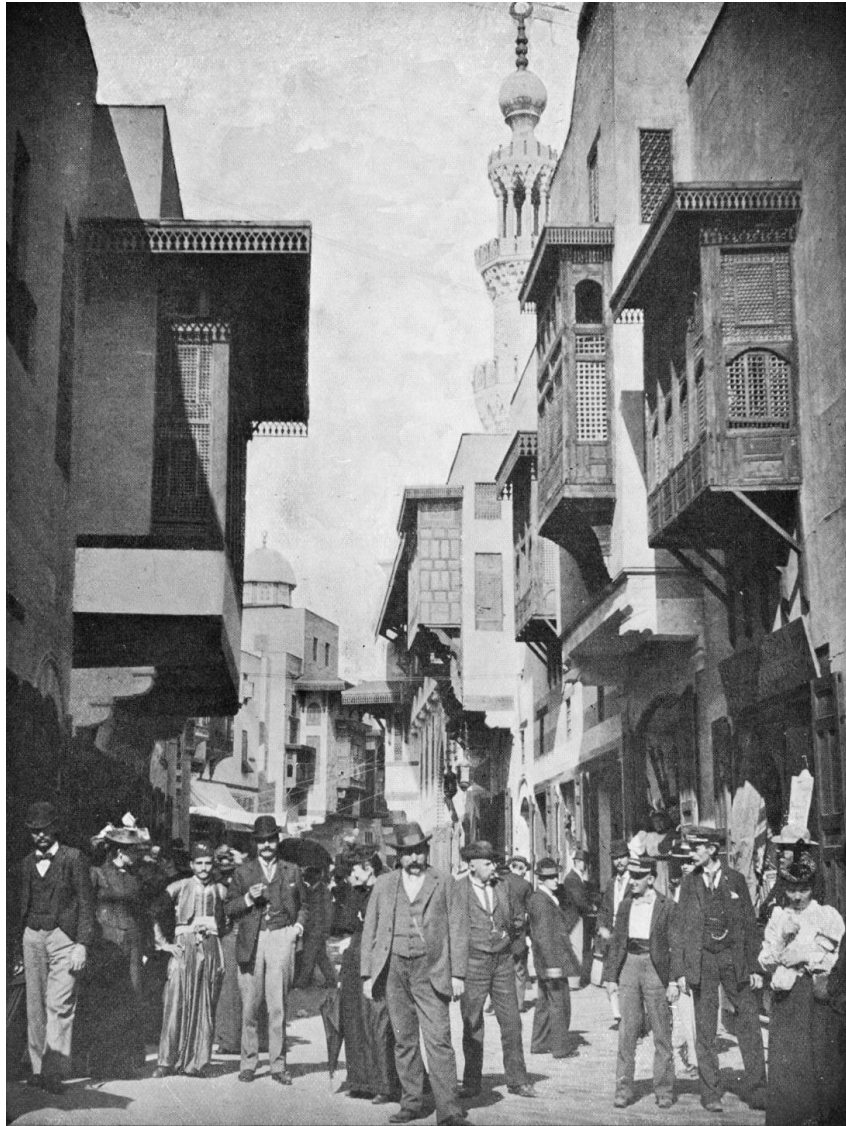
Kristan, Markus. 1996. *Oskar Marmorek*. (Veröffentlichungen der Albertina, 40). Vienna: Böhlau.

Ormos, István. 2008. "The funerary mosque of Sultan Qayitbay in the Northern Cemetery. Some aspects of Herz Pasha's methods of conservation." *Kitāb taq-dīrī li-l-āṭārī l-kabīr al-ustād 'Abd ar-Rahmān 'Abd at-Tawwāb. Dirāsāt wa-buḥūṭ fī l-āṭār wa-l-ḥadāra al-islāmiyya*. (Iṣḍār tidkārī. Mağallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb. Ġāmi'at Sūhāğ). I/2.594–616. Alexandria: Dār al-Wafā'.

_____. 2009. *Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919). His life and career*. (Études Urbaines 6/1–2). Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Porter, Venetia. 2013. "The Mahmal revisited". *The Hajj: Collected essays* ed. Venetia Porter, Liana Saif. 195–205. London: The British Museum.

Volait, Mercedes. 2005. "La rue du Caire". *Les Expositions universelles à Paris de 1855 à 1937* ed. Myriam Bacha. (Paris et son Patrimoine). 131–134. Paris: Action artistique de la Ville de Paris.



1. Cairo Street. Shepp, *Fair* 507.



2. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Kaḥudā's *sabīl-kuttāb* with the entrance to the Dancing Theatre to the right. *The dream city*.

**AL-MANDAL AS-SULAYMĀNĪ APPLIQUÉ:
UNE SECTION INTERPOLÉE DANS LE MS. SANAA 2774 ?**

Anne Regourd

Université de Copenhague, ERC « Islam in the Horn of Africa »
UMR 7192, CNRS, Paris

I. Introduction

Le *Kitāb al-Mandal as-sulaymānī* est un livre d'exorcisme. Il réunit formules, paroles, recettes, matières, ..., contre les maux provoqués par les djinns et pour s'en protéger.

Il a fait l'objet de deux publications précédentes. Dans la première, était donnée une analyse de la structure du texte par comparaison avec deux exemplaires manuscrits collectés au Yémen, (A) et (C), soulevant l'existence d'un troisième texte, posé par défaut (B)¹. Les feuillets 1r à 6r, l. 12, du manuscrit (A) ont été édités et traduits dans la seconde publication².

La présente note porte sur les feuillets 6v, l. 5, à 7v du manuscrit (A). Notre propos consiste à les situer brièvement dans le mouvement d'ensemble du livre tel qu'il nous est restitué, à poser quelques questions de versions/filiations du *Mandal* et d'établissement du texte, à en faire une édition annotée suivie d'un résumé, puis à s'interroger sur le statut de ces feuillets en terme d'histoire de la copie au sein du manuscrit (A).

¹ Il s'agit des manuscrits : 1. (A) *Kitāb al-Mandal as-sulaymānī al-kāmil al-mašhūr bi-ṣ-Ṣiḥḥa ka-š-šams wa-l-qamar li-l-ġam' wa-l-farq wa-l-ḥurūz*, n° 2774 (*ʿulūm ḥafīyya* n° 22) du fonds de la Bibliothèque occidentale, Grande mosquée, Sanaa (al-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġāmi' al-Kabīr bi-Ṣanā'), al-Malīḥ & ʿĪsawī [1978]:432, et ʿĪsawī *et al.* 2005: II, 1280 ; 2. (C) *Kitāb al-Mandal as-sulaymānī li-l-ġam' wa-ġayrihi min al-adwiya an-nāfi'a*, un manuscrit photocopié à partir d'une photocopie collectée chez un praticien habitant dans les environs de Sanaa. Voir Regourd 2001. Dans cet article, j'ai eu le plaisir de me référer aux travaux du Prof. Alexandre Fodor, au travers de sa collection de talismans commencée en Égypte, voir *The Arabist* 2. Mes remerciements renouvelés, mais vifs, vont à Sam Yahya Husayn al-Ahmar, Chargé des manuscrits du Yémen, ministère de la Culture, qui, en 2008, m'a autorisée à accéder à l'original manuscrit et à en reproduire les feuillets au cours de l'étude.

² Regourd 2011:265–294.

II. Les feuillets 6v, l. 5, à 7v dans le ms. de Sanaa

Les six premiers feuillets du manuscrit (A) rapportent une version de l'usurpation du trône du roi Salomon par un démon, à la suite de laquelle il perd l'anneau qui lui donnait le pouvoir de contrôler l'ensemble du monde des vivants ; suit la description des douze tribus de djinns qui se trouvent en pays musulmans, des symptômes de leur présence respective chez les malades, enfin, un état des connaissances utiles aux praticiens (1r à 6r, l. 12)³.

Entre ces feuillets, déjà publiés, et les feuillets 6v, l. 5 à 7v, qui nous occupent ici, se trouve un court passage (feuillets 6r, l. 13, à 6v, l. 4). Il introduit l'ensemble des développements qui suivent et se poursuivent jusqu'à la fin du livre sur le sujet des divers dispositifs de protection, lutte, ou remèdes contre les maux provoqués par les djinns, en rappelant que chacune des douze tribus a ses caractéristiques et ses remèdes (sing. *'ilāġ*) (6r, l. 13-17). Puis une brève section met en rapport les différentes tribus de djinns et un jour de la semaine, parfois l'heure du jour (6r, l. 17 à 6v, l. 4)⁴.

Le passage édité ici commence par une marque de section (*bāb*, feuillet 6v, l.5), mais en comporte une seconde (*faṣl*, 6v, l. 14), isolée. Il a cependant été possible de le délimiter sans difficulté, car l'exorcisme qui y est décrit suit une progression. Succédant à l'exposé sur les douze tribus de djinns, où est donné le *mandal* à utiliser pour chacune d'elles, il nous place au cœur de la pratique qui recourt au *mandal*⁵.

Un manuscrit latin du xv^e s., trahissant l'existence d'une version arabe antérieure, l'*Almandal*, décrit la production et l'utilisation d'une table à évoquer djinns et démons. Dans l'édition qu'il a préparée, Julien Véronèse entame la comparaison entre le texte latin et le texte arabe de l'*al-Mandal as-sulaymānī* découvert au Yémen, du moins sur la base de la première section du manuscrit arabe (A), la seule publiée jusqu'à présent⁶. Cependant, la trace d'une adaptation latine d'un texte arabe sous-jacent pour le *mandal* remonte vraisemblablement à

³ Voir Regourd 2011:265–275 (texte arabe), 276–288 (trad. française). Un feuillet isolé d'un livre manuscrit en arabe, conservé dans la collection David Kaufmann de documents de la Geniza du Caire, à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie hongroise des sciences de Budapest (DKG no. 252a–b), semble être, autant qu'un extrait aussi réduit permette de le dire, un autre exemple d'une œuvre donnant les remèdes adéquats appliqués en fonction de chacune des douze tribus de djinn à des fins d'exorcisme (Regourd 2012:12, 13). Il fera l'objet d'une édition de texte séparée.

⁴ Le texte manuscrit des feuillets 6r, l. 13, à 6v, l. 4, est accessible : les lignes au feuillet 6r, dans Regourd 2011:294, et les lignes au feuillet 6v, ici, cliché 1.

⁵ Voir le résumé de ce texte dans : Regourd 2011:262–263.

⁶ Voir Véronèse 2012.

une date antérieure à 1230⁷. L'édition des feuillets du ms. de Sanaa portant sur l'utilisation du *mandal* dans la pratique de l'exorcisme devrait donner matière à une mise en rapport plus précise avec les feuillets 74vsq. du manuscrit latin édité par Véronèse⁸.

Un manuscrit en arabe du xiv^e s., le *Misceláneo de Salomon*, découvert durant des travaux menés à Tolède en 1962⁹, offre par ailleurs matière à comparaison avec la version trouvée au Yémen, en ce qu'ils se rattacheraient, au sein des développements connus par la magie salomonienne, au *Testamentum Salomonis*¹⁰.

III. Édition du texte arabe

A. Symboles utilisés dans l'édition de texte

<< >> : suppression dans le manuscrit

/ \ : texte écrit au-dessus ou au-dessous de la ligne

B. Édition du texte

ب 6

[...] (5) بِمَعْرِفَةِ عِلَاجِهِمْ إِذَا أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تَعَالَجَ بِعُضِّ هَوْلَاءِ (6) الْقَبَائِلِ أَوْ غَيْرِهِمْ فَاحْرَزْ¹¹ نَفْسَكَ وَأَهْلَكَ وَمَا لَكَ وَوَلَدَكَ¹² وَجَمِيعٍ مِنْ يَحْضُرُ (7) مَعَكَ وَتَكْتُبُ بِخَاتَمِ الْجِنِّ وَتَعْلِقُهُ عَلَيْكَ ثُمَّ اكْتُبْهُ وَأَشْرِبْهُ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَقْدِرُ (8) عَلَيْكَ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ لَا مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَلَا مِنَ الْإِنْسِ وَلَا مِنَ الشَّيَاطِينِ وَلَا مِنْ جِيُوشِهِمْ (9) فَإِذَا أَرَدْتَ¹³ أَنْ تَعْرِفَ عِلَاجَهُمْ فَحِينَ تَأْتِي إِلَى الْمَصَابِ وَأَرَدْتَ أَنْ تَعْلَمَ مَا أَصَابَهُ (10) فَاخْتَمِ أَنْتَ بِخَاتَمِ الْمَلِكِ وَخْتَمِ الْمَصَابِ بِخَاتَمِ الْأَعْوَانِ فَإِنْ جَعَلْتَهَا مِنْ فِضَّةٍ (11) فَلَا بَأْسَ

⁷ À travers un traité salomonien composé à Tolède, conservé sous forme manuscrite à Florence, mais partiellement. Pour la datation et la localisation de ce manuscrit, voir Pingree 1994. Les versions plus tardives, souvent appelées *Almandel* ou *Almadel*, donnent des signes d'hébraïsation ou de christianisation de leur contenu, voir Veenstra 2002.

⁸ Sur l'importance et la compréhension des textes arabes portant sur la conjuration des esprits sous contrôle de Salomon dans la formation du cadre-même de la pensée magique en Occident latin, voir Otto à paraître.

⁹ Texte arabe et trad. espagnole du *Misceláneo de Salomon* dans: Navarro/Ruiz 1987 et trad. anglaise dans: Shadrach 2007. Le ms. de Tolède décrit 72 djinns, indique leurs noms, en quoi ils sont responsables des maladies humaines et les rituels auxquels recourir pour les chasser à jamais.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*. Sur ces marques placées au-dessous et au-dessus de lettres afin de confirmer l'absence de point(s) diacritique(s) et leur emploi au Yémen sur la durée, voir Witkam 2014.

¹² *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

¹³ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

ثم اقعده في البيت وانت قايم على الباب ثم اقرا بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (12) ادخلوا عليهم الباب فاذا دخلتوه¹⁴ فانكم غالبون وعلى الله تتوكلوا ان كنتم موامنين/ (13) وقدمنا الى ما عملوا من عمل فجعلناه هباء منثورا¹⁵ كتب الله لآغلين انا ورسلي (14) ان الله قوي عزيز¹⁶ ثم اكتب بيد المصروع على الباب **فصل** ثم ادخل¹⁷ (15) واقعد¹⁸ << على >> بين يديه¹⁹ ثم اكتب بيد²⁰ المصروع المصروع²¹ وانظر الى وجهه (16) والح²² اليه الى عينيه واذا رايته يبتسم²³ فاكتب على بيضه²⁴ صرع اخر (17) واقبضها اياه ثم انظر الى وجهه مليا وانت تضرب وجهه << مـ لـ يـ كـ تـ ا >> (18) بالما وقد رقيت رقية الحريق²⁵ واستر عليه بثوب جديد²⁶ فاذا صرع فاربط²⁷ (19) اياهمه²⁸ الليين والرجلين بصوف المعز واضبط يدك²⁹ في انفه وتكون ضبیطا³⁰ (20) شديدا³¹ انهره وقل له يا زعيم اخرج والا قتلتك ثم اقرا سورة الواقعة³² (21) وانت تضرب وجهه بالما فان اجاب فعلاجه هين فاكتب له الم نشرح لك صدرك³³ (22) الى اخرها³⁴ واسقه اياها في وعاء فان افاق فاقمه ثم اكتب صورة مندل على الباب (23) ثاني بخط³⁵ على الباب في الارض ذراعين في ذراعين واستر مثل ما اصور لك مربع

أ 7

(1) وتترك مخطوط في اسفله مندل اخر القبائل ثم قل للمصاب يقف في موضع (2) مظلم وترا المندل مظلم حيث يراك وانت تقول ما له ويرى المندل (3) (صورة)³⁶

¹⁴ *Dāl* « sous-punctué. Entre le *tā'* et le *wāw*, on note une boucle, ressemblant à un *mīm*, mais que l'on n'a pas retenue.

¹⁵ « وَقَدِمْنَا إِلَى مَا عَمِلُوا مِنْ عَمَلٍ فَجَعَلْنَاهُ هَبَاءً مَنْثُورًا »، Coran, sourate *al-Furqān*, v. 23.

¹⁶ « كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لِأَغْلِينَ أَنَا وَرَسُولِي إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ »، Coran, sourate *al-Muḡādala*, v. 21.

¹⁷ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

¹⁸ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

¹⁹ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

²⁰ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

²¹ Marque d'*ihmāl* sur le *šād* ; *al-muṣarri'*, *al-maṣrū'* (المصروع، المصروع) : voir dans Regourd 2011:262, le sens de *šar'* (صرع).

²² Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *ḥā'*.

²³ Marque d'*ihmāl* sur le *sīn*.

²⁴ I. e. « ses testicules ». L'autre possibilité est de lire *فوضة*, soit *فضة*.

²⁵ Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *ḥā'*.

²⁶ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

²⁷ *Tā'* sous-punctué.

²⁸ اياهيم.

²⁹ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

³⁰ *Tā'* sous-punctué.

³¹ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

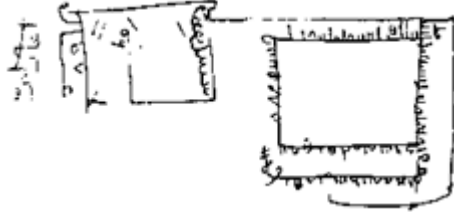
³² Coran, sourate *al-Wāqī'a*, 96 versets.

³³ *Dāl* sous-punctué.

³⁴ « أَلَمْ نَشْرَحْ لَكَ صَدْرَكَ... »، Coran, sourate *aš-Šarḥ*, v. 1, à écrire jusqu'au dernier verset, le v. 8.

³⁵ *Tā'* sous-punctué.

³⁶ Voir la représentation de la table de l'*Almandal* dans le manuscrit latin éd. dans : Véronèse 2012, feuillet 74v, qui a une forme carrée.



(4) هذا الباب والمندل³⁷ بدم³⁸ وانت (5) تقول له ما ترا داخل الخط³⁹ فان قال (6) صورة الكلاب والذباب فرش المندل بدم وبخره بالوشق والعلك⁴⁰ (7) والصبر⁴¹ ثم اقف ساعة واساله ما يرا بعد ان تعزم عزيمة الجلب فان قال (8) حبات⁴² واحناش فرش المندل⁴³ بالما وبخره باللبان بهلاج⁴⁴ اولاً والمثير (9) ثم اجلب فان قال خيل ودواب فتختم وانزل المندل واضع المرأة على كفك (10) الايسر واذن وكبر وهلل واكثر من التهليل والتكبير واساله ما ترا (11) فان قال عبيد تقودات فرش المندل بالرماد

³⁷ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

³⁸ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

³⁹ *Tā'* sous-ponctué.

⁴⁰ Marque d'*ihmāl* sur le *'ayn*.

⁴¹ *Al-waššaq* (Dozy 1881: II, 816b : *al-wuššaq*), *al-ilk* et *aš-šabr* (d'autres vocalisations existent, voir par ex. Piamenta 1997:275b ; Schopen 1983:91) : en encens. *Al-waššaq* : voir, 7v, l. 15 ; gomme ammoniacque, de goût amer, utilisée par voie orale contre l'épilepsie (*šar'a*) et en fumigation contre maux de tête et toux (*sa'āla*), Schopen 1983:194–195. *Al-ilk* : gomme, utilisée en magie comme encens, Schopen 1983:175–176, sous *muštakā* (ou *mištakā*) *sulṭānī*, et 176, 5), *ilk rūmī*. *Aš-šabr* : souvent pour le jus de l'Aloe sp., voir Piamenta 1997:275b ; Schopen 1983:91 ; usages magiques connus au Yémen, dont en remède contre les démons (Piamenta 1997:275b, « remedy against demons », sans autre précision), mais plutôt sous forme de poudre de couleur noire appliquée en badigeon sur le visage, celui des nouveau-nés ou des parturientes, contre le mauvais œil, voir Piamenta 1997:275b ; il est possible que l'amertume caractéristique de différentes variétés de cactus (*šabr*), une qualité partagée avec la coloquinte (*hanzala*, voir un peu plus bas, les djinns nommés Abū Ḥanzala, 7r, l. 14), soit importante ici.

⁴² Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*.

⁴³ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁴⁴ *Lubān* (*lubbān*), *halāliḡ* : en encens. *Halāliḡ* pour *halīlaḡ* ou *ihlīlaḡ* ? : Piamenta donne *halīlaḡ* (Piamenta 1997:510b ; Dozy connaît aussi cette variante, Dozy 1881: II, 770b) ; *myrobolan emblic* fruit du *Phyllanthus emblica* L. *Lubān* : *Boswellia sacra*, ici spécifique (et non, par métonymie, encens en général) ; selon al-Ḥibṣī 1414/1994: 284, Muḥammad l'Envoyé le décrit comme l'encens des prophètes (« *buḥūr al-anbiyā'*») et dit qu'une habitation dans laquelle on fait brûler cet encens est protégée des esprits diaboliques pendant trois jours ; pour les usages magiques, voir aussi ad-Dubaī & al-Ḥulaydī 1996:143 sq.

