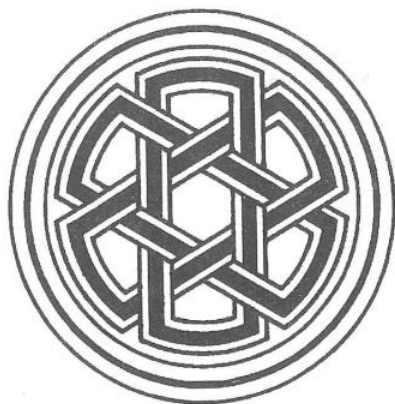


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Gregory Koil

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF
KÁROLY CZEGLÉDY
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

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ON THE OCCASION OF PROFESSOR K. CZEGLÉDY'S EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

On 21 December 1994 Hungarian Orientalists are celebrating the eightieth birthday of Professor Károly Czeglédy, the "Sheik" and Master of all Hungarians who have dealt with Arabic studies in Hungary or abroad in recent decades. He gave courses in Semitic philology and Arabic studies beginning from 1942, became head of Department of Semitic Philology and Arabic Studies in 1963 and held this position until his retirement in 1984. His main interest has been focused on Arabic historical and geographical sources of early Hungarian history. In the course of these researches, however, he necessarily has also come across pure Islamic problems. Summing up Professor Czeglédy's achievements in the field of Islamic studies, the following deserve especially to be mentioned:

One of the main problems concerning *Sūra XVIII (al-Kahf)* is related to the Alexander-legend. Namely, the question arises, which version of the legend was transmitted to Muḥammad? It is evident that the Prophet became acquainted with the eschatological version of the legend enlarged with the story of Gōg and Māgōg. Examining the relationship between these two components, Professor Czeglédy reached the conclusion that their combination must have taken place in Syrian territory after 515 AD. The sources reveal that it was the first combined version of the *Alexanderroman* and the eschatological legend formed after 515 AD which found its way to Muḥammad.

Parallels to the eschatological expectations centring upon Gōg and Māgōg and the Northern nomads can also be discovered among the Persians. Middle Persian apocalyptic literature mentions the attacks of Turanian nomads. These eschatological expectations especially influenced Šī'ite Islam. The Middle Persian eschatological texts make reference to the name of a glorious messianic figure, Vahrām ī Varjāvand, in connection with these expectations. Research has shown that the name Vahrām can be identified with the name of Bahrām Čōbin, the Persian warlord, the would-be usurper who saved Persia from the attack of the Turks in the East. Through his miraculous victory he takes on

a similarity to those great Iranian heroes who liberated Iran in the eternal war against the Turkic enemy in earlier historical and legendary times. In addition to this, Bahrām himself became a real Messiah in the eyes of his contemporaries, who expected him to return when he fled to the Turks after his unsuccessful attempt to usurp the throne. Bahrām, however, never came back from the Brass Castle, the capital city of the Turks. On the other hand, the figure of the Messiah returning from the Brass Castle appears in the preaching of Sindbād, who claimed that Abū Muslim, killed after the victory of the ʿAbbāsīd movement, did not die but would return from the Brass Castle where he lived with the Mahdī. This motif discloses that Sindbād attributed the originally Persian Messianic tradition connected with Bahrām to the figure of Abū Muslim. This development also indicates that the origin of Šīʿite Messianic ideas can be looked for in Persia. Thus, Professor Czeglédy has shown that Persian apocalyptic literature was considerably influenced by the history of Bahrām and in this connection we owe him important insights into the true nature of the expectations of the Mahdī in late Sāsānid times and among the Šīʿites; he has also collected and interpreted the various traditions concerning the legendary Brass Castle.

Professor Czeglédy also dealt with the history of Muslims in medieval Hungary. He was especially interested in the problems relating to their origins and to the different names occurring in the sources. Research must differentiate between their two groups. The first one referred to in the sources as *Izmaelites*, *Kāliz* or *Saracens* arrived in Hungary between 896 and the beginning of the 11th century. Although they played an important role in the economic life of Hungary, they had to conceal their Islamic religion, so they pretended to be Christians. The members of the second group, whom the famous traveller Abū Hāmid al-Ġarnāṭī also mentions, were mercenaries from the Maġrib who lived in Hungary and played an important role in the period between the second half of the 11th century and the Tartar invasion in 1241-42.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

Following family tradition, young Károly Czeglédy started studying Protestant theology at the Faculty of Calvinist Theology at Debrecen University in 1932, and his imagination quickly became captivated by the world of the Old Testament. He prepared himself for the traditional professional career of Protestant Old Testament scholar, and, led by the desire to interpret the phenomena of the Old Testament in a wider context, he gradually broadened the scope of his studies to include Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Akkadian, Ugaritic and Arabic during the years he spent at Belfast and Utrecht (1936-1939). The outbreak of the Second World War, however, brought about a radical change in his career: he was obliged to return to Hungary where the Turcologist Julius Németh, and Louis Ligeti, the father of Inner Asian studies in Hungary, directed his interests towards Hungarian prehistory. Thus he added Turkish and Persian to his studies, and also familiarized himself with the intricacies of Islamic geographical literature under the guidance of Hans von Mžik during a scholarship in Vienna in the years 1940-1941.

Hungarian prehistory, a national discipline of central importance in Hungary, covers the history of the Magyars prior to the foundation of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Carpathian basin in 1000 AD. Although the reports of Arab/Muslim geographers, historians, travellers, merchants, spies, missionaries, religious propagandists and philologists occupy a central place among the sources of Hungarian prehistory, yet Czeglédy chose not to limit himself to the investigation of these sources only but to include into his researches sources pertaining to all the nomadic tribes which were active in Central and Eastern Europe in the period in question. This decision was due to a realization of the fact that the protean world of fast moving nomadic tribes on the Eastern European steppe and on its outgrowths in Central Europe must necessarily be regarded as a complex entity, whose closely interconnected constituents could only be studied according to their interaction within the

whole system. This necessity was all the more emphasized by the fact that, owing to the illiteracy of most of these peoples, first hand evidence is rare in this field of studies and most of the written source material is the work of settled, civilized peoples living to the South of the steppe, who more often than not had only vague ideas about the rapidly changing events in the North and the real identity of the protagonists in them, protagonists who followed each other in close succession. The disentanglement of many aspects of this intricate network of events was achieved in a series of brilliant articles by Czeglédy, who applied a complex philological method based on sound textual criticism in the investigation of the written historical and geographical records bequeathed to posterity by neighbouring civilized peoples (from Arabic, Persian, Middle Iranian, Armenian, Georgian, Turkish and Byzantine sources) in addition to the written and epigraphic source material that, though scarce, remained from these peoples themselves, the aim of these investigations being to shed light on various aspects of the history of these peoples, their historical geography, their tribal organizations and systems of power down to the Mongol era. In this respect, he took up the work initiated by Michael Kmoskó (1876-1931), his predecessor as the head of the Department of Semitic Philology, otherwise mainly known as an editor of *Patrologia Syriaca*, whose efforts to collect, annotate and comment on all the Oriental sources pertaining to Hungarian prehistory had been interrupted by his untimely death.

It is to Czeglédy that we owe basic assessments of the Muḥammad-an sources of Hungarian prehistory and of the history of the Magyars in Southern Russia. He succeeded in giving a sound account of al-Ġayhānī's now lost report on the Magyars. He successfully tackled the problem of the apparent contradictions between the two main sources of Hungarian history in the 9th century: al-Ġayhānī's report and the relevant data in *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Czeglédy examined the early occurrences of the ethnonym *Magyar* as well as the origin of important early Hungarian names of persons and dignitaries. He succeeded in giving a balanced appraisal of the true nature of Hungarian sacral dual kingship: its origin and its

role in the Hungarian tribal confederation. The history of the Khazars and their relationship to the Hungarians has always attracted Czeglédy's interest and he has elucidated and disentangled some basic problems of this intricate area, in addition to dedicating a number of important articles to the various aspects of the interaction of Caucasian peoples and neighbouring nomadic tribes. Czeglédy subjected Ibn Faḍlān's account of his journey to the Volga Bulgars to minute philological analysis; his interpretation of al-Hīwārizmī's data on the region of the Danube resulted in a successful reconstruction of al-Hīwārizmī's now lost map of this region.

Czeglédy was quick to realize, however, that the nomadic peoples participating in the great westward migrations of the 1st millennium AD, who can be traced back to Inner Asia as well as to the North Eastern regions of Asia, began their emergence within the horizon of the mighty Chinese Empire; thus after long years of strenuous effort he acquired a good mastery of Chinese in its various stages of development. This then enabled him to familiarize himself with the world of Chinese chronicles and geographical works and to find the Chinese equivalents of numerous Turkish, Iranian, Arabic, Persian and Armenian geographical, tribal and personal names as well as those of dignitaries. He was even able to trace these peoples back to their previous habitats on the fringes of the Chinese Empire and thus to see these processes in their entirety. In connection with this, mention must be made of his contributions to our knowledge of the migrations of the Huns and Avars.

His articles on the Muslims in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom and on the raid carried out by Hungarian horsemen in Northern Spain in 942 AD have disclosed new and little-known aspects of Hungarian history.

In the person of Professor Károly Czeglédy we are greeting, on his 80th birthday, an outstanding scholar of profound erudition, of exceptionally wide learning; a brilliant mind.

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ANOTHER REPRESENTATION OF SOLOMON IN POPULAR ISLAM

Alexander Fodor

Budapest

In a former article published several years ago in *The Arabist* I already had the occasion to deal with a representation of King Solomon¹. As for the contents and message of the picture, I tried to show the presence of a complicated system of symbols suggesting that, apart from being a piece of decoration, it must fulfil the purpose of an amulet as an apotropaic device (Fodor 1988:50f). In connection with the outer appearance of the representation I emphasized the Mamlūk reminiscences in the artist's archaizing efforts (*ibid.*, 48f), and referred to the technique of the traditional *Hinterglasmalerei* which might have influenced the artist's style (*ibid.*, 44).

This time I wish to present another picture of Solomon which I had the chance to buy in Aswan about four years ago. The coloured print measuring 320mm x 220mm was published by the *Matba'at al-Gindī* in Cairo. According to a signature on the picture, it was drawn by a certain Midḥat. The present publication is justified by at least two facts.

Firstly, this kind of popular representations seem to have lost their traditional places of occurrence, so they have completely disappeared from Egypt². The reason for this might lie in the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalist forces which may look with disdain at any form of popular pietism. In this respect, they must certainly disapprove of the use of pictures with religious subjects which, in their view, infringe the Islamic ban on figural representations (Fodor 1988:51, n. 3). This expla-

¹ See Fodor 1988.

² Another case of disappearance: the once so popular pictures of Ali in Iraq have been banned by the authorities for political reasons in recent years. For this, see Fodor in print:123.

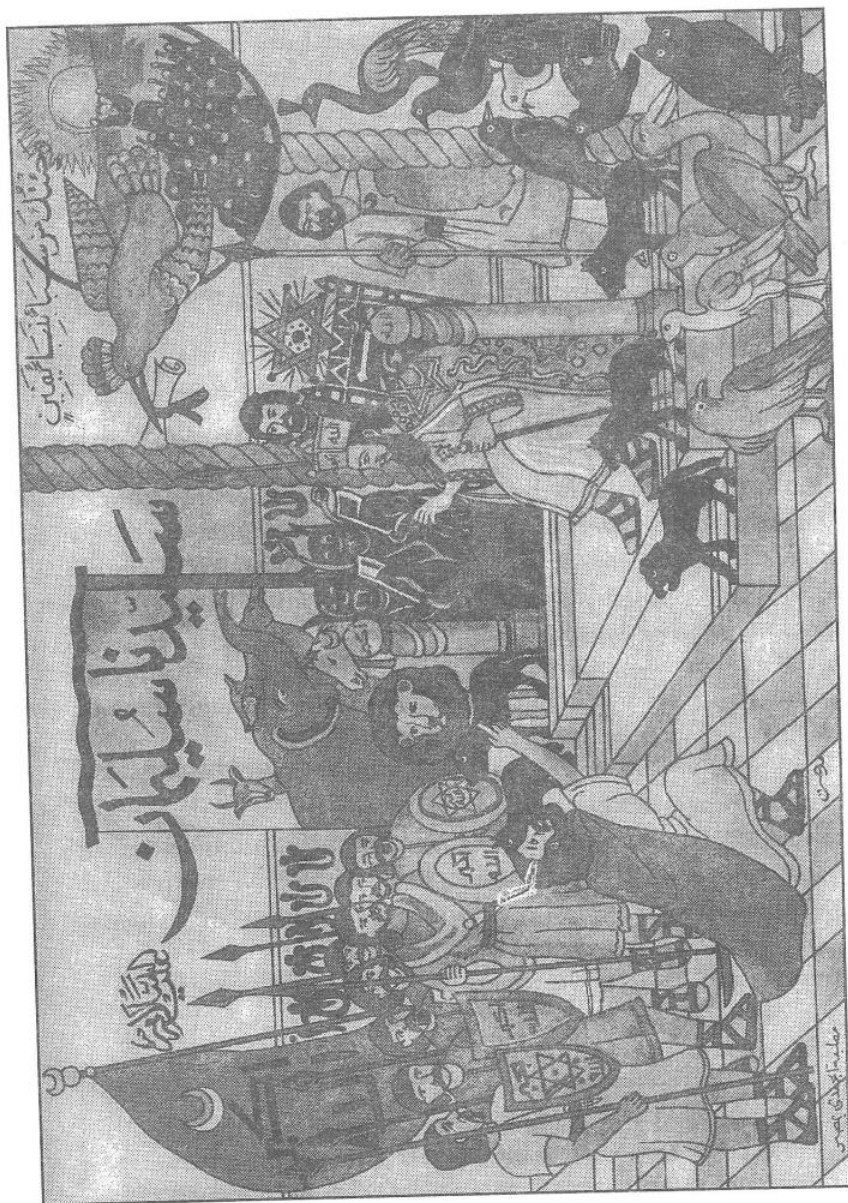
nation can be supported by the phenomenon that an overflow of Koranic quotations presented in a wide variety of wall-hangings has submerged popular markets replacing such formerly favourite pictures as the Burāq, the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, Ali and his sons, the tomb of the Prophet in Medina etc. Naturally, a change in the taste of people, a kind of "modernization" of habits might also have played a part in the emergence of the new forms.

Secondly, the content of the new acquisition is also worth preserving as a document for research. Describing the scene on the picture we must start with the written text which has an integral role in expressing the basic idea of the whole representation and in this way stresses a characteristic trait which is usually found in Christian icons (Fodor 1988:46). The main title in bold letters reads as follows: *Sayyidunā Sulaymān - 'alayhi s-salām* ("Our Lord Solomon - Peace be upon Him!") and serves to introduce the most important figure who of course must be easily recognizable by any onlooker.

The sentence inscribed above in the right corner is a Koran verse (Sūra 27,22): *wa-ġi'tuka min Saba' bi-naba' yaqīn* ("And I have come to thee From Saba' with tidings true.")³. This text here has a special and independent function since it is not destined to complement a certain part of the pictorial representation. As a real dramatic prelude it helps us to understand the events that unfold around Solomon. According to the different legends, Solomon and his armies of men, jinns, devils, birds and beasts were on their way to Yemen when the King suddenly discovered that his guide, the hoopoe whose main task was to find water for his ritual ablutions before prayer, disappeared⁴. When the bird finally arrived, he informed Solomon that he had just come from Saba' where he had found a queen who with her people was worshipping the Sun prostrating themselves at sunrise and sunset. The circle in the upper

³ I used the translation by Abdulla Yusuf Ali.

⁴ For the stories of the different episodes represented on our picture, see especially at-Ta'ālabī, *al-'Arā'is* 346-355. Cf. also al-Kisā'ī, *Vita* II, 289-292 and Ibn Kaṭīr, *Qiṣaṣ* II 288-294. For an English version of the different legends, see J. Knappert 1985 I, 138, 142f.



right corner of the picture shows figures in the course of such an act in front of the Sun.

Upon hearing this news, Solomon sent his famous letter in which after the *basmala* he called upon Bilqīs, the Queen of Saba' and her people to become Muslims⁵. The hoopoe was instructed to forward the message to the Queen and, obeying the King's order he took the letter in his beak and flew to Saba'. This scene is indicated by the figure of the colourful hoopoe under the Koranic verse.

When Bilqīs received the letter, she decided to send gifts to the King and to test his wisdom. The central event in the picture shows Solomon listening to the Queen's messenger. The King, seated on his famous throne is wearing a long, loose, pale lilac-coloured robe and above it a pale, greenish mantle embellished with hexagrams. His bearded head with long hair falling on his shoulders is decorated with a crown which differs in shape from the one seen on our former picture. Curiously enough, the crown bears the inscription *Allāh akbar* and is topped with the figure of a crescent. In his left hand, Solomon is grasping his rod decorated with a hexagram.

Another hexagram painted in blue is shining over the throne while on its two sides two columns resembling Muslim tombstones covered with shrouds can be seen. The words *Allāh* and *akbar* are inscribed on their poles which are crowned by crescents. Apart from these motifs, we can recognize some details in the representation of the throne which reveal several characteristics of the traditional Muslim descriptions⁶. In accordance with these, the back of the royal chair seems to have enrustments. Reference is also made to four palm-trees surrounding the throne and to a pair of lions which stand guard on either side. From the trees we can discover the trunks of only two, but we can see three pairs

⁵ It seems to be quite natural to at-Ta'labī to speak about the people of Solomon as real Muslims (*al-'Arā'is* 233f). He even goes as far as claiming that the *ṣahāda* was inscribed on the King's famous ring which was presented to him by Gabriel (*ibid.*, 361).

⁶ See e.g. at-Ta'labī, *al-'Arā'is* 340f.

of lions. Among the birds e.g. a peacock, a pigeon, a raven, an owl, an eagle etc. are easily identifiable.

Solomon's attendants who draw up behind Bilqīs' messenger wear tunic-like robes, sandals made of strips of leather and are armed with spears and shields. On these the inscription *Allāh akbar* and the sign of the hexagram can be observed. In contrast to their general appearance which may even evoke the atmosphere of Biblical times⁷, the daggers in the belts of the warriors look rather like the typical Yemeni *ḡambiyas*. Behind the armed men a big, green flag adorned with the words *Allāh akbar* and a figure of the crescent is hoisted. Another crescent appears also on the pole of the flag.

The army of the animals is represented by an elephant, a lion, a giraffe, a camel, a horse and a calf (?).

The figures of the jinns to the right of the throne look completely different from the devils of our previous picture. Their bodies are painted in dark brown, while the colour of their eyes and long teeth is red. In place of the usual horns, they are provided with exceptionally long ears. The tails which end in an arrowlike shape are familiar from the former representation. In a somewhat strange way, the jinns seem to hold flags traditionally made of bulrush and used as fans or to whisk away flies. As a matter of fact, the axes with which they are armed on our first picture would have better fitted their frightening character.

From the aforesaid it has become clear that the artist collected different episodes from the legends about Solomon which all were destined to transmit the general message of the whole representation: "Islam is triumphant". The occurrence of the hexagram and the Islamic symbols together is not necessarily meant to express the victory of Islam over Judaism. On the contrary, it serves to demonstrate in the spirit of the Islamic legends (especially those preserved by at-Ta'labī) that Solomon and his people were in reality Muslims. Imitating the function of a

⁷ The Old Testament refers to spears and shields as the customary weaponry (see e.g. 2 Kings 11,12).

THE BACKGROUND MOTIVES OF THE QARMAṬĪ POLICY IN BAḤRAIN

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Budapest

Thanks to the combined influence of Hārīgīte doctrines, Muʿtazilite practical theology and late Hellenistic and Neo-Platonic philosophies, significant changes took place in the ideology of the opposition Šīʿite groups that manifested their social discontent at the time of the disintegration of the late ʿAbbāsīd caliphate in the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

As a result of these ideas, communities of a new type arose within the Šīʿite milieu which supported their radical political and military behaviour by the proclamation of the immediate advent of a theocratic and charismatic leader, the Imām-Mahdī 'from the Prophet's house' (*min ahl al-bayt*)¹. Later the large-scale ideological and political movement of the *Ismāʿīlīya* led to the formation of two Šīʿite statehoods in the territory of the Muslim Empire, one the Fāṭimids in North Africa in 298/910, the other the Qarmaṭīs in Eastern Central Arabia, in Baḥrain in 281/894.

They based both their legitimacy and their policy aimed at overthrowing the ʿAbbāsīds on the representation of this theocratic and charismatic leader, the Imām-Mahdī². The presumed ideological-political

¹ The Messianistic idea of Judeo-Christian origin became central to that section of the Šīʿa, namely the Ismāʿīlīs, who translated it into the return of the Imām, who will fill the earth with justice and righteousness as it is filled with injustice and inequity. According to a relevant tradition narrated Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān in *Šarḥ al-ahbār* (See in: Ivanow 1942:Texts 23.):

المهدي من نسل فاطمة سيدة نساء العالمين، طالت الأيام أم قصرت يخرج فيملا الأرض قسطا وعدلا كما ملئت جورا وظلما ويطيب العيش في زمانه.

² The doctrine of the imāmate preached by the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* of the second half of the 3rd/9th century centred around the Mahdīship of Ġaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq's grandson, Muḥam-

relations of the two Šī'ite states referred to in the contradictory medieval Arabic sources and also brought to light by modern research have attracted considerable attention, and widespread polemics have developed around them³.

The first orientalist to deal with the events was M. de Goeje (1836-1909) who came to the conclusion, on the basis of the sources available at that time, that the Qarmaṭīs acted on the orders of the Fāṭimids even if sometimes they exceeded their authority. He further held that with minor deviations, the Qarmaṭīs maintained their close cooperation with the Fāṭimid Ismā'īlīs until the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 when they broke openly with the Fāṭimids (de Goeje 1886:81ff).

W. Ivanow (1886-1970), the pioneer researcher of the Ismā'īliya, rejected any kind of relation between the Fāṭimids and the Qarmaṭīs on the basis of their doctrinal differences (Ivanow 1940:43-85).

B. Lewis, in the summary of nearly fifty years' scientific achievement, regarded the Qarmaṭīs in Baḥrain as separate in their origin but believed that by preserving their autonomy they still recognised the Fāṭimids. He considered the subsequent conflicts between the two Šī'ite statehoods as hostilities between the moderate and radical wings of the Ismā'īlī movement (Lewis 1940:80, 84-86, 88-89).

According to the opinion of S. M. Stern (1920-1969), after the split of the Ismā'īlī movement the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain still supported the original doctrine and did not accept the new, the later official Fāṭimid dogma of the visible Imām appearing at the head of the community. He holds that although the Fāṭimid caliphs were not recognised as Mahdī-Imāms but as political leaders and as the expected Mahdī's representatives, some cooperation was still maintained with them. He found an ex-

mad b. Ismā'īl who had disappeared and was about to reappear as the Qā'im and to rule the world. See: Daftary 1991:131. For the character of the early Ismā'īlī communities see: Nagel 1972:5-10, 73-75. Cf. Madelung 1961:43-54; Halm 1978:6-8; Daftary 1991:131-132.

³ The standard work on the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain remains de Goeje 1886. Cf. Madelung 1959, which is the best modern survey of the sources on the later history of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain and contains critical reappraisal of de Goeje's work. Excellent recent contributions are contained in Halm 1991 (esp. 37-38, 58-60, 225-236, 334-341).

planation for the mysterious features of Qarmaṭī history and the later Fāṭimid-Qarmaṭī open conflicts in this ambiguous relationship (Stern 1983:295-296).

It was in the sixties that W. Madelung put together an overall study on the subject by introducing new sources. He came to the conclusion, over the question of origin and unity, that although the Qarmaṭīs in BaḤrain and the Fāṭimids came from the same faction, they were going their own ways from very early times as far as developing their teachings on the imāmate is concerned, and this is the reason why they were rather hostile towards each other (Madelung 1959, 1961, 1988:96-98). Two outstanding recent scholars of Ismāʿīlī studies, H. Halm (1988: 205-208; 1991:64-67, 176) and F. Daftary (1993:130, 134, 138-139) concur basically with his point of view.

So much importance was attributed to Fāṭimid-Qarmaṭī relations in medieval chronicles and polemical treatises as well as in scientific research, that external relations of the Qarmaṭīs of BaḤrain which did not concern the Fāṭimids were disregarded both in sources and publications. However, some economic and social historical publications on analysing the period does draw our attention to their significant non-Fāṭimid external relations and to the strong inherence of commercial interest that lies behind their vigorous military expansions and changeable policies⁴.

On further consideration of these opinions we wish to discuss the formation of these relations as well as the development of the Qarmaṭī community and statehood with reference to background motives, as far as these can be inferred from the sources.

Concerning the sources, it should be noted that due to lack of adequate Ismāʿīlī sources we depend mainly on the reports of their opponents. Therefore the non-Fāṭimid sources remained essential for studying the history and doctrines of the early Ismāʿīlīs or Qarmaṭīs. Among these the heresiographies are important, especially the works of the Imāmī-Šīʿite, an-Nawbaḥtī (*Firaq* 61-64) and al-Qummī (*Maqālāt* 83-86.

⁴ Busse 1969:337-338, 365, 396; Shaʿbān 1976:144-145; Ashtor 1979:161-167; Kennedy 1989:193-195, 289-292.

Engl. transl. Stern 1983:47-53), who wrote slightly before 286/899 and whose works represent the earliest Šī'ite sources dealing with the opening phase of Ismā'īlism. The writings of the polemicists are a very important kind of non-Ismā'īlī source on early Ismā'īlism. Though they aim to discredit the Ismā'īlīs through their defamations and misleading accounts, the polemicists were generally better informed than the early Sunnī historians concerning the doctrines which they intended to refute, perhaps because at least some of the polemicists had access to contemporary Ismā'īlī sources. The anti-Ismā'īlī treatise of Ibn Rizām⁵ who worked in Baġdād during the earlier decades of the 4th/10th century, is preserved in fragmentary form by Ibn an-Nadīm (*al-Fihrist*, 238-240. Engl. tr. Dodge I, 462-472) and other later sources. But it was utilized extensively by the Šarīf Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī better known by his nickname, Aḥū Muḥsin an 'Alid resident of Damascus who produced an anti-Ismā'īlī polemical treatise of his own around 370/980.

Substantial passages of a lost treatise, which evidently contained separate historical and doctrinal parts, are preserved mainly in the writings of three Egyptian historians, namely an-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1331) (*Niḥāya* XXV, 187-317), Ibn ad-Dawādārī (d. 736/1335) (*Kanz* VI, 44-179.), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441) (*Itti'āz* 151-178.).

The polemical writing of Ibn Rizām and Aḥū Muḥsin which does not survive directly, obviously contained valuable details of the early history of the Ismā'īlīs and Qarmaṭīs.

As for the historical sources, the most important is the work of the Šābean Ṭābit b. Sinān from Ḥarrān (d.375/974), who continued the chronicle of aṭ-Ṭabarī on the Qarmaṭīs till 345/957 (*Aḥbār al-Qarāmita* 183-247). His reports were followed by Miskawayh (d. 421/1330) (*Taġārib al-Umam*, I-II, Engl. tr. IV-V.), a high ranking officer in the Būyid Court, in his work on the late 'Abbāsīd period, which is a very important source for us on the history of the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrain between 311/922 and 379/984. The work of Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1238) (*al-Kāmil* VII-IX) - the outstanding figure of late Muslim annalistic historio-

⁵ Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Rizām aṭ-Ṭā'ī al-Kūfī, *Kitāb fī radd 'alā l-ismā'īliyya*.

graphy, who, without references, used the works of at-Ṭabarī and Ṭābit b. Sinān – is also important. These facts show that the main source for Miskawayh and Ibn al-Aṭīr was Ṭābit b. Sinān at that period.

The Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* appeared in Baḥrain, in the coastal region to the south of ʿIrāq, in Eastern Arabia, in 281/894 or perhaps even earlier, in 273/886 (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* III, 2188). In the early Islamic period the term Baḥrain applied to the mainland areas of the Ḥasā province of today's Saudi Arabia as well as to the island nowadays called Baḥrain, which was then known as Uwāl⁶. Baḥrain was near to the centre of the ʿAbbāsīd empire and was situated on one of the main routes of transit trade. This area was inhabited by a heterogenous population of peasants of Nabatean origin in the oases, and of merchants of Persian and Jewish origin travelling in the Gulf to such ports as Baṣra and Sīrāf. The towns of Baḥrain were interested in increasing their share in the great Indian trade of the Gulf. In the countryside and desert areas there were poor roaming Bedouin who disapproved of the rich sedentary population. Formerly the province had been a stronghold of the Ḥawāriḡ, then of the slave revolt of the Zanḡ. Šīʿite communities still existed in its towns and the hostility between the province and the rich Sunnite Baṣra was strong⁷.

Like many other Qarmaṭī leaders, the man who started the movement in Baḥrain was an Ismāʿīlī missionary of Persian origin, Abū Saʿīd al-Ġannābī. He was sent there by the Qarmaṭī leaders of South ʿIrāq after his successful mission in South Persia. This is reported by the majority of the sources, which add that with the split of the Ismāʿīlī movement Abū Saʿīd sided with the rebels against ʿUbaydallāh, the visible Imām at the head of the community, and killed a certain Abū Zakariyyā' at-Ṭamāmī or az-Zamāmī, a missionary (*dāʿī*) with whom he had previously cooperated and who had remained loyal to the 'manifest Imām'⁸.

⁶ On the region of Baḥrain, see art. *Baḥrain*, EI². Cf. an-Naḡm 1973:17-37.

⁷ On the inhabitants of Baḥrain and their occupations, see *ibid.* 41-78, 81-98, 127-144.

⁸ According to the Ibn Rizām/Aḥū Muḥsin account the Ismāʿīlīs of the second half

As W. Madelung points out in his seminal works (1959:44; 1961:59) that the doctrinal reform carried out by ʿUbaydallāh, who later became the first Fāṭimid caliph, served to split the Ismāʿīlī movement into two hostile factions in 286/899. There were Ismāʿīlīs who accepted the reform, the later official Fāṭimid doctrine of the imāmate, according to which there was a visible Imām at the head of the Ismāʿīlī community, and they accepted the continuity in the imāmate which had been transmitted down to the line of the direct descendants of Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765)⁹.

The Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain and other dissident eastern Ismāʿīlīs, refusing to recognize the Fāṭimid Imāms, adhered to their original doctrine after the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate, and they were still awaiting the appearance of their hidden Imām, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the Mahdī who would initiate the final religious era¹⁰.

By 286/899 Abū Ṣaʿīd had won converts amongst the bedouins and the Persians living there and he married into one of the leading trading and landowning families, that of Ḥasan b. Sanbar. He also looked for allies from the Bedouin of the desert and found them in the Banū Kilāb and Banū ʿUqayl¹¹.

With the support of the nomadic tribes, Abū Ṣaʿīd conquered a large part of Baḥrain and also the town of Qaṭīf in the coastal region of

of the 3rd/9th century recognised only seven imāms, the last one being Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, the expected Qāʾim and the seventh Nāṭiq on whose behalf the daʿwa had been propagated in ʿIrāq and Baḥrain. The belief in the Mahdiship of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl had left no place for further imāms after him.

In 286/899, after his succession to the leadership in Salāmiyya, ʿUbaydallāh, the future Fāṭimid caliph, introduced continuity in the imāmate claiming to it for himself and his predecessors. This point of view became the official doctrine of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs who recognised a series of "hidden imāms" between Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and ʿUbaydallāh. For a detailed discussion of these concepts, see Daftary 1991:134-135.

⁹ Ibn Rizām/Aḥḥū Muḥsin in: Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* 55-56; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* 233-234; al-Maqrīzī, *Itṭiʿāz* 159-160. Cf. Ṭābit b. Sinān, *Aḥbār al-qarāmīta* 192-3.

¹⁰ Daftary, 1990:105-106; 1993:137-139. Cf. Madelung 1988:95-98.

¹¹ See Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* 56. Cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 339-340.

East Arabia. In 287/890 the troops of Abū Ṣaʿīd controlled the territories around Haḡar, the capital of Baḡrain, and were approaching Baṣra¹². The partnership between the Abū Ṣaʿīd mission, its followers among the settled population, and the bedouin was to prove extremely effective, and the developing Qarmaṭī community became frightening for their neighbours.

In 287/900 the Qarmaṭīs were in control of the suburbs of Haḡar, and after a long siege the seat of the ʿAbbāsīd governor was taken¹³. At the same time an ʿAbbāsīd army was decisively defeated and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḡrain began to threaten the city of Baṣra itself¹⁴.

Abū Ṣaʿīd established his headquarters at al-Aḡsā' which later became the capital of the Qarmaṭī state in Baḡrain in 314/926. Then the Qarmaṭīs extended their control to the adjoining regions, including Yamāma and ʿUmān. Security of life and property was guaranteed to the local inhabitants (an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* 238; ʿAbd al-Ġabbār, *Taṭbīṭ* 300-301).

This first militant stage in the history of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḡrain was brought to an end in 300-1/913-14. According to the prominent contemporary historian of Baġdād at-Ṭabarī (d. 311/922) and the majority of the later Muslim chroniclers Abū Ṣaʿīd al-Ġannābī, the founder of the

¹² at-Ṭabarī, *Tarīḡ*, ed. by de Goeje III, 2188, 2192-2193; Engl. tr. Rosenthal XXXVIII, 77, 82-83.

¹³ It refers to ʿAmr al-Ġanawī who was appointed by Caliph al-Muʿtaḡīd in charge of al-Yamāma and Baḡrain in 287/900. During the struggle with the Qarmaṭīs he was captured, later released with a letter to al-Muʿtaḡīd. On the Qarmaṭīs' message and the Caliph's reaction see Ṭabarī *Tarīḡ*, III, 2197; Miskawayḡ *Ṭaġārib*, V, 13-16; Ibn al-Ġawzī *Muntazam* V, 133ff. Cf. Rosenthal 1985: fn. 444.

¹⁴ There is a considerable disagreement among the arabic sources as to the date of the Qarmaṭī attack of Basra in 301/913. In fact it is very probable that the raid was not so simultaneous with the Fāṭīmī invasion of Egypt as it had been assumed. See, al-Masʿūdi, *Murūġ* VIII, 280; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* VIII, 49; Miskawayḡ, *Ṭaġārib* I, 33ff. ʿArīb, *Ṣīla* 38, al-Hamaḡānī, *Takmila* 41. Ibn Ḥaldūn's account in his *Iḡbar* IV, 181-195 differs from other sources in some important respects but he does not seem to be reliable in this matter. Cf. Madelung's reassessment (1959:46-50) of De Goeje's view on the question.

