

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 42

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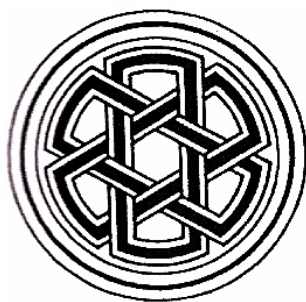
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BUDAPEST, 2021

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**IN MEMORY OF
PROFESSOR ALAN JONES**

(Manchester, 16 August 1933 – Oxford, 25 September 2021)

قفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب



Professor Alan Jones, of Oxford University, died on the 25th of September 2021. He was a great scholar, a man of infinite erudition and a true friend throughout the thirty-three years of our acquaintance.

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 42 (2021)

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He was born on the 16th of August 1933 in Manchester, where he spent the first 18 years of his life. He entered the Manchester Grammar School in 1944 and after finishing his studies there in 1951 he won a scholarship to St John's College Cambridge to study Classics. Part way through his time at Cambridge he shifted his focus on Arabic which became his main field of interest throughout his life. His teacher in Arabic was A. J. Arberry. On completing his degree at Cambridge in 1955, Alan Jones moved to Balliol College, Oxford to study Turkish history and to undertake a D. Phil. in Ottoman Turkish history between 1955 and 1957, where he was mentored by Professor Geoffrey Lewis. However, he set aside this intention in 1957 when he was appointed lecturer in Turkish and Islamic Studies, eventually focusing most of his time on Arabic, at the Oriental Institute of Oxford.

In 1963, he took a sabbatical and spent time with his family in Lebanon as a tutor at MECAS, the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, which was an Arabic language college between 1947 and 1978 just outside Beirut, where many diplomats were taught. Whilst there, he enjoyed his love of travel and visited sites in Jordan and Syria. He particularly loved Petra and the Kingdom of Jordan and was very honoured to teach several royal students from the country.

Back in Oxford, he was involved with the establishment of both Wolfson and St Cross Colleges, becoming a Fellow of the latter, as well as Vice-Master and Senior Tutor between 1965 and 1980. Alan Jones played a significant part in St Cross College's early days as he developed the College's links with the University and with other colleges and was part of the committee tasked with negotiating the College's move from its original St Cross site to its current home in St Giles. He was invited to join several intercollegiate committees and was later elected to the post of University Assessor.

Alan Jones joined Pembroke in 1980 as the first Tutorial Fellow in Arabic and remained there until his retirement in 2000. In 1996 he was promoted to a readership in Classical Arabic, while remained a lecturer in Islamic Studies. In 1997 he became professor of Arabic at the Oriental Institute. Alongside his teaching, he served the University on the General Board, was Chairman of the Oriental Faculty Board and of the Committee of the University's Computing Services and was Vice-Chairman of the governing body of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Besides, he was immensely proud to serve as a governor at his beloved Manchester Grammar School. He was also a proud trustee of the Altajir Trust, a UK based charitable organisation promoting Islamic studies.

His main fields of scholarly interest were Qur'ānic studies, Spanish Arabic *muwašṣah* poetry and early Arabic poetry. All his writings, both books and articles, are characterised by his concise style in which he treated essential themes of research in these fields, laying the foundations of further studies or giving important tools for those who are doing research on the given subject area.

His very first article, which dealt with the mystical independent letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqattaʿa*) at the beginning of 29 *sūras* of the Qurʾān, has been considered ever since its publication as a fundamental study based primarily on the opinions of the most important mediaeval Arab scholars. He had been teaching the Qurʾān and reading it with his students through half a century. The fruits of this continuous activity were two books: the translation of the Qurʾān and a highly popular textbook for the teaching of the Classical Arabic language, “Arabic through the Qurʾān”.

His translation of the Qurʾān is unique. In addition to incorporating the result of decades of study of the text, of the traditional Muslim authorities and of the works of other scholars, special thought has been given to what the text would have meant to its original hearers. He sought to follow the structure of the original Arabic text as precisely as possible, at the same time aiming at a readable translation. The traditional verse structure has been maintained, and where necessary, the verses were further divided into sections to indicate where there are natural points for pause, and to emphasise the original oral nature of the text. This is the first translation of the Qurʾān to adopt such an approach. The oral nature of the text presents problems for the translator because the recitation frequently gives the text a dimension that does not come across in silent reading. In addition, he provided background information not only for the entire Qurʾān, but also at the beginning of each *sūra*.

Alan Jones has also authored a series of studies dealing with the language and narrative technique of the Qurʾān and the committing of the Qurʾān to writing. In this connection it is especially noteworthy how he made correlation between the register of the pre-Islamic prose texts and that of the Qurʾān. He also called attention to some specially interesting themes in the Qurʾān: the paradise and hell, and the original place of the so-called Satanic verses. His last paper on this topic presented a new and a very much acceptable interpretation of one of the most frequent conjunctive particles in the Qurʾān, *laʿalla*, saying that it many times expresses God’s reminder, and is not meant only as a mere possibility.

His second field of study was the Arabic poetry in Spain, especially the *muwašṣah* poems. He began to collect data of this poetry in the seventies, for which purpose he was one of the firsts to use in this field a computer data base. He even participated as research associate in a project headed by Susan M. Hockey entitled “Output of non-standard characters using an SD4020” at the Oxford University Computer Centre in the mid-seventies and using his knowledge of non-Latin scripts – Greek, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, and even Cyrillic – assisted in creating the Oxford Concordance Programme (OCP) which made it possible to turn texts analysed in transliteration back to the original script. In connection with this activity, mention must be made of a project of which he was the principal investigator and the aim of

which was to establish a full concordance of the poems of Ḥāfīz. In the concordance, a complete line of text was printed for each reference in Persian characters.¹

After a long article on the *muwaššahāt* in the *Journal of Arabic Literature*, he prepared his first book on the Romance *ḥarġas*. Alan Jones made his objective clear at the outset, he wanted to put the academic record straight by making available to non-Arabists accurate information on the text of Romance *ḥarġas*. He worked for this aim by examining in detail each of the 42 *ḥarġas* which occur at the end of certain Arabic *muwaššahs* (some of them at the end of more than one poem) in a painstaking letter-by-letter review of the textual problem. In this book he applied a totally new approach to the readings of these difficult, sometimes hardly legible final lines of the *muwaššah* stanzas: he did not want to decide between the concurring views but only wanted to give an aid for further research presenting and explaining the different variant readings, by giving facsimiles and investigating the *ḥarġas* letter by letter. This book had started new directions of the research in England and Spain which led to a new theoretical approach concerning the Romance influence on the Arabic poetry in Spain. This milestone was followed in the next decade by the edition of two anthologies of the Andalusian *muwaššah* poetry: the *‘Uddat al-ġalīs* of ‘Alī ibn Bišrī from a unique manuscript and the *Ġayš al-tawšīḥ* of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, both being of outstanding literary interest. He had already with great generosity made these texts widely available on computer tape before the printed editions had been published.

The third field in which Alan Jones did research was pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. He presented the results of his work in two magnificent volumes, which can be used by students learning Classical Arabic poetry on a higher level and scholars interested in this field. In these volumes he not only gave the edition and translation of the chosen poems but also detailed commentaries of the expressions and the grammar of the lines as well as the interpretation of the different situations described by the poets. His aim was not to decide by any means the right interpretation of a word or line but instead he listed many occasional variants giving support to each of them. This method is better suited to the difficult Arabic poems than the effort to prefer one or another translation. Besides, he provided the two volumes with valuable introductory chapters on the different issues concerning pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, like origins and form, the language of early poetry, metre, authenticity, transmission, and the presentation of the different poetic genres. As is often the case with oral literature, we know next to nothing of the origins of Arabic poetry. The first surviving pieces, from the beginning of the sixth century, are fully developed, and the period from

¹ See *Computer-assisted research in the humanities: A directory of scholars active*. Edited by Joseph Raben, 15, 99. New York: Pergamon, 1977. See also, Susan M. Hockey, "A concordance to the Poems of Hafiz with output in Persian characters". In: *The computer and literary studies*. Edited by A.J. Aitken, R.W. Bailey, and N. Hamilton-Smith, 291–306. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973.

then till the second quarter of the seventh century was remarkable for the amount and quality of the poetry that was composed. In later times it was acknowledged as the zenith of Arabic poetic composition, notable for its many masterpieces. Learning to appreciate this early poetry is difficult, for a range of reasons: it is the work of people of a very alien milieu – the great composers were camel-dependant nomads; it has an extraordinarily rich vocabulary; its grammar has many complications that do not survive in the later language; its texts were transmitted orally for up to two-and-a-half centuries; and there are serious problems about authenticity. Yet all later Arabic poetry stems from it, and it is important for our understanding of the language and ideas current in Arabia at the rise of Islam. Its study is therefore a necessity for all serious students of Arabic. The poems are analysed in minute detail, providing the student with all the information needed to understand the texts and the accompanying translations, and then to consider each poem's overall purpose. Alan Jones opened a new way of discussing Arabic poetry when he gave a comprehensive handbook for the students instead of the previous Western method of 'text and vocabulary', similarly to the traditional way of teaching this kind of poetry in the Arab world where students have always been provided with detailed commentaries if they wanted to read the poems, in mediaeval and modern times as well.

The first volume of his *Early Arabic poetry* contains a study of fifteen poems from two of the more vivid genres: laments and poems by the outlaws, including the magnificent, brooding *Lāmiyyat al-'arab* of aš-Šanfarā, whilst the second focuses on famous odes (*qaṣīdas*), such as the *Mu'allaqāt* of Imru' ul-Qays, Labīd and 'Abīd, the *Kāfiyya* of Zuhayr and the *Mariyya* of Abū Du'ayb. The new, 2011 edition of *Early Arabic Poetry* combines the two volumes first published in 1992 and 1996, bringing them together with a new foreword and introduction covering the major background problems faced by students of early Arabic poetry.

Professor Alan Jones continued his scholarly activities till the end of his life and had several major projects which remained unfinished. In his last lecture entitled "The linguistic background to the Qur'ān", held in October 2019 at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, he critically examined the approaches of early Arabic grammarians to the Qur'ān in relation to the language of pre-Islamic poetry and the dialect of the Qurayš. Thence the presentation moved on to a discussion of a range of topics including linguistic registers, pausal forms, and patterns of assonance to shed new light on the language of the Qur'ān. On this occasion he also informed his audience that he was writing a book on the pre-Islamic background of the Qur'ān. Another last ambitious program of his was to compile a handbook on the *muwašṣah* poetry. It is a tremendous source of sadness that he has not lived to bring these two books to fruition.

His memory will be kept in the heart of his family, friends, colleagues and students and the products of his scholarship will serve generations to come.

The Publications of Professor Alan Jones

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Kinga Dévényi – Tamás Iványi

TRONÇONS METRIQUES DANS LE CORAN

Georges Bohas (avec la participation¹ d'Abderrahim Saguer)

ICAR, Lyon

1. Introduction

Mes recherches en cours ont pour but de préciser la nature d'une relation formelle entre la poésie 'amūdī-s² et le texte coranique, en envisageant le Coran d'une manière laïque, comme un texte, au même titre que l'Iliade, l'Odyssée ou la Chanson de Roland. Dans Bohas et Roquet (2018) j'ai montré que certaines sourates pouvaient s'analyser comme des réalisations de mètres 'amūdī-s. Par exemple la sourate aš-Šarḥ manifeste la structure métrique du mètre *ramal* :

fa" 'ila" tun // fa" 'ila" tun³
x [⊖ -] x // x [⊖ -] x⁴
wawaḍa 'nā 'anka wizrak
⊖ [⊖ -] - // - [⊖ -] -
'alladī 'anqaḍa zāhrak
- [⊖ -] - // ⊖ [⊖ -] -
warafa 'nā laka ḍikrak
⊖ [⊖ -] - // ⊖ [⊖ -] -

Pour appareiller le texte et l'analyse métrique je suis parfois contraint de ne pas respecter les frontières de mots. C'est pour cela que dans l'analyse des versets je ferai figurer préalablement le texte arabe et le lecteur pourra toujours s'y reporter. Quand je me situe dans la logique d'al-Ḥalīl, je note les longues à sa manière : a",

¹ Abderrahim Saguer a extrait les tronçons cités à partir du logiciel *shamela library*.

² On a l'habitude de distinguer entre « poésie préislamique » et « poésie classique », mais du point de vue de la métrique, les deux sont régies par le même système (voir Bohas 2010). Il nous faut donc un terme qui englobe les deux. « Poésie verticale ('amūdī) » est une expression adéquate, car elle rend compte de la présentation du poème (verticalité), de l'unité du *wazn* (mètre), et de l'unité de la *qāfiya* (rime). Cela est commun à la poésie ancienne, à la poésie classique, néo-classique, ainsi qu'à celle de la *nahḍa* et de la période moderne chez les tenants du classicisme.

³ Le mètre *ramal* dans la notation ḥalīlienne.

⁴ Le mètre *ramal* dans ma notation.

iy, uw (le " symbolisant le *alif*). Il est bien connu qu'aucun ouvrage d'al-Ḥalīl traitant de métrique ne nous est parvenu. On accède à sa théorie par des ouvrages postérieurs comme le *Kitāb al-Kāfi fī l-'arūd wal-qawāfi* d'al-Ḥaṭīb at-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109)⁵. Dans cet ouvrage, la définition des unités métriques se trouve p. 17–18. Dans ma notation, les éléments métriques variables sont symbolisés par des x, qui peuvent se réaliser en brèves (◡) ou longues (–)⁶. Pour faciliter la lecture, les *watid*-s figurent en gras et entre corchets : *mağmū* [◡ –] et *mafrūq* [– ◡]. J'ai montré aussi qu'une sourate relativement longue, *ar-Raḥmān*, présentait une structure prévalente inverse de celle du mètre *basīt* :

P1	P2	P3	P4
x x [◡ –]	x [◡ –]	x [◡ –]	x x [◡ –]

qui s'écrirait dans la notation ḥalīlienne :

mustaf' ilun // fa" 'ilun // fa" 'ilun // mustaf' ilun

et qui manifeste une inversion de P3 et P4 du *basīt* qui s'écrit, lui :

mustaf' ilun // fa" 'ilun // mustaf' ilun // fa" 'ilun

x x [◡ –] // x [◡ –] // x x [◡ –] // x [◡ –]

Je vais adopter ici une démarche différente consistant à montrer que le texte coranique fourmille de séquences qui ont elles-mêmes la structure de mètres '*amūdī*-s, comme si le Coran était parsemé de tronçons de vers, voire de vers entiers. Je cite les versets ou extraits de versets en forme pausale, comme dans la lecture du Šayḥ Maḥmūd al-Ḥuṣarī (*riwāyat Ḥafs*)⁷. Cela implique que la plupart des exemples se termineront par des sur-longues. Autrement dit, pour reprendre la terminologie ḥalīlienne, au lieu de fa" 'ilun, on aura fa" 'ila"n⁸, au lieu de mustaf' ilun on aura mustaf' ila"n, etc. en finale. Pour moi, ces unités pausales sont des longues (–) comme les autres. Je mène la démonstration dans le cadre de ma théorie, mais je donne suffisamment d'indications pour qu'un tenant de la métrique d'al-Ḥalīl puisse suivre l'argumentation.

Les analyses de Stoetzer (1989) et Paoli (2008, 2016) opposent le système : la théorie d'al-Ḥalīl, ce qu'elle prédit et ses réalisations effectives dans le corpus des poètes arabes. Ma théorie (dans la formulation Bohas 2010) est déjà plus restrictive que celle d'al-Ḥalīl, mais il y a quand même des cas où elle prédit la possibilité de réalisations qui ne sont pas ou peu attestées dans le corpus ancien. Par exemple, d'après le tableau de Paoli (2016 : 188–189), dans le corpus qu'il a étudié, un *sarī*' ne peut pas commencer par deux brèves, pourtant la variable fa' ilatun est attestée

⁵ Désormais *al-Kāfi*.

⁶ Pour une présentation de mon modèle de la métrique arabe, voir Bohas 2010.

⁷ aš-Šayḥ Maḥmūd Ḥalīl al-Ḥuṣarī, *al-Muṣḥaf al-murattal*, s.d.

⁸ Dans la tradition ḥalīlienne on parle à ce propos de *taḍyīl*, mais cela ne concerne que la longue du *watid* en finale d'hémistiche. Voir la définition dans *al-Kāfi*, p. 144 et des exemples p. 46–47.

dans les deux premiers pieds aussi bien chez at-Tibrīzī que chez az-Zamaḥṣarī par le vers :

wabaladin qaṭa ‘ahu ‘āmirun waḡamalin ḥasarahu fī ṭ-ṭarīq

x	x	⊖	–	x	x	⊖	–	–	⊖	–
wa	ba	la	din	qa	ṭa	‘a	huw	‘a"	mi	run
fa	‘i	la	tun	fa	‘i	la	tun	fa"	‘i	lun

x	x	⊖	–	x	x	⊖	–	–	⊖	–
wa	ḡa	ma	lin	ḥa	sa	ra	huw	fiṭ	ṭa	riyq
fa	‘i	la	tun	fa	‘i	la	tun	fa"	‘i	la"n

Dans mon modèle ce mètre est représenté par (présenté ici en parallèle à celui d’al-Ḥalīl) :

x	x	⊖	–	x	x	⊖	–	x	⊖	–
mus	taf	‘i	lun	mus	taf	‘i	lun	fa"	‘il	lun

où les x x étant des variables peuvent être réalisées :

–	–	[⊖	–]
–	⊖	[⊖	–]
⊖	–	[⊖	–]
⊖	⊖	[⊖	–]

comme dans le *raḡaz*. Est-ce que le système doit laisser ces quatre possibilités offertes, en admettant qu’à un certain moment l’une d’elle n’a pas été réalisée ? Ou doit-il être formulé de manière à l’exclure ? Paoli (2008, 2016) opte clairement pour la deuxième solution. J’opte ici pour la première. Cela veut dire que je fais l’hypothèse que lorsqu’un locuteur ayant une capacité métrique (j’entends par là, quelqu’un qui est apte à reconnaître un mètre à la simple audition, tout en sachant que de tels locuteurs sont de plus en plus rares, mais rien n’empêche de supposer leur existence à l’époque ancienne) sera exposé à une séquence analogue à :

wabaladin qaṭa ‘ahu ‘āmirun waḡamalin ḥasarahu fī ṭṭarīq

wa	ba	la	din	qa	ṭa	‘a	hū	‘ā	mi	run
⊖	⊖	[⊖	–]	⊖	⊖	[⊖	–]	–	⊖	–
fa	‘i	la	tun	fa	‘i	la	tun	fa"	‘il	lun

il l’identifiera spontanément comme un *sarī*’, ayant reconnu, dans cette séquence sujette au *ziḥāf al-ḥabl*, la représentation abstraite :

x	x	[⊖	–]	x	x	[⊖	–]	x	⊖	–
mus	taf	‘i	lun	mus	taf	‘i	lun	fa"	‘il	lun

qu'elle soit attesté dans le corpus réuni par Paoli ou non. Rien n'empêche, me semble-t-il, de garder au système son abstraction et si l'on veut vraiment exclure la séquence

U	U	[U	-]
---	---	----	----

on peut le faire par un filtre de surface analogue à la *murāqaba* (voir Bohas et Paoli 1997 :56–57). Filtre qui pourra être débranché quand on trouvera des occurrences attestées⁹.

Enfin, il me faut dire un mot de la thèse de Capron de Caprona (1981). Ses analyses rythmiques sont à la fois quantitatives et accentuelles. Les miennes sont strictement métriques. Il n'hésite pas à modifier le texte dans le but de « rétablir une panmétrie à partir de quasi-isométries » (1981 :332) alors que je m'en tiens toujours au texte de la *riwāya* de Ḥafs tel qu'il est psalmodié par le Ṣayḥ Maḥmūd al-Ḥuṣarī. On voit bien la différence dans l'analyse de la sourate 81 (Capron de Caprona 1981 : 331 sv.) et dans Bohas et Roquet (2018 : 171 sv.). Enfin, son but est de mettre en évidence les structures rythmiques globales (grilles harmoniques) des sourates mecquoises, le mien est de dégager du texte des structures métriques, quelle que soit l'origine des sourates.

2. Position du problème

Le mètre *kāmil* se compose de deux hémistiches de trois pieds UU – [U–] chacun, (mutafa"ilun chez al-Ḥalīl) où les deux brèves peuvent être remplacées par une longue (*mustaf'ilun* chez al-Ḥalīl). Par exemple :

'afati d-diyāru maḥalluhā famuqāmuhā¹⁰

mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun	mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun	mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun
U	U	–	[U	–]	U	U	–	[U	–]	U	U	–	[U	–]
'a	fa	tid	di	ya"	ru	ma	ḥal	lu	ha"	fa	mu	qa"	mu	ha"

Si l'on analyse la fin du verset 67 de la sourate *Yūsuf*, 12 :

(وَعَلَيْهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُتَوَكِّلُونَ)

wa 'alayhi falyatawakkali lmutawakkilūn¹¹

on constate qu'il entre parfaitement dans le tableau, *modulo* l'accommodation de la dernière syllabe due à la pause : mutafa"ila"n :

⁹ Voir Bohas, à paraître.

¹⁰ La plupart des exemples sont empruntés au *Kitāb al-Kāfi*.

¹¹ Comme je l'ai dit dans l'introduction, je cite les versets sous leur forme pausale, conformément au *tartīl* du ṣayḥ.

mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun	mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun	mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun	
∪	∪	–	[∪ –]	∪	∪	–	[∪ –]	∪	∪	–	[∪ –]	∪	∪	–	[∪ –]
'a	fa	tid	di	ya"	ru	ma	ḥal	lu	ha"	fa	mu	qa"	mu	ha"	
wa	'a	lay	hi	fal	ya	ta	wak	ka	lil	mu	ta	wak	ki	luwn	
										mu	ta	fa"	'i	la"n	

C'est donc qu'il présente la structure d'un hémistiche de *kāmil*. L'hémistiche peut aussi ne comporter que deux pieds (*mağzū'*), comme dans le verset suivant :

Coran, *al-Ḥağğ*, 22, 21 :

(وَلَهُمْ مَقَامِعٌ مِّنْ حَدِيدٍ)

walahum maqāmi 'u min ḥadīd

mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun	mu	ta	fa"	'i	la"n
∪	∪	–	[∪ –]	∪	∪	–	[∪ –]	∪	–]
wa	la	hum	ma	qa"	mi	'u	min	ḥa	diy

À la place des deux brèves, on peut trouver une longue, ce qui donne un pied /– – [∪–]/ (mustaf'ilun), comme dans le deuxième pied du verset suivant :

Coran, *al-Ḥağğ*, 22, 23 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

(وَلِنَاسِهِمْ فِيهَا حَرِيرٌ)

walibāsuhum fīhā ḥarīr

mu	ta	fa"	'i	lun	mus	taf	'i	la"n
∪	∪	–	[∪ –]	–	–	–	[∪ –]	–]
wa	li	ba"	su	hum	fiy	ha"	ḥa	riyr

S'il s'agissait de quelques cas, on pourrait peut-être faire appel au hasard pour expliquer cette « coïncidence », mais je vais démontrer que des cas analogues sont légion. Dans le présent article je procède à un survol. Dans Bohas (à paraître) j'étudierai en détail la sourate *al-Baqara*.

3. Analyse

3.1. Watid en fin de pied¹²

Rağaz

Chaque hémistiche de ce mètre se compose de deux ou trois pieds incluant deux variables que nous symbolisons par x et un *watid* [∪ –] : x x [∪ –]. Dans le modèle ḥalīlien : mustaf'ilun trois fois. Le dernier pied pouvant être réalisé conformément au modèle, ou en ∪ – – (fa'uwlun) ou – – – (maf'uwlun). at-Tibrīzī donne aussi

¹² Voir le tableau des mètres dans Bohas 2010.

mafa"ilun (ici avec la pause mafa"ila"n), le dernier pied étant sujet aux *ziḥāfāt* comme les autres : [∪ –].

Trois pieds, exemple dans la poésie: *dārun li-salmā 'id sulaymā ḡāratun*
Analyse :

x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]
dā	run	li	sal	mā	'id	su	lay	mā	ḡā	ra	tun

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 90 :

{يَعْظُمُ لَعَلُّكُمْ تَتَذَكَّرُونَ}

ya 'izukum la'allakum tadḏakkarūn

x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]
dā	run	li	sal	mā	'id	su	lay	mā	ḡā	ra	tun
ya	'i	zu	kum	la	'al	la	kum	ta	ḏak	ka	rūn

Coran, *al-Mu'minūn*, 23, 108 :

{قَالَ اخْسَئُوا فِيهَا وَلَا تُكَلِّمُونَ}

qāla ḥsa'u fihā walā tukallimūn

x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]
qa"	laḥ	sa	'uw	fiy	ha"	wa	la"	tu	kal	li	muwn
mus	taf	'i	lun	mus	taf	'i	lun	ma	fa"	'i	la "n

Dans la notation ḥalīlienne, le dernier pied serait noté mafa"ila"n, du fait que nous suivons la lecture avec pause d'al-Ḥuṣārī.

Coran *at-Tawba*, 9, 120 :

{إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضَيِّعُ أَجْرَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ}

'inna llāha lā yuḏī'u 'aḡra lmuḥsinīn

Avec une syllabe surérogatoire à l'initiale qui n'est pas prise en compte dans le calcul métrique. Ce phénomène est licite dans la théorie ḥalīlienne qui l'appelle le *ḥazm*. Cela consiste à ajouter jusqu'à trois syllabes en début de vers. Je parlerai à ce sujet de syllabe orpheline initiale que j'écrirai en italiques.

x	x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]
'in	nal	lā	ha	lā	yu	ḏī	'u	'aḡ	ral	muḥ	si	nīm

Au lieu de la forme *mustaf'ilun*

x	x	[∪	–]
---	---	----	----

le dernier pied peut revêtir la forme *maf'uw'lun* (trois longues)

–	–	–
---	---	---

comme dans :

Coran, *Ṭāhā*, 20, 49 :

﴿قَالَ فَمَنْ رَبُّكُمَا يَا مُوسَى﴾

qāla faman rabbukumā yā Mūsā

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	-	-	-
qā	la	fa	man	rab	bu	ku	mā	yā	Mū	sā

Coran, *Ṭāhā*, 20, 51 :

﴿قَالَ فَمَا بَالُ الْفُرُونَ الْأُولَى﴾

qāla famā bālu lqurūni l'ūlā

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	-	-	-
qā	la	fa	mā	bā	lul	qu	rū	nil	'ū	lā

Enfin, le dernier pied peut également revêtir la forme fa' uwlun (ici fa' uwla"n)

U	-	-
---	---	---

comme dans Coran, *aš-Šu'arā'*, 26, 210 :

﴿وَمَا تَنْزَلَتْ بِهِ الشَّيَاطِينُ﴾

wamā tanazzalat bihi ššayāṭīn

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	U	-	-
wa	mā	ta	naz	za	lat	bi	hiš	ša	yā	ṭīn

La forme courte du rağaz (*mağzū'*)

Rağaz à deux pieds, exemple dans la poésie :

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]
qad	hā	ğa	qal	bī	man	zi	lun

Coran, *Āl 'Imrān*, 3, 51 [5 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿هَذَا صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمٌ﴾

hādā širāṭun mustaqīm

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]
qad	hā	ğa	qal	bī	man	zi	lun
hā	ḏā	ši	rā	ṭun	mus	ta	qīm

Coran, *Āl 'Imrān*, 3, 8 [6 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ﴾

wallāhu ḏū lfaḏli l'aẓīm

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]
wal	lā	hu	ḏul	faḏ	lil	'a	ẓim

Coran, *an-Nisā'*, 4, 13 :

﴿وَذَلِكَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ﴾

waḡālika lfawzu l'azīm

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]
wa	ḡā	li	kal	faw	zul	'a	zīm

Coran, *al-Baqara*, 2, 161 [18 occurrences coraniques] :

(إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا)

'inna llaḡāna kafarū

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]
'in	nal	la	ḡi	na	ka	fa	rū

Coran, *al-Mu'minūn*, 23, 84 :

(قُلْ أَفَلَا تَتَذَكَّرُونَ)

qul 'afalā taḡakkarūn

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]
qul	'a	fa	lā	ta	ḡak	ka	rūn

On trouve même cette séquence de

x	x	[U	-]
mus	taf	'i	lun

itérée plus de 3 fois (5 fois), comme dans :

Coran, *al-Ḥaḡḡ*, 22, 47 :

(وَإِنَّ يَوْمًا عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ كَأَلْفِ سَنَةٍ مِّمَّا تَعُدُّونَ)

wa 'inna yawman 'inda rabbika ka 'alfi sanatin mimmā ta 'uddūn

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]
wa	'in	na	yaw	man	'in	da	rab	bi	ka	ka	'al

x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	-
fī	sa	na	tīn	mim	mā	ta	'ud	dūn

avec une syllabe orpheline finale. La longue isolée en fin de vers (pour moi syllabe orpheline) est bien attestée en poésie 'amūdī, c'est ce qui s'appelle, dans la terminologie ḡalīlienne, le *tarfīl*, mais se limite en métrique ḡalīlienne à *mutafa''ilun* et *fa''ila''tun*.

Munsariḡ

Le *munsariḡ* se distingue du *raḡaz* par le fait que dans son deuxième pied on trouve un trochée (*watid mafrūq*) à la place du iambe (*watid maḡmū'*). Sa forme standard est la suivante :

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	x	x	[∪	-]
mus	taf	'i	lun	maf	'uw	la "	tu	mus	taf	'i	lun

son dernier pied revêt souvent la forme :

-	∪	[∪	-]
muf	ta	'i	lun

comme dans le tronçon suivant :

Coran, *as-Sağda*, 32, 22 :

(إِنَّا مِنَ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مُنْتَقِمُونَ)

'innā min almuğrimīna muntaqimūn

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-	∪	[∪	-]
mus	taf	'i	lun	fa"	'i	la "	tu ¹³	muf	ta	'i	lun
'in	nā	mi	nal	muğ	ri	mī	na	mun	ta	qi	mūn ¹⁴

Sarī'

Dans ma théorie, le *sarī'* se distingue du *rağaz* dans son troisième pied qui se compose de /∪∪-/ (fa' ilun) ou de /-∪-/ (fa" ilun) ou de /--/ (fa' lun), les deux premiers pieds ayant la forme mustaf' ilun comme le *rağaz*.

Exemple en poésie : *yā man 'adā fī 'uğbihi waddalāl*

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	∪	-
yā	man	'a	dā	fī	'uğ	bi	hi	wad	da	lāl

Coran, *an-Nisā'*, 4, 47 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

(وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ مَفْعُولًا)

wakāna 'amru llāhi maf'ulā

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	-
wa	kā	na	'am	rul	lā	hi	maf	'ū	lā

Coran, *Yūsuf*, 12, 21 :

(وَاللَّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِهِ)

wallāhu gālibun 'alā 'amrihī

¹³

fa"	'i	[la "	tu]
-----	----	-------	-----

est une variante possible de

maf	'uw	[la "	tu]
-----	-----	-------	-----

par le *zihāf tayy*.

¹⁴ Forme pausale, voir page 2.