والمَلح ثم اجلب فان قال (12) بعدهم جيش غير ركاب فاجلب وادع⁴⁵ يا بني ربيعة يا ربا حيون يا بني الزرقا⁴⁶ (13) يا طهالاش⁴⁷ يا صحابيون يا حشا يا بني عشر يا حارث يا ابا عبد الرحمن يا ابا محمد (14) يا ابا علي يا ابا طلحة يا ابا حنظلة يا ابا الهيثم بن طالوت يا ابا ربيع هلم اقرؤا (15) كتابيه فهلم الى مغفرة من ربكم ورحمته تعالوا ندع اثنا واثناكم ونسانا ونساكم (16) وانفسنا وانفسكم ثم سهل فتجعل لعنة الله على الكاذبين تعالوا بالذي استوى (17) الى السما وهي دخان⁴⁸ فقال لها وللارض ايتيا طوعا او كرها قالتا اتينا طايعين⁴⁹ (18) وبالذي تحيرت منه ايضا/ المليكة تحوت⁵⁰ عند اركان عرشه وحوله⁵¹ وقوته خافيين باركانه (19) ولوجهه العظيم أنه عزيز ذو انتقام هيبها هيبها عجلا سريعا سريعا حثيثا (20) ثم قل له ما ترا فان قال ركاب لا محالة⁵² فقل يا بعثة الجن والانس ان استطعتم (21) ان تنفذوا من اقطار السموات والارض فانفذوا لا تنفذون الا بسلطان فباي الا

ب7

(1) ربكما تكذبان⁵³ سنفرغ لكم ايها الثقلان⁵⁴ ثم قل ما ترا فان قال امير على فرس (2) صفة الصورة⁵⁵ ثم اكتب على اظفار يديه وبك برقيا هذا الاسم وقل ادخلوا⁵⁶ (3) بسلام امنين ثم ادبح فرخ ابيض او انثى او اي طائر لقيت ثم اطرح به على خط (4) المنديل⁵⁷ وقل ما ترا فانه يقول قد اجتمعوا عليه فادع فانه يحبك ثم قل صباحك (5) او مساك ما ترا في خلق الرحمن من تفاوت فارجع البصر هل ترا من فطور (6) ثم ارجع البصر كرتين يتقلب اليك البصر خاشنا وهو خسير ثم اساله يخبرك (7) فانه يعطيك وقدم واخر ثم اكتب له كتاب وهم مطرقون⁵⁸ وقوف فانهم (8) ياتوك بالطاعي⁵⁹ يدخلونه⁶⁰ القارورة وتأخذ

⁴⁵ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁴⁶ Il s'agit de la première des douze tribus décrites dans le manuscrit (A) (feuille 2v). Voir Regourd 2011:258 (résumé), 268 (texte arabe), 279-280 (trad. française), 291 (cliché du manuscrit).

⁴⁷ *Tā'* sous-ponctué. Le chef de la neuvième tribu s'appelle صرعق (feuille 4v-5r, l. 4), voir *ibid.*, 261 (résumé), 273 (texte arabe), 285-286 (trad. française), 293 (cliché du manuscrit).

⁴⁸ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁴⁹ « تَمَّ اسْتَوَىٰ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ وَهِيَ دُخَانٌ فَقَالَ لَهَا وَلِلْأَرْضِ ائْتِيَا طَوْعًا أَوْ كَرْهًا قَالَتَا أَتَيْنَا طَائِعِينَ » Coran, sourate *Fuṣṣilat*, verset 11.

⁵⁰ Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*.

⁵¹ Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*.

⁵² Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*.

⁵³ Coran, sourate *ar-Raḥmān*, v. 33-34 :

« يَا مَعْشَرَ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسِ إِنِ اسْتَطَعْتُمْ أَنْ تَنْفُذُوا مِنْ أَقْطَارِ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ فَانْفُذُوا لَا تَنْفُذُونَ إِلَّا بِسُلْطَانٍ قَبَائِلٍ آلَاءِ رَبِّكُمْ تَكْذِبَانِ ».

⁵⁴ « سَنَفْرُغُ لَكُمْ أَيَّةَ الثَّقَلَانِ » Coran, sourate *ar-Raḥmān*, v. 31. Prose rimée (*sulṭān* / *taqlān*).

⁵⁵ Voir les représentations des chefs des djinns et de leur monture, dans Regourd 2011:290-294.

⁵⁶ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁵⁷ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁵⁸ *Tā'* sous-ponctué, avec *sukūn*.

⁵⁹ *Tā'* sous-ponctué ; *ayn* sur-ponctué.

⁶⁰ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

قارورة من جوهر ابيض (9) وتتركها في المنديل⁶¹ اول ما تعمل المنديل⁶² وتلك الساعة فاذا راه المصاب (10) فاطبق عليه بطين فير مقتول قل يخرج فان يخرج فان انعم فغلقه (11) بهذه اليمين الكبيرة بالطاسيونة⁶³ حيون يا رهينا يا رعبوييا يا ساجود⁶⁴ (12) ا تخرج ولا تعود ابداً⁶⁵ فقل له مروا اترك له امارة في لهج اوتخرج/ شي واحد⁶⁶ هذا الرجل (13) واما المرأة فابسط⁶⁷ يدك في انفها فانها تحلب وتخلف بلا امارة وافرغ منها (14) باليسير من العمل وتحرز⁶⁸ كل قبيلة بحرزها فاذا ... كل الحروز جميعها (15) ان شا الله تعالى بالوشق وعالج واختم الخواتم واحرس⁶⁹ نفسك عنهم باسماً جيدة (16) عند العلاج وهذه صورة الخواتم ﴿﴾

خاتم صفر	خاتم حديد ⁷⁰	خاتم حديد	خاتم هندوان ⁷¹
خاتم صفر	خاتم حديد	خاتم صفر	خاتم هندوان
خاتم صفر	خاتم صفر	خاتم صفر	خاتم هندوان ⁷²

III. Contenu du texte

a. Le texte s'adresse d'abord au praticien qui se prépare à procéder à un exorcisme. Il doit se protéger, ainsi que ses proches, sa descendance et ses biens. Trouver le remède et la cause du mal requiert de l'exorciste qu'il se protège par l'anneau de Salomon et qu'il protège la personne affectée en fabriquant l'anneau approprié, celui prévu « contre les ennemis » (feuille 6v, l. 5-11).

b. Ensuite commence la séance d'exorcisme. D'abord encourager les djinns⁷³ à entrer dans la maison du possédé en s'adressant à eux et en récitant le v. 23 de

⁶¹ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁶² *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁶³ *Ṭā'* sous-ponctué. Marque d'*ihmāl* sur le *sīn*. *Ṭāsyūna* : pour petite soucoupe ? Elle serait donc placée sur la bouteille dans laquelle le djinn se trouve afin de l'emprisonner.

⁶⁴ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁶⁵ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁶⁶ *Dāl* sous-ponctué. Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*.

⁶⁷ *Ṭā'* sous-ponctué.

⁶⁸ Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*.

⁶⁹ Marque d'*ihmāl* sous le *hā'*.

⁷⁰ *Dāl* sous-ponctué.

⁷¹ *Hunduwān*, épée, Dozy 1881: II, 774b, sans doute ici pour *hind*, pl. *hunūd*, acier, *ibid.*, 773a.

⁷² Voir les trois rangées de sceaux dont n'est donné ici que le texte, cliché 2.

la sourate *al-Furqān* et le v. 21 de la sourate *al-Muğādala*. Puis, faire écrire un écrit sur la porte de la maison par le possédé (6v, l. 11-14). Puis entrer dans la maison et faire écrire par le possédé le nom du djinn qui le possède (*al-muṣarriʿ*) (6v, l. 14-16).

c. Les étapes suivantes sont fondées sur l'interaction entre l'exorciseur et l'exorcisé, selon ce que le visage et les yeux de l'exorcisé expriment ou voient (la question réitérée : « que vois-tu ? »). Les matières projetées sur le *mandal*, ou avec lequel il est produit, sont, progressivement, l'eau, le sang, la cendre et le sel, le sang de volatiles sacrifiés.

– Si le malade sourit, écrire sur ses testicules une nouvelle formule contre la possession, puis regarder son visage en l'aspergeant d'eau. Réciter l'incantation (*ruqya*⁷⁴) contre l'incendie et envelopper le malade dans un nouveau vêtement (6v, l. 16-18).

– S'il est possédé, lui lier les pouces des deux mains et des deux pieds avec du poil de chèvre⁷⁵. Puis lui appliquer fortement la main sur le nez, l'asperger et exhorter le djinn à se détourner de lui en le menaçant. Lire la sourate *al-Wāqī'a* en aspergeant d'eau le visage du possédé (6v, l. 18-21).

– Si le djinn renonce à rester, le remède est aisé. Écrire les huit versets de la sourate *aṣ-Ṣarḥ* et les lui donner à boire dans un récipient⁷⁶ (6v, l. 18-22).

– Si le possédé reprend des forces, le faire lever, écrire à nouveau un *mandal* sur sa porte, ainsi que sur le sol toutes les deux coudées, et voiler un carré (?). Laisser un écrit au bas duquel se trouve un *mandal* des autres tribus de djinns⁷⁷. Ce *mandal* est fabriqué avec du sang (cf. l'image légendée ainsi dans le texte : « Ceci est la porte et le *mandal* (fait) avec du sang », « *Haḍā al-bāb wa-l-mandal bi-dam* »). Demander au possédé de se placer dans un

⁷³ On remarquera que dans la section du *K. al-Mandal as-sulaymānī* éditée ici, le mot « djinn » n'apparaît jamais.

⁷⁴ Une *ruqya* peut être une parole ou un écrit. Voir l'article Fahd 1995. Le plus ancien document indiquant l'utilisation de *ruqya*, incantation, écrit sur papyrus, est, à ma connaissance, celui édité par Weill 1952, qui cite le *Ġāmi'* d'Ibn Wahb, où son usage par le Prophète est rapporté. Au Yémen contemporain, elle est utilisée sous forme d'écrit contre le venin des scorpions ou des serpents, appliqué à l'endroit de la piqûre ou de la morsure (relevé de 1993, Hadhramaout).

⁷⁵ Voir l'histoire de l'usurpation du trône de Salomon par le démon *Ṣaḥr*, qui, une fois capturé, est attaché : tous les liens se rompent, sauf le poil de chèvre (*ṣūf al-ma'z*), 2r, l. 19, Regourd 2001:128a, Regourd 2011:268 (texte arabe), 279 (trad. française).

⁷⁶ Pratique connue dans l'ensemble du monde arabo-musulman, qui consiste pour un praticien, généralement appelé « *ṣayḥ* », à écrire un texte à l'encre – les versets du Coran sont habituellement mentionnés, à le placer dans un verre, une coupe, ..., et à verser un liquide de telle sorte que le texte se dilue et que le consultant puisse le boire.

⁷⁷ Allusion aux douze tribus de djinns décrites au début du *K. al-Mandal as-sulaymānī* (1r à 6v, l. 12).

coin sombre, où l'exorciste ne voit le *mandal* que dans la pénombre, mais d'où le possédé voit l'exorciste. Puis questionner : « Qu'as-tu ? » alors que le possédé regarde le *mandal*. Et à nouveau : « Que vois-tu ? » (6v, l. 22-7r, l. 4).

– S'il répond qu'il voit des chiens et des mouches (*al-kilāb wa-ḡ-ḡubāb*), asperger le *mandal* de sang, l'encenser de trois encens différents (*al-waššaq, al-ʿilk, aṣ-ṣabr*⁷⁸). Attendre une heure, faire l'incantation (*ʿazīma*) qui convoque les djinns. Puis demander à nouveau au possédé ce qu'il voit (7r, l. 4-7).

– S'il répond des serpents, asperger le *mandal* d'eau, l'encenser avec deux encens (*lubān, halāliḡ*⁷⁹) d'abord, puis avec ce qui les provoque ou les irrite, et convoquer les djinns (par des incantations ?) (7r, l. 7-9).

– S'il répond des chevaux et des bêtes de somme (*dawābb*), l'exorciste utilise le sceau, descend le *mandal* et pose le miroir sur sa paume gauche. Puis appelle à la prière et dit plusieurs fois : « Dieu est Le plus grand » (« *Allāhu akbar* ») et « Il n'y a de dieux que Dieu » (« *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* »). Puis il demande au possédé ce qu'il voit (7r, l. 9-10).

– S'il répond des esclaves (*ʿabīd*) tirant des montures (?), répandre de la cendre et du sel sur le *mandal*, puis convoquer les djinns (par des incantations ?) (7r, l. 11).

– S'il répond : certains forment des armées sans monture, convoquer les djinns à nouveau (par des incantations ?) et s'adresser à eux par leur nom. Leur demander de lire ce que l'exorciseur a écrit et d'obtenir le pardon en appelant à la miséricorde leur Seigneur. Contre les menteurs, réciter le v. 11 de la sourate *Fuṣṣilat* et rappeler la puissance des arcanes du pouvoir divin. Puis demander au possédé ce qu'il voit (7r, l. 11-20).

– S'il répond des cavaliers, s'adresser aux djinns en récitant les v. 33-34, puis 31, de la sourate *ar-Raḥmān*. Puis demander au possédé ce qu'il voit (7r, l. 20-7v, l. 1).

– S'il répond un chef sur sa monture, l'exorciseur écrit ce nom (« un chef sur sa monture » ?) sur les ongles des deux mains du possédé, ainsi que sur les siens. Il s'adresse ensuite aux djinns, les exhorte à entrer en toute sécurité. Il égorge un poulet blanc – mâle ou femelle – ou n'importe quel volatile, les jette sur la partie écrite du *mandal*. Puis demande au possédé ce qu'il voit (7v, l. 1-4).

– S'il répond que les djinns se sont réunis, c'est que leur confiance est gagnée ! (7v, l. 4).

⁷⁸ Voir note 41.

⁷⁹ Voir note 44.

d. À partir de ce moment, l'exorciste s'adresse directement aux djinns.

– Leur demander de rendre la vue au possédé. Demander au possédé s'il voit qui (est la cause). Demander aussi aux djinns de donner des indications à l'exorciseur.

1. S'ils renseignent l'exorciseur, faire un nouvel écrit. Les djinns obéissent alors bel et bien à l'exorciseur, qui les enferme dans un flacon en pierre précieuse blanche, préalablement placé sur le *mandal* (7v, l. 4–9).

2. Si le possédé voit le djinn, déposer sur lui les intestins d'un souriceau tué et demander au djinn de se détourner du possédé pour toujours. S'il accepte, l'enfermer de la main droite dans le flacon en lui signifiant qu'il est dominé, lui intimer d'un ton ferme de laisser le possédé définitivement, en une seule fois (7v, l. 9–12).

e. Jusqu'à présent, c'est le cas d'un homme possédé qui a été envisagé. S'il s'agit d'une femme, lui mettre la main sur le nez, elle allaitera et enfantera à nouveau sans injonction forte. Utiliser la main droite dans les différentes opérations (7v, l. 12–14).

f. Le texte se termine par la fabrication d'écrits qui servent à protéger des djinns : fabrication des *hirzs* correspondant à chaque tribu de djinns⁸⁰, utiliser de la gomme ammoniacque (*waššaq*⁸¹), soigner et graver des textes sur des bagues (7v, l. 14–16), sur le détail desquels se clôt le feuillet 7v.

IV. Une interpolation ?

Le manuscrit de Sanaa comporte 55 feuillets écrits de la même main. Suit, des feuillets 56 à 65, un livre dans la thématique du *mandal*, mis en relation par le copiste avec ce qui précède (coordination « *wa-* »), mais distingué par une page de titre qui donne, dans un triangle tracé à l'intérieur d'un cadre rectangulaire réalisé d'un triple trait : *wa-haḏā*⁸² *mandal min kitāb 'Ādāt an-nuḡūm wa-'alāmāt gāyāt al-ḡuyūm* du šayḥ et faqīh Nūr ad-dīn Abī l-Ma'ālī Muslim (?) ibn Muḥammad aš-Šīrāzī⁸³ ; une *tašliya* est rédigée horizontalement en gros

⁸⁰ Allusion aux douze tribus de djinns décrites au début du *K. al-Mandal as-sulaymānī* (1r à 6v, l. 12).

⁸¹ Voir note 41.

⁸² هذى .

⁸³ Un Nūr ad-dīn Muḥammad aš-Šīrāzī apparaît comme commentateur d'une œuvre de Tāḡ ad-dīn as-Subkī composée en 758/1356, voir *GAL*, S II, 106, n° 10. Un autre manuscrit du fonds de la Bibliothèque occidentale de Sanaa, *al-Mandal 'alā l-iṭnay 'ašar*, le « *ṭibb* » n° 10, feuillets 141-147 dans al-Malīh & 'Īsawī [1978]:432, et le *maḡmū'* n° 3033, feuillets 74–93, dans 'Īsawī *et al.* 2005: II, 1280, se réfère dans son titre

caractères le long du bord inférieur du cadre rectangulaire, suivant une pratique fréquemment relevée au Yémen⁸⁴.

L'organisation interne du texte des feuillets 1 à 55 est complexe comme le laisse percevoir un *excipit* du scribe, qui, au feuillet 21r, dit avoir transcrit ces pages à partir de l'original. Au même feuillet, une collation confirme globalement les dires du scribe. L'intégrité du texte contenu dans ce que l'on a convenu d'appeler (A) est donc corroborée.

Mais le doute est dorénavant jeté sur l'ensemble des feuillets suivants 21r jusqu'au dernier – un ensemble que l'on a appelé (B). Est en question l'authenticité de la lettre du texte, mais surtout l'appartenance originelle de (B) au livre. Le manuscrit (B) ne porte aucun titre, nom d'auteur et n'a pas plus d'*incipit*. Si (A) est bien délimitable, la présence de (B) à sa suite pourrait s'expliquer par le fait qu'il est emprunté à un ouvrage également intitulé *al-Mandal as-sulaymānī*. Car on relève des chapitres communs entre (B) et un autre livre de médecine « éprouvée », appelé le *K. al-Mandal as-sulaymānī li-al-ġam' wa-ġayrihi min al-adwiya an-nāfi'a*, ms. (C).

D'un autre côté, en ce qui concerne (A), il n'est pas non plus certain que la copie de Sanaa restitue l'intégralité du texte-mère d'*al-Mandal as-sulaymānī*, et non pas exclusivement une partie, si l'on suit à la lettre les termes de la collation du feuillet 21r qui certifie la lettre du texte, certes, mais jusqu'à un point donné. En ce qui concerne le passage édité ici, il appartient bien à (A). Toutefois, la collation du feuillet 21r précise que le texte de (A) est conforme à l'original jusqu'à la marque portée dans le texte (une coche), mais à un original qui comporterait, toujours selon la collation, 18 feuillets (*ṣafḥa*), 5 au début et 13 à la fin. Or, si notre décompte est correct, il faudrait ôter de (A), d'une part, une dizaine de lignes, venant après la marque dans le texte – qui sont d'ailleurs grattées, et, d'autre part, précisément les feuillets 6v à 7v inclus⁸⁵.

V. Conclusion

Plusieurs versions manuscrites d'*al-Mandal as-sulaymānī* circulent au Yémen, dont non seulement la lettre, mais aussi la composition ne se recourent pas. Le récit de l'usurpation du trône de Salomon suivi de la présentation des

à une relation entre « *mandal* » et signes du zodiaque. Reste à explorer le sens de *mandal* dans ce cas.

⁸⁴ Le catalogue d'al-Malīḥ & 'Īsawī [1978]:432, indique de manière doublement erronée que le manuscrit intitulé : *al-Mandal as-sulaymānī li-l-ġam' wa-l-farq* fait 64 feuillets. 'Īsawī *et al.* 2005: II, 1280, ne rectifient pas.

⁸⁵ Nous reprenons ici Regourd 2001:125a et b.

caractéristiques de chacune des douze tribus puissances d'être contrôlées, par lequel s'ouvre le ms. de Sanaa (ms. (A)), n'apparaît pas dans toutes les versions. De ce point de vue, le ms. de Sanaa, une copie du XVIII^e s., s'apparente plutôt à une collection (ou recueil) de textes – d'au moins deux textes – réunis par l'intérêt que leur a porté un savant, i. e. à un holographe.