Qarmaṭī community and state in Bahrain, was murdered in this year. He was succeeded by the eldest of his seven sons, Abū l-Qāsim Sa'īd¹⁵, who governed with a council of notables (al-'Iqdānīya) in the following years.

During his rule the Qarmaṭīs refrained from troubling the territories of the caliphate and to maintain good relations with the 'Abbāsīd court were in fact engaged in extensive negotiations with the famous 'Abbāsīd vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. al-Ġarrāh (d. 334/946) on his peace initiatives. 'Alī b. 'Īsā, after assuming office in 301/913 and again in 303/916, dispatched embassies to the Qarmaṭīs¹⁶.

Presumably they decided on the development of commercial relations with other regions of the Gulf due to their geographical situation, and they seem to have sought a subsidy and trading opportunities from the 'Abbāsīd government. Their effort was accepted by the 'Good Vizier' in the hope that by allowing them to develop their trade he would avert the danger of the Qarmaṭī invasion of South 'Irāq. While 'Alī b. 'Īsā was powerful in the 'Abbāsīd government, this policy of 'privileges for peace' prevailed, and before being dismissed from the vizierate in 303/915-16 he sent presents to the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrain and granted them prerogatives such as the use of the port of Sīrāf and the right of free trade in it¹⁷. Therefore the Qarmaṭīs who had been quite busy

¹⁵ On the succession of the Qarmaṭī leadership, see al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz* 165; Tābit b. Sinān, *Ahbār al-qaramīta* 211; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Kāmil* VII, 527; Miskawayh, *Tağārib* I, 33. Cf. Scanlon 1960:29-48.

¹⁶ In 301/913 'Alī b. 'Īsā advised the Caliph al-Muqtadir to communicate with the Qarmaṭī leader Abū Sa'īd and wrote in the caliph's name a letter admonishing and rebuking and summoning the Qarmaṭīs to obedience. Although Abū Sa'īd died before the message reached him the Qarmaṭīs sent a conciliatory reply to the Court and they released, as a gesture the captives whose cause the messengers had pleaded. On the exchange of letters see 'Abdalḡabbār, *Ṭaḡbit* II, 380.6-9; Miskawayh, *Tağārib* I, 34.12-35. Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Kāmil* VIII, 84; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XXV, 276; Tābit b. Sinān, *Tārīḥ* 211. Cf. Bowen 1928:136-137; Halm 1991:225.

¹⁷ According to 'Arīb (*Takmila* 59). See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'* 292-293:

with their own affairs for over seven years were to continue to be so for another decade.

In 311/923-24 or probably even earlier Abū l-Qāsim Saʿīd was forced to resign by his younger, much more militant brother Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān, and in the next year ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā lost power to the Šīʿite Ibn al-Furāt (d. 312/924) who was less inclined to take a conciliatory attitude towards the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain. Thus they ended their temporarily peaceful relations with the ʿAbbāsids¹⁸.

A few days after the change of *wazīrs* in the court of the caliph the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain started a series of lightning attacks on the towns of southern ʿIrāq during which they sacked Baṣra and Kūfa repeatedly and raided pilgrims' caravans.

The first attack was against Baṣra¹⁹. They took the wealthy city by surprise at night and looted it for eighteen days before returning to Haḡar. Ten months later they attacked a pilgrim caravan (*ḡaḡḡ*) returning from Mecca to al-Habīr, and captured many distinguished pilgrims, among others the amīr Abū l-Hayḡā ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamdān who had been charged with the protection of the caravan²⁰.

These two attacks were to characterize all the others that happened intermittently over a period of almost half a century²¹.

في هذه السنة نظر علي بن عيسى بعين رأيه إلى أمر القرامطة فخافهم على الحاج وغيرهم فمشغلهم بالكتابة والمراسلة والدخول في الطاع وهاداهم وأطلق لهم التسوق بسيراف فردهم بذلك وكفهم.

¹⁸ ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā who was known for his anti-ʿAlid attitude was called a Qarmaṭī by his personal enemies. As a result, he was forced out of power from his office. See ʿArib, *Šila* 59; Miskawayh, *Ṭaḡārib* I, 105-121; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* 276-277.

¹⁹ When the Qarmaṭīs entered the town of Baṣra they said to the inhabitants: "Woe to you! How pitiful is your petty sultān in removing from his side that venerable man (i.e. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā), [an act] the consequences of which he will soon see." See ʿArib, *Šila* 110.

²⁰ Miskawayh, *Ṭaḡārib* I, 104-105, 120-121; ʿArib, *Šila* 110-111; Ṭābit b. Sinān, *Aḡbār al-qaramīṭa* 212ff; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* VIII, 155; Ibn Ṭaḡribirdī, *Nuḡūm* III, 211. Cf. ʿAdwān 1981:122-125.

²¹ In the battles many military leaders on both sides played important but ephemeral roles and there is understandably little information available about them.

The events of these military expeditions as reported by the historians shed light on the motives of Abū Ṭāhir's new policy. Whereas his father, Abū Sa'īd, had been supported at the beginning of his movement mainly by the bedouin, Abū Ṭāhir began to build up a powerful state. He pursued an expansive external policy by which his nomadic military troops acted to promote the interests of the merchants, the most important stratum of the townspeople of Baḥrain. Their interests were from then on a decisive factor in his policy, determining both the internal conditions of the developing Qarmaṭī statehood and its external policy. The successive changes of this policy are clearly indicated by the accounts of the chroniclers. Amid these political changes an independent Qarmaṭī state developed out of what had been simply a radical Messianic movement, legitimized by the representation of the theocratic leader of Imām-Mahdī, and this state effectively enforced the measures of militant external policy in defence of its commercial interests.

The Qarmaṭīs had previously been granted in 303/915 trading rights in Sīrāf, but they had soon come to realize that due to their regional location it was not sufficient. Their purposes were to capture a share in the profits of the trade of the Gulf and the Syrian-Iraqi and Arabian deserts.

Thus they proceeded to occupy the ports of 'Umān, and so came to dominate the Gulf's Arabian coast. They next tried to establish points of control on the Persian side of the Gulf. Their attack on Baṣra was enough to frighten the trade away from this flourishing port and divert it to their own ports where they imposed and collected their own taxes²². For the land routes they first turned to the pilgrim caravans which were also important trade caravans. Then they turned to the north-south trade route bordering the Syrian-Iraqi desert, and tried to attack and dominate the market towns along this route. Their intention

²² Ibn Ḥawqal *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* 25; Mas'ūdī *Tanbih* 393; Miskawayh I. 139, 284.

was to seize what they considered to be taxes and what their opponents preferred to call protection money (*ḥifāra*)²³.

Some time later Abū Ḥayḡā' and other prisoners of the first attack on the pilgrim caravans were released and arrived in Baḡdād as delegates from Abū Ṭāhir, demanding that al-Aḥwāz, Basra and even other territories be yielded up²⁴. The Qarmaṭī claim was rejected, and in 312/924-25 the pilgrims were attacked again and Kūfa was sacked²⁵. The ḥaḡḡ of 313/926 was allowed to go in peace only after the payment of a hefty sum²⁶.

In 314/926, when the Qarmaṭīs were busy with the fortification of their capital, al-Aḥsā', the 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Muqtadir (295/908 – 320/932) recalled to 'Irāq Yūsuf b. Abī s-Sāḡ, the ruler (*amīr*) of Ādar-bāyḡān and Armenia, in order to keep the Qarmaṭī threat in check²⁷.

In 315/927 the Qarmaṭīs again plundered Kūfa. Then, when Baḡdād itself was threatened, the *wazīr* al-Ḥāšibī (d. 328/940) sent to Ibn Abī s-Sāḡ for more troops. 'Alī b. 'Īsā, realising that Ibn Abī s-Sāḡ would not be successful, suggested that it would be better to employ the bedouin Banū Asad to guard the ḥaḡḡ and the Banū Šaybān to attack the Qarmaṭīs. His advice was not accepted and the caliph's troops were again defeated. Ibn Abī s-Sāḡ himself was captured and later executed in 315/928²⁸.

²³ Miskawayh, *Taḡārib* I, 145-146, 173-182, 201; 'Arīb, *Šila* 118, 134; al-Hamadāni, *Takmilā* 52-53; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh* 390. Cf. Busse 1969:365, 396.

²⁴ According to Ibn al-Aṭīr (*Kāmil* VIII, 155ff.):
 أبو طاهر أطلق من كان عنده من الأسرى كان أسرهم في الحجاج، وفيهم {أبو الهيجاء} ابن حمدان وغيره،
 وأرسل إلى المعتذر يطلب البصرة والأهواز، فلم يجبه إلى ذلك فسار من هجر يريد الحج.
 See Miskawayh, *Taḡārib* I, 139.14-16; 'Uyūn I, 236.15-16; Ibn Taḡribirdī, *Nuḡūm* III, 212.
 Cf. 'Adwān 1981:122-4.

²⁵ Miskawayh, *Taḡārib* I, 145-146.

²⁶ See 'Uyūn I, 226.

²⁷ 'Arīb, *Šila* I, 128; Miskawayh, *Taḡārib* 147-148.

²⁸ On the details of the military events see Miskawayh, *Taḡārib* I, 172-177. Cf. Bowen's appraisal (1975:266-275).

Thereupon the Qarmaṭīs advanced up to the Euphrates, seized al-Anbār and crossed the river with the purpose of entering the capital. Baġdād was alarmed at them but their progress was halted by the army of Mu'nis al-Ḥādīm (d. 321/933), the ʿAbbāsīd commander in chief (*amīr al-umarāʾ*), who had earlier fought the Fāṭimīds in their Egyptian expedition²⁹. This campaign, lasting for almost two years, incited the Qarmaṭīs of Southern ʿIrāq, who were concentrated in the suburb (*sawād*) of Kūfa, to rebellion³⁰. Then the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain withdrew to the western bank of the Euphrates and returned to Baḥrain, because of the confused state of their internal affairs in 317/930³¹.

According to the relevant sources, their extreme military actions were accompanied by radical religious alterations. Abū Ṭāhir, like other Qarmaṭī 'missionaries' (*duʿāt*), was at that time predicting the advent of the Maḥdī following the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the year 316/928. This event, according to Ismāʿīlī tenets, was expected to end the era of Islām and initiate the seventh final religious era³². Therefore the Qarmaṭīs intensified their attacks on their opponents as the expected date approached³³. For the reception of the 'Expected One' (*al-muntaẓar*) the Qarmaṭīs had already completed the construction of a 'place of refuge' (*dār al-ḥiġra*) near al-Aḥsāʾ called 'al-Mu'miniyya'³⁴.

²⁹ Miskawayh, *Taġārib* I, 178-181.

³⁰ It concerns the Baqliyya revolt. On the revolt itself see ʿArīb, *Ṣila* 132ff, 137, 162; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* VIII, 124ff, 132, 136, 200. Cf. *EP* I, 962.

³¹ Miskawayh, *Taġārib* I, 182-187.

³² The *dāʿīs* of Rayy were in close contact with those in ʿIrāq and with the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain and like them they also were expecting the reappearance of the Maḥdī-Imām for the year 316/928. Cf. Madelung 1961:75ff; Daftary 1990:162-163; Halm 1991:229-230.

³³ Miskawayh, *Taġārib* I, 183; Masʿūdī, *Tanbih* 385; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *al-Muntazam* V, 216; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Bidāya* XI, 157.

³⁴ The leading spiritual authorities of the Qarmaṭīs lived mostly in Iran. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasafī (or an-Naḥṣabī), a *dāʿī* in Transoxania, wrote a *Kitāb al-Maḥsūl* probably about 300/911 which found wide acceptance among the Qarmaṭīs as a comprehensive exposition of their esoteric thought. It introduced the Neoplatonic Ismāʿīlī cosmology

Their military activities culminated in the conquest of Mecca during the pilgrim season in 317/930. Having spent eight days in pillage and massacre, they slaughtered the pilgrims and the inhabitants and removed everything of value from the shrine. They also carried off the Black Stone of the Ka'ba, thus spectacularly demonstrating the end of the Islamic era³⁵. Their action, however, may also be viewed as a clear assertion of their objection to the use of this religious occasion for commercial purposes, from the benefits of which they had been excluded.

Their previous attacks on the pilgrim caravans had not achieved the desired results. In order to accomplish them they had to take the Black Stone away, which was, and still remained, a fundamental requirement of the rituals of the pilgrimage. Their unprecedented act shocked the Muslim world, and most of our sources relate that shortly afterwards the Fāṭimid caliph 'Ubaydallāh al-Mahdī sent a letter to Abū Ṭāhir reproving him and requesting him to return the Black Stone. This demand was rejected along with a similar one put to him by the 'Abbāsids³⁶.

which largely replaced the earlier doctrine and later was also adopted by the Fāṭimid Ismā'īlism. Cf. Madelung 1988:96ff and Halm 1991:203ff.

³⁵ Maqrīzī, *Ittī'āz* 182; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* VI, 93; Miskawayh, *Tağārib* I, 201.

³⁶ There are different narrations on the background of these events. Ṭābit b. Sinān (*Tārīḥ* 224) and Ibn al-Aṭīr (*Kāmil* VIII, 208) quoted the reproving letter of 'Ubaydallāh. According to Ibn al-Imād (*Šadara* I, 284-285) they acted upon the order of the Fāṭimids. The most complete variant of the above mentioned letter is preserved, however, in an Ismā'īli source still in MS. (*Fuṣūl wa-ahbār*, quoted by Tāmīr 1993 I, 176):

إلى مقدم القرامطة: سليمان بن الحسن أبو طاهر الجنابي
بلغنا إقدام رجالكم على التصدي لقوافل الحجاج المسلمين وقتلهم النساء والشيوخ والأطفال. والتمثيل بجثثهم
ونهب ما يحملونه. وبلغنا ما اقترفه رجالكم من الأعمال المخوبة في الديار المقدسة. كنزهم كسوة الكعبة.
وردم بئر زمزم. ونقل الحجر الأسود إلى هجر. إنكم بهذا العمل المشين سجلتم علينا في التاريخ نقطة سوداء
لا تمحوها لليلالي ولا الأيام. وحققتم على دولتنا ودعوتنا اسم الكفر والزندقة والإلحاد، بما قمتم به من أعمال
شنيعة مخالفة لمبادئنا وعقيدتنا. لهذا أطلب إليكم ... أن ترد على أهل مكة الفتناء والأموال والحلي. وعلى
الحجاج ما سلبته منهم وأن ترد الكسوة للكعبة المشرفة وإلا أتيت إليكم بجندو لا قبيل لك بها.
إننا نتبرأ منك كما تبرئنا من الشيطان الرجيم في الدنيا والآخرة ونعون بالله من فعال السوء التي لا يقترفها إلا
أعداء الله أجمعين.

إذا لم تفعل ما أمرتك به لا يكن بيني وبينك إلا السيف والبراءة منك على رؤوس الأشهاد.

Despite their rejection of the offer of the Court of Baġdād, with their willingness for peaceful settlement the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrain took a step towards the renewal of their former policy of 'peace for privileges'⁴³. Afterwards the Qarmaṭīs again attacked the pilgrim route, defeated the caliphal troops between Kūfa and Qādisiyya and occupied Kūfa for several days before returning to Bahrain⁴⁴.

In 325/937 Abū Ṭāhir, who again entered Kūfa, carried on further negotiations with the 'Abbāsīd *amīr al-umarā'* Ibn Rā'iq. In reply to the demand of the Qarmaṭīs, who wanted the caliph to give them 120,000 dinars a year in silver and supplies, Ibn Rā'iq proposed that Abū Ṭāhir and his troops should consider themselves as enrolled in the service of the caliph and that this sum be considered as a salary. No agreement was achieved⁴⁵.

Finally, in 327/938-939, the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrain made their peace with the Baġdād authorities and an agreement was concluded between Abū Ṭāhir and the 'Abbāsīd government, due to the efforts of 'Umār b. Yaḥyā, an 'Alid from Kūfa and a friend of the Qarmaṭī leader. Under this agreement the Qarmaṭīs promised to protect the pilgrimage in return for an annual tribute of 120,000 dinars from the 'Abbāsīd treasury and a protection fee (*ḥifāra*) to be paid by the pilgrims⁴⁶.

⁴³ As an obvious result of the negotiations the *ḥaġġ* in 322/934 passed off untroubled. Cf. Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* VIII, 220.

⁴⁴ Miskawayh, *Ṭaġārib* I, 367, Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* VI, 208-210; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih* 337.

⁴⁵ The relevant account in the 'Uyūn (I, 299) states that:
فيها قصد أبو طاهر القرمطي الكوفة ودخلها وخرج ابن رائق من بغداد فنزل الياسرية وأنفذ برسالة إلى القرمطي، وكان أبو طاهر يطلب أن يحمل إليه الخليفة مالا وطعاما بمائة وعشرون الف دينار ليقيم في بلده ويبتل له ابن رائق أن يجعل له ما طلبه رزقا لأصحابه ويجعل لهم بذلك جريدة في الديوان ويدخلون في الطاعة ويستخدمون، وجر بينها مخاطبات وانصرف أبو طاهر مع هذا إلى بلده ويستقر أمر محقق.
Cf. Miskawayh, *Ṭaġārib* I, 367ff; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* VI, 208-210; Ibn al-'Imād, *Šadāra* II, 308ff.

⁴⁶ The account of Ibn al-'Imād (*Šadāra* II, 308) states that in 327/938-9:
فكتب أبو علي محمد بن يحيى العلوي إلى القرامطة وكانوا يجيبونه أن يذموا للحجاج ليسير بهم ويعطيهم من كل جمل خمسة دنانير ومن المحمل سبعة فأنموا لهم فحج الناس وهي أول سنة مكث فيها الحاج.

After the death of Abū Ṭāhir in 332/944 his surviving brothers – including Abū l-Qāsim Saʿīd (d. 361/972), Abū Maṣṣūr Aḥmad and Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl – ruling jointly, continued his late peaceful policy.

In 334/946, the Šīʿite Būyid warlords took possession of Baġdād and became the real protectors of the ʿAbbāsīd Empire for more than a century. Prevailing over the Iranian Plateau and expanding in ʿIrāq, the Būyids were in a favourable position to dominate most of the east-west and north-south trade routes, and the southern sea coast made possible for them the participation in the Indian Ocean trade. Soon after occupying Baġdād, they set out to capture Baṣra, which had been in the hands of taxfarmers, the Barīdīs, since the last years of the central government. Thus the important port of the Gulf was captured and the Barīdīs fled to the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain.

Having established themselves in Baṣra, the Būyids attempted to win over the Qarmaṭīs. Although the Qarmaṭīs seem to have agreed to this, they had their differences with regard to their attempts to establish control over the Persian side of the Gulf. These differences had manifested themselves in the earlier doctrinal and political struggle between them until the death of Abū Ṭāhir in 332/944⁴⁷.

Therefore in 336/948, after the capture of Baṣra by the Būyids, agreements reached by the two sides made it possible for each to live in peace with the other. The Būyids allowed the Qarmaṭīs to have their own custom house alongside theirs in Baṣra⁴⁸. They were willing to go to some lengths to win over the Qarmaṭīs and ready to discourage trading with the port of Sirāf and divert all trade to Baṣra where both could

Cf. Ibn Taġribirdī, *Nuġūm* III, 26; as-Suyūṭī, *Tārīḥ* 363; aṣ-Ṣūlī, *Aḥbār* 119. Another important account concerning these events can also be found in the *ʿUyūn* (II, 233): فيها (٣٢٧/٩٣٨) أخذ الحسين بن المعمر صاحب الجنابي الحفارة م الحاج ووقف بزبالة فأخذ عن العمارة ثلاثة تانير وعن الجمل دينارين وعن الزمالة ديناراً ووردت كتب الحاج وشكرهم إياهم.

⁴⁷ See Busse 1969:37-38. Cf. Shaʿban 1976:162.

⁴⁸ ʿArīb, *Šīla* 132, 137, 163; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntazam* VI, 208. Cf. Busse 1969:364.

share its benefits⁴⁹. The chronicles refer many times to their friendly partnership based upon common interests. For instance the Būyids excused the Qarmaṭīs their participation in cooperate attacks with the Zang̃ on Baṣra, and directed their repressive actions against the Zang̃ only. But then the Qarmaṭīs actively supported the Būyids in their fight against the Sāmānids to maintain their hold over Rayy and twice made effort to help their partners⁵⁰. Presumably they were interested in retaining their access to Rayy, an important connection on the east-west trade route.

Under these cordial relations, the Qarmaṭīs, continuing to accept their peace agreement with the caliphal Court of their own free will, finally returned the Black Stone of the Ka'ba in 339/950-51, for a high sum paid by the 'Abbāsīd government, and not, as held by some authorities, in response to the request of the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr (334/946 - 341/953)⁵¹.

The death of Abū Ṭāhir in 332/944 and the return of the Black Stone to Mecca in 339/951 represent a turning point in the development of the Qarmaṭī statehood: the Qarmaṭī community, which legitimized itself on the representation of the theocratic leader, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, had established itself with its neighbours in the course of promoting its economic, or more precisely, its commercial interests at first by pur-

⁴⁹ Miskawayh, *Tağārib* II, 46, 117, 129, 143-144, 196, 213-218, 300-301; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard* 48.

⁵⁰ The Qarmaṭīs later maintained good relations with 'Aḍud ad-Dawla and deputed an official representative at Baġdād, Abū Bakr b. Šāhawayh. These contacts only deteriorated after 'Aḍud ad-Dawla's death in 382/983 when his son arrested this general and provoked a Qarmaṭī attack on Kūfa. See Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* IX, 29-30; Miskawayh, *Tağārib* II, 117, 129. Cf. Busse 1969:65; Sha'ban 1976:165-168..

⁵¹ According to Ibn al-'Imād (*Šadara* II, 348) in 339/951:
 فيها أعادت القرامطة الحجر الأسود إلى مكانه وكان بجمك بذل لهم في رده خمسين ألف دينار فلم يردوه وقالوا
 أخذنا بأمر وإذا ورد أمر رددناه فردوه وقالوا رددناه بأمر من أخذناه بأمره لتتم مناسك الناس.
 This statement may reflect their religious conviction rather than the orders of one definite person. Cf. Miskawayh, *Tağārib* II, 127; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* VIII, 367; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntazam* VI, 367; Ibn Taġrībīrdī, *Nuṣūm* III, 101.

suing a militant expansive external policy and later by concluding agreements with these neighbours. Meanwhile the Qarmaṭī community established its state and in the end achieved its final legitimization by integrating and assimilating within the existing Muslim political order. The chroniclers do not record any further military activity on the part of the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain for more than a decade.

The last outbreak of Qarmaṭī militancy was in connection with the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969, more precisely their appearance in Syria in 360/971.

The Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrain had earlier demonstrated their political interests in this region by maintaining good relations with the rulers of the Fertile Crescent and the Ḥamdānids and the Iḥšīdids who sent them gifts⁵². The Iḥšīdids of Egypt and Southern Syria paid them a sum of 300,000 dinars a year, which offering was to secure the safety of the caravans travelling on the landroutes from Egypt and Syria to the Ḥiḡāz⁵³. When the Fāṭimids appeared in Syria and cut off this subsidy, they invoked the disapproval of the Qarmaṭīs who did not hesitate to attack them.

The question of the hostilities of the Fāṭimids and the Qarmaṭīs will not be examined here, but as far as the background motives of the outbreak of their armed clash are concerned, it should be noted that there are political and economic, but not ideological, reasons behind them. It should also be pointed out that there is no accurate information in the sources to support the view that the Qarmaṭīs had been in the service of the early Fāṭimids and broke off their relations with them⁵⁴.

⁵² Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* VIII, 452; Miskawayh, *Taḡārib* II, 203; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntazam* VII, 19. Cf. 'Adwān 1981:274-5, 309.

⁵³ See Kennedy 1989:320. Cf. Busse 1969:55.

⁵⁴ Most of the chronicles insist that the reason for the Qarmaṭī attack can be found in their indignation at the loss of subsidies both from the Iḥšīdids and the Ḥamdānid government of Damascus. See Shaban 1976:204; Kennedy 1989:291-292; Daftary 1990:165 and fn. 37.

The later prosperity of the Qarmaṭī state in Baḥrain – whose economic and social structure existing in 350/960 was reported by the famous 4/10th century geographers al-Muqaddasī (writing about 375/985) (*Taqāsim* 94) and Ibn Ḥawqal (d. 380/990) (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ* 33-35) as well as the changes in internal affairs which were reported by Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw, the Ismāʿilī traveller (d. 481/1088)⁵⁵ in 444/1052 – was based on their earlier violent militant policy developed for the protection of their local economic interests. Thus the privileges they gained from their neighbours laid down the basis of their later welfare.

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⁵⁵ *Safarnāme*, Engl. tr. Thachston, 1968. 86-90.

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ON A POETIC ŠĀHID OF SĪBWAYHI:

muttariqun riša l-qawādimi

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1 The *šāhid* and its possible interpretations

1.1 In Zuhayr b. Abī Salma's *Kāfiyya*¹ line 15 runs as follows²:

*ahwā lahā asfa'u l-ḥaddayni muttariq **
*riša l-qawādimi lam yunṣab lahu š-šabaku*³

The verse is cited as a poetic *šāhid*⁴ in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (Būlāq ed. I, 100; ed. Derenbourg I, 82; ed. Hārūn I, 195.); aš-Šantamarī's *Šarḥ šawāhid Sībawayhi* (I, 100f.); as-Sirāfi's *Šarḥ*⁵; as-Suyūṭī's *Ašbāḥ* (VI, 46, without mentioning the poet's name). Sībawayhi uses this place as an example of how an adjective with indefinite ending (*šifa munawwana*) may behave similarly to an active participle formed from a transitive verb (*Bāb aš-šifa al-mušabbaha bi-l-fā'il fima 'amilat fihi*, Būlāq ed. I, 99-

¹ The poem is in the metre *basīṭ*. For line 15 see Zuhayr, *Dīwān* 172; aš-Šantamarī, *Šarḥ Dīwān Zuhayr* 83-84. I should like to thank Alan Jones for drawing my attention to this problematic expression and showing me not only the aforementioned *šarḥ* of the *Kāfiyya*, but also the relevant part of his book in print.

² Jahn 1894-1900 I/1, 123 translates it as follows: "Es stieß auf sie nieder ein Schwarzbrauner der Wangen mit dichtem Gefieder der Vorderseite, welchem noch keine aufgestellt sind". Jones's (in print, 130) translation runs as follows: "On it swoops a [falcon] with cheek-feathers suffused with red, its fore-feathers lying tightly over one another, a bird for which traps never been set up".

³ Zuhayr, *Dīwān* here mistakenly reads *aš-širku*.

⁴ See Fischer-Bräunlich 1945:169a *aš-šabaku*; Hārūn 1972 I, 257; Ya'qūb 1992 II, 620.

⁵ A relevant quotation from as-Sirāfi's *Šarḥ* can be found on the margin of the Būlāq edition of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*: cf. as-Sirāfi, *Taqrīrāt* I, 100.

108; ed. Derenbourg I, 81-88; ed. Hārūn I, 194ff; cf. Jahn 1895-1900 I/1, 122-131, I/2 154-164).

1.2 Sībawayhi's above mentioned explanation, supported by terms like "made similar" (*mušabbab*) having no equivalent in our grammatical categories, has not been, as a rule, accepted or taken seriously by European scholars. The only possible alternative to the concept of similarity (*tašbīh*) seemed to be to consider the *naṣb* in *rīša* an unusual *tamyīz* ('specification')⁶. This interpretation leaves us, however, with at least two problems, a formal and a semantic one. First, it must be emphasised that most Arab grammarians did not allow *tamyīz* to be a definite nominal construction⁷. Secondly, a sentence containing a *tamyīz* should also be intelligible without the *tamyīz*⁸, since it only specifies the meaning within a given circle. Now, if we delete *rīša l-qawādimi*, the remaining sentence (*[ṣaqrūn] mutṭariq*) does not convey a good meaning, because it is not the 'eagle' that is 'spread'⁹ or 'lying tightly (over one another)'¹⁰ but its feathers (or wings)¹¹.

⁶ See, e.g., Jones in print, 130: "It would appear that *rīsha l-qawādimi* is thought of as being an expansion of *qawādima*, and is therefore a *tamyīz* accusative, which under normal circumstances must be an indefinite noun". He does not go into details concerning what is to be meant on 'normal circumstances' but it can be guessed as 'in prose text'. That would leave us with a special linguistic feature of poetry (or pre-classical poetry) or a so called *poetica licentia* (*darūra*). The relevant linguistic literature does not, however, mention this phenomena and, to my knowledge, no further similar data can be found either.

⁷ See, e.g., Ibn as-Sarrāğ I, 269: *wa-ṣlam anna l-asmā' allatī tunṣabu 'alā t-tamyīz lā takūnu illā nakirāt tadullu 'alā l-ağnās*; cf. Wright 1896-98 II, 122e (and Rem. D); Carter 1981:368. Some linguists (Arabs and Europeans as well), however, allowed definiteness with the *tamyīz*. See, e.g., Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* 131ff; Howell 1883-1911 I, 278-295, esp. 283ff; Reckendorf 1895-98:115; *id.*, 1921:96.

⁸ I.e., it should be *kalām tāmm* (cf., e.g., az-Zamaḥṣārī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 30-31).

⁹ See Hawā 1951:431.

¹⁰ See Alan Jones's translation in fn. 2.

1.3 There emerge, however, even more important issues when investigating how this and similar cases have been handled through ages by the followers of different (Arab or European) linguistic schools. While for many this means an individual case or at least the application of independent linguistic notions, which can therefore be expounded on isolated bases, for Sībawayhi this and similar problems appear as parts of the linguistic system as a whole and he endeavours to explain them as such. This effort is remarkable even if one could not accept all of his explanations and explanatory methods.

1.4 Sībawayhi's precise wording, as happened so many times with his methods and notions, has been corrupted or misinterpreted by later authors. In aš-Šantamarī's *Šarḥ Dīwān Zuhayr* (p. 84) we read: *našb ar-rīš 'alā t-tašbīh bi-l-maf'ūl bihi*, which is a clear misunderstanding, since the line is not cited simply to explain a nominal ending (that of *rīš*), but to find an explanation for the linguistic behaviour of the whole adjectival phrase *muttariq rīša l-qarwādimi*¹². Others usually supplement Sībawayhi's term *al-fā'il* with the word *ism* (see, e.g., Ya'qūb 1992:620). This is meant to indicate, that it is not the agent but the active or passive participle which is similar to the verb, and then the adjective, in their turn, are similar to the participle. In Sībawayhi's linguistic thinking, however, there is no real difference between *al-fā'il* and *ism al-fā'il*, as is shown by his argumentation in chapter n° 40, so he, quite naturally, does not make efforts to differentiate between them.

¹¹ Medieval Arab dictionaries are quite clear about the denotation of *ittaraqa*: *tā'ir fīhi taraqa ay līn fī rīšīhi wa-t-taraqa fī r-rīš an yakūna ba'duhā farwa ba'd ... taqūlu minhā ittaraqa ḡanāh at-tā'ir ... ay iltaffa wa yuqālu ittaraqat al-ard idā rakibat at-turāb ba'duhū ba'dan* (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* IV, 2663).

¹² Interestingly enough, the same author, when commenting on Sībawayhi, seems to understand somewhat better why this line was cited, since he writes: *aš-šāhid fīhi našb ar-rīš bi-muttariq tašbihan lahu fī l-'amal bi-smi l-fā'il al-muta'addī li-annahu šifa miḡlahu* (aš-Šantamarī, *Šarḥ šawahid Sībawayhi* I, 100).

2 Chapters n° 37-41 (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg, 70-88) deal with different types of similarity between linguistic categories:

2.1 In chapter n° 37 the active participle is investigated when it takes an object behaving like an imperfect verb (*uğriya mağrā l-fi'l al-muḍāri'*):

*hādā dāribun Zaydan ḡadan*¹³

is similar in structure (and consequently in meaning) to

hādā yadribu Zaydan ḡadan

The indefinite ending of the participle plays an important part in the construction since it is (i) more fundamental (*asl*) than the definite construction, and (ii) it is more similar to the verbal structure than the genitive construction formed between the participle and its object:

hādā dāribu Zaydin ḡadan

as in the Qur'ānic verse (3, 185):

kullu nafsin dā'iqatu l-marwti

This type of construction is, in Sībawayhi's system, secondary: the result of the deletion of the indefinite endings (*tanwīn*) or the *nūn* of the dual and the sound masculine plural. At the same time, although the definite genitive construction has the same meaning as the indefinite construction, it stands closer to the nominal character of the participle and emphasises it¹⁴.

2.2 Chapter n° 38 deals with participial structures which virtually govern two objects – that is, they govern the first object only in form (*lafẓan*), not in meaning (*ma'nān*):

yā sārīqa l-laylati ahla d-dāri

in accordance with a special licence (*sa'at al-kalām*)¹⁵. The basic structure (*ḥadd al-kalām*) would, in this case, be:

*yā sārīqan al-laylata ahla d-dāri*¹⁶

¹³ In a poetic *šāhid*: (*innī ...*) *wāsilun ḥablī* (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* ed. Derenbourg, I, 70).

¹⁴ Though nouns are more fundamental than verbs, definiteness is only secondary as compared to indefiniteness (see Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg, I, 6).

¹⁵ On the notion of *ittisā'* see Versteegh 1990.

¹⁶ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg, 75.

with the temporal adverb in the accusative. Nevertheless, the conditional particle *in* in Sībawayhi's sentence implies that though this structure may occur its use seems more unusual than the genitive construction.