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	∪	-
wal	lā	hu	ġā	li	bun	'a	lā	'am	ri	hī

Coran, *ar-Ra'd*, 13, 36 :

(إِلَيْهِ أَدْعُو وَإِلَيْهِ مَأْب)

'ilayhi 'ad 'ū wa 'ilayhi ma 'āb

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	∪	-
'i	lay	hi	'ad	'ū	wa	'i	lay	hi	ma	'āb

Coran, *Yūsuf*, 12, 77 :

(وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا تَصِفُونَ)

wallāhu 'a 'lamu bimā taṣifūn

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	∪	∪	-
wal	lā	hu	'a'	la	mu	bi	mā	ta	ṣi	fūn

Le deuxième pied est de forme *fa'ilatun (maḥbūl)* attesté aussi bien chez at-Tibrīzī (*Kāfi* 101) que chez az-Zamaḥṣarī (*Qisṭās* 190)¹⁵ :

x	x	[∪	-]
fa	'i	la	tun
la	mu	bi	ma''

wabaladin qaṭa 'ahu 'āmirun

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	∪	-
wa	ba	la	dīn	qa	ṭa	'a	huw	'a''	mi	run
fa	'i	la	tun	fa	'i	la	tun	fa''	'i	lun

Coran, *TāHā*, 20, 95 :

(قَالَ فَمَا خَطْبُكَ يَا سَامِرِيُّ)

qāla famā ḥaṭbuka yā sāmirī

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	∪	-
qā	la	fa	mā	ḥaṭ	bu	ka	yā	sā	mi	rī

Coran, *al-Mu'minūn*, 23, 36 :

(هَيَّاتِ هَيَّاتِ لِمَا تُوْعَدُونَ)

hayhāta hayhāta limā tū'adūn

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	∪	-
hay	hā	ta	hay	hā	ta	li	mā	tū	'a	dūn

Le deuxième pied

¹⁵ Voir la discussion dans l'introduction.

x	x	[∪	-]
ha "	ta	li	ma "
muf	ta	'il	lun

maṭwī de *mustaf'ilun*, est bien attesté, par exemple dans un vers d'al-Ḥuṭay'a cité par az-Zamaḥṣārī (*Qisṭās* 189–190) et at-Tibrīzī (*Kāfī* 100):

waylaka 'amṭa"lu ṭariyfin qaliyl

x	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-	∪	-
way	la	ka	'am	ṭa "	lu	ṭa	riy	fin	qa	liyl
muf	ta	'i	lun	muf	ta	'i	lun	fa "	'i	la "n

Basīṭ

En l'état, je ne peux produire que deux tronçons ayant la forme d'un *basīṭ maḡzū'* :

Coran, *aṣ-Ṣu'arā'*, 26, 50 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

(إِنَّا إِلَىٰ رَبِّنَا مُنْقَلِبُونَ)

'innā 'ilā rabbinā munqalibūn

x	x	[∪	-]	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]
'in	nā	'i	lā	rab	bi	nā	mun	qa	li	būn
mus	taf	'i	lun	fa"	'i	lun	muf	ta	'i	la"n

Coran, *al-Qaṣaṣ*, 28, 30 :

(إِنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ)

'innī 'ana llāhu rabbu l'ālamīn

x	x	[∪	-]	x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]
'in	nī	'a	nal	lā	hu	rab	bul	'ā	la	mīn
mus	taf	'i	lun	fa"	'i	lun	mus	taf	'i	la"n

3.2. Watid en milieu de pied

Le *Ramal* peut avoir trois ou deux pieds par hémistiche. Dans le premier cas, le premier hémistiche se compose de deux pieds x [∪ -] x, fa"'ila"tun pour al-Ḥalīl et d'un troisième de forme - [∪ -] (fa"'ilun, ou fa"'ila"n).

Exemple à trois pieds en poésie : *qālātī ḥansā'u lammā ḡi'tuhā*

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	x	-	[∪	-]
qā	la	ṭil	ḥan	sā	'u	lam	mā	ḡi'	tu	hā

Exemple avec deux pieds en poésie : *muḡfirātun dārisātun*

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	-
muḡ	fi	rā	tun	dā	ri	sā	tun

Forme longue dans le Coran :

Coran, *al-Hiġr*, 15, 46 :

(ادْخُلُوا بِسَلَامٍ آمِينَ)

'udħulūhā bi-salāmin 'āminīn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	-	[U	-]
'ud	ħu	lū	hā	bi	sa	lā	min	'ā	mi	nīn

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 55 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

(فَتَمَتَّعُوا فَسَوْفَ تَعْلَمُونَ)

fatamatta 'ū fasawfa ta 'lamūn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	-	[U	-]
fa	ta	mat	ta	'ū	fa	saw	fa	ta'	la	mūn

Coran, *an-Naml*, 27, 16 :

(إِنَّ هَذَا لَهُوَ الْفُضْلُ الْمُبِينُ)

'inna hādā lahuwa lfaḍlu lmubīn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	-	[U	-]
'in	na	hā	ḍā	la	hu	wal	faḍ	lul	mu	bīn

Coran, *aṣ-Ṣāffāt*, 37, 60 :

(إِنَّ هَذَا لَهُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ)

'inna hādā lahuwa lfawzu l'azīm

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	-	[U	-]
'in	na	hā	ḍā	la	hu	wal	faw	zul	'a	zīm

Forme courte dans le Coran (2 pieds) :

Coran, *al-'Ankabūt*, 29, 45 :

(وَلَذِكْرُ اللَّهِ أَكْبَرُ)

walaḍikru llāhi 'akbar

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	-
wa	la	ḍik	rul	lā	hi	'ak	bar

Madīd

Le *madīd* relève aussi du groupe à *watid* médian x [U -] x, fa"ila"tun (avec *ziḥāf* : fa"ila"tun ou fa"ila"tu), mais du fait que dans son deuxième pied une variable x a été effacée : /x [U -] Ø/, fa"ilun (avec *ziḥāf* : fa'ilun), al-Ḥalīl le fait « tourner » avec le *ṭawīl* et le *baṣīt* qui alternent aussi des pieds pairs et des pieds impairs, mais comme le *madīd* n'a jamais plus que trois pieds, il est obligé de dire qu'il est toujours *maġzū'* (voir *al-Kāfī*, 49 et 31).

Exemple en poésie : *yā li-bakrin 'anširū lī kulayban*

L'hémistiche de ce mètre revêt la forme suivante :

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
fa"	'i	la"	tun	fa"	'i	lun	fa"	'i	la"	tun
ya"	li	bak	rin	'an	ši	ruw	liy	ku	lay	ban

À comparer avec Coran, *aš-Šu 'arā'*, 26, 81 :

(وَالَّذِي يُمِيتُنِي ثُمَّ يُحْيِينِ)

wallaḏī yumītunī tumma yuhyīn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
fa"	'i	la"	tun	fa"	'i	lun	fa"	'i	la"	tun
ya"	li	bak	rin	'an	ši	ruw	liy	ku	lay	ban
wal	la	ḏiy	yu	miy	tu	niy	tum	ma	yuḥ	yiyn
							fa"	'i	la"	ta"n

Coran, *Maryam*, 19, 57 :

(وَرَفَعْنَاهُ مَكَانًا عَلِيًّا)

warafa 'nāhu makānan 'aliyyā

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
yā	la	bak	rin	'an	ši	rū	liy	ku	lay	ban
wa	ra	fa'	nā	hu	ma	kā	nan	'a	liy	yā

Le troisième pied peut aussi perdre sa dernière variable et revêtir la forme /x [U -] / fā'ilun ou fa'ilun ou même /- -/ fa'lun.

Poésie : 'i'lamū 'annī lakum ḥāfīzun

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
fa"	'i	la"	tun	fa"	'i	lun	fa"	'i	lun	
'i'	la	muw	'an	nī	la	kum	ḥā	fi	zun	

Coran, *aš-Šu 'arā'*, 26, 2 [3 occurrences coraniques] :

(تِلْكَ آيَاتُ الْكِتَابِ الْمُبِينِ)

tilka 'āyātu lkitābi lmuḃīn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
fa"	'i	la"	tun	fa"	'i	lun	fa"	'i	la"n	
til	ka	'ā	yā'	tul	ki	ta"	bil	mu	biyn	

Coran, *aš-Šu 'arā'*, 26, 58 :

(وَكُنُوزٍ وَمَقَامٍ كَرِيمٍ)

wakunūzin wamaqāmin karīm

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	x	[∪	-]
fa	'i	la''	tun	fa	'i	lun	fa''	'i	la''n
wa	ku	nuw	zin	wa	ma	qa''	min	ka	riym

Coran, *aš-Šu'arā'*, 26, 195 :

{بِلِسَانٍ عَرَبِيٍّ مُبِينٍ}

bi-lisānin 'arabiyyin mubīn

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[∪	-]	x	[∪	-]
fa	'i	la''	tun	fa	'i	lun	fa''	'i	la''n
bi	li	sa''	nin	'a	ra	biy	yin	mu	biyn

Ḥaṭīf

Exemple en poésie : *layta mā fāta min šabābī ya 'ūdū*

Ce mètre a une structure analogue à celle du *ramal*, mais dans le deuxième pied son *watid* est *mafrūq* [- ∪] (trochée), ce qui donne la forme suivante :

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	x	x	[∪	-]	-
fa''	'i	la''	tun	mus	taf	'i	lun	fa''	'i	la''	tun
lay	ta	ma''	fa''	ta	min	ša	ba''	biy	ya	'uw	duw

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 3 [5 occurrences coraniques] :

{خَلَقَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ بِالْحَقِّ}

ḥalaqa ssamāwāti wal 'arḍa bilḥaqq

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	x	x	[∪	-]	-
lay	ta	mā	fā	ta	min	ša	bā	bī	ya	'ū	dū
ḥa	la	qas	sa	mā	wā	tī	wal	'ar	ḍa	bil	ḥaqq

Coran, *al-'Isrā'*, 17, 31 :

{إِنَّ قَتْلَهُمْ كَانَ خِطْئًا كَبِيرًا}

'inna qatlahum kāna ḥiṭ'an kabīrā

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	x	x	[∪	-]	-
'in	na	qat	la	hum	kā	na	ḥiṭ	'an	ka	bī	rā

Il est possible que la longue finale du dernier pied revête la forme fa'ilun /v [v-]/, ce qui donne le schéma suivant :

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	x	v	[∪	-]
fa''	'i	la''	tun	mus	taf	'i	lun	fa	'i	lun

Coran, *Hūd*, 11, 111 :

{إِنَّهُ بِمَا يَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرٌ}

'innahū bimā ya'malūn ḥabīr

x	[U	-]	x	x	[-	U]	x	v	[U	-]
'in	na	hū	bi	mā	ya '	ma	lū	na	ḥa	ḥīr

Coran, *Hūd*, 11, 112 :

{إِنَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ}

'innahū bimā ta'malūna baṣīr

x	[U	-]	x	x	[-	U]	x	v	[U	-]
'in	na	hū	bi	mā	ta '	ma	lū	na	ba	ṣīr

Coran, *Yūsuf*, 12, 50 :

{إِنَّ رَبِّي بِكَيْدِهِمْ عَلِيمٌ}

'inna rabbī bikaydihimna 'alīm

x	[U	-]	x	x	[-	U]	x	v	[U	-]
'in	na	rab	bī	bi	kay	dī	hin	na	' a	līm

Il est possible également que le dernier pied revête la forme fa''ilun – [U -] comme dans Coran, *Yūsuf*, 12, 24 :

{إِنَّهُ مِنْ عِبَادِنَا الْمُخْلَصِينَ}

'innahū min 'ibādīnā lmuḥlaṣīn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[-	U]	x	-	[U	-]
'in	na	hū	min	'i	bā	dī	nal	muḥ	la	ṣīn

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 2 :

{لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا فَاتَّقُونِ}

lā 'ilāha 'illā 'ana fattaqūn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[-	U]	x	-	[U	-]
lā	'i	lā	ha	'il	lā	'a	na	fat	ta	qūn

Coran, *al-Mu'minūn*, 23, 26 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

{قَالَ رَبِّ انصُرْنِي بِمَا كَذَّبْتَنِي}

qāla rabbi nṣurnī bimā kaḍḍabūn(i)¹⁶

x	[U	-]	x	x	[-	U]	x	-	[U	-]
qā	la	rab	bin	ṣur	nī	bi	mā	kaḍ	ḍa	būn

Coran, *aṣ-Ṣu'arā'*, 26, 105 :

{كَذَّبَتْ قَوْمُ نُوحٍ الْمُرْسَلِينَ}

kaḍḍabat qawmu Nūḥin ilmursalīn

x	[U	-]	x	x	[-	U]	x	-	[U	-]
kaḍ	ḍa	bat	qaw	mu	Nū	ḥi	nil	mur	sa	līn

¹⁶ Lu par al-Ḥuṣarī à la forme pausale : *būn*.

Coran, *aš-Šu‘arā’*, 26, 217 :

(وَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى الْعَزِيزِ الرَّحِيمِ)

watawakkal ‘alā l‘azīzi rrahīm

x	[ʊ]	–	x	x	[–]	[ʊ]	x	–	[ʊ]	–
wa	ta	wak	kal	‘a	lal	‘a	zī	zir	ra	ḥīm

Coran, *an-Naml*, 27, 88 :

(إِنَّهُ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَفْعَلُونَ)

‘innahū ḥabīrun bimā taf‘alūn

x	[ʊ]	–	x	x	[–]	[ʊ]	x	–	[ʊ]	–
in	na	hū	ḥa	bī	run	bi	mā	taf	‘a	lūn

Coran, *al-Qaṣaṣ*, 28, 15 :

(إِنَّهُ عَدُوٌّ مُضِلٌّ مُبِينٌ)

‘innahu ‘aduwwun muḍillun mubīn

x	[ʊ]	–	x	x	[–]	[ʊ]	x	–	[ʊ]	–
in	na	hū	‘a	duw	wun	mu	ḍil	lun	mu	bīn

Enfin, ce dernier pied peut aussi revêtir la forme / – – – /

Coran, *Maryam*, 19, 61 :

(إِنَّهُ كَانَ وَعْدُهُ مَأْتِيًّا)

‘innahū kāna wa‘duhū ma‘tiyyā

x	[ʊ]	–	x	x	[–]	[ʊ]	x	–	–	–
‘in	na	hū	kā	na	wa‘	du	hū	ma‘	tiy	yā

Coran, *aš-Šu‘arā’*, 26, 212 :

(إِنَّهُمْ عَنِ السَّمْعِ لَمْعَزُولُونَ)

‘innahum ‘ani l’sam ‘i lama‘zulūn

x	[ʊ]	–	x	x	[–]	[ʊ]	x	–	–	–
‘in	na	hum	‘a	nil	sam	‘i	la	ma‘	zū	lūn

Deux pieds

Le *ḥafīf* peut n’avoir que deux pieds, comme dans l’exemple : *kullu ḥaḥbin ‘in lam takū*¹⁷

x	[ʊ]	–	x	x	[–]	[ʊ]	–
fa''	‘i	la''	tun	mus	taf	‘i	lun
kul	lu	ḥaḥ	bin	‘il ¹⁸	lam	ta	kuw

¹⁷ Le deuxième hémistiche : *nū gaḍibtum yasīrū* (at-Tibrīzī, *Kāfī* 112).

¹⁸ Le *n* de *‘in* s’assimile au *l* suivant.

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 14 [6 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَالْعَلَّامُ تَشْكُرُونَ﴾

walaʿallakum taškurūn

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-
wa	la	ʿal	la	kum	taš	ku	rūn

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 60 [12 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ﴾

wahuwa lʿazīzu lḥakīm

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-
wa	hu	wal	ʿa	zī	zul	ḥa	kīm

Coran, *an-Naml*, 27, 78 :

﴿وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْعَلِيمُ﴾

wahuwa lʿazīzu lʿalīm

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-
wa	hu	wal	ʿa	zī	zul	ʿa	līm

Coran, *ar-Rūm*, 30, 5 :

﴿وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الرَّحِيمُ﴾

wahuwa lʿazīzu rraḥīm

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-
wa	hu	wal	ʿa	zī	zur	ra	ḥīm

Coran, *al-Mulk*, 67, 2 :

﴿وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ﴾

wahuwa lʿazīzu lġafūr

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-
wa	hu	wal	ʿa	zī	zul	ġa	fūr

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 94 :

﴿وَلَكُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

walakum ʿaḏābun ʿaẓīm

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-
wa	la	kum	ʿa	ḏā	bun	ʿa	ẓīm

Coran, *al-Anbiyāʿ*, 21, 86 :

﴿إِنَّهُمْ مِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ﴾

ʿinnahum mina ṣ-ṣāliḥīn

x	[∪	-]	x	x	[-	∪]	-
in	na	hum	mi	naṣ	ṣā	li	ḥīn

Coran, *al-An‘ām*, 6, 138 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

(إِنَّهُ حَكِيمٌ عَلِيمٌ)

‘innahū ḥakīmūn ‘alīm

x	[∪	–]	x	x	[–	∪]	–
in	na	hū	ḥa	kī	mun	‘a	līm

Coran, *Hūd*, 11, 73 :

(إِنَّهُ حَمِيدٌ مَّجِيدٌ)

‘innahū ḥamīdūn mağīd

x	[∪	–]	x	x	[–	∪]	–
in	na	hū	ḥa	mī	dun	ma	ğīd

3. *Watid* initial

Hazağ

Ce mètre est fondé sur le pied [∪ –] x x *mafa*''*‘iy*lun. Dans la logique du cercle *muğtalab* d'al-Ḥalīl où il figure avec le *rağaz* et le *ramal*, il est produit avec trois pieds par hémistiche¹⁹, mais dans la réalité, il n'est attesté qu'avec deux pieds.

Exemple :

[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	x	–
ma	fa ''	‘iy	lun	ma	fa ''	‘iy	lun

dans le deuxième hémistiche, la dernière longue peut tomber, ce qui donne :

[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	–
ma	fa ''	‘iy	lun	fa	‘uw	lun

Le vers suivant illustre les deux cas :

ğazālun laysa lī minhū siwa ḥuzni lğamīlī

premier hémistiche

[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	x	–
ma	fa ''	‘iy	lun	ma	fa ''	‘iy	lun
ğā	zā	lun	lay	sa	liy	min	huw

deuxième hémistiche

[∪	–]	x	x	[∪	–]	–
ma	fa ''	‘iy	lun	fa	‘uw	lun
si	wal	ḥuz	nil	ğā	miy	liy

¹⁹ Il peut en avoir trois ou quatre en poésie persane.

Coran, *Tāhā*, 20, 61 :

{وَقَدْ خَابَ مَنْ افْتَرَى}

waqad ḥāba man iftarā

[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	-
ma	fa''	'iy	lu ²⁰	ma	fa''	'i ²¹	lun
wa	qad	ḥā	ba	ma	nif	ta	rā

Coran, *al-Furqān*, 25, 32 :

{وَرَتَّلْنَا لَهُ تَرْجِيلاً}

warattalnāhu tartīlā²²

[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	-
ma	fa''	'iy	lun	ma	fa''	'iy	lun
wa	rat	tal	na''	hu	tar	tiy	la''

Dans *Yūnus*, 10, 68 [9 occurrences coraniques], on trouve même un hémistiche *hazağ* complet de trois pieds [U -] x x, possibilité non exploitée en poésie arabe, mais bien conforme à la structure logique du cercle ḥalīlien.

{لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ}

lahū mā fiṣṣamāwāti wamā fi l'arḍ

[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	x	[U	-]	x	-
la	hū	mā	fis	sa	mā	wā	ti	wa	mā	fil	'arḍ

Wāfir

Dans la théorie ḥalīlienne, ce mètre figure dans le même cercle que le *kāmil* (voir *al-Kāfi*, 71). Comme lui, il fait usage de ce que j'ai appelé la diérèse. Sa forme canonique est la suivante :

[U	-]	U	U	-	[U	-]	U	U	-	U	-	-
mu	fa''	'a	la	tun	mu	fa''	'a	la	tun	fa	'uw	lun

mais dans les deux premiers pieds on peut voir apparaître la structure :

[U	-]	-	-
ma	fa''	'iy	lun

on retrouve les deux dans le tronçon :

Coran, *al-Baqara*, 2, 282 :

²⁰ Le n peut tomber, par *ziḥāf kaff* ; mafa'''iylun se réalise mafa'''iyly.

²¹ Le y peut tomber par *ziḥāf qabḍ* ; mafa'''iylun se réalise mafa'''ilun.

²² Cette séquence pourrait aussi s'interpréter comme un *wāfir mağzū'*.

(إِلَىٰ أَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى فَاكْتُبُوهُ)

'ilā 'ağalin musamman faktubūhū

[U	-]	U	U	-	[U	-]	-	-	U	-	-
'i	la "	'a	ğa	lin	mu	sam	man	fak	tu	bū	hū

Mutaqārib

Ce mètre est fondé sur l'itération du pied

[U	-]	x
----	----	---

quatre fois ou trois fois dans l'hémistiche, le dernier pied pouvant se réduire à [U -] ou même à -.

Exemples en poésie

Quatre pieds : *fa 'ammā tamīmun tamīmu bnū murrin*

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
fa	'am	mā	ta	mī	mun	ta	mī	mub	nu	mur	rin

Trois pieds : *ta 'ffaf walā tabta 'is* (le dernier pied étant ici [U -] : fa'al chez al-Ḥalīl)

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]
ta	'af	faf	wa	lā	tab	ta	'is

Coran, *Yūnus*, 10, 40, 4 pieds dont le dernier [U -] :

(وَرَبُّكَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُفْسِدِينَ)

warabbuka 'a'lamū bilmufsidīn

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]
wa	rab	bu	ka	'a'	la	mu	bil	muf	si	ḏīn

Coran, *aš-Šu'arā'*, 26, 103 [9 occurrences coraniques], quatre pieds dont le dernier [U -] :

(وَمَا كَانَ أَكْثَرُهُمْ مُّؤْمِنِينَ)

wamā kāna 'aktarūhum mu'minīn

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]
wa	mā	kā	na	'ak	ta	ru	hum	mu'	mi	nīn

Coran, *Maryam*, 19, 49, trois pieds [U -] x :

(وَكُلًّا جَعَلْنَا نَبِيًّا)

wakullan ġa'alnā nabīyyā

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
wa	kul	lan	ğa	'al	nā	na	biy	yā

Coran, *an-Nahl*, 16, 16, trois pieds [U -] x dont le dernier [U -] :

(وَبِالنَّجْمِ هُمْ يَهْتَدُونَ)

wabinnağmi hum yahtadūn

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]
wa	bin	nağ	mi	hum	yah	ta	dūn

Coran, *ar-Ra'd*, 13, 15, 7 pieds [U -] x :

(وَلِلَّهِ يَسْجُدُ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ)

walillāhi yasğudu man fi ssamāwāti wal'arđ ɤaw'an wakarhan

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x
wa	lil	lā	hi	yas	ğū	du	man	fil	sa	mā	wā

[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	-
ti	wal	'ar	di	ɤaw	'an	wa	kar	han

4. Le *mutadārik*

J'ai gardé pour la fin l'étude de ce mètre car c'est celui que j'ai le plus fréquemment rencontré. Il consiste en l'itération d'un pied x [U -] (fa''ilun) ou - - (fa'lun) quatre fois par hémistiche.

Par exemple : *ğā'anā 'āmirun sālīman šālīhan*

x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]
ğā	'a	nā	'ā	mi	run	sā	li	man	šā	li	han

Les pieds x [U -] (fa''ilun) et - - (fa'lun) peuvent alterner librement comme dans l'hémistiche suivant : *'asafun lilbayni yuraddiduhū*

x	[U	-]	-	-	x	[U	-]	x	[U	-]
'a	sa	fun	lil	bay	ni	yu	rad	di	du	hū

Dans la poésie libre moderne (qui dérive elle de la métrique 'amūdī²³), certains poètes font un usage très libre de cette combinaison de pieds x [U -] (fa''ilun) et - - (fa'lun). Par exemple, Adonis, *Ağānī Mihyār ad-dimaşqī*, 16 :

malikun mihyār : 2 pieds

U [U -] / - -

malikun walhulmu lahū qaşrun waḥadā 'iqu nār : 6 pieds

U [U -] / - - / U [U -] / - - / U [U -] / U [U -]

walyawma şakā hū lilkalimāt : 4 pieds

- - / U [U -] / - - / U [U -]

şawtun māt : 1 pied + orpheline finale.

- - / -

²³ Voir Bohas (2002).

Il en va de même dans le Coran où l'on trouve :

Deux pieds

al-'Anbiyā', 21, 6 :

﴿أَفَهُمْ يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

'afahum yu 'minūn

∪[∪ -] / - [∪ -]

al-'Anbiyā', 21,10 [13 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ﴾

'afalā ta 'qilūn

∪ [∪ -] - [∪ -]

al-'Anbiyā', 21, 30 :

﴿أَفَلَا يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

'afalā yu 'minūn

∪ [∪ -] / - [∪ -]

an-Nūr, 24, 57 :

﴿وَأَلْبَسَ الْمُصِيبُ﴾

walabi 'sa lmaṣīr

∪ [∪ -] / - [∪ -]

Trois pieds

al-Mā'ida, 5, 101 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ حَلِيمٌ﴾

wallāhu ḡafūrun ḥalīm

- - / ∪ [∪ -] / - [∪ -]

al-Anbiyā', 21, 50 :

﴿أَفَأَنْتُمْ لَهُ مُنْكَرُونَ﴾

'a fa 'an tum lahū munkirūn

∪ [∪ -] / - [∪ -] / - [∪ -]

al-Anfāl, 6, 48 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ﴾

wallāhu šadī du l'iqāb

- - / ∪ [∪ -] / - [∪ -]

an-Nūr, 24, 8 :

﴿إِنَّهُ لَمِنَ الْكَاذِبِينَ﴾

'innahu lamin alkāḏibīn

- [∪ -] / ∪ [∪ -] / - [∪ -]

an-Nūr, 24, 22 [13 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾

wallāhu ǧafūrun raḥīm

– /U [U –]/ – [U –]

an-Nūr, 24, 59 [13 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ﴾

wallāhu ‘alīmun ḥakīm

– /U [U –]/ – [U –]

an-Nūr, 24, 60 [8 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ﴾

wallāhu samī‘un ‘alīm

– /U [U –]/ – [U –]

Quatre pieds

al-Baqara, 2, 283 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ عَلِيمٌ﴾

wallāhu bimā ta ‘malūna ‘alīm

– – /U [U –]/ – [U –]/ U [U –]

an-Nūr, 24, 41 :

﴿وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ بِمَا يَفْعَلُونَ﴾

wallāhu ‘alīmun bimā yaf‘alūn

– – /U [U –]/ – [U –]/ – [U –]

al-Baqara, 2, 284 [9 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ﴾

wallāhu ‘alā kulli šay‘in qadīr

– – /U [U –]/ – [U –]/ U [U –]

at-Tawba, 9, 16 [4 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿وَاللَّهُ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ﴾

wallāhu ḥabīrun bimā ta‘malūn

– – /U [U –]/ – [U –]/ – [U –]

an-Naḥl, 16, 23 :

﴿إِنَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُسْتَكْبِرِينَ﴾

‘innahū lā yuḥibbu lmustakbirīn

– [U –]/ – [U –]/ – / – [U –]

ar-Ra‘d, 13, 31 [2 occurrences coraniques] :

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُخَلِّفُ الْأَمْعَادَ﴾

‘inna llāha lā yuḥlifu lmī‘ād

– / – [U –]/ – [U –]/ – –

Cinq pieds

an-Nisā’, 4, 33 [2 occurrences coraniques] (+ orpheline finale) :

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَهِيدًا﴾

’inna llāha kāna ‘alā kulli šay’in šahīdā

-- / - [U -] / U [U -] / - [U -] / - [U -] / -

an-Nisā’, 4, 86 (+ orpheline finale) :

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ حَسِيبًا﴾

’inna llāha kāna ‘alā kulli šay’in ḥasībā

-- / - U -] / U [U -] / - [U -] / - [U -] / -

al-Mā’ida, 5, 67 :

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ﴾

’inna llāha lā yahdī lqawma lkāfirīn

- - / - [U -] / - - / - - / - [U -]

aš-Šu‘arā’, 26, 31 :

﴿قَالَ فَأْتِ بِهِ إِنْ كُنْتَ مِنَ الصَّادِقِينَ﴾

qāla fa’ti bihī’in kunta min aššādiqīn

- [U -] / U [U -] / - - / U [U -] / - [U -]

al-‘Ankabūt, 29, 30 :

﴿قَالَ رَبِّ انصُرْنِي عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْمُفْسِدِينَ﴾

qāla rabbi nṣurnī ‘alā lqawmi lmuḥsidīn

- [U -] / - - / - [U -] / - - / - [U -]

Six pieds

al-Baqara, 2, 286 :

﴿أَنْتَ مَوْلَانَا فَانصُرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ﴾

’anta mawlānā faṣurnā ‘alā lqawmi lkāfirīn

- [U -] / - - / - - / - [U -] / - - / - [U -]

al-Anbiyā’, 21, 77 (pied final v – non homologué) :

﴿إِنَّهُمْ كَانُوا قَوْمَ سَوْءٍ فَأَغْرَقْنَاهُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ﴾

’innahum kānū qawma saw’in fa’agraqnāhum ‘ağma’in

- [U -] / - - / - [U -] / - [U -] / - - / - - / U -

si l’on était en poésie, pourrait régulariser la fin en lisant le pronom *hum humū*, ce qui est parfaitement licite, ce qui donnerait :

’innahum kānū qawma saw’in fa’agraqnāhumū ‘ağma’in

- [U -] / - - / - [U -] / - U -] / - - / - - / - [U -]

avec 7 pieds, mais restons-en à 6, car nous suivons al-Ḥuṣarī.

Dans tous ces cas, la ressemblance avec la poésie libre (*aš-ši‘r al-ḥurr*) est flagrante.

Conclusion

L'étude des tronçons métriques est bien différente de celle des clausules coraniques²⁴, dans la mesure où ces tronçons métriques peuvent se trouver au début, au milieu ou à la fin des versets, ou peuvent même coïncider avec un verset. Le plus souvent ils ont l'étendue d'un hémistiche, mais ils peuvent aussi la dépasser, tout en reproduisant la structure métrique. Ce survol, mettant en lumière l'existence de tronçons de mètres 'amūdī-s dans diverses sourates du Coran, puisqu'il inclut 90 séquences métriques dont beaucoup se répètent (si l'on prend en compte les répétitions, on arrive à 223 occurrences), vient en renfort de la deuxième partie de Bohas et Roquet (2018) où j'ai argumenté pour montrer que le Coran et la poésie du vers libre (*aš-ši r al-ḥurr*) dérivent formellement tous les deux du modèle 'amūdī. Il contribue ainsi à expliquer pourquoi le Coran contient tant de versets dépréciateurs à l'égard des poètes²⁵. Ainsi l'on trouve dans la sourate, Les Poètes, 26, 224–226 :

Ne vois-tu pas qu'en chaque vallée ils divaguent et disent ce qu'ils ne font point.

La parenté formelle entre la poésie 'amūdī et ces passages du Coran ne pouvait échapper aux auditeurs de l'époque. Ils devaient bien se rendre compte que certains versets avaient exactement la même structure que certains hémistiches 'amūdī, comme nous l'avons montré. Aujourd'hui encore, ceux qui ont une compétence métrique fondée sur l'audition identifient immédiatement ces passages où se manifeste cette analogie avec la poésie. Du reste, les infidèles n'ont pas manqué d'accuser le Prophète de n'être qu'un poète (*al-Anbiyā*, 21, 5): *Et [les Infidèles] ont dit au contraire : « Amas de rêves ! Il l'a forgé ! C'est un poète !* Il était donc très important de proclamer que les versets coraniques, **malgré la ressemblance formelle**, étaient bien distincts des œuvres des poètes. Je suis bien conscient que l'actuel survol devrait être complété par une étude exhaustive d'une sourate ou plus. C'est ce à quoi je procéderai dans Bohas (à paraître).

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²⁴ Voir al-Ḥasnāwī 1421/2000.

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KAZIMIRSKI, UN ORIENTALISTE ATYPIQUE À REDÉCOUVRIR (20 NOVEMBRE 1808 KORCHOW – 22 JUIN 1887 PARIS)

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Introduction

De nos jours, en visitant le cimetière de Montrouge on peut y découvrir une tombe qui se distingue parmi toutes les autres par un buste élégant érigé par le ministère



*Fig. 1. La tombe de Kazimirski au cimetière de Montrouge
(Toutes les photos de l'article sont celles de l'auteur).*

¹ Thèse en cours : « Kazimirski, un orientaliste polonais en exil », sous la direction du professeur Jacques-Olivier Boudon à Sorbonne Université, soutenance prévue en septembre 2021. Mémoire de Master II : « L'Orientalisme et le Coran à travers la vie passionnante de Kazimirski » soutenu en juin 2018 à Sorbonne Université également sous la direction de monsieur Boudon.

des Affaires étrangères. Ce geste de gratitude démontre qu'au terme de son existence, Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski (1808–1887) était une personne qui avait acquis une certaine renommée dans l'hexagone. Toutefois, en raison du manque d'entretien, les inscriptions gravées sur sa tombe ont totalement disparu². Kazimirski est un savant dont les œuvres font encore parler de lui, mais dont on ne connaît pas grand-chose. Le moins que l'on puisse dire est que l'historiographie française et polonaise ne l'ont pas mis en valeur. À ce jour, aucune biographie ne lui est consacrée et les notices à son sujet en plus d'être incomplètes, se trompent sur des éléments aussi primordiaux que son prénom, ses origines, le prénom de ses parents, sa religion et la liste de ses œuvres³. Le but de cet article est de combler ce vide historiographique en se basant sur des archives éparpillées en France et en Pologne.

L'intérêt de Kazimirski est toujours d'actualité car son œuvre « bat un record de durée » (Chouraqui 1990 :10). Deux de ses ouvrages sont en effet toujours des références en la matière, et ce plus d'un siècle et demi après leur première parution. C'est d'abord le cas de sa traduction du Coran parue en 1840, et qui est restée jusqu'à la fin du XX^e s. la plus répandue des traductions françaises du texte fondateur de l'islam (Drira 2019 :33). Il faut ensuite citer son *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, surnommé *Le Kazimirski*⁴. En tout il publia des travaux dans une dizaine de langues. Mais sa vie ne se limite pas à quelques livres. Il fut un patriote actif lors de l'Insurrection polonaise (1830–1831) allant même jusqu'à jouer un rôle crucial dans la déposition d'un gouverneur de Varsovie pendant la guerre contre la Russie. Il accomplit une carrière diplomatique respectable au sein du ministère des Affaires

² J'ai mentionné ce fait dans une conférence sur Kazimirski à l'occasion du colloque *180 ans de la Société pour la Protection des Souvenirs et Tombeaux Historiques Polonais en France* à la Bibliothèque polonaise de Paris au quai d'Orléans le 21 novembre 2018. La Société fit de son mieux en écrivant fin 2018 au ministère des Affaires étrangères pour confirmer que le buste leur appartenait juridiquement bel et bien, et recevoir une autorisation de travaux de rénovation, mais nous n'avons pas reçu de réponse à ce jour.