Mais (A) du ms. de Sanaa a connu lui-même plusieurs versions d'après ce que nous enseignent ses marges. Ce que l'auteur de la collation entend par « original » n'est pas forcément limpide. Il est possible que le passage édité ici, détaillant les étapes à suivre pour procéder à un exorcisme, montrant comment fabriquer des anneaux et le *mandal*, comment utiliser le *mandal*, soit une interpolation. Reste à savoir si elle provient d'un autre manuscrit, et était donc à disposition depuis un certain temps, ou si elle est le fait d'un praticien qui aurait couché là sa propre expérience, ce dès le XVIII^e s.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Dozy, R. 1881. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. 2 t., Leyde: E. J. Brill.
- ad-Duba'ī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān Sa'īd, & 'Abd al-Walī Aḥmad al-Ḥulaydī. 1996. *an-Nabātāt at-ṭibbiyya wa-l-ṭriyya fī l-Yaman*. Sanaa: Markaz 'Ubādī li-d-Dirāsāt wa-n-Našr.
- Fahd, Toufic. 1995. « Ruḳya », *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition*, ed. by C. E. Bosworth et al. VIII, 600–601.
- GAL = Brockelmann, Carl. 1937–43. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 5 vols., Leyde, E. J. Brill, 2nd. ed.
- al-Ḥibṣī, Muḥammad. 1414/1994. *al-Baraka fī faḍl as-sa'y wa-l-ḥaraka*, Le Caire: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-t-Turāṭ.
- ʿĪsawī, Aḥmad Muḥammad et al. 2005. *Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġāmi' al-Kabīr – Ṣan'ā'*. 2 vols., Qum & Teheran: Maktabat al-Mar'aṣī an-Naḡafī, Markaz al-Waṭā'iq wa-t-Tārīḥ ad-Diblūmāsī fī Wizārat al-Ḥāriḡiyya.
- al-Malīḥ, Muḥammad Sa'īd, & Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsawī. [1978]. *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġāmi' al-Kabīr bi-Ṣan'ā'*. Alexandrie.
- Navarro, Joaquina Albarracín & Ruiz, Juan Martínez, eds. 1987. *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el „Misceláneo de Salomón”: Texto árabe, traducción, glosas aljamiadas, estudio y glosario*. Grenade: Université de Grenade.
- Otto, Bernd-Christian. Forthcoming. « A discourse historical approach towards medieval 'learned magic' », *The Ashgate Companion to late Medieval Magic* ed. by Sophie Page, Catherine Rider. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Piamenta, Moshe. 1997. *A Dictionary of Post Classical Yemeni Arabic*. 2 vols., Leyde: E. J. Brill.

- Pingree, David. 1994. « Learned magic in the time of Frederick II », *Micrologus: natura, scienze e società medievali* 2.39–56.
- Regourd, Anne. 2001. « Le *Kitāb al-Mandal as-sulaymānī*, un ouvrage d'exorcisme yéménite postérieur au V^e/XI^e s.? », « *Démons et merveilles* » = *Res Orientales* 13.123–138.
- _____. 2011. « Images de djinns et exorcisme dans le *Mandal as-sulaymānī* » (with text edition, and translation into French), *Autour de Picatrix : Images et magie* éd. par Anna Caiozzo, Jean-Patrice Boudet, Nicolas Weill-Parot, 253–294. Paris: Champion.
- _____. 2012. « Arabic documents from the Cairo Geniza in the David Kaufmann Collection in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences — Budapest », *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 3/2.1–19.
- Schopen, Armin. 1983. *Traditionelle Heilmittel in Jemen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Shadrach, Nineveh. 2007. *Book of Deadly Names as revealed to King Solomon by Jinn King Fiqitush*. Burnaby: Ishtar Publishing.
- Veenstra, Jan R. 2002. « The Holy Almandal. Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic », *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* ed. by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra, 189–229. Leyde: E. J. Brill.
- Véronèse, Julien, éd. 2012. *L'Almandal et l'Almadel latins au Moyen Âge: Introduction et éditions critiques*. Florence: SISMEL.
- Weill, Jean-David. 1952. « Un papyrus arabe inédit du Musée du Louvre », *Semitica* 4.67-71.
- Witkam, Jan Just. 2014. « Yemeni Manuscripts in the University of Leiden Library. Acquisitions of the Years 2000: Texts and Themes », *Manuscripts en transit/Manuscripts in Transit* (= *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 5/2–3), 275–356, éd. par Anne Regourd.

Cliché 1 : *Kitāb al-Mandal as-sulaymānī al-kāmil al-mašhūr bi-š-Šiḥḥa ka-š-šams wa-l-qamar li-l-ğam' wa-l-farq wa-l-ḥurūz*, ms. Sanaa 2774. Feuillet 6v.

Cliché 2 : *Kitāb al-Mandal ...*, ms. Sanaa 2774. Feuillet 7r.

Cliché 3 : *Kitāb al-Mandal ...* ms. Sanaa 2774. Feuillet 7v.

Cliché 4 : *Kitāb al-Mandal ...* ms. Sanaa 2774. Feuillet 8r.

وفيه هو حرقه معتز لونه في الساعة السابعة من يوم الخميس واول ساعه
 من يوم الجمعة واما في حرقها فاحرقهم معتز لونه المسين كله **فصل**
في حرق الكواكب معتز لونه الاضن كله **فصل** واما **الفرار** ففي كل
 يوم دون يوم الاربعاء فاحرقهم بكثرة وبنيه وايضا ان علاجهم عن محمود
ما يعرفه علاجهم اذ اردت ان يعالج بعض هؤلاء
 الفياض او غيرهم فاخذ نفسك واهلكه وملكه وولدك وجميع من حضر
 معك وتكتب حاتم الجوز وتعلقه عليك ثم اكتبه واشتره فانه لا تقدر
 عليك احد منهم لا من الخبز ولا من الالبس ولا من المساطين ولا من حيوتهم
 فاذا اردت ان تعرف علاجهم فحين تاتي الى المصاب وادركه ان معلم ما اصنا
 فاحتم ان حاتم الملائكة وحتم المصاب حاتم الاموان فان جعلتها من وصف
 فلا باس ثم اقعده في البيت وانت قائم على الابواب ثم اراهم **السر**
 ادخلوا عليهم الماعوذ اذ طمعوه وانكم ما ترون وعلى الله فتركوا ان كنتم
 وقد نال ما عاوا من عمل محمداه هيا ستره اكب الله لا غلب انا ورسلي
 ان الله قوي عزمه اكب بيده المصروع على ابواب **فصل** ثم ادخل
 واقعد على الباب بيده قرأ اكب سيد المصروع المصروع وانظر الى وجهه
 والى اليه الى عيديه واذا ارأته تقسم فاكتب على بيضه صرع اخر
 واقبضها اياه برافط الى وجهه مليا وات نصيب وجهه **فصل**
 بالما وقد رقت دمية الخريف واسترعه سيد حديد فاذا صرع واربط
 اياهه الدين والرحمن بصوف المعز واضبط يدك في انفه ويكون ضبطا
 شهيدا انوره وقل له ما زعيم اخرج والاضلانة مر اقراسوه الواحه
 وات نصيب وجهه بالما فان اجاب وعلاجه حين تاكبه له الفرض كذا صدره
 الى اخرها واسقه اياه هاتي وعاف فان افاق فاقم برأيه صرع مندك على الباب
 تاتي بخط على الباب في الارض ذراعين في ذراعين واسر مثل ما صورته كذا مع

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23

٧

وتبرك محطوطي اسفله سندا جز العبا بل برقل للمصاب بعض في موضع
 مطلم يوتوا المندل مطلم حيث يواك وابت دعول ماله وير المندل



هذا المناب والمندل بعيم وات
 فقول له ما ترا اذ اخل الخيط فان قال
 صورة الكلاب والذباب فرش المندل بدم ونجسه بالوش والعلك
 والصبر ثم اوف ساعه واساله ما يرا بعد ان نعر مبرمة الجلب فان قال
 حيات واحشاش فرش المندل بالما ونجسه بالذبان بهلاج اولاد الصير
 ترا جلب فان قال خيل وود واب عصم وازك المندل واضع المرأة على كعك
 الايسر واذن وكبر وهلل واكثر من التليل والتكبير واساله ما ترا
 فان قال عبده فقودان فرش المندل بالمال ما دوا الملح ثم اجلب فان قال
 بعد هم حشش عير ركاب فاجلب واجرع يانتي روجه يار باجبون ما ي المرقا
 ما لهما الش ما صحن يوب ما حشش ما نتي عشر ما حارث ما ابا عبد الرحمن ما با عبد
 ما ابا على ما ابا طلي ما ابا حنظله ما ابا الهشم بر طالوتة ما ابا ربيع هلم اقواد
 كما به هلم المعرة من ريك ووجه هلم اوندع اسما ما ساكر وسانا وسانا
 وانسا وانصكم برتو وول جعل لعة الله على الكاذبين معا لوانادي استبح
 الالسا وهرج خان ففك لها ولد ارض اسيا طوعا او كرها والنت استا طبعين
 وبالذي بحيرت سنة الكسكة حشون عبد ركان عرشه وچوله وقومه حافون ما كانه
 ولوجه العظيم اصه عرزة واستفا مرهها ههها على لا سرعنا سرعنا حششا
 ثم قل له ما ترا فان قال ركاب لا مجاله فعلا معه الجي والاسن ان اسطقم
 ان سعدوا من اقطار السموان والارض فاعدوا لاسعدون الامم سلطان فسا لا

Cliché 2

١ - كما كان سمن في ثيابها القلان من قلى ما ترا وان قال امير على غرس
 ٢ - صفة الصوبه براكه على الطمان يدبير ويدك برفيا هذا الاسم وقل ادخلوا
 ٣ - سلام اسنين برادح فرج اسن او اسنى او اى طابو لقت مر ا طرح به على خط
 ٤ - المتدبل وقل ما ترا فانه دعولبه وما حتموا عليه فادع فانه حبهك بر فل صبا
 ٥ - او مساك ما تر اى خلق الرجم من دعاوت فارجع الصر هل تر اى فطود
 ٦ - تر ارجع الميصر كرتين منقلب النكه المصرا خابا وهو حصر بر اساله عبرك
 ٧ - فانه يعطيك وقدموا اخر بر اكب له كتاب وهو منظر قون وقوف فانه
 ٨ - ياتوك بالطباغى يدخلونه القاروده وما حد قادره من جوهر ابيض
 ٩ - ويتر كها فى المتدبل اول ما تعمل المتدبل ويكك الساعة فاذا لواه المصاب
 ١٠ - فالحق عليه بطين فبر معتولك قل خرج وان خرج وان انعم فعلقه
 ١١ - هذه الميصر الكبير ما لطا شربويه حنون ما رهسا نار عوبيا ما سا حور
 ١٢ - اخرج ولا تعود ابد اقل له مروا الركة له اماره فى لحي شى واچيد هذا الرجل
 ١٣ - واما المراه فاحط مدك اى ايفها فاه اخلت وحلف بلا امان وادع منها
 ١٤ - ما ليس من العمل ويجرد كل صيله كوزها فاذا اتت كذا الخروز جميعها
 ١٥ - ان شا الله معا بالوشق وعالج واحتم الحواتم واجرس فسكك عنهم باسم احبهم
 ١٦ - عند العلاج وهذه صورة الحواتم كره



Cliché 3

اول احرز نبي انزرفا فالتح
 الى اخرها مرتين وذوات قلوب من اوانة الكرسي يقين به من كتب باسم
 لا اله الا الله اله الا لله نود النور وخالق الطلقات والنور وما وسها
 والنور وعلى الامات الاول بلا اولوية يقهر والاخر الاخرته يعلم
 العبد والطوره الكبير المتعال المراد كذا الكتاب لارب وه هذا المعين
 الى المفلحين اوانة الكرسي الى اخرها من كتب امن الرسول الاخر البتوة
 يا جميع الاعباد امن صكر الارض ويطير في الهوى لا اقرار لكم على فلان من
 فلانه بعد اسما الله الحسي حسي الله لا اله الا هو e
 حصلوا الخصال ما يطعوا طامع سبهم للخلافه الحظا
 لا اقرار لكم ولا اسمه لجا حد كرا حرج منها مما يكون لكان ان شكره فوا حارج
 الى كذا من الناصحين فاحرج منطامه موقبا منه جود الاملان جهنم منجم
 اجمعين المر جعل الارض كفلا احياء وامواتا وجعلنا في طرا واسبى ثامات
 واسفيا كراما وانا وطلو مشه للكد من اما عزتنا الذكر واما له بما قطون
 عزمت عليكم بانى هجر الاثنى والذكر وصغير كمر والا كبر ومن وطا الجفر
 ويطير من يطير بالبحر المظهر سى المحسنين الا انصرفتم بقدره من
 بقدر الله اكبر الله اكبر اذ هبوا روعه من الوداد وايلكم باسكان
 الارض هذا اذن الله لكم امر على الله بقرون فاذا اراد باصتكم فاصباح
 المدينة وله ما سكن في الليل والنهار وهذا سمع العلم ثم اركب ما قدرت
 من الامات واعطف الكتاب والقدر عليه ر شعرا لاديبين e ثم ما حذك
 غسلكه سبعة عروق وتراب وعروق العشر فضلوه وبتين بزر نبيج
 واللثة والفارصم واللبان وجميع الخوم ومن كرسي اصغر ر
 مثل السفرجل والقمح وما اشبه ذلك ويا طرا الملح برانا ذن الله تعالى
 واحفظ نفسك واحرز واحذر فان الله خلق الخلق من سادح من سار e

**SHABBAT (SATURDAY) IN MODERN EGYPT:
CUSTOMS AND THEIR REFLECTION
IN SPOKEN JUDEO-ARABIC**

Gabriel M. Rosenbaum

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Introduction

Egyptian Jews, especially those who lived in working-class neighbourhoods, speak a distinctive Arabic dialect differing in a number of respects from the Arabic spoken by their Muslim and Christian neighbours.¹ This unique variety is described in a larger study which I have carried out in recent years. The materials for that study were mostly collected from a large number of native speakers, many of whom are no longer alive.²

Here I describe lexical items originating in both Hebrew and Arabic that are connected to traditions and customs related to the holy day of *Shabbat* (Saturday); some of these items are in a mixed style (Hebrew-Arabic). This vocabulary, shared by the Jews of Egypt, is not understood by their non-Jewish neighbours. I shall focus on vocabulary and customs, but will also refer to some grammatical peculiarities that appear in the vocabulary described below.

The Arabic variety spoken by the Jews of Egypt differs in a number of respects from the variety (or varieties) spoken by their Muslim and Christian neighbours. Haim Blanc, in his pioneering studies on spoken Egyptian Judeo-Arabic,³ was careful not to label the linguistic variety he was describing as “Jewish Cairene” (Blanc 1974:207). Today, after an intensive study of this variety, with a large

¹ By the second decade of the third millennium only a few Jews remained in Egypt, so that Jewish life in Egypt may be said to be extinct; therefore, I refer to Jewish life in Egypt in the past tense. The language spoken by the Jews, however, is still spoken by many Egyptian Jews outside of Egypt, and I therefore refer to it in the present tense.

² Some parts of this study appeared in several articles in Hebrew and in English: see Rosenbaum 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2003, 2008, 2013a, 2013b; the entire study is forthcoming by the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem. This article is based on a paper presented at the 10th Congress of *EAJS* (the European Association for Jewish Studies), held in Paris in July 2014.

³ See Blanc 1974, 1981, 1985.

number of informants from Cairo, Alexandria and other towns, we may define this variety as “spoken Egyptian Judeo-Arabic” (hence: EJA).

This variety contains many elements – of phonology, morphology, and particularly vocabulary – which are not to be found in the dialects spoken by non-Jews. The focus of this article is the lexicon, and elements from other linguistic levels will therefore not be described, with the exception of the following that are reflected in the quoted vocabulary:

a. The consonant *q* (ق), pronounced as a uvular stop in Standard Arabic, is pronounced as a glottal stop (like *hamza*) in Cairo and the cities of Lower Egypt ($q > ʔ$), and this is true of the Jews as well – often even when uttering words of Hebrew origin. Occasionally, however, this consonant may also be pronounced as a velar stop ($q > k$), mostly in words of Hebrew origin.

b. Many speakers of Arabic cannot pronounce the voiceless bilabial consonant *p*, that does not exist in Arabic, and instead pronounce it as the voiced bilabial *b* ($p > b$). Many speakers of EJA do pronounce this consonant *p*, but some pronounce it as *b*; thus, the former would say *purím* (“Purim, the Feast of Lots”), the latter *burím*.

c. The consonant *b*, which in Hebrew is pronounced either as a stop [*b*] or as a fricative [*v*], is always pronounced as a stop [*b*] by Egyptian Jews in words of Hebrew origin, as in *kabéd* (“heavy; unpleasant person”) versus *kavéd* in Hebrew.

d. Vowels in words of Hebrew origin are usually preserved in Jewish Arabic. *Shewa mobile* at the beginning of a word or syllable is almost always pronounced *e*, as in *tefillá* (“prayer”).

e. Gemination of consonants in Hebrew words is also retained, as in *kippúr* (“[Yom] Kippur, the Day of Atonement”).

f. The stress in words of Hebrew origin is usually preserved where it would be according to the rules of accentuation in Hebrew, even where these contradict the rules of Egyptian Arabic.⁴

g. Egyptian Jews often prefer the use of the vowel *u* in some verbs and nouns, as against the use of another vowel in the standard dialect, as in *tušt* (“tub” or “washtub”) in EJA versus *tišt* in the standard dialect.

h. Feminine and plural forms are often influenced by the Hebrew forms.

Vocabulary items used exclusively by Jews consist of words and expressions originating in Hebrew and in Arabic, and to a lesser extent in Aramaic and various European languages, mainly French and Italian, as well as Ladino (Judeo-Spanish). All often undergo changes in meaning and sometimes changes in form as well. In the lexicon that is related to the *Shabbat*, however, there is no influence

⁴ I have marked the stress in these words with an accent sign.

of words of European origin, and as is often the case with religious context, many words come from Hebrew.

A note on the *Shabbat*, and this article

Shabbat, Saturday, is a sacred day for Jews everywhere. In Egypt, as elsewhere, it was not only a sacred day of rest, prayer and social activity, but also inspired the creation of words and phrases unique to Jews, known only in a partial and limited way also to non-Jews who were in close contact with the Jews. Some parts of the linguistic repertory – in various versions – is shared by other Jewish communities in the East and the West, since it is derived from activities related to *Shabbat* shared by Jews in general, and others are unique to Egyptian Jews only.

Below we discuss concepts and objects related to the Sabbath in chronological order, from the eve of *Shabbat* on Friday afternoon to the end of *Shabbat* on Saturday night.

The term *Shabbat* and the *Shabbat* atmosphere

The Jews of Egypt use two words to denote “Saturday”, Hebrew *šabbát* and Arabic *sabt*. To refer to the eve of Saturday and to Saturday night Egyptian Jews use the accepted terms in Egyptian Arabic that refer to Saturday eve and Sunday eve, *lilt is-sabt* and *lilt il-ḥadd*, respectively. Some rabbinical Jews use the mixed version *lilt iš-šabbát* to refer to Saturday night.

A second-form Arab verb, *sabbit*, derived from the Arabic term, means “spend the *Shabbat*”, as in *ta‘āla sabbit ‘andina* (“come and spend the *Shabbat* with us”). The verb *sabbit* with this meaning does not exist in Egyptian Arabic, but there is a homophonic verb originating in the root TBT. Due to the disappearance of interdental consonants in Egyptian Arabic, the colloquial verb originating in the Standard Arabic verb *ṭabbata*, meaning “affix, tighten”, is *sabbit*; although sounds the same, it is not at all related to the EJA term.

Another verb in the second form connected to *Shabbat* is derived from a Hebrew root: *ḥallil*, in the second form, from the Hebrew verb *ḥillél*, meaning “desecrate (*Shabbat* or a holiday)”. In Egyptian Arabic there is a homonymic verb in this form (*ḥallil*) which means “allow, permit, make permissible”. It is noteworthy that this verb is used in Egyptian Judeo-Arabic only in the past and the future-present tenses, but in the collocation indicating “a person who desecrates the *Shabbat*” the Hebrew active participle is used: *meḥallél šabbát*, with ultimate stress, versus *miḥallil* in Egyptian Arabic with penultimate stress.

Activities related to the *Shabbat* begin already on Friday afternoon. Wherever there is a prominent Jewish presence the change in the atmosphere can be felt. This was the case in the Jewish quarter and in the textile market “al-Ḥamzāwi” in

Cairo that was under Jewish control, where shops started closing on Friday afternoon and commercial activity stopped until Sunday, and also in the goldsmiths' streets in Egyptian cities and towns where most of the shops were owned by Jews.⁵

In the Jewish quarter in Cairo it was customary to announce before the commencement of *Shabbat*: *īdu ya girān* (lit.: “light, oh neighbours”). The beadles of the synagogues in the quarter would make this call to remind the people that the traditional candle lighting time for *Shabbat* has come.

The special preparations for *Shabbat* and the great respect in which this day is held are summed up in the expression *kabód šabbát* (“dignity of *Shabbat*, honour of *Shabbat*”). This expression is also used euphemistically and in a humoristic tone, to denote having sexual intercourse on Saturday.

Shabbat: artefacts and religious ceremonies – between Kiddush and Havdala

The word *tuštiyya* is derived from the EJA word *tušt* (“wash-tub”, versus *tišt* in standard Egyptian Arabic). In Judeo-Arabic it denotes an oil lamp (made of small cup-shaped vessels, in which water is put, oil is put on the water, and in the water a rolled cotton thread is put); *tuštiyyit iš-šabbát* is the oil lamp lit before the commencement of the *Shabbat* (by rabbinical Jews only). In Egyptian Arabic the word *tištiyya* denotes a deep bowl.

Kiddush (in Hebrew: קידוש, from the root QDŠ, lit.: “sanctification”), the blessing over a cup of wine recited on the eve of *Shabbat* (and holidays), is called in EJA *iddūs* or *addūs*; Kiddush wine is called *nibūt lil-‘iddūs*. As is customary in Egyptian Arabic and often in EJA, the uvular stop *q* becomes a glottal stop. The consonant *s* probably originates in the Arab root QDS, that is preferred here over the corresponding Hebrew root QDŠ.

