

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 39

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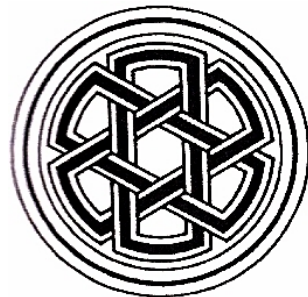
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LA RESSEMBLANCE (*MUḌĀRAʿA*), DE ZAMAḤŠARĪ À BAR HEBRAEUS¹

Georges Bohas

ICAR, Lyon

Dans son livre intitulé *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, Merx (1889:231) a observé à juste titre que Bar Hebraeus² avait inséré dans un cadre arabe l'héritage grammatical syriaque fondé sur la grammaire de Denys le Thrace, et il a bien identifié le grammairien arabe dont BH s'est inspiré, à savoir, az-Zamaḥšarī : « L'Arabe dont il a suivi les traces est Ġār Allāh Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn ʿUmar az-Zamaḥšarī, lui qui a composé son livre *al-Mufaṣṣal* en 513–514 de l'Hégire, c'est-à-dire en 1119–1120 après J.-C. ». Dans Bohas (à paraître,a) j'ai montré comment BH avait emprunté à Zamaḥšarī le concept de transitivité et comment il en avait donné un traitement qui dépassait largement sa source. J'entends, dans cet article étudier comment BH a coulé dans son texte la notion de *muḏāraʿa*, elle aussi empruntée aux grammairiens arabes. Dans ma transcription des exemples syriaques, je ne noterai pas la spirantisation des *bgdkpt* qui n'est pas pertinente ici. La traduction du texte de BH est en italiques et mes commentaires sont en romaines.

Section I, de la définition du verbe et de ses spécificités

Le verbe est un mot³ de sens simple qui, par la conjugaison (m. à m. variation des formes flexionnelles), acquiert la signification d'une activité déterminée temporellement, comme « il a fait », « il fait » et « il fera ». « La signification déterminée temporellement » le distingue facilement du nom et de la particule et « une activité déterminée temporellement » le distingue des noms de temps comme « hier » et « avant-hier » qui indiquent des temps mais pas des activités déterminées temporellement. Et « par la conjugaison » le distingue des noms d'activités déterminées dans le temps, comme « petit déjeuner », « déjeuner », « dîner » qui indiquent une action déterminée dans le temps sans variation flexionnelle. Donc

¹ Je remercie Jean-Patrick Guillaume d'avoir relu mon texte ; je remercie Edgard Weber de m'avoir donné accès à la traduction en allemand du texte de Bar Hebraeus (Moberg, 1907–1913).

² Désormais BH.

³ L'expression que BH emploie pour désigner le mot est : *bart qālā mliltā*. Voir Bohas (à paraître,b).

« 'arīy⁴, il a déjeuné » est un verbe, mais « 'rōytō, le déjeuner » n'en est pas un, et il en va de même pour les autres. Saint Ephrem a dit : Pendant qu'il était en train de prendre son petit déjeuner, il se mit à déjeuner, et pendant qu'il déjeunait, il commença à dîner.

Cette phrase d'Ephrem inclut en effet les trois verbes : *ma're' hwō'* : il prenait son petit déjeuner ; *'eštarīy* : il déjeuna et *'ahšem* : il dîna. Les noms correspondant étant *'rōytō* : petit déjeuner ; *šōrūtō* : déjeuner, repas ; *hšōmītō* : dîner, souper, repas principal.

Cette longue définition ne figure pas chez az-Zamaḥṣarī, lequel définit simplement le verbe comme « ce qui indique la liaison d'un procès avec un temps » (p. 243) ; il énumère ensuite les caractéristiques (*ḥaṣā'iš*) du verbe, et c'est à ce niveau que va se manifester son influence sur BH. Ces caractéristiques sont :

- 1) possibilité d'être précédé de « *qad* » : *qad fa'ala* ; *qad yaf'alu* ;
- 2) possibilité d'être précédé par les deux lettres du futur (*sa* et *sawfa*) : *sa yaf'alu* ; *sawfa yaf'alu* ;
- 3) possibilité d'être précédé par les particules d'apocope : *lam yaf'al* ;
- 4) possibilité de se voir accoler les pronoms adjoints apparents *fa'altu*, *yaf'alna*, *if'alī* ;
- 5) et le *t* quiescent du féminin, comme dans : *fa'alat*.

Dans sa première élucidation, BH procède, à l'instar de Zamaḥṣarī, à l'énumération des propriétés distinctives du verbe. Son terme *dīlōyōtō myaqnōnyōtō* « propriétés caractéristiques » correspond exactement au terme *ḥaṣā'iš* « caractéristiques » de Zamaḥṣarī.

Elucidation

Parmi les propriétés caractéristiques du verbe, on trouve :

1. *Le fait qu'il peut être précédé par mō et 'ematy, comme dans Jean (16, 4) : « quand (mō) viendra leur temps, vous vous en souviendrez » et dans « quand ('ematy) tu mettras les moutons à ta droite et les boucs à ta gauche ». Il s'agit bien d'une particule temporelle analogue à l'arabe qad qui est la première caractéristique citée par Zamaḥṣarī.*

2. *Le fait qu'on peut lui suffixer le t de la première personne et de la deuxième personne du singulier ainsi que le n du pluriel comme dans : 'ebdet, 'badt et 'badn. Analogue à 4) de Zamaḥṣarī.*

3. *Le fait qu'on peut lui suffixer le t de la troisième personne du féminin singulier et le y du pluriel, comme dans 'ebdat et 'bady avec les signes du pluriel et occultation du y. Analogue à 5) de Zamaḥṣarī*

4. *le fait qu'on peut lui préfixer les lettres de ressemblance qui sont incluses dans le mot 'amnat, comme 'e'bed, ma'bed, ne'bed, te'bed.*

⁴ Sur cette transcription voir l'appendice.

Le mot *'amnat* est un moyen mnémotechnique pour désigner les quatre préfixes *'*, *m*, *n*, *t*. Les caractéristiques 2 et 3) de *Zamaḥšarī* n'existent pas en syriaque. *Zamaḥšarī*, lui, énumère les lettres de ressemblance en tête de la définition du verbe ressemblant : *'*, *n*, *t*, *y* (p. 244) qu'on appelle « les quatre augmentés » (*az-zawā'id al-arba'*). Poursuivons la traduction.

Section II

De la formation des verbes par les lettres

Les lettres qui s'ajoutent aux verbes et par lesquelles les verbes sont formés sont ou bien des préfixes comme ces quatre d' 'amnat que nous avons énumérées, ou des infixes et il y en a trois : d, ṭ et t. d et ṭ gardent toujours la troisième place, comme dans 'ezdahar « faire attention » et 'eṣṭarīy « être déchiré ». Quant à t, il occupe parfois la deuxième place comme dans 'etgmar « être achevé » et 'etglīy « être découvert » et parfois la troisième comme dans 'esta'ar « être fait » et 'eṣṭrīy « être résolu ».

Elucidation

La première personne du pluriel masculin et féminin et la troisième personne du singulier masculin ont en commun le n de 'amnat, comme dans ne'bed ḥnan « nous faisons », ne'bed haw « il fait » ; et la deuxième personne du singulier masculin et féminin et la troisième du singulier féminin ont en commun le t, comme dans te'bed 'ant « tu fais masc. » et te'bdīyn anty « tu fais féminin » et te'bedy hīy « elle fait », avec un y chez les orientaux toutes les fois.

IH revient maintenant à la *Technè* en abordant la question des accidents du verbe. On peut comparer son traitement à celui donné par Bar Zo'bī (désormais BZ) dans Bohas (2003).

Troisième section

Des accidents du verbe

Les accidents du verbe sont au nombre de sept. Le premier est le genre, masculin et féminin comme : yōteb, yōtbō' « il/elle est assis/assise ». Le deuxième est le nombre, singulier et pluriel, comme : šōma', šōmīn « il entend/ils entendent ». Le troisième est le temps comme : qōm « il s'est levé », qō'em « il se lève », nqūm « il se lèvera ». Le quatrième est la personne comme : 'elet « je suis entré », 'alt « tu es entré » 'al « il est entré ». Le cinquième est la diathèse, active/passive, comme mamlek avec un e sur le l « régner sur un autre » et mamlak avec un a sur le l « être fait roi par un autre », comme dans : Mat, 2, 22 « quand il apprit qu'Archélaos avait été fait roi en judée » et ce par César. Le sixième est la figure, simple, composée ou surcomposée comme ḥzō' « il a vu », 'ethzīy « il a paru », 'etzawzīy « il s'est donné de grands airs ». Le septième est le mode qui consiste dans les cinq sortes de phrases que le

*Saint*⁵ (évêque) a appelé *znayyō'* et que d'autres ont appelé *qrōyōtō*, ainsi : l'impératif, le précatif, l'interrogatif, le vocatif et l'énonciatif.

La liste que donne BH n'est pas différente de celle de BZ :

BZ	BH	<i>Technè</i>	<i>Technè</i> française
<i>gensē'</i>	<i>gense'</i>	////////////////	////////////////
<i>menyānē'</i>	<i>menyōne'</i>	αριθμοί ⁶	nombre
<i>zabnē'</i>	<i>zabne'</i>	χρόνοι	temps
<i>parsōpē'</i>	<i>farsōfe'</i>	πρόσωπα	personne
<i>'aynāywātā'</i>	<i>'aynōyūt</i>	διαθέσεις	diathèse
<i>'eskēmē'</i>	<i>'eskīme'</i>	σχήματα	figure
<i>qrāyātā'</i>	<i>qrōyōtō'</i>	εγκλίσεις	mode

BZ a donc ajouté aux accidents de la *Technè* le genre et omis deux accidents de la *Technè* :

<i>Technè</i>	<i>Technè</i> française
είδη	espèce
συζυγίαι	conjugaison

et BH a fait de même.

Concernant les modes, donnons tout de suite la liste de la *Technè* : *Il y a cinq modes : indicatif, impératif, optatif, subjonctif, infinitif* (Lallot 1989:55). Il est clair que les deux textes diffèrent profondément. En fait, la grande différence est qu'en grec, ces cinq modes sont morphologiquement marqués, ce qui n'est pas le cas en syriaque. Pour *takšeftō'*, j'utilise « précatif », qui a l'avantage d'exister dans la terminologie linguistique, au sens de : qui est accompagné d'une prière ; le terme syriaque serait littéralement le « supplicatif ». Pour *fōsūqō'*, je reviendrai longuement sur la traduction « énonciatif » plutôt qu'« indicatif ». BH cite seulement cette liste et ne lui accorde pas plus d'importance, tandis que BZ développe chaque cas et, pour développer la conception de la tradition syriaque, je vais le reprendre ici (pour le texte syriaque, voir Bohas, 2003) :

⁵ Ce titre désigne un évêque. Il s'agit de Jacques d'Edesse dont BH parle dans sa préface : « Chez nous, syriens, Saint Jacques d'Edesse fut le premier à poser les bases de la grammaire. D'autres, inspirés par lui, ont composé des livres. »

⁶ Ne disposant pas d'un traitement de texte incluant les esprits, je ne les note pas. Les hellénistes les restitueront facilement.

L'impératif

L'impératif, comme : passe la nuit ici ! construis ! ...

Le verbe⁷ impératif indique le présent et le futur. Celui qui ordonne formule un ordre dans le présent et il s'accomplit dans le futur, comme lorsque Yônâtân⁸ dit au jeune homme : va ramasser les flèches que je tire ! Ensuite, il est parti chercher les flèches et [les] a ramenées.

L'impératif a bien une forme dans la conjugaison syriaque, ce qui n'est pas le cas des « modes » suivants. Et c'est sans doute pour cela que BH parle de « sortes de phrases ».

Le précatif

Le verbe précatif, lui aussi, indique le présent et le futur, comme lorsqu'un homme dit en suppliant : je te demande, donne-moi quelque chose. « Je te demande » indique le présent, « donne-moi » désigne le futur.

L'interrogatif

Le verbe interrogatif indique les trois temps : passé, présent et futur. Passé, comme quelqu'un qui dit : où as-tu passé la nuit hier ? Présent, comme quelqu'un qui dit : où passes-tu la nuit maintenant ? Futur, comme quelqu'un qui dit : où passeras-tu la nuit demain ?

Le vocatif

Le verbe vocatif, lui aussi, indique deux temps. On appelle dans le présent, mais on obtient la réponse dans le futur, comme quelqu'un qui dit : Hé, un tel, viens ici!

Il s'agit donc, à nouveau, d'un impératif, simplement précédé de l'invocation : Hé, un tel !

L'énonciatif *fōsūqō*

Le verbe énonciatif, lui aussi, indique les trois temps. Passé, comme quelqu'un qui dit : j'ai lu hier dans l'Ancien Testament. Présent, comme quelqu'un qui dit : je lis maintenant dans le Nouveau Testament. Futur, comme quelqu'un qui dit : je lirai demain dans les commentaires des deux.

⁷ BZ emploie ici le terme *mēmṛā* pour désigner le verbe, comme l'avait fait Joseph d'Ahwaz dans la traduction de la *Technê*.

⁸ Allusion au premier livre de Samuel, 20, 21.

En ce qui concerne plus précisément ce *fōsūqō*, le terme original grec οριστική inclut le sens de « limiter, définir ». C'est bien ainsi que l'avait compris Joseph d'Ahwaz (mort en 580) le traducteur de la *Technè*, qui l'avait rendu par par : *محدود*: c'est-à-dire : « limité, borné ». Que vient donc faire ici *fōsūqō* ? Etymologiquement, le verbe *fsaq* signifie « couper, trancher » et de là, comme dans d'autres langues sémitiques et en français, on passe à l'idée de juger (trancher un différend), promulguer une sentence, énoncer un jugement. Observons que, dans la ponctuation syriaque, le *fōsūqō* est le point le plus important. Segal (1953:133) dit à son sujet : « This is the more important of all the accents. In one of the treatises of the period of Thomas the Deacon it receives the following brief description : *Pāsôqâ*, concerning which philosophers have been careful, especially Aristotles, who said that it announces a truth or falsehood— this is the (accent) which brings to an end (lit. breaks off) a statement and states that it cannot be rejected by any man like 'God is good'. » Cette définition du point *fōsūqō* met sur la voie de l'interprétation de *fōsūqō* comme mode de l'énoncé complet qui semble bien être celle de BZ. BH (1226–1286), (p. 90), reprend, avec une permutation, la liste de BZ pour les modes et termine comme lui par *fōsūqō*, soit : *Impératif, précatif, interrogatif, exclamatif, fōsūqō*.

Et il ajoute plus loin (p. 91) : toute phrase (*mêmrâ*), qu'elle soit vraie ou fausse, est un *fōsūqō* [énoncé complet] comme : *au commencement était le Verbe*. Il semble donc que ce monde-là soit bien conçu comme celui de l'énoncé complet, d'où la traduction : énonciatif. Du reste, quand BH opposera l'indicatif à l'impératif, (p. 109), il emploiera le terme « *tūnōyō*' » pour désigner ce mode.

BH se contente d'une présentation synthétique pour revenir à la notion de ressemblance dans l'élucidation suivante.

Elucidation

Les verbes qui n'ont pas de préfixe 'amnat, comme qō'em « il se lève » et ceux qui ont ces préfixes comme nqūm « il se lèvera » conviennent aux deux temps : présent et futur et c'est pourquoi les lettres 'amnat ont été appelées « lettres de ressemblance » et leurs verbes « verbes de ressemblance ».

Qō'em pour le présent, comme : « il est venu vers moi où je me tiens » ; et pour le futur comme dans : (Jean, 11, 24) « je sais que je me lèverai lors de la résurrection. »

Nqūm pour le présent, comme : « il se lève maintenant avec nous et il nous montre » ; et pour le futur comme : (Marc, 13, 8 et Luc, 21, 10) « Il se dressera peuple contre peuple, royaume contre royaume. »

Toutefois, qō'em convient mieux pour le présent et nqūm pour le futur.

La ressemblance se limite donc au fait que les deux verbes conviennent aux deux temps et se ressemblent donc en cela. Tout autre est la conception que se fait

Zamaḥšarī de la *muḏāra'a* « ressemblance » du verbe à préfixe ' , n, t, y. Pour lui, la ressemblance permet de justifier la flexion casuelle du verbe « ressemblant ». Traduisons son texte, p. 244.

Le verbe ressemblant est celui sur la première position duquel se succèdent le ' , le n, le t et le y. Comme quand tu dis pour l'allocutaire⁹ et l'absente¹⁰ : taf'alu et pour l'absent¹¹ yaf'alu et pour le locuteur¹² 'af'alu et pour le locuteur associé à un autre ou à un groupe¹³ naf'alu. On appelle ' , n, t, y « les quatre augments ». S'associent dans ce verbe le présent et le futur, et quand tu dis 'inna zaydan la-yaf'alu « certes Zayd fait », le l le spécifie pour le présent, comme sīn et sawfa le spécifient pour le futur. Du fait que ces lettres s'adjoignent à lui, il ressemble au nom et il est en conséquence soumis à la flexion casuelle : nominatif (u), accusatif (a) et apocopée à la place de l'oblique [dans le nom].

Cette ressemblance au nom comme motif de la flexion casuelle du verbe est bien explicitée par Ibn Yaṣī qui commente le livre de Zamaḥšarī (t. 7, p. 6) :

Si nous disons Zaydun yaqūmu « Zayd se lève/ra » cela convient aux deux temps : présent et futur, le verbe est donc ambigu. C'est comme quand tu dis : ra'aytu raḡulan, « j'ai vu un homme », un homme désigne un être de ce genre de manière ambiguë. Ensuite, tu adjoins au verbe ce qui le spécifie pour l'un des deux temps et le limite à lui, comme quand tu dis Zaydun sa-yaqūmu ou sawfa yaqūmu « Zayd se lèvera », il devient alors exclusivement futur, du fait de l'adjonction du s ou de sawfa. Comme quand tu dis : ra'aytu r-raḡula « j'ai vu l'homme » en adjoignant à un nom ambigu l'article qui le limite à un être bien spécifié. Le verbe et le nom se ressemblent donc du fait que la particule qui leur est adjointe les spécifie alors qu'ils étaient antérieurement ambigus.

Conclusion

Il apparaît bien que Zamaḥšarī entend par *muḏāra'a* une ressemblance entre le verbe et le nom, et non pas simplement une ambiguïté dans l'expression du temps et pour lui, c'est cette ressemblance qui justifie la flexion casuelle du verbe. BH n'a évidemment pas ce problème à résoudre, du fait que le syriaque ne manifeste de flexion casuelle ni dans le verbe ni dans le nom, si bien qu'il s'en tient à l'ambiguïté présent/futur. Mais il poursuit sa réflexion, allant sur ce point au-delà de celle de

⁹ Deuxième personne.

¹⁰ Troisième personne féminin singulier.

¹¹ Troisième personne masculin singulier.

¹² Première personne.

¹³ Première personne du pluriel.

Zamaḥṣārī, en envisageant des cas d’ambiguïté temporelle plus complexes dans les élucidations suivantes¹⁴ :

Il est des cas où un verbe au présent a la signification du passé, comme dans l’évangile Héracléen¹⁵ grec (Matthieu 25, 14) : « Comme un homme qui part ḥōzeq (présent) appela ses serviteurs. » La Pšīṭō’ syriaque dit : Comme un homme qui partit ḥzaq (passé).

Elucidation

A partir d’un verbe au passé, il n’est pas incorrect d’exprimer un temps futur. Isaïe 59,5 : « Celui qui « l’écrasa » trouve une vipère », c’est-à-dire, « l’écrasera ». Luc 9, 13 « Mais si nous étions allés et avions acheté de la nourriture pour tout le peuple », c’est-à-dire, « Si nous irons et achèterons ». Jean 15,26 « Dès que est venu le Paraclet que je vous envoie », c’est-à-dire « dès que viendra ». Il en va de même dans un contexte impératif (Rois I, 2, 26, selon les grecs) : « Et au prêtre Abitar le roi dit : “allant toi dans ton champ” » c’est-à-dire : « vas ! ».

Comme je l’ai déjà montré dans Bohas (2008 et à paraître,a) BH n’emprunte pas servilement à Zamaḥṣārī, mais il remodèle les concepts, ajoute et développe, en fonction de la langue syriaque qu’il décrit, puisant aux deux traditions : syro-grecque et arabe.

Appendice

Je termine en citant le paragraphe que BH consacre à la figure, « simple, composée et surcomposée », car il apporte de précieuses confirmations à mes analyses présentes et antérieures, par exemple Bohas (2008 et à paraître,a et b).

En ce qui concerne la simplicité des verbes, elle est relative et non absolue. Tout verbe, même simple, n’échappe pas à la composition, et en ce qui concerne le temps passé, en ce qui concerne les lettres, il commence par deux comme qōm « il s’est levé » et finit par sept comme ’eštragraḡ « désirer, s’imaginer ». Selon les syllabes il part de un et se termine à trois au maximum.

¹⁴ BZ développe beaucoup plus que BH la question du temps, mais sans introduire la notion de ressemblance, vu qu’il est, Selon Merx (1889, p. 158) *a grammaticorum arabizantium studio alienissimus*.

¹⁵ « Vers 508, Philoxène, évêque de Hiéropolis (Syrie orientale) traduit le Nouveau Testament entier en syriaque. En 616, Thomas d’Héraclée révisa cette version à l’aide de quelques manuscrits grecs d’Alexandrie. La version héracléenne est extrêmement littérale. » <https://www.levangile.com/Dictionnaire-Biblique/Definition-NDB-3987-Versions-de-la-Bible.htm>

Au pluriel du présent comme dans le verbe meštragrġyn (participe actif pluriel : désirants) ses lettres peuvent monter jusqu'à neuf, ses syllabes se limitant à trois. Et avec les cas, comme dans le verbe w-ba-d-la-d-meštragrġyn¹⁶ les lettres s'étendent jusqu'à quatorze et les syllabes parviennent jusqu'à cinq.

Le fait que *qōm* s'écrit *qm* avec un *ō* suscrit confirme que BH prend en compte dans ses analyses les lettres et non les sons. Dans *meštragrġyn*, pour arriver à neuf il faut bien prendre en compte le *y* qui est donc bien considéré comme une lettre. C'est donc que notre transcription de la voyelle longue *ī* par *īy* est bien conforme à la pensée de BH.

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¹⁶ BH fait précéder le verbe *meštragrġyn* (participe actif pluriel : désirants) de toutes les particules préverbaux possibles w= et ; b= par, avec ; d = relatif , qui ; l = pour.

- Tirhanensis et duorum anonymorum de accentibus tractatus* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 9, 2) Leipzig: In Commission von F.A. Brockhaus.
- Moberg, A., 1907–1913, *Buch der Strahlen: die grössere Grammatik des Barhebräus / Übersetzung nach einem kritisch berichtigten Texte, mit textkritischem Apparat und einem Anhang Zur Terminologie*. Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz .
- Segal, J. B., 1953, *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
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FROM ALGIERS TO BUDAPEST THE LETTERS OF MOHAMED BEN CHENEB TO IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER

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In the following paper the letters of Mohamed Ben Cheneb will be analysed as part of the vast correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher held in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. For the correct assessment of these letters and their place in the correspondence, the history of the collection and its composition will also be touched upon.

1 Goldziher and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) died nearly a century ago, nevertheless he has remained among the most influential European thinkers on Islam until our days. His influence is best reflected by the continuous (re)publication and translation of his books and articles into different languages as well as by the incessant references to his scholarly oeuvre.¹

In addition to his works, even his personality, his place within the Hungarian Jewish intellectual life of the period, and his Hungarian patriotism have attracted the attention of scholars.² This ingenious scholar had been attached to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since his youth, which is well exemplified by the fact that he was elected a corresponding member of this learned society at the age of 26,³ while

¹ In addition to the major European languages, many of his works have been translated into Arabic and Hebrew alike. Among these translations, however, we can also find versions in Turkish, Persian, Urdu, or Indonesian, amongst others. Cf. https://www.worldcat.org/search?qt=worldcat_org_bks&q=Goldziher%2C+Ign%C3%A1c&fq=dt%3Abks [last accessed 6 October 2018].

² In addition to the publication of his two diaries (Goldziher, *Tagebuch*; Goldziher, *Oriental Diary*), without listing all the relevant literature, the following major books should be mentioned: Shayovits 1977–78; Simon 1985; Haber 2006; Beránek 2010; Trautmann-Waller 2011; Turán and Wilke 2017.

³ *Akadémiai Értesítő* [Bulletin of the Academy] (1876:137) stating that Goldziher – who had already proven by several articles his profound knowledge in the field of Semitic languages and literature together with his talent for independent investigation – was elected corresponding member of the Academy.

an ordinary member at the age of 42.⁴ In 1911 he became the member of the governing body of the Academy, and as the president of Section I,⁵ that of Linguistics and Literary Scholarship, he remained a prominent figure of Hungarian intellectual life until his death ten years later. His fame, however, far surpassed the borders of his native country as is well shown – amongst others – by the different titles conferred on him, like, for example, his honorary membership in the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,⁶ in addition to the great number of endeavours to try to convince him to accept a professorship outside his native country.⁷ Already during his lifetime, his fame reached far beyond the borders of Europe, to the East and West alike, as is well exemplified by his correspondence which is an unrivalled source not only for Hungarian and European but also for global intellectual history in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

2 The Goldziher correspondence at the Academy

2.1 Donation and first steps

It is a well-known fact that in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the communication of scholars most often took the shape of active correspondence as is evidenced by

⁴ *Akadémiai Értesítő* [Bulletin of the Academy] 1892:283, 347. See also *ibid.* 681 where his inaugural lecture entitled “The tradition of pagan Arab poetry” is mentioned.

⁵ He held that position between 9 May 1905 and 23 October 1919 when he resigned on account of the anti-Semitic campaign against him. On his election, see the entry in his diary (Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 243), where he emphasises with pride the ratio in his favour (27:3). Cf. also *Akadémiai Értesítő* [Bulletin of the Academy] 1905:249. On the reasons leading to his resignation, see *Akadémiai Értesítő* [Bulletin of the Academy] 1919:274–275, Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 313, and the letters of Lajos Lóczy (1849–1920), a famous Hungarian geologist and a former friend of Goldziher, dated 19 August, 4 and 19 December 1919 in the Goldziher correspondence in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (GIL/26/02/10, GIL/26/02/13 and GIL/26/02/12). It should be noted that Lóczy – while maintaining his opinion on Jews in general – repeatedly expressed his incomprehension and regret that his “highly esteemed friend” misunderstood his speech.

⁶ The titles conferred on Goldziher are listed in full in his obituary notice by the University of Budapest. It is quoted by Heller 1927:263.

⁷ Probably the most prestigious from among these invitations was the Cambridge professorship after the death of Robertson Smith in 1895. Goldziher, however, declined all these propositions, in order to remain faithful to his triple pledge made on the basis of Proverbs 27:10, in order not to be unfaithful to the religion of his fathers, his family name, and his Hungarian homeland, cf. Ballagi 1921. As for his equally unsuccessful invitation to Cairo, see Ormos 2001. Cf. also Goldziher’s saying “Scholarship has no country, but the scholar does have his country” quoted by Somogyi (1961:15–16).

Goldziher's correspondence as well,⁸ where mostly private and sometimes official letters by more than 1600 individuals are kept. Other scholarly correspondences can, of course, be found in several collections, the uniqueness of Goldziher's correspondence, however, lies in its size, contents, the diversity of the topics discussed and the identity of the persons who corresponded with him.

One of his preeminent students, Joseph de Somogyi (1899–1976), who after his emigration to the United States was teaching at Harvard and Brandeis, remembered the importance of correspondence for Ignaz Goldziher in his article entitled “My reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher” quoting the words of his master, saying: “Two things I enjoin on you if you want to prosper in life. ... Answer every letter or card you receive, even if your answer be negative; and take part in the Orientalists' congresses with lectures. This is as important as literary work. And do not be discouraged by eventual adverse critics; they help you as much as your friends do.” (Somogyi 1961:9).

The correspondence, containing some 13,500 letters, together with other literary remains of the great scholar was donated to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1926. But already before that year, his library had been acquired by the newly founded Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Goldziher Library which formed the nucleus of what is today the Islam and Middle Eastern Collection of the National Library of Israel opened in September 1924 to the public with a festive celebration in Jerusalem.⁹

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences lacked the necessary funds to obtain a library of that scale. In addition, the transfer, storage and cataloguing of this large bequest would also have entailed considerable costs. Accordingly, even valuable donations were only accepted after special investigations into the nature of the bequest, the possible costs of transfer, cataloguing, etc. as is exemplified by the fate of the library of Iranist Alexander von Kégl (1862–1920) which not only contained scholarly books on several languages, but included dozens of (mainly) Persian manuscripts. The offer was made by his younger brother in September 1924, but the donation was accepted only after having received the report of the eminent Turkologist Gyula Németh (1890–1976) emphasizing the inestimable scholarly value of the collection, and its complementary nature to that of the Oriental Collection of the Academy, and after having made the necessary steps to achieve exemption from the usual estate duties.¹⁰

Although to the great loss of the Hungarian scholarly community and to the gain of universal scholarship, the Goldziher Library ended up in Jerusalem, his correspondence and manuscripts became incorporated into the collections of the

⁸ Cf. e.g. Dévényi 2005.

⁹ Cf. *Petiĥat ŧifriyat Goldziher*. On the original intention of Goldziher concerning his library, its brief description and the circumstances of its purchase, see Somogyi 1961:11–12.

¹⁰ Cf. Reviczky–Balogh *Correspondence* and Németh, *Report*.

Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The Goldziher room, however, was opened only on the 18th of October 1933, seven years after the donation of the documents.

The documents – containing Goldziher’s correspondence together with his hand written notes, preliminary studies to his publications and the manuscripts of some unpublished and published works – were donated in the beginning of 1926 to the Academy by Goldziher’s son, mathematician Károly Goldziher (1881–1955) following the death of his mother, Laura Mittler, at the end of 1925, whose will it was that these documents find a permanent home there. The documents were indeed transported to the Academy in a huge, sealed crate from Ignaz Goldziher’s home in Holló Street, in the central 7th district of Budapest, on the 18th of January 1926. In his letter to Jenő Balogh, Secretary General of the Academy, Károly also offered his services to arrange and catalogue the yet unsorted material.¹¹

The Academy repeatedly thanked Károly for the valuable donation, emphasising that “the scholarly correspondence is a highly important source for the development of our intellectual life and the advances made in the field of Oriental studies” – as it can be read in a letter of the Secretary General to Károly dated 12 January 1926.¹²

2.2 The Goldziher Room

Despite all this sincerely grateful attitude, nearly six years have passed in complete silence, until Sir Aurel Stein’s intervention. Goldziher was a paternal friend of Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943), the Hungarian British Orientalist, archaeologist and explorer of the Silk Road, an external member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the recommendation of Goldziher and Ármin Vámbéry.¹³ Now this friend acted in the interest of the scholarly legacy of Goldziher suggesting to the Academy that they make accessible the correspondence for scholars from all the four corners of the world.¹⁴ On the basis of this initiative, Károly Goldziher started to work on the catalogue of his father’s correspondence in the beginning of 1931. In 1932, also on the initiative of Stein, the Academy entered into an agreement with the University Library of Tübingen, to obtain the nearly 300 letters of Goldziher addressed to Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930).¹⁵ The ambitious task was to collect the letters written by Goldziher and dispersed in different collections abroad and unite

¹¹ Letter of Károly Goldziher to Jenő Balogh, 14 January 1926, Goldziher–Balogh *Correspondence*.

¹² Letter of Jenő Balogh to Károly Goldziher, Goldziher–Balogh *Correspondence*.

¹³ *Akadémiai Értesítő* [Bulletin of the Academy] 1895:303. Stein also contributed to the enlargement of the Academy’s collection by books, manuscripts and photographs, both by his donations and his bequest, cf. Rásonyi 1960.

¹⁴ His initiative is mentioned in a letter of Jenő Balogh to Bernát Heller dated 14 November 1933 (Balogh, *Letter*).

¹⁵ Cf. Berzeviczy 1933:347.

them with the letters written to him, thereby enhancing their value. The correspondence was meant to be open for scholars in a separate room, next to the Academy's library, as it can be read in a letter of the secretary general addressed to the chief librarian.¹⁶

The letters were duly sent from Tübingen and copied at the secretariat of the Academy, after office hours.¹⁷ While two scholars – Bernát Heller (1871–1943), Goldziher's former student and the compiler of his bibliography (1927), and the future Iranist and linguist, the young Zsigmond Telegdi (1909–1994) – entered words in non-Latin scripts into the copies. Telegdi's compensation was that he was allowed to borrow a few books of his interest from the library.¹⁸

In addition to Bernát Heller, Károly's cataloguing work was also helped by literary historian and Germanist Béla Pukánszky (1895–1950). It is thanks to their painstaking efforts that the correspondence was arranged into 47 boxes and an alphabetical list of all the letter writers was compiled, also indicating the number of letters sent to Goldziher. We cannot be grateful enough for this heroic work, without which the coherent and meaningful transformation of this correspondence to the digital platform would have been an impossible task, considering the amount of the letters.

The Goldziher room was inaugurated on 18 October 1933 by Albert Berzeviczy, President of the Academy. In his speech, he emphasised that the opening of the room for the use of Hungarian and foreign scholars alike was necessitated by the interest the vast correspondence may generate in addition to the lack of funds at the Academy to publish the hitherto unedited manuscripts of Goldziher. The December 1933 issue of *Ungarische Jahrbücher* contained a two-page description of the contents of the Goldziher-room written by Béla Pukánszky (1933), one of the cataloguers. Another, more detailed overview of the Goldziher collection was given by Joseph de Somogyi in 1935. Pukánszky's description was sent by the Academy to 40 leading scholars of Islamic studies in Europe who in their answers showed great enthusiasm about the opening of this collection.¹⁹

However, in the aftermath of WWII, several rooms dedicated to various special collections in the palace of the Academy could not be reopened, as both the palace of the Academy and the collections housed there were severely damaged. The Goldziher room was used for a certain time immediately after the war as the kitchen

¹⁶ *Goldziher's bequest.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The copies were typed by Ms Mária Csánki, and were compared to the originals by Bernát Heller and Béla Pukánszky.

¹⁸ Letter of Jenő Balogh to József Szinnyei, head librarian, dated 15 November 1932, asking that Telegdi be allowed to borrow a few books from time to time (*Goldziher's bequest*).

¹⁹ Several messages of felicitation – among them those of Karl Budder, A. J. Wensinck, F. Babinger, R. Paret and Cyrus Adler – were deposited among the documents of the *Goldziher's bequest.*

of the secretary general – as we can learn from a notice dated 17 August 1945 of the chief librarian, János Melich (1872–1963), who was alerted to this fact by one of the members of the Academy, Alajos Györkösy (1896–1973) (Melich, *Note*). Since the secretary general removed the correspondence and other manuscripts from the room without any prior notification of the chief librarian, he further noted that he himself tried to reunite the dispersed objects.

Thus the years following World War II were mainly spent by repairing the war damaged building. While the years 1950–1953 saw severe transformations together with the renovation of certain interiors. It was at this time when a special Oriental Collection was opened on the ground floor²⁰ and the contents of the Goldziher room were – amongst others – incorporated into the holdings of this collection, which – at the same time – meant that the Goldziher room ceased to function forever, together with other collections which – as has been mentioned above – had until WWII been open to the public.

Removal from the public eye, however, did not go hand in hand with a loss of interest in the collection. During the following decades, several larger correspondences were edited, either one-sidedly (i.e. only based on the Goldziher Collection) or in their totality.²¹

2.3 The correspondence in the digital environment

Since its foundation in 1826, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – working in line with its mission statement – has dedicated itself to supporting scientific and scholarly research and safeguarding its precious collections for generations to come. Preserving its traditional values and relying on state-of-the-art information technology of the 21st century, it has been serving the public by making its holdings accessible to an ever-expanding circle of users. The construction of a database of the letters addressed to Ignaz Goldziher, served exactly this purpose.

In 2012 the Oriental Collection embarked upon the on-line cataloguing of what ended up to form the 13,430 records of the correspondence.²² Since that time, two

²⁰ Cf. Dévényi and Kelecsényi 2017:339.

²¹ The following editions should be listed here: P.Sj. van Koningsveld, ed. *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher: from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*. Leiden, 1985; Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence*. Leiden – Budapest, 1986 (including the selected correspondence of Theodore Nöldeke and Ignaz Goldziher); Ludmila Hanisch, Hrsg. *„Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht“: der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann 1894-1914*. Wiesbaden, 2000.

²² The cataloguing was funded by the National Cultural Fund (2012/3532/253) the main aim having been the mass digitisation of the nearly 30,000 documents integrated with metadata into the online catalogue of the Library. The project started in 2012 was finished

further steps were taken. In 2016, the images together with appropriate metadata were integrated into the Library's repository from where they are freely downloadable. In addition, the records were uploaded to WorldCat in 2017 thereby giving more people easier access to this legacy.

In the forthcoming parts, I would like to present some relevant statistics together with some glimpses of Goldziher's correspondence with Middle Eastern and North African scholars before examining in more detail the letters sent by Mohamed Ben Cheneb. He obviously had a lot of contacts with Europeans who were living in this region for shorter or longer periods, but in this brief survey this part of the correspondence will not be considered.

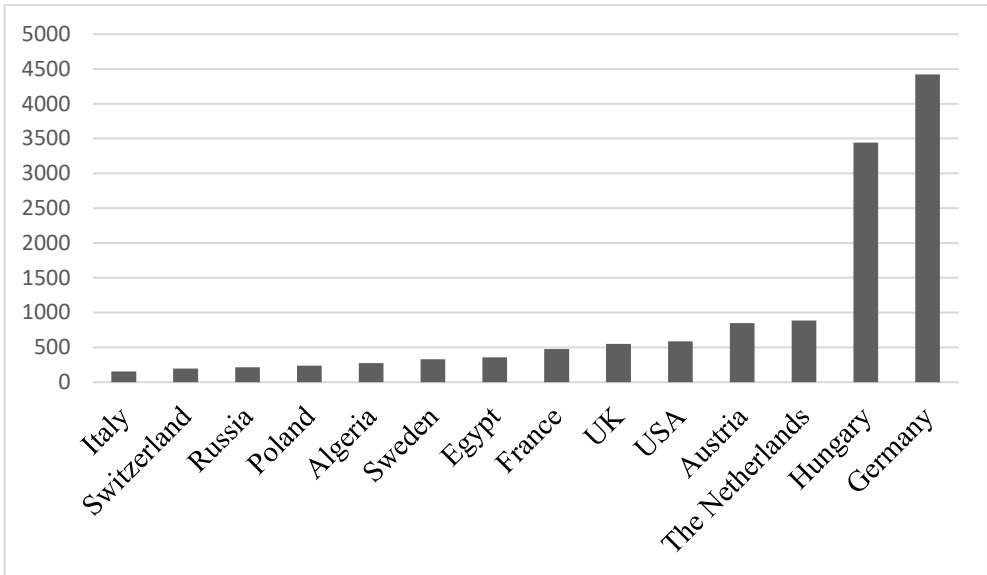
2.4 The correspondence in numbers

The on-line catalogue makes the statistical analysis of the correspondence feasible despite the constant changes in the political map of Europe (and the world) during Goldziher's lifetime and after it, which makes an adequate country by country presentation problematic. In the country statistics, an arbitrary decision was made to use the 1878 borders as a starting point, deviating from it in certain cases in order to better represent present day territories.