³ Pour ne citer que les exemples les plus révélateurs, la meilleure notice en français est celle de Sylvette Larzul dans Pouillon (dir.) 2008 :537–538), pourtant elle mentionne que son prénom est Albin, tout comme le fit avant elle Maxime Rodinson (1915–2004) dans sa préface de la traduction du *Coran* de Kazimirski (Paris : Garnier, 2014) et le site de la BNF. Pour ses origines, Mohammad Amir-Moezzi dans son introduction du Coran traduit par Kazimirski (Paris : Points, 2014 : 8) fait état de son origine hongroise. André Chouraqui dans son introduction de *Le Coran L'Appel* (1990 :10.) le présente simplement comme hongrois. Pour la religion, la plupart des notices n'y font jamais référence ou alors il peut être présenté comme juif comme ce fut le cas sur sa page Wikipédia (avant une correction récente) et plusieurs autres sites certes non scientifiques mais hélas bien référencés dans les moteurs de recherche comme (<https://fr.scribd.com/document/261368463/Coran-Traduction-de-Kazimirski>). Quant aux prénoms de ses parents, comme nous le verrons, je n'ai trouvé aucune notice qui indique correctement le prénom de sa mère ou le métier de son père par exemple. Force est de constater que le niveau des notices à son sujet est faible.

⁴ Tel est le titre que lui donne par exemple l'édition d'Alboursa publié à Paris en deux volumes en 2004.

étrangères et fut décoré de l'ordre d'officier de la Légion d'honneur. Il était apprécié par les deux princes polonais Czartoryski qui le sollicitaient pour diverses tâches. Il se distingua également auprès de deux empereurs persans. Il n'a donc pas le profil classique de l'orientaliste explorateur ou du professeur de langues orientales (Larzul 2009 :48).

Aujourd'hui nous sommes plus aptes à valoriser son profil atypique. Son mentor, le professeur Joachim Lelewel (1786–1861) qui le qualifiait d' « oiseau rare » (Więckowska 1956 :231), conseillait « de faire la connaissance de Kazimirski. C'est un savant très positif, très noble... Kazimirski, avec ou sans ses lunettes (...) prépare un excellent café, le meilleur au monde, même le Sultan turc ou le Bey d'Alger n'ont pas le privilège de boire un café pareil. Demande-lui de te servir du café, et bois-le à ma santé. » (Więckowska 1949 :21) Il ne nous est hélas plus possible de goûter à son délicieux café, ni de faire personnellement sa connaissance. En revanche, il nous est possible de découvrir son histoire.

Ses origines

Notre orientaliste est le fils unique de Jozef de Biberstein Kazimirski (m. 1823) et de Francesca Scholastyka de Tarnowa Malczewska (m. 1865)⁵, couple catholique marié en 1806. Les Kazimirski font partie de la petite noblesse désargentée de Pologne. Ils portent les armoiries de la famille allemande Biberstein, dont une branche s'installa en Pologne à l'époque médiévale. Jozef Kazimirski travailla comme fonctionnaire pour la puissante famille Zamoyski qui possédait un grand majorat au sud-est de la Pologne dans la région de Lublin. Le père de famille fut employé à l'usine de potassium d'Aleksandrów à partir de 1800 puis y exerça de 1802 à 1808 le poste *Pisarowi prowentowy*, mot dérivé du latin qu'on pourrait traduire par comptable-gérant⁶. Il est même pendant un temps la seconde personne la mieux rémunérée de l'usine.

Notre protagoniste vient au monde le 20 novembre 1808 à Korchów, un village de plusieurs centaines d'âmes en Pologne autrichienne⁷, à une centaine de kilomètres

⁵ Archives départementales de Lublin, microfilm (391724–391730) acte de décès n° 404, et Bibliothèque Jagellon à Cracovie : 3685, IV, 244.

Ces deux archives sont précieuses car tous les articles sur Kazimirski, notamment le plus important celui de Turowska, se trompent sur l'année de mariage de ses parents, la date exacte de sa venue en France et le prénom principal de sa mère Francesca (Françoise) et non pas Scholastyka. Ce deuxième prénom d'origine grecque laissa même croire à certains, comme Berger (2016), que sa mère serait orthodoxe, ce qui est faux. Son acte de décès stipule qu'elle décéda Catholique.

⁶ Archives départementales de Lublin, dossier : Ordinat Zamoys n° 2061, 2062, 2063 et 2064.

⁷ Tout près de la frontière ukrainienne actuelle.

au sud de Lublin⁸. Durant son enfance c'est une région qui connut de nombreux souverains étrangers : Autrichiens (1795 à 1810), Français (1809 à 1813), et surtout Russes à partir de 1815. Les habitants de Korchów sont majoritairement orthodoxes, mais Kazimirski est baptisé catholique comme ses parents⁹. Cependant, il n'est pas un fervent croyant, pour ne pas dire agnostique. En effet, la seule religion à laquelle il ait voué un culte est le savoir, tout particulièrement les langues étrangères. Il est un polyglotte remarquable. Homme d'une époque qui valorise la multitude des savoirs et des disciplines, il se passionne pour plusieurs langues orientales sans pour autant délaisser les langues et les cultures européennes. Il maîtrisait parfaitement le polonais, le français, l'allemand, l'anglais, le latin, l'italien, l'arabe, le persan, le turc, et avait des bonnes connaissances du russe, du grec ancien, de l'hébreu et du sanskrit. En tout, il rédigea ou traduisit des œuvres en onze langues différentes¹⁰.

À sa naissance il reçoit les prénoms de Wojciech Feliks Ignacy. Néanmoins, selon la norme polonaise du XIX^e s., il adopte un prénom latin durant ses études en Pologne, Adalbert. Puis en France, il ne porte plus que le prénom Albert pendant plus d'un demi-siècle. Pourtant, jusqu'aujourd'hui persiste étrangement dans l'historiographie française un doute sur son prénom, Albin ou Albert. Cette incertitude n'a pas lieu d'être.

L'apprentissage d'un excellent linguiste

Le jeune Wojciech Kazimirski reçoit d'abord une éducation privée dans son village puis ses parents l'envoient en 1817 étudier au *gymnasium* de Lublin, une école secondaire réputée dans la région. Elle est située juste en face de la cathédrale baroque Saint-Jean-Baptiste et Saint-Jean l'évangéliste achevée au début du XVI^e s. Elle était tenue par des Jésuites qui firent construire le *gymnasium* (école-collège). Aujourd'hui cette école n'est plus, ses locaux accueillent maintenant le centre départemental des archives de la région. C'est à cet endroit que l'on peut consulter le dossier scolaire de l'orientaliste. Le centre est frontalier avec la porte Grodzka du pittoresque quartier juif. Mais à l'époque de l'auteur ce quartier était le centre-ville

⁸ C'est pourquoi il n'est pas juste de dire « près de Lublin » comme c'est le cas dans plusieurs notices, mais plutôt « dans la région de Lublin ».

⁹ Ses funérailles eurent lieu dans l'église catholique Saint-François-Xavier et l'invitation au service d'enterrement précise qu'il rendit l'âme « muni des sacrements de l'Eglise. » Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères (AMAE), dossier personnel : 393QO/402.

¹⁰ Il rédigea des livres bilingues en français, polonais, arabe littéraire et dialectes d'Algérie et du Maroc, persan et russe (en partie). Il traduisit de l'italien, du turc, de l'allemand, du sanskrit, de l'anglais et du latin.

avec le *rynek* (place du marché), l'hôtel de ville et la charmante rue Grodzka où résida Kazimirski avec ses parents au n°86 à quelques pas de l'école¹¹.

Ainsi le jeune Kazimirski intègre directement la seconde classe avec le prénom d'Adalbert¹². Il réside près de l'université chez un « docteur », puis une autre personne, avant d'être rejoint par ses parents deux ans plus tard. L'enseignement

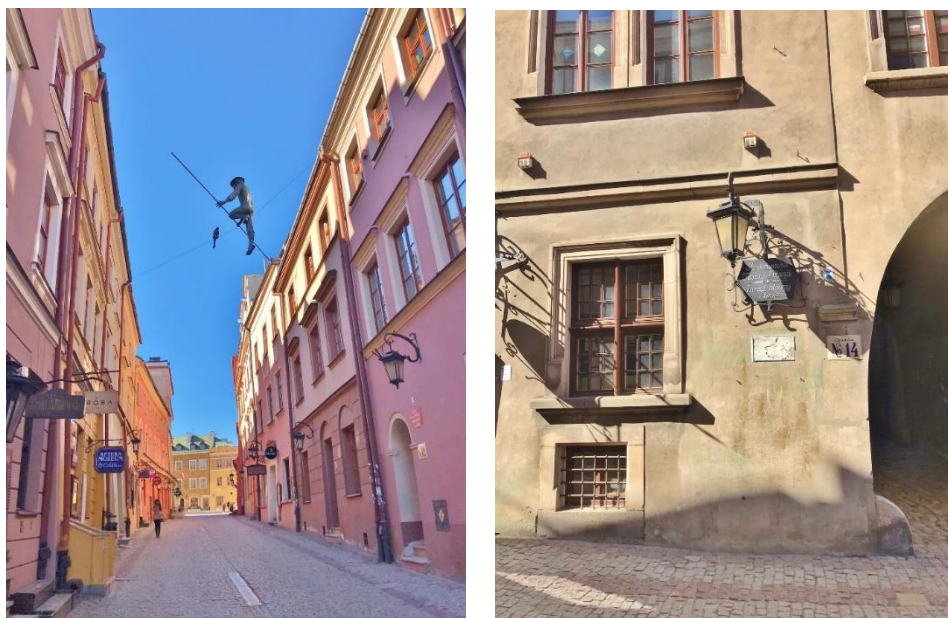


Fig. 2. À gauche la rue Grodzka, à droite l'entrée actuelle de l'appartement où a vécu Kazimirski.

secondaire polonais au XIX^e s. se compose de six classes, dont deux d'une durée de deux ans : la troisième et la sixième (la dernière). Il ne rate qu'un seul semestre en 1823 à la mort de son père. Ses professeurs saluent sa discipline et son excellent comportement. Il possède déjà un talent certain pour les langues dans un lycée qui lui enseigne dès sa première année d'étude : le grec, le latin, le polonais, le français et l'allemand. En revanche il est médiocre en dessin¹³. Il obtient son baccalauréat en 1824. Il part ensuite en septembre 1825 étudier le droit à l'université royale de

¹¹ C'est à cette adresse que décéda la mère de Kazimirski le 20 novembre 1865. Il s'agit d'une numérotation ancienne. Par le biais d'une carte de 1928 mon ami le chercheur archiviste Arkadiusz Roszkowski l'a identifié à l'actuel n°14 de la rue Grodzka dont on peut observer l'entrée dans la photo de droite.

¹² Archives départementales de Lublin en Pologne, dossier : 527/3 ; Rep. 49. GW L N 2 et GW L N 10.

¹³ Il le resta toute sa vie durant. En 1833 Lelewel lui demande de lui retranscrire les inscriptions de pièces de monnaie mauresques, il lui répond alors : « malgré ma volonté sincère je ne suis pas doué pour cette tâche. Je n'arriverais pas à dessiner quelque chose de semblable. » (BPP : 488/2 p 193–196.)

Varsovie. Il participe aussi à des cours de philologie à la faculté des arts et des lettres (Bielinski 1907 :726). Il reçoit même de cette faculté une bourse de 400 zlotys en vue de devenir professeur de philologie. De plus il est gratifié en 1825 d'une petite médaille d'or¹⁴, c'est-à-dire la seconde place, pour un concours d'histoire sur l'élection du roi de Pologne Michał (Michel) I en 1669. L'obtention de ce prix par un étudiant en droit lui vaut d'être félicité par le président de l'université qui le cite dans son compte-rendu annuel comme un exemple des liens entre les différentes académies de l'université (Bielinski 1913 : III, 831). L'année suivante il publie son premier travail en traduisant de l'allemand pour la revue *Dziennik Warszawski* un long article d'une cinquantaine de pages sur la rivière *Narew*¹⁵. Le 26 septembre 1827 alors qu'il n'a pas encore atteint dix-neuf ans il obtient son diplôme de magistère de juriste du droit civil avec mention suffisante. Son diplôme est rédigé en latin et mentionne une expertise dans le droit : « romain, canonique, criminel, code civil français, droit polonais, droit naturel (philosophie)¹⁶. » Il décide alors de ne pas continuer ses études pour enseigner et s'essaye au métier d'avocat au tribunal de Lublin (Janski 2003 :169), qu'on peut observer ci-dessous. Cependant, il ne trouve pas son bonheur et n'exerce que quelques mois.



Fig. 3. Place du marché de Lublin avec au centre l'ancien bâtiment de l'hôtel de ville et du tribunal où travailla brièvement Kazimirski. Aujourd'hui l'hôtel de ville est situé à l'extérieur du quartier juif.

¹⁴ La médaille d'or est aussi évoquée dans la *Gazety Warszawskiej* (*Gazette varsoviennne*), n° 115, 19 juillet 1825, 1599.

¹⁵ Kazimierski, Wojciech. 1826. « Opisanie rzeki Narwii od iey źródła do uýścia » (Description de la rivière Narew de la source à l'embouchure). *Dziennik Warszawski* (*Journal de Varsovie*) 4.12.155–172. L'ajout d'un « e » à son nom de famille est une variante correcte plus littéraire qu'il utilisa uniquement pour son premier travail. Pour le reste de sa vie il préféra la forme Kazimirski.

¹⁶ Bibliothèque de Kornik en Pologne, BK 12717, 14.

Il retourne à Varsovie et officie comme bibliothécaire pour le général du tsar, le comte Wincenty Krasiński¹⁷. Mais sa passion demeure les langues étrangères. Il débute ses études d'orientaliste avec un cours atypique mis en place par le comité israélite de Varsovie. Appliquant le décret impérial du 22 mai 1825 émit par le tsar et roi de Pologne Alexandre I^{er}, un cours d'apprentissage du judaïsme par des chrétiens est organisé par l'université de Varsovie. L'objectif est d'inciter à l'assimilation des juifs polonais et de former des fonctionnaires gérant la question de la réforme israélite en Russie et en Pologne. Il s'agit d'un programme ambitieux d'enseignement complet du judaïsme censé durer quatre ans et subventionné par l'université. Les inscriptions débutent le 8 mars 1828. Kazimirski est de son aveu « très facilement attiré par cette école¹⁸ ». Il fait partie des premiers inscrits et reçoit une bourse d'étude de 300 zlotys annuel (Nussbaum 1881 :154–155).

L'abbé italien Luigi Aloisi Chiarini (1789–1832) qui avait acquis une renommée d'orientaliste spécialiste de l'hébreu est choisi pour diriger ces cours. Il enseigne l'hébreu, l'histoire hébraïque, les études rabbiniques et le yiddish ou le judéo-allemand. Kazimirski s'investit dans ses cours et impressionne son professeur. Son camarade de classe, le journaliste Jan Nepomucen Janowski (1803–1888) écrit dans ses mémoires que Kazimirski était l'« élève le plus aimé, le favori de Chiarini » (Janowski 1950 :149). Même s'il n'étudia que quelques mois chez le clerc toscan, il fut le professeur qui l'influença le plus d'un point de vue scientifique (Drira 2021). C'est sur lui qu'il prit exemple dans l'utilisation du latin comme base pour la traduction des livres sacrés et la composition des dictionnaires bilingues.

Parallèlement, il écrit pour le *Journal de Varsovie*. C'est probablement ainsi qu'il rencontra le comte Tytus Działyński (1796–1861) fondateur du musée de Kornik en 1826. Le comte, fasciné par l'Orient voit en lui un grand potentiel. Ainsi, lorsque Chiarini annonça que ses meilleurs élèves pouvaient l'accompagner dans un voyage d'étude à Berlin¹⁹, l'étudiant pu compter sur le soutien du comte qui devint son mécène (Drira et Kubacki 2020). Il l'invite à la fin de l'année 1829 dans son hôtel particulier de Poznan puis dans son château à Kornik, tous deux situés alors en territoire prussien. Par un accord tacite Działyński finance Kazimirski en échange de la composition de plusieurs travaux pour sa maison d'édition à Kornik. De ce fait, il rejoint la capitale prussienne le 25 octobre 1829 et s'installe au 5 de la rue Behrenstraße²⁰, à proximité de la porte de Brandebourg, à environ 900 mètres de l'uni-

¹⁷ Fidèle au tsar il devint gouverneur du Royaume du Congrès de 1855 à 1856 durant la guerre de Crimée.

¹⁸ Bibliothèque Jagellon, n° 3685, Tome IV, correspondance de J. N. Janowski, lettre du 1 juillet 1878.

¹⁹ C'était une pratique acceptée par l'université de Varsovie. Un bel exemple est le séjour de Chopin à Berlin du 14 au 28 septembre 1828 comme compagnon du professeur de l'université de Varsovie et directeur du cabinet d'histoire naturelle de Varsovie, Feliks Jorocki (Niecks 2018 :97).

²⁰ BK 7439, 330, lettre du 26 octobre 1829.

versité²¹. En théorie la première raison de ce voyage était de rejoindre Chiarini mais la réunion entre le professeur et l'élève n'eut pas lieu. Le Polonais prit du retard pour diverses raisons dont la préparation de son passeport et le rétablissement d'une maladie. Quant à Chiarini, il n'avait pas l'intention de retourner rapidement à Varsovie. Il entreprit un long voyage en 1829 visitant la Prusse, la Saxe, la Hollande et finalement la France à la recherche d'un éditeur pour ses travaux sur le judaïsme et la traduction du Talmud²².

Il ne continua pas ses études d'hébreu, ce qui en fait sa seule langue d'étude qu'il n'utilisa dans aucun de ses écrits²³. Avant son départ il manifesta au comte son désir d'apprendre le sanskrit, l'arabe et le persan. Il étudia le sanskrit et le bengali chez Frédéric Wilken (1777–1840) membre de l'académie royale des sciences de la Prusse. Kazimirski traduisit un passage de quatorze pages du sanskrit en polonais du *Mahābhārata*. Il accompagna la traduction des vers par de longues notes explicatives. Le manuscrit est conservé en excellent état à la bibliothèque de Kornik comme on peut l'apprécier ci-dessous :

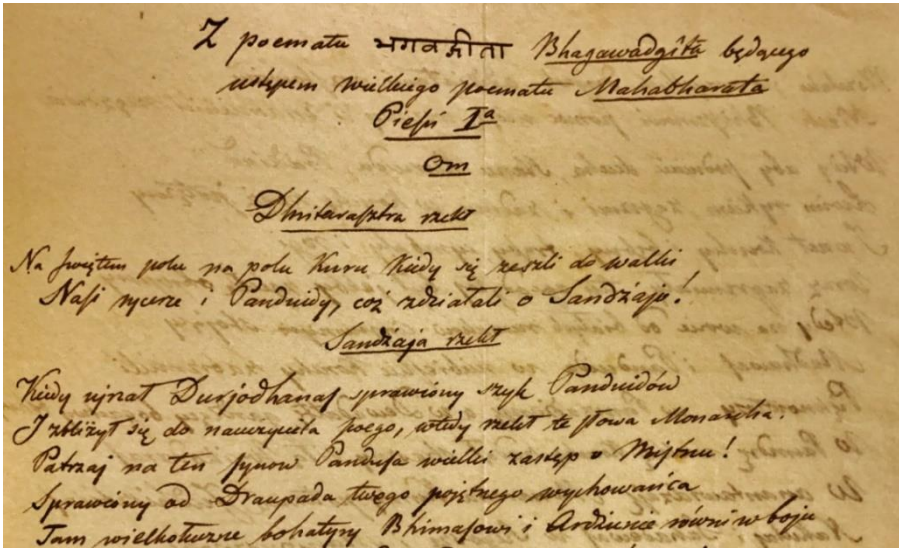


Fig. 4. Traduction partiel du Mahābhārata par Kazimirski. Manuscrit, Bibliothèque de Kornik : 7439/2, 425.

En revanche son apprentissage de l'arabe reste de son propre aveu « médiocre ». Il écrit au comte le 1^{er} janvier 1830 : « Berlin n'est pas célèbre pour l'orientalisme, les cours annoncés en syrien, chaldéen et talmud n'ont pas eu lieu. Le cours d'arabe

²¹ Carte de Berlin, 1833, échelle 1 : 19200, Clarke W.B.; Henshall J.; Baldwin & Cradock.

²² *Théorie du Judaïsme*, Paris : J. Barbezat, 1830. Et *Le Talmud de Babylone*, Leipzig : J. A. G. Weigel, 1831.

²³ Il ne publia rien en bengali mais il étudia surtout sur le sanskrit, langue qu'il utilisa.

est médiocre et le cours de persan n'a lieu qu'une fois par semaine²⁴. » Néanmoins, il approfondit un peu son niveau d'arabe avec des cours particuliers jusqu'au 1^{er} mars 1830. Cela lui permet de s'initier à la traduction arabe en composant *Przypowieści Lokmana mądrogo*²⁵ (Amṭāl Lūqmān al-ḥakīm)²⁶. Comme l'explique Sylvette Larzul : « Publiées en 1615 par Erpenius, les *Fables de Luqmān* demeurent pendant plus de deux siècles le texte d'étude privilégié de générations d'apprentis arabisants. » (Larzul 2009 :41)

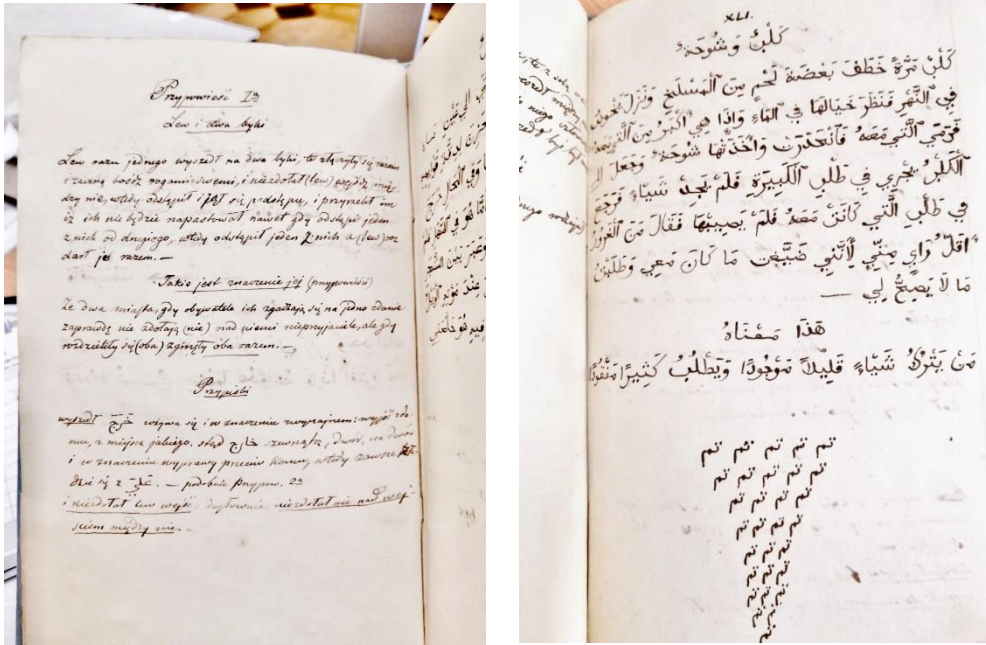


Fig. 5. Photos de la première fable en polonais, et la toute dernière (n° 41) en arabe, du manuscrit bilingue *Przypowieści Lokmana mądrogo* conservé à Kornik, BK : 482. Le livre est composé de 86 pages contenant 41 petites fables arabes (page de droite) traduite en polonais (page de gauche) avec un court commentaire.

²⁴ BK 7439, 334–338, lettre du 1^{er} janvier 1830.

²⁵ BK 482. Le livre n'est pas signé par Kazimirski, ce qui explique qu'il ne lui soit pas attribué dans les catalogues des archives polonaises. Toutefois plusieurs biographes l'ont fait comme Jan Reychman (1967 :295), Irena Turowska (1938 :116) et Sylvette Larzul (2008 :570). Je confirme que l'écriture, le type de papier, l'encre et l'état de conservation du manuscrit ressemblent fortement à ses autres travaux conservés à Kornik.

²⁶ *Amṭāl* est un mot cité dans le Coran (29 : 43). Kazimirski le traduit par « paraboles ». Je traduirais plutôt *amṭāl* par exemples ou allégories. Mais pour ce qui est du titre du recueil, la littérature française le fit connaître par les *Fables de Luqmān*, ce qui est correct car il s'agit de petites histoires pour enseigner des leçons et des sagesses.

Il composa deux autres manuscrits également conservés à la bibliothèque de Kornik. Tout d'abord une traduction de quatre-vingt-six pages de l'italien en polonais d'une partie d'un ouvrage du XVII^e s. sur l'histoire de la Pologne²⁷ *Relazione del Regno di Polonia*²⁸, signé par le Cardinal Erminio Valenti²⁹. Preuve supplémentaire de sa maîtrise du latin et même de l'italien³⁰. Une autre production restée totalement inconnue est *Początki języka perskiego* (Les débuts de la langue persane). La bibliothèque de Kornik possède un manuscrit de ce travail non finalisé de cent-neuf pages d'un manuel ou dictionnaire d'apprentissage du Persan³¹. C'est une œuvre trilingue : polonaise, persane et russe³².

La déception quant au niveau des cours d'arabe et de persan pèse sur l'étudiant. Il admet au comte qu'il allait à l'université uniquement pour ne pas perdre son statut d'étudiant et afin d'utiliser la bibliothèque universitaire. Il écrit aussi le 16 août 1830 à son ami Joachim Lelewel, célèbre professeur à Vilnius et homme politique polonais, qu'il n'a plus envie de rester dans la capitale prussienne : « car les sciences orientales ne fleurissent pas sauf le sanskrit. Et même si Wilken va enseigner l'année prochaine La vie de Tamerlan et un livre arabe plus difficile d'Ibn Arabi, je préfère rejoindre Sylvestre de Sacy. Chez lui, on donne des cours d'arabes six fois par semaine, et des cours de persan trois fois par semaine³³. » Il ambitionne d'apprendre la science chez les grands orientalistes français, mais la guerre le détourne provisoirement de son rêve. « Au lieu de servir sous la bannière de Sylvestre de Sacy, il rejoint les troupes militaires des insurgés de Lelewel » (Turowska 1938 :117).

²⁷ BK 932 pour la partie de Kazimirski et BK 267 pour la partie traduite par Kajetan Wincenty Kielisinki (m. 1849). Même si cette traduction ne soit pas datée, elle fut vraisemblablement produite durant les études berlinoises de l'orientaliste comme le suggèrent le sujet, la langue de l'œuvre et son lieu de conservation.

²⁸ Le titre complet est : *Relazione del Regno di Polonia cominciata l'anno passato e per varia legittime occupazioni non finita se non questo 20 di luglio del 1604 in Cracovia fatta dall' Eminentissimo Signore.*

²⁹ Stanislaw Bodniak démontra dans un article publié par le *Journal de la Bibliothèque de Kornik* en 1930 « Polska w relacji włoskiej z roku 1604 » (pp. 26–50) que le Cardinal ne pouvait pas être le véritable auteur du livre car il n'était pas en Pologne à l'époque. Il proposa comme auteur l'évêque italien Claudio Rangoni (1559–1621).

³⁰ Je n'ai pas trouvé son dossier scolaire universitaire pour vérifier s'il étudia ou non l'italien à l'université.

³¹ Archives de Kornik : BK 1676, page 15 à 124.

³² Le choix de la langue russe n'est pas anodin pour un livre écrit à Berlin pour le comte Działyński résidant à Poznan alors en Prusse. Kazimirski aurait pu opter pour l'allemand.

³³ Manuscrits de la bibliothèque Jagellon, n° 4435, Tome II, correspondance de Lelewel. Lettre du 16 août 1830.

Le fervent patriote de l'Insurrection de 1830

Le 29 novembre 1830 éclate l'Insurrection polonaise à Varsovie. Il fait le choix patriotique de retourner à la fin de l'année 1830 à la capitale polonaise sachant qu'elle serait la première cible de l'armée russe. Le 25 janvier 1831 la diète polonaise vote la destitution du tsar, puis le 29 janvier 1831 le prince Adam Czartoryski est élu président d'un gouvernement national polonais. La guerre avec la Russie fait rage sans pour autant qu'une déclaration de guerre fut émise. Kazimirski rejoint dès son arrivée la Société patriotique de Lelewel qu'il connaissait déjà depuis ses études universitaires. Il écrit pour le journal patriotique *Nowa Polska* (Nouvelle Pologne) et devient un publiciste de l'insurrection. Les défaites polonaises rendent l'atmosphère de plus en plus tendue à Varsovie. Le 15 août 1831 la situation devient chaotique lorsque des révolutionnaires qui accusent le gouvernement de trahison pénètrent dans le palais du vice-roi, l'actuel Palais Koniecpolski, en scandant : *mort aux traîtres*. Vers neuf heures du soir, Kazimirski et le colonel de la garde impériale Seidel haranguent les révolutionnaires les priant de se retirer (Czyński 1832 :44).

Mais leurs paroles n'y changèrent rien. Des morts sont à signaler tandis qu'Adam Czartoryski quitte la ville. Varsovie n'a plus de Prince, et deux généraux, Dembiński et Krukowiccki, se disputent le contrôle de l'armée et de la capitale. Dembiński est démis de ses fonctions de l'armée le 19 août par Krukowiccki qui prend la tête d'un gouvernement militaire. Dembiński tente de reprendre le pouvoir par une intrigue mais échoue. L'histoire aurait pu en rester là, mais Dembiński dans ses mémoires publiées en 1872 et 1876 accuse Kazimirski d'être le responsable de l'échec de son complot (Drira 2018 :82). Il semble que les accusations de Dembiński soient fondées car Kazimirski admet dans une lettre du 19 janvier 1876 à Jan Janowski qu'il n'a fait qu'informer Lelewel du complot pour lui sauver la vie de son ennemi³⁴. La police polonaise conserve une fiche d'interrogatoire de Kazimirski pour son implication directe dans la prise du palais le 15 août 1831³⁵. Quoiqu'il en soit, le 6 septembre 1831, l'armée russe entre à Varsovie, point névralgique de l'Insurrection. Le 8 septembre la capitale est sous le contrôle de l'armée russe. L'armée polonaise quitte la ville avec les patriotes dont notre orientaliste. C'est le début d'une vie d'exil pour toute une génération de patriotes de la noblesse polonaise. La défaite est amère et le voyage d'exil n'est pas de tout repos. Il accompagne Lelewel à Plock, situé à une

³⁴ Bibliothèque Jagellonne à Cracovie, n° 3685, Tome IV, correspondance de J. N. Janowski, lettre du 19 janvier 1876. La question du complot de Kazimirski contre Dembiński est le sujet le plus détaillé dans l'article de Turowska (1938). Elle défend vigoureusement l'orientaliste, en pointant le fait que beaucoup, dont Janowski et Lelewel, ont répondu aux accusations de Dembiński en l'accusant également de mensonges. Pourtant les lettres de Kazimirski à Janowski, que cite Turowska, sont explicites quant à son implication. A mon humble avis, la plaidoirie de Turowska a pour but non pas de nier les faits mais d'expliquer qu'il n'y avait pas d'infamie dans son geste mais simplement de la loyauté envers Lelewel.

³⁵ Bibliothèque nationale de Varsovie, manuscrit : 2955.

centaine de kilomètre à l'ouest de Varsovie. Le professeur raconte : « Là-bas il y avait beaucoup de cris. Je logeais avec un député de la diète et avec Kazimirski, homme de lettres. Nous sommes restés ensemble sous le même toit. Un jour je me souviens qu'en mangeant du pain nous cherchions de la viande » (Więckowska 1948 :12). Mais dans le malheur de la défaite, il eut comme lot de consolation de passer le reste de sa vie à Paris, « la Mecque des Orientalistes ».