2.3 Chapter n° 39 treats the case when the participle (*fā'il*) is used in place of the verbal expression¹⁷ *alladī fa'ala* both in form (*mā ya'malu fīhi*) and meaning:

hādā d-dāribu Zaydan (= *alladī daraba Zaydan*)

The resemblance of the participial construction to the relative clause is underlied by its definiteness, which, on the one hand, is a reflex of *alladī*¹⁸, while on the other hand it prevents its being annexed to its object in a genitive construction thus making it similar also to the (more basic) indefinite construction:

*dāribun Zaydan*¹⁹

2.4 Chapter n° 40 is about the infinitives (*al-mašādir*) which both in form and in meaning are made similar to the imperfect verb:

‘ağibtu min darbin Zaydan

(= *annahu yadribu Zaydan*)

‘ağibtu min darbin Zaydun ‘Amran

(= *annahu yadribu Zaydun ‘Amran*)

Then Sībawayhi gives a comparison between these infinitival constructions and the similar participial ones (expounded in the previous chapter), stating the difference in that while the participle incorporates the

¹⁷ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 77: *šāra l-fā'il fīhi bi-manzilat alladī fa'ala* 'the participle receives the status of *alladī* plus the perfect verb'.

¹⁸ Both as its counterpart before nouns and as its *de facto* equivalent in dialectal Arabic – a linguistic fact which is perhaps the real cause of the existence of such otherwise anomalous expressions as *hādā d-dāribu r-rağuli*. It is cited by Sībawayhi on account of its similarity to the construction *al-ḥasanu l-wağhi*. Interestingly enough, this kind of expressions are only acceptable for him if the object is supplied with the definite article, otherwise they are rejected, also on the basis of similarity: there is no *al-ḥasanu wağhin* as there is no *ad-dāribu rağulin* (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 77).

¹⁹ Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 77.

verbal agent (*idā qulta hādā d-dāribu fa-qad ġi'ta bi-l-fā'il wa-dakartahu*)²⁰, the infinitive in itself cannot relate to the verbal agent (*fa-idā qulta 'aġibtu min darbin fa-innaka lam tadkur al-fā'ila fa-l-mašdar laysa bi-l-fā'il*). Similarly, this basic indefinite construction can be replaced by a definite one (deleting the *tanwīn*). In that case the infinitive will form a genitive construction with either the agent or the object (*wa-yaš'ir al-maġrūr badalan min at-tanwīn*), since it is a noun (as well as it could be considered a quasi-verb in the previous construction) (Sibawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 79-81).

2.5 Finally, it is chapter n° 41 (*Bāb aš-šifa al-mušabbaha bi-l-fā'il fīmā 'amilat fihi*, Sibawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 81-88) which speaks about the linguistic question dealt with in this paper. It is this chapter that contains Zuhayr's above mentioned line as a poetic *locus probans*:

muttariq riša l-qawādimi

Other similar examples are:

daḥmun šu'una r-rāsi

and:

*aġabba z-zahra*²¹

The adjectival construction (*šifa*) in this case consists of two parts: *al-musabbab* ('that which is caused'), which is an adjective, and its *sabab* ('cause')²², which can be put in the accusative and on which it practises its quasi-verbal force (*'amal*), by way of making it similar to the *fā'il* of a transitive verb²³.

There are, however, two types of adjectival structures which are made similar to the *fā'il*. The first (and principally more basic) type of structure is the above mentioned indefinite construction. This possibil-

²⁰ The special relation between the two is underlined in the Arabic grammatical terminology by their having quasi-identical names: *al-fā'il* and *ism al-fā'il*, a fact referred to in 1.3.

²¹ Sibawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 82; aš-Šantamarī, *Šarḥ* I, 100f. Jahn (1895-1900 I/1, 123) translates these two respectively as: "Stark, von grossen Verbindungen der Schädelnähte", and "von verstümmeltem Rücken".

²² For this term cf. Carter 1985.

²³ This important additional information is left out from later works.

ity, although placed in the centre of attention in this chapter, could not be regarded as a generally accepted and widespread way of constructing adjectival phrases, "since the adjective is not a verb, and not even a noun which can assume the (structural) meaning of a verb", says Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 82).

The other type forms a genitive construction with its *sabab*, and "this is better and more frequent (than the other one, i.e., the indefinite structure with the *sabab* in the accusative) since it is not of the type which acts in the same way as the verb (i.e., in its government) and it does not share the meaning of the verb either. The other structure (i.e., with an indefinite adjective in it) where the adjective maintains its indefinite meaning in spite of the definite construction (*tark at-tanwīn lā yuḡāwaz bihi ma'nā at-tanwīn*) means also good Arabic" (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg I, 82).

Thus he states that it is better to supply it with definiteness by way of attaching the *musabbab* (i.e., the adjective) to its *sabab* in a genitive structure. In this case we get:

hādā ḥasanu l-waḡhi

and:

hādīhi ḥasanatu l-waḡhi

which are similar to the participial structures:

hādā dāribu r-raḡuli

and:

hādīhi dāribatu r-raḡuli

There is but one very important difference: the *fā'il* (participle) refers back to the nominal subject (*al-mubtada'*), while the *ṣifa* (adjective) belongs to its 'cause':

hādā dāribun

but:

al-waḡhu ḥasanun

3 *tašbīh* and *muḡāwara*

How should we then understand *tašbīh* ('constructing an expression similarly to another one')? In the previous chapters (n° 37-40) one type

of a grammatical entity followed the same rules or acted in the same way (*ğarā mağrāhu* or *šāra bi-manzilatihī*), as another more principal or primary entity. In that case the secondary phrase will not only be analogous to the original phrase in its form (or in its government of the *iʿrāb*) but will also replace it in its meaning (the participial construction the relative sentence, etc.). When, however, an adjective is made to behave similarly to a participle (i.e., we have a case of *tašbīh*), it takes only its form ('imitates' it) without obtaining the relevant meaning. That makes *tašbīh* comparable to the *ʿalā l-ğiwār*²⁴ constructions, which may have been much more widespread at an early time than it is usually thought of nowadays. It should be enough to mention only one very famous example, a variant reading of the Qurʾān (9, 3):

anna llāha barīʿun min al-mušrikīna wa-rasūlihī

There is but one essential difference between *ʿalā l-ğiwār* and *tašbīh*: the first means similarity on the basis of horizontal (or linear) vicinity, while the other means similarity on the basis of vertical vicinity. What connects them is the fact that their desinential (*iʿrāb*) endings are not the result of real (verbal or quasi-verbal) government but of surface similarities.

4 *tašbīh*: explanation or reality?

The first linguists of the 2nd century of the *hiğra* (8th/9th century A.D.) had felt their task had been to collect material for the usage of the *iʿrāb* endings (separating them from other types of endings) and to interpret the causes of their occurrences. Their data were, by and large, supplied by the *rāwīs*. What they really could do was to arrange and explain, widen (by way of analogy) or narrow (inventing such notions as *šadd* or *darūra* or using others, like *lahn* and *luğa*, in a new sense²⁵) the collected corpus. Constructions in general usage (like *hasan al-wağb*) or rarely used but widely accepted poetic examples (like *muttariqun riša*

²⁴ For this linguistic phenomenon see Dévényi 1988 and Haddād 1992.

²⁵ For these notions see Iványi 1988, 1991 and in print.

l-qawādimi) had to be explained anyway (keeping in line, however, with the general descriptive principle of this early Arab grammatical thinking), even if these explanations (the *tašbīh*, for example) seem mere formalities at first sight. But was the usage of these constructions really not based on formal similarities?

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NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE IN THE QUR'ĀN AND IN EARLY POETRY

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It is one of the ironies of Arabic literature that, whilst it is dogma for Muslims that the Qur'ān is not poetry, the commentators on it found themselves having to lean heavily on the corpus of early poetry when they came to elucidate the more arcane phrases of the Qur'ān. This was, of course, due to necessity, for virtually all the material in the literary registers nearest to the Qur'ān had either disappeared, in the case of *kāhin* and *ḥatīb*-type material, or had been modernized, in the case of *qāṣṣ*-type material.

The result was the gathering of *ṣawāhid*, lines of poetry that were thought to elucidate various aspects of Quranic grammar and lexicography. I would argue that the value of this small corpus has been considerably overestimated. It is a treasure trove of the recondite; and whilst such material is helpful with some Quranic problems, it is almost always the case that those problems are of a relatively trivial, peripheral nature, concerned with the last few per cent of the Quranic text and not its central meaning. Of course, it would be unnatural for the commentators not to wish to try to explain every word of the Qur'ān – quite clearly they were expected to do so – but their preoccupation with the arcane led to virtual neglect of phrases where there was less difficulty or where poetry and the Qur'ān have drawn on the same general stock of ideas or, even more interesting, where Quranic usage appears to be a modification of pre-Islamic usage.

It is not my intention to deal with these questions in detail here. I have touched on them from time to time in my analyses of early Arabic poems, and after further work I expect to write on them at length elsewhere. However, they are relevant to any discussion of the relationship between the Qur'ān and poetry. Three of the topics that I am looking

at, and one example of each, will indicate the sort of problem that is involved:

a) complex overlapping phraseology:

There is a very striking example where aš-Šanfarā, *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab*, line 21 has *wa-adribu ‘anhu d-dikera ṣaḥḥan* ‘I turn aside my thought from it’ (Jones 1992:154) and *Sūra* 43, verse 5 has *a-fā-nadribu ‘ankumu d-dikera ṣaḥḥan* ‘shall We turn aside thought from you?’. One might have expected some cross-referencing by az-Zamaḥṣarī, the one person who wrote a commentary on both works, but there is none, as there is no real difficulty about the meaning of the phrases.

b) conventional ideas:

A single comparison between aš-Šanfarā, *Lāmiyyat al-‘arab*, line 34 2nd hemistich *wa-la-ṣ-ṣabru – in lam yanfa‘i š-šakwu – aḡmalu* ‘and surely patience is the best course if complaining is of no avail’ (Jones 1992:163) with *Sūra* 12, verses 18 and 83 *ṣabrun ḡamīlun* will suffice.

c) development of ideas:

Durayd’s famous line *wa-hal anā illā min Ġaziyyata? in ḡawat, ḡawaytu; wa-in taršud Ġaziyyatu aršudi* ‘Am I anyone but one of Ġaziyya? and if Ġaziyya go astray, I stray with them; and if they act rightly, I am right [too]’ (Jones 1992:72) shows a limited metaphorical development from the original concrete meanings of such words as *ḡawā, dalla, rašada, ihtadā* etc. This metaphorical meaning is much extended in the Qur’ān.

There is at least one other field in which a non-traditional approach to the links between the Qur’ān and early poetry appears to help our understanding, and it is this to which I wish to devote the rest of this article. My treatment is suggestive rather than exhaustive. It is intended to encourage the reader to think further about these links.

The dogma that the Qur’ān is not poetry is usually stated in a fairly simplistic, though accurate, way. The Qur’ān does not exhibit the

metres of poetry nor does it use rhyme in the way that poetry does. It is rhythmic and uses assonance, but that is not poetry. Entirely true!

However, even a short step beyond that takes us well away from the well-trodden paths of scholarship. So when I ask the question, "What might the Qur'ān have been like had it been poetry?", I have to form my own answer. Yet this seems to me to be a fair and useful question, even for those who accept as dogma the *i'ğāz* of the Qur'ān (incidentally, a doctrine that did not develop all that early). If one can show other differences beyond the axiomatic ones, one's general understanding is improved.

There is one specific area in which I think the question might be raised, that of the narrative. Very little Arabic poetry can carry the label, and even that is hardly narrative in the normally accepted sense. Of the examples that do occur, perhaps the best-known is al-A^ṣā's *Qiṣṣatu s-Samaw'al* (*Dīwān*, poem 25; for a commentary see Jones 1994:155-163).

In the form that it has come down to us, the poem consists of 21 lines. It is arguable (and basically immaterial) whether it is complete or only the *ğaraḍ* of a longer piece. After a couple of introductory lines the poem tells how as-Samaw'al of the fortress of al-Ablaq at Taymā' preferred to see the head of a small army, Ḥārīt, kill his son rather than hand over some suits of armour that had been entrusted to him. Incidentally, that is all that one can get from the poem itself. The other details of this famous story all come from other, later, sources.

A literal translation of the poem runs as follows:

1. O Šurayḥ, do not desert me after my fingers have today grasped the ropes [of your protection] after I have been in bondage.
2. I have travelled widely through the lands between Bāniqyā and Aden, and my travelling and journeying among the non-Arabs has lasted long.

3. The man who most faithfully kept his promise and was most unyielding in his defence of the one to whom he had given his protection was your ancestor, as is well-recognised and cannot be denied.
4. [He was] like a rain-cloud whose rain gave the bounty that was sought from it; and in times of difficulty [he was] bold as a lion, ready to pounce.
5. Be like as-Samaw'al when the chief came to him at the head of a large army, [dark] as the night, slow moving.
6. The man protected by Ibn Ḥayyā, in the case of someone has received his covenant, has a fuller promise and is better defended than the man protected by Ibn 'Ammā.
7. His dwelling was in al-Ablaq at Taymā', an impregnable fortress and a protector who was not treacherous.
8. When [the besieger] offered him two courses of humiliation, he said to him, "Say what you want, for I am listening, O Ḥārīt".
9. He said, "Losing you child or breaking your promise: you [are caught] between them. So choose and there is no happy choice in them for the one who has to choose".
10. [as-Samaw'al] hesitated but briefly, then said to him, "Kill your prisoner. I shall defend that under my protection".
11. "There are things to take his place, if you are his killer and kill a noble [boy] who is without fault,"
12. "Much property, honour in no way stained, and brothers like him who are not bad [boys],"

13. "Who have learned their code from me, without impetuosity, nor devoid of intelligence when War girds her loins."
14. "If you lay your hands on him, a generous lord and fair, pure women will give me other descendants to survive me."
15. "What they say in private in my presence is neither insubstantial nor insincere, and they conceal my secrets if they are entrusted to them."
16. When he stood [ready] to kill the boy, he first said, "Look down, O Samaw'al, and look at the running blood".
17. "Am I to kill your son in cold blood, or will you submit and bring them?" [How Samaw'al] disliked this - and how great was his dislike!
18. Then Hārīt severed his jugular vein, and [Samaw'al's] breast was enveloped in the pain of calamity, as he was filled with grief for him like the burning that comes from fire.
19. He gave preference to the suits of armour entrusted to him, that he should not be reviled because of them, and his promise concerning them was not broken.
20. He said, "I will not buy shame at the cost of [my] honour", and he chose the honour [in which men would hold him] before shame.
21. The patience he showed was a natural part of his character, and in the matter of loyalty he never failed to kindle the spark [of honour].

I have chosen three Quranic passages for comparison. The first, from *Sūra* 37, is a description of Abraham's would-be sacrifice of his

son. As with al-A'ṣā's poem the name of the son is not mentioned, but that is about all the two pieces have in common. The urgency of the Quranic passage is in striking contrast to the leisurely pace of the poem.

I quote from Arberry's translation:

Then We gave him the good tidings of

a prudent boy;

and when he had reached the age of

running with him,

he said, 'My son, I see in a dream

that I shall sacrifice thee; consider,

what thinkest thou?'

He said, 'My father, do as thou art

bidden; thou shalt find me, God willing,

one of the steadfast.'

When they had surrendered, and he flung him

upon his brow,

We called unto him, 'Abraham,

thou hast confirmed the vision;

even so We recompense the good-doers.

This is indeed the manifest trial.'

And We ransomed him with a mighty sacrifice,

and left for him among the later folk

'Peace be upon Abraham!'

Even so We recompense the good-doers;

he was among Our believing servants.

[37:101-111]

The second passage, from *Sūra* 12, is the passage from the story of Joseph in which the brothers persuade Jacob to entrust Joseph to them and then sell him to a passing caravan. There is description, dialogue and even some *hikma*, but again the pace is much more urgent:

They said, 'Father, what ails thee, that thou

trustest us not with Joseph? Surely we are his

sincere well-wishers.

Send him forth with us tomorrow, to
 frolic and play; surely we shall be
 watching over him.'

He said, 'It grieves me that you should go with him,
 and I fear the wolf may eat him, while you
 are heedless of him.

They said, 'If the wolf eats him, and we a band,
 then are we losers!'

So when they went with him, and agreed to put him
 in the bottom of the well, and We revealed to him,
 'Thou shalt tell them of this their doing
 when they are unaware.'

And they came to their father in the evening,
 and they were weeping.

They said, 'Father, we went running races, and
 left Joseph behind with our things; so the wolf
 ate him. But thou wouldst never believe us,
 though we spoke truly.'

And they brought his shirt with false blood on it.
 He said, 'No; but your spirits tempted you
 to do somewhat. But come, sweet patience!
 And God's succour is ever there to seek against
 that you describe.'

Then came travellers, and they sent one of them,
 a water-drawer, who let down his bucket.

'Good news!' he said. 'Here is a young man.'
 So they hid him as merchandise; but God knew
 what they were doing.

Then they sold him for a paltry price, a
 handful of counted dirhams; for they set
 small store by him.

[12:11-20]

The final passage, from *Sūra* 20, is similar in length to al-A^ḥṣā's poem, and, though the material presented is totally different, the overall thrust

is not too dissimilar. However, in my view, the Quranic passage achieves much more:

Children of Israel, We delivered you
from your enemy; and We made covenant
with you upon the right side of the Mount,
and sent down on you manna and quails:
'Eat of the good things wherewith
We have provided you; but exceed not
therein, or My anger shall alight on you;
and on whomsoever My anger
alights, than man is hurled to ruin.
Yet I am All-forgiving to him who
repents and believes, and does
righteousness, and at last is guided.'

'What has sped thee far from thy people,
Moses?' 'They are upon my tracks,'
Moses said. 'I have hastened,
Lord, only that I may please Thee.'
Said He, 'We have tempted thy people
since thou didst leave them. The Samaritan
has misled them into error.'
Then Moses returned very angry
and sorrowful to his people, saying,
'My people, did your Lord not promise
a fair promise to you? Did the time
of the covenant seem so long to you,
or did you desire that anger
should alight on you from your Lord,
so that you failed in your tryst with me?'
'We have not failed in our tryst
with thee,' they said, 'of our volition;
but we were loaded with fardels,

even the ornaments of the people,
and we cast them, as the Samaritan
also threw them, into the fire.'

(Then he brought out for them a Calf,
a mere body that lowed; and they said,
'This is your god, and the god
of Moses, whom he has forgotten.'
What? Did they not see that thing
returned no speech unto them, neither
had any power to hurt or profit them?
Yet Aaron had aforetime said to them,
'My people, you have been tempted
by this thing, no more; surely
your Lord is the All-merciful; therefore
follow me, and obey my commandment!'
'We will not cease,' they said, 'to cleave
to it, until Moses returns to us.')

Moses said, 'What prevented thee,
Aaron, when thou sawest them in error,
so that thou didst not follow after me?
Didst thou then disobey my commandment?'
'Son of my mother,' Aaron said,
'take me not by the beard, or the head!
I was fearful that thou wouldst say,
"Thou hast divided the Children of Israel,
and thou hast not observed my word".'
Moses said, 'And thou, Samaritan,
what was thy business?' 'I beheld
what they beheld not,' he said,
'and I seized a handful of dust
from the messenger's track, and cast it
into the thing. So my soul prompted me.'

‘Depart!’ said Moses. ‘It shall be thine
 all this life to cry “Untouchable!”
 And thereafter a tryst awaits thee
 thou canst not fail to keep. Behold
 thy god, to whom all the day
 thou wast cleaving! We will surely burn it
 and scatter its ashes into the sea.
 Your God is only the One God;
 there is no god, but He alone
 who in His knowledge embraces everything.’ [20:80-98]

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ALEXANDRE CSOMA DE KÖRÖS EN EGYPTÉ

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Paris

Venu d'Enos par les îles de la mer Egée à bord d'un bateau grec, Alexandre Csoma de Körös arrive en Egypte le 29 février 1820. Il débarque à Alexandrie. C'est à l'époque une petite agglomération d'une douzaine de milliers d'habitants tout au plus, qui, après une longue période de déclin due aux grandes découvertes maritimes et au détournement du commerce qui s'en est suivi, est seulement en train de se réveiller d'une longue torpeur sous l'impulsion du nouveau maître de l'Egypte, Muḥammad 'Alī, vice-roi depuis 1804.

Blottie sur une langue de sable entre la mer et le lac Maréotis, la ville dispose de deux ports, à l'Ouest et à l'Est, qui tous deux sont dangereux et encombrés de bancs mouvants. L'entrée dans l'une ou l'autre rade en est rendue si difficile que les navires de haute mer sont obligés de faire appel aux services d'un pilote. Pour manoeuvrer, les capitaines n'ont qu'un seul point de repère sur cette côte parfaitement plate et nue: la "colonne de Pompée", qui leur sert d'amer.

"De cette antique Alexandrie, jadis si célèbre, si populeuse et si magnifique, de cette Alexandrie dont les palais sans nombre, les bains et les théâtres étaient revêtus de marbre et de porphyre, de cette Alexandrie qui au temps où elle tomba au pouvoir des Romains voyait trois cents mille habitants rassemblés dans ses murs, que reste-t-il aujourd'hui?", s'interroge Thomas Legh lorsqu'il s'y trouve en 1815 (Legh 1822:320). La décadence qui frappe la glorieuse cité d'Alexandre est ancienne. Déjà en 1581 Jean Palerne (1606:27), qui s'y trouve du 20 au 23 juillet, écrit, le coeur navré, que "la ville est tellement ruinée que sans les Frantiques (hôtels et entrepôts) des nations qui y trafiquent, elle serait presque deshabitée". L'île de Pharos, l'une des merveilles du monde dans l'Antiquité, "n'est plus remarquable, constate Edouard de Montulé, que par une petite forteresse et le palais du pacha. Ce n'est même plus une île: elle est jointe au continent par une chaussée

qu'Alexandre de Macédoine avait construite et que les sables de la mer ont tellement consolidée qu'elle supporte à présent la plus grande partie de la ville" (Montulé 1821:120). "Ce n'est plus qu'une misérable bourgade, assise sur un amas de cendres et de débris", remarque avec tristesse Auguste de Forbin (1819a:299).

De la splendeur légendaire il ne reste que la "colonne de Pompée", à présent située en dehors de la ville, et qui doit cette appellation à un préfet nommé Pompeius qui la dédia à Dioclétien, considéré comme génie tutélaire de la cité marchande et portuaire. C'est le seul monument ayant gardé les marques de son antique beauté puisqu'il est encore couvert de sculptures d'une grande finesse et de proportions harmonieuses. Il y a aussi l'obélisque dit "aiguille de Cléopâtre" sur le rivage de la mer, dans un quartier calamiteux, balayé par les vents, quelques ruines du Gymnasium près de la porte de Canope, et les bains à l'Est du vieux port. "Les murs de la moderne Alexandrie, qui furent construits par les Sarrasins dans le XIII-ème siècle, ont en quelques endroits quarante pieds de haut et sont flanqués de tours", mais l'espace inscrit dans cette enceinte "n'est plus actuellement qu'un désert où l'on aperçoit de tous côtés des débris de monuments, des ruines confuses", constate avec tristesse Montulé, qui se trouve dans la cité au même moment que Csoma de Kőrös (Montulé 1821:322). Dès l'instant où l'on y débarque, Alexandrie laisse au voyageur une impression pénible de désordre et de décrépitude. "Vous n'avez devant vous et autour de vous que de véritables masures qu'on appelle le bureau de la douane, affirment Michaud et Poujoulat, des ballots de marchandises parmi des amas de décombres. C'est bien pis quand le voyageur pénètre dans la ville et qu'il avance à travers des rues non pavées, les unes désertes, les autres remplies de peuple, mais malpropres, qui la plupart n'ont point de nom et dont aucune n'est tracée en ligne droite" (Michaud & Poujoulat 1837 V, 6). Quant à la population, selon les mêmes auteurs, elle se partage entre ceux qui tendent la main et ceux qui convoitent ouvertement votre bourse. Les endroits les plus fréquentés sont les bazars ou marchés. Ce sont des ruelles couvertes et obscures, où règnent des odeurs violentes dans une atmosphère empoussiérée et nauséabonde, parmi des troupeaux

de bêtes de somme et des amoncellements de marchandises. C'est le domaine des rats, "innombrables", à en croire Robert Wilson. "Dans aucun autre pays on n'en voit ni en aussi grande quantité ni d'aussi voraces qu'en Egypte". Mais aussi des myriades de mouches et de tiques qui y sont "une infinité incroyable", et des poux "de toutes espèces" Wilson 1803:140-141.

Heureusement que les maisons étant toutes blanches, la ville a quand même un aspect plutôt agréable, au moins quand on ne la regarde pas de trop près. Ce sont des maisons basses à toit plat, avec des terrasses, assez mal bâties de matériaux peu robustes, qui du coup se délabrent rapidement et finissent par s'effondrer sous leur propre poids.

L'une des choses qui frappent le plus les voyageurs lorsqu'ils débarquent à Alexandrie en ce temps-là, et même "la seule", affirme Isabel Burton, est la quantité inimaginable d'ânes de petite taille qui assurent tous les transports terrestres à courte distance. "Ils ont l'aspect de cochons ou de rats", renchérit Mrs Burton (1875 I, 11) qui trouve par ailleurs que la ville "n'est qu'un immonde dépôt de détritus". Ces ânes servent notamment de taxis pour les courses rapides. Ils ont leur station sur une petite place, immédiatement à côté de la porte Sud. Lorsqu'un voyageur en loue le service, son propriétaire, ou tout au moins son guide, court près de lui "portant votre fusil, votre pipe, et tous autres objets que vous lui avez confiés", nous dit Thomas Legh (1822:321), qui ajoute que "l'Egypte semble être le pays d'origine des ânes". Ces innombrables âniers qui encombrant les rues harcèlent tellement les clients éventuels, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'Européens, que, selon Aucher-Eloy (1843 I, 14), "il n'est guère possible de s'en débarrasser sans quelques coups de canne distribués au hasard".

Ce qui ne manque pas de surprendre aussi celui qui y arrive pour la première fois, c'est que, dès que l'on est sorti de l'enceinte murée, ce n'est plus à l'entour que désert de sable. En 1820, quelques années seulement après les combats que Français et Anglais s'y sont livrés, le champ de bataille du 21 mars 1801, où ont péri le héros anglais Ralph Abercrombie et le général français Raizé au cours d'un corps-à-corps particulièrement sanglant, est dans l'état où il se trouvait lorsque le

canon s'est tu. Les indigènes comptent sur l'irrésistible poussée des sables pour recouvrir peu à peu ce témoin muet de la fameuse campagne d'Égypte. L'étrange paysage où la ville est implantée contribue à lui donner un aspect lugubre, presque sinistre. Avec ses maisons sans combles, au milieu de ce décor ruiné, elle "ressemble à une place incendiée" (Legh 1822:364). "Alexandrie me semble le lieu le plus triste et le plus désolé de la terre", avoue Chateaubriand dans son *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, après la visite qu'il lui a faite en 1806. "Partout la nouvelle Alexandrie mêlant ses ruines aux ruines de l'ancienne cité, un Arabe galopant sur un âne au milieu des débris..., quelque chiens maigres dévorant des carcasses de chameaux sur la grève, les pavillons des consuls européens flottant au dessus de leurs demeures et déployant au milieu des tombeaux des couleurs ennemies, tel était le spectacle", conclut-il, désenchanté (Chateaubriand 1812 III, 97-98).

A cela il faut encore ajouter, malheureusement, les ravages des maladies, et singulièrement de la peste, constamment présente dans la ville et sa région. "Nombreux sont ceux qui sont tués par la peste, car aucun moyen n'est utilisé pour résister à sa progression", affirme le révérend Robert Walpole (1820: Préface) qui circule en Égypte en 1818; ce qu'Auguste de Forbin, qui s'y trouve au même moment, nous confirme également (1819b:70). En février 1820, au moment même où Csoma de Kőrös vogue vers Alexandrie, Bernardino Drovetti (1823:5) se lamente de ce que "le pays est alors infesté de la peste". C'est un véritable refrain qui revient dans tous les récits comme une obsession. De son côté, le Dr Scholtz (1822:7), explorateur prussien, note que la première question que posent tous les voyageurs à leur arrivée à Alexandrie est: "la peste y sévit-elle actuellement"?¹. Thomas Legh (1822:1) regrette d'avoir dû quitter l'archipel de la mer Egée sans avoir pu le visiter "à cause de la peste qui faisait rage de Constantinople à Alexandrie". D'ailleurs, ajoute-t-il, "elle règne ici tous les ans", ce que confirment tous les consuls dans leurs rapports à leurs ministres

¹ Dr Johann Martin Augustin Scholtz "Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parötorium", Leipzig F. Fleischer 1822, p. 7 ("ob die Peste in Alexandrien herrsche?")

respectifs. Alexandre Pillavoine, consul de France au moment où Csoma est dans la ville, se plaint d'avoir à "demeurer enfermé pendant six mois de l'année à cause de la peste". Au terme de cette déprimante claustration "chacun, dit-il, éprouve le plaisir d'être en vie". Dans un autre courrier de la même année, il précise: "La peste, qui paraissait vouloir nous oublier cette année, s'est manifestée par deux accidents dans le quartier autrefois français, et ses ravages se renouvellent journellement" (*Archives* XX, 165, 226).

Dans ces conditions, on ne peut que s'étonner de voir Csoma de Kőrös se jeter de Charybde en Scylla, en fuyant des rives du Bosphore, contaminées, vers celles de la Méditerranée méridionale, plus contaminées encore. Qu'il ne l'ait pas su s'explique difficilement puisqu'il était de notoriété publique en 1820, et depuis au moins quinze ans, que tout l'empire ottoman était infesté de peste. Tous les voyageurs qui nous ont laissé le récit de leurs pérégrinations tant en Egypte qu'en Asie mineure, en terre sainte, en Syrie, ou en Mésopotamie, sont unanimes à déplorer le terrible fléau qui ravage ces provinces orientales. Bref, le fait était si patent qu'il ne pouvait pas ne pas en avoir été informé d'une façon ou d'une autre.

Il est vrai que la peste, pas plus que l'aspect déprimant, et même angoissant, du paysage, n'empêche voyageurs, explorateurs, géographes, archéologues, philologues, historiens, ou simples aventuriers, de débarquer sans cesse dans le port d'Alexandrie, tant la mode est alors à l'Egypte, ou plutôt à l'égyptologie. Après les pionniers comme Hornemann ou Della Cella, voici François-Chrétien Gau qui arrive en 1818 et Bernardino Drovetti qui part à la fin de la même année pour l'oasis inconnue de Dahel. Frédéric Cailliaud débarque fin septembre 1819 et Edouard de Montulé un mois plus tard. Beechey visite la Marmarique l'année suivante, au moment même où arrivent, conduits par le général prussien Minutoli, les savants Scholtz, Hemprich et Ehrenberg. Nous avons vu qu'Edouard de Montulé est à Alexandrie en même temps que Csoma de Kőrös. Il en est de même pour le médecin italien Eneildo Frediani. L'année d'après, c'est à nouveau Drovetti qui se met en route, suivi en 1824 par le Français Jean-Raymond Pacho, et en 1826 par

l'Autrichien Anton von Prokesch-Osten. La présence du Hongrois dans la ville, véritable carrefour des voyages et des sciences, en mars 1820, n'a donc rien que de très normal finalement.

Un visa mystérieux

Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös n'est resté à Alexandrie que de dix-sept à dix-huit jours, compte tenu du fait que l'année 1820 était une année bissextile. Nous savons qu'il y est arrivé le 29 février et qu'il en est parti après le 15 mars, date à laquelle le vice-consul d'Autriche, Francesco Antonio Champion, a apposé sur son passeport un visa gratuit², indiquant que "le porteur désigné ci-contre part pour Beyrouth en Syrie" (... l'entrosritto Latore que parte per Beirut in Soria).

Ce visa est un mystère. Le voyageur sicule était en situation parfaitement irrégulière au regard des lois de son pays. Le prétendu "passeport" qu'il présenta à Champion n'était qu'un simple laissez-passer frontalier depuis longtemps périmé, valable uniquement pour le franchissement des Carpathes entre la Transylvanie et la Valaquie. Il était, du reste, rédigé en hongrois, ce qui le rendait incompréhensible. Peut-être est-ce justement là qu'il faut chercher la raison pour laquelle le vice-consul autrichien a cru pouvoir officialiser de sa signature cette pièce sans valeur, comme il l'aurait fait d'un passeport en bonne et due forme.

Il faut dire à sa décharge que Champion, pas plus que son chancelier Giuseppe Nizzoli, n'était un authentique Autrichien, et qu'il n'était même pas un fonctionnaire formé à l'école des institutions viennoises. C'était un Triestin, né dans le grand port adriatique en décembre 1786. Il avait d'abord exercé le métier de marchand de fromages en gros. Venu en Egypte pour ses affaires avant 1810, il aurait acheté, selon l'un de ses

² Les visas sont délivrés gratuitement aux sujets autrichiens. L'article 8 de l'instruction N°939 de la Chambre aulique des affaires générales, relative aux droits et taxes consulaires, précise en effet que "pour les sujets indigènes autrichiens les passeports et les visas doivent être délivrés gratuitement". Cité par Guazzo 1853. Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös a donc été dispensé de verser les trente kreutzers de droits de chancellerie.

accusateurs (Noyane 1820a:21-24)³, le vice-consulat d'Autriche pour quinze cents piastres d'Espagne à des gens de mauvaise réputation, les frères Rosetti, eux aussi Italiens sujets de l'empereur Habsbourg. Ce marché scandaleux, supposé être intervenu en 1817, fut toujours nié par lui et paraît, en effet, difficilement imaginable, mais il est de fait que Champion eut des ennuis avec les autorités dont il dépendait en raison des liens qui l'unissaient un peu trop aux frères Rosetti. Son accusateur, Joseph Noyane, un négociant français d'Alexandrie, lui reproche aussi d'être "d'une vanité si insupportable qu'il se croit en Egypte le vice-roi d'Autriche. Aussi exerce-t-il sur tous les sujets de cette puissance l'empire le plus absolu" (*ibid.*, 23).

Toujours est-il que, vice-roi ou non, il fut nommé provisoirement au poste de vice-consul par l'internonce à Constantinople, ce qui était parfaitement possible puisque Trieste, tout comme le Frioul et le Sud-Tyrol, faisait partie de la Confédération germanique. Champion relevait donc, malgré ses attaches italiennes, de l'administration impériale. Au reste, les Italiens formaient une part très importante de la colonie "franque" d'Egypte, et cela était encore plus vrai à Alexandrie. "Je rencontrai plusieurs Européens, nous confie le colonel Fitz-Clarence dans son *Voyage à travers l'Inde et l'Egypte*, et j'appris qu'il n'y en avait pas moins de quarante en tout, la plupart Italiens".