The ceremony that contains the blessing over a cup of wine recited on Saturday night (and holidays) that is meant to separate between the Holy Day and the following weekdays is called in EJA *habdalá* (lit.: “separation”), with the phoneme *b* pronounced as a stop (*b*), as opposed to Hebrew *havdala* in which it is pronounced as a fricative (*v*). Another component of this ceremony is the blessing over fragrances and smelling them (see below).

Greetings for the Shabbat

Egyptian Jews usually use the greetings that are accepted in Egyptian Arabic, to which they add greetings and good wishes of their own, many of which are related

⁵ On the goldsmiths in Egypt and their language see Rosenbaum 2002a.

to *Shabbat* and holidays. The most common greeting on Saturday is the Hebrew greeting *šabbát šalóm* (“may you have a *Shabbat* of peace”).

Several greeting formulas are used at the end of the *Shabbat*; the most common one is *gum‘itak ḥaḍra* (or *gum‘itkum ḥaḍra* in the plural; lit.: “have a green week”, i.e. “may you have a good week”), a greeting used exclusively by Jews. There are several possible responses to this greeting (here we give the singular masculine form only): *wu-gum‘itak ḥaḍra*, and in the shorter version *wu-gum‘itak* (“may you also have a green week”), or *wu-gum‘itak zayy is-sal’* (“may your week be as green as beetroot leaves”). Other such greetings draw upon similes used by Egyptians generally to greet each other in the morning, such as *full* (jasmine) or *išṭa* (cream made from the foam on milk); for example, *wu-gum‘itak zayy il-full* (“may you have a week [white and clean] like jasmine”); *wu-gum‘itak zayy il-išṭa* (“may you have a week [white] like milk-cream”). A less common version is the greeting *wu-gum‘itak zayy il-laban* (“may you have a week [white] like milk”). In all cases these greetings mean “may you have a wonderful and perfect week”. Another greeting is derived from Hebrew: *šabú‘a ṭob* (“may you have a good week”); the reply to this greeting is *‘aleḥém ve‘alénu* (lit: “for you and for us”, i.e. “may you have a good week, too”).

As mentioned above, a part of the *havdala* (in EJA: *habdalá*) ceremony is the blessing over fragrances and smelling them. The custom in Egypt was to smell myrtle leaves. Jews who go to the synagogue at the end of the *Shabbat* receive myrtle branches there. They rub the scented leaves in their hands and recite the blessing *boré atséy besamím* (lit.: “[Blessed art Thou Lord, king of the universe], who created fragrant trees”), which is a part of the *havdala* ceremony. The word *besamím* (“perfumes, fragrances”) sometimes also denotes “myrtle” among rabbinical Jews, for example: *hāt il-besamím* (“give [me] the myrtle leaves”). Myrtle in Arabic is called *marsīn*, sometimes also pronounced *marsīm* in Egyptian Arabic, but many Jews pronounce it *barsīm*, which in Egyptian Arabic denotes a species of clover used as animal feed. Some of my informants told me that they wondered how the same word could refer both to animal feed and to a plant rubbed for its sweet smell at the end of the *Shabbat*. These two words, however, are not related.

The prophet Elijah, who is usually called *Liyáhu -n-nabí* (“Prophet Elijah”, from the Hebrew name Eliyáhu) in EJA, is greatly admired in popular tradition and mentioned in several expressions. One such expression is *Liyáhu -n-nabí yitgalla ‘alēna* (“may we see Elijah the Prophet revealed to us”), said on Saturday night.

Saturday rituals

Selling the readings of the Torah

For many Jews the synagogue is a centre of religious and social activity. Such activities are some of the rituals in the synagogue on the *Shabbat* (and also on holidays) that are performed by members of the congregation, for a fee. On *Shabbat* (and also on holidays) certain rituals called *mitsvót* (lit.: “commandments” in Hebrew, plural of *mitsvá*), are sold to the highest bidder in a kind of a public auction. This term is used by the rabbinical Jews only; the Karaite Jews call these activities *irayāt* (lit.: “readings” in Arabic; see below).

The sums of money that are quoted when selling the commandments often represent in Gematria the following words: 18 (*tamantāšar*) = Living (יה, a common abbreviation in Hebrew of the phrase “Living God”, which is one of the names of God); 26 (*sitta wi-šrīn*) = יהוה (“Jehovah, the Tetragrammaton”); 32 (*itnēn wu-talatīn*) = לב (“heart”); 52 (*itnēn wu-ḥamsīn*) = בן (“son”, and also twice Tetragrammaton); 101 (*miyya wāḥid*) = מיכאל, the archangel Michael; according to another explanation, the number is 1 more than the perfect number 100, because only God is perfect.

In Egypt the sums of money were usually denominated in piasters (*irš*, pl. *urūš*, one-hundredth of a *ginēh*, an Egyptian pound) or in *ginēh* (see below). Sometimes they appeared in other versions to those mentioned above; for example, they could also be multiples of 18 (“Living”). The price of buying a “commandment” on the holidays skyrocketed, and was quoted in Egyptian pounds. The wealthy people of the congregation used to buy “commandments” for extremely high prices. The highest sum of money was always paid for the *mitsvá* of *kannidré* (a distorted form of *Kol Nidréy*, from Aramaic), taking out the Torah scroll from the Holy Ark before the *Kol Nidre* (“all vows”) prayer on Yom Kippur eve, often sold for hundreds of pounds.

The income from the selling of the *mitsvót* or *irayāt* (a practice that still exists in many Jewish congregations) is devoted to the budget of the synagogue, and the sums of money collected are thus regarded as donations. In order to encourage the worshippers to increase their donations, synagogue officials would therefore encourage the congregation to increase the sums of money, and exhort members of the congregation with the Hebrew expression *kol hamosif yosifu lo*, also *kol hamosif mosifim lo* (“whoever adds will have added [merit]”). The intent of these expressions is: whoever adds to the amount of the donation for the synagogue will receive a greater reward from God.

One who pays for a *mitsvá* is therefore called *mitnaddéb* (“volunteer”), for example: *mitnaddéb bi-tamantāšar* (“donates eighteen piasters [or Egyptian pounds]”). However, phrases like *yibī'u -l-mitsvót* (“they sell the commandments”) in the rabbinical synagogue or *mīn ištara -s-séfer in-nahārda* (“who

bought the reading of the book today [see below]?)” in the Karaite synagogue were commonly used. In the Egyptian Jewish press criticism is sometimes levelled at the process and manner of selling and buying the commandments that turns the synagogue into a marketplace, and at people who organize prayers in private places in order to make money from selling the commandments.⁶ Among the people, however, participating in this activity has always been popular and considered a mark of piety.

The process of reading the Torah

The first *mitsvá* sold in the rabbinical synagogue is *petihát ha-heḥál* (“opening the Holy Ark”); the Hebrew word *heḥál* (lit.: “palace; a section of the Temple”) denotes the Ark in which the *sefarím* (sing.: *séfer*, lit.: “book”), Torah scrolls written by hand are kept. The second *mitsvá* is *gilyān* (“raising the Torah scroll”); this word is derived from the Arab verb *galla* in the phrase *galla -s-séfer* (“shown the Torah, raised the Torah scroll”). The third *mitsvá* is *rimmoním* (lit.: “pomegranates”), pomegranate-shaped silverware that adorns the Torah scrolls which are kept in the Ark. This *mitsvá* is usually sold during the holidays, and often purchased by parents for their children who receive the honour to remove the *rimmoním* or return them to the Torah scroll. The word *rimmoním* in EJA is also a nickname for a woman’s breasts.

In rabbinical synagogues the readings in the Torah are sold when the scroll is out of the Ark and open. They are sold in the order of readers in *parašát ha-šabú’a*, also *barašát /perašát / berašát ha-šabú’a* (“weekly portion of the Torah” read in the synagogue).

Reading portions of the Torah in the synagogue takes place on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays. On Mondays and Thursdays the portion read is shorter and is divided into three parts, while on Saturdays it is longer and is divided into seven; only on that day the readings are sold. Traditionally, the first portion is read by a Kohen (“priest”), the second by a Levite, and the rest by any Israelite, called “Israel”. The person called up to the reading is called by the Hebrew word *ólé*, pl. *ólím* (“one who ascends”). The act of being called up to the reading of the Torah is called *’aliyá*, pl. *’aliyót* (lit.: “ascent”). This term also appears as the *nomen regens* in possessive phrases while the *nomen rectum* represents one of the readers. For example: *’aliyát kohén* (“ascending of the Kohen to read the Torah”). The verb that refers to being called up to the reading of the Torah is in Arabic. in the mixed phrase *ṭili’ ’as-séfer* (“was called up to the reading of the Torah”); a verb in the second form from the same root means “to call somebody to the

⁶ See, e.g., *Isrā’īl* 4 November 1921; *al-Šams* 26 November 1943, 22 November 1946, 5 April 1947.

reading of the Torah”, as in *ṭalla’ūh ‘as-séfer* (“they called him up to the reading of the Torah”).

After the readings on Saturdays are sold the readers are called up to the reading of the Torah in the following order:

Kohén (“Kohen, priest”), the first reader; *Leví* (“Levite”), the second reader; the following readers are all Israelites (in this contexts, an Israelite is any Jew who is not a Kohen or does not belong to the tribe of Levi); *šeliší* (lit.: “third”, “Israelite”), the third reader; *rebi’í* (lit.: “fourth”), the fourth reader; *ḥamišší* (lit.: “fifth”), the fifth reader; *šišší* (lit.: “sixth”), the sixth reader; the sixth reader is also called *samúh* (lit.: “adjacent” [to the *mašlīm*]), because he is the last but one reader, before the *mašlīm*; *mašlīm* (lit.: “completing”), the seventh reader and the last one who reads a part of *parašát ha-šavú’a*; *maftír* (lit.: “concluding”), the very last reader who concludes the reading of the last verses in the weekly Torah portion and then reads the *haftará*, a passage from the *Prophets*.

After reading a portion of the Torah, the reader is congratulated by members of the congregation with the words *ḥazzák wu-barúh* (“may you be strong and blessed”). The word *ḥazzák* comes from the Hebrew word *ḥazaq* (a verb in the imperative: “be strong”), with the uvular stop *q* pronounced as the velar stop *k*.

When the reading of the Torah is over, it is customary to say blessings for members of the congregation, to wish recovery to sick people or to mention the names of deceased relatives. These blessings and mentions open with the words *hašém haṭób* (“the good name”), an adjective that precedes the person’s name mentioned on this occasion, in the following formula in Hebrew: *mi šeberáḥ avoténu Avrahám Yitshák ve-Ya’akóv hu yevaréḥ hašém haṭób ploní almoní...* (“He who blessed our forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob He will bless the good name so and so...”).

Shabbat: Karaite vocabulary

Some terms related to the process of prayer and reading the Torah in the synagogue on Saturday are unique to the Karaites. The term *séfer urbān* (lit.: “book of sacrifice”) denotes an additional prayer (in Hebrew: *musáf*) which is recited in honour of an additional Torah scroll taken out from the Holy Ark on Saturdays and holidays. Towards the end of the prayer the Karaites recite liturgical texts called *qedušót* (pronounced *kedušót*) or *edušót* (plural of *qedušá* or *edušá*, lit.: “holiness”), and a liturgical poem called *piyút parašá* or *biyút barašá* (also: *parašá*, *berašá*; “liturgical poem of the [weekly Torah] portion”, plural: *piyútim*). The contents of this liturgical poem are connected to the weekly Torah portion. These liturgical poems, most of which were written by Rabbi Aharon ben Yoseph (d. 1320), are included in the Karaites’ prayer books.

After reciting the *qedušót* and the *piyút parašá*, the *hazzán* (“cantor”) recites a blessing over the congregation and over the people of Israel in general; after that, the cantor recites blessings to commemorate the memory of the deceased; at first the names of great sages are mentioned, then names of relatives of members of the congregation. These blessings are called *ziḥronót* (plural of *zéher*, lit.: “memory”, which by the Karaites is also used to denote “memorial service”). Then blessings for the recovery of sick people may be recited, as well as blessings for any merry occasion, for example, a child who has succeeded in an examination.

The *qedušót* and *ziḥronót* conclude the Saturday prayer. After that there is an intermission during which the readings of *qedušót* and *piyútím* for the following Saturday are sold. The readings of the Torah are then sold in the same kind of auction as in the rabbinical synagogue. The Torah readings and related activities which are sold in the synagogue and called *mitsvót* by the rabbinical Jews, are called *irayāt* (lit.: “readings”, plural of *irāya*) by the Karaites.

The first “reading” sold in the Karaite synagogue is *fath is-sitāra* (“opening the curtain”), also in the mixed version *fath il-paróhet* or *il-baróhet* (“opening the *paróhet* [the ornamented curtain that covers the Holy Ark]”); this also refers to the opening of the Ark. This act is sometimes also called *fath il-heḥál* (“opening of the Holy Ark”). In these two cases the Karaites prefer verbal nouns originating in Arabic over words originating in Hebrew: using the Arabic word *irāya* pl. *irayāt* versus the Hebrew *mitsvá* pl. *mitsvót*, and the Arabic word *fath* (“opening”) versus its Hebrew equivalent *petihá* (in the *nomen regens* version *petihát*).

In order to encourage the audience to increase the sums offered and to continue the process of selling a certain “reading”, the *gabbáy* announces: *hanbārik li-fulān* (“we are about to congratulate so and so [for purchasing the “reading”]”). When the reading is finally sold, the *gabbáy* declares: *bārikna li-fulān* (lit.: “we have congratulated so and so”, i.e. “congratulation to so and so”).

The person who is given the first “reading” performs two acts: moving aside the *paróhet* and opening the Ark. The person who opens the Ark also takes out the Torah scroll and gives it to the performer of the second “reading”, which is called *is-séfer* (“the book”, i.e. “the Torah scroll”). This person holds the Torah, makes a round of the synagogue with it and later puts it back in the Ark. As mentioned above, the Karaites, too, use terms of buying and selling in this regard, for example: *yibī'u -s-séfer* (“they are selling the [reading of] the Torah”); *mīn ištara -s-séfer in-nahārda?* (“who bought the reading of the book today?”); *hanbī' irāyit is-sabt ig-gāyy* (“we are going to sell the reading of next Saturday”).

Then starts the process of selling the readings of the Torah portions, which are given names similar but not identical to those of the rabbinical Jews. Here, too, the Karaites prefer some Arabic words to the Hebrew ones used by the rabbinical Jews (the names of the third to the sixth reader):

Kohén (“Kohen, priest”), the first reader; *Leví* (“Levite”); the second reader; *it-tālit* (lit.: “third”), “Israelite”, the third reader; *ir-rābi‘* (lit.: “fourth”), the fourth reader; *il-hāmis* (lit.: “fifth”), the fifth reader; *is-sādis* (lit.: “sixth”), the sixth reader; *mašlīm* (lit.: “completing”), the seventh reader and the last one who reads a portion of *parašát ha-šavú‘a*; *maftír* (lit.: “concluding”), the very last reader.

The term *samúh*; that refers to the *sixth reader* among the rabbinical Jews, does not exist among the Karaites.

It is customary for the *maftír* to be also the first reader (i.e. the *Kohen*). In this case, the *Kohen* reads all of the *haftará* by himself, and may also serve as *soméh* (“supporter”), a person who helps other readers to read the Torah. But if the *Kohen* is not proficient in reading the Torah, the job of the *soméh* is performed by somebody else who also reads the *haftará* instead of the *maftír*. If the *Kohen* is only somewhat proficient in reading the Torah, the *soméh* starts with reading a few verses, the *Kohen* continues with reading the first part of the *haftará*, and then the *soméh* completes all of the rest.

The word *hazzák* in the greeting *hazzák wu-barúh* said to those who read the Torah in the synagogue, is pronounced by some of the Karaites *hazzá’*, with a glottal stop instead of the original uvular stop *q*.

Foods for Saturday

A typical Jewish dish is *difna* (“stew”, “cholent”, a dish that contains many ingredients including pulses (in the Egyptian version, mostly chickpeas), commonly put in the oven on the eve of Saturday in order to eat it on Saturday after being slowly cooked for hours. This is an ancient dish that exists in many Jewish communities, in various versions and with different names, following the prohibition to set fire on Saturday. The source of the EJA version of the dish’s name is the Arabic root DFN that is concerned with burial and hiding.

Karaite foods

The Karaites have many distinctive dishes that do not exist among non-Jews or rabbinical Jews. The names of these foods, most of which are in Arabic or derived from Arab roots, do not exist in Egyptian Arabic and most are not known to rabbinical Jews. Many of them are meant to be eaten on Saturday. Because the Karaites are careful not to use fire (or electric stoves) on Saturday, these dishes are prepared before Saturday, and are eaten cold (the only way permitted to heat food is with a thermos, which is mostly used for keeping tea or coffee warm). The following are some examples:

Gōz bi-tōm (lit.: “walnuts with garlic”), a thick chicken soup with green beetroot leaves and garlic, ground and fried. Usually rice, chicken legs or flour are added in order to thicken the soup, and black pepper is added, too. Once the

soup is boiling, it is left to cool until it congeals. This dish is served cold, and it is customary to eat it on Saturday.

Gilda maḥṣiyya (lit.: “stuffed skin”). Rice and chicken meat or liver stuffed in chicken skin. The skin is sewn, and the stuffed skin is cooked in a soup. This dish is mainly eaten on Saturday morning.

Ḥāmiḍ (lit.: “sour”). Thick chicken soup that contains a lot of garlic, turmeric, red pepper, and lots of lemon (which gives the soup its sourish flavour). It is customary to eat it on Saturday noon. This dish also has a version with fish, called *samak bi-lamūn* (“fish with lemon”).

Madfūna (lit.: “buried, hidden”), also pronounced *matfūna*. A kind of pie that contains ground chicken meat, eggs, fried onion and baked coriander. It is customary to eat it on Saturday morning. The name of this dish, like the *difna* of the rabbinical Jews, originates in the Arab root DFN that refers to burial or hiding (but, of course, is not cooked on Saturday like the *difna* of the rabbinical Jews).

Conclusion

As is the case with other Jewish communities in the Arabic-speaking world, the Jews of Egypt speak a distinct variety of Arabic, different from the variety (or varieties) spoken by their Muslim and Christian neighbours, in morphology, phonology and mainly in the vocabulary.

While the morphological and phonological features are constant, the unique vocabulary is more common among Egyptian Jews when they are communicating with each other than when they communicate with non-Jews, who cannot understand most of this unique vocabulary. Thus most of the unique EJA vocabulary was avoided by the Jews when speaking with their non-Jewish neighbours.

Here I concentrated on the lexicon, showing how a large part of the unique vocabulary of the Jews is closely related to their way of life and traditions, demonstrated by references to *Shabbat* and its traditions, in the synagogue and elsewhere, that inspired the use of special words and phrases borrowed from Hebrew or invented by the local congregation, and sometimes mixed with Arabic. Naturally, the shared traditions, especially in religious practice, led to the creation of some similar lexical items being used by Jews who belonged to other communities, in the East as well as in the West.

The Rabbinical and Karaite Jews in Egypt share many linguistic features, but the theological differences between them also led to linguistic differences. The fact that the Karaites were often socially and linguistically more assimilated into their Arab surroundings – as can be seen, for example, by their tendency to adopt Arab names that are not strongly identified with Islam, as Fārūq, Farag or Gabr –

is also reflected in their religiolect (to use Hary's definition; Hary 2009:12–13) that contained more features of Arabic than that of the Rabbinical Jews.

Some Judeo-Arabic words and expressions, particularly those having to do with religious and community life, may be found in Arabic-language Jewish newspapers published in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century. A few words even appear in earlier written texts, such as those found in the Cairo Geniza. However, many words and phrases used in spoken EJA are not found in written sources, including many of the words and phrases described here; they can be found and described only through intensive work with informants who are native speakers of this language, as was done for this article.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources:⁷ Egyptian Jewish newspapers

Isrā'īl.
Al-Šams.

B. Secondary sources

- Blanc, Haim. 1974. "The Nekteb-Nektebu Imperfect in a Variety of Cairene Arabic". *Israel Oriental Studies* 14.206–226.
- _____. 1981. "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century: Notes on the Judeo-Arabic Passages of *Darxe No'am* (Venice, 1697)". *Studies in Judaism and Islam: Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein*, ed. Shelomo Morag *et al.*, 185–202. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press.
- _____. 1985. "Egyptian Judeo-Arabic – More on the Subject of R. Mordekhai b. Yehuda Ha-Levi's *Sefer Darkhe No'am*" [Hebrew]. *Sefunot* new series 3 (18). 299–314.
- Hary, Benjamin H. 2009. *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Rosenbaum, Gabriel M. 2002a. "Hebrew Words and Karaite Goldsmiths' Secret Language Used by Jews and Non-Jews in Modern Egypt". *Pe'amim* 90.115–153. [Hebrew].
- _____. 2002b. "Spoken Jewish Arabic in Modern Egypt: Hebrew and Non-standard Components". *Massorot* 12.117–148. [Hebrew].

⁷ The main source for this study were informants, native speakers of Egyptian Judeo-Arabic: Egyptian Jews who were born in Egypt, interviewed mostly in Egypt, Israel and France, as well as non-Jewish Egyptians who were interviewed in Egypt.