Des débuts prometteurs à Paris (1831–1840)

L'étudiant arrive à Paris avec son professeur le 24 octobre 1831³⁶. Ils logent ensemble dans un modeste petit hôtel, 8 rue des Cordiers, près du Panthéon. De 1831 à 1833 ils sont inséparables. Lelewel prend à sa charge l'orientaliste, qui en contrepartie l'aide à l'écriture de lettres en arabe et en persan et l'accompagne dans ses activités politiques. Ainsi, Kazimirski fait partie des premiers membres du Comité national polonais (Komitet Narodowy Polski) et de la Société littéraire des Polonais réfugiés (Towarzystwo Literackie Polaków Tułaczów), tous deux fondés par Lelewel respectivement le 8 décembre et le 24 décembre 1831 (Janski 2003 :90). Le but de cette dernière société était de préserver le patrimoine scientifique et culturelle de la Pologne. À partir de septembre 1832 Kazimirski eut la charge avec Bogdan Janski d'écrire les comptes rendus (appelés minutes) des réunions des membres de cette société auxquelles participaient des personnalités comme Adam Mickiewicz, le prince Adam Czartoryski et des personnalités françaises comme Charles de Montalembert.

Mais avec l'expulsion de Lelewel pour Tours en janvier 1833 puis pour Bruxelles en septembre 1833, Kazimirski se détourne de la politique pour se consacrer pleinement à l'étude des langues orientales (Reychman 1967 :296). Lelewel est fort déçu du retrait politique de son protégé et le critique vivement (Więckowska 1954 :477) Néanmoins, ils restent en contact toute leur vie loin des polémiques politiques. Ainsi Kazimirski aide son professeur, numismate reconnu, à la traduction d'inscriptions arabes de monnaies mauresques et abbassides³⁷. En 1854 il participe au décryptage d'un alphabet africain inconnu. Lelewel se réjouit, avec un peu de sarcasme, qu'il peut encore compter sur lui au moins pour la recherche : « Mr Albert Kazimirski m'a écrit des abîmes pour déchiffrer un texte abimé du Maroc et de Timbuktu. Afin que cet alphabet africain soit collectionné et mis en fonte pour l'imprimerie. » (Więckowska 1954 :201) Il rend hommage à son travail dans plusieurs correspondances et dans son livre *Numismatique du Moyen-Age* (1835 :9).

³⁶ Toutes les sources que j'ai parcourues sur Kazimirski et qui mentionnent sa date d'entrée en France mentionnent le 29 octobre, mais Kazimirski lui-même affirme dans la traduction de son acte de naissance (Bibliothèque Jagellonne, n° 3685, IV, 244, Lettre de Janowski du 20 janvier 1863) que ce serait le 24 octobre.

³⁷ Archives de la bibliothèque polonaise à Paris, BPP : 488/2, 193–196.

En 1833 l'étudiant déménage au 12 rue Taranne qui se trouve être l'adresse du local des séances du conseil de la prestigieuse Société asiatique³⁸. Il souhaitait être au plus près possible de sa grande passion qu'est l'orientalisme. Les débuts sont prometteurs. Il traduit un manuscrit sur l'histoire des Tatars de Crimée rapporté par Jaubert de Crimée en 1819. Son travail est diffusé par le *Journal asiatique* dans deux longs articles d'une trentaine de pages chacun, publiés respectivement en octobre et en novembre 1833 sous le titre: « Précis de l'Histoire des Khans de Crimée, depuis l'an 880 jusqu'à l'an 1198 de l'hégire, traduit du turc par M. Kazimirski, revu par Amédée Jaubert ». La traduction est accompagnée de commentaires historiques et linguistiques. Le traducteur polonais évoque à plusieurs reprises sa terre natale. En novembre 1835 le *Journal asiatique* publie une traduction du turc : « Ordonnance du Pasha d'Égypte, concernant les monuments anciens. Extrait du Moniteur du Caire ». C'est un article bilingue de huit pages ne comportant aucune mention de notre traducteur sauf dans la table des matières. Il en est ainsi pour une autre traduction : « Extrait du Moniteur Ottoman » parue en juillet 1836. Même si au final sa participation à la Société asiatique fut décevante compte tenu de ses attentes³⁹, il fut ravi de pouvoir utiliser leur bibliothèque pour son apprentissage personnel. À noter que ces quatre traductions turques dans un journal aussi sérieux sont surprenantes quand on sait que Kazimirski n'a jamais étudié le turc dans une institution linguistique. Cela confirme son talent d'autodidacte⁴⁰.

Il profite de sa nouvelle vie parisienne pour approfondir ses connaissances d'arabe et de persan. En 1833 il réalise enfin son rêve d'étudier chez le plus grand orientaliste français. Mais il faut avoir à l'esprit que Silvestre de Sacy était tout de même déjà âgé de soixante-quinze ans. Kazimirski fut inscrit comme élève à l'École spéciale des langues orientales (l'actuel INALCO) en 1833 jusqu'à son départ pour la Perse en 1839⁴¹. Une autre source stipule qu'il assista aux cours d'arabe de Silvestre de Sacy à l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes et à ses cours de

³⁸ BPP 488/2, 193–196.

³⁹ On peut objectivement qualifier l'attitude de la Société asiatique envers l'orientaliste de méprisante. Pour plus de détail voir (Drira 2018 :84–86). Les exemples sont nombreux, mais le plus révélateur est l'indifférence de la société envers sa traduction du Coran, le seul travail de ce genre au XIX^e siècle (Drira 2019 :30–32).

⁴⁰ Il maîtrisait bien le turc. Durant sa vie les deux princes polonais parisiens firent appel à lui pour traduire des documents diplomatiques turcs : il traduit une lettre du 20 mai 1845 de Michał Czajkowski (Sadyk Pasha) pour Adam Czartoryski (Bibliothèque Czartoryski à Cracovie : 759–760), et sept « papiers turcs » en 1884 pour le Prince Władysław (BC, n° 7269, fin de la toute première lettre de Kazimirski, 4 février 1884).

⁴¹ Je n'ai pas à ce jour retrouvé son dossier scolaire en France. J'ai donc retracé son apprentissage à travers des sources secondaires. Il est inscrit dans les registres annuels de la Société asiatique (consultable en ligne) jusqu'en 1839 seulement comme étudiant de l'École des langues orientales.

persan au Collège de France⁴². On sait aussi que Kazimirski reçut au moins en 1834 et en 1835 de la part de la Société polonaise des études une bourse annuelle de 180 francs pour ses études orientales⁴³. Ainsi, il semble que pendant une période d'au moins deux ans il se consacra pleinement à l'étude de l'arabe et du persan, sans qu'on sache laquelle des deux langues il aurait le plus étudié.

Cela n'exclut pas qu'il ait eu d'autres activités comme la création en 1834 avec d'autres éminents émigrés tels Adam Mickiewicz, la Société slave parisienne. À partir de 1836 il écrit pour plusieurs journaux : le *Journal des Débats*, le *Magasin pittoresque* et l'*Encyclopédie nouvelle*. Ses publications sont anonymes mais elles lui permettent de se faire connaître. François-Auguste Mignet (1796–1884), directeur des archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères depuis 1830, rapporte au ministère la bonne réputation « parmi les savants » et « le caractère des plus honnêtes et des plus sûres » de Kazimirski⁴⁴. En 1837 le nouveau ministre de l'Instruction publique, le comte Narcisse-Achille de Salvandy envisage un moment de nommer l'étudiant polonais membre de la Commission scientifique de l'Algérie⁴⁵.

L'auteur n'oublie pas pour autant sa patrie d'origine. Il adhère le 7 août 1838 à la section historique de la Société littéraire polonaise⁴⁶. Le fait le plus intéressant de cette adhésion est qu'il ne s'acquitte pas des deux francs de cotisation annuelle malgré plusieurs rappels⁴⁷, ce qui suggère une situation financière délicate. En 1839 il publie à Berlin avec Stanislas Ropelewski son premier ouvrage, un *Dictionnaire français-polonais et polonais-français*. Ce livre rencontre un succès immédiat et fut réédité à maintes reprises en Europe, parfois sans les noms des auteurs et sous le titre : *Dictionnaire de l'émigration*. En avril 1839 le drogman Alix Desgranges (1793–1854) propose au ministère de la guerre de choisir Kazimirski comme enseignant de français pour deux jeunes notables algériens de Constantine venus en voyage d'étude à Paris (Messaoudi 2015 : 224). Cela lui fait réaliser à quel point les

⁴² Une lettre du vicomte Olivier Desmier d'Archiac en 1845 écrite au baron de la chancellerie pour plaider en faveur d'un poste au ministère pour Kazimirski mentionne qu' « il devient aussitôt l'un des auditeurs les plus zélés de Mr Silvestre de Sacy et suit aussi les cours du Collège de France et (l'école) des langues orientales. » (Archives nationales : F/17/3169). Je n'ai pas encore trouvé de sources plus fiables sur son inscription au Collège de France.

⁴³ Czartoryski – Jełowicki 1834 : 8 et 1835 : 13.

⁴⁴ AMAÉ, dossier personnel : 393QO/402.

⁴⁵ Archives nationales : F/17/3169, lettre du vicomte Olivier Desmier. Il resta dans les petits papiers du ministre qui écrivit pour lui le 20 mai 1845 une lettre de recommandation au cabinet du ministre des Affaires étrangères.

⁴⁶ BPP 1433/3 p 127–130. Il est donc l'un des tous premiers membres de la section, qui ne sont encore qu'une trentaine selon la liste du 5 septembre 1838. Il est rayé de la liste des membres le 6 décembre 1839. Comme nous le verrons il réintègre la Société en 1880 sur demande du prince Władysław Czartoryski. Malgré son ancienneté et ses nombreux travaux, Kazimirski ne figure pas sur une liste d'une vingtaine de savants polonais du XIX^e s. mentionné sur le site de la bibliothèque polonaise.

⁴⁷ BPP 1433/3, 127–130 et BPP 1414.

manuels et les dictionnaires arabes étaient inadéquats à l'arabe pratique (Drira 2021). Rappelons qu'à cette période il n'existe aucun dictionnaire arabe-français ni aucune traduction récente du Coran. Kazimirski va combler ce vide. Il entre par la grande porte et devient le seul traducteur du Coran en français au XIX^e s.

Le plus grand traducteur francophone du Coran

Il commence en 1839 une traduction du Coran pour Guillaume Pauthier, qui ne lui demandait au départ qu'une simple révision de la traduction de Claude-Étienne Savary (1750–1788). Son voyage en Perse interrompt son travail. Néanmoins durant son absence, Pauthier publie en 1840 la traduction, qui n'est en réalité qu'un 'brouillon' de piètre qualité. Mais dès son retour de Perse, le drogman améliore nettement son travail avec trois révisions complètes en 1840, 1842 puis surtout en 1852 (Drira 2019 :32–35). Sa traduction résout les lacunes les plus visibles de ses deux prédécesseurs : André du Ryer (1647) et Savary (1783). L'œuvre de l'orientaliste franco-polonais devient dès lors un classique du genre. Elle est publiée au moins vingt et une fois de son vivant. Elle est traduite plusieurs fois en espagnol, ainsi qu'en russe (1880) et en néerlandais (1860). C'est pourquoi à sa mort la notice nécrologique de plusieurs journaux, comme *Le Temps* ou *Le Bulletin scientifique polonais*, le présentent comme « l'auteur d'une traduction du Coran, devenue classique ». On dénombre jusqu'à l'édition par Points en 2014 une cinquantaine d'éditions. Pourtant lorsqu'il commence sa traduction en 1839, la nouvelle la plus importante pour l'orientaliste est de loin sa nomination pour servir la diplomatie française et découvrir un empire qu'il admire profondément : la Perse.

Les débuts diplomatiques : le Drogman en Perse (1839–1840)

Le 23 novembre 1839 Kazimirski est nommé par le roi Louis-Philippe (1830–1848) « Drogman de la Mission extraordinaire en Perse » dirigée par le comte Édouard de Sercey (1802–1881)⁴⁸. Drogman est un terme médiéval dérivé du mot arabe ترجمان, *turğumān*, qui signifie traducteur. Kazimirski est l'interprète persan officiel de la mission, tandis que le drogman Alix Desgranges à la charge de la langue turque. Ce dernier joua peut-être un rôle dans le choix du traducteur polonais. L'ambassade embarque de Toulon le 30 octobre sur le *Véloce* et débarque à Constantinople le 22 novembre (Félix-Édouard de Sercey 1854 :388–391). Kazimirski est reçu avec le reste de l'escorte de l'ambassadeur par le sultan ottoman le 30 novembre (De Cadalvene 1840 :293–294⁴⁹). Le groupe traverse ensuite la mer Noire pour arriver le

⁴⁸ AMAÉ, dossier personnel : 393QO/402.

⁴⁹ Il se trompe dans l'attribution de la séance le 30 décembre, et le départ le 2 novembre.

8 décembre à Trébizonde, puis franchit en plein hiver les montagnes du Caucase et de l'Azerbaïdjan oriental pour arriver à Téhéran le 1^{er} mars 1840, et à Ispahan le 5 avril (Laurent de Sercey 1927 :6–12).

Il fait bonne figure lors de la rencontre avec le Shah Mohammad Qadjar (1808–1848) le 8 avril 1840 (Flandin 1851 :280 et 296). Il a le privilège de recevoir de l'empereur en personne un cadeau identique à celui offert au roi de France, un manuscrit du poète Djami⁵⁰. Il reçoit également l'insigne de l'Ordre du Lion et du Soleil. Pour des raisons financières, l'ambassade doit rentrer plus rapidement que prévu. Le groupe traverse le Kurdistan, la Mésopotamie, en passant par Bagdad, Kirkouk et Mossoul. Ils arrivent ensuite en Syrie et visitent les villes d'Alep, Antioche et Alexandrette où ils embarquent pour Chypre avant d'accoster à Toulon l'hiver 1840.

Des années difficiles (1840–1846)

À son retour de Perse, il s'arme de patience avant d'obtenir un poste au ministère des Affaires étrangères. Il est en proie à des difficultés financières, car même si sa traduction du Coran et son *Dictionnaire français-polonais* sont des succès littéraires, ses droits d'auteur sont médiocres. Il accepte donc des travaux sous-payés et anonymes. Il s'essaye à l'histoire indienne et compose pour le compte d'Adolphe-Philibert Dubois de Jancigny, parti en longue mission en Extrême-Orient en avril 1841, deux chapitres de son *Histoire des Indes antiques et médiévales* publiés en 1845. L'auteur polonais fut payé une misère et il n'est fait aucune mention de sa contribution. Cette expérience le déprima pour un moment. Il se plaignait déjà à Lelewel le 12 septembre 1842 : « il est temps que cette vie de jour en jour s'arrête, puisqu'aujourd'hui il n'y a aucun profit ni aucun espoir en l'avenir » (Turowska 1938 :117). En 1843 il devient bibliothécaire de la Société asiatique mais c'est un travail bénévole qu'il n'appréciait guère. Il qualifie de « zéro » l'intérêt de son travail (Turowska 1938 :112). Il n'arrivait pas non plus à publier des articles dans les journaux pour lesquels il travaillait avant son voyage en Perse. Le 1^{er} juillet 1843 il se plaint à son mentor Lelewel : « certains de mes articles sont dans des cartons sous la table » (Turowska 1938 :115).

Il donne quelques cours particuliers en persan, mais n'en récolte pas grand-chose. Il se lamente encore à Lelewel le 27 septembre 1842 : « L'argent et le pain des cours privés sont ingrats, ennuyants et instables. Les élèves sont fainéants, ou alors ils apprennent quelque chose uniquement par apparence, superficiellement pour tromper les gens qui ne connaissent pas grand-chose » (Turowska 1938 :114). Son rêve était de marcher dans les pas de Sylvestre de Sacy et d'enseigner le persan. Il n'y parvint jamais, et ce malgré ses efforts. Le 28 mai 1844 Louis-Philippe suspend

⁵⁰ Bibliothèque Czartoryski de Cracovie, cote 7268, lettre du 23 août 1883.

indéfiniment le célèbre poète polonais Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) devenu mystique de son poste de professeur de la chaire slave au Collège de France. Kazimirski se désole du gâchis et propose le 17 avril 1845 sa candidature pour un projet ambitieux d'enseignement « scientifique » de la littérature slave au Collège de France⁵¹. Mais il ne reçoit aucune réponse. Les temps sont durs pour l'auteur qui déprime. Fort heureusement, il se console dans la science.

Le premier dictionnaire arabe français

En 1846 il publie *Enis-el-Djelis* ou *Histoire de la belle Persane*, un conte des *Mille et Une Nuits*. Mais surtout il achève la même année le premier volume de son *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, composé de 1392 pages. C'est en soit un évènement orientaliste important car il s'agit du premier dictionnaire arabe-français. Avant lui il n'y avait que quelques rares petits lexiques arabe-français. C'est rapidement un succès littéraire et dès lors sa situation financière s'améliore. Le second volume de 1628 pages est publié en 1850. Les deux volumes sont réédités à l'identique en 1860 à Paris et à Beyrouth au Liban, ce qui en fait sa première publication dans un pays arabe. Il est réimprimé en 1875 en 4 volumes au Caire par l'imprimerie khédiviale du Bulaq. Son dictionnaire fut durant une bonne partie du XIX^e et du XX^e s. la référence dans les écoles de langues du monde arabe. Même son rival Barbier de Meynard (Drira 2018 :85–86), salue « sa connaissance profonde de l'Arabe, sans laquelle il n'y a point d'étude musulmane sérieuse » puis ajoute que son dictionnaire « rend de grands services aux élèves de nos écoles orientales (Barbier de Meynard 1884 :98). Sylvette Larzul (2008 :538) estime qu'« il demeure aujourd'hui encore d'une grande utilité pour les arabisants ».

Ce succès dans une langue influente dans le monde musulman permet de référencer son dictionnaire comme un des plus importants travaux d'orientalistes arabisants. Parmi les questions fréquemment soulevées : quelles sont les sources de ce dictionnaire, car Kazimirski ne daigna pas écrire un mot d'introduction à son ouvrage de 3130 pages ? Après une longue étude il s'avère que son dictionnaire est tout d'abord une traduction en français du dictionnaire arabe latin (*Lexicon arabico-latinum*) de Wilhelm Freytag publié en quatre volumes de 1830 à 1837 (Drira 2021). Il compléta certainement son travail par plusieurs autres sources telles : le *Arabum proverbia* de Freytag (Bonn 1838), les travaux de Sylvestre de Sacy de manière générale, le dictionnaire de l'Académie française, le dictionnaire français-arabe d'Ellious Bocthor (1784–1821) paru en 1828 revu et augmenté par A. Caussin de Perceval (1795–1871), ainsi que les différents livres sur la grammaire et les dialectes

⁵¹ Archives nationales : AB/XIX/3871 (privé). Sa lettre de candidature où il explique son projet d'enseignement fait douze pages. Elle mériterait d'être publiée avec des commentaires dans une revue scientifique.

arabes de Bocthor et Caussin de Perceval. Il est important de noter qu'il n'utilisa comme source aucun des dictionnaires arabes tels *al-Qāmūs* ou *al-Lisān* car ils n'étaient pas disponibles en France à cette période (Drira 2021).

Une respectable carrière diplomatique (1839–1840 et 1851–1886)

En 1850 son ancien mécène Tytus Działyński est de visite à Paris avec sa famille. L'orientaliste profite de cette occasion pour donner des cours de persan à sa fille, la comtesse Jadwiga (1831–1923). Le 11 avril 1851 il parraine son inscription à la Société asiatique qui ne compte que peu de membres féminins. Kazimirski fournit un travail conséquent et attentionné pour la comtesse. Il lui écrit en tout quatre-vingt-huit pages de grammaire, de traduction d'extraits de poésies de Saadi, de fables et un passage du Coran⁵². La comtesse évoque en 1910 en éditant les mémoires de son mari que les cours de Kazimirski lui ont « apporté beaucoup de joie » (Zamoyski 1910 :125). Peut-être même qu'elle fut la seule femme pour laquelle l'éternel célibataire eut des sentiments⁵³. En tout cas la présence du comte Działyński et de sa fille à Paris joue en la faveur du savant qui obtient finalement le poste qu'il attendait vivement au ministère des Affaires étrangères (Reychman 1966–1967 :296).

Le 1^{er} février 1851 il est rattaché au cabinet du ministre en qualité de traducteur interprète. De ce fait il devient le second employé polonais travaillant à Paris au ministère des Affaires étrangères au XIX^e s.⁵⁴. Il fait également la seconde plus longue carrière d'un Polonais au ministère au XIX^e s. avec trente-six années de loyaux service⁵⁵. On note également qu'il est le premier agent polonais de la capitale avec le titre d'interprète⁵⁶. De manière générale les employés polonais ou d'origine

⁵² BK 7540.

⁵³ Une sous-partie de ma thèse aborde la question de la vie privée du célibataire Kazimirski. Il n'y eut aucune relation sentimentale entre lui et la comtesse. Il y a une anecdote intéressante sur laquelle on peut laisser court à l'imagination. L'autre personne avec qui il eut peut-être une relation intime est son professeur Lelewel. Là aussi il s'agit d'une hypothèse basée sur des interprétations, même si je pense, ainsi que M. Boudon que c'est probable.

⁵⁴ L'historiographie polonaise et française n'ont pas suffisamment donné d'importance aux nombreux linguistes polonais ayant servi la diplomatie française dans le monde entier au XIX^e s. C'est pourquoi je prépare une étude prosopographique sur les agents polonais du ministère.

⁵⁵ En dehors du comte Walewski, ministre des Affaires étrangères de 1855 à 1860, la plus belle et longue carrière est celle d'Adam Joseph Sienkiewicz (1836–1898) avec 39 années de service de 1859 à 1898. Il fut recommandé par le prince Adam Czartoryski et fit un *cursus honorum* remarquable de simple attaché surnuméraire à ministre plénipotentiaire au Japon. Voir son dossier personnel, AMAÉ : 393 QO/3754.

⁵⁶ Le premier ayant obtenu un poste à Paris est Marc Auguste de Bracevitch (1805–1868), fils d'un interprète de Napoléon I^{er}. Mais il n'est enregistré qu'en tant que traducteur surnuméraire (sans salaire) en 1835 et n'a jamais été employé par la suite. Le second est Julien

polonaise du ministère des Affaires étrangères sont peu nombreux au XIX^e s. : seulement 26 sur un total de 4 201 agents, soit 0,6 % (Anceau, Drira et Walc-Bezombes 2021). Et sur ce nombre peu élevé seul 8 ont eu un poste à Paris, dont Kazimirski⁵⁷. Cependant, il n'est pas anodin de constater que les deux tiers des agents polonais du ministère ont été recrutés entre 1848 et 1870, ce qui vient confirmer, s'il en était besoin, l'importance du passage au pouvoir de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte pour la cause des nationalités.

Au départ il ne travaille pas beaucoup au ministère, mais la guerre d'Orient change la donne. Lorsque se précise la menace du conflit, il rencontre à plusieurs reprises entre février 1853 et 1856 au nom du ministère le comte Zamoyski⁵⁸, général de la brigade cosaque ottomane en 1855⁵⁹. La police polonaise sous domination russe semble avoir pris acte de ses activités et publie le 12 novembre 1853 dans le journal officiel du gouvernorat de Varsovie une liste d'une centaine de personnes interdites de retour en Pologne sous peine d'emprisonnement, dont Adam Mickiewicz, Leonard Chodźko et Kazimirski⁶⁰. Comme l'explique Eric Anceau : « Tous cela, ainsi que son traitement de 6 000 francs annuel durant la majorité de sa carrière, somme bien supérieure aux salaires des autres drogman⁶¹, suggère qu'il a joué un

Olszewiec, commis traducteur de 1848 à 1858, mais il n'est que « commis » assistant et ne reçoit aucune promotion jusqu'à son licenciement pour faute grave en 1858. Le seul autre interprète officiel polonais tout au long du siècle est Michel Kleczkowski (1818–1886), interprète pour les langues de la Chine à Paris de 1863 à 1882.

⁵⁷ En plus de Kazimirski, Kleczkowski, Bracevitch, Olszewiec, le directeur du ministère en personne, le Comte Walewski de 1855 à 1860, son fils naturel Alexandre Walewski pour juste quelques mois en 1862, Adam Sienkiewicz de 1859 à 1864, et Alexandre Chodzko employé officieusement de 1852 à 1855.

⁵⁸ BK 2406/1, 253–266. Il s'agit de sept lettres de Kazimirski (deux en 1853, une en 1854, deux en 1856 et deux après la guerre) avec Leonard Niedźwiecki (1810–1892) secrétaire particulier de Władysław Zamoyski depuis le 28 septembre 1839. Les lettres ne contiennent en apparence que des politesses et des demandes de rendez-vous avec le général Władysław Zamoyski. Mais leurs dates ne laissent aucun doute sur le but de leurs rencontres.

⁵⁹ Il est aussi le mari de la comtesse Jadwiga.

⁶⁰ *Journal officiel du gouvernorat de Varsovie* du 12 novembre 1853 : 1125 : département de police acte n° 130979 j 20277.

⁶¹ Il s'avère que son salaire est effectivement très élevé pour un interprète. À titre de comparaison, Alexandre Antoine Walewski, fils naturel du ministre Walewski reçoit la somme de 6 000 francs annuel en 1872 alors qu'il était consul de seconde classe. C'est aussi son salaire de 1882 à 1885 en tant que Rédacteur à la direction des affaires commerciales et consulaires (AMAÉ : 393 QO/4157). Joseph Badowski (1826–1871) drogman à Belgrade en 1856 touche une allocation annuelle de 1700 francs, puis de 3 000 francs en cumulant le poste de drogman et de chancelier (AMAÉ : 393 QO/187). Le comte Stanislas André Dunin reçoit en tant que vice-consul à Salerne au royaume d'Italie en 1863 un salaire annuel de 4 000 francs (AMAÉ : 393 QO/1454), même le comte Michel Kleczkowski alors qu'il cumule à Paris en 1880 le poste premier interprète de Chinois et de ministre plénipotentiaire de 2^eme classe reçoit 10 000 francs annuels (AMAÉ 393 QO/ 2226).

rôle politique ou diplomatique pour la France plus important que simple interprète durant la guerre d'Orient » (Anceau, Drira et Walc-Bezombes 2021).

La carrière de Kazimirski est donc lancée par le rôle qu'il aurait joué durant la guerre d'Orient. Même si les archives ne permettent pas de trancher sur la nature exacte de son activité durant la guerre, tout porte à croire qu'il avait comme mission de traduire des documents orientaux en tout genre : arabes, persans, turques et russes, et aussi d'agir comme agent de liaison avec l'hôtel Lambert et le général Zamoyski. Les choses continuent de s'améliorer pour lui avec l'arrivée à Paris de l'ambassadeur persan Ferrukh-Khan le 4 janvier 1857 pour négocier la fin de la guerre anglo-persane (1856–1857). Kazimirski est attaché au service de l'ambassadeur, qu'il accompagne remarquablement dans les négociations du Traité de Paris signé le 4 mars 1857. En récompense, il est promu chevalier de la Légion d'honneur le 1^{er} août 1857. Il reçoit également de la part de la reine Victoria « une précieuse tabatière avec une lettre de compliments comme une preuve de satisfaction de sa part⁶². » (Potrykowski 1974 :393). Puis, le 20 septembre 1858, il devient secrétaire interprète pour les langues orientales⁶³. Le salaire maximal qu'il perçut fut de 7 164 francs annuels⁶⁴, c'est un salaire exceptionnel pour un interprète et qui semble être effectivement une gratification pour son rôle joué durant la guerre de Crimée et le traité de paix de 1857. Il est naturalisé Français le 15 novembre 1864. Le 17 Juin 1869 il a l'honneur de recevoir la plus haute décoration honorifique française en devenant membre de l'ordre d'officier de la Légion d'honneur.

⁶² Citation de *Wiadomości polskie* (Les Nouvelles polonaises) n° 15, édition du 11 avril 1857, 4 (ou 72 selon la pagination continue dans l'année).

⁶³ Succédant à Jean-Jacques Charles Duchenoud (1796–1868).

⁶⁴ Son salaire exact n'est pas indiqué mais on peut le déduire de trois éléments : Le 10 août 1845 Lelewel écrivit : « J'ai entendu parler que Kazimirski a obtenu un poste qui lui était promis depuis longtemps et qui va lui donner 6 000 francs » (Więckowska 1952 : III, 301, n° 845, Lettre du 10 août 1845). C'est apparemment la somme qu'espérait Kazimirski car comme on le sait il ne fut employé qu'en 1851. Dans son dossier personnel 393QO/402 il est précisé qu'à son licenciement en raison de son âge avancé le 12 mars 1882 le ministère accepte sa demande de le garder comme employé pour un poste moins prestigieux comme simple « secrétaire interprète honoraire chargé de travaux particuliers avec une allocation annuelle de six mille francs ». Il avait donc forcément durant son travail d'interprète un salaire égal ou supérieur à six mille francs.

Il me semble que son salaire maximal est celui mentionné par l'ambassadeur de France à Berlin, Alphonse Chodron de Courcel, dans une lettre du 13 avril 1886 au ministère en faveur de Kazimirski : « Cela serait possible si, provisoirement, on complétait par un petit recours la pension de retraite de manière à ce qu'il puisse continuer de recevoir... la même somme qu'il touchait pour des appointements au ministère, on me dit que c'était 597 francs par mois. » (AMAÉ 393QO/402) L'ambassadeur ne mentionnerait pas une somme erronée au ministère car il risquerait de ne pas être crédible dans intercession. Je considère donc ses affirmations comme véridiques, ce qui donne comme salaire maximal durant sa carrière diplomatique la somme de 7 164 francs annuels.

Il déménage à une adresse plus prestigieuse au 20 boulevard des Invalides à quelques pas du ministère. Il assiste à toutes les réceptions de l'ambassade de Perse, comme la célébration de l'anniversaire du Shah en septembre 1857 à laquelle furent conviées de nombreuses personnalités⁶⁵. Il est apprécié par plusieurs diplomates tels l'ambassadeur de Berlin Alphonse Chodron de Courcel qui a grande estime pour lui et le décrit comme « un savant du siècle »⁶⁶. Il noue aussi une amitié avec l'ambassadeur persan Hasan Ali Khan Garroosy (1820–1900) qui lui offre un manuscrit inédit de Menoutchehri (Kazimirski 1886 :III). Son travail lui permet de rencontrer les notables orientaux de passage en France tels Djamal ad-Din al-Afghani. Mais l'apogée de son travail est son rôle d'interprète particulier du Shah Naser ed-Din Qadjar (1848–1896) lors de sa visite en France en 1873. C'est lui qui accueille l'empereur à Cherbourg le 5 juillet 1873, puis il l'accompagne tout au long de son séjour jusqu'au 17 juillet. Le nom de l'interprète est alors souvent cité dans la description des activités du Shah, dont la presse raffole.

Le collectionneur du prince Ladislav

Kazimirski a toujours entretenu des bonnes relations avec les princes Czartoryski. Il arrangea le 21 mai 1857 une rencontre entre l'ambassadeur persan Ferrukh-Khan et le prince Adam Czartoryski à l'hôtel Lambert⁶⁷. C'est aussi lui qui fit inviter John Lemoine (1815–1892), rédacteur en chef du *Journal des débats*, à une soirée à l'hôtel Lambert le 22 février 1859⁶⁸. Lorsque l'activité politique de l'hôtel Lambert s'éteint peu à peu dans les années 1870 et que le prince Władysław (Ladislav) ouvre en 1878 le musée Czartoryski à Cracovie en Galicie autrichienne, il fait appel à Kazimirski comme expert pour l'achat de manuscrits orientaux. Le savant écrit directement au prince de longues lettres, le conseillant sur le choix de ses livres, lui indiquant le juste prix d'achat de ceux-ci, tout en rédigeant des comptes rendus sur la qualité et l'authenticité de manuscrits et objets orientaux divers. La bibliothèque Czartoryski possède encore quelques rares ouvrages où il est mentionné qu'ils ont été acquis par Kazimirski, comme une *Chronique de Moldavie* obtenu en juillet 1885⁶⁹, et un manuscrit persan, *Diwan el Hafez*, avec une description de la main de Kazimirski⁷⁰, et d'autres manuscrits tels les deux qu'on peut voir ci-dessous :

⁶⁵ *Le Monde illustré*, 8 septembre 1860 : 154.

⁶⁶ AMAÉ, dossier personnel : 393QO/402, lettre du 13 avril 1886.

⁶⁷ Bibliothèque Czartoryski de Cracovie : 6667, 2^{ème} lettre de Kazimirski.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, 3^{ème} lettre de Kazimirski.

⁶⁹ *Idem*, n° 7353, livre cité dans la 21^{ème} lettre, lettre du 2 juillet 1885.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, n° 3190.



Fig. 6. Bibliotekę Czartoryski de Cracovie , n° 3190 et 2396

De manière analogue, il collabore avec la bibliothèque Jagellonne à Cracovie, pour laquelle il achète un beau manuscrit persan en août 1883. Notre orientaliste n'a donc jamais oublié la Pologne. C'est pourquoi, sur demande du Prince, il se réinscrit à la Société historique et littéraire polonaise en 1880 et assiste à quelques réunions. Sous la troisième république la situation évolue pour les diplomates polonais. La collaboration privilégiée entre l'hôtel Lambert et le ministère des Affaires étrangères n'est plus ce qu'elle était sous le Second Empire⁷¹. Kazimirski devient alors un agent de liaison pour transmettre des messages entre les deux entités politiques pour des affaires d'importance relative.