Champion devint vice-consul en titre en 1819, lorsque Vienne décida d'installer également un consulat au Caire, et il le resta très longtemps, faisant carrière très modestement. C'est ainsi qu'en 1826, quand il s'agit d'élever le vice-consulat à Alexandrie au rang de consulat, c'est un autre Italien, Giuseppe Acerbi, qui fut désigné, Champion étant alors placé sous ses ordres. Quand il passa dans la capitale égyptienne en 1846, ce fut encore en la simple qualité de vice-consul, et il ne fut promu effectivement consul qu'en 1850.

Il semble qu'il n'ait pas eu le caractère très commode. Il aurait, paraît-il, menacé de faire embarquer de force pour Trieste un citoyen toscan, Filippo Neri, employé du consulat d'Angleterre, coupable "de ne l'avoir pas salué à la promenade"! De même il se serait heurté aux autres représentants étrangers pour avoir invité le jour de la saint François, fête de l'empereur, le 4 octobre 1819, un certain Tortora "condamné à la pleine capitale à Naples pour deux crimes atroces", malgré les représentations qui lui avaient été faites par ses collègues. Décidément, ce personnage avait de curieuses et contestables fréquentations. Il ne devait être ni commode, ni accommodant. Et cela rend encore plus singulier le geste de complaisance évidente qu'il eut envers Csoma de Körös.

Noyane l'accuse en outre d'avoir une influence néfaste sur le consul général de France. "Combien est injurieux et préjudiciable à la nation française l'ascendant qu'exerce M. Champion ... sur M. Pillavoine et les deux drogmans, Avena père et fils", soupire-t-il dans un deuxième pamphlet publié à Paris le 15 mars 1820 (Noyane 1820b). Ce qui paraît

³ La troisième partie de ce pamphlet est intitulée "Faits relatifs à M. Champion, vice-consul d'Autriche à Alexandrie d'Egypte".

curieux dans cette affaire, c'est qu'Alexandre Pillavoine, ancien négociant à Alep ruiné par la Révolution et péniblement reconverti dans l'administration consulaire à force d'intrigues et de récriminations, était encore plus désagréable et grincheux que son collègue d'Autriche. C'était un homme aigri et méchant qui en voulait à la terre entière. Sa correspondance avec son ministre est une suite sans fin de reproches et de médisances. Tout ceci n'est peut-être finalement que sombre cabale, car Noyane était manifestement un esprit processif et malveillant, qui se complaisait à colporter des ragots et à nouer des complots imaginaires.

En tout cas, cela n'empêcha pas Champion de poursuivre assez paisiblement une carrière sans gloire, mais sans bouleversements, jusqu'à la retraite qu'il prit en 1857, après quarante années de services dont on n'ose pas dire qu'ils furent "bons et loyaux", mais que les autorités de Vienne tinrent pourtant pour tels, malgré le doute qui planait sur sa moralité. En 1860, en effet, alors qu'il s'était retiré dans sa ville natale, il reçut la croix de chevalier dans l'ordre de François-Joseph, avant de s'éteindre paisiblement au milieu des siens, à l'âge de 87 ans, le 16 février 1874. C'est là que, dans sa bonne paroisse de saint-Antoine-le-thaumaturge, il repose muni des sacrements de l'Eglise.

Pendant son séjour à Alexandrie, Csoma de Kőrös reçut une aide d'un maréchal ferrant nommé Joseph Schäffer. C'était un Tyrolien, ou plus précisément un Tyrolien du Sud, originaire de la région de Trente. De toute façon, il était donc un sujet de l'empereur d'Autriche, roi de Hongrie, et du même coup compatriote du Sicule. Ce dernier parlant parfaitement l'allemand en sa qualité d'ancien étudiant à l'université de Göttingen, il n'y avait aucun obstacle à cette fraternisation inattendue. Que s'est-il passé au juste entre eux, on ne le saura jamais; mais Csoma conserva de l'accueil amical de Schäffer un souvenir assez vivace et ému pour l'évoquer encore en 1834 quand il rédigea la préface à son dictionnaire tibétain. Par delà les quatorze années qui sont passées, il lui témoigne sa reconnaissance et l'appelle "un homme au coeur bon" (a good-hearted man). Il ne précise pas s'il fut hébergé par lui dans sa maison, mais cela paraît vraisemblable. Sans doute le Tyrolien avait-il sa forge et son atelier dans le "quartier franc", où étaient alors regroupés à peu près tous les Européens de la cité. On trouvait là des firmes commerciales de Marseille, de Trieste et de Livourne, mais aussi une auberge tenue par un Provençal qui régala ses hôtes de plats à l'huile d'olive et de son inépuisable faconde. A en croire Balázs Orbán (1861 III, 56), qui était dans la ville en 1846, ce quartier occupé par les Européens est beaucoup moins pittoresque que celui des Arabes. A quoi Forbin (1819b:

300) ajoute que la cruauté orientale fait aussi partie du pittoresque en question. "L'officier de police chargé de la vérification des poids et mesures, y fait couper journellement des nez et des oreilles", précise-t-il avec une nuance de joie sadique. En fait, les relations entre ces étrangers et la population locale ne sont pas toujours facile. Carsten Niebuhr, dans son *Voyage en Arabie* nous le rappelle. Il est pris plusieurs fois à partie par des fanatiques qui l'accusent de vouloir attirer la foudre sur la ville alors qu'il prend des mesures avec ses instruments et il voit de ses yeux un homme lynché à mort pour n'avoir pas tenu compte de leurs menaces.

Le "quartier franc" se situait au Sud-Est de l'agglomération, du côté du port neuf, à proximité des consulats. Il commençait dans la partie méridionale des deux grands axes verticaux à peu près parallèles qu'étaient la rue al-Maydān et la Rue de France et avait son centre autour de la place (*al-Maydān*) qui donna son nom à la rue principale de la vieille ville. Comme il arrive généralement en Orient, les corporations y étaient regroupées par rues, lesquelles étaient plutôt d'étroites et sombres venelles. Ainsi en était-il des forgerons, ferronniers et maréchaux ferrants. La ruelle qui leur était attribuée débouchait dans la rue de France une centaine de mètres au Nord de la place. On peut donc légitimement penser que c'est là que le pèlerin sicule a vécu pendant le court laps de temps où il est resté à Alexandrie.

En tout état de cause, c'était à proximité du vice-consulat d'Autriche, dont le bâtiment carré, ou plutôt cubique, arborant le drapeau rouge-blanc-rouge des Habsbourg, se trouvait face à un établissement de bains. Il était un peu au Nord des consulats de France et d'Angleterre qui, eux, tournaient le dos à la rade. Quant au consulat de Suède-Norvège, ouvert trois ans plus tôt, la seule autre représentation étrangère à cette époque, il était au Sud-Est de la Place, et il était tenu non par un Italien mais par un Grec.

D'après Montulé, "le quartier des Francs est rempli de ces messieurs qui passent la journée à causer dans la rue; ce sont pour la plupart des aventuriers qui, n'ayant pas réussi dans leur patrie, viennent ici braver la peste". Et il ajoute que "la quantité de Francs qu'on voit à Alexandrie

lui donne la physionomie d'une ville d'Europe; ils y sont même trop nombreux" (Montulé 1821:122, 329). Sans doute le voyageur a-t-il raison, mais Schäffer, homme laborieux et consciencieux comme le sont généralement les gens de sa race, faisait plutôt partie de ces étrangers qui contribuaient au développement de leur pays d'élection. "Parmi les Francs qui habitent l'Egypte, nous dit Michaud, je mets au premier rang les ouvriers et les artisans qui ont apporté en Orient une industrie, un talent, que l'esprit de conduite et l'amour du travail savent mettre à profit" (Michaud & Poujoulat 1837 V, 9).

L'un des premiers arabisants hongrois

Alexandre Csoma était venu en Egypte avec l'intention de s'y livrer à des recherches, celles-là même qu'il avait d'abord envisagé de faire à Constantinople. Il pensait pouvoir retrouver dans les récits des voyageurs arabes des premiers siècles de l'hégire et dans les oeuvres des historiens ou des géographes musulmans, dont beaucoup étaient encore très peu connues ou inconnues à l'époque en Occident, des informations inédites et peut-être capitales sur les ancêtres des Magyars. C'était un travail difficile, mais qui était à sa portée puisque, l'un des tout premiers Hongrois, il n'avait pas hésité à entreprendre le délicat apprentissage de la langue arabe littérale. Il s'y était mis entre 1816 et 1818 lors de son séjour à l'université de Göttingen qui, de la grammaire de Guillaume Postel (1538) aux ouvrages de Silvestre de Sacy, possédait un fonds arabe relativement important. On peut d'ailleurs penser qu'il y avait été incité par le fait qu'il existait dans la bibliothèque du collège Bethlen de Nagyenyed, où il avait passé tant d'années, trois livres arabes, dont deux Corans, ainsi que la *Grammatica arabica* d'Erpenius⁴. Peut-être aussi avait-il voulu suivre l'exemple des quelques rares Hongrois qui l'avaient précédé en ce domaine, à savoir Jean Kőrösi Uri, dont la carrière fut tout entière au service de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford, Charles Reviczky, surtout connu pour ses traductions persanes, ou François

⁴ La grammaire arabe de Thomas Van Erpe (Erpenius), date de 1613.

Dombay, auteur d'une "grammatica mauro-arabica" parue à Vienne en 1800. En tout état de cause il pouvait espérer trouver sur le sol égyptien ce qu'il n'avait pu atteindre sur le sol turc, puisque les bibliothèques du Caire et d'Alexandrie passaient pour particulièrement riches en ouvrages et manuscrits anciens. Il convient toutefois de remarquer ici que, trente ans après lui, l'un de ses compatriotes, Dániel Szilágyi, entreprendra dans les archives et les bibliothèques du Sultan les recherches historiques que précisément Csoma de Kőrös s'était disposé à faire. Ces recherches n'apporteront pas sur les origines du peuple hongrois les lumières que les milieux orientalistes en avaient espérées, en sorte que, avec le recul du temps, nous n'avons pas à regretter que le pèlerin sicule n'ait pu s'y livrer ni sur le Bosphore ni en Egypte. Il aurait tout simplement perdu son temps.

Les biographes de Csoma sont unanimes à dire qu'il eut Johann Gottfried Eichhorn pour professeur d'arabe à l'université de Göttingen et que c'est du célèbre sémitologue qu'il tint tout ce qu'il savait de cette langue. Après les révélations de Pierre Marczell lors du IV^e congrès de hungarologie de Szeged (13 août 1991), force est de reconnaître qu'il n'en est rien. Certes, Eichhorn avait publié dès 1775 à Gotha des *Monumenta antiquissimae historiae Arabum*, plus spécialement consacrés à Ibn Qutayba, et en 1791 à Göttingen l'essentiel de l'oeuvre d'Ismā'īl Abū l-Fidā'. On peu croire que Csoma en prit connaissance puisqu'il cite expressément le grand géographe syrien au 32-ème paragraphe de sa lettre du 5 mai 1825 aux autorités anglaises de l'Inde⁵. Il savait donc que des compilations analogues au *Taqwīm al-buldān* pouvaient éventuellement lui apporter des éléments d'information utiles à ses propres investigations quant aux lieux où avaient jadis vécu les proto-Hongrois. Eichhorn avait publié aussi en 1783 sa traduction d'une oeuvre philosophique d'Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭufayl ainsi qu'une étude sur la religion des Druzes. Tout cela faisait de lui un arabisant confirmé,

⁵ On notera à ce sujet que quelques années plus tard c'est un autre hongrois, János Jerney, qui fera connaître les informations fournies par Abulféda sur les Hongrois dans un article publié par l'academie de Budapest (Jerney 1862).

encore que, de façon surprenante, il ait toujours correspondu en allemand avec Silvestre de Sacy et que ses lettres n'aient jamais comporté un seul mot d'arabe. Sans doute en avait-il une connaissance purement passive et livresque (Dehérain 1919:21-22). Ce qui est certain en tout cas, après les recherches de M. Marczell (inédit), c'est que J. G. Eichhorn n'a pas pu enseigner l'arabe à Csoma avant le semestre d'hiver 1817-1818; que son enseignement ne portait que sur les éléments de cette langue et ne s'adressait donc qu'aux débutants; et que ce cours se réduisait à une heure par semaine pendant à peine six mois.

En revanche, le même programme d'études que M. Marczell a retrouvé apporte la preuve que c'est au professeur Thomas-Christian Tychsen que Csoma a été redevable de ses connaissances arabes, car Tychsen était chargé du cours d'arabe pour les élèves ayant déjà une bonne connaissance de cet idiome. Il publiera, du reste, en 1823, une grammaire arabe avec des exemples tirés du Coran qui fera date dans l'histoire des études sémitiques allemandes, ainsi qu'un recueil de poésies arabes anciennes. C'est chez lui, beaucoup plus que chez Eichhorn, que le Sicule a donc appris l'arabe littéral.

Il resterait toutefois à établir jusqu'où s'étendait sa science en ce domaine. Le fait qu'il mentionne dans la lettre déjà citée l'évêque jacobite Abū l-Farağ Ibn al-Ibrī (Bar Hebraeus) (1226-1286), auteur d'histoires en arabe et en syriaque, montre qu'il portait son intérêt à la fois sur la géographie et sur l'histoire, mais ne permet pas d'en dire plus. Il ne nous a jamais confié quels livres il recherchait particulièrement, nous laissant l'impression qu'il ne le savait pas lui-même. On doit pourtant penser que l'un et l'autre de ses professeurs, Tychsen aussi bien qu'Eichhorn, avaient dû lui recommander des titres que sans doute ils ne possédaient pas, mais dont ils connaissaient ou soupçonnaient l'existence, en ce temps où les études arabes étaient encore à leur début. Ce pouvait être Ibn Faḍlān (X^e s.) qui se rendit dans la région de la Volga au cours des années 921 et 922. Peut-être songeait-il à al-Bakrī (1040-1094), auteur d'une *Description géographique du monde* dont on ignorait encore à l'époque qu'il ne nous en restait que des fragments. Avait-il entendu parler de la relation de voyage du marchand Sulaymān

et d'Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (m. 830), de celle de Sallām le drogman, ou de la narration déjà moins naïve d'Ibn Hurradādbih (820-911)? De toute façon, il connaissait au moins l'existence des travaux encyclopédiques de al-Mas'ūdī (m. 957), véritable explorateur-géographe, du *Livre des climats* (*Kitāb al-aqālīm*) d'al-Istahrī, du *Livre des voies et des provinces* (*Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*) d'Ibn Ḥawqal, astucieux plagiaire auquel on est redevable d'une description à peu près complète du monde tel qu'il était connu au X^e-ème siècle et dont l'oeuvre sera publiée en Europe à partir de 1822. Sans doute avait-il aussi quelque idée de la *Géographie* d'al-Idrīsī (1100-1165), bien qu'elle n'ait pas encore été publiée ni traduite (elle le sera par Jaubert en 1840). Il y avait aussi l'ouvrage du Yāqūt ar-Rūmī (m. 1225), intéressants à cause de son origine grecque, ou de Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abdalqādir al-Baġdādī (XIII^e s.), qui se fixa longtemps à Merv avant d'en être chassé par l'approche des Mongols gengiskhanides. Quant au dictionnaire géographique de Yāqūt, le *Mu'ğam al-Buldān*, Csoma n'a pas dû en avoir connaissance, car il ne fut révélé en Occident qu'après que Fraehn en eut tiré en 1823 la curieuse relation d'Ibn Faḍlān sur les Bulgares de la Volga.

On peut également supposer avec quelque vraisemblance qu'Alexandre Csoma avait l'intention de lire au moins les parties du long récit d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304-1368) qui concernent ses voyages dans le Sud de la Russie, puis en Grande Bulgarie (Bachkirie), voyages qu'il accomplit en 1333 et 1334, dans la mesure du moins où il était en droit d'imaginer pouvoir y trouver des références aux anciens Magyars, voire à quelque tribu égarée dans ces régions éloignées, puisque le célèbre Marocain les visita exactement un siècle après le moine Julien (Julianus). Mais le *Tuhfat an-nuzzār* lui aurait-il été accessible? Ce n'est pas du tout certain. On n'en commencera la publication en France à partir d'un manuscrit algérien que trente-trois ans plus tard, lorsque Defrémery et Sanguinetti en éditeront les quatre volumes entre 1853 et 1859 en même temps que la traduction qu'ils en ont faite. Jusqu'à cette date, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ne sera connu des arabisants que par des fragments de son oeuvre. Il faut ajouter là encore que les espoirs nourris peut-être par Alexandre Csoma de Körös auraient été déçus s'il avait pu se procurer le récit du grand

voyageur arabe. Ce que celui-ci dit, en effet, de son séjour au Kiptchak, puis dans la vallée de la Volga, n'autorise nullement à penser qu'il rencontra, ou même qu'il soupçonna l'existence, de tribus hongroises ou finlandaises. La description qu'il donne des populations nomades errant dans ces parages convient à n'importe quelle peuplade turco-mongole. De la ville de Māğir, où il séjourna, il ne nous fournit aucun élément susceptible de nous éclairer sur son origine. Quant à la Bachkirie, issue de l'ancienne "Magna Hungaria", il n'en dit finalement rien qui soit de nature à laisser supposer quelque lien plus ou moins étroit avec les Magyars. C'est pourquoi il faut s'étonner de voir Cholnoky, et à sa suite Csetri, déclarer qu'il existerait dans le récit d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa des informations telles qu'elles "permettraient d'en conclure à quelques parentés avec le peuple hongrois" (Cholnoky 1940:51)⁶.

Il ne faut pas oublier que des ouvrages arabes qui nous sont aujourd'hui familiers n'ont été publiés, puis traduits, annotés, et commentés, qu'à partir des années 1830-1850, c'est à dire quand Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös s'occupait de la civilisation tibétaine et paraissait même avoir oublié le but premier pour lequel il était venu en Asie. Le *Livre des climats* d'al-Istahrī, par exemple, n'a été publié par Moeller qu'en 1839. Les *Prairies d'or* de al-Mas'ūdī n'ont commencé d'être édités qu'en 1865, grâce aux travaux de Barbier de Meynard et de Pavet de Courteille. Le *Livre des régions* de al-Muqaddasī n'a été connu en Europe qu'en 1864 grâce à Sprenger, et il faudra attendre les dernières années du XIX^e siècle pour lire l'oeuvre d'Ibn Rusta. Il est presque certain que Csoma ne pouvait pas connaître l'écrivain persan de langue arabe al-Gardīzī (m. XI^e s.), auteur du *Zayn al-ahbār*, composé vers 1050, dans lequel il introduisit les récits et les relations d'autres voyageurs ou écrivains tels que al-Ġayhānī (m. X^e s.) ou Ibn Muqaffa' (m. 757), qui font parfois allusion aux populations "turques" du Sud de la Russie actuelle. En dépit d'arabisants pionniers comme Pocock, Bauer, Volney, ou Silvestre de Sacy, l'on n'avait encore qu'une idée très

⁶ Csetri (1979:167) reproduit l'assertion de Cholnoky avec un seul changement: il met le mot "parentés" au singulier.

imprécise des sciences géographiques et historiques des Arabes. Le fait même qu'il lui ait fallu se rendre sur place prouve bien que même des savants comme Tychsen et Eichhorn étaient loin de pouvoir apprécier le nombre et la qualité des travaux susceptibles de faire avancer l'histoire des origines des Magyars.

Encore faudrait-il savoir si Csoma aurait pu avoir facilement accès aux documents très rares et précieux qu'il souhaitait lire, alors qu'il était chrétien et ne disposait d'aucun appui officiel. Aurait-il sollicité l'intervention de Champion, s'il en avait eu le temps? C'est possible. En ce temps-là, en effet, les bibliothèques égyptiennes étaient toutes des dépendances des mosquées, où les infidèles n'étaient pas admis. Ce que nous en disent les voyageurs européens nous laisse penser qu'il aurait eu de grandes difficultés à réaliser ses intentions et qu'il lui aurait fallu vaincre bien des obstacles pour obtenir le droit de consulter les ouvrages en question.

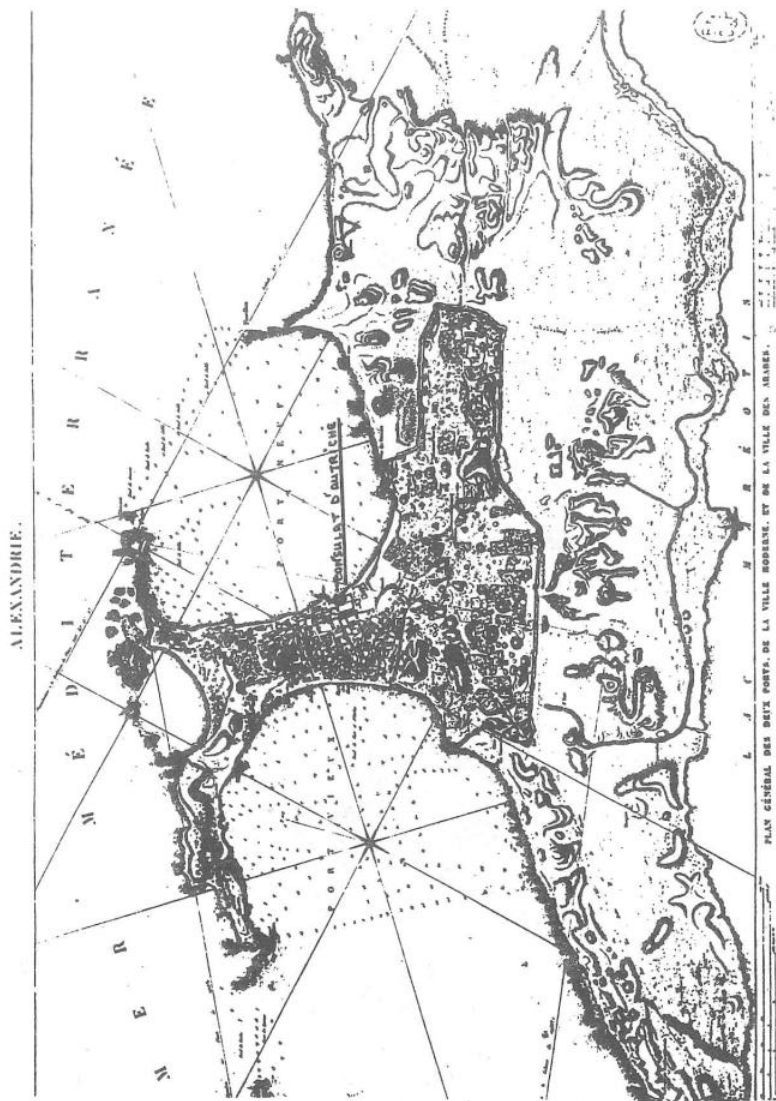
De toute façon, les choses ne se passèrent pas comme il l'avait envisagé. Tout comme lorsqu'il s'était trouvé à proximité de Constantinople, il dut brutalement renoncer à son projet à cause de cas de peste bientôt signalés dans la ville, au lendemain de son arrivée. Ce n'était pas rare à l'époque. Deux ans auparavant, cet autre Transylvain qu'était le médecin "saxon" Johann Martin Honigberger, natif de Kronstadt (Brassó), avait été lui aussi contraint de s'échapper d'Alexandrie pour ne pas être contaminé, et il était rentré en Syrie sans avoir pu séjourner en Egypte comme il l'avait escompté.

Voilà pourquoi, moins de vingt jours après y avoir débarqué, Csoma de Kórös se rembarque précipitamment sur un voilier syrien qui doit faire route vers la côte libanaise après une escale dans l'île de Chypre.

Vers la Syrie

L'escale chypriote eut lieu à Larnaca. Cette petite ville d'à peine cinq mille habitants, beaucoup plus grecque que turque, était le grand entrepôt rapproché du commerce de l'Europe occidentale avec la Syrie,

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- Michaud, Joseph François & Baptistin Poujoulat. 1837. *Correspondance d'Orient*. Paris: Ducollet.
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- Neale, Fred-Arthur. 1851. *Eight years in Syria*. Londres: Colburn.
- Niebuhr, Carsten. 1780. *Voyage en Arabie*. Amsterdam: S.I. Baalne.
- Noyane, Joseph. 1820a. *Réclamation contre l'administration du consulat français en Egypte*, Paris: Plassan.
- Noyane, Joseph. 1820b. *A. S. E. le ministre secrétaire d'Etat au département des affaires étrangères*, Paris: Pillet aîné.
- Orbán Balázs. 1861. *Utazás Keleten* [Voyage en Orient]. Kolozsvár: Stein János.
- Palerne, Jean. 1606. *Pérégrinations du sieur Palerne, forézien*. Lyon.
- Scholtz, Johann Martin Augustin. 1822. *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parötorium*, Leipzig: F. Fleischer.
- Sestini, Domenico. 1798. *Voyage de Constantinople à Bassora*. Paris: Dupuy.
- Walpole, Robert. 1820. *Travels in various countries of the East*. Londres: Longman.
- Wilson, Robert Thomas. 1803. *Histoire de l'expédition de l'armée britannique en Egypte*. Londres: Spilsbury.



Plan d'Alexandrie dressé par la Marine française vers 1825. Le consulat d'Autriche est dans un bâtiment donnant sur le "port neuf", face à un établissement de bains.



Plan détaillé d'Alexandrie dressé par Charles Muller et publié à Trieste en 1855 chez Linassi. Le "quartier franc" est dans un cercle. Non loin de la Place (Meidan) qui en formait le centre, on note la ruelle des forgerons, où se trouvait vraisemblablement l'atelier de Joseph Schäffer. On peut imaginer que c'est là qu'habita Csoma de Kőrös pendant son court séjour dans la ville.

AN AHMADI MISSION IN BUDAPEST IN 1936-1937

György Lederer

Budapest

In the middle of April 1931, Mirza Bashirud Din Mahmud Ahmad, the Second Caliph of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, received in his office in Qadian Julius Germanus, whose biography is familiar to the readers of *The Arabist*¹. We do not know whether his meeting had anything to do with the fact that the "Promised Reformer", who was the Son of the Founder of the above-named sect, sent a missionary to Hungary in early 1936 in the person of Haji Ahmad Ayaz Khan, a 26-year-old lawyer. This mission was part of the ambitious proselytizing campaign, which was launched in 1934 under the name Tahrirk Jadid ("New Scheme"), and whose aim was to promote the worldwide spread of the Ahmadi teaching (Zafrullah 1978:272-274).

We have already discussed elsewhere in detail (Lederer 1986) that in the early 1930s a handful of enthusiastic Hungarian journalists, lawyers and retired civil servants submitted themselves in Budapest to support the few hundred strong local Muslim community, which included mostly people of Bosnian and Turkish origin. These brave Islamophil Christians took to their head to build a huge mosque next to the grave of Gül Baba, a 16th century dervish buried in Buda, on the "Hill of the Roses" (Rózsadomb). Of course, success had passed them by in this "Christian and national" country. Nevertheless, their movement's reputation was increased by the active support of some prominent public figures: the "Gül Baba Comité" was headed by the former chief burgo-master of Budapest, István Bárczy, and keeper of the crown Baron Zsigmond Perényi. Its most active members were Andor Medriczky, a town

¹ Juhász 1988. Germanus (1979:85-93) gives a critical account on his contacts with the Ahmadis, including the dissident wing of the Movement led by Khawaja Kamalud Din of Lahore. As to the date of his meeting with Mirza Bashirud Din Mahmud Ahmad see Hajnóczy 1964:399-400.

hall clerk, and Béla Viraág, the editor of the fortnightly *Budai Napló*. Viraág died in June 1936, and one of the funeral addresses at his grave was delivered by Ayaz Khan (*Budai Napló* 17,6,1936,3).

It is thus understandable that upon his arrival in Budapest Dr Ayaz turned to the above-named gentleman for help. Indeed, they were more than willing to give his cause publicity in the Hungarian press. Within a year and a half, over two dozen articles, often illustrated with photographs, described the person of Dr Ayaz and his faith in rather friendly tone². According to the contemporary papers, the Ahmadis in Hungary numbered only four in May 1936, 75 in February 1937, a hundred in April, 150 in August and some four hundred in September. The papers obtained these figures primarily from Ayaz himself, and also from the 24-year-old mathematician Ibrahim Nasir, who joined Ayaz later to be in Budapest the second missionary from Qadian. Quite probably the two young Hindus considered all those people Ahmadis who showed benevolent interest in their preaching. And, indeed, there could be quite a number of people in Budapest craving for Oriental exoticism and spiritualism. Dr Ayaz, who perpetually wore his hallmark turban, managed to pick up some Hungarian and missed no opportunity to hold lectures in local clubs, give interviews and live an intense social life. He spared no effort to seek the company of influential persons, rented a flat in downtown Budapest to provide venue for his gatherings, published two brochures in Hungarian (Ayaz 1936; Bashirud Din 1937), was famous for practising his mission even in the streets, remained abstinent and reluctant to touch even the hand of the ladies. Understandably, all these were more than enough to place a man in the limelight of

² *Reggeli Újság* 22,2,1936,3; *Magyarország* 15,3,1936,7; *Az Est* 24,5,1936,8, 21,4,1937,10; *A Mai Nap* 27,5,1936,3, 17,9,1937,2; *Friss Újság* 24,6,1936,1; *Fővárosi Hírlap* 24,6,1936,2; *Pesti Napló* 5,7,1936,6, 18,4,1937,40, 2,9,1937,7; *Magyar Hírlap* 12,7,1936,11; *Nemzeti Újság* 6,8,1936,1; *Esti Újság* 23,10,1936,9, 18,8,1937,9; *Magyarok Lapja* 22,11,1936,3, 14,3,1937,3; *Esti Kurír* 23,2,1937,7; *Turáni Roham* 15,3,1937,2, 25,4,1937,2; *Óserdő* 16,3,1937,8; *Előre* 4,4,1937,7, 4,7,1937,7; *Hétféli Napló* 5,4,1937,3; *Nemzet* 7,7,1937,3; *Demokrata Újság* 16,10,1937,5; *Református Élet* 12,1936,105. Let me postpone the detailed analysis of this valuable journalistic material for another opportunity.

public interest. People appeared receptive to some of the Ahmadi tenets, according to which Jesus Christ survived his crucifixion in Jerusalem and died as a great-grandfather in the Indian town of Srinagar. The readers of the papers in Budapest could also learn from Ayaz that the Afghans were in fact Jews, since they were but the "lost tribes of Israel".

Dr Ayaz also created a sensation when he joined the extreme-rightist, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian "pagan" movement of the "Turanian One God Believers"³, which in fact enjoyed only feeble support. At the same time, most of the Hungarians were firm in their conviction that a clamant injustice was meted on the Hungarian Kingdom when the Trianon Peace Treaty deprived it of two-thirds of its territory after World War One. Ayaz Khan was perhaps even more enthusiastic than the Hungarians themselves in demanding that Hungary be given justice by returning to it the disannexed territories. He published quite a number of reports in the Indian (Ahmadi) Muslim papers *The Sunrise* and *Al-Fazl*, in which he lamented over the adversities this tiny nation had to suffer from hostile countries surrounding it and the treachery of the West. Budapest was gratified by these comments, and the papers here quoted him at length. In fact, the Hungarian and Indian papers kept quoting and praising each other. *The Sunrise* carried the pictures of Admiral Horthy and other Hungarian aristocrats, published the slogan of the "Turadians" ("The God of the Hungarians is alive, do not worship foreign gods besides Him"), and printed on more than one occasion the "Hungarian Creed" "I believe in One God, I believe in One Fatherland, I believe in One Divine-Eternal Justice, I believe in the Resurrection of Hungary" (*The Sunrise* (Lahore) 6,3,1937,4-5). Let us quote Ayaz's commentary in the March 6 and April 24, 1937, issue of *The Sunrise*:

The whole Islam world should feel glad in giving thanks to God for the brave Magyars are now proved to be our brothers in soul and spirit ... The idea of one God is the principle of every Hungarian, which brought them closer to

³ The "Turanian One God Believers" (Turáni Egyistenhívők) returned partly to the pagan Hunnish and Hungarian tribes' "Eastern" ritual and mythological symbolism. Jenő Márton and Zoltán Bencsi, the leaders of this more political than ecclesiastic organisation, joined later the Arrow-Cross Movement, i.e. the Hungarian Fascists.

Islam ... I came among my brothers when I stepped on Hungarian soil. The change in our form and appearance was only due to a long separation but spiritually we are one and the same. My brothers though clad in western clothes absorbed my love because Westernism has not poisoned them so much as it did in other countries ... The great Khalifa intends to make Budapest the centre of Islam movement in Europe because the Hungarians have now begun to love, defend and spread Islam with enthusiasm.

The completely unknown László Torkos became Ayaz Khan's favourite poet, supposedly for a poem of his, also published in the 6 March 1937 issue of *The Sunrise*:

To eat and drink I did not care,
 Nor for nocturnal rest.
 'The devil take me', - then I thought, -
 And now I'm in the West,
 Ah it is the west, but no repose,
 for I am roving still, -
 From mountain summits to the vale,
 From valley to the hill.
 And like a Muslim, with folden arms,
 Eastward I turn my eyes;
 Unconsciously on my lips
 Rise most heart-breaking sighs,
 And if soon all this doth not cease,
 My fancy's constant flight, -
 I think I even might become
 A Turkish Islamite.

I feel as if I had to hear
 Our great Prophet's lore,
 And to his Eastern shrine I'll be near
 As in the days of yore.

This "anti-Westernism" of the Hungarians was, of course, very far from being as evident as Dr Ayaz seems to have felt it although his impressions were confirmed not only by Julius Germanus and other members of the "Gül Baba Comité", but also by the famous Indologist, Ervin Baktay. Ayaz wrote the following about him (*The Sunrise*, 13,2,1937,6):

In his two concluding lectures on the 7th and 21st of December 1936, the learned lecturer explained "Islam" and "the Ahmadiyya Philosophy of Islam" respectively. "Islam is the improved and perfect form of all religions" - He said - "Eastern people forgot it and Western ones ignored it but Ahmad, the Messenger of all nations has again brought home to the world that peace of mind

that can only be found in Islam. All the religions are doomed to admit the Ahmadiyya Reformation. There is no other way. Every intelligent man has one and the same "faith" although his "religion" may be different. Christianity as introduced in the East by Christian missionaries is not the same as the European priests claim it. It is impossible for a man to reject the Ahmadiyya philosophy of Islam. The belief in One God and all the prophets including Moses, Jesus, Buddha, Krishna, Mohammad, Ahmad, and others is quite natural and understandable". The great orientalist gave a short history of the Ahmadiyya Movement of Islam and explained the mission of Ahmad, the Promised Messiah and mahdi, in such a way that the Hungarian public took an extraordinary interest and many people requested me to supply literature on True Islam.