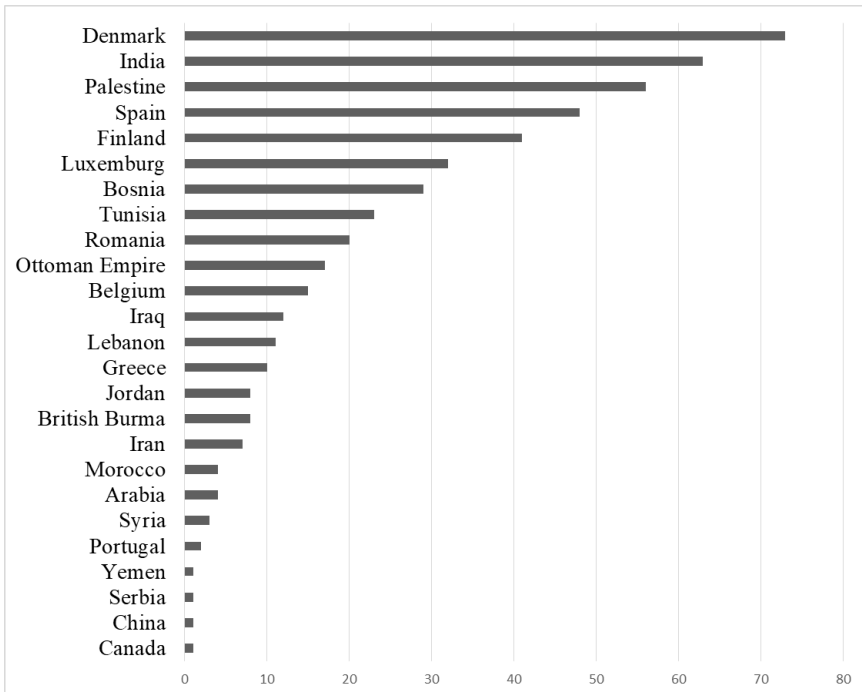
The two diagrams below represent the geographical distribution of the persons who were corresponding with Goldziher.

within a year when it was reported that the altogether 13,430 letters containing 28,327 digital images were freely available in the Library's online catalogue. During the re-cataloguing process a slight discrepancy was noticed sometimes between the number of letters noted on the large envelopes by Károly Goldziher and the actual number of letters contained in some of the envelopes. The post-war fate of the correspondence might provide an explanation for some of the losses which altogether amount to roughly 300 letters, cards and visiting cards, since the original numbers add to a total of 13,764 documents. The reason for some differences may also be due to an original error in the numbers, especially in case of large-scale correspondences. The on-line cataloguing was done in English to reach a much wider public in addition to those – relatively few in number – for whom the Hungarian language does not appear as an impenetrable stronghold.

Countries with more than 100 letters



Countries with less than 100 letters



It is noteworthy that Goldziher received more letters from Germany than Hungary – despite the fact the Poland was considered here as a separate entity – well reflecting the scholarly nature of the correspondence and within it the high percentage of letters received from his German colleagues. It is all the more remarkable, since in Hungary he was often contacted by his friends, colleagues, students, and last but not least the rabbis of several Jewish communities.

The distribution of the languages²³ of the letters reflects even better the high importance of German in the correspondence, since there are altogether 7663 letters in German, while only 3380 in Hungarian. This ratio is assisted by the fact that even Hungarians often corresponded in German.²⁴ Another four languages can still be considered frequent in the correspondence. These are French (973 letters), English (761), Hebrew (475) and Arabic (223). Letters in Italian (79), Spanish (16), Yiddish (2) and Russian (2) can only seldom be found. The sum total (13,574) is more than the number of actual letters because in some letters multiple languages are used.

If we have a closer look at the senders of these letters, we can easily conclude that the majority of the letters were exchanged with twenty persons, each of them sending more than a hundred letters. At the top of this list stands his close friend, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), with 472 letters, followed by Theodor Nöldeke (327) and Martin Hartmann (321). The most important Hungarian person (with 216 letters) was the famous scholar and chief rabbi of Szeged, Immanuel Löw (1854–1944), while at the end of this line Viktor von Rosen (1849–1907), a well-known Arabist of Saint Petersburg,²⁵ can be found. A particular feature of the correspondence is connected to the languages used therein, as is exemplified by the exchange of letters between Goldziher and Duncan B. Macdonald (1863–1943), professor of the Hartford Theological Seminary, who generally wrote in English while Goldziher in German.²⁶

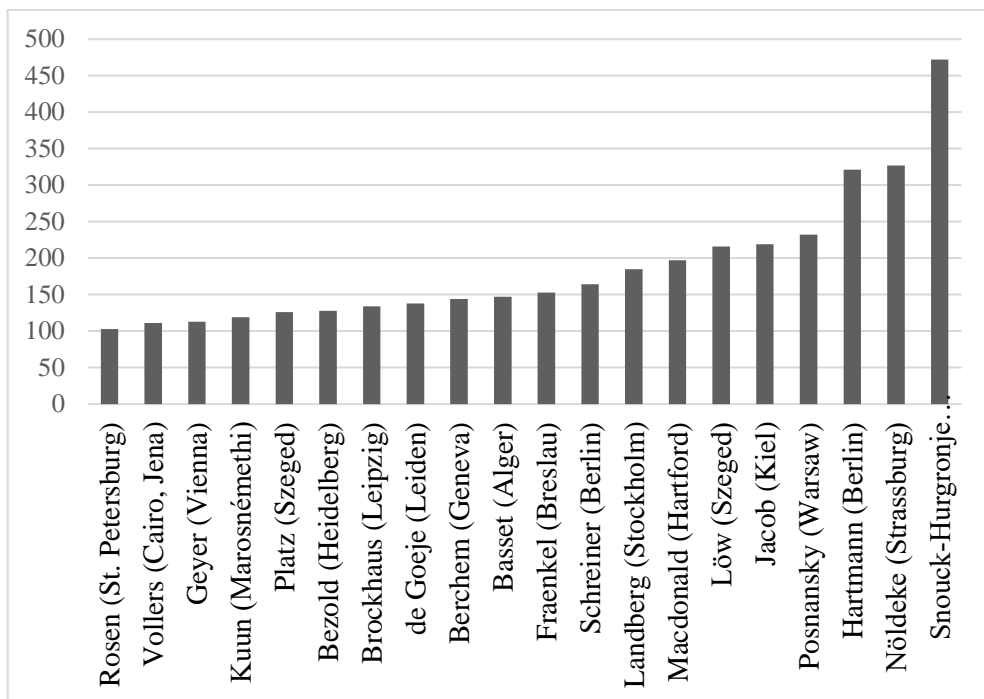
²³ On the importance of German for Goldziher, see the study of Ormos, who concluded that Goldziher's "mother tongue was probably a variety of German, [while] he considered Hungarian to be his national language, the language closest to his heart" (Ormos 2005b:243). According to a remark made by Somogyi (1961:16), however, Goldziher "considered Hungarian as his mother tongue, despite the fact that he wrote most of his works in German".

²⁴ Cf. e.g. the letters written to Goldziher by Ármin Vámbéry where from among the 79 letters in total, 30 fairly long letters were written in German. Cf. Dévényi 2015.

²⁵ The significance of this correspondence is further enhanced by the survival of Goldziher's letters in the Archives of Saint Petersburg (Fond 777), a microfilm copy of which is available in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (B 1192/I).

²⁶ After Goldziher's death Macdonald sent to the Academy the letters he had received from Goldziher. Thus the correspondence is available in full both physically and digitally.

Persons having sent more than 100 letters



3 Letters from the Muslim world

3.1 An overview

Goldziher was attached to the Muslim world not only because of his scholarly interest but also because of his very positive personal experiences there. Already at a young age, he went on a study tour in 1873–74 during which time he made lasting friendships in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt.²⁷ Goldziher's amiable personality²⁸ and his language skills made these bonds easy to form. A token of such friendship is provided by the 26 line long panegyric (*Rā'īyya*) (Fig. 1) written to him by Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī (1848–1908), one of his fellow students at Al-Azhar, on the occasion of Goldziher's departure from Cairo on 25 February 1874.²⁹ Already the

²⁷ See Goldziher, *Oriental Diary*.

²⁸ Cf. Ormos 2005a.

²⁹ See al-Laḡānī, *Letter*, GIL/24/04/01. For the biography of al-Laḡānī, see al-Bābṭayn. *et al.* n. d.

beginning of the poem attests to the high esteem in which the young Goldziher was held by his peers.³⁰

ام الغيت شق الكم عن طيب الزهر	أسفرت الحسنى عن الأنجم الزهر
فعاب به عن مصرنا طالع القهر	ام الطالع المسعود قد لاح بشره
فامست به نختال في الحلل الخضر	ام البر بحر العلم جار بارضنا
من المجر المحروس ذى العسكر المجر	هو الكوكب المفضال من لاح نوره

In this poem the young Goldziher appears to excel in different fields of Islamic scholarship:

ولكن يري التقليد من سيمة الكفر	امام له في كل فن مذاهب
طواله تعلو افتخارا على الفخر	ففي المذهب السني اصبح سيديا
ونال مفاتيح الكنوز بلا سكر	وفى المذهب الصوفى جل جلاله
ام الله حقا حل في ذلك الصدر	فلم ندر هل ام الكتاب بصدرة

To Egypt he returned with a group of high school teachers in 1896 (6 January to 20 February),³¹ while in Algeria he participated at the International Congress of Orientalists in 1905³² and also published some of his works.³³

Despite all this, Goldziher's correspondence was very limited with Muslim scholars. His main correspondence was with European scholars who resided, among others, in Algiers and Cairo. His main non-European partner from the Muslim world was Khuda Baksh (1877–1931), the founder of the Oriental Public Library in Patna that bears his name. Nevertheless, only twenty letters in English serve as witnesses of this acquaintance.³⁴

Goldziher also met notable persons from the Middle East in Budapest, who wanted to keep in touch with him, not least because of his affable personality. To these persons belonged Abdu'l-Baha, the eldest son of Baha'u'llah, who visited Budapest in April 1913, at the invitation of the Hungarian Theosophical Society. In

³⁰ The text follows the orthography of the manuscript.

³¹ Several works in Hungarian by the different members of this study tour attest to the success of this trip. The most comprehensive among these is Kőrösi 1899, which also contains a detailed bibliography of the works published on the basis of the study tour, Kőrösi 1899:9–10.

³² He was the sole member of the delegation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (*Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes* 17).

³³ I. Goldziher, éd. *Le Livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert mahdi des Almohades. Texte arabe accompagné de notices biographiques et d'une introduction*. Alger 1903. In addition to this important text edition, Goldziher published a few articles in the *Revue africaine*, an important journal of the Algerian Historical Society (Société historique algérienne) published between 1856 and 1962. It was there that Goldziher published his article on the Samaritans (“*Lā Misāsa*”, *Revue africaine* 52 [1908] 23–28) and a short contribution entitled “*La onzième intelligence*” (*Revue africaine* 50 [1906] 242–243).

³⁴ These letters are to be found at GIL/21/13.

addition to writing to Goldziher after their meeting, he also sent him a Persian rug as a token of their friendship.³⁵

A tone similar to the eulogy of Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī can be read in a letter (Fig. 2) Abdu'l-Baha sent to Goldziher after his arrival at Port Said:³⁶

“O thou learned scholar worthy of every respect!

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

The analysis of this part of the correspondence would go beyond the aims of the present paper. Suffice it to say, that although these letters are not significant because of their amount, they are important because of the persons with whom Goldziher corresponded, and the topics these letters cover. Ġirġī Zaydān (1861–1914), for example, the acclaimed man of letters of Lebanese origin, the founder and editor of the literary journal *al-Hilāl* was corresponding with Goldziher from 1896 until his death.³⁷ In his history of Arabic literature, Zaydān deals in a long chapter with European Orientalists (*al-mustašriqūn wa-l-luġa al-‘arabiyya*), and among them Goldziher. His usual factual descriptions get elevated to another level in the characterisation of Goldziher, whom he calls a reliable authority among contemporary Orientalists in relation to Islam, the Muslims, and Islamic culture.³⁸

3.2 The letters of Mohamed Ben Cheneb

Not all the letters were as flattering as the ones quoted above. The scholarly nature of the correspondence, however, can be well observed in a small bunch of seven letters which were sent (in addition to two visiting cards) by the famous Algerian scholar and teacher, Mohamed Ben Cheneb³⁹ (1869–1929).⁴⁰ Theirs was not an

³⁵ Abdu'l-Baha, *Letters*, GIL/03/16/07, letter dated 2 July 1913, and a separate letter in French about the sending of the rug (GIL/03/16/02).

³⁶ The translation is taken from GIL/03/16/07 which accompanied the original letter in Arabic by Abdu'l-Baha (GIL/03/16/01). For a detailed analysis of this visit, see Lederer 2004.

³⁷ Zaydān, *Letters*.

³⁸ *Tiqat al-mustašriqīn al-mu‘āširīn fī-l-islām wa-l-muslimīn wa-l-ādāb al-islāmiyya* Zaydān 1960: IV, 158.

³⁹ His name is written by himself in his letters to Goldziher most often as Bencheneb.

⁴⁰ For his detailed biography, see Ben Cheneb 2012:9–12 (editor’s introduction).

active exchange, the letters spanning seven years between 1905 and 1912, but all the correspondence was centred on the publications of the two scholars.

It seems that the initial step was taken by Goldziher, and the occasion was the appearance of the first volume of Ben Cheneb's *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb* in 1905. Although being thankful of Goldziher's remarks, Ben Cheneb notes in his long letter of four large pages dated 1 July 1905⁴¹ that he could only have accepted these had not the proverbs been taken from the locally spoken dialect, his mother tongue.

«Je vous fais tous mes compliments pour l'honneur que vous me faites en m'écrivant, et c'est avec plaisir que j'ai lu vos remarques si ingénieuses qui auraient été fort justes s'il s'était agi d'un recueil de proverbes écrits. Les proverbes que je publie sont une langue parlée de l'Afrique mineure, c'est-à-dire dans ma langue maternelle, dans la langue que je parle depuis mon enfance, que j'entends journellement parler autour de moi ; et vous n'ignorez pas qu'elle diffère de la langue de Moḍar. »⁴²

It should, however, be noted in this respect that since Ben Cheneb published the proverbs in Arabic writing, did not supply a transliteration, nor did he always indicate the short vowels to help the pronunciation, so in several cases it is hard to tell that these proverbs are in the local dialect, since their grammatical construction would at times be equally acceptable in the literary language as well.

Despite his initial dismissal of Goldziher's criticism, Ben Cheneb – admitting the great number of typos which he wished to correct at the end of the second volume – goes on to make detailed comments on Goldziher's observations. He concludes this letter by admitting his unfamiliarity with Goldziher's articles published in the *ZDMG* as well as his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*. This seems to be quite natural in the light of Ben Cheneb's remark in another letter, dated 29 June 1906, where he states that even with the help of a dictionary he finds great difficulty in understanding German texts.⁴³

⁴¹ Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, GIL/03/23/08.

⁴² "I pay you all my compliments on the honour you give me by writing to me, and it is with pleasure that I have read your ingenious remarks which would have been very correct if it had been a collection of written proverbs. The proverbs I publish are a spoken language of minor Africa, that is to say, in my mother tongue, in the language that I speak from my childhood that I hear daily spoken around me; and you are not unaware that it differs from the language of Moḍar," i.e. different from Classical or Literary Arabic. It is a reference to Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddima* Chapter 6, Sections 48: *Fī anna luḡat al-ḥaḍar wa-l-amṣār luḡa qā'ima bi-nafsihā li-luḡat muḍar* and 49: *Fī ta'līm al-lisān al-muḍarī*. I am greatly indebted to Antoine Boustany (École nationale des chartes, Paris) for his initial typing of the French parts of the letters. Needless to say, any eventual errors are mine.

⁴³ Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, GIL/03/23/07: «Je ne suis pas omniscient et en dehors de la langue arabe que je crois posséder pour mes fonctions de professeur de grammaire et de littérature, et de la langue française dans laquelle je suis un véritable طفيلي, je comprends avec

Another letter of Ben Cheneb⁴⁴ sheds further light on the co-operation of scholars, while Ben Cheneb's erudition also comes to light when answering Goldziher's query on the word "*taqnīs*" which – based on the context – he easily identifies with metempsychosis, stating, however, that – with the exception of a Rabbi from the town of Médéa – nobody seems to be familiar with this word. In addition, Ben Cheneb probably rightly notes that this word seems to be a slip of the pen for *taqmīs*. We can learn from the same letter that the Hebrew text in Goldziher's article "*Lā Misāsa*"⁴⁵ was copied by Ben Cheneb, while the French translation was revised by William Marçais (1872–1956), the notable member of the community of French Arabists working in Algiers at that time.

Ben Cheneb returned to the problem of *taqnīs* vs. *taqmīs* in his letter dated 22 March 1908⁴⁶ because he remembered to have seen this erroneous identification explained by Dozy (1881: II, 405, 411–412). He continues this subject by quoting the dictionary entitled *Aqrab al-mawārid* by aš-Šartūnī. He also adds a reassuring remark on the "highly important" notes Goldziher had sent to Doutté for his article "*Lā Misāsa*" – i.e. that they had been entered to the text.

The best witness to the scholarly nature of the correspondence, the speed⁴⁷ of reactions, and the usage of the scholarly network, is a question Ben Cheneb asked from Goldziher in his letter dated 28 May 1906. There he enquired about a Turkish expression preserved in Algiers:

«Je profite de l'occasion pour vous prier de me faire connaître si vous connaissez la locution turque, conservée à Alger چلاق چملاق que j'orthographe phonétiquement. Ici, elle a le sens de: 'rien, du vent, sans le sou, n'avoir plus rien'».⁴⁸

peine en me servant du dictionnaire le turk, le persan, l'italien, l'espagnol et plus difficilement encore l'allemand. Quant à l'hébreu, je puis à peine épeller [*sic*].». "I am not omniscient and apart from the Arabic language that I believe to possess for my duties as professor of grammar and literature, and of the French language in which I am a real طفيلي, I understand with difficulty using the dictionary the Turkish, Persian, Italian, Spanish, and with even more difficulty German. As for Hebrew, I can hardly spell."

⁴⁴ Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, 8 March 1908, GIL/03/23/09–10.

⁴⁵ Cf. fn. 33 above.

⁴⁶ Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, GIL/03/23/05.

⁴⁷ Somogyi (1935:9) describes Goldziher's method of answering letters and reacting to authors' queries as follows: "Not only did he [i.e. Goldziher] answer every letter he received but he read the shorter reprints right on the same day, and on the following morning he mailed his answers to the authors, correcting their mistakes and even the misprints of their articles".

⁴⁸ Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, GIL/03/23/06. "I take the opportunity to ask you to let me know if you know the Turkish phrase, conserved in Algiers چلاق چملاق that I spell phonetically here, it has the meaning of: 'nothing, hot air, penniless, to have nothing'."

Ben Cheneb at that time was already working on his doctoral thesis on the Turkish and Persian words conserved in the Algerian dialect,⁴⁹ and he turned to Goldziher for an explanation because – as he says in this letter – the Turks in Algiers no longer knew the meaning of this expression which he could not find in any dictionary at his disposal either.⁵⁰

Upon receipt of this letter, Goldziher appears to have immediately consulted his former professor of Turkish language, Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913), concerning this elusive expression, as is evidenced by the latter's answer⁵¹ written on 2 June 1906 from Vorderbruck (Austria) – where he sometimes spent the Summer – on the correct form and possible meaning of this saying. Vámbéry in this orthography recognised the expression *çak çömlek* “empty pot”, in the sense of “uselessness”. It is interesting to note that this saying was unknown to Vámbéry, despite the fact that his proficiency in the different layers, varieties and dialects of Turkish cannot be questioned. In connection with the use of *çak* in this context and meaning, Vámbéry refers to Sâmi, *Kâmûs* I, 498–499. In his letter dated 29 June 1906⁵² Ben Cheneb already notes with thanks Vámbéry's answer which Goldziher transmitted to him on 8 June, saying: « Je remercie M. Vambéry qui me confirme mon opinion sur l'expression turke défigurée à Alger چاق چلماق pour چاق چوملك ‘un pot vide’, que donnent les dictionnaires ». Note that Ben Cheneb writes the second, questionable word differently here than in his letter above.

Although replying to this letter at lightning speed, as was his usual custom, Goldziher must have been rather disappointed since Ben Cheneb could not fulfil his request, which was a copy of an earlier publication of his on Islamic education (Ben Cheneb 1897), as we can read:

«M. Doutté m'a communiqué dernièrement votre lettre dans laquelle vous me demandiez un exemplaire du tirage à part d'un petit opuscule sur la pédagogie musulmane que j'ai fait paraître il y a plusieurs mois dans la *Revue Africaine*. Je regrette beaucoup de ne pouvoir vous en adresser un exemplaire car moi-même je n'en ai plus aucun.»⁵³

⁴⁹ Ben Cheneb defended his thesis in 1921, but it was only published in 2012. There he also utilised the information provided by Goldziher (Ben Cheneb 2012:37).

⁵⁰ «Mes recherches à Alger où il y a même quelques Turcs, sont restées vaines, les dictionnaires dont je dispose ne me donnent aucun sens satisfaisant. Je vous serais très obligé si je recevais de vous quelques renseignements sur cette locution proverbiale » (GIL/03/23/06).

⁵¹ Vámbéry, *Letter*, GIL/44/09/43.

⁵² Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, GIL/03/23/07.

⁵³ Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, GIL/03/23/06. “Mr Doutté has recently communicated to me your letter in which you asked me for a copy of the edition of a little pamphlet on Muslim pedagogy which I published several months ago in the *Revue Africaine*. I regret very much that I cannot send you a copy because I myself have none.”

This publication – which contained an edition and French translation of an anonymous treatise from Morocco – would have been highly important for Goldziher who had been asked to compile a study on the same topic for *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* by its editor, James Hastings.⁵⁴ The study appeared only in 1912, and proved to be a rich survey on Islamic education which is still being quoted.⁵⁵ During its writing, however, Goldziher managed to acquire a copy of Ben Cheneb's translation as is evidenced both by a reference in Goldziher's study and Ben Cheneb's letter dated 17 July 1910.⁵⁶ From the latter we also learn that this was Ben Cheneb's first translation, followed by others on the same subject, like e.g. al-Ġazālī's short epistle (Ben Cheneb 1901).⁵⁷

The quality of this study by Goldziher, on a topic in which he was also interested, did not escape the attention of Ben Cheneb, who having received it hastened to congratulate the author in a short message of well-chosen words, expressing his admiration:

«Je viens de recevoir votre article sur l'Education chez les Musulmans, et m'empresse de vous exprimer mes plus vifs remerciements. C'est vraiment un précieux joyau que vous venez d'ajouter à votre inestimable couronne,⁵⁸ et les pierres précieuses dont il est garni ont été taillées de main de maître et encadrées avec art. En vous adressant mes félicitations les plus sincères et les plus vives, je vous prie d'agréer, Cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes meilleurs sentiments.»⁵⁹

With this note of appreciation ended the correspondence between the two scholars. It is impossible to say why the exchange of ideas and offprints ceased between them. Since this was a purely scholarly correspondence, it can be supposed that their interests shifted apart after the publication of Goldziher's writing on Islamic education.

⁵⁴ Hastings, *Letter*, 20 February 1905, GIL/16/02/22.

⁵⁵ Like e.g. Graham and Kermani 2006:136.

⁵⁶ Ben Cheneb, *Letters*, GIL/03/23/03.

⁵⁷ Ben Cheneb does not specify the source of his translation, He only mentions that it is based upon a publication in Tunis from the year 1314 [1896–97]. It can, however, be identified with a chapter entitled *Bayān at-tarīq fī riyāḍat aṣ-ṣibyān* of al-Ġazālī's *Ihyā'*, Part 3 (*Rub' al-muhlikāt*), Book 1 (*Kitāb šarḥ 'aġā'ib al-qalb*).

⁵⁸ Underlined in the original.

⁵⁹ Postcard of Ben Cheneb to Goldziher, dated 20 June 1912, GIL/03/23/04. "I have just received your article on Education among Muslims, and I hasten to express my warmest thanks. It is truly a precious jewel that you have added to your priceless crown, and the precious stones of which it is garnished have been masterfully cut and artfully recessed. In sending you my sincerest and most vivid congratulations, please accept, dear Sir, the expression of my best feelings."

4 Conclusion

The Goldziher correspondence, in addition to shedding light on various aspects of intellectual life at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century is also valuable as a deposit of nearly 600 hundred rare picture postcards from that period. This legacy is still unexploited to its full potentials. Despite its one sidedness, it can deepen our knowledge of the intensity and character of scholarly exchange before the Great War.

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انسا ابراهيم النقياح

اناسفرت العسنى عن الانجم الزهر
 ام الطالع المسعود قد لاح ابتر
 ام البرجر العلم جاسر بارضنا
 هو الكوكب الفضال من لاح نور
 دعوه باحناس لما انه حوي
 ولما صفا من عنصر طاب معدنا
 ولما تجلي والجلال يجفه
 امام له في كل فن مذهب
 وما رب شرع قد درى سر شرعه
 ففي المذهب السني اصبح سيدا
 وفي المذهب الصوفي جل جلاله
 فلم يندر هل ام الكتاب بصدرك
 ومن عجب لا اصل للسحر عند
 فهل ذاك مغنا طيس حل لفظه
 مفي رفعت اعلامه حق عندنا
 خير باحوال الدهور كانه
 وما خطب الابكار والامن العلي
 صبا علي حب العلي يتب فارلقي
 واذا تحك اصلاح العباد مدارس
 تمنطق هذا الكوكب العلم والهدى
 فما هو الا تسمى عالمه النبي
 فلوان امر الكون ينيط بمثله
 زووف بالوري غير انقي
 ودون صلاح الخلق يفقد بعمره
 ابي الله الا ان يتم نور
 دعنا مساعيه الحسان لشكره

ام الغيت سق الكم عن طيب الزهر
 فغاب به عن مصرنا طالع القهر
 فامست به تتخال في الحلال المخضر
 من البحر المحروس ذى العسكر المحجر
 كغير كجالات نجل عن الحصر
 دعني ذ هباني لسان بني مصر
 علينا علمنا اليوم ما ليله القدر
 ولكن يري التقلبد من سيمه الكفر
 يطاول هذا المحجر في ذلك السر
 طوالعه تغلوا فتجارا على الفخر
 ونال مضايح الكون زيلنا شكر
 ام الله حقا حل في ذلك الصدر
 وفي لفظه اتوبي دليل على السحر
 يجاذب الباب الوري حيث لا ندر
 على سبويه ان يكون علي الكسر
 كتاب نقوش الخلق او مصحف الدهر

ان حازرنا كان ربنا
 وان حازرنا كان ربنا
 وان حازرنا كان ربنا

فزفت له العلبا باسمه الثغر
 الي العالم العلوي في موكب النصر
 على مركز العرفان من فلك الفكر
 وامسى بنور العلم مهدى الي الخبر
 عليها مدار الملك في النظم والتبخر
 لقيام بتنظيمات سيرة الامير
 اري منه عين العلم ما جرت بحر
 اليا بامد الله في ذلك العمر
 فاطلعه شمس على هامة العصر
 وانى له منا القيام بذو الشكر

كان
 والنشر

Fig. 1 Ibrāhīm al-Laqaṅī's panegyric (Rā'īyya) to Goldziher, Cairo, 1874, GIL/24/04/01

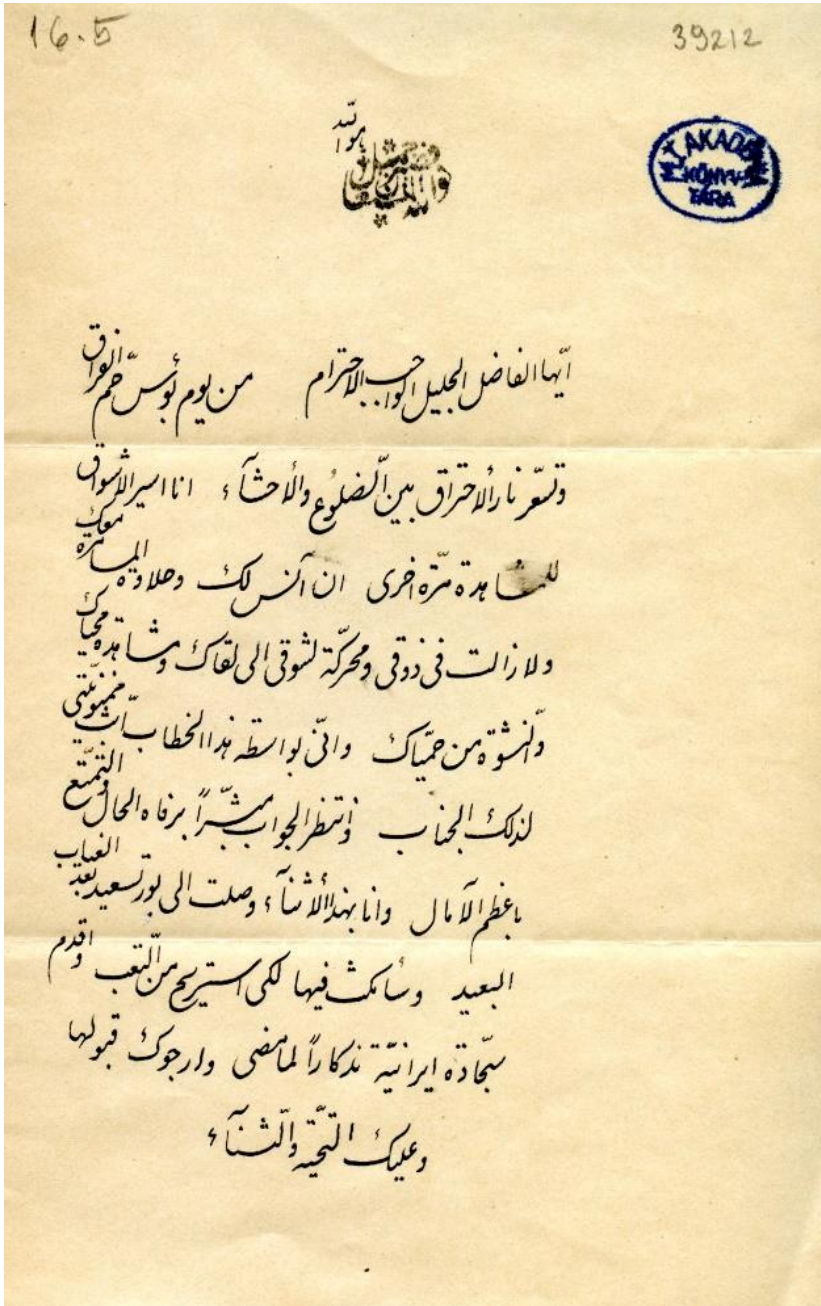


Fig. 2 Abdu'l-Baha's letter to Goldziher, Port Said, 1913, GIL/03/16/05

THE DOORS OF SULTAN BARQŪQ AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

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Summary

The present study is a step towards establishing the precise relationship between three pairs of door-leaves related to Sultan Barqūq: those exhibited in Cairo Street at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893; the door of Sultan Barqūq in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait; and the *in situ* door of the Sultan's *madrassa*-mosque in the Coppersmiths' Bazaar, Historic Cairo (henceforth Barqūqiyya). Some other doors connected to the Sultan will also be touched upon. Our investigation was undertaken in the context of research on Cairo Street in Chicago and in response to the appearance of Géza Fehérvári's posthumous book on the door in Kuwait. Here, our focus is on a *philological* analysis of the inscription bands at the top and bottom of the doors. Peter Northover of Oxford has shared with us the results of his physical examination of parts of the door in Kuwait. Admittedly, it has not been possible to answer all pertinent questions. Nevertheless we hope to contribute to their solution in the future. In view of the outstanding rank of the Barqūqiyya and the door-leaves of its main entrance as monuments of Mamluk art and architecture and of the amount of research devoted to Mamluk epigraphy in general, it has been a great surprise to discover that scholarship on the inscriptions of the *in situ* door is nothing but confused and that to date *no accurate reading* of the two inscription bands is available. This regrettable omission will here be corrected.

Sultan Barqūq's Door in Chicago

In 1893 the World's Columbian Exposition was staged at Chicago. Among the foreign displays, Cairo Street was regarded as the most popular and successful enterprise beyond a doubt. One of its major sights was a free replica of Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḍahabī's fine Mamluk-style mansion from the Ottoman period (AH 1047/AD 1637). We possess insufficient details regarding its interior, but do have a literary description to hand. It mentions "a heavy bronze door of fabulous age and richness of design" in the hallway upstairs (Burnham, *Clover*, 277). This door also appears in

a report by the noted columnist Teresa Dean in the *Sunday Inter Ocean* on 16 April 1893:

“Wonderful Brass Door in the Street in Cairo. Out in Cairo, or that ‘street in Cairo’, there’s a door on which one of the Arabs has been at work for three years. It is made of brass and is inlaid with gold and silver. It was made expressly for the fair. And that is about all I can tell you about it just now. Though, goodness knows, I tried hard enough, it took me about two hours to learn that much. Manager Pangalo was called out after each word to settle some kind of a disturbance with those Arabs. Orders were very strict about not allowing any one to enter the ‘street’ at present.” No matter how hard she tried, she did not succeed: “When particulars were not forthcoming about the brass door I decided I would go over to the mining building and see the Zulus, who came the other day as a guard to the diamond ore or diamond clay that was sent from Africa.” (Dean, “Chips”).¹

Two months later, on 28 June 1893, a report appeared on a recent addition to the sights of Cairo Street:

“Manager Pangalo of the Cairo Street invited a few of his friends to attend a private view of a new attraction just added to the motley charms of Cairo Street. It is a reproduction of the dwelling of a rich Arab of the seventeenth century, one Gamal El Din El Tahabi by name. Mr. El Tahabi appears to have had far better taste in picking out furniture than names, and his restored dwelling contains art treasures the like of which have never delighted the eyes of westerners before. The entrance is by means of a door marvelously inlaid with mother of pearl through a winding passage and court and up a barbaric stairway suggestive of an Arabian night’s adventure. The entrance hall above boasts one of the chief art treasures of the whole collection, a priceless metal door profusely inlaid with both gold and silver. Its age is something like 500 years, and it was once the property of the Sultan Barkuk.” (“Scribes of Missouri”).

It does not escape our attention that we have at our disposal two contradictory versions here. According to the first version the door was new: “It was made expressly for the fair.” The second report said it was about 500 years old.

¹ Dean published a collection of her writings on the World’s Columbian Exposition in a separate volume, too. The reference to the brass door cannot be found in it. Dean, *Chips*.

A Book Is Born

The door in question seems to be somehow connected to the door of Sultan Barqūq, which is now kept in the Tareq Rajab [Ṭāriq Raġab] Museum in Kuwait (fig. 11).² The history of this last-mentioned door is rather complex, and the exact identity of the artefact remains a mystery to this day. In fact, our story revolves around two, or perhaps three, seemingly identical, or at least very similar, doors.

For almost two decades, Géza Fehérvári conducted painstaking research on the door of Sultan Barqūq in Kuwait, the findings of which he planned to publish in a monograph. Very regrettably, he passed away towards the end of 2012, after a long, incapacitating illness which lasted two years, and his monograph came out posthumously (Fehérvári 2012).³

Sadly, Fehérvári will not be able to react to my remarks and eventual different views on certain matters. However, in view of his wholehearted commitment to scholarly research, there can be no doubt that he would have agreed to the approach adopted here. Examination of some of the more important facts and issues will foster additional research in the hope that the questions surrounding the door will one day be clarified. In addition to our personal discussions, we exchanged e-mail messages and faxes for more than a decade on questions connected with the door, and I believe it will be helpful to quote certain extracts from these e-mail and fax messages, in addition to references to his monograph.

In view of his illness, it is not clear whether Fehérvári was able to put the finishing touches to the text of his book. However, I have not discovered in it anything that would contradict the views expressed in his emails and faxes. On the other hand, he said to me many times that he would show me the text before preparing the final version; in the end, he did not do so. Iman R. Abdulfattah, formerly at the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Cairo, PhD student at Bonn University at present, tells me (2014) that she has no information on the publication of the monograph, notwithstanding the appearance of her name on the title-page. Her contribution to the book consisted of taking photographs of objects in Cairo as well as of checking some archival documents and historical sources for Fehérvári, who shared his time

² I have not seen the Kuwait door myself. The present discussion of its inscriptions is based on four photographs available on the website of the Tareq Rajab Museum on the internet (<http://www.trmkt.com/door.html#>), as well as on another, much better photograph uploaded by the Museum: <https://www.facebook.com/176149305859292/photos/a.176437022497187.43968.176149305859292/178400912300798/?type=1> (both last accessed on 21 September 2014). I am greatly indebted to Mr. Rajab, Chairman of the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait, for granting me permission to use this photograph in my publication. Email message by Mohammad Safdar dated 27 April 2014. I have also relied on the excellent very large-size photograph (96 x 60 cm) of the door in possession of the late Alexander Fodor.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Rajab, Chairman of the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait, for sending me a copy of this rare book.

between Kuwait, London and Budapest, but rarely visited Cairo, where most of the objects were that concerned his research. I am greatly indebted to Iman for putting her extensive email correspondence with Fehérvári at my disposal. The emails wholly correspond to the book's content and confirm the earlier general impression gained from it that Fehérvári did not consult the relevant historical sources although he was fully aware of their existence and even their contents, thanks to repeated friendly communications and warnings by Iman and Doris Behrens-Abouseif.

Fehérvári briefly mentioned the door in his memoirs, which came out in Hungarian in 2008. His brief reference is accompanied by a photograph showing himself standing in front of the door. It is described as the door of Barqūq's mausoleum.⁴

Sultan Barqūq's Door in Kuwait

In 1994, the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait acquired, through Christie's, a large-size (380 × 225 cm) copy of a bronze Mamluk door. It came from New York, where it had belonged to the Hispanic Society of America. In an article accompanied by two photographs, Richard J. H. Gottheil wrote in 1909 that the two wings which comprised it were then installed in the foyer of the Hispanic Museum in New York City (Gottheil 1909:58).

At the turn of 1981–1982, one wing was displayed in the exhibition “The Mamlūk Revival: Metalwork for Religious and Domestic Use” staged at the Jewish Museum in New York from 16 November until 14 March. Estelle Whelan's brief description of it ran as follows:

“Wing of double door, wood, brass, and bronze panels inlaid with silver
 ‘Alī al-Shīshī [*recte*: ‘Alī al-Šiyašī],⁵ Cairo, 1892; Ht. 150½" W. 45¼"
 (3.82 x 1.15 m)
 Anonymous loan” (Whelan 1981:no. 6).

⁴ Fehérvári 2008:421–424, 427–428; 423 (fig. 97).

⁵ The correct name of the artisan ‘Alī al-Šiyašī appears in Herz Pasha's letter to Gottheil. (Gottheil 1909:60 [postscript]). Fehérvári (2012:8) uses the form ‘Alī al-Šiyāšī. The attribution of the latter Arabic name form to Herz in the quotation is wrong; Herz used the correct form ‘Alī al-Šiyašī. Under Fehérvári's influence I also used this – erroneous – form in my book on Herz Pasha. (Ormos 2009:461–462). The name Šiyašī – both “i” and “a” in the middle of the word are short – is derived from the Arabic *šīša*, pl. *šīyaš*, “hubble-bubble”, “water-pipe”, and consequently means a “producer of” or a “dealer in” this artefact. In its turn, *šīša* is a loan-word in Arabic: it is Turkish *şişe*, meaning “a blown glass bottle”, derived from the Turkish *şiş*, “swelling”, on account of the bulging shape of the bottle. Redhouse 1921:1147. Moran 1971:1124–1125. Steingass 1977:775.

The apparent difference in size should not deceive the reader: only one of the two wings was on display in New York.