L'échec à l'enseignement

Kazimirski essaya à plusieurs reprises d'obtenir une chaire d'enseignement. Comme cité précédemment il postula d'abord pour une chaire à la littérature slave au Collège de France en avril 1845 pour laquelle il ne reçut pas de réponse. Puis à la mort de l'orientaliste Étienne-Marc Quatremère en 1857, il demande l'autorisation au ministère pour déposer sa candidature pour la chaire persane vacante de l'École spéciale des langues orientales. Il ne va pas au bout du projet car le ministère le somme de choisir entre ce poste et celui qu'il occupe au ministère⁷².

⁷¹ Sujet que je développe dans mon étude prosopographique des agents polonais du ministère et dont j'espère la publication en 2021.

⁷² AMAÉ, dossier personnel : 393QO/402, lettre du 17 Octobre 1857.

Enfin son échec le plus douloureux est celui pour la chaire persane au Collège de France en 1876. Le compte rendu de la séance tenue le 26 mars 1876 par le Collège de France rend un bel hommage aux travaux de l'orientaliste polonais⁷³. Mais le décret du 9 mai 1876 signé du président Mac-Mahon, octroie la chaire persane à Barbier de Meynard. Comme pour en rajouter à cet échec, son rival sera transféré à la chaire arabe en 1885. Or les transferts entre chaires sont assez rares. Si la candidature de Barbier de Meynard était plus pertinente pour la chaire arabe, pourquoi donc ne pas avoir donné la chaire persane à Kazimirski?

La raison est peut-être simplement due au fait qu'il soit d'origine polonaise et que même s'il devint Français par naturalisation et avait en 1876, vécu quarante-cinq années en France, il resta pour beaucoup encore un polonais. Kazimirski, lui ne pense pas de la sorte, et il ne s'est jamais plaint d'aucune discrimination. Mais sous les débuts de la Troisième République certains clichés se diffusent sur les Polonais, notamment depuis la participation de Polonais à la Commune de Paris (1871), comme le général Jarosław Dombrowski chef militaire de la Commune de Paris. Parmi les conséquences, l'école polonaise est sommée en 1874 de quitter les locaux sur le boulevard des Batignolles pour un emplacement moins prestigieux rue Lamandé. Malgré ces péripéties, Kazimirski détestait les polémiques sur l'immigration. Il mit son insuccès sur le compte de la malchance car au moment de sa candidature, il lui aurait fallu rendre quelques visites et donner quelques conférences qu'ils n'avaient pu assumer. Hélas, s'étant cassé la jambe à la sortie du bureau, il avait dû rester au lit durant la période de délibération. Cet accident était d'après Kazimirski la principale raison de son revers de fortune. Ainsi, il prit la décision du Collège de France avec philosophie. Irena Turowska déclare (1938 :121) : « Il a dignement vécu cet échec *aequissima anima* (âme noble) parce que la vie fait vite accepter la fatalité. Il ne demandait pas beaucoup de chose en tant qu'homme. Il était modeste, pour lui le monde entier tournait autour de ses études orientales. » Justement, cette expérience eut le mérite de remettre Kazimirski sur le champ de bataille littéraire en publiant de nouveau en France après une longue absence.

Le traducteur de la littérature persane

Sa carrière diplomatique freina sa production scientifique mais elle lui permit de pratiquer quotidiennement la langue persane. En 1873 Jan Działyński (1829–1880) fils de son mécène lui propose de financer la traduction de l'œuvre de son choix. Kazimirski n'a pas d'hésitation à choisir un recueil du célèbre poète persan du XIII^e s., Saadi. Il achève son travail, *Gulistan, to jest Ogród różany Sa'dego z Szyszczu* (Le Jardin des roses) en 1876. Il inclut dans sa traduction un certain nombre de notices et explique qu'il souhaite faire de l'initiation à l'orientalisme en Pologne

⁷³ Archives nationales, F/17/3169.

une priorité majeure de sa traduction. Il s'engage au point d'oublier que c'est avant tout un recueil de poésies, où le sens littéraire peut parfois être secondaire. Le résultat est donc mitigé. C'est une réussite dans le sens où son livre suscite l'intérêt pour l'Orient en Pologne. Mais cet intérêt a pour conséquence la redécouverte d'une autre traduction de Gulistan par le diplomate Samuel Otwinowski (1575–1650) datant du début du XVII^e s. Cette traduction publiée à Varsovie en 1879, éclipse immédiatement par son style agréable, la rigide traduction de Kazimirski. L'année 1876 est aussi celle où il postula pour la chaire persane au Collège de France. Afin d'améliorer ses chances, il publia la même année une traduction d'extraits d'un recueil d'un auteur inconnu en France : *Spécimen du Divan de Menoutchehri*. Ce livre n'emporta pas le succès escompté.

Le 12 mars 1882 il est démis de ses fonctions au ministère, mais demeure secrétaire interprète honoraire chargé de travaux particuliers avec une allocation annuelle de 6 000 francs. Il continue d'écrire et publie en 1883 un remarquable dictionnaire et manuel, *Dialogues français-persans*. Son œuvre est saluée par de nombreux spécialistes dont Barbier de Meynard. Le 1^{er} juillet 1886 le ministère presse Kazimirski de prendre sa retraite. Cette même année il publie son dernier livre : *Menoutchehri : poète persan du XI^e s. de notre ère*. On ne mentionne pas assez que ce n'est pas juste une traduction de poèmes. Son introduction sur l'histoire de l'Islam en Orient et la littérature persane fait tout de même plus de cent cinquante pages. Il y démontre toute son érudition concernant la littérature persane. L'extrait le plus célèbre de Menoutchehri, dont plusieurs poètes feront l'écho, est :

« Ô mes nobles amis, lorsque je mourrai, lavez mon corps du vin le plus rouge. Composez-en les aromates des pépins de raisin et faites mon suaire des feuilles de la vigne. Creusez pour moi une tombe à l'ombre de la vigne, afin que la meilleure des places soit ma demeure. Le jour où Dieu me portera au Paradis, je demanderai à mon bienfaiteur un ruisseau plein de vin. (Kazimirski 1886 :222) »

À sa mort Kazimirski n'eut pas les honneurs que demandait Menoutchehri.

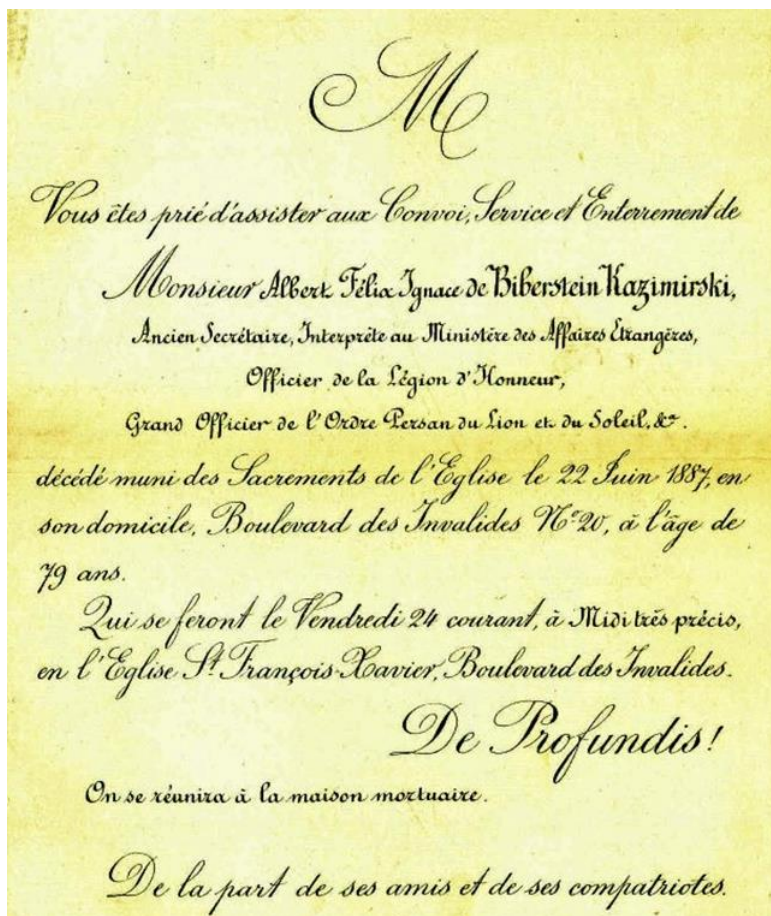


Fig. 7. AMAÉ, dossier personnel : 39300/402,
la Bibliothèque polonaise en possède aussi une copie.

La fin de vie et l'héritage de l'orientaliste franco-polonais

La longue vie d'Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski prend fin le 22 juin 1887. C'est le ministère qui organise ses funérailles car il ne laisse derrière lui aucune famille. La cérémonie se déroule en petit comité composé des membres du ministère des Affaires étrangères et quelques invités comme le secrétaire de l'ambassade persane. Le service a lieu le vendredi 22 juin 1887 à midi à l'église Saint-François Xavier, située sur le boulevard des Invalides. Le lieu est symbolique car Saint François-Xavier, missionnaire jésuite (1506–1552) voyagea jusqu'aux confins de l'Orient, en

Chine et au Japon. C'est donc chez un 'saint orientaliste' que Kazimirski fit ses adieux⁷⁴.

Un Orientaliste à redécouvrir

Kazimirski a vécu à une période où être atypique n'était pas une qualité. Il reçut une bonne éducation à Lublin et Varsovie et acquit un excellent niveau dans plusieurs langues européennes. Après un magistère de droit il décida de se consacrer pleinement à l'étude des langues orientales à une époque où sa patrie, pourtant frontalière avec l'Orient, n'était pas fertile d'études orientalistes. C'est cette passion qui lui procura le soutien financier de la famille Działyński. La guerre de 1831 interromp son ascension scientifique, mais elle est pour lui une grande expérience patriotique qui le rapproche du professeur Lelewel. Il accompagne ce savant et homme politique durant ses premières années à Paris. Il goûte ainsi à la politique mais s'en détourne dès le départ de son mentor en 1833.

Avec peu de moyens, il réalise son rêve d'étudier les langues étrangères chez des grands savants, tels Silvestre de Sacy. Il s'installe à la même adresse que la Société asiatique pour être au plus près des orientalistes. Il voyage en Perse en 1839 en tant que Drogman et rencontre le Shah. Il impressionne l'ambassade par ses talents d'interprète. À son retour il publie la seule traduction française du Coran du XIX^e s. Il améliore son œuvre en 1842 et en 1852. Elle devient un classique du genre. Cela ne le met pas à l'abri de la précarité. Il persévère et écrit le premier *Dictionnaire arabe-français* de l'histoire (1846–1850). Comme sa traduction du Coran, son dictionnaire fait autorité de son vivant.

Ses efforts pour la science sont récompensés par une nomination au poste d'interprète au ministère des Affaires étrangères. Sa carrière décolle par son rôle d'interprète et d'agent de liaison durant la guerre de Crimée. Également interprète du traité de paix de 1857 entre l'Angleterre et la Perse, il est naturalisé et récompensé par la Légion d'honneur. Il côtoie des ambassadeurs et des intellectuels venus d'Orient. Il sert aussi fidèlement les représentants de son pays d'origine, les princes Czartoryski, tout particulièrement Władysław, qu'il aide dans sa collection de livres et d'objets orientaux. Il espère devenir professeur de persan au Collège de France, mais échoue. Pour autant, cela ne le décourage pas de partager son savoir de la langue et de la culture persane, dont il traduit trois recueils, et publie un dictionnaire.

Malgré ses faits d'armes littéraires pour la cause orientaliste il ne fut l'objet d'aucune biographie et les notices à son sujet sont incomplètes ou incorrectes. Sa connaissance des langues et des civilisations orientales, ses livres références pour les

⁷⁴ Comme nous l'avons vu il est enterré au cimetière de Montrouge (région parisienne). Je n'ai pas encore élucidé l'énigme de la raison de sa présence là-bas alors qu'il résidait sur le boulevard des Invalides.

arabisants, son parcours atypique, et la profonde influence de ses œuvres, font de lui un orientaliste à redécouvrir.

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INCARNATION/TAGĀSSUD LEXICON IN NINTH-CENTURY ARABIC CHRISTIAN CONTROVERSY: A GENDER ISSUE¹

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Ninth-century Arabic Christian apologists, i.e. the first known Christian theologians who wrote in Arabic: the Chalcedonian (‘Melkite’) Theodore Abū Qurra (d. ca. 820–825),² the Syrian-Orthodox (‘Jacobite’) Ḥabīb ibn Ḥidma Abū Rā’īta (d. probably soon after 830),³ and the East Syrian (‘Nestorian’) ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī (d. ca. 840),⁴ composed their works to defend their teachings challenged by Muslims, particularly the doctrine of the Trinity and divine filiation, or to contrast other denominations, especially in the field of Christology. In this apologetic literature and in the intra-Christian dogmatic debates, they used a wide range of words, terms or appellatives, to refer to a variety of concepts and notions of ‘body’. While there is a hierarchy of forms based on the meanings, i. e. whether a physical body, a bestial, or a human one is intended, most bodily terms appear in discussions about the Messiah, His body, Incarnation, (in)dwelling, and humanisation. When the notions of Incarnation and humanisation are elaborated on, it is often done with the help of the analogy of human generation and reproduction, or that of a human being born from his mother, in the unified form of body and soul.

In this paper, I briefly present and classify the “body-Incarnation” lexicon of the Christian Arab authors, then I examine the depiction of the birth, Incarnation, and humanisation of the Son against the background of previous tradition. As S. Griffith puts it: “The Christian Arabic-speaking apologists of the first Abbasid century [...] especially in Iraq, [...] were the heirs of the Syriac-speaking tradition that for several centuries had been absorbing and putting into Syriac dress, the Greek ecclesiastical philosophy that was a distinctive blend of Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian elements,

¹ The first version of this article was prepared for and presented at the conference “Dis/embodiment and Im/materiality: Uncovering the Body, Gender and Sexuality in Philosophies of Late Antiquity – In Memoriam Marianne Saghy (1961–2018)”, Central-European University, Budapest, 6–8 June, 2019.

² See Lamoreaux 2009.

³ See Keating 2009.

⁴ See Beaumont 2009.

wedded to the exigencies of Christian doctrine” (Griffith 1980:171).⁵ I seek to identify some of the underlying philosophical theories on matter, reproduction, and gender, and I am also going to reflect on how the different Christologies determined what model was chosen by Chalcedonian, Syrian-Orthodox and East Syrian authors.

1 Overview

The connotations of terms that refer to the body can usually be linked to Greek Patristic and/or philosophical literature, and accordingly, their use is determined by that tradition. The chart below lists and classifies forms and terms (investigated and analysed in various contexts in detail elsewhere: Varsányi, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) as a basis for the present study, in the examples of which almost all of them occur. The Arabic form, where possible, is given together with a corresponding Greek term, which, in the majority of cases, is the Greek philosophical term⁶ that had come to be translated with the given Arabic form during the translation movement,⁷ but the meaning is usually enriched and diversified by those senses that it had in Patristic usage,⁸ which was also part of the Christian Arab authors’ patrimony. On some occasions: in the cases of the Incarnation, indwelling, and humanisation, there is only a corresponding Patristic term. First, the hierarchy of bodily terms is given, starting with *ǧirm* and arriving at *badan*, under which the “secondary” forms follow, i.e. those names or terms that appear less frequently, and instead of referring more strictly to the body, usually mean a bodily form or disposition. In the second column, next to the nouns meaning physical, or animate bodies, or human body, there are derived terms that come to mean ‘corporeal, physical, bodily’, especially when contrasted to ‘psychical and spiritual’ (*nafsānī*, *rūḥānī*) in the texts. Finally, the last column renders the investigated “actions” such as embodiment, incarnation, humanisation in a corresponding order to those out of which they are formed. That these forms were derived for the exigencies of expressing Christian theology in Arabic, is proven by the fact that they cannot be found in the books of definitions

⁵ The range of this article does not permit a fuller elaboration on this background, which is thoroughly studied and presented elsewhere: Goddard 2000:50, 54–55; Griffith 1980:161–162. See also the English study in: Maróth 2006; and Strohmaier 1987:380–389; Khalil 1983:41.

⁶ Such forms are given on the authority of Afnan 1968.

⁷ For its detailed description that indicates its beginning in the middle of the eighth century, see Gutas 1998; for references of its being contemporaneous with the appearance of the first systematic Arabic Christian treatises, see Griffith 2014:6.

⁸ Such forms are given on the authority of Lampe 1961.

(*kutub al-ḥudūd*) of Muslim authors.⁹ The necessity of the Arabization of Christian doctrine enriched the language by way of stimulating terminological developments.

“Body”	Derived terms	Actions: embodiment/related notions
<i>ḡirm</i> جرم (τό στερεόν, σῶμα) atom, substrate that can carry accidents		
<i>ḡism</i> جسم (τό στερεόν, σῶμα) a corporeal, inanimate and composite entity, created in time; (capable of mingling, but cannot affect or limit the divine principle); body of animals	<i>ḡusmānī</i> جسماني bodily, corporeal	<i>taḡassum</i> تجسم embodiment
<i>ḡasad</i> جسد (σῶμα, σὰρξ) human body, resurrection body, the Messiah’s flesh	<i>ḡusdānī</i> جسداني corporeal	<i>taḡassud</i> تجسد (ἢ σάρκωσις) incarnation (as taking a human body or nature; together with unification; taking flesh)
<i>badan</i> بدن (σῶμα) human body		<i>tabaddun</i> تبدين embodiment
<i>ḡutta</i> جثة (physical) body <i>hay’a</i> هيئة state, disposition <i>ḥilqa</i> حلقة (ἢ μορφή) bodily form <i>ṣabah</i> شبح form, person		
<i>haykal</i> هيكل “temple”		
<i>maḥall</i> محل dwelling place		<i>ḥulūl</i> حلول (in)dwelling (ἐνοίκησης)
		<i>ittiḥād</i> اتخاذ assuming (of the body) (πρόσληψις) (addition, acquisition, of human by Logos) <i>tadarru</i> تدرع dressing into (the body) <i>iḥtiḡāb</i> احتجاب veiling oneself (in a body)
		<i>ta’annus</i> تأنس humanisation (ἐνανθρώπησις) (‘incarnation – as an event; a source of redemption; Christ’s incarnate life, nature, or humanity) <i>ṣāra insānan</i> صار إنساناً become human
		<i>ittiḥād</i> اتحاد union (ἔνωσις) <i>iḡtimā</i> اجتماع combination, conjunction (συνουσία) <i>i’tilāf</i> composition

⁹ Abū Yūsuf b. Ishāq al-Kindī’s (d. c. 873) *Risāla fī Ḥudūd al-aṣyā’ wa-rusūmihā*, is the first Arabic book of philosophical definitions, by an author contemporary to ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī. The other works in a chronological order are: Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib al-Ḥwārizmī’s (d. 997) *Maḡāīl al-‘ulūm*; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Fūrak al-Anṣārī al-Iṣbahānī’s (d. 1015) *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd*; Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 1037) *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd*; Sayf ad-Dīn al-Āmidī’s (d. 1233) *al-Mubīn*; and finally, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ġurḡānī’s (d. 1414) *at-Ta’rīfāt*.

There are various terms for the body, flesh, and bodily form, but when it comes to *incarnation*, it is *ġasad* which forms a basis for a derived form to express it: i.e. *taġassud*. As far as it can be documented, the term first appears in this form with the meaning of incarnation in the Arabic translation of the debate by Timothy the Nestorian patriarch in the last decade of the eighth century. As M. Beaumont writes: “It is not known when the earliest Arabic translation was made, but it seems that the East-Syrian recension of the Disputation of the Monk Ibrāhīm aṭ-Ṭabarānī (9th c.) already quotes from it. The oldest surviving manuscript that contains an Arabic translation is to be found in the Cairo Geniza and probably dates from the 11th century” (Beaumont 2005:32). It is a part of the vocabulary of all three ninth-century authors, despite denominational disagreements. These authors all share a common vocabulary in Arabic, which attests to the existence of intensive interaction between Christian communities in the region.

On a thematic basis, the relevant examples are divided in three groups: (a) where the incarnation and birth of the Messiah is approached through notions of reproduction/generation; (b) through the dichotomy of body and soul; and (c) the combination of these two.

2 Reproduction/generation

As the Incarnation and divine filiation were among the most challenged Christian doctrines in debates with Muslim opponents, who confronted them as irrational, Christian apologetic works needed to demonstrate that these are not contrary to reason. One of the frameworks that is applied sets the Incarnation in the context of one of the theories concerning generation and reproduction, where the divine and human parts of the Messiah and their union in him are explained through one of the schemes of male and female contribution to the generation of the offspring – in accordance with respective Chalcedonian, Syrian-Orthodox and East Syrian Christologies.

2.1

In ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s first example, we see references to sexual intercourse, as the means of reproduction, related to shame and the dirtiness of seed – whence the necessity to wash it off, which is related to the issue whether sonship might properly be stated for God:

I would like to ask them why they find distasteful (*istašna ‘ū*)¹⁰ our naming of the Word as “Son,” according to what is in the Books of God concerning him.

¹⁰ The translation of *istašna ‘ū* with “finding distasteful” is justifiable because of the following reference to shame. However, another translation would also be possible, namely

Is it perhaps because we find that our sons only exist through sexual intercourse (*nikāḥ*), which we are ashamed (*nastaḥī*) to show? We consider the sperm (*al-manī*) by which they exist to be dirty (*nastaqdir*) to the extent that we wash ourselves of it. This is how their creation (*ḥalq*) comes from it. They remain in the darkness of the womb (*ẓalam al-baṭn*) for nine months, and they come out by strong labor pains through a narrow uterus, together with much blood (*dam kaṭīr*). We therefore inform them, [our accusers], that we are blameless before God from all of this, because the Son, according to us, does not have a body¹¹ (*laysa bi-ḡasad*) and he has no members, flesh or blood. His eternal birth (*wilādatuhu fī azaliyyatihi*) is not from the body of a woman (*min ḡasad imra'a*), but he is the Word of God, not confined or perceived. His origination is far beyond the description of the generation of light from the sun and speech from the soul (Mikhail's translation: 382).¹²

Fitting the main investigation of this article, first the issue of the theory of reproduction is examined here, then, some other considerations on gender and sexuality will be added. The issue debated is divine filiation – as “our naming of the Word as “Son”” indicates. The challenge is referred to by the use of the form *istašna'ū* (‘they find [it] distasteful’, or ‘they find it absurd, out of place, irrational’) a verb derived from the adjective *šani'*, (possibly including the connotations of the Greek: ἄτοπος), which means absurd, out of place (C.f. Afnan 1968:144–145). 'Ammār al-Baṣrī interprets this reaction in the context of biological sonship and human reproduction, so that his negation of such a context in relation to the divine Word should invalidate the judgement of absurdity. In describing human procreation, only the male seed is mentioned, – as indicated in the statement that human children “exist by the sperm” – i.e. only the male is mentioned explicitly as contributing seminal fluid (and through this: form) to the offspring generated, which, broadly, concords with the Aristotelian view of reproduction and gender (Allen 1987:92, 93), or, more generally, with the theory that holds that the male is the sole supplier of seed, which, apart from Aristotle, was advanced by other philosophers, including Anaxagoras, Diogenes of Apollonia, and the Stoics. (Wilberding 2015: 151) Male activity and passive femininity bear also the traits of the Platonic view (Allen 1987:91). On the other hand, on the woman's part, i.e. on that of the mother,

that of “finding it absurd,” as the root *Š-N-* usually refers to absurdity in apologetic and polemic texts.

¹¹ Instead of “does not have a body” the translation “is not a body” would be closer in meaning to the section of the Arabic texts that reads *laysa bi-ḡasad*.

¹² 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Burhān* 57:

واني لأحب أن أسألهم لم استنشعوا تسميتنا الكلمة ابناً على ما في كتب الله من ذلك؟ ألع ذلك لما وجدنا البنين عليه عندنا لا يكونون إلا بِنكاح نستحي من إظهاره ونستقدر المنى الذي يكون به حتى نغتسل منه وينشأ خلقهم منه ويمكنون في ظلم البطن تسعة أشهر ويخرجون بالطلق الشديد من أرحام ضيقة مع دم كثير؟ إنا نعلمهم أنا نبر إلى الله من ذلك كله، لأن الابن عندنا ليس بجسد ولا ذي أعضاء ولحم ودم، وليس ولادته في أزيلته من جسد امرأة، بل هو كلمة الله التي لا تحد ولا تدرك. وولاده فوق ولاد النور من الشمس والكلمة من النفس بما لا يوصف

only the great amount of blood is mentioned, which may be understood either as the female counterpart of the sperm in its “dirtiness”, in that it can be understood to be ritually unclean, or perhaps as the female contribution to generation, i.e. the catamenia (as matter) (C.f. also Bonnard 2013:11, Connell 2000:410; Parker 2012b:109; Smith 1983:477; and Sparshott 1983:6). To rebut this approach, the Word, i.e. the Son is indicated as an entity that is not a body and that has not got one, which means that his eternal birth is not bodily, consequently it is not from the body of a woman. It is significant that there is double stress on this fact, namely not only the bodily birth, but also that coming from a woman is emphasized. This emphasis will return in other contexts, as well, as a response, a rejection of an absurdity. To fit the apologetic framework even more, the Word’s not being confined (*lā tuḥadd*) is also articulated, which, on one hand could refer to the limitation in the uterus, but more generally, in this issue, the claims of contemporary Mu‘tazilites and other theologians are also echoed who argued that a God limited by a body could not be omnipresent (C.f. e. g. Martin 2001:106); consequently, God being or inhabiting a body is impossible.

After the examination of the underlying reproduction theory, we may turn to other considerations. E .g. particular is the reference to the “darkness of the womb”, which, apart from being a general notion, may also contain Quranic allusions.¹³ Among the other reflections on sexuality, those of its “shamefulness” (as *nastahī* implies it) and dirtiness (as *nastaqdir* implies it) deserve attention. Taking only the first word, *nastahī*, into consideration, the possible meanings, apart from the Aristotelian shamefulness (as αἰσχρόν),¹⁴ could also refer to the traditional senses of embarrassment, modesty, inhibition, bashfulness (as included in αἰδώς),¹⁵ so it could also be understood as if the implication of sexual intercourse by the idea of sonship, or filiation could be a source of embarrassment. Its joint appearance with *nastaqdir*, i. e. finding it dirty, however, definitely sets the issue into a negative framework. References to shame are rarely found in ‘Ammār’s works, which renders one of the possible interpretations, namely that of understanding “we are ashamed” as referring to the Christian community, unlikely. Given ‘Ammār’s lengthy elaboration elsewhere (*Masā’il* 114–115) on the idea that God’s design with human procreation/reproduction (*tanāsul*), i. e. intercourse between man and woman, and the birth of one generation from another, is to give a cause (*illa*) for reciprocal love and

¹³ E.g. Q 39:6 يَخْلُقُكُمْ فِي بُطُونِ أُمَّهَاتِكُمْ خَلْقًا مِّنْ بَعْدِ خَلْقٍ فِي ظُلُمَاتٍ ثَلَاثٍ (“He creates you in the wombs of your mothers, creation after creation, within three darknesses”). According to aṭ-Ṭabarī’s (*Tafsīr* VI, 368), these three darknesses are the belly, the uterus, and the placenta. في ظلمة البطن وظلمة الرحم وظلمة المشيمة. See also Qa’dān 2012:1292, and Ebrahim 2001:231.

¹⁴ In the Aristotelian sense: C.f. *Rhetoric* (2 1383b12–15) ‘Distress or disturbance at such evils, present, past or future, as seem to bring disrepute (*adoxia*)’.

¹⁵ For a detailed analysis of the meanings of the two terms, the chronological changes in their senses, their differences, and convergences, see Konstan 2003, esp. 1034–1047.

affection (*maḥabba ba‘d li-ba‘d, wa-‘atf*), it is improbable that it should be considered shameful. Repeated references to the washing off of the semen corroborate the other possibility, i. e. that this shamefulness and the distaste is characteristic of the Muslim opponent’s approach, especially that it is indicated by other occurrences, too, which accords with the Islamic prescriptions for ablutions after the emission of semen. (C.f. Ebrahim 2001:231, Griffith 1983:178–179, and Wensinck 1927:85–86) One of these repeated references can also be found in the *Kitāb al-Burhān*:

As for that with which you mock us as you scorn baptism, [...], I return to them and thoroughly wonder about the apparent thing which they have neglected: their own problem which they did not examine themselves. When sperm (*al-manī*), – in which man’s visible [pure]¹⁶ form is formed (...), (heaven and earth are created to [preserve] that form),¹⁷ – is ejaculated from one of them, he does not simply wash the place from whence it came, as he does with his spoiled human waste,¹⁸ (from which nothing is really formed but worms and the like), but he washes from the top of the head to his feet. He calls this type of washing from that clean thing (*aš-šay’ al-z/ṭāhir*¹⁹) from which God created humans (*allaḏī minhu ḥalaqa Allāh al-bašar*), purification (*ṭuhūr*)! (Mikhail’s translation: 402).²⁰

Given that ‘Ammār considers the semen a clean thing, the washing of the whole body after ejaculation is more likely to be a reference to the ritual cleansing for purity: in accordance with the Quranic judgement of the semen as a despised, impure fluid.²¹ This additional extract also emphasizes the idea that humans come into being from the sperm, as “in which man’s pure form is formed”; and “that clean thing from which God created humans” indicate it. This is contrasted with “spoiled human

¹⁶ Hayek notes that in the manuscript, the form *ṭāhir* can be found, which he substituted by *zāhir*. Mikhail’s translation keeps the meaning of the edited version on the first occasion in “visible form”. [pure] is my insertion.

¹⁷ See also Griffith 1983:178, where he translates only this section: “in which there is imaged his own pure character for the sake of which heaven and earth were created.”

¹⁸ In the edited version, here we can read **al-‘drh*, but as Mikhail’s translation indicates, this form would make no sense here. Instead, we may think of *al-maḏīra al-muntina* that can be translated as something rotten and putrid, coming out of the man.

¹⁹ Hayek substituted the form *ṭāhir* by *zāhir* once again (remarking in a footnote that in the manuscript, the former can be found). Mikhail’s translation is based on the manuscript version, as indicated in the second case in his translation “that clean thing”. I find the meaning “clean/pure” more convincing in both cases.

²⁰ Arabic text: ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Burhān* 81–82:

وهو أنه يخرج من أحدهم المنى الذي فيه صورت خلقته الطاهرة [الطاهرة] التي خلقت لها السماء والأرض، فلا يقع بأن يغسل الموضع الذي يخرج منه، كما يفعل في العذرة المنتنة التي تخرج منه ولا يتصور منها إلا الدود وما أشبهه، حتى يغسل ما بها بين قرنه إلى قدمه. ويسمى ذلك الغسل من ذلك الشيء الطاهر [الطاهر] الذي منه خلق الله البشر طهوراً

²¹ Q 32:8 “ثُمَّ جَعَلَ نَسْلَهُ مِنْ سُلَالَةٍ مِّنْ مَّاءٍ مَّهِينٍ” (“Then He made his posterity out of the extract of a liquid disdained.”)

waste” from which only worms are formed, which, also attests to an Aristotelian influence, as far as putrefaction and spontaneous generation is concerned, such as the idea of living things being generated in decaying matter (Aristotle, *History of Animals*, Book V, Part 1,101–102).

2.2

The second example lets us peek into the underlying theory of reproduction and gender in the description of the coming into being of the Messiah:

“His grace and generosity to His creatures are more evident and more visible, and He has honoured them more and more. I mean: a man, His image [or: whom He formed] (*ṣawwarahu*),²² from the Virgin Mary (Maryam al-‘Adrā), without an element (*mādda*) of human seed (*zar*’).” (Mikhail’s translation: 393).²³

‘Ammār states that the human being is formed from the Virgin, which means that he is from the “matter” of the Virgin, yet, without any human seed. To express this “forming”, here, instead of a term referring to creation (*ḥalq*) or making (*ṣan*’), the giving of forms (*taṣwīr*) is articulated. This fits more than just one framework: apart from the philosophical sense derived from *ṣūra* as form, the Quranic usage is also followed, where the verb *ṣawwara* and its derivatives often express God’s act of fashioning and forming – following the act of creation.²⁴ It is implied then that form is given to already existing matter, namely to that taken from the mother, Mary. Consequently, if the presence of any seed is negated, it means that the matter taken from the mother is not seed, and that the seed excluded then would be male seed. We may thus say that ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī follows the one-seed theory of human reproduction, conforming to the Aristotelian approach that considers the female as the provider of material to the foetus and as a receptacle – while the male is provider of fertile seed. Another remarkable point is that the extracts attest to a richness of vocabulary used in this field. In the previous examples, sperm was designated by *al-manī*, here, seed is given as *zar*’ – later on we will witness a further variety of names to designate it, where some specific implications will be mentioned.