The Ahmadi press in India was replete with reports on Hungary, and some of the papers in Hungary carried detailed stories on the Ahmadiyya. The heart of Ayaz was overflowing with the Hungarians and some "Turanian" Hungarians sang praises of Ayaz. Crowning all this joy was the visit to Budapest in August 1937 by the staunch Ahmadi Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Railway and Commercial Minister of the British Indies⁴. Zafrullah was given a due reception by his hosts here: Baron Perényi held a grandiose dinner in his honour in Budapest's prestigious Gundel Restaurant⁵. However, the Hungarian ministers were startled by the news that the local Ahmadis wanted to erect a mosque in the Hungarian capital (*Pesti Napló* 2,9,1937,7). This, of course, was never realized, and the Ahmadi community itself was soon dissolved (if there

⁴ According to *The Sunrise* 23,10,1937,6: "Sir Mohamed Zafrullah Khan is a young man of 43 but he has already made a great career in politics. He went to school at Sialkot and Lahore and then the University in England. Between the years 1921-1929 he was a lawyer in Lahore ... In 1930-33 he was the chairman of the All-India Muslim League. From here he came to the Executive Council. First he was Education Member and for the last two years he has been the Railway and Commercial Minister". In 1947, Zafrullah Khan became the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, and later President of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. He is the author of several books on Ahmadiyya - see e.g. fn. 2.

⁵ For an account in English with pictures see *The Sunrise* 23,10,1937,5-6 - the translation of an article in *Esti Újság* 18,8,1937,9. See also: *Pesti Hírlap* 24,8,1937,9, 26,8,1937,3; *Pesti Napló* 26,8,1937,6; *Magyar Hírlap* 26,8,1937,2; *Budapesti Hírlap* 26,8,1937,3.

was any such community at all)⁶. Ibrahim Nasir left Hungary in 1938, and Ayaz Khan was sent by his Caliph to Warsaw in the summer of 1937, where his work met with a more lasting success⁷. In August 1938, *The Sunrise* wrote the following on his return to Qadian:

Chaudhri Haji Ahmad Khan Ayaz arrived at Qadian on July 26 after a stay abroad of about two years, during which time he had acted as the missionary of the Ahmadiyya Movement under the New Scheme (the Tahrik-i-Jadid) of expansion of Tabligh work for Islam. He was first posted to Hungary in which country he was successful in forming a Jama'at of Hungarian Ahmadis and in organising an Ahmadiyya Tabligh centre at Budapest. Later, he was transferred to Poland and then to Czechoslovakia. Both at Warsaw and Prague he did considerable Tabligh work through the press, personal interviews, and speeches. Mr Ayaz is one of those young men who after finishing their University education had dedicated themselves, at the call of Hazrat Amir-ul-Momineen, to the Movement's service under the New Scheme which had been formulated in 1935 to extend its missionary activities. Mr Ayaz was, by the grace of God, eminently successful as a pioneer worker in countries where there had so far been no regular Ahmadiyya missionary. He has the gift of boldness, and an ease of manner, both of which he turned to good account as a skilful apostle of Ahmadiyyat. Readers must be familiar with his methods as he was a frequent contributor to the "*Sunrise*" during his stay in Hungary.

Mr Ayaz, before he went abroad, was the Salar-i-Jaish and Qaid-i-Azam (highest in command) of the Ahmadiyya Volunteers Corps. The corps in uniform mustered strong at the railway station to accord him welcome. Members of the local community in large numbers were also present despite the weather. On alighting from the train Mr Ayaz was given a rousing reception. He was garlanded by the Officer-in-charge of the Tahrik-i-Jadid and others, and, after shaking hands with all present left by car for the town where he first prayed at the Masjid-i-Mubarak and the offered Du'a at the tomb of the Promised Messiah, and was later admitted to an audience with the Amir-ul-Momineen.

Since then, Ayaz Khan has been living in Kharian, Pakistan. Over the past decades, he had served as an officer in the army, and tried his hand as a lawyer and a businessman. Meanwhile, he has always re-

⁶ The supposed community's leaders are mentioned in the press of the day: Gyula Avar and Béla (Musztafa) Orbán. I could not find their traces.

⁷ There is, nowadays, an approximately fifty-members-strong Ahmadi Muslim community in Warsaw, led by the editor and poet Imam Mahmud Taha Zuk.

mained a Hungarian in his heart. His house, called "Villa Budapest", is situated on the "Gül Baba Hill", and a brook divides his garden into "Pest" and "Buda"⁸. His son is called Csaba, after the name of the son of Attila the Hun. In Rawalpindi, he established the "Pak-Hungarian Friendship Society". The stationery of his mail is decorated with the Hungarian national tricolour and the "Hungarian Creed". In Pakistan, he discovered the "relatives" of the Hungarians. Aged over eighty today, he has followed the developments in Hungary for more than half a century now. A honorary member of several emigre Hungarian organizations, he received in 1971 a decoration from the World Federation of Hungarians. Ayaz Khan outlived all the other persons in this story, and now it no longer makes any difference whether or not he was overestimating the effect of his one-time activity in Budapest. The yellow pages of the contemporary Indian and Hungarian papers prove that he spared no effort in preaching the word of God. He deserves respect from both the Hungarians and the Ahmadis. Although this respect he duly receives from the current Head of the sect, Mirza Tahir Ahmad, his "Hungarophil" approach has never become part of the Ahmadi credo.

Let us remind the reader here that the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam was founded in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) of Qadian called by his followers "Mahdi and Promised Messiah". Unlike the decisive majority of the Muslims, they do not consider the Meccan Prophet Muhammad the last of the prophets. Succeeding Prophet Ahmad at the head of the Movement was the First Caliph, Hakim Maulvi Nurud Din, who in turn was followed by the above mentioned Second Caliph in 1914. After the war between India and Pakistan in 1947, the town of Qadian became part of the territory east of the borderline, and thus the Ahmadis built, in Pakistan, a new centre called Rabwa⁹ some 95 miles west of Lahore. In 1954, it was in Rabwa that a fanatical assailant cut the neck of the Second Caliph. He survived the attack, but

⁸ See *Népszabadság* 1, 1, 1966, 11.

⁹ Cf. *The Koran* 33:50

the last eleven years of his life he spent in serious condition. His son, Mirza Nasir Ahmad, who was the grandson of the Prophet, succeeded him as the Third Caliph. Since 1982, the Movement has been headed by the Third Caliph's younger brother, Mirza Tahir Ahmad, who was born in 1928. In 1984, he was compelled to move his office from Rabwa to London because of the persecution of his followers in the Pakistan of Ziaul-Haq. As is known, a part of the states that consider themselves Muslim are hostile to the Ahmadis, whom they do not even consider Muslim proper. Saudi Arabia, for example, prevents them from going on the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Ahmadis are also blamed for rejecting the doctrine of the armed Holy War against the unbelievers, and they have to suffer countless further accusations from the other Muslims. However, in the teeth of all these animosities, the Ahmadi community is growing dynamically. They themselves reckon with some ten million followers worldwide, but this figure is difficult to check.

The Movement has communities in most of the capitals in Western Europe. The only small groups in the eastern part of the continent are to be found in Pristina and Warsaw (see fn. 7). This fact can be accounted for only partly by the four decades of communist rule or by the fact that there are practically no Asian or African guest workers in Eastern Europe. Perhaps the main reason behind this is that the Ahmadis themselves did not even try to spread there the message of Islam, as they understand it. This could well be a successful enterprise, since for example there is a Muslim community of exclusively Hungarian citizens in this country, which has worked legally for years now and is headed by an active and clever young sheik. However, it remains to be seen whether the abilities of the Ahmadis can equal his talent. Since the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe, Christian and non-Christian missionaries have been flocking to this part of the world. As Ayaz Khan wrote in the December 26, 1936 issue of *The Sunrise*:

The attention of the Mohammadan world is growing more and more to Buda, the Hungarian capital. Verily, Buda is the holy town of Islam. It is the wonderful bulwark and the farthest outpost of the followers of Mohammad ...

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Prophet Mirza Ghulam Ahmad,
the Founder of the Sect



Hakim Maulvi Nurud Din,
the First Caliph



Mirza Bashirud Din Mahmud Ahmad,
the Second Caliph



Mirza Nasir Ahmad,
the Third Caliph



Julius Germanus, alias
Hajj Abd al-Karim in the 1930s



Ibrahim Nasir



Ayaz Khan in 1936



Mirza Tahir Ahmad,
the Fourth Caliph, in the 1980s

Ayaz's stationery



دوسميا الله الكشغريا الشيخيزا

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Ref. No

Dated

CAPT. H. A. AYAZ KHAN

Advocate

General Representative of the
Hungarian Union in Asia
BUDAPEST VILLA, AYAZ BAGH
KHARIAN — PAKISTAN

PROJECT NEW PAKISTAN TO NEW HUNGARY

CULTURAL RESEARCH CENTRE OF PAK FRIENDS OF HUNGARY:

will provide inspiration and faith to break barriers between brother-peoples of common origin for productive ventures of mutual friendship, know-how exchange; and get-together programmes for the Seythian scions of Royal Kushans and Loe Khaos of glorious past as "Huns" (revolutionaries) whose family feuds and exchange of sword-arms with the present Khatek tribes of North Western Frontier Provinces of Pakistan, pushed up the "Westward Drive" of all "Huns" (freedom fighters) and "Gjers" (destroyers of evil) when called up to prove themselves upto their hereditary tribal titles of "Mahanagyar" / Mahagyuzar / Magyar (Great Warrior) and "Gurogyor" / Gurjar (Master Warrior) by raising an army of storm troopers selected from the parent units of the Seythian settlements in Gujrat, Kalat, Khazarne, Gurjistan—Kaukazia Georgia etc., under the leadership of the Avar Prince Arbal/Arpad, of the ancient Avaran tribal Kingdom of Szaka Kalat and Balochistan, to cross Karpathian mountains for establishing a Great Home for Great Peoples (Magyarorszag) of all the "Hun - Gurjaran" (Hungarian) tribes in the Danube Valley, where several kindred Seythian tribes had already settled round the river bends. The strategic situation of both the odd lands rightly points the destiny that "one who holds Hungary holds Europe and one who holds Pakistan holds Asia".

LONG LIVE PAK MAGYAR FRIENDSHIP

Capt. H. A. Ayaz Khan

NA/504, Ayaz House
11th Road, Satellite Town,
Rawalpindi.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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Dated 25th. Dec. 1964.

BOLDOG UJESZTENDO KIVANUNK Magyar Testvereink es Novereink nek

Kedves Magyar testverem es Baratem;

Assalam-o-Alaikum :

Our blood relations have been cemented by faith and past history of thousand years. Being Edge Isten Hivok and Turanian brothers, we are natural friends of Hungary and the Hungarians. We feel the Magyars much nearer to our hearts despite the physical distance. The old history of India (Blavesha puran) and Kashmir has revealed that North Western India, now called West Pakistan, was known as Hun Desh (HUN ORSZAG), as the Huns had settled in large number in this area and had ruled this land in the 4th Century. The realtions of Magyars and Pakistanies also date back from the visit of PRINCE CSABA of Hungary, the great hunting prince, who came in search of his ancestors and made this country as his home. Later on his descendants were famous Kings of Punjab.

A recent visit of the Hungarian Trade Delegation led by Mr. Wladika Vilmos has opened a new chapter of friendly and ever increasing Commercial and fraternal relations between Hungary and Pakistan; and our Government has given friendliest consideration to this Trade Pact.

We are doing our best to promote the cause of brotherhood between the people of Hungary and Pakistan and to enlarge our efforts, we have just shifted our Headquarter to Rawalpindi City (the interim Capital of Pakistan). NOW THE ONLY THING WE DESIRE OF YOU, is that you should keep us informed of yourself. On our part, we have taken up effective steps to project the Hungaro-Pak friendship and fraternity. It was decided in the last meeting of our corporation to undertake the following programme :-

- (1) To make the present Headquarter more fruitful as a central place for all activities in order to stimulate interest in Pak-Magyar friendship-organisation and to enlarge its membership and image.
- (2) To construct an UJ-BUDAPEST VILLA on the high hills facing the Grand Trunk Road at KHARIAN, where land has already been availed to make it a Tourist Resort.
- (3) To acquire suitable plot in Commercial Block of ISLAMABAD, the new Capital of Pakistan and construct a CSABA HALL for PAK-MAGYAR CULTURAL CENTRE, which will have three departments, one for Reading Room where upto date Magyar literature and its translation will be maintained and the second portion will be meant for a Museum and Display Room of Magyar Arts and Crafts; and the third portion will be reserved for social gathering and lectures.
- (4) To exchange good-will missions and send special delegation to Hungary and other places to have close study of our brothers' Culture, Arts and their day to day Problems.

Both Hungary and Pakistan have to play the destined role of a bridge to unite East and West. With faith in ALLAH and with determination burning in our hearts, we are on the march to integrate the future glory of Magyars and Muslims through unity of Turanian brothersAmen.

Igaz Baratja es testver;
Tiszta Magyar Corporation
(Ayaz Khan & N. A. Khaleel)

Chairman
Capt. Ayaz Khan
Advocate
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RAWALPINDI.
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Budapest Villa,
Ayaz Garden,
KHARIAN.

ON THE DIALECTAL FEATURES OF IBN AL-FAYYŪMĪ'S *BUSTĀN AL-ʿUQŪL*

Géza Mihályi

Budapest

1. *Introductory Remarks*

1.1 The grammatical analysis of the language of the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl*, which is according to Levine (1908:x) the oldest Yemeni Jewish literary work, is the subject of this study. The theologico-philosophical treatise of Nathanael Ibn al-Fayyūmī, a contemporary of Maimonides and Ibn Rušd is written in Middle Arabic (= MA) and is very rich in Dialectal Arabic (= DA) elements. The nature and characteristics of MA are copiously dealt with in the works of Joshua Blau and the contributions of others¹. However, it is perhaps not unnecessary to shortly summarize its basic traits before going into detailed analysis of the language of the text itself.

1.2.1 First of all it should be made clear what is meant by the concept of MA. The language of texts which contain a wide variety of Classical Arabic (= CA), pseudoclassic and dialectal forms is called MA (Fischer 1982). The first such texts go back to the first century of the *biġra* (Blau 1981:4 ff; Fück 1981:110 ff). Often the dialectal component of MA is also called MA (Blau 1982:96), this way two concepts one of which contains the other fall under the same nomination. This particular usage is reflected in Blau's works until he suggested the clear-cut distinction between MA that is mixed language of the texts referred to and "Early Neo-Arabic" (*Frühmenarabisch*) for the dialectal component contained by them (*ibid.*).

The vernacular component of these texts shows those structural and lexical features which characterize the modern Arabic dialects. The most comprehensive and important of them is – as mentioned above – that

¹ For literature and evaluation of studies in this field see Blau 1966:38 ff.

both Early Dialectal Arabic and the modern vernaculars belong to the analytic type of language as against the synthetic nature of CA (Blau 1981:4).

1.2.2 What we know about the early stage of dialectal Arabic or as Blau (1981:3) says "the Older Epoch of Modern Arabic" is due partly to the purifying efforts of Arab grammarians who produced the *lahn al-‘amma* literature (*EL*² V, 605 ff) and to a greater extent, to MA texts mainly written by Christians and Jews. The explanation for this fact lies in that the two minority groups culturally less bound to the Koran and CA poetry, the main sources of CA (Blau 1981:22, 23). This way their mastery of this very difficult language, the perfect achievement of which was and still is an arduous task for Muslim Arabs as well, was limited. Nevertheless there are Muslim sources, too that contain dialectal elements.

1.2.3 The writers of these texts originally intended to write in CA, the proof of which is that there is no text in pure DA (Blau 1981:24) but in spite of this effort they created a mixed language. The pseudo-corrections are the result of the authors' or copyists' deficient knowledge of CA. These elements may be further analyzed: one part of them are hypercorrections, when even those dialectal forms were "corrected" which are identical with their CA equivalents. The reason of this phenomenon amply analyzed by Blau (1970:11 ff) is that the writer felt these forms colloquial, and the corrected one has become "so to say classical" (Blau 1982:97). In contradiction to that, hypercorrect forms are "not classical enough" being dialectal forms only partly "corrected" so they consist of Classical and dialectal features and are non-existent in either of the two languages.

1.2.4 The rules of Early DA to be found in MA texts may usually not to be formulated in such a perfect and clear-cut way as in the case of other languages or modern dialects which provide an infinite set of texts or utterances for the extraction of their rules. Its grammatical description is based on a limited number of clues which are embedded in a CA background, and are detected as "deviances" in comparison with it. The comparison with modern dialects is also a very important

method for identifying real vernacular, hypo- and hypercorrect forms occurring in MA texts.

1.2.5 Although several MA texts have been already investigated, a wider description of MA phenomena, and the systematic review of its temporal and local differentiation is still not accomplished (Fischer 1982:91). Blau (1966:38) also considers the investigation of other MA texts important in spite of the fact that because of the more or less successful efforts of the writers to eliminate dialectal elements "the linguistic structure of most of the texts is similar and their analysis does not give too much results from linguistic aspects" (Blau 1982:108). But at the same time he adds: "Das soll natürlich nicht besagen, daß es nicht notwendig ist, immer neue Texte sorgfältiger sprachliche Ertrag ziemlich gering ist, so ist es nur auf diesem Wege möglich, zu neuen Erkenntnissen über die Entwicklung des Neuarabischen zu gelangen" (*ibid.*).

1.2.6 In addition to the efforts to avoid dialectal features, the vowel-less script also contributed to the obscuring of dialectal differences in MA text (Blau 1981:52). However, four dialectal types may be distinguished in MA: the Maghrebi, Iraqi, Egyptian and Yemeni ones (*ibid.* 54).

Although a great number of Yemeni dialect traits have been recorded by Arabic grammarians (Greenman 1979:47; Rabin 1951:31, 34 etc.), only one i.e. the use of the strengthening *qad* occurring even in nominal sentences is the only one to be found in Yemeni MA texts (Blau 1981:65). So it is interesting to see if the investigation of a formerly not analyzed MA text of Yemeni origin offers any new in this respect as well. In addition to this it is probably not useless to enlarge the corpus of textual evidences serving the base of grammatical conclusions covering the early stage of Arabic dialects.

1.3.1 The writer of the work in question, Nathanael Ibn al-Fayyūmī probably died between 1165, the supposed date of his writing the *Bustān* (Levine 1908:x), and 1172 which is the date of a letter by Maimonides to his son in which he speaks about Nathanael as no longer living (*ibid.*). According to Levine (*ibid.*) he lived in Sanaa and was the leader of the Jewish community. Some suppose that his son, Jakob Ibn Natha-

nael was a correspondent of Maimonides to whom he wrote his *Iggereth Tēmān* in which he consoled and strengthened the faith of the pursued Yemeni Jews (Levine 1908:ix; Gottheil 1896:144; Mann 1920: 244).

He is considered to be a writer of secondary importance (Vajda 1974:205; Levine 1908:v), nevertheless, he deserves attention because he was one of the first Jewish authors who wrote about theology in South Arabia (Vajda 1974:205) and the only one who produced a synthetic treatise on Jewish theology (Levine 1908:v). At the same time he is probably the last exponent of the principles of the "Brethren of Sincerity" among the Jews of Yemen (*ibid.* xi).

1.3.2 The "*Garden of Wisdom*" is a popular and simplified introduction to theology and philosophy. It was intended to be a "compendium for our youth and for any of our brethren into whose hand it may fall" (*ibid.* ii) in the words of its author and is described by him as "the best articulated statement of a system that furnished a complete scheme of education, or of man's true relation to the Universe, that enabled him that received it to lead a perfectly rational, aimful and therefore free life" (*ibid.* xi).

It consists of seven chapters, which treat the Unity of God, man as a microcosm, the necessity of obeying God, repentance, reliance upon God, the excellencies of the Messiah and the Next World. Jewish theology is concerted in it with the views of the *Ihwān aṣ-Ṣafā'*, serving its philosophic and scientific basis (*ibid.*).

In addition to Jewish sources (Talmud, *Tesubōt*, Aggādah and Jewish legends poets etc.) the Qur'ān, the utterances of anonymous poets and "pious men", the Encyclopedia of the *Ihwān* are much quoted in the *Bustān* and constitute its basic sources (*ibid.*).

1.3.3 After the publication of the introduction of the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* by Richard Gottheil in 1896 it was edited in full, translated into English and supplied with explanations by David Levine, based on a unique manuscript in possession of the Columbia University. It was republished and translated into Hebrew under the title *Gan ha-Seklah im* by Josef Qāfih in 1954 (*Encyclopedia Judaica* XII, col 971).

Gottheil notes in his introduction to Levine's edition of the *Bustān* that the scribe of the manuscript employed *šade* for Arabic *dād* and *ṭā'*, the letter *gimel* without a point represents in it Arabic *ǧīm*, and the same letter with a point stands for Arabic *ǧayn* (Levine 1908:vi). As far as the first case is concerned, *taw* with a dot was made to designate *ṭā'* in Levine's edition and in the latter case the order has been reversed, "in order to accommodate the reader and to follow the practice common in printed works of this character" (*ibid.*).

1.4.1 On the basis of the high frequency of the occurrence of nearly each MA grammatical feature the style of the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* may be classified according to Blau's terminology as "semi-classical Middle Arabic" (1981:25 ff) which is in accordance with the fact that it probably was not intended to go outside the sphere of the Jewish community, being a religious-pedagogical work.

1.4.2 The purpose of this paper is to review those dialectal phenomena occurring in this book whose description and analysis may contain some new pieces of information about Early DA in addition to what has been expounded in studies about MA earlier, and to strengthen the basis of those rules formulated in them which are established on a small number of textual evidences only.

So I have chosen only those features from a very large set of dialectal elements found in the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* which may be of importance from the point of view of increasing our knowledge of MA. The choice was not easy as the text is very rich in frequently and consequently occurring MA phenomena.

During their exposition I will follow the sequence of grammatical items which has been adopted by Blau and widely accepted in other works concerning this topic.

2. *Phonetics and Orthography*

2.1 As phonetic and orthographic phenomena may not be separated due to the nature of Arabic script, orthography and phonetics will be discussed together as is usual in MA grammars.

2.1.1 When *hamza* stands between *a* and *i*, it is almost everywhere spelled with *yā'* in the *Bustān* as is in MA generally (Blau 1966:93; 1981:74), except some very strange cases, in which *alif* is used:

38:19,20 אֶלְסַאֵל "the beggar",
 88:2 אֶלְפֶאֱתֵי "those passing away",
 31:13 אֶלְאַמְהֵי , 68:24 אֶלְאַמְהֵי "the prayer leaders".

As far as I know there are no similar cases in MA and these one are not enough in number to enable a firm generalization. They may be influenced by Hebrew spelling or the first two words perhaps reflect living usage, as speakers of *Wādī Mawr* in the *Tihāma* of Yemen were observed to pronounce the active participle of a hollow verb with *ē* instead of *ay* (Greenman 1979:54). On the analogy of that the above spelling may reveal living pronunciation like *as-sāyil* → *as-sēl* and *al-fāyitīn* → *al-fētīn*.

2.1.2 In the case of *ra's* – when *hamza* is not followed by a vowel – I found the following spelling:

10:24 אֶלְעֵאֵלִים "the two extremities of the world".

It may be explained by that after the elision of *hamza* (*ra's* → *rās*) *yā'* might have been felt to be the "unseen" middle radical, probably at the influence of *rāyis* (Blau 1966:93), so its plural was formed after that. This plural was then blended with the dual ending creating a hypocorrec form. "*Ruyūs*" being the vernacular plural form of *rās* was detected in the dialect of *Lahaḡ* as well by Fodor (1970:33).

2.2 The *muraqqaq* spelling of *tā'* was found to occur twice in the text, however, I do not know any Yemeni vernacular or MA parallel change so nothing sure can be said here about the following cases:

82:12 אֶתְיֵב "good", 87:13 אֶתְוֵ "conditions".

2.3 At first sight it seems unlikely that רגיד consequently spelled so reflects living *muraqqaq* pronunciation, as *ṣād* in this word is in the vicinity of *ḡayn* and *rā'*, which usually cause the opposite shift i.e. the *tafḥīm* of non-emphatic consonants. It is rather to be considered hyper-correct spelling (Blau 1966:109; 1970:66, 73; 1981:126). Or perhaps it is the sign of real *muraqqaq* pronunciation, as the transformation of *ṣād* to *zāy* in this word (\rightarrow *zaḡīr*) is a living phenomenon in the dialect of Ṣan'ā' (Šaraf ad-Dīn 1970:47)? This supposition could be strengthened by a further argument: according to Šaraf ad-Dīn *ṣād* may turn into *sīn* in the modern Yemeni dialect, for which he quotes a word which contains *rā'*, (*abṣara* \rightarrow *absara*) "see" (*ibid.* 46).

The same change is existent in other modern dialects as well, therefore Blau (1970:66) considers a part of the $\dot{s} \rightarrow s$ cases to reflect a living feature. Examples from the *Bustān al-^cuqūl*:

8:2	רגיד	"small",
39:20	רגיד	"your juvenility",
56:8	רגדמלא	"the smallest".

The same logic may be applied to:

56:20	נקט	"shortcoming",
87:22	מלטיכל	"the polisher",
39:8	מלסכר	"the rock".

At the same time

68:15	מלטיאנא	"preservation" and
50:23	מפייך	"preserved"

are easier to be interpreted as *muraqqaq* pronunciation, because these words do not contain sounds causing *tafḥīm*.

2.4 The *tarqīq* of *q* is attested once:

39:9	מליך	"more suitable"
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for which I do not know any MA reference, so this occurrence may be a unique one. As a matter of fact, however, one example is not conclusive enough.

2.5.1 As a peculiarity of this text, *wāw* and *yā'* are consequently spelled doubly when they occur in II and V form verbs or in their derivatives. Although the majority of examples mentioned by Blau in his *Judaeo-Arabic Grammar* (1980:48) are also verbs belonging to these categories.) A possible explanation is that this way of spelling was chosen to distinguish between the first form on the one hand and the second and the fifth forms on the other hand. (תכון: תכוון *takūn: tukawwin, takawwan.*) Some examples:

4:28	וכוונהא	“and he created it”,
5:10	תחווול	“it is transformed”,
5:11	תתגייר	“it changes”,
15:20	וכיירהא	“and he set it in motion”,
7:11	מכווף	“frightening”,
7:20, 22:29	אפווץ	“I entrust”,
5:2	ויכוון	“and it creates”,
19:10	צוורהא	“he shaped it”,
28:14	יזינהא	“he embellishes it”.

2.5.2 When geminated *wāw* or *yā'* are in the end of a word a suffix is added to it, — which is mostly the *nisba*-ending or the pronominal suffix — it is as a rule spelled doubly in the *Bustān*:

1:4	באלאזליה	“eternally”,
25:22	אלכליה	“the total”,
35:20	עלאנייה	“openness”,
53:16	אלרבוביה	“the divinity”,
85:13	אלרציה	“the pleasant”,
86:4	שקיה	“miserable”, etc.

The suffix is pronominal in the following cases:

78:8	וּבְגִייהָם	“and the prostitutes come from them”,
7:20, 84:20	וּלְיִיהָ	“his saint”,
85:6	נְבִייהָ	“his prophet”,
32:17	עֲדוּוּהָ	“his enemy”, etc.

and is that of the accusative in these words:

82:2	דְּכִייהָ	“clever”,
57:18	צְבִייהָ	“a boy”,
25:16	עֲלוּוּהָ	“highness”, etc.

2.5.3 However, when such words are not suffixed, *γā'* consequently and *wāw* more rarely getting into final position, are spelled in accordance with the rules of CA, probably due to short pronunciation, as final long vowels are apt to shorten in MA (Blau 1966:65; 1981:70):

1:11	אֶלְכֶרְסִי	“the throne”,
37:12	אֶלְנְבִי	“the prophet”,
11:26	וְאֶלְנֶמֶו	“and the progress”,
58:24	אֶלְדָּנֹו	“the approach”,
59:22	אֶלְכֶלִי	“the total”,
37:15	עֲדֹו	“enemy”, etc.

2.5.4 Final *γā'* in the derivatives of *verba tertiae γā'* and *wāw*, – which is not geminated in pronunciation in CA, – is almost everywhere spelled doubly when suffixed (Blau 1980:93) – just like the former category of words –, perhaps affected by the spelling of the *nisba*-ending and reflecting its geminated pronunciation (this is a typical orthographic mistake in modern Arabic as well):

6:4	מִסְתֹוִיִּהָ	“equal”,
84:6	אֶלְמַעְצִיִּיהָ	“the disobedience”,
31:2	וּמַעֲנִיִּיהָ	“and their meaning”,
32:9	תְּרַבִּיִּיהָ	“education”,
39:7	נֹאמִיִּיהָ	“growing”,

57:2 מקצ'י א "ordained (acc.)", etc.

When they are not suffixed, they are not doubled:

40:15 מרמי "thrown".

2.5.5 In word categories not mentioned above doubled spelling of *wāw* and *yā'* freely alternates with the single one, e.g.:

2:2	אורל	, 60:20	אור	"first",
4:22	איאך	, 2:23	ואיאנא	"us (acc.)",
31:12	אלאנביא	, 12:12	אלאנביא	"the prophets".

2.6 I have come across only one instance for the doubling of *tā'* and another for that of *qāf*, for which I do not know any MA parallel:

26:26	אן צמתה	"if you are silent",
21:1	דקקה	"fineness".

3. Morphology

3.1 There is one example in the *Bustān* for the demonstrative *da* "this" which although mostly occurs in Egyptian MA texts, it is also attested, however, in modern Yemeni (Blau 1981:66; Diem 1973:67):

44:20 א' ירזק "he gives sustenance to this".

3.2 Also one instance was met with for *hā'ulā'ika* "these", which occurs in CA and Christian Arabic (= ChrA), but I do not know about any Judaeo-Arabic (= JA) occurrence of it. *Haulāk* is an existing form in the modern Yemeni dialect as well (Wright 1896-98 I, 268; Blau 1966: 138; Diem 1973:46):

87:22 פיהולאך פי אלדניא פי אלעמא יעשון
"so these live in the world of blindness".

3.3 I have found two *masḏars* which exhibit the change of the second form into the first for which I do not know any MA parallel cases:

- 41:27 אַדבֵּהּ (הֵּ stands for ה) “his punishment”,
 66:11 וְלוֹ תְּבַרִּינָא מִן שְׂרִיעַתָּה וְכַלְפָּה
 “if we forsook his law and the duties he has imposed upon us”,
 72:24 כַּלְפְּנָא סְבִי כְּלִיפֵי כְּתִירָהּ
 “he has imposed upon us many duties”.

3.4.1 The third form seems to replace the first one in one case, which is not enough to make any generalization as I have no information about any similar feature of MA:

- 33:2 סְאַעֲאָהָ “he strived for it”.

3.4.2 Once the first form was found to stand for the second in the *Bustān*. This shift has been met with in one case in Muslim MA as far as I know (Schen 1973:68):

- 57:12 פֶּאן יֶאֱדַקְתָּהָ “so if you believe it”.

3.5.1 The fifth form (as in CA) functions as the passive of the second as a result of the disappearance of the internal passive, which is amply analyzed feature of MA (Blau 1966:164; 1981:105). I have observed only one example for that here:

- 78:14 יֶתְגַרְבוּם “they are tested”.

(The final *m* is perhaps the result of the confusion of the vernacular perfect form “*katabkum*” (Diem 1973:97, 100, etc.) and the imperfect.)

3.5.2 I have met two instances for the substitution of the first form by the fifth (Blau 1966:164) which may be an indirect proof of the

is still living in the modern Yemeni dialect (Goitein 1934:xxiii). So it is perhaps not far from the truth if I suppose that *ṭimnān* is a hypocoristic blend of vernacular *ṭimnān* and CA *ṭuma'nīna* or *ṭmi'nān*.

3.12 The limited use of the dual is attested by cases in which the context would require dual in CA, but instead, singular is used although the general MA tendency is the substitution of the dual by the plural (Blau 1966:209; 1980:99; 1981:88):

70:1

אלשעבוד... ואלאסתכפאר... קד כאן סבק פי אלעלם אלבארי
 "the servile condition ... and the contempt were anticipated by
 the prescience of the Creator",

78:17

... וכזאלך אלליל ואלצללם לולאה.
 "The same can be said of night and darkness. But for them..."

I have no information about the occurrence of this phenomenon in MA except for the double parts of the body (Blau 1966:218; 1980:103).

3.13 The sound masculine plural suffix is added instead of the feminine to some nouns:

11:7, 19:12, 19:13

ומיין "and hundreds",

16:12

באלמכלוקין "by the creatures",

47:21

אלמכלוקין "the creatures".

There is no reference to such cases in MA as far as I know.

3.14 *Nufūs*, "souls" and *anfūs* "-selves" often interchange, perhaps revealing that *nafs* was used for the plural of "-self" as e.g. in the modern Iraqi dialect.

7:12

ואנפס לטיפה "subtle souls",

12:13

אלאנפס אלגזוייה "the partial souls",

21:24

טרחו נפוסהם פי אלנאר

"they cast themselves into the fire", etc.

3.15 The circumlocution of comparison by an adjective and an adverb expressing "more" instead of the way used in CA is a very rarely

noted feature in MA (Blau 1981:89). So it is noteworthy to mention the case found here:

- 58:1 פְּעוּרָה יֵא אֲכִי מִקְבוּל עֲנַד אֱלֵלָה אֲכֹרֶר מִנִּי
 “so his excuse, my brother, is necessarily more acceptable in God’s presence than mine”.