Fehérvári's book has some additional material on the door from the same exhibition:

“One of several pairs of double doors leading to the Mausoleum of Sultan Hasan in Cairo (c. 1362) was in the Museum of Islamic Art in the 1890s. In 1892, a replica with the substitution of inscriptions in the name of Sultan Barquq (1382–1389, 1390–1399) was commissioned for the Cairo Street at the Chicago World's Fair to be held the following year. Because of a dispute with the craftsman, 'Ali al-Shishi [*sic*], over price, the doors were not sent to Chicago but passed instead into the hands of Elias Hatoun, a leading Cairo antiquities dealer. The right wing of this replica is on exhibit here. A curious detail is the arrangement of the main inscription, which begins at the bottom and continues at the top, the reverse of normal practice. The central knob contains half an inscription referring to the opening of the door.” (Fehérvári 2012:15–16).⁶

The information at the beginning of this entry is most problematic and – as far as I can see – without any foundation. In the first place, there are not “several pairs of double doors leading to the Mausoleum of Sultan Hasan in Cairo” but only two pairs. In the second place, there is nothing to suggest that either pair was in the Museum of Islamic Arts in the 1890s. In 1899 Herz Pasha's monograph on the mosque of Sultan Hasan was published. It describes the mosque prior to the great restoration works he carried out on it in the years before the outbreak of World War I in 1914. It contains a description of all the objects originating from this mosque which were in the Arab Museum at that time; there is no door among them (Herz 1899:7–12). The description is based on Herz's catalogue of the museum, which appeared in 1895. There is nothing to suggest that between 1890 and 1895 a pair of doors was returned to the mosque, which was in a rather bad state of repair. I checked the *Bulletins of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* from 1890 until 1895 and there was nothing to substantiate the claim voiced above. Nor does Herz's monograph contain anything that could be interpreted in such a way. In the third place, the mausoleum doors in Sultan Hasan only distantly resemble the “door of Sultan Barquq” in New York and then in Kuwait.⁷

⁶ Fehérvári gives this description from *the* catalogue entry in independent quotation marks, indicating that it comes from a source which is not identical to that of the previous one and which he omits to indicate. It must be a catalogue of the New York exhibition unknown and inaccessible to me. – I.O.

⁷ On the resemblance between the Barquqiyya's main entrance door and the mausoleum doors of Sultan Hasan as well as other doors, see Batanouni 1975:75, 77. I am indebted to the American University in Cairo for providing me with copies of the relevant sections of this thesis for my research.

The door in New York was acquired from the dealer Elias Hatoun [Ilyās Ḥāṭūn]⁸ on Muski Street in the famous Cairo bazaar (see below).

Sultan Barqūq's Door in the Cairo Bazaar

It was around this time that Max van Berchem published the Egypt volume of his magisterial *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, which contained the majority of the historic Arabic inscriptions in Cairo. In the case of the Barqūqiyya, van Berchem proceeded in a most unusual way, without giving any reason for doing so. He described the *madrassa*-mosque's inscriptions, but when it came to the main entrance door, instead of publishing its inscriptions, as he did in every similar case, he published a description of a door that had been for sale at Elias Hatoun's in 1893 (Berchem, *Matériaux* 304–305 [no. 197]).⁹ Two questions arise: 1) Why did van Berchem choose to describe a door for sale in the bazaar instead of the actual door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya? 2) Did the Hispanic Society acquire the door described by van Berchem?

Van Berchem's action could have been justified had he had sufficient grounds to claim that he was dealing with *the (an?)* original door of the Barqūqiyya. In that case, however, he should also have expressed an opinion about the actual door *in situ* at that time, which he failed to do. Above all, he should have justified his action: why he had passed over the *in situ* door in silence, presenting the inscriptions of a door in the bazaar instead. He was of the view that although the door he saw in the bazaar was heavily damaged and roughly repaired ("*fort endommagée et grossièrement réparée*"), the beautiful workmanship and correct inscription completely eliminated any suspicion of forgery. But then what was his opinion of the actual door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya? It is also strange that when Herz approached van Berchem on this subject later on and informed him that the door he had described was a fake (see below), van Berchem accepted Herz's opinion without argument, declaring that he could no longer remember the details.¹⁰ Van Berchem's assertion is hardly credible. He should have remembered the details for two reasons: firstly because the case was most unusual, and secondly because the Barqūqiyya was no minor prayer hall of negligible significance but one of the most beautiful mosques

⁸ The original Arabic form of the name appears in Fehérvári 2012:48–49 (fig. 38).

⁹ See Herz Pasha's letter of 6 April 1901 to Ignaz Goldziher. Goldziher Correspondence, Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest (GIL/16/30/39). Berchem's *Matériaux* was first published in four fascicles with an appendix. The first fascicle came out in 1894, while the fascicle with the inscriptions of the Barqūqiyya appeared in 1901. The whole work became available in a single volume in 1903. Cf. Goldziher's review of Berchem's book. Goldziher 1904.

¹⁰ Berchem, *Matériaux* 770 (*ad p.* 304, no. 197).

in Cairo and indeed the whole Islamic world. In addition, the door in question was a masterwork of Arab-Islamic art. At the same time, there is absolutely no indication that the main door of the Barqūqiyya has ever been removed, and no indication that it was not in the very same place in the 1890s and 1900s (see below).

The door described by van Berchem had bronze cladding and was of beautiful workmanship. Its inscription in two lines ran as follows:

(Bottom)

عَزَّ لِمَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ سَيْفِ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِينِ أَبُو سَعِيدِ بَرْقُوقِ سُلْطَانِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ ذَخِرَ

(Top)

الْأَيْتَامِ وَالْمَسَاكِينِ كَنْزِ الْغَزَاةِ وَالْمَجَاهِدِينَ وَكَانَ الْفِرَاغُ فِي شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَثَمَانٍ وَثَمَانِينَ

“Glory to our lord, the ruler, the victorious king, the sword of the world and religion, Abū Saʿīd Barqūq, the ruler of Islam and the Muslims, the provider for || orphans and the poor, the treasure of conquerors and warriors. Completed in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the year 788.”¹¹

It is an odd feature that the inscription begins at the bottom and continues at the top. This is a reversal of normal practice, which follows the basic rule of Arabic script, which is written from right to left and from top to bottom. The door in Kuwait shares this odd feature (figs. 12–13). In 1994, Fehérvári did not comment on this odd feature, treating it as something normal. On the other hand, he declared that the (correct and logical) inscription on the *in situ* door was “reversed” (Fehérvári 1994:153). In his view, the Sultan, out of humility and piety, did not want his own name to appear at the top of the door but had it placed at the bottom instead.¹² In the opinion of the present author, this view cannot be accepted. Rather, this odd feature can be explained by assuming that the inscription-bearing metal plaques, which were produced separately, were affixed to the door by an illiterate or careless artisan, who mounted them in the wrong order.¹³

Fehérvári mentions that this odd feature occurs “on the inner wooden door of his mosque in Cairo as well”. This statement is unfounded. Although Fehérvári’s wording is somewhat vague, there can be no doubt that “*the* inner wooden door” he has in mind [emphasis added] is the beautiful big wooden door connecting the

¹¹ On the interpretation of *zāhir* as “victorious”, see Lane 1980:1926c, 1930b. We render *ʿizz* as “glory”; “power” would be an equally acceptable choice. Cf. Lane 1980:2030c–2032a.

¹² Fehérvári 2012:56, 96. According to an earlier version which appears in three emails by Fehérvári to Iman R. Abdalfattah (11, 20 December 2006, 6 February 2008), the reversed sequence is due to Faraġ, who out of piety retained the door made by his father but preferred to place his father’s name at the bottom, because he considered the complex his own monument and where therefore all inscriptions are in his own name and none in that of his father. It was Doris Behrens-Abouseif who repeatedly reminded Fehérvári that the door’s inscription is not in accord with Faraġ’s complex, where all inscriptions, without exception, are in Faraġ’s name. In actual fact, Fehérvári’s wording is rather short; I have “unfolded” his argumentation here.

¹³ This is a possibility which Fehérvári also considered but rejected. Fehérvári 2012:56.

vestibule behind the main entrance door with the corridor leading to the central courtyard. Fehérvári writes about this door in his monograph that “the inscription is identical to that of the main entrance door’s and the Kuwait door’s text”.¹⁴ This is not true. There are two identical inscriptions on the front side of this door, one at the top and one at the bottom: “عز لمولانا السلطان المالك ا • لملك الظاهر برقوق عز الله نصره” “Glory to our lord, the reigning ruler, the victorious king, Barqūq, may God render his triumph glorious!”

The back of the door is plain, without any decoration or inscription. I have not been able to find any allusion to the alleged unusual feature mentioned by Fehérvári either in van Berchem’s *Corpus* or in Saleh Lamei Mostafa’s monograph (Fehérvári 2012:96).¹⁵ Nor does the state-of-the-art online repertory *The Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo* by Bernard O’Kane mention such a feature.¹⁶ I failed to discover it during repeated visits to the Barqūqiyya, too.

The door described by van Berchem bore an inscription containing the titles of Sultan Barqūq and the date Rabī’ al-Awwal 788, equivalent to April 1386.¹⁷ This date corresponds fully to the date of construction for the Barqūqiyya. According to Maqrīzī (1364–1442), our best authority on the local history and topography of Cairo, construction of the Barqūqiyya was completed on 1 Ġumādā al-Tānī 788 (corresponding to 31 May 1386); the festive inauguration of the complex took place on 12 Raġab 788 (9 August 1386).¹⁸

¹⁴ Fehérvári 2012 V (caption to fig. 16). Cf. *ibid.*, 22 (fig. 16).

¹⁵ The final part of the doxology must be read so. The word *Allāhu* is written above ‘azza, so that in this form the relatively big size *alif* could eventually belong to *both*, resulting in *a’azza* instead. However, such a feature would be quite unusual. In addition, this formula recurs on many doors and window shutters in the mosque, and in many other places it is written so that the *alif* is placed *after* the ‘ayn, so that it can only belong to *Allāhu*. This means that the correct reading here is ‘azza *Allāhu naṣrahu*. (Berchem, *Matériaux* 302, n. 1). In addition to the regular intransitive ‘azza (“he was, or became, mighty, ... powerful, ... glorious”), Lane adduces this verb also as a transitive one (‘azzahu) meaning “He (God) rendered him mighty, ... powerful, ... glorious” Lane 1980:2030c, 2031b [s.v. “2. ‘azzazahu”]. See also n. 20 below.

¹⁶ O’Kane, *Inscriptions* no. 187.2.

¹⁷ Berchem, *Matériaux* 304–305 (no. 197). On the ruler’s titles, see Berchem 1893:98ff.

¹⁸ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, VIII (ġuz’ III / *qism* 2), 546–547 (*sanat* 788). Id., *Mawā’iz* IV/2, 682. See also Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuġūm* XI, 243; cf. *ibid.*, 240 (n. 2). Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’* 1/2, 372. Not counting those on the main entrance door, four inscriptions can be found in the mosque confirming the year given by Maqrīzī and also giving the exact date of the completion of the work as 1 Rabī’ al-Awwal 788 (2 April 1386), using the expression *mustahall* for the first day of the lunar month (Mostafa 1982:77 [no. 3]). I have checked the inscriptions of the original entrance door on the basis of photographs (see below): Berchem, *Matériaux* 298 (no. 192 [= Mostafa 1982:76, no. 1]), 302 (no. 194 [= Mostafa 1982:81, no. 22]), 303 (no. 195 [= Mostafa 1982:81–2, no. 24]), 303–304 (no. 196 [= Mostafa 1982:82, no. 25]). Creswell

In van Berchem's view, the date Rabī' al-Awwal 788 (2 April – 1 May 1386) proves that the door came from the Barqūqiyya. At the same time, he found the order of the numerals in the date unusual and attributed this to "a perhaps maladroit restoration" (see below).

The big entrance door of the Barqūqiyya *in situ* in the Copper Smiths' Bazaar, as it appears at present (fig. 1), has the same inscription, although there are certain differences (fig. 2–7). It runs:

(Top)

عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر سيف الدنيا والدين ابو سعيد برقوق سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين

(with partly modernized orthography)¹⁹

عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر سيف الدنيا والدين أبو سعيد برقوق سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين

(Bottom)

نخر الأيتام والمساكين نصره الغزاة والمجاهدين عز نصره وكان الفراغ في مستهل ربيع الأول سنة ثمان
وثمانين وسبعمائه

(with partly modernized orthography)

نخر الأيتام والمساكين نصره الغزاة والمجاهدين عز نصره وكان الفراغ في مستهل ربيع الأول سنة ثمان
وثمانين وسبعمائة

"Glory to our lord, the ruler, the victorious king, the sword of the world and religion, Abū Saīd Barqūq, the ruler of Islam and the Muslims || the provider for orphans and the poor, the support of conquerors and warriors. May his triumph be glorious! Completed on the first of Rabī' al-Awwal in the year 788."

Firstly, the sequence of the lines is reversed as compared to the door in the bazaar: the inscription begins, as it normally should, at the top and ends at the bottom. Secondly, the break in the inscription is logical. It does not occur in the middle of a closely connected genitive structure (construct state) as on the door in Hatoun's shop and in Kuwait, where we read: *duhr* || *al-aytām* (provider for || orphans). It has *nuṣrat al-ḡuzāt* (support of conquerors) instead of *kanz al-ḡuzāt* (treasure of conquerors), as do the doors in Hatoun's store in 1893 and in Kuwait, and it also has 'azza *naṣruhu* ("May his triumph be glorious!") added; this doxology is missing from the door in Hatoun's store and the door in Kuwait, too.²⁰ Also, the word *šahr* ("month") on the

(1919:116) also mentions the four inscriptions. For *mustahall*, cf. n. 35 below. The construction work and the inauguration are conveniently summarized on the basis of additional historical sources in Mostafa 1982:9–11.

¹⁹ Van Berchem and scholarly literature in general use this approach in the presentation of inscriptions. We adduce the inscriptions in a "diplomatic" way, too, i.e. as they actually appear on the doors.

²⁰ The two related doxologies *a'azza Allāhu naṣruhu* and 'azza *Allāhu naṣruhu* ("May God render his triumph glorious!") are also met with in inscriptions on the Barqūqiyya. Cf. n. 15 above. Yet in accordance with the context and in the absence of an explicit reference to God the doxology عز نصره should be read here as 'azza *naṣruhu* and interpreted as "May his triumph be glorious!", with the possessive suffix referring to the Sultan. Cf. Berchem,

doors in Hatoun's store and in Kuwait respectively is replaced by a barely legible *mustahall* ("the first night of the lunar month") (fig. 9). This last word appears in other inscriptions in the Barqūqiyya, too.²¹ And, very importantly, the sequence of the numerals in the date conforms to the general usage of the time, contrary to that found in the inscription on the door in Kuwait and in the inscription described by Max van Berchem.

Sequence of Numerals

When we examine the order of numerals in the date, we find that the form on the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya (سنة ثمان وثمانين وسبعمائه) is in harmony with all the other dates in the inscriptions of the *madrassa*-mosque, which all display the same ascending sequence: units, tens, hundreds. This is in fact the sequence that can be found in *all* contemporary inscriptions. I have checked all Cairene inscriptions in van Berchem's *Matériaux* from no. 114 to no. 237; these range from AH 719 to 823 (AD 1319 to 1421) and contain seventy-two dates.²² Without exception, all dates conformed to this pattern (units, tens, hundreds), and there was not a single case of the pattern used on the door in the bazaar in 1893 and also on the door in Kuwait (hundreds, units, tens).²³ On the other hand, the latter pattern is the sequence normally used in modern literary Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic), and in the modern dialect of Cairo, too. In classical Arabic, both sequences are possible.²⁴

Matériaux 45. On a different level, this doxology may also have a direct Quranic reference (48:3), as suggested by Montasser 2009:202–203.

²¹ The letter *sīn* is somewhat odd in this word, but corresponds completely to the same letter in *muslimīn*. In other words, our inscription uses two varieties of this letter: the regular one with three vertical lines and another one consisting of a horizontal line only, which may be quite short. — The inscription on the door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya does not have *hamza* signs: in *mi'a* it displays only the *kursī*, while the door in Kuwait does have the *hamza* sign here. The *tā' marbūtas* do not have diacritical dots in the Barqūqiyya, while the door in Kuwait omits them (in the pausal form?) at the end of the inscription (*hiḡriyya*), but has them in two other places (*guzāt, mi'a*).

²² I left the Barqūqiyya out of consideration, but included the mausoleum of Barqūq (Faraḡ's complex).

²³ Berchem, *Matériaux* 169–342. In fact, there was one exception which showed a metathesis of the tens and units: سنة عشر ثلاث وثمان مائة. In all probability, the artisan omitted the unit, realized his mistake at once, and inserted it after the ten. In its present form, the numeral is absolutely impossible. Berchem, *Matériaux*, 318 (no. 207). Gottheil (1909:59), too, found only cases with the ascending scale in the many hundreds of inscriptions he studied from Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia.

²⁴ Gottheil (1959:59) seems to be unfamiliar with some basic rules of Arabic syntax when writing about this sequence: "The hundreds placed first is not an impossible construction, as compound numbers in Arabic can be expressed either in an ascending or a descending scale.

Accordingly, the idea arises that the numeral may be of later date and perhaps quite modern; van Berchem's suspicion of a "maladroit restoration" is altogether warranted. But how can we explain the genesis of such a mistake? In fact, it is very easy to find a plausible explanation. We have to assume that the patron who ordered the door copied the inscription from the *in situ* door using *figures (symbols)* instead of *spelling out* the number in words in the date. Subsequently, the artisan, unversed in the syntax of historical inscriptions, read and spelled them out in accordance with his knowledge of both Cairene and modern literary Arabic.

The present author cannot accept Fehérvári's version of the date on the door in Kuwait, who reads it in the *ascending* order: "*thaman wa thamānīn wa saba'a mi'a [sic]*". It must be read: سبعمائة ثمان وثمانين, i.e. [*sanat*] *sab'mi'a tamān wa-tamānīn*.²⁵ The omission of the connective *wāw* before *tamān* is also a feature of the modern Cairene dialect, in contradistinction to the classical form.²⁶

The inscription on the Kuwaiti door has a further interesting feature (fig. 12): in the numeral 700, the letter *sīn* is conspicuously vocalized with a *ḍamma* (short *u*): سُبُعْمَائِه *sub'umi'a*, which is in fact the classical form *sab'umi'a* contaminated with the modern dialectal form *sub'umiyya* (Woidich 2006:131). Contamination by dialect forms in the field of numerals is very common in spoken literary Arabic in the whole Arab world.²⁷ Given the vague status of vocal signs in Arabic, it does not possess much weight as a proof; still, it is an interesting feature. Even if this dialectal form were old – we know very little about the actual pronunciation of vowels in earlier periods –, it is rather unlikely that a vocal sign displaying a colloquial form would appear in old inscriptions. Fehérvári interpreted this *ḍamma* sign as the letter *wāw* in his reading *wa saba'a mi'a [sic]*. In the present author's view, this cannot be accepted: the letter *wāw* looks quite different in this inscription. At the same time it

But here the units are placed between the hundred and the decade, which will not do at all." As a matter of fact, the descending scale mentioned by Gottheil and also Mols (2006:87) does not exist: the units always precede the decades. Thus we can speak of a "mixed" scale in the latter case: hundreds, units, decades. Hopkins (1984:119–120) found in his corpus of early papyri (datable to before 300/912) that the *date* of a text is usually given in the ascending scale. In connection with a *counted noun*, however, the order of hundreds, units, decades is rather the norm. The two orders may occur together in one and the same sentence even. Cf. Wright 1971: I, 259D, Vernier 1891: I, 236, Brockelmann 1969:110–111, Ambros 1969:270–271, El-Ayoubi 2001:338–339 (also n. 5 on p. 339). The same mixed sequence with only one connecting *wāw* can be observed in the colloquial dialect of Cairo, too. Cf. Spitta 1880:161, Willmore 1901:95, Abdel-Massih 1978:197, and Fischer, Jastrow 1980:100.

²⁵ Fehérvári 2012:2 (fig. 5), 10. Our inscriptions display features of Cairene Arabic. In the transcription of contaminated ("Middle Arabic") forms we follow the written forms as far as possible.

²⁶ See Spitta 1880:161, Willmore 1901:91, Woidich 2006:132, 134, Reckendorf 1921:206, Wright 1971:I, 259, Brockelmann 1969:110–111, Ambros 1969:270–271.

²⁷ Diem 1972/2006:47–48, El-Ayoubi 2001:338.

must also be mentioned that the *ḍamma* in our inscription is a vowel sign beyond a doubt and certainly not a decorative element serving to fill in the void space, as so often happens in Arabic inscriptions.

The door in the Hispanic Society and later in the Tariq Rajab Museum displays three minor differences in its inscription as compared to van Berchem's description of the door in the Cairo bazaar. First, the door in New York and afterwards in Kuwait has *nuṣrat al-ḡuzāt* ("support of conquerors") instead of van Berchem's *kanz al-ḡuzāt* ("treasure of conquerors"). (The Barqūqiyya door *in situ* has *nuṣrat al-ḡuzāt*.) Second, the door in the Hispanic Society and later in Kuwait has the word *hiḡriyya* added after the date; it is missing in van Berchem's description and does not occur on the Barqūqiyya door either. Third, the date has a *wāw* before the unit in the numeral *sab' mi'a wa-tamān wa-tamānīn* in van Berchem's description, which is missing on the door in Kuwait (according to the present author's reading of the date), as we have just seen. It is interesting to note that in his description of the door in the Hispanic Society and later in Kuwait, Gottheil (1909:58) mistakenly recorded the form *sab' mi'a wa-tamān wa-tamānīn*. He must have done so either under the influence of van Berchem's work, or he inadvertently corrected the numeral in accordance with the rules of classical Arabic.

In his standard monograph on the Barqūqiyya, Saleh Lamei Mostafa proceeded in a most unusual way: he reproduced the door's inscription from van Berchem's *Matériaux* as if the great Swiss epigraphist had published the inscription of the main door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya. However, he modified the sequence of numerals in conformity with the usage in inscriptions from Barqūq's time. In this way, he produced an inscription which never existed at all.²⁸ In his monograph, Fehérvári (2012:31) declares that "one can hardly read" the inscription in question and reproduces Saleh Lamei Mostafa's version instead, without explicitly saying so. Most of Fehérvári's discussions involving the inscription of the main entrance door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya are therefore irrelevant and result in confusion. In his celebrated work on the mosques of Cairo, Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1994:194) makes a brief reference to the inscription, summarizing its contents. He seems to have read it correctly; however, he does not think it so important that he should publish it *in extenso*, an approach he adopts with other inscriptions, too. In 1975, Hoda Batanouni submitted her MA thesis on Mamluk doors to the American University in Cairo. Her reading of the inscription of the *in situ* door of the Barqūqiyya contains two mistakes (Batanouni 1975:78). First, she reads *المجاهد* in the singular instead of the correct plural form *المجاهدين*. This reading is syntactically correct: the singular form "warrior [for the cause of Islam]" is here an adjective of the ruler. The correct plural form is, however, "warriors" referring to those who fight for the cause of Islam in general, as appears elsewhere in the ruler's titles. The plural morpheme can indeed be

²⁸ Mostafa 1982:77 (no. 3).

deciphered in the inscription. Second, Batanouni encloses the letter *kāf* in *wa-kāna* within square brackets [ك] ان as if it was missing. However, it is there, although its upper diagonal section has indeed been omitted for reasons of calligraphy, yet the lower semi-circular part is most conspicuous (fig. 10). A *kāf* of identical shape appears in المساكين in the bottom right section of the inscription, too!²⁹ Identical *kāfs* appear in the same context in inscriptions elsewhere on the mosque.³⁰ In actual fact, the script style applied in other relevant inscriptions on the *madrasa*-mosque is identical to those of the main entrance door. Indeed, even the spatial arrangement of the words is nearly completely identical.³¹ When dealing with the door of the Barqūqiyya, the magisterial *Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe* presents the inscription on the door in the Hispanic Museum as described by Gottheil (no. 788 049), stating explicitly that it was originally in the *madrasa* of Sultan Barqūq. The *Répertoire* presents the inscription on the door in the Hatoun store as published by Max van Berchem (no. 788 050), too. It does not, however, contain the inscription on the door currently *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya. The editors of the *Répertoire Chronologique* worked on the basis of secondary material, namely publications; consequently, they could publish only what they found in their printed sources in 1991.³² The editors do not seem to have been aware that there was a third door, too. (Namely, the *in situ* door.) And they have nothing to say on the relationship between the two doors they actually deal with; they merely advise the reader to compare them! In 2006 Luitgard Mols offered a new reading in her comprehensive thesis on Mamluk metalwork fittings.³³ She seems to have relied on Batanouni, yet modifying her reading in two places. First, Mols reads – correctly – المجاهدين instead of Batanouni's singular form. However, she joins Batanouni in failing to perceive the letter *kāf*, although a *kāf* of identical shape appears in the bottom right section of the inscription, a photograph of which she reproduces in her thesis.³⁴ In contrast to Batanouni, she fails to discover the letter *alif* of *kāna*, too, as is indicated by her rendering: و[ك]ان. In addition, she misinterprets the *alif* denoting the vowel *ā* in the middle of الفراغ "completion" as the *lām* of a definite article connected to *mustahall*, thereby producing the form المستهل, which is highly unlikely to occur in this place according to the rules of Arabic syntax. In actual fact, *all* occurrences of this word in van Berchem's *Matériaux* are construed with the genitive in the construct state,

²⁹ Depicted, for instance, in Mols 2006:410 (pl. 82).

³⁰ e.g., O'Kane, *Inscriptions* no. 187.1, photographs 253/5 (مساكين), 253/8 (وكان); no. 187.3, photograph 426/1 (وكان الفراغ).

³¹ e.g., O'Kane, *Inscriptions* no. 187.3, photograph 426/1 (وكان الفراغ etc.). This feature is a further proof that the inscription on the *in situ* door is original and has not been replaced.

³² Kalus, *Répertoire* 87–88 (no. 788 049), 88 (no. 788 050).

³³ Also accessible online.

³⁴ Mols 2006:410 (pl. 82).

i.e. without the article.³⁵ Thus, Mols's version cannot be regarded as an advancement on previous readings. The state-of-the-art online database "The Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo" by Bernard O'Kane (2012) quotes the inscriptions of the door in Kuwait as if it were an original door from Sultan Barqūq's epoch: the datum of the door appears without question mark. The source is van Berchem. This means that the authors regard the Hatoun door and the Kuwaiti door as identical. However, there is a question mark after Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait, indicating certain doubts on the authors' part. No explanation is given concerning the relationship of the door in Kuwait to the *in situ* door. There is no comment as to what happened to the *in situ* door and no reason is given why the inscriptions of the *in situ* door are missing. Apparently they are represented here by those of the door in Kuwait.³⁶

Thus, it appears that we have two readings based on the actual inscriptions at our disposal, but they are inaccurate. On the other hand, *none* of the three authoritative repertories contains the actual inscription on the main entrance door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya. Nor can it be found in the comprehensive monograph dedicated to this jewel of Mamluk architecture. This is all the more surprising since there is nothing to suggest that this door has ever been moved from its current place. Hence, it must always have been accessible to scholars. My impression is that it was the poor condition of the lower left section of the inscription that prevented even outstanding scholars from reading it. This part containing the date seems to have suffered considerably and is indeed extremely difficult to decipher, albeit not impossibly so (figs. 1, 5–7).³⁷

The present author managed to read it with considerable effort, on the basis of a series of excellent digital photographs made from various angles by Mrs. Rozália Berzsák (figs. 5–7). In fact, this section of the inscription was already in a similarly poor state of repair in the early twentieth century, as is apparent from the photograph of the door published by Herz in 1907 (fig. 8 here).³⁸ It is difficult to guess the cause of the poor condition of this particular part of the door. Bad weather comes to mind, strong *ḥamāsīn* winds full of sand perhaps, yet this explanation fails to convince, as oddly enough only the bottom left plate with the date seems to have suffered heavily, but not the remaining parts of the door including the three inscription panels. In his email message of 10 May 2007 to Iman R. Abdalfattah Fehérvári voiced an interesting idea in this respect: "Actually we have witnessed that people go into the mosque kicking the door with their legs to open it, exactly where the inscription is.

³⁵ Berchem, *Matériaux* 858 (Index *s.v.* *mustahill*). Van Berchem vocalizes *mustahill*; Lane (1980:3044b) reads *mustahall*. All major dictionaries agree with Lane.

³⁶ O'Kane, *Inscriptions* no. 187.

³⁷ Cf. Fehérvári 2012:31. In all probability, the artisan producing the new inscription plates was unable to decipher *mustahall* and used *šahr* instead.

³⁸ Herz 1907b:185 (fig. 208).

That's the reason the left lower side is in such a bad state." This is certainly an interesting idea, yet hardly convincing: the door is so heavy that one can hardly open it simply by kicking it, although the present author must confess he has never tried to do so. In May-June 2014, he visited the Barqūqiyya three times for extended photographing sessions beginning at dawn, in the very early morning, when the door was opened and closed many times by the staff of the State Ministry of Antiquities cleaning the mosque, but he never witnessed what Fehérvári described in this email message. Nobody ever kicked the door; everybody used his hands to open it, and it could be opened with great effort only. The present writer is convinced that kicking the door with the aim of opening it would result in a severe injury of the foot!

Without entering into the details of the moot question of Mamluk calligraphic styles, one may remark that several styles were in use in the Mamluk period and there were individual varieties, too. When we compare the actual door in the Barqūqiyya and the one in Kuwait now, we perceive a great difference in quality between the two inscriptions. The calligraphy of the door *in situ* is incomparably more elegant than that of the inscription in Kuwait: the former has a buoyancy and sweeping professionalism that are absent in the latter. In view of the inscription's high artistic quality on the door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya, and considering the grammatical problems presented by the inscription on the door in Kuwait, one feels compelled to reject Fehérvári's assumption that the original inscription on the door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya may have been removed and replaced with a newly made plate in the nineteenth century, which is what we can see today, and that the inscription on the door in Kuwait is original Mamluk calligraphy. (Fehérvári 2012:32). It is true that the door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya was restored around 1890 but we have no details in this respect. In any case, there is nothing to suggest that the plates with the inscriptions were replaced. We know next to nothing about what happened to the door. On the contrary, the photograph published by Herz in 1907 (fig. 8 here) shows the bottom left section in a condition that closely resembles its present appearance.³⁹ It should have looked quite different around 1907 if it had been newly made around 1890! At the same time, one must confess that there seems to be some difference in calligraphic style between the two plates on the top, as Batanouni observed in her thesis (Batanouni 1975:79). It would be imperative to carry out physical and chemical examinations of Mamluk metal fittings to see what is original and what is late replacement. It is known that the *Comité* carried out extensive restorations and that the *Comité*'s craftsmen produced excellent work in Herz's time. Stanley Lane-Poole pronounced a warning in this respect in 1895: the *Comité*'s workers in metal and wood were so good that their copies could eventually be mistaken for originals. "This merit has the obvious drawback that, unless great care is taken, the details of the monuments (e.g., the bronze bosses and plaques on doors,

³⁹ *Ibid.*

or the wood and ivory carvings and inlay work of doors and *minbars*) may be falsified.” (Lane-Poole 1906:310).⁴⁰

Fehérvári regards the use of a certain type of the letter “h” (he calls it “Persian ‘h’”) on the door in Kuwait as decisive proof of the genuineness of the door because, according to information he received from Doris Behrens-Abouseif, in Mamluk art it was used on metal objects only at the end of the thirteenth century and in the fourteenth century.⁴¹ Fehérvári also found it on a tombstone from Syria from the thirteenth century. I cannot agree with Fehérvári’s view: a letter can also be copied. As a matter of fact, he also found it in a modern inscription executed by the *Comité*; this proves that the *Comité* was well aware of the existence of this letter and used it on occasion, too.⁴² This letter does not appear in the inscription on the *in situ* door of the Barqūqiyya.

Now let us look at the facts which prove that the door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya now was there in the 1890s and 1900s, too. In his history of Islamic art published in Hungarian in 1907, a few years after van Berchem’s relevant fascicle, Herz expressly mentioned Barqūq’s door when discussing metalwork under the heading “Applied Art under the Mamluk Sultans”, adding a photograph by way of illustration, and the door it depicts is apparently identical with the door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya now.⁴³ Herz mentions the door in a similar context in the French (1895, 1905) and English (1896, 1907) editions of his catalogue of the Arab Museum.⁴⁴ He writes, for instance: “The folding doors of the mosque of Sultan Barkūk, in the town, with foliage in bronze delicately inlaid with silver, and those of the tomb-mosque of el-Ghūri, belonging respectively to the beginning and end of the period of Circassian Mamluke sultans, show that the craft of metal-working was practised throughout this time with the same skill as in preceding periods.” (Herz 1907a:173). It is hard to believe that Herz would have described the door in these terms had it not been in the Barqūqiyya at the time. In connection with the Barqūqiyya’s restoration around 1890, work on the main entrance door is explicitly mentioned in the *Comité* Bulletins.⁴⁵ On the other

⁴⁰ This report appeared elsewhere, too. Mols refers to these extensive restoration campaigns. Mols 2006:44–45, 87.

⁴¹ This “Persian ‘h’” appears in the top right section in *wa-l-muğāhidīn*, in the top left section at the beginning of *hiğriyya* in our fig. 12, and in *al-zāhir* in the bottom right section in our fig. 13.

⁴² E-mail message of 23 February 2010. Fehérvári 2012:65, 69–72; esp. 69 (n. 18).

⁴³ Herz 1907b:183, 185 (fig. 208 [=fig. 8 here]).

⁴⁴ Herz 1895:43. Id. 1896:21. Id. 1906:173. Id. 1907a:160–161. In all probability, he does so in the Arabic version of the second edition, too, but I do not have access to it at the time of writing.

⁴⁵ On the restoration of the Barqūqiyya, see *Comité Bulletin* 6, 1889, p. 106; 7, 1890, p. 28, 96, 106; 7 [*recte*: 8], 1891, p. 84. Works were carried out on *seven* doors in the Barqūqiyya: in addition to the main entrance door, there were *six* doors opening into the *ṣahn*.

hand, there is no mention of any removal or replacement of this door in the *Bulletins* – I have checked every entry regarding the Barqūqiyya up to the end of 1914. In his summary account of all the conservation works carried out by the *Comité* on the Barqūqiyya up to the year 1950, Saleh Lamei Mostafa (1982:65–70) likewise makes no mention of any removal or replacement of the main entrance door. Nor is there any hint that the door at issue might not be the original one. There is no indication whatsoever that the main entrance door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya has ever been removed or replaced. This means that the present door *in situ* is most probably the original one and that the same door was there in van Berchem’s and Herz’s time also.

There is one significant difference between the door as depicted in Gottheil’s article of 1909 and the door as it appears in modern photographs taken in Kuwait, namely that in 1909 each wing featured a highly elaborate, artistic knocker which is missing today. The same happened to the *in situ* door in Cairo, too. In Herz’s photograph published in 1907, Barqūq’s original door in the Coppersmiths’ Bazaar had two beautiful knockers (one on each wing); both are now missing.⁴⁶ They were still there in 1949; they appear in the photograph of the door in the splendid publication of the Waqf Ministry, “The Mosques of Egypt”, but were missing by 1975 when Hoda Batanouni wrote her thesis.⁴⁷ In 1997, the David Collection in Copenhagen acquired one of these missing knockers. Fehérvári thought it belonged to the door in Kuwait, which he regarded as an original Mamluk work of art. The curator of the David Collection, Kjeld von Folsach, thinks it is one of the two original knockers of the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya in Cairo. Mols regards it as one of the original knockers in Cairo, too. It is not known when and how the Copenhagen knocker was removed from its original place.⁴⁸

Having looked at some basic facts, let us now examine some important details.

Sometimes it is not clear which door is meant exactly in a given place. *Comité Bulletin* 6 (1889) 91, 103; 7 (1890) 13, 18, 113, 122, 132; 7 [*recte*: 8] (1891) 25; 13 (1896) 176.

⁴⁶ Herz 1907b:184 (fig. 208) [=fig. 8 in the present work].

⁴⁷ Fehérvári 2012:9 (fig. 7), 16, 19. Batanouni 1975:78.

⁴⁸ Fehérvári’s letter of 21 March 1998 to the present author based on information by Kjeld von Folsach, director of the David Collection. See Fehérvári 2012:16. Folsach 2001:290, 323 (no. 516). A good photo with description is accessible on the museum’s website (<https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/mamluks/art/32-1997> [accessed on 13 June 2018]). Mols 2006:230–231 (no. 26/2). Upon the present author’s inquiry as to whether they had carried out physical and chemical analyses on the knocker in the David Collection, Kjeld von Folsach replied in his email of 18 June 2018: “We did not have any reason to doubt the authenticity of our door handle and I believe this was also Geza’s opinion. It is quite different in details from a door handle placed on the door to Manyal Palace from 1903 though the general design is the same. The main reason for suspicion could be the iron spike which has a relatively ‘fresh’ screw thread – but this could be 19th century restoration.”

Glimpses from the History of the Door in Kuwait

According to the records of the Hispanic Society of America, their door was purchased by the founder of the society, Archer Milton Huntington, from the dealer Elias Hatoun in Muski Street, the famous Cairene bazaar.⁴⁹ Huntington was told that it came from the Barqūqiyya. Even so, he seems to have had his doubts, because he did not install it as he had originally planned.⁵⁰ In 1909, Gottheil published an article on the door in New York. He thought that the door came from the Barqūqiyya and that it was of high quality, with instances of only minor restorations that were scarcely visible. Yet he did not venture to pronounce on its authenticity, although at one point he went so far as to declare: “It is also evident that the doors come from the Barkūqiyyah” (Gottheil 1909:59). (Gottheil regularly, but not always, used the plural with reference to “two leaves of a door”.) After some hesitation, Gottheil voiced his suspicions concerning the genuineness of the door in New York, on account of the sequence of the numerals in the year and the use of the word *hiğriyya* in the inscription. As far as the numerals are concerned, we have seen already that the sequence observed on the door described by van Berchem and the sequence on the door in New York in Gottheil’s time are the one commonly used in modern literary Arabic as well as in the modern Cairene dialect.⁵¹

The word *hiğriyya* may be uncommon, yet it is not necessarily problematic. Gottheil considers it “uncommon” in this position: he found only one inscription where it appeared in this form.⁵² This is a view with which I cannot agree. It may be uncommon, but it occurs also in Barqūq’s epitaph on the characteristic oblong, upright tombstone (*šāhid*) in front of his tomb in the complex of his son, Farağ: *sanat ihdā wa-tamānmi’a hiğriyya*.⁵³ As far as I know, it is common in modern literary Arabic and in the modern Egyptian (Cairene) dialect, too, although it is not easy to

⁴⁹ Hatoun does not appear in the 1885 edition of Baedeker’s guidebook; he is listed among “goods agents” in the 1895 edition. These firms are employed by tourists to send home their purchases “in order to avoid customhouse examinations, portorage, and various other items of expense and annoyance”. In the 1898 edition Hatoun (*sic*) is mentioned among sellers of Arabian Woodwork after Giuseppe Parvis. In the 1902 edition his name is spelt Hatoun. In the 1914 and 1929 editions E. Hatoun is listed, in first and second places respectively, among the sellers of Arab(ian) woodwork, inlaid work and ivory carvings. Egypt 1885:236. Id. 1895:32. Id. 1898:28. Id. 1902:29. Baedeker 1908:36. Id. 1914:41. Id. 1929:43.

⁵⁰ Letter of 3 July 1996 by Margaret E. Connors, Museum Department, The Hispanic Society of America, New York, to Géza Fehérvári. I am indebted to Géza Fehérvári for putting this letter at my disposal.

⁵¹ See n. 24 and the corresponding paragraph above.

⁵² In addition to the discussion below, on *hiğriyya* see also Fehérvári 2012:65.