²² The original form *ṣawwarahu* in the Arabic text necessitates a slight modification in Mikhail’s translation, i. e. instead of “His image”, I inserted [whom He formed].

²³ Arabic text: ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Burhān* 70:

نعمته وجوده على خلقه أظهر وأبين، وشرفهم به أكثر وأكثر: أعني بشراً صورته من مريم العذرى بغير مادة من زرع

²⁴ Q 7:11 وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَاكُمْ ثُمَّ صَوَّرْنَاكُمْ ثُمَّ صَوَّرْنَاكُمْ (“And We have certainly created you, [O Mankind], and given you [human] form”)

Q 40:64 اللَّهُ الَّذِي جَعَلَ لَكُمُ الْأَرْضَ قَرَارًا وَالسَّمَاءَ بِنَاءً وَصَوَّرَكُمْ فَأَحْسَنَ صُوَرَكُمْ وَرَزَقَكُم مِّنَ الطَّيِّبَاتِ (“It is Allah who made for you the earth a place of settlement and the sky a ceiling and formed you and perfected your forms and provided you with good things”). See also Gimaret 2007:286–288.

2.3

As it is particularly stressed in the third and lengthy example, this time from ‘Ammār al-Baṣīr’s longer work, the *Kitāb al-masā’il wa-l-ağwiba*, only the human hypostasis of the Messiah is taken from his mother, which is explicitly said to be *hylic matter* – likened to the matter that comes into being in time from a human mother and has a beginning: thus, human generation is offered as an analogy.

What we said (*qawlunā*) of that which is taken from the Virgin (*al-ma’ḥūd min al-Batūl*), is the same as what we said of the one which was taken in the union (*al-muttaḥad*), i.e. the created one that is taken from her (*al-maḥlūq al-ma’ḥūd minhā*); and what we said of the one which was taken in the union, i.e. the creature [taken] from her is the same as what we said of the conceived one (*al-maḥbūl bihi*), the one who was born from her (*al-mawlūd minhā*). And this is because that which is taken from her (*al-ma’ḥūd minhā*) is *hylic matter* (*mādda hayūlāniyya*) like the matter that comes into being (*al-mādda al-ḥādīṭa*) in [from]²⁵ the motherly nature (*aṭ-ṭibā’ al-ummahātiyya*) from [in]²⁶ the screen/shield of the bodies (*ğunnat abdān*) of their children. [...]²⁷

First, if we render all the statements in the beginning of the extract together, we see that the *subiectum* is expressed in various ways: the human part of the Messiah – which is taken from the Virgin, – i.e. [the one] conceived by her and born from her, and the creature taken in union: all have the same *praedicatum* (*qawl* being also a logical term, so that “what we say of something” is also a general or an assertoric or declaratory statement): namely that this *subiectum* is *hylic matter* (*mādda hayūlāniyya*). This *hylic matter* is likened to the matter that comes into being (*al-mādda al-ḥādīṭa*) from the motherly nature in the bodies of children, which means that the matter of children’s bodies is also “taken” from the mothers and is *hylic material*. The emphasis laid on matter, ὕλη, which comes into being, is particularly informative, given that it accords well with the Aristotelian definition, that states that it “is to be identified with the substratum which is receptive of coming-to-be and passing away” (Aristotle, *Generation and Corruption*, 320a1–2; C.f. Saif 2016:182). The next part of the quotation goes on to specify the Messiah’s body and humanity:

As for the one taken in union (*al-muttaḥad*), the one created from the matter taken from her (*al-maḥlūq min al-mādda al-ma’ḥūda minhā*), it is a complete body (*badan tāmm*), animated by a knowing/rational soul (*mutanaffis bi-nafs ‘allāma*) from which he was set up as a complete human. [...]

In this part, first, the *subiectum* is given again, this time indicated by two forms: the one taken in union, which is the same as the one created from the matter taken, then the *praedicatum* expresses that this is the basis of the complete form: once

²⁵ In the text: *fī*, which I read as *min*.

²⁶ In the text: *min*, which I read as *fī*.

²⁷ In case of long citations, I divide the text into smaller units for comments and analysis. The references are given after the last unit of the citation.

animated by a knowing/rational soul (*mutanaffis bi-nafs 'allāma*), the complete body (*badan tāmm*) becomes a new, complete human being – the explicit articulation and emphasis on the “complete human being” is particularly important for the East Syrian Christology, as ‘Nestorians’ argued Christ’s divinity and humanity were independent of each other, which allowed them to insist upon the full humanity of Christ’s human nature. The rational soul cannot be a part of “the one created from the matter taken”, given that just a couple of lines above, we were informed that the latter is only *hylic* material. It fits well the Aristotelian idea that since the female provides the material of the new individual, it cannot also have the power to infuse soul into it (Horowitz 1976:195, Lange 1983:5). Particular is the reference to its being animated by a rational soul, because it raises the issue of ensoulment. No detail is given that would clarify when this ensoulment happens, however, the reference to the *rational* soul, as well as the lack of mention about the nutritive/vegetative or the sensitive, are significant. It may raise the question if there is any precedent graduality, or if the rational soul – i. e. the soul that is reserved only for humans – was acquired at the conception. We shall return to this question in extracts that give more specific references later on. So far, this is the example that most explicitly seeks to explain the Incarnation and the union of the human part and the divine Son in the Messiah with the help of the analogy of human generation. The female is seen to provide material, (and serve as a receptacle) – in accordance with the Aristotelian scheme (in which the male is the spirit, impregnating female matter, imparting life and motion (Parker 2012a:110; with reference to *Generation of Animals* 716a4–7, 727b 31–34, 729b15–21, 765b8–766a 36)). The next step is to specify the *subiectum* from another angle, by referring to it only from the approach of conception and birth:

The one who was conceived of (*al-maḥbūl bihi*) and born from her (*al-mawlūd minhā*), is a Messiah with two *hypostaseis* (*uqnūmayn*), a divine and a human one, who were a unique Messiah by their union. [...]

This modification of the diaphragm was necessary because that which was taken from Mary was *hylic* material; but that which was conceived and born, is already the “whole” of the Messiah, namely both of his *hypostaseis* in a union. The text then turns back to the matter, and reflects on a question frequently discussed in debates, namely if it was pre-existent to the existence of the unified Messiah:

If we come to the mention of the quiddity (*māhiyya*) of that which is taken (*al-ma'ḥūd*), taken in union (*al-muttaḥad*) and born (*al-mawlūd*), our answer should be understood from us concerning that which was taken from the Virgin (*al-ma'ḥūd min al-Batūl*) – whether it had existed in its nature before its actual existence or not. We say: the matter taken (*al-mādda al-ma'ḥūda*) had been existent, firm in the nature of the pure Virgin before its existence – certainly. [...]

Repeated references to the material part taken from the female, necessitate to discuss if the matter (*al-mādda*) of the offspring prior to conception is present in the mother. On the one hand, the human and material part, which is a constituent of the full humanity important for ‘Nestorians’, being taken from the mother, is necessarily present in her. The question of pre-existence is also a philosophical issue, connected to views on embryology, and spermatogenesis, which generally concerned the manner of the offspring’s physical presence in the seed and/or the parents’ contribution. Preformationists held that the body of the offspring exists pre-formed in the seed, whereas epigenesists (e.g., Aristotle and Galen) argued that the parts are formed successively after conception. (C.f. Wilberding 2015:5). In this case, too, the Aristotelian approach is followed, according to which the material is/can be there “from the beginning, but the formal cause only gradually plays out along with the efficient cause of the embryonic development” (Maienschein 2017:2). The author then turns to the issues of this forming and growth:

As for the growing body (*al-badan an-nāmī*), formed from the matter (*al-muṣawwar min al-mādda*): its fashioning and the union with it (*ḡibillatuhu wa-ittiḥāduhu*) happened together [simultaneously] – after that it had not existed in the disposition of its form (*hay’at šūratihi*). And the existence of the combined (*muḡtama*) Messiah, combined in his completion (*bi-kamālihi*) was just like this: [it happened/started] together [simultaneously] with the assumption and the union. And there the Pure Virgin conceived the Messiah, who exists in his two *hypostaseis*, then she gave birth to him Him – as soon as the months of her pregnancy terminated – as a complete Messiah.²⁸

It is visible here that ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī followed the epigenesists, since the extract states that the body is formed (*muṣawwar*) out of the matter that existed previously in the mother, upon union and conception. As the passive voice (i. e. the passive participle *muṣawwar*) indicates, the matter taken from the mother does not contribute to this forming, neither has it anything to do with the *growing* of the body (c.f. *al-badan an-nāmī*), which is a result of the forming. It might also run parallel with the Aristotelian idea according to which the male (semen) produces form and impetus from which an embryo grows, being the efficient cause rather than material cause

²⁸ Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. Arabic text: ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Masā’il* 184–185:

إن قولنا في المأخوذ من البتول، سوى قولنا في المتحد المخلوق المأخوذ منها، وقولنا في المتحد المخلوق منها، سوى قولنا في المحبول به المولود منها. وذلك أن المأخوذ منها مادة هيولانية كالمادة الحادثة في [!] الطباع الأماهاتية من جنة [!] أيدان أولادها. وأما المتحد المخلوق من المادة المأخوذة منها، فبدين تام متنفس بنفس فإذا أتينا على ذكر ماهية المأخوذ المحبول به المولود منها، فمسيح ذو أفتومين إلهي وأنسي كانا باتحادهما مسيحاً واحداً. فإذا أتينا على ذكر ماهية المأخوذ والمتحد والمولود، فليفهم عنا الجواب في المأخوذ من البتول هل كان موجوداً في طبيعتها قبل أن يوجد أم لا. فنقول: بل قد كانت المادة المأخوذة موجودة ثابتة في طباع البتول الطاهرة قبل أن توجد يقيناً. وأما البدن النامي المصور من المادة فكانت جبلته واتحاده جميعاً معاً، بعد أن لم يكن على هيئة صورته موجوداً. وكذلك كان وجود المسيح المجتمع بكماله مع الاتخاذ والاتحاد جميعاً معاً. وهناك أيضاً حبلت البتول الطاهرة بالمسيح الموجود بقنوميه، ثم ولدته، لما استكملت شهور حبلها، مسيحاً كاملاً.

(Horowitz 1976:185), not the female. The emphatic presence of matter and form accords well with the *hylomorphism*, too. The extract in its entirety represents clearly the ‘Nestorian’ teaching: only the human part, more specifically the *hylic* matter is taken from the mother, which is distinguished from the divine; but then the complete human and the divine that form a union are born together. For the generation of the human, ideas that fit the Aristotelian framework can be recognized.

2.4

The general statement in the fourth example which states that everyone is born from each of his parents in the way that is substantial in relation to that parent, implies an underlying general rule according to which it is fixed in what ways the mother or the father contribute to the generation of the offspring.

We also say of the Messiah that he is born from the Father in an eternal birth (*mawlūd min Abīhi mīlādan azaliyyan*), and we do not claim that his Father gave birth to him (*waladahu*) in both of his substances (*ḡawharayhi*). We say instead that everyone is born from his father and his mother; but he/[she] is his parent only in what is substantial and natural from him (*innamā huwa wāliduhu min ḡiha mā huwa minhu ḡawharī ṭabīʿī*). That is: his father gave birth to him in a divine, eternal birth in his divinity, and his mother gave birth to him in a human way in time (*bašariyyan zamaniiyyan*). Despite the difference in his states and the difference of his birth, He is a unique Messiah possessed of two substances, one son and two *hypostases*.²⁹

This underlying idea, i. e. the gendered division between the contributions of the father and the mother, helps the explanation of the material and time-related births of the Messiah, as well as the immaterial and timeless one of his divine part, on behalf of the Father. The unity between these two parts is that of a unique sonship.

2.5

The next example accords with the previous ones in some ways. If the woman’s contribution is fix, and, as seen above, is material, then the following rhetorical question has only one possible answer:

Is it not clear from what has been told in our book – that it is the greatest impossibility (*a ʿzam al-muḥāl*) that a woman should give birth to a divinity (*talid imraʿa ilāhan*) – instead of a combined Messiah (*Masīḡan muḡtamaʿan*) in which there is the possibility of conception, birth, education, and death? [...]³⁰

²⁹ Arabic text: ‘Ammār al-Bašrī, *Masāʿil* 191:

وقد نقول في المسيح أيضاً إنه مولود من أبيه ميلاداً أزلياً، ولا نزعم أن أباه ولده بجوهرية جميعاً. بل نقول إن كل واحد مولود من أبيه وأمه إنما هو والده من جهة ما هو منه جوهرية طبيعي، أي أبوه ولده ميلاداً إلهياً قديماً من جهة لاهوته وولده أمه بشرياً زمنياً. إذ هو مع اختلاف حالاته وغيرية ولادته مسيح واحد ذو جوهرين، ابن واحد وقنومان

³⁰ Arabic text: ‘Ammār al-Bašrī, *Masāʿil* 199:

The reference to impossibility might also be considered as one made to absurdity, since *muḥāl* also means the senseless and the absurd (like the Greek ἄτοπος). It might echo the general Greek philosophical understanding that matter is lower in importance than form and/or spirit, and the notion of the impotency of the female in producing the rational principle and/or the soul, let alone a divinity. It might also remind the reader of the idea of Aristotle and his followers according to which maleness is spiritual, while femaleness is material (Horowitz 1976:186–187) and that the form-bearer is more divine than the matter supplier (Sparshott 1983:8). As for ‘Ammār al-Baṣṭī’s previously seen examples, it can be paragoned to the first one, where the birth from the body of a woman was negated in case of the Son, due to his not having a body.

2.6

So far, we have seen examples that subscribed to the one-seed theory, where women do not contribute semen to generation. The view that both the male and the female emit seed, as stated by philosophers as Alcmaeon, Hippon, and other Pythagoreans, Parmenides, Empedocles, Democritus, Epicurus – and physicians: the Hippocratics, Diocles, Herophilus, Soranus, and Galen (Wilberding 2015:3; Bonnard 2013:4; Boylan 1986:52, 59)³¹ also found echoes in Arabic Christian writings. The example by Theodore Abū Qurra (from *On the Death of Christ*), attests to the contemporary circulation of these alternative theories.

You should know that the eternal Son was in the Virgin’s womb (*ḡawf*) in the same way that the power³² of a man’s seed (*quwwat zar‘ ar-raḡul*) is in a woman’s womb – with one difference: unlike the power of the seed, the Son did not have a body (*ḡasad*) by essence (*min ḡawharihi*). That said, the Son and the seed of the pure lady (*zar‘ al-Muṭahhara*) met one another in her womb, even as the seed of a man and a woman meet one another in the woman’s womb, and the Virgin Mary conceived (*ḥabalat*) the eternal Son and gave birth (*waladat*) to him, even as a woman conceives a man’s seed and gives birth to it. (It is thus that Mary is truly the Mother of God, even as the church proclaims her.) [...]

The first part of the extract compares the Son in the womb of the Virgin not to man’s seed in a woman’s womb in general, but only to its power, potency, or faculty, *quwwa*, since, as it is quickly added, the Son entering the Virgin’s womb is without

أو لم يتبين في أعلى كتابنا أنه من أعظم المحال أن تلد امرأة إلهاً لا مسيحاً مجتمعاً يوجد فيه إمكان الحمل والولاد والتربية والموت وما أشبه ذلك خاصةً باسم المسيح.

³¹ With Galen stating that both sexes contribute with semen; the woman “produces a seed useful for generation; but it is nonetheless inferior to the male sperm, notably in terms of agility and heat. For him too, the creative principle resides in the male sperm” (Bonnard 2013:7)

³² *Quwwa*: it may also be understood as a faculty.

a body. From the simile, however, it can be understood, that the power of the seed has one, which implies that the seed is considered to be a body, a physical entity (*ġasad*). In order to make the analogy more exact, the basis of the comparison cannot be the physical seed itself, but only its (creative) potency. In the next sentence, however, the simile is slightly modified, given that the Son's meeting Mary's seed is not likened to the meeting of the power/faculty of the male seed with that of the woman, but to the meeting of the two seeds, so in this case a Son-and-male-seed parallel is also applicable. It is then carried on, as it can be seen in the analogy between a woman's conceiving a male's seed and the Virgin's conceiving the Son; as well as to a woman's giving birth to it (i. e. to the seed) and the Virgin's giving birth to the Son. The following statement about Mary as Theotokos explains the subscription to this seed-model: if real conception of and giving birth to the Son take place, she can be called the Mother of God.

It belongs to the natural power of the man's seed (*li-quwwat zar' ar-raġul fī tabī'atihā*), when it meets in the womb (*rahm*) with the woman's seed, to differentiate (*tu'īt*) for itself members, to form (*tuṣawwir*) for itself this human form (*ṣūra*) from the matter (*hayūlā*) that comes forth with it from the seed of the man and the woman, and to distribute itself in each member, in the measure that it is proper for it to be in each member. In the same way, the Word differentiated (*'adat*) for itself members from the seed of the pure Mary, formed for itself from it this human form, and entered into each of those members and into the soul, even as it is right for the power of human nature to be in each of them. [...]

The simile is concentrating again on the powers/potencies of the seed, which, upon meeting the female seed, gives (*tu'īt*) members to itself, i.e. (as Lamoreaux translates and interpretes it in this passage, C.f. Lamoreaux 122.) "differentiates them". Already in this part of the description, there is the implication that the potency of the male seed is the form-giver, which is then explicitly stated in the following: "to form (*tuṣawwir*) for itself this human form (*ṣūra*) from the matter". This use of *taṣwīr* is similar to that of 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, seen above, which refers to the seed as what forms a new human being. Matter is expressed by the term *hayūlā*, i.e. in a similar way that was seen above in the case of 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's *hylīc* matter; and the matter-form parallel, a kind of *hylomorphism* is also visible here. The description of the encounter of the two seeds and the male seed's forming the female one is already in accordance with Galenic spermatogenesis and embryology, as he asserts that the male seed is more powerful than the female, and functions as a craftsman in shaping the catamenia, i.e. acts as a fashioner – the female provides the material conditions for the embryo, while the spermata fashion it as best they can (Boylan 1986: 62).³³ Furthermore, in *On Semen*, Galen calls the male seed "not matter only

³³ C.f. "Like Aristotle, Galen allows for an independent assortment of traits as each *sperma* contends for the right to fashion individual parts from the *katamenia*. His account

but also power” that “makes the major contribution to the animal’s material principle”.³⁴ The forming potency of the human seed is then compared to the bodyless Word, which gives form and differentiates members from the woman’s seed. In case of humans, the basis of the formation is matter (*hyle*) coming from two seeds, while in case of the Messiah, is only taken from Mary.

The seed’s distributing itself in each member is in accordance with the seed’s forming each member but it can also be linked to the idea of the physical pneuma that is present in the whole of the body. The analogous entrance of the Word into each member and soul is important for Chalcedonian Christology, which acknowledges the two natures in a single hypostasis. The Word’s entering into the whole of the human being underlines this hypostatic unity.

When the eternal Son created (*ḥalaqa*) living entities (*al-ašbāḥ*) in the beginning, he gave them the ability (*qawwāhum*) to propagate via reproduction (*tawālud*), and he put the Holy Spirit in charge of that for them, that he might make it continue for them, through the Holy Spirit’s influence and strength (*tahī’a, taqwiya*). In the same way, through the Holy Spirit’s influence and strength (*taqwiya*), the Son made (*ṣana’a*) for himself that human body (*al-ḡasad al-insī*) from the seed that the pure lady gave him (*az-zar’ alladī nāwalathu*), through the Holy Spirit’s kindling (*išḡāl*)³⁵ of her, even as the power of the human seed made (*tašna’ quwwat az-zar’ al-insī*) for itself members, through the Holy Spirit’s granting of strength. The Son did not in any way transgress (*lam ya’du*) in this the limit of the power of the seed (*ḥadd quwwat az-zar’*). The Holy Spirit was responsible (*tawallā*) with regard to the Son for everything for which he is responsible (*yalīhi*) with regard to the power of the human seed (Lamoreaux’s translation 122).³⁶

contains elements of the Aristotelian and Hippocratic theories that preceded it. Like Hippocrates’ account, it is a dual-seed theory; as in Aristotle’s account, a creative element struggles to fashion intransigent material.” Boylan 1986:68. Reference on p. 67: “The form itself is accomplished by *sperma* fashioning the matter”

³⁴ Galen, *On Semen* 2.2.15–16. Cf. Anthony 2013:4.

³⁵ The text contains the form *išḡāl*, which would rather mean filling, occupation, occupancy, and taking up. Eventually, this may mean intrusion, too. I find this reading also grounded. Lamoreaux’s translation is based on a reading of *iš’āl* instead of *išḡāl*.

³⁶ Arabic text: *Maymar fī mawt al-Masīḥ* 63–64:

واعلم أن هذا الابن الأزلي كان في جوف العذراء كقوة زرع الرجل في جوف المرأة ما خلا أن الابن لم يكن له جسد من جوهره بثمة كما لقوة الزرع. فالتقى الابن وهو على هذه الحال بزرع المطهرة في جوفها كما يلتقي زرع الرجل والمرأة في جوف المرأة وحبلت مريم العذراء بالابن الأزلي وولدت كما تحبل المرأة بزرع الرجل وتلد. من أجل ذلك مريم هي والدة الإله حقاً كما تركز بها الكنيسة وكما أن لقوة زرع الرجل في طبيعتها إذا التقت في الرحم مع زرع المرأة أن تعطي لنفسها الأعضاء وتصور لها هذه الصورة الانسية من الهيولى التي تخرج معها من زرع الرجل والمرأة وتقسّم نفسها لكل عضو بقدر ما يستحق أن يكون فيه كذلك الكلمة عضت لنفسها الأعضاء من زرع مريم الطاهرة. وصورت لها منه الصورة الانسية وصارت في كل عضو من تلك الأعضاء. وفي النفس كما يستحق كل شيء من ذلك أن يكون فيه قوة الطبيعة الانسية. وكما أنه خلق الابن الأزلي الأشباح بدءاً ثم قواها أن تجري في التوالد. وكان روح القدس هو الذي ولي ذلك منها إذ أن يديمه لها بتهيئة روح القدس وتقويته صنع الابن لنفسه ذلك الجسد الانسي من الزرع الذي ناولته المطهرة

The difference of terms used for the different creative actions is telling. The Son's initial creation of humans is *ḥalq*, but the creative action that results in the coming into being of the human part of the Messiah is making, *ṣanʿ*, since it is not *ex nihilo*, but uses matter, namely seed taken from the "pure woman". This representation of the Son as τεχνίτης or δημιουργός fits more frameworks. The male as *tekhmites*, as craftsman, has just been mentioned above. Besides, on the one hand, in the works of Christian Arab authors, *ṣanʿ* is usually a kind of creative action (its being used synonymously with *ḥalq* by ʿAmmār al-Baṣṣrī, while in a differentiated manner by Theodore Abū Qurra – who used *ḥalq* for creation *ex nihilo*, while *ṣanʿ* for making from pre-existing matter – as demonstrated in Varsányi 2015:222–245), so it fits the general framework of God's creation. In this respect, *ṣanʿ* also accords with (later) Islamic theological usage (on God as *Ṣāniʿ* see Gimaret 304–305).

Theodore Abū Qurra's presentation of reproduction (*tawālud*) as a divine design for the propagation of humankind is analogous to ʿAmmār al-Baṣṣrī's *tanāsul* (as referred to above, in the first example), in that both cases, reproduction, sexual propagation comes from God/the Holy Spirit for humankind.

The reference to transgression (concerning the limit of the power of the seed) is of importance as it states that the one born from Mary is not entirely divine, but only formed the seed of the woman – this way the presence of the human nature is implicitly underlined. We can also notice that this idea is also expressed by the creative terminology: while in the beginning the Son created living entities – i.e. He created them *ex nihilo*, the term *ḥalaqa* is used. The Son's making of the body from the seed of Mary is referred to with *ṣanʿ*.

The texts seen so far attest to a great variety, Theodore Abū Qurra being an example of the approach that elaborated on the Incarnation and the generation of the Messiah using the two-semen theory. So far, we could see that the East Syrian author subscribed to the one-seed theory, while the Chalcedonian to the two-seed one.

3 Dichotomy of body and soul

In the forthcoming part those examples are presented that compare the divine and human parts of the Messiah which encounter each other and then become united in the Incarnation, to the union of body and spirit, or body and soul in a human being. These examples serve to demonstrate that such a union between entities of different natures is not contrary to rationality.

بأشغال روح القدس إياها كما تصنع قوة الزرع الانسي لنفسها الأعضاء بتقوية روح القدس لم يعد الابن في ذلك حد قوة الزرع بثة وإن روح القدس تولى من الابن في ذلك كلما بليه الزرع القوة لانسي

3.1

‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s example from the *Kitāb al-Burhān* brings the spiritual and the bodily, corporeal natures and parts of the human being as a parallel to the divine and human in the Messiah.

So, the name Christ (*ism al-Masīḥ*) became indicative of the Creator and His creature (*al-Ḥāliq wa-ḥalquhu*). He is a Creator, who is invisible in His divinity, and seen in his humanity (*insiyya*) as created (*mahlūq*)³⁷; just as a human being indicates spirit and body (*rūḥ wa-ḡasad*), so he is spiritual in his spirit (*rūḥānī bi-rūḥihi*) and bodily in his body (*ḡusdānī bi-ḡasadihi*) (Mikhail’s translation 393).³⁸

The first part of this passage, namely the reference to name, *ism*, implies that whatever has a unique name, can be considered a single entity. However, the indication (*dalāla*) is to two parts that are unified in a single entity. In the simile presented, the human part of the Messiah corresponds to the body, while the divine to the spirit: the bodily–spiritual (*ḡusdānī–rūḥānī*) division is consistent with the divided contributions of parents to the generation of the offspring, as it was seen in the previous section. This correspondence, however, is modified in the *Masā’il wa-l-aḡwiba*, as it is seen in the following example:

You know with a certain knowledge (*ayqanta*) that even if your mother gave birth to you as a complete human who has spirit and body (*waladatka insānan kāmilan dā rūḥ wa-badan*), she has not given birth to your spirit and your body (*lam talid rūḥaka wa-badanaka*). Your mother has given birth to you only as a human who has spirit and body, by your body, (*insānan dā rūḥ wa-badan min qibal badanika*) that can receive birth [...] and not by your spirit which stands above these things and these states. [...] We do not say that the divinity of Our Lord – that stands above every analogy – is like the position of the spirit in the human – due to its transcendence and standing above the contingent things, bodies (*aḡsād*) and bodies (*abdān*). We say that the Pure Virgin, even if she gave birth to her son as a complete Messiah that had two substances: a divine and a human one, she did not give birth to him in both of his substances, but she gave birth to him by his humanity (*nāsūt*), which was extracted (*al-muntaza’a*) from her.³⁹

³⁷ I would modify the translation as “a creature, who is seen in his humanity” based on this part of the text: *mahlūq yurā bi-l-insiyyatihi*.

³⁸ Arabic text: ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Burhān* 71:

فصار اسم المسيح يدل على الخالق وخلقته، فهو خالق لا يرى بالاهيته ومخلوق يرى بآنسييته، كما أن الإنسان يدل على روح وجسد فهو روحاني بروحه وجسداني بجسده

³⁹ Arabic text: ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Masā’il* 190–191:

أيقنت بأن أمك، وإن كانت ولدتك إنساناً كاملاً ذا روح وبدن، فإنها لم تلد روحك وبدنك. إنما أمك ولدتك إنساناً ذات روح وبدن من قبل بدنك القابل للولاد [...]. لا من قبل روحك العالوية عن هذه الأمور وعن هذه الحالات. فلا نقول الآن إن لاهوت ربنا جلت وتعاليت عن كل قياس، موضع الروح من الإنسان، في علوها وارتفاعها عن الأمور الحادثة على

Here, the parallel is on the one hand reinforced: the human being with a spirit and a body, born from his mother is presented as an analogy to the divine and human parts of the Messiah; while, on the other hand, the correspondence of the divine in the Messiah with the spirit(ual) in the human is negated on the basis of divine transcendence. Because of this transcendence, the birth from the Virgin Mary is only bodily, being related to the human part. Even if this division is between the body and the spirit, however, it may bear a far resemblance to the Aristotelian notion according to which the human being is the union of body and soul, where the soul is the form of the body (*De Anima* 412a/6–21) (Smith 1983:476) Another specification can be found in this passage: while it was seen above that what is taken (*ma'ḥūd*) from Mary is only *hylic* material, here, what is extracted (*al-muntaza*) from her is “humanity”, i.e. human nature, or the human part (*nāsūt*). The emphasis on Mary’s giving birth only to the human part stands in telling contrast with Theodore Abū Qurra’s example; it serves the aim to demonstrate that Mary is not Theotokos.

3.2

It is not only the union of body and soul in the human being which is given as an analogy to the Incarnation. Sometimes body and soul are described as mutually incarnating in each other to make the parallel even stronger, while this mutual incarnation, as it implies a combination, is also a way for the union:

The soul incarnated by the body and the body by the soul (*taḡassadat an-nafs bi-l-badan wa-l-badan bi-n-nafs*), and by their combination (*i'tilāf*), a single human being originated. Thus, the body was called the body of man and the soul the soul of man, and not the body of the soul or the soul of the body. If the soul had not combined with the body, the unity (*waḥdāniyya*) of man would never have come into being out of them. We can say it in other words and ways, too: The Word of God became human (*ta'annasa*), but not in the following ways, as one can say e. g. the water froze, i. e. congealed in itself/its essence and became ice. Or not as milk became cheese, i. e. it clotted in itself and thus turned into cheese. Or as one can say: the youngster turned into a man, i. e. he grew up in himself and became a [grown] man. It is rather in the meaning when one says that someone armed himself (*tadarra'a*), i. e. he wore armament, or someone equipped himself: i. e. he dressed in armour, or someone wore a turban, i. e. he put on a turban. It does not mean that this person became (*ṣāra*) a turban or weapons or armament. It is this way when we say that the Word of God incarnated and became human (*taḡassada wa-ta'annasa*), that is: he created a body and he put it on (*aḥḍaṭa ḡasadan wa-labisahu*). He created a human being and wore it as an armament (*ḥalaqa insānan fa-tadarra'ahu*), combined it with His *hypostasis* in order to appear

الأجساد والأبدان. ونقول: إن البتول الطاهرة، وإن كانت ولدت ابنها مسيحاً كاملاً ذا جوهرين كاملين لاهوتي وناسوتي، فإنها لم تلده بجوهرية كليهما، بل انما ولدته من قبل ناسوته المنتزعة منها

in it (*allafahu ilā qanūmihi li-yaḏhara bihi*), and in order to make His words and deeds appear through it. He also did it in order to unify this human being with Himself in His sonship (*li-yuwaḥḥidahu ma'ahu fī bunuwwatihi*). Beginning with the time of the assumption and unification, their position is that of a single Messiah (*fa-amruhumā fī waqt al-ittiḥād wa-l-ittiḥād Masīh wāḥid*).⁴⁰

The first sentence elucidates that from the approach of the coming into being of the single human being, the incarnation is a reciprocal action shared by both components: the body and soul. The second sentence serves dialectical purposes. As Muslim accusations concerning belief in the divine's corporeality need to be dismissed; it has to be demonstrated that the Messiah's body is not God's body. The simile of the reciprocal incarnation of the body and the soul, which results in the origination of a single human being, serves as the basis for establishing that the body is the human's body and not that of the soul. This analogy is necessary to demonstrate that Christians (especially Nestorians) do not claim that God has a body in the person of the Messiah. The example of the human being is of fundamental importance, since in the following, the Logos is introduced as having become human. Similes play an important role at this point in demonstrating that humanity and body did not become integral parts of the divine; but were assumed without affecting it. The examples of water turning into ice, milk into cheese, and youngsters into adults imply an interior change, but the Son's Incarnation and humanisation are not so: these have to be contrasted. The use of the analogy of milk becoming cheese is remarkable, given that a similar one, the coagulation/curdling of milk this is often used as an allegory both by Aristotle and Galen in the description of generation, of the function of male semen in conception. (Saif 2016:190) The analogy of a human being dressing up or putting on a piece of clothing is a frequently used one among Christian authors. For example, Abū Rā'īṭa expresses himself in a figurative way, when he says that the Logos (*al-Kalima*) put on the garment (*sirbāl*) of a human body.⁴¹

3.3

Turning to the Syrian-Orthodox theologian, he also uses predominant Monophysite analogies to serve as "a *mysterion* for the Incarnation". Among them, we find that of

⁴⁰ Arabic text: 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Masā'il* 196–197:

كما أنه إذا تجسدت النفس بالبدن والبدن بالنفس فقام منهما بانتلافهما إنسان واحد، سمي البدن بدن الإنسان والنفس نفس الإنسان ولا بدن النفس ولا نفس البدن، ولو لم تألف النفس بالبدن لم تقم وحدانية الإنسان منهما أبداً. وقد نقول أيضاً بلفظة أخرى ونحو آخر إن الله الكلمة تأنس لا على معنى قول القائل: الماء ملح أي جمدان بذاته فصار ملحاً. وكقوله إن اللبن تجبن أي اعتقد بذاته فصار جبناً. وكقوله الصبي ترجل أي شب بذاته فصار رجلاً، بل على معنى قول القائل: إن فلاناً تدرع أي ليس درعاً، وكقوله إن فلاناً تسلح أي ليس سلاحاً، وكقوله إن فلاناً تعمم أي ليس عمامة، لا إنه صار عمامة أو سلاحاً أو درعاً. كذلك بقولنا إن الله الكلمة تجسد وتأنس أي أحدث جسداً فلبسه وخلق إنساناً فتدرعه وألفه إلى قنومه ليظهر به قوله واعماله وليوحده معه في بنوته. قلنا فأمرهما جميعاً في وقت الاتخاذ والاتحاد مسيح واحد

⁴¹ Abū Rā'īṭa: *Fī iḥbāt dīn an-naṣrāniyya* 151.

the soul and human body forming the unity of the human being, which was especially favoured and used at least since the elaboration on it by Severus of Antioch (d. 538) (Griffith 1980:193). As it is presented below, it also evokes the (Platonic) notion of both men and women being (sexless) souls embodied (C.f. Smith 1983:472).