4. Syntax

4.1.1 In spite of the general tendency of the widening of the usage of *mā* as a negative particle in MA that is accompanied by the consequent restriction of that of the other negative particles (Blau 1966:303; 1981:108), it is remarkable to find that *lā* quite frequently occurs in the *Bustān* even in the function (*ma^cnā*) of *laysa*:

- 10:28 וּמְנַהֵם מִן לֹא לֵה לֹא עֵלֵם וְלֹא עֵמֵל
 “and there are (people) who have neither knowledge nor practised it”,
 11:19 וּמְנַגֵּס לֹא נִגָּס וְנִגָּס לֹא מְנַגֵּס וְלֹא מְנַגֵּס וְלֹא נִגָּס
 “that which makes impure but is not impure, the impure which does not make impure, and that which neither makes impure nor is impure”,
 66:25 פִּדְלֵ אִנְה רִסוּל אֱלִיָּהֵם לֹא אֱלֹדִי מִן קְבֵלֵהֵם
 “It indicates that he was a prophet to them but not to those who preceded them”,
 69:15 וְהֵם שְׂרִיעָהּ לֹא מְעַהֵם שְׂרִיעָהּ
 “and they have no Law”, etc.

Lā occurs twice with perfect verbs although not preceded by a former negation:

- 28:15 עֵינִן לֹא רִאָהֵה “I did not look”,
 86:12 עֵינִן לֹא נִצְרָה “Eye has not seen”.

Uncertainty may be observed in the usage of *lam* and *lā* in two cases where they are mixed up:

1:4 לא ילד ולא יולד
 "He does not bear and is not born" (citation of *sūra* 112),
 57:26 והו לם יעלם "he does not know".

4.1.2 One might easily explain these phenomena as hypercorrection (Blau 1966:302; 1981:109) being the result of the "recession of *lā* in favour of *mā*" (Hopkins 1984:152) and the falling into disuse of *lam*, because this is the general tendency in the history of Arabic (Blau 1966: 303; 1981:108). However, *lā* negating perfect verbs is an existing feature of the modern Yemeni vernacular (Diem observed a speaker of Yarim saying (Diem 1973:132): *lā dara*, *lā darait*, *lā lgīt*, "he did not know, I did not know, I did not find") so the above mentioned instances for *lā* with the perfect verb may reflect living usage, although the general trend seems to be reflected on that *mā* is used instead of *lā* in the following cases:

30:4 ואלעלם מא ינקץ "knowledge does not diminish",
 39:6 פמא יפעל בך אלא מא יראה אליך בך
 "he has made for you only that which he saw was most
 fit for you".

Once *mā yakūn* replaces *laysa*:

46:8 מא יר' דאלך פי אלבהאים
 "This is not the case with the brutes".

4.2 *Aḥad/wāḥid* may be used as ordinary number in ASP for which Blau (1966:376) mentions two examples. The occurrence of such cases in the *Bustān* may prove the – not unexpected – existence of this phenomenon in JA, too:

8:16 פואחדהמא "and the first of them".

4.3 The demonstrative pronoun following its governing noun is a characteristic feature of the Egyptian dialect, although it occurs in other modern dialects and exists in modern Yemeni, too (Hopkins 1984:207; Fodor 1970:42, 44). According to Blau (1980:174; 1981:66) this construction comes up mostly in MA texts which are connected to Egypt. So it is noteworthy that such a case is found in a text of Yemeni origin and bearing another "deviant" feature i.e. the lack of the definite article:

- 56:12 פֶּאן וְגַדְתָּ יוֹמָא גִּזְא דְאֵלֶךְ אֶלְדִּי קֵד אֶלְפֶתָה
 "If I find one day the food to which I am accustomed
 to...".
- 22:25 מִן אֶלְפֶצֶל הַדִּי "from this chapter".

The demonstrative with the indefinite noun – although not postpositioned – is to be found in ancient West-Arabian dialects which according to Rabin's map covers the territory of Yemen, namely Sanaa and the land of Ḥimyar (Rabin 1951:74-76). This way it seems quite acceptable that this example reflects a living vernacular feature, together with the postpositioning of the demonstrative. As far as I know the only occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite noun in MA is to be found in ASP where it is presumably due to Greek or Aramaic influence (Blau 1966:399).

4.4 *Qad* is widely used in the *Bustān* because the Yemeni dialect preserved this particle – in contradiction to other modern Arab vernaculars. Moreover it functions as a particle introducing both nominal and verbal sentences "wobei sie im zweiten Fall zur Bekräftigung steht" (Diem 1973:13). Blau (1980:182; 1981:65) also considers the use of *qad* in nominal sentences to be reflections of living usage in Yemeni JA texts and he quotes a few examples. I have found the following cases for *qad* introducing nominal sentences:

- 28:1 וְקֵד הִי כְאִמְלֵהּ מְרֻצֵינָהּ "it is perfect and satisfying",
 60:22 וּמִן מִנְהֵם וְקֵד הוּ מוֹמֵן קֶרַח עֵינָהּ
 "and who is from them and was a believer will be glad",

- 69:16 פקד ענדה שיא יהתדי בה
 "he had something by which he may be lead aright".

4.5 Invariable *‘ād* occurs here exclusively as an adverb meaning "still" or if negated "not yet", which is widespread in MA (Blau 1966: 442; 1980:88; 1981:132) and is attested in modern Yemeni (Fodor 1970: 43-44):

- 53:11 אלברג אלדי למ עאד יגרב
 "the sign of the Zodiac which has not yet set",
 53:19 ועלי אן עאד לזאלך אסראר שריפה
 "because it still has noble secret",
 67:20 ולם עאד יצהר "and it has not appeared yet",
 27:8 פלם עאד גצל "and we have not arrived yet".

It is remarkable that *‘ād* is negated here only by *lam*, while in JA it is *mā ‘ād* (Blau 1980:188).

4.6 The use of *zād* as an auxiliary verb expressing repetition or meaning "to do more" occurs five times in the *Bustān*. As far as I know it has not yet been attested in this function in MA so this is perhaps the only text where it may be found performing this function:

- 54:7 ונזיד נזכר "and we mention more",
 67:12 וזאד אאללה אפרץ עליה פראיץ
 "God imposed more duties upon him",
 69:8 יזיד יאמר "gives additional command".

4.7.1 In some cases where *kān* is followed by a perfect, *qad* precedes it, which is rare in ChrA (Blau 1966:434), unnoticed in JA and occurring in early Muslim Arabic (before A.D. 912) as observed by Hopkins (1984:214):

- 60:6 וקד כאן סבק "it preceded",
 54:16 וקד כאן תקדם לנא "and we have earlier",

70:2 קד כּאן סבּק "it preceded".

4.7.2 Once *rubbamā* is inserted between the two verbs:

84:14 לכּאן רבּחא תּאב "he surely would have repented".

4.8 *Qabla* introducing asyndetic clauses is widespread in MA (Blau 1966:505), however, Blau (1980:217) mentions JA examples only for *min qablu*. The *Bustān* offers two such cases:

32:25 קבּל יציר "before it comes",
39:21 קבּל יקדר "before he is able".

4.9 As to *inda* in the same position it seems to occur more scarcely in MA (one mentioned in Ancient South Palestinian (= ASP) texts (Blau 1966:505) and no instance for JA). There is a unique one to be found in the *Bustān*:

54:21 נצר אלגואצין פּענד "and when the divers looked at"

4.10 ללא "lest" not existing in CA (Reckendorf 1921:460) (*li'an* + *lā* or *li* + *lā*) (Blau 1966:539; 1980:226), is rare in ASP and inferring from the fact that Blau (1980:226; 1981:110) quotes for its occurrence in JA only one example, neither may be often met with in JA texts. This only instance is a substantive clause which is usually expressed in CA by the particle *an*. However, in the cases which I have run into in the *Bustān*, ללא stands in the function of an adverbial particle of purpose:

23:8, 31:22 ללא יטול אלשרח
 "in order that the explanation should not last long",
84:13 לקא ילין יקול ללא "so that people may not say".

4.11 *Mā* referring to persons is a rare phenomenon in MA (Blau 1966:559) and its opposite i.e. *man* related to things is even more scarce,

so that Blau (*ibid.*) noted only one instance in ASP and mentions only one example in his *Judaeo-Arabic Grammar* (1980:238). I think it is perhaps worth noting that three such cases are extant here:

- 17:6 ... דליל אלחרוף מן הי בי וכי הו אנן...
 “the evidence of the letters ‘beth’ and ‘kaph’ is that...”,
- 29:14 אלעלם אפצל מן זלק אללה
 “knowledge is the best of what Allah has created”,
- 72:14 למא סבק מן ועדה סבי לאבאינא
 “when God has promised to our ancestors...”.

4.12 I have found only one example for a verb in the imperfect after *idā* in the protasis of a conditional sentence, which may appear in ASP (Blau 1966:579), is rare in CA (Reckendorf 1921:466); and there is no hint at its occurrence in JA in the literature at my disposal:

- 38:8 פאדא יצח “and if it is true”.

There is also one similar case with *law*:

- 39:21 לו יגמסורה “if they submerged it...”.

4.13 It is remarkable to find *in* functioning as a temporal particle, because in contradistinction with *idā* it is exclusively a conditional one in CA (Reckendorf 1921:484). It is supposed to be hypercorrect indicating that *in* fell into disuse in living speech, as is the case with modern dialects in general. This is further corroborated by the fact that the majority of conditional sentences is introduced by *idā* in the *Bustān*:

- 58:21
 רב חריץ עלי סכונך אן לא תסכךן וחי אליום חריץ עלי כלאמך
 “Many one eager for your silence when you were not silent
 today is eager for your speech when you do not speak”.

4.14 Notable is the occurrence of *kān* introducing the apodosis of conditional sentences and followed by a verb in the imperfect. This structure is non-existent in CA but is in use in modern dialect e.g. in Cairene Egyptian and Iraqi Arabic (Salib 1982:318; McCarthy & Raffouli 1964:368). I have not met any references as far as its MA occurrence is concerned although *kān* with the participle is to be found in the same position in ASP, but it is attributable there to Aramaic influence (Blau 1966:435). The time value of such an apodosis is determined by the protasis:

55:1

פאן וגדו פיה שייא כאנו ישקו אגואף אלבאקיינ
 “if they find anything in him they would then split
 open the abdomens of the others”,

11:27

פאדא עבד אללה חק עבאדתה כאן לא ימות
 “if he truly serves God he dies not die”,

56:24

פלו כאנו אלעאלם כלקו נפוסהט לכאנו יכתארו אלבאק
 “if mundane beings had created themselves they would
 have made choice of eternity”.

4.15 There are sentences in MA which begin with an indefinite noun that may be conceived in the case of translations as influenced by the original text, others may reflect living usage (Blau 1966:504; Hopkins 1984:260). However, I know about the existence of only two MA cases for “one-term” existential sentence found in ASP (Blau 1966:469) which begin with the indefinite nominal predicate and have no subject. Therefore it is worth noting that there is a unique instance in the *Bustān* illustrating this construction, which by the way exists in CA but is very rare (Reckendorf 1921:356):

16:9

וכתיר מחל זאלך פיזכר אלזי ופצילתה
 “There are thus many passages mentioning seven and
 its excellence”.

4.16 I have found a unique instance for the preverbal position of *qattu*:

35:23 פצדקה אלסר תחסן למן לם קט יפתש וגהה
 “Charity in secret is well for the one whose face has
 never been seen”.

Only *ba^cdu* has been observed in MA in the same position (Blau 1980: 264).

4.17 There is a tendency in MA to rely upon isolation much more frequently than in CA (Blau 1966:470; 1981:98) owing to its more comfortable and easy (or “careless”) style. Even the isolation of two words may occur in MA this way (Blau 1966:473; 1980:202; 1981:98). However, I think the occurrence of a triple isolation in the *Bustān* is unique and deserves mentioning:

30:15 אלעלם ארולה מר מדאקתה
 “At first knowledge is bitter”.

Without isolation of the subject this sentence would sound as follows: *madāqatu awwali l-^cilmi murra*. Each isolated word should follow the other without interruption, but a sentence like *al-^cilmu awwalubu madāqatubu murra* may have been felt to be too clumsy style, because of the sequence of too many nouns, therefore the nominal predicate was placed between the second and the third isolated word. This way it preceded its subject so the necessity of strict concord was not felt compelling in analogy with the verb which comes before its subject.

4.18

34:17 אלאה אן לולא חשמתני
 “O God were it not that you put me to shame”

is an example for the lack of any vocative particle (where CA would use one) as it often happens e.g. in the modern Iraqi dialect². No MA parallel is known to me in connection with this feature.

4.19 Remarkable is the unique occurrence of *immā ... wa-illā* for CA *immā ... wa-immā*:

36:7 אַמא בַחאַדָּתְךָ וואַל אַ בוארְתְךָ
 "either through accident or by way of a heir".

This אַלְא is probably the *wallā/walā* of the modern dialects (Spitta-Bey 1889:181-182). Blau (1980:257) quotes but one such case where it is:
 וואַמא אַן וואַל...

5. Lexical features

I have noticed the following lexical peculiarities in the *Bustān al-^cuqūl*, which are worth noting:

- *min qibal* for "as to":

1:12 לא אַלערש לה מן קבל אַלמכאַן וואַל אַלכרסי מן קבל אַלגְלוֹן
 "he has neither throne as for place nor chair to sit on"

- *min sabab* to mean "because of" (6:2, 25:18, etc.)

- *qādī* for "present":

10:26 וואַלזמאַן מאַצִי וקאַצִי ומסתקבל
 "time consists of past, present and future".

- *ḏbn* for "to know" (17:10 יאַ אַכִי פאַדְהֵן "to know my brother")

- *ištahā* for "want, like" as in the modern Yemeni dialect:

² This statement is based on my personal observation.

- 34:12 וְאֵן תִּשְׁתְּהִי אֵן נִקְיִלַךְ אִקְלִנְאֵךְ
 “if you want us to dismiss you, we do so”,
 34:14 תִּשְׁתְּהִי אֵן נִסְמַע מִן כְּצִמְךָ פִּיךָ
 “do you want us to hear from your enemy about you?”

- *amal diyāfa* for “receive as a guest” (53:21) instead of *istadāfa* is probably an expression reflecting the analytic trend of MA. The existence of e.g. many modern Iraqi expressions with *sawwa* “do” is a similar manifestation of this trend.

- *mirāya* for “mirror” as in some modern dialects:
 (86:9, 87:20 אִלְמֵרְאִיָּה)

- *salāma* often stands in place of *salām* meaning “peace” (60:24, 9:21, 62:4, etc.).

6. Conclusions

6.1 In the end of the review and analysis of the above grammatical items it should be noted that their frequency is relatively low, nevertheless, they may represent real vernacular phenomena. To sum up the results of this study I shall enumerate those phenomena found in Nathanael’s text which may shed more light on Early DA on the basis of the language of the *Bustān al-‘uqūl*.

6.2 This way in the field of phonetics and orthography the *tarqīq* of *q*, the doubling of *qāf*, the consequent double spelling of *wāw* and *yā’* in verbs of the second and fifth forms and in suffixed nouns ending in *yā’* or *wāw* deserve attention. The other features found in the text do not differ from those formulated in MA grammars.

As to the clues of Yemeni dialects, the active participle of אִלְמֵרְאִיָּה and אִלְפִּאֲתִיָּה perhaps reflects an *e* pronunciation and *ruyūs*, the vernacular plural of CA *ra’īs* was also found in the text.

6.3 As far as morphology is concerned, I have met cases for the transition of verbs of the second form into the first, one instance for the change II→III having been found earlier but once in a Muslim MA

work. There are also cases for the transition V→VIII which has been observed once in Muslim and once in Christian MA earlier and instances for the change I→X or VIII→X as well.

I have also run into an example for the rarely occurring circumlocutive expression of comparison. It is noteworthy that the plural ending *-at* is replaced by *-in* in some places, for which I cannot offer any explanation. Yemeni vernacular features are the *fiʿāl* form of the *maṣḍar* of the second form, the occurrence of the demonstrative *da* and *hawlāk*.

6.4 It would be too lengthy to recapitulate every syntactic feature connected with Early DA and found in the *Bustān*, therefore only those will be mentioned which are felt to be the most significant of them. They are as follows: the use of *lā* with the perfect, the occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite noun, the postpositioning of the demonstrative, *zād* as an auxiliary verb meaning "to do more". I have found $\aleph\aleph$ in the function of an adverbial participle of purpose, a verb in the imperfect after *idā* and *law*. The occurrence of *kān* introducing the apodosis of conditional sentences and followed by a verb in the imperfect was also observed together with many other features.

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التعازي الحسينية في أيام عاشوراء*

(at-Ta'āzī and Good Friday: A Comparative Study)

فاروق أوهان

ماذا في التعازي

- ١ - إن هذه الاحتفالية المسرحية، الدينية، الاجتماعية، السياسية والشعائرية، والتي ترسخت في الضمير الشعبي، وارتبطت في الأيام العشرة الأولى من السنة الهجرية، وبذلك تدعى "العاشوراء" فهي تكريس لإعادة أحداث المآسي "الحسينية" عندما جاء أعوان يزيد بن معاوية ليمنعوا دخول الحسين بن علي "رض" واتباعه إلى مدينة الكوفة ومحاصرتهم في منطقة لا يصل إليها الماء. ثم أعملوا التقتيل والذبح فيهم بعد المهلة. ثم قتلوا الحسين، وذلك في اليوم العاشر من الحصار.
- ٢ - وفي هذه الشعائر التي تقام في الأيام العشرة تتلى السيرة الحسينية وتروى مساقات أحداثها خصوصا في الأيام التسعة الأولى وذلك في المحافل الدينية، و"الحسينيات" المقامة في كل بلد وفي أكثر من حي من البلد نفسه. كما تجري مراسيم اجتماعية لها رموزها ودلالاتها والتي انعكست من التأثير الديني. واتصلت كثيرا حتى في التحريم والتقديس اللذين برزا حتى في العادات الاجتماعية. وعلى مختلف المستويات تصل إلى حد نوعية الطعام، والحلوى والملبس. ويتلو العشرة أيام أربعين يوما من الحزن يلبس الصغار والنساء فيها السواد.
- ٣ - إن المرور في مسيرة أحداث السيرة، خصوصا في تلك الأيام، لا يجعل مجالاً للشك في مدى التأثير الوجداني للسيرة الحسينية لدى الشعب في الحياة العامة. وذلك في الطقوس المواكبة يوميا وفي جماعة المحتفلين من الحاضرين للحسينية. هذه السيرة التي يقابل أسلوبها أسلوب سرد السير

* الدراسة لا تختص بالجوانب الدينية، لأنها تحترم كل معتقد، وعقيدة. ومن جهة ثانية فإننا ننوه لأن كل ما جاء في الدراسة ينضوي تحت مبادئ البحث العلمي البحتة.

الاجتماعية والوطنية في الأيام الاعتيادية فهذا التوحد الوجداني الجماعي بقيادة راوي السيرة والمداح الديني يتجاوب معه ذلك التشجيع الجماعي للتعبير عن المهمة الأساسية عند إعادته للردات المحفوظة عن ظهر قلب والتي تتوافق على إيقاعات ضرب الصدور بالأكف في سمفونية دينية جماعية يغلب عليها التوحد الوجداني ويغلفها التحسر على الشهداء والمغفور بهم في هذه الواقعة. وذلك يتجاوب أعمق وأكثر من أية سيرة أخرى. لأن موضوع هذه السيرة يخص الوجدان الداخلي المتصل بالخالص المفقود والمرتبب دوماً.

الراوي الديني

إن قارئ السيرة الدينية هذه التي يطلق عليها وعلى مكان إقامتها وحتى طقوسها لفظ "الحسينية". أو "التعازي الحسينية" يعتمد الأدوات الصوتية وفنون اللغة وفن الخطابة وفنون الإلقاء والرواية من جهة وفن الإشارة والتلويح من جهة أخرى. ففي الأولى يرتكز قرائ السيرة على فرعين:

- الأول ما يختص باللغة ومجالات إتقان فنونها. من حيث البلاغة والتشبيه وترادف الحروف في نهاية الجمل لابتكار لحن يقترب من القوافي أولاً. أو التركيز على مخارج الحروف، والتنثيب والاعتناء بصياغة الجمل حيث ردد الأفعال المرادة من جهة، أو التلحين والتجويد من جهة أخرى. أما ما يختص بفن الصوتيات فهو متعلق بالدرجات والطبقات وشدة الصوت والبراعة في استخدامها.
- أما في فن الإشارة والتلويح كطرف ثان: فإنه يُعصّد عمل الراوي المنشد، والمداح. لأنه يرافق أدوات اللغة التعبيرية من جهة. ورود أفعال الجمل المتوحدة، فيزيل. أو يلغي. أو يوفق وينظم إشارته مع الردات والضربات والإيقاعات من جهة ثانية. إضافة إلى حُسن التعبير التلميح واليمائي عند الإشارة إلى الأماكن وأسمائها، والشخصيات ومواقفها. ولأن الراوي المفرد أثناء وصفه لحدث، أو موقعة، أو موقف بين طرفين أو أكثر. يمثلها صوتاً، وتلميحاً. وإشارات وحوارات متتالية ومتعاقبة تتخللها تعقيباته الوصفية، وهكذا.

عاشوراء والجمعة الحزينة

١ - إن هذه السيرة التي عاشت من الألف السادس الميلادي ولا تزال، قوامها وديمومتها ذلك الواعز الديني المتأصل داخل الفرد. وكأنما يريد هؤلاء المؤمنون إبعاد. أو تنحية الحادث الأليم عن ذاكرتهم الجماعية. أو مسحها من مخيلتهم. لذلك تجري الطقوس في الأيام العشرة كلها في إطار ديني تتخلله مظاهر احتفالية وأخرى مسرحية تمثيلية إضافة إلى الخطابة والفروسية. فتقام المسيرات على شكل مواكب تشارك فيها مختلف الجهات التي جاءت لهذا العزاء. وتسير في المدن الكبرى وبخاصة كربلاء والنجف والكاظمين في بغداد. أما فيما تبقى من المدن نفسها فإن المشاركين يقيمون مواكبهم وحسينياتهم أيضاً، وذلك حسب تسلسل أيام التعازي العشرة. ولا يبتعد هذا كثيراً عما يقام في الدول التي يغلب فيها الطابع الشعائري على العادات. خصوصاً إذا ما كان هناك نسبة مقبولة من الطائفة الشيعية أو غالبية على نسبة السكان من الطوائف الأخرى كما في البحرين وإيران وباكستان على سبيل المثال. وإلا فإن هذه المظاهر تكون رمزية وقليلة. تقتصر عادة على زيارة الأضرحة كما في سوريا على سبيل الحصر.

٢ - وقد أرجع بعض الباحثين أصول هذه الطقوس إلى الاحتفالات شبه الوثنية التي كانت تقام "لأدونيس" أو الديانات "الزرادشتية" أو غيرها. لكنه في الحقيقة وكما يعلمنا الثقاقف والتبادل المتوارث للطقوس في المنطقة وخصوصاً في وادي الرافدين فإن جذور هذه الاحتفالات ترتبط بالمراثي "السومرية" مثل مراثي "أور" على سبيل المثال، أو الاحتفالات "الدموزية" في البحث عن الإله "تموز"، من قبل الإلهة "عشتار". ويكون الشبه قويا في اليوم العاشر. أي يوم المقتل، عندما تتوافد الجموع على مركز المدينة على شكل مواكب، حتى تصل إلى الحسينية. وذلك بحد ذاته غير بعيد ربطه بيوم الجمعة الحزينة المشرقية، التي كانت ولا تزال تمارس أيضاً في العراق جنبا إلى جنب مع الطقوس الإسلامية في موسم الربيع كما هو معروف. وليست جمع متتالية تعقبها الجمعة العظيمة أو الحزينة بدلا عن الأيام العشرة المتصلة في السيرة الحسينية. فهي سبع جمع الصوم الكبير عند المسيحيين تمثل الجمع الست الأولى تمهيدا للشعب الصائم الذي يسير دائرا مع المسيح الحامل لصليبه في درب الآلام ليصلوا بجموعهم معه إلى جبل "الجلجلة" المفترض. ومن خلال تسابيح وصلوات تتناوب ما بين حاملي الصليب والكاهن الدائر معهم أمام أربع عشرة صورة. هي مراحل الدرب التي تركب ذكرياتها الراسخة في الذاكرة الجمعية المسيحية المشرقية. وبعد أن

يعلّق المسيح على الصليب في كل من الجمع الست تعود جموع الشعب الصائمة إلى بيوتها على أمل العودة في الجمعة التي تليها حتى موعد الجمعة “السابعة” الحزينة وتسمى أيضا جمعة الآلام. فبعد اكتمال دورة المراحل الأربع عشرة في هذه الجمعة الأخيرة، تكمل مراسم الصلب والدفن وذلك بإزالة الصليب بدلا عن الأصل. ووضعه في نعش يطوف المحتفلون به، وقد وضعت زهور فوق الصليب في النعش نفسه. ثم يقوم الشعب بتوديع المصلوب إلى مثواه الأخير الذي يحدث في نفس الوقت تقريبا وفي كثير من كنائس البلدة الواحدة. وهذا ما يحدث في نفس الوقت تقريبا، وفي كثير من كنائس طوائف البلدة الواحدة. في كل من سوريا والعراق وفلسطين ولبنان ومصر والأردن والسودان وغيرها من دول الشرق العربية أو غير العربية مثل إيران وتركيا. وعلى مختلف طوائفها المسيحية الكاثوليكية من كلدان وسريان وروم وأرمن وأشوريون وأقباط، ولكن ببعض الاختلافات الجزئية لكل قومية لغة وطقسا وفعالية.

٣ - على أن هذا الطقس ليوم الجمعة العظيمة هو الوحيد الذي يكون متصلا بما قبله وما بعده خلال أيام الأسبوع التي تبدأ منذ يوم الأحد. ففي اليوم السابق أي عشية ليلة الجمعة الحزينة. أي يوم خميس الفصح ذكرى توديع المسيح لتلاميذه الاثني عشر، بعد العشاء الأخير “العشاء السري”. يقوم الكاهن باختيار اثني عشر فردا من الأمة، إما صفارا أو شبابا ليقوم بغسل أرجلهم دلالة على تواضعه، كما فعل المسيح أيامها. وتتلّى في هذا اليوم الأحداث التي مرت بعد العشاء. ولا يمر يوم الجمعة إلا والكنائس وما فيها من إيقونات وتمائيل قد تكلمت بالسواد. في حين يكون الشعب الصائم قد حزن هو الآخر. واقتصر طعامه على الحبوب المسلوقة. وقد انقطع عن الزفرين ولا يفرح إلا ما بعد الثانية عشر من مساء يوم “سبت النور”. وهو صباح اليوم الثالث “الأحد” الذي يقوم فيه المسيح كما يؤمن به المسيحيون.

أسبوع الآلام يبدأ بأحد الشعانين^١

وفيما يلي وصف لمشاهدات، ومعايشات عيانية للأسبوع الأخير في الصوم الكبير للمسيحيين، وهو في الحقيقة الأسبوع الأخير في حياة المسيح، ويبدأ بيوم لأحد” يوم أحد الشعانين“، وينتهي يوم أحد القيامة، ففي يوم الأحد، أي الأحد الأخير في الصوم الكبير يكون هو موعد دخول المسيح إلى أورشليم “مدينة السلام”... تقوم الجماعات

(١) ويدعى أيضا أحد السعانين.

المسيحية، وبخاصة الكاثوليكية في البلدان العربية، والشرقية بإعادة هذه المراسيم. وغالبا ما تتم مباركة سعف نخيل السعانيين في ساحة الكنيسة من خلال مراسيم تجري بين الكاهن والشعب، بتراتيل توزع تعليماتها، وكلمات مدائحها على الشعب ... فيبدأ الكاهن بقوله:

**ك - لنباشر مع الكنيسة كلها، الإحتفاء بس المسيح الفصحى،
ابن الرب الذي أتى إلى اورشليم، مدينته المقدسة،
ليتم بذلك السر بالإله، وموته، فلنسر إذن وراءه.**

ويبارك الكاهن بهذا سعف النخيل، بقوله:

ك - قدس ببركتك "يرسم علامة الصليب" هذه الأغصان، لتسر على خطوات المسيح الملك متهللين ... ونبلع إلى اورشليم الأبدية "ويقصد هنا دار السلام الأبدية، ربما الجنة". ومن بعد ذلك تبدأ مراسيم كل قداس إلهي في يوم الأحد، وفي يوم خميس الفصح، والجمعة "العظيمة" الحزينة، وأحد القيامة، وأحد الصعود، وأحد العنصرة كما يتكرر ذلك في كل أحد من أحاد السنة، وهو في السياق التالي: -

١ - قراءة الرسالة الأولى: وهي فصل من رسائل الرسل. أو المزامير.

٢ - قراءة الرسالة الثانية: ويتكرر فيها ما جاء في الرسالة الأولى، ولكن بما يكملها. أو يضيف إليها معنى جديد مطلوب.

٣ - الإنجيل المقدس.

٤ - خطبة الكاهن: حول موضوع المناسبة. أو موضوع الإنجيل لذلك القداس .. وتقرأ قبلها وبعدها أفعال الإيمان، والتوبة، والندامة.

٥ - التقدمة. أي الرفعة .

٦ - المناولة. أي مناوله جسد ودم المسيح "الخبز والخمر" للشعب الطالب للغفران وترتل أثناءها، وفيما بينها كلها التراتيل، والأدعية، والأناشيد المحلية، تكون في طقوس بعض الكنائس الكاثوليكية بألحان غربية، لكن ألحانها في طقوس الكنائس الشرقية، مشرقية صرفة .

وغالبا ما يؤخذ في كل من الرسالة الأولى، مثّل من العهد القديم، يشابهه مثال في صفحات العهد الجديد من أعمال الرسل. أما موضوع الإنجيل فهو عموما عن سيرة المسيح.

وهنا في أحد الشعانين:

ففي قراءة الرسالة الأولى غالبا ما يشار إلى فصل من بشارة القديس "متى" البشير [٢١، ١ - ١١] عندما دخل المسيح اورشليم على جحش، وأتأن يتبعها مديح فيه ما يتضمن الآتي " ..

- قولوا لابنة صهيون:

**هوذا مَلِكُكَ قادمًا إليك
وديعة رَاكِبًا على أتان
وجحش ابن أتان**

وتنشد جموع الشعب في الكنيسة مديح يتلائم، ويدخل المسيح لأورشليم، يمثل استقبال "شعب أورشليم" للمسيح بأغصان الزيتون، وقد فرشوا الأرض بسعف النخيل وهو يهتف:

**حيوا ابن داؤد
تبارك الآتي باسم الرب
هوشعنا في العلم.**

وتنشد الجموع أثناء الطواف في ساحة الكنيسة أيضا مقاطع من مزامير داؤد التي يكون مطلعها الآتي:

**للرب الأرض وملؤها
الدنيا وكل الساكنين فيها
هو علم البحار أسسها
وعلم الأنهار هيأها.
من يصعد إلى جبل الرب
ومن يقوم في موضع قدسه
إله**
**ارفعي أيتها الأبواب رؤوسكم
وارتفعي أيتها الأبواب الذهبية
ليدخل ملك المجد.
من هو هذا ملك المجد
رب القوات هو ملك المجد إلخ.**

وتتم بعد ذلك التسابيح، والأناشيد. ثم يبدأ القداس الإلهي، حسب السياق "أنفا" .. وتترك الأيام الأربعة التالية دون احتفالات تذكر، لأن المسيح في هذه الأيام الأربعة كان قد التقى بالشعب في أورشليم، وأجرى كثير من الأعاجيب، ومنها أعجوبة تكاثر السمك والخبز [مرقس ٦: ٥٣ - ٤٤] والتقى الأحبار في هيكل لينشر تعاليمه بين الشعب، ويناقش في أمور الدين خلالها.

نلاحظ هنا التمهيد في هذا الإحتفال الشعبي، سواء في ساحة الكنيسة. أو شوارع المدينة، فيما لو كانت المدينة للغالبية المسيحية، كما في لبنان، وقرى سورية، وشمال العراق. فإن الإبتهاج يتعدى الإحتفال الديني الشعبي إلى طقس الكرنفال، في نوع

الملبس، وحمل الشموع "بطول الصبي الصغير"، وعمل الحلويات الخاصة بهذا العيد فهي مراسيم متداخلة التعابير بين فعل التعبّد، وفعل التشبّه بالشعب الذي عايش المسيح المنقذ، واستقبله آنذاك.

الفصح المسيحي

وما أن يأتي مساء يوم الخميس، وهو خميس الفصح، ويسمى لدى المسيحيين خميس الأسرار أيضا. أو عشاء الرب، فإن سياق الاحتفال يتم هو الآخر من خلال القداس الإلهي. حيث يُقرأ نموذج من سفر الخروج [١٢، ١ - ٨، ١١ - ١٢] في الرسالة الأولى، ويُقرأ في الرسالة الثانية فصل من رسالة القديس بولس الرسول الأولى إلى أهل "قورنتس" [اقور: ١١ - ٢٣ - ٢٦] مثلا. ومن الإنجيل يُقدم فصل من بشارة القديس يوحنا الإنجيلي البشير [١٣: ١ - ١٥] فيها وصف تفصيلي لأحداث يوم الخميس وكيف قام المسيح بغسل أقدام تلاميذه، وموقف تلميذه بطرس الرافض. وبعد الخطبة الشارحة، والدالة لمعاني هذا الطقس، يقوم الكاهن هو الآخر بغسل أقدام إثني عشر شابا من أبناء الشعب، ويقبلها بعد غسلها بالتالي، وذلك أثناء تراتيل مثل هذه التي تبدأ باللازمة التالية:

"إنني أعطيكم وصية جديدة: -

أن يحب بعضكم بعضا كما أحببتكم" - تقول: -

"الرب قام من العشاء، ثم صب ماء في مطهرة-

وأخذ يغسل أقدام تلاميذه: تاركا لهم هذه القدوة

قال سمعان "القديس بطرس فيما بعد" ليسوع:

رب! أنت تغسل قدمي-

فأجابه يسوع:

"إذالم اغسل لك، فلا حظ لك معي".... إلخ.

وهنا يكون الطقس تمثيلا، وتشبيها خاصا، يلبس فيه الأشخاص الذين يمثلون التلاميذ الإثني عشر ملابس بيضاء. ويكونوا قد اغتسلوا، فغظفوا أجسادهم من الخارج، واغتسلوا داخليا عندما مارسوا سري الإعراف، والمناولة. فأصبحوا أطهار أنقياء تعتمل في بواخلهم هولجس عديدة بين الإيمان. أو التباهي أمام الناس، والأقرباء، والأحباء. ومن جهة ثانية فإن نظرة الناس إليهم تتسم بالوقار، والتقدير على اعتبارهم نخبة مزكاة من بين الرعية، لاختارها الكاهن كما اختار المسيح تلاميذه وقتها. ونلاحظ بوجه خاص، أن الكاهن يتلبس شخصية المسيح، فيردد كلامه، وهو يقوم بفعل غسل أقدام التلاميذ. بينما يكون التلاميذ قد حفظوا ديباجة أنوارهم، وبخاصة من أختير لدور "سمعان" الذي يردد كلام القديس بطرس أعلاه.