⁵³ See Berchem, *Matériaux* 322 (no. 216). Mostafa 1968:134 (no. 565). The form *tamānmi’a* or rather *tumnumi’a*, a reflex of the dialectal form, belongs to Middle Arabic. Cf. n. 27 and the corresponding paragraph above.

find written examples because most printed sources use abbreviations in these cases. However, right now I happen to have in front of me a book published in Cairo in 1891, i.e. in the period in question, in which the date of publication is indicated on the front page as follows: *sanat 1891 mīlādiyya*. *Mīlādiyya* (= according to the birth [of Christ]) is the equivalent of *hiğriyya* here. In the author's short biography (*tarğama*) at the beginning of the work, the following similar dates can be found with *hiğriyya*, etc., spelt out in each case: *qabla sanat 1270 hiğriyya*; *sanat 1272 hiğriyya*; *sanat 1275 hiğriyya*; *sanat 1284 hiğriyya*; *sanat 1294 hiğriyya*; *sanat 1877 mīlādiyya*; *sanat 1880 mīlādiyya*; and *sanat 1880 masīhiyya* (Bāğūrī, *Durar* 1, 3–4). Another book, an Egyptian edition of Mas'ūdī's *Murūğ al-Dahab* published in AH 1346, came my way recently in which the date is expressed in both volumes as follows: *sanat 1346 hiğriyya*. In colloquial Cairene Arabic even *hiğrī* in the masculine with apparently lacking concord occurs after a date with the feminine noun *sana* in it.⁵⁴ In all probability, what Gottheil finds disturbing here is the morphologically indeterminate construct state with the corresponding indeterminate attribute, although syntactically and semantically the structure is determinate. Indeed, one feels uneasy about this feature, yet it occurs very frequently.⁵⁵

Subsequently, Gottheil also mentioned the door described by van Berchem, adding that it had been on sale in Cairo in Elias Hatoun's shop in 1892. He referred to the difference between the inscription on the door in New York and the inscription described by van Berchem. However, it did not occur to him that the two doors could be identical; he merely thought that they were "very similar". He knew that the door in New York had been acquired in Cairo but seems to have been unaware that it had been bought in the bazaar precisely from Elias Hatoun, who offered for sale the door described by van Berchem, too. At one point, Gottheil received from Max Herz a letter in which the Hungarian architect informed him that the door described by van Berchem had been made in 1892 by an Arab artisan, 'Alī al-Šiyašī, for the Cairo Street of the Midway Plaisance at the World's Columbian Exposition.⁵⁶ However, the artisan had not been able to agree with the managers of the Cairo Street Company on the price, after which the door remained in Cairo and passed into the possession of the dealer (Gottheil 1909:58–60).

Herz mentioned the door described by van Berchem in a letter to Ignaz Goldziher dated 6 April 1901, saying that he had just received the latest issue of van Berchem's *Corpus [=Matériaux]*⁵⁷ and was astonished by van Berchem's inability to distinguish an original Mamluk door from a poor replica which had been made under Herz

⁵⁴ Cf. Spitta 1880:275–276. Willmore 1901:95, 242–246.

⁵⁵ Cf. Reckendorf 1921:209, 213. Id. 1967:285. Hopkins 1984:182–187.

⁵⁶ There is some confusion in the dates in Gottheil's letter. He gives, in a postscript dated 18 August 1908, an account of Herz's letter to him dated 15 July 1909. Most probably Gottheil mixed up the two dates.

⁵⁷ Cf. n. 9 above.

Pasha's very eyes "by a botcher". Herz added that he was going to inform van Berchem of this mistake: "*Van Berchem hat mir seinen letzten Corp. [sic] eingeschickt. Es that mir leid zu bemerken, daß er p. 304 – N^o 197 von einer Thüre spricht als ob sie alt gewesen wäre. Die Thüre wurde unter meinen Augen von einem Pfuscher angefertigt. Ich will ihm davon gelinde Mitteilung machen. Ich kann einen solchen Irrtum von V. B. gar nicht fassen.*" ("Van Berchem has sent me his last *Corpus*. I was sorry to notice that on p. 304 under no. 197 he talks about a door as if it were original. The door was made by a botcher under my own eyes. I want to inform him gently of this. I am totally unable to comprehend such a mistake by Van Berchem.")⁵⁸

Sadly, Herz Pasha's letter to van Berchem has not survived. However, Max van Berchem does acknowledge it in the addenda to his *Matériaux*: "*M. Herz m'écrit que cette porte est un travail moderne, exécuté en 1893, et que ce faux a trompé des juges compétents et provoqué une enquête. S'il est vrai que ce texte a été fabriqué de toutes pièces, et mes souvenirs sur ce point sont trop lointains pour contredire l'opinion très autorisée du savant architecte, le n^o 197 n'a plus de valeur.*" ("Mr. Herz writes to me that this door is a modern work executed in 1893 and that this forgery has misled competent judges and provoked an inquiry. If it is true that this entire text is a forgery throughout – and my recollections on this point are too distant to contradict the authoritative opinion of the erudite architect –, then no. 197 is null and void now.") This remark appears in the section *Additions et Rectifications* at the end of the bulky volume, and therefore escapes the attention of most readers.⁵⁹ It escaped Fehérvári's attention, too.

In the end, Gottheil was reluctant to say that the door in New York and the one described by van Berchem were genuine.

Among the donations of Herz Pasha to the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest was an inscribed bronze plaque from the mosque of Sultan Barqūq measuring 50 × 19 cm. This plaque is currently missing; its whereabouts can only be traced up to 1962. It is not clear what has happened to it, and where it is now.⁶⁰ We know its inscription from a letter written by Max Herz.⁶¹ On the basis of Herz's drawing and the text of the inscription as recorded by him one may tentatively conclude that it belonged to one of the doors in the *ṣaḥn* of the Barqūqiyya. In a letter to the Museum, Herz quotes the text of the upper band on both wings; only the left half was sent to Budapest. In any case, the plaque seems completely unrelated to the door in Kuwait,

⁵⁸ The letter is preserved in the Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher. Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest. Cf. Ormos 2005:180. Goldziher's Correspondence is now accessible online, too.

⁵⁹ Berchem, *Matériaux* 770 (ad 304 [no. 197]).

⁶⁰ Cf. no. 2) in the appendix at the end of the present article.

⁶¹ Ormos 2009:462, 480 (figs. 322–323), 519–520. The present author is planning to subject the inscription of this door as quoted by Herz to a detailed examination in the near future.

as its inscription differed from those discussed above. The type of the door is also different from that of the main entrance door, as clearly appears in Herz's drawing. Fehérvári discovered that similar items had been received by the "Islamic Museum" [*sic*; the present-day *Museum für Islamische Kunst*] in Berlin, too.⁶²

Further Doors of Sultan Barqūq

Fehérvári acquired further items of information about Sultan Barqūq doors in the Manyal palace, at Cairo University (Faculty of Archeology), and in Beirut. However, these doors are not real copies of either the Barqūqiyya or the Kuwait door. The door in the Manyal palace is modelled on the entrance door of the Barqūqiyya and on the door in Kuwait, but its inscription states clearly that it was made for the palace in question. The medallion in its centre is inlaid with gold and silver. The medallion was produced in Mamluk revival style using Mamluk revival technique, and contains Barqūq's name. The door's measurements (263 × 152 cm) differ from those of the Barqūqiyya and the Kuwait doors, too.⁶³ The door at Cairo University closely resembles the Manyal palace door. The medallion at its centre is identical with that of the Manyal palace door. The door's measurements equal those of the Manyal palace door: 263 x 153.5 cm (Fehérvári 2012:41–45).⁶⁴ It must have been produced by the artist of the last-mentioned door. According to data collected by Iman R. Abdalfattah, once upon a time this door was at the French Embassy in Cairo, which presented it to Fu'ād I University (present-day Cairo University) at one point. The name of Uṣṭa Aḥmad Ḥiğāzī appears on it.⁶⁵ The door in Beirut was similar to the

⁶² Fehérvári's e-mail message of 27 November 2006 to the present author.

⁶³ Fehérvári 2012:36–40 (figs. 28–30). These are measurements of the door which the present author received from Fehérvári. The measurements in his monograph are slightly different.

⁶⁴ According to Fehérvári, a photograph of it was published in Muḥammad, *Funūn*, plate (*lawḥa*) 58 a-b-ġ, p. 341. According to the entry, the door is registered under inventory no. (*raqm al-siğill*) 759, but the author does not say where. Size: 250 x 150 cm. The description runs: "Door plated with bronze, inlaid with gold and silver, in the name of Sultan al-Nāṣir al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn, renewed by Sultan Barqūq in 788 AH." This is identical with the one referred to by Fehérvári in his monograph as the door at Cairo University. In any case, there seems to be some discrepancy in the measurements. The photographs in the copies of Su'ād Māhir Muḥammad's work accessible to me are of very poor quality: among others, the two inscriptions are absolutely illegible in them. Therefore no further conclusions can be drawn from them. The photograph in Su'ād Māhir Muḥammad's work is reproduced as fig. 26 on p. 34 in Fehérvári 2012. The caption (attribution) to this figure appearing on p. V is wrong.

⁶⁵ Iman R. Abdalfattah's email of 30 November 2006 to Fehérvári. On *uṣṭa* "≈ master", see Badawi, Hinds 1986:21. The same name appears on the revival door described by Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb in his report of 1945, on which see below.

previous doors in shape and measurements. According to the collector's widow, it disappeared during the civil war. However, Fehérvári thought it more likely that the widow sold it after the death of her husband, who used to be the curator of the Nicolas Surssock [*Niqūlā Sursuq*] Museum in Beirut. The curator and collector in question was Ibrahim M. Beyhoum, "an avid collector of artwork" himself. It seems that the door was in his private possession and not part of the museum's collections. A similar door, formerly in a private collection in Beirut, is now in the National Museum in Riyadh. It belongs to the same group of smaller-sized doors. "The right panel measures 245 x 68 cm, while the left one is 245 x 69.5 cm." (Fehérvári 2012:45–46 [fig. 36]).⁶⁶ One wonders whether it is identical to the aforementioned Beirut door. As far back as 1976, Michael Rogers reported on a pair of doors in Beirut which had "pretensions to be the original doors" of the Barqūqiyya. It is most likely that the door he mentioned was identical to the door referred to above in connection with Beirut. However, the door in Riyadh now cannot have had "pretensions to be the original doors" of the Barqūqiyya on account of its much smaller size: 245 x 68/69.5 cm as against 420 x 120 cm (one wing) in the case of the Barqūqiyya. We must assume that Rogers had no possibility of making a careful comparison between the door he saw in Beirut and the *in situ* door of the Barqūqiyya. He also remarked that the door *in situ* had certainly been heavily restored. He thought it possible, even, that two sets of doors had been made, before 1890, incorporating some of the original pieces (Rogers 1976:313).⁶⁷ It must be regarded as a major lack of consistency that in one place Fehérvári ascribes to Rogers the assumption that a metalworker may have made "two or even more pairs of doors" in the nineteenth century by using material from the original door, while on the opposite page we read that "Michael Rogers was correct assuming that more doors were made for Barqūq [in the fourteenth century], more likely *two large doors for his two main buildings* and four smaller ones for the courtyard of his mosque" (Fehérvári 2012:32–33).⁶⁸ These are two completely different assumptions. It must be clearly stated that Michael Rogers voiced the first assumption only; he wrote nothing that amounts to the second assumption. As a matter of fact, Rogers did not carry out a careful analysis nor did he elaborate a theory on this subject; this was merely a sudden idea that flashed through his mind.

In 2008, Christie's put up for auction a similar door of smaller size with a totally different inscription. However, there was a brief notice in Arabic at the bottom

⁶⁶ There is some disturbance in the illustration in question.

⁶⁷ According to Rogers, the door he saw was in the possession of Ibrahim Beyhoum at the time. Mols 2006:166 (n. 172). In actual fact, Ibrahim M. Beyhoum was the first director of the Surssock Museum at its opening in 1961 (Banks 2018). A modern travel website describes him as "an avid collector of artwork". <https://www.ixigo.com/nicolas-surssock-museum-beirut-lebanon-ne-1090812>.

⁶⁸ Emphasis added. – I.O.

stating that it had been produced in the “workshop” (or “shop”) [*maḥall*] of Ilyās Ḥāṭūn [Elias Hatoun] in 1906.⁶⁹ This piece of information is of the utmost importance because it proves that, in addition to selling artistic doors, Elias Hatoun was also involved in their *production*.

Gaston Migeon published a photograph (by G. Lekegian) of yet another door in his *Manuel d'Art Musulman* in 1907 without making any reference to it in the text. He indicated in the caption that it was in the Museum of Arab Art at that time. According to Fehérvári, this door disappeared without trace and its whereabouts were unknown. Fehérvári gave its measurements, too: c. 260 x 150 cm. It is not clear where he obtained this piece of information: the door appears only in a photograph in Migeon's *Manuel* with a brief caption but without the artefact's measurements. It can be stated on the basis of the photograph that the door in question did in fact very closely resemble the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya and also the door in Kuwait. Migeon, it seems, was unable to read the inscription: he merely stated that it was a mosque door from the fourteenth century in the Arab Museum (“*Porte de mosquée du XIV^e siècle. Musée Arabe du Caire. Cliché Lekegian*”) (Migeon 1907:197 (fig. 170)).⁷⁰ In the revised and enlarged second edition (1927), the reference to the Arab Museum, as well as to the photographer (Lekegian), disappeared and “fourteenth century” was changed to “fifteenth century” in the caption of the illustration, in which the door was depicted upside down, by the way. The caption merely said that it was “a mosque door from the fifteenth century, in Cairo” (“*Porte de mosquée du XV^e siècle, au Caire.*”).⁷¹ The door did not appear in the catalogues of the museum; the second edition was published in English translation in 1907, in the same year as the first edition of Migeon's *Manuel*.⁷² Gottheil, who was familiar with Migeon's *Manuel*, was startled to find that he was unable to trace the door in the museum's latest catalogue.⁷³ Nor did it appear in Max van Berchem's *Matériaux*, published in 1901.⁷⁴ Gottheil produced a reading of the inscription: *‘Izz li-mawlānā l-sultān al-muḡāhid Muḥammad al-nāzīr [sic] sultān al-islām wa-l-muslimīn*. He wrote that it was in the name of “Muhammad al-Nāzīr”, “i.e.” “Nāsīr al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Ḳalā’ūn [sic]”. However, Nāzīr does not make sense here and the titles of the Sultan are not correct in this form, either. What we

⁶⁹ Fehérvári 2012:48–49 (fig. 38), 50.

⁷⁰ My impression is that Fehérvári did not read the inscription. – I.O.

⁷¹ Migeon 1927:II, 83 (fig. 260). Fehérvári does not seem to have been aware of the existence of this edition.

⁷² Herz published the catalogue of the museum in two French editions (1895; 1906). Both were published in English translation (1896; 1907), the second also in Arabic (1909). None of the French and English versions lists the door in question. I have not been able to consult the Arabic translation of the second edition for the present article. – I.O.

⁷³ Gottheil 2012:60.

⁷⁴ Cf. n. 9 above.

actually find is *al-Malik al-Nāšir Nāšir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Muḥammad* or simply *al-Malik al-Nāšir Muḥammad*, and always in this sequence, i.e. the title precedes the personal name Muḥammad.⁷⁵ As a matter of fact, Gottheil misread the inscription with regard to its main point. (Interestingly, this inscription appears both at the top and the bottom of the door.) The correct reading runs: *ʿIzz li-mawlānā l-sulṭān al-malik al-nāšir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-nāšir sulṭān al-islām wa-l-muslimīn*.⁷⁶ This means that the inscription is in the name of Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāʿūn, i.e. Sultan Ḥasan, the builder of the famous mosque. Sultan Ḥasan was assassinated in 1361, while Barqūq died in 1399: it is strange to assume that two identical doors should have been made for two different sovereigns with an interval of more than thirty years. The conclusion based on all these observations must be that the authenticity of this door is highly questionable, and it is also very doubtful that it was ever in the Arab Museum.⁷⁷

Fehérvári thought that the small-sized doors mentioned above, or some of them at least, were in fact the four [*sic*] small doors which had originally been in the *ṣaḥn* of the Barqūqīyya, the doors about which “Herz had written that during the restoration work they had been replaced and the originals taken to the museum. ... However, these doors never reached the museum, as Gottheil already indicated and as I have also ascertained from the museum’s directors.”⁷⁸ Fehérvári also claimed that substantial reworking and embellishing had been carried out on them, as was the case with the big door [= the door now in Kuwait], which was, he maintained, original too.⁷⁹

I have never come across any source in which Herz wrote what Fehérvári ascribed to him. I have checked all the *Comité* Bulletins up to the end of 1914, the date of Herz’s enforced retirement and expulsion from Egypt, and there is no mention of the removal and replacement of the *ṣaḥn* doors, of which there have always been *six* and not four. On the contrary, the six “beautiful” doors in the *ṣaḥn*, “the leaves of which are covered with artistically executed bronze [*dont les vantaux sont recouverts de bronze artistiquement travaillé*]”, are repeatedly mentioned in the course of the

⁷⁵ This statement is based on all the relevant places in Berchem’s *Matériaux*.

⁷⁶ The present reading is based on the illustration in the copy of the second edition of Migeon’s *Manuel* (1927) preserved in the Library of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest. For the first edition of 1907, I consulted the copy at the University of Toronto, downloading it from the Internet Archive in September 2013. The inscription is difficult to decipher in both editions; however, the printed version is to be preferred. The relevant illustration in both editions seems to be based on one and the same photograph. Migeon’s door has knockers closely resembling the object in Copenhagen now.

⁷⁷ Fehérvári 2012:33.

⁷⁸ E-mail message of 27 November 2006. Cf. Fehérvári 2012:14, 20, 51.

⁷⁹ E-mail message of 27 November 2006.

complete restoration of the mosque: they, too, are restored during these operations.⁸⁰ The Bulletins often mention the removal of very small or even broken items and their delivery to the museum. In view of this circumstance, it is hard to believe that they would have remained silent on the removal of such important objets d'art if this had in fact taken place. In his monograph on the Barqūqiyya, Saleh Lamei Mostafa makes no mention of any removal or replacement of the doors in question either. Fehérvári's statement that Gottheil had already indicated that the *ṣaḥn* doors never reached the museum was based on a misunderstanding or misinterpretation: Gottheil merely remarked that he could not find "the door" published by Migeon in the latest catalogue of the Arab Museum (1907). As a matter of fact, the solution to this enigmatic case can be found in an entry in the second edition of Herz Pasha's catalogue of the Arab Museum. Namely, there is one item from Barqūq's *madrassa* in this publication: "*Deux vantaux enlevés d'une des quatre portes de la petite cour qui précède le tombeau de la fille du sultan Barkouk dans la rue en-Nahassyn.*" "Folding doors removed from one of four doorways in the courtyard leading into the tomb of Sultan Barkūk in the street of en-Nahhasin."⁸¹ Fehérvári misinterpreted the entry, thus concluding that Herz had removed all four (!) doors from the big *ṣaḥn* of the Barqūqiyya. However, Herz speaks here of one door only (its two wings), and it is not a door in the big central *ṣaḥn* but one of the four small doors in the small courtyard leading to the mausoleum.⁸²

Concerning Herz, Fehérvári maintains that "it has also been recorded, that he painstakingly tried to remove most of the historical doors from the monuments to the *Musée de l'art arabe*" "in the late 1880 and early '90s" and had them replaced with replicas made of brass.⁸³ Fehérvári fails to adduce his source(s). I have never come

⁸⁰ *Comité Bulletin* 6, 1889, p. 91 [?], 103; 7, 1890, p. 13, 18, 106, 113 [?], 122, 132 [?]; 7 [recte: 8], 1891, p. 25 [?]; 13, 1896, p. 176. The question marks refer to entries when "a" door is mentioned: in these cases it is not clear whether the main entrance door is meant or one in the *ṣaḥn*.

⁸¹ Herz 1906:130 (no. 190). Id. 1907a:121 (no. 190).

⁸² On this courtyard, see Mostafa 1982:31, no. 142. The English translation has "the tomb of Sultan Barqūq", while the French original says "the tomb of Barqūq's daughter". These two designations refer to the same very fine tomb. It was originally constructed for Barqūq, who, however, was buried elsewhere, namely in the mausoleum posthumously erected by his son, Faraḡ, in accordance with his last will. During his lifetime, some members of his family were buried in his original mausoleum constituting part of his *madrassa*-mausoleum in the Coppersmiths' Bazaar. Maqrīzī reports that soon after the Barqūqiyya's completion but before the festive inauguration, on 14 Ġumādā I-Āḥira 788 the remains of the Sultan's five children (*awlād*) and the corpse of his father were transferred to the new monument and buried in the mausoleum (*qubba*) there. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk VIII (ġuz' III / qism 2)*, 546 (*sanat* 788). Id., *Mawā'iz IV/2*, 682. Cf. also Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal III*, 288. Berchem, *Matériaux* 293–295 (esp. 294, [n. 7]), 304 (n. 3), 328–331.

⁸³ Fehérvári 2012:14, 25, 94.

across any piece of information confirming this statement. It is true that there were some mosque doors in the Arab Museum at the time. However, there is nothing to suggest that it was Herz who removed them. Of course, the possibility cannot be excluded that Herz removed a mosque door when it was endangered in one way or another. But I am not aware of replacements with replicas in brass. And there is absolutely nothing to suggest that Herz systematically removed doors of mosques, replacing them with replicas in brass.

The Egyptian National Archives preserve a report dated 22 October 1945 by Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, one of the *Comité*’s best experts, in which that authority gives the findings of his examination of a Sultan Barqūq door on display at the time at the *Galleries Nationales* in Alexandria. He says that the door is of excellent quality, but certainly a fake, because the Sultan’s titles have been mixed up. He adds that there is no doubt that this door and the Sultan Barqūq door at the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (which he had examined in 1940, finding it also to be of excellent quality but evidently a fake for the same reason) must be by the one and the same person, namely Al-Uṣṭa Aḥmad Ḥiḡāzī, who had indicated his name and the date (1323/1905 or 1333/1914) in small, barely decipherable letters at the bottom of the door at the ministry.⁸⁴ The same name appears on the revival door preserved in the museum of the Faculty of Archeology at Cairo University.⁸⁵

One gains the impression that at one point in the decades around 1900 there was an entire workshop in Cairo specializing in the production of Sultan Barqūq doors. It is perhaps not out of place here to quote Stanley Lane-Poole’s high opinion of the *Comité*’s artisans from the report he prepared at the request of Lord Cromer in 1895:

“And I may here observe that the staff of the Commission [= *Comité*] includes workers in metal and wood, who are able to copy the designs so accurately, that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from the originals. (They are not yet successful in stained glass, however.) This merit has the obvious drawback that, unless great care is taken, the details of the monuments (e.g. the bronze bosses and plaques on doors, or the wood and ivory carvings and inlay work of doors and *minbars*) may be falsified.”⁸⁶

Herz’s deputy, Achille Patricolo, also lauded the skills of the *Comité*’s artisans:

“A body of free artisans-specialists, masons, joiners, turners, painters, carvers, workers in marble, has been formed in the *Comité*’s office. By way of a long apprenticeship, having been wisely and passionately directed, these artisans have

⁸⁴ Egyptian National Library and Archives, ‘Abdīn 163, al-Awqāf, Laḡnat Ḥifz al-Āṭār al-Qadīma al-‘Arabiyya [*sic*]. Two photographs are enclosed with the report. Ormos 2009:461–463. At the time of my research in the National Archives I was not yet aware of the other doors of Sultan Barqūq and thus could not compare them with the photographs.

⁸⁵ See n. 65 and the corresponding paragraph above in the present article.

⁸⁶ Lane-Poole 1906:310.

acquired the great perfection necessary for the execution of the most delicate works inherent in the conservation of monuments of Arab art.” (Patricolo 1914:28).⁸⁷

One such free artisan is known by name: Todros Badir [Badīr/Bdēr < Budayr]. In 1896 the *Comité* charged Badir [probably Todros] with the restoration of the bronze door of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir’s mosque “in view of being a specialist in this field and because he had executed very good work of the kind in question before”. (There were other competitors for the same job. The artisan whose application was also considered was Muḥammad al-Šīmī.⁸⁸ Todros Badir had been trained in the workshop of his uncle, Wahba Badir, with whom his father had also worked. Wahba and Todros excelled in marquetry also. They came from Asyūt in Upper Egypt and, judging from their names, were in all probability Copts (Herz 1911:56 [n. 2]). In 1906 Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, wanted to donate a beautiful hanging lamp “of Saracenic design” to the Taj Mahal mausoleum, to be hung above the cenotaphs of Shah Jahan and his queen, Mumtaz Mahal. Lord Curzon chose as model a gilded bronze lamp from the tomb of Sultan Baybars II from the thirteenth century as depicted in the celebrated work of Prisse d’Avennes.⁸⁹ He turned to Lord Cromer for help. “It was ascertained that there were only two workmen in Egypt capable of carrying out a work of so much delicacy, and finally one of these, Todros Badir, was entrusted with the commission. Two years were occupied in making the lamp, which is of bronze, inlaid throughout with silver and gold. Mr. Richmond, of the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works, has stated his belief that no such lamp has been made since the period of the original, many centuries ago.” We can only guess who the “other” of the “two workmen” referred to was: Muḥammad al-Šīmī in all probability. It must be mentioned that this lamp cannot be regarded as a unique object in Mughal India; similar lamps can be seen above Akbar’s tomb in Sikandra and Sheykh Salīm Čišī’s tomb in the Great Mosque of Fatehpur Sikri, too. It is known that lamps were

⁸⁷ Some very fine specimens of “Mamluk” metalwork produced in this period are depicted in Vernoit 1997:228–239. I am indebted to Doris Behrens-Abouseif for drawing my attention to this publication and to Lord Curzon’s donation (see below). However, beginning in the 1930s, the standard of craftsmanship in Cairo began to decline markedly, thus jeopardizing both construction and restoration projects in general. *Idāra* 1948:49. Sidky 1999:317.

⁸⁸ *Vu que le premier [=sieur Badir] est spécialiste en la matière et qu’il a fourni de très bons travaux du genre en question, la deuxième Commission, à la majorité, lui adjuge le travail. Comité Bulletin* 13 (1896) 133–134. For the Arabic forms of the names, see the Arabic translation of the Bulletin. *Comité Bulletin* 13 (1896) 112 [Arabic]. Cf. *Comité Bulletin* 11 (1894), second edition, 54; 15 (1898) 47. See also *Comité Bulletin* 14 (1897) VI–VII [Appendice, Mosquée Abou-Bakr Mazhar el-Ansāri §7], pl. IV [a photograph of the restored door]. The title used in connection with Badir is *sieur* in the French original and *mu’allim* in the Arabic translation. In our case, this latter Arabic title refers to a foreman, who “directs the labour of others” as the head of a small group of artisans. See Badawi, *Hinds* 1986:596. On al-Šīmī, cf. *Comité Bulletin* 14 (1897) 138, 141, 153.

⁸⁹ Prisse 1877:III, pl. [CLVIII]. See also Lane-Poole 1886:62 (fig. 76).

suspended above Mumtaz Mahal's cenotaph in Shah Jahan's time, too; their shape is, however, not known.⁹⁰ A drawing of 1851 shows a lamp above Mumtaz Mahal's cenotaph, surrounded by a number of smaller hanging lamps. It is worthwhile remembering here that Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany donated a lamp of solid silver to the tomb of Sultan Saladin as a token of great respect during his visit to Damascus in 1898. The lamp is still there, in contradistinction to the gilt bronze wreath, which was removed by Sharif Fayṣal, leader of the Arab movement, and presented to T. E. Lawrence on their entry to Damascus on 1 October 1918. The latter donated it to the Imperial War Museum, where it is kept now as "Presentation wreath from Saladin's tomb".⁹¹

In the summer of 1998, Géza Fehérvári, then curator of the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait, published a brief account of the history of the door held by that museum. In addition to the door's history, he also presented the findings of physical and chemical analyses performed on the door by his expert colleague, Dr. Peter Northover of Oxford University. Northover said that with regard to the door two distinct periods could be made out. The earlier and original decorative elements were affixed to the covering brass panels by nails made of steel (fourteenth century), while the restored new pieces were affixed using screws. Moreover, the decorative elements were made of early brass (fourteenth century), while some of the silver inlay and patina were modern (nineteenth century). The wooden panels, which were covered with decorative metalwork, were modern (nineteenth century), too.⁹² As a matter of fact, only two small decorative elements were sent to Oxford. One was fixed with screws, the other with nails; the nails were also analyzed, while it was taken for granted that the screws were modern. The analysis found that some of the nails were medieval, while others were modern (Fehérvári 2012:66 [fig. 59]).

It must be stressed that Northover did not carry out a detailed analysis of the door; he merely checked the pieces taken to him by Fehérvári. In fact, he never saw the door and never visited Kuwait. Since he had conducted his analyses long ago, when I was writing the final version of my account of Sultan Barqūq's door I asked him to summarize his earlier findings as he now saw them, from a distance of more than ten years. Having submitted my enquiry to him, I received an answer in September 2013. In it, he writes that he performed work on some copper alloy plaques and some nails

⁹⁰ Ormos 2012:367. *Gift* 1909. Khare 2003. "Lord Curzon a". "Lord Curzon b". Koch 2012:166, 168–169 (fig. 233), 244, 256, 271 (n. 108–109). It seems doubtful, though, that the word *kawkaba* would mean "orbs" in Lahauri's account as quoted by Koch.

⁹¹ Abegg 1954:52. Burns 2009:113. McMeekin 2010:14. See also the web-site of the Imperial War Museums: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30083872> (accessed on 15 February 2015).

⁹² Fehérvári 1998. In a fax message from Kuwait written in 1997, Fehérvári stressed that the fourteenth-century steel of the nail was in fact the oldest steel in the world. Fehérvári 2012:53, 66.

from the door. He found that the metalwork could be a mixture of original pieces and replacements of various, even late, dates. Certainly, some of the nails were medieval.⁹³ He added that the technology had developed considerably since his first involvement with Sultan Barqūq's door in Kuwait in 1997: "With suitable equipment such as a handheld XRF spectrometer the door could be rapidly surveyed and the plaques and inlays grouped by composition and, given the history of medieval and later brass, those groupings will have some chronological significance."⁹⁴ In 2015 he said he had carried out extensive research on Mamluk revival metalwork produced in Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century. He pointed out that the brass and the steel used in the Sultan Barqūq pieces he had analyzed were certainly different from the brass and the steel employed in the Mamluk revival pieces he had been involved with. He came to the conclusion that even if the door was a Mamluk revival work, which he thought it was, it cannot have been made for the World's Columbian Exposition around 1890 but must have been executed earlier. At the same time he added that it is not always possible to define the precise date of production with physical and chemical analysis if older brass and steel have been reused.⁹⁵

Luitgard Mols (2006:87) mentions in this context that "the presence of silver-wire inlay, instead of the sheet inlay that was common in Mamluk times, also points to a later date".

In view of this complex situation concerning the eventual extensive reuse of old parts on modern doors and their modern replacement on old objects one acutely misses detailed physical and chemical analyses of Mamluk metalwork fittings. Rogers's idea comes to mind here that eventually two doors might have been produced out of the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya during its complete restoration around 1890 (Rogers 1976:313).⁹⁶ In this context one is tempted to ask: What is the point of mixing old and new elements as long as they can hardly be distinguished?

Some questions arise in connection with these doors. Since there seem to have been so many, it is difficult to say precisely who saw which. One wonders whether the door seen by Herz in Cairo and "made under his very eyes by a botcher" was the same as that now in Kuwait. Also open to doubt is how this door or these two doors relate to the door described by van Berchem in his *Matériaux*: are the discrepancies due to a momentary oversight by the great scholar – *Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* – or to the fact that there were actually two slightly different inscriptions on two very similar doors?⁹⁷ The door seen by Herz was not taken to Chicago; he

⁹³ E-mail messages of 26, 27 and 29 September 2013.

⁹⁴ E-mail message of 2 October 2013.

⁹⁵ Personal interview at Southmoor (Oxford) on 22 May 2015.

⁹⁶ Cf. n. 67 and the corresponding paragraph above.

⁹⁷ On the Latin proverb, see Büchmann 1910:417.

states this expressly in his letter to Gottheil quoted above. Since he was there on site and oversaw the final phase of the construction of Cairo Street, he must have known exactly what items were exhibited there. Yet the displaying of a Sultan Barqūq door in Chicago is beyond question.⁹⁸ Which or what door was it? Why was Herz silent concerning it? He must have known of it! Or is it possible that it was installed after Herz's departure for Egypt so that he did not know of it? The chronology of the events connected with the door in Chicago is not sufficiently clear. The first report on it was published on 16 April, but its author had not seen the door herself. On 28 June a report of a "private view of a new attraction just added to the motley charms of Cairo Street" appeared. On this occasion, the door was indeed shown to a group of invited guests. This means that the door must have been presented to the public on 27 or perhaps 26 June, but certainly not before the latter date. What happened between 16 April and 26 June? This is a time span of more than two months! Cairo Street was officially opened on 27 May. We do not know how long Herz stayed in Chicago. He probably attended the official opening and departed for Cairo some time after that event. Thus the possibility cannot be ruled out that Herz did not know of the installation of the door. It is an unlikely possibility, nevertheless it must be counted with. And what happened to the door after the end of the Fair? Was it shipped back to Cairo and returned to Hatoun's store, where The Hispanic Society acquired it later on? There is another discrepancy casting doubt on the identity of the two doors. Namely, the door van Berchem saw was "heavily damaged and roughly repaired" ("*fort endommagée et grossièrement réparée*"), while the door Gottheil saw looked different: "The doors are in a perfect condition; and though it looks as if in one or two places they had been restored, the restoration has been so cleverly done that it is hardly apparent."⁹⁹

In 1994 Fehérvári claimed that the door in Kuwait had originally belonged to Barqūq's "*Khanaqah*, or 'shelter'", which stood – together with his *madrasa*-mosque – in the Coppersmiths' Bazaar.¹⁰⁰ According to his account, due to neglect the building became ruinous and by the second half of the nineteenth century the door disappeared. It surfaced in 1892 in the possession of "Ali al-Shiyashi", who offered it to the organizers of the Egyptian government pavilion at the Chicago Fair as his own product made in imitation of one of the doors of the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan. The Organizing Committee did not buy it because it found the price too high.

⁹⁸ This is mentioned by Fehérvári, too, without a reference. Fehérvári 2012:68. I must have been his source, because I informed Fehérvári of this fact in one of our conversations. However, I cannot have spoken of "*the exhibition catalogue*" in this context because there was no *single* exhibition catalogue: there were many catalogues but none of Cairo Street. I have never come across Barqūq's door in catalogues. - I.O.

⁹⁹ Berchem, *Matériaux* 304 (no. 197). Gottheil 1909:58. With reference to the two wings of a door, Gottheil regularly uses the plural.

¹⁰⁰ Fehérvári did not explain the meaning of "shelter" in this place.

Then the enterprising metalworker artist sold it to E. Hatoun in the bazaar. “It was at this place where the late Max van Berchem, an outstanding Arabist saw it and recorded it. He accepted it as genuine, not as that of the Mosque of Sultan Hasan, but as the inscription states, the original door of the *Khanaqah* of Sultan Barquq.” (Fehérvári 1994:153–154). A *hānqāh*, or convent housing students and Sufi dervishes, had indeed been part of the Barqūqiyya complex once upon a time, but most of it disappeared long ago. In 1889, when the *Comité* examined the Barqūqiyya with the intention of starting a restoration project, there were only some ruins left and next to nothing was known about the history of this part of the complex. It was not even indicated in the ground plan prepared by Herz. (*BC* 1889:104, pl. 1). In 1982, Saleh Lamei Mostafa published a description with tentative ground plans of the two levels of the *hānqāh*. His detailed description was based on the foundation deed (*waqfiyya*), which he had discovered.¹⁰¹ In any case, nothing is known about its door(s) and whether it had any. It is highly unlikely that it should have possessed such an exquisitely ornate door, given its hidden location “behind” the *madrassa*-mosque. In general, the Barqūqiyya is characterized by a clear hierarchy in the placement of doors (Mols 2006:119).

Enter Faraġ

Soon Fehérvári abandoned this idea and developed a new concept. He wrote that the measurements of the door in Kuwait matched perfectly those of the western entrance to Faraġ’s complex; consequently, he thought that the Kuwait door had originally belonged to this monument. However, some serious questions arise in this regard. First of all, the inscription on the door in Kuwait is in harmony with the inscriptions in the Barqūqiyya, but totally alien to the system of inscriptions in the Faraġ complex.¹⁰² It is closely related to, albeit not identical with, the inscription on the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya. The door in Kuwait is practically identical to the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya as far as general shape and ornaments are concerned. This means that the door in Kuwait was made with the intention that it should look like the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya in the Coppersmiths’ Bazaar as much as possible. Yet it cannot have been made with the intention to produce a door which pretended to be *the* original door of the Barqūqiyya because its measurements were different. It would have been even more difficult for anyone to claim to have on sale *the* original main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya while the original door was there *in situ* and accessible for anyone to check the truth of this

¹⁰¹ Mostafa 1982:62–63, 71–73, Tafel 9–10. The relevant parts of the *waqfiyya* were edited and translated by Felicitas Jaritz.

¹⁰² Cf. Mostafa 1968:130–140.

claim. Thus there can be no doubt that the artisan wanted to make an exquisite modern Mamluk revival objet d'art for the art market. What actually happened was that Elias Hatoun sold it to the founder of the Hispanic Society of America, Archer Milton Huntington, as *an* original door of the Barqūqiyya, apparently without specifying which door it was. In view of the odd situation it is no wonder that Huntington had doubts concerning the door's authenticity.¹⁰³

His identification of the door in Kuwait as the main entrance door (western door)¹⁰⁴ to Farağ's complex is something that Fehérvári also claims to support with historical sources. He maintains that it was at the same time in 788/1386 that the Sultan issued orders to erect his *madrasa*-mausoleum in the Coppersmiths' Bazaar and his mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery, and "simultaneously he must have also ordered the two main portal doors". It was on this occasion that he set aside 80,000 dinars for the erection of his new mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery. His sons, after their father's death, fulfilled his wish.¹⁰⁵ Fehérvári's theory was that the door now in Kuwait had been prepared for Farağ's complex, i.e. Barqūq's mausoleum "finished" by Farağ, and that it had been there until the Ottoman conquest in 1517.¹⁰⁶ Subsequently, the building became dilapidated and partially ruinous. At one point, somebody – perhaps a metalworker or a member of his family – appropriated the door, along with the smaller ones from the big central courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) of the Barqūqiyya. He then restored it at the same time that he substantially reworked and redecorated the smaller doors and presented it as his own work.¹⁰⁷ Fehérvári writes that before Herz's involvement with Farağ's mausoleum "[i]t had no door either. Herz ... found no door there".¹⁰⁸ Therefore Herz installed a simple wooden door in 1898.¹⁰⁹ Let us look closely at this hypothesis and see whether this door could have been made for Farağ's complex in the Northern Cemetery, as Fehérvári claimed.

A Cherkess by birth, Sultan Barqūq (738–801/1336–1399) ruled in two phases: 784–791/1382–1389 and 792–801/1390–1399. It is to be assumed that when he began the building of the Barqūqiyya in 786/1384, at the age of forty-eight, he must have thought that he would be buried there, since the complex also included a "splendid, lofty mausoleum especially prepared for the burial of the dead (*qubba ḡalīla šāmiḡa qad u'iddat li-dafn al-amwāt*)". People normally built mausolea for

¹⁰³ See n. 50 and the corresponding paragraph above.

¹⁰⁴ This is the modern main entrance door to Farağ's complex located at the southwest corner. See Mostafa 1968:53, (no. 312), 90–91 (no. 498).

¹⁰⁵ Fehérvári 2012:93. Cf. also id. 1998.

¹⁰⁶ In actual fact, Barqūq's mausoleum was not merely "finished" by Farağ, but it was Farağ who erected it from beginning to end.

¹⁰⁷ E-mail message to the present author dated 27 November 2006. Original in Hungarian. Cf. Fehérvári 2012:32.

¹⁰⁸ *Comité Bulletin* 15 (1898) 46.

¹⁰⁹ Fehérvári 2012:94.

themselves, and – perhaps – for some family members. It sometimes happened that, for some special reason, the builder was buried elsewhere. It also happened that the builder died and his body could not be found, e.g. if he disappeared in battle (Sultan al-Ġūrī) or was assassinated at some unknown place (Sultan Ḥasan).