- _____. 2002c. "The Arabic Dialect of Jews in Modern Egypt". *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 25, December. 35–46.
- _____. 2003. "Another Egyptian Dialect: Spoken Jewish Arabic in Egypt in the Twentieth Century". *AIDA 5th Conference Proceedings*, ed. by Ignacio Ferrando and Juan José Sánchez Sandoval, 545–560. Cádiz, September.
- _____. 2008. "The Language of the Jews in Modern Egypt". *Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Egypt* ed. by Nahem Ilan, 245–256. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, etc. [Hebrew].
- _____. 2013a. "Judaic-Arabic, Egyptian, Hebrew Component in". *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics [EHLL]* ed. by Geoffrey Khan, II, 390–391. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- _____. 2013b. "Secret Languages, Hebrew in: Egyptian Judeo-Arabic". *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics [EHLL]* ed. by Geoffrey Khan, III, 514–515. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

**ON A KNOWN – UNKNOWN STROPHIC POEM
FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH:
AN AUTHENTIC OR A PLAGIARIZED VERSION?¹**

Avihai Shivtiel

Cambridge University

The treasures of the Cairo Genizah, the bulk of which is deposited at the University of Cambridge, have immeasurably enriched our knowledge of the Mediterranean societies and cultures in the Middle Ages.² Among the wide range of subjects covered by the Genizah, Mediaeval Hebrew poetry is undoubtedly one of the most important topics, offering to the student of this genre thousands of ‘old and new’ poems in Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic, which were composed by well-known and anonymous poets who lived in Spain, North Africa and the Near East between the 10th and 13th centuries. The structures and styles of these poems usually followed in the footsteps of Arab poets who devised a system of rigid metres and rhyming. Nevertheless, many Hebrew poems deviated from the rules of Arabic composition and adopted a more flexible structure. Among the poetic genres of Medieval Hebrew poetry one finds the *muwaššah* (Heb. שִׁיר אֲזוּר) *i.e.* a strophic poem which consists of a few stanzas (normally between four and six) and rhymes that are repeated in each of the stanzas “internally and externally”.³

During my work on the Genizah documents I stumbled upon the following poem (T-S AS 121.215) of which two of its stanzas *i.e.* the second and third, appear in the second part of the collection of Love Poems by Moshe ben Ya‘aqov Ibn Ezra (circa 1065–1135):⁴

¹ This article was written while I was a visiting scholar at the Research Group Manuscripts Cultures in Asia and Africa, at the University of Hamburg, Germany, headed by Professor Michael Friedrich, to whom I am indebted for their warm hospitality, generous grant and convivial atmosphere.

I am also grateful to my friend and colleague Dr. Ben Outhwaite, Head of the T-S Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge and his team, for their encouragement and help in producing a photocopy of the fragment under discussion. I am grateful to the Syndics of Cambridge University Library for their permission to publish the document.

² For detailed information concerning the Cairo Genizah, see Reif 2000. For the contribution of the Genizah to Mediterranean studies, see *e.g.* S.D. Goitein 1967–93.

³ For the *muwaššah*, see *e.g.* the works of Stern, Schirmann, Allony and Bacon.

⁴ See Schirmann 1954–56 I, 362–7. (The dates of birth and death quoted by Schirmann (pp. 362, 365) should be corrected to: “born in 1065 at the latest and died after 1135”. See Schirmann 1965:219. See also, Brody 1935:266–8.

The equivalent stanzas
as published by
Schirmann 1954–56, I, 369 – 370

T-S AS 121.215
(For textual comments,
see Appendix 2)

Not in Schirmann
and Brody

נלאתי נשוא הכיל לאויב
יהלוך רכיל ואני דל ואין
משכיל בכל חשקו המדוני
ובכל חטא (?) הנידוני סוד וג'

(13) לא אשכח ימי חלדי
ליל שכבו אלי צדי
על ערשי ומרבדי
עד בקר נשקני
ועסיס פיו הניקני

לא אשכח ימי חלדי
ליל שכבו אלי צדי על ערסי
ומרודי עד בוקר נשקני
ועסיס פיו הניקני סוד וג'

מה נחמד וטוב דרכו
מה מתוק פרי חכו
אך שקר וריק נסכו
התל בי ורמני
ובלי חטא הדמני

יום לו כלתה עיני
ולקול צללה אזני
נחשתי ברב עני
כס אחסן לה טני
עסי ירגע וידכרני

יום לו כלתה עיני ולקול
צללו אזני נחשתי ברוב
עוני ביאצ'י עליש טطن אזני
ترا محبوبي يذكروني

Translation of T-S AS 121.215

The following English version is a free and rough translation of the poem,
focusing on its contents rather than attempting to provide an artistic rendering:

I am weary to bear my feelings for an enemy
Who slanders me and I am helpless as no one
Understands his desire for a quarrel (?)
While inciting me to sin (?)

Secret etc.

I will not forget all my life
The night he lay on my side, in my bed,

On my luxurious coverlet. He kissed me till morning
And suckled me the juice of his mouth Secret etc.

The day I yearned for him (lit. my eye died) and (his) voice
Made my ear tingle as I used sorcery (?) thus committing a great
Sin. By my honour! (lit. By my ‘whiteness’) Why does my ear tingle?
I wonder if my beloved still remembers me

A physical description of the document

The fragment, classmarked T-S AS 121.215, is one leaf written on recto, measuring 8.5 cm x 12.7 cm. It contains three stanzas in Hebrew, while each stanza consists of four lines instead of five in Brody’s and Schirmann’s editions. The last two lines of the third stanza end in one word in Hebrew, one word in Judaeo-Arabic and a rhymed *ḥarġa* (i.e. the ending of the *muwaššah*),⁵ written in Arabic characters.

The metre used by the poet is ---v---,⁶ while the rhymes are:

1st stanza ABCC

2nd stanza DECC

3rd stanza FGCC

As a result of the ‘re-arrangement’ of the poem, in each stanza there is:

- a. an internal rhyme in the sixth syllable: In the first stanza (הכיל רכיל משכיל), in the second stanza (חלדי צדי מרודי), while in the third stanza (עיני אזני עוני).
- b. an external rhyme in the three stanzas occurs also in the sixth syllable: in the first two stanzas (הנידוני – הנדוני, נשקני – הניקני), while in the last stanza (i.e. in the *ḥarġa* in Arabic) the rhyme is in the eighth syllable and is also ending in the syllable “ני”.

At the end of the two first stanzas, after the rhyming syllable, we find the words ‘סוד וג’ which probably refer to the beginning words of the poem as appearing in Brody’s and Schirmann’s editions: סוד לבי ומצפוני / גלו נחלי עיני.⁷

Orthography

The handwriting is very clear, using the oriental letter and the text is fully vocalized, though inconsistently using the *plene* spelling. Thus the word נלאתי is spelt defectively, while the words נשוא, יהלוך, בוקר, ניהשתי, ברוב are written *plene*.

⁵ See e.g. Stern 1974:33–41.

⁶ See Schirmann 1954–56, I, 369 and II, p. 732.

⁷ See Schirmann 1954–56, I, 369. See also Schirmann 1996:248, fn. 339. These lines are a refrain, which is repeated after each stanza, except the final.

The vocalization is usually in accordance with the grammatical rules, except the words אשכח and הלדי where the *segol* and *pataḥ* are interchangeable and הניקני which, in our version, is vocalized with *hataf-pataḥ*. The vowel of the ה in the word הנידוני seems to have been omitted by the scribe, either inadvertently or deliberately. The scribe has made two mistakes and amended them: in the fourth line of the first stanza the word for 'sin' is spelt היט and an א over the word, while the correct version הטא seems to appear in the margin on the right side of the page, partly illegibly. The second orthographic error occurs in the second line of the third stanza where the Judaeo-Arabic word צאללת is crossed out and replaced by the Hebrew word צללו which is written on top of the crossed out word.

Language and style

The language and style of the poem, like all Mediaeval Hebrew poetry, are based on the Bible, that is to say, on the morphology, syntax and lexicon of biblical Hebrew, including many expressions and idioms that are taken from various books of the Old Testament verbatim. This fact demonstrates the poet's comprehensive knowledge of the Bible. However a few deviations from the original text are found in our version of the poem. The word המדוני which is not found in the Bible, though the pattern is common with names, consists of the noun מדון (quarrel, strife) and the common suffix " י X " (Arabic: *yā' an-nisba*) to form an attribute or an adjective.⁸ However, to keep up with the metre the ה is vocalized as 'He Interrogative'. Also the spelling of the words ערסי and מרודי is different from their spelling in biblical Hebrew (ערש and מרבד). While the spelling ערס is more common in post-biblical Hebrew, מרוד is not found anywhere else.⁹

Another mistake is the use of the plural צללו instead of the singular צללה. This is probably because the scribe, when replacing the Judaeo-Arabic word צאללת with the Hebrew word צללו, did not heed that the poet used the noun אזני in the singular (and not in the dual/plural, like in the case of עיני), in order to conform with the rhyme. Also the word ולקול is used instead of ולקולו as a poetic licence to keep up with the metre.

A few figures of speech are used by the poet to emphasize his anger at his friend's behaviour and his own innocence on the one hand, and his desire to make up with his beloved, kindled by a wave of nostalgia on the other. Thus, e.g. the words 'enemy', 'poor', 'juice', 'suckle' and 'white' are used as

⁸ The word מדון is also a place name see Jos. 11:1 and 12:19.

⁹ It is possible that the writer was influenced by the words פרוור – פרבר (architectural structure) where both spellings occur in the Bible, see, 1Ch 26:18 and 2 Kings 23:11.

metaphors, while the expressions ‘the night until the morning’, ‘my eye died’ and ‘my ear tingled’ are used as hyperboles.

The expression “my eye died” may also be regarded as a synecdoche.

The contents

Since the first stanza appears here for the first time, but not, to the best of my knowledge, elsewhere, and certainly not in the version known to us, we do not know if it had been composed by Moshe Ibn Ezra himself or by someone else. One thing is however beyond doubt: our stanza fits the structure of the rest of the poem and its contents. The first stanza refers to a close friend of the poet who betrayed him, especially by casting a smear on him. Consequently, the poet regards him as his enemy and a quarrelsome person. Hence, the poet cannot bear this behaviour any more (גלאתי נשוא), and instead he can only feel helpless (ואני דל), as no one can explain (ואין משכיל) the desire of his former friend to fight (בכל חשקו המדוני). Similar ideas are to be found in the known version.

The second stanza describes the intimate relationship in the past between the poet and his enemy today. The poet stresses the physical contact between the two of them, using both denotative and connotative phrases to illustrate their sexual relationship that is ‘an unforgettable experience’.

The third stanza expresses the longing of the poet for his friend whose voice reverberates in his ears and his attempts to use unlawful magic, in order to bring his friend back to him. The *ħarġa* repeats the idea of the tingling ear and stresses the poet’s wondering as to whether his friend remembers him. This is expressed by the idiomatic use of the verb in the passive تری meaning ‘I wonder’, which carries an element of uncertainty and hope.

The motive of love between males and homosexual relationship is not unknown in Mediaeval Hebrew poetry, which often deals with it in the context of love poetry. The issue is not unique to Hebrew poetry but may also be found in other cultures. Scholars who have researched the subject are not in agreement as to whether it is a real homosexual relationship or a figurative device used to stress the affections between people.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Schirmann 1955:55–58 and 1978: I, 97–105. Allony 1961:16–43. An abridged version of this article was published in Allony 1963:311–323.

The two versions

Schirmann's version¹¹, belongs to a collection of strophic love poems which contain three parts. The First and Second Parts consist of a two-line opening or beginning (*maṭla'* = a refrain) and five stanzas, while the Third Part begins with a two-line opening followed by only three stanzas. Moreover, each part has a different metre (Part I: -- --v--v-- Part II: ---v--- Part III: -v-----v--) and a different internal rhyme (Part I: AA BBBAA, CCCAA, DDDAA, EEEAA, FFFAA. Part II: AA GGGAA, HHHAA, IIIAA, JJJAA, AAAAA. The rhyme of Part III AA JJJAA has nothing to do with the rhyme of the first two Parts, since none of its stanzas rhymes in AA. Instead it rhymes as follows: LL MMMLL, NNNLL, OOOLL. However, as the Third Part differs from the first two Parts in its contents and its rhyme we may assume that it does not belong to the other Parts and is instead an independent love poem.

Our version has no two-line beginning but instead has three stanzas, where the second stanza is the third stanza, and the third stanza is the sixth stanza in the known version. Moreover, in Schirmann's version each stanza (except the opening one) consists of five rhymed lines, while in our version each stanza has been "condensed" into four lines, thus changing the rhyme altogether, though if re-arranged according to the rhyming syllables, the poem would have looked as follows:

נלאתי נשוא הכיל
 לאויב יהלוך רכיל
 ואני דל ואין משכיל
 בכל חשקו המדוני
 ובכל חטא הנידוני
 לא אשכח ימי חלדי
 ליל שכבו אלי צדי
 על ערסי ומרודי
 עד בוקר נשקני
 ועסיס פיו הניקני

יום לו כלתה עיני
 ולקול צללו אזני
 ניהשתי ברוב עוני
 ביأعليش تطن ادني
 ترا محبوبي يذكروني

¹¹ See Schirmann 1954–56 I, 369–70.

It is clear that the metre in our version is not only different from the metre in Schirmann's version but it is also completely inconsistent, thus, "ruining" even the internal rhyme.

Lexical differences between the two versions are also found.

<i>The known version</i>	<i>Our version</i>
עני (distress; poverty)	עוני (my sin)
כּם אַחַסֵּן לֵה לֵה טָנִי (I think well of him)	عَلِيشُ تَطِنُ اذْنِي (why my ear tingles)
עָסִי יִרְגַע וְיִזְכְּרֵנִי (maybe he will remember me again)	تَرا مَحْبُوبِي يَذْكُرْنِي (I wonder /if/ my beloved /still/ remembers me)

Conclusions

The existence of two versions of the poem raises a number of questions concerning the authorship and authenticity of the versions: Is the 'new' version more reliable than the one known to us hitherto? Is it an earlier or later version by Moshe Ibn Ezra himself? Is it a new version offered by an anonymous poet who believed his version to be more artistic? Is it an attempt to 'reconstruct' Ibn Ezra's poem from memory by one of his fans? Is it a plagiarised version?¹² Or is it an example of an "adoption", *i.e.* the incorporation of parts of well-known poems into a fresh text, a stylistic phenomenon known in Arabic as *taḍmīn*? Another possibility is that the poem under discussion is incomplete and another piece containing the other stanzas, if survived, is 'somewhere' in the Genizah collections.

Since we have no information about the writer of the first stanza of our version who had also introduced a few changes in the grammar, lexicon and the structure of the whole poem, nor have we any details about the scribe, it seems that all these questions will remain unanswered.

Finally, although proof of plagiarism is not sufficient, one cannot ignore the surprising similarity between the first stanza of our version and the beginning of the other version of our poem and the beginning of a strophic poem composed by Yitzhak Ibn Abraham Ibn Ezra (whose exact dates of birth and death are unknown, but assumed to have taken place during the first half of the twelfth century), which begins with the line: סוּד אַהֲבִים אֵיכָה יִכִּיל / לֵב וּדְמַע הוֹלֵךְ רַכִּיל and which also describes the poet's disappointment with a young intimate friend who turned against him¹³. The writer of the first stanza of our version was not

¹² Schirmann refers briefly to a case of plagiarism concerning the book *Ha-'Anaq* by Moshe Ibn Ezra (See Schirmann, 1954–56, I, 363).

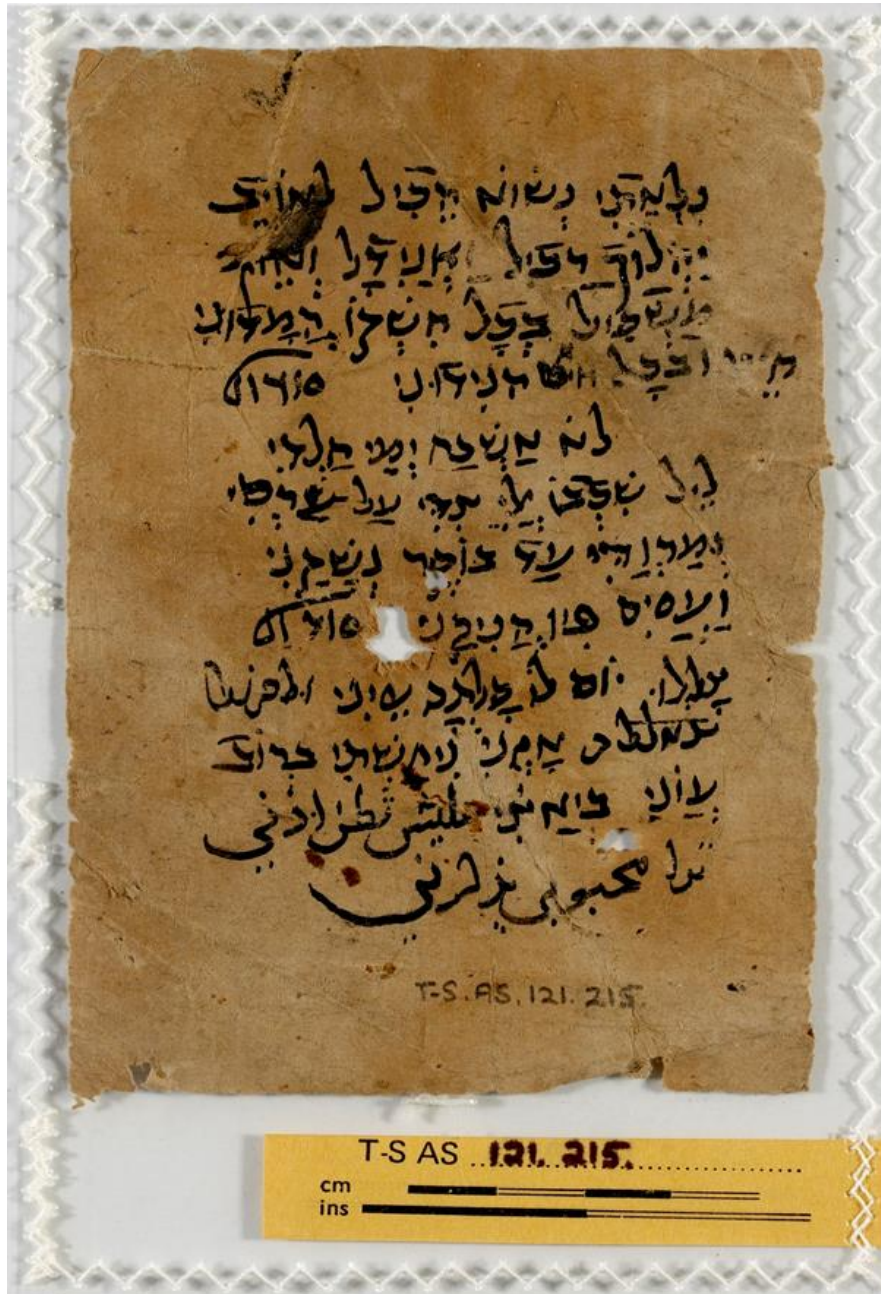
¹³ See, Yitzhak Ibn Ezra, *Širim* 21. See also the editor's comment on p. 62.

necessarily Yitzhak Ibn Ezra, but it is quite possible that our stanza was known to the latter.

REFERENCES

- Allony, Nehemia. 1951. *Torat ha-miškalim šel Dunaš, Yehuda ha-Levi ve-Avraham ibn 'Ezra. (The Scansion of Medieval Hebrew Poetry)* Jerusalem: Maḥbarot le-Sifrut be-Siyu'a Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 711 [1951].
- _____. 1961. "Ha-Tsevi ve-ha-Gamal be-širat Sefarad". *Otzar Yehudei Sefarad*, 4.16–43.
- _____. 1963. "The « Zevi » (= Nasib) in the Hebrew Poetry in Spain". *Sefarad* 23.311–23.
- Bacon, Yitzhak. 1968. *Perakim be-hitpaḥut ha-miškal šel ha-šira ha-ivrit [Stages in the Development of Metre in Hebrew Poetry]*. Tel-Aviv.
- Brody, Hayyim, ed. 1935–77. *Moshe Ibn Ezra, Shire ha-Hol*. 3 vols., Berlin: Shoken.
- Goitein, S. D. 1967-93. *A Mediterranean Society*. 6 vols., Berkeley, etc.
- Reif, S. C. 2000. *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo*. Surrey.
- Schirmann, Jefim (Hayyim). 1954-56. *Ha-Šira ha-ivrit bi-Sefarad u-ve-Provans*. 2 vols., Jerusalem & Tel-Aviv.
- _____. 1955. "The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry". *Sefarad* 15.55-68.
- _____. 1965. *Širim ḥadašim min ha-geniza [New Hebrew Poems from the Genizah]*. Jerusalem.
- _____. 1978. *Le-Toldot ha-šira ve-ha-drama ha-ivrit*. Vol. 1., Jerusalem.
- _____. 1996. *Toldot ha-šira ha-ivrit bi-Sefarad ha-Muslmit*, ed. by Ezra Fleischer. Jerusalem.
- Stern, S. M. 1974. *Hispano – Arabic Strophic Poetry*, selected and ed. by L. P. Harvey. Oxford.
- Yitzhak Ibn Ezra, *Širim*, ed. by Naphtali Ben Menahem. Jerusalem, 1950.