الجمعة السابعة، الجمعة الحزينة

وفي يوم الجمعة العظيمة من آلام المسيح، وبعد اكمال درب الصليب ذي الأربع عشرة مرحلة، "كما جرى في الجمع الماضية الست من الصوم الكبير" تبدأ احتفالات جمعة الآلام الكبيرة بالمرائي، حيث تقرأ مرثي من إرميا النبي [٢: ٨ - ١٢] مثلا، ويسبقه تقديم على النحو التالي:

ك - أذكر من أحمك يا رب، وتنازل فأحرسنا، وقدسنا دائما، نحن عبيدك الذين أنشأ المسيح من أجلنا سر الفصح المقدس، بسفكه دمه الزكي، هو الحي المالك إله دهر الدهور.

ش - أميين .

ويقراً الكاهن إنجيل الآلام، وهو ربما أطول إنجيل يُقرأ في احتفالات إلهية "قداديس" لأنه يستعرض آلام المسيح منذ القبض عليه، وحتى صلبه، وموته، مروراً بالتحقيق معه من قبل "حتان، أو حاننيا"، و"قايفا" المحققين اليهود، إلى مقابلته ل"بيلاطس البنطي" الوالي الروماني لمدينة أورشليم، ثم ترحيله إلى ولاية "هيروديا" التي جاء منها لكي يحاكمه فيها واليها "هيرودس"، ثم بعودته من جديد إلى بيلاطس لكي يتم تسليمه إلى الشعب لكي يصلب، بعد أن يكون بيلاطس قد برأ نفسه من دم المسيح بغسله أيديه أمام الناس لأنه لم يجد ما يستوجب صلبه. عند قوله مقولته الشهيرة:-

أنا بريء من دمه.

فيجيبه اليهود قائلين:-

دمه علينا وعلم أولادنا.

ولأن الشعب قد طالب بالمسيح بدلا عن "برأيا"، وتعهد بأن يكون دمه عليهم، وعلى أولادهم. غير أن بيلاطس يعمد للتحقيق مع المسيح من جديد، فيعمد إلى جلده عسى أن يكتفي الشعب بذلك، فتنزح عنه ملابسه، ويقلد تاجا من الشوك، ويلبس رداء أرجوانيا خاصا بالملوك، ولما يحمل صليبه في طريقه إلى جبل الجلجلة، أو الجمجمة "الجلجثة بالعبرية"، يقابله في المراحل الأربع عشر موقف منها: توديع نساء أورشليم له، ومساعدة سمعان القيرواني له على حمله الصليب. ومسح مريم المجدلية لوجهه بمنديل سوف يبقى رمزا لانطباع صورته عليها. وهكذا، وعندما يرفع المسيح على الصليب مع لصين كل منهما على إحدى جهتيه، يتقاسم الجنود ثيابه لكنهم يقرعون على رداؤه لأنه منسوج غير مخاط. وقبل أن يموت المسيح على الصليب يودع أمه، وتلميذه يوحنا "الحبيب". وحال أن يتيقن بأن كل شيء قد تم يصيح:

أنا عطشان.

فيناوله أحد الجنود اسفنجة مبللة بالخل، مشكوكة على رأس رمح، وبعدما يتذوّقه يموت.

ولأن اليوم التالي هو سبت التهيئة لدى طائفة اليهود، فإن الشعب يطلب من بيلاطس انزال المصلوبين من على صلبانهم، يعد أن تكسر سيقانهم خوفاً من هربهم فيما لو ما زالوا أحياء. ولأن المسيح كان ق مات بالفعل، لم يفعلوا ذلك به، لكن من أجل التأكد طعنه جندي بحربته، في جنبه، فخرج على أثرها دم، وماء [القديس يوحنا الإنجيلي البشير] بعنوان "قبضوا على يسوع، وأوثقوه"، [١٨، ١ - ١٩، ٤٢].

ويطلب "يوسف الرامي" تلميذ يسوع "المسيح" من بيلاطس أن يأخذ جسد يسوع، فيأذن له بذلك، ولما أنزلوه من على الصليب، ذهب "نيقوديموس" ليلا فطيّب جسد المسيح بالمسك، والعود، والمر. ووضعوه في بستان قرب موضع الصلب في قبر جديد لم يدفن فيه أحد.

وبعد الخطبة التي يلقيها الكاهن تتلى تسابيح، وذلك بعد أن يرفع تابوت فيه صليب مغطى بالبياض، وعليه زهور. ويلف الجميع "كاهنا، وشمامسة - وشعباً" في دورة حول الكنيسة. ويكون من بين الأناشيد بالضرورة، نشيد "أنا الأم الحنونة" الذي مطلعته:

**فليكن موت ابنك حياة لطالبيها
أنا الأم الحزينة، وما من يعزيها
بنت صهيون قد بكت، فأبكت ناظريها.... إلخ.**

وأشودة:

**واحبيبي، واحبيبي أي حال أبت فيه
من شباك من مناك، ما لذا الأمر شبيه
يا حبيبي أي خنّب قد صنعت، أو كرية.... إلخ.**

ويكون الدعاء "الشعبي" رمز كبير للأمم، ومعنى أوسع من لفظة الأم لابران معاني العطاء، والتضحية، والحنن. هذه من رموز صبر البشرية على ضيمها في انتظار عودة المخلص الذي وعد بالرجوع. يعود لكي يفتدي البشرية بدمه. وها هو المسيح قد باشر أول مراحل افتدائه لنفسه في سبيل بني البشر، بموته على الصليب. ولعل تكرر تجسيد "رسم، ونحت" نموذج الحمل أسفل الصليب يعود بالأصل إلى رمز التضحية الوثنية التي كانت قد استبدلت التضحية بالبشر، إلى التضحية بالحيوان بديلا، مثل كبش إبراهيم مثلا، لكن إعادته المثال هنا بالتضحية بالمسيح بنفسه هو رمز للتضحية بالطبيعة البشرية من خلال المسيح ذي الطبيعتين "البشرية، والإلهية". إن هذه

التضحية الراجعة للنموذج مع فعل الإبدال المقصود لم تكن لتقوم لولا التأكد من العودة من جديد، سواء وقتها في فعل القيام، أو بالقيام الموعودة للمسيح. وفيها أيضا تأكيد على أن الطبيعة البشرية فانية أو يفعل التجسيد الانبياء أمام الجمهور الحاضر في الكنيسة، لتحضير الجسد وإماتة رغباته. أما الطبيعة الإلهية "ربما الروح، والنفس" فباقية. هذا المثال متداخل المعاني، والأبعاد بين التاريخ، وبين الأسطورة.

للموتى أدعية طلبا للنجاة

وربما يكون من المناسب أن نذكر أن هناك قدّاس للموتى تجري فيه فيه مراسيم قريبة من مراسيم الجمعة الحزينة. ولكن من دون المرور بالمراحل الأربع عشر بالطبع. لكن باستخدام التراتيل المواكبة لـ "جنّاز" المتوفى، للصلاة على روحه. فيقرأ في الرسالة الأولى مقطع من "سفر أيوب" [١٩: ٢٣ - ٢٧] مثلا... ثم يتلى المزمور "١٠٢". وتكون القراءة في الرسالة الثانية، مقطع من رسالة القديس بولس الأولى إلى أهل كورنثس [١٩: ٢٣ - ٢٧] مثلا... أما قراءة الإنجيل فمقطع من بشارة القديس متى البشير الإنجيلي [متى: ١ - ١٢] حول ميراث ملكوت السماء للودعاء، والجياح، والمحزونين مثلا. لكن مراسيم "الجنّاز" تختص بخليط من الأدعية، ومزامير الأنبياء، وفيه ابتهالات تطلب تخفيف الحكم على الميت، ووضعه في موضع مناسب. ويتم ذلك من خلال ترديد بين الكاهن، والشعب المصلي، تختتم بأحد مقاطع مزامير داود الشهيرة القائلة:

من الأعماق صرخت إليك يا رب

يا رب استجب لصوتي

لنكن أذنناك مصغيتين لصوت تضرعي... إلخ.

القيامة، والانتصار

أما قدّاس القيامة فيبدأ بالهللوياء، وفعل التوبة. إضافة للأناشيد الفرحة، والمنتصرة، لأن المسيح قد انتصر بقيامته من بين الأموات. فيقرأ في الرسالة الأولى مقطع من أعمال الرسل [١٠، ٣٤، ٣٧ - ٤٣] بعنوان "أكلنا وشربنا معه، بعد قيامته من بين الأموات"، ثم يقرأ مزمور [١١٧، ١ - ٢٣] ويعلن الكاهن بقوله، ما قاله المسيح لتلاميذه:

اذهبوا في الأرض كلها،

واعلنوا البشارة إلم الخلق أجمعين...

أما الرسالة الثانية فيقرأ فيها مقطع من رسالة القديس بولس إلى أهل "قولى" [٣، ١ - ٤]. أما القراءة في الإنجيل فمقطع من إنجيل القديس يوحنا [٢٠، ١ - ٩] يُشرح فيه حادثة القيامة، عندما عادت "مرتا أخت إيعازر" مفزوعة من قبر المسيح الذي ذهب لزيارته فجر اليوم الثالث "الأحد"، لكي تطيب الجسد، ولم تجد المسيح فيه ولم يجد الرسل منديل الرأس معزولا عن الأكفان الملقاة جميعها على الأرض. وبعد قراءة الإنجيل، والخطبة التي تتبعه تسير مراسم القدّاس الباقية في السياق المعتاد. وبهذا يكون الشعب قد ضمن بقيامة المسيح، تلك المصالحة التي تمت وقد أعفي البشر من نوبهم، ومن الخطيئة الأصلية التي لحقت بهم يوم طرد آدم، وحواء من الجنة.

صعود وتجلي

أما في عيد الصعود، وذلك بعد أربعين يوما من القيامة، وتردد المسيح على تلاميذه، يلقى في قراءة الرسالة الأولى مقطع من أعمال الرسل [أعمال الرسل - ١، ١ - ١١]، وتلى بعدها مقاطع من مزامير متعددة، تدعو للابتهاج، والفرح. أما في قراءة الرسالة الثانية، فيقدم مقطع من رسالة القديس بولس إلى أهل أفسيس [١٧: ١ - ٢٣] فهي الأخرى تشرح موضوع الصعود. وفي الإنجيل فيقرأ فصل من بشارة القديس مرقس [١٦: ١٥ - ٢٠] بعنوان "رفع إلى السماء، وجلس على يمين الله". وبينما تمر مراسم القدّاس العادية، تلى التراتيل، والأناشيد. وفي فقرة المعجزات تُعدّ معجزات المسيح، بالتتالي مع شروح وافية لها مثل: (ألوهية المسيح [يوحنا ٨: ٤٦]. والمعجزات في ذاته [متى ١٧: ١ - ٩]، إلى المعجزات في الأرواح الشريرة [مرقس ١٦: - ٢٦]، و[متى ١٥: ٢١]، و [لوقا ٨: ٢]. ثم معجزات المسيح في البشر [لوقا ١٧: - ١٧]، و[مرقس ٥: ٢٢ - ٤٣]، و[يوحنا ١١: ١ - ٤٥]. ومعجزاته في الطبيعة [متى ٨: ٢٣ - ٢٧]، و[٦: ٣٥ - ٤٤]، و[مرقس ٦: ٤٨]، و[يوحنا ٢: ١ - ١١]، و[لوقا ٥: ١ - ١١٠].... إلخ). كذلك تُتلى نبؤاته [متى ٢٠: ١٨ - ١٩]، و[مرقس ١: ١٧]، و[أعمال ١: ١٨]، و[لوقا ٢: ٢٤ - ١٤].. إلخ.

يوم تكلم الرسل بألسنة البشر

وفي عيد العنصرة، وهو موعد مرور خمسين يوما على القيامة، فإن القدّاس يبدأ بعد فعل التوبة، بالتسبيح بالمجد لله في الأعالي. حيث تبدأ قراءة الرسالة الأولى بمقطع من أعمال الرسل [٢: ١ - ١١] التي تقول: كانوا مجتمعين في مكان واحد،

فانطلق من السماء بغتة دويّ كريح عاصفة، فملاً جوانب البيت الذي كانوا فيه. وظهرت لهم ألسنة كأنها من نار قد انقسمت فوق كل منهم لسان. فامتلاًوا جميعاً من الروح القدس. وأخذوا يتكلمون بلغات غير لغاتهم، على ما وهب لهم الروح القدس أن يتكلموا.... إلخ. وفي قراءة الرسالة الثانية يُقرأ مقطع من رسالة القديس بولس إلى أهل كورنثس [٢١: ٣ - ٧ - ١٢ - ١٧] حول حلول الروح القدس على التلاميذ يتبع ذلك تراتيل هليلويا أيها الروح القدس... إلخ.

أما الإنجيل فيقدم فيه مقطع من فصل من بشارة القديس يوحنا الإنجيلي [١٥: ٢٦ - ٢٧: ١٦ - ١٢ - ١٥] لتثبيت نفس المعلومة. وهناك في سياق نفس المراسيم لكل قدّس أناشيد، وتراتيل، وحواشي تُقرأ لتعاد فيها سيرة المسيح في آلامه. وهذا العيد يوحي بأن الرسل الإثني عشر قد تعلموا لغات البشر بقدرة إلهية، لكي يبشروا الناس بتعاليم المذهب الجديد.

العاشر من محرم، يوم المقتل

٤ - أما اليوم العاشر من عاشوراء المقابل ليوم "الجمعة العظيمة" فهو يوم الاحتفال العظيم. هو يوم المقتل أو "الطبيك" بالعامية العراقية فيه تحدث المراسيم النهائية التي تنقسم إلى جزئين: -

الأول: الجزء الخاص بالتضحيات الذاتية، والحضور الكامل للمجاميع في ساحة الحسينية الرئيسية، خصوصاً مدينة كربلاء. وذلك لأن الامتثال للدعوة "الحسينية" وإعادة أدائها يكون بدلا عن الأجداد الذين وعدوا ولم يوفوا بوعدهم في الحضور. ويتقدم موكب المضحين الذين لبسوا البياض، وحلقوا الرؤوس، لجرحها بالسيوف والخناجر. وقد جاؤوا منذ الصباح الباكر لذلك اليوم، بل إن بعض الوفود قد بات منذ ليلة أمس. "المضحون منهم على وجه الخصوص" في ساحة الحسينية². ويكون الشعب في تلك الليلة قد هيا نفسه لليوم الأخير، وسهر الكل وطبخوا الأطعمة الخاصة. لأن موكب المضحين المكفرين يشتمل على أعداد كبيرة. تمثل كل مجموعة فيه كموكب، فئة معينة من الفئات التي كانت قد جاءت "لنصرة الحسين التي لم تتم". وهي تمثل تلك الأقوام التي ما يزال أحفادها يتذكرون الوعود. وما

(٢) لقد شهدت أحداث هذا اليوم والليلة التي تسبقه لمرات. في كل من ضاحية الكاظمية بمدينة بغداد. أو في مدينة كربلاء. أو مدينة الكوت بمحافظة واسط.

تضحية بعضهم بجرح رؤوسهم أو ضرب أجسادهم بالجنائزير إلا تمثيلا للاستشهاد والموت في الموقعة التي لم يشارك أجدادهم فيها أصلا. أما الجزء الثاني الخاص بالمراسيم النهائية فيأتي بعد ذلك في نفس اليوم. إذ تتم إعادة تمثيل الأحداث بتسمية أشخاص يمثلون الأبطال الرئيسيين فيها، وحتى الأطفال منهم، مثل "أولاد حسين"، أما الشخصيات فمنها "الشمر، ووهب النصراني، وغيرهم". فيقوم الجمعان في طرفين، بينهما عساكر "يزيد" وكومبارس. ويتجول هؤلاء كلهم على الخيول، ويميز كل منهم علامات واضحة من نوع الملابس والاكسسوار، لأنه ليس هناك مكان يلتقون فيه للمحاوراة في شوارع المدينة. وإنما هناك عروض فروسية للمباراة في المعارك التي حصلت. وغالبا ما تكون أشكال الأعداء بشعة سواء في الاختيار لمشخصي الادوار. أو بإضافة بعض الألوان الداكنة للوجوه. بينما تكون أشكال الضحايا والسبايا صفارا وكبارا من نوي الأشكال الحسنة، والملاح الجميلة، وهذا الطابع في التشخيص نراه متكررا في تصوير مسرح الدمى. فقد لاحظنا في تونس أن دمي الأعداء وهم الصليبيون بشعة التعبير والمظاهر. لكننا وجدنا العكس في دمي صقلية. وفي كثير من الأحيان، تعوز المنظمين الحيلة في توضيح خصية ما للجمهور. مثل شخصية "وهب النصراني"، الذي أنقذ رأس الحسين "رض" هو والأسد بعد موته. فإنهم غالبا ما يلبسون "وهب" القبعة، ويعلقون بكتفه آلة تصوير "كاميرا"، لأنه ليس للشخصية أو المكان من مجال لوصف وتوضيح معالمها ومميزاتها النمطية. أما وصف الأحداث فإنه هو الآخر يلاقي صعوبات في هذا التجوال الكامل في المدينة. لكن بعض المراكز المنتشرة والمستقرة يتمركز في غالبها من هو مكلف بتلاوة الرواية وصفا وإنشادا هنا وهناك. والجماهير المتفرجة، وهي الجموع المساهمة في الحزن، والعارفة بسياق الأحداث، بل والتمشعبة بكل كلمة وحرف منها، تتابع الأحداث وتقرن المواقع والرواية دون صعوبة تذكر.

ويمر الموكب الأخير، وقد وضع رأس "الحسين" في نعش. وهناك علامة لأسد جاثم كان قد حرس الرأس، ورموز أخرى يفهمها الشعب. وتمر المواكب المشاركة على أصوات "الطوس" والإيقاعات. أما المنشدون من المختصين فما يزلون يسردون الوقائع لإثارة اللواعج والأشجان تمركز كل منهم في سرادق مقام في البلدة. ولا يكتفي بعضهم بسرد القصة، وإنما يستغلها في نقد الوضع القائم، خصوصا إذا ما كان البلد في ضائقة سياسية. تصلح هذه المناسبة للمقارنة والإسقاط واستغلال المنبر للتفريغ

الثاني:

عن الهموم وطرح مطالب شعبية مرادة. وكثيرا ما تقوم بعض الحكومات بإيقاف أو يمنع التعازي بحجج دينية أو طائفية بظاهرها. ولكن باطنها خوف من الإثارة واستفحال الأمر.

غير أن بعض الحكومات الأخرى للبلد نفسه تشجع إقامة هذه الفعاليات في بعض فترات حكمها، ومن خلال مخطط مقصود وبرقابة مرصودة. وذلك من أجل امتصاص النقمة الشعبية. فإذا منعت هذه الشعائر رسميا، فإنها تقام على الصعيد الاجتماعي سرا، داخل المنازل خصوصا بعد توفر أجهزة "الكاسيت". أو ربما علنا لأن التعلق بالواعز الديني وهو جسده لا تجعل الفرد المنصاع لها واعيا للمخاطر. بل ربما يعتبر اضطهاده من خلالها نوع آخر من التكفير. لذلك ترتدي النساء والأطفال ملابس الحزن السوداء لمدة أربعين يوما. ويأكلون مأكولات خاصة توزع من خلالها البركات والندور. وفي بعض السنوات كانت المنظمات النسائية والشبابية والأحزاب السياسية والمنظمات النقابية تساهم في مسيرات الأيام العشر ومواكبها لكي تشعر الجموع المحتفلة أنها وبالرغم من تعلقها بالمبادئ السياسية، لم تنس الشعائر الدينية، أو أنها لم تتخل عن السيرة الحسينية³.

السيرة الحسينية باقية في المجتمع العربي

١ - إن هذا الاحتفال الشعبي و التقمص الاجتماعي المسرحي داخل إطار السيرة الدينية بين فاعل مشارك. أو مؤدٍ للحدث. أو راو منشد، ومشاركه هو السيرة الملحمية المسرحية الأكثر حيوية والأعم انتشارا. أو الأقرب لنفوس الجمهور. وما سر امتدادها والصراع حول بقائها إلا نوع من الصراع ما بين الجمهور المتعلق بها، وبين السلطة الحاكمة، وما بين الفعل التشبيهي والتمثيلي، الرغبة في التكفير والتطهير. بطرق مختلفة يصل بعضها إلى موت الفرد. إنها في الحقيقة الدراما المتأصلة في روح الشعب مهما اختلفت أسماؤها وأبطالها. ومهما تنوعت أحداثها وتفاصيل مواقعها من طائفة إلى أخرى ومن دين إلى آخر ومن شعب إلى غيره.

٢ - فلنفس المظهر والسبب وفي الأيام ذاتها تسير مواكب من دمشق باتجاه قرية "السيدة زينب" يتقدمه رجال أقوياء بأيديهم العصي والحراب القصيرة. وفي وسطهم تابوت مجل بالبياض وخلفهم الشيوخ والنساء وأصوات البكاء والصراخ

(٢) وذلك ما شاهدناه في المحافظات العراقية، ومنها مركز محافظة واسط مدينة الكوت عام ١٩٦٩ وحتى عام ١٩٧٨.

تملاً الموكب، يضربون رؤوسهم وأجسامهم حتى إذا ما وصلوا قرب مرقد "السيدة زينب" قاموا بمراسيم الأديعية والانكار ومنهم من يبقى هناك لثلاثة أيام. ورغم ما يقال بأن أحداث مسرحيات التعازي مكتوبة لكنها في غالبيتها تعتبر مؤلفاً شعبياً لأن مؤلفيها مجهولون. وهذا ما يتوافق مع طريقة وطبيعة السير الأخرى. وذلك بفعل تفاعلها أثناء روايتها مع عواطف الجمهور. ومن جهة ثانية بفعل اختلاف الرواة والمنتشدين ليس في البلد الواحد فصحب، وإنما في بلدان متعددة تختلف حتى في طبيعة الانتماء القومي رغم التوحيد الديني. وما للتأثيرات البيئية من فعالية على اختلاف إطار عن آخر، إنما لا يختلف اثنان على خط سير السياق العام. رغم اعتماد حس الابتكار والتلقين خصوصاً وأن الأحداث المشخصة يتم بعضها سيراً. أما الأداء فلا يتطلب أكثر من جمل مقتطعة قد حفظها الشعب وعرفها ورددتها كثيراً. لكن تلاوات الرواة والمنتشدين والروزاخون على المحتفلين والمشاهدين تمتزج فيها الرواية النثرية والشعر الملحن المؤدى على أنغام الطبل و"الطاس والترامبيت". إضافة لإيقاعات الصادرة عن ضرب الصدور والأكف من قبل المجاميع المختلفة. يشيع كل ذلك جواً من الرهبة. وحالة من الحزن الجماعي المؤثر. تفرد بعض المبدعين بأساليب استدرار الحزن، ومن خلال القصائد الشعبية "العامية" تأليفاً أو ارتجالاً. ولكن في نفس السياق هو نوع من أنواع "التعديد" الحزين تقوم بموجبه الردات الحزينة من الجموع. وتتراوح هذه القصائد بين وصف الأحداث إلى وصف حال الشخصيات تميز راو "معدن" عن غيره بحسن الأسلوب وقوة استدرار العواطف الوجدانية. اشتهر بها لفترة طويلة الراوي "عبد الزهرة الكعبي" من أهالي مدينة "طويريج" التابعة لمحافظة كربلاء في العراق.

نصوص شعبية بحلجة لتدوين ودراسة

١ - ومن الأمثلة المتوفرة من هذه القصائد التي ترافق سرد السيرة، ما جاء في كتاب "الجمرات الودية في المودة الجمرية" في مقطع (في ليلة العاشوراء)، قوله:-
طلعت تجر الحزن وقت العشية "المساء"
أو مرت "مرت" علم فسطاط أبو سكتة شجية /
هلت ادموع "انهمرت دموع" العين لمن شافت احسين "عندما رأته
الحسين"-

مختار جالس والمدامع علم الخدين /
متصور الغغد إخوته أو هتك النساوين "وهتك أعراض النساء"
يتلهف وايعتب "يعتب" علم الدنيا الدنيا "الدانية"

إلى أن يصل في قوله:

قلله ينور العين باكر "غدا" عينك اتشوف "تري" -

ابجنب الشريعة ابصولتي شفعل "ماذا أفعل بصولتي عند
مرسء الماء" بالصفوف /

كان القضا "القضاء" ساعد أو سلمت "وسلمت" لي هلكفوف "هذه
الكفوف" -

لترك أهل كوفان كل بيت ابعزيه "فيه عزاء" /

كله لإجل زينب تراهي "فإنها" ذو بيتي -

شافت "رأت" الجيش أو بقيت "وظلت" تنجب واشبيتني
"فشبت" ... إلخ.

وفي مقطع آخر يصف مجيء "الحسين" ... إلى مصرع "العباس"، فيقول:

يحين "يا حسين" قوموا امن "من" الخيم ذبوا "انزعوا أو ارموا"
العمائم "العمم" -

هذا بدركم منخسف يولاد "بدركم قد أصابه خسوف يا أولاد"
هاشم.

ثم يقول في مقطع آخر:

اتخوص علم عزيده يودعه أنفاس "تخصر بعضده ليودعه، وصعد
الأنفاس - يا جمره الكون الذي ما قط تنداس "تداس" /

ظهوري تراهو "فإنه" انكسر من فقدك يعباس "يا عباس" - طام
العلم وانفلتت مني العزائم "سقطت الراية، وانفرطت عني
العزائم" /

عزم يشيله "يحملة" للمخيم قال ما روح "لا أذهب" - ظلمي "دعني"
علم الشاطي "الشاطئ" أعالج طلعة الروح.

وفي مقطع "رثاء القاسم" يقول:

وش هالعرس "وما هذا العرس" لغشر "النحس" عليه "علي" يا
مسلمين - كيف العرس واحنا انتوقع "ونحن نتوقع" ذبحة الحسين.

حتى يصل إلى مقطع:

مفجوع علم مهجة قلبها بالإيادي "في الأيادي" - أو هذي
"وهذه" العساكر حايطة "تحوطني" يا الولد بيه "فيه".

أما في مقطع "في مصرع الحسين" فيصف قائلاً:

فرت بدهشة مخدره "حيدر" الكرار - يم العليل تقول اقعد
"اجلس" وانظر شصار "ماذا حصل" /

يبني "يا ابني" الشمس غابت وهذا الكون مرجوح - والجو مظلم
والأرض ياسورنا تموج/
وحسين عهدي بشوفته "برؤيته" من لاح بالفرج - والكون متعطل
وأظن الفلك ما دار.

ثم يصل إلى مقطع:

وإلا يتيم وشعب الروح بعويله - بليا "بلا" ولي والليل مجبل "مقبل"
والعد اشرار "العدوان".
وفي "مقطع في غشوة الحسين" يقول:

تخير "حار" العسكر يوم طالت غشوة "اغماية" الحسين -
شافوه "رأوه" ثلث "ثلاث" ساعات مرمي مغض العينين/
ناس تقول حسين بطل "انقطع عن" من ونيه -
فارقت روحه وأغمضت للموت عينه/
وأخر يقول حسن كلمه تعرفونه -
صاحب حمية "من أصحاب النخوة" علم بناته والنساوين
والنساء"/

أو كان "وإذا كان" تعرفونه حي لو مات -
هجموا علم خيامه ورعوا الغاطميات/
واكان "وكان" هو حي وسمع بالخيم "الخيام" ضجات -
لازم "لا بد" يثور بشيمته ويحمي الصاوين "الديار"/
أمر العسكر بن سعدو استحسن الشور "الاستشارة" -
وذيك "تلك" الحراير بالخيم واقلوبها "قلوبها" تغور/
لن الزلم "وإذ بالرجال" والخيل غارت يم "عند" الخدور "خدر"
النساء"-

طلعت من خيمها تصيح الملتجاوين "اللاجئين"/
فرت بدهشته صارخة كعبة الأحران -
كهف اليتاما انهض ترا هتكو النسوان "فإنهم قد
هتكوا أعراض النساء"/
حرمه "امرأة" وضعيفة حال تبلوني "قد بلوتموني" برضعات -
بما سمع صوت الوديعه فتح العين/
قلها "قل لها" يزينب "يا زينب" ذاب قلبي من هالعتاب "هذا
العتاب"-

مقدر "لا أستطيع" أرد الخيل خويه "أخي" عن هالأطناي
"عن هذا الأطناي"/

أنهض ثلث مرات وأوقع فوق التراب -
 ردي لخدرك يا حزينه لا تضيعين/
 سهم القلبلي "الذي بقلبي" نرف دملي ومزع حشاي "نزع
 أحشائي" -
 مثلث ولا اتمكنت اطلعه "لم أتمكن من إخراجها" إلا من
 قفالي "خلفي"/
 خوية "أخي أو أختي" تخلونني "تدعونني" أموت ومحد "لا أحد" ويابي
 "معني" -
 جيبلي "اجلبي" لي سكينه "مديه" قبل لا يفرق البين/
 صاحته ينور "يا نور" العين والله تحيرت بيك "أحترت فيك" -
 تمنيت أجبي يمك "أتي إليك" وشوف العمل البيك "الذي
 ألم فيك"/

ولو هو الدوا "الدواء" قلبي لغت "أسحق" قلبي وأداويك -
 وأغسل جرح قلبك يخوية "يا أخي" بدمعة العين.

ونلاحظ في هذه الهجائية وصفا دراميا كاملا. يتنقل ما بين الشخصيات والأحداث في الزمان والمكان. وقد شخصت اللهجة العراقية، والخليجية بتفاصيلها القريبة من الوجدان كثيرا من العواطف التي تستحث المشاركة، خصوصا لهؤلاء الذين يحملون الحس الديني، ويشاركون الحس المأساوي. وذلك بتفاصيل حفظها عن طريق آباؤهم وأجدادهم وجداتهم. وقد ترسخت لديهم من خلال الذاكرة الشعبية. وفي هذا السياق يكون الفرد المتعاطف قد تهيأ اجتماعيا ودينيا وعاطفيا. وصارت هذه الأيام العشرة تمثل كل جوارحه. وهي في الوقت نفسه نوع من التكفير والتطهير السنوي. وأيضا هي من جانب آخر نوع من النذر الذي تقوم به كثير من السيدات والآنسات على تطبيق العشرات صوما وصلاة وممارسة الشعائر فيما لو أردن تحقيق أمنية مستعصية ما.

وفي فقرة "الجمرة الوسطى" يعرف المؤلف هذا النوع من الهجائية والمراثي قائلا: {وهي أي "الجمرة الوسطى" المشتملة على ما تعاطاه أهل "البحرين" منذ عشرين عاما تقريبا وهو بحر طويل يوازن فاعلات أربع مرات، منها مقطع رثاء "فاطمة". أما في فقرة "الجمرة الثالثة" فيصفها بأنها: "نشتمل على ما يخص المواكب العزائية". وهنا أيضا الأبونيات.}

٢ - أما المثال المكتوب الثاني فهو للسيدة "فاطمة آل اسماعيل" في كتابها "الدموع المؤمنة". مراثيات مثل "رثاء على السجاد" و"رثاء على العباس" ولديها

”ردادية على أولاد مسلم“. أي ما هو منسوب للردات، تقول ”السيدة فاطمة“ في مطلعها:

أه يا أولاد“ ذبحوكم وافجعوني ”فجعوني“-
 شغت العمائم ”رأيت العمم“ واحترق قلبي وهلت ”نزلت“
 عيوني/هاي العمائم ”هذه العمائم“ في وين اهلهما
 ردوا ”في أي مكان رجعوا أهلها“ عليه ”علي“-
 والله دهنتي كثر المصابيح ”حيرتني كثرة المصابيح“ في
 الغضارية ”اسم المكان“/
 امطهر ”مطهر“ وظاهر من هجمت الخيل فروا من اديه ”يدي“-
 وأني وحيد ما عندي ارجال بالله اعبروني. وأنا وحيدة
 بلا رجال يعبروني.

أما في المراثي فتقول السيدة ”فاطمة“ في قصيدة ”رثاء على عشرين من شهر صفر
 للسنة الهجرية“:

جيت ”جئت“ من الشام قوموا ياهلي ”يا أهلي“ -
 ونزلوني ”وأنزلوني“/

وياي ”معي“ ايتام ”يتام“ من يبكيهم -
 ينحلوني ”يخويوني من الحزن“/

من قبرك قوم يخوية ”أخي“ يحسين ”يا حسين“-
 وانظر أحوالي ”حالي“)

حتم تصل إلم المقطم الذي تقول فيه:

خل يجي ”ليأتي“ اليوم ينظر حالي -

وجيته امنين ”مجيئه من أين“/

وخل ”ودع أو دعه“ ينزل من علم النوق -

هالنساوين ”هؤلاء النسوة“... إلخ.

إن المؤلفة كما يبدو من الحفظلة اللواتي استطعن تدوين فنهن بهذا الشكل غير
 أن ما هو وراء حرفتهن كثير من الاختصاص والحرفية المتعلقة بإثارة المشاعر
 وإبرازها يكون أحد فروع مهنة المعدات اللواتي يتخصصن في إثارة أشجان أهل
 الميت في المآتم. أقتطف هذا التعبير الجميل الوارد في رواية ”السدرة تزهو مرتين“
 للروائي: فائز الزبيدي ”يصف فيه إحداهن بقوله: {كانت ”زكية“ حينئذ فتية وجميلة
 الصوت. اشتغلت في البداية ب”ترز العبي“، أي خياطة العباءات، الذي تعلمته على يد
 ”المرزا“ الذي جاورهم، والذي كانت امرأته تعلم الصبايا قراءة القرآن و”شيرازية
 العبي“ أي فن خياطة العباءات. وهناك حفظت ”زكية“ جزأين من القرآن. وقد جلب

جمال صوتها، وما تحفظه من القرآن أنظار "مِلة أَسْمَة" التي علمت الأرملة الشابة "زكية" فن إثارة أشجان النساء وإيقاظ وحشة الحياة النسائية ليتشرب بها الجسد كله فيمارس اعتراضات لم تعرف أسماؤها ولا امرأة ولحدها}. ويبدو أن إتقان هذه المهنة "مهنة استدرار الدموع" ليس سهلاً. ولا بد للمُشخصة من مواصفات تتعدى جمال الصوت وفطنة الحيلة وسرعة البديهة. هو وفرة المشاعر وغزارتها لكي تتدفق حالما تستفزها المحترفة. لذلك كان هناك تمييز بين "عدادة" وأخرى بدرجة الإجابة وقوة التأثير وصدق المشاعر. كأنما يدخل فنهن في عداد دروس ستانسلافسكي المخصصة بحرفة فن التمثيل.