According to the description in the foundation deed (*waqfiyya*) prepared in 788/1386, i.e. at the time the complex was constructed, there was a marble cenotaph in the middle of the mausoleum with two descents to the burial vault on its eastern side covered with slabs of local marble (*bi-wasaʿ al-qubba al-maḍkūra ʿarṭh ruḥām bi-manzilayni fi l-ḥadd al-šarqī bi-ṭawābiq ruḥām baladī*). There can be no doubt that this structure – the burial vault and the corresponding cenotaph – was meant to serve the Sultan himself, in addition to other members of his family. Ultimately, various family members, including a son of Sultan Ğaqmaq, were buried in the mausoleum, although Sultan Barqūq was not. The bodies of Barqūq's father and five children were transferred to this mausoleum soon after its completion.¹¹⁰ The *madrasa*-mosque with its mausoleum was finished and inaugurated two years later, in 788/1386. This all happened during the Sultan's first period in power, before his ousting and his subsequent return to power eight months and nine days later.¹¹¹

The Sultan died thirteen years after the erection of the *madrasa*-mausoleum. In Muḥarram 801 (13 September–12 October 1398), he fell ill: severe diarrhoea (*ishāl mufriṭ*) confined him to bed for more than twenty days. Then, on Tuesday, 5 Šawwāl 801 (10 June 1399), he fell ill again. At first, nothing serious was suspected, but his condition deteriorated so rapidly that on Saturday rumours of his death began to circulate. On the following Wednesday, he was attacked by erysipelas followed by heavy hiccupping.¹¹² After indisposition lasting ten days in all, he died after midnight on Friday, 15 Šawwāl 801 (20 June 1399). It was only on the day before his death that he gave orders regarding his burial, drawing up a last will and testament in which, among other stipulations, he donated 80,000 dinars for the construction of a tomb, ordering that he be laid to rest at the feet of certain poor devotees of the Lord (sheikhs, *faqīrs*) outside *Bāb al-Naṣr*. According to Maqrīzī's description, this site seems at the time to have had a reputation as a pious and quite fashionable cemetery. In Islam in general and in Cairo in particular it was not uncommon that people chose to be buried in the vicinity of a celebrated saint in order to enjoy his *baraka* (blessing). For instance, in the year 1909–1910 the Ottoman authorities counted

¹¹⁰ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk VIII* (ḡuz' III / *qism* 2) 546 (*sanat* 788). Id., *Mawā'iz IV/2*, 682. Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manḥal III*, 288. Berchem, *Matériaux* 293–295 (esp. p. 294 [n. 7]), 304 (n. 3), 328–331.

¹¹¹ Maqrīzī, *Mawā'iz III*, 780, line 5–781, line 18; IV/2, 680, lines 10–11 (from the draft; missing from the final copy and the corresponding Būlāq edition). Mostafa 1982:117, 121 (lines 30–31), 141 (lines 30–31). On the structure of Muslim tombs, see Lane 2003:522–524.

¹¹² The ruler's disease is mentioned by Ibn Iyās (see below). It is not clear on what authority Gaston Wiet (1937:520) speaks of *des suites d'une crise d'épilepsie*.

6,730 corpses which were transported from Iran to Iraq in order to be buried close to the Shiite shrines of the martyrs ‘Alī and al-Ḥusayn in Nağaf and Karbalā (Heimsoth 2014:115). In Europe, too, people wanted to be buried close to a renowned saint, thus partaking of his sainthood and acquiring his blessing and intercession, as in the case of St. Martin’s Basilica at Tours in France, for instance.¹¹³ And, indeed, an area of 10,000 cubits was fenced off. Barqūq was buried on the spot and a *ḥānqāh* was erected later on (803–813/1400–1410) by his son, Farağ, who was about ten years of age when he succeeded his father. Barqūq died in 801/1399, while Farağ started the building work in 803/1400.¹¹⁴ This must have been quite a new idea, because during his lifetime the Sultan took no steps in this direction: he already had a mausoleum in the Barqūqiyya. The historian Ibn Tağrī Birdī points out that the Sultan’s grave was “in the middle of the road (*‘alā qāri’at al-tarīq*)”, i.e. in the open space, not inside a building, because no wall existed at the time of the Sultan’s death, adding that tents were erected *beside* the grave, i.e. for mourning family members at his burial (*wa-ḍuribat al-ḥiyām ‘alā qabrihi*).¹¹⁵ This means that nothing had yet been done regarding construction of a mausoleum; nevertheless, the Sultan was buried on the spot chosen by him for this purpose shortly before he died.¹¹⁶ Under these circumstances, we can state categorically that *the Sultan did not have a door made for this mausoleum thirteen years earlier, i.e. in 788/1386*.¹¹⁷

Fehérvári adduces some of the sources mentioned above as general references, without indicating precise places in the works he is referring to in a given case. His treatment of these sources can be described as extremely liberal: his statements, allegedly based on them, are often simply false. My impression is that he did not

¹¹³ Goldziher 1881:195–206. Berchem, *Matériaux* 304. Behrens-Abouseif 1997:88. Betthausen 2004:130–131.

¹¹⁴ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk VIII (ğuz’ III / qism 2)* 936–937 (*sanat* 801). Id., *Mawā’iz* IV/2, 920, line 15–921, line 8. Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *Nuğūm* XII, 91, 101–105, esp. 103–104. Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’* I/2, 511, 524–525. Cf. Meinecke 1992: II, 295 (26A/1). Creswell 1919:119.

¹¹⁵ Since *ḥiyām* is a plural form meaning “tents”, Popper’s interpretation of the text seems preferable to that offered by Saleh Lamei Mostafa, who thinks that “a tent was pitched *above* the sultan’s grave [emphasis added]”, implying some sort of temporary protective edifice. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Annals* I, 165, 171. Mostafa 1968:5. On the interpretation of *‘alā qāri’at al-tarīq*, see Schregle 1981–1996: II, 450.

¹¹⁶ The founding document (*waqfiyya/huğğa*) of the Farağ complex is not extant, or rather it has not been found yet. Mostafa 1968:10.

¹¹⁷ It must be admitted, though, that even among Barqūq’s contemporaries some attributed the erection of the mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery to Barqūq. Ibn Tağrī Birdī points out that this is an error. Some late sources do the same. These are secondary, tertiary, etc. sources, which use general formulations, which possess no weight when compared to the well-informed detailed chronicles referred to above. In any case, Fehérvári does not seem to have been familiar with these sources. Berchem, *Matériaux* 329 (n. 6), 330 (n. 3). Mubārak 2004–2007: I, 113; VI, 7.

consult them himself but relied on oral transmission in this respect, memorizing only those pieces of information that served his preconceptions. For instance, concerning the new mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery, he maintains that “work started on it in Barqūq’s life time” and that “Barqūq set aside 80,000 dinars for this building”, as we have seen, and uses this statement in his arguments (Fehérvári 2012:25). However, Fehérvári fails to mention – and to realize – that this happened *on the day before the Sultan’s death*, when he was already dying, and not thirteen years earlier, as Fehérvári seems to believe. Similarly, it was only after the Sultan’s death that work started on the mausoleum. Fehérvári (2012:93) also purports to rely on historical sources in claiming that it was *at the same time* that the Sultan issued orders to erect his *madrassa*-mausoleum in the Copper Smiths’ Bazaar *and* his new mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery, and “simultaneously he must have also ordered the two main portal doors”, as we have seen already. It is odd to see that Doris Behrens-Abouseif did in fact draw his attention to the fact that Barqūq had ordered the erection of the mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery on the day before his death but Fehérvári either forgot it or simply disregarded it because it did not fit into his theory.¹¹⁸ In fact, no source says what he claims. Nor is it plausible to assume that anyone would contemplate building *two* completely different mausolea for himself, one at once and another decades later (!), and order two identical doors for both, but otherwise undertake nothing for the second monument. In one place, Fehérvári admits that the erection of the new mausoleum began only after the Sultan’s death, and tries to solve the ensuing inconsistencies and chronological difficulties affecting his own theory by claiming that Maqrīzī’s statement, according to which the *madrassa*-mausoleum was *completed* in 788/1386, is based on a misunderstanding, because it cannot mean the *completion* of the mosque but must mean the date when the Sultan issued his orders to erect these two monuments, that is, it can only mean the *beginning* of the building activity. This is, incidentally, the date expressly indicated on all three of our doors¹¹⁹ as the date of *completion*: wa-kāna l-*farāğ*..., etc. Fehérvári’s line of argument runs contrary to all known data (Fehérvári 2012:96). His totally absurd

¹¹⁸ Fehérvári’s email message to Iman R. Abdalfattah dated 3 February 2008. In actual fact, Fehérvári wanted to check this piece of information in the SOAS Library but when he got there he found that the “relevant copies” of Maqrīzī were on loan. Maqrīzī treats this question *in extenso* in *Sulūk*; there is only a brief reference to it in *Ḥiṭaṭ*. Iman R. Abdalfattah sent him a photocopy of the relevant page in *Ḥiṭaṭ* (*Mawā’iz* IV/2, 920), where we read about the cemetery below the Citadel and that “when the Sultan fell ill, he decreed in his will that he should be buried at the feet of those holy men of God and that a mausoleum (*turba*) should be erected above his grave (*qabr*) ...”. And so it happened. – It seems that Fehérvári omitted to follow up this question, although it was of crucial importance for him. (In this place there is no difference between Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid’s two editions; of course, Iman R. Abdalfattah made the photocopy from the first edition at that time.)

¹¹⁹ The *in situ* door in the Barqūqiyya, the door described by Berchem and the door in Kuwait.

train of reasoning is rendered even more difficult to follow by his habit of mixing up the Latin expressions *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* in his argumentation.

In one of his efforts to prove that the door in Kuwait is original, Fehérvári uses a startling argument to demonstrate that in the nineteenth century there was “another original Barqūq” door (looking exactly like the main door *in situ* in the Barqūqiyya) in Cairo, to which some people, among them Elias Hatoun, had access. Namely, he is convinced that the Mamluk revival replicas can only have been made by artisans who had *an* original door in front of them. Fehérvári writes: “The next important question is how could the craftsmen in Elias Hatoun workshop [*sic*] copy so closely and carefully Barqūq’s door? *There was no photography at that time, certainly not the technique that we have today.* Did they draw the main portal of the Mosque and use this drawing for their work? That seems very unlikely. Did they have the lithograph of the door to which reference has already been made above. [*sic*] Perhaps, but most likely they had an original one in front of them. A second door which was not coming from the Mosque, but from somewhere else, from a different building of Sultan Barqūq.” (Fehérvári 2012:50–51, 95).¹²⁰ As a matter of fact, photography was highly developed at that time. As one of the main destinations of emerging worldwide tourism, Egypt was very popular with professional photographers, who settled and were active in Egypt, selling their photographs to the continuously growing number of tourists visiting the Cradle of Civilisation. Contemporary photographs were of excellent quality – they were very sharp! – and were produced in formidable quantities because demand was high. (They are offered in great numbers on eBay now.) The *Comité* also used photographs for documentation, employing professional firms to produce them. Some of these excellent photographs were regularly published in the *Comité* Bulletins. The photographic archives of the *Comité*, which are currently preserved by the State Ministry of Antiquities, are a rich treasure house for conservators and historians of art alike.¹²¹ Thus it is easy to realize that acquiring an excellent photograph of the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya presented no problem whatsoever at that time. Of course, in Fehérvári’s train of reasoning the door in Kuwait is the second original door in question.

At first sight, the date on the door in Kuwait intends to suggest that it was made for the Barqūqiyya. Of course, it is possible in theory that the door was later removed to Farağ’s complex. Such cases are not unknown. The most famous example is the splendid entrance door of Sultan Ḥasan, which was later removed to al-Mu’ayyad

¹²⁰ Emphasis added. – I.O. Fehérvári is referring here to the lithograph in Prisse 1877:II, pl. [XCVII]. See Fehérvári 2012:19, n. 4, where the plate number is wrong.

¹²¹ Cf., e.g. *Le Caire dessiné* 2013. Perez 1988. One hears repeatedly of an utterly important joint project hosted by the Supreme Ministry of Antiquities, the French and German Archeological Institutes, to conserve and digitalize the *Comité*’s invaluable photographic collection.

Šayḥ.¹²² However, in this particular case, the original site of the door, the place from where it is now missing, would need to be pinpointed. This has not yet happened, as far as I am aware: this door is not missing from the Barqūqiyya. At the same time it is hard to imagine that such a splendid and expensive door was made to adorn an inner space. Such doors are made to display the builder's wealth and might to as many people as possible: this door must have been made for the main entrance in order to be visible to the whole community. In actual fact, a clear hierarchy in the placement of doors can be perceived in the Barqūqiyya (Mols 2006:119). Indeed, this door wants to imitate the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya. Yet its size is smaller: *height* 380 cm, *width* (left wing) 114 cm / (right wing) 111 cm, as against *height* 420 cm, *width* 120 cm (each wing!) in the case of the Barqūqiyya.¹²³ (Fehérvári [2012:53] adds that there is an outer frame on the Kuwaiti door measuring 16 cm on the right, 19 cm on the left and 15 cm at the bottom, while at the top it is 2 cm less, i.e. 13 cm.) It follows from the difference in size that the door cannot have been made with the intention that it should appear as the original *in situ* door.

The present writer is convinced that the inscription on the door in Kuwait is modern. Géza Fehérvári maintained that “the inscription was definitely original”.¹²⁴

Bronze or Brass?

Chemical analyses in the future can clarify the question of the doors' material. This is a moot question. It must be admitted that little work of this nature has been done in this special field of Mamluk archaeology.¹²⁵ With respect to the terms “bronze” and “brass”, we have always followed the usage of our sources. Fehérvári wrote repeatedly that the door in Kuwait was made of bronze, adding in 1994 that genuine Mamluk doors were always made of bronze, while nineteenth century Mamluk revival items were made of brass: “By then bronze was neither available, nor were the metalworkers used to working in that material.” (Fehérvári 1994:154). The truth of this statement is open to doubt. Estelle Whelan spoke of bronze *and* brass in the context of the door in Kuwait now. Peter Northover speaks only of brass. Mols mentions “cast brass plaques” in the description of the *in situ* door of the Barqūqiyya, while she describes the knocker now in Copenhagen as “cast and engraved bronze” (Mols 2006:228, 230). Let us adduce here a statement by Peter Northover, an

¹²² On the removal, see Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *Nuḡūm* XIV, 43–44.

¹²³ For the size of the main entrance door to the Barqūqiyya, see Batanouni 1976:75. Fehérvári 2012:31.

¹²⁴ E-mail message of 28 March 2010.

¹²⁵ “Even today, the exact composition of Mamluk fittings made of the alloys brass and bronze is still unknown, as a scientific analysis of the composition of these base metals has yet to be conducted” (Mols 2006:146).

authority in historical metallurgy: “*Today*, basically bronze is a binary alloy of copper and tin and brass is a binary alloy of copper and zinc. ... [However,] bronze is used in a number of trade names when no tin is present. ... [T]he usage of the terms bronze and brass is quite modern. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries what is now bronze was often referred to as brass, i.e. a yellow copper alloy.”¹²⁶ Indeed, both laymen and experts (e.g., those of the British Museum) have often used the terms “bronze” and “brass” interchangeably.¹²⁷ A metallurgist by profession with great expertise in Islamic archaeology, who is “also aware of the history, as well as the way archaeologists sometimes abuse the terminology”, Peter Northover advises me: “*On the whole the Islamic world did not do bronze* so stick with brass, leaded brass and gunmetal.” The term “gunmetal” is used for alloys of copper, tin and zinc. “Some Islamic casting alloys are probably most properly called leaded gunmetals, while those with higher zinc contents would be leaded brasses. A rough rule of thumb might be that where tin is the dominant alloying element, call it a bronze, for zinc call it a brass, but where they are more equal, call it a gunmetal.”¹²⁸

Some Tentative Conclusions

It must be stressed that the present conclusions are based mainly on philological arguments, which draw on only one part of the relevant data. On the other hand, they are important factors which must be taken into account in any definitive examination of this complex question. The cumulative results of the present analysis are as follows:

1. There is nothing to suggest that the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya *in situ* is not original and that it was not there in the 1890s and 1900s. There is nothing to suggest, either, that it has ever been removed. It did undergo restoration, but it is the original door. At the same time, the extent of this restoration is not known at present.
2. It is open to doubt whether the door in Kuwait is identical with the door described by van Berchem. No definite answer can be given to this question yet.
3. There is no connection whatsoever between the door in Kuwait and Barqūq’s mausoleum (the complex of Farāğ) in the Northern Cemetery.

¹²⁶ E-mail message of 27 June 2018 to the present author. Emphasis added. – I.O.

¹²⁷ “bronze and brass have at times been used interchangeably in the old documentation...” “The term ‘copper alloy’” is to be preferred according to the “Scope Note” on “Copper Alloy” of the British Museum collection database (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?scopeType=Terms&scopeId=18864). Accessed on 26 June 2018. See also *Bearings* 1921:29. Neuburger 1981:20.

¹²⁸ Peter Northover to the present author in an e-mail message of 27 June 2018. Emphasis added. – I.O.

4. The door in Kuwait cannot have been made with pretension to be the main entrance door of the Barqūqiyya because the original door was *in situ* at the time. Any prospective buyer could check it and compare the two doors. In addition, the two doors are of different size and thus the door in Kuwait does not fit into the opening on the Barqūqiyya. On the other hand, the door in Kuwait resembles, or rather wants to resemble, the Barqūqiyya door as closely as possible. It follows from this that the artisan's intention was to make an exquisite Mamluk revival objet d'art. He clearly did not make a "fake" Barqūqiyya door with pretension to be the original entrance door.

5. The door in Kuwait contains old and new pieces alike. Their relationship (percentage) is not known. Only detailed physical and chemical analyses could determine which parts are old and which parts new. These would be extremely important for the two plates with the inscription. In view of the modern or dialectal features in the date, the plates with the inscription can hardly be old.¹²⁹

6. Since both doors look practically identical, the question arises: Where do the original pieces on the door in Kuwait come from? Perhaps from the original door of the Barqūqiyya, from which they may have been removed when it underwent restoration by the *Comité*, or even earlier perhaps? We shall recall here the idea voiced by Michael Rogers in 1976 that there is a possibility that at one point two doors were made out of one.¹³⁰ Comparative physical and chemical analyses of both doors could provide an answer to this question.

7. Around 1900, a number of (fake) doors of relatively high quality, some of them in Barqūq's name, were produced in Cairo.¹³¹ Why was Barqūq so popular with artisans?¹³²

¹²⁹ In this context it may be interesting to note that throughout his correspondence with Iman R. Abdalfattah Fehérvári strongly advocated the opinion that the door in Kuwait, or most of it, was original, yet in between, on 14 March 2007, he suddenly declared in London: "I am afraid, after seeing the photographs of those inscriptions you have already checked and sent to me, in spite of the chemical analyses of some of the decorative elements, I feel that our door in Kuwait is a REVIVAL DOOR. Still, it's an interesting story and acc. to Prof. Doris Abou-Seif [*sic*], it still should be published." (Emphasis in the original.) It is also worthwhile noting that originally he wanted to add a subtitle to his book: "I suggested to Mr Rajab that there should be a subtitle of the book: Mamluk or Revival? He is not happy about it." Email message of 20 December 2006 to Iman R. Abdalfattah. This is nothing less than a hint to a certain pressure on the part of Mr. Rajab.

¹³⁰ Rogers 1976:313. Cf. the paragraph corresponding to n. 67 above.

¹³¹ Fehérvári knows of *five* revival doors. In the report quoted above, Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb mentions *two* fake Barqūq doors of excellent quality, although in his case it is not clear whether the doors he mentions are identical with some of the doors we already know or not. See n. 84.

¹³² It is known that the big entrance door of the Barqūqiyya was one of the last exquisite specimens of Mamluk metalworking art before a decline set in in this field. However, this

8. Migeon's door seems to have been a fake; it was never in the Arab Museum.

9. The six doors in the *ṣaḥn* of the Barqūqiyya were not removed and replaced.

10. "A" Barqūq door was on display at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 at Chicago.¹³³ Nothing more is known about it.

Appendix

Some minor remarks concerning Fehérvári's monograph; they are not connected to the *Conclusions* above.

1) *ad p.* 14. Herz's letter of March, 21, 1892, was addressed to the Keeper of Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest.¹³⁴

2) *ad p.* 14. It is true what Fehérvári relates about our encounter with the General Director of the Museum of Decorative (=Applied) Arts in Budapest. However, as I found out later, the file concerning the fate of this plate could not be found in the museum archives, something the General Director did not wish to tell us. This means that it is very well possible that it was lost during World War II but it is just as possible that something else happened to it. The answer we received from the General Director was a *pia fraus*. In actual fact, the file is definitely lost, as Mrs. Dóra Reichart of the Museum Archives informed me on 21 November 2014.

3) *ad p.* 14-15. The collector in question was Nubar Innes. Notwithstanding his Armenian first name, he was not Armenian but British. He owed his first name to his godfather, Nubar Pasha, the famous minister of Armenian extraction. He was the brother of Walter Innes, physician at Qaṣr al-ʿAynī Medical School.¹³⁵

4) *ad p.* 25. "Apparently the Sultan wanted to be buried near the tombs of Sufis." In fact, Maqrīzī explicitly says so. See above.

5) *ad p.* 31. "That is particularly true to the lower right panel, as is clearly visible on Fig. 11 and 12." Fig. 12 shows the lower *left* panel.

6) *ad p.* 33-34. Fig. 26 is not the Migeon door but the door published by Suʿād Māhir in her *Funūn*.

7) *ad p.* 58, 95. The correct translation of "*Yā mufattiḥ al-abwāb / iftaḥ lanā ḥayr al-bāb*" is not "Oh, Opener of Doors / Open for us the blessing of the door" as given by Fehérvári but "Oh, Opener of doors! / Open for us the best door!", i.e. the "present" door. It is true that the structure *ḥayr al-bāb* is problematic: both in

circumstance does not explain the great popularity of Barqūq's doors towards the end of the nineteenth century and later. Cf. Allan 1984.

¹³³ We have two sources on this door. The first says it was expressly made for the Chicago fair, while the second claims it was made in the fourteenth century. See above the beginning of the present article.

¹³⁴ See Ormos 2009:519.

¹³⁵ Ormos 2009:519-520. Bahgat 1919:4-5. Cachia 1999:41.

classical Arabic and in the colloquial dialect of Cairo it is normally *ḥayr bāb* or *ḥayr al-abwāb*. The structure *ḥayr bāb* is syntactically determinate while it lacks the definite article. Some speakers feel uneasy with such a construction and supply it with the definite article preceding the adjective (!) as a sort of hypercorrection (Spitta 1880:271–272). It is plausible to assume that somebody removed the article from the adjective and affixed it to the noun, once again as a sort of hypercorrection.¹³⁶ This phrase (an “invocation” [*du‘ā*] according to Ğamāl al-Ġīṭānī) appears on many doors in Egypt, both in mosques and elsewhere (e.g. in Qaṣr al-Ġawhara in the Cairo Citadel), but it is also attested on a *hajj* banner from the nineteenth century.¹³⁷

8) *ad p. IX. Plate 7.* The large bronze door on the main entrance to Sultan al-Mu‘ayyad was not in the *qibla-īwān* of Sultan Ḥasan originally but served as the main entrance door to that famous mosque.

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¹³⁶ Blau 1966–1967:362. Id. 1970:93–94.

¹³⁷ See, Porter 2013:203–204 (where, however, the reading is not correct, nor can the phrase be attributed to the Quran). Ğamāl al-Ġīṭānī’s statement can be found under <http://www.alraimedia.com/Articles.aspx?id=18109>; last accessed on 27 June 2015.

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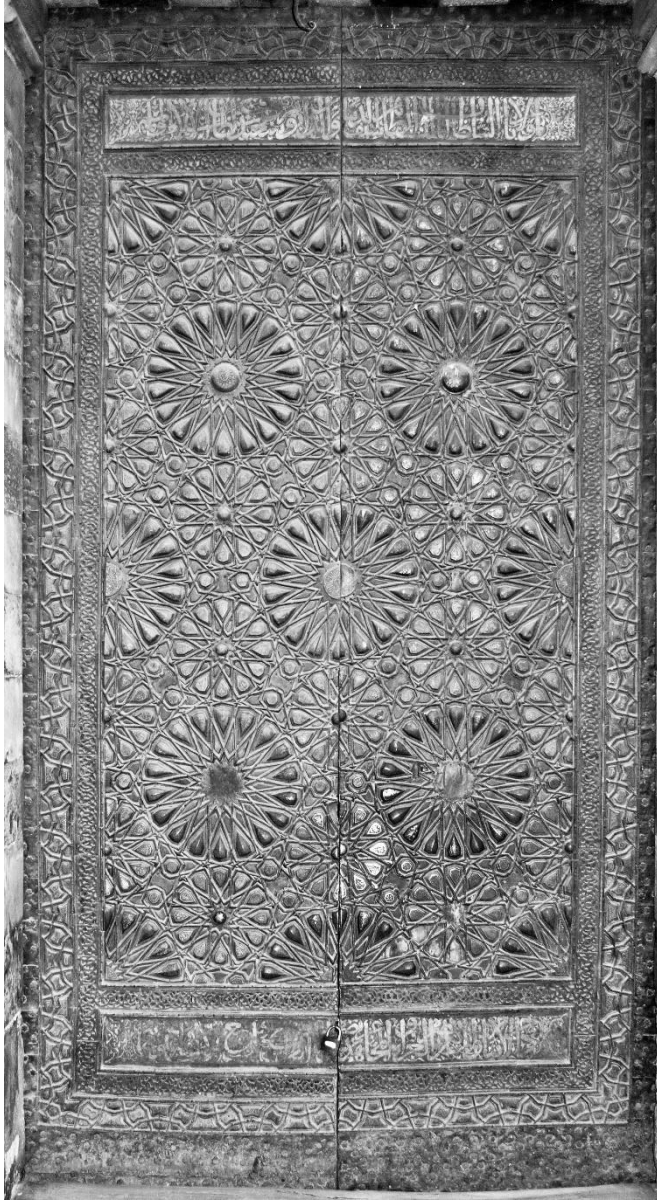


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

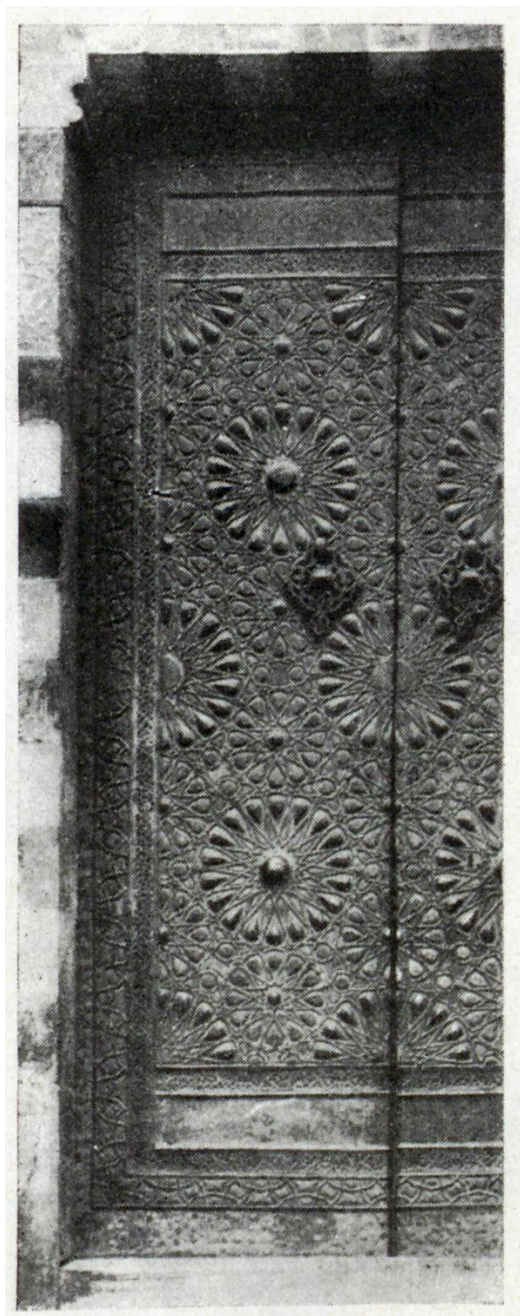


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Fig. 9



Fig. 10

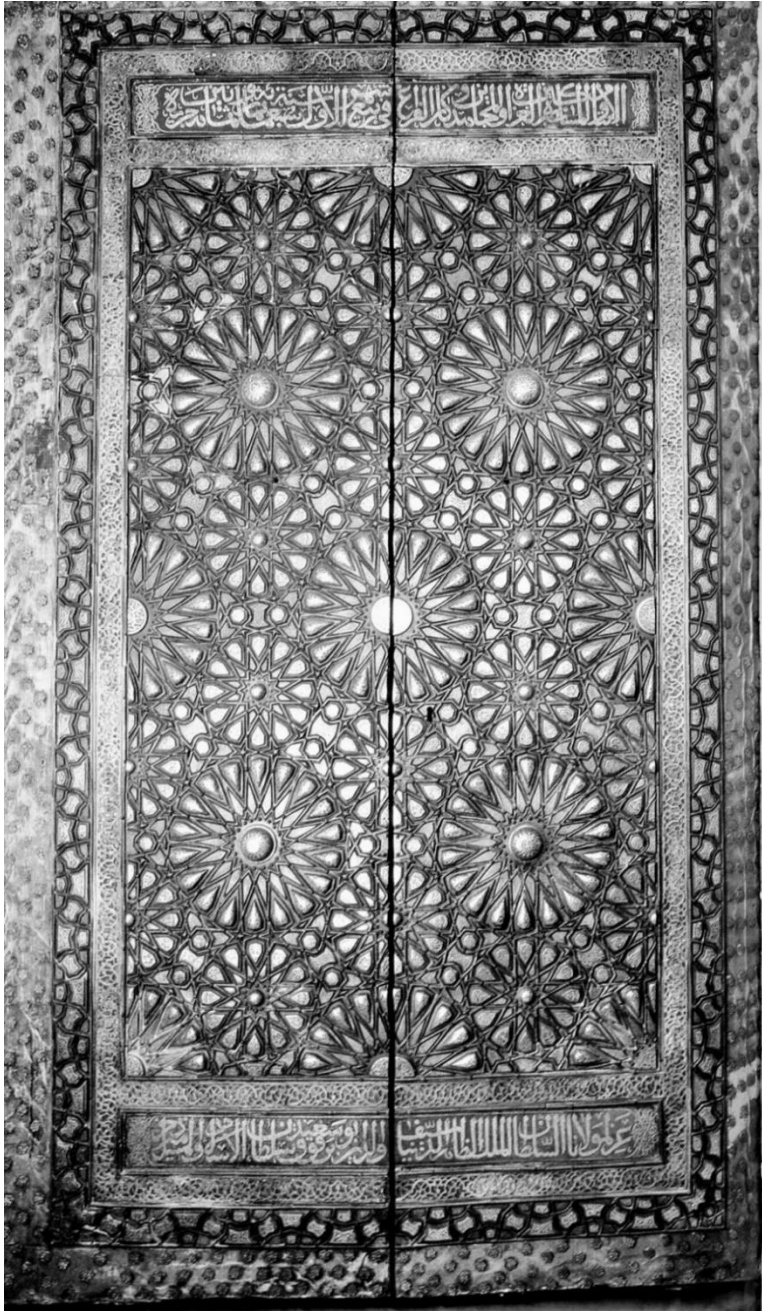


Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

NINTH-CENTURY ARABIC CHRISTIAN PERCEPTIONS OF 'OTHERNESS' UNDER MUSLIM RULE¹

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Introduction

There has been considerable research on late medieval and early modern perceptions of “others”, among them Muslims, and the Western perceptions of Islam, while the “otherness”/“othering” of Christianity under Muslim rule is far less investigated. In my paper, I seek to present the ways Christians perceived alterity in an Islamic society in the ninth century, with Christian doctrine articulated in the Arabic language for the first time and in a new frame of reference – set by Islam (Griffith 1994:42–43). I consider the ways “others” – Muslims, Jews and other, mostly Christian communities living under Muslim rule – are represented, with reference to the names/forms and concepts related to “otherness” in the works of three authors: the Melkite theologian Theodore Abū Qurra (d. ca. 820–825), the Jacobite theologian Ḥabīb ibn Ḥidma Abū Rā'īṭa (d. probably soon after 830), and the Nestorian ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī (d. ca. 840), i.e. the first known Christian theologians who wrote in Arabic. In parallel to this, I seek to identify Christian definitions of “self” and reflect on the extent to which Christians perceived of themselves as “others” under Muslim rule.

The first Arabic Christian theologians aimed to defend Christian teachings challenged by Muslims, i.e. the doctrine of the Trinity and divine filiation. In this apologetic literature, the theme of the true religion (*ad-dīn al-ḥaqq*, *ad-dīn al-qawīm*) and of the motivation underlying commitment to false religions frequently recur. I find that the true religion is a prevalent notion both in the way Christian communities defined themselves and in the way they perceived of others or otherness i.e. in the delimitation from the “other”.² Therefore, in identifying the indicators of and reasons

¹ This article is a fuller version of a lecture first presented at the IMC, Leeds, 2017, in a panel organized by Dr. Krisztina Szilágyi (*Christianity in the Islamic world*). My research project was supported by the Spalding Trust.

² As for religion and (ethnic) identity in general under the rule of Islam c.f.: Hodgson, 1977:306–307: “by Abbasi times, the *dhimmi* communities [...] were becoming identified with individual ethnic groups. When we speak of ethnic groups, we mean not nationalities as such, [...] but any groups with a common cultural affiliation into which individuals are born,

for demarcation, I mostly interpret “otherness” in terms of difference or deviation in faith/religion.

1 “True religion” and its role in othering

For an examination of any “deviation”/“difference,” the first step is the identification of the point of reference from which it is considered, i.e., in this case, the true religion. However, given that these texts were not written with the scope of transmitting theoretical knowledge with defined theological and philosophical concepts, but, as M. Swanson (2010:398) suggests, “to formulate pastorally useful arguments, in the period of and in regions under Abbasid rule in which rates of conversion to Islam were accelerating because of the pro-conversion policies”, there are no definitions in most cases. The meaning of religion and the *true* religion can be deduced from the context. All authors present *religion* as a set of the following components: a messenger who claims to be sent by God with a revealed Scripture containing His doctrine – on the divinity, His commands, or prohibitions, and reward and punishment. As for the *true* religion, instead of definitions, we find strategies for its recognition. The shared approach of these three authors is the assertion that there are negative elements that can discredit a religion or unworthy incentives to commit to a religion other than the true one, and the ones they present largely overlap. They emphasize that these causes cannot justify the spread of Christianity, which is therefore the true religion, verified by miracles and prophecies (Griffith 2002; and Stroumsa 1985). Sets of negative criteria as tools in their argumentation clearly delimit what the true religion is not; i.e. what Christianity is not, and who the Christians are NOT.

As a telling example, let us only cite Abū Rāʾīṭa, who explains the falseness of these causes with divergence and separation from God’s religion, i.e. the true religion, lying outside of obedience to God.

“[But] these six types [of reasons] diverge from the religion of God (*ḥāʾida ʿan dīn Allāh*) and lie outside of obedience to Him (*ḥāriḡa ʿan ṭāʾatihi*), and so are separated from His religion (*mufāriqa dīnahu*) because of the depravity which possesses them, and the contradictions inherent in them. ... We find that the believers of the Christian religion reject (*munābiḏūn*) the six types [of

and in particular those smaller, more cohesive groups that have a common language or dialect and a sense of common loyalty as against outsiders, though they may not be living in a single homogeneous area. Religious communities between Nile and Oxus had long tended to be identified with such ethnic groups, and now the identification became more rigorous. Almost every ethnic group that did not adopt Islam came to be identified by its own special religious allegiance even more than by its language. [...] The piety of each of the dhimmi religious bodies naturally retained its distinctive character.”

reasons to convert to another religion] foreign to the will of God (*al-ḥāriġa 'an irādat Allāh*), His remembrance is exalted! [and] contrary to the religion of truth (*muḍādida [sic!] li-dīn al-ḥaqq*)."³

For a better understanding of the relations between phrases and concepts, we may turn to the parallel structures that are evident in this passage. Given that parallelism had become the leading style in Arabic prose writing by the ninth century (Beeston 1974:134–146, Idem 1983:180–185, Sperl 1989:5), we may deduce synonymies taking into consideration the arrangement of the ideas. It is then clearly seen that *deviation* from the religion of God (*ḥā'ida 'an dīn Allāh*) also means lying outside of it (*ḥāriġa 'an ṭā'atihi*), being separated from it (*mufāriqa dīnahu*) or being contrary, i.e. opposing to it (*muḍādida li-dīn al-ḥaqq*). Explicit references to divergence, separation, and being on the outer side testify the author's perceptions of difference and otherness; at the same time, these verbalizations of demarcation, delineation are examples for othering.

2 The semantics of otherness

Otherness and othering are already witnessed in the strategies for recognizing the true religion, but in the works of Arabic Christian authors, otherness and alterity are expressed in ways that are best demonstrated by a lexico-semantic approach. There is no explicit mention of the "other" by terms that we would expect on the basis of contemporary common usage (e.g. *al-āḥar*, [*al-]*ġayr). We can find instead references to "others" by way of words indicating difference, opposition, deviation. I am enlisting the most frequently used ones, and then bring a couple of representative examples to shed light on their connotations and denotations with regard to the semantics of otherness.

The most frequently used words are derived from the radicals *ḥ-l-f* and include:

- iḥtīlāf: *difference, dissimilarity, diversity, controversy, dissent*
- iḥtalafa: *differ, vary*
- muḥtalif: *diverse, different, various*
- ḥilāf: *difference, diversity, opposition*
- muḥālif: *different, diverse, adversary*

Besides, use of forms derived from the stem *f-r-q* prevails:

³ Keating's translation (Keating 2006:85), vs. Arabic text: (Abū Rā'īta, *Die Schriften* 132): *wa-hādīhi s-sitta l-aqsām ḥā'ida 'an dīn Allāh, wa-ḥāriġa 'an ṭā'atihi wa-mufāriqa dīnahu li-mā ya'tarihā min al-fasād wa-yaltahiq 'alayhā min at-tanāquḍ. Fa-ammā l-qism as-sābi' alladī bihi yaqūm al-burhān wa-'alayhi mu'tamad al-īmān min ta'yīd Rabb al-'izza bi-mā ya'ġiz al-'aql 'an taḥṣīlihi wa-yamtani' al-ḥalq 'an fi'lihi illā li-ahli l-ḥaqq al-muršadīn waġadnā mu'taqidī dīn an-naṣrāniyya munābiḍīn al-aqsām as-sitta al-ḥāriġa 'an irādat Allāh ... al-muḍādida li-dīn al-ḥaqq.*

- farq: *separation, division, partition*
- faraqa – yafraq: *separate, divide; distinguish; differ*
- mufāraqa: *opposition*
- iftaraqa – yaftariqu: *be separated*
- iftirāq: *separation*

Other examples include forms derived from *ḥ-y-d*:

- ḥā'id: *deviant*

ʿ-n-d:

- ʿanada – yaʿnidu/yaʿnudu: *deviate, divagate*
- muʿānid: *deviant, opponent*

b-r-y:

- barrāniyyūn: *outsiders*

and *ḥ-ṣ-r*:

- ḥāṣir: *loss, perdition*

2.1 *ḥ-l-f*

2.1.1 The issue of religion

To start with the most frequently used roots, *ḥ-l-f*, we may cite 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's example that uses them to set forth difference between peoples, but bases the distinction on doctrine/religion and not ethnicity:

“They proclaimed to the peoples of the world that their Creator, about Whom they differed (*iḥṭalafū fīhi*), and concerning Whom their teaching multiplied, (*kaṭurat aqāwīluhum fī amrihi*) and from Whom their desires were separated (*tafarrāqat aḥwā'uhum ʿanhu*), and Whose name they gave to others (*waḍaʿū ismahu⁴ ʿalā ḡayrihi*) among stars and idols and other things, and thus they opposed (*nāqaḍa baʿḍuhum baʿḍan fī sababihi*) each other over Him, and the majority of them were confused (*taḥayyara aḡṭaruhum fī amrihi*) concerning Him, because they neither saw Him nor comprehended Him.⁵

Two-two elements of this list are always arranged in a parallel structure, and we have every reason to believe that these pairs, among them the first two: difference and multiplicity of teachings (*iḥṭalafū fīhi – kaṭurat aqāwīluhum fī amrihi*) are

⁴ The use of the verb *waḍaʿa* is remarkable if we take into consideration the discussions on the origins of language that took place contemporaneously to 'Ammār's writing his treatises. C.f. Vesteeh 1997:80. See also: Weiss 1987:341–342.