Appendix 1



Appendix 2

נלאתי נשוא (a) הכיל (b) לאויב (c)
 יהלוך רכיל (d) ואני דל (e) ואין
 משכיל (f) בכל חשקו (g) המדוני (h)
 ובכל חטא (i) הנידוני (j) סוד וג'
 לא אשכח (k) ימי חלדי (l)
 ליל שכבו (m) אלי צדי (n) על ערסי (o)
 ומרודי (p) עד בוקר (q) נשקני (r)
 ועסיס (s) פיו הניקני סוד וג'
 יום לו כלתה עיני (t) ולקול
 צללו אזני (u) ניהשתי (v) ברוב
 עוני (w) ביאצי (x) עליש (y) תطن אזני
 ترا (z) محبوبي بذكرني

a. Isa. 1:14; b. Following Jer. 6:11; c. Jer. 6:25; d. Jer. 9:3; e. Following Jud. 6:15; f. Following Ps. 14:2; and 53:3; g. Following 2 Ch. 8:6; h. Jer.15:10; i. Deut. 19:15; j. Perhaps following Ps. 36:12; k. Ps. 119:16, 93.; l. Following Ps. 39:6; m. Following Gen.19:33, 35; n. Ezek. 4:4,5,8,9; o. Appears in the Bible three times as ערשי, whereas ערס is probably based on ערסא in Aramaic; p. Appears in the Bible twice as מרבדים (Pr. 7:16 and 31:22); q. Appears in the Bible 16 times; r. Following Cant. 1;19; s. עסיס appears in the Bible five times in the context of wine, e.g. Cant. 8:2. See also Rashi's commentary on the word; t. Following Ps. 69:4, 119: 82, 123 and Lam. 2:11; u. Following 1Sam. 3:11; 2 kings 21.12 and Jer. 19:3; v. Following Gen. 30:27 and perhaps Lev. 19:26; w. Following Hos. 9:7; x. In Arabic: "my white" and perhaps following Isa. 1:18. It may also mean here 'honour, reputation' Arabic بياض الوجه used here as an oath like بشرفي by my honour; y. In colloquial Arabic, consisting of (علي + اي + شيء) – why. z. Usually spelt in Arabic ترى

Appendix 3

The poem as appearing in Schirmann's 1954–56 I, 369–70:

סוד לבי ומצפוני
גלו נחלי עיני

מריב הקשה הָרָף !
צבי למד טָרַף טָרַף
עו פְּנִים קִשָּׁה עָרַף
חֲשָׁקוֹ הֶעֱצִיבֵנִי
וּבְלִי לֵב עֲזָבֵנִי

עֶפֶר דָּלְלוּ מִתְּנִי
שָׁמַשׁ רַד לְמוֹל פְּנִי
וּבְחֻצֵי שְׁתֵּי עֵינָי
אֵת נוֹמֵי גְזֵלָנִי
וּבְכָל פֶּה אֶכְלָנִי

לֹא אֲשַׁפַּח יָמֵי חֲלָדִי
לֵיל שִׁכְבוֹ אֵלַי צָדִי
עַל עֲרָשֵׁי וּמִרְבְּדִי
עַד בִּקְרַר נִשְׁקָנִי
וְעָסִיס פִּיּוֹ הִגִּימָנִי

מֵה נִחְמַד וְטוֹב דְּרַכּוֹ
מֵה מִתּוֹק פְּרֵי חֲכּוֹ
אֵד שִׁקְרַר וְרִיק גִּסְכּוֹ
הִתַּל בֵּי וְרַמְנִי
וּבְלִי חֲטָא הִדְמָנִי

יּוֹם לוֹ כְּלָתָה עֵינִי
וּלְקוֹל צִלְלָה אֲזַנִּי
נִחְשָׁתִי בְּרַב־עֵנִי
כִּם אַחֲסֵן לֵה טָנִי
עֵסִי יִרְגַע וּיִדְכַרְנִי

**ANOTHER ARABIC VERSION OF *SEFER HA-RAZIM*
AND *ḤARBA DE-MOŠE*:
A NEW *SIFR ĀDAM* MANUSCRIPT**

Dóra Zsom

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

The Manuscripts

This article should have been written by my late professor, Alexander Fodor, since it gives account of a new manuscript of *Sifr Ādam* (The Book of Adam) found by him shortly before his sudden death. It is a new version with regard to the manuscript of *Sifr Ādam* he acquired in 1973. For the sake of convenience, in the following I will designate the manuscript discovered by him in the seventies MS 1973, and the manuscript found by him some months before his passing away MS 2014.

Fodor reported in two articles (Fodor 2006, 2011) that in 1973 he had been offered to buy an Arabic manuscript by a Copt bookseller in Cairo. The manuscript was entitled *Sifr Ādam* and looked recently written. Some peculiarities of the copy, however, pointed towards the fact that it had been copied from an older manuscript: it contained catchwords at the bottom of the pages to indicate the sequence of the pages; the titles, chapter-headings and some important words were rendered in red ink, while the text itself was written in black. The text began with the Christian formula “In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God, Amen”, but – as it became clear from the continuation – it was evidently the Arabic translation of a Jewish Magical text. Fodor succeeded in reconstructing the sources of the text, and he established that it comprised the Arabic versions of various Jewish Magical works, including *Sefer ha-Razim*, *Ḥarba de-Mošē*, *Sefer ha-Yašar*, and *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*. These texts were combined in one Arabic recension under the title *Sifr Ādam*.

Ever since I have known Fodor, he was planning to prepare the critical edition of the manuscript,¹ and he was constantly looking for parallel versions of the text. Shortly before his death, in April 2014, he wrote me several excited e-mails from Cairo alluding to “some excellent news” he preferred to communi-

¹ The first sentence of his article published in *JSQ* about his finding is the following: “The present paper wishes to be a kind of preliminary report on an Arabic version of *Sefer ha-Razim* before the publication of the whole text...” (Fodor 2006:412).

cate to me personally after returning to Budapest. Once he arrived, we met at the University and he said to me laughing and with great excitement that after so many years of searching, finally he had traced a second manuscript of *Sifr Ādam*. He told me that he bought the digitalized photos of several magical works from a bookseller in Cairo. Among these he discovered the photos of a version of *Sifr Ādam*, therefore he returned to the bookseller and asked whether it was possible to buy the original manuscript. The bookseller promised to him to obtain a *Sifr Ādam* manuscript – either the same that appears on the photos or another – within a couple of days. But since Fodor was about to return to Budapest, and I was scheduled to travel to Egypt some days after his return, he asked me to buy the manuscript on his behalf. He also provided me with a digital copy of the photos so that I be able to compare the text with that of the promised manuscript. Therefore, once I arrived to Cairo, I immediately made my way to the bookseller I had already knew, because we happened to visit him together with Fodor several times before. Unfortunately, to my (and Fodor's) great disappointment the book he tried to sell me was only a photocopy of a manuscript, bound and prepared as if it was an old book. Although it bore the title *Sifr Ādam* (the first lines of the text included the title) but in reality it was a completely different work under the same title, so I did not buy the book. Fodor was still optimistic; and when we next met at the end of May in Hungary, he explained that in his view it was still possible to track down the manuscript somehow, and after all, the photos could serve as a sufficient basis for a comparison between the two versions and for a critical edition based on two complete texts. Lamentably, he did not have the chance to carry out his plan, because two months later he died.

After recovering from the shock of his sudden death I remembered the new Arabic version of *Sifr Ādam* he discovered, and it seemed to me unacceptable to let this version fall into oblivion as if he never found it. Therefore I decided to give an account of the structure, form and contents of MS 2014 comparing it with those parts of MS 1973 Fodor published in the two articles mentioned above. Unfortunately, while preparing this article, I did not have access to MS 1973, which is in the possession of Fodor's family.²

MS 1973 contains 213 pages, and there are 12 lines in most pages, therefore the whole text comprises approximately 2556 lines, from what Fodor has published altogether some 280 lines in his two articles. Although this sum is hardly more than the tenth of the text, but in fact it is more than it appears, since the pages published by Fodor are basically the most substantial and important parts of the manuscript.

² Except for two photocopied pages of the manuscript Fodor gave me several years ago so that I may include their copy in the Appendix of my MA thesis written under his guidance about magical devices related to Moses.

The Contents of *Sifr Ādam*, MS 1973

The Introduction of the book contains its title and a short history of the book's origin. It was revealed to Adam after he ate from the tree and implored God to deliver him from punishment. The angel Zaryāyīl descended with a book containing the description of the heaven's seven firmaments, the hierarchy of the angels in them, the names of angels appointed over matters determining time and space (years, seasons, days, hours, planets, the four cardinal points, etc.). The book was passed on from generation to generation. Noah learned from it when he built the Ark, and it was the first thing he took with himself in a golden box to the Ark. Solomon regarded it as the most outstanding book and made miracles with it. He who follows the instructions of the book is able to attain anything he wishes by adjuring the angel responsible for that specific issue (Fodor 2006: 413–415).

The Introduction is followed by two main parts. The first is a theoretical description of the seven firmaments, the angels pertaining to them and their main functions. The second part lists a great number of magical recipes telling which angels should be summoned for different purposes and the way it should be done. These parts are translated from the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim* (The Book of Secrets), but are arranged in a different way. While in the Hebrew original the presentation of each firmament is composed of two parts: angelic names and magical recipes, in the Arabic recension the names and the recipes are given in the two separate parts. In the Hebrew text the seventh firmament is occupied only by the Throne of God, hence no angelic names or recipes are associated with it. This is, however, not the case in the Arabic recension, where a most impressive list of divine names can be found. The last part of the book – called *Sayf Allāh* (“The Sword of God”) or *Yad Allāh* (“The Hand of God”) – contains a magical invocation composed of divine names (Fodor 2006:416).

Although according to the Introduction the title of the book is *Sifr Ādam*, this name does not appear in the main text. In the colophon of each main part the title is given as “Book of Secrets” (*Sifr al-asrār*) or “Book of Hidden Things” (*Sifr al-ḥafāyā*) (Fodor 2006:416).

MS 1973: Christian recension

The book has two introductory formulas, the first is: “In the Name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, One God. Amen.”, while the second is: “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.”³ It has to be noted that for “Merciful”

³ MS 1973, p. 1, lines 1–6: “In the Name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, One God. Amen. With the help of God and with good fortune [granted] by Him we start to

instead of the usual *ar-Raḥmān* the word *ar-Raʿūf* stands (“*bism Allāh ar-Raʿūf ar-Raḥīm*”). In my opinion this change is significant, its purpose being to distance the formula from the standard Muslim expression. It is noteworthy that this formula is also frequently used by Copts. According to Fodor (2006:417–418), the translator of the Jewish sources or the last redactor of the Arabic compilation was a Coptic priest, since he used the Coptic names of the months, and remarked that God would accept the Mass from he who kept the instructions of this book. Fodor (2006:420) says: “In the light of this Christian background it seems particularly strange that some expressions with a definite Islamic tint found their way to the text. An interesting example for this phenomenon is the occurrence of the following Qurʾānic verse: ‘God is sufficient to us, an excellent Guardian is He’ (Q 3:173)”. Fodor (2006:420) supposed that a Muslim hand had access to the work and he also suggested that the translator might have inserted the Qurʾānic verse to make the book acceptable in a Muslim environment.

MS 2014: Muslim recension?

The manuscript starts with only one introductory formula: “In the Name of God, the only Creator, Living and Provider” (*bism Allāh al-Ḥāliq al-Ḥayy ar-Rāziq waḥdahu*) (p. 1). This phrase is repeated with slight modifications several times in the text at the beginning of the main sections: “In the Name of God, the Creator, the Living, the Provider, the Eternal” (*bism Allāh al-Ḥāliq al-Ḥayy ar-Rāziq al-Bāqī*) (p. 62), “In the Name of God, the Creator, the Living, the Provider, the Everlasting” (*bism Allāh al-Ḥāliq al-Ḥayy ar-Rāziq al-Abadī*) (p. 152). This is not a usual formula used by Muslims, although it contains names from among the so-called most beautiful names of God. In my opinion it can be regarded as an Islamicized form of an original Hebrew or Aramaic formula, employing typical Muslim adjectives of God, like *ar-Rāziq* (Provider), which does not have an obvious Hebrew or Aramaic correspondent.⁴

copy *Sifr Ādam* (‘The Book of Adam’) which God, the Holy King revealed to him. It is from the precious and useful books. May God help us in copying it. Amen” (Fodor 2006:414).

MS 1973, p. 1, lines 7–9: “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Now then, this is the Book of Adam which God, the Holy King (May He be Blessed and Exalted!) revealed to him” (Fodor 2006:414).

⁴ Naturally, it can be translated to Hebrew or Aramaic, but this adjective is not among those applied to God usually in Hebrew or Aramaic. Most manuscripts of *Sefer ha-Razim* do not have a similar introductory formula beginning with “In the name of...”, but they start directly with “This is *Sefer ha-Razim*...”. Two manuscripts that do have introductory formula start with “In the name of YHWH, the God of Israel...” (Rebiger and Schäfer 2009:5) and one with “In the name of YHWH, God of the Universe”

The reference to God accepting the Mass is absent from the text, maybe it was omitted by a Muslim redactor. The Qur'ānic verse, however, is present. In the list of the twelve months and their angelic hosts the names of the months are bilingual: the Coptic names are always followed by the names of Babylonian origin used in Iraq, Syria, and more significantly, in the Jewish calendar.⁵ According to the instruction describing the fifth firmament and the twelve angels appointed over the months, the sequence of the angels “follows the order of the Hebrew months: the first [angel] is Š'Y'YL who is on duty in *Nīsān*, etc.” (*wa-ḏālīka 'alā ḥisāb šuhūr al-'ibrānī al-awwal Š'Y'YL ḥidmatuhu fī šahr nīsān*) (p.41) without any reference here to Coptic names.

A *par excellence* Coptic formula appears, however, in MS 2014. The colophon of the first main part of the book is the following: “*Kamala as-sifr al-awwal min al-asrār al-musammā bi-sifr al-ḥafāyā wa-yatlūhu as-sifr aṭ-ṭānī al-munzal ma'a al-malāk Ḍaryāyīl 'alayhi as-salām. Tūbā li-man yukšaf lahu asrāruhu. Wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-š-šukr dāyiman āmin kyrie eleison*” (p. 60). In translation: “It is the end of the first book of the [Book of] Secrets, which is called the Book of Hidden Things. It is followed by the second book that was revealed by the angel Ḍaryāyīl, peace be upon him. Blessed is him to whom its secrets are unveiled. God should be praised and thanked forever. Amen. Kyrie eleison.” The Greek phrase is quite corrupted (كرالصون), a fact that makes possible the supposition that the redactor or copyist did not understand the expression. Since MS 2014 is a redaction that omitted obvious Christian traits of the text (like the reference to the Trinity and the Mass), it can be supposed that the redactor left this Greek phrase in the text because he did not understand its meaning. This is all the more plausible, since the colophon is followed by a short list of unintelligible “useful names”, and is preceded by a list of four pages of *nomina barbara*, very much in the vein of “*kīrālšūn*”.

These considerations lead to at least two possible conclusions: 1) MS 2014 is an Islamicized adaptation of the Christian version preserved in MS 1973. 2) MS 2014 was combined from various already existing Arabic sources, some of which were done by Muslim translators, while others by Christians (Copts).

Unfortunately, without having access to the whole text of MS 1973, it is impossible to discuss further the relationship of the two Arabic manuscripts.

(Rebiger and Schäfer 2009:106) The *Sword of Moses* edited by Gaster starts as follows: *bi-šeme de-elaha rabba we-qadiša* (Gaster 1925–28b:69) “In the name of the mighty and holy God” (Translation of Gaster 1925–28a:312)

⁵ The Hīgrī calendar could not be used to denominate the months, since that is a lunar calendar in which months are not connected to the seasons of the year. The twelve angels representing the twelve months, however, are arranged in groups according to the seasons of the year.

Physical description of MS 2014

The manuscript contains 266 pages.⁶ The text terminates on p. 263 with a colophon (Fig. 1). On p. 264 there are two amulets connected to the Sword drawn by a later hand, using blue ballpoint-pen.⁷ The last two pages of the manuscript are blank. The colophon of the manuscript (p. 263, l. 8–11) contains the name of the copyist and the date:

نسخه من اصله الفقير الى ربه تعالى عمر
لطفى التلغرافى وتم نسخه فى يوم الاثنين
٢٧ رمضان ١٣٣٤ و ٩ اغستوس ١٩١٥
بارك الله له فى يديه والسلام

Translation

It was copied from the original by ‘Umar Luṭfī, the telegrapher, who relies on his God (may He be exalted). The copy was completed on Monday, 27 Ramadan 1334 [corresponding to] 9 August 1915. May God bless his hands! Peace be upon you!

The Gregorian and the Hiġrī dates unfortunately do not correspond to each other, 27 Ramadan 1334 corresponding to 28 July 1916. The copyist made a mistake in the Hiġrī year. The correct date is 27 Ramadan 1333 corresponding to 9 August 1915, which in fact happened to be a Monday.

The remark of the copyist stating that he copied from the original text evidences that he had an earlier manuscript in front of him. Apparently he tried to reproduce it faithfully, hence the catchwords at the bottom of the first pages, and the use of different colours of ink, black and red. Headings and words or phrases regarded as important are usually rendered in red. In some pages it can be clearly discerned that the pages were carefully ruled. Each page contains invariably eleven lines.

The contents of MS 2014

Introduction (composed from the Introductions of *Raziel ha-Malaḳ* and of *Sefer ha-Razim*)

First part corresponding mainly to *Sefer ha-Razim*

I.1 Theoretical Part: Description of the Seven Firmaments

I.2 Practical Part

– Names

⁶ The pages of the manuscript were numbered by different hands, but these paginations are erroneous.

⁷ Occasional marks by this pen can be found all along the text.

– Magical recipes

I.3 A Link between *Sefer ha-Razim* and *Ḥarba de-Mošē*

Second Part corresponding mainly to *Ḥarba de-Mošē*

II.1 The Sword of God

– Names

– Magical recipes

II.2 The Hand of God

– Prayer and names

– Magical recipes

Conclusion: Dismissal of the angels (originally the conclusion of the *First Part*, moved to the end of the whole compilation)

Introduction

- The first page of the manuscript mentions briefly that *Sifr Ādam* was revealed to Adam by the angel Ǧaryāyīl, a variation of the name Zaryāyīl of MS 1973, possibly due to hypercorrection. It has to be noted that the name Zaryāyīl (ZRYʹYL) itself is a misreading of the name Raziel (RZYʹYL) proceeding from the original Hebrew source entitled “The Angel Raziel” (*Raziel ha-Malaḳ*).
- Contents and uses of the book (pp. 1–4). Parallel to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim*.
- Noah made the Ark following the instructions of this book, which was the first thing he took with himself to the Ark in a golden box (p. 4). Parallel to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim*.
- The book was passed on from generation to generation, it reached Solomon who made miracles with it (pp. 4–5). Parallel to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim*.
- Ǧaryāyīl descended from heaven since God had listened to Adam’s supplication asking Him to improve his situation which deteriorated after having eaten from the Tree. Ǧaryāyīl explained the names contained in the book and their uses. The names were so mighty and frightening that Adam fell upon his face but Ǧaryāyīl encouraged him until he became able to make use of the book (pp. 6–9). Parallel to *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*, fol. 3a.⁸

The Introduction combines passages from the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim* and *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*. MS 2014 differs from MS 1973 in the order of the sources: MS 1973 starts with a passage taken from *Raziel ha-Malaḳ* (the prayer of Adam and

⁸ The Introduction of the Arabic version (both MS 1973 and MS 2014) is close to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim* II reconstructed by Rebigier and Schäfer from Genizah fragments and manuscripts (Rebigier and Schäfer 2009:106–107).

the descent of the angel), and continues with the *Sefer ha-Razim* (starting with Noah, not mentioning either Adam or the angel), thus creating a chronological order of the events. In MS 2014, however, Adam and the angel are only mentioned in the first lines very briefly, but the text itself starts with passages parallel to *Sefer ha-Razim*. The prayer of Adam and his interaction with the angel, which do not form part of *Sefer ha-Razim*, but of *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*, are intercalated between the introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim* and the description of the seven firmaments.

Transcription and translation of the first part of the Introduction, pp. 1-6

Remarks

I decided to transcribe and translate the beginning of MS 2014, since it differs from MS 1973. From p. 6 of MS 2014 the text runs parallel to the text that Fodor (2006:413–414) published, although with many slight alterations. Since MS 2014:6–9 is almost identical with MS 1973:1–4, I did not transcribe that part, already published by Fodor.