Is not every soul (*nafs*) of every one of us also incarnated (*mutağassida*) in a corporeal body (*ğasad*) [to make] a complete human being (*li-kamāl al-insān*)? Do you separate [the soul] from its spirituality (*rūḥāniyya*) and its immateriality (*lutf*) in its embodiment (*tağassud*) or in the transformation of the body (*intiḳāl al-ğasad ‘an ḥālihi*) [back] into its first state [of death]?⁴² The soul (*an-nafs*) is always a soul and the body (*ğasad*) is always a body without the composite (*al-murakkab*) of these two being two different things (*iṭṭnayn*);⁴³ rather it is one in the union (*ittiḥād*) [of the two]. [...]

The human analogy serves to refute charges according to which the Incarnation and/or the embodiment would be contrary to reason. Though here the body-soul pair is mentioned, Abū Rā’iṭa, like ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, speaks about a spiritual nature. The unified entity is explicitly stated to be one, even though the presence of two components is acknowledged. The reference to the complete human being as one made of a body and a soul/spirit is articulated in the same fashion as we could see in ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s case. The analogy is then continued:

Just as the fire is embodied (*mutağassima*) in some corporeal bodies (*ğusūm*), and the sun in the disc, and the soul in the body (*an-nafs bi-l-ğasad*), without any of them being transformed from its ousia (*ğawhar*) [into something else], just so is the teaching about the Word [of God], and even more so than this, in that He has no space and no measure (*fusha, miqdār*). [The Word] is incarnated (*tağassadat*) in a corporeal body (*bi-ğism*), possessing a rational soul (*dū nafs manṭiqiyya*)⁴⁴ in a true, eternal, necessary⁴⁵ Incarnation (*tağassud ḥaqīqī, dā’im, lāzim*), without separation (*bilā tabāyun*), alteration (*tabaddul*) or change (*tağyīr*). It is the Word [of God] eternally, and the body a body eternally, without that in which they are joined together being two. Rather, the one incarnated (*mutağassid*) hypostasis is true God, and He is a true human being; He is one, not two, as we have mentioned (Keating’s translation, 231).⁴⁶

⁴² As there is no reference to “back” in the Arabic text, as inserted into Keating’s translation, in my view, probably the transformation of the body away from its initial “*badī*” – [i. e. *bad’ī*] state is intended.

⁴³ “*min ḡayr an yakūn al-murakkab min ḥādāyn al-muḥtalifayn iṭṭnayn*”: my interpretation or corr.: without the composite of these two different things being two.

⁴⁴ This part of the passage: *bi-ğism dī nafs manṭiqiyya*, i.e. ‘a body that has a rational soul’ means a human being in its complete form.

⁴⁵ *lāzim* could mean inseparable or permanent in this context.

⁴⁶ Arabic text: Abū Rā’iṭa, *Risāla* 31:

Here, a variety of analogies is presented, and it is remarkable that while in case of the fire and the body in which it is burning, the sun and the disc, and the soul and the body, the author writes about embodiment; in case of the Word, he refers to Incarnation. The reference to the body, or more generally to the human, who is indicated by the body possessing a rational soul (*ġism dū nafs manṭiqiyya*), runs parallel to ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s “complete body (*badan tāmm*), animated by a knowing/rational soul (*mutanaffis bi-nafs ‘allāma*)”, as seen above. The body-soul duality, which forms a unique human being, without his being two is applied to the Word of God incarnating in the human being, forming a union with it, without “separation” (Keating’s translation for *tabāyun*, alternatively: difference, opposition). The analogy posits the soul and the *Kalima*, as well as the body and the human being side by side. While in ‘Ammār’s case there was a unity of meaning, a unique Messiah with two natures, substances, or hypostases; here, though two different substantialities are acknowledged, a unity is enforced in accordance with the Syrian-Orthodox Christology.

3.4

The similes are corroborated, and explicitly stated to be a *mysterion* for the Incarnation in the following extract:

The sun and its light, and the coal and its fire, and the soul and its body (*an-nafs wa-ġasaduhā*) are a *mysterion* for the Incarnation of the Word of God in the body (*sirr taġassud Kalimat Allāh bi-l-ġasad*). For just as each one of these three things mentioned is embodied in what embodies it (*mutaġassim fīmā taġassama bihi*), without change in its state or alteration in its *ousia* (*ġawhar*), and without the thing with which it is embodied being two, but rather that it is in truth (*bi-ḥaqq*) one, just so is it in the teaching on the Word of God: [it is an] Incarnation [of the Word in] a body (*taġassadat ġasadan*) possessing a soul (*dā nafs*), through Mary, the immaculate, without change in its state nor alteration in its *ousia*, without being limited by the body; rather, the body is limited by [the Word]. And [the Word] and the body are one in a real and eternal union, without difference [like that which] occurs in number, and they are not drawn to become two. Yet, a substantial distinction (*farq ġawharī*) is inherent in [the body]⁴⁷ and enduring in it, just like the substantial distinction

أو ليس كل نفس كل واحد منا أيضاً متجسدة بالجسد لكمال الإنسان. افتخر جوها عن روحانيتها ولطفها بتجسدها أو بانتقال الجسد عن حاله بدى. فالنفس نفس أبدأ والجسد جسد أبدأ من غير أن يكون المركب من هذين المختلفين اثنين بل واحد بالاتحاد

فكما أن النار متجسمة ببعض الجسوم والشمس بالعين والنفس بالجسد من غير أن ينتقل كل واحد منها عن جوهره هكذا والقول في الكلمة وأفضل من هذا بما لا فسحة له ولا مقدار. تجسدت بجسم ذي نفس منطقية بتجسد حقيقي دائم لازم بلا تباين من غير تبدل ولا تغيير. هي الكلمة أبدأ والجسد جسد أبدأ من غير أن يكون المجتمع منها اثنين بل أقنوم واحد متجسد الإله حق وهو إنسان حق فهو واحد لا اثنين كما ذكرنا

⁴⁷ though ... notwithstanding

between the sun and the fire and the soul, and those [things] which are embodied (*tağassamat*) in them (Keating's translation: 235, 237).⁴⁸

The division between embodiment and Incarnation is seen to be a conscious and consistent one, as well as the reference to the human part taken in this Incarnation: i. e. a body possessing a soul. The issue of limitation appears here as well, just as in 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's case, seen above.

In this section, we could see East Syrian and Syrian-Orthodox examples that presented-explained the coming into being of the Messiah with the use of the human body and soul parallel, and in the following section we will also witness some extracts from the Chalcedonian theologian, too. The question of the union and at the same time of the distinction between the two substantialities of the Messiah is the core issue of the Christologies of all the communities that the authors examined here represent, and some of the similarities are due to the shared confession of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed on behalf of all these communities. According to this, "the "one Lord Jesus Christ" is one single subject, but there is a divine/human duality of predication [...] a divinity/humanity, *lāhūt/nāsūt* distinction within the one Christ" (Swanson 1992:245), which came to be explained and defended against charges of absurdity most easily by the analogy of the union/distinction of two parts in the human.

4 Further combinations and considerations

In this section, those examples will be presented and studied that combine the gendered approach to reproduction with the dichotomy of body and soul/spirit in order to defend the doctrine of Incarnation.

4.1

In the first example which is from 'Ammār al-Baṣrī's *Burhān*, we can see that the body is formed by the contribution of the father, but the human is not a complete human without his soul/spirit – the two hypostases of the Messiah will be likened to this.

As the body (*badan*) of the human is formed/fashioned (*mağbūl*) [from] the seed (*zar*) of his father, and even if he would not deserve on his own to be

⁴⁸ Keating's translation: 235, 237; Arabic text: Abū Rā'īṭa, *Risāla* 31–32:

فالشمس ونورها والجمرة ونارها والنفس وجسدها سر لتجسد كلمة الله بالجسد. فكما أن كل واحد من هذا الثلاثة المذكورة متجسم فيما تجسم به بلا تغيير عن حاله ولا تبديل عن جوهره من غير أن يكون مع الشيء الذي تجسم به اثنين بل واحد بحق فهكذا والقول في كلمة الله تجسدت جسداً ذا نفس من مريم الطاهرة بلا تغيير من حالها ولا تبديل من جوهرها من غير أن تحد من الجسد بل الجسد المحدود منها وهي والجسد واحد باتحاد حقيقي دائم بلا تباين تبايناً يجري عليه العدد ويدعوا إلى اثنين وإن كان فرقاً جوهرياً لازماً له ثابتاً فيه كثبوت فرقي جوهرى الشمس والنار والنفس والذين تجسدت بهم

called human without the soul (*nafs*) that united with him (*al-muttaḥida ma 'ahu*), neither would he deserve to be called son of the father who generated him (*waladahu*), due to their indivisible sharing of a unique humanity and a unique sonship – together and equally, and he is not a son to anyone but the human, and he is nothing but the son of the human as long as he lives. [...] it is just according to the necessary verity that the body of the human be called one of the two parts of the form (*ḡutta*) of the human, and one of the two substances of the sonship of the human. [...] The hypostasis of the humanity of the Messiah, that is formed⁴⁹ from the nature of the pure Mary is like this – it is not possible to call him Messiah on his own, without the substance of the divinity, nor [to call him] the son of God without it [i. e. the divine substance].⁵⁰

Before turning to the actual examination of the combination of the reproduction/generation theory with the dichotomy of body and soul, let us mention that here 'Ammār al-Baṣrī talks about the unity of body and soul – while previously it was the body and the spirit: his usage is not consistent; it seems that for him, only the division between the material and the immaterial, the corporeal and the spiritual/psychical is of crucial importance. Here, the argumentation is set into the context of human sonship.

The bodily formation of a human being from the seed of the father, with the complete form of a human being consisting of the body and the soul is given as an analogy to the formation of the Messiah's humanity from the nature of Mary, while the complete form of the Messiah is made up from his humanity and divinity. It is emphasized that the human part, namely the body is formed from the matter provided by the mother. The remarkable feature is that sex differences are blurred, and the bodily contribution of the father in the case of the unity of human filiation is rendered analogous to that of the Mother in case of the unity of the Messiah. Besides, there is a slipping in the analogy: while the basis of the simile is a father, who generates a son, who comes to be called the son of the father together with the soul; the parallel brings the human hypostasis of the Messiah that is born from Mary, but together with the divinity, to be called the son of God – not Mary. If the analogy is introduced through the human parents: i. e. the father in the first, while Mary in the second case,

⁴⁹ The text reads as *maḡbūla*. Due to its frequent appearance in such contexts, I find a reading of *maḡbūla* also justifiable in the meaning of 'conceived'.

⁵⁰ Arabic text: 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Masā'il* 186–187:

كما أن بدن الإنسان المجبول زرع أبيه، وإن كان لا يستحق أن يسمى على انفراده دون النفس المتحدة معه إنساناً، ولا الأب الذي ولده ابناً لا شتراكهما شركة لا تقسم في إنسية واحدة وبنوة واحدة جميعاً سواء، فليس بنو غير إنسان ولا غير ابن الإنسان ما دام حياً [...]]

بل قد يحق على الحقيقة الواجبة أن يسمى بدن الإنسان أحد جزئي جثة الإنسان وأحد جوهري بنوة الإنسان كذلك فنوم بشرية المسيح المجبولة من طباع مريم الطاهرة، وإن كان [لا] يجوز أن يدعى على انفراده دون فنوم اللاهوت مسيحاً، ولا لله دونه ابناً

then the son should be called the son of that parent, furthermore, the soul of the human would correspond to the divinity in the Messiah. If it is not so, then some parts of the correspondence might be covert: as the human father generates his son (by his body), so is the divine hypostasis generated by God in the Messiah (in his divinity) – but the soul of the human should then be paralleled to the human hypostases in the Messiah.

4.2

The second example also emphasizes the fatherly origin of the formation of the body, while the unity of the human being is complete by a creation of a living soul into it – this unity serves as the analogy for the unity of the Messiah and his Incarnation.

Due to His grace and might, He sculpted (*anḥata*) a pure and clean form (*šabaḥan zakīyyan ṭāhīran*)⁵¹ of their substance, and He incarnated in it, and assumed it as a garment for His divinity (*tağassadahu wa-ttaḥaḍahu libāsan li-lāhūtihi*), in order to necessitate the reality of pre-eternal sonship for him (*li-yūğiba lahu bi-dālika ḥaqq al-bunuwwa*), and to make him equal to Himself in this sonship. We know that the matter (*mādda*) out of which your body was formed/generated (*kuwwina*) as a body, is of the essence (*ṣulb*) of your father, then, out of the sperm (*nutfa*) a body and limbs and members were formed (*ṣuwwira*). After the creation (*ḥalq*) of the body and its parts had been completed, (subsequently) a living soul (*nafs ḥayya*) was created (*ḥuliqa*) in it, but not from the essence of your father. Then, from the essence of your father and your soul, which was not begotten by your father, and which is not from the nature (*tibāʿ*) of the sperm (*nutfa*), you became [were made to become] a unique son of your father, from the seed (*zarʿ*) of your father, verily.⁵²

This extract introduces new ideas, since the Incarnation happens in a sensible image or form (*šabaḥ*), not a body this time. However, this form must be of a corporeal nature, given that it is sculpted, and is the means by which the Incarnation occurs. *Tağassud*, the Incarnation in a clear form is synonymous with *ittiḥād*, assuming this form as a garment. As a parallel of the Son's Incarnation in the pure form, the composition of the human body and soul is presented. The human body is expressed by *badan* and is combined with *nafs*, while the Incarnation is still derived from *ğasad*. A point which is worthy of examination here is the sequence of man's

⁵¹ I interpreted *šabaḥ* as form but see also Lamoreaux's translation of *ašbāḥ* as living entities, in Theodore Abū Qurrah's text, cited under 2.6. above.

⁵² Arabic text: 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Masā'il* 193:

انحت من جوهرهم بفضله وجبروته شبحاً زكياً طاهراً فتجسده واتخذة لباساً للاهوته ليوجب له بذلك حق البنوة التي لم تظل فتصيره معه فيها مثله كما قد نعلم من المادة التي كون بدنك منها بدنأ، وانما كانت من صلب ابيك، ثم صور من النطفة بدن وجوارح وأوصال. حتى اذا كملت خلقة البدن وجوارحه خلقت فيه من بعد ذلك نفس حية لا من صلب ابيك، ثم صور من صلب ابيك، ونفسك لم يلدتها أبوك ولا من طباع نطفته، فصيرت من زرع ابيك ابناً واحداً بحق لا ابيك

creation and growth, since it may fit more than one framework. On the one hand, it may parallel the *ḥadīṭ* on man's creation, where the sequence is similar – first creation (*ḥalq*) from the sperm (*nufḥa*), and then ensoulment: “The creation of each of you is completed (*yuḡma* ‘*ḥalquhu*) in his mother's womb for forty days in the form of a drop, then he becomes a clot of blood for the same interval, then a morsel of flesh for the same period. Then an angel is sent to him, who breathes the spirit (*rūḥ*) into him ...” (. an-Nawawī 1977:37). Of course, the establishment of a direct relationship between the two texts would be far-fetched. However, this tradition can be found both in al-Buḥārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥs*, and in at-Tirmidī's *Sunan*, etc. which implies that this tradition had been widely known and accepted in the ninth century, when ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī wrote the *Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-aḡwiba*. Details that suggest some relationship are in the choice of the terms *nufḥa* for sperm (previously we could see *manī* for semen and *zar'* for seed), which is also its Qur'ānic name (e. g. 22:5 and 55:14),⁵³ and *ḥalq* for creation. When explaining Christian teachings, ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī might have deliberately used an imagery known to and accepted by Muslims.

On the other hand, turning back to the underlying theories in general, we can see that the limbs and members are formed (*ṣuwwira*) out of the sperm. Though the mention of the only one male seed would indicate an Aristotelian approach according to which the male semen produces form and impetus from which the embryo grows (Horowitz 1976:185–186) – the use of the passive voice implies another forming agent. The reference to ensoulment is also remarkable: the soul is created into the body only after the completion of its creation, i. e. after its formation – this idea could fit both frameworks mentioned above, so ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, providing this parallel, could doubly avoid accusations of absurdity.

4.3

In Abū Rā'īṭa's case, we can note the presence of the division of the spiritual and the corporeal (while previously he talked about the soul and the body – once again, the usage is not fixed), where the human part of the Messiah is mentioned as coming from the Virgin Mary through a corporeal birth, yet, in the unified form of the spiritual and the corporeal.

They may say: “How is it possible that one who is without flesh (*laysa bi-ḡism*)⁵⁴ be born of a corporeal (*ḡusmāniyya*) woman? Flesh (*ḡism*) can only be born from flesh.⁵⁵ You should know that it is impossible that what is

⁵³ See also Ebrahim 2001:230–231.

⁵⁴ This part of the quote could also be translated as: who is not a (physical) body.

⁵⁵ Given the sentence structure and also the change of the emphasis in meaning, the translation of the phrase would be more punctual as “from flesh/body only flesh/body can be born”

without flesh⁵⁶ be born.” It should be said to them: If we had described the Word [of God] as having been born from a corporeal woman free of a body (*imra’ a ġusmāniyya muġarrada min ġayr ġasad*), then you would [be correct] in this statement. However, when our description is: “the birth of the Word from a corporeal (*ġusmāniyya*) woman is a corporeal (*ġusmānī*) birth”, there is no fault necessary for us in this (*lam yalzamnā fī dālīka ‘ayb*).⁵⁷ The “being born” only belongs to the state of the body (*ġasad*), which is taken (*ma’ hūd*) from the woman and unified with [the Word], because it is born from her as spiritual (*rūhāniyya*) and corporeal (*ġusdānī*). [...]

In this part of the passage, the opponent starts with a *reductio ad absurdum* argument concerning the corporeal birth of the divine part of the Messiah. The answer reflects on this move, acknowledging that such a claim would be false, but modifying the proposition to a corporeal birth, in which the body of the Messiah is included, so that the proposition does not conclude with an error. The body is described then as being “taken” (*ma’ hūd* – as in the text of ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī) and corporeally born, however, in the unified form of body and Word, that includes both the bodily and the spiritual. The division was necessary to respond to the *reductio ad absurdum*, however, it needs to be elaborated on in order to explain the unity of these two counterparts. – Before turning to that elaboration, let us notice a similarity to ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s example where the impossibility of a woman giving birth to God was emphasized. The human analogy is introduced for this, where embodied spirits are born from the mothers by a bodily birth.

Is not something similar in a certain way said about the births of humans from their mothers as the birth of the Word from Mary? Are they born from their mothers as spirits without bodies, or embodied spirits (*arwāḥ mutabaddina*)? And since they are not born simply as spirits, can it be denied that they have a bodily birth (*walūd mutabaddin*)? Just as it is impossible that spirits be born from mothers if they are not united with bodies and are born of [mothers] because of their being united with bodies from the beginning of their creation (*ma’ a awwal ḥilqatihinna*), so is the teaching about the incarnated Word: [the Word] was born because of the state of the body, which was taken from Mary, and incarnated with [the Word], [the Word was] not free from a body, as you think.

The embodiment of souls/spirits in bodies of humans was seen above, as well as its serving as an analogy for the Incarnation. Here, the gendered aspects also gain significance, where the impossibility of the birth of the immaterial divinity from a corporeal woman is emphasized. A new feature in this example lies in the reference to the unity of body and soul right from the beginning of creation, which implies that

⁵⁶ Or, as above: “who/what is not flesh”.

⁵⁷ Or: “does not necessarily follow a fault from this”, as *lazima* in argumentation usually means that a conclusion necessarily follows from a proposition.

Abū Rā'īṭa does not subscribe to a gradual ensoulment but implies the presence of spirit in the embryo right from the conception. The third step is the *bi-lā kayfa* argumentation:

Now if they say: “How does something without a body (*mā laysa bi-ḡasad*)⁵⁸ become incarnated (*yataḡassad*)?” it should be said to them: As for the “how”, we are in agreement that we have no knowledge. But our ignorance of the “how” does not invalidate our teaching concerning it, [...] And the dwelling (*sukūn*) of the spirit [in] the body no one disputes, but with regard to the “how” of its dwelling, this is concealed and hidden from us. But this does not hinder us from acknowledging the creation of creatures and the dwelling of the spirit in the body. This is the same with the teaching of the union of the Word and the body (*ittihād al-Kalima al-ḡasad*): we believe it and do not deny it, even if this is so subtle that we do not understand it (Keating’s translation 261, 263).⁵⁹

This part of the quote is of interest due to the Islamic phraseology, which is deliberately used, the parallel it offers with Islamic thought, as Josef van Ess assumes:

[Muslim] Theologians, [...] used *bi-lā kayfa* [...] in the sense of “without qualifying God in a way only to be applied to His creation”; they presented it as a middle course between a literal acceptance of the anthropological statements in the Scripture (= *takyīf, tašbīh*) on one side and their metaphorical interpretation in the Mu’tazilite sense (*ta’wīl = ta’īl*) on the other (van Ess 2000:344).

Abū Rā'īṭa’s example does not refer to God’s essence when emphasising this approach; instead, he refers to God’s or more specifically to the Son’s Incarnation. The passage does not refer to anthropomorphic issues, yet it uses the known *bi-lā kayfa* approach in order to say that the given issue is beyond the reach of human perception. He probably deliberately used this terminology; and we may see that

⁵⁸ Or: “what is not a body”, as above.

⁵⁹ Arabic text: Abū Rā'īṭa, *Risāla* 47–48:

فإن قالوا كيف يجوز في من ليس بجسم أن يولد من امرأة جسمانية وإنما يولد من الجسم جسم لتعلموا أنه لا سبيل إلى أن يولد ما ليس بجسم. يقال لهم إنه لو كان وصفنا في الكلمة ولدت من امرأة جسمانية مجردة من غير جسد لكان لكم في ذلك مقال فأما إذ صار وصفنا ولود الكلمة من امرأة جسمانية ولوداً جسمانياً لم يلزمنا في ذلك عيب. فأنما ولد لحال الجسد المأخوذ من المرأة المتحد بها لأنها ولدت منها روحانية جسدانية أو ليس القول في ولود الأدميين من أمهاتهم شبيه بها في بعد أنحائه [!] في ولود الكلمة من مريم. والمولودون من أمهاتهم أهم أرواح من غير أبدان أم أرواح متبدنة. وإذ لم يلدن أرواحاً مجردة تتغى عنها ولودها متبدنة. فكما أن الأرواح لو لم تكن متحدة بالأبدان لم يكن سبيل إلى أن يولدن من الأمهات وقد يولدن منهن لاتحادهن بالأبدان مع أول خلقتهن. هكذا القول في الكلمة المتجسدة ولدت لحال الجسد المأخوذ من مريم المتجسد بها لا مجردة من الجسد كما ظننتم فإن قالوا فكيف يتجسد ما ليس بجسد فقال لهم أما كيف فنحن مقرون أنه لا علم لنا. وليس جهلنا بالكيف بالذي يبطل قولنا فيه ... وسكون الروح البدن مما لا يمتري فيه أحد. فأما كيفية سكونها فمخفي عنا مستتر. وليس ذلك بالذي بمنعنا من أن نفر بخلق الخلائق وسكون الروح البدن. هكذا والقول في اتحاد الكلمة الجسد نحن مصدقون به غير جاحدين له وإن لطف ذلك فلم نعلمه

Christian-Muslim parallels are offered in methodology besides terminology. Abū Rā'īṭa is not the only Christian theologian to benefit from this argument, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī is also seen to make use of it.⁶⁰

4.4

As in the case of the previous two authors, we may say also based on Theodore Abū Qurra's example (taken from *On Our Salvation*), that he adhered to the tradition of interpreting the unity of body and soul, and as in the case of Abū Rā'īṭa, we can see this adherence by their simultaneous creation.

The eternal Son who was begotten of the Father before the ages (*al-mawlūd min Allāh*), who shares the Father's essence (*min ḡawhar Allāh*) and is his equal, in his mercy came down from heaven to Adam's seed and took up residence in the womb of the Virgin Mary (*ḡalla fī raḡm Maryam al-'Aḡrā'*), who had been purified (*al-muṭaḡhara*) through the Holy Spirit. He took from her a body (*ittaḡaḡa minḡa ḡasadan*) that he fashioned (*ḡabala*) for himself, along with a mind and soul (*bi-'aql wa-naḡs*) and became a human being (*ta'annasa*) from the Holy Spirit and from the Pure Virgin (Lamoreaux's translation 131).⁶¹

The notion of the simultaneous creation of body and soul, as well as the tripartite constitution (*soma, psyche, pneuma*) of man is also in line with the Patristic tradition.⁶²

⁶⁰ "There is also no answer to the question of the mode (*kayfiyya*) of God's Incarnation (*taḡassud*) and the union (*ittihād*) of the body (*al-ḡasad*) with the incarnating [one] from the aspect of this sonship. What we are obliged to answer is the question whether He incarnated and whether He unified [with the body]. As for the meaning of His Incarnation and union, we have already given an answer to it by the one that you have heard. As for how He incarnated and how He unified [with the body]: there's no way to perceive (dark) and answer it." Arabic text: 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Masā'il* 214:

أما أن يكون قد خلق، وقد علموا، وأما ماذا خلق من العالم وأهله، فلم يجهلوا. وأما كيف خلق وكيف صنع من لا حركة ولا علاج، فلا سبيل إلى معرفته والإخبار عنه، لأن المخلوق لا يفعل فعلاً من دون الحركات والعلاج. كذلك لا جواب لمسألة عن كيفية تجسد الله واتحاد الجسد مع المتجسد في جهة تلك النبوة، الذي يلزمنا الجواب فيه من السؤال أن هل تجسد وهل اتحد. فأما معنى تجسده واتحاده فقد أجبتنا فيه بالذي سمعت. فأما كيف تجسد وكيف اتحد فلا سبيل إلى دركه والجواب عنه

⁶¹ Arabic text: *Maymar fī annahu lā yuḡfar* 85:

الابن الأزلي المولود من الله قبل كل دهور الذي هو من جوهر الله وعدله هبط من السماء برحمته إلى ذرية آدم وحل في رحم مريم العذراء المطهرة بروح القدس فاتخذ منها جسداً جبله لنفسه بعقل ونفس. وتأنس من روح القدس ومن مريم المطهرة

⁶² For examples including those of Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus, see G. W. Lampe 1961:1362.

Conclusion

Working with a philological–terminological approach, I explored the terms and forms applied either for the body or for the incarnation along with related notions. Through extracts taken from the works of the Chalcedonian (‘Melkite’) Theodore Abū Qurra, the Syrian-Orthodox (‘Jacobite’) Ḥabīb ibn Ḥidma Abū Rā’iṭa, and the East Syrian (‘Nestorian’) ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, I demonstrated that due to their different Christologies, they applied different theories on gender, reproduction, body and soul, when they elaborated on the Incarnation and birth of the Messiah. While the ‘Nestorian’ author applied a one-seed theory that is mostly in line with the Aristotelian teaching, the ‘Melkite’ one, in order to secure the teaching concerning Mary as Theotokos, subscribed to a two-seed theory, which is probably Galenian; while the ‘Jacobite’ theologian was seen to adapt his teaching to a Platonic notion of men and women being souls embodied. All authors were seen to turn to these theories in an attempt to rationalize their teaching and defend it against charges of absurdity. Parallels from the Quran, *ḥadīth*, or Islamic philosophy could be frequently noted either on the level of terminology, or on that of imagery. All three authors exploited the notion of the soul/spirit-body duality of human beings, in order to provide an analogy for the humanity and divinity of the Messiah, but the (lexical) use was not fixed: alternating appearances of soul or spirit, or different forms for body (*ḡasad*, *badan*) were seen. Other questions that were linked to the main issue include that of ensoulment, or embryology and spermatogenesis. All three authors were seen to apply *hylomorphism*, too. As a conclusion, I would like to acknowledge the gendered approach as far as the spectrum of this essay is concerned. I need to emphasize its relevance for the texts written by ninth-century Christian Arab authors, the application of which made it possible to disclose so far hidden layers.

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REVIEWS

Neue Beiträge zur arabischen Grammatik. Exklamativpartikeln, der Casus emphaticus, Koordinationsmodelle, syntaktische Umkehrungen. By MANFRED ULLMANN. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021. 260 p. ISBN 978-3-447-11551-3.

This new volume, as is also indicated by its title, is the continuation of Manfred Ullmann's outstanding activity of many decades in the field of Arabic grammatical and lexicographic studies, and especially of his 2013 book, *Beiträge zur arabischen Grammatik*. This new publication deals with four main territories of Arabic grammar: The particles of exclamation, the so-called *casus emphaticus*, the coordination model, and finally what the author calls the syntactic inversion. In the Preface the author rejects the traditional way of writing Arabic grammar based on material collected by the mediaeval Arab grammarians, as he says, from the unusual (sic!) forms of the Qur'ān and pre-Islamic poetry. He insists on the necessity of collecting material only from the vast mediaeval literature and not from the works of grammarians. Although this principle may be considered a right way of forming grammatical rules on the basis of the written texts, and not extracting the examples and rules from the books of the grammarians, it needs to be amended and complemented with some remarks. First, the mediaeval grammarians did not base their rules on the unusual forms, contrary to Ullmann's view, but they sought to formulate their rules based on the vast material of Bedouin poetry collected by the previous generations, although it is true that they also paid attention to the rare forms. Second, later generations learnt the rules of the correct Arabic language (*fuṣḥā*) from the grammarians' books simplified for teaching purposes or imitating former poets. Generally, there seems to be no contradiction between the grammatical rules laid down by the mediaeval grammarians and those followed by the mediaeval authors of the vast literary material written in Arabic, even if they did not always observe them closely because of the infiltration of Middle Arabic features, and although it is true that the writers of later texts followed for the most part the main grammatical rules laid by the school grammars neglecting the rarities collected by the philologists.

The book consists of nine parts and presents altogether 694 linguistic examples. These parts present the following grammatical phenomena:

(i) *ruwayda* versus *ruwaydan*. Ullmann divides their usage into two sub-classes: that of the adjectival usage and when it is used as an exclamation. It is a very large

section with 88 examples and the detailed etymology of the two forms of the word. According to Ullmann the use of these two lexemes are not contained in the grammar books. However, it is not quite so, since Sībawayhi deals with *ruwaydan* explaining it first as a quasi-imperative, as a substitute (*badal*) for *arwidhu*, and a second time as a substitute for a *maṣḍar*. In addition, he consecrated a whole chapter to the different usages of *ruwayd(an)* in his *Kitāb*. It can also be found in detail in the mediaeval lexicographical works, such as Ibn Sīda's *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ* and Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-ʿArab*. Nevertheless, they did not deal with the exclamatory function which is treated by Ullmann in detail.

(ii) The particle of exclamation *hayhāta* is represented by 77 examples which is also a fascinating number. These examples offer much to read and study. The author classifies them according to what kind of words they are followed by, although the relevance of this classification is not immediately apparent to the reader. Strangely enough, however, the two occurrences of *hayhāta* in the Qur'ān are not mentioned. The particle *hayhāta* is also dealt with by Sībawayhi in the second volume of Derenbourg's edition, only as a morphological problem not as a syntactical device.