⁵ Mikhail's translation (Mikhail 2013:395) vs. Arabic text ('A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 72): *fa-baššarū ahl al-ʿālam bi-anna Ḥāliqahum alladī iḥṭalafū fīhi wa-kaṭurat aqāwīluhum fī amrihi wa-tafarrāqat aḥwā'uhum ʿanhu, wa-waḍaʿū ismahu ʿalā ḡayrihi min an-nuḡūm wa-l-aṣnām wa-ḡayrihā wa-nāqaḍa baʿḍuhum baʿḍan fī sababihi wa-taḥayyara aḡṭaruhum fī amrihi id lam yarawhu wa-yudrikūhu.*

structured this way intentionally to offer variations on the same idea: in synonymous parallelism, the second member repeats the content of the first in different words. Another pair follows when separation from God and idolatry (calling other things by the name of God) (*tafarraqat ahwā'uhum 'anhu – waḍa'ū ismahu 'alā ḡayrihi*) are intended to express the same idea. Finally, the thought of difference and multiplicity concerning the teachings on God, as well as separation from Him and idolatry is taken further and completed in the final pair of synthetic parallel expressions (opposition and confusion) (*nāqada ba'ḍuhum ba'ḍan fī sababihī – taḥayyara akṭaruhum fī amrihi*). The overall passage suggests that the world's peoples are divided along doctrinal lines.

Another example further demonstrates how 'Ammār al-Baṣrī uses the root *ḥ-l-f* to express doctrinal-religious differences; and we can see in this passage that stem III (*yuhālif*) is used as a synonym for stem VIII.

“If we suppose a certain city from among [the] cities, [each] having [different] types of religions (*aṣnāf min al-adyān*), our minds cannot imagine the collusion of one of them to corrupt their Book, because of the multiplicity of peoples' opinions (*iḥtilāf ārā' an-nās*) and the lack of their compliance with each other (*qillat inqiyād ba'ḍihim li-ba'ḍ*), without someone uniting them all on one thing. The proof of this is that we see groups of interpretation in all religions, as they differ from each other (*yuhālif ba'ḍuhā ba'ḍan*) and they do not follow one another (*ḡayr munqāda ba'ḍuhā li-ba'ḍ*). If it were possible that people agreed to gather together (*ittifāq an-nās 'alā l-iḡtimā'*) to corrupt the revealed [text], it would not have been possible that their interpretations would differ (*la-mā iḥtalafat fī t-ta'wīl*). Their different interpretations (*iḥtilāfuhā fī t-ta'wīl*) demonstrate the impossibility of what has been slandered concerning their [the religious sects'], agreement (*ittifāquhā*) in corrupting the revealed text.”⁶

The synonymy of the two forms *iḥtilāf* – *ḥilāf* can be seen in the passage in that in both cases the terms are set in parallel structures with the infinitive or participle of the verb form *inqāda*: multiplicity (i.e. difference) of peoples' opinions (*iḥtilāf ārā' an-nās*) with the lack of their compliance with each other (*qillat inqiyād ba'ḍihim li-ba'ḍ*); their difference from each other (as indicated by the phrase *yuhālif ba'ḍuhā ba'ḍan*) with their failure to follow one another (as expressed by *ḡayr*

⁶ Mikhail's translation (Mikhail 2013:368–369) vs. Arabic text ('A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 42): *fa-iqā tawahhamnā madīnatan min al-madā'in fihā aṣnāf min al-adyān lam yumkin 'uqūlanā tawātu' ṣanf minhā 'alā taḥrīf kitābihī li-iḥtilāf ārā' an-nās wa-qillat al-inqiyād ba'ḍihim li-ba'ḍ dūna man yaḡma'uhum 'alā amr wāḥid. Wa-d-dalīl 'alā dālīka an narā fī kull dīn firaqan min ta'wīl yuhālīf ba'ḍuhum ba'ḍan ḡayr munqāda ba'ḍuhā li-ba'ḍ. Fa-law kāna yumkin ittifāq an-nās 'alā l-iḡtimā' 'alā taḥrīf at-tanzīl la-mā iḥtalafat fī t-ta'wīl. Wa-iḥtilāfuhā fī t-ta'wīl yūḍih muḥāl mā uddu'īya 'alayhā min ittifāqihā fī taḥrīf at-tanzīl.*

munqāda ba‘duhā li-ba‘d), i.e. the repetition of the antithetical parallel structures gives evidence for it. Later, difference and agreement are also opposed in the text, which implies that difference in interpretation (*iḥtilāf fī t-ta‘wīl*) demarcates the line of division.

‘Ammār al-Baṣrī is not the only author to use these roots to refer to doctrinal-religious difference. Abū Rā’iṭa’s following extracts refer to the same idea, even more explicitly, given that he places also *milla*, “religious community” by its side.

“...because the word of someone who is your opponent in religion (*muḥālīfukum fī l-milla*) is unacceptable to you (*kalāmuhu ladaykum ġayr maqbūl*).”⁷

and

“Now it is necessary for us to notice in the teaching about analogy that “God” is not counted as a single one, in keeping with the witnesses of the [sacred] books, cautioning the one who differs from us (*man ḥālafanā*), and strengthening with support the one who follows us (*šāya’anā*), even if the ones who differ from us on it (*muḥālīfūnā laḥā*) declare it to be false (*mukaḍḍibūn*) when they claim we have altered [the sacred books] by adding to them and taking away from them.”⁸

The first example is of interest given that it reflects how Christians perceived of themselves as others under Muslim rule: “us” is defined as “opponent in religion” or in religious community in face of the other (*muḥālīfukum fī l-milla*). In the second one, the “other” is called “opponent,” both by a verbal and a participial reference (*man ḥālafanā*; *muḥālīfūnā laḥā*). Difference in religion then implies mutual othering and opposition, while those who belong to the same confessional group (as indicated by *šāya’a*) are strengthened. In both phrases, the Christian as other perceives himself as someone whose word and Scriptural evidence are not credited and are refused.

Dichotomies frequently recur, as e.g. in another example by Abū Rā’iṭa:

“so that no one may have grounds to reproach us concerning [our teachings about] God, whether he agrees or disagrees (*muwāfiq – muḥālīf*) with us, is peaceful or obstinate (*musālim – mu‘ānid*).”⁹

⁷ Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:173) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 5): *li-anna man kāna muḥālīfakum fī l-milla kāna kalāmuhu ladaykum ġayr maqbūl*.

⁸ Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:201) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 19–20): *wa-qad yaġib ‘alaynā an nutbi‘ al-qawl fī l-qiyās bi-anna Allāh laysa ‘adad wāḥid fard [sic!] bi-šahādāt min al-kutub tayaqquzan li-man ḥālafanā wa-tašdīdan mimman šāya’anā wa-in kāna muḥālīfūnā la-hā mukaḍḍibīn bi-mā idda’aw min taḥrīfīnā iyyāhā bi-z-ziyāda fīhā wa-n-naqṣān minhā*.

⁹ Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:223) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 27): *li-kay-lā ya’ḥud minnā fī Allāh lawmat lā’im muwāfiqan kāna la-nā aw muḥālīfan – musāliman aw mu‘ānidan*.

Group coherence is seen to be based on agreement in doctrine (i.e. in this case teachings on God), while the demarcation is difference in creed, i.e. disagreement. The parallel structures (*muwāfiq – muḥālif* and *musālim – muʿānid*) display agreement as a pair to peacefulness, while the contrasting terms place difference/disagreement as a pair term to obstinance/aggression. This implies the synonymy of the terms involved.

Difference, opposition, i.e. “otherness” in religion also entails exclusivity, as the idea that salvation may only be the share of the community that pertains to the true religion suggests.

“If they say: “What about the salvation you have mentioned, are you saved, apart from your opponents (*muḥālif*)? We see that death is obviously upon you, just as [it affects] the rest of the peoples who are your opponents (*muḥālif*)?”¹⁰

Even though in the end death is seen to affect both parts – the group proper as well as the opponents, the very emerging of the question attests to the presence of exclusivist tendencies.

Abū Rāʾīta's following passage places the term *ḥālafah* in a wider semantic context.

“May He put both of us among those who seek His truth (*yaltamis ḥaqqahu*) and His light, who are led by (*yanqād*) the light of His lamps of knowledge, and those who follow (*yatba*) His bright lights, which show the way to those who seek enlightenment by means of them, to a grasp of the true things. They are the ones persisting in [what is true] (*muwāzibūn*), clinging fast to His precepts (*mutamassikūn bi-farāʾidihī*), and the obligation of His laws (*lāzimūn bi-šarāʾīhī*), fighting for His ways (*mutaḥarribūn li-sunanihī*), holding fast to His Word (*āḥidūn bi-kalāmihī*), rejoicing in His religion (*fariḥūn bi-dīnihī*), spurning those who differ from Him (*rāfidūn li-man ḥālafahu*), avoiding those who anger Him (*muḡtanibūn li-man ašḥaṭahu*), rejecting the unbeliever and the Deceiver (*ḡāḥidūn al-kufr wa-ṭ-ṭāḡūt*), giving credence to God and to what comes from Him (*mušaddiqūn bi-Allāh*).”¹¹

¹⁰ Keating's translation (Keating 2006:243) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rāʾīta, *Die Schriften* 37): *fa-in qālū wa-mā al-ḥalāṣ alladī ḏakartum annahu ḥalaqakum dūna muḥālifikum fa-qad narā l-mawt zāhīran ʿalaykum ka-sāʾir al-umam al-muḥālifa lakum.*

¹¹ Keating's translation (Keating 2006:165) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rāʾīta, *Die Schriften* 1): *wa-ḡaʿalanā wa-īyyāka mimman yaltamis ḥaqqahu wa-nūrahu, wa-yanqād bi-ḏiyāʾ sarḡihī al-ʾilmīyya wa-yatba ʿ maṣābīḥahu an-nayyira al-muršida li-man istanāra bihā ilā idrāk ḥaqāʾiq al-umūr muwāzibīn ʿalayhā mutamassikīn bi-farāʾidihī lāzimīn li-šarāʾīhī mutaḥarribīn li-sunanihī āḥidīn bi-kalāmihī fariḥīn bi-dīnihī rāfidīn li-man ḥālafahu muḡtanibīn li-man ašḥaṭahu ḡāḥidīn al-kufr wa-ṭ-ṭāḡūt mušaddiqīn bi-llāh wa-bi-mā ḡāʾa min ʾindahu.*

Here the form, as we can see, refers to people pertaining to other religions, i.e. the ones who differ from God or oppose Him. However, a whole chain of words and parallel phrases are used to indicate a coherence of a community of those who belong to/follow God, while oppose those who oppose Him. A dichotomy is evident here. Belonging together or separation depends on whether one follows the “true religion.” Those who follow (*yatba* ʿ), seek God’s truth (*yaltamis haqqahu*), are led by Him (*yanqād*), persisting in [what is true] (*muwāzibūn*), cling fast to His precepts (*mutamassikūn bi-farā’idihī*), and the obligation of His laws (*lāzimūn li-šarā’ihī*), fight for His ways (*mutaḥarribūn li-sunanihī*), hold fast to His word (*āḥidūn bi-kalāmihī*) rejoice in his *dīn* (*fariḥūn bi-dīnihī*) – spurn those who differ from Him or oppose Him (*rāfiḍūn li-man ḥālafahu*), avoid those who anger Him (*mutaḡannibūn li-man ašḡaṭahu*), reject unbelief and deception (*ḡāḥidūn al-kufr wa-t-tāḡūt*).

Taking into consideration ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s second example quoted above,¹² we may note a regularity in the use of *inqiyād* which expresses compliance or obedience (‘Ammār’s phrase *qillat inqiyād ba’dihim li-ba’d* was translated as ‘lack of their compliance with each other’ – while Abū Rā’iṭa’s *yanqād* as ‘being led by Him’). Being led by God and/or being inclined to follow each other then reflect a sense of belonging, while its lack indicates difference, demarcation.

Finally, let us turn to Theodore Abū Qurra, whose examples on doctrinal-religious difference include the following:

“One day, a certain need compelled me to descend to civilization and to the community of my fellow human beings, and I observed that they adhered to a variety of religions (*adyān muḥtalifa*).”¹³

And:

“There is great difference between the religions (*iḥtilāf kaṭīr fī l-adyān*).”¹⁴

And:

“And yet, there are many messengers and many books, and they disagree (*iḥtilāf*) with one another!”¹⁵

Finally:

¹² Mikhail’s translation (Mikhail 2013:368–369) vs. Arabic text (‘A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 42).

¹³ Lamoreaux’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Theologus autodidactus* 1) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī wuḡūd al-ḥāliq* 200): *fa-nazaltu yawman li-ḥāḡa ‘araḡat lī, ilā l-madā’in wa-ḡamā’at an-nās. Fa-ra’aytuhum fī adyān muḥtalifa*.

¹⁴ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī wuḡūd al-ḥāliq* 217): *wa-hunāka iḥtilāf kaṭīr fī l-adyān*, c.f. Lamoreaux’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Theologus autodidactus* 9): In the real world, there are yet other religions and still more disagreement.

¹⁵ Lamoreaux’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Theologus autodidactus* 6) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī wuḡūd al-ḥāliq* 212): *wa-qad ḡā’a man ḡā’a min kaṭrat ar-rusul wa-l-kutub wa-iḥtilāfihā*.

“After meeting all these people, I began to reflect on what each had said and realized that all of them both agreed (*ḡumlatuhum muttafiqūn*) and disagreed (*muḥtalifūn*) about three things. As for what they agreed on (*ittifāquhum*) ... As for what they disagreed on (*iḥtilāfuhum*), they disagree with one another (*yaḥtalifūn*) as to the ...”¹⁶

In this bunch of short examples, the roots *ḥ-l-f* recur referring to difference, which is never ethnic, racial, etc., but is taken into consideration in religious terms, as the other meaning, disagreement implies it. The last example clarifies the nature of the difference – i.e. the fields of disagreement, as well as it places difference as an antithetical pair of agreement (*ittifāq – iḥtilāf*).

Theodore Abū Qurra’s last example makes a connection between deviation and difference in that it clarifies the meaning of deviation as the opposition/difference from right guidance:

“If what I have said is true [...], it is you who are astray (*‘indak ḍalāl*). Indeed, there can be no doubt that guidance for you consists of the precise opposite of all this (*al-hudā ‘indak ḥilāfuhu*).”¹⁷

So far, the wider contexts of the examples have suggested that difference from other religious communities are intended; doctrinal difference is seen to be the reason of demarcation.

2.1.2 Intra-Christian differences

However, differences may also be found among different Christian denominations. We can mostly find references to these in the works of Abū Rā’iṭa, as we will see in what follows:

“Examine what the wise Abū Qurra says – may the Messiah guide him with [all the others] who oppose/differ from the truth (*man ḥālafa l-ḥaqq*)”¹⁸; which expresses the acknowledgement of interdenominational difference, whence deviation means the opposing of the truth. The nature of difference is usually given and specified, as we can read it in the following example:

¹⁶ Lamoreaux’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Theologus autodidactus* 6) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī wuḡūd al-ḥāliq* 211): *fa-lammā laqiyānī ḥā’ulā’i kulluhum bi-ḥayṭ tafakkartu fī qawl kull wāḥid minhum ra’ayt ḡumlatahum muttafiqīn fī talāṭat ašyā’, wa-muḥtalifīn aydan fihā ... wa-ammā ittifāquhum ... wa-ammā iḥtilāfuhum fa-innahum yaḥtalifūna fī šifāt ālihatihim wa-fī ḥalālihim wa-ḥarāmihim wa-fī ṭawābihim wa-‘iqābihim.*

¹⁷ Lamoreaux’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Theologus autodidactus* 45) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī wuḡūd al-ḥāliq* 267): *fa-in kāna ḥādā, yā ḥādā, ‘indak ḍalāl fa-lā šakka anna l-hudā ‘indak ḥilāfuhu.*

¹⁸ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 86): *fa-imtaḥin [...] qawl Abī Qurra al-ḥakīm ḥadāhu l-Masīḥ wa-ḡayrahu mimman ḥālafa l-ḥaqq.*

“The *Sanctus* of Abū Qurra and those who adhere [to the same doctrine] (*ašyā’uhu*), I mean Nestorius and all the dualists, the Jews, and the first and last opponents among them, has become the very same *Sanctus*, not a different (*muḥtalif*) one.”¹⁹

Here the difference regards the practice of “sanctification” (*taqdīs*), i.e. any difference from the Jacobite Trisagion. In this respect, Abū Rā’iṭa considers his denomination different from any other denominations and religious communities, i.e. a practice, a way of saying the *Trisagion* defines a Jacobite conception of “us” in contrast to everything else; but the practice also reflects doctrinal differences.²⁰ In this respect, Nestorians, Melkites, Jews, and dualists are considered as “them” who adhere to something in common, as the word *ašyā’uhu* indicates. As far as this practice is concerned, it is important for the author to demonstrate that it is not an innovation on the Jacobites’ behalf, but a logical continuation of Patristic tradition:

“The opponent (*al-muḥālif*) might claim that the *Sanctus* to which the Cross is added is an innovation and an invention (*ḥadīṭ muḥtada*) that was not used by the forefathers (*aslāf*) in old times, and the Ancient Pure Fathers, who were close in time to the messengers or any other Christian leaders took no steps towards it.”²¹

Here the opponent is any other denomination that attacks the Trisagion containing the addition: “who wast crucified for us,” the most famous characteristic of the Jacobite Rite. Opposition-difference are understood in this case rather as deviation, as the terms “innovation and invention/novelty” vs. the “forefathers” indicate. As far as the idea of innovation-heresy and the corresponding words are concerned, the

¹⁹ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 76): *šāra taqdīs Abī Qurra wa-ašyā’ihi a’nī Nastūr wa-ašḥāb al-maṭnawiyya kāffatan wa-l-yahūd ma’a dālika wa-l-muḥālifīn al-awwalīn minhum wa-l-āḥirīn taqdīsān wāḥidan ḡayr muḥtalif.*

²⁰ C.f. Brock (1985). Especially: 29. “It is clear that originally different geographical areas understood the Trisagion in different ways. At Jerusalem, Constantinople and in the West, it was taken to be addressed to the Trinity, whereas in Syria, parts of Asia Minor and Egypt it was understood as referring to Christ. The addition in Syria, by Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch (d.488), of the words ‘who was crucified for us’, in order to enforce a christological interpretation, only made the matter more inflammatory, especially in the eyes of those who disapproved of theopaschite language. Eventually, because Constantinople represented the centre of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in the East, and Syria the stronghold of opposition to the chalcedonian definition that ‘the Incarnate Christ is one *in* two natures’ this division of opinion, originally a purely geographical matter, took on ecclesiastical overtones, and a trinitarian interpretation of the Trisagion came to be seen as a hallmark of Chalcedonian orthodoxy.”

²¹ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 78): *wa-‘asā l-muḥālif an yadda’i anna ḥādā t-taqdīs al-muḥāḍif ilayhi š-šalb ḥadīṭ muḥtada’ wa-laysa yusta’mal min al-aslāf fī qadīm ad-duḥūr wa-lā yaḥtadū bihi ḥadwan al-ābā’ aṭ-tāhira al-qadīma al-qarīb ‘ahduhā bi-l-mursalīn wa-mā dūnahum min a’immat an-našrāniyya.*

influence of Islamic phraseology is clearly seen. Abū Rāʾīta then goes on in the following way:

“Were this Trisagion to which the cross is added told only by those who are called Jacobites and by none of their opponents who are contrasting them (*dūna ġayrihim min al-muḥālifīn al-muḍaddidīn [sic!] lahum*) [...], your claim would be accepted. But as it is found to be used and told by several groups and different religious communities (*milal muḥtalifa*) that do not accept one another (*ġayr qābil baʿḍuhā min baʿḍ*) [...] no one who takes their religions (*adyānahum*) into consideration can doubt that this [practice] is adopted from an ancient source (*aṣl qadīm*), previous traditions (*ātār sābiqa*) and a *sunna* in practice preserved by God’s community (*sunna ġāriya maḥfūza fī bīʿat Allāh*).”²²

This passage is of interest due to more reasons. On one hand, the Jacobites’ introducing a doctrinal difference as an innovation is negated here. On the other hand, this negation is carried out through the presentation that the contested practice is not exclusively the Jacobites’ own but is shared by other religious groups as well – it is remarkable that this argument resembles the one generally used by Christian authors when contesting the accusation of *tahrīf*. When referring to the different religious groups (*milal muḥtalifa*), their difference is emphasized in terms of opposition, contrast, lack of mutual acceptance (*ġayr qābil baʿḍuhā min baʿḍ*). Given that the shared practice is then traced back to a shared source and tradition (*aṣl, sunna*), difference between these groups may also be understood as deviance. The first sentence of the extract presents opposition and contrast as synonymous, as *al-muḥālifīn al-muḍaddidīn* indicates it. Reference to the doctrinal innovation introduced is a tool for othering – while sticking to the sources and the *sunna* is part of the construction of belonging. Those who preserve tradition are called God’s community, here indicated by the form *bīʿat Allāh*. Innovation as a theme will be visited on its own later on, in point IV, among the constructions of otherness.

So far, we have seen that the terms listed mainly refer to demarcation in terms of religious difference or deviation. We should add, however, that “difference” occasionally appears also regarding linguistic, ethnic, or geographical diversity. However, identity i.e. the construction of “us” is always based on religious affiliation in these texts, and other differences are solely mentioned when the universal nature of Christianity is contrasted to it.

²² My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rāʾīta, *Die Schriften* 78): *law kāna [...] ḥādā t-taqdīs al-muḍāf ilayhi aṣ-ṣalḥ maqūlan min al-musammiyyīn [sic!] al-yaʿqūbiyya ḥāṣṣatan dūna ġayrihim min al-muḥālifīn al-muḍaddidīn lahum fī ġall daʿwatihim kān yuqbal fī daʿwatikum fa-ammā idā wuġida mustaʿmalan maqūlan min firaq šattan wa-milal muḥtalifa ġayr qābil baʿḍuhā min baʿḍ [...] lam yašukk aḥad mimman iʿtabara adyānahum anna dālika muqtabas min aṣl qadīm wa-ātār sābiqa wa-sunna ġāriya maḥfūza fī bīʿat Allāh kāffatan.*

2.1.3 Linguistic, ethnic, and geographical division

Most examples concerning difference in language and ethnicity/community are to be found at ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, as we can see in the following:

“As far as the Christian religion is concerned, I did not see it in a people of one house or one country, [among] a people speaking one language so that they might be in collusion over one thing which they desire, [...]; nor in one kingdom in which they might [have a common] opinion, where the king could gather them together in one religion, [...]; [nor] with what was accepted on account of [a common] opinion [...]; nor in one kingdom with one language where they might be compelled by the sword to accept it, [...]. Rather, in every kingdom, every language and tongue in the east and west, [...], among the whites and blacks, in nations that dislike each other’s language, they became enemies and could not be united to be in collusion or be established by the compulsion of the sword, or set up in the world by feverish fanaticism, or by bribery or payment. Separated by their languages (*al-muḥṭaliḥīn bi-luġātihim*), living apart in their countries (*al-mutabā’idīn fī buldānihim*), opposed in their kingdoms and the situation of their world (*al-mutaḍāddīn fī mamālikihim wa-amr dunyāhum*), situated apart from each other by the seas which God made as a barrier lest they join themselves together and destroy each other because of the diversity of their kinship (*li-tabā’ud qarābatihim*) and the differences of their races and skin colors (*iḥtilāf aġnāsihim wa-alwānihim*).”²³

The passage aims to demonstrate that the unworthy incentives that make one embrace a religion are not found in Christianity. In order to prove that no collusion, coercion, ethnic solidarity or material gain can justify the spread of Christianity, it is necessary to show the diversity of circumstances among which it was accepted. Fields of diversity include community/country or geography, language, race. We can find the variants of the root *ḥ-l-f* twice in the paragraph, first in a participial form (*al-muḥṭaliḥīn bi-luġātihim*), then as an infinitive (*iḥtilāf aġnāsihim wa-alwānihim*). Parallel structures render geographical distance (*mutabā’idīn fī buldānihim*), enmity (*al-mutaḍāddīn fī mamālikihim wa-amr dunyāhum*) as synonyms for the first; and distance/diversity of kinship (*li-tabā’ud qarābatihim*) to the second: i.e. geographical distance and enmity between kingdoms appear together with linguistic differences,

²³ Mikhail’s translation (Mikhail 2013:360–361) vs. Arabic text (‘A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 32): ... *bal fī kull mamlaka kull lisān wa-umma fī l-maṣriq wa-l-maġrib [...] fī l-abyaḍ wa-l-aswad, fī umam yanfur ba’ḍuhā min luġat ba’ḍ ta’ādat ‘an an taġtami’ li-waṣfihi tawāṭīyan [sic! instead of tawāṭu’an] aw li-iḥbātihi bi-s-sayf qahran aw li-naṣabihi fī d-dunyā ‘aṣabiyyatan wa-ḥimyanatan aw bi-raṣī aw maṣāni’, al-muḥṭaliḥīn bi-luġātihim al-mutabā’idīn fī buldānihim, al-mutaḍāddīn fī mamālikihim wa-amr dunyāhum, allaḍīna ḥāla bayna ba’ḍihim wa-ba’ḍ buḥūr ġa’alahā Allāh baynahum ḥudūdan li-an-lā yašila ba’ḍuhum ilā ba’ḍ fa-yuhlik ba’ḍuhum ba’ḍan li-tabā’ud qarābatihim wa-iḥtilāf aġnāsihim wa-alwānihim.*

while difference of race and colour implies diversity of kinship. It then shows that the author perceived otherness, alterity, or diversity also in these terms, however, its display is intended to contrast it to the universality of Christianity. Other examples of 'Ammār al-Baṣrī for ethnic diversity include:

“[Given the fact that] the innumerable nations in the east and the west (*umam lā tuḥṣā*) could not agree (*ittifāq*) without communicating or meeting or getting together (*ta'āruf – iğtimā' – iltiqā'*) from [their] different kingdoms (*iḥtilāf al-mamālik*) [that are] in opposition to each other (*muḍādda ba'ḍuhum ba'ḍan*), (in all parts of the world and faraway countries (*tabā'ud al-buldān*) and different languages and races (*iḥtilāf al-luġāt wa-l-aġnās*)), [all] testify that those who proclaimed to them this religion were weak fishermen with no rule and no sword; they could not have compelled them all by the sword.”²⁴

And:

“Thus, since we have seen these great kingdoms (*al-mamālik al-'aẓīma*), numerous nations (*al-umam al-kaṭīra*), and different languages (*al-alsun al-muḥtalifa*) agreeing together (*muttafiqa*) despite their different countries, kingdoms, and languages (*'alā iḥtilāfihā*) about the acceptance of the Book, [the Christian Scriptures], and since those who proclaimed it to them had performed great miracles, we [must] conclude that they had done such [great miracles].”²⁵

In the first extract, the related notions of difference, opposition (*iḥtilāf – muḍādda*) and distance (*tabā'ud*) are contraposed with agreement (*ittifāq*), communication and meeting (*ta'āruf – iğtimā' – iltiqā'*); while in the second, multiplicity (*kaṭīra*) and difference (*muḥtalifa*) are contrasted to agreement (*muttafiqa*). The arrangement of the ideas confirms the semantic vicinity of distance-difference-opposition (as also seen in the previous example) and complements the semantic field not only through the contrary notions, but also implying that agreement in a general sense can not be realized without communication and coming together. Taking this idea one step further, it is also evident that the lack of the latter

²⁴ Mikhail's translation (Mikhail 2013:363) vs. Arabic text ('A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 34): *yašhad bi-anna dīn an-naṣrāniyya lam yuḥbat bi-s-sayf wa-inna d-du'āt ilayhi yasta'milūhu – li-annahu lā yumkin ittifāq umam lā tuḥṣā fī l-maṣriq wa-l-maġrib 'alā ġayr ta'āruf wa-lā iğtimā' wa-lā iltiqā', li-iḥtilāf al-mamālik muḍādda ba'ḍuhum ba'ḍan fī amr ad-dunyā wa-tabā'ud al-buldān wa-iḥtilāf al-luġāt wa-l-aġnās – yašhad anna llaḍīn da'awhum ilā hāḍā d-dīn ṣayyādūn ḍu'afā' lā mulk lahum wa-lā sayf, wa-qad qaharūhum bi-aġma'ihim bi-s-sayf.*

²⁵ Mikhail's translation (Mikhail 2013:367–368) vs. Arabic text ('A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 41): *fa-id ra'aynā hāḍihi l-mamālik al-'aẓīma wa-l-umam al-kaṭīra wa-l-alsun al-muḥtalifa muttafiqa bi-aġma'ihā 'alā iḥtilāfihā fī l-buldān wa-l-mamālik wa-l-alsina 'alā t-tadayyun bi-kutub fī aydīhim 'alā anna llaḍīn dafa'ūhā ilayhim qad fa'alū bi-him al-āyāt al-'izām, qaḍaynā annahum qad fa'alū ḍālika.*

is due to opposition or enmity between kingdoms and the linguistic and racial differences; i.e. there is causality between these features. The passages fit the larger context of denying unworthy incentives for the spreading of Christianity, which, as a religion, is homogeneous, is characterized by agreement, and its universality manifests itself above the level of geographical-linguistic-racial difference or plurality.

Finally, ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s remarkable comment on the difference of languages as a sign of God presents division and variety as something that may eventually accord to God’s will:

“He sent messengers to all the people of the world in their different languages which He had created for them (*bi-alsinatihim al-muḥtalifa allatī ḥalaqa lahum*), so that people would know that the One who divided the languages and made them different (*farraqa l-alsun wa-ḡa’alahā muḥtalifa*) is the One who calls them to know Him.”²⁶

The passage introduces *ḥilāf* and *farq* as synonyms, both referring to an alterity that is originated in God; this proof is based on the fact that with this multiplicity, the Unity of its originator stands in obvious contrast.

Abū Rā’iṭa’s reflections on Christian universality despite ethnic-linguistic-geographical difference presents the term in a similar semantic context:

“So [motivation for] the peoples’ acceptance of the Christian religion is clear, in spite of the diversity of their inclinations (*taṣṭīt ahwā’ihim*) and the break from their origins (*inqiṭā’ nasabihā*) [such an acceptance necessitated], [in spite of] differences in their values (*iḥtilāf aḥlāqihā*), great distance between their lands (*tanāṭ buldānihā*), the divergence of their intentions (*tabā’ud himamihā*), not to speak of their [diverse] practices [!] and word usages (*alsinatihā wa-alfāzihā*), [they accepted it] without [prompting by] worldly desires or fear, without aspiring to a known afterlife, without approval and embellishment, without licentiousness or permissiveness, without collusion to revive the prestige of [one’s heritage] in order to attain what is hoped for.”²⁷

²⁶ Mikhail’s translation (Mikhail 2013:394) vs. Arabic text (‘A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 72): *wa-ba’ata rusulan fī l-‘ālam kullihī bi-alsinatihim al-muḥtalifa llatī ḥalaqa lahum li-yu’limahum anna llaḏī farraqa l-alsun wa-ḡa’alahā muḥtalifa huwa llaḏī da’ahum ilā ma’rifatihī.*

²⁷ Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:93) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 135–136): *fa-id qad wuḏiḥa wa-bāna qabūl al-umam dīn an-naṣrāniyya ‘alā taṣṭīt ahwā’ihā wa-inqiṭā’ nasabihā wa-iḥtilāf aḥlāqihā wa-tanāṭ buldānihā wa-tabā’ud himamihā faḏlan ‘an alsinatihā wa-alfāzihā bi-lā raḡba duniyawīyya wa-lā rahba.* I cited S. T. Keating’s translation, but based the interpretation of the extract also on the original texts: see e.g. *alsinatihā* which is “their languages” – as it is also more coherent with the rest of the passage – and not “their practices” as in the quotation.

The passage renders difference (*iḥtilāf*) synonymous to diversity, separation, geographical distance, and divergence in intentions and languages (*taštūt, inqitā’, tanā’ī, tabā’ud*). Acceptance of Christianity as well as the morals or law observed by its followers is presented in a way that expresses how Christians consider or perceive of themselves as others, as well as it is an example for othering features that were mostly attributed to Muslims: worldly desires, fear, aspiration to a known afterlife, approval and embellishment, permissiveness, and collusion are among the unworthy incentives to accept a religion, as well as they are common accusations against Islam.

2.2 *f-r-q*

The second group of radicals that appears frequently in references to difference/otherness is *f-r-q*. It is mostly a synonym for the first one, as it is seen e.g. in the next example by ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī.

“And we have seen people in our day disagreeing about their religions (*muḥtalifūn fī adyānihim*), divided in their sects (*mutafarriqūn fī milalihim*), and each claiming that his religion is the religion of God, and that what contradicts it (*ḥālafahu*) is not from God.”²⁸

The sentence displays difference in religion and division in sect/denomination in a synonymous parallel structure (*muḥtalifūn fī adyānihim – mutafarriqūn fī milalihim*), indicating similarity in denotation. Division is then caused by difference; and – as usual – the indicator as well as the cause is religious affiliation, not ethnicity.

Abū Rā’iṭa uses the word to denote religious-sectarian difference, as well:

“Were our *Sanctus* (*taqdīs*)²⁹ and prayers in the name of God [...] without the True Believers’ mentioning the Cross [...] at the end, it would not be a division/difference (*faraqa*) between them and the Jews and “The People of the South”.³⁰

Or:

“It has always been a usage found at and told by the people of the blessed proclamation, and [has] also [been always] told and accepted by our opponents

²⁸ Mikhail’s translation (Mikhail 2013:353) vs. Arabic text (‘A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Burhān* 26): *wa-qad ra’aynā n-nās fī dahrinā muḥtalifīn fī adyānihim mutafarriqīn fī milalihim wa-kull wāḥid minhum yadda’ī anna d-dīn alladī huwa ‘alayhi dīn Allāh wa-inna mā ḥālafahu min ‘inda ġayr Allāh.*

²⁹ I.e. reference is made to the practice according to which Monophysites add to the *Trisagion* – which comes after the lessons from the Old Testament – the words “Who was crucified for our sake,” the most characteristic feature of the Jacobite Rite.

³⁰ My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 76): *fa-law anna taqdīsanā [...] wa-ṣalawātīnā kānat bi-ism Allāh al-quddūs min ġayr an taḥtim dīkr aṣ-ṣalb al-muḍāf ilayhi min al-mu’minīn aṣ-ṣādiqīn la-mā faraqa dālika baynahum wa-bayna l-yahūd wa-bayna ahl at-tayammun.*

(*muḥālīf*). This is the dividing line (*farq*) between all the believers and the non-believers.”³¹

Based on the context, Abū Rā’īta uses this form more in the sense of a division, a demarcation caused and indicated by difference in religion, doctrine or practice. Though Jews, and “People of the South” are mentioned in the first extract, the names are used in a religious and not an ethnic sense. Division is twofold: in the first example, there is “us” on the one side, and Jews and Muslims on the other. The second example places “us” and some of our opponents (who also accept a shared practice) on the one side, while all non-believers (i.e. everyone who refuses the practice) on the other.

2.3 *ḥ-y-d*, ‘*n-d*, *b-r-y*, and *ḥ-ṣ-r*

The third word comes from the root *ḥ-y-d* and is found at the Jacobite author in participial form usually meaning ‘deviating from’ the (true) religion. For the sake of brevity, I am discussing it together with another root, ‘*n-d*, given that it is also a part of Abū Rā’īta’s vocabulary, and is mostly placed by the side of *ḥā’id*, “deviant”. We can then take it into consideration as a reference to deviance, too.

As for *ḥā’id*, we may turn back to our first example concerning the unworthy incentives for accepting a religion³² and recall that *deviation* from the religion of God also means lying outside of it, being separated from it or being contrary to it, so the term may refer to other religions. However, in the majority of cases, it refers to other Christian groups:

“... the view of Nestorius, who deviated from the true community (*al-ḥā’id ‘an al-milla aṣ-ṣādiqa*),³³

“We need to follow the testimonies of Moses [and] the sayings of the Pure Saint Fathers, who were the pillars of the Church/community as they

³¹ My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īta, *Die Schriften* 82): *lam yazal ḡāriyan mawḡūdan maqūlan min ahl ad-da’wa l-mubāraka maqūlan maqbūlan aydan min muḥālīfīnā. Wa-huwa l-farq bayna al-mu’minīn kāffatan wa-bayna l-kuffār.*

³² “[But] these six types [of reasons] diverge from the religion of God (*ḥā’ida ‘an dīn Allāh*) and lie outside of obedience to Him (*ḥāriḡa ‘an ṭā’atihi*), and so are separated from His religion (*muḡāriḡa dīnahu*) because of the depravity which possesses them, and the contradictions inherent in them. ... We find that the believers of the Christian religion reject (*munābiḡūn*) the six types [of reasons to convert to another religion] foreign to the will of God (*al-ḥāriḡa ‘an irādat Allāh*), His remembrance is exalted! [and] contrary to the religion of truth (*muḡādidā li-dīn al-haqq*).” Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:85) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īta, *Die Schriften* 132)

³³ My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īta, *Die Schriften* 106): *ra’y Naṣṭūr al-ḥā’id ‘an al-milla aṣ-ṣādiqa.*

combated (*ḡāḥadū*) those who deviate (*al-ḥā'idīn*) from the religion of the Messiah."³⁴

"As Kyrill [...] said of the Incarnation to Nestorius, the deviant, who rejects the truth (*al-ḥā'id al-mu'ānid*), and who is weak of reason."³⁵

"the Trisagion of the honest/devoted believers and their addition of the Cross to it is different from the Sanctus of every community that deviates from and resists the truth (*ḥā'ida mu'ānida li-l-ḥaqq*) ..."³⁶

"those peoples who resisted the religion of God (*umam mu'ānida li-dīn Allāh*)"³⁷

We may say, that *ḥā'id*, when used alone, in the majority of cases, means Christian deviation; and, as the second example suggests, such deviation from Moses, or the Church Fathers, i.e. the tradition, is a cause of demarcation, contestation, dissent (as *ḡāḥada* suggests). When *mu'ānid* is placed by the side of *ḥā'id*, the two terms together still seem to refer to this deviation. When *mu'ānid* is used independently, the meaning is more general, i.e. an opposition, or even aggression might be detected in the meaning, and difference is not necessarily interdenominational. (We may also recall Abū Rā'īṭa's previously cited example,³⁸ where *mu'ānid* was seen to be a synonymous pair to *muḥālīf*, opponent, and an antonym to peaceful, *musālim*).