In the manuscript *hamza* is usually not indicated (but sometimes it is); P/3 masculine pronoun frequently takes the place of S/3 feminine pronoun; gender agreement and case endings are eclectic. The transcription reproduces the original with the exception of *tā' marbūṭa*, which is usually indicated by *hā'* in the original. In the manuscript sometimes *tā' marbūṭa* takes the place of the S/3 fem. ending in the perfect, or else the *tā' marbūṭa* is replaced by a *tā'*, possibly because of the confusion between the feminine ending of verbs and nouns. This peculiarity is reproduced in the transcription. The catchwords are transcribed in brackets.

p. 1

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْخَالِقِ الْحَيِّ الرَّازِقِ وَحَدِّهِ هَذَا كِتَابُ
سَفَرِ آدَمَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَهُ اللَّهُ الْقَادِرُ الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ
صَحْبَهُ ذُرِّيَّائِلَ الْمَالِكِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِيهِ خَفَايَا
الْمَعْرِفَةِ وَطُرُقِ الْفَهْمِ وَأَفْكَارِ الْخُشُوعِ وَالْوُقُوفِ عَلَى
غَايَةِ مَعْرِفَةِ الْإِفْلَاقِ وَالْعِلْمِ بِكُلِّ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ
السَّبْعَةِ وَمَا فِيهِمْ مِنْ أَجْنَادِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ أَرْبَابِ
الْخِدْمِ الْمَقْدَمِينَ وَمَعْرِفَةِ أَسْمَائِهِمْ وَمَا لَهُمْ
مِنْ الْخِدَامِ وَكَيْفِ السَّبِيلِ الِي التَّقَرُّبِ إِلَيْهِمْ وَبَلُوغِ
الْإِيْتَارِ فِيهِمْ بِأَنْ هُوَ الْعَالَمِ وَمَعْرِفَةِ الْعِلْمِ
وَالْعَمَلِ بِمَا فِي الْعَالَمِ مِنْ جَيِّدٍ وَرَدِيٍّ وَمَعْرِفَةِ
أَوْقَاتِ الْمَوْتِ وَأَوْقَاتِ الْحَيَاةِ وَأَوْقَاتِ

p. 2

الْمَرَضِ وَأَوْقَاتِ الشِّفَاءِ وَالْعَافِيَةِ وَتَفْسِيرِ الْإِحْلَامِ
وَحَقِيقَةِ الرُّوْيَاءِ وَأَصْلِهَا وَمَا هُوَ أَسْبَابُهَا
وَالطَّرِيقِ إِلَيْهِ فِي أَيِّ وَقْتٍ اخْتَارَ وَكُلِّ إِنْسَانٍ

يريد المعرفة بما يأتي من الامور من وقوع
الحرب بين شعب وشعب والصلح بين
قوم وقوم ومعرفة ما يكون في يوم ويوم
وكل شهر وشهر وسنة وسنة من الكاين
في الليل والنهار وكشف الاشياء وفهم دلالات
الشهور واوقات الحروب متى تكون وكثرة
الامطار وقلتها وكثرة الاثمار وقلتها وتعلم
ان كان ملوك الجنوب يحاصرون ملوك
[الشمال]

p. 3

الشمال او ملوك الشمال يملكون الجنوب او ملوك
الشرق يملكون المغرب او ملوك المغرب يملكون
المشرق وتعلم كل كاين في العالم وتعلم من حوادث
السماء والارض صغيرا كان ام كبيرا ظاهرا كان
ام مخفي من تحت الارض كان ام في ظهائر العالم تعلم
ان كان ذلك كله ردي ام جيدا تحدثهم
نفوسهم بخيرا كان ام شر لايقا ذلك ام
يغير لايقا لنفوسهم كان ام كان لغيرهم لتهديب
الحروب ام لتحريكها ومن اراد ان يتسلط على
جميع الارواح ويحكم عليهم ويرسلهم بسرعة
كالعبيد في جميع ما يريد من خير او شر

p. 4

او يحكم على اربع ارياح العالم والارشاد بطرق
الخير والبلوغ فيذلك الي ما تريد ومن اسرار
هذا السفر المبارك تعلم نوح عليه السلام
حتى عمل السفينة من خشب الساج واستتر بها
من الطوفان وادخل معه اثنان وسبعة سبعة
من الطيور والبهائم وادخل معه من كل طعام
واول ما ادخل معه هذا الكتاب المقدس
في صندوق من ذهب وكان دائما يعلم منه
ما يكون في كل يوم ويسأل الله تعالى قضي
حاجته به كل ايام حياته وفي وقت موته
وبعده سلمه الي ولده شيم وبلغ هذا بالتناقل
[الي]

p. 5

الي ابراهيم عليه السلام ومن ابراهيم الي اسحق الي يعقوب
والي ولده لاوي والي هيب الي عمران الي موسى عليه السلام
الي يوشع الي شيوخ الاصل والي الانبياء والحكما جيل
بعد جيل الي ان وصل الي سليمان ابن داود عليه السلام
وانكشف له جميع اسراره ومعرفة والارشاد
بالحكمة وفعل العجايب به وكتب كثيرة كان
قد وقف عليها سليمان ابن داود بل ان هذا
كان عنده اجل واعظم وارشاد من الكل فطوبى

لاذن تسمع ما فيه ولعين تنظر ما فيه وطوبى
 لمن يعرفه ويعرف حكمته ويفهم ما في باطنه لان
 فيه معرفة ما في السموات السبعة وما فيهم من

p. 6

من الملائكة المقدمين سلاطين السموات فطوبى للشعب
 الذي الله الاله ثم وكان نزول ذريابيل الملاك
 عليه السلام في وقت سواهل ادم ربه بعد اكله
 من الشجرة واخطأ فضعفت منزلته جدا
 وتسلطت الالهوال عليه وضجرة نفسه فقال
 في صلواته يا الله اله العالمين انت خلقت الكل
 ببها وقارك وعظم ملكك [...]

Translation

[p. 1] In the name of God, the only Creator, Living and Provider. This is The Book of Adam that God, the Omnipotent and Holy King revealed to him. The angel Daryāyīl (peace be upon him) accompanied him. It contains hidden knowledge, the ways of understanding and humble contemplations. [From this book] you can obtain absolute knowledge of the celestial spheres, you can learn everything that is in the seven heavens: the hosts of the angels, the leaders of servant angels, the chiefs. [You can learn] their names, and the servants they have, and to way of getting close to them and making them to prefer you, with permission of the God of the Universe. You can learn from it the knowledge (*ilm*) and the practice (*amal*) concerning what is beneficial and what is destructive in the world; and the time of death and the time of life, and the time [p. 2] of illness and the time of recovery and health; and the explication of the dreams, the true meaning of the visions and their origin, and what causes them; and the ways to it in any time he wishes.⁹ If anyone wants to know what will happen, if there will be war between the nations or peace between the people; what will happen in each and every day, month and year, during the night or the day; [if anyone wants to] reveal the things and to understand the signs of the months and the periods of wars; when the rain will be copious and when will it be scarce; when the fruit will be abundant and when will it be few; if someone wants to know if the Southern kings will besiege the Northern kings [p. 3] or the Northern kings will conquer the South, or the Eastern kings will conquer the West, or the Western kings will conquer the East; [if someone wants] to learn about anything that exists in the world, and to learn about anything that happens in the heaven or in the earth, be it small thing or big, apparent or hidden; be it from under the earth or from the visible world; if all this is harmful or beneficial; if these will cause to them good or bad, suitable or not suitable, to their benefit

⁹ The last sentence is difficult to understand, possibly the text is corrupt here.

or to the benefit of others;¹⁰ if these will provoke wars or remedy them; if someone wants to gain power over the spirits and rule them, to send them quickly like servants for any purpose he wishes, be it good or bad; [p. 4] or if someone wants to rule the four directions of the worlds, and wants to be guided in the good ways that do not lead astray: [this book] will guide you to anything you want. Noah (peace be upon him) had learned from the secrets of this book how to make the boat from teakwood, and he hid himself in it from the Flood, and he brought with him a pair, or seven-seven from the birds and the animals, and he brought with him all kind of foods, but the first thing he brought with him [into the Ark] was this holy book, in a golden box. He was learning from it all the time what would happen in each day, and he was asking God to fulfil his needs using this book during his whole life. And when was dying, he handed it over to his son, Shem, after him. And the book was handed over [p. 5] to Abraham (peace be upon him), and from Abraham to Isaac, to Jacob, and to his son Levi, to Heb [*sic*, instead of Qohat], to Amram, to Moses (peace be upon him), to Joshua, to the elders, to the prophets and to the sages, generation after generation until it reached Solomon the son of David (peace be upon him), and all if its secrets were revealed to him, and the knowledge and wise guidance it contained. He made miracles with it. Solomon, the son of David (peace be upon him) read a lot of books, but he estimated this book more than all the others. Happy is the ear that hears its content and the eye that sees what is in it. Happy is the man who gets knowledge of it, and gets knowledge of its wisdom, and understands what it contains. Because it let you know what is in the seven heavens [p. 6] and their chief angels, the commanders of the heavens. Happy is the people whose god is Allah. Now, then, the angel *Daryāyīl* (peace be upon him) descended when Adam implored his God after he ate from the Tree. He committed an offense, his position deteriorated very much, fears overwhelmed him, and he was grieved. Therefore he said in his supplication: Oh Allah, God of the Universe! You created everything by the beauty of Your dignity and the greatness of Your kingship. [...]

First part corresponding mainly to Sefer ha-Razim

*I.1. Theoretical Part: Description of the Seven Firmaments*¹¹

- In the first firmament there are seven thrones occupied by seven chief angels created from fire, each one of them having an encampment (*ʿaskar*) of angels under his command. The names of the angels are listed. The specialties of

¹⁰ The text is corrupt.

¹¹ Judeo-Arabic Genizah fragments containing this part of *Sefer ha-Razim* were collected and published by Rebigier and Schäfer (2009). I compared the texts and it became evident that the Arabic *Sifr Ādam* had no relation to the Judeo-Arabic text.

each encampment are outlined briefly (war, travelling by sea, fire, revealing hidden things, governing the hearts of the rulers, talking with the Moon and the planets, exercising power over the dead, explaining the meaning of the dreams, etc.) without practical instructions (pp. 10–21).

- The second firmament is full of clouds and gloom. The angels of the firmament are standing on twelve steps (*daraġa*). They can disturb the plans of men, change their opinions, corrupt their hearts, interfere in wars, etc. (pp. 21–33).
- The third firmament is full of thunder and lightning. Three chief angels are sitting on thrones, each one of them having his servants (pp. 34–36).
- The fourth firmament is full of wind. Its angels can move quickly in every direction. There are seven rivers of fire and water. Angels stand over the rivers. Some of them are made of fire, they are on duty during the day. Some others are made of ice, they serve during the night (pp. 37–39).
- In the fifth firmament twelve chief angels are sitting facing the four cardinal points: they correspond to the twelve months of the four seasons (pp. 40–41).
- In the sixth firmament there are two chief angels leading two armies of angels, corresponding to East and West. Both chiefs have more than twenty officers over their armies; the names of these are listed (pp. 41–44).
- The seventh firmament is full of light. The Throne of God stands there carried by four spirits of angels made of light, having the form of man, lion, bull and eagle. There are other angels in this firmament whose light is shining and whose glance is like flash. Each angel has six wings: with two they fly, with two they cover their faces and with two they cover their feet. The angels praise God: “Holy Holy Holy is the Lord of Hosts. The whole world is full of His glory” (Jes. 6:3) This doxology is quoted twice in the text. The first (“*qaddūs qaddūs qaddūs YHWH šābāwūt*” p. 46) can be regarded either as an Arabic translation (*qaddūs* = “holy” in Arabic), employing the Hebrew term *YHWH šābāwūt* (Lord of Hosts), which is widely used in Arabic magical texts. Or else, it can be regarded as a Hebrew quotation (*qadoš qadoš qadoš YHWH tzewaot*) transliterated in Arabic characters. The second occurrence of the doxology (“*qaddūs qaddūs qaddūs ar-rabb aš-šabāwut, Allāh rabb al-ġuyūs*”, p. 48) omits the Tetragrammaton and translates the Hebrew phrase meaning “Lord of Hosts” into Arabic.

The doxologies are followed by two lists of God’s name. The first list (pp. 48–55) contains mostly attributes of God, while the second (pp. 55–57) is a list of *nomina barbara*, although some of the names can be explained as Hebrew words. In this point the Arabic recension differs radically from the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim*, which after the doxologies does not enumerate any names of God, not even attributes or adjectives.

p. 48, ll. 2–11

قدوس قدوس قدوس الرب
 الصباوت الله رب الجيوش ملوا جميع
 الارض جلاله هذه اسماء القادر الواحد
 الخالق العزيز الهيبوب ذو الجلال الحي
 القيوم فاعل العجايب هو هو القادر الازلي
 انت وحدك لا شريك لك
 ولا راد لامرك فخرك وسلطانك
 الي الدهر والابد
 هذا اسماً الله العزيز
 ايوم يهوه حج ادون عزوز ال

Translation

Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord of Hosts, God, the Lord of the legions, the whole world is full of his glory. These are the names of the Omnipotent, the Only One, The Creator, the Mighty, the Fearful, the Glorious, the Living, the Existent, Maker of Wonders, He, He, the Omnipotent, the Eternal, You are the only one, there is no one besides You, and no one who could resist Your command, pride and power, forever, eternally.

These are the names of the Mighty God:

ʾYWM [Heb.: *ayom* = terrible] YHWH ḤḤ ADWN [Heb.: *adon* = lord] ʿZWZ ʿL [Heb.: *el* = God] ...

The two lists of divine names occupy ten pages. A great number of the *nomina barbara* have discernible Hebrew origin (*adir* = powerful, *elohim* = God, *šadday* = mighty, *ehye* = I am [who I am], *rišon* = first, *aḥaron* = last, *eḥad* = one, *ṭahor* = pure, *ḥazaq* = strong, *šofeṭ* = judge, *meleḵ* = king, *ḥanun* = merciful, *raḥum* = compassionate, *qadoš* = holy, *qarov* = near, *raḥoq* = far, *neeman* = reliable, *emet* = truth, *tzadiq* = true, *ḥasid* = righteous). Most of these of course appear in the text in a corrupted form.

Conclusion of the Theoretic Part

The names are followed by the Koranic verse 3:173, and by general instructions concerning the use of the book (pp. 57–60). The endnote states that the „first book of the [Book] of Secrets, which is called the Book of Hidden Things” was concluded (p. 60). After the endnote there is a short magical recipe listing „useful names” and instructions concerning preparing an amulet with them (p. 61).

I.2. Practical Part: magical recipes connected to the angels of the seven firmaments

The text starts with an introductory formula “In the Name of God, the Creator, the Living, the Provider, the Eternal” (p. 62), which is followed by the enumeration of the virtues of the book and the necessary conditions for its use. Then it briefly repeats that the book was revealed to Ādam by the angel Ǫaryayīl,¹² and that it was passed on from generation to generation. Afterwards, it proceeds to explain that the magical procedures should be carried out by determining what one wishes to modify giving its coordinates in time and space, by enunciating the names of the angels of the specific year, season, month, day, hour, direction, sea or mainland, etc.

Names (pp. 71-107)

This part of the text does not form part of the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim*, its origin is again in *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*, fols. 3b-6b.

- angels of the seasons
- names of the Sun, the Moon, the Sky, the Earth and the Sea in the four seasons
- angels of the twelve months and their servants
- angels of the days and the hours
- angels of the planets

Magical recipes (pp.108–153)

Most of the recipes are taken from *Sefer ha-Razim*, and they are presented more or less in the order of the firmaments. In *Sefer ha-Razim* the description of each firmament is followed by the recipes connected to it; in *Sifr Ādam* the descriptive and the practical parts are separated. 21 recipes are listed. The first recipe, however, is taken from the beginning of *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*, where it appears directly after Raziel’s descent to Adam.

- conjuring up an angel who can be asked about anything (pp. 105–108). Parallel to *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*, fol. 3a.
- seeing what is hidden
- understanding dreams
- destruction of buildings, armies, ways, walls, boats, chariots
- conjuration of the souls of the dead
- frustrating hostile plans
- curing leprosy, paralysis
- keeping away beasts

¹² The name appears here in a corrupt form.

- preventing the rise and flood of waters
- against injuries caused by sword, arrow
- consolidation of the ruler's power
- horserace
- talking with the Sun
- seeing the Sun during the night
- talking with the four *arwāh* (winds, directions, seasons)
- curing illnesses
- divination
- curing illness
- knowing in which month you will die
- making oneself invisible for one's enemies
- curing madness

I.3. A link between The Book of Secrets (Sefer ha-Razim) and The Sword of God (Ḥarba de-Moše), two main sources of The Book of Ādam (Sifr Ādam)

The last recipe is concluded with some “blessed names” (*asmā' mubāraka*) which in fact constitute a coherent, although corrupted Hebrew text, starting with passages of Deut. 32:3–4: “For I will proclaim the name of YHWH” (*ki šem YHWH egra...*).

In my opinion, it is significant that the text inserted between the Arabic recensions of The Book of Secrets and The Sword of Moses begins with Deut. 32, which is the so-called “Song of Moses” that mentions several times the “sword of God” and the “hand of God”, although in the present corrupted Arabic transliteration of the Hebrew text these words cannot be discerned.

The section that comes straight after the corrupted Hebrew text is the Arabic version of the Jewish magical book “The Sword of Moses”, which in the Arabic recension is entitled “The Sword of God” and “The Hand of God” alternatively.

The corrupt Hebrew text starting with the Song of Moses can be found also in MS 1973, but in a different place. It is not inserted between the Arabic versions of *Sefer ha-Razim* and *Ḥarba de-Moše*, like in MS 2014, but appears in the second part of the Sword, in one of the magical recipes. Fodor made a tentative reconstruction of the whole text, identified its possible sources, and translated it into English (Fodor 2011:364–367). He also mentioned that this text cannot be found in the published versions of “The Sword of Moses”.¹³

¹³ *The Sword of Moses* was published and translated by Gaster 1925–28 and Harari 1997 and 2012.

Second Part corresponding mainly to *Ḥarba de-Mošē*

II.1 *The Sword of God*

This part of the manuscript is largely based on “The Sword of Moses” (*Ḥarba de-Mošē*), another major Jewish source of *Sifr Ādam*. The text of the Sword occupies almost half of MS 2014 (pp. 154–263). The Arabic recension differs in some respects from the original *Sword of Moses*: references to Israel, Moses, *ʿAmida* prayer, etc. are omitted, and the major parts of the text are structured differently. *The Sword of Moses* begins with describing the hierarchy of angels in the heaven, starting with the four angels appointed over the Sword; the Arabic version begins with some 225 names.

As has been mentioned before, in MS 1973 the Sword is inserted in the description of the seventh firmament occupied by the Throne of God, thus converting the most sacred firmament to the most magical one. As discussed by Fodor (2011:343), the Jewish *Sefer ha-Razim* did not associate angelic names and magical devices to the seventh firmament, possibly because according to the Jewish redactor the highest level of divinity is above that. Therefore in the Jewish text the intensity of magical elements decreases gradually in each firmament, disappearing completely in the seventh one. However, as Fodor explained, the redactor of the Arabic text felt uncomfortable with leaving the seventh firmament devoid of magical elements, and therefore he inserted precisely there the text of the Sword, thus endowing it with the most extensive magical power. This section of MS 1973 starts as follows: “Description of the Seventh Firmament. And it concerns the Sword of God and his Hand. And these are the Holy, Great Names which have the influences and the power and are known as the Sword of God” (Fodor 2011:344). See Fig. 2.

In MS 2014, however, the situation is different. Here the Sword is not associated with the seventh firmament, but is considered a totally new section of the book, which begins after concluding the description of the firmaments. The Sword constitutes the Second Part of the book, with its own introductory formula and a title (MS 2014, p. 154. See Fig. 3).

Names (pp. 154–160)

After the introductory formula: “In the name of God, the Living, the Creator, the Provider, the Eternal”, comes the title: “These are the blessed, mighty and holy names that have influence and power, and that are known as the Sword of God”. The list of names that follows is considered the Sword: “And this is the Sword: QWYWĠKLY, QWRYW, YTWLY, etc.” This list cannot be found in the Jewish version of the *Sword*. The list is followed by the conditions for using the names (pp. 160–161).

Magical Recipes (pp. 161–180)

- predicting success or failure of an act
- necromancy
- making someone incapable to move
- crossing the water on dry ground
- making a tree to produce fruits
- adjuring spirits
- if the hour of your death arrived and you don't want to die
- walking on fire
- shortening the way by rolling the earth
- adjuring spirits (different version)

These ten recipes are followed by an eleventh, which is in fact a reminiscence of the first sentences of the *Sword of Moses* about the four angels appointed over the sword. The recipe is patterned on the “if you want to do this-and-this” style, like the preceding ones: “If you want to be elevated to the highest and noblest rank [...] then know the names of the four angels...” (p. 174). The four names are identical with the guardians of the Sword in the first lines of *The Sword of Moses*, and the continuation of the text runs more or less parallel to the Jewish original of the *Sword*.

*II.2. The Hand of God (pp. 181–260)**Prayer and Names (pp. 181–201)*

The Hand of God is the title of a prayer, which according to the text is inseparable from the Sword: “there is no sword without a hand, and there is no hand without having a sword in it” (*wa-lā sayf illā bi-l-yad wa-lā yad illā bi-s-sayf*) (p. 181). The prayer in fact refers repeatedly to the Sword, and not to the Hand: “I ask you and implore you by means of these mighty names that you fulfil my wishes and reveal to me the sword that I may use it...” (p. 183); “...reveal me this sword and disclose me its secrets” (p. 186), etc. In MS 1973 the whole “Sword of God” is called at the same time “Hand of God”: “Description of the seventh firmament. And it concerns the Sword of God and His Hand. And these are the Holy, Great Names which have the influences and the power and are known as the Sword of God” (Fodor 2011:344).