السيرة الحسينية المروية

وفيما يلي نقدم مثالا شفاهيا منقولاً عن شريط تسجيل⁴ للمرحوم السيد عبد الزهرة الكعبي الراوي، والمنشد⁵، نستعرض فيه سياق رواية أحداث يوم المقتل "العاشر من عاشوراء" في الفقرة الأولى منه⁶. ورواية سير أحداث ذكرى الأربعين من المقتل - :

أولا يوم المقتل

فبعد أن يقدم الراوي "الكعبي" نفسه يبدأ بالتحميد، والتمجيد، ويتلو أدعية. ينبري "الكعبي" ليوجه الناس لكي يأخذوا أماكنهم، ويستعدوا لجلسة سوف تطول. والحقيقة إن مجلس الراوي عبد الزهرة الكعبي لا يسع الجالسين، والواقفين لصيته

(٤) هذا التفريغ لشريط التسجيل، لم يسبق أن وثق كمادة بحث بهذا الشكل. لكن الدكتور محمد عزيزة، كان قد حقق نصا مكتوباً، في أطروحته الإسلام، المسرح.

(٥) الراوي عبد الزهرة الكعبي - المتوفى في حدود عام ١٩٨٦. من أبناء مدينة "طويريق" من أعمال محافظة كربلاء. وهو تسجيل صوتي لأشْرطته المتداولة حتى الآن ليس داخل العراق فقط، وإنما في خارجه أيضاً.

(٦) رغم كثير من الصعوبات في تفريغ شريط التسجيل الخاص بالراوي عبد الزهرة الكعبي، لما لتداخل بعض العبارات والأسماء. إلا أننا حاولنا جهدنا أن نكون أمناء على نقل ما ورد في الشريط حرفياً مع بعض التصويبات في العبارات التي ترد في اللهجة العامية. فإذا ورد خطأ جديد ما نرجو تصويبنا من أجل موضوعية مثلى.

وشهرته الكبيرين. لذلك يضطر البعض الكثير للإنصات إليه، وهم في الخارج، من خلال مكبرات الصوت التي تصل إلى الحواري الجانبية، وبخاصة النسوة منهم. إن تقديم "الكعبي" للسيرة الحسينية يعتمد على كتاب يقرأه. لكنه يرتجل كثير من الأحداث التي يحفظها عن ظهر قلب، والأدعية التي يكررها، والأناشيد البكائية التي يرتجلها، ممزوجة ما بين الفصحى، والعامية. أما الجمع فقد جاء متهاياً بالكامل، بعد أن أجهته الأيام التسع. وما هي صبيحة اليوم العاشر دنت حيث ستتلى فيها السيرة هنا، يستمع إليه ويشارك وجدانياً، وحسباً أثناء تلاوة السيرة، كما يشارك في الحارات حيث تشخص السيرة حضورياً من قبل الأفراد. أما المنشدون هنا فمن الناس الباكين المكفرين عن خطاياهم، وهم غالباً من غير هؤلاء الذين نذروا أنفسهم، ففزعوا منذ الصباح الباكر للبس الأكفنة، وحلق رؤوسهم لكي يجرحوها بالسيوف في موكب العزاء. هي نوع آخر من التكفير. وربما هي نوع من أنواع النذور لا تتورع سيدة في أن تدفع صغيرها لكي يجرح جرحاً صغيراً رمزياً، متمينة بالبركة والاستبشار بالرحمة.

ويستعرض "الكعبي" السيرة الحسينية في يومها الأخير، من خلال موقف الحصار الذي وقفه الحسين، وآل البيت مع "عبيد الله بن زياد". حيث يقوم الحسين "رض" كما يروي "الكعبي" بقوله:

لما أصبح الحسين في يوم عاشوراء، وطمع بأصحابه صلاة الصباح،
قال خاطباً فيهم: سبحانه تعالِمُ قد أذن في قتلكم، وقتلي في هذا
اليوم، فعليكم بالصبر والقتال.

ثم صفهم للحرب فكانوا سبعة وسبعين رجلاً، ما بين رجل، وفارس.
فجعل "زهير ابن القن" في الميمن، و"حبيب ابن مظاهر" من الميسرة،
وأعطاه "العباس" رايته. وثبت هو "رض" وأهل بيته في القلب.

(يسمع منذ الآن بكاء، ووعويل من جهة الجمهور)....

ثم يقول "الكعبي" في مقطع لاحق آخر:

فنادى "شمر" بأعلم صوته: -

يا حسين تعجلت بالنار قبل يوم القيامة.

فقال الحسين: -

من هذا كأنه شمرُ بن ذي الجوشن؟

فيل له - نعم.

فقال الحسين: -

يا بن راعية المعزة، أنت أولم بها مني طلباً....

وفي موقف آخر يصف "الكعبي"، الحسين "رض" قائلاً:

وقال الحسين: -

أكره أن أبدأهم بقتال.

ولما نظر الحسين "رض" إلى جمعهم، وكأنه السيل، رفع يديه بالدعاء، وقال: - اللهم أنت ثقتي في كل كرب. ورجائي في كل شدة. وأنت لي

في كل أمر نزل بي، وثقة، وعدة.... إلخ.

ويصف "الكعبي" كيف يخطب الحسين "رض" في الجمع من على راحلته "ناقته" لكي يبعدهم، ويبعد آله عن القتال، والذبح مذكراً إياهم بحسبه، وانتسابه الشريف للنبي محمد "ص" وآل البيت. بينما لا يتوانى "الكعبي" عن وصف ما يدور حول الحسين من أحداث، سواء مع أصحابه وأهله. أو مع الأعداء... إلى أن يقول "الحسين -رض في خطبته": -

إذا كنتم في شك من هذا القول أفتشكون بأني ابن بنت نبيكم،

فولله فما بين المشرق، والمغرب ليس ابن بنت نبي غيري.

فأخذوا لا يكلمونه، فنادى: -

يا "شبيت بن ريعي"، و"حجار بن بجر"، و"قيس ابن الأشعث"، ويا "زيد

بن الحارث" ألم تكتبوا إلي أن أقدم، وقد أينعت الثمار، واخضر

الجمار، وإنما تقدم علم جندي لك مجندة.

فقالوا: -

لم نفعل.

فقال "رض": -

سبحان الله بلم والله لقد فعلتم.

ثم قال: -

أيها الناس إذا كرهتموني فدعوني أنصرف عنكم إلى ما أمني من

الأرض.

فقال "قيس ابن الأشعث": -

أولا تنزل عن حكم عمك، فإنهم لن يروك إلا ما تحب. ولن يصل إليك

منهم مكروه.

فقال الحسين "رض": -

أنت أخو أخي. أتريد أن يطلبك "بنو هاشم" أكثر من دم "مسلم ابن

عقيل". لا والله لا أعطيكم بيدي إعطاء الذليل، ولا أقر فرار

العبيد. عباد الله إنني عذت بربي، وبربكم من كل متكبر لا يؤمن

بיום الحساب.

ثم أناخ راحلته وأمر "عقبة بن سمران" ففعلها. ويعلق الراوي "الكعبي" بقوله منشدا. إن أنسى لا أنسه عندما قام فيهم خاطبا. فإذا هم لا يدركون خطابه، يدعوا:-

ألست أنا ابن بنت نبيكم، وملاذكم إن صرف الدهر ناب. هل جئت في دين النبي "ص" ببذعة.
(يسمع صوت أحد المنصتين يقول: - حاشاه).

أم كنت في أحكامه مرتاب. أم لم يوطد دين النبي، فقد أتم فيكم عشرة، وكتابا، إن لم تدينوا بالمعاذ فراجعوا أحسابكم، إن كنتم أعرابا.

فغدوا حيارى لا يرون لوعظه إلا الأسنة، والرماح جوابا. وبعد وصف "الكعبي" لبدء المعركة، وزحف الأعداء على جيوش الحسين، وأصحابه، يصف حادثة "عبدالله بن حوزة التميمي" الذي ينادي على الحسين "رض" بقوله: -
أبشر بالنار.

فيرد عليه الحسين بقوله: -

كذبت بل أقدم علم رب غفور كريم، مطاع شفيح، فمن أنت؟
قال ابن حوزة: -

فرفع الحسين يديه حتم كان بلاغ بطيه، وقال: -
اللهم خذ له إلم النار.

فغضب ابن حوزة، وأقحم فرسه إليه، وكان بينهما نهر فعلقته قدمه بالركاب، وجالت الفرس، وسقط عنها، وانقطعت قدمه، وساقه، وفخذه. وبقي جانبه الآخر معلقا بالركاب، وأخذت الفرس تضرب به كل حجر، وشجر حتم هلك.

وبعد وصف "الكعبي" لرغبة "برير بن حضير" في مخاطبة القوم، لتحاشي الحرب، وكيف أنهم لم ينصتوا لقوله. بل رموه بالسهم، ويروي الكعبي كيف ركب الحسين "رض" فرسه، وأخذ مصحفا شريفا ونشره على رأسه. ووقف بازاء القوم لينهاهم هو الآخر عن الحرب، لكنهم أبوا، ولم يستجيبوا، فيقول "الكعبي": -

واستدعم الحسين "رض"، "عمر بن سعد". فدعاه إليه. وكان كارها، لا يحب أن يأتيه. فقال الحسين "رض" ل"عمر": -

أتزعم أنك تقتلني، ويوليكَ الدعى بلاد "الري، وجرجان"، والله لا "تتهنأ" بذلك عهد لمعهود، فأصنع، فأنت لا تفرح من بعدي بدنيا، ولا آخرة، وكأنني برأسك علم قصة يتراماها الصبيان بالكوفة. ويتخذونه غرضا بينهم. فصرف بوجهه عن الحسين "رض" مغضبا ولما

سمع "الحرّ بن يزيد الرياحي" كلام "أبي عبد الله الحسين" واستغاثته
أقبل علم "عمر بن سعد" وقال: -

أمقاتل هذا الرجل؟

قال "عمر بن سعد": -

أي والله قتالا أيسره أن تسقط فيه الرؤوس، وتطيح الأيدي.

قال الحرّ: -

ما لكم فيما عرضه عليكم من الخصال؟

فقال عمر: -

لو كان الأمر إليّ، لقبلت، ولكن أميرك "بن زياد" يأبم ذلك.

فتركه الحرّ، ووقف مع الناس، وكان إلى جانب "قرّة ابن قيس". فقال

الحرّ إلى قرّة: -

هل ألتفتيت فرسك؟

فقال قرّة: -

أملا.

فقال الحرّ: -

أتريد أن تسقيها؟

فطن "قرّة" من ذلك أن "الحرّ" يريد الاعتزال، ويكره أن يشاركه أحد.

فأخذ "الحرّ" يدنو من الحسين بن عليّ "رض" قليلا قليلا. فقال له

المهاجر بن أوس: -

أتريد أن تحمل؟

فسكت "الحرّ"، وأخذته الرعدة، فارتاب "المهاجر" من هذا الحال، وقال

له: -

لو قيل لي من أشجع أهل الكوفة، لما غدوت صراحة الذي أراه

منك.

فقال الحرّ: -

إنني أخير نفسي بين الجنة، والنار. "صمت - ثم" والله لا أختار شيئا،

ولو أحرقت.

ثم ضرب جواده متوجها به نحو الحسين بن عليّ "رض" منكسا رأسه حياء

من آل الرسول ... إلخ.

وبعد وصف "الكعبي" للمناوشات، والمواقعات في المعركة، وتشخيصه لعدة أحداث

بالتفصيل. كقتل "عمير الكعبي من بني عليم"، ثم موقف تبرع الرجال بالفداء

بأنفسهم أمام الحسين بن عليّ "رض" وآله. مع ذكر الأسماء، والأنساب أفرادا،

وجماعات، يقوم "الكعبي" بوصف مشهد بداية المعارك، منتقلا لحادثة حرق الفسطاط "أي الخيام التي يعسكر فيها الحسين، وأصحابه". ثم يصف محاولات الاختراق والصد. فيصف "لكعبي" هذه الموقعة بقوله: -

فلما ذهب الخيل لترجم، رشقهم أصحاب الحسين بالنبل، فصرعوا رجالا، وجرحوا آخرين، ثم حمل "عمر بن الحجاج" من نحو الغرات فاقتلوا ساعة، وفيها قاتل "مسلم بن عوسجة" فشدّ عليه "مسلم بن عبد الله الجلي"، ودارت لشدة السجال غيرة شديدة، وما أنجلت الغيرة، إلا و"مسلم بن عوسجة" صريعا، وبه رمق. فمشى إليه الحسين "رض"، ومعه "حبيب بن المظاهر".

فقال له الحسين: -

رحمك الله يا "مسلم".

ثم تلم قوله تعالى: -

فمنهم من قضى نحبه، ومنهم من ينتظر، وما بدلوا تبديلا "صدق".
ودنا منه "حبيب" وقال:

عن عليّ مصرعا. أبشر بالجنة.

فقال "مسلم" بصوت ضعيف: -

بشرك الله بخير يا أخي حبيب.

قال له "حبيب": -

لو لم أعلم إنني في الأثر لأحببت أن توصيني بجميع ما يؤمك.

فقال له "مسلم": -

أوصيك بهذا "يسمع بكاء، وعويل من الجمهور، في الشريط" وأشار إليه "الحسين بن علي - رض" أن تموت دونه.

فقال له "حبيب": -

أفعل.

ويقوم الراوي "الكعبي" بانشاد هجائية بكائية "من النوع الذي تقدم في المثالين المكتوبين" تثير الشجون، والبكاء، وتزيد من عملية لطم الصدور بالأكف حتى يعود "الكعبي" لإكمال رواية السيرة الحسينية فيقول: -

وصاحت جارية، وأمسلماه، يا سيداه، يابن عوسجته. فتنادى أصحاب

ابن الحجاج "قاتلين: -

قتلنا "مسلمًا" ... إلخ.

ويروي "الكعبي" كيف أن "الشمر" يقدم على إحراق الفسطاط بيديه. لكنه يتراجع من وقع كلام الحسين "رض" ورجاله عليه. عندما تقترب الشمس على المغيب يصف

”الكعبي“ كيف التفت ”ابن ثمامة الصاعدي“ إلى الشمس، فرأها وقد زالت، فقال للحسين ”رض“: -

نفسى لك الغداء، إنى أرى هؤلاء قد اقتربوا منك، والله لا تقتل حنم أقتل دونك، وأحب أن ألقم الله، وقد صليت هذه الصلاة التي دنا وقتها.

فرغم الحسين ”رض“ رأسه إلى السماء وقال: -
ذكرت الصلاة، جعلك الله من المطلين ذاكرين.

ويعلق ”الكعبي“ بقوله: -

أنظروا أيها المسلمون، دعم الحسين بن علي ”رض“ لهذا العبد بأعظم دعاء، وهو أن قال: -
جعلك الله من المطلين.

ويصف ”الكعبي“ المعركة الفاصلة، وكيف قتل ”حبيب بن مظاهر“، وحزّت رأسه. وكيف فدى ”الحر“ نفسه أمام الحسين ”رض“. وفيها يبرز الوصف الدرامي لمشهد ”الحر“ في رمقه الأخير، مع الحسين ”رض“ وأصحابه. و”الكعبي“ بوصفه هذه الحوادث بالذات يبغى من خلالها إثارة الشجون بإنشاده المميز المعهود. له بكائيات مشهورة، كتلك التي قدمنا لها لكل من الخطيب ”ملا عطية علي البحراني“، والملا ”فاطمة بنت الحاج جاسم آل إسماعيل“. خصوصا تلك المقاطع التي تتعلق بمشهد مقتل الحسين ”رض“، وقطع رأسه الكريمة، وتراكم الجثث فوق بعضها.

ثانياً.

ذكرى الأربعين

وفي ذكرى مرور الأربعين يوماً على مقتل الحسين ”رض“ تقام احتفالية تكميلية غير منقطعة لليوم الأخير ”يوم عاشوراء“، ولكن الوصف يتضمن سرد أحداث ما بعد المعركة، وما جرى فيما بعد من أعمال السبي لأهل الحسين ”رض“. إذ يبدأ ”الكعبي“ بالإنشاد كالعادة، ليهيء الناس، ويثير لديهم الشجون والبكاء، يقوم هنا بالاستشهاد بالرواية الآخرين ”ربما لأن كثير من الأحداث تجري في رواية ذكرى الأربعين بعيداً عن كربلاء“، ويبدأ بشهادة ”ابن الطوسي“ الذي يصف قائلاً: -

وتسابق القوم بالألف علم بيوت آل الرسول، وقرّة عين البتول. فخرجن بنات الرسول ”ص“ وحريمه، يتساعدن علم البكاء، وينشدن لسراط الحماة، والأحبة. قال ”حميد بن مسلم“: -

ورأيت امرأة من بني "بكر بن وائل" كانت مع زوجها في أصحاب "عمر ابن سعد"، فلما رأته القوم قد اقتحموا علم نساء الحسين "رض" في فسطاطهم، وهم يسلبون. أخذت سيفاً، وأقبلت نحو الفسطاط، وقالت: يا آل "بكر بن وائل" أتسلبون بنات رسول الله "ص" ... إلخ.

ويروي "الكعبي" كيف أخرجت النساء، وهن باقيات حاسرات الرؤوس، حافيات واصفاً حال "زينب - رض. بنت علي - رض" وهي تندب أخاها الحسين "رض"، عندما رأته جثته، ورأسه قد قطعت عنها. ومنظر ابنته "سكينة" التي كانت تسأل عمتها "زينب - رض" عن حال الجسد أمامها؟ ولمن هو؟ ولماذا تبكيه عمتها؟ فتعرف من بين النشيج، والبكاء الأليم بأن الجثة لأبيها، وإن هذه التي أمامها كانت حتى الأمس كيان والدها الحسين الذي طالما رمت بنفسها في أحضانها. فترمي "سكينة" لاشعورياً بنفسها على الجثة. ولا يقوى الجمع على البكاء وقتها. بينما يبكي الجمع المنصت لرواية "الكعبي" هنا، وقد تأثروا بقوة، وصدق التعبير المنقول عن شاهد عيان.

وعندما يصف "الكعبي" منظر جمع الرؤوس، ومنها رأس الحسين "رض" لكي تأخذ إلى دار "عبيد الله بن زياد" حيث ساعدت القبائل في جمعها ترضية للحاكم. فسار الحراس بالجمع من آل البيت، مع الرؤوس، وقد نخلوا الكوفة، يصف "الكعبي" فيها بعضاً من تعليقات المارة في الدروب، وردود الأفعال بينهم، وبين أهل الحسين "رض"، وبخاصة خطبة "علي ابن الحسين" في جمع من الناس، يعيرهم فيها بتخاذلهم، وجبنهم. كذلك ما جاء في كلام "زينب"، وما جاء به من علم، ومعرفة، وخبرة في عديد من الأمور، فتروي عن مآثر أهلها، وما لانتسابها من أهمية، وكأن "الكعبي" هنا يذكر الناس بالتأريخ، ومن خلال استعادت الخطب بالذات من جهة. وبالمنزلة العلمية، والأخلاقية التي تربي عليها آل البيت من جهة ثانية. إضافة للتذكير بأن ضحايا تلك العداة لم يكونوا إلا من أشرف البشر، ومن أفضل البيوت في المسلمين، وهم ذرية رسولهم محمد "ص".

وفي المقطع الخاص برواية "الكعبي" لخطبة "أم كلثوم بنت علي - رض" يصف تركيزها على تعبير أهل الكوفة بما فعلوه بمن استنصروهم، مما جعل الناس يضحون بالبكاء، والوعيل، والثبور، حتى بكيت الرجال، بينما يسمع بكاء من جمهور "الكعبي" أيضاً. وعندما يصف "الكعبي" مشهد إحصار رأس الحسين "رض" بين يدي "عبيد الله بن زياد" لكي يتشفى بها، يذكر "الكعبي" استياء الناس من هذا الموقف، وبخاصة ما يقوله على لسان "أنس بن مالك" الذي بكى قائلاً: - كان أشبه برسول الله.

وكان "أنس" مغروما بالوسمة. وكان إلى جانبه "زيد ابن الأرقم" صاحب رسول الله "ص"، وهو شيخ كبير. فلما رأى "ابن زباد" يضرب ثنابيا رأس الحسين "رض" قال: **لا تغرب البسمة "يسمع عويل، وبكاء من جمهور الكعبي"!!! هاتين الشفتين، فوالله الذي لا إله إلا غيره، لقد رأيت شفتي رسول الله "ص"، ما لا أحصي كثيرا يقبلهما، ثم انسحب باكيا.**

ويروي "الكعبي" كيف يؤمر بنقل رأس الحسين "رض"، وأهله إلى الشام، مشيرا إلى رواية "ابن الجوزي" الذي يصف مراحل الوصول إلى الشام، وكيف حلت القافلة في منزل قرب دير "للنصارى"، وكان من عادة الحراس أن يخرجون الرؤوس في مكان استراحتهم من صناديقها ليلا، ويشكونها برؤوس الرماح. وكان في الدير راهب نصراني، استيقظ في الليل ليسأل لمن هذه الرأس التي رأى عليها نور. فعرف أنها لابن بنت الرسول "ص". فقايض الحراس بعشرة آلاف درهم حتى يبيتونها لديه، فقبلوا. فقام طوال الليل بتطيبها بالبخور، وهو يبكي. وعندما يصل الركب إلى مشارف الشام، يشير "الكعبي" إلى رواية "سهل بن سعد الساعدي" الذي يصف كيف رأى الزينة على أبواب دمشق، فيستغرب لمظاهر العيد. لكنه عندما يعلم الخبر، يقول: -

يا للعجب أيهدى رأس الحسين، والناس يفرحون.

ويصف "الكعبي" ابتهاج "يزيد"، وارتجاله الأشعار، وهو يستقبل الرأس، ويفعل كما يفعل "عبيد الله بن زياد"، فيصرخ الجمع، وويبكي من يبكي فيهم. ويعترض "علي بن الحسين" الذي يكون مربوطا من رقبتة، فيأمر "يزيد" بفك وثاقه في مشهد درامي حيث يروي "الكعبي" كيف كانت الدماء تسيل من رقبة "علي بن الحسين". يتبعها ببكائية غنائية حزينة. ثم يستشهد "الكعبي" بقول "ابن الأثير - في الكامل" في وصفه لرجل شامي يريد شراء "فاطمة بنت الحسين" على أنها جارية. وتتوالى الخطب في حضور "يزيد"، بينه وبين آل البيت. بينه وبين "زينب" من جهة، وبين "علي بن الحسين" من جهة أخرى. وأكثر الخطب بلاغة كانت خطبة "علي بن الحسين" الملقب ب"زين العابدين" في المسجد وهو يجادل بني أمية، ومنهم "يزيد بن معاوية" الحاكم. ولما شعر "يزيد" بخطورة الموقف، وبأن الناس يتحمسون لموقف آل البيت، ويتصرون للثكالي، خصوصا عندما فشل الخطيب الذي وجهه "يزيد" في محاجة "علي بن الحسين". بل إن عليا أفحم الخطيب إياه، وأسكته. حينذاك قرر "يزيد" إعادة السبايا إلى ديارهم في المدينة المنورة. كما أستجاب لما طلبوه. فأخذوا الرؤوس معهم، وساروا في طريقهم إلى المدينة المنورة، وعندما

دخلوا العراق مرّوا على قبر أبيهم "الحسين - رض" لكي يعيدوا الرأس إلى موضعها، وذلك بعد مرور أربعين يوماً.

ويروي "الكعبي" نقلاً عن "عطية العوري" ما صار من أمر "جابر ابن عبد الله الأنصاري" الذي جاء لزيارة قبر "الحسين - رض": - فلما دنا من شاطئ الفرات، اغتسل، ثم تأزر، وفتح صرة فيها "سعد" ونثره على جسده، وتقدم إلى قبر "الحسين - رض" فغشي عليه. فلما رشه "عطية" بالماء أفاق، وأحس بأن من يدنوا من القبر رجل من آل البيت. وإذ بجواد قادم، فعرفوا أنه "علي بن الحسين" ورأس "الحسين - رض" معه، يتبعهما عيال "علي بن الحسين"، وبقية آل البيت.

فأقام "علي ابن الحسين" وبقية آل البيت مراسيم الدفن، وظلوا هناك ثلاثة أيام حتى رحلوا جميعاً إلى المدينة المنورة... ولما شارفوا في الوصول إليها، طلب "علي بن الحسين" من "بكر ابن مظلّم" أن يسبقهم إلى المدينة، لكي ينعى أباه "الحسين - رض"، وعندما دخلوا، خرج كل من فيها، وبكى.

ويرتجل "الكعبي" هنا بكائية على لسان "زينب"، هي الختام ليصف ما معناه:-

**أنها قالت بأنهن عدن إلى دار الحسين بلا رجال، ولا بنين. بينما
كانوا قد خرجوا منها مجتمعين.**

الإلهام والإحياء

وقد ألهمت هذه الأناشيد و"التعديد الحزين" والحركات الإيقاعية الجماعية من الفنانين المسرحيين، ممثلين أو مخرجين، وبخاصة من العراقيين لاستخلاص بعض رموز السيرة "الحسينية". خصوصاً وإنها انعكست بدورها على طبيعة الفرد العربي وإنها وظهرت في مآتمه وتعازيه الاجتماعية أو في حالات حزنه. فأخذ هؤلاء يستخدمون بعض تأثيرات هذه السيرة، وبخاصة أداء الرواة للمسرحيات التي توظف الراوي فيها. استفاد الممثل والمخرج من طريقة عمل الراوي الحسيني، وليس غريباً تشبيه هذا الراوي بالممثل "البريختي" من قبل كثير من الباحثين والفنانين المسرحيين العرب، وبخاصة المسرحي العراقي "ابراهيم جلال" الذي يصف الشيخ "مصطفى متولي الشعراوي"، كمثال، للتشبيه بجلسة "عبد الزهرة الكعبي" وهو يجلس في حلقة ليفسر الأحاديث بالمعلم البريختي، ويقصد بذلك الممثل البريختي، حيث تتشابه جلستاهما. أما الممثل فقد استعان بتلويحات الراوي في أداءه من جهة، وبإيقاعات وحركات ضرب الصدور واللمم القاسية في الحركات العامة، والتي تحتاج لظرف خاص، وحدث مشابه من جهة ثانية. وهذان لاحظناهما في غالب المسرحيات

العراقية التي تستدعي التراث، وبخاصة التراث العراقي منه. ابتدأها المخرجون وطورها الممثلون، ومنهم على سبيل المثال الممثل أزهري جواد من أبناء بلدة الراوي "عبد الزهرة الكعبي"، "طويريج". حيث قام بتقليد أسلوبه في الرواية عندما مثل دور الراوي في مسرحية "السؤال" من تأليف "محي الدين زنكنة"، وإخراج جعفر علي، وتقديم فرقة مسرح اليوم العراقية لعام ١٩٧٣. كذلك ما يقوم به المخرج المسرحي العراقي المعتزب "جواد الأسدي" في أعماله المسرحية، وبخاصة لوحة الخبز في مسرحية مغامرة رأس المملوك جابر، ولوحة الطوفان في مسرحية خيوط من فضة.

إن هذا الشواهد المكتوبة ذات الأفعال الحركية، والتي تجذرت في ضمير الأمة، لم يكن لها أن تستمر لولا ممارسة الرواة، والحكايات، والقوالين الذين حملوها على عاتقهم، وتبنوها مصيرا وحرفة وفنا. اختلفت وسائلهم، وتنوعت اتجاهاتهم، تباينت درجات إجادتهم وحرصهم، وإخلاصهم. لكنهم بالتالي هم الوساطة التي نقلت هذا التراث إلى إذهان الأمة من جهة، فحملتها من جيل إلى آخر من جهة ثانية، وذلك أولا من خلال إيراد الرواة أبناءهم لهذه المهنة، وتوارث الذاكرة بين الجد والحفيد في المجتمع من جهة ثانية. ورغم أن بعض الرواة في السير والملاحم الدينية والاجتماعية أو الحكايات يفضلون الجلوس على الرغم مما يحتاجه دورهم في الرواية من مجال رحب لذلك. إلا أن بعضهم يعوض هذا النقص، بعدم قيامه بالحركة. من خلال فعل التلوين الصوتي. إلا أن الرواة والقوالين في جنس "الحلقة" قد بقوا مرتبطين بالناس من خلال توسطهم للجماعة، تماما كما يفعل الراوي المقاماتي في جنس المقامة. أما فعل المداح الجوال فهو في المحافظة على السير ونقله إليها من جيل لآخر، ومن وسط إلى غيره، عندما ينقلها إلى الناس في أية ساحة وضمن أية حلقة ولفترات وجيزة هي وقت أدائها اليومي. فقد ساعد المداح الجوال. أو "القوال" على بقاء السيرة كل هذه المدة. رغم اختلاف مستويات الأداء، ونوعية الإبداع لدى مختلف تفرعات فنون المداح في جنس "الحلقة". لأن المداحون كافة يعتبرون ناقلين للسير، والملاحم الأمعاء.

الخلاصة

من الدراسة نلاحظ الآتي:

١ - إن كلا السيرتين حددتا أربعين يوما في القليل، للموعد المقرر سواء كان ذلك اليوم العاشر من عاشوراء. أو الجمعة السابعة "الحزينة". أما التسعة أيام من محرم

- بالنسبة للسيرة الحسينية. أو الجمع السبع بالنسبة للآلام، بحيث يصبح مجموع الأيام تسعة وأربعين. أو خمسين يوماً بالنسبة لكليهما.
- ٢ - حدد يوم الصلْب في الآلام بيوم الجمعة، بينما حدد اليوم العاشر من محرّم.
- ٣ - لا يتعدّ يوم الجمعة الحزينة عن فصل الربيع ما بين شهري آذار/مارس- ونيسان/أبريل من العام. بينما يدور اليوم العاشر حول فصول السنة الميلادية، وأشهرها.
- ٤ - تكون الأربعين أو الخمسين يوماً من الصوم قبل يوم الجمعة الحزينة، ولا تتأخّر بعده الأبيوم واحد يوم سبت النور. بينما يكون الحداد بعد اليوم العاشر "عاشوراء" بأربعين يوماً.
- ٥ - حددت أيام التعازي بعشرة أيام "عشرية" لأنها تتبّع السنة الهجرية "القمرية"، لهذا لا يكون موعدها ثابتاً في السنة الدورية. بينما حددت مواعيد، وتتابع الجمع أسبوعياً، وبخاصة أسبوع الآلام، لكنها تتبّع السنة الغريغورية "الميلادية"، لهذا يختلف موعد الصوم الكبير، وعيد القيامة في توقيته بين سنة، وأخرى صعوداً، ونزولاً، ففي الوقت الذي يتأخّر موعد الصوم، وعيد القيامة بخاصة، يقال أن العيد هذه السنة نازلاً، والعكس صحيح.
- ٦ - يتحدد نوع المأكّل في كلا الطقسين، ففي الصوم الكبير يصل لدى بعض المكفرين إلى الإنقطاع لنصف يوم عن الأكل، لأنه الصوم في الغالب لا يتجاوز الإنقطاع عن الزفرين. أما في طقوس السيرة الحسينية فيتنوع ألوانه، نكهة، ومذاقاً. لكنها جميعاً تتسم بالمذاق الحلو.
- ٧ - يعمّ الفرح بعد اليوم الثالث للصلب، لأن المسيح قد قام قاهراً بذلك أعداءه الحقيقيين، سواء الذين ساهموا بصلبه. أو هؤلاء الذين جاء ليخلص البشر من شرورهم. أمّ بذلك التصالح بين الطبيعتين البشرية، والإلهية الذي أثبتته بقيامته. أما في التعازي الحسينية فإن موعد الحزن لمدة أربعين يوماً يبدأ فعلاً بعد اليوم العاشر، يوم "عاشوراء".
- ٨ - كلا السيرتين تحددان ذكرى الأربعين لحدث مشهود. ففي الجمعة الحزينة يكون موعداً للصعود. أما في التعازي فإنه موعد لجمع الرأس بالجسد، وإكمال مراسيم الدفن.
- ٩ - تؤدّى في كلا السيرتين الأدوار تشخيصياً. ففي الجمعة الحزينة تتولى مجموعة الشامسة مع الكاهن الدوران حول مراحل درب الصليب. ويمثّل نخبة مختارة من الشعب رسل المسيح يوم خميس الفصح الذي يسمى أيضاً خميس التفسيل. أما في التعازي، فالتشبيه يتم على صعيدين: الأول - تمثيل أهم الأدوار وتشخيص المسموح

منها. الثاني - ويبقى الدور الآخر في الجانب الذي يختص بالرواية، والذي لا يستطيع التشخيص إيفاءه حقه أداء، وتعبيراً قد لا يوصل المعنى المطلوب بموضوعية كاملة. ١٠ - يكون وصف الأعداء وتشخيصهم، في كلا السيرتين متركز على إبراز الصفات السيئة، بينما يحدث العكس بالنسبة للضحايا، والمضحى بهم. ١١ - يندثر الناس في كلا السيرتين النذور، وبخاصة السيدات لأطفالهن. شمعة بطول الطفل في أحد الشعانين، من أحداث أسبوع الآلام في الجمعة الحزينة. وجرح صغير في رأس طفل في اليوم العاشر من التعازي. وعموما فكلا السيرتين يجمعهما ذلك الهاجس المشرقي العربي المرهف. وذلك التعلق بالقيم المثالية التي تنحو لتخليص البشرية من شرورها، وأشرارها. هي على العموم جزء من تتكوين الطبيعة المشرقية والعربية بالذات لا يختلف فيها إلا المعتقد، والتوجه الخاصين.

للبحث صلة.

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