The form derived from *b-r-y*, i.e. *barrāniyyūn* – to the best of my knowledge – is only present in Theodore Abū Qurra's usage among the three authors examined here. The use of this form is already noticed by Griffith, who says that "Abū Qurrah uses the term *al-barrāniyyīn*, i.e. "outsiders", [...] to designate Muslims and Jews. It is a transliteration of the Syriac word *barrāyānā*, often used for "heathens" or even desert

³⁴ My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 125): *wa-qad yanbaḡī an natba' šahādāt Mūsā qawl al-ābā' al-qiddīsīn aṭ-ṭāhirīn alladīn kānū li-l-b'r'a a'mida wa-da'īm bi-mā ḡāḥadū al-ḥā'idīn 'an dīn al-Masīḥ.*

³⁵ My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 70–71): *ka-mā qāl [...] 'alā taḡassud wa-t-ta'annus Kīrillus aṭ-ṭāhir li-l-ḥā'id al-mu'ānid li-l-ḥaqq al-āḡīz ar-ra'y Nasṭūr wa-ašyā'ihī.*

³⁶ My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 76–77): *wa-taqdīs al-mu'minīn al-muḥliṣīn [...] iḍan mirāran ṭalāṭa wa-ilḥāquhum aṣ-ṣalb bi-hi muḥālīf taqdīs kull milla ḥā'ida mu'ānida li-l-ḥaqq aw bid'a ka-mā waṣaftu.*

³⁷ Keating's translation (Keating 2006:97) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 138): *tilka l-umam al-mu'ānida li-dīn Allāh.*

³⁸ "so that no one may have grounds to reproach us concerning [our teachings about] God, whether he agrees or disagrees (*muwāfiq – muḥālīf*) with us, is peaceful or obstinate (*musālim – mu'ānid*)." Keating's translation (Keating 2006:223) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 27).

nomads.”³⁹ Griffith’s identification of *al-barrāniyyīn* with Jews is justified by the following example:

“We marvel at the outsiders (*barrāniyyūn*); they believe in the scriptures of the Old [Testament], while they find fault with the mysteries of the Christians, due to the disapproval of the bodily-minded,”⁴⁰

given, that here the outsiders are those who accept the Old Testament, but, as implied, refute the New one, and the Christian mysteries. However, “outsiders” can be understood in a more general sense, too, as can be seen in the following examples:

“I praise your solicitude, and I think it is appropriate to comply with your request, not in reliance on myself, that I should be able to set up the least goal for anyone of the Christians in his religion, or to protect them when anyone of the outsiders (*al-barrāniyyūn*), people of perdition, error and rudeness (*ahl al-ḥasāra, wa-d-ḍalāla wa-l-fazāza*), moves his tongue for Satan to cause them doubts.”⁴¹

This idea, i.e. whoever follows another religion, has lost [his soul], is gone astray and is a rude one (as *ḥasāra, wa-d-ḍalāla wa-l-fazāza* indicate it) is similar to the one seen previously e.g. in Abū Rā’iṭa’s use (c.f. the first citation of this paper concerning the six false motivations for adhering to a religion, where *ḥārīḡ* alluded to being an outsider, or to exclusion); but which is more, he is depicted as evil, seeking to please Satan by confusing Christians. Outsiders are also alluded to as a threat, against whom Christians are to be protected. Another example by Abū Rā’iṭa shows further parallels:

“The obvious demonstration that our teaching is the truth (*qawlunā huwa l-ḥaqq*) and our religion is the correct one (*dīmunā huwa ṣ-ṣawāb*) (and that the one who follows another [religion] is among those who are lost (*wa-man ittaba’a ḡayrahu fa-huwa min al-ḥāṣirīn*)), is in your confession and your assent to our teaching in which we describe God by His true description.”⁴²

³⁹ Abū Qurra, *Veneration* 30, footnote 78. Griffith cites the following: “See R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1879–1901, VOL. I, COL. 578.”

⁴⁰ Griffith’s translation (Abū Qurrah, *Veneration* 35) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī ikrām al-īqūnāt* 99): *nu’ḡib min al-barrāniyyīn alladīn yu’minūn bi-kutub al-’atīqa, ḥaytu yu’ayyibūna asrār an-naṣārā li-inkār al-’uqūl al-ḡusdāniyya iyyāhā.*

⁴¹ Griffith’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Veneration* 30) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī ikrām al-īqūnāt* 89): *fa-ḥamidtu ’ināyataka, wa-ra’aytu iḡābataka, lā ṭiqatan bi-naṣī annī uqīm adnā ḡaraḍ li-aḥad min an-naṣārā fī dīnihi, aw azburu ’anhum aḍā man ḥarraka ṣ-ṣayṭān lisānahu li-taṣkīkihīm min al-barrāniyyīn, ahl al-ḥasāra wa-d-ḍalāla wa-l-fazāza.*

⁴² Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:166) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’iṭa, *Die Schriften* 3): *fa-d-dalīl al-wādīḥ anna qawlanā huwa l-ḥaqq wa-dīnanā huwa ṣ-ṣawāb wa-man ittaba’a ḡayrahu fa-huwa min al-ḥāṣirīn bi-iqrārikum wa-taṣḍīqikum li-qawlinā fīmā waṣafnā Allāh bi-hi min ḥaqq ṣifatihi.*

The basis of the definition of “us” is explicitly that “our” teaching is the truth (*qawḥunā huwa l-ḥaqq*) and our religion is the correct one (*dīnunā huwa ṣ-ṣawāb*); while the construction of the Other is based on that he follows another religion (*ittaba'a ḡayrahu*) and thus comes to be called a “lost” one (*ḥāṣir*).

The allusion to the threat of the outsiders is carried on in the next example, where Abū Qurra writes:

“Therefore, the Christian should not disapprove of the outsiders’ calling the spiritual, divine, heavenly mysteries of Christianity (*asrār an-naṣrāniyya ar-rūḥāniyya*) foolish (*taḥmīq*). For, the most skilful of these people in their own wisdom is but someone animalish, satanic, utterly foolish (*naḥsānī, ṣayṭānī, aḥmaq*).”⁴³

The outsider is extremely othered and denigrated here: he is presented as someone who calls Christian mysteries foolish; and, at the same time is animalistic, satanic, and foolish. The opposition between Christians and outsiders is emphasized by the contrastive use of the two adjectives *rūḥānī*, ‘spiritual’ vs. *naḥsānī*, ‘animalish’.

There are other similarities between Abū Qurra’s and Abū Rā’iṭa’s usages: e.g. when the former writes this way:

“A person who refrains from making the prostration to the icons because of its repulsiveness (*qubḥ*) to the outsiders (*al-barrāniyyūn*) must disregard (*yarfud*) other mysteries of Christianity too, because of their loathsomeness (*samāḡa*) to these same people;”⁴⁴

this outsider here may be compared to Abū Rā’iṭa’s previously seen “opponent” (*muḥālīf*) who was presented as one who does not accept Christian teachings (as true). Abū Rā’iṭa’s references to the lack of acceptance and considering the other as a liar (*ḡayr maqbūl – mukaddīb*) are here paragoned by repulsiveness (*qubḥ*) and loathsomeness (*samāḡa*).

The last example of this section also offers parallels:

“Because of the dullness of the ancients, God used to discharge his mysteries among them only by means of such miracles as their eyes could see in connection with them. Christians do not need anything like this. Nevertheless, for the sake of the outsiders (*al-barrāniyyūn*), and the lowest rank of the Christians (*safalat an-naṣrānī*), God continues to manifest miracles in behalf

⁴³ Griffith’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Veneration* 34) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī ikrām al-īqūnāt* 98): *iḍan lā yunkiranna an-naṣrānī taḥmīq al-barrāniyyīn asrār an-naṣrāniyya ar-rūḥāniyya, li-anna aḥḍaq ūlā’ika bi-ḥikmatihim innamā huwa naḥsānī ṣayṭānī, aḥmaq.*

⁴⁴ Griffith’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Veneration* 30) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī ikrām al-īqūnāt* 90): *innahu kāna yanbaḡī li-man imtana’a min as-suḡūd li-ṣ-suwar li-qubḥihi ‘inda al-barrāniyyīn an yarfuda wa-ḡayr dālika min asrār an-naṣrāniyya li-samāḡatihi ‘inda ūlā’ika.*

of the mysteries of Christianity, and in behalf of the strong relationship of the icons with those of whom they are the icons.”⁴⁵

It can be compared to Abū Rā’īṭa’s classification: we can remember that in case of the *taqdīs*, he placed Melkites, Nestorians, Jews and other opponents together in contrast to those true believers who accepted the Jacobite Trisagion. Similarly, Abū Qurra uses the veneration of icons as a dividing line between the Christians on the one hand and outsiders and the lowest rank of the Christians on the other.⁴⁶

3 Circulation of the *adversos Judeos* heritage and its manifestation in an Arabic Christian language

A specific case for othering is when the authors are referring to an adherent to another religion as an enemy. Apart from Theodore Abū Qurra’s general remark on enmity and violence inherent in various religious groups,⁴⁷ the most specific case is

⁴⁵ Griffith’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Veneration* 72) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī ikrām al-īqūnāt* 170): *inna Allāh, li-ḡalaḡ al-awwaliyyīn, innamā yaḡull asrārahu ‘indahum bi-mā kāna yarā a’yunuhum min al-a’āḡīb fihā. wa-inna n-naṡārā lā yaḡtāḡūna ilā miṡla ḡālika, ma’a anna Allāh lā yazāl, fī ḡāl al-barrāniyyīn wa-safalat an-naṡārā, yuḡhir al-a’āḡīb fī asrār an-naṡrāniyya, wa-fī ṡiddat waṡlihi aṡ-ṡuwar bi-mā hiya la-hu.*

⁴⁶ Another parallel would be offered as far as the topic of miracles previously presented by God but then discontinued is concerned. As seen e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Burhān* 27, evidentiary miracles were necessary for the establishment of the religion, but later generations of Christians do not need it – given that intellectual reflection is enough. (C.f. Stroumsa, 1999:31).

⁴⁷ C.f. Lamoreaux’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Theologus autodidactus* 20): “With respect to this second subject, we see that not one of the other religions recognized or commanded such things. Indeed, the situation is quite the opposite. They permitted their followers to cling to the world and pandered to their desires for it and to their enjoyment of its sweetness. This was something that slew their nature and made it ill, barring it from love for the creator and from love for one another. Like wild animals, they commanded nothing of virtue, but only vengeance and revenge. Indeed, they were not satisfied with vengeance, but went even further. They abuse, but do not accept abuse, and if abused, they strike, and if struck they kill. Nor do they limit themselves to this, but they take their swords and go forth to those who have done them no harm, killing and taking them as booty. All the religions consider this acceptable.” vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī wuḡūd al-ḡāliq* 246): *wa-fī ḡādā n-naw’ aṡ-ṡānī wa-lam nara aḡad ḡā’ulā’i l-adyān ‘araḡahā wa-lā amara bi-ḡā wa-lākin ‘alā l-ḡilāf, innahum raḡḡaṡū li-aṡḡābihim ittiḡād ad-dunyā wa-faraṡū la-hum ṡahawātihim wa-t-tamattu’ fī laḡḡātihā, bi-amr qad qatalū fīhi ṡ-ṡab’ā wa-amraḡūhā bi-hi, wa-ḡālū baynahā wa-bayna ḡubb al-Bārī, wa-ba’ḡuhum ba’ḡan. Wa-lam ya’murū ayḡan bi-ṡay’ min al-faḡl, wa-lākin bi-aḡḡ al-qīṡāṡ, wa-l-intiḡām ka-s-sibā’, li-annahum lam yarḡaw bi-l-qīṡāṡ, wa-lākin bi-z-ziyāda ‘alayhi. Innahum yaṡtamūna wa-lā yaḡbalūna ṡ-ṡatm. wa-in ṡutimū ḡarabū wa-in ḡuribū qatalū. wa-lā yaḡṡaṡirūna ‘alā ḡādā ayḡan, wa-lākinnahum ya’ḡudūna*

dubbing the Jew as enemy, as it can be seen in Abū Rā'īṭa' following explicit reference:

"Now, if they deny this teaching, and reject it, saying: "The prophets did not say this, rather, you have altered the words from their places, and you have made [the prophets] say what is false and a lie," it should be said to them: If these books were only in our possession, and not [also] in the hands of our enemies the Jews (*a'dā'unā l-yahūd*), then, By my life! one could accept your teaching that we have changed [them] and substituted [words for other words]."⁴⁸

Here, without further reasoning and clarification, merely the phenomenon that Jews are considered as enemies is visible. The presence of such a reference is not surprising, since, as S. Griffith states it: "The inclusion of anti-Jewish elements in these tracts was intended to generate sympathetic vibrations among members of the two communities who held a common prejudice against Jews. It also gave Christian polemicists the opportunity to score debate points against Muslims by associating Islamic doctrines with Jewish ideas" (Griffith 1998:66). Here, given that the passage seeks to reject the charge of *taḥrīf*, according to which Christians and Jews have distorted their scriptures, handling Jews as enemies with whom, however, some of the Scriptures are mutually accepted, is a mere rhetorical tool.⁴⁹ In the majority of cases, however, the reason for considering Jews as enemies is given: namely the charge of deicide, as the following examples indicate.

"[...] this was confirmation of His becoming human, and raising His evidence against Satan and the Jews, who carried out His crucifixion and death."⁵⁰

And:

suyūfahum wa-yahruḡūna ilā man lam yu'dīhim, fa-yaqtulūnahu wa-yastabīhūnahu wa-hāḏā ra'y ḡamī' al-adyān.

⁴⁸ Keating's translation (Keating 2006:207, 209) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 23): *fa-in ankarū hāḏā l-qawl wa-ḡaḥadūhu wa-qālū inna l-anbiyā' lam tanṭuq bihi wa-innamā ḥarraftum al-kalām 'an mawḏi'ihī wa-taqawwaltum 'alayhim az-zūr wa-l-kaḏīb. Yuqāl lahum innahu law kānat hāḏīhi l-kutub fī aydīnā min ḡayr an yakūn fī aydī a'dā'inā l-yahūd, kāna li-'umrī yuqbal qawluhum in ḡayyarnā wa-baddalnā.*

⁴⁹ This is a frequently recurring argument, see also e.g. Patriarch Timothy, who "cited the enmity existing between Christians and Jews as proof that neither group could get away with altering or distorting their scriptures, as the Muslims claim, because they would have had to agree on it, since they know each other's scriptures. [...] it would be impossible for them to agree with one another about any such momentous issue," due to the enmity (Griffith 1988: 68).

⁵⁰ Keating's translation (Keating 2006:285) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 59): *fa-dālika taḥqīq li-tanāsīhi [sic!] wa-qawām li-ḥuḡḡatihi 'alā š-šayṭān wa-l-yahūd allaḏīna wallaw ṣalḡahu wa-qatlahu.*

“As for His raising evidence against Satan and the Jews, [this] is so that they will not excuse themselves from [the crime] they have committed in killing Him,”⁵¹

Finally:

“Peter says concerning the *Acts* (*ibriksīs*) to the Jews, the God-killers. He said “the beginning and the provider of life – you have killed him, who has resurrected from among the dead. And he has dissolved the chain of death that could not seize him.” Inform us, who is the beginning of life whom the Jews killed if not God, the Word?”⁵²

Apart from the abundant references by Abū Rā’īta,⁵³ we also find allusions by the other two authors that include e.g. the following example by Theodore Abū Qurra:

“The Jews crucified Him”⁵⁴

and by ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī a reference to Christ as the one killed by the Jews in the Book of the Questions and answers:

“as for the [hypothesis] that different communities (*umam muḥtalifa*) and scattered peoples (*šū’ub mutašatta* [!]) [different] kinds/races of communities (*aḡnās umam*) and differing kingdoms (*mamlakāt mutafāwita*) should all agree on ethnic solidarity (*ta’aṣṣub*) and the submission to the worship of someone killed by the Jews (*ḥudū’ li-’ibādat qatīl yahūd*), notwithstanding a kind of insults,⁵⁵ hatred/detestation, wars, and enmity (*sibāb, baḡḍa, ḥurūb,*

⁵¹ Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:287) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īta, *Die Schriften* 59): *wa-ammā qawām ḥuḡḡatihi ‘alā š-šayṭān wa-l-yahūd fa-li-an-lā ya’dīrū anfusahum fīmā irtakabūhu min al-ḡanb fī qatlihi.*

⁵² My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īta, *Die Schriften* 90): *wa-Buṭrus yaqūl fī l-Ibriksīs li-l-yahūd qātilat al-ilāh: qāl ra’s al-ḥayāt wa-wāhibuhā qatalumūhu alladī qāma min bayn al-amwāt. Wa-ḥalla wiṭāq al-mawt wa-lam yastaṭī’ [!] an yaḍbuṭahu. fa-’arriḡūnā man ra’asa l-ḥayāt alladī qatalūhu l-yahūd illā Allāh al-Kalima? C.f. Acts 2, esp. 2,23.*

⁵³ Similar examples include also: Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:289). “That which is related to the Jews in the killing of the Messiah is their act against Him and that which is related to Him in His killing is His deliverance of them, and His suffering what they [committed] against Him, without interfering with what they wanted.”; and Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:295): “The Jews are punishable for His crucifixion and His killing, because they intended His annihilation, even if He is exalted above this, glory be to Him! because His *ousia* rises above killing and death”

⁵⁴ Lamoreaux’s translation (Abū Qurra, *Theologus autodidactus* 46) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī wuḡūd al-ḥāliq* 269): *innahu ḥīna atā l-hind karazahum dīn an-našrāniyya fa-qāla: inna Allāh ba’āta ibnahu min as-samā’ ilā d-dunyā fa-taḡassada min imra’a ‘aḡrā wa-wulida minhā insānan wa-inna al-yahūd šalabathu. Fa-māta wa-duḡina wa-ba’ad ṭalāṭat ayyām qāma min al-mawtā wa-ša’ida ilā s-samā’ wa-ḡalasa ‘an yamīn al-Ab.*

⁵⁵ The text reads as *s-b-b*. Because of the context, I read it as *sibāb*, plural of *sabb/subba*, i.e. insult, cursing, abuse.

šahṇā) that is between them and the Jews, this is inconceivable for anyone who's intelligent, but also for any ignorant [person]."⁵⁶

The presence of references to Jewish deicide is relevant. As S. Griffith states it, in Christian apologetics, from the second century, the claim was made that Jesus was crucified by the Jews, and in anti-Jewish polemics, the charge that the Jews killed the Messiah, came to be a standard topic. Epithets like "Christ-killer (*christoktónos*)", "Christ-murderer (*christophónos*)", and sometimes "God-killer (*theoktónos*)" began to be used from the fourth century, and then became commonplace in Christian writings in the Byzantine Empire and elsewhere (Griffith 1988: 74). This usage can be a continuation of the earlier polemical heritage and illustrates its circulation and translation into the Arabic Christian theological language.

The theme recurs with minor additional details, e.g. when the Jews are depicted as collaborators of Satan: as it can be seen in Abū Rā'īṭa's following example:

"The witness that this ([that is], what we have mentioned about His beseeching [God]) is a confirmation of His becoming human and cuts off the arguments Satan and the Jews put forward with their evil hearts (*sū' damīrihim*) and their defective inclinations (*naqš ahwā'ihim*), is [that] He rebuked some of His disciples when He told them..."⁵⁷

Here, according to the author's claim, arguments are presented jointly by Satan and the Jews, and the link is in the evil heart and defective inclinations. The depiction recalls Abū Qurra's previously seen demarcation from outsiders, *barrāniyyūn*, who were seen as animalish and evil. We can then see, that should there be an "other", an outsider in general, or a specific group, such as the Jews, defectiveness, evil, and threat for Christians are among the features that play an important part in his othering.

The Jew is often depicted as dull, as e.g. the following example by Abū Qurra illustrates:

"This is a sufficient justification from the Old [Testament] and the New [Testament], for the act of prostration in the way of honor that the icons of the

⁵⁶ My translation vs. Arabic text ('A. al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Mas'āl wa-l-aḡwiba*. 141): *ammā an takūn umam muḥtalifa wa-šu'ūb mutašatta* [!] *wa-aḡnās umam wa-mamlakāt mutaḡāwita iḡtama'at bi-asrihā 'alā t-ta'aṣṣub wa-l-ḡudū' li-'ibādat qatīl yahūd, ma'a mā baynahā wa-bayna l-yahūd ḡaṣṣatan min as-s-b-b wa-l-baḡḡa wa-l-ḡurūb wa-š-šahṇā', wa-hāḡā mā lā yatawahhamuhu 'aḡīl wa-lā ḡāhīl.*

⁵⁷ Keating's translation (Keating 2006:287) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 59): *wa-š-šāhid 'alā ḡālika mā ḡakarnā min iltimāsīhi taḡqīq tanāsīhi* [sic!] *wa-ḡasm aš-šayṭān wa-l-yahūd 'an al-ḡuḡaḡ fīmā ātaw bi-sū' ḡamīrihim wa-naqš ahwā'ihim zaḡara ba'ḡ talāmīḡīhi ḡayṭu ḡāla.*

saints deserve. It would be better for anyone of the Christians not satisfied with it to become a Jew, due to the dullness of mind⁵⁸

This approach has also been seen above, at Abū Qurra himself, when the *barrāniyyūn* were depicted as bodily-minded and foolish. The demarcation due to a practice can be paralleled to Abū Rā'īta's approach, as he was seen to define "us" according to the acceptance of the Jacobite Trisagion, while grouped everyone else (e.g. Abū Qurra, i.e. the Melkites and the Jews, etc.) as "them", who differ from it.

4 Further constructions

In course of the lexical examination, we have already seen examples for constructions of the self and constructions of the other; and we could see sharp contrasts when series of phrases sought to describe "us" in face of the "opponents," i.e. those "who differ from us." In the following, I will briefly take into consideration further ideas, notions and corresponding forms that are used to create division, demarcation, and thus contribute to the construction of otherness.

The first notion is ignorance, *ḡahl*; by which true believers can be distinguished from others, i.e. the ignorants. Such division can be seen in the following remark of Abū Rā'īta:

"By our sanctification (*taqdīs*) of God, we especially refer to the Son, priding ourselves (*iftihāran* [!] *minnā*) [in it] and rejecting the ignorant (*raddan 'alā l-ḡuhhāl*): Jews and others (*al-yahūd wa-ḡayruhum*), who negate and take it as a lie (*al-munkira al-mukaḏḏiba*) that the Crucified is God – Sanctus – omnipotent and immortal."⁵⁹

The division made by the Jacobite author due to the question of the Trisagion has been noted before; the forms mentioned here for "us" and "them" echo the previous ones. "Priding ourselves," *iftihāran minnā* resembles "strengthening with support the one who follows us" *tašdīdan al-yaqīn mimman šāya'anā*, while "rejecting the

⁵⁸ Griffith's translation (Abū Qurra, *Veneration* 75) vs. Arabic text (Abū Qurra, *Maymar fī ikrām al-iqūnāt* 175): *wa-kafā bi-hādā taḡqīqan min al-'atīqa wa-l-ḡadīta, li-mā tastahiqq šuwar al-qiddīsīn min as-suḡūd 'alā waḡh al-karāma. Wa-man lā yaqna' bihi min an-našārā, fa-aḡrā bihi an yakūna yahūdīyyan, li-ḡalaz 'aqlihi*. See also another example (from *Ibid.*, 41): "We are constrained by the rule of reason to consent to everything pertaining to Christianity, which we mentioned above that the Jews and others, in the blindness of their minds, find repulsive."

⁵⁹ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īta, *Die Schriften* 77): *qaṣadnā fī taqdīsīnā Allāh al-Ibn ḡašṣatan iftihāran bi-dālika minnā wa-raddan 'alā l-ḡuhhāl min al-yahūd wa-ḡayrihim al-munkira al-mukaḏḏiba bi-anna al-mašlūb Allāh quddūs qawī ḡayr mā'it*. Given that the context supports this meaning and version, I translated *iftihāran* instead of *iftihāran*, present in the text.

ignorant,” *raddan ‘alā l-ḡuhhāl* recalls “cautioning the one who differs from us” (*tayaqqūzan li-man ḥālāfanā*).⁶⁰ Jews and others are presented as the ignorant, who, “negate and take it as a lie” *al-munkira al-mukaddība* – as previously seen in case of the opponents.⁶¹

Another basis for defining the self, i.e. by the adherence to the true religion while delimiting the other is the idea of being in line with previous tradition. Thus, innovation (*bid‘a*) takes part in the construction of otherness. Abū Rā’īṭa writes:

“It is a duty of every faithful (*mu’min*) who seeks what is at his Lord to adhere/remain faithful to his religion (*at-tamassuk bi-dīnihi*), [to have] great carefulness of his faith (*al-iḥtirāz bi-īmānihi*), i.e. to make efforts [to avoid] doubtful matters (*šubuhāt*) that possess the refusers and the erroneous (*aḥl an-nakl wa-l-aḡālīṭ*) and that commend the heretics and defamators/liars (*aṣḥāb al-bida‘ wa-t-taḥarruṣ*) with their eloquent tongues and the beautiful order and harmony of their expressions. [A faithful is someone who] trusts Him (*ittikāl minhu*) and restricts himself to who/[what] had come in God’s previous books (*iqtiṣāran ‘alā man sabaqa ilayhi fī kutub Allāh*) – ancient or new – that clarify the right faith (*al-mūḍiḥa al-īmān aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*) and the just and correct religion (*ad-dīn al-‘adl al-mustaqīm*) with easy speech (*sahl min al-qawl*), [books] that are simple, with easy letters, easy meanings, close to the source (*qarībat al-ma’ḥaḍ*), clear, understood with an understanding of approval (*fahm at-taṣḍīq*) and not with an understanding of the comprehension of the “how” (*fahm al-iḥāṭa bi-kunh al-kayf*) [...] and this is because of the failure and straying of the mind/intellect [*wa-ḍālīka li-faṣal al-‘aql wa-ḍalālihi*] and its distance from encompassing the knowledge of what exceeds every [other kind of] knowledge (*bu’duhu min al-iḥtiwā ‘alā ma’rifat at-tafāwut li-kull ma’rifā*).”⁶²

⁶⁰ See above in detail. C.f. Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:201) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īṭa, *Die Schriften* 19–20).

⁶¹ C.f. Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:173) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īṭa, *Die Schriften* 5); and Keating’s translation (Keating 2006:201) vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īṭa, *Die Schriften* 19–20).

⁶² My translation vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā’īṭa, *Die Schriften* 66): *fa-inna min al-wāḡib ‘alā kull mu’min ṭalīb li-mā ‘inda rabbihi [...] at-tamassuk bi-dīnihi wa-l-iḥtirāz bi-īmānihi bi-ḡuhdihi ‘an aṣ-šubuhāt al-muḥtawiya aḥl an-nakl wa-l-aḡālīṭ al-munawwiḥa aṣḥāb al-bida‘ wa-t-taḥarruṣ bi-alsinatihim al-ḍalīqa wa-ḥuṣn nuṣum alfāzihim wa-ittisāqihā kā’in man kān ittikālan minhu wa-iqtiṣāran ‘alā man sabaqa ilayhi fī kutub Allāh al-qadīma wa-l-ḥadīṭa al-mūḍiḥa al-īmān aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ ad-dīn al-‘adl al-mustaqīm bi-sahl min al-qawl wa-basīṭa bi-aḥruf yasīra ma’ānī sahla qarībat al-ma’ḥaḍ wāḍiḥa maṣḥūma fahm at-taṣḍīq lā fahm al-iḥāṭa bi-kunh al-kayf wa-ḍālīka li-faṣal al-‘aql wa-ḍalālihi wa-bu’diḥi min al-iḥtiwā ‘alā ma’rifat at-tafāwut li-kull ma’rifā.*

The extract maintains the twofold division between true believers and others. True believers remain faithful to their religion (*at-tamassuk bi-dīnihi*), are careful of their faith (*al-iḥtirāz bi-īmānihi*); and make efforts (*ḡuhd*) to avoid doubtful matters (*šubuhāt*). This approach recalls an-Nawawī's sixth *ḥadīṭ*⁶³ that was transmitted both by al-Buḥārī and Muslim, i.e. widely circulating by the ninth century, which displays a similar idea and phrasing. But while the *ḥadīṭ* text uses either *umūr muštabiḥāt* or *šubuhāt*, here, doubtful matters are merely referred to by the latter phrase. The *ḥadīṭ* text speaks of being wary of these unclear matters (*ittaqa š-šubuhāt*), which means absolving one's religion and honor (*istabra'a li-dīnihi wa-irḍihi*), which can be paralleled to the faithfulness to religion/carefulness of faith and making efforts to avoid doubtful matters mentioned by Abū Rā'īṭa.

The doubtful matters, *šubuhāt* are the first step in building up a division, as from here Abū Rā'īṭa goes on to describe the others: refusers and the erroneous (*ahl an-nakl wa-l-aḡālīṭ*), as well as the heretics and defamators (*ašḡāb al-bida' wa-t-taḡarruṣ*), who are possessed or commended by the doubtful matters (as *muḥṭawīya* and *munawwiha* indicates it). Once again, a contrast follows: Abū Rā'īṭa turns back to the description of the faithful believer *mu'min*, who is characterized by trust in God (*ittikāl minhu*), but more importantly for the present examination: by restricting himself to what is from God: His scriptures and messengers (*iqtiṣār 'alā man sabaqa ilayhi fī kutub Allāh*), i.e. by an implicit refusal of innovation. God's scriptures clarify the right faith (*al-mūḍiḥa al-īmān aṣ-ṣaḡīḥ*) and the just and correct religion (*ad-dīn al-'adl al-mustaqīm*), and thus can be understood with approval (*fahm at-taṣḍīq*). This is contrasted to the understanding of the comprehension of the "how" (*fahm al-iḡāṭa bi-kunh al-kayf*), which is impossible due to the failure and straying of the mind/intellect (*faṣal al-'aql wa-ḡalālihi*) and its distance from encompassing the knowledge of what exceeds every [other kind of] knowledge (*bu'duhu min al-iḡtiwā 'alā ma'rifaṭ at-taḡāwut li-kull ma'rifa*). Believers are juxtaposed with the refusers and the erroneous (*ahl an-nakl wa-l-aḡālīṭ*) as well as the heretics and liars (*ašḡāb al-bida' wa-t-taḡarruṣ*). Also here, a *ḥadīṭ* text is recalled, namely that of an-Nawawī's No. 28 one: "Beware of newly-introduced matters, for every innovation (*bid'a*) is an error (*ḡalāla*)."⁶⁴ This one was transmitted by Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī, i.e. was in circulation in the ninth century, and, as we can see, the formulation of Abū Rā'īṭa's argument is in line with Islamic thought. The question of "orthodoxy" v.s. innovation can be interpreted in multiple contexts. On one hand, it might be an interdenominational question (given that Abū Rā'īṭa is seen elsewhere to refer to Church Fathers accepted by all (see in the next extract), and the synod of

⁶³ C.f. an-Nawawī, *les Quarante Hadiths* 19: *inna l-ḡalāl bayyin, wa-inna l-ḡarām bayyin, wa-baynahumā umūr muštabiḥāt lā ya'lamuhunna kaṭīr min an-nās, wa-man ittaqa š-šubuhāt, fa-ḡad istabra'a li-dīnihi wa-irḍihi, wa-man waqa'a fī š-šubuhāt waqa'a fī l-ḡarām.*

⁶⁴ C.f. an-Nawawī, *les Quarante Hadiths*, 71.: *wa-iyyākum wa-muḡḡaṭāt al-umūr fa-inna kull bid'a ḡalāla.*

Chalcedon, associated with the innovation of the heretic group, i.e. the Melkites (see below), but refused by Jacobites), as well as an interreligious one. Its being directed against Islam would be supported by the fact that Islamic terminology and concepts are used, e.g. Abū Rā'īṭa's formula *iḥāṭa bi-kunh al-kayf* also alludes to the Islamic *bi-lā kayf* approach.

This extract also used the idea of the true (i.e. just and correct) religion, *ad-dīn al-'adl al-mustaqīm* as a point of reference for the definition of the self and the other. Deviation, as an important tool for othering, is present here in the more specific form of *bida'*, which was structured parallel to lie, refusal and error.

Abū Rā'īṭa's examples on doctrinal differences between Christians also include the following:

“As the Pure Gregory the Theologian [...] ⁶⁵ and other Fathers said who are accepted by all (*al-muḡtama' 'alayhā*) and concerning whose authority there is no difference (*lā al-muḡtalaf fihā*)...” ⁶⁶

In this case, reference is made to the authority of Church Fathers accepted by all Christian denominations, in order to show that Abū Rā'īṭa considers his confessional group the direct follower of the Orthodox tradition; and accordingly, the other groups are to be considered as innovators and deviants. In an interdenominational context, we may see that consensus, *iḡtimā'* is the antonym of difference/disagreement, *iḡtilāf*; the use of the former term reflecting the influence of Islamic terminology. This is even more evident in the following passage:

“And we have to explain our intention and doctrine concerning our Trisagion and our addition of the Cross that saved us. [We should do that] as an exhortation for the believers (*tanbīhan li-l-mu'minīn*) and a rebuke/reproach for the innovators and liars (*faḥran wa-tabkītan li-aṣḥāb al-bida' wa-t-taḥarruṣ*). Our sanctification of God by a unique *Sanctus* that befits those who profess this blessed second proclamation (*taqdīs ḥāṣṣ yalīq bi-ahl hāḡiḡi d-da'wa*) – it is by it that those who profess it are distinguished (*mumayyaz*) from all the opposing religious communities (*al-milal al-muḡālifa lahā*).” ⁶⁷

It shows the importance of being rooted into tradition, as well as the demarcation from any innovation, heresy, as implied by the term *bida'*, which reflects Islamic

⁶⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, also known as Gregory the Theologian.

⁶⁶ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 69): *ka-mā qāla ḡū n-nuṭq al-ilāhī Aḡrīḡūrūs aṭ-tāhir wa-ḡayruhu min al-ābā' al-muḡtama' 'alayhā lā al-muḡtalaf fihā*.

⁶⁷ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īṭa, *Die Schriften* 76): *wa-qad yaḡib 'alaynā ayyuhā as-sayyid an naṣrah ḡaraḡanā wa-maḡhabanā fī taqdīsīnā Allāh mirāran talāṭa wa-iḡāfatanā ilayhi aṣ-ṣalb al-munḡiḡ la-nā tanbīhan li-l-mu'minīna wa-faḥran wa-tabkītan li-aṣḥāb al-bida' wa-t-taḥarruṣ taqdīsūnā li-Allāh [...] taqdīsan ḥāṣṣan yalīq bi-ahl hāḡiḡi d-da'wa t-tāniyya al-mubāraka wa-bi-hi takūn mumayyaza bayna ahlihā wa-bayna ḡamī' al-milal al-muḡālifa la-hā*.

usage, as well. Here the dichotomy is between believers on the one hand, and innovators, liars on the other; and then between those who profess the blessed proclamation and the opposing/differing communities. We may presume that the pairs are intended to refer to the same idea, i.e. believers and the adherents of the proclamation are contraposed with opponents and innovators-liars. Innovation and lies are verbalizations and tools for othering.

The last example:

“The well-known Christian groups are three: the Jacobites, the Melkites and the Nestorians. ... We find the Melkites who are founded upon the innovation (*bida'*) of the hypocrite (*munāfiq*) assembly, the synod of Chalcedon”⁶⁸

shows *bida'* and hypocrisy (i.e. *nifāq*) as the ground upon which interdenominational difference and separation are based.

5 Concluding remarks

After examining individual extracts and their comparison, let us sum up forms, notions and techniques of othering in a more general way.

A key notion in othering is difference (*iḥtilāf*, or other forms derived from the same roots) which was detected in many fields and was rendered coherent and linked to even more. We could notice the difference of religions in general (*adyān muḥtalifa, iḥtilāf kaṭīr fī l-adyān*), that of religious communities (*milal muḥtalifa* – synonymous to *mutafarriq fī l-milal*), which came together with opposition (as indicated either the presence of the form *taḍādd* or its variant, or by the form referring to the opponent in religion, i.e. the *muḥālif*). Construct structures then let the reader understand in what semantic area this difference, or opposition originates. E.g. we can see the difference of opinions, i.e. *iḥtilāf al-ārā'* as well as their plurality, *kaṭrat al-ārā'* in general, or more specifically e.g. the difference of exegesis *iḥtilāf at-ta'wīl*. The difference of language and race (*iḥtilāf al-luġa/alfāz/alsun; iḥtilāf al-aġnās/al-alwān*) – linked to the distance of countries and kingdoms, their difference, (*tabā'ud/tanā'ī al-buldān, taḍādd al-mamālik wa-dunyāhum, iḥtilāf al-mamālik*) as well as the looseness or lack of tribal or family ties (*tabā'ud al-qarāba/inqītā' annaṣab*) are seen parallel on the one hand to the plurality of communities in general (*umam kaṭīra*) but contrary to the universality of Christianity that is present everywhere in the same form, with the same Scriptures.

⁶⁸ My translation. vs. Arabic text (Abū Rā'īta, *Die Schriften* 78–79): *innamā l-firaq al-mašhūra bi-n-naṣrāniyya ṭalāṭa al-ya'qūbiyya a'nī wa-l-malkiyya wa-n-nasṭūriyya. [...] wa-qad naġid al-malkiyya allaḍīn qad ṭubitū 'alā bida' al-ġam' al-munāfiq maġma' Ḥalqadūniyya al-mu'ayyan lahu wa-l-qayyim bi-ša'nihī [...].*

The form derived from the same roots, *muḥālif* refers to the one who adheres to another religion/sect or is even an opponent. This is enhanced by such constructions of otherness as the indications that opponents do not accept the teachings, scriptures or speech in general of each other (as *kalāmuhu ġayr maqbūl*, *takdīb*, *ġayr qābil ba'duhum min ba'd* indicate). In face of the *muḥālif*, caution (*tayaqquḏ*) is required, which stood in contrast with the construction of belonging: the ones who belong to the same group (*šāya'*) were strengthened (*tašdīd*).

Difference often appears together with confusion (*taḥayyur*), error (*dalāl*), disperse or separated aspirations (*taštīt al-ahwā'*). At the same time, it is antonymous to agreement (either as *igtimā'*, or *ittifāq*) and peacefulness (as indicated by the usage of *musālim*), while synonymous to obstinance (as visible in the choice of the word *mu'ānid*, which, in turn is used mostly together with the truth and the so-called religion of God, *mu'ānid li-l-ḥaqq/li-dīn Allāh*). Christians are also presented as opponents of who differs from/opposes God, or angers Him (*man ḥālafahu*, *ġāhadahu*, *aḥṭatahu*).

The root *f-r-q* was used in similar ways but implying also separation mostly concerning a specific practice (as e.g. in case of the *taqdīs*); or, separation from God (*tafarruq al-ahwā'* 'anhu) may be parallel to idolatry (*waḏ' ismahu 'alā ġayrihi*).

Another way for othering was seen in case of the forms *ḥā'id*, deviant and *barrānī*, outsider. The former implied being on the outer side (as implied by *ḥāriġ*) and separation (as indicated by *mufāriq*). The two forms then share this sense of "outsiderness", which is enriched in case of the latter with being lost/a loser (*ḥāšir*), references to the outsiders' considering Christian mysteries as foolish (*taḥmīq*; as well as references to *qubḥ* and *samāġa*) – which is then a recurring element in constructing otherness, as seen also in the case of *takdīb* – and which turns outsiders into a threat – also a recurring tool c.f. the references to cautioning, etc.).

Ways of othering include references to leaving tradition behind, introducing changes, heresy, and synonymously lies (as the use of terms/names like *ḥadīṭ*, *mubtada'*, *bida'*, *taḥarruṣ* implies). The selection of lexicon is seen to be influenced by Islamic phraseology, just as in case of related fields, like entering into doubts (*šubuhāt*), or even apostasy (*kufṛ*, *tāġūt*, *ahl an-nakl wa-l-aġālīt*), or hypocrisy (*nifāq*).

An important element of the construction of the other was his presentation as ignorant (see *ġahl*), apt to err (as mentioned above: *dalāl*), one who fails to reason (as indicated by expressions like *fašal al-'aql*) and incapable to comprehend a knowledge that is different from their own (*bu'd min al-iḥtiwā' ma'rifat at-tafāwut*).

The other usually converts new followers by way of violence, which in the examples I analysed was referred to through compulsion by the sword;⁶⁹ in other

⁶⁹ The Christian perception of Islam as a religion of the sword is the topic of another current research, the first results of which were presented at the international conference

cases, conversion may come through ethnic solidarity (*ta'aşşub*) and the common opinion of the community.

Mention should be made of Jews as enemies, who were also presented as ignorant and dull (i.e. as any “other”); but were also introduced more specifically as collaborators of *Şayṭān*, having evil hearts, defective inclinations (*sū' ad-ḡamīr, naqṣ al-ahwā'*). The deliberate and explicit denigration and othering of the Jew is based on his presentation as Christ-killer or God-killer.