In the original *Sword of Moses* the prayer is evidently part of the Sword, or more exactly, the essence of it. It is a prayer God taught to mankind: “If anyone is desirous of using this ‘Sword’ [...] then speak to Me [God] in the following manner, read before Me this and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword...” (translation of Gaster 1925–28a:313–314). This part is omitted from the Arabic version, but the continuation of the

text, that is, the prayer itself starts identically and runs parallel in the Arabic and Jewish texts.

Magical Recipes (pp. 201–260)

Again the “theoretical” part (names and prayer) is followed by a practical part, entitled “Explication of the names in the Sword” (*Tafsīr asmā’ as-sayf*), which is in fact a list of magical recipes, most of them taken from the Jewish *Sword of Moses*. MS 2014 is undoubtedly more complete, since according to Fodor (2011: 347), MS 1973 contains only 12 recipes, while MS 2014 has some 80 recipes. The recipes operate with reciting or transcribing determined sections of the names the Sword is composed of. The recipes are of two major kinds:

- magical recipes for healing muteness, deafness, madness, pain of the eye, headache, earache, itch, pharyngitis, injuries, pain of the heart, bite of scorpion, incontinence, miscarriage, baldness, etc.
- magical recipes introduced by the phrase “if you want to do this-and-this” (*iḏā aradta / man arāda*): to stop raining; to make the heat of the Sun stronger; to enter a burning furnace without being burnt; to make people obey you; to make fish gather around you; to make someone follow you; to know whether you will succeed or not; to destroy your enemies; to make someone to see something in his dream; to frighten away animals or snakes; to withhold a crocodile; to make the dead speak to you; to kill a wild beast; to kill a lion; to open a lock; to make your enemy sick; to protect your house against thieves; to protect yourself against jinns and satans, etc.

Similarly to the Jewish text, this section is closed in the Arabic version as well with warnings against using the book in impure state: the angels of anger and wrath fall upon him who misuses the book.

Conclusion: Dismissal of the angels (pp. 260–263)

The whole composition of the *Sifr Ādam* is concluded with saying farewell to the angels of all the seven firmaments, specifying them this time by mentioning only their functions or characteristics: “Peace be with your servants and angels [...] in the form of beast, lion, eagle, and in the form of men and beast, peace be with the angels of day and night, hours and times, months and years [...] peace be with your angels in the seven firmaments and the seven encampments and the twelve steps,¹⁴ peace be upon the rest of the spirits in the four cardinal points,

¹⁴ The text has برجا, not درجة (“signs of the zodiac”, and not “steps”) as I translated. I decided to correct the text, since the forms of the two words are easily confoundable, and *daraġa* (step) fit the context more. In the description of the seven firmaments the seven

etc.” (pp. 261–262) The dismissal is completed with naming a hitherto unknown angel (ʾRWBYʾYL) and the angels of the seven days (Mikhael, Gabriel, Rafael, Uriel, Ḥasdyāʾil, ʿAnyāʾīl and Samael). The Sword, or angels of the Sword are not mentioned.

The Dismissal of the Angels can be found in both MS 1973 and MS 2014 with slight differences, while it is missing from the Jewish sources, both from the *Sword of Moses* and the *Sefer ha-Razim*. Fodor considered it as a conclusion of the Sword, since he wrote: “The Arabic text of the “Sword” ends with these lines” (Fodor 2011:367); “This closing passage is totally different from the end of the edited versions of the *Harba*” (Fodor 2011:369). He also went to great lengths explaining why the Cherubs having the faces of eagle, lion, bull and man, “which have not been mentioned earlier” (Fodor 2011:367), appear here. However, the Cherubs were mentioned before, although not in the Sword, but in the description of the Seventh Firmament in the first part of the book (which is based on *Sefer ha-Razim*). In fact the whole Dismissal section mentions exclusively themes treated in the first part of the book, and does not make reference to the Sword or to its angels at all. Therefore, in my opinion it can be regarded as the conclusion of the Arabic redaction of the *Sefer ha-Razim*, which, however, was moved to the end of the whole *Sifr Ādam*, when it was compiled from its different sources. This is all the more obvious since the last lines of the Dismissal (and the whole manuscript) of MS 1973 explicitly states: “The Book of Secrets ended” (*Tamma sifr al-ḥafāyā*) (Fodor 2011:368–369), *Sifr al-ḥafāyā* being the Arabic name of *Sefer ha-Razim*. This sentence is missing from MS 2014, possibly because in the present structure the Dismissal is the end of the whole *Sifr Ādam*, and not to its first part.

The title of the book, conclusions

As it is obvious from the preceding discussion, the Arabic *Sifr Ādam* resulted from a process of editing. The Jewish sources were not merely collected in one work, but were divided in parts according to their literary genre and then they

encampments of the first firmament are followed by the twelve steps of the second firmament, later the four directions of the fifth firmament, while the signs of the zodiac are not mentioned at all in the book. The fact that *daraġa* has feminine gender while *burġ* masculine, hence the numeral 12 should be agreed differently for both is indifferent since rules of grammatical agreement are usually disregarded in MS 2014. When mentioned in the first part of the book, the 12 steps were agreed as if the word *daraġa* was masculine (and the numeral was in oblique case instead of Nominative required by the sentence): *fī ḥāḍīhi s-samāʾ iṭnay ʿašara daraġa*. (MS 2014, p. 22) MS 1973 has *burġ*, a sign of the zodiac, too, but that can be indicative of the possibility that both manuscript belong to the same textual branch.

were reorganized in a completely new structure. The differences between the two Arabic versions show that the process of editing had not been completed when the manuscripts were copied, hence the minor structural divergences of the texts.

In my opinion, the title of the Arabic work originates in an alternative title of *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*. In the first printed edition of *Raziel ha-Malaḳ* (Amsterdam, 1701) the title page contains a title composed of two parts, the first in Aramaic and the second in Hebrew: “*Ze sifra de-Adam qadma* [Aramaic] *še-natan lo Raziel ha-malaḳ* [Hebrew]”. (“This is the book of Adam, the first man, which was given to him by the angel Raziel.”) The language shift is possibly indicative of two alternative titles the Jewish work had. The Arabic speaking editor (whether Copt or Muslim) chose the first part as the title of the whole composition, called now *Sifr Ādam*.

REFERENCES

- Fodor, Alexander. 2006. “An Arabic Version of ‘Sefer ha-Razim’”. *Jewish Studies Quarterly*. 13.412–427
- _____. 2011. “An Arabic Version of ‘The Sword of Moses’”. *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, ed. by Gideon Bohak, Yuval Harari, and Shaul Shaked, 412–427. Leiden: Brill.
- Gaster, M. 1925–28a “The Sword of Moses”. *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology*, I, 288–337. London: Maggs Bros.
- _____. 1925–28b “The Sword of Moses”. *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology: Text*, III, 69–103. London: Maggs Bros.
- Harari, Yuval. 1997. *Ḥarba de-Mošē. Mahadura ḥadaša u-meḥqar*. [The Sword of Moses. A New Edition and Study]. Jerusalem: Aqademon.
- _____. 2012. “The Sword of Moses (Ḥarba de-Moshe): A New Translation and Introduction.” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*. 7.1.58–98.
- Margalioth, Mordechai, ed. 1967. *Sefer ha-Razim*. Jerusalem: Ha-Aqademia le-Madaei ha-Yahadut be-Aratzot ha-Brit.
- Rebiger, Bill and Peter Schäfer. 2009. *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Raziel ha-malaḳ. Ze Sifra de-Adam qadma še-natan lo-Raziel ha-malaḳ*. Amsterdam: Beit Moše Mendes, 1701.

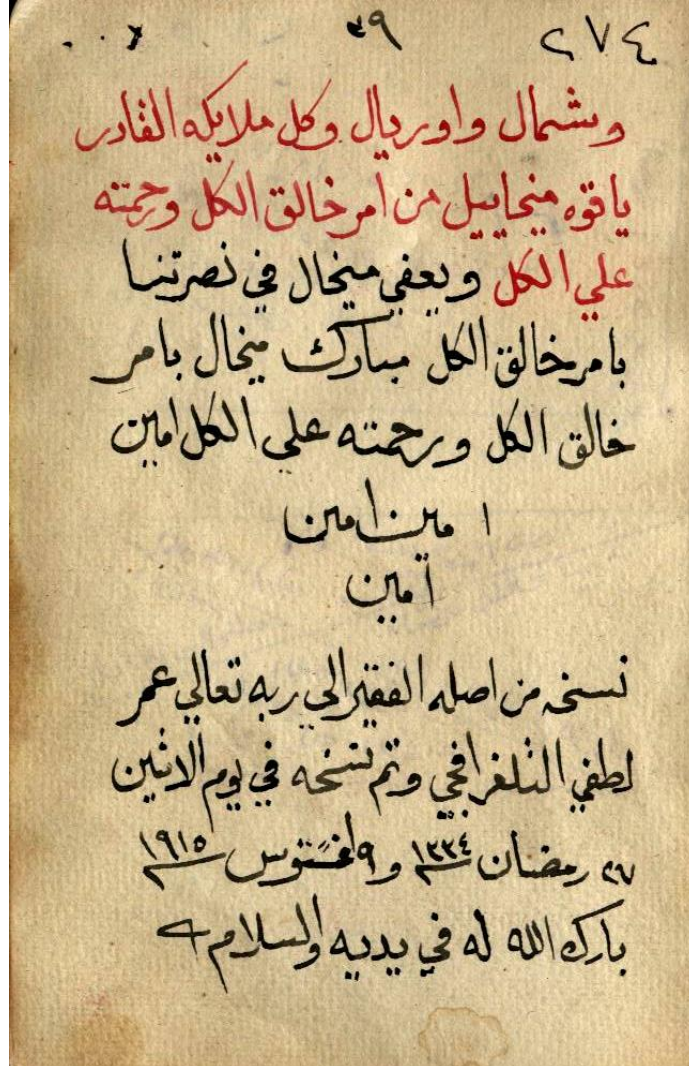


Fig. 1: Colophon of MS 2014, p. 263 (the handwritten page numbers on the top are incoherent and erroneous).

١٠٦٢ صفحہ آدم
 ان تمضوا في طوفانكم بسدرم واحبيل
 الخاتم في اصبعك ۞ تم ۞
 ۞ صفة السام السابع ۞

وهي لسيف الله ويده وهذه الرسام
 العظيمة المقدسه التي لا التاثيرات
 والقوه المعروفه سيف الله طوبى للرجل
 الذي تكون في صدره ويحفظها بقلب نفي
 وجسم طاهر فانه يرتفع درجه من
 اجناسه الارمين ويصل الى مطلوباته
 وينال الدنيا الحسنه والارضه الصالحه
 وهو هذا السيف المذكور ۞
 غويو: عكل . غوريو . بنولي . فريطان .

Fig. 2: The beginning of the *Sword* in MS 1973, p. 162.

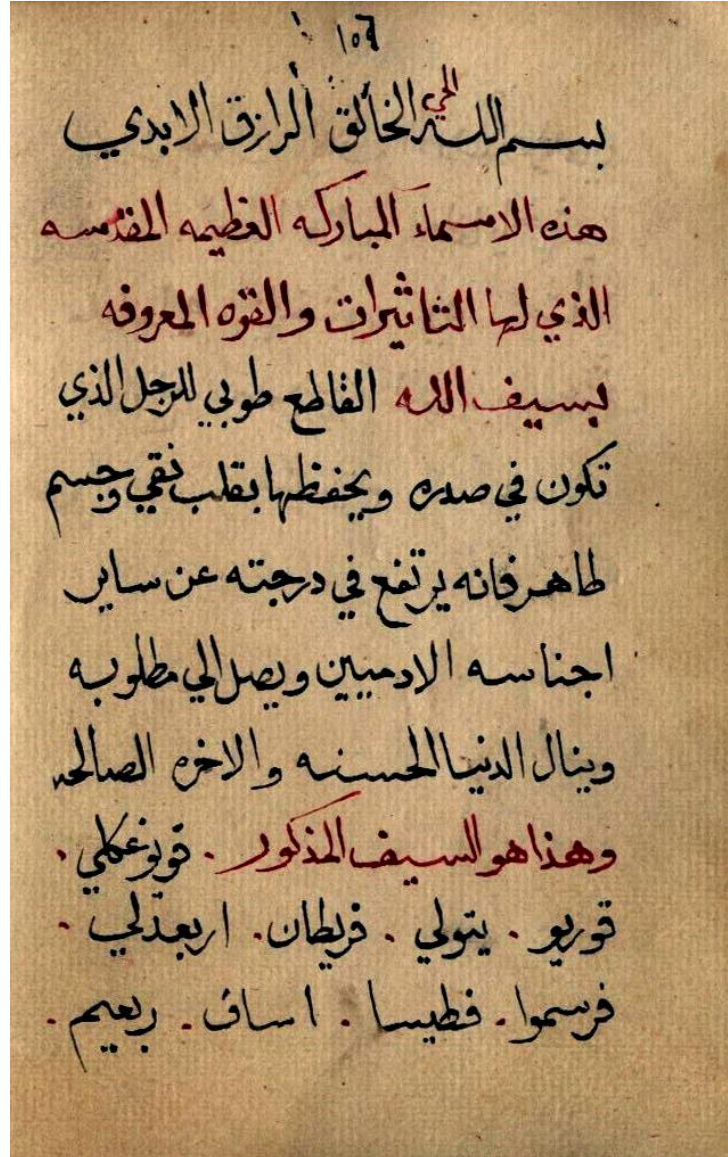


Fig. 3: The beginning of the *Sword* in MS 2014, p. 154 (the handwritten pagination is erroneous).

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCESCA MARIA CORRAO is full Professor of Arabic Language and Culture at the LUISS University in Rome. Her fields of research are in Arabic and Islamic history and literature; Intercultural and Interreligious studies. Her books include *Poeti Arabi di Sicilia*, (Siculo-Arab poets) 2005; *Les Histoires de Giufà*, Lyon, *La fosse aux ours*, 2005; *Il riso il comico e la festa al Cairo nel XIII secolo - Il teatro delle ombre di Ibn Daniyal*, (a critical study on Ibn Daniyal's shadow plays, 13th cent.), Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino 2006; *Islam Religion and Politics*, Luiss University Press, forthcoming.

E-mail address: fcorrao@luiss.it

KINGA DÉVÉNYI is Reader in Arabic and Islamic studies at Corvinus University of Budapest and Curator of the Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. She has published widely on various aspects of Arabic linguistics and Islamic civilisation.

E-mail address: kinga.devenyi@uni-corvinus.hu

IDA FRÖHLICH, Ph.D. (1984) in History, Oriental Institute of the Academy of the USSR, St. Petersburg (Leningrad); DSc (2002) Hungarian Academy of Sciences, is Professor of Hebrew, and Ancient Near Eastern History at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University Budapest. Her research field is Judaism in the Second Temple period, with a focus on the Qumran community, its tradition and religion.

Books: 'Time and Times and Half a Time ...'. Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras. *JSOT Supplement Series 19*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1996, 248 p.; *A qumráni szövegek magyarul [The Texts of Qumran in Hungarian translation, with Introduction and Notes]* Studia Orientalia 1, Second, enlarged edition: Piliscsaba:- Budapest: PPKE - Szent István Társulat 2000, 590 p.

E-mail address: frohlich.ida@btk.ppke.hu

ANTONELLA GHERSETTI is Associate Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at Ca' Foscari University, Venice. She has got a PhD in Semitic Studies (University of Florence). Her interests and fields of research are Medieval Arabic prose (*adab* literature), travel in Arabic literature, the Arabic linguistics tradition, and physiognomics in the Arab world. She is member of the editorial committee of *Quaderni di Studi Arabi n.s.*; *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies» al-Masaq* and of the International Advisory Board of Library of Arabic Literature (LAL). She is member of the School of Abbasid Studies and co-director of the School of Mamlūk Studies.

E-mail address: antghers@unive.it

د. أحمد حسن أنور حسن: دكتوراه في الفلسفة الإسلامية والتصوف، له عدة كتب وبحوث في التصوف، منها: التجليات الروحية في الإسلام، الأبعاد الصوفية عند عبد الملك الخركوشي، مفهوم المحبة في التصوف من اللغة إلى التجربة، نشأة وتطور المقامات والأحوال الصوفية حتى نهاية القرن الخامس الهجري..
يعمل حالياً: مدرس الفلسفة الإسلامية بكلية الآداب بالوادي الجديد جامعة أسيوط، مدير تحرير سلسلة الفلسفة الصادرة عن الهيئة العامة لقصور الثقافة بوزارة الثقافة المصرية- مدير تحرير مجلة وادي النيل الصادرة عن كلية الآداب جامعة القاهرة (فرع الخرطوم)، كما قام بالتدريس بجامعة القاهرة وجامعة المنوفية بمصر، وجامعة كومنيوس بسلوفاكيا.
 للتواصل مع الباحث إلكترونياً: ahmed5658103@yahoo.com

TAMÁS IVÁNYI has been teaching various subjects as a Reader at the Department of Semitic Philology and Arabic of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, in the fields of Arabic linguistics, literature, Islamic sciences and Islamic mysticism since 1974. His research fields comprise Arabic language and linguistics as well as Islamic mysticism and rituals.
 E-mail address: budarab.ludens@gmail.com

ALAN JONES taught at Oxford University from 1957 to 2000, being successively University Lecturer in Arabic, Turkish and Islamic Studies, Reader in Classical Arabic, and finally Professor of Classical Arabic. His research has mainly been in Arabic language, pre-Islamic Arabian Poetry, the Qur'an, and Andalusian Arabic literature. His translation of the Qur'an was published in 2007. Since 1967 he has also worked on the application of computers to texts in Arabic-based scripts.

ISTVÁN ORMOS is professor of Arabic at the Department of Semitic Philology and Arabic of Eötvös Loránd University, where he has been teaching since his MA (1978) and where he also received his PhD (1995). His main fields of interest include the history of Greek and Arab medicine, the history of Arabic and Semitic studies, and the Arabic sources on the early history of the Hungarians. In recent years he devoted several publications to Max Herz Pasha and the conservation of Arab-Islamic monuments of architecture in Egypt.
 E-mail address: kisgalambfalva@yahoo.com

ANNE REGOURD received her PhD from University of Paris IV – Sorbonne. As an Arabist and a Papyrologist, she studied various collections. She worked extensively on Yemeni manuscripts, especially on Divination and Magic, and for ten years conducted field work in Yemen. She is currently Senior Researcher at the University of Copenhagen, ERC project "Islam in the Horn of Africa", where she reviews the manuscripts in circulation in Ethiopia and provides tools for dating codices and localizing their production.

For more details, see her publication list at <http://www.anne.regourd.org/publications>.
E-mail address: jws744@hum.ku.dk

GABRIEL M. ROSENBAUM received his PhD from Tel Aviv University and is professor of Arabic at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was the head of the Department of Arabic Language and Literature, and in the years 2006–2010 he was the director of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo and lived there. Since 2011 he holds this position as a non-resident. The subjects of Prof. Rosenbaum's research are the literature, drama, language and popular culture of modern Egypt, as well as modern spoken Egyptian Judeo-Arabic, on which he has published extensively. He also writes fiction literature, and has published translations into Hebrew of two modern Egyptian plays.

E-mail address: gabihome@gmail.com; gabrielr@mail.huji.ac.il

AVIHAI SHIVTIEL educated and taught at the universities of Jerusalem and Cambridge, and founded the Department of Arabic Studies at the University of Leeds, UK. His research concentrates on Hebrew and Arabic philology and the Cairo Genizah studies.

E-mail address: avi@shivtiel.com

DÓRA ZSOM majored in Arabic, Hebrew and Spanish at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and in Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She earned her PhD in Jewish Studies (2012). She participated in the research of the Friedberg Genizah Project on the Cairo Genizah. Currently she is an Adjunct Professor of Semitic Philology and Arabic at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. Her field of interest covers Jewish-Muslim cultural interactions, popular beliefs.

E-mail address: zsomdora@gmail.com

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-Farrā's Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān: Index of Qur'ānic 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. Shivtiel
- 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, 19th–25th September 1993. Part I*, ed. by A. Fodor, A. Shivtiel
- 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. Shivtiel
- 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 (L E M): Budapest, 18–22 September 1995*
Part I, *Linguistics and literature*, ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi
Part II, *Popular religion, popular culture and history*, ed. by A. Fodor, A. Shivtiel
- 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, T. Iványi, 1998

- 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, 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, 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, A. Fodor
- 31 (2012)** *Papers Presented to Alexander Fodor on His Seventieth Birthday*, by his disciples, ed. by K. Dévényi
- 32 (2013)** [Non-thematic volume]
- 33–35 (2014)** *Collected Papers of K. Czeglédy*, coll. and ed. by K. Dévényi
- 36 (2015)** [Non-thematic volume]
- 37 (2016)** *Studies in Memory of Alexander Fodor*, ed. by K. Dévényi