(iii) The third part treating *yā* as a particle of exclamation offers the most interesting reading of the book with its 159 examples. Although Ullmann believes in the unequivocal classification of this particle into exclamatory and vocative usage, this distinction does not always appear to be easy. For instance, examples 1, 9, and 10 seem preferably to belong to the vocative usage of *yā* rather than to the exclamatory one. Unfortunately, Ullmann, despite his excellent knowledge of the European grammatical tradition, does not seem to interpret rightly the basic concepts and methods of the so-called Arab national grammarians when he criticises them for their grammatical explanations being superficial (*flächlich*), since the formal linguistic analysis which has become dominant in the Western linguistics in the 20th century rightly sees its forerunner in the methods of the Arab national grammar.

(iv) The fourth part deals with *immā* in its two functions, as a conjunction and as an adverb. There are altogether 68 examples in this part.

(v) The fifth part contains what the author calls "die emphatische Apposition" or *casus emphaticus*, but it seems to me to contain a too voluntarily compiled set of examples, where the *nafy muṭlaq (lā ikrāha fī d-dīn)* occupies a place together with the *manṣūb* after *inna* and *anna*.

(vi) The sixth part treats the *wāw al-ma'īyya*, which Ullmann, following Nöldeke's view, considers rare, although it occurs quite regularly after some verbs, like *ittafaqa*, in MSA.

(vii) The seventh part is consecrated to the use of *kull* as apposition to a suffixed personal pronoun which does not appear to be a specialty in the general usage of the word.

(viii) The eighth part with its 37 examples, however, is more interesting considering its relative rarity in the Classical Arabic usage, although it has become quite common in MSA: the occurrence of two *mudāf* (*nomen regens*) in one *idāfa* construction (Genitivverbindung).

(ix) Finally, the ninth part of the book comprises sentences with *qalb*, or as Ullmann puts it, “syntaktische Kommutation”. For explaining this phenomenon, Ullmann agrees with several European scholars, i.e., that the explanation of *qalb* is necessitated by the metre. In my view, however, there are more probable possibilities, e.g., a special rhetorical form or an existing linguistic variation according to the so called *muğāwara*, when the linguistic agreement does not follow the rules of the *i‘rāb* but the word agrees with the previous (neighbouring) word: *darāhiman šarraftahā* instead of *darāhiman šarrafatka*.

All in all, there are 694 examples in Manfred Ullmann book under review, all of which offer very much to learn and above all they give insight into the wonderful grammatically motivated lexicographical collection of Arabic data which are presented year by year by this scholar of great erudition. Also, it is very instructive to read Professor Ullmann’s precise and excellent translations of sometimes very difficult poetic lines. Even though I cannot always accept his grammatical explanations, analyses, and classifications, and mainly his apparent hostility towards the works of mediaeval Arab grammarians and lexicographers, I found Professor Ullmann’s most recent book an amazing piece of great scholarship.

Kinga Dévényi

Wörterverzeichnis zu den Publikationen von Manfred Ullmann. Edited by TILMAN SEIDENSTICKER. (*Arabische Studien*, 18). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021. 53 p. ISSN1860-5117. ISBN 978-3-447-11736-4.

Manfred Ullmann, born on the 2nd of November 1931, is perhaps the greatest lexicographer of the Arabic language in the West. His oeuvre contains 49 independent works on this theme besides 62 articles and 125 review articles all of which are full of lexicographical explanations and analyses of similar problems. He retired from his university post in Tübingen in 1997 and since then he published, among other things, 21 books on Arabic lexicography and syntax.

This book consists of two parts. The first part, pp. 5–34, contains the list of Arabic words which are dealt with in Ullmann’s books, articles, and reviews, together with their places of occurrences in them. The second part, pp. 35–53, is the lists of works published by Ullmann.

Whoever uses Manfred Ullmann’s works can be grateful to the editor, Tilman Seidensticker for this valuable publication helping students and scholars alike to

easily find the words treated by Ullmann. Thanks are also due to the Harrassowitz Verlag for continuously publishing Professor Manfred Ullmann's excellent and indispensable books.

Kinga Dévényi

Flüche und unfrome Wünsche in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur. By Manfred Ullmann. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020. 245 p. ISBN 978-3-447-11352-6.

The book under review is an excellent example of the almost inexhaustible 'repository' of Manfred Ullmann's knowledge of Arabic lexicography. In the introduction the author deals with general questions in connection with his vast material. These are: the magical significance of the curses, God's role as the executor of the curses, accumulation of the curses, self-cursing, and the customary context of the curses. Then he turns to the investigation of the syntax of the curses, stating three main types: (i) sentences containing the so called wish perfect, (ii) sentences with imperative of the verb and (iii) conditional sentences. According to another division established by Ullmann, the sentences with curses may state a factual knowledge or may express ill wishes. The main text of the book is divided into 33 sections according to the content of the cursing sentence. This manifold division, which is a customary method of Ullmann in presenting his material, seems to me a bit too far-fetched in this case, sometimes leading to artificial sections, isolating sentence types from each other which would seem better if put together. For instance, the four first chapters are consecrated to sentences where God is the actor, while chapter five contains wishes of poverty and misfortune. However, sentence no. 59 says: *abāda llāhu ḥadrā'ahum* (variant *ḡadrā'ahum*), "May God destroy their livelihood!" Thus, although this sentence rightly belongs to the content type of chapter five, at the same time, God is the agent of the verb. Moreover, in almost all sentences of this chapter God is the actor. Here lies the difficulty of the too precise classification. Two minor remarks seem also appropriate here: (i) The references to data are not always given in their historical order, e.g., in the aforementioned sentence (which is originally a proverb not a wish) it is al-Mufaḍḍal (d. 903) who is given as the primary source and then Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 940), while al-Aṣma'ī (d. 828 or 831), who is the real primary source of this *maṭal* is not mentioned at all. (ii) al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama is cited many times as the most important source of the examples, although he always mentions verbatim the statements of earlier authors, adding nothing to their words. Thus, e.g., no. 59 goes back to al-Aṣma'ī.

The chapters are as follows: (i) God as curser, (ii) God as refuser of protection and blessing, (iii) God as fighter and enemy, (iv) God's vengeance and anger, (v) poverty and misfortune, (vi) the ruin of houses and annihilation of tents, (vii) not digestible, not healthful (food), (viii) shame and humiliation, (ix) no rain, no watering places, (x) hunger and thirst, (xi) weeping and tears, (xii) sleeplessness and insomnia, (xiii) unlucky marriage and domestic quarrel, (xiv) aberration, (xv) distance and removal, (xvi) no greeting, no welcome, (xvii) stumbling and falling over, (xviii) dust and earth in the mouth, (xix) ugliness, (xx) disfigurement of the face, (xxi) illness, (xxii) corporal mutilation, (xxiii) spoiling and ruining someone, (xxiv) to wish someone's death, (xxv) to wish the death of someone's children, (xxvi) threat of hell, (xxvii) to wish that someone was not born, (xxviii) to wish that someone did not exist, (xxix) poisoning, (xxx) to wish that a toxic, venomous animal killed someone, (xxxi) beasts of prey, (xxxii) mixed bad wish, (xxxiii) curse or blessing, i.e., when it cannot be decided whether a saying is curse or blessing.

There are altogether 631 curse sayings in the book, followed by different indices: that of personal names, of Qur'ānic quotations, of rhymes, and finally, of all the words. All these add greatly to the easy use of the book which significantly enriches our knowledge of Arabic literature, culture, and society in the Middle Ages.

Kinga Dévényi

Re-engaging Comparative Semitic and Arabic Studies. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 115). Edited by DANIEL BIRNSTIEL and NA'AMA PAT-EL. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018. ISSN 0567-4980, ISBN 978-3-447-11118-8.

This volume containing five articles reflects a renewed interest in the field of Semitic comparative linguistics on a totally new basis, making use, for instance, of the vast quantity of new data of the Arabic dialects which have become available during the last half a century. The articles emerged, as we are informed by the editors of the book, from the papers presented in the three panels of the section of Comparative Semitic and Arabic Studies in a 2014 Congress in Frankfurt. The three panels were "Arabic in Context", "Arabic and Semitic: How Archaic is the *fushḥā*", and "New Insights in Arabic Syntax". All articles offer interesting insights into some dialects of the Semitic dialects of Arabia and especially the Arabic language. The volume contains six papers. Ahmad Al-Jallad's "What is Ancient North Arabian?" deals with the definition and classification of the Ancient North Arabian dialects and their linguistic features which distinguish them from the Arabic language. Daniel Birnstiel in his excellent contribution entitled "Neither

Clear nor Clarifying – Yet Clearly Arabic” aims at illuminating the true meaning of the Qur’ānic word *mubīn*, and all the etymologically related words of the *byn* root. Lutz Edzard in “The Marked Nominative in Arabic, Semitic, and Afroasiatic” argues that the so-called nominative case (a denomination which I strongly oppose to) is not at all represents unmarkedness as contrasted with the so (also questionably) called accusative case, but on the contrary, the nominative can also play the role of markedness in the Arabic and some Semitic and Afroasiatic languages instead of the accusative except in the role of the direct object. Phillip W. Stokes in “The Plural Demonstratives and Relatives Based on *’*l* in Arabic and the Origin of Dialectal *illī*” attempts to explain the etymology and origin of the dialectal Arabic relative particle *illī* and its variants, accepting and defending the opinion of Rabin’s view that it came to being from the demonstrative *’*ullay*. I do not intend to follow the author’s analysis in this brief notice, but I feel prompted to mention a critical remark, namely, that the vast material collected by Carlo Landberg in his works on the Arabic dialects of South-Arabia, containing among other things many variants of the relative particle, was not taken into consideration. Janet C.E. Watson and Abdullah Musallam al-Mahri in their article “A Stratal OT Account of Word Stress in the Mehri of Bit Thuwar.” provide a synchronic account of word stress in the Modern South Arabian language, Mehri, as spoken by members of the Bit Thuwar tribe, on the basis of the data, as they write, collected by the first author with reference to Johnstone’s pioneering work of 1987 “Mehri Lexicon and English–Mehri Word-List.” This volume under review contributes to a large extent to our knowledge of the Semitic languages and their dialects.

Kinga Dévényi

Das Neuwestaramäische VI. Wörterbuch. (Semitica Viva, 4/VI). By WERNER ARNOLD. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019. 1018 p. ISSN 0931-2811. ISBN 978-3-447-10806-5.

Arnold Werner has compiled his long awaited Western Neo-Aramaic Dictionary, crowning his work in the field of modern Aramaic language. This voluminous publication is the sixth volume of a wonderful series following the publication a Neo-Aramaic coursebook in 1989. The first four volumes contained texts from different villages in Syria where this language is (or in one saddening case, was) spoken: Baḥ‘a in 1989, Ġubb‘adīn in 1990, ethnographic texts from Ma‘lūla in 1991, oral literature from Ma‘lūla in 1991. Then the fifth volume summarized the results of the text volumes in the form of a grammar. All of these were published by the Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden. Finally, we can hold in our hands the greatest product of Arnold Werner’s tireless scholarship: the dictionary. It contains

the vocabulary of the material collected by the author in the three locations in the so called Qalamūn mountains mentioned above: Baḥ‘a, Ğubb‘adīn and Ma‘lūla. The author added to these the vocabulary found in the material collected in the earlier studies on the region by Prym, Socin, Bergsträsser, Cantarino, and others.

I would like to stress two points mentioned in the preface of the author. First, the difficulties and hindering factors which he had to face during his work which needed concentration and, most of all, time. Second, that the importance of this series, and especially the dictionary has grown significantly after the bloody assault in 2013 against Ma‘lūla which practically erased the Aramaic speaking community in this ancient Christian town. Today, “80 percent of Ma‘lūla’s inhabitants do not speak Aramaic, and the remaining 20 percent are over 60 years old”, says the expert. Rebels and jihadists linked to Al-Qaeda seized Ma‘lūla in late 2013, forcing most of its Christian residents to flee. Some of the refugees returned in the last years, but two-thirds of its inhabitants have yet to return.

This dictionary, I think, will serve mainly as an interesting reading for its users considering the low probability of an encounter with a native speaker of vernacular Aramaic. However, this fact does not diminish its attractiveness for the reader, since an amazing picture unfolds in browsing this dictionary. A most peculiar feature of the word items, besides the borrowing from the Arabic, is provided by those examples in which words of the same Semitic origin are intermingling – the form keeps the Aramaic, but the meaning is closer to the Arabic, or vice versa. One fine example is the root *b‘d* with its plenty of derivatives well reflecting the interaction with the Arabic *b‘d*.

A thorough study of this masterpiece among the dictionaries needs much time but it undoubtedly gives much joy for a student of the Semitic languages and more specifically their modern dialects.

Kinga Dévényi

Die Rifā‘īya (Refaiya) Katalog einer Privatbibliothek aus dem osmanischen Damaskus in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig. (Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig. Neue Folge, IV). By BEATE WIESMÜLLER, WITH SEBASTIAN HANSTEIN. Edited by VERENA KLEMM. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016. lxi, 397 p. ISBN 978-3-447-10558-3.

This long awaited work is a real gift for the researchers of the Arabic manuscripts. The book is a nicely printed and readable catalogue, which really lives up to all expectations. Beate Wiesmüller, together with Sebastian Hanstein, performed their task well and the reading of the finished work will give much pleasure for those interested in the history of the Arabic manuscripts and the history of the intellectual

life of Damascus in the late mediaeval and early modern age, considering that we have to do here with a family library collected through centuries by members of the Syrian elite. It is also interesting to read how this magnificent and famous collection became into the possession of the Library of the Leipzig University, which is told in the introduction in detail. In appreciating the significance of the Rifā'iyya Collection, Karl Vollers in his earlier Catalogue says (p. 56) that no lesser personality than Ḥāǧǧī Ḥalīfa, the author of the largest encyclopaedia of the titles of the Arabic books and their brief description, used this library for his scientific research, when stopped in Damascus en route to his pilgrimage to Mecca.

It might also be interesting to note that among the many readers and visitors of this collection since its acquisition by the University of Leipzig at the end of 1853, one of its first avid readers was without doubt Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) during his studies there in 1869–1871. During this time he not only studied as one of H. L. Fleischer's (1801–1888) students obtaining his doctorate there but he also prepared *précis* of the Arabic manuscripts as is attested by his hand written legacy kept in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

There are many places where the authors of the present volume have revised, corrected, and supplemented the work of their predecessor, Karl Vollers, whose catalogue of the Islamic, Eastern Christian, Jewish and Samaritanian manuscripts of the Library of the Leipzig University was published in 1906. He, however, did not present the pieces of the Rifā'iyya Collection separately, but as part of the Oriental manuscripts. The importance of this unique collection, however, necessitated its separate treatment.

Notwithstanding the improvement of the new catalogue in several places, some mistakes of the previous catalogue remained in the new one, too. Just to mention one place, Vollers.352 [D.C. 44], where the beginning of the text says according to the catalogue *wuḍu'* (وضو), the MS shows univocally the long *ū*: *wuḍū'* (وضوء) which is also shown by a madda above the *wāw*, indicating a long vowel followed by a glottal stop. Moreover, the *hamza* is written without doubt independently from the *wāw* after and not above it. It is, of course, an insignificant error, but on the other hand it becomes interesting if one wants to investigate the writing of the *hamza* in the manuscripts.

In some instances, the preferred names of the authors is not the one which is usually considered to be the established short name. This is, e.g., the case of Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī (Vollers.214 [D.C. 82]), whose short name (in bold) appears here as al-Makkī, although the longer version containing his *kunya* is the one given not only by Vollers himself but also in the online catalogue of the Rifā'iyya Collection compiled by the same persons. Since this determines the way this author appears in the index, we cannot consider it a simple typo.

It has to be noted in connection with this author that the title of his famous book contains an error in the catalogue where a part of it is written as *mu'ālamat al-*

maḥbūb. The correct title is *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu‘āmalat al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf tarīq al-murīd ilā maqām at-tawḥīd*, i.e., “The nourishment of hearts in dealing with the Beloved and the description of the seeker’s way to the station of declaring oneness”. This typo of writing *mu‘ālama* instead of *mu‘āmala* is also present in the online edition. It is worth noting that on the title page of the manuscript, only the beginning of the title (*Qūt al-qulūb*) is written.

More importantly, it is difficult to accept the decision of only rarely providing incipits and explicits for the manuscripts. In my opinion, this information would have been useful even in the case of manuscripts of well established texts.

However, these and other faults of slight significance do not diminish the value of this great undertaking, which will well serve the researchers in fields related to Arabic manuscripts and Islamic culture in general.

Kinga Dévényi

Islam in Europa. Transformation, religiöse Erneuerung und innere Diversifizierung am Beispiel Bulgariens. (Balkanologische Veröffentlichungen, 64). By JORDANKA TELBIZOVA-SACK. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017. x, 307 p. ISSN 0170-1533, ISBN 978-3-447-10922-2.

The book under review is very informative and gives an excellent overview of a lesser known European Muslim minority. Telbizova-Sack, after a very informative introduction (chapter I) where she describes her sources and the theoretical framework she used, presents in six chapters the historical background and the everyday life of Bulgarian Muslims. Chapter II deals with the following themes: the history of Islam in Bulgaria, the structure of the Muslim community after 1989, the year of the dissolution of the Socialist regime, and the fight for winning the office of the *muftī*. Chapter III gives a detailed picture of the activities and the scope of the office of the *muftī* and the Islamic education in the Muslim religious schools in Bulgaria. Chapter IV extends the scope of study to the Islamic religious education in the public school system. Chapter V is consecrated to the contacts of the Bulgarian Muslim community with countries of the Muslim world where there are Muslim majorities. The topic of Chapter VI is the Turkish presence in the Balkans, whilst Chapter VII deals with questions connected to tradition, reform, and the inner diversification of the Muslim community in Bulgaria. The different issues treated in the chapter are: tradition and the redefinition of the Islam, the role of the new generation of Muslims, the position of Islamic law and the formation of women’s groups and their activities, the ritual practices, and the question of the re-emergence of Islamic consciousness.

One of the most captivating and attractive feature of Telbizova-Sack's work is the presentation of a vast quantity of data and tables as well as the results of several questionnaires quoted in the book to support the text. To quote the answers given to just one such questionnaire we can receive interesting information. Sunni Muslims are the second-largest community in Bulgaria and constitute 10 percent of the religious makeup, although a majority of them are not observant and find the use of Islamic veils in schools unacceptable. As is shown by the study, the members of Bulgaria's Muslim minority are generally not deeply religious, although they enthusiastically practise traditional rituals on Friday. Only 28.5 percent of the respondents said they were deeply religious, a negligible 0.5 percent believed that disputes should be resolved using Islamic Sharia law and as many as 79.6 percent said that wearing a veil in school was "unacceptable". "People who evoke the scarecrow of Islamic fundamentalism in Bulgaria are wrong", said Evgenia Ivanova of New Bulgarian University, the study's author. "Religion is not of primary importance to Bulgaria's Muslims." Muslims make up 13 percent of the southeastern European nation's population of 7.3 million. The study with 850 respondents, the first to be conducted in the past 25 years, found that only 48.6 percent described themselves as religious. Some 41 percent never went to the mosque and 59.3 percent did not even pray at home. Meanwhile, 88 percent of respondents said they circumcised their boys and a massive 96 percent observed Muslim burial practices for their relatives.

"The respect for traditions is another thing: many Christians also respect the religious traditions even if they are not strong believers," Ivanova noted.

Bulgarian Muslims are increasingly adopting modern practices, with more than half of the study's respondents saying cohabitation without marriage was "acceptable." Some 39.8 percent said they eat pork and 43.3 percent admitted to drinking alcohol. A total of 64 percent said they belonged to Bulgaria's Turkish minority, 10.1 percent identified themselves as pomaks, whose ancestors converted to Islam during the Ottoman rule of the Balkans, and 7.0 percent said they were originally Roma. This publication is worth reading and taking into consideration when on study the European Muslim communities first of all because of he precise data given by the thorough surveys.

Kinga Dévényi

Perfekt, Pseudopartizip, Stativ. Die afroasiatische Suffixkonjugation in sprachvergleichender Perspektive. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 117). By MARC BROSE. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019. 325 p. ISSN 0567-4980. ISBN 978-3-447-11281-9.

Marc Brose's work is a very useful compilation of data from a large number of sources concerning the wide spectre of the languages of the Afroasiatic language family in the themes of what he calls perfect verbs, pseudo-participle, and stative verbs, by pseudo-participle meaning its verbal usage. The aim of the author by presenting this remarkable amount of data is twofold: on the one hand, to present and evaluate these categories in the different Afroasiatic languages and on the other hand, to point out of the possibilities of comparative and historical methods in appraising the different theories adding his own opinions. This book is not for the specialists of the different languages who may think that the very simple descriptions given by the author are superfluent and contain little information, but it is mainly for the comparativists, who are specialists of some of these languages but cannot know every language of this family and are eager to receive information concerning all the relevant languages.

After the introductory subchapters which give summaries of the structure and aim of the book, the subdivision of the Semitic language family, the time-aspect system in the Afroasiatic languages and its terminology, and finally some technical information for the readers concerning the use of the book, the second chapter forms a descriptive part of the book with its subdivisions presenting the so-called suffix conjugations in the different branches, and within them the different languages of the Afroasiatic family. The third chapter is called the theoretic part of the book dealing with the emergence and development of the suffix conjugation systems. Subchapter 3.1 discusses how the suffix conjugation, assumedly, originated from the nominal sentences, subchapter 3.2 deals with the nature of the verbal base, or stem, of the words, 3.3 is consecrated to the original function of the verbal base, 3.4 treats the connection of the suffix conjugation to the ergative hypothesis, 3.5 discusses the hypothesis by the Egyptologists of the existence of two stative forms, 3.6 does the same in connection with the two-stative theories in Semitic studies, while 3.7 deals with Elsa Oréal's theory (2009) of two primary functions (that of the Akkadian stative and the Egyptian pseudo-participle). In addition to providing a brief summary of the volume, Chapter 4 contains the bibliography and a very useful index. The reader must congratulate the author, Marc Brose for this grandiose performance which will rightly serve as an important handbook in the field of Afroasiatic linguistic studies.

Kinga Dévényi

Təghamk Āfyət. A course in Mehri of Dhofar. By JANET C.E. WATSON, with Abdullah al-Mahri, Ali al-Mahri, Bxayta Musallam Blēḥ Ḳḥōr al-Mahri and Ahmed Musallam al-Mahri. (*Semitica Viva – Series Didactica*, 6). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020. 323 p. ISSN 0935-7556, ISBN 978-3-447-11373-1.

The Mehri, one of the Modern South Arabian languages, is at risk of extinction although it is the most spoken of this dialect group. Therefore, it is very much needed to provide descriptions of Mehri and the book under review performs this task wonderfully by giving not only a grammatical description of Mehri but also texts and dialogues in this language. The author promises that “this grammar will provide you with an introduction to the Mehri language and to the culture of the Mehri people”. That means that the texts used in the grammatical lessons are preferably not that of the usual grammars, but they are rather of cultural importance, since “Mehri is the language in Dhofar which is used within the Mehri speaking community for traditional cultural and everyday activities”. It also means that Mehri is a spoken language with little vernacular literature. The author refuses such denominations of the Mehri language as the Mehri of Oman, Omani Mehri, and Yemeni Mehri, because the Mehri speakers are traditionally nomadic and distinguish themselves concerning tribal affiliation not according to nation. However, he also uses a quasi-national denomination, that of Dhofar, so it would have been perhaps to title this book “Mehri spoken in the Dhofar region”, i.e., on a purely geographical basis since for many southerners Dhofar is even today more than a purely geographical term.

The book contains twenty lessons. Each lesson is divided into the following parts: two dialogues, exercises based on the dialogues, grammatical part, exercises based on the grammar of the lesson, and a thematic vocabulary. The book terminates with a glossary containing about 1200 Mehri words with their English equivalents.

In addition to this excellent textbook, the users can also count on the sound files of the Mehri archive created through the Documentation and Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Modern South Arabian project and housed at the Endangered Languages Archive. It is to be noted that already since the publication of the book in 2020, the website of this archive has moved to a new address, and currently it can be found at <https://www.elararchive.org/>, while the special Mehri archive is at <https://www.elararchive.org/dk0307>. Let us hope that it will stay there for generations to come for the benefit of learners and researchers.

Kinga Dévényi

The Creation of Philosophical Tradition. Biography and the Reception of Avicenna's Philosophy from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century A.D. By AHMED H. AL-RAHIM. (*Diskurse der Arabistik*, 21). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018. 218 p. ISSN 0949-6807, ISBN 978-3-447-10333-6.

Al-Rahim's excellent work on a special segment of the history of Islamic sciences, that of the philosophical tradition, tries to throw light on the question how the philosophical tradition is created, and in a wider perspective, how any scientific tradition has originated in the Islamicate world. In the introductory subchapters the author deals with the role of the biographical genre and the importance of the well-known master-pupil *isnād* or chain of the Islamic learning and transmission technique which corresponds largely to the documented certificates in Europe. Another subchapter speaks about the so-called meeting of great minds topos of the above-mentioned method of making chains between significant masters as if they had met some time in their scholarly career and exchanged ideas and learning. Al-Rahim also draws from the biographical dictionaries of the *šāfi'ī* jurists which mention the names of scholars who studied the books of the ancient knowledge (*'ulūm al-awā'il*). Then the author investigates the position of philosophy at the high school (*madrasa*) system and finally he sheds light on the connection between philosophy, *šāfi'ī* jurisdiction and the views of the *ahl aš-šī'a*, which was had also elaborated in a paper entitled "The Twelver-Šī'ī Reception of Avicenna in the Mongol Period".

The second chapter is consecrated to the lives of the philosophers, first from among Avicenna's immediate disciples: al-Ġuzġānī, Bahmanyār, Ibn Zayla, al-Ma'šūmī, then of later scholars: al-Lawkarī, al-Ilāqī, al-Ġazālī, as-Sāwī, al-Ĥūnaġī, al-Abharī, al-Kātibī, al-Urmawī, at-Tustarī, and at-Taḥtānī. The main chapters of the book are followed with a large and exhaustive bibliography of the primary and secondary sources, and the two indices: a general index and a manuscript index. All in all, this significant book gives useful reading not only to the researchers of the Avicennian philosophy but also to those who are interested in the more general aspects of the mediaeval Islamicate cultural life.

Kinga Dévényi

On the Reception of Early Ibadi Theology. A Commentary on the Book of Monotheism by 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī (2nd/8th Century). By ABDULRAHMAN AL-SALIMI. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021. 157 p. ISBN 978-3-447-11701-2.

This book comprises the commentary of an anonymous writer on the theological text of an early Ibādī scholar, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd al-Fazārī (d. ca 190/806) entitled *Kitāb fī t-tawḥīd*, translated by the author as “The Book on Monotheism”, which is, in my view, a misleading English title because one is compelled to think that it speaks about all of the monotheistic religions not only Islam. Al-Fazārī was the leading theologian of a dissenter Ibādī group who are called *nukkār*, the deniers, who refused to acknowledge the leadership of the legitimacy of the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb after 785.

The text of the work was found in two manuscripts in private libraries in the Mzāb region in Algeria. In a previous publication, in 2003, Abdulrahman al-Salimi and Wilferd Madelung edited six *kalām* texts by 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Fazārī under the title *The Early Ibādī Theology* from the same manuscripts. The main text (*matn*) of the *Kitāb fī t-tawḥīd* was edited in the above-mentioned volume under the title *Kitāb at-tawḥīd fī ma'rifat Allāh 'azza wa-ġalla wa-mā yata'allaqu bihā*. The commentary published in this volume is about four times as long as the *matn*.

This volume, after an introduction, publishes the edited text, then a table of comparison and an epilogue, together with indices. In the chapter of comparison, the editor collected identical or similar quotations from the text of *Kitāb fī t-tawḥīd* and other earlier or later Ibādī works making it possible to collate the different versions. The unknown writer of the commentary discusses the teachings of al-Fazārī in the form of interpretations, quoting a sentence from the original work (*qāla*) and then saying, “it means” (*ya'nī*). The teaching of the original writer always takes the form of an answer to a question from the members of the Ibādī community who are interested, sometimes naively, in the main tenets of their religion. The commentator partly explains, partly complements the words of al-Fazārī, so the commentary also seems to satisfy the interest of the whole religious community, accordingly, it is not only for the special circle of religious scholars. This publication gives further insights into the early Ibādī teachings and helps our understanding concerning the teachings of this lesser studied branch of Islam.

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Approaches to Ibādī Exegetical Tradition. Edited by İSMAIL ALBAYRAK. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020. 158 p. ISBN 978-3-447-11432-5.

The editor states in the preface that the collection of the chapters published together here contain themes he and his colleague, Sulayman al-Shueili have been working on for a long time and that some of them had already been published as independent articles. The aim in this book, however, was to present an overall view of the Ibādī exegetical approach to the Qurʾān, complementing the Ibādī studies which have been the subject of ever-growing interest in the Western academic circle in the last decades, but concentrated exclusively on the theological and historical fields.

The book is divided into four chapters. Chapter one gives a historical survey of the Ibādī *tafsīr* and, after stating its general characteristics, presents the three periods of Ibādī exegesis: the formative period, the classical period, and the modern period. Chapter two deals with the Ibādī approach to the methodology of Qurʾānic exegesis, with questions of the perception of the revelation, the createdness of the Qurʾān, the collection of the Qurʾān, the causes (here: occasions) of the revelation, the Qurʾānic proverbs and tales of the prophets (here collectively: narratives), the problem of the abrogation of an *āya* by another one, the clear (*muḥkam*) and ambiguous (*mutašābih*) verses as they are called here, probably better translated as ‘decisive and allegorical verses’. Chapter three presents the perception of Ḥārīgī and Ibādī Islam in the Muslim exegetical tradition, together with the critique of Ḥārīgī jurisprudence and Ḥārīgī theology (*kalām*). Chapter four deals with the re-evaluation of the notion of Jesus’ return in Ibādī exegetical tradition: general approaches to the notion of descent or second coming of Jesus (*nuzūl ʾIsā*), the approaches of the most famous exegete, Aṭṭfayyiš and his successors to the notion of the descent of Jesus, and finally, the general approach to this notion in Omani scholarship.

These collected papers really give an interesting overview of how the Ibādī religious scholars interpreted the holy book of Islam during the centuries thus adding to our knowledge on the Ibādī branch of Islam.

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Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Midyat (Miḍyoyo). Band 1: Texte. (Semitica Viva, 59). By OTTO JASTROW and SHABO TALAY. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019. 303 p. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN 978-3-447-11195-9.

The Turoyo project has had as its central goal in the last decades the research and documentation of the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Midyat. The previous results of this

grandiose project can be found in the bibliography, especially in the 13 relevant publications of Otto Jastrow and the seven articles and edited books published by his co-author, Shabo Talay. The Turoyo dialects belong to the Western branch of the Neo-East Aramaic languages. The homeland of the Turoyo is Turabdin, a plateau in South-East Turkey. In the last centuries this territory had become an area where the persecuted Syrian Christians from the surrounding territories sought protection. Till the First World War Turabdin had become a completely Aramaic speaking zone which was destroyed during the war years by the mass slaughter and deportations to which more than half of its Christian population fell victim. These events are called the Sayfo (lit. "sword" but also "extermination") and they are, as we shall see, the subject of many stories in this textbook. In the 1960s there were about forty villages in the Turabdin region where the Turoyo was spoken, but since that time the number of Turoyo villages and the number of Turoyo speakers have been gradually decreasing due to political and economic reasons and today their language is in danger, on the brink of extinction. This fact increases the enormous significance of the laborious work of the authors.

The Introductory chapter describes the main characteristics of the Midyat dialect, presents the history of the research in this field, speaks, among other things, about the main features of the texts and the principles of their translation, and gives a list of the female and male speakers. The texts themselves are grouped into five sections. First, texts about the everyday life in Midyat: the traditional way of life, agricultural products, dairy products, marriage, and emigration from Midyat. Second, texts about the kitchen of Midyat: sweets, dolma, oven-baked pumpkin, stuffed lamb reefs, the local specialties tarxayno and gabula, rice, lentils, chickpeas, etc. Third, about the genocide of 1915, the so-called Sayfo: a story of one of the survivors of the genocide, two reports of the Sayfo, and the story of those who returned from America after the Sayfo. Fourth, holy legends: the wonders of the Madonna, the abolition of fasting, two stories about the role of the Satan, a long tale in which the Satan kidnaps the daughter of one of the kings in Istanbul, another a tale about an abbot who meets the Satan clad in a woman's robe. Fifth, tales and anecdotes: the virtue to be pursued, stories of different fabulous persons, anecdotes on the differences between the Turoyo dialects. The bibliography is especially interesting in this book because it concentrates exclusively on Turoyo and gives a comprehensive literature of the subject. The precise transcription makes it possible to study the linguistic features of this Neo-Aramaic vernacular. This rare publication provides an interesting reading not only for the specialists of Neo-Aramaic and Semitic linguistics, but through the translation of the fascinating texts even the anthropologists can find new knowledge and enjoyment in reading the book.