After summarizing the aspects of the description of the other, we may complete the conclusion by drawing attention to how complementary the features of the self were in these discourses. The construction of the self is based on the belonging to the group that is defined through the idea of adhering to the so-called true and just religion (*dīn 'adl, mustaqīm*). This adherence was seen in forms like *yaltamis haqqahu, yanqād ilayhi, yatba', muwāzib, mutamassik, lāzim, āhid, fariḥ bi-dīnihi, iḥtirāz bi-īmānihi*. Apart from these positive traits, there are some negative ones that define the self by delineating, counter-acting in face of the other, as seen in the case of *mutaḥarrib, rāfiḡ, mutaḡannib, ḡāhid* and *tabkūt*. Such an adherent community is referred to as God's community, *bī'at Allāh*, and induces pride (as *fahṛ* indicates).

Complementary features include the following: if the other was presented as deviant, the follower of the so-called true religion, i.e. Christianity, is characterized by right guidance, i.e. *hudā*. If the other differs and separates from the group (*ḡālaḡa, fāraḡa*), the adherent follows it (*šāya'a*); and is characterized by *iḡtimā'*. If the other is a heretic or an apostate, the Christian is a believer, *mu'min*. If the other is forced/or forces others to convert, the believer does it voluntarily, through an understanding of approval, *fahm at-taṣḡīq*. If the other is a threat or needs caution, the believer is strengthened and informed (*taṣḡīd, tanbīḡ*).

Finally, if the other is deviant, relies on false sources, or introduces innovations, the true believer is seen to restrict himself to God's revelation (*iḡtiṣār 'alā kutub Allāh*), which is illuminating the true religion and belief, and which belongs exclusively to the community (*ḡāṣṣ, yalīq bi-ahl ḡāḡihi d-da'wa, mumayyaz*). The sources are indicated as ancient (*aṣl ḡadīm*, or even as *āḡḡār sābiḡa*), that of the forefathers (*aslaḡf*) and the Church Fathers.

To conclude: we could see both in argumentation and terminology how the cohesion and self-identification of the communities as well as the delineation from others are determined by the understanding of religious belonging. Following the true religion was a part of the construction of “us”, at the same time, it was a marker of distinction and differentiation from others (who in turn define “us” by embodying what we are not). Religion was also a major factor in the perception of alterity: resulting in separation and opposition, manifesting on the level of the communities pertaining to them.

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Based on the terminological approach, we could see that the concept of otherness as well as a term indicating it, was not present, however, a set of lexical items, terms, and notions were used to refer to perceptions of difference on multiple levels (religious, linguistic, racial, etc.), as well as they were tools for othering. A whole web of ideas could be identified either in case of the constructions of otherness, or in case of those of belonging.

As an outcome of the research, it may be mentioned that this essay addresses the contemporary and increasing debate on the perception of Islam/the Muslim as other. On the one hand, this paper offers data related to an early phase of this perception; on the other, the challenge of the research lies in the geographic area: the Christian authors examined here lived together with Muslims, so the so-called Saidian "oriental other" based on the Western othering is not applicable.

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REVIEWS

Desert Travel as a Form of Boasting. A Study of Ḍū r-Rumma's Poetry. (Arabische Studien, 4). By NEFELI PAPOUTSAKIS. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009. 169 p. ISSN 1860-5117, ISBN 978-3-447-06112-4.

The author rightly makes the claim that her penetrating and thorough study of the eighth century Bedouin poet of the Umayyad era, Ḍū r-Rumma, reveals a hitherto neglected form of *fahṛ* poetry and, as she states, “establishing the significance of travelling as a self-praise topic is, then a step forward in our understanding of the early Arabic ode, both in terms of its themes and if its structure”. In this way, she is not the first and not the last to reject the unlimited reliance on the ninth century philologist, Ibn Qutayba's classification and schematic analysis of how a *qaṣīda* should be and what norms it should follow with the *rahīl*, travelling theme being inserted as a mere link between the love-theme and the final part.

Papoutsakis conscientiously presents the *ḏīwān* of Ḍū r-Rumma trying to classify the poems according to six types: love poetry, self-praise, tribal praise, eulogy of famous men of the age, lampoons, and riddle poems. The author notes that even the *madīḥ* poems do not follow the so-called classical pattern described by Ibn Qutayba.

The following chapters make an in-depth analysis of the *aḡrād* or scopes of the travelling poems. Chapter Two deals with the topic of travel *fahṛ* in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic poetry, then she gives a presentation of the travel *fahṛ* of her chosen poet, Ḍū r-Rumma. To illustrate Ḍū r-Rumma's treatment of the desert theme, the author examines meticulously two of his longest scenery depictions, giving detailed commentaries on the meaning of the verses and some difficult words and expressions. Chapter Three deals with the desert motifs, Chapter Four gives a demonstration of how Ḍū r-Rumma writes about his travel companions, while the last, fifth Chapter treats the camel descriptions in Ḍū r-Rumma's poetry.

Summing up, this kind of excellent, detailed and objective analysis of early Arabic poetry helps us to attain a better understanding of not only how and why the early Arab poets wrote their poems but also paint an authentic picture of the contemporaneous Arab society.

I would like to make only two critical remarks on the work under review. First, the long passages of the poems in transliteration cause two problems: It makes the reading and understanding of the text somewhat difficult to follow. The use Arabic script would have been much more convenient, all the more so because it would have

been possible to avoid several typos which are the natural consequences of long transliterated texts.

The second comment concerns the style and language of *Dū r-Rumma*, which might have been interesting to examine and compare with the language of earlier poets, mainly from the point of view of lexicography, since it is clear even at a short glance that it is more artificial than, for instance, the language of pre-Islamic poets.

Kinga Dévényi

The Lightning-Scene in Ancient Arabic Poetry. Function, Narration and Idiosyncrasy in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry. (Arabische Studien, 3). By ALI AHMAD HUSSEIN. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009. 302 p. ISSN 1860-5117, ISBN 978-3-447-05902-2.

Ali Ahmad Hussein's study in the field of the functional narrative analysis of ancient Arabic poetry opened up a new way to a real understanding of what the poets of these early times felt, thought and wanted to express. His main merit lies in the fact that in contrast to the general view, he did not consider the poetic formulas as mere repetitive elements and schematic solutions to reach formal perfection and showed us how we should appreciate the slight differences of the customary formulas, their textual environments and places in the long poems. To reach his aim the author has not only prepared and equipped himself with new methods of poetic analysis full of inventions, but he has thoroughly examined the chosen poems instead of only casting a quick glance at them as was usual in earlier studies in which literary historians, Arabs and non-Arabs alike, simply stamped a formula as conventional and went on.

In his earlier article from 2005 "An Analytical Division of the Old Arabic Poem" Ali Hussein suggested a new method of dividing and analysing the old Arabic poem by applying it to a text by Ḥassān ibn Tābit. According to the method, new kinds of sections are highlighted in the text, these are the functional unit, the paragraph and the motif. This method aims to highlight the idiosyncrasies of each old Arabic poem and to understand the relationship between the different parts (sections, motifs, and the like) in the text itself. Now this new method is applied for the special motif of the lightning scene which occurs frequently in this kind of poetry.

Chapter one gives the definition of the lightning scene and presents the modern literary criticism regarding it, and the corpus of study. Chapter two shows the division of the ancient Arabic poem, from the traditional *ḡaraḍ šī'rī* to functional unit, based on the notion of the function of the so called conventional elements. Chapter three deals with lightning as an expression of longing for a distant beloved or an expression of self-consolation, while chapter four points out the variations in the function of the lightning scene. Chapter five sums up the thematic, functional

and narrative idiosyncrasies in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic poems. Finally chapter six deals with the internal idiosyncrasy in lightning scenes: the lightning, the clouds, the rain, the thunder, the wind, the protagonist's wish prayer and his psychological state. At the end of the book the appendix includes the lightning scenes used in this study.

Kinga Dévényi

Proceedings of the Oslo–Austin Workshop in Semitic Linguistics. Oslo, May 23 and 24, 2013. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 88). Edited by LUTZ EDZARD and JOHN HUEHNERGARD. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014. 162 p. ISSN 0567-4980, ISBN 978-3-447-10227-8.

The present volume is based on papers delivered at the workshop mentioned in the title. As the editors' preface points out "the workshop was conceived as a meeting of scholars working in Semitic linguistics and neighboring disciplines". This last phrase explains the presence of the last paper by SILJE SUSANNE ALVESTAD on a 17th century manuscript which cannot only be considered the first Bosnian dictionary but the first in any of the South Slavic languages. In addition to presenting the manuscript and its author, Muhamed Hevai Uskufi Bosnevi, the paper deals with the Turkish, Arabic and Persian elements in the Bosnian dictionary.

Irrespective of this article, the scope of the volume is also very large and comprises articles on Akkadian, Arabic, Hebrew and Amharic languages and comparative linguistic studies in the field of Semitic and Cushitic.

JOHN HUEHNERGARD in his "Reanalysis and new roots: an Akkadian perspective" considers how the process of reanalysis resulted in changes in the structure of many Akkadian verbal roots. These are old roots that wear new morphology. My only remark refers to the – in my view – unfortunate choice of the word "reanalysis", a term which suggests conscious altering by the speakers of a language. The older term "secondary roots", secondary formation seems more objective to me.

NA'AMA PAT-EL deals with the morphosyntax of nominal antecedents in Semitic in general and an innovation in Arabic in particular, that is, non-construct heads with unmarked relatives, depending on the indefiniteness of the antecedent.

ØYVIND BJØRU treats the case of transitivity in Semitic in general, while Jan Retsö speaks about the *b*-imperfect in modern spoken Arabic from a typological and diachronic perspective. Be Isaksson's aim in his article is to achieve an understanding of how the Biblical Hebrew storyline works and how two perfective verbal grammatical morphemes are utilized to achieve a structure in the text.

KJELL MAGNE YRI's article deals with the connection of finiteness with grounding and deixis in the Semitic Amharic and the Cushitic Sidaama, while Lutz

Edzard treats Hebrew and Hebrew–Yiddish terms and expressions in contemporary German.

The two editors made a fine job managing to overcome the difficulties of organizing the workshop and more importantly of editing the multifaceted volume.

Kinga Dévényi

From Tur Abdin to Hadramawt. Semitic Studies. Festschrift in Honour of Bo Isaksson on the occasion of his retirement. Edited by TAL DAVIDOVICH, ABLAHAD LAHDO, and TORHEL LINDQUIST. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014. 207 p. ISBN: 978-3-447-10265-0

The volume under review contains papers collected in honour of Bo Isaksson, professor in Semitic languages at the University of Uppsala on the occasion of his retirement. The papers comprise a wide range of topics in the field of Semitic studies: Arabic dialectology, neo-Aramaic studies, classical Arabic grammar, Hebrew language, Semitic linguistics, Modern Standard Arabic and Modern Hebrew, while one paper GAIL RAMSAY even deals with ecocritical writing in an Arabic novel.

Most papers, however, deal with various aspects of Arabic dialectology. WERNER ARNOLD published a small text in the dialect of the city of Lydda (Israel), recorded in 2001 by a 67 years old Christian. It is an interesting testimonial of the dialect being the only text published so far from that city. It is only to be regretted that the publication does not contain any analysis of the salient features of this dialect, or a brief comparison with other Arabic dialects of the area. JOSEPH SAOUK published a narrative fragment from the Anatolian Arabic Dialect of Qıllıf (Turkey, county of Mardin). The dialect of this Christian village, which is a variety of Mhallami, is especially worth recording because of the massive exodus of its inhabitants. The author accompanied the text with excellent annotations.

MARIA PERSSON's case study explores the verb form switch as a marker of discourse hierarchy in Syrian Arabic on the basis of earlier texts collected by Bloch and Grotzfeld. Her results confirm the role of gram switching as a marker of discourse hierarchy. STEPHAN PROCHÁZKA wrote a comparative study on the feminine and masculine plural pronouns in modern Arabic dialects as a supplement to Bo Isaksson's two earlier studies in this, otherwise quite neglected, field. He deals only with those Arabic dialects which exhibit the feature of gender distinction in plural forms, and limits his investigation to the analysis of independent and suffixed pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd persons plural. SHABO TALAY presents the idea of an Arabic dialect continuum in the northern part of the Fertile Crescent which he calls the Mesopotamian–Levantine dialect continuum. He draws the interesting conclusion that the dialect of Sine acts as a link between these two major dialect

areas. His article sheds light on how much work remains to be done in the field of Arabic dialectology. In his article, AZIZ TEZEL gives a few examples of the quadriradical verbal formation with the pharyngeal phoneme /ʕ/ as secondary in some Arabic dialects. In his analysis of the examples, the author also aims to explain the reasons behind this phenomenon. HELÉNE KAMMENSJÖ contributed an article on asyndesis and verb chaining in Egyptian Arabic.

Neo-Aramaic is represented by three papers. GEOFFREY KHAN examines infinitives and verbal nouns in the Christian Urmi dialect of neo-Aramaic, while ABLAHAD LAHDO presents annotated texts from the village of Bequsyone in the heart of Tur Abdin. In addition to being linguistic specimens, they are of high cultural value since many of the traditional handicrafts mentioned in them are in danger of extinction. ERAN COHEN's paper on the presentative in Biblical Hebrew and neo-Aramaic is a remarkable, although somewhat strange comparison considering the time gap between the two languages. This paper leads us to others dealing with different varieties of Hebrew. STIG NORIN examines some Hebrew documents from the Bar Koseva era (2nd century AD). TAL DAVIDOVICH treats a very interesting linguistic situation which prevailed in the Jewish community of Yemen, whose members used a sociolect with features from varieties of Hebrew (Biblical, Mishnaic and Talmudic), Aramaic, classical and colloquial Arabic. A feature of this language is described in the article entitled "On vocalization and case ending in Judeo Yemenite". Modern Hebrew and Arabic political (or media) language is compared by TORDEL LINDQUIST from the point of view of circumstantial qualifiers.

LUTZ EDZARD's article takes us to Semitic linguistics. From this broad field he chose to examine the exegetical genitive, paying special attention to the *sūra* titles in the Qur'ān. SINA TEZEL's article ends the volume dealing with the "comparative method as applied to the Semitic cognate sets with phonological correspondences".

The papers are arranged in alphabetic order according to the name of the authors, a not too helpful method which is, however, understandable in this case because of the diverse contents of the volume.

Kinga Dévényi

Sabäische Inschriften nach Ären datiert: Bibliographie, Texte und Glossar. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, 53). By WALTER W. MÜLLER. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010. xv, 241 p. ISSN 0568-4447, ISBN 9783447062862.

Walter W. Müller is considered as one of the most significant scholars, researchers and teachers in the field of the Sabaic language. The present volume sums up the results of forty years of teaching South-Arabian Inscriptions at the Universities of Tübingen and Marburg. It can be best characterised as a modern version of the traditional chrestomathies, the difference lying mainly in the well attested bibliographical references in which the epigraphs can be found. This is indispensable for a student of Sabaic language since the inscriptions themselves are not contained in the original script in this book only their transcribed versions, which are, however, sufficient for teaching purposes. For the same reason it also does not contain the translation of the inscriptions but it does contain a very useful and thorough glossary of all the words occurring in the texts together with their meanings and places of occurrences.

The specialty of W.W. Müller's work is that it contains the 77 selected inscriptions in chronological order from the Middle Sabaic period, i.e., from the 3rd century BC until the end of the 3rd century AD, the best documented period of this language with more than 6,000 inscriptions. The above mentioned 77 inscriptions come from three eras of this period: first, the so called Himyaric or Mabḥaḍ era beginning from about 115 BC, second, the Ab'alay era from 69 AD and third, the Nabatuṃ era from the second half of the first century BC.

All in all, this excellent text book means a great step forward in teaching South Arabian language in universities all over the world.

Kinga Dévényi

Vom Status pendens zum Satzsubjekt. Studien zur Topikalisierung in neueren semitischen Sprachen. By WERNER DIEM. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012. viii, 120 p. ISBN: 978-3-447-06829-1.

Werner Diem chose as the subject of this interesting linguistic work the formal aspect of the so called topicalisation in some modern Semitic languages and dialects. The author handles briefly some Arabic dialects, the dialects of the Central Neo-Aramaic Ṭuroyo and some other dialects of the same language group, then he turns to the Amharic language, the study of which occupies more than half of the book. The main term used by Diem seems to be an unusual and unheard of expression, "status pendens", applied for a widely known and central linguistic aspect of the Semitic

languages, most of all of the Arabic dialects. Although the similar terms “nominativus pendens” and “nominativus absolutus” have been used in connection with Latin syntax, and sometimes Biblical Hebrew, but never in Arabic and modern Semitic linguistics. I think that terminology must serve easy understanding not to hamper it. The justification of this term, according to the introduction, lies in that the author intended to separate the formal, descriptive, as he puts it, aspect of this kind of the so called extraposition from the topicalisation or theme-rhema structure, which he considers its meaningful feature. By the way, there is a formal category, well rooted in the German tradition of Arabic linguistics, “Isolierung”. Nor can one agree with Diem’s definition of the “status pendens”.

In summing up my view of Werner Diem’s book under review I must say I was disappointed by his short and not really significant presentation of the Arabic dialect of Cairo, and his even shorter touching upon the topicalisation in the so called Levantine dialects of Lebanon and Damascus, these being well known dialects with a large literature on them. However, the more detailed study of this linguistic phenomenon in the Amharic language made worth reading this book.

In his studies on topicalization in modern Semitic languages – topicalization meaning parts of sentences moved from their original position to a more prominent one for practical reasons in discourse – Werner Diem focuses on the status pendens. Status pendens is the term for the position of a noun extracted from its sentence, placed at the beginning of the sentence and substituted by a personal pronoun at its original spot. The status pendens is a common phenomenon in Semitic languages, and is regarded as a linguistically sophisticated device when used in writing. Given that the status pendens in Semitic languages has already been generally well covered, Diem now takes a closer look at the previously little-noticed phenomenon of the generalization of the status pendens, typical in newer Semitic languages.

Kinga Dévényi

Die Risāla fī l-Ḥawāṣṣ des Ibn al-Ġazzār. Die arabische Vorlage des Albertus Magnus zugeschriebenen Traktats De mirabilibus mundi. Edited, translated and commented by FABIAN KÄS. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012. x, 120 p. ISSN 0567-4980, ISBN 978-3-447-06679-2.

The book under review is the work of the renowned 10th century Arab physician of Qayrawān, Aḥmad Ibn Ġazzār, who became famous for his writings on Islamic medicine. The present treatise, however, has not previously been edited. No wonder, since its theme differs greatly from the so called “serious” sciences. It deals mainly with the magical and marvelous attributes of the things of the nature – animals, plants and minerals – useful for sympathetic magic. According to the editor Ibn al-Ġazzār’s

treatise served as a model for *The book of the marvels of the world* (*De mirabilibus mundi*) generally considered as falsely attributed to Albertus Magnus or Saint Albert the Great who lived in the 13th century. The edition is based on a seemingly unique copy dated 825/1422 which survived in a collected volume in the Ṣan‘ā’ library al-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġāmi‘ al-Kabīr, and even that is a fragmented one. The treatise goes back partly to Greek works, like the *Book of minerals* mentioned and falsely attributed to Aristotle by Ibn al-Ġazzār, or earlier Arabic works like ar-Rāzī’s *Kitāb al-Ḥawāṣṣ*. The text is full of scholarly references from not only the Greek (Aristotle and Galen) but also from the Arabic literature and mentions even aṭ-Ṭabarī’s opinion on many subjects, from an unidentifiable work of his, quoting ar-Rāzī and others. The editor and translator fulfilled his difficult task thoroughly. Thanks to his efforts, this work which was famous in the Middle Ages not only in the Islamic world but also in Europe has become available in English and studied in the original Arabic, together with plentiful commentaries.

Kinga Dévényi

Der arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah: Teil 3: Grammatik. (*Semitica Viva*, 44,3). By ULRICH SEEGER. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. xxx, 263 p. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN-13: 978-3-447-06893-2

The book under review is the third part of a series the first of which contained texts from the Arabic dialect of the villages around Ramallah, or, as the author defines, the dialect of central Palestine. The second part was a glossary to the texts, and now we have here a thoroughly written grammar, or more precisely, the phonology, morphonology and morphology of some rural Palestinian dialects. This third part contains a detailed and reliable phonological section, with a very good presentation of the syllable structure, in many similar studies a neglected area. After this the author gives a very long exposition of the morphology of this dialectal group, but there is no section in this grammar dealing with syntax. Other similar works of Arabic dialectal description also often lack an essential summary of syntax but they at least speak on some pages about what they conceive as syntax, but a complete non-existence of syntax is astounding. The detailed morphology seems very useful the only drawback being that the contents is not detailed enough and it does not help the reader who does not want to read the whole book nor a whole section but would like to receive knowledge of a special morphological question. The book contains useful tables of verbal paradigms and a comprehensive bibliography.

Kinga Dévényi

Der arabische Dialekt von Mḥarde (Zentralsyrien) (Semitica Viva, 51). By JEAN YOSEPH. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012. xvii, 244 p. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN-978-3-447-06751-5.

Mḥarde is situated 23 km from Hama in the Middle of Syria and so its dialect represents a typical rural spoken Arabic in the Syro-Palestinian region. According to the author its significance lies in the fact that its linguistic-geographical position is between the Alavite and Sunnite villages but all of its inhabitants are Christians. The author mainly focuses his interest on the morphology of the dialect. He gives exhausting details of the nominal and verbal forms and variants. He unfortunately follows a widely spread misbelief among those dealing with Arabic dialects, namely, that Classical Arabic is equal to Old Arabic and the modern dialects are the offsprings of Classical Arabic. However, one must acknowledge the thorough and detailed formal analysis of the dialect of Mḥarde, even if some variants seem to be nothing else than slight differences between informants of the village and cannot be considered as signs of essential differences between, for instance, older speakers and younger ones. A good example of this seems to be the ‘simple conjunction’ on p. 68: ʾaza/ʾəza /ʾiza “when” which the author calls “Syrian koiné” but in reality it can be called either a modern Arabic koiné or a literary loan word, the three vowels in the beginning of the word being only momentary variations which can be found in other dialects as well. The syntax, as has become customary in the modern day’s dialectal descriptions, is very short and is partly a repetition of the material already found in the morphological part. The small section dealing with the negation shows a good example of what has been said above: it is very short and almost exclusively repeats what is available in the morphology. All in all, however, this does not mean that we have not a good description in our hands, the section of the texts is especially interesting and precisely presented, and the transcribed and translated texts are in harmony with the morphological description.

Kinga Dévényi

Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf at-Tīfāšīs „Buch der königlichen Steine“: Eine Mineralienkunde für die arabischen Herrscher des 7./13. Jahrhunderts. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 92). Introduction, translation with notes by ARMIN SCHOPEN and KARL W. STRAUB. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014. xxvii, 205 p. ISSN 0567-4980, ISBN 978-3-447-10224-7

Aḥmad b. Yūsuf at-Tīfāšī (1184–1253) was a Berber poet, writer, and anthologist. He is, however, primarily known for his work on minerals and gemstones entitled

Azhār al-afkār fī ḡawāhir al-aḥḡār, which he finished in the year 1242. There were numerous mineralogical texts written in Arabic during the Middle Ages, but at-Tifāṣī's work is by far the most informative of them all. It was the most famous and most comprehensive medieval Arabic treatise on the use of minerals. It covers 25 gems and minerals in great detail, supplying medicinal and magical uses for each, as is usual in Arabic mineralogical texts, as well as some Persian etymologies of the names. It is preserved in numerous manuscript copies. Ullmann records more than fifty manuscripts of the work in his *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*. at-Tifāṣī's book also served as a model for later authors in the same field and was translated into the Persian and Turkish languages. After a Latin (1784) and an Italian (1906) translation, it was translated in 1998 into English by Samar Najm Abul Huda under the title *Arab Roots of Gemology: Ahmad ibn Yusuf al Tifashi's Best Thoughts on the Best of Stones*.

As has already been said, at-Tifāṣī described in this book altogether 25, highly estimated stones found in the upper layer of the earth, including pearls and corals. During the presentation he follows a predetermined pattern, dividing the description of the jewels into five subsections: 1. formation, 2. locality, 3. quality – falsified or not, 4. magical or medicinal effect, 5. value and price. At the same time he hands down for us well known fables and sagas, e.g., about the Alexander treasure in the basins of Alexandria. His sources of information were partly some specialized works on stones, like Aristotle's stone-book, while partly he obtained it from merchants, jewel handlers and miners. However, he sometimes put in his book the results of his own experience with minerals.

The book under review is an excellent example of today's specialized studies in the field of mediaeval scientific writings. What really distinguishes this translation from its predecessors is the vast material inserted in the end notes of each chapter. The two translators did everything to fulfil their task and to give the readers comprehensive knowledge of the theme dealt with by at-Tifāṣī.

Kinga Dévényi

Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized. A Festschrift for Jan Retsö. Edited by LUTZ EDZARD. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015. 576 p. ISBN 978-3-447-10422-7.

This huge volume contains 29 articles of which 23 are in harmony with the first part of the title "Arabic and Semitic Linguistics", while six are of other literary and linguistic fields. Perhaps they were meant in a strange way to represent the "contextualization" in the title although the term 'contextualization' should mean the use of language and discourse to signal relevant aspects of an interactive or

communicative situation within one study and this requirement is not fulfilled in this book.

The articles are distributed in five chapters the first of which consists of two contributions in the field of Slavic linguistics. The second chapter with eleven papers forms the most important part of the book dealing with Arabic linguistics and philology. Here WERNER ARNOLD published a short Palestinian Arabic text and its translation from Jaffa. This text, recorded in 2003 is an interesting example of a 70 year old person still preserving features of his original village dialect of Ġabalīye despite the fact that he nearly all his life in Jaffa. The text is also interesting from the point of view of its contents since it contains reminiscences of the speaker on life in Jaffa before 1948. RUDOLF DE JONG presented texts in transcription and translation recorded from speakers of two different Bedouin dialects in the Sinai: the Awlād Saīd and the Tayāha. One of the author's intentions was to highlight the differences between the dialects in Sinai. The texts are abundantly supplied with informative footnotes necessary to the evaluation of the texts. The transcription of the texts sometimes seems unusual, but a detailed note explains its main features and one can get easily accustomed to it. WERNER DIEM edited, translated and commented on a short cover letter to decrees from late 15th century Egypt of the Mamlūk era (P.Vind. A.Ch. 36.580). The longest and perhaps most significant article in this section was written by MELANIE HANITSCH under the title "*Doppelte*" *Tempus- und Aspektmarkierung im Neuarabischen. Versuch einer Typisierung*. In respect to the title I should like to note that the denomination of modern Arabic dialects as "new-Arabic" may be questioned since we do not know whether the peculiarities presented as those of the modern dialects are really "new" or they are a thousand year old ones. Another comment seems also necessary on the first sentence of the study: an overall statement like in all modern Arabic dialects there are "verbal modifiers" is very daring since we do not have enough information on several hundreds of Arabic dialects. The author, however, makes a good job of having collected the information found in a large number of Arabic dialect studies thus offering a good overview of this important phenomenon which is completely missing from the (literary) Arabic language, the *'arabiyya*. BARRY HESELWOOD and JANET C. E. WATSON give a very peculiar analysis of the Arabic definite article refusing the assimilation of the "l" of the article on phonetic grounds and supposing instead a phonetic allomorph. Without intending to enter into a detailed discussion of the problem two comments seem necessary. First, the article is never *al-* morphologically, and it was common knowledge of the Arab grammarians of the Middle Ages, it is only the Classical Arabic syllabic structure which makes the insertion of "*a*" compulsory at the beginning of a new utterance. Second, the authors mix phonetics and morphonology. The former reflects the physical realities of speech while the latter is based on systematic analyses. The assimilation theory belongs to the realm of morphonology while the allomorph theory is perhaps more suitable for phonetics. The following

article by PIERRE LARCHER expresses an opinion shared and taught by me for several decades, i.e., “rather than segmenting Arabic grammar into a grammar of Classical Arabic and one of Modern Standard Arabic, it would be wiser to build a historical grammar of written Arabic”. He makes this statement in relation to the seemingly modern innovation of the *kāna sa-yafʿalu* expression which he has found in Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb*. I should like to mention here that many so called ‘modern innovations’ listed in Vincent Monteil’s well-known *L’arabe moderne* can be found in texts as early as pre-Islamic poetry. There are two articles dealing with Arabic dialects in Turkey: OTTO JASTROW’s Mardin Arabic and ABLAHAD LABDO’s Tillo Arabic. GUNVOR MEJDELL investigates the question of what can be considered the mother tongue in connection with Arab speakers, ideologically and in reality. MARIA PERSSON’s contribution is called “Verb form switch as a marker of clausal hierarchies in urban Gulf Arabic”. Finally, ORI SHACHMON wrote about the agglutinated verb forms in the Northern province of Yemen.

Chapter three contains four articles on Arabic literature, science, and history of ideas, though it is hard to place GEORGES TAMER’s article on memory and identity formation in the Koran under any of these categories. As for STEPHAN GUTH’s paper with the witty title of “Aesthetics of generosity – generous aesthetics”, its contents strike me as rather confusing. Therefore I would only like to make one addition to the article, that in my view, even today the best characterization of *murūʿa* (or *muruwwa*) is still that of Goldziher’s classical interpretation in Chapter One of his *Muhammedanische Studien* (*Muruwwa* und *Dīn*), published in 1889, to which the author did not make a reference in his article. PERNILLA MYRNE wrote about Ḥubbā al-Madīniyya, the literary creation of a quasi-historical character and its variation across genres. FEDWA MALTI-DOUGLAS wrote about her in her book *Women’s Body, Women’s Word – Gender and Discourse in Arabo-Islamic , Writings*. However, Malti-Douglas not only considers Ḥubbā, “first and foremost, a body with ‘uncontrollable sexuality’” (a quotation from Malti-Douglas), but also as the source of knowledge for other Medinese women, and as such, her sexuality does not express itself only through actions but also through words. It means that she is represented in the classical *adab* literature as a more versatile figure than Myrne seems to accept.

Chapter Four contains articles in the field of Hebrew linguistics. S. S. ALVESTAD and L. EDZARD compare the usage of aspect in the Slavic and the Biblical Hebrew imperative. MATS ESKULT writes on the Biblical Hebrew relative pronoun, while S. E. FASSBERG’s article is on linguistic variation and textual emendation in the Book of Judges 4:20. The other papers in this chapter are those of BO ISAKSSON’s, NA’AMA PAT-EL’s and O. TIROSH-BECKER’s.

The six articles in the last chapter deal with other Semitic languages: neo-Aramaic, Ethiopic, and comparative Semitic linguistics.

Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of Ján Pauliny. Edited by ZUZANA GAŽÁKOVÁ and JAROSLAV DROBNÝ. Bratislava: Comenius University, 2016. 383 p. ISBN 978-80-223-4225-4.

This excellent collection of articles, written in honour of Ján Pauliny, the doyen of Slovak Arabists, deserves reading and close studying. The sixteen articles – reflecting the diverse fields of Pauliny’s scholarly interests – are distributed among three main parts the first of which, containing seven papers, deals with Arabic popular and modern literature. KATARÍNA BEŠKOVÁ writes about the friendship and rivalry between Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm. GIOVANNI CANOVA’s “Hand-mill women’s songs from Upper Egypt” is at the same time anthropological and linguistic in nature, since, besides outlining the ancient and popular culture behind these songs, he publishes them in careful and reliable transcription and translation. It is especially interesting as the author presents step by step the way bread, called “sunny life” (*ʿeš šamsī*) in Upper Egypt, is prepared. HERBERT EISENSTEIN remarkable article presents us the description of not less than 15 legendary and fabulous birds collected from various works of Arabic literature. He could not endeavour, of course, to reach completeness in this vast field within the framework of a short paper, the author, an acknowledged expert in the field of Arabic zoology, nevertheless succeeded in giving an interesting panorama of these wonderful birds: the *ruhḥ*, the *sīmurǧ*, the *ʿanqā*, the so called “pseudo-griff”, the *ḥutūw*, the *būqīr*, the *kāsīr al-ʿizām*, the *ṭāʾir al-baḥr*, the barnacle-goose, the *ḥāḍinat al-afā*, the *karkar*, the “k-k-m” bird that lived in Tabaristan, the “salamander bird”, the *ḥaṭaq*, and the *zāǧ*. Other articles in this section are those of ZUZANNA GAŽÁKOVÁ: “Major Female Characters in *Sīrat Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan*”, MÁRIA LACINÁKOVÁ: “The Marvels of the World and the Otherworld in Islamic Tradition according to al-Kisāʾī”, FRANTIŠEK ONDRÁŠ: “The Contemporary Literary (Re)lection of Ancient Egypt”, and STEPHAN PROCHÁZKA: “The Story of Sālim az-Zīr Abū Laylā al-Muhalhil in Cilician Arabic (Southern Turkey)”.

The second part is devoted to Arab History and Islam. The articles speak about various interesting topics: EMENUEL BEŠKA wrote about anti-zionist attitudes in the beginning of the 20th century in Palestine, YAROSLAV DROBNÝ on the description of Hungaria (i.e. the historical Kingdom of Hungary) by the 13th century scholar, Ibn Saʿīd al-Maǧribī, GABRIEL PRICKÝ on a modern Turkish political problem, the Gülen movement. RAIF GEORGES KHOURY in his article “L’importance de l’histoire des prophètes dans la constitution d’une histoire universelle au début de la culture islamique” surveys the Arabic history books of mainly the first two centuries of Islam from the point of view of the prophetic stories.

The third part of the book bears the title: Codicology, Papyrology and Linguistics. It contains five articles: SLAVOMIR ČEPLŮ’s “On Herod and John the Baptist: An Edition and Translation of a Previously Unknown New Testament Apocryphon”,

PAOLO LA SPISA's "The Dissolution of Libraries: Two Case Studies about Christian-Arabic Manuscript Collections", HARRY T. NORRIS's "A Recent Document from the Library in the Camp of Shaykh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Aghlālī, Republic of Niger", VIERA PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ: "Kiswahili – Language and Culture, Then and Now", and finally LUCIAN REINFANDT: "(Versuchte) Einflussnahme auf einen behördlichen Entscheidungsträger", which is the edition of the 2nd/8th century P. Vind. Inv. A. P. 15228 from among the Arabic Papyri held in the National Library of Austria.

Kinga Dévényi

Der verstohlene Blick. Zur Metaphorik des Diebstahls in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur. By MANFRED ULLMANN. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017. 292 p. ISBN 978-3-447-10852-2.

Here we have in our hands another testimony of the excellent lexicographic and rhetoric research of Professor Ullmann, who, for evading the difficulties of mixing Arabic and Latin letters on one and the same page, or even in the same line, which would be full of pitfalls and printing errors, uses his own clear and readable handwriting. This time his starting point is an interesting sentence, misunderstood by the editor of a neo-Platonic text in 1971: "*wa-kāna rubba-mā sāraqanī n-naẓara ilayhā*". Ullmann discovered at that time the rhetoric nature of the sentence and in a publication corrected Daiber, the original translator of this sentence, giving other similar examples. In the next 45 years, as it is stated by the author, he collected almost 900 hundred similar examples, published, translated and discussed in the present volume. Ullmann did not restrict his interest to the phrase "stolen, furtive glance", but also presents other phrases reflecting behaviours metaphorically connected with stealing by hearing, sleeping, kissing, greeting, smiling, etc. Besides the rhetoric interest satisfied by this book, it gives us a broad lexicographic knowledge of such words of the category of "theft" as *sarāqa*, *ḥalasa*, *salaba*, *ḥaṭifa*, *bazza*, *salla*, *ḥaraba*. The book also contains excursuses and remarks in connection with important lexemes and phrases like *nazaba maṭ'abun*, *mala'a 'aynahu minhu*, *waqa'a bi-qurrin*, *qaliqa wišāḥuhā*, and many others. The researchers of the Arabic language and literature can also be greatly indebted to the publishers for the publication of the lexicographical series of Manfred Ullmann in the last decade.

Kinga Dévényi

Syntax des ʿTuroyo. (*Semitica Viva*, 55). By MICHAEL WALTISBERG. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016. 401 p. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN 978-3-447-10731-0.

ʿTuroyo (also called ʿSurayt and Siryoyo) is a Central neo-Aramaic language traditionally spoken in Southeastern Turkey and Northeastern Syria by Syriac Christians. Most speakers use the Classical Syriac language for literature and worship. However, in our days, this language is mainly spoken in exile in the Far-East, Europe, and America. Many ʿTuroyo-speakers who have left their villages now speak a mixed dialect of their village dialect with the Midyat dialect.

In the last half century many descriptive studies came into being mainly by German scholars and a considerable amount of data and texts have become available for those who are interested in neo-Aramaic languages. Notwithstanding, there was a significant gap in the field of syntactic studies for the ʿTuroyo language. This gap is now filled in by this excellent study.

The book has a clear division into chapters and several sub-chapters which makes it easily searchable. There are three main chapters: the noun phrases, the simple sentences, and the complex sentences. The nearly 400 pages are full of examples (their number is nearly 3000!), which greatly contributes to the comprehension of the syntactic rules, subrules and exceptions.

Kinga Dévényi

A Traitor among us. The Story of Father Yusuf Akbulut. A Text in the ʿTuroyo Dialect of ʿIwardo. (*Semitica Viva*, 56). By ABLAHAD LAHDO. 109 p. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017. 109 p. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN 978-3-447-10857-7.

The first part of the title reflects the political sentiments and the well justifiable anger of the author, although – after the introduction – we have a purely linguistic work in our hands. This book contains the story of the ordeal of a Syriac priest from Diyarbakir, Yusuf Akbulut, a native of the village ʿIwardo. Beyond the interest generated by their contents, the texts – recorded in 2004 and 2014 – are valuable specimens of the neo-Aramaic dialect of ʿTuroyo. In the first one, father Akbulut relates what happened to him during his trial at the end of 2000 after the publication of a newspaper report on the genocide of Syriac and Armenian peoples in Turkey in 1915, the second about his life and the life of his family after this negative publicity. His words have been formulated in two texts accordingly, in each containing the original modern Syriac versions together with the English translations. After the Introduction the second chapter contains some grammatical remarks in ten pages, mainly verbal paradigms recorded from two other informants living in Sweden. After

the texts the author put in a small list of special idioms and an exhaustive glossary which may be the most precious part of the book.

Kinga Dévényi

Der arabische Dialekt von Hasankeyf am Tigris (Osttürkei). Geschichte – Grammatik – Texte – Glossar. (Semitica Viva, 57). By ANDREAS FINK. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017. 353 p. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN 978-3-447-10898-0.

The book under review is one of the remarkable series of studies on the very small Arabic dialects still spoken in the Southern provinces of Turkey. One would wish similar range of study volumes in connection with larger Arabic dialectal areas which are sorrowfully missing, except for the research work carried out in Egypt by Peter Behnstedt and Manfred Woidich.

Andreas Fink introduces his book with a perhaps too detailed study of the history and present state of the village of Hasankeyf. Phonology and syntax occupy about the same amount of pages, 20–20 each, the main attention being paid to the morphology of the dialect with about a hundred pages. Syntax is generally a neglected area in Arabic dialectology, thus even this meagre extent may be considered a rare phenomenon, since there are otherwise excellent studies not having a word on syntax. The grammatical description is followed by texts recorded from different informants, amounting to about 70 pages, while the final part is a glossary of about 1400 words occurring in the texts. The principles of the transcription are not clarified, as is regrettably usual in similar books on Arabic dialects. We are told, for instance (p. 74), that the suffixed form of the third person singular feminine pronoun after *-i* and *-u* is simply *-a*, without the *-h-*, but the author is silent on the actual pronunciation of the phrases with two subsequent vowels, impossible in Arabic. If a diphthongisation happens, it should have been noted.

The morphological description of this dialect, however, is very exact and detailed and the transcribed texts follow precisely this description which shows the author's thorough approach. The glossary also seems very useful. All in all, this volume of the *Semitica Viva* series is worth scrutinizing for the benefit of our better understanding the vast quantities of Arabic dialectal varieties.

Kinga Dévényi